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'Ane end of an auld song?' Macro and Micro Perspectives on Written Scots in Correspondence during the Union of Parliaments Debates

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Abstract

This thesis examines the relationship between political identity and variation from a diachronic perspective. Specifically, it explores the use of written Scots features in the personal correspondence of Scottish politicians active during the Union of the Parliaments debates. Written Scots by 1700 had steadily retreated from most text-types in the face of ongoing anglicisation, but simultaneously the Union debates sparked heated discussion around questions of nationality and Scotland's separate identity. I consider the extent to which the use of Scots features may have been influenced by such discourse, but also how they may have become indexical markers used to lay claim to these ideologies. Drawing from the frameworks of First, Second and Third Wave perspectives on variation, and combining quantitative, macro-social methods with micro-social analysis, broad socio-political factors are explored alongside plausible stylistic intentions in conditioning or influencing the linguistic behaviour of these writers. The first analysis examines variation in the corpus temporally, using the chronologically-organised clustering technique VNC - Variability-based Neighbor Clustering (Gries and Hilpert, 2008), to measure Scots features over time. The crucial years of the debates (1700-1707) are compared with correspondence either side, and the VNC analysis identifies heightened use of Scots falling within the key years of the debates. The following macro-social analysis explores the factors driving this variation quantitatively, using a number of different statistical models to examine the data from various perspectives. Probabilities of Scots are found to correlate with certain political factors, though in complex and multilayered ways that reflect the composite nature of the historical figures operating in the Scottish parliament. The third analysis focuses on the features of written Scots itself and how these pattern in aggregate and across the individual authors who comprise the corpus. Findings suggest the persistence of written Scots was not being driven by a singular feature or set of tokens, rather, authors varied widely in their range and proportion of different variants. Finally, the micro-analysis examines the intra-writer variation of four individuals representing different political interests, exploring their Scots use across various recipients. Close-up inspection of features within particular extracts and letters suggests the subtle social and stylistic functions Scots had acquired for these writers. Its occurrence was found to reflect but also constitute the macro-social patterns identified earlier. Taken together, results indicate the use of Scots features was both influenced by, and contributed to, the political and ideological loyalties these writers harboured. Moreover, they tentatively suggest a process of reinterpretation was underway, in which Scots features were becoming a resource that could be selectively employed for particular indexical and communicative purposes.

<u>Lay Summary</u>

The Treaties of Union, signed between Scotland and England in 1707, dissolved Scotland's formerly-independent parliament, which was incorporated into a new, British parliament, based in Westminster. However, the process leading up to this moment in history, and its aftermath, was not a smooth and straightforward negotiation that saw widespread agreement on both sides. Rather, it generated heated debate and discussion within the Scottish parliament, and across the nation at large. The ruling elite in particular were highly involved with this process, and there were a number of voices who spoke out against the proposed treaty, standing firm in their defence of Scottish interests, liberties and institutions. The consequence was a tense atmosphere in which ideas around Scottish independence, nationality and identity became salient and were openly questioned in the parliament.

Against this strained political backdrop, the linguistic landscape of Scotland had also been changing. Prior to the sixteenth century, *Scots* had been the spoken and written language of Lowland Scotland, used by all layers of society from royalty through to the peasantry (while Gaelic continued as the main language of the Western Highlands and Islands). Scots and English derive from the same parent language, but from the twelfth century onward they increasingly diverged from one another into recognised, separate languages, though they remained intelligible as two closely-related varieties. This reversed through a process of language shift that began in the sixteenth century and continued over the following centuries, in which Scots came to be increasingly influenced by the emerging southern English standard that originated in London. Written Scots was affected in particular, as more and more distinctively English spellings, words and features were adopted into various text-types, displacing their Scots equivalents. This shift was sparked by a number of historical changes that brought Scotland and England closer together socially, religiously and politically. The net result of these changes was that English became increasingly associated with prestige and power, while Scots was seen as a 'domestic' and lowly variety. By the time of the Treaty of Union in 1707, the upper classes had been adopting progressively more southern English features in both their writing and speech for over a century, and the event itself only increased the desirability of English. Thus, by the turn of the eighteenth century, writers such as the politicians in the Scottish parliament would very likely aspire to use southern English features, rather than Scots, in their personal correspondence.

Yet, contemporary research has shown that people can actively use non-prestigious language varieties in politically-contested situations, to highlight their national or local identity, even when this might negatively impact them on a social, economic or political level. Thus, it is possible that the intense political discussion around the Union might have encouraged a greater use of written Scots features among the people debating it, particularly if they associated Scots with 'Scottishness'. This would imply that those who rejected the Union might be more likely to use Scots features, especially with other politicians who held similar views. However, this specific period of time and these politicians have not yet been investigated in previous scholarship, and so it is currently unknown whether Scots was still being

written and what it looked like in elite personal correspondence by this time, nor whether the Union years and associated political factors in particular could have influenced Scots use. This absence of research stems largely from the lack of a suitable resource to answer such questions. Accordingly, this thesis sought to explore the potential relationship between the heightened political tension surrounding the Union debates (1689-1707), and the use of Scots, in correspondence produced by relevant Scottish politicians and politically-involved writers. To do so, instances of their letters were identified in archives or digital repositories and were transcribed, before being compiled into a purpose-built online corpus. These were searched for instances of Scots spellings and words, along with the equivalent English features. Once the features had been identified and extracted, the data was then explored on four different levels.

Firstly, it was analysed over time, to determine whether the most significant years of the debates behave differently in terms of the frequencies of Scots features observed. This found that Scots frequencies did increase significantly between 1689-1705 - key years in the Union debates. These years also link to a rise in tensions between Scotland and England, suggesting the political situation did have an impact on written Scots. Secondly, the dataset was explored using statistical methods, to measure whether political factors, such as party membership, may have influenced the likelihood of a writer using Scots features (as opposed to non-political influences, like birthplace). The results indicated that political factors had a considerable effect. Moreover, they patterned as we might expect: those who rejected the Union and sought to maintain Scottish independence were more likely to use Scots in their writings. Thirdly, the proportions of different Scots features within the corpus and across individual authors were measured. This part of the investigation was especially interested in determining what written Scots looked like by 1700, and whether the authors behaved in a uniform way. Results suggested that some features were still in widespread use whereas others had almost disappeared, however, these general tendencies did not pattern uniformly across the writers. Rather, written Scots use seems to have been largely idiosyncratic. Finally, four individuals were chosen, one from each of the three political parties, and a politically-active Presbyterian clergyman. Extracts from their letters to different recipients were examined in a close-up analysis. The politicians appeared to demonstrate a sensitivity to their political identity and that of their recipient, adjusting the frequency and type of Scots features they used accordingly. The clergyman did not do this, which suggests the politicians formed a unique community of their own, in which political influences relating to the historical backdrop had a very real impact.

In summary, this thesis has indicated that the political activity taking place during the Union debates did influence politicians' use of Scots in correspondence. This also patterns in intuitive ways that align with anti-Union and pro-independence sentiments. This suggests that patterns of politically-inspired linguistic resistance observed in present-day situations, can be equally applicable to a historical setting. Accordingly this thesis provides novel insight into a hitherto under-explored factor influencing historical language change, as well as highlighting a degree of continuity between Scots in the early eighteenth century and today, where its use can similarly be motivated by claims to a local, Scottish identity.

Acknowledgements

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List of tags and abbreviations

Language

OSc - Older Scots
SSE - Scottish Standard English
OE - Old English
ME - Middle English
SStE - Southern Standard English
RP - Received Pronunciation

Linguistic Processes

OSL - Open Syllable Lengthening
GVS - Great Vowel Shift
NF - Northern Fronting
FVM - Front Vowel Merger
CD - Consonant Deletion
SVLR - Scottish Vowel Length Rule

Dictionaries and References

OED - Oxford English Dictionary
DSL - Dictionaries of the Scots Language
RPS - Records of the Parliament of Scotland to 1707
ODNB - Oxford Dictionary of National Biography

Sociolinguistic Terms

CofP - Community of Practice
CAT - Communication Accommodation Theory
SAT - Speech Accommodation Theory
SIT - Social Identity Theory
L2 - Second Language
D2 - Second Dialect

Archives and Corpora

NLS - National Library of Scotland
NRS - National Records of Scotland
SHS - Scottish History Society
LALME - Linguistic Atlas of Late Medieval English
LAOS - Linguistic Atlas of Older Scots
CSC - Helsinki Corpus of Scottish Correspondence
HCOS - Helsinki Corpus of Older Scots
POLITECS - Political Opposition, Loyalty and Indifference in Eighteenth Century Scottish texts

Statistical Modelling and Techniques

HTR - Handwritten Text Recognition
OCR - Optical Character Recognition
CER - Character Error Rate
LIWC - Linguistic Inquiry and Word Count
VNC - Variability-Based Neighbor Clustering
brms - Bayesian regression models using Stan
MCA - Multiple Correspondence Analysis
PCA - Principal Component Analysis
GLMER - Generalised Linear Mixed-effects Regression
SD - Standard Deviation
CrI - Credibility Interval
MCMC - Markov Chain Monte Carlo
(C) - Index of Concordance

Other

East CB - East Central Belt
West CB - West Central Belt
MP - Member of Parliament
UK - United Kingdom
SLP - Scottish Labour Party
SNP - Scottish National Party

Chapter 1

Introduction

When Lord Seafield, Chancellor of Scotland, signed the Act of Union between the Scottish and English parliaments in 1707 and handed it back to the clerk, he famously exclaimed 'now there's ane end of an old song'. Or was it an *auld* song? For the linguistic situation in lowland Scotland had complexified and undergone a dynamic change by the turn of the eighteenth century. Scots, both in written and spoken form, had seen a meteoric rise in use and status following its development within the medieval burgh system, and its spread throughout lowland Scotland. Independent transformations from northern Middle English, and the adoption of the variety within every genre of written work, and by every social order from royalty to tenant farmers, suggested Scots was headed for nationwide standardisation. Yet this trajectory was cut short and reversed, through a series of historical events that led to the increasing adoption of anglicised variants, as Scotland and England were brought into the same social, religious and political orbit. The shift to high-prestige southern English variants affected written genres in particular, and by the time of the Union of Parliaments in 1707, written Scots had largely disappeared from most genres. In those where it remained, it had significantly reduced in scope. Yet despite these trends, written Scots did not disappear completely, and it resurfaced with considerable vigour during the *Vernacular Revival*, some decades later. The roots of this backlash can in many ways be traced to the Union process itself, which suggests this particular moment in history had a tangible effect on the language of lowland Scotland.

For, against this backdrop of ongoing anglicisation, the Union debates (1689-1707) took place. They capture a turbulent, unpredictable and at-times chaotic period of Scottish history, in which economic, religious, constitutional, patriotic and personal tensions all came to the boil. Grievances and concerns, ambitions and desires, they all contributed to the dynamic political landscape that led, ultimately, to the unification between the Scottish and English parliaments. Following this agreement, the Scottish parliament was dissolved and subsequently a new British state and parliament formed, with its administrative capital in Westminster. Yet negotiating this agreement was by no means straightforward, nor was the Union itself the teleological endpoint of the negotiation. The ensuing debates leading up to the final ratification of the Union treaty sparked heated and intense political discussion,

in which concepts of national identity, the patriotic defence of Scottish liberties and interests, independent sovereign status, and ecclesiastical and dynastic legitimacy all informed and constructed the discourse around incorporation, though these were matched by more pragmatic approaches concerned with the security of Scotland and safeguarding her institutions. Then, of course, was the inevitable role of personal interest and political ambition characterising the desires of many ruling elite at this time. These narratives tentatively suggest an increased awareness of an emerging Scottish national identity, rising out of a rejection of political amalgamation, or in response to inevitable incorporation as participants sought to stake out their own distinctiveness and individuality. These narratives informed the formation, presence and rhetoric of the three parties within Scottish politics, which were structured by different ideological and political commitments in response to the proposed Union.

It is not implausible, in light of these political developments and their consequent discourse, that the use of written Scots among the politicians at the heart of the Union debates may have been consciously or subconsciously influenced. Considering that Scots had become increasingly associated with 'domestic' and 'local' use, such associations might lend themselves to representing a 'national' agenda, structured through their alignment with particular political identities. There is an instinctive or intuitive link between a conceived national identity and greater use of the vernacular, and indeed contemporary studies into written Scots use have identified such links (Shoemark et al., 2017a,b). In addition, salient and repeated patterns of linguistic variation within political settings built around local or pan-regional loyalties have been found in contemporary sociolinguistic analyses. In such scenarios, variation is not just responsive but actively indexes identities, ideologies or membership to particular socio-political interests, suggesting the tangible role that political change and nationalist discourse can play in its occurrence and use. Given these findings, and the heightened atmosphere within the Scottish parliament during the Union years, it does not seem implausible that a similar relationship might be uncovered, suggesting the universality of certain sociolinguistic trends.

Moreover, while written Scots had retreated or was transitioning out of most text-types, correspondence is one genre where it could continue, considering the lack of economic incentive to anglicise personal writing (Robinson, 1983; Meurman-Solin, 1993, 1997; Corbett et al., 2003a; Bugaj, 2004). Correspondence also tends to be less formal and planned relative to other text types such as a legal contracts (Meurman-Solin, 2000: 158; van der Wal and Rutten, 2013: 2), and reflects the social relationships between correspondents to a very high degree (Görlach, 1999). However, this particular time period has received comparatively little attention within Scots scholarship in general, and the tentative link between eighteenth-century written Scots and political identities in personal correspondence has not yet been explored in detail (though see van Eyndhoven, 2018, 2021 for a small-scale study). This is partially attributable to the lack of appropriate, easily-accessible resources to investigate such links, given a digitised corpus of political correspondence from this time does not exist. Huge volumes of letters are stored in libraries, archives or private collections, yet research has 'only just begun to scratch the surface of this extraordinary mine of manuscript or typescript sources, especially as far as Late Modern times are concerned' (Dossena, 2012b: 13), and Scottish letters are no exception. They thus represent an untapped resource of hitherto unseen

or unknown language data, once appropriately digitised into text-searchable files. Equally responsible for the dearth of research, however, is the pervasive narrative that written Scots had all but disappeared by 1700 in the writings of the upper gentry, bar a few dissident Scotticisms that became a point of contention among grammarians during the 'Age of Politeness' a few decades later. However, considering that a quantitative analysis, focusing on a corpus of correspondence and undertaking a cross-comparison across multiple writers, has not yet been undertaken, the form, function and extent of early eighteenth-century written Scots features is still largely unknown. Likewise, whether these features increased or decreased during this time period, or could have been available for political or national identity marking, is yet to be discovered.

Accordingly this thesis will explore these considerations, by building a novel corpus of correspondence from politicians - or commissioners as they were known at the time[1] - involved in the last Scottish parliament, during which they debated the Union agreement. This correspondence is complemented with the writings of politically - active clergymen who had a stake in the political discourse surrounding the agreement, and a number of other influential figures, who were not directly involved in the parliament but participated from the sidelines. The behaviour of these groups will be compared in particular chapters, to consider whether the politicians behaved uniquely as a community of practice of their own, or whether they shared significant overlaps with these other writers through their common political agenda. In addition, correspondence dating either side of the key debating years (1700-1707) will be included to assess whether these crucial years behaved differently in particular, or whether they fit into the larger linguistic landscape, perhaps reflecting the ongoing anglicisation characterising written Scots. Alongside this, including correspondence dating until 1745 enables the analysis to inspect whether the lingering effects of the Union agreement can be seen in its aftermath on written Scots usage.

This correspondence will be analysed firstly from a quantitative perspective, utilising different statistical modelling methods and approaching the data through the First Wave framework within sociolinguistic investigation. Change over time will be explored, using clustering techniques to model the variation in written Scots over the timeline included in the corpus, to assess how the Union years may have influenced relative frequencies of Scots. This is followed by a series of statistical analyses modelling the effect of pre-defined extralinguistic categories, including political factors such as affiliation and party, in influencing the probability of using Scots. These first two investigations thus seek to investigate whether this time period was unique from a Scots linguistic point of view, and whether writers' affiliations with different parties and their ideological platforms had a measurable impact of their likelihood of choosing Scots features.

Complementing these broad-based, macro-social investigations into the patterning of Scots across the corpus, the data will then be explored through a close-up, micro-analysis, informed by Second and Third Wave sociolinguistic perspectives. The individual features included in the category 'Scots' will be examined in terms

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[1] These two labels will be used interchangeably throughout this thesis, both refer to the ruling Scottish elite debating the Union articles in the Scottish parliament

of their overall frequency in the corpus, as well as their patterning across individual writers, uncovering the persistence or decline of certain features and highlighting what early eighteenth-century Scots looked like by this point. Finally, an examination of four selected individuals and their intra-writer behaviour across recipients and specific letters will be analysed, drawing on sociolinguistic notions of accommodation, style-shifting, identity and indexicality to consider plausible motives for their variation. This will complement the quantitative analysis in suggesting the extent to which any patterning observed statistically is reflected in individual behaviour, as well as the extent to which their behaviour might accumulate ideological associations to construct those patterns. The four research questions this thesis asks are thus:

- Does written Scots pattern differently during the time period around the Union debates?

- Which extralinguistic factors influence the probability of choosing Scots features, and do political affiliations influence this in particular?

- How do individual Scots features pattern across the corpus?

- Finally, how does intra-writer variation within selected individuals pattern across recipients, and what role might stylistic and social factors play?

The thesis is accordingly structured as follows. Chapter 2 gives a brief historical background into the Union debates and the state of Scotland in the early eighteenth century. The historical events that took place generated or contributed to salient ideologies motivating certain groups of politicians to associate with one another, shaping and informing the political parties in the parliament. Key concerns motivating the interaction of the commissioners or clergymen with the proposed union agreement are highlighted, suggesting potentially-important facets to the group identities within the Scottish parliament. These parties and ideologies will subsequently form the extralinguistic factors included in the quantitative analysis, thus understanding their basis and interaction is central to the investigation. Chapter 3 then outlines a history of Scots up to and including the turn of the eighteenth century. The development of Scots from its early northern English origins into a distinct and widespread variety across lowland Scotland is presented, before the events leading to its reduction within the written sphere as anglicisation took hold, are outlined. This provides a background to the linguistic situation by 1700, suggesting what we might expect in terms of written Scots in correspondence, and how these elite writers may have interacted with it.

Following this Chapter 4 provides the theoretical framework through which patterns and instances of variation will be explored. Given this thesis seeks to explore a plausible relationship between political identity and linguistic variation, within personal correspondence that criss-crossed political lines of allegiance and opposition, it naturally lends itself to concepts within sociolinguistic frameworks. Accordingly, the field of historical sociolinguistics, and the insights offered by the 'Three Waves' of sociolinguistic variation are described, as well as their application to the data and to the specific research questions of this thesis. These include audience design,

accommodation and communities of practice, but also identity and indexicality, stylistic and social goals, and positioning or performativity. In addition, part of this thesis applies a macro-social approach to the patterning of variation across defined groups of writers, in line with traditional First wave studies. Accordingly, this chapter unpacks these concepts, as well as highlighting previous historical sociolinguistic research utilising the different frameworks individually and in tandem, and summarises previous historical and contemporary Scots research bordering on this time frame or theoretical approach.

Chapter 5 describes the methodological process involved in building a novel corpus of political writings and defining the Scots features to be included in the analysis. Specifically, it outlines the course of identifying appropriate historical individuals and locating their correspondence within manuscript holdings, the digitisation process that was achieved through a combination of manual transcription and machine-assisted script recognition, the background research involved in the tagging of extralinguistic attributes in the transcriptions, the process of uploading texts to a new, tailored corpus within the corpus-building platform LaBB-CAT (Fromont and Hay, 2008), the operation of the corpus software and the refinement of its word-search layers to generate accurate and precise investigations of the data. Finally, the specific approach taken to defining the eighteenth-century written Scots features, in light of the considerable reduction of the language and its close links with northern English varieties, is explained.

These background chapters set up the historical, linguistic and theoretical context in which this analysis takes place, while the methodological chapter outlines the people, texts and features that comprise the analysis. These are then followed by four results chapters, each answering a specific research question. Chapter 6 forms the temporal analysis of written Scots, exploring the frequencies of Scots relative to English across the timeline included in the corpus, to determine whether this troubled and politically-volatile time period did have an observable impact on Scots use. To assist in identifying trends, Variability-based Neighbour Clustering or VNC (Gries and Hilpert, 2008) is used, taking a data-driven approach to variation over time rather than pre-defining temporal divisions in the corpus. The presence of a perceivable change in Scots variation is good evidence that this time period was unique, and worth investigating further from a sociolinguistic perspective. Accordingly, following the temporal analysis Chapter 7 undertakes a statistical sociolinguistic exploration of the corpus using three different modelling techniques, to examine the influence of various extralinguistic factors upon the probability of Scots occurring. These models include Random forests (Breiman, 2001), Bayesian regression modelling (Bürkner, 2017) and Multiple Correspondence Analysis (Kassambara and Mundt, 2017). Together they highlight different elements of the variation in the dataset, and how factors potentially interact with Scots usage and with each other. In particular, the combination of the latter two techniques provides a compelling new insight into the influences, including political factors, operating on the variation demonstrated by these political figures.

Chapter 8 then shifts the focus to small-scale aspects rather than broad oversight, focusing on the Scots features in the corpus and their individual trajectories. In particular, it examines how prevalent they are within the corpus in general, and

across different writers, to determine whether Scots use was driven by just a handful of features, or was perhaps more dynamic and idiosyncratic across different authors. Features are compared to one another in terms of their consistency and prevalence across writers, and from this analysis, a rough schema for classifying features into categories of frequency and occurrence, is proposed. The behaviour of individual writers is also observed, to consider whether elite writers behaved in uniform ways or reflected their own, personal histories with written Scots.

Leading on from this, the last chapter (Chapter 9) takes the micro-perspective one step further, through analysing four selected individuals and their letters to different recipients or those that concern particular topics. A representative from each of the three political parties within the Scottish parliament is selected, along with a politically-active clergyman, and their frequencies of Scots across their different recipients are presented. Variation is then analysed at the level of individual letters, to consider plausible stylistic factors contributing to differences in Scots use between recipients, drawing on concepts from the Second and Third Wave frameworks. In particular influences derived from the recipient themselves, including considerations around audience-design or accommodative desires, are contemplated, as well as stylistic and agentive causes including positioning, laying claim to an in-group membership, the indexing of political or ideological identities, and the reparation of common ground by foregrounding a shared or common background. Through these behaviours, the analysis suggests the extent to which the Scots used by these politicians reflects their belonging to the wider social identities identified in Chapters 2 and 7, and the extent to which they demonstrate a creative and stylistic repertoire of their own, that served to reflect their political and ideological concerns.

Together, these four results chapters thus seek to illuminate this time period, and the groups, features and individuals that comprised the linguistic climate surrounding the Union debates, shedding new light on early eighteenth-century Scots and the role of political change in its progression. Their insights and findings, both in combination and individually, and their relation to the ideas put forward in Chapter 4, is discussed in more detail in the Discussion in Chapter 10. Finally the Conclusion (Chapter 11) summarises these main findings, and the contribution this thesis makes to an understanding of eighteenth-century Scots research, and of political change and identity on linguistic variation more generally.

Chapter 2

Historical Background

2.1 The Union: Before, During and After

In any historical sociolinguistic analysis, an understanding of the developments underpinning the socio-political, temporal and cultural climate is crucial in recreating the environment in which language is being written. No doubt these changes influenced individuals in their ideologies, identities and relationships, but potentially in their language use as well. There has been a wealth of literature written about the Union of the Parliaments, and this section does not intend to cover the various debates and schools of thought in any great detail, nor does this thesis seek to propose a new interpretation of the passage of the union. Such a discussion is better left to research examining the event from a more narrowly historical or political perspective. Instead, a general discussion of the events that gave rise to the idea of Union, the progress of the treaty itself, and in particular the concerns of the main groups and parties involved, is examined in this section.[1]

The following section begins with a brief time-line of events that influenced and informed the Union debates (1689-1707), a discussion of the parliamentary process, and the nature of agreement itself. This is followed by an examination of the religious controversies influencing reactions toward union, given the central role faith played in the debates. Finally, the different political parties involved in the Scottish parliament are outlined. Together, these sub-sections aim to paint a picture of the diverse range of interests and concerns constituting the debates and the political players involved. They seek to highlight the complex cultural dualism facing Scottish politicians in the early eighteenth century as they sought to balance local loyalties and identities with supra-regional and socio-economic demands. These concerns will become important in the sociolinguistic analysis examining the influence of political factors (Chapter 7), as well as the micro-analysis exploring intra-writer variation through the lens of in-group/out-group identities and stylistic goals (Chapter 9).

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[1]For further literature on this area, see Ferguson (1964, 1977); Riley (1978, 1979); Young (1999); Whatley (2006); Macinnes (1990, 2007).

2.1.1 The Pre-Union years

The lead-up to the Union of the Parliaments in 1707 was by no means a smooth and orderly progression of pre-meditated discussion and measured debate between two equally-positioned nations. Neither can it be seen as the ultimate conclusion to the dynastic Union of the Crowns in 1603, and any understanding of the time period should avoid making teleological assumptions about the inevitability of Union (Ferguson, 1964: 89; Macinnes, 2007: 9; Raffe, 2012b: 266). Yet the idea of an *incorporating union* - a union of two or more states merging into one political whole - was not a novel concept; proposals for union between Scotland and England had surfaced several times since 1603 (Macinnes, 2007: 4). Already early on, some Scots believed that a peaceful, negotiated alliance with their southern neighbours would be strategically more sensible for a small island such as Britain (Mason, 1994; Whatley, 2006, 2008; Kidd, 2008; Jackson, 2012). From 1699 onward this idea gained momentum, and union with England became part of an ongoing debate that sought to improve trade and the relations between the two countries (Ferguson, 1964: 93). However the conditions leading to union being placed once more on the debating table, were different for both nations involved. For Scotland, the question of union emerged in light of the evolving succession crisis arising from Queen Anne's heirless state (see Section 2.1.4 below), coupled with ongoing constitutional tensions plaguing the nation since the dynastic union of 1603. This created stark divisions within Scottish society, at a time when social, political, religious and economic tensions ran high, and internal fissures ran deep. Yet they were crucial for a discussion concerning closer union to take place. These various issues will be briefly discussed, outlining some of the causes that gave rise, eventually, to the Union of the Parliaments.

2.1.2 Economics and the Darien Scheme

The deteriorating material condition of the nation by the end of the seventeenth century became increasingly pertinent to the discussion around incorporating union (Macinnes, 2007: 243; Raffe, 2012b: 253). The years immediately prior to the Union saw a series of harvest failures, famine and dearth, while trade was affected by French privateering on Scottish ships, English interference in Scottish shipping, tariff walls erected by rival powers and the Nine Years' War (1688-97). Added to this, the War of the Spanish Succession (1702-13) disrupted Scottish trading links, notably with France (Whatley, 2008; Young, 1999), and such economic woes increased tenfold in the aftermath of Scotland's colonial experiment, known as the *Darien scheme.*

The Darien Scheme (1698-1700), first established under the Company of Scotland in 1698, was an ambitious enterprise to establish the colony of New Caledonia on the isthmus of Panama. Darien was intended to revive Scotland's economy by providing a unique opportunity for economic growth, prosperity and modernisation, and a chance to break free from economic dependence on England (Whatley, 2006: 5; Stephen, 2007: 16). The national venture saw widespread support, and many Scotsmen invested considerable sums of money into it. However, the grandiose scheme was plagued by organisational incompetence, compounded by the harsh

conditions of the location, and finally crumbled two years later when the colony was attacked by the Spanish (Watt, 2014b). Despite pleas for assistance, the English government refused to send help, and the subsequent failure of Darien took with it a quarter Scotland's liquid capital (Jackson, 2012: 342), significantly exacerbating the economic plight of the country.

The abandonment of Scotland's national enterprise led to considerable emotional shock and high levels of resentment towards the Crown (Bowie, 2007: 28; Stephen, 2007: 17). Its failure added yet another blow to Scotland's competence in economic affairs, and while internal reasons and mismanagement played as much a part in its failure (Ferguson, 1964: 91; Jackson, 2012: 354), it was easy for the opposition to stir up nationalist anger and direct blame at the English ministry, elevating Darien to the status of a nationwide disaster that had damaged Scotland's honour (Whatley, 2006: 203, Raffe, 2012b: 264). Yet it also had the counter-intuitive effect of bringing incorporating union back to the table. The Darien venture added to the feeling that the considerations of the Court did not align with Scottish interests (Whatley, 2008: 3), and there emerged a growing group who argued for closer union to resolve the diametric interests of Crown and nation, and simultaneously elevate Scotland's economic situation at the same time.

This was compounded further by the fallout of the *Worcester* affair, which came close to imploding relations between Scotland and England. An English merchant vessel, the *Worcester*, was seized by the Company of Scotland in August 1705 while sailing off the coast of Fife, in retaliation for the seizure of the Company's last ships by English customs officers (Whatley, 2006: 200). The captain Thomas Green and his men were accused of piracy, and charged with murdering the crew of two other Company vessels which had disappeared in the Indian Ocean (Macinnes, 2007: 271). The following year, the innocent captain and two of his crew were hanged in front of large crowds who gathered on Leith Sands (Graham, 2005: 153-190). The roots of this extreme reaction can be traced in many ways to the anger surrounding the Darien aftermath and the rising dissatisfaction with Scotland's economic situation. Members of the Scottish parliament took different stances toward the hanging themselves, and this event played a decisive role in shaping the parliamentary process during the critical years of the Union debates (see Section 2.3.3). More broadly however, this economic backdrop influenced and informed opinions towards incorporation, shaping the motives of several key commissioners who begun to seriously push for incorporation as a solution to the failing two-state situation they found themselves in.

As such, advocates of union were not necessarily motivated by a sense of pan-Britannic nationalism, but rather took a pragmatic perspective that sought to redress Scotland's economic plight and constitutional woes. This outlook is one we will see return continuously throughout the Union debates, and will be particularly important in providing context to the influencing factors investigated in the statistical analysis (Chapter 7). Alongside pragmatism however, ideological motivations stemming from the aftermath of the 'Glorious Revolution' played an equally crucial role in shaping the lead-up to the debates and informing the discussions themselves.

2.1.3 The Revolution of 1689

Many of the interests underlying the political groups within the Scottish parliament stem from the profound religious changes that took place during the seventeenth century, particularly the Revolution of 1689 and the subsequent rise of Jacobitism (Raffe, 2012b: 259). By 1700 Scottish society was religiously fractured, having experienced changes in Episcopalian and Presbyterian forms of government several times. The Episcopalian settlement of 1661-2 created a major rift between Presbyterians and Episcopalians, who together encompassed the majority of Scotland's population. This would go on to have lasting consequences during the Union debates and beyond (Raffe, 2012a). Episcopalian control was overturned, however, following the invasion of England by the Protestant Dutch king, William of Orange in 1688. The Catholic King James VII and II was forced to flee to France upon the invasion, where the French king Louis XIV offered him shelter. A few months later, William's Convention of Estates overturned the previous ecclesiastical settlement with the Claim of Right. Enacted on April 11, 1689, this stated that no Roman Catholic could be monarch or hold public office, and that a government by bishops was contrary to the general inclinations of the people. This essentially declared the throne vacant as James VII, a devout Catholic, was denied his role as monarch.

Episcopalian bishops refused to recognise William and Mary, continuing to uphold their theological ideals including divine right monarchy and indefeasible hereditary succession, which would only accept the exiled James VII as the divinely ordained sovereign. Accordingly, William turned to the Presbyterians, and in June 1690 parliament officially re-established Presbyterianism (Glassey, 1987). The 'Glorious Revolution' gave political and legal legitimacy to the return of Presbyterianism, yet this was by no means accepted uniformly across Scotland, and in areas such as the North-East Episcopalians continued to have a stronghold (Whatley, 2008). The breach between the two religious groups widened as the new Presbyterian clergy sought to uphold the Covenants passed earlier in the century, which required the preservation a single Presbyterian establishment across the British Isles, with political variations among the different kingdoms (Raffe, 2012a: 29). They also criticised William and Anne's relaxed attitude towards dissenting worship, which went against the very stipulations of the Covenants (Raffe, 2012a: 56). Yet their endorsement of Presbyterianism as the only true church of Scotland flew in the face of Episcopalian ideology and establishment, entrenching hostilities between the two groups (Raffe, 2010: 323).

The Revolution settlement would go on to play a significant role in the Union debates, as religion and politics became inherently linked in Scotland throughout this period (Raffe, 2012a: 180, Raffe, 2012b: 259-260). Politicians of all stripes sat in the parliament, but the developing chasm between Presbyterians and Episcopalians led to ideological clashes between them. Attempts from both sides were made as early as 1689 for incorporating union in a bid to settle matters, and William's Convention of Estates urged him to consider some form of incorporating union as the best way to guarantee the Revolution's gains (Jackson, 2012: 344). These arguments would arise more forcefully in the 1704-1707 parliamentary sessions, and religious divisions played a significant role in the political debates (see Macinnes, 2007: 258,

also discussed further in Section 2.2). Denomination influenced political ideology and party affiliation in parliament; protection of the Kirk and the monarchy became paramount to the aims of many Presbyterian commissioners, who were shaped by their pre-Revolution experiences. Episcopalians meanwhile rejected the succession stipulations in the Union treaty, and largely aligned with the opposition Country party in a bid to prevent the Union and restore the exiled Stuart[2] dynasty on the throne, which now had a more suitable platform for political opposition (Raffe, 2012b: 260). This also had the consequence of causing various Episcopalian members of the ruling class to become Jacobites, discussed further below.

Jacobitism

The Scottish Jacobites[3] were a collection of mostly Episcopalian individuals who sought to reinstate the exiled King James VII and II on the throne, following the 1689 Revolution. Scottish Jacobitism was primarily influenced by notions of an indefeasible hereditary monarchy that was sanctioned by political ecclesiastical legitimacy or divine right, under which the deposed king James VII was rightful heir (Kidd, 1999: 135; Macinnes, 2007: 250; Raffe, 2012b: 260). To abolish this singular, unbroken line of hereditary monarchy was to blatantly ignore the principles of Episcopalian doctrine, and thus unpalatable to most Episcopalians, though considerable numbers of the political elite in particular disguised their Jacobite sympathies in order to advance their political and personal interests (Macinnes, 2007: 246). Jacobitism was concentrated largely in the Western Isles, Highlands and the North East, though there were numerous Lowland Jacobites as well, and it was sustained and more subversive in Scotland than either England or Ireland (Macinnes, 2007: 246). The Scottish highlands and Western Isles became a stronghold of the Jacobites throughout their multiple attempts to overthrow the existing political order through armed rebellion, in which clan chiefs and Lowland landowners could and did co-operate at times. Clan and estate tenants jointly participated in the uprisings, led by their respective superiors, and despite the prevailing narrative of a stark Highland/Lowland divide, there was considerable collaboration and interaction between members of each geographical area through the Jacobite movement, assisted by alignment along religious (Episcopalian) and political lines. Alongside Episcopalians, Scottish Catholics were also naturally sympathetic to the Jacobite cause, given the Catholicism of the exiled King (Whatley, 2006: 2).

The Scottish Jacobites and their associates within the Country party were focused on parliamentary means to oppose Union, rather than committing to an armed rising, which allowed them to play more subtle cards than mere plotting. As a result, they

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[2]The Scottish royal bloodline was originally spelled *Stewart*. The family name comes from the *Office of High Steward of Scotland*, which had been held by the founder of the noble house, Walter fitz Alan (c.1150). The spelling *Stewart* and its variations had become established by the time of his grandson Walter Stewart. However Mary, Queen of Scots (r.1542-1567), being brought up in France, adopted the French spelling of the name as *Stuart*, and this became the regular spelling from then onward.

[3]There were also Jacobites in Ireland, Wales and England, though they are not discussed here. For further reference, see Monod (1989) for an introduction to English Jacobitism, and Ó Ciardha (2002) for more information on the Irish Jacobites.

became a central plank to the Country party platform up until 1707 (Macinnes, 2007: 250, 255). The Jacobites formed a major political and ideological force operating at all social levels, and their role in influencing probabilities of Scots within the corpus and within individuals will become clear in the results chapters 7 and 9. Jacobite activity throughout the first half of the eighteenth century, with its clear political and nationalist overtones and decisive links to the Union agreement even after its passing, also motivated the timeframe covered in this analysis. Correspondence up until 1745 (the last major Jacobite rising), was included in the corpus, and as the temporal analysis in Chapter 6 will make clear, this does reflect interesting patterns in terms of Scots frequencies. It is also worth noting the possible interaction and association with Scottish Gaelic that may have taken place, given the stronghold for the Jacobites was within the Gaelic-speaking Highlands. While this was not investigated in this thesis, it is a potential influence to consider, particularly for the Jacobites (such as Argyll and Islay) who grew up in the Gaelic highlands and spoke it as such. They may therefore not have used Scots in their writing, switching to anglicised norms in their correspondence when conversing with Lowland and English recipients instead.

Nonetheless, while prominent throughout the first half of the 1700s, the issue that was to act as a catalyst for Jacobite activity in parliament during the key years of the debates, was the dynastic crisis and Hanoverian Succession.

2.1.4 The Hanoverian Succession

Not just confessionalism, but also sovereignty, became a key consideration in the debate around Union, triggered by the death of Princess Anne's last surviving child, in July 1700. As Anne was soon to be Queen, this left no immediate heir to the English and Scottish thrones (Macinnes, 2007: 243). The War of Spanish Succession (1701-14) had furthermore opened up the potential for the return of the exiled Stuart dynasty, since Louis XIV of France favoured a Catholic restoration of the exiled Jacobite dynasty under the son of James VII (who had died in 1701): James VIII and III[4] (Ferguson, 1964: 90). The English parliament thus wished to settle the succession on Sophia, widow to the elector of Hanover and the granddaughter of James VI, but also, crucially, a Protestant. This would not only prevent a northern military front from opening up, but removed the potential for Louis XIV to launch an attack from a Stuart-restored Scottish base (Young, 1999: 42; Whatley, 2006: 1; Macinnes, 2007: 277; Jackson, 2012: 342).

While the Presbyterians within Scotland similarly desired a Protestant successor, the hasty passing of the *Act of Settlement* in 1701 by the English parliament, which stipulated that the future heir must be Protestant, was seen as an infringement of Scotland's national sovereignty. Although the act did not specifically regulate the succession to the Scottish throne, it was difficult to think of a peaceful scenario in which the two kingdoms had different kings. The Act was also passed without Scottish consultation, which angered the ruling classes of Scotland across the board and led to its rejection by the Scottish parliament (Ferguson, 1964: 91). The

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[4]Also known as the 'Old Pretender'

dynastic question reignited debate around the existing connection between the two countries, and the emerging constitutional crisis was seen as part of a wider problem of sovereignty. Eventually, the Hanoverian Succession was accepted as part of the Union agreement, but continued disagreements with the stipulations of the Succession, and fundamental theological differences that clashed with the very nature of the Act itself, led to a notable rise in tension between the two nations before incorporation took place.

This increased in momentum through a series of 'tit-for-tat' Acts, the first of which was Scotland's *Act of Security*, which asserted Scotland's right to choose its own Protestant successor, of the royal line of Scotland, unless Scotland's grievances, including English interference with Scottish liberties, religion and trade, were dealt with (Ferguson, 1964: 97; Macinnes, 2007: 259; Stephen, 2007: 35; Whatley, 2008: 3). The English perceived this as an act of open defiance, given the Act risked the possibility of a Catholic France takeover, and countered this with the *Alien Act* in 1705. This stipulated that if the Scots would not accept the Hanoverian succession, or agree to appoint commissioners to negotiate for an incorporating union by 25 December 1705, then Scottish traders would be treated as aliens and their cattle, linen and coal trades would be banned (Ferguson, 1964: 101). For an economically struggling and militarily weak Scotland, this represented a significant burden to every day Scottish livelihoods (Bowie, 2007: 79; Stephen, 2007: 27). While Scottish parliamentarians did concurrently agree to negotiate incorporating union, this came at the cost of political relations between the two nations, which would influence the debates and the sentiments of certain commissioners and factions within parliament. This overall build-up of hostilities may have played a significant role both in informing behaviour in parliament, which naturally had a bearing on the allegiances formed via shared political perspectives, and in influencing language use in correspondence between different groups of commissioners. Furthermore, this timeline of events will become important when considering how Scots patterned over time within the corpus and reasons therefor, as will become clear in Chapter 6.

It was against this backdrop of incredibly tense Anglo-Scottish relations that the Scottish Estates were recalled on the 28th of June 1704, primarily to respond to the idea of incorporating Union. While the atmosphere was decidedly hostile, it was clear for most members that a change of tack was needed. Certain voices began to voice increasing support for an incorporating union - whilst preserving Scotland's prosperity and religious freedoms - as the best option available (Macinnes, 2007: 272). The development of the Union treaty and its progress is now briefly discussed in the next section.

2.1.5 The Progression of the Union treaty

As a result of the intensifying constitutional and economic crises, as well as religious turmoil, incorporating union was being seriously considered by the Scots by 1700 (Macinnes, 2007: 277). Early attempts during William's reign had been unsuccessful, but negotiations finally began under John Campbell, second Duke of Argyll in 1705. He was instructed to pursue either the Hanoverian succession or a treaty for union.

The latter would enable the Queen to nominate commissioners, as well as the time and place at which the treaty could be formed and negotiated. Argyll quickly realised succession would be near impossible in the current political climate, and opted for union negotiations. The group of commissioners chosen were largely favourable towards incorporating union, selected to reflect party dominance rather than a balanced representation (Young, 1999; Whatley, 2006; Macinnes, 2007; Stephen, 2007).

The debates that followed generated widespread and sophisticated deliberation, in which a variety of voices took part, though unionist perspectives largely dominated the field. As they continued and intensified, they became a complex and intricate mixture of economics, nationalism, xenophobia, and ecclesiastical and constitutional politics. Yet commissioners were not merely looking out for their own interests and political ambitions, often standing firm in their defence of Scottish interests (Whatley, 2006: 245). As a result, among other concessions the English offered the *Equivalent*, a payment covering some of the arrears of salaries due from the crown to the Scottish elite, but more importantly compensating Scotland for their future participation in interest payments of the debt accumulated by the English state since 1689, and for the standardisation of the currency (Macinnes, 2007: 280). Opponents to the Union attacked the Equivalent as clear bribery, yet many political players who did not benefit from the compensation package still voted for Union, suggesting it did not create the pro-Union majority in parliament (McMillan and McLean, 2005; Macinnes, 2007: 294, 301). Ultimately for many of the figures involved, concerns for Scotland's future played as much a role as personal aspirations.

A range of options were explored throughout the union debates, particularly in the final years between 1702-1707, and the three core principles of the union - incorporation with a common monarchy and parliament, freedom of trade and the Hanoverian Succession - found majority support, though with powerful opposition. The outcome was a modified incorporating union that preserved some of the Scotland's key institutions, in particular the Kirk, educational system and Scottish law (Macinnes, 2007: 5). However representation remained problematic as Scotland was given forty five seats in the House of Commons, one more than the county of Cornwall (Shaw, 1999: 32; Macinnes, 2007; Whatley, 2008: 24). The final terms of the Treaty of Union were agreed upon by the 22nd of July 1706, and the treaty as a whole was ratified on 16 January 1707, by a majority of 110 votes to 69. The Act for a Union of Parliaments took effect on 1 May 1707, and the parliament of the United Kingdom met for the first time in October 1707.[5]

On most levels the treaty seemed to satisfy, as it guaranteed full freedom of trade and navigation, promised the Equivalent, safeguarded the Scottish regalia and public records, and protected the fundamental institutions of Presbyterianism, Scots law, and local and private jurisdictions (Macinnes, 2007: 280). This essentially preserved the most important elements of Scottish sovereignty, suggesting an attachment to a perceived form of historic nationhood was prevalent at this time, to the extent that it was especially catered for in the Union agreement (Whatley, 2006: 10, 2008: 30). This is particularly important to consider in the context of identity and how it was

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[5]see https://www.rps.ac.uk/ for details of the votes and dates up until 1707.

wrapped up in the Union. While attitudes toward the agreement were complex and multifaceted, a prevalent sense of 'Scottish' as separate from 'English' does appear to have infused the discussion, and the question now remains whether this would have filtered into the linguistic choices of the individuals involved in that discussion.

2.1.6 The Aftermath

The Union agreement had the daunting task of addressing the sheer complexity and interrelated nature of events in 1707. For some figures it succeeded, whilst others were unconvinced or grew disillusioned with the outcome. Opinion towards the Union remained divided after the agreement had been signed, and saw a wave of anti-union activity among the general public (Ferguson, 1964: 105). Initially, Scotland did not experience the promised economic benefits of union and these were very slow to arrive (Young, 1999; Macinnes, 2007; Whatley, 2008; Jackson, 2012). Indeed, significant economic growth eluded Scotland until at least the 1730s (Divine, 1985), and part of this growth stemmed from processes prior to the passing of union itself. It seems a nationwide recovery was already underway before the Union was finalised (Jackson, 2012: 345). However, its passing was not motivated by pure greed, desperation or personal ambition. Rather it can be understood as a rational and principled decision, irrespective of the terms of the actual settlement (Macinnes, 2007: 9; Jackson, 2012: 341). There were a number of different viewpoints aired during the debates, and it remains to be explored how the ideology of historical actors involved influenced their written work. First however, the ideologies and the political groups informing the debates must be understood, in order to recognise salient influences on language use. This includes the concerns of the Episcopalians and Presbyterians, as both the clergymen and commissioners alike belonged to a confessional culture. These concerns fed into the three political parties within the Scottish parliament, which are described in more detail following section 2.2. The main concerns or ambitions binding these groups together are highlighted in particular, as the shared identities between these individuals, whether robust or weak, religious or political, will come to play a central role in understanding the patterning of Scots both from a macro-social perspective in Chapter 7 and from a intra-writer perspective in Chapter 9.

2.2 Presbyterians and Episcopalians

Members of parliament and clergymen alike were profoundly informed by their adherence to the Presbyterian or Episcopalian church, and this had significant ramifications for the formation of parties and allegiances within parliament, as well as the debates around the treaty itself (Macinnes, 2007: 257). While the influence of religious orthodoxy on political actions is difficult to quantify, nor is it easy to separate economic, state and security concerns from religious ones, faith wasn't simply a convenient banner adopted by political members to disguise their more immediate motives (Raffe, 2012b: 259). The principles of doctrinal ideology was a force that drove political action across the unionist-nationalist spectrum, and

their choices went beyond personal ambition and top-level management, guided by genuine conviction and principled support (Patrick and Whatley, 2007: 111). The safety of the Kirk[6] was a crucial component of the Union package, so much so that several members of the opposing side voted against their fellow party members when it came to the Kirk Act within the amended union treaty.[7]

Nor were Scottish politics differentiated from the ongoing religious controversy in Scotland. The sharp divides in Scottish society were echoed in parliament (Raffe, 2012b: 258), in which the question of Episcopalian toleration was a continuous and contentious political issue; whilst it provoked the ire of Presbyterians, ostracising Episcopalians could encourage their continued support for the Jacobites, who posed a not insignificant threat to the political order (Bowie, 2007: 84, 2008: 46, 2015: 245; Raffe, 2007: 185, 2012a: 46; Stephen, 2007: 20; Jackson, 2012: 346). Nonetheless, restricting religious pluralism was a key goal for many political players, not least to quash any separatist activity that could arise from disparate religious groups and threaten to turn into something more serious. Even the mainstream Kirk of Scotland had considerable political power as a national institution with a key means of distributing ideas from the political centre to Scotland's peripheries (Raffe, 2012a: 25), while the church courts themselves were a powerful body that exerted pressure on parliament (Macinnes, 2007: 286).

From a contemporary perspective, it may seem out of place for the church to be involved in political discussion and debate. However, the Presbyterian church was reliant on, and vulnerable to, acts of parliament for its security and liberties (Bowie, 2015: 241). Major, sweeping changes such as the Union would have a direct impact on various facets of the Scottish Church. Indeed, both Episcopalians and Presbyterians were equally affronted by Anglican encroachments on the independent jurisdiction of the Scottish Kirk (Kidd, 2008: 54). Moreover, Presbyterian Scottish ministers were concerned with the spiritual health of the nation, thus if the Union entailed a breach of the Covenants, this involved perjury. Ministers had a duty to warn of this national sin, as the consequence might well be divine anger and punishments. Hence clergy could and did became involved in the Union debates (though primarily to look out for their own institutional interests), their political activism facilitated by structural overlaps between the ecclesiastical and civil spheres (Macinnes, 2007: 287; Bowie, 2015: 241). Accordingly, ministers and lay elders within the ecclesiastical structure were very much linked to the political parties and thought in parliament (Raffe, 2012a: 44), and it is for this reason that a select number of clergymen are included in the corpus compiled for this thesis, given their direct involvement with the political events of the time.

Therefore, doctrinal differences and the central principles of the different confessional cultures guided the arguments and decisions of politically-active clergymen and politicians alike, and religion forms one of the key extralinguistic factors included in the macro and micro-analyses of Chapters 7 and 9. These different ideologies will now be briefly discussed in turn, underlining key concerns of the Episcopalians and Presbyterians, and their prevalence in parliament.

[6]The 'Kirk' refers to the Presbyterian church of of Scotland, while the Church can refer to various denominations (such as Episcopalian).

[7]Voting lists available on https://www.rps.ac.uk/

2.2.1   The Episcopalians

Episcopalianism was not without support in the parliament, and early on already there were various Episcopalian figures, such as the Viscount Tarbat and the Duke of Queensberry, who were keen proponents of Union as a means of creating a political climate more congenial to their confessional culture, often joining the pro-Union Court or Squadrone parties (Riley, 1979: 53; Macinnes, 2007: 253-254). The tolerance shown by Queen Anne seemed promising - she urged the General Assembly and Privy Council to protect Episcopalians, as long as they had taken the Oaths of Allegiance (Stephen, 2007: 10). However as discussions around toleration broke down among the Union commissioners, they became increasingly disillusioned and ultimately rejected the proposed Union treaty as time went on (Stephen, 2007: 20). They also continued to challenge and question the legitimacy of the Kirk established in 1689 (Wallace and Kidd, 2018: 197), and most tended to align themselves with the anti-Union Country party, or joined ranks temporarily to vote on contentious religious issues, such as the Hanoverian Succession which broke with Episcopalian ideals of indefeasible hereditary monarchy. Religious divisions thus took a political overtone within the Scottish parliament, only strengthening the growing rift between the two groups, despite the shared misgivings many Presbyterians had toward the Union agreement.

2.2.2   The Presbyterians

When it came to the Union agreement, the majority of moderate Presbyterian clergymen rejected the Union as it breached the binding status of the Covenants (Ferguson, 1964: 105). These were national oaths to God, in which the Scots were bound to a holy duty to effect a religious union with England (Kidd, 2008: 63; Raffe, 2012a: 36). Incorporating Union, as a pluralist arrangement recognising the distinct Presbyterian and Anglican establishments of Scotland and England flew in the face of the Covenants (Kidd, 2008: 76; Bowie, 2015: 237), and throughout the debates Presbyterians continued to uphold their intrinsic right, without trying to come across as a source of political instability or radical opposition to the crown (Raffe, 2012a: 46). Incorporating union furthermore dismantled the safeguard of domestic legislature in Scotland by replacing the Scottish kingdom and parliament with a British parliament in which Anglican bishops would sit (Raffe, 2007: 181; Kidd, 2008: 77). The presence of English bishops in the House of Lords at Westminster was unacceptable to many Presbyterians, as it went against the strict Presbyterian prohibition on the interpenetration of the temporal and spiritual spheres. Moreover, allowing the clear Anglican majority power over the affairs of the Scottish Kirk was a grave concern (Riley, 1979: 52).

The ultimate result of the union seemed to be undermining the Revolution rather than protecting it (Bowie, 2008: 46; Kidd, 2008: 77), and despite most Presbyterian politicians aligning with the pro-Union Court party, patriotic or religious concerns led some to join the Country party in rejection of incorporation instead (Szechi, 2002: 48). Overall, Presbyterian concerns played a central role in driving the choices and political amalgamations within the Scottish parliament - uniting some

groups, such as the Squadrone Volante, behind their staunch defence of Presbyterian interests. This highlights the importance of Presbyterianism held as a cornerstone of Scottish institutional identity, an importance that was to feed into a complex socio-political and ideological identity among these historical actors, as will become clear in Chapter 7.

Within the mainstream clergy there was at best grudging acceptance that the Union was going to happen, while those who actively favoured it, such as William Carstairs and pro-union ruling elders, were a small minority. Unionism within parliament appealed most to those who were pragmatic in their religious convictions - those who saw Union and Hanover sucession as the best way to preserve their establishment from the risk of a French-sponsored, pro-Catholic Jacobite restoration (Riley, 1979: 53; Patrick, 2008: 173; Whatley, 2008: 11; Jackson, 2012: 346), rather than necessarily upholding the Covenants and their particular strain of Protestantism (Bowie, 2007, 2008; Stephen, 2007; Patrick, 2008). Ultimately for the pro-Union Presbyterian majority in parliament, political union was accepted as the only way to preserve Protestantism and safeguard Scotland's religious interests at the same time. Religious identities were clearly fundamental to national concerns and the various versions of Scottish identity that were employed throughout the early eighteenth century. How such concerns intersected with and led to the Scottish political parties of 1704-1707 is discussed further below.

2.3 The Scottish Political Parties

The Union debates saw three parties develop and emerge in Parliament; the *Court* party, the *Country* Party and what became known as the *Squadrone Volante*. It would be too simplistic, however, to simply split the party lines into a binary division of unionists and nationalists, as the 'players in the making of Union were both polemicists and politicians' (Macinnes, 2007: 9). The Union saw a wide range of perspectives and the language of Scottish nationhood was appropriated and advanced in complex, multifaceted ways between and within these three parties, often driven by principled ideologies. Even their religious identity was amorphous - while the Presbyterian-Episcopalian divide gradually came to overlay Court and Country party alignments, there were exceptions and outliers in each camp. These three parties and their multifaceted composition will now be looked at in turn.

2.3.1 The Court Party

The Court party represented the main body of politicians supporting incorporation and advocating ratification of the treaty. This group was largely monopolised by a small group of powerful Scottish magnates who had dominated the Scottish parliament since the Revolution (Riley 1979: 55). By 1700 the Duke of Queensberry had emerged as leader, subsequently forming the 'Court' interest (Scott, 1981: 277). Many members had already entered parliament in the sessions of 1689-1702, and a major role was played by former Presbyterian emigres who had fled during the

Stuart reign. Exile had brought a number of them into contact with Prince William, leading to their subsequent involvement following the Revolution. Overall, about fifty five percent of the pro-Union commissioners present in the 1706/7 parliament had been active in politics since William's reign, and voting patterns suggest the longer a politician had sat in parliament, the more likely they were to vote for incorporating union (Patrick, 2008: 108). Their personal experiences of the late Stuart rule and the Revolution itself continued to inform many of the Court party members and their primary concerns throughout the debates (Whatley, 2008: 26).

The Court party advocated union for a number of interlinked reasons, but the ongoing economic difficulties influenced many of its most articulate proponents (Whatley, 2006). The dynastic Union of 1603, and the Darien failure in particular had proven that the Scottish government did not have the means to successfully undertake operations in ways unacceptable to the English government, which made the distinct sovereignty of the queen of Scotland theoretical rather than practical (Ferguson, 1964; Stephen, 2007). Incorporating union, they claimed, would place Scotland in an equal partnership with England, providing new avenues for acquiring status, prosperity and participation within the British Empire, while the security offered by the Hanoverian succession safeguarded the monarchy, the Scottish church and the Revolution Settlement (Macinnes, 2007: 277-284; Kidd, 2008). This highlighted the genuine concern of many to secure and support Scottish liberties and institutions, and throughout the Union debates the Court party advocated its position for reasons that were not necessarily antithetical to nationalist thought, but were imbued with a pragmatic undertone. Their role in guiding the treaty through parliament can be seen as an act of managerial sophistication, rather than crude political bribery (Macinnes, 2007: 11). Of course, supporters of the Union were aware of the potential to realise their political ambitions and did exploit the opportunities accessible to them, but their support stemmed from more than just political expediency (Whatley, 2008: 25). Many demonstrated a principled commitment to the Union for a range of ideological and deeply national reasons, like their oppositional counterparts (Ferguson, 1977: 186-188; Riley, 1978: 274-281; Macinnes, 1990: 11-25, 2007: 9).

Unionism itself is a complex term in Scotland, and despite its connotations does not suggest those who identified as unionist necessarily embraced the social, cultural and political dominance of their southern neighbour. Whilst themes of assimilation with, and emulation of, England certainly played a role among particular lines of thought, much more often unionist ideas were about the maintenance of semi-autonomy or nationhood within the Union (Patrick and Whatley, 2007: 162; Bowie, 2008: 114; Kidd, 2008: 4). Indeed, it is a category error to think of nationalism and unionism as complete opposites (Kidd, 2008: 6), and to categorise historical actors as such fails to take into account the deep-rooted loyalties on both sides of the political spectrum (Jackson, 2008, 2012: 2). 'Principle and patriotism were not the exclusive properties of the anti-unionist opposition' (Patrick and Whatley, 2007: 184), and strains of Scottish unionism were often highly sensitive to claims of Scottish nationhood, developing as a *counterweight* to English imperialism through proposed incorporation. This appeared worth pursuing in return for the promise of greater material and political gain, and religious security (Whatley, 2008; Bowie, 2015: 44), and some such as Lord Seafield were convinced that outright rejection of Union would prove Scotland's 'ruin' (Macinnes, 2007: 285).

The conflicting national and pan-regional concerns influencing Court politicians were part and parcel of the shifting socio-political climate of the early eighteenth century, which they were shaped by, but also contributed to. We will see this complexity return in their linguistic behaviour within the statistical analysis (Chapter 7), as well as in the language use of a Court politician (Chapter 9).

2.3.2 The Country party

The Country party formed the key opposition body to the proposal of incorporating union. The party originally mostly consisted of a rather disparate and fractured collection of constitutional reformers, who were part of an initial Country-Cavalier opposition to the Court party. This included several leaders from Scotland's powerful ruling families, who jointly led the weak coalition while cynically competing with the Scottish magnates from the Court party (Scott, 1981: 277). However the party became more organised around a series of issues related to Union, including religion and sovereignty (Macinnes, 2007: 284). Following the death of King William, Jacobites had begun to participate more actively in electoral politics, with the hope of furthering the Stuart cause under Queen Anne. The failure to obtain toleration for Episcopalians encouraged those of Cavalier[8] sympathies to join the Country party, and the result was a considerably larger presence of their numbers in the 1703 elected parliament, in which they represented an alternative national interest in Scottish politics concentrated within the Country party (Macinnes, 2007: 244; Jackson, 2012: 344).

Yet the severe differences between the Jacobite-Episcopalian Cavaliers and traditional rank-and-file Presbyterians within the party, whose ultimate goals fundamentally differed, caused tensions that would lead to a fragile alliance (Young, 1999: 27; Patrick, 2008: 111). Presbyterianism had became central to or even synonymous with Scottish nationhood for many people, which clashed with the Jacobite tendency within the Country party, who saw themselves as representing historic legitimacy derived from Scotland's ancient, unbroken past that was reinforced by Episcopacy (Whatley, 2008: 7; Wallace and Kidd, 2018: 194-195). As a result, the Jacobites opposed incorporating Union and a Protestant establishment, whereas most of their Presbyterian counterparts wanted the Hanoverian Succession and some form of equitable connection with England, preferably in the shape of a federative union, instead (Ferguson, 1964: 103; Macinnes, 2007: 297). The opposition party was thus hampered both internally and externally by their composition of two ultimately incompatible wings, leaving them unable to maximise their support (Macinnes, 2007: 295). Differences within the party eventually led to the splintering off of a group of politicians, who would later become the *Squadrone Volante*.

What united the disparate group was their opposition to the Union, with emphasis on the subjection of Scottish interests to the English following the dynastic union of 1603 (Ferguson, 1964: 96; Bowie, 2007: 67). They wanted to be sure that the English saw them as sovereign equals, rather than a 'wayward vassal nation' to be

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[8]This referred to the Jacobite (and naturally Episcopalian) clustering of commissioners within the Country party.

re-absorbed into the 'English pan-Brittanic imperium' (Kidd, 1999: 133). Their major points of contention against the idea of incorporating union included the level of Scottish representation proposed for the new British parliament, the loss of political rights, privileges and hereditary offices among the landed classes, a drain of people and funds to the south, and the sentimental loss of an ancient, sovereign kingdom (Bowie, 2007: 75). Through such grievances they managed to create a flimsy scaffold of unity behind a secularised form of Scottish patriotism, from which to attack the government. It remained nonetheless an uneasy alliance, and this could surface into open tension when agreement was required on more than just the rejection of incorporation (Bowie, 2008: 48). For instance, some Presbyterian members voted for the Hanoverian succession despite voting against the treaty overall, going against the fundamental concern of the Jacobites in the party (Bowie, 2015: 240).

The 'nationalism' of the Country party was as complex as the 'unionism' of the Court party. Members did at times feel the Union treaty directly challenged a deep-seated sense of Scottish national identity, but often unity to the cause was filtered through loyalty to divergent forms of church government and monarchies (Bowie, 2008: 51). While the Country party frequently appealed to an idealised version of Scottish history, and many of the principle arguments for Scottish independence were historical and mythological in nature (Finlay, 1999: 123; Whatley, 2008: 21), like their Court party contemporaries they were also pragmatic and opportunistic (Ferguson, 1977: 190-192; Macinnes, 2007: 305; Raffe, 2012b: 265). Several Country commissioners did in fact seek a closer union with England as a solution to the ongoing constitutional and economic difficulties, but wanted a federal rather than incorporating union, based off the loose confederacies of early modern Europe (Ferguson, 1964; Bowie, 2007; Jackson, 2008, 2012; Kidd, 2008; Whatley, 2008). The loss of Scotland's parliament was felt keenly by many, yet their goals and concerns must be examined through the historic looking glass, in which economic liberty and dynastic aspirations influenced decisions alongside any sentimental attachment to the nation.

2.3.3   The Squadrone Volante

The *Squadrone Volante* or *Neu Party* as they were initially known formed as a breakaway group from the Country party, following irreconcilable divisions between its Presbyterian and Jacobite wings. Composed of various nobles of second rank who were closely tied by marriage or kinship, they shared familial ties but also a deep and long-standing commitment to Presbyterian church government and Protestant succession (Ferguson, 1977: 188, 216-218; Riley, 1978: 115-118; Macinnes, 2007: 264; Patrick and Whatley, 2007: 177). Fundamentally, a commitment to the long-term security of the Presbyterian Church government formed the centre-piece of their political platform, and they sought additional safeguards to guarantee the Kirk's independence and freedom (Patrick and Whatley, 2007: 172; Bowie, 2008: 44). Their separation was engineered by the creation of the new ministry in 1704, providing an opportunity to Country party affiliates to work with the crown, rather than continuing in opposition. Given the fundamental mismatch between Squadrone ideals and those of the Episcopalian-Jacobite interest in the Country party, the

opportunity appealed to a certain group within the fluid composition of the opposition, who would never be powerful enough in their own right to compete with the dominant Scottish magnates in the Court party (Scott, 1981: 278).

The New Party first emerged following the exposure of the *Queensberry Plot* in 1704 - in which the Duke of Queensberry sought to implicate some of his political rivals in a Jacobite plot. He was disgraced and removed from office, and John Hay, the second Marquess of Tweeddale was then approached to form a new parliament in 1704 (Ferguson, 1964: 99; Macinnes, 2007: 261-262, 265). A number of his associates from the Country party joined Tweeddale, forming the beginnings of the Squadrone, originally named the *Neu Party*.[9] Despite their earlier opposition stance, the chance for greater political power, their dedication to the Hanoverian Succession, and their realisation that the English would accept nothing short of incorporating union, led the Squadrone to support the motion for incorporation (Ferguson, 1964: 103; Whatley, 2006: 249). Their position continued until early 1705, when their involvement and poor handling of the Worcester affair discredited their leadership in parliament, and called Tweeddale's conduct as chancellor into question (Macinnes, 2007: 271). Anne turned to a Court politician; John Campbell, second Duke of Argyll, instead, who promptly expelled the New Party from office and formed a parliament under Duke of Queensberry once more (Ferguson, 1964: 102-103; Brown and Whatley, 2008: 89).

Yet, Tweeddale and his men did not simply return to the ranks of the Country party. Rather, they formed into the *Squadrone Volante* during 1705, which was accorded a supplementary presence in parliament, increasing the fluid nature of Scottish party positions. They continued to support incorporating Union and voted for its ratification in 1706-7. Their voting strength was vital to securing the Union, though they were notably compliant to the dictates of the English ministry (Macinnes, 2007: 264, 300). This change in voting behaviour was not however an unconditional embrace of Court party politics or desire to join the Court ranks, nor was it a simple overnight switch. Rather it represented a changing perspective, spearheaded by the opportunities the new parliament of 1704 had opened up and their deep commitment to Presbyterian security, as well as a realisation that the current political system within the Scottish parliament would never be in their favour (Ferguson, 1964: 93). Many Squadrone members hoped that the transfer of the political stage to Westminster would enable them to ally with the English political groups, overturning Court party dominance in the process (Scott, 1981: 278).

However concern for Scotland's future also played a prominent role in the Squadrone's decisions (Whatley, 2006; Patrick and Whatley, 2007; Jackson, 2012). Their agenda reflects a profound concern to ensure the continuation of certain Scottish liberties and institutions that were deemed particularly important on a national level, but within a specifically pan-Brittanic context. The Squadrone recognised that an independent Scottish state was no longer viable, and incorporation offered better security than a partial or federal union, which could be abused by the English (Whatley, 2006: 249; Macinnes, 2007: 301; Jackson, 2012: 344). Their political

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[9]Prior to 1704 there had only been two interests in the Scottish parliament: Court and Country, thus the 'New Party' status of the Squadrone.

platform is something to keep in mind for the macro and micro-analyses to come, considering their ideals were shaped by loyalty to and recognition of both local and pan-national interests, which could have interesting push-pull influences on their language use. Secondly, unlike the Court and Country parties, which were rather fluid in their composition, the Squadrone was much more tight-knit and cohesive. It was shaped by both strong family allegiances, and a shared ideological agenda based off a staunch Presbyterian loyalty and political ambition (Simpson, 1970: 60; Macinnes, 2007: 264). It is plausible that Squadrone figures might demonstrate shared linguistic behaviour to a greater degree than commissioners from the other party interests within the Scottish parliament, and this will be explored in detail in Chapters 7 and 9.

2.3.4 Scottishness and Identity

The complex series of events characterising the lead-up to Union and the progression of the debates themselves placed conflicting demands upon the political actors participating in its construction, continually informing their perspectives, concerns, ideals and ambitions. Alongside national interests, their personal and party allegiances were shaped by loyalty or adherence to religious, socio-political and pragmatic identities, exerting multidirectional pressures upon them. Yet largely these facets revolved around the nation whose future they were debating, and 'patriotism now wore a distinctively Scottish guise' (Macinnes, 2007: 260). Modern-day conceptions of identity and nationhood are perhaps slightly premature notions for early eighteenth century Scotland (Finlay, 1999: 123; Wallace and Kidd, 2018: 194), but it would be simplistic to assume that there was no concept of a Scottish national past (Jackson, 2008: 62). That the principled considerations and shared sense of historical sovereignty unifying various groups and individuals did not leave their mark seems difficult to accept absolutely. Indeed, the competition over these conceptions may have even helped to strengthen Scots' attachment to their national identity, and while parliamentary members from across the political spectrum were not necessarily bent on achieving a narrowly 'nationalistic' outcome, awareness of Scottish liberties and institutions suggest their central role shaping the debates as they took place.

It is conceivable that these ideological sentiments could influence language usage, both across time and within individuals. Whether the use of Scots features in personal correspondence may have responded to the heightened tension and changing political dynamic outlined here, as part of a burgeoning sense of national identity, still remains to be discovered. This thesis will accordingly examine this potential relationship between Scots and political identity, utilising statistical modelling and in-depth micro-analysis to scrutinise differences across time and between individuals representing various political or ecclesiastical loyalties. First however, a detailed understanding of why the use of Scots features was increasingly uncommon at this time, and concurrently how they may have become targets for identity marking, is outlined in the following chapter, which gives a brief history of Scots up to and including the early eighteenth century.

Chapter 3

Scots and its History

In order to understand the relationship between Scots and English, the status of written Scots by the time of the Union debates, and the degree and range of Scots features we can expect in correspondence from the eighteenth century, a discussion of the origins and evolution of Scots is necessary. Much of this has been discussed in detail in earlier scholarship, and valuable contributions have been made by previous scholars. As such, this chapter merely seeks to provide an overview of that narrative, rather than entering a fresh discussion into the historical development of Scots. The history of Scots and its development into what some characterise as a fully-functioning national language by the sixteenth century (Romaine, 1982; Devitt, 1989; Pollner, 2000; Kirk, 2001), and others consider a language variety on the English dialectal spectrum (Aitken, 1984; Meurman-Solin, 1993; Görlach, 1996; Kniezsa, 1997; Kopaczyk, 2012), has been complex and diverse over the course of several centuries. The historical trajectory of Scots is in many ways one of fluctuations, juxtapositions and u-turns, with contrary developments involving both differentiation and convergence at various points in time, reflecting the multidirectionality of diachronic developments that influenced the language (Meurman-Solin, 2000: 158). The relationship between Scots and Standard English today is similar in many ways to that between the English dialects and the standard, though subtle differences are present (Millar, 2010: 249). Historically, the differences between the two were for a time more pronounced, but either side of this, much less distinct.

The thorny question of whether Scots was (and still is) a separate language or a highly distinct dialect of English - a question that does not as yet have a consensus within either the linguistic community or among its speakers - is not one that will be discussed in detail here, though a few points are raised in relation to this discussion. Firstly, the idea that a language is a self-contained system of interdependent parts, wholly distinct from every other language, would clearly exclude Scots from the language category. Yet, there are many situations in which distinctions between languages are unclear and these situations are far from 'abnormal' (Millar, 2012: 572). Secondly, these assumptions seem to be largely appropriate to standard varieties of languages, excluding varieties that do not fit these specifications so well. Thirdly, a non-standardised language may lack definable boundaries - as is the

case with Scots, whose distinction from northern varieties of English is blurred and opaque in some senses, and yet distinct in others. A number of contemporary studies have attested to the sharp cross-border differences between Scotland and England, and the linguistic divergence taking place in apparent time (Glauser, 1974; Kay, 1986; Llamas, 2007; Llamas et al., 2009; Llamas, 2010; Watt et al., 2010), though this is matched with parallel change and even convergence in some locations (Maguire, 2015). Yet conventional language descriptions have no way to account for or explain the variety in reference to this (Millar, 2012: 577). Accordingly, in this thesis I shall refer to Scots as a 'language' henceforth and the historical developments outlined below may lend support to this interpretation. First however, a brief overview of 'Scots' in general is needed, to provide context to the variety under discussion.

3.0.1   What is 'Scots'?

Scots is a West Germanic language derived from Anglian dialects spoken in the northern kingdom of Northumbria, which spread into Lowland Scotland from the twelfth century. As a result, Scots and southern Standard English have the same origins in Old English, derived from the Germanic language varieties brought to the British Isles by the Angles and Saxons during the fifth-seventh centuries. The cognate nature of Scots and English ensures considerable similarities between the two varieties, and Scots shares much in common with northern English varieties both historically and today. Throughout their histories they have retained a large common core of lexical items, syntax and phonology, as well as considerable overlap in certain orthographic practices (Romaine, 1982). Nonetheless, Scots is distinguishable from the southern English varieties that eventually formed the Standard on a number of levels. For instance, the Anglian dialects spoken in the north were considerably influenced by Old Norse during the Viking settlement of northern and eastern England (Corbett et al., 2003b: 6). As this northern, Anglo-Scandinavian variety expanded across Lowland Scotland during the medieval period, it also underwent significant growth in function and form, aided by the burgh system established across lowland Scotland and northern England, leading to further distinctions (Maguire, 2012: 53). The following centuries saw the development of various dialectal differences in what would become Scots, and a flourishing in use across multiple textual mediums within a diverse range of arenas, incorporating almost all aspects of social, political and legal life. The factors contributing to this rise of Scots will be expanded upon in the following section (Section 3.1).

Yet this story of exponential growth and linguistic divergence has been matched by a subsequent, steady retreat from almost all spheres of written and lived communication in the face of increasing pressure to adopt southern English models. English became preferred in most formal and professional registers, while Scots was relegated to 'the domestic, the familiar, the sentimental, [and] the comic.. in fact to the ambit of everyday life' (Murison, 1964: 37). English, rather than Scots, came to be recognised as the medium of expression for most 'serious' types of prose (Grant, 1931: xiii; Lass, 1987). Alongside adopting an English-based register for most text types, Scots itself became heteronomous with respect to English, as many of its most salient features were replaced with anglicised equivalents (Maguire, 2012: 53). This anglicised

variety was subsequently adopted by the upper classes of Scottish society, giving rise to Scottish Standard English (SSE) - an L2 or 'D2' variety of English spoken in Scotland (Corbett et al., 2003a: 11-14; Johnston, 2007: 108-109). While 'Broad Scots' continued in certain spheres and most spoken contexts, particularly among the lower classes, SSE became the language of professional contexts and written domains, as well as the variety adopted by 'high' society. Again, this chapter in the development of Scots will be examined in more detail in Section 3.3 below.

The history of Scots is thus marked by processes of *divergence* and *convergence* to an English norm, whether this was the northern English dialect of the twelfth century or the emerging southern English standard in the seventeenth century (Meurman-Solin, 1997). The early eighteenth century is complex in itself - forming an interesting bridge between the period of intense anglicisation characterising the early-sixteenth - late-seventeenth centuries, and the *Vernacular Revival* which championed written Scots features from the mid-to-late eighteenth century. To understand the nature of Scots and its changing fortunes by the beginning of the eighteenth century, as well as the attitudes towards its use, the historical development of Scots must first be examined, before a more detailed examination of written Scots in 1700 can take place within this thesis.

3.1   The Early Beginnings of Scots, 500-1500

Scots has its original roots in the dialects of the Angles, who migrated from north-western Europe c.500-600, and settled from the Thames all the way up to the Forth (Corbett et al., 2003a: 4). The founding of the kingdom of Bernicia in Northumberland, AD 547, was fundamental to the early origins of Scots (Murison, 1979), and the variety of English emerging here differed markedly from those in the middle and south of Britain. In the early seventh century Anglo-Saxon speakers arrived in what is now southern Scotland, extending the reach of the Bernician lands (Aitken, 1984) and bringing Old English to South East Scotland in the process. The main development of Scots, however, would take place several centuries later, through the substantial spread of early Northern Middle English into Lowland Scotland in the twelfth century. Nonetheless, the influence of this northern offshoot of Old English is observable in certain words still used in Present-Day Broad Scots, such as *quean* or *quine*, 'young girl' < OE *cwene*, in which the Old English word developed a different meaning in Scots than in English. The old Northumbrian kingdom originally stretched from the Humber in central northern England to the Forth in Scotland, while Gaelic dominated north of the Forth, the southwest and the Western Isles. Although there is evidence that Gaelic was in use throughout the entire Scottish kingdom up until the tenth-eleventh centuries, its has left little trace in Scots, bar a few vestiges in the lexis (Aitken, 1984: 517; Macafee and Ó Baoill, 1997: 256).

In the late eighth and ninth centuries the varieties of English spoken in the North were influenced by Norse-English contact and interaction with the northern Danelaw. It is possible that the area of Scandinavian influence extended north of the border

into Lothian territory during this time (Corbett et al., 2003a: 6), but there was little Viking settlement in Lowland Scotland itself. Instead, it is more likely that the expansion of northern Middle English into the Lowlands during the mid-twelfth century introduced the majority of Norse features present in Scots, with the exception of the Orkney and Shetland varieties (Millar, 2007: 124-125). Surviving Scandinavian features tend to distinguish Scots most from southern English varieties, and these include the presence of velar consonants before front vowels where OE had the affricates /tʃ/ and /ʤ/, giving pairs such as *kirk*, 'church', *muckle*, 'much', *dike*, 'ditch' and *brig*, 'bridge' - probably indicating a reversal of palatalisation due to Norse influence (Murison, 1979: 4; Corbett et al., 2003b: 6; Maguire, 2012: 65). Scots also adopted several Norse loanwords, some of which can still be identified in contemporary dialects today.

Prior to the twelfth century, the English-speaking part of Scotland was largely limited to the southern, lowland area, but the fortunes of Gaelic were reversed in the aftermath of the Norman Conquest and the anglicising tendencies of Malcolm Canmore, Celtic king of the Scots. He had spent fourteen years at the English court of Edward the Confessor, and after the Norman Conquest of 1066, welcomed many noblemen from northern England fleeing the French invaders (Murison, 1979; Lass, 1987; Johnston, 1997a: 57). Malcolm also married the English princess Margaret, after the English royal family took refuge in Scotland (Templeton, 1973; Murison, 1979). All these factors increased not just the presence of northern English in lowland Scotland, but also its status as the language of power. By the twelfth century the accession of Normandised kings of Scotland had become standard practice and extensive lands were being granted to Anglo-Norman families, fuelling the rise of northern English influence. These families came largely from the North and East Midlands where the old Danelaw had been, and many brought considerable numbers of Anglo-Scandinavian-speaking retainers with them (Corbett et al., 2003a: 7). This consequently introduced the Scandinavian influence discussed above into the emerging language variety (Murison, 1979: 5).

Migration was further encouraged by the introduction of the burgh system under King David I. Oversight over *burghs* - fortified towns with trading privileges - was frequently offered to the French-speaking Normans, and they brought not just their own languages but also English and Norman tenants with them, who mixed freely with the local population (Templeton, 1973; Murison, 1979: 5; Aitken, 1984). The burghs became a hub for tradesmen, artisans and merchants wishing to sell or trade goods, resulting in people from various parts of Scotland, England and overseas territories (notably the Flemish) mixing and interacting within the burghs. Alongside tradespeople, various religious orders were also invited to Scotland and Anglo-Scandinavian speaking clergy (often from former Danelaw areas) increasingly entered the Kirk (Murison, 1979: 5). The English spoken in the burghs was thus influenced by contact with French, Flemish and some Gaelic, along with secondary contact with Anglo-Norse and Danish varieties (Maguire, 2012: 54). The result was an emerging northern Middle English variety, influenced by historical and ongoing contact with several language varieties, that spread throughout Lowland Scotland and would eventually become *Scots*.

Gaelic consequently retreated to the Highland Line over the following centuries

in the face of an arising prestige language that carried increasing economic weight (Murison, 1979: 8). By the fourteenth century Scots acted as a kind of lingua franca in the burghs, and was the dominant spoken tongue for the majority of Scots east and south of the Highland line. Areas such as the North East had already adopted this northern dialect of English early on through the establishment and chartering of these burghs (Johnston, 1997a: 56). A process of language shift subsequently took place as the aristocracy, who had previously spoken Scandinavian-influenced Norman French, adopted Scots as their everyday language alongside the middling and lower classes (Corbett et al., 2003a: 8). Significantly, Scots had moved beyond the burgh walls and had managed to differentiate into several distinct dialects exhibiting their own phonological, lexical and morphological characteristics (Bugaj, 2004: 21). These Scots dialects remained part of a continuum with northern Englishes, unsurprisingly given the areas were geographically contiguous, but over time certain bundles of features emerged along the Scottish-English border, and these distinctions would become more pronounced in the following centuries (Maguire, 2012: 54).

The written system of Scots also began to evolve during this time. For even as Scots was developing through a combination of extensive immigration and language contact in the burghs, it was originally restricted to particular contexts of usage and was largely a spoken, rather than written, variety. While administrators of feudal law and the church clerics of the burghs may have spoken the northern Middle English variety establishing itself in Lowland Scotland, they continued to write in medieval Latin as the language of scholarship, religion and law (Corbett et al., 2003a: 8). This however began to change as the communicative functions of Scots shifted and expanded, enabling its use in a broader range of domains. The earliest attestation of literary Scots is John Barbour's *Bruce* in 1375, and the late fourteenth and early fifteenth centuries saw Scots expand into written domains that had previously been the preserve of Latin (and sometimes French).

Leisure and instructional reading was increasingly produced in Scots, and alongside the *Bruce*, translations of romantic novels and French chivalrous manuals into Scots arose in the first half of the fifteenth century (Corbett et al., 2003a: 8). Similarly Scots entered the legal arena; the translation of the old Latin and French laws of Scotland into the vernacular, begun as early as 1379, set the precedent for all Acts of Parliament to be kept in Scots. The municipal and court records of the burghs, court proceedings and chancery documents were similarly written in Scots by the fifteenth century (Murison, 1979: 8; Meurman-Solin, 1993; Corbett et al., 2003a: 8). This situation was unparalleled even in England where French or Latin was mostly used for these purposes (Bugaj, 2004: 25). This process also encouraged borrowing from Norman French[1] and Latin, partly to incorporate technical and learned vocabulary needed in these new domains (Corbett et al., 2003a: 8). Through further development, change and elaboration, there thus emerged a language variety that was both spoken and written across Lowland Scotland (with

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[1]Up until the fourteenth century borrowings from French tended to be from the Norman variety used by the aristocracy, which sometimes lead to Norman/Central 'doublets' within Scots and southern English, in which the Scots feature tends to have Norman origins, while the southern English cognate derives from Central French, e.g. *campioun*, 'champion', but also vice-versa, e.g. *leal*, 'loyal' (Murison, 1979: 7).

dialectal differences), known originally as *Inglis*, a term originally used by the Scots to refer to Scots and English.

During this time Scotland had gradually separated from the English lands south of the Tweed, and this political separation encouraged gradual linguistic divergence and expansion. In particular, Scotland was distinguished from England by its cultural and political alliance with France, known as the *Auld Alliance*. This was formally ratified in a pact in 1295 and lasted until the Reformation in 1560. This encouraged a greater adoption of French loanwords into Scots than in southern English varieties between the fourteenth and sixteenth centuries. Scots and northern Middle English did remain geo-politically linked and maintained a common speech area up to the fifteenth century, as the Scottish-English border was permeable to change in both directions. The Early Scots period (1375-1450) is usually considered the time when Scots and northern Middle English were most similar in terms of vocabulary, grammar and orthography (Corbett et al., 2003a: 8-9). After the fifteenth century certain changes became more localised, stopping at the border in each respective dialect area, as the varieties on either side of it were pulled in different directions, through the increasing political autonomy of their respective nations (Murison, 1979; Meurman-Solin, 1993, 1997; Williamson, 2002: 253-254). Aitken (1984: 111) has identified a number of important Scotticisms which extend only to the Border, and suggests that Scotland was (and is) very much a dialect island within the English speaking world, with a copious bunch of isoglosses running along the border. For example, the 'NURSE merger' (Wells, 1982: 3.1.8) characterises all of Mainland English and descendent dialects, but is absent from Scots (and only partial in Irish English, see Lass, 2000: 112), though this is a difference which developed from the Early Modern period onward.

There is no denying that a major dialect boundary, separating Scots and far northern dialects from southern and Midland English dialects, developed and still exists today (Maguire, 2015). This can be seen for instance in /aː/ fronting, which affected northern varieties of English and Scots, but not Midland and southern Englishes. These phonological differences can frequently be observed in cognates within Scots and English, e.g. *stane*, 'stone'. Such cases of phonological divergence came to be reflected in the spelling erstwhile, although between the end of the fourteenth and beginning of the seventeenth centuries Scots underwent many phonetic changes (such as the northern Great Vowel Shift) which were only partially and imperfectly captured in the writing of the time. As a result, it was very seldom that a word had a single spelling in Scots - a situation which prevails today (Grant, 1931: xlv). Grammatical and lexical changes were similarly developing, and unique Scots features arose at multiple linguistic levels, such as morphology, in which inflectional variants - for example the use of *-and* for the present participle *-ing* - and derivational variants such as Scots *wrongous* for English *wrongful* - distinguished the two varieties.

As a result, by the time of the fifteenth century Scots had developed into a distinct written and spoken medium that was gradually beginning to show early signs of standardisation. The spoken and written variety was structurally and systematically different from southern English on many levels, as well as acting as a 'valid cultural vehicle in the most crucial social activities' (Kopaczyk, 2012: 235). This change is reflected in its name; originally called 'Inglis' in line with the northern Middle

English variety spoken across Lowland Scotland, from the sixteenth century it came to be known as *Scottis* (or Scots) - the label originally applied to Gaelic, which was now known as *Erse*, 'Irish' (Aitken, 1984: 518). Thus, from the earliest arrivals of Anglo-Saxon migrants, through the Norman Conquest, the establishment of the burghs and new waves of migration, to the diversification and language spread across Lowland Scotland, Scots took shape, though it maintained similarities with northern varieties throughout as a consequence of its shared origins with English. This aspect must be considered in any sociolinguistic analysis of Scots. Nonetheless, having developed as the lingua franca of lowland Scotland, it continued in a process towards standardisation in the following centuries, which will be outlined in the following section.

3.2 The Rise to Standardisation

Many of the diagnostic traits of Scots were in place by the end of the sixteenth century (Johnston, 1997a: 99) and a sense of a standard was gradually arising, inevitably focusing on the dialects spoken in the court, Edinburgh, and other important Central Belt settlements (Johnston, 1997a; Bugaj, 2004: 50). Up until the end of the sixteenth century Scots was the predominant variety of lowland Scotland (Gaelic remained the primary language of the Highlands, the western islands and remote parts of the south-west), and the language of the church, Court, legal proceedings, administrative records and literature (McArthur, 1979; Devitt, 1989; Meurman-Solin, 1993; Görlach, 1996; Bugaj, 2004; Millar, 2005). There is evidence of its use in various text-types, as it became considered a suitable medium for official language and high style literature intended for a wide audience, including legal texts, scientific and scholarly works, as well as prose, poetry, personal writing, sermons and literary tracts, suggesting it was becoming a national language (Romaine, 1982: 57).

In grammar and parish schools Scots was the main language up until the end of the eighteenth century, and the 1616 Education Act explicitly promoted reading and writing in the vernacular. This was, however, the product of Scottish Church policy, which rejected Highland culture and the Gaelic language and sought to bring these under 'civilised' control (Bugaj, 2004: 24). Scottish emigrants were also allowed to hold religious ceremonies in Scots, and interpreters were appointed on the continent for commercial and political communication - implying recognition of Scots in many parts of Europe as a language of diplomacy and trade (Bugaj, 2004: 31). Scots was no longer a regional dialect but the language of an independent sovereign nation (Templeton, 1973), seen as a functional and appropriate means of domestic and foreign communication, and creating a climate of consensus among those invested with political and economic power. This enabled it to become the spoken and written standard for speakers right across the social hierarchy, up to and including the king (Agutter, 1988: 22; Bugaj, 2004: 20).

This period of time is considered the 'heyday' of the Scots language (Murison, 1979: 8); Scots was an all-purpose, fully-functional national language, and at this point fairly autonomous from southern English. The prominence of Latin as the written

standard in previous centuries did mean that there was little uniformity in Older
Scots spelling practices (Aitken, 1971: 178; Bann and Corbett, 2015: 18), and
local administrative varieties had a relatively strong status of their own, adding to
the variable options (Meurman-Solin, 1997: 3; Bugaj, 2004: 22). Yet, certainly
throughout the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries Scots was the only Anglic variety
possessing an independent prose and verse tradition, with the status of a full literary
standard on its own territory, other than the variety of the South-East Midlands
and London (Lass, 1987: 252). The two standards were thus emerging in similar
time within the island of Britain as distinct but closely related national tongues,
representing the northern and southern poles of 'English' respectively (Aitken, 1979,
1984: 87; Bugaj, 2004). In essence what had emerged within Britain were 'two
European nations that both happened to use dialects of English' (Lass, 1987: 252)
- or rather - two closely-related Germanic languages derived from the same root.
Indeed, the growth of a Scots standard can largely be linked to Scotland's increase
in political and socio-cultural independence, a climate which supported the rise of a
multi-purpose regional standard (Templeton, 1973; Meurman-Solin, 1997: 3). These
developments thus indicate that Scots had developed a distinct orthographic model,
alongside an established literary foundation across multiple genres. This will be
important in informing how written Scots is defined and explored in the corpus, and
this process is outlined in more detail in Chapter 5, Section 5.6.

However, the march toward nationwide standardisation was interrupted by several
historical events that generated a change in the socio-political climate between
Scotland and England, first beginning in the fifteenth century and continuing on
until the eighteenth century. Pragmatic concerns linked to these social and political
changes led to increasing convergence with English, and both spoken and written
Scots had diminished in range by the end of the seventeenth century (Meurman-Solin,
1993: 41, 1997). The sixteenth century thus marked the flourishing of Scots but
also its turning point in the direction of convergence, rather than divergence with
southern English. This anglicisation process and its contributing factors are now
discussed in more detail.

3.3   The Anglicisation of Scots

The developments characterising Scots between the fourteenth-eighteenth centuries
suggest it was a national variety on its way to becoming a supra-regional and
unrestricted means of communication, but was displaced at one of the final stages
of standardisation - prescriptive codification - by the emergent southern English
standard (Bugaj, 2004: 32). Scots concurrently diminished to the status of a regional
vernacular as anglicisation took hold. Matching the decline of Scots in breadth and
range was the development and rise of a spoken Scottish Standard English (SSE) and
a written variety dominated by anglicised features. These developments represented
the beginning of what would become an ongoing English influence on Scots and its
dialects. This was enabled in part due to the nature of the two languages as close
cousins through which elements of originally English forms could enter Scots writings
without appearing too incongruous (Aitken, 1971: 183-190, 1979: 89), especially as

both were seen to be 'of ane language' (Aitken, 1997: 22).[2] Indeed, Meurman-Solin (1993: 41) contends that practically all Scots users must have been aware of the similarities between their language and the southern variety.

Although anglicisation influenced both spoken and written Scots, its greatest impact was realised in the written domain, which suggests it can be viewed as a change on a more conscious level of language use, one that was motivated by a political and socio-economic unification process in which an important number of features of the majority variety were substituted for those of the minority variety in particular textual environments (Meurman-Solin, 2000: 166). Accordingly, Kopaczyk (2013c: 253) has suggested that, rather than reflecting the reduction of Scots features, this period should instead be seen as a 'transition', in which a shift took place from maximal differentiation to greater assimilation, as increasing numbers of English features were incorporated into the variety while still retaining a core of Scots-specific items.

It was not just a shared linguistic heritage that encouraged this process; the steep reduction in use and applicability of Scots was rooted in the historical events that shaped, interwove and intersected with Scotland as a nation and Scots as a language variety from the sixteenth century onward. The anglicisation of Scots was facilitated by power and prestige; those using English forms in writing and speech were often powerful and high status - whether politically, spiritually or socially (Meurman-Solin, 1997), such as the royal family of Scotland, who began to adopt anglicised forms following increasing links between the two kingdoms. Given the value of prestige norms is often built upon and increased by the perceived social status or importance of the speakers using it (Milroy, 2012: 572; Sairio and Palander-Collin, 2012: 626), the incipient English standard thus acquired increased prestige at the expense of Scots. This then created one of the central motivating factors driving the anglicisation of written Scots and the development of a new spoken variety in the form of SSE. Pragmatic concerns relating to sociohistorical changes were also significant in driving this process however, and four historical changes in particular are argued to be most significant in bringing about this change. These include the arrival of the printing press, the Reformation of 1560, the Union of the Crowns, and subsequently, the Union of the Parliaments, and the increased levels of contact between Scots and English speakers they brought with them. Each of these factors is now discussed in turn, providing the historical lead-up to the Union of the Parliaments and the state of written Scots by the time of 1700.

3.3.1   The Arrival of the Printing Press

The printing press arrived relatively early in Scotland, but the prohibitive cost of printing and disseminating texts meant works had to reach the widest possible audience to ensure the process was profitable. This meant extending the target audience beyond Scotland's borders to the larger, English-speaking readership and thus anglicisation became increasingly necessary (Meurman-Solin, 1993: 137-148;

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[2]The opposite, however did not happen so much in England, not even in the northern English dialects.

Millar, 2012: 253). The public nature of printed genres and their conventions could also encourage innovative tendencies in language use, furthering the anglicisation tendencies within printed work (van Eyndhoven and Clark, 2019). Scots in printed genres aimed at wider audiences became severely restricted, tending to surface only in contexts in which it might have a distinct pragmatic value (Dossena, 2002: 107). The original development of printing houses in England later helped establish anglicised spelling as the norm, a practice frequently adopted once the printing press arrived north of the Tweed (Bugaj, 2004: 29), as Scottish-based printers shifted significantly towards English in their practices (Aitken, 1971: 197; Corbett et al., 2003a: 11). The proliferation of English printers compared to their Scotland-based counterparts also meant the larger and more economically powerful presses in London tended to dominate the local market. The only printing press of the Renaissance period in Scotland was set up in Edinburgh, but given that more than ninety percent of book production in the British Isles was centred in London, its contribution was a mere pinprick (Görlach, 1985: 23). As a result, Scottish readers came to rely on English books for their literature , complemented largely by anglicised Scots books (Templeton, 1973; Aitken, 1997).

Furthermore, given that a grammar book codifying Scots, regularising its linguistic forms and providing a point of reference for its users was never compiled, English largely won out in the world of print (Bugaj, 2004: 27). The necessities of such codification are evident within the English printing scene itself, whose spelling system was highly restricted and reflected far less variation than the epistolary system (Tieken-Boon van Ostade, 1998, 2000: 297). These practices developed from the early seventeenth century onward (Osselton, 1984) and were accompanied by a rigorous process in the lead-up to the actual printing. To convert manuscript to print, authors collaborated with editors, printers and publishers to ensure their work conformed to a print-worthy variety of the language - in this case, English (Fairman, 2015: 53). This operation was common across the border - Sairio's (2013) analysis of the writings produced by prominent Bluestocking Elizabeth Montagu (1718-1800), found that the author and her intellectual circle tended to be more conservative in their writing practices, but publishers and booksellers would then subsequently 'update' the spellings to conform to the regularising, uniformitarian trends and public printing conventions of the day. A similar procedure likely took place in the Scottish context, in which some printers 'improved' the text in the direction of English norms, this practice becoming common in the seventeenth century (Meurman-Solin, 2000: 161). In the process, such deliberate anglicisation efforts created an industry standard that many adhered to (Templeton, 1973: 7). Printing also enabled the increased dissemination of grammars, spelling books and dictionaries, with the result that orthographic variation dropped considerably by the second half of the seventeenth century (Görlach, 2001: 78; Rutkowska and Rössler, 2012: 227).

As a consequence, although Scottish authors usually spoke Lowland Scots, they increasingly wrote and published in English, aligning with standard practice and tapping into the wider literate market (MacQueen, 1983; Meurman-Solin, 1993). As early as 1560 there is already evidence of anglicisation in Scottish printed work, identified in Robinson's (1983: 71) analysis of different printed versions of the Scots Confession, which demonstrated multiple anglicised features. The story differed

when it came to cheaper forms of print, however, which often contained works in Scots, especially those concerning local issues or current affairs (Fox, 2020: 7). Poetry and prose covering imaginative and informative subjects were usually written in the vernacular and printed in a variety of small and cheap formats, and local newspapers continued to print extracts and letters to the editor in Scots (Donaldson, 1989). Yet over time it seems the standard for printed work was tightened, and it became seen as increasingly desirable to anglicise texts. Thus began the first stage of the retreat of written Scots, generating considerable impact in itself, but also operating in tandem with the religious upheavals characterising the mid-sixteenth century to further the anglicisation trend.

3.3.2   Religious Upheavals

Alongside the printing press, a number of dramatic upheavals to the religious landscape of both Scotland and England had the added effect of encouraging the anglicisation of Scots. England was the first to adopt the new religious ideas of the Reformation and embrace Protestantism in the British Isles (Bugaj, 2004). Scotland soon followed suit with the Scottish Reformation of 1560, thus weakening the ties to Catholic France and strengthening the relationship with England religiously, dynastically and linguistically (Murison, 1979; Meurman-Solin, 1993: 45). Intermarriage between the royal families occurred as a result, increasing contact between Scots and English among prestige speakers. Meanwhile Calvinistic tracts in English made the rounds in Lowland Scotland in the years immediately following the Reformation, and Scottish reformers seeking to reach English audiences also utilised the reach and power of the printing press, leading to their tracts being printed in English (Corbett et al., 2003a: 10). In 1579 a law was passed that every Scottish household above a certain income had to possess a bible and psalms book in the vernacular (Templeton, 1973: 7), however, translations required time and economic stability, something the Scottish reformers did not have (Millar, 2010: 253). Instead, an English reprint of the Geneva Bible of 1561 became the standard household bible in Lowland Scotland, while Scottish worshippers sang from an English Psalter (Grant, 1931; Templeton, 1973: 7). The net result was that the book that formed the blueprint for moral and spiritual life in Scotland - a cornerstone of most households - was in English, not Scots (Bugaj, 2004: 27).

As time passed English was more commonly heard in the Kirk, and children learned to read from an English bible. Scots of all classes were thus coming into regular contact with southern English, especially in written form (Aitken, 1979). They began increasingly to regard English as the most suitable medium for religious expression, and consequentially, superior to their native tongue (Grant, 1931). English became associated with what was solemn, formal and dignified, and Scots slowly began to be associated with the day-to-day, domestic and homely, a trend that was only strengthened over time (Murison, 1979: 9; Romaine, 1982: 24). Considering that certain graphemic variants can become worthy of imitation by people outside their immediate geographical or social space when they are encountered in particular text types (Sandved, 1981), the fact that English was the language of Christianity and Protestantism gave it considerable power and value, which may have played a

decisive role in the failure of Scots to reach codification (Bugaj, 2004: 27).

However, while sermons may have been inspired by Biblical English (Millar, 2010: 253), they were still usually extemporised in the spoken dialect of the preacher, thus it was not the case that sermons were delivered in pure, unmixed English, nor did all Scots speakers switch overnight to this incoming standard. Robinson (1983: 59) suggests that Bible readings were still delivered in Scots in the late sixteenth century, and this probably continued well into the eighteenth century, as local speech and dialects remained the spoken tongue (Murison, 1979). Furthermore, over time the Kirk and ecclesiastical affairs became a site where elements deriving from Scots was preserved. This institution remained autonomous even after the Union of the Parliaments took place, and specific Scots lexis related to the Kirk were retained within its field of practice. A similar pattern can be observed within educational institutions and Scots law, given these two fields also remained independent from their English counterparts (Dossena, 2005). In each case these lexical differences signalled cultural differences that could not be straightforwardly translated into English.

Religious developments thus had the contradictory effect of encouraging anglicisation by raising the value and exposure of the Scottish population to the English language, whilst preserving specific Scots lexical items in the long run. Changes to the religious landscape as a result of the Reformation realigned Scotland with Protestant England, but the subsequent development of the Presbyterian Kirk underscored changes that were preserved in the conservation of words or phrases related to a Scots-specific religious discourse. Instead, it became one of the few fields where Scots remained in use, playing a significant role in constructing valid religious texts. Nonetheless, the overall effect on the literate population of Lowland Scotland was to push them largely towards the emerging English standard, a tendency only strengthened by political developments subsequently unfolding in Scottish history and the increased contact these changes brought.

3.3.3 Contact

In among the various historical developments taking place over the course of several centuries, one factor consistently influencing language use though increasing in importance, was contact. Already in the late fifteenth and sixteenth centuries some Scottish writers were using more English spellings and words than others, and there was a substantial body of correspondence and private writing from this time which is more pervasively anglicised, combining phonological elements of Scots and English (Aitken, 1997: 1). This is observable particularly in authors who had connections in London, and therefore contact with southern English (Templeton, 1973: 7). Up until the Reformation the bulk of such writings were by Scots who were or had been resident in England, had English addressees, and/or were sympathisers with English political aims (Aitken, 1997: 4-5). John Knox is a notable case - he had lived in England and was dismissed by opponents for 'knapping Soudroun' (i.e. to speak English in a mincing or affected way). Yet, even within the text-types favouring Scots, the mingling of Scots and English in texts became universal by the middle

of the sixteenth century (Aitken, 1997). Frequently a mixed dialect was observed among Scottish writers, in which both Older Scots and Tudor English equivalent forms such as *guid* and *good* or *kirk* and *church* were available as co-existing options (Aitken, 1984: 519).

It seems various features of Scots were slowly being substituted by southern English alternatives in certain linguistic environments, with a general diffusion from public to private texts (Meurman-Solin, 2000: 159). This was a gradual process; there was not a wholesale adoption of English grammatical and phonological features overnight, and Scots orthographic variants were displaced intermittently at varying paces throughout the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries (Aitken, 1979; Bugaj, 2004; van Eyndhoven and Clark, 2019). 'Phonological' spellings - in which an author trying to anglicise their writing attempted to represent an English word as it was spoken - have been attested in personal writings of this time, whereas Scotticisms are found to persist largely in grammatical features, lexis and phrases (Aitken, 1979). Despite these written developments, the speech of the lower classes was likely to have been virtually anglicism free in the late sixteenth century, while Scots with a sprinkling of anglicisms was the normal speech of the upper classes, who arguably had more contact with English speakers within Scottish society (Aitken, 1997: 28). Yet, while contact certainly assisted the anglicisation process, it was the next great historical event in Scottish history - the Union of the Crowns in 1603 - that was to have one of the biggest and most long-lasting effects on Scots, both written and spoken.

3.3.4 The Union of the Crowns, 1603

The Union of the Crowns that took place in 1603 was a personal dynastic union, in which King James VI of Scotland acquired the English throne, to become King James I of England. Despite its title, the union had no legal impact on the constitutional status of either kingdom, but it nonetheless exacerbated the difference in status between Scots and southern English, as James VI's court and a number of Scottish gentry moved to London as a result (Millar, 2010: 253). James VI's writing became heavily anglicised following this relocation, his published poetry and other writings displaying a major switch to southern English forms (Grant, 1931), though he did maintain a level of Scots in certain pieces of prose. This influenced the written language norms of the Scottish aristocracy, who sought to follow 'polite' conventions of courtly language by anglicising their poetry (Corbett et al., 2003a: 11). Early anglicising tendencies were further encouraged by the increase in face-to-face contact between the landed gentry of Scotland and England in the aftermath of the dynastic union, creating a favourable setting for the displacement process (Bugaj, 2004: 30). Intermarriage between the two groups had been rare before 1603, but this began to increase among the nobility (although until 1707 it remained relatively uncommon), and many Scots of certain rank spent part of their time in southern England (Aitken, 1979). The upwardly mobile classes were pushed to imitate the lifestyle, manners and speech of their southern neighbours, and anglicisation became pertinent to these goals (Aitken, 1979: 91; Dossena, 2005: 56). Some eminent Scots even sent their sons to boarding school in England to fully acquire written English norms, though

this was relatively uncommon and remained so until the following century (Aitken, 1979: 92).

This trend continued in earnest during the seventeenth century, and there are indications some authors came to regard their own language as rough and harsh besides the more 'polished' English (Aitken, 1997: 23). The old tolerance of spelling variation in Middle Scots had not disappeared entirely (Macafee and †Aitken, 2015b: 8), and indeed this may have been responsible for enabling the anglicisation trend (Aitken, 1984), as the scope broadened to include various English options, akin to the sociolinguistic variation found in contemporary Scots studies (i.e. Macaulay, 1985, 2004; Stuart-Smith, 2004). English itself did not yet have a fully-fledged standard; it too was still emerging in the sixteenth century and was only fully codified two centuries later (Bugaj, 2004). Individuals no doubt varied throughout this time, and there may have been stages when there was inconsistent vacillation between local Scots forms and imported southern options (Aitken, 1971: 199). Indeed, McClure (1983: 131) has identified the mixed dialect that arose, tending sometimes towards a Scots pole and sometimes towards an English one, depending on the circumstances of the speaker. Gradually however, throughout the seventeenth century the non-Scottish options gained popularity over their Scots equivalents. Given such circumstances, Aitken (1979: 92) has suggested it would hardly be surprising if the upper classes of Scotland, socialised into southern English cultural norms, had given up their Scots in speech and writing almost entirely. His analysis of the private correspondence of Scots noble families during the seventeenth century lends weight to this idea, providing evidence of a hybrid writing style that reflects a rapidly anglicising, mixed language variety. It seems Scots had all but disappeared in the correspondence of some of the upper gentry towards the end of the seventeenth century (Aitken, 1997: 28).

There is no denying that the Union of Crowns irreversibly halted the progression of Scots towards standardisation, even if the diffusion of English variants varied in pace and trajectory across different text types (Meurman-Solin, 1993: 40). The majority of its functions were ceded to southern English, leading to a much more restricted Scots use in writing and a dwindling literary register that no longer included topics of intellectual matter or formal registers. Instead, Scots was increasingly confined to genres that were not directly intended for the public, including diaries, memoirs and household accounts (Templeton, 1973: 8). While it still occurred in the records of smaller burghs and kirk-sessions, this was restricted largely to certain legal or ecclesiastical terms tied to Scots law or the Kirk (Kopaczyk, 2013b). The only exception was popular literature, such as ballads, folk tales and poems, in which Scots continued in use.

By being evermore constrained to an increasingly narrow range of genres and gradually losing status within 'high' domains, Scots acquired even closer associations with domestic, 'rustic' and jocular use while English conversely increased in prestige (Johnston, 1997a). Aitken (1979: 89) has suggested the anglicisation process was facilitated by an evident lack of strong linguistic loyalty to Scots, countering any overt objections to the ongoing developments. Yet it is incredibly difficult to gauge the extent to which personal attitudes played a role in these developments, and whether most Scottish individuals were indeed indifferent, given they rarely articulated

their stance towards Scots at this time (Bugaj, 2004: 30). Usage patterns imply that Scots had been felt to be less suited to higher registers already in the late sixteenth century (Aitken, 1979: 89), and the few meta-linguistic comments available suggest Scots was not seen as a marker of national pride and identity in the seventeenth century, as it is today (Bugaj, 2004: 23-30). Yet Scots did continue to be spoken throughout the century, and the speech of most Scottish people was fully Scots into the late seventeenth century (Aitken, 1979: 90).

The net result was that a perceivable change in linguistic tendencies, already begun in the previous century, was taken to new heights by the dynastic union, and by 1700 written Scots had receded considerably within the space of a century and a half (Lass, 1987: 254). The final 'nail in the coffin' was delivered at the turn of the eighteenth century, in the form of the Union of the Parliaments in 1707.

3.3.5 The Eighteenth Century and the Union of the Parliaments, 1707

By the time of the eighteenth century, the continued use of written Scots was identified largely with conservatives, eccentrics and 'the common people' (Aitken, 1979: 93). No longer seen as the medium for serious prose, it was used mainly for private writings or popular literature aimed at 'intimate' audiences (Robinson, 1973; Lass, 1987), having been largely 'thrust sociolinguistically underground in written domains' (Millar, 2020: 100). After the Union of the Parliaments in 1707, the gap between prestige and context-suitability became dramatically wider (Dossena, 2012a). The Union agreement formerly dissolved Scotland's independent parliament into a single, pan-British institution based in Westminster, and with Scotland's political centre now dissolved, there was little keeping members of high society in Scotland. The pull exerted by London grew ever greater as political and economic power irrevocably and irreversibly moved south, and members of the ruling class began to spend time in the new capital, a trend already initiated by the nobility in the previous century (Millar, 2020: 106). Residing in London fostered marriage matches, party ties and friendships among the nobility of both nations, increasing contact between socially-mobile Scots and their English counterparts (Dossena, 2012a; Millar, 2020: 108). These developments thus created greater exposure to English norms and standards, and the subsequent interpretation that the language variety of the economically and socially-elevated English nobility was desirable and 'correct' (Conde-Silvestre and Hernández-Campoy, 2004: 138; Millar, 2020: 108). These social perceptions, gradually accumulating over the course of the previous centuries, found considerable reinforcement after the parliamentary Union (Dossena, 2011).

Scotland was furthermore 'in a miserable state around the time of the Union of the Parliaments - economically, politically and socially' (Templeton, 1973: 9), and certain members of Scottish society increasingly looked to England as a model for social and intellectual improvement. This was to take off dramatically during the *Age of Politeness*, a product of the Augustinian culture characterising England during the mid-late eighteenth century (see Aitken (1979); Murison (1979); Jones (1995,

1997b); Beal (1997); Fitzmaurice (1998) and Görlach (2001) for further discussion), though this movement in many respects had its origins in the Union agreement. Yet, the historical situation Scotland found itself in by 1700 had also complexified, and Kopaczyk (2012) notes the dangers of viewing the eighteenth century and the political union as the logical culmination of a series of historical events between two nations. The Union was by no means guaranteed (Ferguson, 1964: 89; Macinnes, 2007: 9), despite James VI's vision almost a century earlier of 'a true union of the kingdoms - one law, one religion, one political system' (Morrill, 1996: 75). The period leading up the Union of 1707 was turbulent, unsettled and marked by status negotiations and attempts at reconciliation (Kopaczyk, 2012: 218; Raffe, 2012b: 262), as Chapter 2 has already highlighted. Nonetheless, it did appear to signify the final blow to the Scots language as a fully-autonomous variety. English became in effect the official language of the whole country, and Scots diminished to a regional vernacular, having 'lost spiritual status at the Reformation, social status at the Union of the Crowns, and political status with the Parliamentary Union' (Murison, 1979: 9). The functional flexibility of the burgeoning English standard, its high utilitarian value and the economic incentives involved in adopting the metropolitan norm were transparent to aspiring Scots, and their use of its features was now near-universal Millar, 2012: 576, Millar, 2020: 102).

As the eighteenth century progressed, a number of influential individuals overtly articulated their support for a common British language shared among its inhabitants. This, they argued, had the potential to bridge the cultural gaps between the two nations, fostering strong relations, benevolent ties and a common identity between Scotland and England (Dossena, 2005: 60), as well as facilitating major social, political and economic gain (Jones, 1995: 2). Linguistic ideals have been closely tied to political goals throughout history; in the case of the Anglo-Scottish political union, there was a notion that the new British nation similarly required a single, unified, language for all. Some of these ideas were current during the Union debates themselves - the Earl of Cromarty was an ardent proponent of a singular British (ergo southern English) language, and Dossena (2012a: 100) suggested that strenuous attempts on the part of upwardly mobile speakers who tried to remove all traces of Scottishness could be associated with a Unionist agenda. The idea that the standard language could act as a unifying factor furthermore neatly supported the prevalent conviction that all other language varieties in Britain were merely debased, corrupt versions of English, delegitimising Scots as an valid language for the nation (Milroy, 2012: 582; Watts, 2015: 4). As the century wore on zealous efforts were made to establish linguistic uniformity and conformity, based upon the standard emerging from London as the centre of court, commerce and professionalism (Jones, 1997b: 265). This has become known as the *Age of Politeness* alluded to above, involving a highly organised and influential group of grammarians and linguistic commentators tarring Scots with the 'barbaric' brush, considering it not just a limit on social mobility but the 'relic of a backward society' (Jones, 1995: 1).

The desire for social mobility combined with the standard's association with prestige meant that gradually, the variation between the languages became stratified by the class, gender, age and educational background of the speaker, rather than regional provenance (Sorensen and Sorensen, 2000; Millar, 2020: 100). Thus, while some Scots of the upper and middle classes still used occasional Scotticisms (Johnston,

1997a: 50), these were regarded as undignified, and many felt uncomfortable with their language competency. 'Correct' spelling became associated with intellectual and cultural sophistication, while dialectal and idiosyncratic spellings saw increasing stigmatization and came to characterise lower education and social standing (Görlach, 1999: 487; Tieken-Boon van Ostade, 2009: 47; Rutkowska and Rössler, 2012: 227). By and large the new, 'refined language of the gentry' in Scotland - particularly those based in Edinburgh - approximated Standard English by about the early eighteenth century, though this was occasionally 'marred by a lexical Scotticism or two' (Aitken, 1979: 95), as well as low-level orthographic features.

Written Scots by 1700 thus suggests a readership that was largely schooled in English spelling norms, though certain Scots features were retained, and this experience comes through even in the spelling practices of the vernacular poets who would make such an impression on literary Scots later in the century (Corbett et al., 2003a: 12). There were however several dissident voices who spoke against the anglicising trend, such as James Boswell and James Buchanan (Robinson, 1973; Aitken, 1979; Dossena, 1997, 2005). This reaction found outlets in the form of the antiquarian movement espousing the historical pedigree of Scots (see Jones, 1995: 15; Dossena, 2011: 1003-1010), as well as the *Vernacular Revival* (see Grant, 1931; Smith, 1996a; Dossena, 1997, 2002, 2005) - a 'rejuvenation' rather than a revival per se of Scots in popular literature (MacDonald, 2011: 1012-1021). This saw the rediscovery, reworking and championing of vernacular poetry, ballads and folklore, generating some of the great names of Scottish literature, including Robert Fergusson, Allan Ramsay, Robert Burns and Sir Walter Scott.

Yet while the anglicisation of written Scots was ongoing, this time period also saw the development of Scottish Standard English (SSE) - a highly-anglicised, 'refined' L2 or 'D2' (Maguire, 2012: 53) speech variety heteronomous to English, which was adopted first by the aristocracy and nobles, and then among the rising middle classes. This variety was heavily influenced by the prestige accent of polite society in southern England, and the most distinctive Scots vocabulary and morpho-syntactic features were accordingly replaced with southern English norms. However pronunciation retained certain low-level Scots features and phonology, alongside more obvious lexical borrowings relating to clerical, educational and legal fields (Jones, 1995, 1997b; Dossena, 2005: 14-19), creating essentially an English-based variety with a southern English lexical distribution of phonemes, but with Scots phonetics[3] (McClure, 1994; Maguire, 2015). This paralleled in many ways the developments in written Scots, in which distinctive Scots syntax and graphemes were largely lost, but the heavily-anglicised variety retained certain vocabulary and spelling practices (possibly reflecting historic phonological differences), alongside certain lexical items (Millar, 2012: 75; 2020: 109-112). Surviving written features were likely low-level and covert, not necessarily recognised as 'Scottish' within the emerging, anglicised variety (Millar, 2012: 75, 2020: 109-112). Yet, the occasional, deliberate use of a Scots feature for particular stylistic purposes is also plausible, though given the exact nature of eighteenth-century written Scots is still unclear, further investigation is needed.

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[3]Though with important exceptions due to date of formation and mergers because of a lack of certain distinctions in Scots.

Alongside the rise of SSE, Scots was still widely spoken in 1700, bar the very upper, educated classes, and even their variety retained Scots phonetics and certain lexical items (Lass, 1987; Beal, 1997; Millar, 2020). The extent to which speech influenced *writing* is difficult to ascertain, but as correspondence has been considered to be the most 'speech-like' of historical genres of text (Biber, 1995: 283-300; Auer et al., 2015a: 7), we might thus expect the effect of anglicisation to be reduced within correspondence, alongside other reasons relating to the nature of this text-type (which are elaborated on in Chapter 5, Section 5.1). Previous analyses have also suggested the existence of several co-existing norms in Scotland, especially early in the eighteenth century (Millar, 2003: 318), enabling the continued use of Scots features even among the highly educated in certain genres (Templeton, 1973: 8-9; Beal, 1997: 335). Cruickshank's (2012; 2017) analyses of Lord Fife's letters, an eighteenth-century Scottish aristocrat whose correspondence spans the years 1763-1789, did find evidence of Scotticisms in his writings, albeit in very low quantities. Furthermore, written Scots did not disappear simultaneously out of all genres at the same time in the same way. At the end of the 1700s there is evidence of Scots in formal tracts such as the *Statistical Account of Scotland*, in which topics including local flora and fauna, traditional occupations, heritage and folk literature encouraged the use of Scots (Millar, 2003, 2013: 322). This would suggest that lexis tied to a specifically-Scots way of life was difficult to anglicise entirely. The persistence of Scots was also enabled by the Scottish institutions that remained independent beyond 1707, including the uniquely Scots model of education, church and the law (Macinnes, 2007: 5), which required specialised lexis. Kopaczyk (2012) has shown how legal texts retained specific Scots lexical items linked to Scots law, which were needed to create valid, legally-binding documents.

All these factors suggest that Scots, while heavily reduced and having retreated from many text-types in the aftermath of the parliamentary union, had not disappeared altogether, particularly in speech. Any examination of early eighteenth-century Scots must thus consider both its retreat, but also the varying roles it continued to play within the written sphere. Moreover, such factors also point to the developments of Scots since 1707, and its status and use in Scotland in contemporary times.

3.4   Scots Today and the Politicisation of Language

Looking forward to the situation for Scots today, written Scots is almost entirely limited to popular literature, whilst it continues to be spoken by comparatively high numbers of Scottish speakers. Until recently Scottish Standard English (SSE) was in a relationship of diglossia with Scots in many areas of Scotland (see Johnston, 1997b: 438-440), where speakers spoke Scots or southern Standard English, with SSE acting as a mediator between them (Auer, 2005). However, for many speakers this has become a situation of *diaglossia*, in which there is no 'Scots' - 'English' dichotomy, but rather a plane of variation with historical features of both varieties from which speakers can select variants (Maguire, 2012: 53; 2015). This diaglossic situation has been termed a 'Scots-SSE bi-polar continuum' (Stuart-Smith, 2004), in which Scots speakers can style-drift or dialect-switch depending on the situation, interlocutor,

the level of formality required and their own role or positioning within those contexts, all encompassed within the multi-dimensional, sociolinguistic variation space in which they are operating (Dossena, 2002: 104, see also in particular Aitken, 1984; Maguire, 2012: 3). Reflecting back to the early eighteenth century, it is not too much of a stretch to imagine that Scottish writers were also able (whether consciously or unconsciously) to shift in their level of Scots depending on audience, context and style. Drawing on the totality of linguistic resources available within the speech community, and within their own linguistic repertoire, could allow them to successfully communicate with various recipients, enabling them to fulfil certain personal goals or construct particular identities, whilst recognising the social constraints of the context in which the letter was being written.

The specific time period under investigation in this thesis accordingly forms a bridge not only between Older and Modern Scots, but between its long period of anglicisation, and the bipolar linguistic continuum present today. Yet the early eighteenth century falls into a curious gap in Scots research, perhaps because of the pervasive narrative of anglicisation characterising descriptive histories of Scots. It is not the case that all traces of Scots had disappeared in writing by the conclusion of the Union, as a number of previous analyses have indicated (c.f. Millar, 2003, 2013; Cruickshank, 2012, 2017; Kopaczyk, 2012), and Dossena's (2012b; 2013b; 2019) investigations into nineteenth-century Scottish correspondence have highlighted the persistence of written Scots features beyond 1800. Contemporary analyses of present-day Scots features also document the survival of many features as well as the formation of new innovations (e.g. Millar, 2018). It seems an increasing awareness of Scots was stimulated by the Union and its political developments, and this would go on to have lasting effects into the following century and beyond. Indeed, Millar (2013: 72) identifies an increasingly self-conscious employment of dialect features in particular text-types post-1707, as markers of personal and group identity by a new minority of writers, and Kopaczyk (2012: 99) suggests that Scots was seen as an important identity vehicle by certain individuals, including politicians who could demonstrate allegiance to their country and native tongue within a specialised, prestigious discourse.

As the futures of the two nations were being debated and ideas around Scotland's position came under intense scrutiny, so too the importance of Scots as a cultural marker emerges very clearly during this time, both in positive and negative senses (Dossena, 2011: 1011). Dossena (2005; 2012a: 100) has even suggested that the Vernacular Revival was in fact largely caused by the Union of 1707, which aligns with Robinson's (1973: 42) claim that 'As Scotland was finally stripped of its separate identity, there was a simultaneous back-lash of patriotic nostalgia which found an outlet in antiquarianism'. These ideas are both intuitive and tantalising in the exploration of Scots features as indexical markers of socio-political identities in the lead-up to one of the most contentious political events in Scottish history. For it seems that there was an association between Scots and its distinct, national character already present at the beginning of the eighteenth century. This possibility is still to be quantitatively explored across the group of individuals most closely connected to the passing of the Union. Accordingly, an investigation into the use of Scots features in correspondence, produced by politicians writing during the Union debates is needed, to ascertain what their written Scots looked at this time, and whether

political identity and ideology can indeed be linked to differences in their language usage.

3.5   Concluding Remarks

Reflecting on the complex, multi-directional diachronic developments characterising the history of Scots provides an insight into what we might expect in terms of form and frequency of the written language variety by the turn of the eighteenth century. From its early northern English beginnings and development within the burgh system, through to promising steps toward standardisation, before subsequent retreat or dilution across various written genres and spoken registers among the upper classes of society, in the wake of political and social changes, it is fair to say Scots has seen dramatic changes in fortune, reach and usability within a window of slightly more than four hundred years. This extensive history makes a number of factors clear in particular.

Firstly, Scots and English undoubtedly share various features as a result of their common origin, especially when it comes to northern Englishes. Searching for 'Scots' in early eighteenth-century correspondence therefore must consider that many features cannot be clearly delineated from varieties across the border. Rather than attempting to pinpoint features that were tightly localised to Scotland, the focus will instead be on identifying spellings and lexical items that differed from southern English, given this would form the 'standard' anglicising authors sought to imitate, rather than other regional northern dialects. Furthermore, as a result of their common ancestor, there existed a large common core of shared lexical and grammatical items between Scots and English, and distinguishing between them is hopelessly problematic. Instead, the focus must be limited to features that are 'non-southern English', with the caveat that this approach is necessarily more conservative in its nature.

Secondly, the development of the language from its early beginnings to a recognised, independent variety, indicates that Scots had a literary as well as spoken history within Lowland Scotland. It is not the case when we come to the eighteenth century therefore, that Scots had little foundation as a written variety, and although it exhibited considerably more variation than its southern English neighbour, it was moving in the direction of standardisation. Thirdly, the events and processes leading to anglicisation during the course of the sixteenth to eighteenth centuries suggests we can expect very low frequencies and a reduced range of Scots features restricted to certain graphemes and lexical items (c.f. Millar, 2012, 2020: 109-112), to be present in the correspondence under investigation here. This is particularly likely considering we are investigating writings produced by the top layer of Scottish society. Politicians came from leading Scottish noble families and the aspiring gentry class, forming the group of language users most under pressure to anglicise their writing. Rather than focusing on the frequencies of Scots compared to *English* across the corpus, this analysis will instead examine frequencies of Scots *between* authors, and the influence of various extralinguistic factors.

Finally, the developments that took place beyond 1707, and the complex and dynamic situation Scots and SSE speakers find themselves in today, combined with the associations between language and patriotism that can be traced in many ways to the Union debates themselves, suggests that a connnection between use of Scots features and political identity-marking could be observed within this time period. This is especially plausible in correspondence, given the reduced pressure to anglicise private writings (compared to printed texts, for example), and the identification of Scots features in other investigations of early Modern correspondence, including that produced by elite writers (c.f. Cruickshank, 2011, 2012, 2017; Dossena, 2012b, 2013a,b, 2019). It seems likely certain Scots features will be present in the writings of these political figures, and might be conditioned by their political associations constructed upon local or nationalistic ideologies, as writers utilised linguistic resources from across the emergent language continuum to achieve particular communicative goals.

These assumptions, drawn from the history of Scots, can inform and guide perspectives into what Scots usage may have looked like within correspondence by this time, but a detailed examination has yet to take place. Donaldson (1989: 9) noted the 'yawning gulf in the textbooks between James VI and Allan Ramsay', highlighting the dearth of work into the two centuries following the Reformation, while Beal (1997) has suggested that the healthy amount of attention Older Scots has received is not matched by research into the modern Scots period. Indeed, Meurman-Solin's (1993: 47) call thirty years ago for research into the eighteenth century, has only been partially fulfilled. Eighteenth-century Scots has received comparatively less attention than some of its earlier manifestations, and while valuable contributions have been made (see for example MacQueen (1957); Jones (1995); Smith (1996a); Beal (1997); Corbett et al. (2003b); Dossena (2005); Cruickshank (2012, 2017) and Corbett (2013), and doubtless several others who would deserve mention here), most of their analyses focus upon descriptive accounts of the *Age of Politeness* or the *Vernacular revival*. This cannot tell us much about written Scots at the beginning of this time period, as the Scots produced during the *Vernacular Revival* for example looked back to Older Scots models - a time period no longer congruous with the eighteenth century. In this respect the analysis undertaken here will perhaps shed greater light on what written Scots *did* look like at the turn of the century.

Moreover, this time period has seen little in the way of quantitative work in particular. While Cruickshank (2012; 2017) and Elder (2022) have undertaken valuable analyses involving a single individual, this approach has not yet been applied to a larger group of writers utilising the quantitative power of statistical modelling. Historical sociolinguistic research has no doubt been limited by a lack of eighteenth-century corpus material that is freely available and accessible, but as a result, where and how Scots persisted has not yet been tracked across a range of personal writings from this time. This adds to the potential of the early eighteenth century to provide new insights into language usage and individual practice. In addition, this chapter has highlighted the complex historical developments taking place in Scots, which were not always unidirectional. We cannot therefore expect the intricacies of personal communication to blindly adhere to general trends within the population - an individual might not be representative of the bigger picture. Of course, extrapolating from an individual to a community of writers is problematic, as there was likely much

more variability inherent in the speech community than what has been captured in the fragments of the written culture that are accessible. Yet without attempting such an analysis, knowledge of the time period remains piecemeal and isolated.

Eighteenth-century written Scots, its use in correspondence and particularly its links to political change through the Union of 1707 remains a fruitful area for further research. A corpus-based approach investigating intra and inter-writer variation across multiple writers is yet to be undertaken. Accordingly this will be explored in this thesis, firstly by compiling a corpus of correspondence produced by political individuals active during this time, before a macro-analysis utilising statistical models to explore the influence of this time-period (Chapter 6) and political identities on frequencies of Scots (Chapter 7), and a micro-analysis involving up-close examinations of the features and individuals in the corpus (Chapters 8 and 9), will be undertaken to address this gap. These research questions are outlined in more detail in Chapter 4, Section 4.4. First, however, the theoretical framework underpinning the exploration into macro and micro-levels of variation within the corpus will be outlined in the following chapter, to provide an analytical basis for exploring Scots and its corresponding ideological, indexical and identity-based associations.

Chapter 4

Historical Sociolinguistics

As the previous chapter has made clear, written Scots during the early eighteenth century has the potential to demonstrate promising links to the political situation that was developing during the Union debates. It has also indicated the potential for Scots usage to have become highly individualised and sensitive to personally-driven influences, such as the correspondent or stylistic desires. This suggests the value of exploring this time period through the lens of political identity and other extralinguistic factors and how they may have influenced variation observed within a corpus of politically-active writers both collectively and individually. This approach thus connects theoretically and methodologically to the field and framework of *Historical Sociolinguistics*, and this chapter will elaborate upon its theoretical underpinnings to demonstrate their application to the research questions being explored. Historical sociolinguistics, as defined by Romaine (1988: 1453), aims to investigate and provide an account of the forms and manners in which variation may manifest within a given historical speech community, and how this develops across different language varieties, time periods, social networks and individuals. This draws upon theoretical frameworks and the concepts employed in original sociolinguistic analyses (c.f. Weinreich et al., 1968), though the nature of historical data calls for slight adaptations to their models.

Its beginnings are often linked to the pioneering analysis by Romaine (1982), who demonstrated that it was possible to employ existing methods of sociolinguistic study to historical settings. Through her statistical analyses of relative clause markers in Older Scots, she set out to develop a set of procedures for the reconstruction of language in its social context, using the findings of contemporary sociolinguistics to inform historical theories of change (Romaine, 1988: 1453). This aim has been aided by the availability of resources such as the *Linguistic Atlas of Late Medieval English*[LALME] (McIntosh et al., 1986) and the *Linguistic Atlas of Older Scots* [LAOS](Williamson, 2008), together with the successful compilation of diachronic corpora, including the *Helsinki Corpus of Older Scots* [HCOS] (Meurman-Solin, 1989, 1995). Their existence has enabled historical sociolinguistic research on a scale inaccessible to earlier decades of investigation, and such analysis has been duly undertaken (Raumolin-Brunberg and Nevalainen, 1990; Meurman-Solin, 1993, 1997; Rissanen, 2000).

Perhaps unsurprisingly, similar to the early beginnings of sociolinguistics itself (Labov, 1962, 1966b, 1972), historical sociolinguistics has uncovered what seems intuitively obvious - the evolution of linguistic systems occurs in systematic connection to the socio-historical situation of their speakers (Conde-Silvestre and Hernández-Campoy, 2012: 1; Auer et al., 2015a: 1). In this respect its focus diverges from the more formal, comparative methodologies of traditional historical linguistics, in which endogenous or internal factors of language structure are held as the chief explanations for the inception of linguistic change, as opposed to a focus on the potential influence of social settings and relationships on the propagation of change (Millar, 2012: 571). Orthographic change is not viewed as something secondary, a tool used to uncover the phonetic realisations of a language or systematic language processes in their prior states (Stenroos, 2006: 9), but rather a variable worthy of sociolinguistic research in its own right (Rutkowska and Rössler, 2012: 229). The application of the sociolinguistic toolkit has thus been able to bring fresh insights into *diachronic* change, but also the *synchronic* states of languages, or 'using the past to explain the present' (Labov, 1972: 274).

Applying sociolinguistic principles to historical data rests upon the *uniformitarian principle* (Labov, 1972: 275) - the basic assumption that the fundamental principles and mechanisms of language variation and change are valid across time and continue to operate in the same way (Auer et al., 2015a: 4-5), or 'using the present to explain the past' (Labov, 1994: 21-23). However, this calls for caution; while the past may be *similar* it is not the *same* as the present, and the relationship between written and spoken data derived from diachronic and synchronic settings respectively is not uniform or parallel (Milroy and Gordon, 2003: 177). As one example, historically most writers do not write solely in dialect (except perhaps in some of the earliest surviving texts), but instead aim to meet certain imagined standards as being required by the text genre, a situation we still have today (Görlach, 1999: 149-150). There will also be hidden constraints operating within genres, such as acceptable forms of address and layout, formulaic constructions, politeness expressions and subscriptions, all of which impose upon the linguistic freedom of the text, and focus the mind of the writer constructing the text. These factors will similarly have to be kept in mind for this analysis, in which the possible absence of Scots in letters may have as much to do with politeness conventions as personal linguistic choice.

Trying to map modern sociolinguistic concepts onto historical data - in particular the core practice of comparing variation between the dialect and a standard under the influence of common social factors - would be erroneous and misleading when applied in a blanket, one-to-one approach (Auer et al., 2015b: 285). This would risk 'ideational anachronism' (Bergs, 2012: 84) - in which modern concepts such as social class or prestige are simply transposed onto historical settings, without reflection on whether these are valid for the time period under investigation. To avoid such pitfalls, careful reconstruction of the social context in which the historical variation is being observed, aided by detailed research, is necessary to ensure robust and representative empirical results (Nevalainen, 2006 and see Section 5.2). However, acquiring the necessary background picture of different writers can prove challenging. Certain sociocultural information such as education, employment and connections to other writers, is often limited or simply unavailable to the researcher (Dossena, 2012b: 17; Hernández-Campoy and Schilling, 2012: 67), especially when it comes

to writers from the lower orders of society who have passed through history largely anonymously. Although the writers being investigated in this thesis were mostly high-ranking members of the elite, a number of individuals included in the corpus still suffer from incomplete records. Such difficulties are compounded by the 'Bad Data' problem - '[t]exts are produced by a series of historical accidents' (Labov, 1972: 98), and have survived largely by chance. Materials accessible in modern times are the result of fortunate but random preservation, leaving large gaps in the record and missing information. The relative paucity of certain documents, combined with their isolation from the communicative background in which they functioned, undermines efforts to reconstruct the original social and stylistic contexts of their production and reception (Hernández-Campoy and Schilling, 2012: 64), complicating the application of sociolinguistic methodologies (Tieken-Boon van Ostade, 2000: 296; van der Wal and Rutten, 2013: 15; Watts, 2015: 4).

Yet while there are methodological issues, these have not hampered numerous fruitful developments in historical sociolinguistics (Conde-Silvestre and Hernández-Campoy, 2012: 2). New investigations have continued since its inception, uncovering both wide-scale changes and the intricacies of individual variation in parallel with, and independent of, contemporary variationist research (Nevalainen, 2006; Tieken-Boon van Ostade, 2008; Rutten et al., 2014). By combining a pragmaphilological engagement with the circumstances of text production and the contextual background to the documents we are examining (Jucker and Kopaczyk, 2013: 22), with a nuanced theoretical framework that draws on insights obtained from each successive 'wave' of sociolinguistic research, such research can provide a deep, intricate analysis into historical instances of variation. The complementary insights of corpus-related investigation utilising statistical approaches, and a qualitative approach combining close-up analysis with an informed understanding of the historical ecology in which writers were operating (Millar, 2012: 58), can generate research that is both data-driven and sensitive to the intricacies of the diachronic variation being explored.

It is this combined approach, using quantitative and micro-social methods of analysis to explore variation in written Scots, while drawing from the successive insights each sociolinguistic framework has provided, that will be taken here. In the following section, a brief overview of the three major 'waves' in sociolinguistic research, and their application to historical data, will be discussed. This will introduce the multifaceted theoretical perspective being used in this thesis, as they apply within different components of the investigation. This will be followed by case studies that link to specific methods, concepts and themes in this thesis, including eighteenth-century correspondence, early Modern Scots, and contemporary as well as historical studies looking at the relationship between politics and variation, with their associated ideas of identity and indexicality.

4.1 The 'Three Waves' of Sociolinguistic Research

Over the course of its development, three major approaches have developed successively within the field of sociolinguistics to analyse variation. These have been labelled

by Eckert (2012) as the *First*, *Second* and *Third Wave*, sometimes re-named as the *Attention to Speech*, *Audience Design* and *Speaker Design* models respectively. They have also been applied in various guises to numerous socio-historical instances of diachronic change over the past forty years, underscoring the continuity between modern-day and historical occurrences of language variation and change. The latest development, the 'Third Wave' of sociolinguistic research, has seen growing attention within historical sociolinguistics as new, or previously unexplored resources have enabled fine-grained analyses on the level of the individual, through the lens of socially-constructed meaning (Auer, 2015; Conde-Silvestre, 2016; Hernández-Campoy, 2016) and persona or identity management (Hernández-Campoy and García-Vidal, 2018). Nonetheless, there are insights to be gained from each model, and all three can make valid contributions to historical variation. Eckert (2016: 11) suggests that rather than viewing each wave as a strictly separate, circumscribed theoretical structure, they should rather be seen as conceptual models that work in tandem, complementing one another and collectively contributing to a holistic understanding of the social processes behind language variation. These models will now be explored briefly in turn, to investigate the insights each model can offer to the investigation of variation, and which this thesis will draw upon.

4.1.1   The First Wave or Attention to Speech

The *First Wave* of sociolinguistic research grew out of a structuralist study of sound change and is primarily concerned with the influence of major macro-sociological categories in structuring social interaction. Categories of speakers are defined by the analyst, based on perceived groups thought to exist within the speech community and in the minds of the language users, such as class or gender. Such groups are recognised by speakers, influencing their language behaviour according to where they slot into the macro-social structure. It assumes that speech and stylistic repertoire are 'determined' by these categories, leading to linguistic diffusion and change over time which can be captured by quantitative methodologies (Hernández-Campoy and Conde-Silvestre, 2015: 14; Eckert, 2016: 68). Firmly associated with the original Labovian methodology (c.f. Labov, 1962, 1966b), the wealth of research that has since followed has found robust and repeated patterns of variation within aggregate data, correlating with socioeconomic class, gender, ethnicity and age, but also the formality and amount of attention required by the social setting (Wolfram, 1969; Trudgill, 1974; Labov, 2006).

Often labelled as 'Attention to Speech', variation was argued to originate in the most unconscious and systematic aspects of a speaker's linguistic system, in which the speaker moves away from the vernacular - their default linguistic practice (Llamas et al., 2009) - towards the standard, as they pay more attention to speech. This correlation was found to pattern in the same way across social class, though at varying baselines, with a higher incidence of more widespread, nonstandard forms located at the lower end of the socioeconomic hierarchy, and the standard indexing higher class positions and presumed cosmopolitanism (Eckert, 2012: 88-90; 2016: 69; Auer, 2015). While first wave research has proven very effective at documenting large-scale, population-wide sociolinguistic trends through quantitative methods,

and continues to do so, it has also been criticised for viewing speakers as bundles of demographic characteristics, and passively placing them within a structure that determines their access to the standard language and their exposure to linguistic change. Within such a mechanically-based framework, social agency is largely ignored or limited to self-correction which speakers can employ to greater or lesser degrees depending on their social background, rather than being the result of a choice between socially-meaningful forms (Eckert, 2012: 89). The broad-based approach of such studies also comes at the expense of capturing the more nuanced and flexible kinds of identity relations that often arise in local and individual contexts.

Notwithstanding these shortcomings, insights from First Wave studies have continued to be invaluable - in particular their coverage and replicability has allowed for many cross-linguistic, geographical and social comparisons within the field. Their use of statistical models to explore variable language behaviour has provided robust perspectives into the multiple factors capable of influencing speakers, enabling research to explain or capture the majority of the variation in the data. While detail is naturally lost in an approach that aggregates the linguistic behaviour of language users, First wave studies can provide an overview into the linguistic topography at large, suggesting which social and linguistic factors may have played a leading role in observed instances of variation across the greatest number of speakers or writers. Additionally, aggregating speakers in such a way can reflect important ideologies within the speech community.

Historical sociolinguistic research has also been able to apply the First Wave framework successfully to glean insights into diachronic language change (see for instance Nevalainen and Raumolin-Brunberg, 1994; Raumolin-Brunberg and Nevalainen, 1994 and Raumolin-Brunberg, 1996b). Especially research on English in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries has uncovered some of the prevalent social evaluations that arose in reaction to linguistic change and variable language norms, including notions of prestige and correctness (Jones, 1995, 2010; Tieken-Boon van Ostade, 1996; Beal, 2004; Fitzmaurice, 2004; Dossena, 2005; Beal and Sturiale, 2012). Research on Older Scots meanwhile has demonstrated cogent links between Scots or anglicised features and different social factors (Devitt, 1989; Meurman-Solin, 1993, 1994, 1995, 1997; van Eyndhoven and Clark, 2019), though eighteenth-century Scots has seen much less in the way of quantitative analyses. This analysis will accordingly take a First Wave approach in the quantitative, statistical analyses presented in Chapter 7, exploring the writers within the corpus and their frequencies of Scots features in aggregate, across a specific set of macro-social factors, to highlight global patterns within the data and explore the possible role of politics in conditioning variation. However, this only provides a 'top-down' perspective of the data, and thus this thesis will also draw upon micro-social influencing factors, such as *Audience Design*.

4.1.2 The Second Wave or Audience Design

Second Wave analyses (e.g. Milroy, 1980, 1987; Bell, 1984; Rickford, 1986; Coupland and Giles, 1988; Giles et al., 1991; Meyerhoff, 2002; Purnell, 2009) identified and began to address the need for a micro-level focus in variationist study. These sought

to unpick the broad social classifications characterising the First Wave, utilising ethnographic methods to focus on local categories and the social configurations of multiplex relationships within speaker networks. These configurations in turn accumulate into the social classifications and macro-social patterns of the First Wave through their repetition and consistency; in other words social dynamics rooted in local practices and communities give rise to and model linguistic variation (Eckert, 2012: 92; Eckert, 2016: 69). Emphasis shifted onto day-to-day social interaction and the covert value of the vernacular, in which it was seen as an expression rather than product of local or class identity (Eckert, 2012: 91).

Often labelled 'Audience Design' as first proposed by Alan Bell (1984), this developed from early social psychological work in *Speech Accommodation Theory* (Giles, 1973; Giles and Powesland, 1975), and demonstrated that speakers choose speech styles based on their orientation and attitude towards the interlocutor. Audience members do not necessarily have to be present - speakers are able to shift their variation in response to an imagined or expected audience in much the same way. This is particularly pertinent when we consider written correspondence, in which the interlocutor is presumably never physically present, but whom we might expect the writer to have in mind when constructing their letter. Within historical sociolinguistics, Audience Design has been shown to play a significant role; the level of politeness demonstrated by writers was often moderated by the relative power and social distance between the writer and receiver, and the need to reduce any imposition involved in performing a face-threatening act (Raumolin-Brunberg, 1996a: 14; Dossena, 2019: 71).

Alongside or in conjunction with audience-related influences, *Accommodation Theory*[1] also speaks to the role of the interlocutor in influencing variation. This argues that speakers can adapt their speech in response to their interlocutors, altering various linguistic features to bring their usage patterns closer to the target variety, or conversely to increase the difference between them (Giles, 1984; Giles et al., 1987, 1991; Coupland and Giles, 1988; Niedzielski and Giles, 1996). This often occurs along dialect dimensions in which use of the vernacular corresponds with in-group convergence or out-group divergence (Llamas et al., 2009: 385-386). Convergence is triggered when the speaker desires the interlocutor's social approval (Labov, 1990), while divergence may be the speaker's wish to disassociate themselves from that person, or align themselves with a positive in-group identity that differs from the speaker (Thakerar et al., 1982; Auer and Hinskens, 2005; Purnell, 2009; Babel, 2010). Their alignment will also be influenced by the speaker's pragmatic goals (Du Bois, 2007), and their ability to adapt will depend on their repertoire and a range of contextual factors. The role of accommodation is particularly important for the micro-analysis taking place in Chapter 9, given this investigates intra-writer variation across different recipients and the role that convergence or divergence might play in conditioning any observed patterns of Scots use. Considering the accommodative patterns identified in previous historical Scots research (Meurman-Solin, 1993; Cruickshank, 2012, 2017), the influence of audience pressures and accommodative desires is promising, though their role in conditioning early eighteenth-century Scots

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[1]Under which both Communication Accommodation Theory [CAT] and Speech Accommodation Theory [SAT] fall.

is still to be explored, alongside related Second Wave concepts such as Social Identity Theory.

Social Identity Theory

Arising from Accommodation Theory, Social Identity Theory (SIT) similarly provides a promising analytical framework to investigate correspondence produced within the politically-charged atmosphere of the Union debates. SIT posits that speakers are motivated to maintain a distinct and positive social identity. This identity is not fixed, as speakers' self-evaluation is often fluid and fluctuates across in-group and out-group categorisations negotiated during interaction. This allows them to evoke, modify, define, challenge or support aspects of the persona they project, creating the desired self-image and maintain positive appraisal of their in-group membership (Turner and Brown, 1978; Ting-Toomey, 1999: 40; Turner, 1999; Blackledge and Pavlenko, 2001: 244). Speakers may thus react to each other as representative members of different social groups rather than as individuals, and are perceived as such (Thakerar et al., 1982: 214). Interpersonal relationships and individual characteristics play a role alongside these group memberships, creating what is termed an *interindividual-intergroup continuum* (Tajfel and Turner, 1979) in which each pole is not operating in isolation, but rather is correlated across the stratum of variation and salience.

As one of the key pieces of information often available in historical correspondence is the identity of the sender and receiver, the ability to assess their relationship through SIT becomes tangible. Yet their social and linguistic positioning must be situated within this continuum - while interpersonal relationships may have affected language use, these politicians also belonged to a particular socio-political group within the parliament and within the Scottish nation at large. Group membership derived from shared connections operating within each party may have existed in the minds of these writers, which they might have sought to highlight or downplay depending on context, and linguistic variability could be one such method to do so. Of course, as with contemporary sociolinguistic analysis, we cannot be completely certain of language users' intentions, but through careful examination, potential patterns and repeated behaviour can be highlighted to suggest possible Second Wave influences. Accordingly, the role of group and interpersonal identity relationships will be explored through the top-down and close-up analyses of groups, individuals and their letters in Chapters 7 and 9 respectively.

Social Networks and Communities of Practice

Finally, Social Network theory, pioneered by Milroy and Milroy (1985), also falls under the remit of Second Wave analyses. Within this model, linguistic change is explained through its diffusion into social networks via highly mobile *innovators*, who have weak contact with various social structures, enabling them acquire variation from different networks and introduce it into their own (Labov, 2001: 364). Social network theory has been applied successfully in a number of historical sociolinguistic

settings (Tieken-Boon van Ostade, 1987, 1991, 2000, 2003, 2006; Nevalainen and Raumolin-Brunberg, 1989; Raumolin-Brunberg and Nevalainen, 1994; Raumolin-Brunberg, 1996a; Tieken-Boon van Ostade and Bax, 2002; Conde-Silvestre and Hernández-Campoy, 2004; Bergs, 2005; Guzmán-González and González, 2005; Sairio, 2009b; Conde-Silvestre, 2012), and several studies on eighteenth-century English in particular have confirmed the value of this approach despite its methodological difficulties (see for example Tieken-Boon van Ostade (1996, 2005); Fitzmaurice (2000b, 2004, 2007); Pratt and Denison (2000); Tieken-Boon van Ostade and Bax (2002); Henstra (2008); Sairio (2008, 2009a), and for Scots see Meurman-Solin (2005); Dossena (2016) and Elder, 2022). Scottish politicians could well have been influenced by social network pressures, considering their geo-social mobility, and connections to both Scottish and English elite networks. However, reconstructing the social networks of each person included in this corpus is simply not feasible, and rests upon taking an entirely different approach to the one applied here. Considering the central aim of this thesis is to examine the influence of political identity on written Scots usage, a corpus-based, macro-micro analysis is better suited than a social network analysis, which can tell us a lot about an individual, but not an entire community of writers.

Instead, the thematically-related concepts of *Communities of Practice* [CofP] and *Discourse Communities* (Watts, 2008; Kopaczyk and Jucker, 2013) are perhaps more applicable to the group of writers being investigated here, though when considering the politicians involved in the last Scottish parliament, CofP perhaps captures more accurately the nature of their communication. While both concepts share a large common ground, including common public goals, mechanisms for intercommunication and specialized terminology (Swales, 1998), there are certain key differences between them that highlights the applicability of CofP. Within these frameworks, the 'community' is constituted through group membership embedded in complex social relations, which are enacted and reinforced through mutual engagement in an endeavour or jointly-negotiated enterprise, shared activities, routines and feedback, a communal repertoire of resources, and collective practices which can include specific lexis or language use (Eckert and McConnell-Ginet, 1992: 464; Wenger, 1998: 72-85; Tieken-Boon van Ostade, 2000; Meyerhoff, 2002; Kopaczyk and Jucker, 2013: 6). Association is thus based around linguistic practice that is used to construct local social meanings (Milroy and Gordon, 2003: 19), facilitating variation and change in the process. Such communities do not have to be cohesive in the sense that networks are suggested to be, for while individual members are known to each other, a community of practice is 'neither a haven of togetherness nor an island of intimacy insulated from political and social relations. Disagreement, challenges and competition can all be forms of participation' (Wenger, 1998: 76). It is this participation itself that engenders the emergence of shared linguistic behaviour. In this light, the politicians being investigated here fit the description of a CofP particularly well. They too participated in a jointly-negotiated enterprise, through deliberating, debating and passing the Union agreement of 1707, perhaps drawing on political, social and linguistic resources in the process. Discourse communities, by contrast, consist of individuals who co-participate in discursive practices as a result of their recreational preferences or some purposeful focus, even when they are separated by time, language, or geography, and they do not necessarily share the same background or even nationality (Nystrand, 1982). A discourse community

thus 'implies a community of common interests, goals and beliefs rather than a community of individuals', and transcends the need for emergent social practice (Watts, 2008: 52). This does not adequately capture the politicians corresponding with one another and perhaps creating a shared repertoire or register in the process. The clergymen however are perhaps more appropriately described as a Discourse Community. Their writing was based around a common theme and style, but there was no real centrality of participation and practice (Wenger, 1998) and their texts were often aimed at the parliament, rather than facilitating a collective opposition among a clerical network.

The Second Wave framework remains a valuable approach through which to gain a more nuanced understanding of sociolinguistic pressures operating on historical variation at a local level, and some of its concepts will become applicable both within the quantitative and micro-level analyses taking place in Chapters 7 and 9. However, despite its broad applicability to sociolinguistic research, this framework alone cannot explain all observed variation, and trying to do so could be an erroneous endeavour (Meyerhoff, 1998). The social relationships occurring in a particular time and place are central to understanding sociolinguistic change in society (Millar, 2012: 45), but they can not always be full explanations in themselves, particularly given our understanding and knowledge of these relationships is often limited. The micro-level analysis involved in exploring small-scale structures cannot be dissociated from, nor is it contrary to, macro-level analysis based on large-scale social structure, highlighting the value of combining approaches from the First and Second waves of variation, rather than remaining solely within a singular framework (Milroy and Milroy, 1992: 16). Indeed, the combination of correlational sociolinguistics and audience-based factors in variationist research has yielded successful results across both synchronic and diachronic studies (Milroy and Milroy, 1992; Chambers, 1995; Raumolin-Brunberg, 1996a; Conde-Silvestre and Hernández-Campoy, 2004). Moreover, we must allow for other, unknown factors to play their role, such as motivations specific to the individual speaker themselves.

Third Wave analyses have built on this, viewing social categories as emergent through interaction rather than being pre-determined (Eckert, 2012, 2016: 69). Utilising insights from the Third Wave can thus add a final layer of nuance and perspective to variation in the data. Its central tenets of stylistic variation, identity and indexicality also play an important role in answering the main aim of the thesis, namely, the role of political, national identity in determining variation in Scots. Accordingly, Third Wave principles will now be discussed in more detail below.

4.1.3 The Third Wave and Stylistic Variation

The *Third Wave* (Agha, 2003; Moore, 2004; Schilling-Estes, 2004; Llamas, 2007; Podesva, 2007, 2011; Moore and Podesva, 2009) reflects a shift from the deterministic and system-oriented approaches characterising the first and second waves, in which focus was largely on inter-speaker variation and how it reflected collective social identities, towards a more constructivist and speaker-oriented one that views language as individual performance and practice, with a consequent emphasis on investigating

intra-writer variation (Bucholtz and Hall, 2005, Bucholtz, 2010; Hernández-Campoy and Cutillas-Espinosa, 2012: 7, Hernández-Campoy and Conde-Silvestre, 2015: 14). At its core, this framework concentrates upon the creation and enactment of social personae, identities or meaning through interaction, which in turn accumulate into patterns of change over time and linguistic variation (Eckert and Rickford, 2001: 70; Schilling-Estes, 2002; Eckert, 2016: 70). Variability in language use is not just the result of external influences, but also the individuality, stance, performativity and agency of the speaker as they navigate communicative situations whilst negotiating and maintaining their personal and interpersonal social identity and authenticity (Johnstone, 2000: 72-73; Moore and Podesva, 2009; Eckert, 2012: 90; Auer, 2015: 134; Hernández-Campoy and Conde-Silvestre, 2015: 15). Variation is thus not the incidental fallout of forces based within the broad social categories of society, rather, it is dynamic, both constrained by but also contributing to macro-social patterns (Eckert, 2012, 2016: 68; Hernández-Campoy and Conde-Silvestre, 2015: 15).

While the Second wave framework already recognised this symbiotic relationship to a degree, Third Wave studies extended this by suggesting that linguistic variables are a resource, rather than a product, of social differentiation that individuals can exploit in a systematic way to add multiple layers of social meaning to their linguistic behaviour (Eckert, 2012: 93; Watts, 2015: 8). Through such behaviour they can enact dialect or social personas with sufficient uniformity within different social categories for survey researchers to detect numerical patterns of stratification (Coupland, 2001: 198), and concurrently listeners and speakers recognise certain speech patterns as affiliated with certain groups of speakers on regional, social or individual terms (Purnell et al., 2009: 333). This creates a continual feedback loop, in which macrosocial patterns of variation are both the product of and a constraint on the complex system of meaning (Schilling-Estes, 2002: 389; Eckert, 2016: 68). As these communities become recognised, they tie into the categories underlying First and Second Wave analyses, and speakers are able to align themselves with these recognised groups through ongoing identity construction with others in emergent communities of practice. Again, this suggests the value of recognising the inherent connections between the three frameworks, which are operating within the same boundaries. However, Third Wave studies differ in approaching variation through a 'bottom-up' rather than 'top-down' perspective, providing a new methodological approach to variation.

As such, agency and style have become central tenets of Third Wave studies. Rather than treating all variation as reactive or occurring within a single dimension of formality or attention to speech, stylistic variation is instead viewed as a resource that speakers can actively utilise to shape their social identity (Mendoza-Denton, 1997; Eckert, 2000, 2016: 75). Style is the socially-meaningful clustering of features within and across linguistic levels, and can occur across multiple levels synergistically rather than independently of one another (Campbell-Kibler et al., 2006; Moore and Podesva, 2009: 448-449). Novel patterns of co-occurrence can bring about differences between and within individuals depending on social type and situation (Schilling-Estes, 2002; Auer, 2015: 133; Eckert, 2016: 75), developing into a register whose forms are able to index stereotypical social personae (Agha, 2005: 39-40), which in turn come to be accumulated into a recognisable style and social domain. While style is nothing new, having been used as a concept in both Attention to

Speech (Labov, 1972) and Audience Design models (Coupland, 1985, 2001, 1980; Bell, 1984), in Third Wave approaches individuals are agents of their own stylistic behaviour, employing bundles of variation to position themselves and others according to their macro-social relationships, as well as fashioning identities, and negotiating pragmatic and social meanings within interaction (Podesva, 2006; Auer, 2007; Auer et al., 2015b: 278). Such concepts are relevant for the questions under consideration here, given the possible links between recognised or salient socio-political identities and Scots use accumulating during this intense period of history.

Moreover a number of historical sociolinguistic studies have shown that Third Wave methodologies can be successfully transferred to grammatical variables in diachronic analysis, particularly when it comes to letters and personal writing (Conde-Silvestre and Hernández-Campoy, 2013; Auer, 2015; Hernández-Campoy and García-Vidal, 2018; Dossena, 2019). Historical identities were not homogenous after all, and when these collide with language in contested contexts, the nature and negotiation of sociolinguistic identities comes to the fore and the discursive nature of those identities becomes more salient (Hill, 1999; Blackledge and Pavlenko, 2001), even within the realm of writing. While the early eighteenth century may only be the beginnings of a contested situation for both Scots and Scottish identity, the political and linguistic situation was certainly heightened and complex by this time period as Chapters 2 and 3 have indicated. In addition, the types of features being employed will not necessarily be the same for the individuals under investigation, and the co-occurrence of multiple Scots features might suggest writers were enacting particular social personas and demonstrating sensitivity to a different written styles. Plausibly therefore, we could observe the negotiation or construction of sociolinguistic identities along political, ecclesiastical or social lines through the use of Scots features, that maps onto writers' positioning within the political sphere and variation space. Accordingly, elements of this approach will inform the micro-analysis taking place in Chapter 9, which seeks to complement the quantitative, macro-social investigation utilising a First Wave approach in Chapter 7. Plausible patterns of variation can thus be identified as occurring in relation to, and independent of, the recipient and large-scale, macro-social categories, enabling insights from the Third Wave framework to complement the contributions of First and Second wave concepts to the linguistic picture, and suggest the role of style, but also political indexicality in determining Scots use.

Identity and Indexicality

Third wave studies link quite naturally to ideas of identity and the indexicality of linguistic forms, and these ideas are of central importance to understanding the quantitative and qualitative results presented in the later chapters of this thesis. Identities are multifaceted, encompassing macro-level demographic categories, local, ethnographically-derived cultural positions, and temporary, interactionally-specific stances and participant roles (Bucholtz and Hall, 2005: 592). When considering identity more broadly than in its narrowly nationalistic sense, previous research (c.f. Chambers, 1995) has often approached it as a set, circumscribed ideology, a stable structure located primarily in the individual psyche or as part of a defined social

category. Yet several scholars (Gumperz, 1982; Le Page, 1985; Bucholtz and Hall, 2005; Coupland, 2007; Moore and Podesva, 2009) have argued instead for viewing it as an emanant, fluid, discursive phenomenon that emerges and is constructed in linguistic interaction. Through discourse the speaker positions the self relative to the other, with such moves usually linked to a desire to assert group membership (Bucholtz and Hall, 2005: 18). This construction does not have to be overt - certain linguistic forms may point to social meanings without necessarily referring to them (Johnstone, 2010: 29), but this process highlights their synergistic relationship; as linguistic forms cannot exist outside of interactional contexts, the two need to work in tandem in order for identity to be performed and for linguistic features to index identity (Williams, 1992; Johnstone, 1996; Tabouret-Keller, 1997; Blackledge and Pavlenko, 2001: 244).

This symbiotic relationship is also evident within the relationship between identity and the broad social categories identified in First wave studies. Identities are on the one hand embedded within larger ideological networks, discursive practice, relations of authority, socioeconomic and sociopolitical processes, and a social ground upon which identity and its corresponding linguistic style is built, maintained and altered (Blackledge and Pavlenko, 2001: 245-246; Bucholtz and Hall, 2005: 19-20). On the other hand, speakers can utilise features in ideological and indexical moves that characterise certain groups, to invoke ways of belonging to that population (Kiesling, 2001; Podesva, 2011; Eckert, 2012: 94). These interactional positions can accumulate ideological assumptions that come to be associated with *both* large-scale and local categories of identity and social groups, highlighting the inherent link between macro and micro-scale patterns of variation (Bucholtz and Hall, 2005: 22). Indeed, Blackledge and Pavlenko (2001: 244-245) note the fallacy of assuming that rigid categories exist in the minds of individuals, given the fluidity within which identity and group-membership can operate and change over time (Fetzer and Bull, 2012: 129). Language users can be part of multiple communities and even these communities themselves are not necessarily homogeneous. As such, speakers may adhere to a native, in-group language, whilst others adopt an out-group language, perhaps to escape a situation of social inequality (Gal, 1979; Nicols, 1983).

These considerations are particularly pertinent to the Scottish politicians and clergymen being investigated here, given that they were part of multiple groups, played multiple roles and professed multiple identities simultaneously. They were sensitive both to local political and social machinations that could further their dominance at home, but also to the demands of the Court, Crown and English elite, recognising that favour and influence at Whitehall would aggrandise their positions in Scotland or indeed in London (Szechi, 2002: 46). Alongside this, they had their faith, potential Jacobite loyalties and domestic affairs to consider as well. These demands could forge particular socio-political connections, developing group memberships or identities that were not always congruous with one another. Linguistic groups are not necessarily isomorphous with culturally or socially-conceived ethnic groups after all (Le Page, 1985; Giampapa, 2001), and it is plausible that these Scotsmen may similarly have felt part of different communities at different times, depending on a host of factors including their relationship to the recipient, the self-image they wanted to construct, and their intention behind the letter itself. The possible influence of these multi-layered identities on shared Scots usage will accordingly be

investigated in aggregate and within the behaviour of individual writers, to acquire an accumulative picture of how different identity categories may have influenced variable Scots use, and conversely whether Scots had become indexical of these identities in the process.

For the indexical connection between a given linguistic form and a particular social identity is not direct, it emerges at various levels of abstraction, and can possess a number of indexical levels or *orders* (as first proposed by Silverstein (1976; 1985; 1998; 2003)) which are mediated by stances, acts and activities considered typical or marked behaviours for a given category of speakers (Ochs, 1992: 343). Features gain social indexicality through their iterative use by representative actors, who perform certain social, political or ideological identities, and this index eventually gains salience and recognition within the wider speech community (Moore and Podesva, 2009: 478; Hall-Lew et al., 2012: 62). Once a feature is recognised as a distinguishing feature of that population's speech, it can be extracted from its linguistic surroundings and come, on its own, to index membership of that population (Johnstone, 2010: 31), acquiring further, multiple meanings over time (Eckert, 2008). An account of variation based on identity work thus relies on the identification of social meanings that variants index and the motivations behind orienting towards or away from these meanings (Hall-Lew et al., 2017: 22).

In the case of Scots, it is not clear whether its use was already indexed to 'Scottishness' or some other political or ideological agenda or construct. After all, 'agency does not equal awareness' and personae may not necessarily be entirely intentional (Eckert, 2016: 78-79), thus the lack of metalinguistic commentary from this time period does not mean Scots was not indexed to particular identities for particular writers. Contemporary research has shown that speakers' perceptions of the social meaning of variables can operate at a very unconscious level, even if they are stereotypes (Hay and Drager, 2010) or recent sound changes in progress (D'Onofrio, 2015). Scots was likely on the way to being *enregistered* (Agha, 2003) - the process in which particular registers or styles become cultural models of action that are broadly recognised as marking a social or regional grouping or type of conduct (Agha, 2007: 145) - considering the *Age of Politeness* and especially the *Vernacular Revival* characterising the later eighteenth century. At the beginning of the century however, the enregisterment process was in its embryonic stages, while the indexical status of Scots within elite Scottish society in not clear, thus the influence of political or social identity on early eighteenth-century Scots variation is currently unknown. A multi-dimensional approach that considers a range of plausible influences, derived from all the three waves of sociolinguistic investigation, would be particularly beneficial in addressing this possibility, and accordingly, this is the approach taken in this thesis.

4.1.4 Combining the Waves

With the right approach, tools and methodology, historical sociolinguistic analysis does not have to be limited purely to macro-social categories and quantitative corpus work, but neither does this mean we should turn solely to individual instances

of linguistic behaviour and ignore the bigger picture. To capture synchronic and diachronic variation holistically, we need to integrate practices and frameworks from across the methodological spectrum, recognising that the links between local stylistic practice and overarching social categories flow in both directions, causing variation within macro and micro-social scales (Eckert, 2016: 81-82). Correlating results taken from the population at large with more qualitative judgments of how individuals construct meanings in social practice enables both a 'bird's eye' and 'worm's eye' view of variation (Elspaß, 2007: 4) and Podesva et al. (2008: 82) call for comprehensive analyses of sociolinguistic variables that attend to the concerns of all three waves. The value of a combined approach, incorporating the perspectives offered by the three waves of variation, has been recognised and shown to be indispensable to uncovering intricate pictures of sociolinguistic variation within highly imbalanced data, such as diachronic variation (Moore and Podesva, 2009; Dossena, 2019: 67-69). Ultimately, the combination of broad oversight with detailed micro-level analysis can allow us to identify community-based norms and how individual practice fits within, contributes to and shapes these norms.

Accordingly, this thesis will utilise this multifaceted approach, firstly by drawing from the First Wave paradigm to aggregate results across the pool of Scottish politicians in examining the influence of extralinguistic factors on Scots frequencies, in Chapters 6 and 7 respectively. Chapter 7 will also consider whether these writers can be considered part of a Community of Practice, as derived from Second Wave analysis. Both a Second and Third Wave methodology will be applied in observing intra-writer variation in selected individuals, by considering the role of the recipient and accommodative practices, as well as stylistic influences such as political or religious identities, Jacobite ideology, and personal or communicative goals, in Chapter 9. However, this thesis is not only based within the broad sociolinguistic framework, but is also informed by historical correspondence analysis, eighteenth-century research, and the interaction between political identity and variation in particular. The following sections will thus briefly examine previous research and their insights in these areas respectively.

4.2   Historical Correspondence

Correspondence and ego-documents in general can play a vital role in uncovering historical insights into socially-constrained variation (Dossena, 2019: 80), and in general it has often been seen as the most suitable material for historical sociolinguistic research, given the detailed personal information frequently available (Nevalainen and Raumolin-Brunberg, 1996: 39-54; Hernández-Campoy and Conde-Silvestre, 2005: 110, 2015: 17; Conde-Silvestre, 2007: 51-52; Palander-Collin et al., 2009). Analyses into the medium have demonstrated the validity of sociolinguistic 'universals' such as overt and covert prestige, changes from above and below, the s-curve of language change, and the importance of traditional sociolinguistic factors such as age, social status, gender and mobility over social, geographical and temporal spaces (e.g. Nevalainen and Raumolin-Brunberg, 1996, 2003; Conde-Silvestre, 2007 Conde-Silvestre and Hernández-Campoy, 2012). Correspondence can also be useful

from a Third Wave perspective, allowing us to reconstruct participant relationships and sociohistorical identities to analyse and account for the motivations behind variability in individuals and their stylistic choices. Letters are after all intended as exchanges of dialogue, albeit in written form, reflecting the personal, communicative style of an author who maintains and negotiates a particular social relationship with their addressee, within the social context of the letter (Hernández-Campoy and Conde-Silvestre, 2015: 17-20).

Writers can utilise the variation available to them to infer or present particular personas, identities or desires, as a powerful means of self-representation. This art of self-fashioning one's identity or identity performance (c.f. Greenblatt, 1980) is considered to be an inherent aspect of ego-documents (Dekker, 2002), though equally pragmatic goals and intentions can shape variation within correspondence. For example, letter-writers have been found to utilise subtle linguistic features such as modality or self-reference to influence recipients (Nurmi, 2013; Włodarczyk, 2013). However, writers also frequently recognise and converge to supraregional writing practices, being in many ways constrained by this (Vandenbussche, 2002; Nordlund, 2007; Rutten and van der Wal, 2011). This suggests the hybrid nature of correspondence - while letters are likely to foster increased use of the vernacular (Biber, 1995), they will also show typical letter-writing characteristics, like epistolary formulae (Martineau, 2013; van der Wal and Rutten, 2013: 4), which can severely circumscribe the freedom of linguistic choice and the variability available to the writer (Elspaß, 2012b: 158).

Nonetheless, Hernandez-Campoy and Conde-Silvestre (1999; 2005; 2015) have aptly demonstrated the validity of applying a 'combined Wave' approach to early English correspondence through their examination of the *Paston* letters - a collection of fifteenth-century private correspondence written by members of a Norfolk family across different generations (see also Conde-Silvestre and Hernández-Campoy, 2004). They explored the diffusion of incipient orthographic practices, correlating selected graphemic innovations with social variables. While identifying a clear generational change across the corpus overall, on an individual level use of the incoming innovation could not be tied exclusively to communal change, but was also crucially influenced by factors such as geographic and social mobility and the individual's social network. These results lead them to suggest that an approach recognising the creative and strategic nature of variation alongside broad patterns of change encapsulates diachronic variation with greater depth and breadth, despite the limitations inherent in the medium and time period under investigation (Hernández-Campoy and Conde-Silvestre, 2015: 34). This highlights and supports the validity and applicability of the combined Wave approach in diachronic correspondence investigations, particularly considering that, unlike English, historical Scots research has not yet seen the use of this methodological framework, especially within the under-researched eighteenth century.

4.2.1 Eighteenth-Century Scots Research

The time period under investigation has seen less attention within historical Scots research, yet the eighteenth century has become in many ways a favored period to

study from an English sociolinguistic perspective. While the development of more uniform spelling practices was taking place (Tieken-Boon van Ostade, 2006: 247; Conde-Silvestre, 2012: 344), variant spellings continued in letters and diaries from this time, even among the educated (Görlach, 2001: 78; Tieken-Boon van Ostade, 2009: 46-50; Rutkowska and Rössler, 2012: 223-227). In terms of sociolinguistic research on eighteenth-century Scottish correspondence, detailed investigations have been fairly thin on the ground. There are a few notable exceptions, including Cruickshank's (2011; 2012; 2013; 2017) analyses of the letters of Lord Fife, and Elder's (2022) investigations of correspondence produced by the Countess of Mar and her family.

Cruickshank (2011) qualitatitively examined the letters of James Duff, Second Earl Fife (1729-1809); a wealthy Scottish landowner who was immersed in the highest levels of London society. Given the potential dichotomy between the standardising pressure induced by his social standing and the 'familar' and 'unstudied' nature of correspondence, she sought to investigate whether any persistence of Scotticisms in his correspondence could be observed. Letters addressed both to his estate factor William Rose (Cruickshank, 2011, 2012) and the Prime Minister of England, George Grenville (Cruickshank, 2017), were analysed. When corresponding with Grenville, Fife's letters reflected reduced Scots features (compared to Rose), along with evidence of hypercorrection and linguistic insecurity, suggesting Fife was making a considerable effort to conform to norms of politeness (Cruickshank, 2017: 218-219). Yet Fife seemed unable or unwilling to eliminate them completely from his personal correspondence, and Cruickshank (2017: 228) suggests that the occasional Scotticism may have been tolerated, or may have even served as a mark of familiarity or a token of the writer's acceptance into London society.

When corresponding with his estate factor, Fife's use of Scots variants were frequently linked to the requirements of the letter, particularly when they carried pragmatic or semantic meaning that was not available with the Standard English variant (Cruickshank, 2012: 116-117). For example, they could be used to scold his factor in a humorous manner and thereby reduce the force of the statement. A similar use of Scots was found by Dossena (2002) when analysing the correspondence between Robert Louis Stevenson and Charles Baxter in the nineteenth century. Dossena found that Scots was more frequent when the subject matter included face-threatening acts such as requesting money, referring to poor health or expressing disappointment at a friend's behaviour. In these instances Scots could signal linguistic and cultural solidarity, helping to distance the difficult or painful subject matter (Dossena, 2002: 117). These findings have considerable bearing on the frequency and form of Scots we can expect within the letters in this corpus, as many of the politicians were similarly corresponding with high-ranking, socially-superior recipients, and may have had to perform face-threatening acts. Given the pragmatic and semantic importance Scots held for Fife and Stevenson, the intra-writer analysis in Chapter 9 will accordingly inspect individual occurrences of Scots across such recipients, to discover whether similar motives, alongside the demands of political friendships and associations, were conditioning its use.

4.2.2   Variation and Politics in Eighteenth-Century England

Moving on to eighteenth-century research examining a political setting specifically, Fitzmaurice (1998; 2000b; 2007) has explored variable language use within the correspondence of English political networks during the eighteenth century. Taking a social network approach, she focused on the interpersonal relationships of Whig politicians and writers connected to the periodical *The Spectator* during the years 1710-14 (Fitzmaurice, 2000a,b), as well as the writings of members of the *Kit-Cat Club* (Fitzmaurice, 2015) - an aristocratic London dining club which included several powerful politicians and landed gentlemen - through the lens of style and stance. Comparing letter-writing practices across members of different social levels, Fitzmaurice (2015) found that variation very much depended on the power relations between the correspondents in question. While most members did observe 'standard' grammatical practices, particularly concerning conventional epistolary patterns, all of them utilised variable language norms to maintain a relationship with their interlocutor, as well as to perform a particular persona and identity. In doing so, they reflected their belonging to the English aristocratic community, whose membership was marked by a common set of educational, political and social experiences derived from their status and privilege (Fitzmaurice, 2015: 179). Their stylistic variation and linguistic practices thus conveyed information about their self-positioning within the complex political and social hierarchies structuring the network.

In several aspects the political figures being investigated here share similarities with these English aristocrats, although as a socio-political layer of Scottish society they are not as defined as the Spectator or Kit-Cat networks. Yet they would have faced many of the same considerations regarding recipient, power relations, and identity-management when constructing their discourse, while their variable language use might also tell us something about their membership of the highest level of Scottish society. Both the macro and micro-analyses Chapters 7 and 9 respectively will consider these influences, exploring whether the Scottish political elite showed awareness of similar variable norms in aggregate, but perhaps also recognised many of the same, specific concerns when writing to their individual networks. These considerations, as well as 'standard' sociolinguistic factors, recipient and pragmatic goals will accordingly inform the methodological framework of this thesis. The key factor being analysed here, however, is political identity and the role of linguistic variation in indexing this, but to date, this factor has received comparatively less attention in historical sociolinguistic analyses. For this, we must turn to contemporary sociolinguistic research which has explored this relationship within various domains. While these studies lack the diachronic perspective, given historical correspondence analyses have demonstrated the validity of sociolinguistic 'universals', we might assume that the reverse is also possible - namely - that modern-day findings can inform this investigation, providing additional scaffolding through which to explore variable Scots use.

4.3   Politics, Identity and Variation

Studies examining the interaction between politics and language have identified tangible links between the overt and covert language choices of political individuals and their specific goals. Such research has often focused on the ways in which the discourse of politicians creates a recognisable communicative style to accomplish certain types of governance (e.g. Wodak, 1989; O'Connor et al., 2008). This is an obvious target for audience-design, accommodative desires and style shifting, given that a positive evaluation is a necessity for political success (Beebe and Giles, 1984; Moosmüller, 1989). Political speeches themselves represent a highly constrained stylistic context, as perceived and real knowledge of acceptable behaviour may place boundaries on speakers' word choice (Purnell et al., 2009; Hernández-Campoy and Schilling, 2012). Members of the political class are under multiple pressures, wishing to demonstrate both that they understand and empathize with the concerns of their constituencies, whilst aligning themselves with the positions of the broader political party. Solidarity is thus expressed both with the subset of a political party and the superset of a nation (Fetzer and Bull, 2012: 133; Hall-Lew et al., 2012: 45), and this must be achieved primarily through stylistic alterations in speech. While the medium under investigation here is written correspondence rather than speeches, and private rather than public in nature, it still seems feasible that accommodative desires and stylistic concerns influenced these political individuals, as well as possible nationalistic loyalties, particularly if they sought positive evaluations from their alliances and connections within the political realm.

Political performances accordingly become sites for the construction and emergence of particular public identities within parties or individuals, utilising discourse features and their associations. A number of sociolinguistic studies have, for example, noted that politicians will often make use of *we* in order to construct unity between a political party and a nation (Fairclough, 1989; Wales, 1996; O'Connor et al., 2008). Fairclough (2000: 35) found that *we* is used in New Labour discourse either to exclusively refer to Government or to inclusively refer to Britain as a whole, while other words operate as 'typical' New Labour markers that take on special significance, representing a specific party-level identity (p. 17-18). In both instances, these features are used as a means of indexing collectivity and connectivity (Wales, 1996: 62; Kirkham and Moore, 2016: 102-103). Other features of political speech have similarly been found to index politicians' stake within the party they represent, thereby expressing solidarity, group identity and leadership of that socio-political group (Fetzer and Bull, 2012: 132).

Indeed, the identity of the political party has come to play a major role in investigations not just of discourse markers but also sociophonetic variation among politicians, with previous research (Pearce, 2001, 2005; Hall-Lew et al., 2010, 2012, 2017) highlighting the potentially-rich social information that it can convey. Party identity is after all generally more central to a politician's public image and the composition of their social networks than the average individual (McGraw, 2003). Kirkham and Moore (2016) for example examined two political speeches of Ed Miliband, a former leader of the UK Labour Party (2010-2015), looking at phonological variants (t-glottaling) and certain grammatical features. They found substantial differences in the production

of /t/ between the two speeches directed at different audiences, especially in highly salient words such as *Britain* and *government*, which are pertinent to British political discourse and a New Labour identity in particular (p. 87-97). Identity was thus negotiated and mediated in response to audience design through both phonological and lexical indexes, conditioning the variation between Miliband's speeches. This was not merely a passive reaction to the external input - rather - Miliband was able to utilise these variables to establish a political persona that was sensitive to ideological differences between these audiences, which was overtly recognised by them (Kirkham and Moore, 2016: 87).

Such behaviour can be deliberate - politicians may seek to use vernacular variants to index solidarity or familiarity, as dialectal variants are generally associated with sociability, social attractiveness and trustworthiness (Giles and Powesland, 1975; Dittmar et al., 1986; Schlobinski, 1987). Standard variants on the other hand point to credibility and are most often associated with intelligence, competence and status-related traits (Moosmüller, 1989; Purnell et al., 2009; Podesva et al., 2015). Hall-Lew et al. (2010; 2012) for instance explored possible political associations between 'foreign /aː/' or /æ/ in the word *Iraq(i)* during televised speeches of the US House of Representatives in February 2007. Foreign /aː/ is associated with notions of correctness, education, and sophistication, as well as being more faithful to the foreign language in question (Boberg, 1999, 2009), and Hall-Lew et al. found that pronouncing the second vowel as [aː] correlates with a liberal political stance and consequently, with a party political identity. Despite the common stylistic repertoire within the House preferring /æ/, their research suggests that liberal members are motivated to maintain individual styles reflecting local identities (Hall-Lew et al., 2012: 60).

This underscores the performative aspect of political speech - regional or supra-regional features do not necessarily have to be interpreted as characteristic of the speaker's language; politicians may be choosing variants in the hope of 'satisfying' their audience, a characteristic that has been found in correspondence too (Rutkowska and Rössler, 2012: 217). This shares many overlaps with the central aims of this thesis, as the dichotomy between indexing familiarity with close recipients, and the prestige (and ergo politeness) of the arising southern English standard was a plausible negotiation being faced by politicians within elite Scottish society, and the micro-analysis will seek to unpick this possibility further. A specific focus on individuals' linguistic behaviour to different recipients might determine whether considerations of status, relationship and affiliations played a role in the frequency and forms of Scots being used by certain writers.

Moreover, these contemporary sociolinguistic studies suggest the heightened linguistic awareness that can accompany political acts, and there is no reason why such concerns could not infiltrate the private sphere and be operating during the early eighteenth century, particularly given the conscious act of letter construction. Of course, political parties and their platforms were still in the process of emerging during this time, and thus their 'identity' might be more strongly linked to the familial connections and shared ambitions characterising each party rather than the collective label of the party itself. Nonetheless, these studies suggest its importance in creating shared values and membership, supporting an exploration into 'party' as

a sociolinguistic factor in this investigation. Accordingly, the quantitative analysis in Chapter 7 will specifically examine the role of party identity in the patterning of Scots usage, while the accompanying micro-analysis in Chapter 9 will explore its influence on individual writers corresponding with different representatives of these parties, including their own, to identify plausible accommodative or divergent behaviours.

Before the process of compiling correspondence and the subsequent analyses are presented however, a final component that needs to be considered is the specifically-Scots context in which this variation is taking place. While historical analyses of Scots and political party identity are currently lacking, contemporary sociolinguistic analyses have examined the behaviour of Scottish politicians, as well as the interaction between a Scottish political identity and Scots language use. Their main findings are discussed below.

4.3.1   Scottish Politicians and Linguistic Variation

Recall from Chapter 3 the diglossic situation in Scotland today; in which Scots and Scottish Standard English (SSE) exist on a 'bi-polar continuum' (Stuart-Smith, 2004: 48) that Scottish speakers can shift along to varying degrees, dependent on various social factors. Within the context of the political realm, we might expect speakers to be situated firmly within the SSE side of the continuum, and several studies have looked specifically at Scottish members of the UK parliament or political broadcasters working in the Westminster Village (Carr and Brulard, 2006; Hall-Lew et al., 2017). Within these social environments Received Pronunciation (RP) is still a normative accent (Hall-Lew et al., 2017), and earlier work has often noted that Scottish politicians, lawyers and broadcasters frequently have anglicised speech, plausibly influenced by a convergence to southern English norms (Romaine, 1980; Scobbie et al., 1999). Carr and Brulard (2006) for instance examined the political speeches and interviews of Scottish politicians and journalists, to establish how SSE speakers might acquire RP features. They found a range of accent modification among speakers; some were consistently SSE, whereas others were near-RP in speech style, leading them to suggest that any unconscious accommodation towards RP was not influenced by ideas of national or regional identity, as this is a necessarily conscious process (see also Brulard and Carr, 2013).

However, Hall-Lew et al's (2017) findings suggested that, while the accommodation observed by Scottish MPs was not the *direct* result of national identity, this was indirectly indexed through political party identity. They examined a year's worth of political speeches within the UK parliament, taken from five members of the Scottish Labour Party (SLP) and five Scottish National Party (SNP) members. They focussed particularly on the CAT vowel, given it has multiple but distinct Scottish realisations that differ from RP norms (Hall-Lew et al., 2017: 7-10). The expectation was that SNP MPs would be less likely to adopt RP norms than Labour MPs, given their party platform is built upon achieving an independent Scotland (Hassan and Shaw, 2012). Results however contradicted the idea that Scottish MPs unconsciously converge towards Anglo-English norms when based in the UK

parliament. Rather, vowel height was significantly correlated with political party. Labour Party MPs were found to produce a higher 'CAT' vowel than the SNP MPs, which might link to a middle class, conservative persona (Johnston, 1984; Romaine, 1985). This might suit the construction of the 'New Labour' party identity identified in previous studies (i.e Fairclough, 2000; Kirkham and Moore, 2016). SNP MPs on the other hand might be motivated to avoid such class and institutional indexes, particularly to gain ground with younger, urban and left-wing voters (Hall-Lew et al., 2017: 23).

As such, the two groups reflect patterns of phonetic divergence, suggesting a range of stance and class-based meanings that take on political value in the context of Scottish MPs speaking as a minority group in the UK parliament (p. 25). This situation mirrors in some ways the linguistic environment of the Scottish politicians in 1700 - while they all had exposure and familiarity with southern Standard English norms as a result of their position and mobility within society, their motivations to anglicise their writing could also be dependent upon associations with different political, ideological and social groups within the Scottish parliament, and conceptions of their role as representatives of those particular groups.

Finally, links between Scottish political identity and *written* Scots across the general population was explored by Shoemark et al. (2017a; 2017b). They examined the use of Scots words and spellings on Twitter during the Scottish Independence Referendum of 2014, given political surveys have indicated a relationship between a sense of Scottish identity and voting decisions in the 2014 Referendum. Research by Llamas et al. (2009) on Scottish and English interlocutors within the linguistically-fluid border region of Scotland and England has also indicated the strong and persistent awareness by speakers of the Scots-English divide and of salient Scots or SSE variants as indexical of national identity. Moreover, the well-established orthographic standards operating in most of today's languages means the use of non-standard variants is marked, often deliberate (de Beaugrande, 2006: 43), and constitutes a 'powerful expressive resource' that captures some of 'the "immediacy", the "authenticity" and "flavour" of the spoken word in all its diversity' (Jaffe, 2000: 498). Thus Shoemark et al. (2017a) sought to investigate the intuitive hypothesis that those who support independence would be more likely to use Scots features than opponents. Looking at pro and anti-independence users on Twitter, their first study confirmed this relationship, though results also suggested that users were less likely to use Scots in Referendum tweets than in their general Twitter activity. Shoemark et al. (2017a) attribute this to the wider audience that is being addressed, as hashtags broaden the potential reach of the tweet, and Twitter users tend to choose less region-specific and non-standard vocabulary when addressing large audiences (Pavalanathan and Eisenstein, 2015).

In their follow up study, however, Shoemark et al. (2017b) found this was largely dependent on the topic being tweeted about. Topic has been found to influence levels of Scots usage on Twitter (Tatman, 2015), and Shoemark et al. explored its influence across two demographically distinct Twitter user samples - tweets geotagged within Scotland, and tweets using Independence Referendum hashtags. Topic and audience were found to have independent effects on the rate of Scots usage; geotagged users tended to use less regional features with larger audiences, while Referendum-hashtag

users displayed a positive association between hashtags and Scots variants. Drawing on explanations by Pavalanathan and Eisenstein (2015), Shoemark et al. (2017b: 66) suggest that the Referendum group may use Scots to stake claims to local authenticity, using features associated with Scottish identity for a topic salient to Scotland, with an audience for which this has strong currency. These findings have clear parallels with the political situation in the early-eighteenth century, and the plausible linguistic connections that were operating between political identity and Scots use. Similarly, we might also intuitively posit that those who rejected Union would make greater use of Scots, although considering the fluid and amorphous nature of the Scottish parliament, which saw multiple ideologies, ambitions and associations operating within it, it is equally plausible that increased Scots use was more narrowly confined to certain sub-groups of writers, who utilised Scots features to achieve particular pragmatic or ideological ends.

Extrapolating from the insights these contemporary analyses offer, the question is thus whether political factors would similarly act as an informative and valuable social category in the Scottish historical setting. Similar concerns and possibilities could certainly have been active, in which it was more or less beneficial for politicians to foreground certain identities or personas depending on their recipient or personal goals. While today, choosing Scots or English is seen as 'in one sense a statement of social solidarity' (Smith, 1996b: 167-168), whether there is any compatibility between present and past political settings and such sentiments warrants further investigation, both on the inter and intra-writer levels of variation. Accordingly, by applying the frameworks of all three Waves of sociolinguistic enquiry, drawing upon the perspectives garnered from historical and eighteenth-century research into correspondence and political networks, and recognising the inherent links between political identities and linguistic variation repeatedly found in sociolinguistic research, the previously unexplored, unique and complex political and linguistic situation characterising Scotland during the Union debates can be examined through the lens of political change and its effects on Scots usage. This accordingly led to the following research questions, below.

4.4   Research Questions

The unique socio-political climate of Union-era Scotland outlined in Chapter 2, the under-explored nature of early eighteenth-century Scots and its role in correspondence highlighted in Chapter 3, and the intricate links found between language use and ideological constructions of identity demonstrated in this Chapter, makes this time period and these historical actors a promising area of research, especially given this has not yet been addressed in historical Scots scholarship. Accordingly this thesis will utilise the benefits of a large-scale, quantitative exploration of written Scots variation within a broad cultural remit, as well as a micro-scale, stylistic analysis at the individual level, to explore this relationship, and the nature of Scots itself, in more detail. This two-pronged approach is structured through the following research questions:

1. Does the time period around the debates see any observable change in Scots use in terms of frequencies of Scots features in writing?

2. Which extralinguistic factors influence the probability of choosing Scots features, and do political or ideological affiliations influence this in particular?

3. How do written Scots features pattern across the writers in the corpus in terms of frequency and range, and what might this suggest about their persistence in or retreat from correspondence?

4. How does the frequency and range of Scots features demonstrated by selected individual writers pattern across recipients, and what role might stylistic and social factors play in influencing this? To what extent does this mirror the macro-social patterns identified in RQ2?

With these aims in focus, the next step was accordingly to source the appropriate material for answering these questions, compile them into a corpus, and search them for appropriate Scots features - once these had been identified themselves. The next chapter thus outlines the methodological procedures involved in corpus-compilation and Scots identification, before the following chapters present the statistical and descriptive results obtained from the corpus.

Chapter 5

Methodology

To explore the research questions outlined in Section 4.4 above, this analysis relies on identifying relevant primary-source material produced by leading figures involved in the Union debates and its aftermath, that could be compiled into a corpus, and then analysed both quantitatively and on an individual, case-by-case basis. This chapter will explain firstly the motivations behind selecting correspondence as the text-type (Section 5.1), followed by a brief description of the political figures included in the corpus (Section 5.2), the identification of their writings in the archives (Section 5.3), the compilation and digitisation of their letters (Section 5.4), the corpus-building process itself (Section 5.5) and finally, the creation of a Scots feature-list used to search the corpus (Section 5.6).

5.1   Correspondence: The Text Type

Correspondence was considered the most suitable text-type to address the research questions driving this analysis. This choice was informed partly by reasons touched upon in Chapter 3 regarding historical developments in written Scots and the anglicised nature of printed texts (though even by the mid-eighteenth century the language of print was not fixed, see Tieken-Boon van Ostade (2000, 2006) and Donaldson (1989) for examples). Moreover, correspondence is also considered most capable of supplying the data necessary for applying sociolinguistic methods to historical language states (Conde-Silvestre and Hernández-Campoy, 2004: 136), as discussed in Chapter 4. Correspondence belongs to the genre of texts known as *ego-documents*, which includes private letters, diaries or travelogues, and these provide a first-person perspective from the writer, allowing us to come closer to understanding the actual linguistic choices of the individual themselves. Exploring variation through the lens of second and third wave methodologies concerning audience and persona-related motivations, as well as assessing the influence of political factors through first-wave quantitative methods, relies upon understanding these linguistic choices, as well as acquiring detailed knowledge of the sender and receiver of the text. Private letters accordingly provide us with authored texts whose personal and social information can be traced, as well as diverse types of interactions and styles,

enabling us to conduct such an analysis.

This investigation furthermore rests upon exploring a large body of written work that is as 'subconscious' as possible, to assess whether Scottish political figures were sensitive to political and ideological factors in their language choices, despite the inherently more-focused quality of writing. Written language by nature tends to be more conservative and constructed than oral language (Conde-Silvestre and Hernández-Campoy, 1998: 109-110), and the proximity of written documents to authentic speech has been an issue of much debate. Nonetheless, correspondence has been argued to be less affected by the conventions of writing and closer to speech than other text-types, forming perhaps the most 'natural' of written texts (Nevalainen, 1991; Raumolin-Brunberg, 1991; Biber, 1995: 283-300; Romaine, 1998: 18; Elspaß, 2012b; van der Wal and Rutten, 2013: 1; Auer et al., 2015a: 7). Biber and Finegan (1989) have demonstrated that personal letters are among the most involved and therefore the more oral of written genres, as letters imply interaction and therefore participation, unlike many other text types. While the addressee cannot immediately hear the information that needs to be conveyed, the writer 'commits potential utterances to the text for want of a recipient, thus the writer remains in near-speech mode' (Schneider, 2002: 72). This speech-like quality thus encourages the probability of variation, at higher rates than other conventional genres of written work.

Correspondence is also more 'immediate' than many texts types - letters tend to be more informal and unplanned relative to 'distant' text types such as legal contracts (Meurman-Solin, 2000: 158; van der Wal and Rutten, 2013: 2), thereby encouraging language variation and change along the vector of formality (Elspaß, 2012b: 160). This formality is conditioned upon the relationship to the recipient, which can be created, affirmed and reaffirmed through the process of letter-writing itself (Auer et al., 2015b: 282). In the process, letter-writers often fluctuate at various points along the standard-dialect continuum, within certain sociocultural contexts (Görlach, 1999). To that end, studies examining correspondence have frequently found increased innovation and variation, a reduced unidirectionality in patterns reflecting standardisation, and a more tolerant attitude towards forms that are geographically-marked forms than the stringent standards of print culture (see Görlach, 1999; Meurman-Solin, 2000: 155; Dossena, 2002: 106; Nevalainen and Raumolin-Brunberg, 2003; Elspaß, 2005). Additionally, a whole system of social, cultural and linguistic mores was integrated into the act of letter writing, thus correspondence practices in England and Scotland were not necessarily mirror images of each other. This is promising for eighteenth-century Scotland, given the severe reduction in written Scots variation by this time. Any factors encouraging its use can enable us to make more informed observations of when, how and why it was patterning, and to this end correspondence is an ideal medium.

Accordingly, correspondence was selected as the target text type, and relevant historical actors and their letters were then sourced and compiled to construct a specialised corpus, the process of which is outlined in the next section.

5.2   The Political Players

The first step in the process of identifying and locating relevant correspondence material involved narrowing down characters of interest for this time period. This included mostly politicians active in the last Scottish parliament, but also a number of clergymen who actively disputed the ecclesiastical issues around the Union, and influential figures who, while not commissioners themselves, participated from the sidelines. Background research into the Union debates (as outlined in Chapter 2, Section 2.1.5) provided many names of the main political players, and the online *Records of the Parliament of Scotland to 1707, (RPS, 2022)* was also consulted. RPS contains minutes and attendance lists for all the historical sittings of the Scottish parliament up until 1707, including how ministers voted on any motions tabled or passed. Once names were identified (see table 5.2 in Section 5.2.1), targeted research into their background then followed, to identify important contributing factors including their political leanings and role within the Scottish parliament (or outside of it), their religious loyalties and possible Jacobite sympathies. This research was not only necessary to ensure a relatively even spread of viewpoints and sympathies were present in the corpus (see Table 5.1 at the end of this section for specific numbers) but also established whether background information was available for each name in the process. Consequently, a number of minor figures were not included in the corpus, given the lack of biographical information available.

From the perspective of a historical sociolinguistic analysis, it is of course desirable to locate as much information about the writers as possible (Elspaß, 2012b: 165). Yet our knowledge and understanding of past sociocultural situations can only be reconstructed rather than directly observed or experienced by the researcher, and will remain incomplete and usually non-representative (Hernández-Campoy and Schilling, 2012: 63). Nonetheless, we are fortunate in that there is comparatively more information available on the gentry and members of the elite, rather than lower and middle class writers who have simply faded into obscurity (Fitzmaurice, 2002; Tieken-Boon van Ostade, 2003; Dossena, 2019). As well as greater background information, the elite tended to write more, and their texts have been better preserved, than the lower orders. They have been historically literate far longer, as well as having the time, resources and need to write in greater quantities than the middling and working classes, even when literacy became more widespread (Elspaß, 2012b: 159). These factors are promising benefits when it comes to the examination of Scots features in political correspondence produced during the Union debates, given that those involved were often nobility, gentry and clerical figures, who fit the above characteristics.

The Oxford Dictionary of National Biography (ODNB, 2023) and the volumes of the Scots Peerage (Paul, 1904) assisted in providing detailed information about the individuals' lives and their relevance to the political debate. From this, a shortlist was compiled of promising individuals, whilst trying to balance their political affiliations in terms of voting behaviour ('pro' or 'anti' Union) and which political party they adhered to. Along with balancing affiliations, a further effort was made to source authors from geographically dispersed locations, given figures from peripheral areas may have experienced varying degrees of intensity and density of contact with the

centres of national administration (Chambers, 1995: 713; Meurman-Solin, 2000: 160). This proved challenging as the majority of members were based (perhaps unsurprisingly) on estates in the Central Belt (the region of Scotland with the highest population density), and there were very few writers located in the highlands (where the Gaelic clan system was still largely operating). Consequently, while a few writers from the North East are included, they remain very low in number (see Appendix A.4 for counts of letters or authors).

Despite these various caveats, the sample of authors finally selected and analysed was, as far as possible, balanced and representative (see Table 5.1 below). The clergymen were more homogeneous in composition, given the majority of Presbyterians and Episcopalians remained opposed to the Union agreement, as discussed previously in Chapter 2, Section 2.2. However, the results here do not presume to be generalisable to all Scottish elite writing at this time. Even contemporary sociolinguistic studies can struggle with the 'generalisability' of their results and we cannot hold historical research to standards which sociolinguistics itself cannot apply (Hernández-Campoy and Schilling, 2012: 63-67). Rather, the results presented here are suggestive of the patterns, influences and constraints operating on this particular group of Scottish men, which may in turn be suggestive of global patterns identified in other studies examining the interplay between variation and socio-political indexicality.

A summary of how these writers are spread across the political factors investigated is given in Table 5.1.

Table 5.1: Counts for number of writers across political factors

Factor	Levels	Count
Political Affiliation	Pro	22
	Anti	15
Party	Court	14
	Country	10
	Squadrone	7
Religious Affiliation	Presbyterian	23
	Episcopalian	14
Jacobite	Yes	12
	No	18
	Tactical	5
	Unknown	2

The final list of political figures included in the corpus is presented below, along with an explanation of what connected or motivated these different political and religious players, how they engaged with the Union debates, and what we can plausibly expect in terms of Scots frequencies.

5.2.1 The Authors

In total thirty seven authors were included in the corpus and they will be discussed collectively, either as a member of one of the three Scottish political parties, an ecclesiastical figure, or a 'political other'. The men within these groups are largely characterised by similar considerations and backgrounds, given the Scottish political parties were made up of landowners who often shared social or family connections, as well as religious convictions, alongside their political persuasion. The clergymen meanwhile shared similar ecclesiastical concerns regarding the Union. Where certain individuals differ from the main trend this is highlighted. As the three main parties and the religious concerns of the Presbyterians and Episcopalians has been discussed in detail in Sections 2.2 and 2.3, the focus here will be specifically on the social backgrounds of these men and the concerns driving their voting decisions. The four individuals that are analysed for the micro-analysis will be discussed in more detail in Chapter 9. All authors included in the corpus and their group membership are summarised in table 5.2 below, before each group is examined in turn.

Table 5.2: The writers included in corpus according to party or group

Political Group	Author
Court	David Boyle, Earl of Glasgow
	Archibald Campbell, Earl of Ilay
	Hugh Campbell, Earl of Loudoun
	John Campbell, Duke of Argyll
	Hew Dalrymple, First Baronet
	John Dalrymple, Earl of Stair
	John Erskine, Earl of Mar
	Thomas Hay, Earl of Kinnoull
	David Melville, Earl of Leven
	James Ogilvie, Lord Seafield
	Sir John Clerk of Penicuik, Second Baronet
Country	William Cochrane of Kilmaronock
	Andrew Fletcher of Saltoun
	Alexander Forbes, Lord Pitsligo
	James Hamilton, Duke of Hamilton
	Charles Hay, 13th Earl of Erroll
	William Johnstone, Marquess of Annandale
	George Lockhart of Carnwath
	John Murray, Duke of Atholl
Squadrone Volante	John Cockburn of Ormistoun
	John Haldane of Gleneagles
	John Hay, Marquess of Tweeddale
	Patrick Hume, Earl of Marchmont
	John Ker, Duke of Roxburghe
	John Leslie, Earl of Rothes
	George Mackenzie, Earl of Cromartie
Minister	John Bell
	William Carstairs
	Alexander Monro
	Robert Wodrow
	Robert Wylie
Political 'Others'	Harry Maule of Panmure
	James Maule of Panmure
	Simon Fraser, Lord Lovat
	George Ramsay of Carriden
	Alexander Wedderburn

Members of the Court party

The Court party members formed the pro-Union party within the Scottish parliament, voting consistently in favour of Union. Many of these members had sat in parliament since the time of William's reign, and were characterised by their staunch Presbyterian values (though Mar fell outside this circle as an Episcopalian). A large number were

leading magnates of Scottish society, born and raised in a range of locations, which included England (Argyll and Ilay - though they were tutored by Scottish tutors in their early years), Galloway (the Dalrymple brothers), Ayrshire (the Earls of Glasgow and Loudoun), Fife (the Earls of Leven and Kinnoull), Midlothian (Sir John Clerk of Penicuik), Clackmannanshire (Earl of Mar) and Aberdeenshire (Seafield). These men were generally well educated, having attended institutions such as the Universities of Glasgow and Edinburgh, or Marischal College in Aberdeen (Seafield), though the Earl of Mar only attended a few lectures at Edinburgh university and his education seems to have been somewhat 'ecclectic' - he did not learn a foreign language and acquired only a working knowledge of Latin (Ehrenstein, 2015).

Most were advocates (barristers), lawyers or judges, and some had military roles, including Leven, Mar, Argyll and Ilay. Many of these men continued their legal studies in the Netherlands, at prestigious institutions such as Leiden and Utrecht universities, and members in the landowning class also frequently went on a 'Grand Tour' of Europe (Heal and Holmes, 1994: 243-275; Raumolin-Brunberg, 1996a: 28), visiting various fashionable and intellectual capitals across the continent, as well as spending considerable time in London. Court politicians were thus high status, well educated, multilingual and operated on local, national and international lines. These factors will have increased the likelihood of their adopting the emerging prestige standard and shifting towards more anglicised language use. Accordingly, we might expect the Court party members to reflect low proportions of Scots as a result of their upbringing and experiences, alongside a possible political desire to converge both socially and linguistically with the norms of their southern neighbours.

Court party members were also characterised by their commitment to the Hanoverian succession. They were acutely suspicious of Jacobite intrigue and the motives of the exiled Stuart dynasty. Several, such as the Earl of Leven were very emotionally attached to the future of the (Protestant) monarchy and reacted harshly to the various Jacobite risings or attempts at rebellion throughout the first half of the century (Patrick and Whatley, 2007). Yet many of them can be characterised as more moderate in their approach towards the Jacobites; Dalrymple criticised the ministry's plans to sell confiscated Jacobite estates, urging that all Jacobites should be granted amnesty and be allowed to compound for their land, to prevent another rising taking place. When administration at Westminster chose to ignore his advice, he furthermore tried outright to sabotage its attempts (Szechi, 2006). A small number of Court members were also, unlike their peers, sympathetic toward the Jacobite cause. Kinnoull was briefly imprisoned in Edinburgh Castle on suspicion of Jacobite sympathies during the 1715 uprising (Paul, 1904: 231), and the Earl of Mar likely harboured underlying Jacobite sympathies, but needed to keep them hidden while in parliament. However in the wake of the Union, Mar became patron to the Scottish Jacobite commissioners, and played a key role in the 1715 rising. This warrants a separate investigation into the influence of Jacobitism alongside political party in the quantitative analysis, given the two factors did not always run parallel across every individual involved in the corpus. Furthermore, subtle individual differences might plausibly be linked to differences in Jacobite and political ideology, and this will be explored in more detail both in the quantitative analysis (Chapter 7) and micro-analysis (Chapter 9).

The Court politicians have frequently been painted as self-serving, personally-motivated opportunists bribed by the payout the *Equivalent* promised (see Chapter 2 for more details). It is certainly the case that some members were driven by personal gain and political machinations, in particular Ilay and Argyll used their family status - as one of the largest aristocratic interests in Scotland - to achieve their demands. This included promotion to general and an English peerage in return for their cooperation in working with the fractious Scottish parliament (Murdoch, 2006). Argyll was in fact largely indifferent to the political outcome, wishing mostly to win a personal campaign in parliament (Ferguson, 1977: 227). The Earl of Mar was similarly driven by personal gain, and was duly rewarded with continued political duties after the Union, as well as a peerage (Ehrenstein, 2015). The Dalrymple family were characterised by a steady and concerted attempt to expand their own power as rapidly as possible - making them exceedingly unpopular among many leading magnates and their families (Ford, 2009). John Dalrymple demonstrated a blatant appetite for power and rewards at all cost, which attracted considerable dislike (Riley, 1979: 16). Yet he was not vindictive, but rather a highly effective advocate who robustly defended the Court position during the debates over the articles of the Union (Patrick and Whatley, 2007). Court figures were frequently rewarded for their loyalty following the conclusion of the Union, and a number were chosen to sit in the English House of Lords as one of sixteen representative Scottish peers, including Ilay, Glasgow, Stair, Loudoun, Seafield and Erskine. Yet they were also aware of the national aspect of their political activity within the new British state, and continued to see themselves as Scotsmen (Murdoch, 2006).

Indeed, more nuanced historical analyses have revealed that various Court members were deeply concerned about the state of Scotland's affairs, and pragmatic necessity rather than opportunism frequently motivated their decisions. These sentiments have already been touched upon in Chapter 2, Section 2.3.1 and so will only briefly be summarised here. Many Court politicians believed that the Union offered the surest way to improve Scotland's economic stagnation through increased trade, wealth and protection for Scottish interests, and Lord Seafield, a leading member among the Court party, was convinced that without a favourable treaty with England the poverty in Scotland would increase (Kidd, 2008). The party saw several enthusiastic supporters and advocates of Union, such as Leven, the Dalrymples and Mar, while Penicuik defended criticisms of the Union with numerous pamphlets and treatises (Mitchison, 2015). These attitudes were not an embrace of English imperialism, but rather, stemmed from an unwavering loyalty to the Kirk and the nation as a whole. Indeed, several of the Court members had played an active role in the Company of Scotland and the Darien project, including Adam Cockburn as its Director, and Loudoun who lost a considerable sum of money from his investment in the scheme. Even after the passing of the Union, several Court politicians continued to push for Scotland's interests in their new roles as members of the British parliament, and some even changed their stance towards incorporation, such as Seafield, Ilay and Argyll, who became increasingly disillusioned with the Union in the face of the proposed malt tax to be imposed on Scotland. Ilay wrote to William Carstairs in 1710 that 'I was always of the opinion that it was obviously our interest not to mingle ourselves too much with the factions here [Westminster], I mean as Scotchmen, for it being very plain that no party here has our country much at heart.' (MacCormick,

1774: 786-787).

Several Court politicians also maintained friendships and alliances with opposition figures; Mar and Andrew Fletcher were former friends, and both Ilay and Argyll were closely associated with George Lockhart, having grown up together in the same household from a young age (Szechi, 2011). As the parliament was comprised of men drawn from a small pool of leading Scottish elite, it is perhaps not surprising that cross-party allegiances existed, but it suggests a firm polarisation into 'opposing camps' is not a realistic perspective of pre-Union Scotland, and language use might therefore also be less clear-cut accordingly. Furthermore, as previously discussed in Chapter 2 and reiterated here, 'Court party' or 'Unionist' did not necessarily mean 'anti-Scottish', and the complex motivations and national sentiment underlying the commitments of many Court politicians must again be considered when analysing variation across political groups, as well as inter-writer variation, in the following results chapters.

Members of the Country party

The Country party had a more mottled composition, a factor which contributed partly to the splintering off of the Squadrone Volante in 1704. Not all leading members were drawn from the peerage; while the Dukes of Atholl and Hamilton came from powerful Scottish noble families, Lockhart, Fletcher, Forbes and Cochrane were not, as the majority of the Scottish magnates were based in the Court party. Most Country party members were Jacobites, but some were not, and others were only tactically so, switching allegiances as and when it suited them, though never fully committing to the cause ideologically. Among the more fervent and committed Jacobites were George Lockhart of Carnwath, who believed that only a Stuart restoration could restore Scottish independence (Szechi, 2011), Alexander Forbes of Pitsligo, a Jacobite army officer active in the 1715 and 1745 risings (Pittock, 2006) and William Cochrane, who was active in Jacobite conspiracy and tried to foment rebellion in the Western shires (Wilkinson, 2002a). Annandale is the only resolutely non-Jacobite represented here; his Hanoverian and Presbyterian concerns no doubt influencing that disposition. The Dukes of Hamilton and Atholl were more ambiguous in their Jacobitism. Atholl's short-lived shift towards Jacobitism was never genuine (Young, 2004b), but Hamilton was openly Jacobite in his early years and made no secret of his sympathies when arrested for defying King William. Yet Hamilton was characterised by chronic indecisiveness, and following the change in political landscape, his personal ambitions increasingly led him to make erratic and contradictory decisions concerning political and Jacobite aims (Marshall, 2008). Nonetheless, such variable associations with Jacobitism again highlights the value in exploring its effect alongside party affiliation, given the complex composition of the Scottish political parties.

County party figures, like their Court equivalents, came from various locations in Scotland as well as England (Atholl was born in Lancashire) and were similarly well educated. Hamilton and Annandale attended the University of Glasgow, and Fletcher matriculated at the University of St Andrews, though he did not graduate

(Robertson, 2008). It seems he acquired the remainder his education abroad, during which he learned French. Despite being labelled as a 'Scottish patriot' within his own lifetime, it is estimated he spent thirty five years (he lived for forty eight) out of Scotland, enjoying the civil life, culture and metropolitan environments of various European capitals and London much more than his home country (Robertson, 1997). Forbes also acquired some of his education in France (Pittock, 2006), and Hamilton spent considerable time abroad on his European Tour, returning somewhat reluctantly to Scotland when he was needed in parliament. Lockhart meanwhile spent some of his childhood in England, in the household of the first Duke of Argyll. It would be a mistake therefore, to straightforwardly assume the Country party members were grounded Scotsmen with a fervent attachment to their home country. Instead, various reasons, some patriotic, but some pragmatic or relating to perceived chances at political success within the Scottish parliament, informed Country party members' decisions to join the party. When assessing the influence of their political ideology therefore, as well as possible differences within the party, such considerations need to be kept in mind, and this will become more clear in the quantitative exploration in Chapter 7.

What united the Country party commissioners by the final sessions of parliament was their resolute anti-Unionist stance - Hamilton, Atholl, Cochrane and Erroll voted consistently against every article and division of the treaty, Lockhart and Cochrane were vigorous opponents who consistently spoke out against Union, and Annandale emerged somewhat later as a leading opponent in the Union debates. Forbes sought what was 'consistent with the honour and independence of Scotland' (Forbes, 1829: iv) and withdrew from the parliamentary proceedings after the momentum shifted towards incorporation (Pittock, 2006), while Erroll entered a strong protest against the treaty as a prominent Jacobite, shortly before its ratification (Macinnes, 2007: 255). Fletcher and Lockhart were characterised by contemporary (and current) accounts as 'Scottish patriots', with an 'unwaveringly patriotic, political agenda' (Whatley, 2008: 11). Lockhart in particular was driven by a commitment to Jacobitism and the Stuart restoration, despite his English Whig connections, and Fletcher was recognised by friends and opponents alike for the dedication, honesty and intransigence with which he adhered to his principles (Robertson, 1997). The two increasingly associated with one another following the passing of the Union treaty, and Fletcher even encouraged Lockhart's efforts to have the Union disbanded following its successful passing (Robertson, 1997, 2008).

Atholl took a prominent opposition stance despite being paid £1000 of the arrears he was due, and did not abandon his Jacobite followers in parliament (Whatley, 2006), and Atholl, Annandale, Fletcher and Cochrane had all suffered losses from the failure of the Darien scheme, which generated a shared anger at its perceived sabotage by the monarchy. Alongside a common political platform, within the party there were a number of strong familial and personal connections linking the faction together. Annandale and Hamilton were related (Adamson, 2008), while Lockhart and Cochrane were firm adherents to Hamilton and followed his lead in parliament (Wilkinson, 2002a). Lockhart in particular seems to have remained personally attached to Hamilton until his death, despite the fickle nature of his leadership of the Country party.

There remained, however, considerable differences within the fractured structure of the party, especially when it came to ecclesiastical concerns, which created inconsistent voting patterns and behaviour. The Cavalier wing was largely Episcopalian, and included Lockhart, Forbes and Cochrane. There were also a number of notable Presbyterians within the party; Annandale for instance had proposed the establishment of a Presbyterian church of Scotland in 1689 (Adamson, 2008), while Atholl was genuinely concerned over the future of the Kirk (Young, 2004b). Fletcher was also sympathetic to Presbyterianism, having joined the Scottish exile community in the Netherlands during the Restoration, which included Court politicians Argyll and Stair. He was also a close friend of the Presbyterian minister William Carstairs (Robertson, 2008). Again, this highlights the connections and associations that bridged party lines in the Scotland of 1700, forging personal associations despite political differences. Moreover, despite the strong anti-Unionist stance frequently projected by the Country party (Whatley, 2006; Bowie, 2007), this was not always clear-cut, much like the Court politicians who also cannot be tightly circumscribed into a singular political identity. Fletcher and Annandale for example had early on advocated alternative forms of union with England. Annandale also fluctuated for some time between the Court and Country party, a trait which seemed to stem from his somewhat selfish character and elusive, wavering nature (Adamson, 2008). Lockhart's memoirs (though biased) meanwhile suggest that the feared loss in social and political power resulting from incorporation was the primary motive behind Atholl's decision to join the Country party and oppose the treaty, rather than national interest:

'he was very frank and chearful to enter into any, though the most desperate, measures... because, perhaps, he had but a small estate and could not expect to make so great an appearance after the Union as if the kingdom of Scotland remained.' (Lockhart (1995: 41), quoted in Young, 2004b)

On completion of the Union however, Atholl was chosen as one of the sixteen representative peers of Scotland, which may well have been the motivation for his abandoning of the nationalist cause. Unlike Atholl however, in the wake of the Union passing a number of the Country party politicians were active in trying to bring about its repeal, or used their positions within the British parliament to fight for Scotland's best advantages in Westminster, such as Lockhart and Cochrane. Many of the Jacobite members of the party also remained committed to Jacobitism, either dabbling in Jacobite plotting or openly taking part in the risings of 1715 and 1745, including Cochrane, Lockhart and Forbes (Wilkinson, 2002a; Macinnes, 2007: 256). Again, personal interest and complex associations with various forms of unification mean the ideology of the Country party is cannot be distilled to a simple, uniform political platform based on opposition. Rather, they represent a multilayered, complex group of individuals, united by their anti-incorporation stance but often fractured by ecclesiastical, Jacobite and personal ambitions or loyalties. Their composite nature must accordingly be recognised in any analysis of their variable behaviour, and the fluid nature of the party will become clear when analysing inter-writer variation across Scots features (Chapter 8), as well as when exploring possible audience-design and stylistic effects on intra-writer variation across recipients (Chapter 9).

Squadrone Volante

The third group of writers in the corpus were members of the Squadrone Volante, formed in the final sessions of the Scottish parliament and led by the marquess of Tweeddale. Their role in the Scottish parliament was not negligible - Rothes zealously assisted in the creation of the Union treaty (Lang, 2004), and much credit has been given to Roxburghe for the decision of the Squadrone overall to support the Scottish government, whose votes were crucial in passing the Union of 1707 (Simpson, 2005). As outlined in Chapter 2, Section 2.3.3, this group branched off from the Country party in 1704, due to irreconcilable differences between the Presbyterian and Episcopalian factions within its internal structure. Many Squadrone members professed a staunch Revolution interest and had been associated with the Williamite regime, including John Cockburn, Tweeddale, Marchmont and Rothes (Wilkinson, 2002b; Lang, 2004; Young, 2004a, 2006). They shared the Court party's deep commitment to Protestantism and Presbyterian church government, and this bound the splinter group together, forming the main plank of their political platform.

Cromartie was less transparent in his ideology; while he joined Tweeddale's party to advance the Hanoverian succession, he had been a conventional Cavalier earlier on, and a committed Episcopalian who had persecuted Presbyterians during the Restoration (Kidd, 2008). He switched political sides several times, maintaining links with the Jacobites and the Country party despite his support for incorporation. However, his stance was more consistent than it appears (Kidd, 2006), and though loyal to his Episcopalian faith, his zeal was not so strong as to derail his support for Union. Indeed he was quite possibly the most advanced incorporationist of the Scottish parliament, rejecting differences in Church government as non-negotiable constitutional elements (Macinnes, 2007: 285). Haldane is similarly complex; whilst initially recognising William as the new sovereign, he then delayed taking the oath of allegiance and refused the oath of Assurance altogether, suggesting an ideological clash. He did not join the Squadrone immediately when it formed, declaring in October 1704 that he would never switch. However, he seems to have developed into a firm Hanoverian, joining the Squadrone eventually and followed their voting patterns (Hayton, 2002).

Alongside ecclesiastical motivations, other considerations such as economic benefits from incorporation played a role in the Squadrone's support (Riley, 1979: 50; Macinnes, 2007: 302), and just as it did for members of the other parties, personal interest motivated some of the characters here too, such as Cockburn and Rothes. They saw the potential the Union offered to join the ranks of the English nobility, a position they could never hope to acquire within a Scottish parliament dominated by the powerful leading families of Scotland (Scott, 1981: 278; Wilkinson, 2002b; Patrick and Whatley, 2007). The transition of these politicians from the Country party into the Squadrone was thus marked by a combination of opportunism and fervent Presbyterian commitment, as has discussed in more detail previously (Chapter 2). What is important to recognise is that the nature of their formation, quite different from the older and more established Court and Country parties, had the effect of ensuring the Squadrone was much more tightly aligned in terms of political and religious goals. Alongside a common defence of Scottish religious liberties,

many of these Squadrone figures also shared kinship ties with one another. They were firmly connected along both political and familial lines, and they continued to represent a relatively coherent body of politicians within the new British parliament following the Union (Simpson, 1970: 51, 60; Scott, 1981: 278-279; Macinnes, 2007). Their tight-knit composition could have important effects on their linguistic behaviour as a group, possibly exercising a regulatory effect on their writing style, particularly given the frequent political and personal correspondence that would have passed between them. Perhaps, more than any other group of writers present in the corpus, the Squadrone has the hallmarks of a community of practice, and this will concurrently be explored in the following results chapters.

The Ministers

Examining clergymen who were involved in the Union debates and the controversies surrounding the agreement provides another perspective through which to view the political-linguistic interaction. The men included here are not a well-balanced group; all except Monro were from Glasgow (Monro came from Ross-shire), most are Presbyterian though Monro was an Episcopalian, William Carstairs supported the Union agreement while the rest opposed it, and Monro died before the Union was seriously discussed in parliament, though he ardently rejected the Revolution settlement. Furthermore, while they were all ecclesiastically connected to the political controversies at the turn of the century, Monro and Bell are perhaps not ideal candidates to represent this group of writers. The somewhat fractured composition and uneven balance presented here stems from data collection issues relating to archive closures (see Section 5.3.1 below for more details), and a prime motivation to include them comes from the large volume of online, digitised letters produced by Wodrow (all of Wodrow MSS. Octavo i.),[1] which represented a historically-appropriate online resource, with connections to the Union debates, at a time when manuscript access was unavailable. Monro and Bell's correspondence has also been digitised, and thus were included as part of this alternative design. Despite their shortcomings, this enabled the investigation to explore potential differences between politicians and ministers in their use of Scots, as well as the extent to which each group formed a discourse community - by representing a community of common interests, goals and beliefs, and developing a common (though not necessarily shared) repertoire (Watts, 2008) - given the ecclesiastical sphere may have influenced the continuation of certain Scots lexis. This will be a particularly important to consider in the feature analysis (Chapter 8), and the significance of these potential effects will become clear in the inter/intra-writer analysis in Chapter 9.

Carstairs represents the only advocate of incorporating Union, and it was chiefly due to his influence that Presbyterian opposition to Union was overcome, enabling the agreement to pass in Parliament (Macinnes, 2007: 279). As a staunch Presbyterian,

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[1]Wodrow arranged his miscellaneous written works in an Octavo, a Quarto, and a Folio series; his own correspondence is separately arranged in four Octavo series, containing copies of his own letters, and a Quarto series, containing the original letters from his correspondents. The 'Early letters of Robert Wodrow 1698-1709' from which his letters in this corpus are taken, covers his correspondence chiefly from the first Octavo, which had not previously been published (Sharp, 1937: xv).

but also a calm, assured, and skilful churchman, he was enormously influential in Kirk circles following his election as moderator to the General Assembly of the Kirk in 1705 (Patrick and Whatley, 2007). Carstairs was nonetheless a firm defender of Scotland's religious and civil liberties, and worked to ensure security of the established Scottish Kirk was enshrined in the Union agreement (Clarke, 2004; Patrick and Whatley, 2007: 171).

The other ministers represented in the corpus opposed the Union, and Wodrow and Wylie in particular were outspoken in their rejection of incorporation. Wodrow argued that the treaty provided insufficient security to the Presbyterian Church of Scotland, writing both privately and publicly on the matter, and his *History of the Sufferings of the Church of Scotland, 2 vols* can be considered his greatest literary contribution to the debate (Yeoman, 2004). Wylie participated in the 'hotbed of political activity' surrounding his parish at Hamilton (Bowie, 2015: 243), rejecting clergy who cooperated with the Court as 'juggling and time-serving' brethren (Raffe, 2010). He engaged with sophisticated constitutional politics to argue against incorporation, and was at the centre of a growing print campaign against Union, even drafting a manifesto for an armed rising (Bowie, 2015: 247). Despite these measures, Wylie was not opposed to union outright, rather, he sought a federal or regnal union that preserved an independent Scottish parliament and sovereignty.

Monro, who died in 1698, contributed to the discussion largely before the crucial years of 1702-1707, but was active during the earliest years of the debates (1689-98). As a committed Episcopalian who was personally attached to the Stuarts, he refused to recognise William and Mary as sovereigns, or take the requisite civil tests, and was tried by the Scottish Privy Council in consequence (Clarke, 2004). He began to hold private services in Edinburgh (Mackenzie, 1898: 435), but was suspected of Jacobite intrigue and sympathy for Roman Catholicism, eventually causing him to leave Scotland permanently (Clarke, 2004). These factors place Monro in likely opposition to the proposed Union treaty, given his firm belief in the divine right of Episcopacy, and while his letters must be treated with caution, they offer a valuable contribution from Episcopalian clergy writing at this time. Very little is known about John Bell's life; born and educated in Glasgow, he was based in the Haddington Presbytery and was an ardent Presbyterian who resolutely opposed the Episcopalian clergy and the proposed Union agreement. He wrote extensively on both the Union treaty and the Glorious Revolution in a series of reflective memoirs[2] (Mullan, 2008).

Although they were not members of the elite, these clergymen were well-educated, undertaking divinity studies at Scottish universities and as such were fluent in Latin and French, before pursuing further intellectual interests upon ordination

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[2]John Bell's writings comprise of memoirs rather than letters in a strict sense, however these were still included as a result of COVID-19 restrictions hampering access to archival holdings (see Section 5.3.1), given they were available online in digitised format. Moreover, locating relevant correspondence for Scottish clergymen proved difficult in general, thus the scope for what could be included was widened somewhat. Given that memoirs fall within the genre of ego-documents, as personal writing not intended for publication, they were still considered suitable to be included for the quantitative analysis, though not for qualitative investigation, for obvious reasons.

(Mackenzie, 1898: 436; Clarke, 2004; Yeoman, 2004).Accordingly, it is not the case that they represent lesser-schooled, monolingual writers with no experience of the world beyond Scotland's borders. While their motivations for supporting or opposing the Union were derived from a profoundly theological and doctrinal basis, and their social position clearly differed to the politicians, we can expect their literary and linguistic education to have influenced their writing styles in similar ways to the political figures discussed above. Accordingly, any differences observed between them are likely due to other sociolinguistic factors such as profession or social network, rather than background per se.

The 'Political Others'

Finally, a small group of figures were identified during the data collection process as writers who did not have an immediate role in the Scottish parliament, but were involved in the political intrigue surrounding the Union debates. Their considerable involvement in the political discussion outwith the parliament itself, and their ties to various writers included in the corpus, warranted their inclusion in the corpus. Not only did these figures correspond regularly with members of various political factions, but they were also frequently on the receiving end of such correspondence. This factor was particularly significant for the micro-analysis of intra-writer variation across different recipients in Chapter 9, given what we know about Audience Design (e.g. Bell, 1984) and Accommodation theory (c.f. Giles, 1984; Giles et al., 1987; Coupland and Giles, 1988; Giles et al., 1991) when it comes to influencing variation and use of the vernacular (recall Section 4.1.2 for more detail). Understanding how these figures behave can illuminate patterns of behaviour across the commissioners writing to them, for instance. Some of these characters also played a significant role in shaping the political fortunes and power struggles characterising the Union debates, such as Lord Lovat, whose key part in the Queensberry plot led to a number of changes in allegiance and control over the Scottish parliament. Again, data collection issues played a role in their inclusion as well - Lovat and Ramsay's letters were contained within the online, digitised Seafield correspondence that was sourced for the corpus (see Section 5.3.2 below), and were included opportunistically, given the above factors.

The Maules of Panmure were Episcopalians and Jacobite sympathisers who refused to recognise the authority of William and Mary in 1689. They were fined a substantial amount of money when they walked out of parliament in protest, and neither of them ever sat in parliament again. Both however continued to be involved from the sidelines as open opponents to the Union. Harry was closely allied personally and politically to the Earl of Mar at the time of the debates (Blair-Imrie, 2011), while James was connected to Hamilton through marriage, and maintained a steady stream of correspondence with fellow Jacobites such as Lockhart, during Queen Anne's reign (Handley, 2006). George Ramsay served as colonel during the campaign against the Scottish Jacobites in 1689 who were seeking to overthrow William, and could best be described as pro-Revolution and anti-Jacobite, making him a likely Hanoverian (Childs, 2004). Alexander Wedderburn was a lawyer who exerted himself in favour of the Union, and frequently corresponded with the Squadrone faction

in parliament as a political ally, and later a deputy secretary of state (Seafield, 1912: 379). Lovat is characterised by considerable double play and a constant switching of sides, playing to both Revolution and Jacobite interests. His key role in manufacturing incriminating evidence to implicate Atholl and others in parliament as Jacobites (in what became the *Queensberry plot*) placed him at centre stage of the political machinations in parliament, which subsequently collapsed (Ferguson, 1964: 98; Macinnes, 2007: 261-262; Furgol, 2010). While never a commissioner himself, Lovat did play a non-negligible role in the political proceedings, as well as communicating with multiple members of the parliament including Argyll and Queensberry in particular.

In summary, the final list of writers included in the corpus included mostly politicians who were directly involved in the debates, largely identified from background research, as well as several politically-active clergymen and 'others' opportunistically included thanks to their already-digitised writings. They all played important roles in the Union debates and/or the discussion emerging around this contentious event, either in the lead-up to the main years, or during the debates themselves. Together, the writers provide a range of viewpoints and perspectives that can be explored in more detail during the micro-analysis, and in future research to come.

5.3   The Source Material

The interaction between pin-pointing a selection of suitable, politically-active writers and locating their writings in archive holdings involved some back-and-forth, as not all writers originally identified from background research could be located or accessed in archival repositories, while investigations into manuscript catalogues also highlighted large collections of suitable correspondence from writers not originally considered. However, once appropriate sources from appropriate authors had been identified[3] (with the exception of those identified opportunistically during the data collection process), material could then be requested and compiled. There is currently no single repository or corpus of political Scottish correspondence covering the period of the Union debates, either as an online corpus or as digitised manuscript material made available by national archives or libraries. While the *Helsinki Corpus of Scottish Correspondence* (CSC) has been made available since 2016, there were difficulties with accessing full transcripts of the letters.[4] Furthermore, the CSC covers a much larger time frame (1500-1730) from a wide range of writers, with the result that neither the period of the Union debates or politicians are present in high volumes. To adequately answer the research questions and locate appropriate data, the self-sourcing of relevant documents was required instead. Original manuscripts, as opposed to reprints or online copies of later editions were desirable, given that copies can be problematic for sociolinguistic analysis. It is often unclear to what

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[3]The list of authors provided above is the final list of writers included in the corpus and used for all investigations.

[4]This has very recently changed (as of 2022), so that full transcripts of the letters are now available to download. This option had not yet been implemented at the time of this research, the difficulty in obtaining adequate access to the full text negated the desirability of using the CSC.

extent the editing practices of the later eighteenth and nineteenth centuries would have interfered with the output of the original texts, but we can assume that in cases where editing did take place, this was most likely in the direction of anglicisation (Bugaj, 2004: 29; Macafee and †Aitken, 2015b: 6). Instead original, unedited autograph documents were the preferred material for the purposes of this thesis.

5.3.1 COVID-19 Restrictions

Unfortunately, data collection and accessibility to archival holdings were severely curtailed by ongoing restrictions around the COVID-19 pandemic. The National Library of Scotland (NLS) and National Records of Scotland (NRS) were closed for most, or all, of 2020. When they did eventually reopen, they did so with heightened restrictions in place, which further limited data collection opportunities (see supplementary material for details). To mitigate these effects, online collections of digital correspondence from certain, applicable individuals were identified and included in the corpus (see the following section for further discussion), while the list of target authors, and the number of letters to include in the corpus, had to be limited. As a result, not all authors are represented equally in terms of volume of correspondence, and the various geographical and social parameters included in the corpus were less diverse than initially anticipated. However, care was taken nonetheless to cover a range of political standpoints, and the political factors are represented with reasonable numbers in each cell (their spread is summarised in Table 5.1 above, and for greater detail see Appendix A.4). While this did not illustrate the ideal scenario for historical sociolinguistic research, such alterations were necessary to enable data collection within a feasible time-frame.

5.3.2 The Scottish History Society Publications

While access to the archives was eventually restored, for most of 2020 it was unclear whether the archives would resume their usual operations. Consequently, online resources were investigated to identify whether there were feasible, *individual* collections of correspondence available in digital format (considering no appropriate online corpus currently exists), despite the aforementioned concerns with such material. Finding eligible authors writing at approximately the right time period, with some connection to the overall theme of this research was complex, given previous digitisation efforts were subject to individual (and invisible) interests and objectives that did not necessarily align with those of this thesis. Nonetheless, several digitised collections of correspondence were identified and added to the corpus, although some of the material came from rather more peripheral political figures. All, however, had a tangible connection to the political changes occurring at the time.

The eligible collections were identified within the digitised Scottish History Society publications (SHS), available through the NLS website. The SHS produce yearly volumes, in which they publish tracts from various Scottish figures across a wide-ranging time-frame including, but not limited to, the eighteenth century. Although the

focus of the volumes is arguably literary and historical rather than linguistic, the transcription notes preceding the collections included suggested that fairly conservative and rigorous transcriptions practices were followed. Wherever possible original spellings were kept, as well as misspellings, repetitions, and sometimes abbreviations as well. This kind of attention to detail is paramount to ensuring any plausible Scots features are maintained, rather than being quietly altered to modern day English out of a desire to improve 'comprehension' for the reader.

The transcription notes are provided in the prelude to each collection of correspondence. Of the collections included, all maintained original spellings and orthographic practices, with the exception of the Wodrow correspondence, in which the highly frequent <quh-> abbreviations were expanded. Thus words such as *quhat, quhen* and *quhere* (what, when and where) were written as such, instead of q^t, q^n and q^r. The editor does note that all other misspellings or idiosyncrasies are kept, sometimes with an accompanying footnote suggesting the intended word or spelling. In the remaining collections of correspondence abbreviations, including <quh-> and <y> (<th->) contractions have been retained. A number of the SHS correspondence collections were able to be checked against the manuscript originals once the archives reopened, including the Wodrow, Lockhart and Seafield volumes. This verified that the transcription practices of the editors was sufficiently rigorous enough for linguistic analysis, and that the true, original spellings and lexical items had been kept.

From the SHS volumes, the correspondence of following authors were identified; George Lockhart of Carnwath, James Ogilvie the Earl of Seafield, John Cockburn of Ormistoun, Robert Wodrow, and the reverends Alexander Monro and John Bell. A small number of letters from political contemporaries were contained within several of the collections, and these were also included in the corpus, as discussed in the previous section (see 'Political Others'). All authors shared a connection to the Union and the political events surrounding it (as outlined in Section 5.2), although the nature of their writings differ significantly. Lockhart and Wodrow produce the fullest form of correspondence - sending out large numbers of letters to multiple recipients over the course of several years. However, all the letters in the Seafield collection are written to Sidney Godolphin, the Lord High Treasurer of England, naturally limiting possible intra-writer variation. Fortunately, Seafield's correspondence was later supplemented with several letters from the archives. Monro and Cockburn similarly write to a single recipient, and Cockburn's letters date to the decade after the Union has taken place, again limiting the scope of possible variation. Bell meanwhile is represented by musing self-reflective memoirs, that are largely philosophical in nature, rather than letters (see Appendix A.1 for full details of the SHS publications). The uneven composition of these online transcriptions aptly demonstrates the difficulty in utilising pre-digitised material, even when seemingly valid source material is identified. Nonetheless, despite their shortcomings, these online works can still provide interesting insights into these authors' language use, as long as caution is exercised in interpreting their results, given the style of their written work or their sole recipient may have influenced their writing in ways that are not immediately transparent.

The online SHS publications contain digital transcriptions of each page in the

volume, thus once the relevant section was located, the corresponding text could be directly copied and pasted into a text (.txt) file. Each text file contained exactly one letter, and any important information that accompanied the collections (i.e. date, location, addressee, etc) was added to metalinguistic tags included in the text file. Each transcription was checked carefully for character errors, as abbreviations and currency symbols in particular were not rendered correctly in the online transcription, and had to be corrected. Following this process, further metalinguistic tags were added to each letter according to the extralinguistic factors under investigation, before the files were uploaded to an online corpus platform. This process is described in more detail in Section 5.5, but first, the process of locating original manuscript material in the Scottish archives, upon their reopening, is discussed below.

5.3.3 The Archives

Once archival repositories eventually reopened, primary source material could be accessed to contribute much-needed data to the corpus. Manuscript catalogues at the National Library of Scotland (NLS), National Records of Scotland (NRS) and Blair Castle archives were accordingly searched for correspondence produced by the target authors, and requested for viewing. There were a number of political figures in the debates whose correspondence remains inaccessible in private family collections, or whose writings have simply not survived the passage of time, and these figures had to be removed from the target list of people. However, this still left a reasonable number of eligible authors in the final shortlist. Correspondence between political members was of particular interest, but letters to their household and acquaintances were also included. The majority of the material was sourced from family collections within the NRS, and a number of the collections, such as GD45 (Papers of the Maule Family, Earls of Dalhousie) and GD124 (Papers of the Erskine Family, Earls of Mar and Kellie) were freely accessible to view and photograph by advanced request. Other collections had restricted access only and written permission had to be obtained from the current collection holder to photograph these letters. In almost all cases this was granted and I am grateful to these holders for their generosity and co-operation (see Appendix A.2 for details). The National Library of Scotland contains several important collections such as the Tweeddale Correspondence and Wodrow Quarto, while the Blair Castle archives contains correspondence produced by the Atholl family, including John Murray, Duke of Atholl. An advance appointment to visit and photograph relevant material was requested and kindly granted by the archivist at the Estate, and I am thankful for their co-operation and assistance. For a full list of collections consulted, see Appendix A.3.

During data collection archival notes accompanying the collections were carefully checked to ensure only autograph letters were included. Letter-writers could on occasion employ scribes to write on their behalf, particularly when they were short on time (Hernández-Campoy and Schilling, 2012: 68; Fairman, 2015: 64). This removes their direct involvement in the construction of the letter, inhibiting the analysis of personal variability. This practice however tends to be more common

of early historical time periods (Hernández-Campoy and Conde-Silvestre, 1999; Hernández-Campoy and Schilling, 2012: 68-69), and amongst the elite it was generally considered a mark of respect to send autograph letters. Alongside archival notes, sudden changes in writing style (indicative of a scribe) were noted, and the opening or closing salutations of the letters (which tended to contain apologies if the letter was not self-written) were carefully checked to ensure only autograph correspondence was included. Any anonymous letters or unknown recipients were also ignored, as being able to establish a one-to-one relationship between linguistic output and the communicators in question is crucial to answering the research questions being investigated here, and indeed is central to historical sociolinguistic research in general (Raumolin-Brunberg, 1996b: 43). Once appropriate collections of autograph letters had been identified and requested, the next stage was to convert the manuscripts into text-searchable documents, and this digitisation process is now described below.

5.4 Digitisation

Letters were photographed using an ioS 5s smartphone in the Historical Search Room and Special Collections room of the NRS and NLS respectively, and in the archival consulting room of the Blair Castle archives. Care was taken to photograph all sides of the letters, including forwarding addresses and the archival shelfmark. In order to successfully digitise handwritten text, photographs ideally have to be correctly positioned, clear and well-lit, while the document must possess minimal damage causing any disruption to the text. In reality, historical documents come in various degrees of wear and tear; often characterised by damaged or faded characters, half-formed words or letters, thin, fragile or degraded paper, discolouration, blotches, rips and bleed-through from the other side, and are frequently bound in tight volumes that do not allow for flat, even photographs of the letter in question (Bukhari et al., 2017). While the quality of most letters collected for this corpus was sufficient, to assist with their digital transcription as far as possible, photographs were loaded into a simple photo editor (*Microsoft Photo Editor*, Windows 10) and manipulated with some basic filters to improve the quality of the text. This included adjusting light percentage, clarity and angle of the document, as well as cropping out unwanted bits of text (for example, from neighbouring pages). In some cases the handwriting remained illegible or the quality of the page too poor to warrant further investigation and had to be discarded. Photographs were then tagged according to their archival shelfmark and sorted into collections according to the author, ready to be transcribed using the online transcription software *Transkribus.*

5.4.1 Transkribus

To transcribe even a relatively small volume of letters by hand involves many hours of work, especially given the occurrence of unfamiliar spellings and words, archaic sentence structures and unusual place-names, not to mention poor image quality as mentioned above. However, the transcription software Transkribus (Kahle et al., 2017), developed at the University of Innsbruck, has been created specifically with

this aim in mind. Transkribus is able to handle moderately challenging images with a fair degree of accuracy, enabling seamless transcription of several hundred photographs at a time. Using a neural network approach, the software is able to 'learn' the script of an author and identify characters and words within the written text under investigation. This approach can in theory be applied to any language, alphabet, time-frame or script. As a result, users are able to semi-automatically transcribe photographs or scans of handwritten or printed texts, using handwritten text recognition (HTR) or Optical Character Recognition (OCR). This is achieved either by creating a custom-built HTR model or using a pre-existing model that most closely matches the language and timeframe in question. To build a model from scratch, around 15,000 words of handwritten text, which equates to roughly 100 pages of manually-transcribed training data, is needed as input data.

Transkribus thus offered a viable means to transcribe the photographs taken in the archives, and accordingly was used for the bulk of the manuscript material.[5] The first step involved uploading the photographed correspondence of a single author, and transcribing this using the special transcription panel in Transkribus. Photographs need to be uploaded to the server in batches, organised according to author or scribe. Once loaded, they appear as a series in the transcription pane, and can be viewed one by one in sequence. This pane consists of a split screen, in which the photograph and transcription panel can be viewed simultaneously. To begin transcription, text regions and individual lines of text need to be identified within each page, which Transkribus is able to do automatically. These regions and lines can be manually corrected to extend, delete or reorder these parameters as required. The text lines appear as superimposed blue lines on the photograph, which match numbered lines in the transcription panel below that can be transcribed in sequence.[6] Once each page has been transcribed, the transcription is saved and the process repeats for the following photograph. An example image is shown on the following page.

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[5]I am very grateful to the *Read Co-Op* team for granting me free Transkribus credits, enabling me to transcribe these photographs free of charge.

[6]For more detailed information on the various functions of Transkribus, managed by the READ COOP, see *https : //readcoop.eu/transkribus*
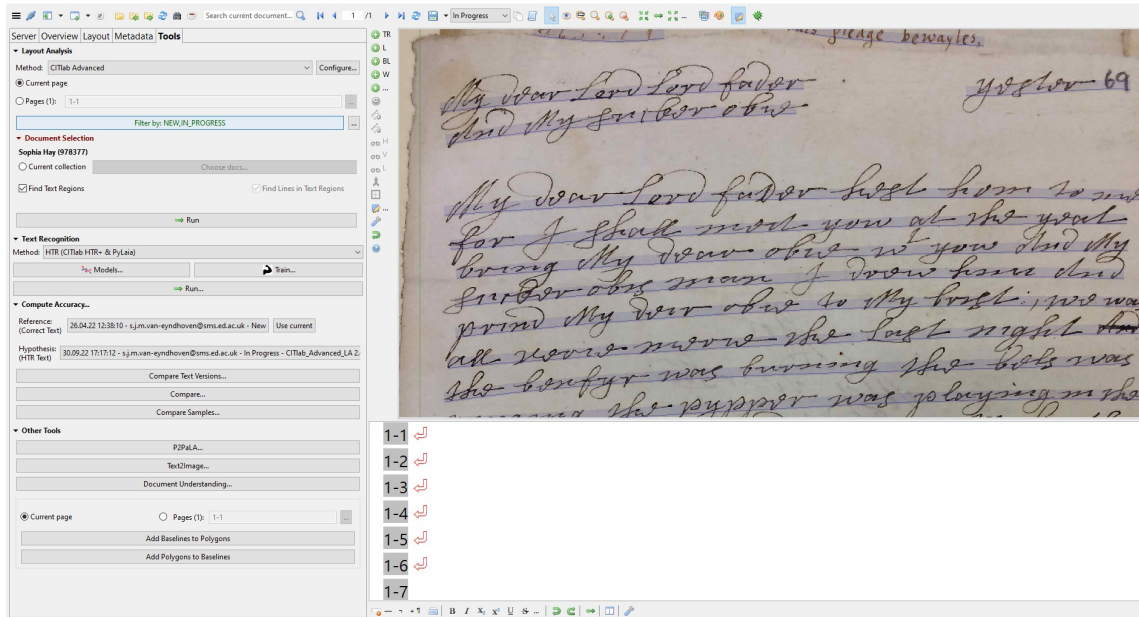
Figure 5.1: Example image of transcription pane following line segmentation

Each photograph is considered a 'page' of training data needed to build an HTR model. Accordingly, to create the baseline model, the first 100 pages of letters from the second Marquess of Tweeddale were manually transcribed in Transkribus. The transcribed pages are then split into a 'training' set and a 'test' set at a ratio of 4:1, which are fed into a model-building algorithm. This learns to recognise the individual characters of a particular script, by matching its predictions, taken from the training set, against the true values in the test set, which are subsequently used to assess the performance and accuracy of the algorithm. This process undergoes several iterations, by random sampling with replacement, and more training data can be added to improve the recognition rate. The model is usable once it achieves a comparatively small *Character Error Rate* (CER) - the percentage of characters the model fails to recognise correctly. The smaller the value, the more accurate the model will be. The HTR model can then be applied to previously unseen material, as well as other scribes, provided they are writing in a similar language, similar time-period, and with a similar script. The CER can be improved by feeding a small number of manually-transcribed pages from other hands into the baseline model and retraining it, using the original training data plus the new material. Unlike the initial set-up, only around 10-20 pages of the new material is needed in each case. Once this has been run on the remaining images, the output requires manual correction, as there will be occasional errors, particularly if the image is compromised or text is missing. An example image is shown below, in which the custom-built, eighteenth-century Scottish handwriting model developed for this thesis has been applied to a novel collection of letters. The errors made by the model are highlighted to show what character errors look like in practice.
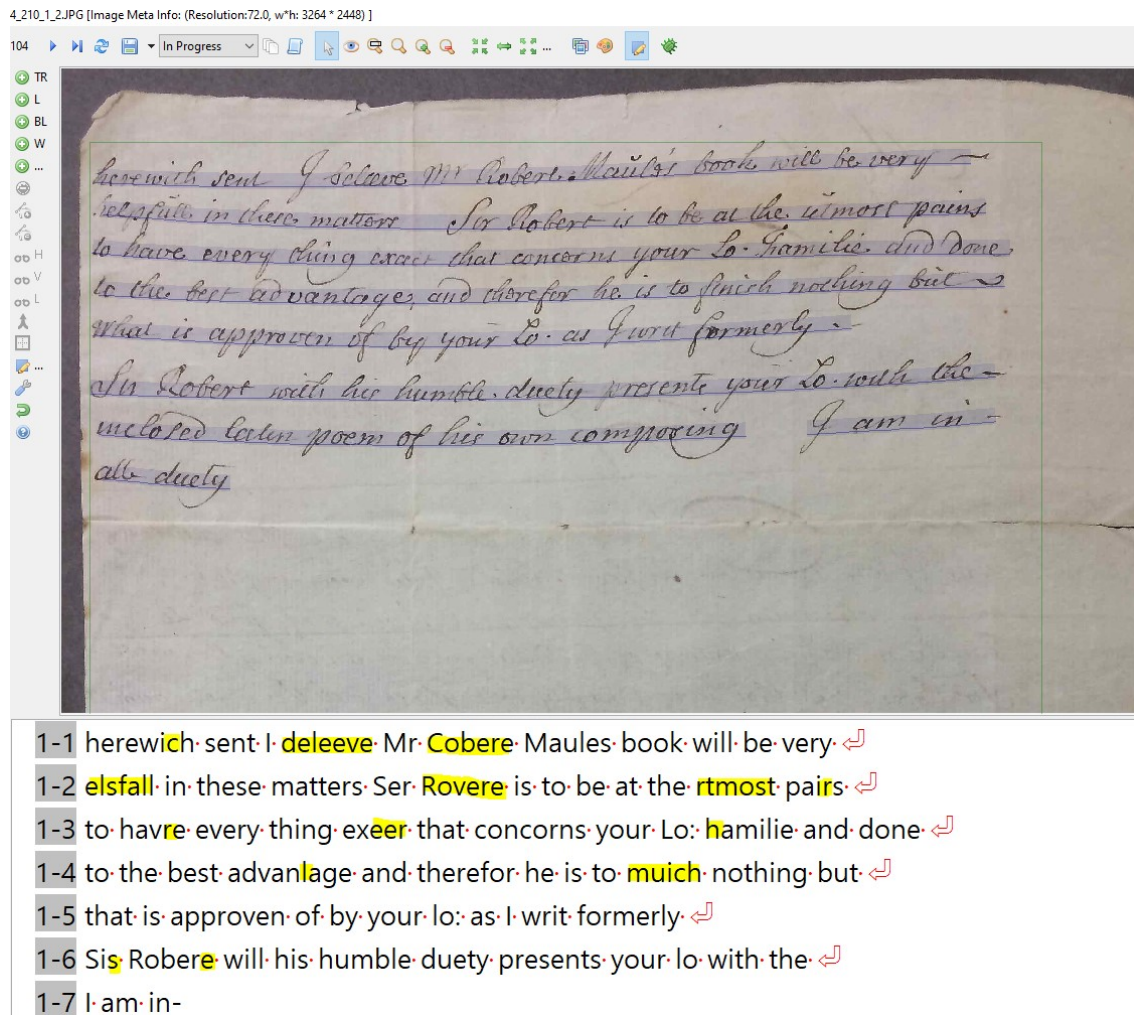
Figure 5.2: Example image of transcription pane following application of HTR model to new images

Despite the errors, the time investment is considerably smaller than with manual transcription, saving many hours of work whilst producing comparatively accurate transcriptions. Accordingly, once the first 100 pages of the Tweeddale correspondence had been transcribed, these were used to build an early eighteenth-century Scottish handwriting model using PyLaia (Mocholí Calvo, 2018); a deep neural network-learning toolkit for handwritten document analysis. The resulting model achieved a Character Error Rate of 3.4% - a very good rate by historical text standards. Recall that this indicates only 3.4% of characters were incorrectly transcribed by the model. For each subsequent author in the corpus, twenty pages of their manually-transcribed correspondence were added to the baseline model, split into fifteen for training data and five as test data. The model was retrained, and checked for CER, which achieved a rate of 4.1%. The increase in CER is not surprising, given the higher level of variability introduced into the training data, but 4.1% is still acceptable, especially for historical documents. Once the same iterative training and evaluative process outlined in the previous subsection was complete, the HTR model could then be applied to the remaining letters awaiting transcription. Output was manually checked and corrected. A complete transcription is shown below, once the purpose-built model has been run and all errors manually corrected.
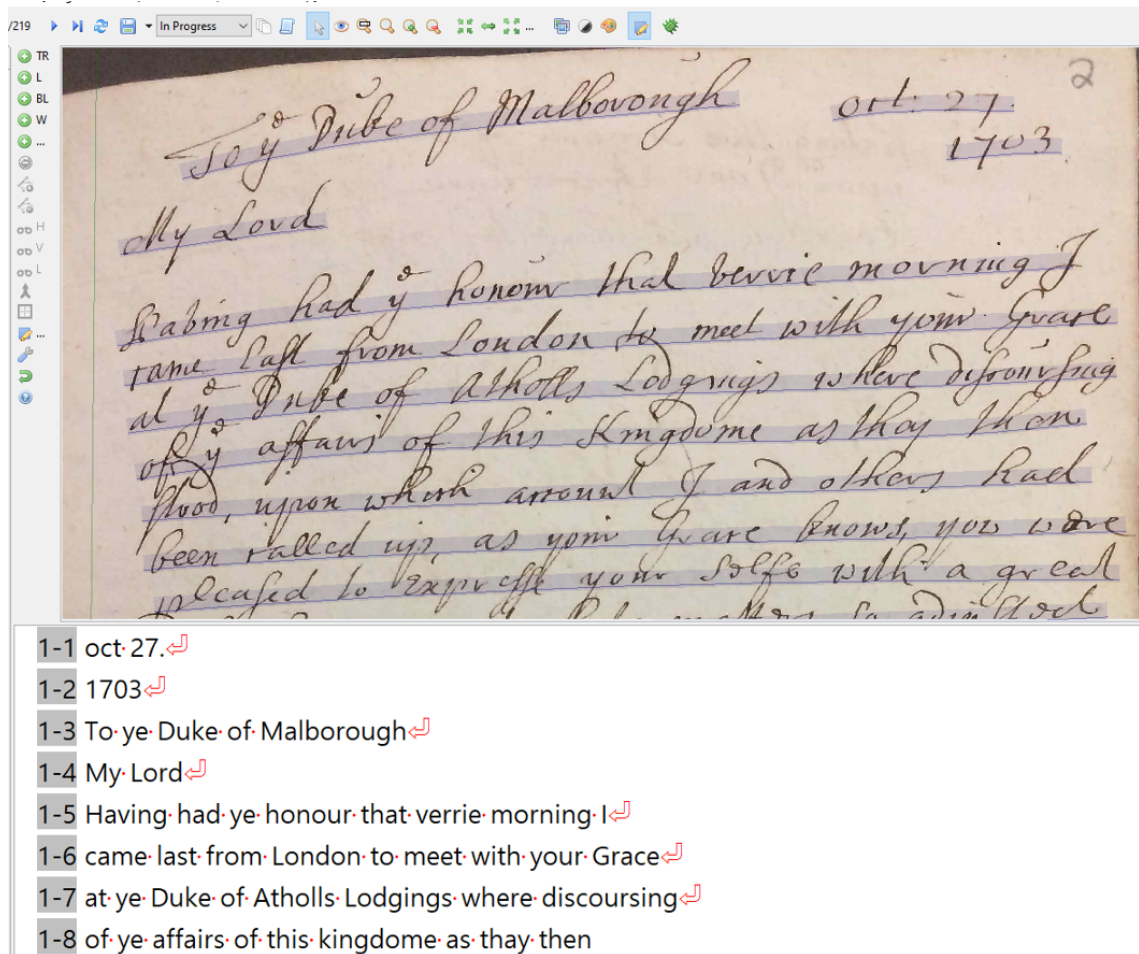
Figure 5.3: Example image of manually corrected transcription in Transkribus

The finished transcriptions were exported in txt. format from Transkribus, as this was the most suitable for **LaBB-CAT** (Fromont and Hay, 2008), the corpus platform used to store and search all the transcripts. The specifications of LaBB-CAT and the corpus-building process is explained in more detail in Section 5.5. First however, the transcription practices involved in the process of digitisation are outlined in the following subsection.

The Transcription Process

Transcribing original manuscript material requires transparent and linguistically-rigorous editing standards and principles that ideally recognise the material nature of the documents themselves (Woesler, 1998: 946; Auer, 2008; Fairman, 2008, 2015: 60; Elspaß, 2012a: 164). Accordingly; repetitions, abbreviations and crossed out words were included when possible, though superscript letters were converted to regular letters, to prevent an error code in LaBB-CAT. The long dash (—) at the end of a line of text, a practice still in use by some writers in the corpus, was also kept. Unknown words were marked as [ ], and comments in the margins or above the lines of running text were transcribed separately. Unfortunately, the symbol <∫>, commonly used at this time, causes an error code in LaBB-CAT, and thus

it had to be changed to a regular <s>. Recognition of unusual characters and difficult hands was aided by letter-finders of Scottish scripts current throughout the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, produced by the NRS.[7] The end result was a large collection of text files, transcribed with linguistic accuracy in mind, within the bounds of feasibility. Before these files can be uploaded to the corpus however, they must first be tagged for relevant extralinguistic information.

5.4.2   Adding Metadata

Ideally, the metalinguistic information accompanying letters is as complete as possible, given that many 'unknowns' in the dataset can significantly undermine the value and interpretation of patterns of variation, which otherwise remain opaque (Nevalainen and Raumolin-Brunberg, 1989, 1994; Nevalainen, 1991; Raumolin-Brunberg, 1991; Raumolin-Brunberg and Nevalainen, 1994; Milroy and Gordon, 2003). Yet information was sometimes unidentifiable and had to be labelled as 'unknown', even though such cases are not ideal for the successful reconstruction of the socio-historical setting (Raumolin-Brunberg, 1996a: 18). Thankfully, 'unknowns' represent only a small amount of the total extralinguistic information characterising the dataset. Certain independent variables may also summarise complex sets of factors - for example, Chapter 2 highlighted the inherent links between political party and its correlation with other associations including political and religious leanings, or Jacobite sympathies. However, Section 5.2 has also made clear that individuals could and did differ within the parties; there was not always a one-to-one correlation between political and ideological considerations. This suggests the value of including these factors as separate predictors, and as will become clear in Chapter 7, while they were closely-aligned, there is considerable value to keeping these factors separate.

The factors that were included in each letter and their different values (or examples thereof) are presented briefly in Table 5.3 below (for a full list containing all factor levels and their counts, see Appendix A.4).

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[7]These guides were acquired through online resources provided by the Scottish Records Association (*https : //www.scottishrecordsassociation.org/publications*) and their sister organisation Scottish Handwriting.com, (see *https : www.scottishhandwriting.com* for basic guides and tutorials). Script recognition was facilitated by participation in the Scottish Handwriting short course offered by the NRS, which also provided additional paleography resources.

Table 5.3: Main extralinguistic factors

Factor	Levels
Political Affiliation	Pro, Anti, Unknown
Party	Court, Country, Squadrone Volante
Religious Affiliation	Presbyterian, Episcopalian
Jacobite	Yes, No, Tactical
Recipient	Various
Recipient position	e.g. Family member, Duke, Scholar, Tenant
Recipient relationship	Close, Distant
Address	e.g. North East, England, Europe
Location	e.g. East Central Belt, South, Central Scotland
Birthplace	e.g. Highlands, West Central Belt
Position	Politician, Minister, Political Other
Date	Various
Year	1689-1745

Most basic extralinguistic information could be gleaned from the letters themselves or the corresponding archival records. Other factors, including details about the recipient, required further research, and the Oxford Dictionary of National Biography (ODNB, 2023), The Scots Peerage (Paul, 1904), and various print holdings were consulted to locate this information. The location labels consisted of three parameters; *Address, Location* and *Birthplace. Location* specifies where the letter was written from, *Address* concerns where the letter was sent to, and *Birthplace* reflects where the author was born. The factor levels for these predictors were simplified to England, Europe, and the counties of Scotland, as too many levels complicates statistical analysis and interpretation of the data.[8] As the majority of correspondence dates from the key years of the Union debates, most writers were situated close to parliament, in the administrative capital of Edinburgh. *Location* as a result was not a particularly diverse factor, although the elite also spent time on their estates during breaks in parliamentary sessions, and took frequent trips to London for business and social ventures. The largest proportion of letters were directed to addresses within Scotland, though a significant number flowed south to London as well (see Appendix A.4 for numbers). Birthplace has already been discussed in Section 5.2, and this is concentrated mostly around Lowland locations. Given previous research has suggested the diffusion of Anglicised features differed between regional and administrative localities (Meurman-Solin, 1993), and location continues to be an important conditioning factor affecting phonological divergence or levelling in Modern-day Scots (Llamas et al., 2009; Watt et al., 2010; Docherty et al., 2011; Maguire, 2015), these factors were deemed important to include in the macro-social analysis, and their influence will be explored in Chapter 7.

Some factors demanded greater methodological consideration than others. *Political Affiliation* in the case of the Squadrone members, who shifted from an opposition stance to supporting the Union, is one such case. Ultimately, their pro-Union stance

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[8]Original locations were kept as a separate value in the letters, enabling the possibility of future research interested in locations specifically.

after 1704 was taken as indicative of their leaning. *Jacobite* was initially a binary category of 'Yes' or 'No', but some authors professed hidden sympathies, or dabbled with Jacobite plotting as and when it suited them, thus the third category, 'Tactical' was created. *Recipient relationship* was more complex, as determining the level of amicability, respect and alignment between two writers was based largely upon the availability and interpretation of the background information available. Familial connections, marriage and landowning aspirations as well as religious denomination, ideological concerns and social ranking were key informants in determining how 'close' and 'distant' two figures were. While this binary distinction lacks nuance, this was not the main focus of these research questions, nor was a fine-grained distinction feasible within the time constraints of the thesis, negating further differentiation. Furthermore, the micro-analysis in Chapter 9 will explore the relationship between certain, selected individuals and their recipients in more detail, providing some insight into how this factor might pattern in more complex terms, and could suggest possible avenues for further investigation, in future analyses examining recipient relationship.

Which factors are included in the final sociolinguistic analysis is naturally limited by the amount of information available, and accordingly, educational background could not be included. While we know most of these writers attended university, very little is known about their early experiences when they were acquiring literacy. We might expect that the model for Scottish grammar by the eighteenth century was largely English (and Latin), and it seems likely that pupils might have adopted at least some of the spelling and writing practices of their writing teachers (Macafee and †Aitken, 2015b: 186). Yet variable options may still have been available even within the strict confines of the classroom (Fitzmaurice, 2015), and even more so through private tutoring, which was often the norm at the beginning of the century (Auer, 2015: 136). It is moreover just as possible that the tradition of free choice and variation in written language overruled the tendency for a writer to adopt the preferred choices of the written models around them (Aitken, 1971: 186); idiosyncracy and local background likely played their role as well as register and educational experiences (Macafee and †Aitken, 2015b: 34). Whilst recognising that there may be other factors and influences at play, with an informed understanding of the socio-historical context, interesting insights can still be gained and variation can still be explored through the lenses these factors provide. Ergo, the final set included aims not to explain all the variation present, but merely to suggest some possible contributing factors to any patterns observed.

Once all extralinguistic factors had been investigated and identified (to the greatest extent possible), they could then be added as labels to the transcribed text files exported from Transkribus. In order for LaBB-CAT to recognise the extralinguistic information accompanying the text file, this must be organised as a list preceding the main text of the document, the label distinguished from its corresponding value with a colon (:). The metadata labels within the transcript and those specified in LaBB-CAT must be identical, and each line must contain a label and corresponding value. If done successfully, LaBB-CAT recognises the match and adds the information to the appropriate fields. An example file is shown below. The incorporation of specific attributes is discussed more in the following section (5.5).
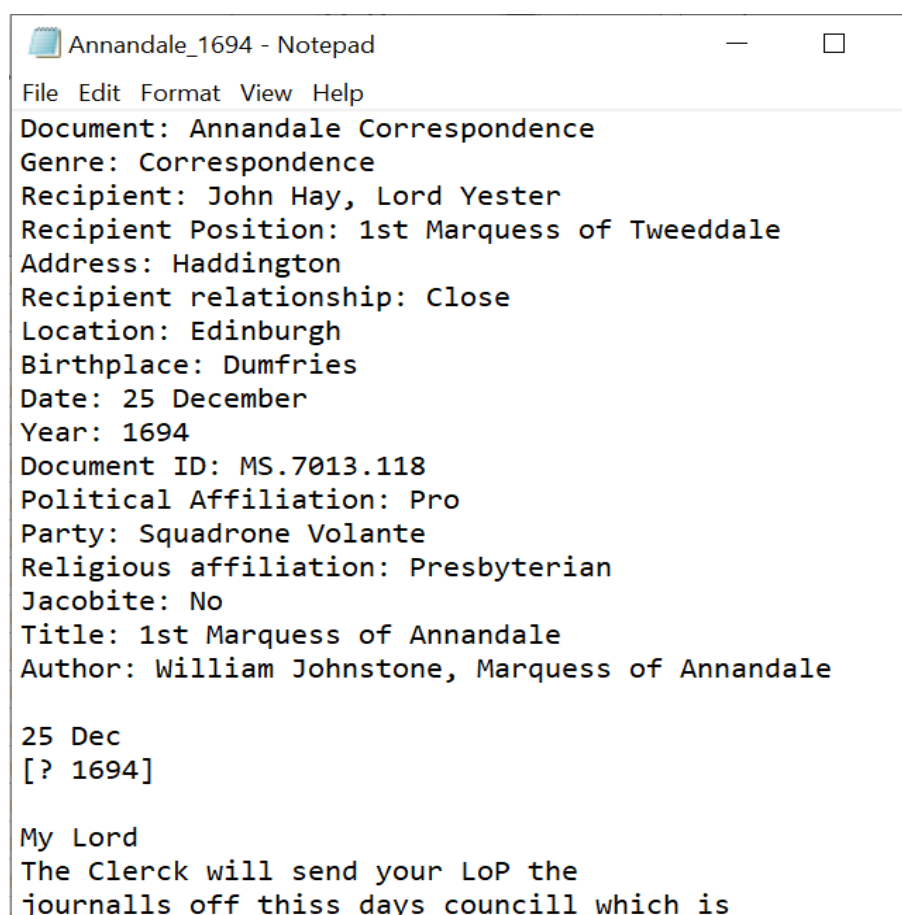
Figure 5.4: Example image of a letter by the Marquess of Annandale, containing corresponding extralinguistic labels

The first part of the corpus compilation - the data collection and processing - was thus complete. Each complete text file was then given a unique identifier (in the form of the author, the date and the number in that series) and uploaded to the pre-existing, custom-built corpus **POLITECS** - (**P**olitical **O**pposition, **L**oyalty or **I**ndifference in **T**exts of **E**ighteenth **C**entury **S**cotland), which is stored within the corpus-building platform LaBB-CAT. This was created as part of my Masters thesis, which similarly examined Scottish authors during the eighteenth century (though focusing on a wider time-frame and different authors). A new subcorpus was created within POLITECS to explore the specific writers in question here. The digitised SHS records, which had also been converted to txt. files were similarly labelled and uploaded to the corpus. In each instance, the upload was checked for errors and mismatches, before files were added to a unique subcorpus within POLITECS. Table 5.4 on the following page gives a summary of the final corpus counts once this process was complete.

Table 5.4: Counts for POLITECS corpus

POLITECS	Count
Word Count	555,281
Number of Letters	1028
Number of authors	37

The uploading process, and an overview of the software used to store these transcriptions (LABB-CAT) along with its specific features is discussed in the following section, before the final section of this chapter (Section 5.6) describes how 'Scots' was defined and categorised, to enable searches for appropriate features within POLITECS.

5.5   POLITECS

5.5.1   The Corpus-Building Platform LaBB-CAT

The browser-based, freely-accessible software LaBB-CAT (Fromont and Hay, 2008), developed at the University of Canterbury, New Zealand, was used to store and search the transcripts of these letters. LaBB-CAT is able to store audio, video and text files, and was originally designed to hold time-aligned auditory transcriptions. However it lends itself equally well to text data, enabling users to conduct detailed and multilayered investigations of the data in question. Individual transcripts can be easily viewed online, and various filters can be applied to highlight features of interest. Searches within the corpus can be undertaken across whole (sub-)corpora simultaneously, or be filtered according to the transcript or author(s) if required. LaBB-CAT comes with a number of pre-defined annotation layers (which include orthographic, syntactic or phonological layers) and specialised word filters, which can be selected during the search process, to extract precise linguistic data while filtering out unwanted results. This can assist greatly in searching a corpus containing two languages, such as Scots and English. The researcher can also manually add extra, searchable layers as required by the phenomenon under investigation to extract more specific results. An example of the search matrix is shown on the following page, in which the 'Orthography' layer has been checked, and the search term (in this case 'auld') is specified in the search box below.

Figure 5.5: Example image of the search matrix in the POLITECS corpus

Extra word-filters added for this investigation are also visible in Figure 5.5, these include all those beginning with 'Scots', for example, 'Scots_English' or 'Scots_Cat', and these will be discussed in more detail in the following subsections.

Once the search is complete, results are exported to a comma separated values (csv) file, along with various accompanying information, including the transcript name, collocations either side of the target token, and a URL that links to the interactive transcript within the corpus (Fromont and Hay, 2008). Other optional attributes can be selected during the exportation of results, such as participant and transcript factors. While LaBB-CAT contains a number of 'default' categories such as *Gender*, further attributes can be added manually by the researcher. In this instance, these were the extralinguistic factors presented in 5.3. These had to be specified within the Transcript and Participant Attributes list in POLITECS, an example of which is shown below.

Figure 5.6: Example image of transcript attributes in LaBB-CAT demonstrating the target attribute and corresponding label given in POLITECS corpus

For instance, in the image above, 'Recipient Position' and 'Recipient Location' (which later was re-labelled to *Location*) are visible as two transcript attributes. Once these attributes had been specified and incorporated, the transcripts and their corresponding information was thus complete. Table 5.5 below provides the word counts of factor levels relating to the main political attributes, indicating approximately how well represented they are in the corpus (for a full list containing all factor level counts see Appendix A.4 mentioned earlier).

Table 5.5: Word counts for political factor levels

Factor	Factor Levels	Word Count
Political Affiliation	Pro	242,283
	Anti	239,168
Party	Court	150,090
	Country	291,047
	Squadrone	89,712
Religious Affiliation	Presbyterian	365,924
	Episcopalian	210,599
Jacobite	Yes	183,805
	No	344,853
	Tactical	53,326

The final step was to implement a word-search layer enabling corpus searches for multiple linguistic features simultaneously, as the research questions being investigated seek to explore a range of Scots features in tandem, rather than focusing on an individual spelling or lexical item. Chapter 3 has furthermore highlighted the likely dearth of Scots in elite correspondence by this time, suggesting the desirability of holistically capturing as many features indicative of Scots as feasible within the corpus. Yet, to conduct a sociolinguistic analysis of Scots and southern English usage, we ideally need to define a binary variable. In this case, the variable was 'language', with multiple Scots features composing the one variant, and their anglicised equivalents the other. However LaBB-CAT's default parameters are based upon extracting an individual phonological or orthographic feature, and this necessitated the implementation of a Linguistic Enquiry and Word Count (Tausczik and Pennebaker, 2010) layer manager (LIWC). The process of identifying which features were included in the Scots search-list are detailed in Section 5.6, but first, LIWC is explained below.

5.5.2 LIWC

Within LaBB-CAT additional word managers can be implemented - these operate across different linguistic layers, such as orthography or phonology, and act as an overarching organisational function into which specialised word-search filters can be incorporated. For the purposes of identifying multiple features in the corpus, a Linguistic Inquiry and Word Count [LIWC] layer manager was incorporated. Traditionally, LIWC is a text-analysis model used to identify aspects of a writer's personality, by assigning target words to psychologically meaningful categories or 'dictionaries', which are then identified and extracted from the text (Tausczik and Pennebaker, 2010: 24-27). Multiple dictionaries can be created and run through LIWC to determine which categories have the highest frequency of occurrence in an individual's text, providing some insight into their cognitive behaviour.

In this instance, I sought to determine how Scots or Anglicised the writers were, using LIWC to measure the frequency of Scots and southern English features in their correspondence. The 'dictionary' uploaded to the LIWC layer thus consisted of a

list of words containing Scots orthographic or lexical features (as detailed in Section 5.6), and a second list with their southern English equivalent. All orthographic and lexical items for each language were compiled into a singular list, giving a 'Scots' and an 'English' category. This created a long list of individual words containing target features, a sample of which is shown below.

Table 5.6: Sample wordlist uploaded to LIWC layer manager

affer	Scots	offer	English
drapt	Scots	dropped	English
fermer	Scots	farmer	English
enuch	Scots	enough	English

LIWC thus enables an untold number of Scots lexemes to be compiled under a single category, a time-saving feature that was particularly important for the temporal and quantitative sociolinguistic analyses presented in Chapters 6 and 7. Once this list had been installed within the LIWC layer manager, the program is then able to scan through the corpus and tag every instance of a target Scots or English token where it occurs. The dictionary becomes a word-layer within the search matrix, labelled 'Scots_English, and the labels 'Scots' and 'English' become the corresponding search terms. Scots_English can be selected as a search filter, and the term set to either 'Scots' or 'English' to extract *all* relevant tokens across the corpus. This is demonstrated in the following screenshot, in which 'Scots_English' is checked, and 'Scots' is specified in the search bar below.

Figure 5.7: Snapshot of search function in POLITECS specifying all 'Scots' tokens to be extracted for frequency analysis

An example output of this search is shown below (for this purpose a singular author, Robert Wodrow, was chosen to demonstrate this process); POLITECS indicates the number of hits identified in the corpus, and gives an example list of the identified features, starting with the first letter identified. These tokens represent various features included in the wordlist, which all fall under 'Scots'.

Figure 5.8: Output of search function in POLITECS once 'Scots' has been specified, indicating number of hits and examples of these features in text

Once these hits have been identified, results can then be exported along with accompanying transcript and participant attributes. Rather than a full or multi-text corpus search as demonstrated in Figures 5.7 and 5.8 above, an individual transcript can also be selected and run through the Scots_English LIWC filter. This will tag all instances of Scots or English features in the text, allowing the researcher to instantly see which features are occurring where, and the concentration of Scots or anglicised features within a letter. By allowing for considerable complexity in both the search matrix and the export options, LaBB-CAT thus lends itself well to exploring various historical factors of interest.

The target features incorporated within the Scots-English dictionary, however, rested upon accurately and objectively identifying multiple features of Scots within the corpus. This last part of the methodological process is detailed below, before the data analysis is presented in the following chapters.

5.6   Identifying Scots

Searching for Scots in correspondence at the turn of the eighteenth century is challenging on a number of fronts. Recall from Chapter 3 that written Scots had largely retreated from most text-types by 1700, as the transition to anglicised features was well underway. Searching for an individual feature or lexical item thus provides a limited insight into the frequencies and forms of written Scots surviving at this time, as it seems likely usage was becoming increasingly variable and subject to subtle differences that cannot be captured by a single variant. Such a focus denies us a broad picture of what was happening to *Scots* overall, as opposed to a particular feature, as some writers might use a variant, and others might not. Focus on a single feature would suggest the latter 'did not use Scots', when that was not the case, rather, they just used *different* Scots features. Moreover, as comparatively little is known about which features were still present in elite correspondence dating to this time, it would also be unclear which singular feature should be focused on.

Instead, an approach that attempts to encompass a more holistic assessment of surviving Scots features in correspondence is needed. Given that previous linguistic exploration of this time-period is limited, and the lack of standardisation characterising Scots, the first step was simply to compile as many applicable features as possible. This involved identifying any appropriate feature on a first-hand basis during the transcription process. Scots lexical items, and words that were indicative of Scots orthography, were collated into a dataset, along with the corresponding southern English equivalent. The Oxford English Dictionary (OED) and the Dictionaries of the Scots Language (DSL) were then consulted to identify the etymological and geographical roots of the spelling or word, determining whether they could be considered Scots features, or were perhaps unfamiliar eighteenth-century English variants, given there was still a degree of variability within English private letters at this time (Tieken-Boon van Ostade, 2000). This approach was not fool-proof of course, but southern Standard English was already relatively codified by this time, and large chunks of the letters are remarkably similar to Present Day written English, which significantly aided the identification of 'non-standard' tokens. Spellings labelled as 'Scottish' in the dictionaries, not identified in Standard English, or not found in English after the sixteenth century, were included in the feature list. Some cases were also more straightforward, such as well-known Older Scots words or shibboleths.

Labelling something as purely 'Scots' is of course problematic in its own right, as linguistic varieties do not recognise national borders as definitively as cartographers might. Frequently, lexical items or spellings identified as Scots were shared with northern dialects. Their common origins have already been discussed in Chapter 3 so will not be repeated here. Nonetheless, given the target variety for anglicising authors would have been southern English, these words were still added to the Scots wordlist, as the focus is on variants that were relatively commonplace or localised around Scotland, whilst being scarce or non-existent in the metropolitan variety emerging from the southern capital. Each identified Scots token was matched with their southern English equivalent, and these were added to their corresponding feature list within the Scots_English dictionary accordingly (see the LIWC section

above for an example snapshot). For instance, the word *deen* with the double <ee> spelling in Scots corresponds to *done* in southern English. Accordingly, *deen* and 'done' were added to the Scots and English wordlists respectively, as 'Scots' and 'English' variants. By compiling a large list of individual words containing Scots orthographic features, recurring patterns could then be identified, assisting the next step of the classification process, which is described in the subsection 'Classifying Scots'.

Items could also differ on the *Lexical* level. These are words that were frequently tied to a uniquely Scottish way of life or specific institutions, such as the Kirk or the Scottish legal and education systems. For example, the Scots word *haining* refers to an 'enclosure', whilst to *homologate* is to 'countenance'. Lexical items can be problematic in variationist study, given that there was not always a straightforward equivalent. In these cases either the closest equivalent was given, or the 'English' column was left blank. While this does not fulfil the requirements of a 'Scots-English' variable, the existence of Scots lexis within the corpus can still provide important insights into their function in correspondence, and Scots in general. Their use among highly educated elite writers might suggest the integral role lexical items played in certain contexts for instance, enabling their continuation despite the anglicising trends of the previous centuries.

5.6.1   Identifying 'Standard English'?

Choosing the Standard English equivalent was a necessary process in order to circumscribe the variable under investigation. The quantitative analyses presented in the following chapters (6 and 7) are largely interested in factors influencing the 'choice' of authors to use a Scots or anglicised variant, thus the English option had to be identified. Yet this was not always straightforward. The standard was not static, and there is evidence of changes occurring throughout the eighteenth and nineteenth century, during which a number of variants could co-exist as acceptable norms (Allen, 2015: 203; Fairman, 2015: 53). Occasionally, there was potential to include more than one of the prevalent English variants when same Scots word occurred with two different spellings, thus *deuty* and *diutie* in Scots could be represented as *duty* and *dewty* in SStE, and both were included in the wordlists, accounting for more possible variation in the texts. In general however, there is no straightforward way to solve this issue, but care was taken to check the time-frames and regional provenance of spellings within the OED, to determine which were current at the time of writing, and thus likely to have been the most common variant for southern Standard English (as the target variety for the Scottish politicians, presumably). In most cases, the variant chosen matched Present Day English, given the most frequent spellings were often the ones that made it into our orthographic system today. Occasionally this was not the case, for example the word *reteaning* in Scots was most commonly written as *reteyning* in SStE at this time.

The result of the processes outlined above was two wordlists, one consisting of words containing spellings localised to Scotland, or Scots lexical items, and the other containing their anglicised equivalents (when this was possible). This was a

necessary precursor by providing a broad overview of the Scots features still present in correspondence at this time. However, this approach alone is rather subjective, and not reproducible in future studies given the case-by-case basis through which features were identified. A more structured approach, based on circumscribed categories of Scots features, was needed, to ensure future replicability which is central to rigorous sociolinguistic investigation (Bailey and Tillery, 2004: 1). Furthermore, while this provides us with 'language' as the variable under investigation, and 'Scots' or 'English' as the variants, it does not tell us very much about the *type* of Scots features in correspondence. The 'language' variable was necessary for the macro-social analysis in Chapters 6 and 7, which are purely concerned with frequencies of Scots, but further distinction was necessary to provide insights on a micro-social level. As Chapter 9 will make clear, examining inter and intra-writer variation across individual texts relies on recognising what these spellings represent, to understand the nature of the language itself and how it manifested across texts and writers. Different Scots categories were also required for the feature analysis in Chapter 8, which focuses on which features were driving any persistence of Scots. Exploring the extent to which these 'types' are attested in the corpus can suggest whether written Scots had come to exist largely on the subconscious plane of variation, restricted to a small handful of features that performed a mostly grammatical function, or whether it was in fact diverse in range and scope across these writers, and could be utilised in similarly diverse ways. Accordingly the next stage was to identify whether these spellings unambiguously represent a feature of Scots (rather than English) phonology, and to categorise these phonological spellings accordingly. This process is described below.

5.6.2 Classifying Scots

Initially, a number of different approaches were trialled to try and systematise the categorisation of Scots features (for a description of these different approaches, see Appendix A.5). Ultimately, the original list of features (minus the lexical items) was categorised according to recurring orthographic patterns. Certain spellings cropped up repeatedly, suggesting a systematic difference between the Scots and southern English variant. They were researched to identify whether these might represent historical, phonological differences between northern English varieties and southern Standard English, that were captured (to varying degrees) in the orthographic practices of the time. Often, they did represent phonological changes or regular sound changes that taken place historically in northern varieties but not in southern English, or vice-versa, and they occurred systematically enough to be considered defining differences between Scots and southern English varieties.

Aitken (1971: 186) suggests that, on the one hand, comparative investigations can treat Scots spellings simply as phenomena in their own right, independent of whatever spoken forms they might be thought to represent. To a certain degree, some features included in the analysis are treated as thus, given we cannot be sure whether they ever represented a pronunciation difference. On the other hand, he notes that it may also prove convenient and revealing to group together those words which share the same variant sets, or used different members of that set in varying

proportions. In this way, a system of orthographic variant and member sets with a lexical inventory can be created, which could then be related to a phonemic system, or systems reconstructed at least partly on other grounds. The approach taken here partially seeks to answer Aitken's call and proposed methodological approach, by adopting a similar classification approach using member sets with lexical inventories, taken from the previously-identified wordlist.

However, the classifications used here do not necessarily claim to evince the phonological realisations the categories might purportedly represent, nor suggest that such words were still *pronounced* differently. A feature may have become fossilised within certain words as part of Scots' 'tendency to retain established orthographic arrangements after the phonemic arrangements which they formerly reflected had ceased to exist' (Aitken, 1971: 187). While there is a reasonable fit between orthographic and phonemic systems in Middle Scots, once such spellings had become established, they may have become merely orthographic rather than phonemic for some writers over time (Macafee and †Aitken, 2015b: 12, 16). Regardless, whether or not these spellings represent the speech of the writer is not the purpose of categorising them according to phonological distinctions. The point is that they represent a historical sound change in Scots that was captured in the orthography, and this did not occur or manifested differently in southern English. This provides a quantifiable difference that can be analysed from a sociolinguistic perspective, and previous work (i.e. Aitken, 1971; Kopaczyk, 2012) has already suggested the value in approaching orthographic variation through the lens of phonological distinctions between Scots/northern Englishes and southern English. Through this, we can study their distributions and patterns of incidence as spellings, regardless of whose pronunciation - the writer's, their teacher's or historical trendsetters who set the emerging 'national standard' of previous times - is being revealed.

Accordingly, several categories were identified from the original list of Scots words, and these categories are represented in table 5.7 below, before being briefly discussed in turn.

Table 5.7: Scots categories included in analysis, including example Scots spellings with their southern English equivalent

Scots Category	Example
MATE	*debait* - debate
PART	*cairt* - cart
OEa	*clath* - cloth
a-o	*aff* - off
FVMerger	*greit* - great
er-ar	*ffermers* - farmers
i-e	*blist* - blessed
ie-y	*manie* - many
Northern Fronting	*dae* - do
u-w	*niu* - new
MOUTH	*fluor* - flower
ch-gh	*enuch* - enough
dg-g	*bagedg* - baggage
qu(h)-wh	*quhich* - which
ng∼n	*cleang* - clean
s∼s(c)h	*pouss* - push
Consonant Deletion	*hae* - have

The Categories

MATE

This refers to the spelling of words which had the Older Scots (OSc) /aː/ (MATE) vowel. Scots appears to have preferred <ai> spellings for non-final developments of OSc /aː/, compared to southern English <a(C)e> spellings. /aː/ was present in both English and Scots, and was usually derived from short /a/ (when not from OE /ɑː/), which had undergone Open Syllable Lengthening (OSL) - a process affecting historically-short vowels in open penultimate syllables, lengthening and lowering them one slot (Macafee and †Aitken, 2003: 146). /aː/ underwent raising in each variety, but southern English tended to represent this with <a(C)e> spellings, while Scots preferred <ai>. This lead to the same spelling as words derived from earlier /ai/ (BAIT), which was sometimes merged with /aː/ (Aitken, 1977: 3, 8). The use of <ai> spellings of MATE could thus be indicative of a MATE-BAIT merger, though this is difficult to confirm. It could also be an alternative spelling of the MATE vowel, representing the lengthening of earlier short /a/ through OSL. Long vowel duration could be marked in one of two ways in Early Scots (1375-1450) - either by adding an <e> to the following consonant (+Ce) as in *buke*, 'book', or by creating a digraph through combining the vowel with another vowel, which was often <i> or <y> (Bann and Corbett 2015: 43). The presence of the <i> in these spellings might therefore be an indicator of length. Either way, southern Standard English seems to prefer the <a(C)e> spellings for MATE, giving rise to the distinction between

debait, caise, haist and 'debate', 'case', 'haste'.

PART

The PART set also involves <ai> spellings, though this affected a different set of words, and happened in Scots early on. This resulted from early Middle English lengthening of original short /ar/ followed by certain consonants in northern varieties, including Scots, giving OSc /aːr/. The lengthening of short /a/ in PART was particularly common before /rt/ and /rd/ clusters, including variants such as *cairt*, *caird*, *gairden* and *pairt*, 'cart', 'card', 'garden' and 'part'. There were also some instances of short /ar/ lengthening without an <rt> or <rd> spelling in the final consonant cluster, as in *airm* and *airch*, 'arm', 'arch' (Macafee and †Aitken, 2003: 148).

OEa - Old English ā

Lass (1992: 46) labels the reflex of OE *ā*, present historically in 'bone', 'stone', 'home' < OE *bān, stān, hām* etc, as 'one striking difference between modern northern and southern dialects'. This concerns words which had [ɑː] (including some words derived from Old Norse), which developed differently in far-northern English varieties and Scots, than in Midland and southern dialects. The vowel fronted in the north, especially in traditional dialects and conservative rural vernaculars, initially giving [aː], which then raised through the Great Vowel Shift. This typically gives spellings with <a> (though <ai> is also common) , i.e. *hame, stane* (Aitken, 1977: 3; Macafee and †Aitken, 2003: 143-148). In the south, the vowel rounded and raised to [ɔː], usually represented by spellings involving <o>, such as <oCe>, <oa> and <o>, as in 'home' and 'stone'. The southern change appears to have come to fruition in the late twelfth to early thirteenth century, beginning in the south-east and spreading northwards, but not affecting the far north.

This developed into one of the major north/south isoglosses (Lass, 1992: 47) and is a major distinguishing characteristic between Scots and southern English. The presence of <o> spellings for OE /ɑː/ in Scottish writings is thus considered one of the major proofs of southern influence (Kniezsa, 1997: 45). While some Scottish writings show evidence of English influence as early as the 1370s, containing <o> spellings for regular OE /ɑː/ words such as 'so' instead of *swa, sa* (Kniezsa, 1997: 45), writers and text-types were variable in their adoption of the change, and this switch to <o> was never completed in written Scots. 'Regular' cases of this distinction include the examples given above, but there are several smaller subsets which have their origin in the same change, and which have been included in this analysis.

This includes the MORE subset, in which words with OE [ɑː] before /r/ typically have <a> or <ai> spellings, compared to southern English <o> spellings, as in *mair, sair* - 'more', 'sore'. The KNOW subset also originally had [ɑː] before a semi-vowel, including /w/ and OE /g/, which became /w/ (though not all <ow> words have this source). This vowel became [aʊ] in the north, but [ɔʊ] in the south. Again this distinction is marked by <a> and <o> spellings, giving *blaw, knaw, snaw, thraw* vs. 'blow', 'know', 'snow', 'throw'. The LONG subset, consisting of words with

Old English -*ang*, is another set that originally contained [ɑː]. In Scots, the changes that took place did not result in the back rounded vowel <o> that occurred in the South, which may have arisen through shortening and rounding before the nasal. Instead, the <a> vowel was retained in the north and is represented in spellings with <a>, giving *amang, lang, strang* and *wrang* for 'among', 'long', 'strong' and 'wrong' (Alcorn et al., 2017: 20).

Similarly, an /aː/ vowel was retained by Scots in the OLD subset, which started off with OE /ɑld/, but appears to have been subject to Homorganic Lengthening to /ɑːld/, which then initially developed as other cases of /ɑː/ (Macafee and †Aitken, 2003: 145). In the South, the following phonological process that took place can be captured as [ɑld] > [ɑːld] > [ɔːld] > [ɔʊld]. Ultimately, this resulted in a back rounded vowel (as in other environments, though subsequent phonetic changes took place), represented with <o> spellings. In the North, lengthening and later shortening may have occurred, but the outcome ultimately differed, giving [ɑld] > [ɑːld] > [a(ː)ld] > [aʊld] in Older Scots, represented with <a> spellings (Aitken, 1977: 3). This gives *cald, hald, ald/auld* and 'cold', 'hold', 'old'.

a-o

This category describes instances in which Scots has <a> spellings where southern English would have <o>. This superficially looks like OE [ā] given it seems to reflect the same patterning, however, this represents a different vowel set and different process. In Older Scots, originally short /o/ (which can also be symbolised as /ɔ/), became /a/ in labial environments, especially before /p/ and /f/ (Macafee and †Aitken, 2015a: 34). This change is reflected in <a> spellings as opposed to southern English <o> giving *aff, drap* and *tapp* for 'off', 'drop' and 'top' (Aitken, 1977: 10).

FVMerger - Front Vowel Merger

This describes a long front vowel shift and merger that affected both Middle English and Older Scots, but manifested in slightly different ways in each variety. This corresponded to spelling differences, specifically for the MATE and BEAT classes which overlapped and were sometimes confused (Aitken, 1977: 8). Note that the processes discussed for MATE in this section differ from the /ai/ spellings outlined above, which were indicative of lengthening or a MATE-BAIT merger, rather than the BEAT-MATE merger discussed here.

Both Middle English and Older Scots originally had the same long front vowels: /iː/, /eː/, /ɛː/, /aː/, and these all rose in the Great Vowel Shift (Aitken, 1977: 2; Macafee and †Aitken, 2003: 143). /iː/ and /eː/ rose one step (to /əi/ and /iː/ respectively), whilst /aː/ and /ɛː/ ultimately rose two steps (to /eː/ and /iː/ respectively). However, these two sets of raising did not always happen simultaneously, and the raising of /ɛː/ was relatively late. There is plenty of evidence in the Early and Late Modern periods that the /ɛː/ - /iː/ merger was not complete in all areas of Scotland, and failed to take place in some dialects (see Curtis (1894: 34); Heuser (1897: 339-341, 406-407); Craigie (1940: lvi) and Aitken (1977: 8), as cited in Macafee and †Aitken, 2015a: 10). There was thus potential for an overlap or

merger of /aː/ (MATE) and /ɛː/ (BEAT), if the MATE set rose to /ɛː/ or /eː/ before the BEAT set rose to /iː/. This seems to have occurred in certain varieties of English and Scots, but appears not to have taken place in southern Standard English and central Scots dialects, or perhaps disappeared early on in the ancestor of these varieties (Anderson, 1987: 69, 83; Johnston, 1997b: 456-63). Instead, /ɛː/ eventually merged /iː/, rather than /aː/, and probably completed by the eighteenth century (Lass, 2000: 98).

Within certain Scots dialects therefore there is evidence of merger of /aː/ and /ɛː/ (the 'BEAT-MATE Merger'), and this is usually reflected in historical spellings of the BEAT set with <a> or <aCe> - spellings originally used to represent MATE. Thus we get the spellings *dale, dath, lave* for 'deal', 'death', 'leave'. Sometimes there are also <ai> spellings for BEAT words, which probably derive from the previously-merged MATE class. This could suggest /ɛː/ may have merged with /ai/ (BAIT) in some cases, but this took place presumably via a BAIT-MATE merger (i.e. the merging of /ai/ and /aː/, as discussed previously for the MATE category), which took place earlier on (Aitken, 1977: 8). As a result, we get examples such as *dail*, 'deal' in the corpus. In English, the BEAT class was usually represented with <ea> or <ee>, reflecting its merger with /iː/ by this time period (Johnston, 1997a: 73). In Scots by contrast, <ee> remains rare until much later in the period.

There are also some reverse spellings in the corpus, in which MATE and BAIT words are spelled with <ea> and <ei>. Originally <ei> spellings seem to have been linked to the BEAT class, though they only became common during the fifteenth century (Johnston, 1997a: 73). In reverse to the process above, spellings previously used to represent BEAT applied to words of the MATE class, giving *streit*, 'straight' and *ordean*, 'ordain' (Macafee and †Aitken, 2015b). In southern English varieties, words containing this vowel quality were more commonly spelled with the <ai> and <ay> variants, although of course <ei> is attested in certain word classes, such as *feign* and *reign*.

There is thus evidence of both patterns in the corpus, and whilst is is not clear whether these represent Scots developments or originate from Early Modern English, both <ai> and <aCe> spellings for BEAT and <ea> and <ei> spellings for MATE appear to be associated with Scots usage in the corpus, given their prevalence and bearing in mind the frequent tendency of Older Scots to use <i> digraphs (Kniezsa, 1997). Accordingly, they have been categorised as Scots, whilst acknowledging that they may have been possible for some writers of English too. Nonetheless, this gives us an observable difference between the two varieties that can be linked to a historical sound change.

er-ar

This spelling feature represents Old English and Old French short /ɛr/, which commonly became short /ar/ in southern English varieties by the mid-sixteenth century, but often remained /ɛr/ or became /er/ in Scots instead. This is reflected by a spelling preference for <er> where we would expect <ar> or <ear> in Standard English, for example *fermers*, 'farmers', *hert*, 'heart' and *merket*, 'market' (Macafee and †Aitken, 2003: 148).

In addition, words which were borrowed later (from Latin or French for example) sometimes originally retained the pronunciation /er/ (later /ɛr/) in English, giving spellings such as *marcy*, 'mercy' and *sarve*, 'serve' (Lass, 2000: 109). In southern English the pronunciation became /ɜr/ > /ɜː/, giving the regular <er> or <ear> spellings in use today. However, Scots and some English varieties typically retained /ɛr/ or lengthened to /eːr/ in these words, and continued to use some of the <ar> spellings that had largely disappeared from southern English, as in *larn*, 'learn'.

This gives two patterns, one in which Scots has <er> where southern English has <(e)ar>, and the other where <ar> occurs instead of <e(a)r>. In the case of the second pattern it is less clear why these occur in the writings of Early Modern Scots; this may be influence from non-standard varieties of Early Modern English, or possibly the feature continued in use from earlier periods of Scots. This may reflect Scottishness, or perhaps simply non-standardness, but in any case it does not suggest a shift towards the southern standard, and thus was included.

i-e

The use of <i> for <e> reflects a common, non-standard historical phonological change, also found in Scots, for /ɛ/ to rise to /ɪ/. This is usually represented in the spelling with an <i> rather than <e> especially before /t/, next to palatal consonants, before <-ver> as in *cliver*, 'clever' and sometimes before /s/ as in *blist*, 'blessed' (Zai, 1942: 126; Dobson, 1968; Aitken, 1971: 202; Lass, 1992). While this change is not unique to Scots alone, the spelling of words such as 'clever' and 'blessed' as *cliver* and *blist* occur much more frequently in Scots than in southern Englishes, suggesting they were transitioning out of the emerging standard variety.

ie-y

This refers to the preference of Scots to spell word-final [i] in the CITY word-class as <ie> rather than the more usual <y> in early Modern English. The general spelling of Old English /iː/ was the discontinued grapheme <e>, but by the sixteenth century examples of analogical digraphs arose, including <ie> and <yi> (Macafee and †Aitken, 2015b: 182-183). Eventually, the grapheme <y> came to represent an allograph of <ee> (Kniezsa, 1997: 37). In Scots, <ie> and <ye> became the digraphs used in open syllables, especially <ie>. Thus we get *anie, carie, certanlie* in Scots, whereas 'any', 'carry' and 'certainly' were the more usual spellings found in southern English. This preference for <ie>, while not unique to Scots alone, does differentiate it from southern English practice and preference, and accordingly was included as a category.

NF - Northern Fronting

This change was complex phonologically and in terms of spellings, but is an essential far north/Scots - Midlands/South distinction, in which early Middle English /oː/ fronted in the far north to [øː], a change which did not take place in the south. This process began in the late thirteenth or early fourteenth century, following Open Syllable Lengthening (OSL). OSL affected more words with /ʊ/ in the North (e.g. 'nut', 'son', 'summer'), adding quite a few cases to the long /oː/ class. In the South

these words remained /ʊ/ or /u/ (Lass, 1992: 56). Through a combination of OSL and Northern Fronting (NF), we thus get observable differences between northern and southern varieties. For example Old English 'nut' developed from OE [hnutu] > southern [nutə], giving Modern English [nʊt] (no OSL or NF), but in northern varieties this developed as OE [hnutu] > northern [noːtə] (OSL) > [noːt] > [nøːt] (due to NF) giving Modern Scots [nɪt] (Macafee and †Aitken, 2003: 149).

This thus forms a key distinguishing feature of Scots and northern English varieties (Lass, 1992: 56). It may have even been initiated in Scotland (Kristensson, 1967), though it soon became a defining characteristic of the far northern English and Scots area (Johnston, 1997a: 69). Typically NF is represented *either* by a front vowel spelling (including <i> or <e>), or by <uCe> or <ui>, depending on its individual developments, rather than by spellings containing <o> which was generally used in English to represent /oː/. There are a number of 'regular' cases, such as 'soon' and 'moon', commonly represented as *sune* or *muin*. However various spelling features can represent this process, stemming from the further development of this vowel after the Older Scots period, which was complicated, unstable and influenced by environment and dialect, creating a number of subsets.

Before velars, including /x/ and /k/, /oː/ was regularly fronted, though there was some early diphthongisation to /iu/ (Johnston, 1997a: 69). This could be represented by spellings such as <eu>, as in *teugh*, 'tough', *eneugh*, 'enough' (given the final <gh> was pronounced /x/), as well as <ui> as in *buik*, 'book' (Macafee and †Aitken, 2003: 149). Northern Fronting also took place in pre-rhotic position, giving *muir, puir*, 'moor', 'poor', though in many dialects there was later unrounding and lowering to [eː], often spelled <air>, i.e *mair*, 'moor'. There are word-final cases as in 'do' and 'to(o)', giving variants such as *dae* and *tae*. These spellings stem from a very widespread change for the resulting [øː] from Northern Fronting to become [eː], which was often represented in the spelling as <ae> in morpheme-final position. In North-East Scots the outcome of this fronting was sometimes even further forward, giving /i(ː)/ as the output. This could be represented in the spelling with <ee>, as in *sekeered*, 'secured'.

In environments preceding <-ther>, Northern Fronting can also manifest in the spelling as <i> or <a>, as in *brither, mither, ather* - 'brother', 'mother', 'other' (Aitken, 1977: 10; Macafee and †Aitken, 2003: 149). Finally, in some cases, words with Old French /y/ ended up as part of this spelling variation, as /y/ merged with the /øː/ (or /yː/) that was the result of Northern Fronting (in some environments and dialects at least), though it was not itself a product of Northern Fronting. This gives <a> spellings, as in *refase*, 'refuse'.[9] The process of Northern Fronting is thus complex and differentiates Scots from southern English varieties on a number of levels.

u-w

In Older Scots it was established practice to use <u> in non-final position where southern Standard English would have <w>, as in *neus*, 'news', *rau*, 'raw' and

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[9]The /eː/ vowel that eventually emerged from this merger typically developed in Scottish Vowel Length Rule (SVLR) environments, i.e. morpheme-finally, before /r/ and before voiced fricatives.

hollou, 'hollow', though the two could be in free variation (Aitken, 1971: 182). This is not unique to Scots, commonly occurring in northern English areas as well, and reflects a general tendency of Scots to preserve and generalise Middle English spelling practices from northern areas (Kniezsa, 1997: 35-36). This nonetheless provides a useful, regular difference between Scots and southern English that can be investigated in the corpus. Whether this feature relates to a phonological distinction or not is unclear, and previous scholarship suggests the choice of <u> stems largely from orthographic practices relating to the scribal conventions of earlier times (Kniezsa, 1997; Bann and Corbett, 2015). In any case, this feature appears to be characteristic of Scots written habits and not English, and so is included in this analysis.

MOUTH

The MOUTH set refers to words with Middle English and Older Scots [uː], which, as a result of the Great Vowel Shift in the South diphthongised to the [aʊ] diphthong, but remained a monophthong in the North. The different outcomes of the GVS for MOUTH words in Scots and English is probably connected with the process of Northern Fronting discussed earlier. Recall that through NF, [oː] had fronted to [øː] in northern varieties including Scots, but not in the South. As a result, [oː] was raised in the South to [uː], causing MOUTH to diphthongise. In the North this did not take place, as there was no [oː] available to undergo raising, and thus MOUTH remained /uː/ (Lass, 2000: 76). The usual spellings for /uː/ had been <ow, ou> and these continued in both Scots and English (Lass, 2000: 79), although Scots seems to have preferred <ou>. Some words could also shorten with <uC> spellings from the sixteenth century onward, possibly suggesting the retention of the historically-short vowel, such as *clud, muntan, pultrie*, 'cloud', 'mountain', 'poultry' (Johnston, 1997a: 83).

In the corpus, most of the words in this set have the vowel proceeding an alveolar consonant, such as *boued, doun, flouer* and *pouer* - 'bowed', 'down', 'flower' and 'power' respectively. <ou> occurs fairly consistently, with a few instances of <uC> spellings in the corpus as well. This might suggest a phonological difference between Scots and southern English is being represented in the MOUTH set, in which <ou> (or <uC>) spellings refer to [uː] in Scots. The exact phonological quality could of course be hidden by the spelling, given that <ow> was used by Scots to refer to [uː] as well. Nonetheless, MOUTH seems a set worth examining in case there are differences concerning preference for <ou> or <ow> *spellings* across authors, regardless of pronunciation, which suggests a quantifiable difference between Scots and southern English. Moreover, while this might suggest that variation in the MOUTH set should be considered a subset of the u-w variation, it is worth examining both MOUTH and u-w variation as two separate categories, to determine whether MOUTH words behave differently. This will be explored in more detail in Chapter 8, examining the patterning and frequency of these Scots categories across the corpus and within individual writers.

ch-gh

The use of the <ch> digraph in Older Scots represented Old English and Old Norse /x/. In Old English this sound was originally represented by <h> in non-initial

position, including before /t/, changing first to <ʒ>, before <gh> became the standard spelling by late Middle English. <gh> also entered the Scots spelling system in the second half of the sixteenth century (Macafee and †Aitken, 2015b: 184), thus <ch> came to vary with <gh>, though the preferred grapheme was <ch> in Older Scots (Bann and Corbett, 2015: 25). This gives *dochter*, 'daughter' and *licht*, 'light', for example. Spelling variants could also include <∅>, as in *hy*, 'high', given that /x/ could be deleted, especially after front vowels, or <f>, as [x] became [f] in word-final position after back vowels, as in *enuff*, 'enough'. These variants would suggest English influence, as such processes occurred in southern English originally. Occasionally <ch> was inserted in words with no etymological justification, such as *delicht* for 'delight', which is still common in modern dialects of Scots. Both words with a preceding front vowel, i.e. *eicht, nicht*, and a preceding back vowel, as in *enuch*, are attested in the corpus.

dg-g

In Early Modern English the digraph <dg> replaced the Old English <gg> digraph in medial or final position for words pronounced /ʤ/, as in Middle English *hegg*, 'hedge'. Conversely, for French borrowings ending in <age>, the original French spelling was preserved. In Older Scots these words were more variable, giving *hege* or *hedge*, and this variability similarly applied to French borrowings, thus both *baggage* and *baggadg* are possible. There are numerous cases of <dg> spellings for French borrowings, and <dg> is consistently preferred for some writers. While this variability may have been present in various English dialects, it was not the target spelling for the emerging standard, and the preference for <dg> over <age> warrants its inclusion and investigation.

qu(h)-wh

The representation of Old English [hw] as <q(u)h> is generally described as Scots, in contrast to southern English <wh>. The most common means of representing the [hw] sound in Old English became <wh>, as a reversal of the earlier <hw> form which had prevailed until the beginning of the twelfth century (Kniezsa, 1997: 31). In Scots however, three main spellings emerged; <qu(h)>, <qwh> and <qw>, although Kniezsa (1997: 38) notes the wide number of representations that were in circulation in Early Scots. The <w> in the trigraph and digraph was most frequent in early manuscripts, and became more commonly <u> over time. By the seventeenth century the feature had largely narrowed down to <qu(h)> forms only. This feature was not restricted to Scotland; it was also used extensively in the far north of England in counties such as Northumberland, Durham and Lancashire from the end of the thirteenth century onwards (McIntosh et al., 1986: vol 2, 177; Kniezsa, 1997: 31), but it is a key distinguishing feature between southern English varieties and the far North. By the sixteenth century southern spellings with <wh> could be mixed with 'pure' Scots <quh> spellings in texts, and there is evidence of hybrid spellings combining <quh> with the southern vowel or consonantal ending, such as *quhom* instead of *quhaim*, *quhich* instead of *quhilk* (Aitken, 1971: 190; Kniezsa, 1997: 45). Considering the corpus, this hybrid nature appears to have become widespread by the eighteenth century, as most of the words placed in this category show evidence of southern English vowels and consonantal endings.

ng∼n

This refers to two different phonological processes affecting the spelling of Scots nasals. They have been incorporated into one category here due to the small number of examples contained within each process. The first refers to the Scots spelling <ng> where southern English would have <n>. Final historical /n/ in Scots is normally represented by <n>, whilst final /ng/ (which became /ŋg/ >/ŋ/, as in English (Macafee and †Aitken, 2015a: 29)) is normally represented by <ng>. In some cases, however, Scots uses the spelling <ng> where we might expect <n>. This is found in French loanwords (and occasionally in Gaelic, mostly names or places, see Macafee and Ó Baoill, 1997: 261) which had the palatal nasal [ɲ], as in *reing, sing, aling*, 'reign', 'sign', 'align'. What the <n> spelling indicates is not certain, though it may have represented [ɲ] in these cases rather than a velar nasal, or perhaps some of these loanwords were originally borrowed with /n/ but later palatalised to [ɲ] (Johnston, 1997a: 106; Macafee and †Aitken, 2015a: 29). This spelling was used across all of Scotland for much of the Older Scots period from the fifteenth century onward, and spellings with <n> are only attested after anglicisation was well underway (Murray, 1873: 124; Johnston, 1997a: 106).

The converse alternation involves spellings in which <ng> spellings in southern English occur as <n> in Scots, when followed by <th> as in *lenth*, 'length' and *strenth*, 'strength'. Kniezsa (1997: 43) notes that throughout the fifteenth century the writings of non-anglicised authors regularly omit <g> from the cluster <ngth>, though it became more variable later on. The loss of /g/ is likely the result of assimilation to the following dental fricative, concurrently leading to the deletion of <g> in <ngth> clusters.

s∼sh

This category similarly comprises of two features, which were again combined into one group due to the very low number of examples within each sub-category. s∼sh captures the variable phonological and orthographic realisations regarding the Scots sibilants. The first relates to the traditional Scots spelling <sch> which represents /ʃ/, as in *scho*, 'shoe'. In southern English varieties the regular spelling was <sh>. This is not a phonological feature as such, but rather an orthographic difference between Scots and English for representing the same sound.

The second feature relates to /s/∼/ʃ/ interchange, which consists of two subtypes. The first is the presence of /s/ where one would expect /ʃ/, represented in the spelling with <s> and affecting a small number of words, such as *sall*, 'shall'. The second is the reverse process, reflected in the spelling with <sch> or <sh> where English would have <s>, as in *veshell*, 'vessel'. This is one of the more salient features of Older Scots phonology and is not tied to any one dialect area (Johnston, 1997a: 105).

The earliest attestations of /s/ for /ʃ/ may be a lexical phenomenon, in which forms in French loans corresponding to English <-ish> were adopted as <-is> or <-eis> in Scots. This may have been analogous with Central French /s/ forms rather than Norman or Picard /ʃ/, and this phenomenon occurs in words with the same <ss>

in other cases also, such as *pouss* 'push' (from Old French *pouss(er)*, 'to push'), adopted as *poussis*, 'pushes'. Following the loss of the <-is> ending, *pouss* survived as the written form, as evidenced in this corpus. The same <s> forms occur for the native suffix <-ish>, as in *Scottis*, 'Scottish'. This change became significantly more common as time went on, and spread from initial position to final position, as well as word medially. The converse interchange of /ʃ/ to /s/ is much more limited, being largely confined to final position, with the exception of *sall*, 'shall' and *sould*, 'should'.

CD - Consonant Deletion

Consonant deletion refers to the absence of certain consonants, particularly <v> and <l>, from the spelling, as the result of their phonological omission. These deletions derived from various sound changes that took place in Older Scots (Aitken, 1971: 195) and occurred early on, attested already in fourteenth-century Scots manuscripts (Robinson, 1985: 260). However, the corpus study undertaken by Molineaux et al. (2019: 84) suggested that /l/ vocalization in particular remained infrequent throughout the fifteenth century, and certainly had not reached completion by the end of the period. In Older Scots /l/ was vocalised or deleted in coda position after the back or low short vowels /a/, /o/ and /u/, in morpheme-final and pre-consonantal position (Johnston, 1997a: 108; Macafee and †Aitken, 2002: 101-105; 2015a: 33; Maguire, 2012: 58). In the case of /a/ and /o/, these first changed to /aul/ and /oul/ before vocalisation took place to /aː/ and /oː/, while /ul/ became /uː/. The /l/ then disappeared and the Scots spellings reflect this accordingly, i.e. *gau*, 'gall', *cauf*, 'calf' and *bok*, 'bolk' - "belch" (Bann and Corbett, 2015: 27). However /l/ did not generally delete after /a/ (derived from /au/) before /d/, giving *auld*, 'old' and *cauld*, 'cold' rather than 'aud' and 'caud'. Occasionally it did delete in some of these words, such as *had*, 'hold', perhaps because they were frequently unstressed.

There are also other consonant deletions in Scots, such as /t/ in the clusters /pt/ and /kt/ in final position, and /d/ in /nd/ in both final and medial positions (Aitken, 1971: 182). Examples include *distink*, 'distinct', *contrak*, 'contract', *excep*, 'except' and *accep*, 'accept', all of which are attested by the mid-fifteenth century (Robinson, 1985: 181). The process of /nd/ simplification had taken hold in coda position by the fourteenth century, giving *lan*, 'land', while medial /n/ is attested from the fifteenth century onward in *winnow*, 'window' (Robinson, 1985: 355). These stop deletions are however rare in the corpus, with most deletions involving <l> and <v>.

These changes were not unique to Scots alone; the absence of medial /v/ in words such as *deil* 'devil' defines all of North Britain from the North Midlands up (McIntosh et al., 1986; Johnston, 1997a: 104), although they were never common in southern English varieties. Referred to as 'cuttit short' word-forms (Aitken, 1971, 1983; Macafee and †Aitken, 2002), their distribution seems to be restricted to specific genres, frequently occurring in comic and narrative poems, but also in less-conventionally spelled texts (Aitken, 1971: 196). They may thus have been more typical of particular sociolects and registers within Scotland (Molineaux et al., 2019: 85). This suggests their vernacular nature, which might enable their continuation in correspondence.

Lexical and 'Other' items

Alongside the phonemic/graphemic variables listed above, a further two categories were created. One was the *lexical* category aforementioned, in which words specific to Scots were added. There was also an 'Other' category. These were words containing phonological and orthographic distinctions between Scots and English, but were frequently single examples of a phenomenon. This did not warrant placing them in separate categories. For example, the Scots spelling *weel*, 'well' is one such type. This was the only example of the use of [iː] corresponding to southern English [ɛː] represented the corpus, yet it is a well-known Scots feature. This belongs to the HEAD/DEAD group, in which Scots retained the historical long vowel which was raised in the GVS to /iː/, whereas English had sporadic shortening, giving modern /ɛ/. This does not, however, suggest there was only a single instance of *weel* in the corpus, indeed it occurs multiple times across various writers. Accordingly, such examples were accumulated into the 'Other' category. While this approach might seem at first blush similar to the intial methodological steps outlined in the beginning of Section 5.6, in which Scots features identified in the correspondence were compiled into one large list, there are some important distinctions. As the categories 'Other' and 'Lexical' do not contain *all* the originally-identified Scots words, they are much more reasonable in size. This also enables for their comparison to the other identified categories, and for comparison in general between the range of features constituting early Modern written Scots. The lists will also be made freely available, enabling future research on early eighteenth-century Scots to consult them. For a full list of features included in each category, see Appendix A.6.

Once all these phonological categories (and the lexical/other group) had been defined and filled with relevant examples, the identification process was thus complete. Through this approach, this analysis seeks to follow Conde-Silvestre and Hernandez-Campoy (2004) in utilising a select number of graphemic variables to give an average outlook on how Scotticised or anglicised each author was. While this meant some Scots features from the original long-list had to be ignored, the categorisation and nature of surviving written Scots features was more transparent and replicable as a result. Following this categorisation process, the final step was then to extract the results from the corpus, before data analysis could begin. These steps are outlined briefly below, with further details concerning the specific processes involved in data analysis given in the relevant results chapters.

5.7   Data Analysis

Once the phonological/lexical categories had been identified, relevant words containing the target feature were sorted into each, before being added to the final 'dictionary' of Scots features. Two versions were created from this final dictionary. One in which all relevant Scots features, and their anglicised equivalent were correspondingly tagged as 'Scots' and 'English'. This list formed the 'Scots_English' word-layer in POLITECS, and was used to generate results for the quantitative analyses in Chapters 6 and 7. The other contained the same set of Scots and English features,

but these were tagged for the phonological/lexical category they belonged to. This was also uploaded as a word-layer ('Scots_Cat') in POLITECS, and was used to explore the corpus from a micro-social perspective, the results of which will be presented in Chapters 8 and 9.

POLITECS was then ready to be searched using the specialised word-layers, both to extract overall frequencies and to explore individual transcripts and authors within the corpus. The subcorpus of Union politicians was selected, along with the 'Scots_English' word layer, and 'Scots' was specified in the search matrix. The output was extracted along with the metalinguistic information into a csv file. The same was done with 'English' to provide both variants under investigation, and combined into a singular dataset. This was uploaded to R (R Core Team, 2020) for statistical analysis, utilising various modelling techniques including Variability-based Neighbor Clustering (Gries and Hilpert, 2008), Random Forests (Breiman, 2001), Bayesian regression modelling (Bürkner, 2017) and Multiple Correspondence Analysis (Kassambara, 2017). These will be discussed in more detail, respectively, in Chapter 6, and in Chapter 7, Sections 7.1.1, 7.2 and 7.3.1. The first two research questions explore possible variation through the lens of First Wave macro-social categories, which requires a quantitative, statistical approach to the data, and thus the use of the models listed above.

Yet, quantitative approaches alone cannot provide the full picture, and sociolinguistic studies have increasingly recognised their inherent limitations (O'Connor et al., 2008: 121). Frequency is just one dimension of relevance to the study of social meaning (Moore and Podesva, 2009), and revealing insights can be gleaned from other aspects (Labov, 1966b; Sankoff, 1980: 51-52; Milroy and Gordon, 2003: 28-29). Such arguments have already been touched upon in Chapter 4, and thus, while a quantitative study of eighteenth-century Scots is no doubt revealing on its own (especially considering the current lack of statistical analyses into this time period), this will be strengthened by a complementary qualitative approach. This can suggest whether certain individuals demonstrate sensitivity to social influences identified in Second and Third Wave studies, and to what degree they fit into the wider picture cast by the quantitative analysis.

To undertake this micro-analysis, 'Scots_Cat' was selected as an additional word layer (alongside Scots_English) in the search matrix of POLITECS, and the different Scots categories were extracted from the corpus, first for 'Scots', and then for 'English'. The output was again exported to a csv file and uploaded to R, through which the proportions of different Scots features used by each writer could be analysed and plotted, to answer Research Question 3. From this dataset, four writers were then selected, and their frequencies of Scots features across their recipients were plotted in R. Their individual letters were also examined in POLITECS, running the Scots_Cat layer through each text, which highlights the features as they occur in their letters. An example image is shown below.

Mar_1709_3.txt

meta-data

layers

- orthography
- ramsay-burns
- liwc category
- Scots Legal Terms
- Scots_English
- Scots_Grading
- ☑ Scots_Cat
- Eng_Cat
- Eng_Grading

participants

John Erskine, Earl of Mar

M. 1 febr 1709
15/946/4
Dear Brother
I've been so hurried this while wt the
    FVMerger
affair of our election that I had nather   time nor sobriety
to wryt to you. It is at last over as you'll see by the minuts
       Other   CB10
of our house, on ffrayday last we cairied a vote upon the
Question of a peers qualifying in the Castle of Edr & only by 4,
but the nixt day the Juncto were so terriffied wt their de-

Figure 5.9: Snapshot of individual letter in POLITECS highlighting all 'Scots' tokens according to category

In this snapshot, showing a letter written by the Earl of Mar, 'Scots_Cat' is selected in the word layers, which highlights an instance of the **ng** and **dg** categories in the letter, as well as a **lexical** item, through a green tag above the word in which they occur. This component of the data analysis was used to answer the final research question. The description provided here gives an indication of the initial process, but the exact methods used for each research question are described in more detail in the following results chapters, particularly concerning the application of the statistical tools used.

Thus, by focusing on Scottish correspondence, identifying key political players and figures active during the Union debates, locating their writings in online and archival repositories, digitising the manuscript documents and tagging them for factors of interest, uploading these to a novel, purpose-built corpus, identifying a selection of written Scots features to be searched for, and finally extracting these features from the corpus in aggregate and within individuals, a combined macro and micro-analysis could now take place to answer the research questions. Namely, how do written Scots frequencies pattern over this *time* period, across different *sociolinguistic factors*, and by *feature* across writers in the corpus? These analyses are presented in Chapters 6, 7 and 8 respectively. The final research question, in Chapter 9, draws on insights from these analyses to explore how written Scots patterns *within* authors, and the extent to which writers show sensitivity to macro-social factors, or to audience, stylistic and social influences. These chapters are now presented in turn.

Chapter 6

Temporal Analysis

The first research question of this thesis is concerned with the time period of the Union debates, and whether this had a measurable influence of the use of features indicative of written Scots. Uncovering the patterning of written Scots over time can suggest firstly, whether it occurs in measurable quantities within the corpus, suggesting its persistence during the early eighteenth century. Secondly, a temporal analysis can highlight whether this particular moment of time behaves differently to the preceding or following decades. Partially for this reason, correspondence dating outside the crucial years of the Union debates (1701-1707), was included in the corpus. Alongside this, ongoing discussion prior to and in the aftermath of the Union suggested the value of including such years, especially in light of the Jacobite risings of 1715 and 1745 which renewed hostilities and debate, generating a distinctly nationalistic discourse. Such correspondence was still produced by writers involved in the debates themselves, thus ensuring a degree of continuity was maintained. Table 6.1 below indicates the word-counts and the counts of Scots and anglicised variants for the four main time-periods within the corpus, providing an overview of how well-represented they are (for individual year counts, see Appendix A.7).

Table 6.1: Raw word counts and variant counts for year groups in POLITECS

Year	Word count	Scots	English
1689-1699	64,005	709	4,702
1700-1709	289,433	4667	17,045
1710-1719	62,667	339	17,145
1720-1729	82,283	232	17,245
1730-1739	24,677	74	12,138
1740-1745	20,901	30	5,223

Examining table 6.1, it is clear that the key union years between 1700-1710 are much better represented than the remaining year groups. Naturally, this is to be expected, given the central aim of this thesis is to explore use of written Scots during the Union debates, with a particular focus on these crucial years. From an analytical perspective, this could cause problems in terms of representativeness, especially if

the focus was purely on Scots features. However, by exploring written Scots through use of a variable, in which Scots variants are matched by anglicised equivalents, we can instead examine *relative* frequencies of Scots, in how these features pattern relative to English alternatives. The temporal analysis will therefore seek to explore the proportions of Scots features over time, rather than their raw counts.

The inclusion of years outwith 1701-1707 will enable a direct comparison between the key Union years with those on either side, whilst keeping the genre and most of the writers constant. If a change is identified, it is indeed plausible that the political events around the debates had an influence on variable language use, suggesting the value of further sociolinguistic exploration. Of particular interest is whether frequencies of written Scots reflect an observable increase, implying a linguistic sensitivity to the nationalist discourse taking place, or whether their patterning slots into the overall pattern of ongoing anglicisation that had been taking place throughout the proceeding two centuries. In general, we would expect to see minimal levels of written Scots within the corpus, given the history of language shift towards increasingly anglicised models of writing, and the desire of the landed Scottish elite to tap into the prestige and social mobility of the standard. The writers analysed here were likely sensitive to these considerations. Nonetheless, this can only be confirmed through a structured analysis of Scots proportions over time, and accordingly VNC or *Variability-Based Neighbor Clustering* (Gries and Hilpert, 2008) was used to undertake a temporal analysis. The theory and application of this model will be explained in the following sections.

6.1 VNC

6.1.1 The Theory

VNC represents a bottom-up, data-driven clustering technique that identifies meaningful time periods within the data. Rather than imposing set time-frames on a historical corpus, structured in interval-scaled years spanning ten, fifty or hundred year periods, VNC works by allowing the variable data to determine the best temporal arrangement and visualisation of meaningful changes over time. Diachronic corpus data by nature tends to be heterogeneous, which becomes problematic when traditional approaches toward historical data are used, basing partitions on theoretical accounts or simply using convenient divisions that match the time-frame being covered (Gries and Hilpert, 2012: 137). Partitioning data into time slices may give considerably different interpretations regarding the presence or absence of trends, the slope of trends and turning points in the data (Gries and Hilpert, 2010: 295-296). Particularly when studying many different linguistic phenomena operating simultaneously (as is the case here, where not one, but several different features were included in the category of 'Scots'), partitioning data into even chunks by design is unlikely to provide the optimal temporal classification.

Such issues are also exacerbated when dealing with trends and developments that are not long-lasting or linear in their expression, as there may be 'extended periods

of stasis followed by short spurts, and these divergent developments will be more fruitfully analysed as separate periods, even it they fall within the same seventy-year span' (Gries and Hilpert, 2010: 302). Diachronic developments can be dynamic and anaerobic in their nature, often through their complex nonlinear relationships or interactions with other contributing factors (Gries and Hilpert, 2010: 297). Similar effects may have been operating on written Scots during this time period, particularly in light of the intricate political and linguistic backdrop feeding into the debates. Arbitrarily splicing the corpus data into neat time slots might, as a result, identify the overall trend of ongoing anglicisation for example, but could fail to identify any short term changes, u-turns or peaks in Scots usage as a result.

An option could be to simply look at the raw data across each individual year, especially in light of the small time-frame under investigation. However, approaching the use of written Scots features on a year-by-year basis is likely to incorporate a lot of noise, considering that values for individual years may be driven by a single writer, and that written Scots was much reduced in scope and breadth by this point in time. This can also cause issues in analysis, as this leaves individual time points too scarcely populated, or heavily skewed due to the presence of an outlier. Additionally, this can only really provide a descriptive account rather than diving deeper into exploring a phenomenon and possible forces at work. Partitioning diachronic data into successive stages through the appropriate conflation of data points, on the other hand, enables us to make meaningful generalisations even within a small window of change (Gries and Hilpert, 2012: 135). VNC offers a viable alternative, providing the researcher with an empirical and objective analytical approach to exploring change and stability over time. This allows for a temporal exploration that is more sensitive to the phenomenon under investigation, and more reliable than intuition alone (Hilpert, 2013: 32-34). Accordingly, VNC was chosen as the most appropriate temporal analysis method. The building of the model and its application to the data is explained below.

6.1.2   The Model

To perform a VNC analysis a script is run in R (R Core Team, 2020), which takes as input a simple frequency table of the variants by year. In this case, this was a count for the number of Scots variants and number of anglicised variants, for each year represented in the corpus, as well as the total count (Scots+English) per year. The model then computes a percentage value for the target variant, for each of the years included in the timeline. The data points that are represented in the model are thus relative rather than raw frequencies. The algorithm also measures the standard deviation - a measure of the difference between percentage values for each adjacent time-point - creating a measure of their similarity. From this, the algorithm is able to determine which of all the standard deviations is smallest, forming the two most similar year values. These two data points are then combined, by summing the variant frequencies from the original year values, while the standard deviation is kept. The value given for this new, summed frequency is the mean of the original input years.

This process continues in a stepwise process, as the iterative algorithm amalgamates data points on the basis of mutual similarity between neighbouring year values into successively larger groups, starting from the smallest standard deviations and gradually increasing, until all datapoints are merged into a single cluster. Once complete, the standard deviations are plotted in reverse order onto a scree plot. This enables the researcher to determine how many temporal stages to assume on the basis of how much variation is captured within each successive standard deviation, starting from the largest to the smallest (Gries and Hilpert, 2010: 301). The favoured solution is a compromise between capturing as much dissimilarity between periods as possible, and positing as few clusters as necessary (Gries and Hilpert, 2012: 140). The plot also indicates how much variability in the data had to be 'overcome' with each successive amalgamation, on the basis of the similarity measure (standard deviation) set at the start.

The temporal stages subsequently identified in the data are based on the behaviour of the clusters created in the first, amalgamation step. These are characterised by a high degree of within-group similarity (the extent to which the variant percentages contained within the cluster were the same or similar in value) and a low degree of between-group similarity (the frequencies occurring within one group and the next are sufficiently different from one another to be considered two separate clusters). Each cluster is thus likely to constitute a relatively homogeneous period of interest (Gries and Hilpert, 2012: 135). This utilises the same methodology as other commonly-used, hierarchical, agglomerate clustering approaches such as similarity matrixes, but unlike the latter, VNC is sensitive to the temporal ordering of the variants. That is, it recognises that clusters must be arranged chronologically, preventing it from grouping together data points into nonsensical clusters that span hundreds or thousands of years (Gries and Hilpert, 2008, 2012). VNC is as a result restricted to identifying and merging clusters within temporally adjacent files and datapoints, thus even if 1689 and 1735 are the most similar in terms of their standard deviation, they will not be grouped together in the initial clustering phase, because they are not adjacent.

Furthermore, the meaningful time partitions are derived directly from the data itself, which may not necessarily align with traditional divisions of the language variety. Indeed, much of the previous discussion of historical Scots has tended to distinguish a singular cut-off point between 'pre-1700 Older Scots' and 'post-1700 Modern Scots' (i.e. Aitken, 1985: xiii, although see Templeton (1973), Murison (1979) and Meurman-Solin (1989) for more nuanced subdivisions of the timeline, and see Kopaczyk (2013c) for a detailed discussion on the problematic nature of previous Scots periodisation). Yet, while 1700 is chosen as the division between Older and Modern Scots, Older Scots did not disappear overnight, nor did Modern Scots arise out of the well-spring of Union to take on a new, Anglocentric identity. Rather, 1700 marks a point in the ongoing transition from majority Scots options to majority English or anglicised options, which had been at work over the past 150 years. VNC accordingly recognises that historical periods should not be treated as discreet entities with abrupt boundaries and clearly defined beginning and end points, since they often begin as reactions against preceding stages (Hernández-Campoy and Schilling, 2012: 64). Reliance on pre-defined, global corpus divisions will not necessarily obscure or distort such trends, but they are more likely to do so. As the plot below will make clear, this approach would fail to capture the intricate patterning

and detail that was occurring precisely around this pivotal moment in time, both historically, politically and linguistically. This is then the value of VNC - it can be much more fine-tuned to small changes in the data and to the particular phenomenon and context under investigation.

To run a VNC analysis, the algorithm is available as an R script, which was kindly sent by Stephan Gries (p.c). The researcher can specify a similarity measure (standard deviation, or Euclidean difference between two numerical values) and an amalgamation rule before beginning, or use the defaults provided in the script. The defaults were used here, and the script was run using the open-source, statistical platform R (R Core Team, 2020). A frequency table comprising of raw counts of Scots and English variants, and their total across each year, was fed into the script. Once run, the resultant scree plot indicated that three clusters were optimal for capturing the variation over time. Three clusters were accordingly specified for the remaining script, which produced the dendrogram shown in Figure 6.1 below.
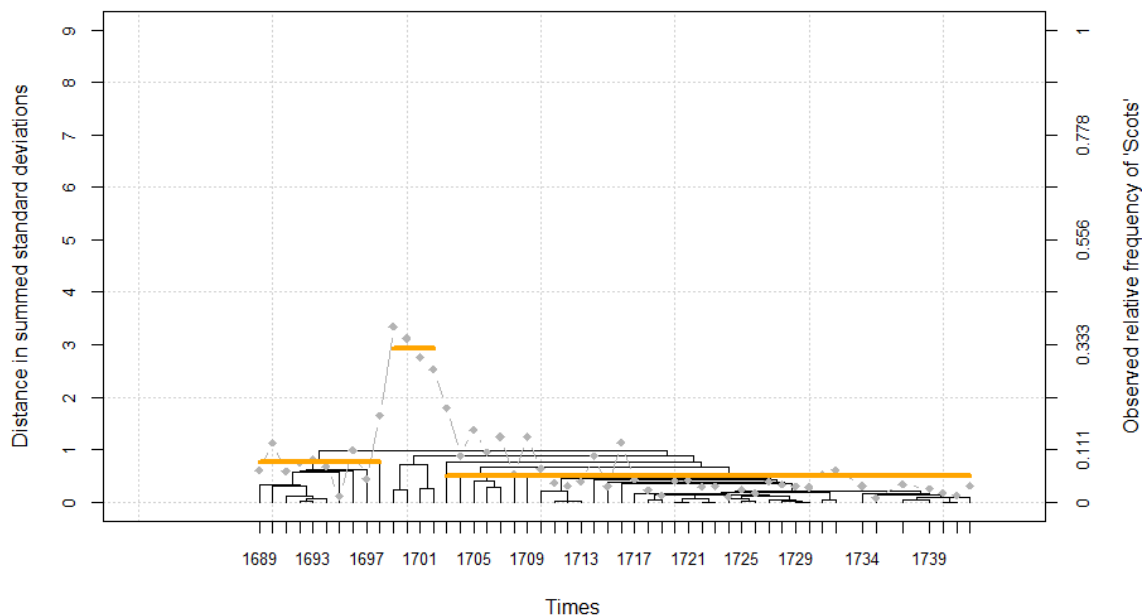
Figure 6.1: VNC dendrogram showing proportions of Scots variants over time

The dendrogram contains three different pieces of information. The timeline is represented on the x-axis, this stretches from 1689 (the date of the Revolution, and the beginning of the Union debates being investigated here) to 1745, the date of the last Jacobite rising. The observed relative frequency of Scots is shown on the right y-axis, in which the scale is from 0 (no Scots recorded for that year) to 1 (100% Scots recorded for that year). Recall that the frequency is relative - values for Scots are relative to the overall count of Scots and anglicised variants combined. These data values are represented by the dots on the graph - in this case each indicates the relative frequency of Scots features recorded for that year. The higher the data points, the higher the relative frequency. On the left-hand y-axis, the 'Distance in summed standard deviations' is given - this is represented by the boxes in the graph itself. The taller the boxes, the greater the difference between one cluster of data points and the next, suggesting a higher degree of variability for that time period. The width of the boxes indicates how many data points are contained within the

summed standard deviation, suggesting a wider time-frame. The yellow lines on the graph indicate the temporal clusters identified in the scree plot; accordingly we can see three clusters depicted in Figure 6.1 above.

The difference between the first and third cluster is very small, suggesting we are examining a highly anglicised corpus of writers, and the small and flat standard deviations in the graph imply they were also relatively homogeneous in their writing choices. The overall picture presented here indicates that written Scots had largely retreated from elite correspondence by the time of 1689, and this process continued throughout the opening decades of the eighteenth century. Examining the relative frequencies, the initial years start off slightly higher, but this tails off fairly quickly after 1715, the year of a major Jacobite rising and a time of renewed hostilities and heightened tensions. Leaving aside the second cluster for a moment, the dendrogram does reflect several spikes in Scots use and continuing variability following the Union until about 1716. This offers a tempting link between post-Union grievances, Jacobite intrigue, and heightened levels of Scots usage, though frequencies are nowhere near the levels of the pre-1704 period. However the aftermath of the failed 1715 Jacobite rising, with its subsequent repression of the rebels, as well as the gradual establishment of a new political order in Westminster, appears to have effectively caused written Scots features to dwindle to near-zero percentages. By 1720, the relative frequency of Scots has fallen to minute levels and variability is similarly reduced, while the last years barely register any Scots at all. This is not surprising - written Scots had already been anglicising for over a century prior to 1700, and this process was likely encouraged by the Union of the Parliaments and the movement of Scotland's political elite to the metropolitan English capital.

There is however, a notable exception to the general trend outlined above. The second cluster identifies a considerably higher relative frequency of Scots, driven by a few years in particular. These years fall roughly around the key years of the Union debates in parliament. From about 1699 until 1704 there is an observable clustering of Scots frequencies, that are noticeably higher than the values to either side. This small period is also marked by a slightly higher level of variability, indicated by the minor increase in the height of the boxes (the standard deviations). This effect is not being driven by the fact that more correspondence covering these exact years is contained within the corpus, as all frequencies are *relative*. Thus, in an anglicising scenario, we would expect any increase in Scots-indicative features to be matched by an increase in anglicised variants. Moreover, smaller wordcounts are more likely to produce 'outliers', given the presence of single writer behaving unusually cannot be moderated as easily by the remaining data (though VNC can handle such behaviour better than descriptive statistics can). Instead, the second cluster suggests that this small window of time was unique in some sense, encouraging an increase in written Scots features. This highlights the value of VNC, given that the rough corpus divisions given earlier in Table 6.1 suggested an increase across 1700-1709, yet here it is clear that the first half of this ten-year time period was responsible in particular for the heightened Scots frequencies.

It seems the events around the debates, and perhaps the debates themselves, *did* have a measurable influence on the occurrence of Scots features, and furthermore generated an increase in their use. Given that the same body of writers produced

the written material covering this timeline, with the majority of the politicians represented not just during the critical Union years, but either side of this time period, the result is all the more striking. The patterning reflected in the VNC analysis suggests that these writers *changed* their behaviour during this critical moment. This lends support to the possibility that written Scots features may have been used to index political identity, Scottishness or related ideological concepts and in-group identities.

Examining this particular window of variation more closely, it is curious to note that Scots frequencies begin to decline around 1704/5, two years before the Union agreement was ratified and completed. In the first instance this might seem counter-intuitive, given the key role the last two years played in the debating, finalising and ratifying of the Union agreement. However, this might be a reflection of the build-up of tension between England and Scotland leading up to 1705, especially in the wake of the Darien failure, during which relations between the two nations were at their nadir. Following 1705 however, there was a noticeable decline in hostilities, and this might be echoed in the percentages indicated on the plot. Equally, this observed reversal could reflect the consolidation of the Squadrone Volante, following the formation of the new ministry under Tweeddale during the session of 1704. This formation was not uncoupled from the rise in tensions - indeed elements of each are closely related, plausibly leading to their twin influence on the observed rise and fall in written Scots. Both of these aspects will briefly be considered in turn to identify how they may have contributed to the change in written Scots usage observed during the course of the first seven years of the century.

6.2 The Rise in Tensions to 1705

Friction between Scotland and England were exacerbated by several events that took place in the opening years of the eighteenth century; some of these have already been touched upon in Chapter 2. That chapter highlighted the fractured and tumultuous time period in which consideration of incorporating union took place; a time of heightened social, political, religious and economic tensions, against a backdrop of parliamentary and monarchical absolutism exercised by the English Court and Crown. Such issues were increasingly untenable for the Scottish elite, and these tensions became palpable in the opening years of the eighteenth century, as a series of contentious and volatile events contributed to hostilities on both sides. Among the first of these was the failed Darien scheme (1698-1700) - the project by the Company of Scotland to build a Scottish colony on the isthmus of Panama. King William and his English parliamentarians were blamed for its failure, and William's refusal to send aid to the colony once it came under attack was particularly egregious (Bowie, 2007: 28; Stephen, 2007: 17). The failure of the scheme caused widespread shock, resentment and an outpouring of despair couched in overly patriotic terms. This included members of the Scottish elite, many of whom had invested considerable sums of money into it, and the fallout naturally contributed to a rise in discussion and debate around Scotland's future and sovereign status. It is not implausible to assume that such discourse, infused as it was with a

simmering animosity towards the English Court, might have induced higher levels of written Scots. The salience of the discussion itself, as well as perhaps a tightening of allegiances and political or ideological identities arising in response to the event, could have had tangible influences on language use, especially within correspondence between political members.

Darien was followed by a series of tit-for-tat Acts issued by the English and Scottish parliaments that added fuel to the fire. This included the Act of Settlement passed by the English parliament in 1701, which claimed that any future heir to the throne must be Protestant, followed by the Scottish Act of Security in 1703, which asserted Scotland's right to choose a Protestant successor. Finally, the English Alien Act in 1705 essentially declared Scottish merchants in England to be aliens, leaving them unable to trade. These three Acts chart an increasingly strained, divisive and uncompromising constitutional relationship between the two nations, but they also had serious consequences wrapped up within their stipulations. In each case they threatened the security, harmony and prosperity of the countries involved, stoking an increasingly intense fire of discord that left them teetering on a volatile political brink. Scotland's Act of Security in 1703 for instance was seen an act of open defiance, intensifying the dynastic crisis further but also harbouring the potential threat of war (Whatley, 2008: 3). Indeed, it came close to imploding the tense relations between Scotland and England in 1704-5 (Stephen, 2007: 23, 35).

Between 1701-1705 a mounting hostility and enmity between the two nations is clearly observable, and these events had an immediate connection to the political sphere. They would thus have directly involved and influenced the politicians within the Scottish parliament, and again, a connection between their occurrence and increased vernacular language use is fathomable, particularly in light of the discussion around Scottish interests, liberties and sovereignty that they stoked. As such Acts also touched upon the key concerns of politicians, including not just economic security and political power, but also their Presbyterian, Episcopalian or Jacobite designs, they may have contributed to a strengthening of politico-religious identities within the parliament, leading indirectly to heightened patterns of Scots use along these lines. The following chapter (Chapter 7) will explore this potential further, examining Scots use specifically in relation to such contributing factors, but it is worth bearing in mind how such identities became more salient, leading to this observed increase in Scots within a small window of Scottish history.

The climax to these hostile events came with the hanging in 1705 of Thomas Green, captain of the English ship the *Worcester*, along with two of his men, on trumped up charges of piracy. The level of anger, both among the public and many of the politicians in parliament, was palpable by this point, and Anglo-Scottish tensions peaked at an all-time high (Macinnes, 2007: 272). Reverend Robert Wylie wrote to the Duke of Hamilton on the 19th of March 1705, disparaging 'this English insolence insulting us upon our coasts' (NRS, GD 406/1/5297, quoted in Whatley, 2006: 201), and a crowd numbering as many as 80,000 congregated to watch the hanging (Graham, 2005). Relationships between the two nations had reached their lowest ebb (Patrick and Whatley, 2007: 173), yet paradoxically, this also had the effect of bringing union back to the debating table. During this process, the Squadrone consolidated into a separate political interest, which will be examined in more detail

in Section 6.3 below, but their formation may have contributed to a shift in political identities and concurrently, in language use. The hanging of the *Worcester* crew could thus form the 'tipping point', reflected in frequencies of Scots within the VNC analysis, which drop off quite suddenly from their previous level after 1705.

It is not inconceivable that these events and the rising sense of anger and animosity directed towards England may have had a tangible influence on language choices. Particularly in letters penned between fellow Scots of a similar political ilk, the use of Scots features may have been encouraged by their concordance over these issues, which were playing out in real time as the correspondence was being produced. Chapter 9 will explore these possible links in more detail through a micro-analysis of individual authors within the corpus and their recipients, while Chapter 7 must consider this backdrop in assessing the role of different social, political and religious factors (or not) in influencing probabilities of Scots use. While the possibilities outlined here have to remain hypothetical, the VNC analysis has still been able to illuminate an increase in Scots frequencies during the opening years of the eighteenth century, that match a rise in Anglo-Scottish tensions within the same time period. Following this rise however, is a rather sudden decline in Scots frequencies after 1705, which aligns with the formation of the Squadrone Volante in the wake of the hanging, as previously mentioned. This possibility is explored in more depth below.

6.3   The Development of the Squadrone Volante

Alongside the diffusion in tensions, another factor plausibly influencing the post-1705 drop in relative frequencies of Scots might be the formation of the Squadrone Volante after 1704. The formation of the Squadrone has been detailed in Chapter 2, Section 2.3.3, but to quickly recap their development, John Hay the second Marquess Tweeddale was asked to form a new ministry in 1704 following the discovery and subsequent failure of the Queensberry plot. A group of political contemporaries assembled around Tweeddale, composed of former members of the Country party who had been gradually forming into an alliance since 1702, based on a Presbyterian, pro-Hanoverian political platform (Whatley, 2008: 105). The group however failed to condemn the *Worcester* affair in 1705, leaving them disgraced, and they were dismissed in favour of the Duke of Argyll. Rather than returning to the Country party, they instead formed the Squadrone Volante and chose to support incorporating Union.

The close-knit alliance between the Squadrone members, driven by their religious and ideological adherence but also their kinship ties, may have encouraged similar language use among them and their network of recipients, and Chapters 7 and 9 will consider this possibility further. If they did form into a Community of Practice, sharing social practices and ties but also linguistic resources (Meyerhoff, 2002; Kopaczyk and Jucker, 2013: 6), then perhaps, as a coherent body of commissioners breaking away from the Country party and coming to vote along Court party lines, their variable language use may have subtly changed in the process. This change in linguistic behaviour, however slight, could be captured by the VNC analysis,

especially if it was consistent across multiple members.

The drop in Scots frequencies observed in Figure 6.1 would suggest that, post-1705, the Squadrone adopted an increasingly anglicised register. This possibly points to their changing allegiances as they moved toward a position more closely aligned with incorporation. Prior to 1704, they were still part of a Country party opposition and may have used more vernacular variants during this time, especially if the opposition was associated with elevated levels of Scots as we might hypothesise. This may have encouraged higher levels of Scots among their members including the pre-1704 Squadrone members, particularly in light of the tense Anglo-Scottish relations ongoing at the time. Following their splintering off however, the Squadrone's adherence to the Court party line may have been matched by a change in linguistic behaviour, not only signalling their changing alliances, but perhaps also their increased correspondence with Court party figures. As leading members of powerful Scottish families, the Court magnates wielded significant socio-political power, and their status could have encouraged Squadrone members to shift toward 'polite' (and therefore anglicised) language use when corresponding with them. It is not yet clear whether the Court figures demonstrated a more anglicised writing style, nor whether political party influenced variable language use, as this will be explored in detail in the following chapter (Chapter 7). Nonetheless the possibility that these political constellations, with their intertwined ideological, religious and familial connections, influenced linguistic choices, is tangible.

What this temporal analysis has indicated, nonetheless, is that there was a small but discernible rise in the relative frequencies of written Scots during the opening years of the Union debates, suggesting this time period was indeed unique in influencing the linguistic behaviour of this particular group of writers. It is the years immediately proceeding the breaking-away of the Squadrone Volante, during which the greatest deterioration of Anglo-Scottish relations took place, that see the greatest increase in Scots use, presenting a palpable and tangible link between these events and language use. Naturally, any instance of language variation and change is likely to have been conditioned by multiple contributing factors interacting with individual writers, letters and features in a complex cross-roads of influences. Nonetheless, given what we already know about the political and linguistic situation of the Union debates. such patterns strongly imply this cannot be mere coincidence. Additional support or rejection of these possibilities will be uncovered in the following chapters, in which language use by political party and other sociolinguistic factors will be analysed using statistical modelling (Chapter 7), while the micro-analysis will examine intra-writer differences among four individuals, to representatives of the various Scottish parties (Chapter 9). Any patterns observed in the following chapters can thus feed back into the clustering observed here, while the temporal analysis in turn might inform minor variations observed in language use, particularly in the micro-analysis. Accordingly this is explored in detail through Chapters 7, 8 and 9.

Chapter 7

Statistical Exploration

The temporal analysis in the previous chapter indicated that several key years of the Union debates reflected heightened proportions of Scots within the corpus, but what might be driving this patterning has not yet been measured. Possibilities for the observed variation were suggested, such as the build-up of tension between Scotland and England, and certainly it seems likely they were contributing factors, encouraging an increased use of Scots among these political writers. However, whether this exercised an equal influence on all writers in the corpus, or whether this operated through the prism of larger, macro-social factors, cannot be discerned from hypothetical discussion alone. To explore this possibility from a socio-political perspective, and measure the possible effect of multiple factors on written Scots variation (including political influences), a quantitative sociolinguistic approach is needed. Moreover, much of the previous research into eighteenth-century Scots has not yet taken a quantitative approach (though see van Eyndhoven (2021) for a pilot study), given their inherently qualitative and descriptive nature (see for instance Jones (1995); Smith (1996a); Dossena (2005); Cruickshank (2012); Corbett (2013) and Elder (2022) for examples). These have provided valuable insights of their own, but an overview of macro-social influences on the linguistic behaviour of multiple Scottish writers is still missing.

Accordingly, a logical next step is to apply the First Wave framework in a quantitative analysis, utilising statistical methodologies to analyse the authors in aggregate and compare their frequencies of Scots or English across various factors. This offers a broad-based view of the linguistic landscape in which variation is operating, while the plausible role of factors such as political affiliation, party and other influences can be measured and observed. Although qualitative and descriptive methods of analysis can be highly insightful when investigating the language behaviour of individuals, they become impractical when analysing and summarising across multiple authors and predictors. Furthermore, insights taken from a quantitative analysis can feed forward into qualitative analyses, providing a scaffolding through which to explore factors of interest, and enabling instances of stance-taking, identity-marking or performativity to be situated within its broader macrosocial context. Statistical tools also harbour greater explanatory power than descriptive statistics, which can easily be distorted by individuals behaving in unusual or unexpected ways, or

the high degree of variability often contained within a single corpus. Descriptive statistics fail to recognise the 'random' variation that is always present within a linguistic dataset, and instead the random becomes (erroneously) meaningful, potentially presenting a skewed picture of variation. As a result, they fail to take into account the multifaceted nature of the phenomena and extralinguistic constraints operating on it (Gries and Hilpert, 2010: 297).

However, statistical methodologies can become complicated or even unworkable when applied to historical linguistic data. A quick check of the dataset indicated that only 12% of the variable tokens were Scots. This is comparatively high for historical data, particularly considering the status of written Scots by the eighteenth century in light of ongoing anglicisation, and the elite background of the writers in the corpus. Nonetheless, the uneven proportions make any quantitative analysis challenging. Given the imbalanced or fragile nature of historical data (De Smet and Van de Velde, 2017), obtaining results through a singular statistical approach might produce weakly-informative or insubstantial results. Moreover, it also risks providing a one-sided or narrow viewpoint into the window of diachronic change. It is thus worth exploring multiple frameworks to ensure that results are not dependent on arbitrary methodological choices, as different quantitative models have their own strengths and insights to offer. Using a combination of approaches presents multiple angles and alternative insights into the intricate nature of early eighteenth-century written Scots, as well as increasing the chances of identifying relevant social influences operating on variation. Each technique enables the researcher to ask certain questions and explore the data through a particular lens, and combining these lenses provides a beneficial vantage point from which to explore the corpus, considering the scattered and transitional nature of written Scots.

Accordingly, this thesis utilises several, multi-factorial statistical models, through which it aims to *explore* Scots from various angles, rather than trying to 'prove' the importance of any one factor. The insights from Random Forests (Breiman, 2001), Bayesian regression modelling and Multiple Correspondence Analysis or MCA (Kassambara, 2017) will be compared, to uncover various conclusions or possible consensus in which factors encouraged written Scots. Such an approach seeks to illuminate multiple extralinguistic influences contributing to the sudden rise of Scots during this politically-volatile time, as observed in Chapter 6. The outcome will not claim to be representative, given we are observing the practices of a small, elite minority writing in early eighteenth-century Scotland. Nonetheless, it might be able to suggest the role of political change (or not) in affecting eighteenth-century Scots variability. The theory and working behind each of these models will be discussed in turn, prior to their application to the data. The strength and reliability of each methodology is also assessed, indicating the gradual pathway navigated through different statistical techniques toward those encompassing greater interpretative power, beginning with Random Forests discussed in the next section.

7.1 Random Forests

7.1.1 The Theory

Random forests represent a non-parametric data analysis tool that can evaluate the importance of multiple predictors in determining variation in the sample, and rank these factors according to their predictive strength. They make no assumptions about the population distribution from the input sample (Baayen, 2008: 77), which enables them to successfully deal with high multicollinearity, small sample sizes and a large number of predictor levels, unlike traditional linear models originally employed in sociolinguistic analyses. They have been utilised more recently in diachronic analyses with considerable success (Tagliamonte and Baayen, 2012; van Eyndhoven, 2021), given their ability to handle imbalanced data, high-dimensional feature spaces, and complex data structures (Qi, 2012: 307; Biau and Scornet, 2015: 198). Random Forests can also effectively estimate missing data, maintaining reasonable accuracy when a proportion of the data are missing (Breiman, 2001). Such factors can be hugely problematic for mixed-effects models, severely destabilising them and forcing the researcher to remove various predictors until convergence is reached (Strobl et al., 2009; Tagliamonte and Baayen, 2012: 161).

Random Forests are the aggregated results of a large number of conditional inference trees (commonly known as ctrees) grown on the dataset (Tagliamonte and Baayen, 2012: 136). Essentially, ctrees are tree-structured regression models that statistically examine the relationship between multiple predictors and the variable, with their interactions visually represented in the form of a tree-model (Hothorn et al., 2004: 1). To determine the significance of a predictor, ctrees use recursive binary partitioning, whereby the algorithm estimates the likelihood of the response variable (Scots or English in this case) based on whether this clusters across certain levels within a predictor. For example, it will consider whether splitting the data by Pro-Union and Anti-Union authors will align with the linguistic data, so that one branch has a greater proportion of Scots, and the other branch more anglicised tokens. The ctree continually splits the data by predictor into partitions, and each partition is recursively analysed, to test for its level of in-group similarity (Cutler et al., 2012: 161). Divisions must be relatively homogeneous, indicating that a high level of either variant is present in that data partition (Tagliamonte and Baayen, 2012: 159), and this split must be statistically significant ($p<0.05$). This in turn verifies the strength of that particular predictor or its levels in explaining the variation in the data. The predictor found to be most significant will be selected first and forms the 'root' of the tree. To assist with predictive power, the ctree is only assigned a subset of the data (a training set), through random sampling without replacement from the full data-set. Its accuracy is then evaluated by comparing predictions made for the training set with the actual values observed in the remaining test data (Tagliamonte and Baayen, 2012: 159).

Ctrees are particularly useful tools in statistical analyses involving multiple predictor levels, uncovering complex interactions that enable them to tap into the intricate profile of a variable. However, they are liable to overfitting (results cannot be

generalised to a larger population), and very sensitive to changes in the learning data; the structure of the entire tree can be altered simply through a small change in the input (Strobl et al., 2009; Yiu, 2019). This can be mitigated by applying a model-averaging approach, in which a 'set' of trees - usually several hundred - are grown and a collective vote taken from them. This is a random forest. Each individual ctree in the forest selects the predictor they find to be most important in describing the variation, which they contribute as a vote. The forest collects these votes and ranks the predictors according to how commonly they were chosen. This ranking indicates their variable importance – how well each predictor can determine the response variable (Scots or English). For classification forests, the top predictor is chosen based on its Gini index (node purity) - in which a small value indicates that a node (a branch within the ctree) contains predominantly observations from a single class (i.e. Scots). This suggests that the particular predictor involved is very strong in determining the presence of Scots or English in the corpus, for example.

The trees are also decorrelated – each tree is only given a subset of the predictors to evaluate. This prevents one particularly powerful predictor from dominating the dataset and the importance measures entirely, allowing a weaker contender a chance to be included in the model (Strobl et al., 2009). The forest is thus able to consider all predictors on an individual basis, and then identify which explains the greatest amount of variation. This averaging approach significantly reduces variance and bias, and thus the possibility that outliers seriously interfere with the overall trends in the data (Qi, 2012: 2; Yiu, 2019). This kind of ensemble (collective voting) method utilises the fact that classification trees are unstable but, on average, produce the right prediction (Strobl et al., 2009). Random forests can thus provide the researcher with a robust overall understanding of the dataset and the differing weights of predictors, with significantly less chance of the model being destabilised by the frequently uneven and high dimensional nature of diachronic data (De Smet and Van de Velde, 2017), or being misled by co-linear predictors as basic descriptive statistics easily are. As a promising method to exploring historical linguistic data, a random forest was selected as a viable statistical method of enquiry into this dataset. The application and results of this process are discussed in the following section.

7.1.2 The Models

Original Model

The first statistical model built from the data was thus a random forest, grown on the entire dataset using the **ranger** package (Wright and Ziegler, 2017) in R v3.5.3 (R Core Team, 2020). Independent predictors included *Political Affiliation, Party, Jacobite, Religion, Location, Address, Birthplace, Relationship* and *Profession*, with *Scots_English* (Scots vs English[1]) as the dependent variable. To ensure results are replicable a 'seed' must be set, so that the same forest can be grown again. Accordingly, the seed was set to 89788 and the importance measure was set to impurity - this measures node purity using the Gini index as discussed above. Tree

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[1]For easier visualisation, anglicised tokens were labelled 'English' in all statistical analyses.

number was set to 500 (the number of ctrees that are included in the random forest), the node size set to ten (how many observations of Scots or English tokens must be included at minimum in the terminal node), and importance measure set to TRUE (the importance of the predictors must be accessed).

Once the model had been fit to the data, a confusion matrix and accuracy measures were extracted from the forest to assess its performance. The index of concordance (C) was 0.8726 - this indicates how reliable the forest is by validating its predictive ability. The closer to 1 the value is, the better the model is at making predictions for the dependent variable, thus the value is relatively high. However, the Kappa value[2] was 0, suggesting the predictions of the model are the same as would be expected by chance (Landis and Koch, 1977). Extracting the confusion matrix from the model illuminates the issue; the model is consistently predicting English rather than Scots, given such an approach would lead to a correct judgement 88% of the time (recall that 12% of the dataset is Scots). This figure, unsurprisingly, matches the value given for C. The matrix is given in Table 7.1 below.

Table 7.1: Confusion matrix for baseline model

Prediction	Reference	
	English	Scots
English	12422	1813
Scots	0	0

Viewing the figures, the confusion matrix indicates that the model correctly predicts 'English' for true English values 12,422 times, and incorrectly predicts the Scots tokens as 'English' 1,813 times. Scots tokens were in fact not predicted at all for either condition. Despite the generally robust nature of random forests, with very noisy datasets containing a large number of parameters they can still be liable to overfitting. Such models frequently have high variance, in which the model focuses largely on training data and does not generalize well. Instead, the algorithm has learnt from the composition of the data that it will achieve high accuracy if it predicts the majority class every time. While this approach does produce predictions with a high level of accuracy, this only reflects the underlying class distribution rather than the true relationships in the data (Brownlee, 2015), and gives high error rates when compared to the test data. In this case, the result is that the minority class (Scots) is overwhelmed by the majority class (English).

However, this issue can be significantly reduced by subsampling the data. Subsampling works to reduce the imbalance in a dataset, levelling the playing field and creating more even proportions of the variants involved in the analysis. This in turn enables the model to make more accurate predictions for the minority class. There are various techniques to subsampling data, including *upsampling* - artificially inflating the minority class in line with underlying patterns in the data, *downsampling* - strategically removing observations from the majority class to bring percentages in

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[2]Kappa is a measure used to assess the performance of a classification model that takes the imbalance in class distribution into account, comparing machine-learning model predictions with the manually established 'true' values in each class (Widmann, 2020).

line with the minority class, and various *hybrid* combinations of these two methods. A number of techniques were trialled,[3] and downsampling was chosen as the best method to reduce the imbalance, given it produced the highest accuracy measures when predictive power was assessed. Downsampling deletes instances from the over-represented class, so that it matches the least prevalent class, by randomly subsetting both variants (Scots and English, in this case) in the training set (Kuhn, 2008; Brownlee, 2015). Thus, 'English' was reduced to twelve percent to match the Scots percentage. The result is that only 24% of the total training set is used to fit the model. This does remove a significant proportion of the full dataset, as well as some explanatory power because the predictors are weakened. However, this does not mean that meaningful patterns cannot be identified in the data. Downsampling removes the majority class tokens in a *balanced* manner that matches the underlying distribution of variation - the same stratification of Scots and English proportions across different predictor levels is preserved. We are thus still looking at the same picture of variation, but simply on a smaller scale.

The package **caret** (Kuhn et al., 2020) enables the user to downsample random forests in R, using the `traincontrol()` function. However, the first downsampled random forest grown on the data indicated a clear preference for factors with multiple predictor levels, ranking *Birthplace*, *Location* and *Address* among the top predictors. They are not inherently surprising choices; Aitken (1997: 22-23) for instance found that the majority of heavily anglicised letters analysed had English addressees, and conversely letters between correspondents both resident in Scotland showed far less anglicisation during this period. Cruickshank's (2012: 121) analysis of Lord Fife's letters moreover observed a noticeable difference in his use of Scotticisms when he was surrounded by Standard English speakers in London, compared to his native Scotland where he was less able to resist using Scots lexical items. If similar constraints were operating in this corpus, this could encourage the strength of *Address* or *Location* as a predictor in the dataset. However, given the nature of all three factors, it seems more likely this patterning reflects an underlying tendency in statistical prediction models to overfit the data across factors with multiple parameters. As each predictor level undergoes its own statistical test for significance, the more levels there are, the more likely something will turn up as significant. These predictors are thus found to be most important by the model, but these predictions are not generalisable beyond the training set.

Downsampled Model

Accordingly, a second downsampled random forest was grown that excluded *Location* and *Address* but kept *Birthplace* as a control factor and all remaining predictors were used as independent variables. The forest was grown in R, using the **caret** (Kuhn et al., 2020) and **ranger** (Wright et al., 2020) packages, with sampling specified as "down" The downsampled random forest was then fit using the **randomForest** package (Liaw and Wiener, 2002). *Scots_English* was specified as the dependent variable, number of trees was set to 500, node size set to ten, and importance measure set to TRUE. Cohen's kappa indicated a slight improvement from the first

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[3]This included upsampling, downsampling, and two hybrid methods ROSE and SMOTE.

model (Kappa = 0.21), but a slight loss in the concordance measure (C = 0.7276). However the confusion matrix indicated a slightly better accuracy for true Scots tokens, this is shown below.

Table 7.2: Confusion matrix for downsampled model

Prediction	Reference	
	English	Scots
English	7847	389
Scots	4575	1424

Although the value for correctly-predicted Scots features is undoubtedly higher than the first random forest model, there are still a significant proportion of Scots tokens being predicted as English (4,575 cases). Despite downsampling, and the general ability of random forests to handle imbalanced data, they clearly struggle with very uneven diachronic variation. As a singular method of analysis for this dataset, relying on the forest alone would be problematic. Nonetheless, it is still worth investigating the findings of the forest, given it might provide a broad overview of tendencies within the dataset (that are accurate around 70% of the time) and could highlight interesting possibilities. These can furthermore be strengthened in combination with other statistical methods, which will be presented in the following sections. Accordingly, the variable importance measures of the predictors were extracted from the forest, and the output was plotted using **ggplot2** (Wickham, 2016), shown in Figure 7.1 below.
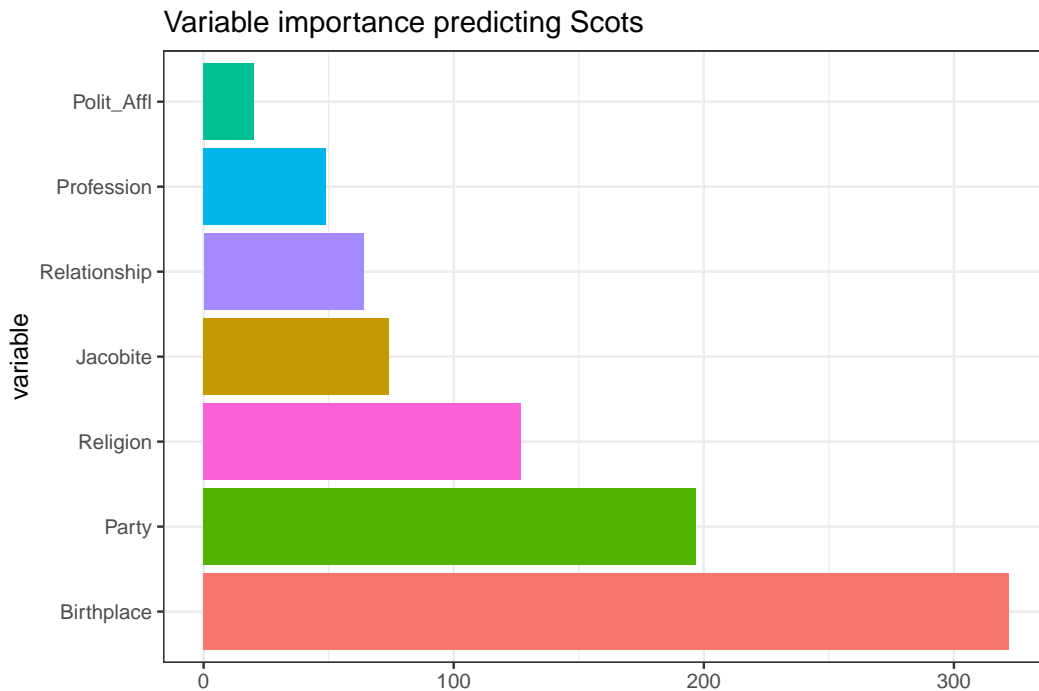
Figure 7.1: Ranking of predictors by variable importance for downsampled random forest

The predictors are listed along the y-axis, while the x-axis indicates the mean Gini decrease. Recall that the Gini index measures node purity, with smaller values suggesting greater purity. Thus, the greater the decrease in Gini index, the smaller the value for impurity, and the greater the significance of the predictor (Qi, 2012: 4; James et al., 2013). The further along the x-axis the predictors stretch therefore, the stronger they are as a predictor. *Birthplace* was ranked highest of all predictors, again likely reflecting its nature as a predictor with multiple levels. To some extent its influence is intuitive - those born or writing from peripheral locations such as the North East or South West might be predicted to use more Scots than writers situated in locations closer to the urban or administrative centres of Glasgow and Edinburgh. Meurman-Solin's (1993; 2000) analyses have indicated that distance to the 'centre' (administratively and politically) played a significant role in the initial adoption of the incoming standard. Locations on the periphery frequently preserved locally-salient forms which enjoyed a covert prestige far longer than writing produced within the urban conglomerations of Edinburgh, Glasgow or Aberdeen (Meurman-Solin, 1997: 206-8). The varying intensity of contact writers had with the administrative centre, and the density of their social connections as a consequence may well have led to fluctuations in their language use in line with geographical proximity (Chambers, 1995: 71-73). This could have encouraged differences in anglicising tendencies for instance between the geographically-mobile politicians, who spent time in the capital fulfilling their parliamentary duties, and the more sedentary ministers based in their parishes.

Following *Birthplace* is *Party* as second most important, with *Religion* and *Jacobite* coming in at third and fourth in the ranking. Given the high degree of correlation between these three factors, it is not surprising that they follow one another in terms of importance ranking. However, these correlations are not exact, as Chapter 5, Section 5.2 has already touched upon. Despite the fact that many Country members were Episcopalian and Jacobite, while Court figures were mostly Presbyterian and non-Jacobite, there were both Episcopalians in the Court party and Tactical Jacobites within the Country party, as well as members of both religious denominations in the Squadrone Volante. Such high multicollinearity does not destabilise random forests, and accordingly it seems out of *Religion*, *Jacobite* and *Party*, the latter has the greatest predictive power overall.

The model thus predicts that a political factor did play an important role in conditioning the choice to use Scots options in correspondence. *Political Affiliation* on the other hand, ranks as least important, which might seem counter-intuitive given the ranking of *Party*, but is not as illogical as first appears if we consider the nature of the dataset. Political affiliation was split across party, religious and Jacobite lines, and each of these factors exercised their own influence on the writers. Nor is the link between political voting and linguistic usage a straightforward assumption to make. As section 2.3 in Chapter 2 has previously elucidated, the binary opposition of 'Pro' and 'Anti' Union does not have a straightforward, one-to-one association with ideas of nationalism and unionism, and indeed these very concepts are discordant with the historical positioning of the Scottish politicians active at the time (Kidd, 2008: 6). There were deep-rooted loyalties on both sides of the political spectrum (Jackson, 2008, 2012: 2), thus 'pro-Unionist' by no means necessarily equated to 'pro-English'. In line with this, it is not a given that language use would similarly

follow along dichotomous lines, in which unionists anglicised their writings, and the opposition consistently demonstrated greater Scots usage. This factor is tied into a larger network of contributing influences, including social, political and religious concerns and identities. However this complicates the binary decision tree process of assigning variable importance between two predictor levels. The net result of this complicated historical context is that *Political Affiliation* acquires very little predictive power within the random forest, whereas *Birthplace*, by having multiple levels in which highly-Scotticised individuals are localised to particular geographical pockets, can acquire greater variable importance.

The random forest has been able to give us a first glimpse into the linguistic landscape and possible factors driving variation, but by its very nature we cannot see how Scots patterns *within* a predictor. Thus, we can observe that *Birthplace* is an important influence, but it is unclear where Scots use concentrates across its different *levels*. An option could be to extract a singular ctree from the data, but as they have less predictive power, the weaknesses of the downsampled random forest would be amplified in a case like this. Ctrees are simply not as accurate as more recently developed methods (Cutler et al., 2012: 163), raising issues of reliability when working with highly variable data. This however points to the value of combining statistical analyses in any quantitative exploration. Other models might identify relationships existing on different planes of variation, as well as providing insight into individual relationships between factor levels and the dependent variable. Accordingly, the application of other statistical models in the analysis of the data will now be discussed in the following sections, starting with Bayesian modelling.

7.2 Bayesian Modelling

7.2.1 GLMER vs BRMS

GLMER

An intuitive follow-up to the random forest would be to use frequentist statistics and build a generalised, linear, mixed-effects regression (glmer) model. Glmer models offer a robust methodology that can assess both the strength of multiple predictors simultaneously, and, unlike the random forest, the importance of individual predictor levels. Already commonplace in contemporary sociolinguistic research (e.g. Bates, 2005; Baayen, 2008; Baayen et al., 2008; Jaeger, 2008; Johnson, 2009), they have seen increasing recognition in historical sociolinguistic investigations (e.g. Gries and Hilpert, 2010; De Cuypere, 2015; Fonteyn and van de Pol, 2016; Zimmermann, 2017; Petré and van de Velde, 2018; van Eyndhoven and Clark, 2019). Mixed-effects regression models recognise that an observed phenomenon may arise from several causes operating in concert, and can account for multiple and complex causation whilst identifying predictors that are highly correlated or in interaction at the same time (McElreath, 2020: 123). Their inclusion of *random effects* also recognises that there is always 'random' variation present in a data set, often stemming from

individual language users or variants which might behave in unexpected ways. Incorporating random effects enables the model to recognise where a potential source of the variation comes from, thereby reducing the chance that the significance of certain predictors is inflated (Baayen et al., 2008; Johnson, 2009; Baayen, 2010; Tagliamonte and Baayen, 2012). This makes them a valuable tool in sociolinguistic and diachronic research, enabling the researcher to obtain a more nuanced picture of the patterning of variation.

To that end, several attempts were made to build a glmer model, using the **lme4** (Bates et al., 2014) package in R v3.5.3 (R Core Team, 2020), with *Scots_English* as the dependent variable, and the following independent variables; *Birthplace, Location, Address, Jacobite, Party, Political Affiliation* and *Relationship*. *Author* was included as a random effect. The first full model failed to reach convergence (no model output was generated), which is not surprising given the heavy skew towards English variants in the dataset, the large number of predictor levels and the high multicollinearity between predictors. Ordinary linear regression is liable to overfitting, and if there is a substantial measurement error on the predictor variables the procedure can fail quite dramatically (McElreath, 2020: 3). Accordingly, the model was gradually simplified by incrementally removing more predictors, in an attempt to assist convergence, but without success. Convergence was eventually reached for models containing solely *Birthplace* or *Address*. This again highlights the underlying tendency for statistical models to converge upon factors with multiple levels. However, this defeats the fundamental purpose of multiple regression, which is predicated upon *multifactor* analysis. Nor is it particularly revealing about the extralinguistic influences operating on potential variation in eighteenth-century written Scots. Clearly, a different approach was required that could statistically assess the influence of multiple factors and their levels, whilst producing robust and reliable results. Ideally, this would provide a more nuanced picture than the random forest by examining individual predictor levels, but does not necessarily rely on the significance values of mixed effects models, which may be too arbitrary for data of this kind. In light of these concerns, Bayesian regression modelling was considered a plausible, feasible alternative.

BRMS

The **brms** package (Bürkner, 2017) in R enables regression modelling within a Bayesian, rather than frequentist, framework. This provides the same benefits as glmer, but with the added benefit that the model will always converge. While relatively simple models will return similar estimates for both kinds of statistics, more complex models often won't fit if they are run within frequentist packages such as **lme4**, given glmer's sensitivity to small sample sizes. Bayesian models will successfully converge regardless, simply returning estimates with greater uncertainty, which is a more conservative approach (Coretta et al., 2021). This is an unequivocally practical reason for choosing Bayesian modelling to analyse this data, but there are a number of other theoretical reasons why working within the Bayesian framework is desirable. These reasons stem largely from the fundamentals of Bayesian modelling itself. Unlike the frequentist framework, which is based on a series of hypothetical

experimental replications (Wagenmakers, 2007), Bayesian inference is centred around a re-allocation of credibility. This is an incremental procedure, in which probabilities are distributed between natural states, informed by prior knowledge about the logical parameters for the different effects, and evidence based on observed data (Kruschke, 2015). This is explained in more detail in the following section, but the main distinction to grasp is that Bayesian models report *probability distributions* of parameters rather than *point estimates*. Thus, there is no arbitrary cut-off between 'significant' and 'non-significant' as in frequentist modelling.

The Bayesian framework thus allows us to ascertain the *tendencies* and *directions* in which the data is patterning, acquiring an overview of the dataset and how different predictor levels are behaving with respect to the dependent variable. This is a promising approach for historical data that may not neatly align with one predictor or another, and whose patterning may be too vague or scattered to be captured by the $p < 0.05$ cut-off point in a traditional frequentist model. While a thorough discussion of Bayesian methods would be beyond the scope of this thesis, a basic overview of the theoretical basis of Bayesian modelling, as well as the methodology underpinning the model outputs, is necessary to interpret the results, especially as these methods are less-well known or used in historical sociolinguistics.[4] This will also help to explicate the differences between the Bayesian and frequentist framework, and why this approach may in fact be preferred. Accordingly, the following section expands upon this, before the application of the model to the data is presented in Section 7.2.3.

7.2.2 The Theory

The Bayesian framework is based upon *priors* and *posteriors*. The *posterior* is what we are trying to determine - in this case the effect of a certain predictor on the choice to use Scots or English. Effect values are all the possible values for a factor, which can either be numerical in the case of continuous predictors, or categorical, as is the case here (Scots or English). These values are usually referred to as a *parameter*. The model output reports *posterior distributions* - the distribution of relative probabilities, for each combination of the dependent variable and an effect value (or *parameter*). For example, it will consider the probability of Scots or English in combination with 'Yes', 'No' and 'Tactical' for the predictor *Jacobite* and suggest the range of probabilities for each (at varying levels of credibility). A distribution can include positive or negative values, or both, depending on the direction of the effect (in this case suggesting an increase or decrease in Scots use relative to the global baseline level in the corpus).

The posterior distributions are reported through several different values, to provide particular types of information on the distribution. This includes the estimate ($\hat{\beta}$), which is the mean probability. This has the highest probability density within the spread of the distribution - most of the probability is based around this value. The

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[4]For a general introduction to Bayesian statistics see Kruschke (2015); Etz et al. (2018); McElreath (2020), and references therein, and for more specific uses of Bayesian statistics in phonetics, see Nicenboim et al. (2018) and Vasishth et al. (2018).

standard deviation (SD) of the distribution is also reported, along with the 95% Credibility Interval (CrI), which has two bounds. These indicate the upper and lower bounds of the probability range, in other words, that there is a 95% probability that the true value is within that interval range. For example, if the predictor level 'Party - Court' had a 95% CrI between 20 and 40 per cent (once converted from log-odds), there is a 95% probability that the true probability value is between these figures, with extreme values being less likely than values in the centre of the interval (Coretta, 2020). In other words, it suggests that there is a 20-40% increase in Scots use when the writer was a Court figure, at 95% probability. A wide distribution suggests a weaker effect, as the probability is spread across a wider range of values. Thus the smaller this interval is, the more likely the effect is the mean value (i.e. 30% increase in Scots when a Court writer), while with a very wide distribution we cannot make that assumption (Dobreva, 2023). Furthermore, when the spread of the interval is around 0 it is unlikely that there is a reliable effect, as this suggests that a considerable proportion of the probability is distributed at or near the value of 0% probability. Taken together, these reported values (the posterior) provides not just a summary of the mean probabilities, but a more detailed picture of how probability patterns across different parameter values. We are able for instance to see the absolute, rather than the relative, magnitude of a relationship between the outcome and a predictor, as well as the level of uncertainty surrounding an average relationship (McElreath, 2020: 14).

The *posterior distribution* is thus an approximation of the *parameter* distribution, but it also takes into account probabilities taken from the data itself, and the specified *prior* for that parameter. Priors are both engineering assumptions - chosen to help the machine algorithm learn - and scientific assumptions - chosen to reflect what we know about a phenomenon. They capture the initial degree of belief about the likelihood of an event, by defining the distributional limits for the parameters. Thus, various posterior distributions are possible, but largely within the bounds of what has been set by the prior. For example, if *Year* was included as a continuous predictor in the dataset here,[5] a prior can be set to indicate a realistic year-range. Absurd or impossible values for this dataset, such as 2005, would not be assigned theoretical probability in the prior. This is already somewhat circumvented by the likelihood values derived from the dataset (it is unlikely that 2005 would be found in the model data) but the prior can reinforce this. While there can be an infinite continuum of probabilities (particularly in the case of certain continuous predictors), credibility can still be reallocated over this to suggest a feasible range. Conversely, if *a priori* one parameter value is considered 'special' by the researcher, based off what we already know about this value *prior* to running the model, it will receive a high amount of prior probability compared to alternatives. The inclusion of priors in the analysis is at the heart of Bayesian modelling (Coretta, 2020), and this is one of the major points of departure from the frequentist framework.

Alongside scientific assumptions, priors are also generated from the posteriors (the probabilities found by the model). Once a posterior is obtained, this can be used as a

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[5]Year was not included, given the previous temporal analysis has already elucidated the significant years within this investigation, and including this as a factor in the already-fragile dataset would introduce even more noise and dimensionality to the investigation.

prior in subsequent analyses sampling from a new population. If several models were to be run, on different samples, then each successive model would 'learn' from the previous one. Importantly, a *new* sample must be used each time, as reusing priors for the same data removes any semblance of objectivity in the analysis, and risks reinforcing certain biases. A Bayesian model thus begins with one set of probabilities assigned to each parameter, which it then updates in light of the data, to produce new posterior probabilities, and these become priors. In the case of the data being worked with here, applying specific priors beforehand would be rather fruitless, given there is no prior distributional information available about the predictors, and none of the predictors are continuous (in which we could specify a realistic range). Currently, we do not know whether one parameter should be seen as 'special', given this is the first statistical analysis of this population, and as the independent factors are all categorical variables, there are no potential 'nonce' values either.

Rather, when unable to propose a prior that is intuitive and reasonable, we can use *non-informative priors* (or *uninformative priors*) instead. This may at first glance seem meaningless within a framework predicated on updating beliefs when new evidence becomes available (encapsulated in the central tenet of the framework known as *Bayes theorem*), yet the name is a bit of a misnomer. The main function of non-informative priors is to express vague or general information about a variable, and they can provide an appearance of objectivity, for example by assigning all possibilities equal probabilities, rather than those that are subjectively elicited. This can prevent the biasing of results, and non-informative priors are becoming increasingly popular in Bayesian analysis (Dobreva, 2023). Moreover, while they allow some impossibly strong relationships in the parameter range, non-informative priors generally tend to bind the distribution to the possible ranges of variables (McElreath, 2020: 154). Their use typically yields results not too different from conventional frequentist analysis, but with the added benefit that the model will always converge, as well as a number of other benefits which are outlined below.

Bayesian vs Frequentist Modelling

There are various motivations for choosing Bayesian modelling over frequentist alternatives, some of which have already been touched upon. Fundamentally, Bayesian and Frequentist statistics are driven by different assumptions, offering two different methods to answer different questions. A Bayesian approach depends on the observed data and priors, making the results interpretable, rather than being extrapolated from an imaginary set of experiments that are never actually carried out (Dobreva, 2023). Frequentist statistics only allow for statements to be made about the probability of observing the obtained *data*, assuming that the null hypothesis is correct. Yet often researchers are more interested in the probability that the *theory* is correct, given the observed data set. The p values reported in frequentist models do not correspond to this probability, they only tell us that the null hypothesis is not a good explanation of the data, and cannot provide evidence for a difference between groups. Bayesian modelling on the other hand assigns probability to the *theory*, rather than the *data*, thus, under the Bayesian approach we can compare an untold number of hypotheses, to determine for example that the null hypothesis is a much

better explanation of the observations than the alternative, or vice-versa, which makes the method inherently comparative (Coretta et al., 2021).

Furthermore, the output of a frequentist model is a single data point (the point estimate) and a confidence interval for each effect, in which all values are equally probable within that interval. Frequentist models therefore essentially can only tell us that if we run the same study multiple times, 95% of the time the confidence interval will include the real value. Thus we don't know whether the confidence interval included in the study might be one of the 5% that do not contain the real value (Coretta et al., 2021). By contrast, Bayesian credibility intervals tell us that the real value is within a certain range at n% probability, with greater probability typically attributed to the mean value, unless the posterior is very flat. By being able to examine the distribution of probabilities across different predictor levels, we can build up a picture of the data across the different levels, rather than pinpointing significance on a point estimate with an arbitrary cut-off point (Coretta, 2020).

There are also a number of practical reasons for choosing Bayesian over frequentist models. In particular, they dodge the problems associated with the reliance on p-values in statistical inference (Wagenmakers, 2007; Munafò et al., 2017; Kirby and Sonderegger, 2018; Roettger, 2019). Frequentist models are liable to report non-conservative p-values, giving increased false positive (or Type I error) rates, in which there is no underlying effect but significant p-values are still reported (Coretta et al., 2021). This does not mean p-values are irrelevant, indeed they are still useful in that they provide a practical solution to certain situations, such as those that involve decision-making. However, they are easily tweaked through questionable research practices (i.e. 'p-hacking'), and uncritical acceptance of their value can be problematic. Bayesian models furthermore don't require the robust, prospective power-analyses and post-hoc model checks like frequentist models do, and have the added benefit that they will also converge towards the true value in the long run, thanks to their iterative process (Coretta et al., 2021). Bayesian models use Markov chain Monte Carlo (MCMC) methods, which comprise of a class of iterative algorithms for sampling from a probability distribution. An ensemble of probability chains is developed and these undergo an iterative process during the sampling of the data, converging towards the highest probability region. This makes it possible to compute large hierarchical models without becoming destabilised like traditional linear models (Banerjee et al., 2004, 2015).

Finally, Bayesian modelling offers the possibility to reuse posteriors from previous investigations as priors in a new analysis. This is useful if a similar investigation was to be conducted in the future, drawing from a different but related population sample, thereby facilitating the discovery process (Coretta et al., 2021). These various strengths do not mean that no other approach is justified (McElreath, 2020: 24), but there are a number of practical and conceptual strengths and benefits to Bayesian modelling that merits its use alongside purely offering an alternative, viable pathway to frequentist regression models. Given the practical, theoretical and scientific benefits of the Bayesian framework, particularly when applied to regression modelling, the natural choice was to build a brms model from the dataset. This process and the results are discussed in the following section.

7.2.3 The Models

Accordingly, a Bayesian regression model was fit to the dataset using the **brms** package (Bürkner, 2017) within R v3.5.3 (R Core Team, 2020). The model was run with four MCMC chains and 3000 iterations per chain,[6] of which 1500 were for warm-up.[7] A Bernoulli (binomial) distribution was used in the model as the response distribution.[8] All factors were coded using sum contrasts and included the following: *Party* (Country, Court, Minister, Squadrone Volante), *Political Affiliation* (Anti, Pro), *Religion* (Episcopalian, Presbyterian), *Jacobite* (No, Tactical, Yes), *Address* (Central Scotland, East CB[Central Belt], England, Europe, North East, South, West CB, West Highlands), *Relationship* (Close, Distant), *Birthplace* (Central Scotland, East CB, England, North East, South, West CB), *Location* (Central Scotland, East CB, England, Europe, North East, West CB) and *Profession* (Political Other, Minister, Politician). These levels are reported according to their ordering in the model output (in which they were numbered) except for the last level, which is in the intercept. *Scots_English* was included as the dependent variable, and *Author* was included as a random effect. Figure 7.2 gives the posterior mean, standard deviation, and the 2.5 and 97.5 quantiles (lower and upper bounds of the 95% credible interval) of the fixed effects for the first brms model run on the full dataset.

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[6]This refers to the sampling of the data - see description of MCMC above.

[7]This provides the model with an initial sample for probability distribution, before further sampling takes place.

[8]Given the low proportion of Scots variants and uneven distribution of Scots versus anglicised variants in the corpus, Poisson distribution is a plausible and intuitive distribution setting and is frequently used in frequentist modelling. However, the choice to use Bernoulli over Poisson in Bayesian modelling is independent of whether there is a 50% probability of getting one particular level. Rather, the model *itself* determines the probabilities of Scots across different factor levels and how this is distributed within the credible interval. It is this credibility interval that is scaled according to a Bernoulli distribution, not the variants themselves. Bernoulli distribution thus identifies the *probability* of getting a Scots variant, while Poisson distribution will identify *how many* Scots variants are chosen within a credible interval. Furthermore, modelling the probability rather than counts is equivalent to count normalisation, thus accounting for the fact that the variant distribution is not Gaussian.

```
Group-Level Effects:
~Author (Number of levels: 33)
              Estimate Est.Error l-95% CI u-95% CI Rhat Bulk_ESS Tail_ESS
sd(Intercept)     1.22      0.26     0.80     1.83 1.00     1085     1117

Population-Level Effects:
              Estimate Est.Error l-95% CI u-95% CI Rhat Bulk_ESS Tail_ESS
Intercept        -3.10      0.54    -4.15    -1.99 1.00     1238     1098
Party1            0.03      0.62    -1.21     1.33 1.00     1232     1059
Party2           -0.00      0.61    -1.27     1.26 1.00     1144      986
Party3            0.57      1.10    -1.56     2.64 1.00     1147     1095
Polit_Affl1       0.23      0.52    -0.81     1.19 1.00     1255     1260
Religion1        -0.66      0.54    -1.67     0.46 1.00     1130      912
Jacobite1        -0.04      0.66    -1.29     1.31 1.00     1192     1212
Jacobite2        -0.13      0.53    -1.12     1.02 1.00     1140     1135
Address1         -0.17      0.08    -0.33    -0.02 1.00     1066     1052
Address2          0.19      0.04     0.12     0.27 1.00     1180     1174
Address3          0.11      0.04     0.02     0.19 1.00     1441     1170
Address4         -0.40      0.06    -0.51    -0.29 1.00     1196     1128
Address5         -0.07      0.07    -0.22     0.07 1.00     1138     1163
Address6         -0.01      0.07    -0.15     0.12 1.00      973      967
Address7          0.11      0.05     0.01     0.22 1.00     1195     1070
Relationship1     0.08      0.02     0.04     0.11 1.00     1212     1099
Birthplace1       0.87      0.65    -0.34     2.09 1.00     1021     1046
Birthplace2      -0.12      0.65    -1.49     1.09 1.00     1176     1131
Birthplace3      -0.72      0.65    -1.92     0.60 1.00     1233     1258
Birthplace4       0.06      0.78    -1.50     1.53 1.00     1249     1177
Birthplace5      -0.37      0.57    -1.45     0.74 1.00     1106     1057
Location1        -0.21      0.15    -0.50     0.08 1.00     1223     1017
Location2         0.14      0.09    -0.03     0.30 1.01     1099     1082
Location3         0.13      0.09    -0.05     0.30 1.00     1236     1208
Location4        -0.23      0.11    -0.46    -0.00 1.00     1078     1074
Location5         0.02      0.32    -0.65     0.67 1.00     1102     1087
Profession1       1.19      0.93    -0.68     2.97 1.00     1269     1175
Profession2      -1.40      0.93    -3.18     0.52 1.00     1176     1213

Draws were sampled using sampling(NUTS). For each parameter, Bulk_ESS
and Tail_ESS are effective sample size measures, and Rhat is the potential
scale reduction factor on split chains (at convergence, Rhat = 1).
```

Figure 7.2: Output of first full brms model

The numbers reported in Figure 7.2 are the log-odds of each parameter, and the combination of the Estimate (mean), Est. Error (Standard Deviation) and lower and upper bounds of the 95% Credible Interval together constitute the posterior. Thus, for the parameter 'Party1' (Country) the estimated mean ($\hat{\beta}$) has a log-odds score of 0.03, i.e. the ratio of the odds of producing Scots, to the odds of producing English, when the author was a member of the Country party. This figure is very close to zero, and we can see that this parameter falls within a credible interval ranging from -1.21 to 1.33, with a standard deviation (SD) of 0.62. This suggests there could be a largely negative or largely positive effect, of almost equal weight, of using Scots when the writer is a member of the Country party, as the probability is spread around zero. Indeed, examining the table we can see that most of the 95% credible intervals contain zero, which is not promising in terms of identifying parameters influencing Scots usage. In some cases the zero is only just inside the bounds of the interval, which might suggest a small but plausible influence, as the

bulk of the probability mass is located away from zero. For example, a small positive effect of 'Birthplace1' (Central Scotland) is suggested by the 95% CrI from -0.34 to 2.09 ($\hat{\beta} = 0.87$, SD= 0.65), as zero only just falls within the Credibility range. In such cases, reducing the CrI to something like 80% would likely remove zero from the interval, although of course at a cost to the strength of the probability.

We can see the relationships among the various parameters more clearly by plotting the posterior distributions. Figure 7.3 indicates all the posterior distributions for the effects included in the model.
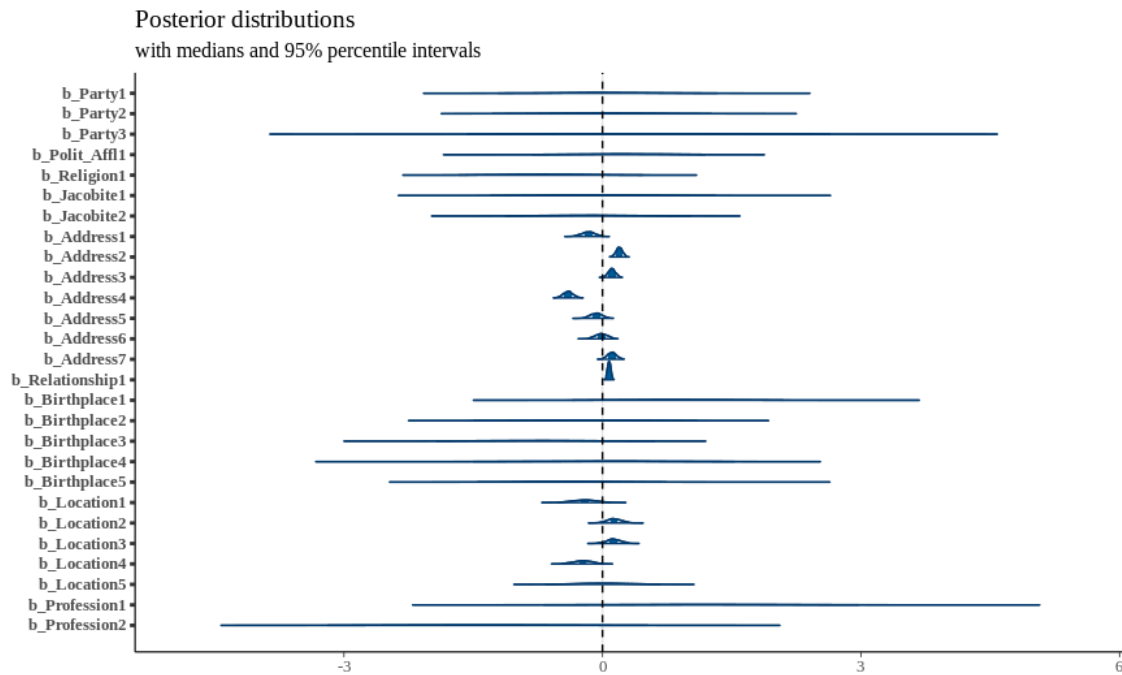
Figure 7.3: Posterior distributions of all effects in full brms model

Examining the distributions, we can see that the majority of parameters have extremely flat posteriors, as a result of their very wide credibility intervals. This indicates a high level of uncertainty around the effects. There are however a few effects that contain smaller credible intervals and whose bounds do not contain zero (or only just), such as *Relationship*, and the geographical factors *Address* or *Location*. This has interesting parallels with the random forests which similarly identified locational factors as important effects, although *Birthplace* does not come through as a probable effect here, given its posteriors are very flat and spread over zero. This might reflect the different measurement and sampling methods between random forests (which, like frequentist models, are built upon significance values) and Bayesian modelling. A quick check of model performance indicated that the first brms model was performing as expected and the MCMC chains were well-mixed (see Appendix A.8 to view the chains and a brief explanation of what this indicates), thus the effects reported here are not affected by poor predictive ability.

It seems the first brms model is characterised by a lot of uncertainty, indicated by the very wide distributions for most parameters and a large number of predictor levels that show little to no probability in conditioning the use of written Scots.

This suggests the general difficulty of finding robust patterns of variation within data that is imbalanced and contains a considerable number of predictor levels, several of which are highly correlated. Yet it also highlights the more conservative approach of Bayesian modelling, which returns results with greater uncertainty, highlighting the scattered and unclear nature of the data. This nature comes through for example in the unexpected patterning of *Address* and *Location*. Previous analyses (Meurman-Solin, 1997, 2000) have highlighted the influence of peripheral versus central locations on Scots writing, yet it is precisely the areas 'East CB (Central Belt - of which Edinburgh is part of)' and 'England' (Address1 and 2, and Location2 and 3) which are associated with a slight increase in log-odds of Scots usage, relative to the grand mean (East CB: $\hat{\beta} = 0.19$ and 0.14, and England: $\hat{\beta} = 0.11$ and 0.13, for *Address* and *Location* respectively). These values suggests a mean positive change from the intercept value (i.e. an average writer in the corpus), and if we examine Figure 7.3, 'Address1', 'Address2', 'Location2' and 'Location3' are clearly located to the right of the intercept, indicating this positive relationship.

Converting the log-odds of *Address* to percentages gives 5.0% and 4.9% for 'East CB' and 'England' respectively, and gives 4.8% and 4.9% respectively for *Location*, indicating that on average, there is 4.8-5.0% probability of choosing Scots over English when the author is based in the Eastern Central Belt or England, or writing to addressees located in these areas. 'West CB' is also associated with a positive increase in probability for *Address*, while the remaining locations are negatively associated with Scots use. This runs counter to expectations, given the presence of large urban centres in each location (Edinburgh, Glasgow and London) and the findings of previous analyses mentioned above (see also Aitken, 1997; Cruickshank, 2012, 2017). Instead, the model may be sensitive to the higher volume of material produced by authors from or writing to these locations, enabling it to assess probability on a more robust foundation. Moreover, these locations may be correlated with a number of related factors, including the socio-political background of the writers, topic, and addressee-related concerns. This possibility could not be untangled by testing for interactions in the model, as this only increased the noise in the dataset further, producing uninterpretable results.

While this model has highlighted some plausible effects, it has only been able to provide a limited glimpse into the dataset. The picture it provides suggests there are a few, very weak relationships between different parameters and the probability of using Scots. In part this might be derived from the highly variable nature of Scots. Writers' relationships with the language might have become very individualised by this time period, leading to the absence of strong or robust relationships between predictors and variable usage that can be identified within a statistical analysis. Furthermore a number of factors were highly correlated, whereas others were very tightly delimited. For instance, all members of the 'Court' party were 'Pro-Union', yet the model attempts to predict the probability of Scots usage for an individual who would be a Court politician and 'Anti-Union'. This is nonsensical from a historical point of view, but leads to issues in the model predictions, given it cannot draw from any real data provided in the model itself. Unfortunately, given the high number of potential interactions in the dataset, trying to control for these by incorporating them into the model design leads to a wildly scattered and unusable

output.

These results might also suggest the high dimensionality of the data, which is not surprising given the number of predictor levels included. While the MCMC methods used in Bayesian modelling were created to address multi-dimensional problems better than generic Monte Carlo algorithms, when the number of dimensions (predictor levels) rise, they too tend to suffer the 'curse of dimensionality': regions of higher probability tend to stretch and get lost in an increasing volume of space that contributes little to the integral (Rebeschini and van Handel, 2015: 2814). This does not mean, however, that statistical analysis is simply invalid for complex, historically-fractured datasets. Despite the difficulties that the random forest and brms models (not to mention the failed glmer models) have demonstrated in assessing variation in the data, it might simply be that further adaptions to the dataset are needed first. In this case, a solution that works in tandem with Bayesian modelling, by reducing dimensionality to assist the brms model, *whilst* highlighting interactions in the data, might aid in capturing the potentially intricate patterns in the data. One such method is Multiple Correspondence Analysis, or MCA, and this will now be explained below.

7.3   Multiple Correspondence Analysis (MCA)

7.3.1   The Theory

Multiple Correspondence Analysis or MCA is an extension of the Principle Components Analysis (PCA) framework. Whereas PCA is designed for analyzing a data set containing continuous variables, MCA works with multiple categorical variables (Abdi and Williams, 2010). In this instance, these variables are the predictors or independent effects - they form the extralinguistic factors in the regression model. MCA analyses the association between various categorical variables included in the model, searching for global patterns in the data without being given any prior information or limits. Once these are identified, MCA summarises and visualises these associations, presenting the values in a matrix before mapping the data points onto a multidimensional space. Firstly, a contingency table is generated. This displays the multivariate frequency distribution of each of the variables as a factor score, which form the coordinates for both the row and column points of the matrix. In the case of the dataset being analysed here, each row represents a unique instance of an author, writing in a particular place to a particular recipient. The columns represent the contributing extralinguistic factors, such as *Political Affiliation, Party, Location*, etc. This provides a basic picture of the possible interactions between two variables, for example, the frequency of authors who are both 'Pro-Union' and 'Court' politicians.

However when more than two categorical predictors are included it becomes increasingly difficult to understand the interactions in a table. MCA thus replaces the original variables with a much smaller set of 'dimensions' that capture similarly-behaving

predictors, depicted visually on a multi-dimensional plot. Usually, this is a biplot[9] - a two dimensional space with an x and y axis ranging from -1 to 1, each of which captures some of the associations present in the table. Usually, some of the categorical predictors will be more strongly associated with one dimension, and the remainder with the other, though some will not be captured by either dimension. Individual factor levels can be plotted onto this biplot, to suggest how they interact with the two dimensions, and this can then be compared with other factors to identify which are behaving similarly, suggesting a correlation. MCA thus removes the high dimensionality of a complex, multifactorial dataframe by incorporating multiple predictors into a much smaller set of dimensions.

This forms an unbiased, objective method for grouping together multiple variables, but also multiple observations, within an original dataset (Kassambara, 2017). The positions of the row and column points in the dimensional space are consistent with the associations provided in the table, enabling the researcher to visualize the relationships between different elements in the data graphically across two continuous planes of variation. We are thus able to see whether particular groups of writers are clustering in obvious or unpredictable ways across these factors, as well as whether particular factors behave in similar ways. These dimensions can be examined on their own, or used for further statistical analysis, replacing the independent variables in a regression model, for instance.

The first step is to determine if there is a significant dependency between the rows and columns included in the analysis. In this instance, this was the association between the authors and their extralinguistic features, such as *Birthplace* or *Political Affiliation*. Their language choice (Scots or English) was not included in the MCA, as this is not an extralinguistic factor. Rather, it forms the dependent variable in the Bayesian model, and will be incorporated in the new brms model using the MCA dimensions. Once dependency is ascertained, the number of dimensions to include must be chosen, though this is usually limited to the first two dimensions. Each dimension captures a certain percentage of variation within the dataset, independently of the next. Ideally, the first dimension will capture the most variation, and this will decrease for each subsequent dimension (Jolliffe, 2002: 1). The higher the retention of variation in each dimension, the more subtlety from the original data is retained in the low dimension solution (Bendixen, 2003). The cumulative percentage of explained variation is obtained by adding up the individual amounts from each successive dimension.

In this instance, we might hypothesise that variation will be spread over a large number of dimensions, as a consequence of the highly variable nature of the dataset, which the previous analyses have already suggested. In consequence, the cut-off point may only capture a certain amount of 'total' variation within the dataset, relative to other fields of research. However, it will still be able to suggest certain relationships that hold for the largest, *consistent* proportion of the data. This also points to the value that a complementary micro-analysis can offer alongside a macro-investigation. Given that unusual behaviour or unexplained patterns of

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[9]Normally the first two dimensions (which contain the most variation) are chosen, although in theory all the dimensions identified by MCA could be plotted. However, this produces decreasing returns in capturing variation, and would prove visually challenging to interpret.

variation may not be captured by broad, statistical explorations, the nuanced picture gleaned from a qualitative approach can illuminate patterns of variation that may otherwise be overlooked, and Chapter 9 will take such an approach.

Returning to MCA, once the number of required dimensions has been identified, the relationships between the different categorical variables can be plotted, normally in a biplot. Interpretation is based on the proximity between points in the low-dimensional map, and proximities are only meaningful between points of the same set (so rows compared with rows, and columns compared with columns). In this dataset therefore, meaningful proximities are reflected between authors (suggesting certain authors cluster together and thus have a similar extralinguistic profile), and between factors (suggesting they may be correlated or in interaction). Negatively correlated row points are positioned on opposite sides of the plot origin (in opposing quadrants), indicating a high level of dissimilarity between those authors. Alongside proximity of the independent variables, the predictor levels themselves can also be plotted within this space, indicating whether they cluster or diverge. The distance between their points gives a measure of their similarity, for example, we might expect 'Episcopalian' and 'Jacobite (Yes)' to be situated close together, given that the former almost always begets the latter.

MCA will also assign a 'loading' to each variable, ranging from -1 to 1, and the biplot axes run between these values accordingly. Data points will be positioned according to their loading within the bidimensional space; the closer to -1 or 1 the variable or author is, the stronger the loading. Variables or observations with these values are positioned far away from the origin, suggesting they are well represented by that dimension. Conversely, points that contribute very little are close to the centre of the biplot and are relatively unimportant to the interpretation. Methods like MCA or PCA often reveal meaningful and intuitive structures in the data, depicting underlying relational arrangements including associations and similarities within each plane of variation (Jolliffe, 2002: 63), and in this case, MCA can provide an insight into the complex patterning of multiple independent variables, their predictor levels and the individual authors in the data, *outside of* language use. This makes MCA a very useful tool for the investigation of structural variation in sociolinguistic variables, and how writers might cluster within a dataset according to their extralinguistic factors.

There is of course some danger to blindly adopting the methodology of Correspondence Analysis without exploring alternative pathways, given it is based upon exploratory data analysis with more or less arbitrary choices of parameters and procedures. Methods such as MCA can consequently produce results even in situations in which there is no underlying structure (Jolliffe, 2002: 278), and care must be taken to avoid interpreting dimensions which are merely the result of random features in the dataset. It may also be the case that more than two dimensions are required to perfectly represent the data. This is where the combined power of MCA with Bayesian modelling can help to mitigate this issue. By reducing the extralinguistic dimensionality of the data to just two dimensions, and applying these dimensions as independent variables in a Bayesian regression model, which controls for random effects and takes a inherently comparative methodological approach to examining variation in data, the weaknesses of any singular model are somewhat circumvented

by their combination. First however, the MCA process, the resulting dimensions and their findings are described in the following section, before these are applied in a second brms model, and the probabilities plotted onto the identified multidimensional space (Section 7.4).

7.3.2 The Model

To run the MCA, the dataset was first subset to include only active variables (those of interest to the investigation), which included the following: *Party, Political Affiliation, Jacobite, Address, Birthplace, Location* and *Relationship.* These were treated as factors and sum-coded. 'Unknowns' were removed from the dataset and, to further reduce dimensionality, the first model created excluded ministers and 'Political Other' from the analysis as well. They may be introducing extra 'noise' and variation into the dataset, especially if the politicians form a language community of their own. This meant the focus is purely on the linguistic choices of the parliamentary commissioners, but given they form the primary interest of this thesis, their sociolinguistic behaviour is central to the investigation. A secondary model was built using the full dataset, and its results, along with a short accompanying discussion, can be viewed in Appendix A.10. Once the data had been filtered and sorted, the MCA analysis was run on the dataset using the `MCA()` function of the **FactoMineR** package (Lê et al., 2008). The output of this analysis is illustrated in the biplot below, produced using **factoextra** (Kassambara and Mundt, 2017) which provides MCA data visualisation (based within the **ggplot2** (Wickham, 2016) package).
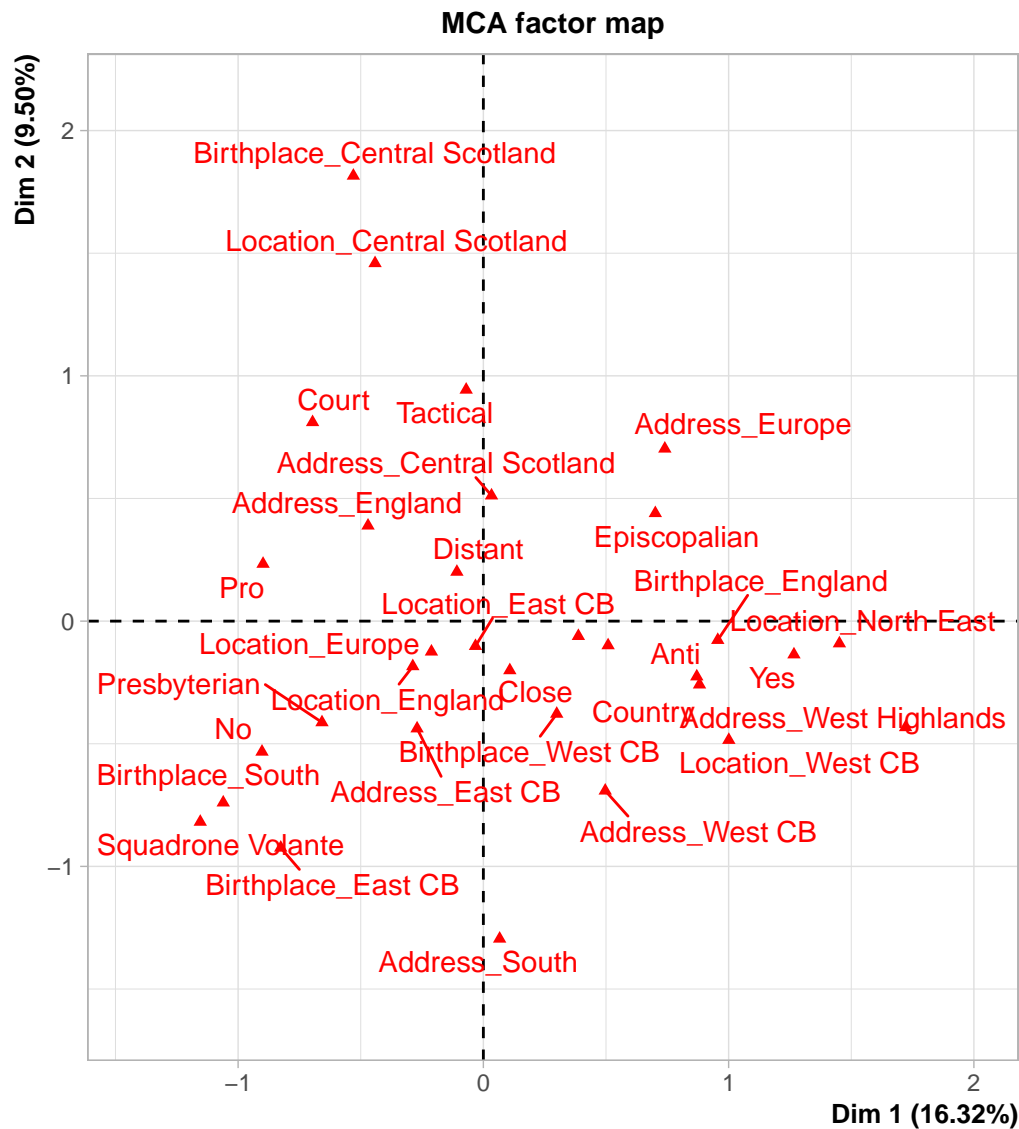
Figure 7.4: MCA plot showing similarity distances between predictor levels

Figure 7.4 depicts the MCA factor map - this indicates the amount of variation captured by the dimensions (16.32% and 9.5% for Dimensions 1 and 2 respectively). These percentages are very low overall, only capturing 25.8% of the variation in the data. This might point to the scattered and disharmonious nature of the factors conditioning the writers. Politicians were motivated by a complex combination of interests and ideals, that intersected in varying and diverse ways. As has been discussed previously (see Section 5.2 of Chapter 5) the factors included in this analysis are frequently, but not always, correlated. Many writers aligned with particular identity combinations, but some fall outside of this or fluctuate across extralinguistic constraints (especially the locational factors), which may complicate the MCA's ability to identify global patterns in the data. This highlights the nature of historical data more generally, which may be built upon fragmented datasets and interlaced contributing factors (Hundt et al. 2017). One possibility could be to include more dimensions, but checking the subsequent dimensions indicated that they captured increasingly-smaller percentages, thus this would not significantly

increase the proportion of variation represented in the analysis. To incorporate a 'desirable' level of variation would involve including upwards of ten dimensions, which is unfeasible and complicates interpretation. Yet this does not mean statistical methods cannot shed some insight into undercurrents and common threads woven into the data, however faint they might be. Instead, exploring the two dimensions identified here, while recognising that they do not capture all the variation in the dataset, and complimenting such analysis with close-up exploration of the corpus, is the most expedient line of enquiry.

To return to Figure 7.4, alongside the percentage of variation captured, it also depicts the patterning of predictor levels relative to one another, across the multidimensional variation space. As aforementioned, the distance between different predictor levels gives a measure of their similarity (or dissimilarity), in relation to the dimensions. For instance, examining the map, we can see a possible clustering for the factor levels 'Squadrone_Volante', 'Presbyterian' and 'No' (non-Jacobite) toward the bottom-left corner. This is an intuitive correlation, given that Squadrone members were a highly coherent group of politicians primarily motivated by their staunch Presbyterianism, making them naturally antagonistic to Jacobitism. The Birthplaces 'South' and 'East CB' also cluster here, which matches what we know about the party members, given the collection of Squadrone family estates within the Borders and around East Lothian (Macinnes, 2007: 264). In the opposite quadrant 'Episcopalian' is located, suggesting it is negatively correlated with Squadrone Volante and these birthplaces. Again this is not surprising, given their faith and the concentration of Episcopalians in the North East and Highlands. This also indicates the reliability and validity of the analysis. The model is performing as expected, recognising individuals who share similar characteristics.

While visualising the connections between social factors in the data does not tell us anything about language use, understanding the correlations and associations between predictor levels is important in acquiring an overview of how they interact. This tells us for example how strong or weak certain combinations of factors are, and thus, the extent to which they might work in tandem to influence language use. They might at times exercise contradictory or conflicting influences upon members of specific groups. For instance, 'Court' is considerably further away from the Presbyterian and non-Jacobite values than the 'Squadrone' data-point. This indicates 'Court' is not immediately associated with these values, likely because not all Court politicians fit these exact characteristics (for instance the Earl of Kinnoull was Episcopalian). Accordingly the factor map recognises this, and places 'Court' further away from the cluster. Thus, if the subsequent brms model suggests higher probabilities of Scots are associated with *Episcopalian* - then we might expect a strong negative probability of Scots for Squadrone members, but a weaker effect for Court politicians. While their Court association may influence language use, their religious adherence might also play a role, reducing the internal linguistic consistency within the party.

Moreover, the factor map indicates whether these predictor levels have a strong or weak association with Dimension 1 and 2, suggesting how each dimension captures a certain amount of extralinguistic information. For instance, 'Squadrone_Volante' is strongly associated with the negative values of Dimension 1, but is not so well

captured by Dimension 2. This is expected, as each dimension attempts to capture certain variables, though in some cases more than one dimension is needed to to represent the data. When the brms model is run, the predicted probabilities of Scots that it produces will be layered onto this multidimensional space - thus indicating areas of high or low probability along each dimension. This can be matched to Figure 7.4, providing insight into relationships between the predictor levels and probabilities of Scots. First however we can take a look at the independent variables themselves in Figure 7.5 below, in which the interactions between the different factors and the dimensions become particularly clear.
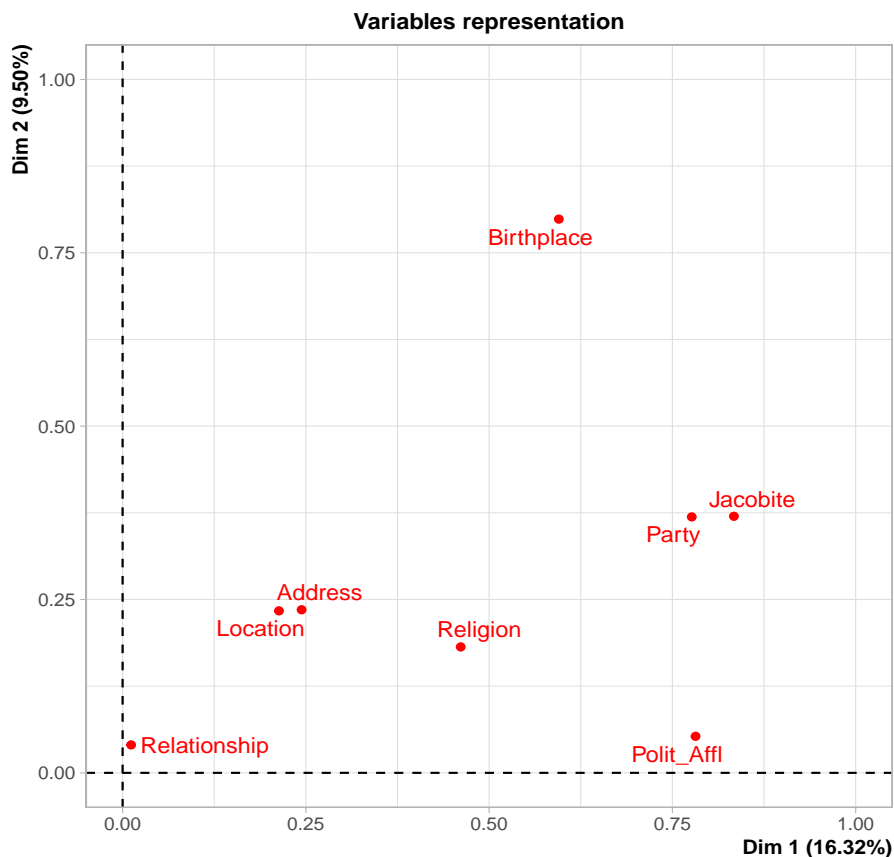
Figure 7.5: MCA plot showing similarity distances between predictors

Party, Jacobite and *Political Affiliation* reflect a strong association with Dimension 1 - they are all located close to the value 1 which suggests they are captured particularly well by this dimension. *Party* and *Jacobite* cluster very close together, which is logical given party lines were largely (though not entirely) split along Jacobite associations after 1704, with the breakaway of the Squadrone members. Yet, not *all* members were both one and the other, hence they are included as two separate factors in this model. *Address* and *Location* are also highly correlated, but are not captured particularly well by either dimension, given their weak relationship to both. *Birthplace* has a strong positive loading for Dimension 2, but also a moderate relationship with Dimension 1, which might correlate with individual factor levels within *Birthplace*. *Relationship* meanwhile is located very close to the origin, suggesting it is not captured well by either Dimension 1 or 2.

The lack of a strong relationship for *Address* and *Location* might seem somewhat surprising given the results of the previous Bayesian regression model, but it is worth remembering that these dimensions capture only 25% of the variation in the dataset. Moreover, they are clearly focused on the political factors, which were found by the MCA to describe the largest proportion of the variation. However, political and locational factors will not necessarily be equally well represented within the same variation space. Instead, a different dimension might be required to perfectly represent the locational factors, but this would have to be the third, fourth or tenth dimension for instance. As each successive dimension captures significantly less variation, exploring them is not particularly helpful in observing global trends in the data. This is where a complementary micro-analysis might be able to highlight such subtle trends, but although Chapter 9 will examine data from a close-up perspective, locational factors could still not be identified as important in conditioning Scots use. However, this might simply require more detailed, individual and descriptive analysis into these particular factors in future investigations, given there simply was not the scope for such an analysis here.

Nonetheless, the MCA is still a valuable methodological tool in being able to achieve a reduced extralinguistic dimensionality, whilst capturing individual relationships between variables and the different predictor levels in the dataset, as well as interactions between them. Thus, following the identification of the dimensions, these were then applied as independent factors in a brms model, that included language-choice as the dependent factor. The output (probabilities of Scots) can then be mapped onto the same bi-dimensional space to observe how these interact with the various predictor levels. This process and the results are explained below.

7.4   Combining MCA and brms

Combining the dimensions of MCA and its visual outputs with brms enables us to identify whether there are possible correlations between Scots-English use and the particular MCA dimensions that have been identified. The next stage was thus to fit another Bayesian regression model to the dataset using **brms** (Bürkner, 2017), with Dimensions 1 and 2 as continuous independent predictors. These were extracted from the MCA analysis and merged with the existing dataset, using `left_join()` in **dplyr**. As each individual in the corpus will have a unique set of extralinguistic characteristics (i.e. their birthplace, religion, location etc), their corresponding dimension values can be automatically added by identifying an exact match between their characteristics and those attached to the MCA dimension values. The independent variables included *Dimension 1, Dimension 2* and an interaction between them, and *Scots_English* was the dependent variable. *Author* was included as a random effect. The model was run with four MCMC chains and 3000 iterations per chain, of which 1500 were for warm-up. A Bernoulli (binomial) distribution was used in the model as the response distribution. Figure 7.6 below gives the output, including posterior mean, standard deviation, and 2.5 and 97.5 quantiles for the second model.

```
Group-Level Effects:
~Author (Number of levels: 31)
              Estimate Est.Error l-95% CI u-95% CI Rhat Bulk_ESS Tail_ESS
sd(Intercept)     1.14      0.21      0.80     1.59 1.01      841     1134


Population-Level Effects:
           Estimate Est.Error l-95% CI u-95% CI Rhat Bulk_ESS Tail_ESS
Intercept     -2.64      0.22     -3.09    -2.22 1.00      939     1054
dim_1         -0.85      0.24     -1.33    -0.40 1.00      860      817
dim_2         -1.39      0.17     -1.73    -1.06 1.00     1187      912
dim_1:dim_2   -2.64      0.22     -3.07    -2.21 1.00     1130     1013
```

Figure 7.6: Output of brms model with MCA dimensions

The posterior distributions reported in the output suggest that both dimensions and their interaction do affect the probability of using Scots. As none the parameters are spread around zero, this indicates a more robust relationship between the independent predictors (the dimensions) and *Scots_English* than the previous brms model. A quick check of model performance indicated this was behaving as expected (see Appendix A.9). Both dimensions lead to a decrease in log-odds of Scots usage. When Dimension 1 increases by 1 (and Dimension 2 is at zero) the log-odds of Scots usage decreases ($\hat{\beta}$ = -0.85, CrI: [-1.33, -0.40]). Similarly, log-odds of Scots decreases with each increase in Dimension 2 ($\hat{\beta}$ = -1.39, CrI: [-1.73, -1.06]). The predicted probability of Scots for each increase in Dimension 1 is 0.03 or 3%, and for Dimension 2 is 0.017 or 1.7%, suggesting that predicted probabilities for Scots use is lower when Dimension 2 is positive than Dimension 1. A negative distribution is also observed when the dimensions are in interaction ($\hat{\beta}$ = -2.64, CrI: [-3.07, -2.21]). This suggests an inverse correlation; an increase in probability of Scots use is observed when Dimension 1 increases and Dimension 2 decreases, and inversely the same is observed when Dimension 2 increases and Dimension 1 decreases. Overall, the interaction between the two dimensions has the largest effect, and again, we can examine the posterior distributions to get a quick overview of these relationships, in Figure 7.7 below.

Posterior distributions

with means and 95% percentile intervals
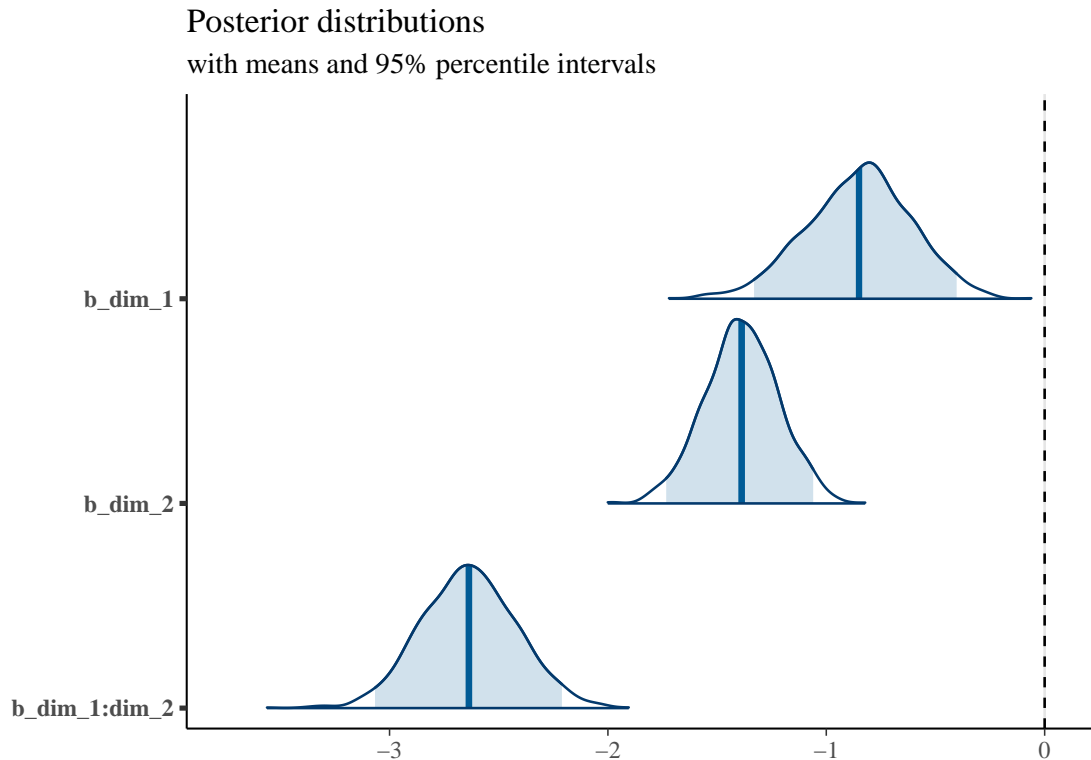
Figure 7.7: Posterior distributions for brms model run using MCA dimensions

Examining the distributions, the credible intervals and spread are relatively small, unlike the high number of flat posteriors shown in Figure 7.3. This indicates the validity and benefit of using the MCA dimensions as opposed to all the individual predictors. The plot also clearly indicates the respective distances of the posterior distributions from zero, in which the interaction between the dimensions is distributed furthest from zero and thus has the strongest relationship to the probability of using Scots. This suggests the value of examining the bi-dimensional MCA space to investigate probabilities of using Scots, as it is the dimensions in *interaction* that shows the most robust probability.

Plotting the conditional effects acquired from the brms output within the MCA bi-dimensional space enables us to visualise the relationship between probabilities of Scots and the dimensions in interaction. This indicates where higher and lower probabilities of Scots patterns across the variation space. This can then be used to examine individual predictors and factors, and where they map onto that space accordingly (which will be shown in the following section). To plot this relationship, the output was visualised using a raster plot from the **ggplot2** package. Figure 7.8 puts the relationship between the two dimensions into perspective.
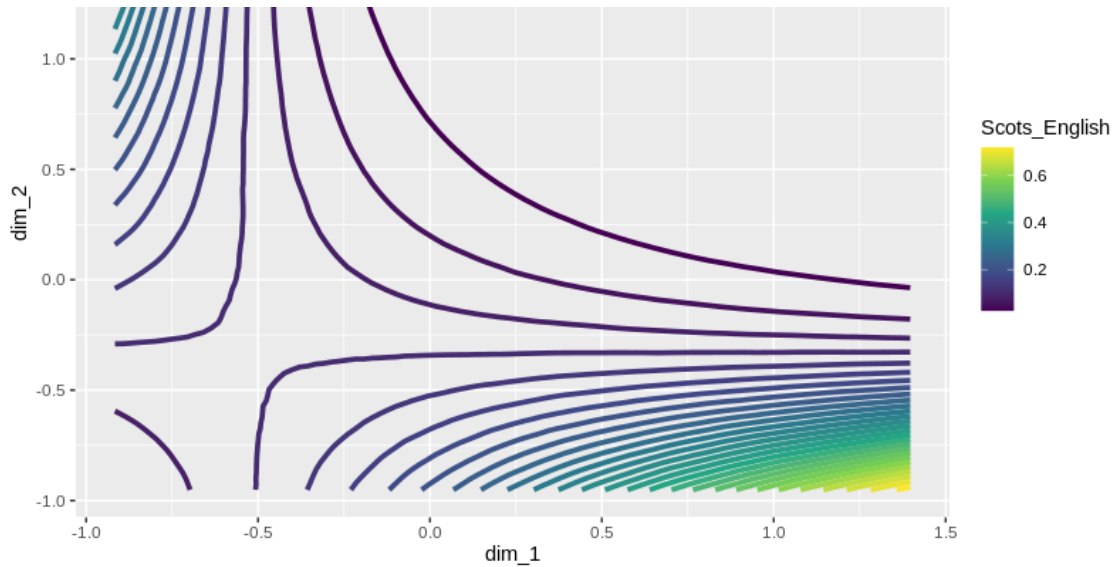
Figure 7.8: Conditional Effects for interaction between Dimensions 1 and 2

The Dimensions 1 and 2 are not superimposed on the bi-dimensional space here, but run through the 0.0 value of the x and y-axis accordingly. Probabilities of Scots are indicated by the shading; yellow suggests higher probabilities of Scots and dark blue very low probabilities. Figure 7.8 suggests higher probabilities of Scots usage occur where the model predicts: a slight concentration can be observed when Dimension 1 is negative and Dimension 2 positive, but the probability of Scots is highest when Dimension 2 is negative, and Dimension 1 positive. As Dimension 2 has a stronger effect than Dimension 1, this reverses the negative relationship of Dimension 1 with Scots usage, when the two dimensions are in interaction. Thus, although in isolation the probability of Scots *decreases* as Dimension 1 *increases*, Dimension 1 has the greatest predictive power when in *interaction* with Dimension 2, i.e. when it is positive and Dimension 2 is negative, as evidenced by the yellow shading in the bottom right-hand corner.

These predicted probabilities indicate where Scots use is concentrated within the identified dimensions. These dimensions were derived from the extralinguistic factors characterising the writers in the corpus, thus, Figure 7.8 effectively suggests how Scots use is interacting with these extralinguistic factors, via the dimensions. However, trying to match the patterning shown here with the earlier plot indicating the patterning of predictor levels (Figure 7.4) is not particularly intuitive or easy to visualise. Instead, the next step is to examine the writers within the corpus according to each extralinguistic factor in turn, and how they cluster within the same dimensional space. This enables us to map the Scots probabilities found by the brms model, and shown in Figure 7.8 above, onto these writers in a one-to-one relationship, within the same bi-dimensional space. While the factors are clearly intertwined (hence the need for MCA to reduce dimensionality), it is visually easier and more insightful to examine each factor on a case by case basis. This allows us to build up a picture of Scots use by factor, as the same writer will be in the same location each time. It is unlikely that a single factor will account for all variation in the dataset, but by examining each in turn, we can layer the associations between higher probabilities of Scots and certain predictor levels. This enables each factor to contribute to the

story, rather than getting lost in the 'noise' of a combined dataset.

The Scots probabilities will not exactly match the factor data points on MCA biplots, given brms produces *predicted* probabilities, rather than real-time values. Figure 7.8 merely suggests where Scots would be *likely* to occur with greater probability within the variation space - in this case, the bottom right-hand corner of the biplot. By matching this space with the individuals located closest to it, we get an idea of which groups are more *likely* to use Scots in their writings. Accordingly, the different factors will now be examined in turn, keeping in mind that the **bottom-right** of the dimensional space is where the highest probabilities of Scots is found, with a slight concentration in the **top-left** corner.

7.4.1 Factor biplots

Starting with *Political Affiliation*, an individual factor map was plotted using **factoextra**. The output indicates where the politicians in the dataset are located within the two dimensions, and how *Political Affiliation* patterns across them. Each point is a particular politician, writing to a particular recipient and address, in a specific location. Their clustering is indicated in Figure 7.9 below.
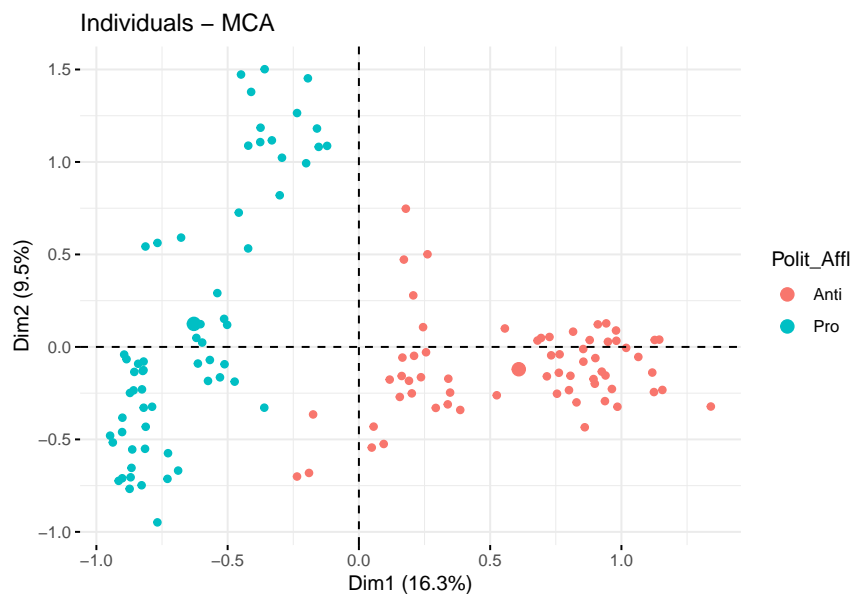
Figure 7.9: MCA individuals plot for predictor 'Political Affiliation'

Examining the plot, there are two distinct groups for 'Pro' and 'Anti', which are distinguished largely by their relationship to Dimension 1. This strong relationship was already evident earlier in Figure 7.5, in which Political Affiliation was strongly associated with Dimension 1. The clusters are fairly well defined, with Anti to the right, and Pro to the left, although there are a few outliers within the former. Recall from Figure 7.8 that the highest probability of Scots usage was located in the bottom right-hand corner. Comparing these plots therefore, this higher probability is located near the Anti-Union side of the biplot, suggesting that an increase in Scots

is associated with an Anti-Union agenda. This relationship is particularly strong, given that there are no Pro-Union datapoints nearby, nor is a higher probability of Scots located more centrally within the dimensional space, which would suggest both groups laid equal claim to use of Scots in their writings. This finding thus suggests the intuitive hypothesis - that writers who opposed the Union would use more features indicative of Scots in their writings - is indeed borne out by the data presented here. Perhaps these writers were subconsciously laying claim to a nationalist agenda within their correspondence, heightened by the tense debate and increased awareness of Scotland's sovereign status, particularly during those volatile opening years identified in the temporal analysis of the previous chapter. Equally, this might suggest the formation of a shared political identity in response to the religious and ideological discord characterising the opposition. The fluid and amorphous nature of the Country party has been highlighted both in Chapter 2 and briefly in Chapter 5, Section 5.2, in which it became clear one of the few facets keeping them together was their collective rejection of incorporation. This might have stimulated the emergence of a constitutional political identity, realised partially through linguistic choices.

This shares interesting parallels with the results found by Shoemark et al.'s (2017a; 2017b) Twitter analyses on the use of Scots during the 2014 independence referendum, which found pro-independence tweeters (with their intuitive links to Scottish national identity) to use more Scots. Other studies have found accent to be utilised by speakers to support a national identity claim (Kiely et al., 2000), even when their perceptions of the social meaning of variables can operate at a very unconscious level (Hay and Drager, 2010). It is plausible that Scots use was subconsciously tied to a certain national agenda, that encompassed a rejection of political amalgamation, much like the pro-independence Twitter users. This might indicate that written Scots was becoming available as a vital identity marker in the early eighteenth century, especially given correspondence does not just reflect social groupings, but assists in constructing and maintaining them. Anti-Unionist writers may thus have conceived of themselves as an in-group and marked this through use of particular, locally-rooted variants.

Yet, as has already been discussed previously, it is by no means guaranteed that a straightforward interaction between language choice and political ideologies can be identified, particularly when distilled down to a simple 'yes-no' split between the writers in the corpus. While national and linguistic identity often coincide, they don't necessarily need to (Brulard and Carr, 2013), and given we are only observing a particular snapshot of the data in this plot, it is too simplistic to attribute the probabilities of choosing Scots to mere voting choices alone. It is likely that underlyingly, those who were 'Anti' Union comprised a host of related and intertwined characteristics, which operated their own subtle influences on language choice and social identity. What can be observed here is possibly the amalgamation of these influences, producing a broadly-defined pattern of linguistic preferences across the 'divide' over incorporation. Being Anti-Union was most likely a part, rather than the sum total, of the identity which these writers aspired to or were affiliated with. Language users can be part of multiple communities linguistically, politically and socially, and even these communities themselves are not necessarily homogeneous (Blackledge and Pavlenko, 2001: 245). Such characteristics could

equally apply to a diachronic setting and moreover, the historical background has already indicated that these two groups encompassed a whole range of religious, political and personal views within its scope.

Furthermore, Figure 7.8 also indicated a very slight concentration of probabilities of Scots towards the top left corner, and examining Figure 7.9, this space is matched most closely by a group of Pro-Union writers, who seem to be behaving differently from the rest of the Pro cluster. Political affiliation alone cannot explain this, suggesting it cannot be the full story. While examining the data this way gives us a first, overall impression of the interaction between Scots use and voting choices, examining other variables can help to build up a possible picture of the groups underpinning higher probabilities of Scots. This is not to say the relationship between Scots and an anti-Unionist position isn't highly interesting to observe, but further nuance is needed. Ergo, the next logical variable to explore is *Party*, shown in Figure 7.10 below.
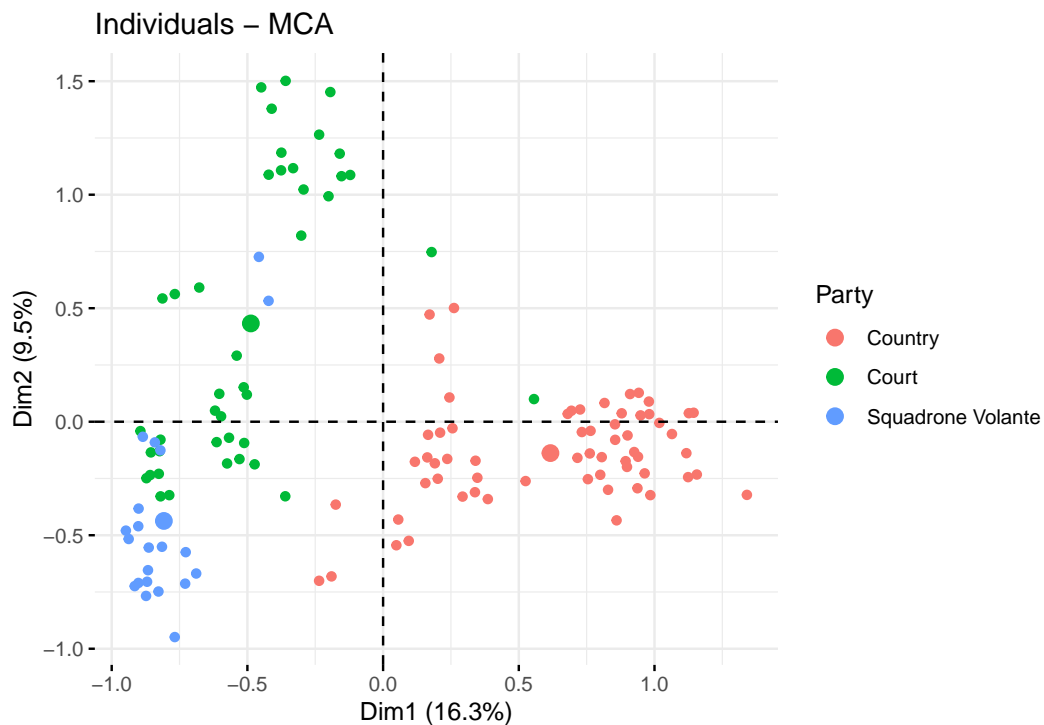
Figure 7.10: MCA individuals plot for predictor 'Party'

Examining the plot, it seems the three main parties are largely distinct from one another within the dimensional space. The Country Party is associated with the positive values of Dimension 1, and its members are located closest to the bottom, right-hand corner, the space with the highest probabilities of Scots. This is hardly surprising, given the previous plot indicated that Anti-Unionists also correspond to these data points. Nonetheless, this verifies the reliability of the MCA output, and suggests that members of the Country party were more likely to use Scots variants in their letters than Court or Squadrone members. The Squadrone Volante meanwhile clusters particularly concisely, bar one or two outliers, an interesting observation given the party was made up of a tight-knit, politically-congruous group of Scottish

families. It remained largely intact even after the Union agreement had passed, and continued to command a presence in the new British parliament for several years following incorporation (Simpson, 1970; Scott, 1981). The plot here suggests they were socially, but also linguistically, homogeneous, an important observation given that a collective change in their linguistic behaviour could have had a real impact on observed Scots frequencies within the corpus. They are associated with a more anglicised register in the biplot, given their position in Figure 7.10 matches a space of very low Scots probabilities, and thus their linguistic congruence combined with their anglicised style might indeed be responsible for the post-1705 reduction in Scots observed in the VNC analysis of Chapter 6. In addition, the Court party is also associated with lower probabilities of Scots, given the Court and Squadrone parties are both associated with the negative values of Dimension 1, mirroring their Pro-Union clustering depicted in the first plot. The Squadrone and Court parties thus behave similarly when it comes to predicted Scots use, strengthening the possibility that Squadrone members writing to Court politicians may have been influenced by their anglicised style, particularly after 1704 when they sought to associate more with the Court. This highlights the value of the more nuanced exploration possible in a combined MCA and brms analysis, in which the tentative explanations offered in Chapter 6 for the rise and fall of Scots during the key Union years, can become more tangible.

Thus, political party does appear to influence the choice to use Scots variants, an interesting finding given it is by no means guaranteed that the clear party-line distinctions found in several contemporary studies examining politically-motivated variation (c.f Fairclough, 2000; Hall-Lew et al., 2010, 2012, 2017; Kirkham and Moore, 2016) would have been present in Early Modern times. Party structures were still in the process of emerging during the eighteenth century, and it would be anachronistic to assume a one-to-one association between political party in its present day sense and the groups involved in the last Scottish parliament. Yet, these findings do suggest a relationship between party and language choice. The dispreference for Scots among the Court and Squadrone parties, and higher probability among the Country party has interesting parallels with Hall-Lew et al's (2017) examination of Scottish MPs in the UK parliament, which suggested that observed accommodation was indirectly indexed through political party identity. This indeed seems to be playing out in the patterns observed here - the political groups most closely aligned with the English Court and incorporationist ideology demonstrate lower probabilities for Scots (and conversely, higher probabilities for the anglicised variants), while Country party members are least likely to anglicise their writings, which aligns with their grievances with the English terms of the Union agreement, and their Jacobite sympathies. The party identity of these Scottish political groups therefore does appear to resonate with the linguistic data.

Yet, whether *Party* is the sole or even primary factor driving usage is far from certain, especially considering the top-left quadrant (containing a very slight increase in Scots probabilities), maps to a group of Court party members located nearby. That they are not behaving similarly to their fellow members might again reflect the influence of other underlying factors, such as religious denomination. The next factor to be examined is thus *Religion* in Figure 7.11 below.
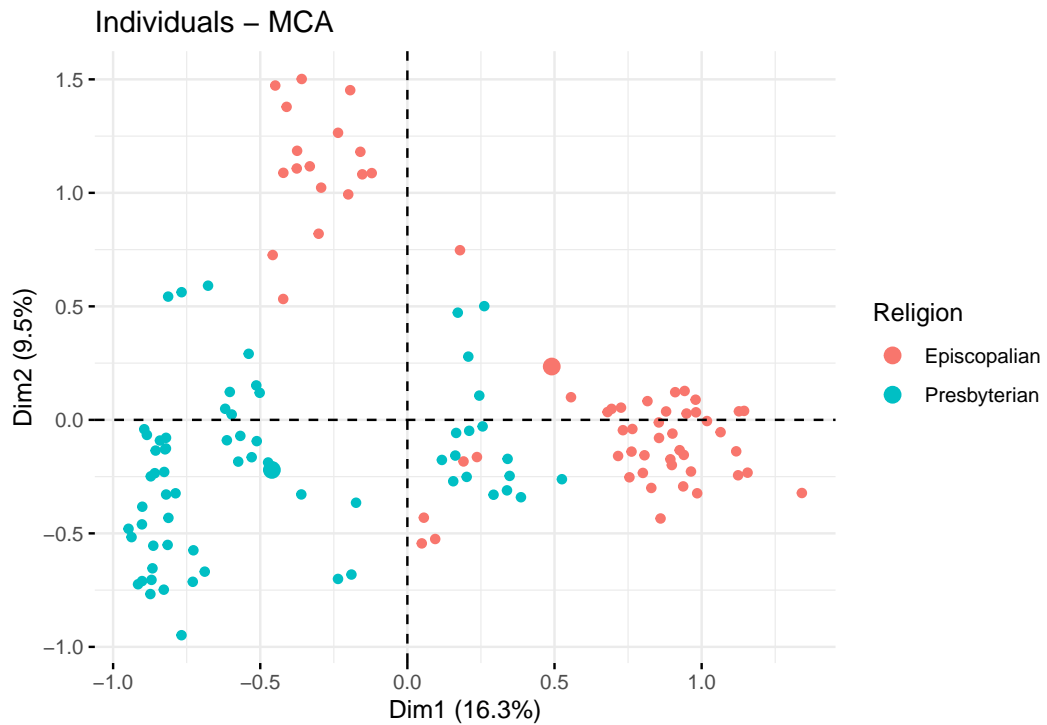
Individuals – MCA

Figure 7.11: MCA individuals plot for predictor 'Religion'

Religion is composed of the groups 'Presbyterian' and 'Episcopalian', and their patterning within the dimensional space is again relatively differentiated, although less distinct than *Political Affiliation* or *Party*. The Presbyterians are mostly located on the left of Dimension 1, associated with negative values along the scale, though a small group are positively associated with this dimension. The Episcopalians are mostly clustered where the Anti-Union and Country party members were located, on the right of Dimension 1. This is not surprising given many members of the Country party, particularly after 1704, were Jacobite Episcopalians who rejected the Union agreement. They are also, again, located closest to the highest probabilities of Scots within the dimensional space, indicating that it was this group within the Country party in particular who were more likely to use written Scots features. However, there is a small group of Episcopalians behaving differently from the rest, in the upper-left quadrant. This location maps onto the secondary, weaker concentration of Scots probabilities identified earlier. It seems a greater probability of Scots usage is thus associated with Episcopalians in general, though a particular subgroup of them do not express as strong a likelihood of using Scots variants as their anti-Union contemporaries. When we match the location of this subgroup with the data points from the previous plots for *Political Affiliation* and *Party*, it becomes clear that they are Episcopalians who were members of the Court party and supported the Union. Perhaps their Scots use was moderated by their political stance, unlike their counterparts in the Country party.

This highlights the complexities at play in the early eighteenth century - politicians were member of several groups split along familial, political and religious lines, among others. Each of their associations may have exercised some influence on their stylistic choices. Certainly, the fact that Court party Episcopalians were less

likely to use Scots than their fellow, Anti-Union contemporaries suggests that their political allegiances may have moderated their linguistic behaviour. Equally, the fact that they are not clustering quite so neatly with the remainder of the Court party, using slightly elevated levels of Scots in comparison, suggests that their religious ideology also contributed to the output, creating contending influences or pressures. The addition of *Religion* thus adds another layer to the story, suggesting underlying influences feeding into, but not necessarily dominating, the overall patterns of Scots use across these writers. Their linguistic behaviour represents in many ways a microcosm of eighteenth-century political Scottish society, which was amorphous and dynamic, with positions much less tightly-defined than contemporary perspectives might assume. To pidgeonhole writers into one category or another thus creates the false illusion that such rigid categories exist in the minds of individuals, without considering the fluidity within which identity and group-membership can operate (Blackledge and Pavlenko, 2001: 244).

In line with this, while the first three factors have already built up a convincing picture of the extralinguistic influences at work on variation, more factors need to be considered. The next to be analysed is *Jacobite*, in Figure 7.12 below.
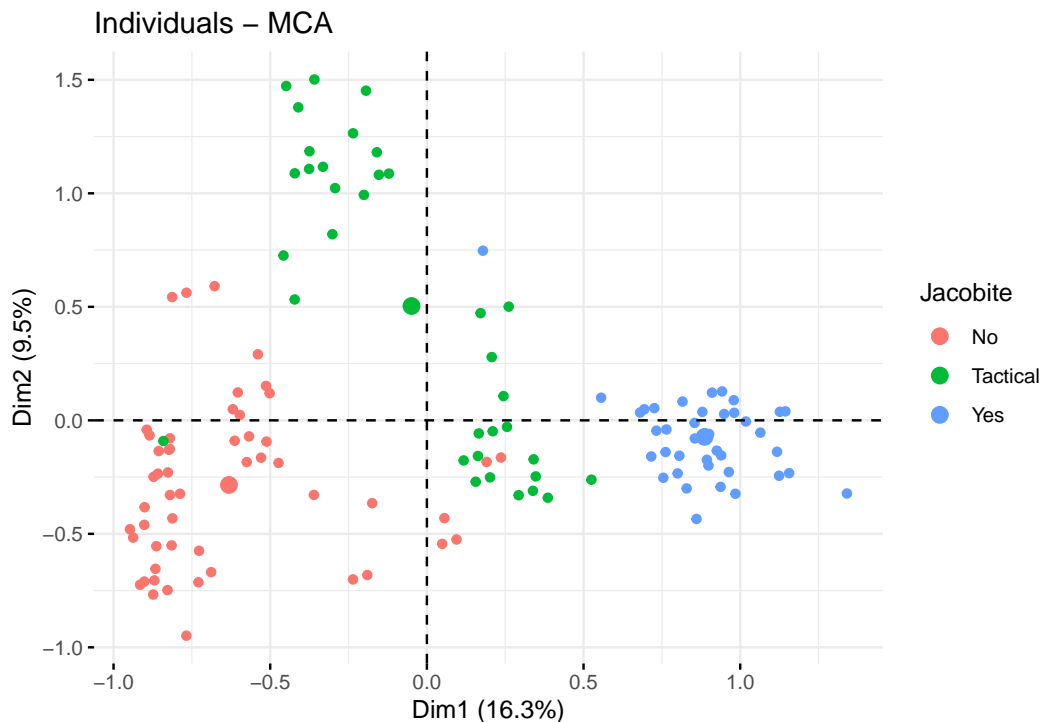
Figure 7.12: MCA individuals plot for predictor 'Jacobite'

Examining the plot, Figure 7.12 suggests this clusters quite neatly into three distinct groups, largely associated with the values in Dimension 1. 'No' is to the far left, and demonstrates a mostly negative relationship with both Dimension 1 and 2, whilst 'Tactical' is spread across both axes and has a less clear relationship with either dimension. 'Yes' is situated to the right and has a strong positive relationship with Dimension 1, falling within the area of highest Scots probabilities. This indicates that the likelihood of using Scots increased among those who were Jacobites, as

opposed to those who weren't or wavered in their loyalties. Given that the dimensional space occupied by 'Yes' is also linked to 'Anti-Union', 'Episcopalian' and 'Country' party, it goes without saying that this result is expected - these factors are all highly correlated. The analysis has already established that these categories favour Scots, and ergo, those who were Jacobite demonstrate a greater Scots preference.

This does however suggest the coherent nature of the group in terms of linguistic behaviour, which in many ways mirrors the tightly clustered nature of the Squadrone Volante seen earlier, in Figure 7.10. Perhaps they too formed a cohesive Community of Practice, sharing goals, activities and concerns (Kopaczyk and Jucker, 2013), that were bound by their religious and ideological principles, which united them not only in the parliamentary scene, but even spurred a number of Jacobites to risk their lives in armed uprisings and rebellions. Their common cause, with its overt links to an ancient, unbroken Scottish heritage, derived from a divinely-sanctioned dynastic legitimacy that professed strong, nationalistic overtones, has a clear and salient connection to Scottish interests, and local identity. Such themes could naturally have aligned with use of 'Scottish' variants, and perhaps this relatively close-knit group utilised such forms within their shared linguistic practice, to reinforce their collective aim.

The plot also gives insight into the behaviour of the 'Tactical' group, which forms two relatively distinct clusters; one located in the top-left quadrant, and the other closer to the origin of the two axes. The first cluster corresponds with the weaker concentration of Scots probabilities identified in Figure 7.8. This suggests that the Pro-Union, Court Party Episcopalians identified earlier were also tactical Jacobites. This group is most likely composed of Court politicians who had underlying Jacobite sympathies, but felt these had to be suppressed in order to advance their political careers, such as the Earl of Mar (Ehrenstein, 2015). They may have similarly kept their Episcopalian beliefs quiet to avoid scrutiny. The combination of these features again seems to have created a unique sub-group within the corpus, whose linguistic behaviour differed slightly from other members of the multiple groups they were part of. This group is predicted to choose Scots variants more frequently than their Court and Pro-Union contemporaries, but less frequently than their fellow Episcopalians and Jacobites, perhaps mirroring their complex political identity, and the complexities of the time period at play, in which politicians could face conflicting local and national demands. The motives of the political Jacobites were paradoxical after all; while they vested moral authority in their 'good old cause' and clearly disagreed on the constitutional fundamentals of Kirk and State, they were also involved in the running of central and local government debating exactly these fundamentals (Macinnes, 2007: 246). Similarly when it comes to the Court Jacobites, it seems their language use reflects this inherent dichotomy, not clearly following one line or the other.

The second cluster of tactical Jacobites are clustered on the right side of Dimension 1 but are based relatively close to the axes origin. Yet, while they are behaving differently from the 'No' group to the left, they are also not integrated with the 'Yes' group further along to the right. Examining the previous plot for *Religion*, this subgroup largely corresponds to a small collection of Presbyterians. There, they were behaving differently from their contemporaries, who were firmly located to the

very left of Dimension 1. Comparing their positioning across *Political Affiliation* and *Party*, it appears this subgroup are also Anti-Union and Country party members, though they are situated on very the periphery of each within the dimensional space. These writers thus represent the Presbyterian wing of the Country party. While they shared the Anti-Unionist sentiments of their Jacobite party members, their cooperation was uneasy at best. Issues around Scottish nationhood and the security of the Kirk may have driven them to temporarily embrace Jacobitism, in a bid to prevent incorporation and the Hanoverian succession. However they were never devoted to the cause, and the motives of each wing of the Country party were fundamentally incompatible. Their positioning in the plot might reflect this dichotomy of interests. They are associated with decreasing probabilities of Scots in relation to their Jacobite, Episcopalian counterparts. Yet, they also demonstrate slightly higher probabilities of Scots than the remaining Presbyterians, and non-Jacobite Court and Squadrone figures. Again, perhaps this reflects the conflicting influences shaping written Scots use, in which of party identity, political or Jacobite ideology and ecclesiastical loyalties all simultaneously played a role. It seems the conglomerate nature of identities and ambitions within the Scottish parliament infiltrated the written sphere, influencing the linguistic behaviour of these men.

So far the first four factors have all been highly correlated with one another, and have enabled the analysis to gradually build up a picture of political and ideological layers influencing probabilities of language choice, through specific group memberships. The dataset however also included a number of factors not immediately linked to the political machinations of the Scottish parliament and its members. These include the geographical features identified as significant in the previous statistical models. Yet, the factor map in Figure 7.5 indicated that *Location* and *Address* were not captured adequately by the first two dimensions, possibly because these were captured by other dimensions as previously discussed. *Birthplace* however did show a strong relationship with both Dimensions 1 and 2. Accordingly, *Birthplace* is the next factor examined, shown in Figure 7.13 below.
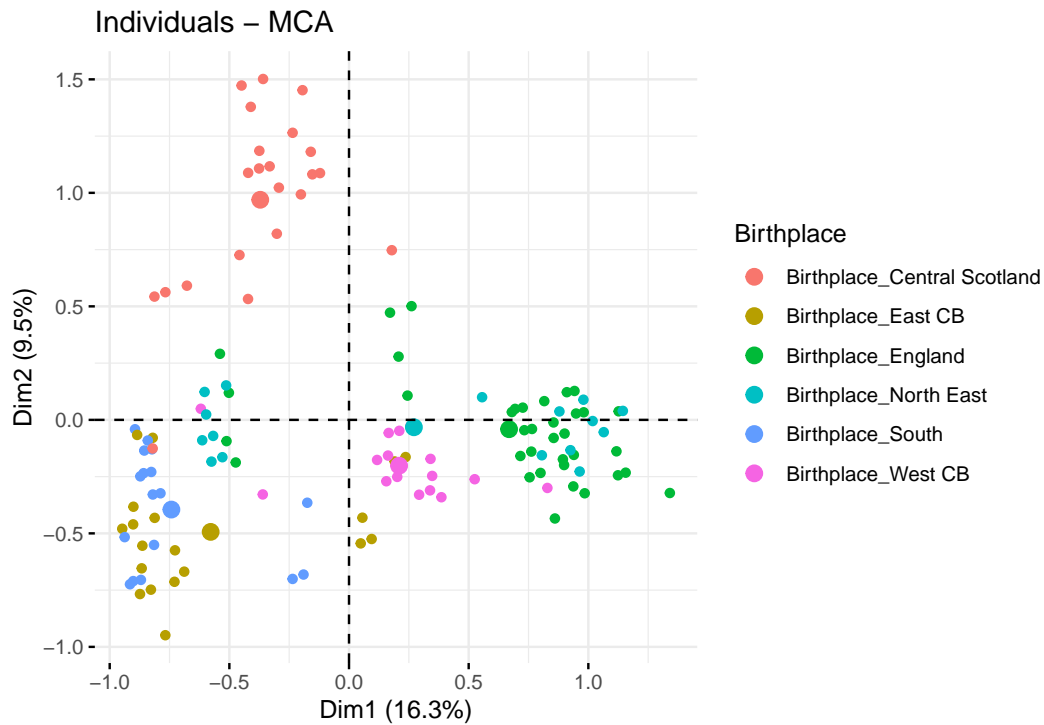
Figure 7.13: MCA individuals plot for predictor 'Birthplace'

Examining the plot, the patterning is somewhat less distinct than the previous plots analysed, though certain trends are still observable. This is to be expected, given the MCA has chosen to cluster the writers by political factors in particular, and thus birthplace is inevitably mixed into the data more evenly. Nonetheless, Figure 7.13 still indicates a certain clustering of birthplaces within the political groups, suggesting the role of familial and kinship ties in forming the parties within the Scottish parliament. Social connections stemming from marriage and lineage, as well as landowning interests across similar geographical areas, could accordingly create regional areas of shared political interest, that manifested in geopolitical alliances within the parliamentary scene. For instance, considering the small group of Episcopalian, tactically-Jacobite, Court politicians who have been identified as occupying the space in the top-left quadrant, it seems they were bound not just by religious and political allegiances, but also birthplace. They were all born in 'Central' Scotland - this demarcates the counties of Perthshire, Stirlingshire, Clackmannanshire, Fife and Kinross. This might highlight their locally-rooted kinship connections - writers who demonstrate a similar portfolio of characteristics and political motivations were also connected at a deeper level by their family associations. While tensions could easily break out between neighbouring estates or contended claims to land, it was desirable to maintain a level of congeniality between associated families and properties. Such factors may have led them to form a social *and* linguistic unit of their own, that differentiated them from the larger groups of which they held membership.

However, rather unexpectedly, 'England' is clustered on the far right of Dimension 1, closest to the space of highest Scots probabilities. Yet, we would naturally predict

that authors born in England[10] would not have acquired written Scots variants in their repertoire to the same degree as their Scottish counterparts. This does reflect interesting parallels with the first brms model (Section 7.2.3), in which 'England' for both *Address* and *Location* was associated with a slight increase in predicted Scots usage. *Birthplace* did not affect probabilities of Scots in that model, but based off the results here, a similar process seems to be ongoing across all three geographical factors. This would seem to contradict earlier findings, such as Aitken's (1997) analysis of writing produced in the Older Scots period. He found the most heavily anglicised documents almost always originated from Scots based in England, even when writing to fellow Scots, indicating the strong influence of their surroundings. Cruickshank's (2012) analysis of Lord Fife similarly indicated heightened anglicisation when he was based in London, though neither analysis considered birthplace itself.

However, as the previous four biplots have already made clear, this patterning might only be part of a story involving other factors. Each of these can contribute complementary or additional influences. Furthermore, fully interpreting the strength of this predictor requires detailed knowledge of the social and educational background of the authors, something that is not always accessible even when analysing the high-ranking noblemen of Scottish society. During the eighteenth century many leading families employed a private tutor to oversee their children's education rather than sending them to a local grammar school (Auer, 2015: 136), which may have introduced vernacular variants in their writing style. Moreover, family estates could be relatively self-contained and enclosed from the surrounding area, potentially minimising direct contact with local speech. Finally, the few authors in the corpus who were born in England all moved to Scotland early on. The Duke of Atholl for instance was born in Lancashire to a Scottish family, but moved to Scotland at a young age, and was actively involved in military and anti-Covenanting activities within Scotland by the time he was eighteen (Young, 2004b).

Examining Figure 7.13 further, it appears the 'North East' is also generally associated with a higher probability of Scots use (though this patterning is not absolute). This follows along more expected lines - previous historical analyses have found peripheral areas such as the north of Scotland to show slower propensity for change toward the incoming standard (Meurman-Solin, 1993), and even today, the North East continues to constitute a recognisable dialect area in which varieties of 'Doric' are still regularly spoken (Smith, 2001, 2002; Millar, 2007; Leslie, 2020, 2021). The location's increased distance from the administrative capital of Edinburgh may have enabled local forms and features to persist for longer, compared to those based near urban concentrations along the Central Belt. Authors born in these areas could thus have had less exposure to incoming anglicised variants, as well as greater familiarity with local, vernacular variants through their correspondence to fellow land-owners.

The plot appears to reflect this generalisation, given 'South' and 'East CB(Central Belt)' cluster in the bottom left quadrant - the area of associated with the lowest probabilities of Scots use. For authors born in these locations, the anglicising

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[10]The few authors included who were born in England were from ruling Scottish families, and moreover moved back to Scotland at a young age.

influence of print and administration, and interaction with Scottish Standard English which was emerging in Edinburgh (Jones, 1997a; Dossena, 2005: 14-19), may have encouraged greater adoption of anglicised variants. This cluster also comprises almost entirely of the Squadrone members, who represented a collection of politicians closely tied by marriage or kinship (Ferguson, 1977: 188, 216-218; Riley, 1978: 115-118; Scott, 1981: 279) and who exercised considerable influence in East Lothian and the Border shires (Macinnes, 2007: 296, 264). Their place of birth may have gone some way to forging links with neighbouring landed families, forming social connections that flowed through to their correspondence, and possibly even to their written practices.

Birthplace therefore adds an extra layer of nuance to the picture, highlighting possible geographic locations in Scotland (or indeed outwith the country) that resisted the anglicisation trend for longer, but also suggests the interconnected nature of the political groupings within the Scottish parliament. Birthplace is clearly tied up within the larger political groupings of the parliament, but also determined them to a considerable extent in the first place, and Scots use has related though not parallel interactions with both factors in consequence. These writers' political affiliations often ran along social lines of allegiance that were forged in the place of their birth, and this might in turn contribute to shared a linguistic practice or repertoire that possibly stemmed from pre-Union days, but became heightened and strengthened during these debates as the VNC plot in Chapter 6 has already inferred. Importantly however, these practices could develop in converse ways - leading to the highly-anglicised register of the Squadrone families for instance, or the slightly-heightened probabilities of Scots observed among Episcopalians based in Central Scotland. A particular advantage to utilising the bidimensional space to explore individual factors, is that we can acquire this layered and interlinked picture of the data, slowly accumulating associations whereby the intricate nature of the historical time period, and the actors operating within it, are gradually brought to light.

So far every factor analysed has demonstrated a clear clustering across the dimensional space, and these map in interesting and insightful ways onto the predicted probabilities of Scots. Recall however that not all predictors demonstrated a strong relationship with Dimension 1 or Dimension 2, as shown in the correlations plot (Figure 7.5). *Address* and *Location* were spaced in the middle of biplot, suggesting a weak relationship to either dimension, and *Relationship* was located by the origin, suggesting it is relatively unimportant to the interpretation of the data (Kassambara, 2017). To demonstrate how this appears within the dimensional space, the patterning for *Address* and *Relationship* are shown in Figures 7.14 and 7.15 below.
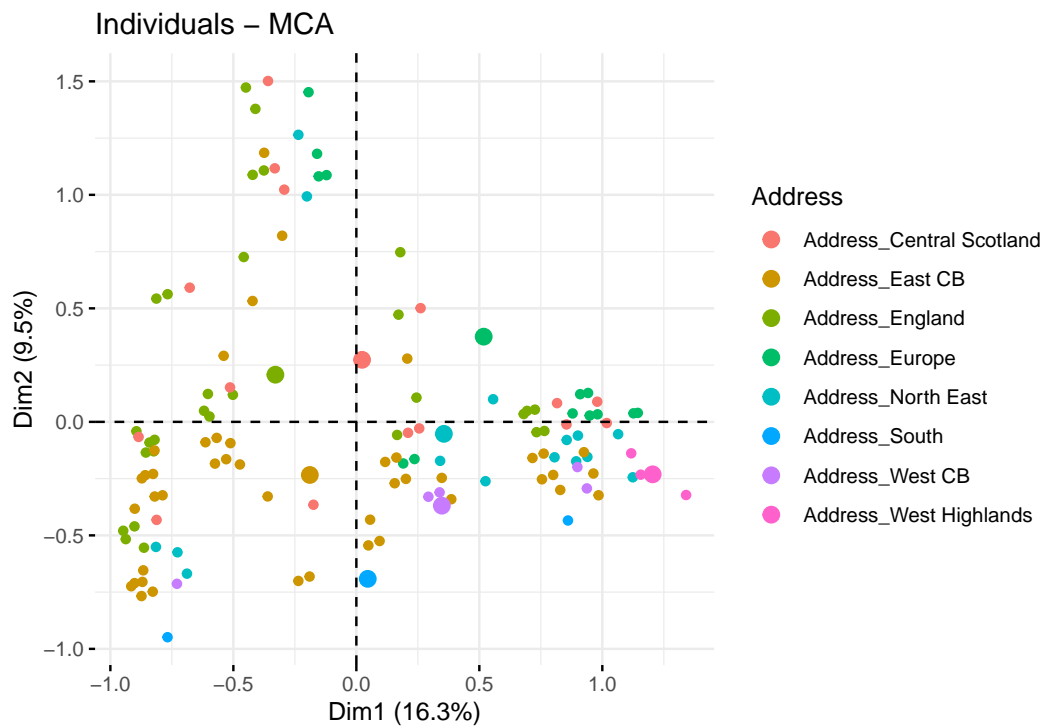
Figure 7.14: MCA individuals plot for predictor 'Address'
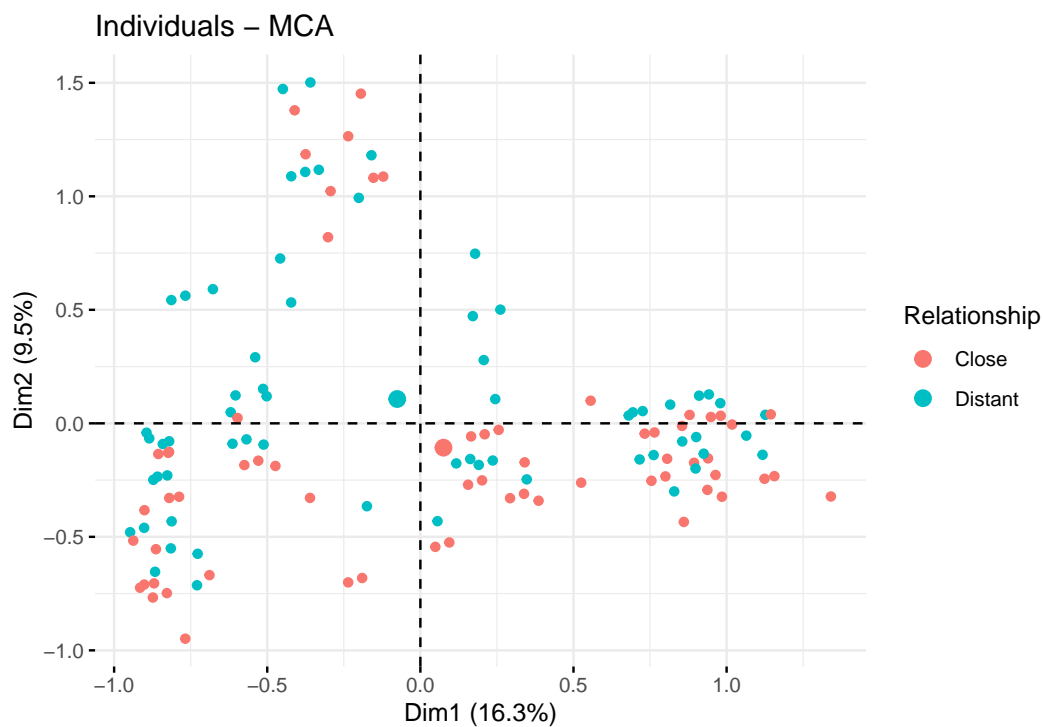
Figure 7.15: MCA individuals plot for predictor 'Relationship'

In both cases the different predictor values are scattered quite evenly around the bi-dimensional space, and the clear clusters observed in the earlier graphs are not present. Their wide dispersal suggests these levels are well mixed into the data,

which we might expect. The same writer in the corpus could be represented by multiple values within *Address* or *Relationship* - especially if their social network comprised of several correspondents located at various addresses, who represented different relationships. As the writers are clustered according to political factors, *Address* and *Relationship* will be scattered across them, rather than localising to neat, well-defined locations in the variation space. This does not mean these factors might not explain some of the variation in the data, indeed their relevance in the first two models run on the data suggests they merit ongoing exploration, to determine whether they pattern along similar lines to previous analyses (c.f Meurman-Solin, 1993, 2000), or perhaps indicate new geographical patterns that were emerging.

This patterning does seem counter-intuitive to the findings of the first brms model, as well as the initial findings of the downsampled random forest, in which *Location*, *Address* and *Relationship* were the only or main effects found to be important in influencing predicted Scots usage. As aforementioned, one of the subsequent MCA dimensions might better capture these factors, and accordingly the next eight dimensions were checked. However, recall that the first two dimensions capture the greatest percentage of variation, with each subsequent dimension representing a diminished amount. Accordingly, any observed patterning tends to be very weak, less distinct, and less generalisable across the corpus, and this was indeed the case. Rather, such factors are better suited a micro-analysis that can explore their intricate patterning on an individual level, accompanied by detailed background information and encompassing related information such as topic or date when the letter was written - important considerations in determining the possible effect of *Relationship* for instance. While geographical factors are not explored in the micro-analysis, given they did not come through as important for the individuals selected, Chapter 9 does consider the role of *Relationship*. Again, this does not negate the possible influence of locational factors, but perhaps a different approach utilising a social network approach for instance, is necessary. For various reasons a network analysis was not undertaken here (see Chapter 4, Section 4.1.2 for further explanation), but this could be a valuable direction for future analyses considering these factors.

Following the insights gained from this analysis, a second MCA model was then run on the full dataset, this time including Ministers and Political Others. The amount of variation captured was very similar (25.1%), although Dimension 1 and 2 differed by only one percentage point (13.1% and 12% respectively), suggesting less variation could be captured in a single dimension. The conditional effects also reflected less distinct or clustered probabilities of Scots use, rather these stretched more broadly across the variation space. Exploring the individual factors within this space likewise highlighted greater variability across the socio-political groups, suggesting that trends within the corpus were considerably weakened as a result of the increased 'noise' in the dataset. The resulting biplot for 'Profession', however, found the ministers and politicians to be largely distinct from the politicians, which is perhaps expected given they do not form the same population demographic. Thus, it seems they are not predicted to behave similarly to the politicians, and as a result, their presence introduced much greater variability into the dataset, which complicated the ability to analyse patterns in the data. Rather, this indicates that the ministers and others are perhaps best analysed as a group on their own, and accordingly, this model will not be explored in more detail here (to see the model

outputs, see Appendix A.10). This does however suggest that the politicians formed a Community of Practice of their own, as one socially and linguistically distinct from other elite or well-educated writers active at the time of the Union, even when these latter groups had some stake in the Union. This possibility was alluded to in Chapter 4, Section 4.1.2, and the quantitative results found here appear to support this. We will return to the behaviour of the ministers and compare this with the politicians, specifically by examining a representative from each group and exploring their linguistic behaviour in the micro-analysis of Chapter 9.

Nonetheless, through a combination of MCA and brms, the outputs produced here provide an alternative and insightful glance into the role of political factors in heightening or reducing the probability of Scots usage - a role that was not identified or accessible through the first Bayesian regression model, nor through the random forest. We have been able to identify where Scots probabilities are highest within the bidimensional space, and thus which characteristics would make an eighteenth-century Scottish politician *more likely* to use Scots features in their writing. This has granted a more nuanced, exploratory overview of the data and the complex processes operating during this time period.

7.5   Summary

This chapter has sought to take a First Wave, macrosocial and exploratory approach to identifying the factors influencing Scots use within the corpus, comparing writers in aggregate through pre-defined sociolinguistic categories to determine their effect on variation observed. The linguistic behaviour of these writers has already been shown to pattern differently during the key Union years in Chapter 6, and by utilising a number of different techniques in tandem, this analysis has introduced multiple perspectives into this variation. Plausible influences both from political as well as locational factors have been presented, with the former suggesting a promising link in particular. Moreover, by applying an exploratory and multi-model approach, different trends within the data have been highlighted as a result. This analysis has identified a range of values interweaving with linguistic choices in this corpus, rather than seeking a single predictor to explain what encouraged Scots usage. This seems appropriate and historically intuitive, given the complexities of this historical time period previously highlighted in Chapter 2, and the transitional nature of written Scots by 1700, as discussed in Chapter 3.

Accordingly, the patterning of results across the three models presented here do not always align. The importance of locational factors was identified both by the random forest and the first Bayesian regression model, while the combined MCA and brms model highlighted the plausible influence of a multilayered, politico-religious group identity on probabilities of written Scots use. Considering the reduced dimensionality and the tightly-circumscribed nature of the dataset used in the last model, these results might reflect a more nuanced and fine-grained distinction that becomes more salient when we only consider politicians directly involved in the Scottish parliament. Recall that the random forest and full regression model contained data from the

entire dataset, thus geographical factors might have played a greater role when we include a wider range of historical actors, such as ministers and writers outwith the parliament. In that regard, the final analysis might capture more adequately the intricacies and complexities of this period in its rightful historical setting. There were numerous pressures operating on this group of historical actors, both in their role as politicians and as Scotland's aspiring elite, and the picture we have been able to gradually construct reflects that process. Thus, the diverse and dynamic nature of this time period suggests that a straightforward answer to the question of which extralinguistic factors influence the probability of choosing Scots features is not appropriate. Rather, it seems a complex combination of identities and goals could have played the ultimate role in guiding linguistic choices.

In considering whether political or ideological affiliations played a role in encouraging written Scots use, the analysis has highlighted the mosaic composition of historical identity in early eighteenth-century Scotland, within which political factors including party, religious affiliation and Jacobite ambitions *do* seem to have influenced language choice. Of course, quantitative statistical methods naturally provide broad oversights across a population at large, rather than nuanced insights into individuals, thus these patterns might not hold for every writer in the corpus. This by no means discredits the findings, rather, it offers a comprehensive understanding of the conditioning factors operating on a community of writers and their choice to use Scots or anglicised variants in general. The next two chapters complement this analysis, exploring these patterns in a more fine-grained manner. The following chapter examines how the individual features comprising 'Scots' pattern across the corpus and across individual writers, while Chapter 9 explores four individuals and their written behaviour, utilising Second and Third Wave perspectives into audience-focused and stylistic motivations to consider how they might influence Scots use. To understand whether these individuals might be sensitive to broader, macro-social categories or influences requires an initial statistical exploration in the first place and accordingly, this chapter has provided both waymarkers for plausible conditioning effects, but also an overview of the unique, complicated and intricate nature of written Scots in the early eighteenth century.

Chapter 8

Eighteenth-Century Scots Features

The macro-analysis indicated the ways in which Scots patterned across the corpus as a whole, painting a picture of the general contours characterising the linguistic landscape when it came to Scots use among politically-active writers. This provided a birds-eye view of the pressures and influences operating at large across this language community. However, the statistical power of a quantitative analysis is obtained at the expense of individual detail, given that these probabilities are based off features collated into a single category: 'Scots'. It was unable to indicate whether Scots frequencies were being driven largely by a single or small number of features and if so, whether these were mostly grammatical features that had not yet attracted overt attention, for instance. It is also currently unclear whether individual features are patterning differently across groups or individuals, or how the features compare to one another. In order to understand how Scots patterns within the corpus and across its writers, a bottom-up, micro-analysis focusing on individual features and authors is needed.

Furthermore, as Chapter 3 has made clear, the early eighteenth century is an understudied period in Scots history, and thus awareness of how written Scots manifested in elite writings of this time is limited. Previous research has focused largely on the latter half of the century, utilising resources such as the orthoepist grammars to identify and measure Scots (c.f. Jones, 1995; Dossena, 2005; Cruickshank, 2012, 2017, among others). A large-scale examination focusing on written features derived from phonological, orthographic and lexical differences between Scots and southern Standard English, and the extent to which they had survived in eighteenth-century correspondence, is still lacking in historical Scots research. This has been recognised in previous scholarship; already in 1971 Aitken highlighted the possibility of numerically studying the habits of individuals, identifying which spelling choices were highly consistent, indicating strong preference for that feature (1971: 185). This chapter will explore these and related considerations in more detail, and thus seeks to answer Research Question 3, namely: how do written Scots features pattern across the corpus and individual writers in terms of frequency and range? By quantifying the frequencies of a range of Scots variables, this type-token analysis can indicate the persistence, specialisation or gradual diminution of particular features during the early eighteenth century, across individuals, groups of writers, or elite

society at large. This provides a window into *what* written Scots looked like at this time, a key interest for this research alongside the possible indexical associations these features may have acquired. Accordingly, the proportions of the features are explored in the following sections, firstly in aggregate, with a key focus on their prevalence within the corpus as a whole, before individual patterns of usage are presented across the writers under investigation.

8.1 Overall Corpus Counts

A glance into the proportions of Scots features within the Union subcorpus of POLITECS can illuminate how these features compare to one another. Accordingly, all occurrences of Scots features and their anglicised equivalents were extracted from the corpus, compiled and uploaded to R, and plotted using **ggplot2** (Wickham, 2016). The output is shown in Figure 8.1 below. To aid interpretation, only the proportions of Scots features, relative to the total feature count (i.e. Scots + English) are shown, as the inclusion of the anglicised equivalents vastly dwarfs the (very low) levels of Scots, hindering a clear visualisation of differences between features.
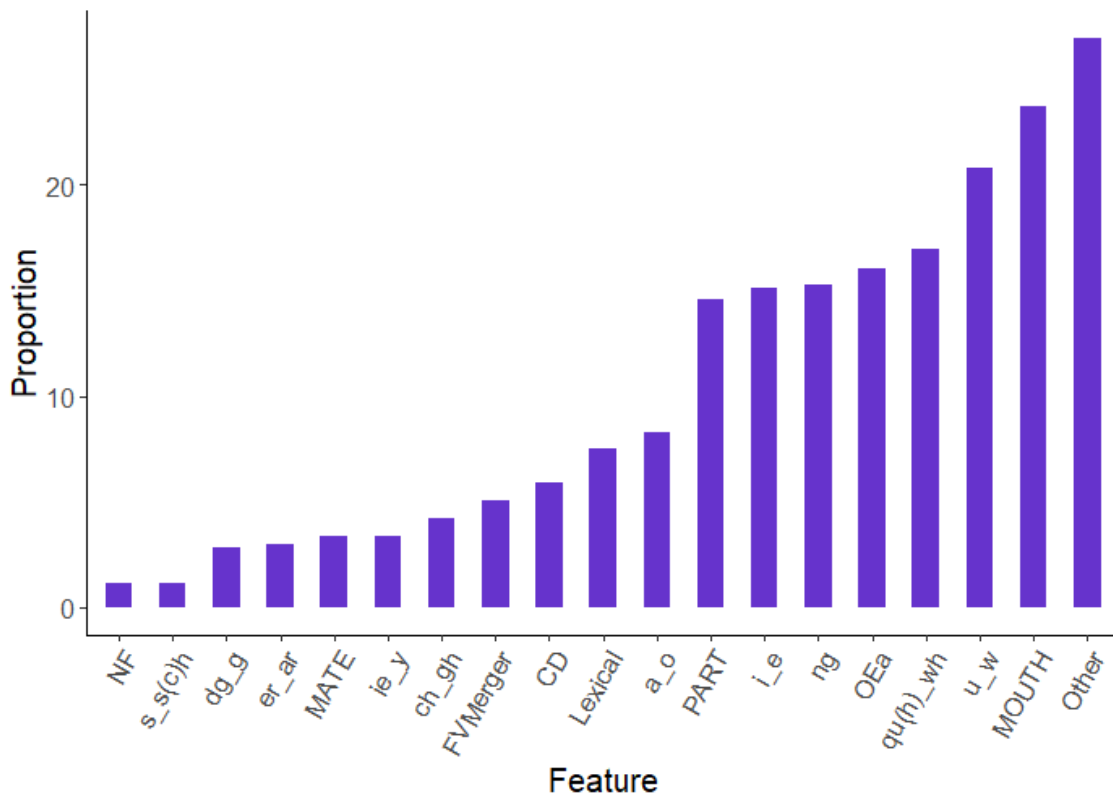
Figure 8.1: Relative proportions of all Scots variants within corpus

Examining Figure 8.1, it is clear that the features are not all patterning similarly or even somewhat similarly. Rather, there is a rather steady increase from variants in very low levels, such as Northern Fronting and the Scots sibilants, to those in rather higher proportions, such as the 'Other' category and words belonging to the MOUTH lexical set. None of these features occur in very high proportions

relative to their anglicised equivalents, even the top category ('Other') only reaches a total of 26% - i.e. 26% of the 'Other' category is realised with the Scots variant. The authors are clearly highly anglicised overall - this was already identified in the quantitative analysis of the previous chapter. Figure 8.1 also suggests that some of the most salient or obvious differences between Scots and southern English have retreated considerably from the writings of these authors. Northern Fronting, the sibilant interchange, the Front Vowel Merger and the use of <ch> are attested at five percent or less in the corpus. Concurrently, features that were shared with various non-standard English dialects (outside of northern areas), or are somewhat less definitively circumscribed to Scots, tend to rank higher, such as the use of <u> for <w> or <u> spellings for the MOUTH lexical set, as well as the use of <i> for <e>. Considering the very similar frequencies of <u> for <w> and MOUTH, this might also suggest that these categories were merged by this point, in which <u> spellings in the MOUTH set no longer represented a phonological distinction necessarily, but rather reflected a general orthographic tendency to represent <w> with <u> in applicable lexical sets.

Nonetheless, the trends outlined here again point to the highly anglicised nature of the politicians' writings, and perhaps the influence of their status, upbringing and contacts with both Scottish and English elite circles. These factors arguably encouraged use of the emerging, 'polite' standard, leading these writers to pay more attention to their writing choices, in which salient or obvious Scots features would be targets for anglicisation. This would explain the rather low proportions of Scots overall, as well as its persistence mostly as variants that were less distinct and clearly 'Scots'. However, this observation does not hold for all features included in the analysis. Use of <qu(h)> and spelling variants linked to Old English [ā] are prevalent in higher proportions, despite their distinct nature. Perhaps they had not yet been recognised as 'Scots' or 'non-standard', or plausibly other factors enabled their continuation, such as their use in abbreviated form through which they could persist as an epistolary convention. Indeed, the latter observation has been identified in the case of <qu(h)> (van Eyndhoven, forthcoming). Furthermore, while these writers are highly anglicised overall as would be expected, certain Scots variants still comprise between fifteen to twenty five percent of the variable occurrence, a non-negligible amount. Chapter 3 highlighted the considerable changes Scots and its status had undergone, but this trend clearly did not apply as a broad, sweeping brush across the written language overall.

The behaviour of these variants also provides additional support for the methodological approach of this analysis, which involves exploring Scots through multiple features indicative of its use, rather than focusing on an individual spelling or variant. Examining a single feature, such as Northern Fronting for example, would have produced a very different picture of the persistence and patterning of Scots within elite personal writing during this time period. Considering the heavily reduced scope of written Scots by the early eighteenth century, it seems plausible that the use of individual features had become more idiosyncratic, and thus any one feature cannot provide a comprehensive understanding of 'Scots' use on its own. Instead, the inclusion of multiple features enables a more extensive, holistic approach, and their heterogeneous behaviour identified in Figure 8.1 attests to the value of this method. However, it is not yet clear whether *all* writers were using these variants in the same

proportions, or whether groups of writers shared a similar range of features within their repertoire, suggesting they pattern in specific or predictable ways across lexical, orthographic and orthographic-cum-phonological variables. Nor can the feature proportions in aggregate indicate whether there were certain 'baseline' features that all the writers used, or highlight possible patterns of co-variation, depending on how anglicised or conservative the writer might be. To answer these questions and determine how 'consistent' the politicians and clergymen are compared to one another, a feature analysis across individual authors is needed.

8.2 Features across Writers

Accordingly, the Scots proportions of each feature were calculated by author, and plotted in R using ggplot2, represented in Figure 8.2 below. Note that the relative Scots proportions are shown with English excluded, as once again removing the English proportions from the visualisation (but not from the calculation) vastly improves intelligibility and comprehension. The research focus for this section is not whether Scots or southern English features were preferred across authors, as this has already been explored in Chapter 7. Rather, it is of interest *which* written Scots features these writers were using and to what degree. As will be explored in more detail in Chapter 9, it seems plausible that most politicians were aware of the incoming standard, but their use would differ depending on the recipient, topic, and stylistic or socio-political goals, for which they might utilise different Scots variables in the process. Recognising the extent or limits of their linguistic repertoire will thus also assist in exploring patterns of Scots use in the following chapter. Figure 8.2 shows the proportions of each variant, which have been converted to a percentage out of each author's total Scots usage. The names of these different categories are the same as those given in the methodology chapter (see Section 5.6), and the authors are listed along the y-axis below. All authors and all variants were included in the plot.
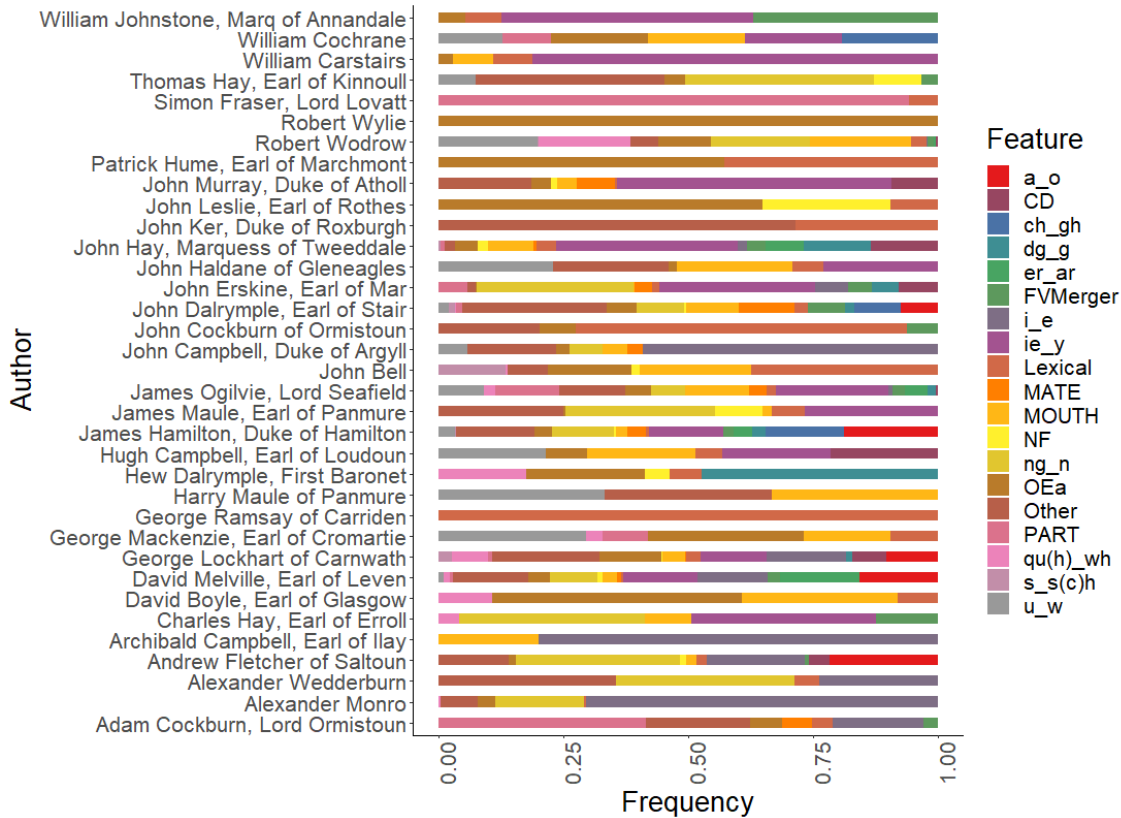
Figure 8.2: Proportions of all Scots variants across individual writers

At first glance, the patterning of variants seems to be highly individualised across the authors in the corpus, which is not surprising given the different recipients, volume of correspondence and topics they discuss. A higher word count for instance naturally provides more opportunities for variants to occur, while fewer letters or lower word-counts restrict the possibility for range in variability. Nonetheless, upon closer inspection there appear to be a number of 'regular' patterns in the data, including features shared by most writers regardless of word count. The 'Other' category and <ie> occur consistently across a majority of writers, whilst features such as Northern Fronting and the sibilant interchange are disfavoured across almost all figures examined here. In aggregate their behaviour reflects the overall trends depicted in Figure 8.1 above, perhaps unsurprisingly. However, the value of exploring individuals becomes clearer if we consider some of the lower or higher-ranking features that pattern less consistently. For example <dg> demonstrates very low or negligible frequencies across most authors, except in the case of Hew Dalrymple where it forms his highest ranking Scots feature. On the other side of the scale, <qu(h)> is only used by a relatively small number of writers, despite being one of the higher-ranked variants in the corpus overall. However, those who do use the variant do tend to use <qu(h)> in considerable proportions, which suggests they were highly consistent in their use of <qu(h)> over <wh> (see Appendix A.11.2 for relative counts), causing the higher frequency of the variant overall.

When it comes to the categories that are most frequent, these are plausibly driven by the wide range of words they incorporate. For instance the highest-ranking category 'Other' consistently occurs as the preferred variant within most of the writers.

It includes a mixture of individual, Scots-specific spellings representing particular orthographic or phonological distinctions, as discussed in Chapter 5, Section 5.6. The fact that it occurs as the preferred Scots variant within the correspondence of most of these authors might account for its position as the most frequent Scots feature within the corpus at large, as identified earlier in Figure 8.1. It is worth considering why this particular category, with its miscellaneous set of features, ranks so highly and consistently within the corpus. Examining the words included in this category (see Appendix A.6 for a full list), it is very likely that the feature 'ane' is driving these high frequencies, along with other high-frequency words like *writt*, 'write', *wrot(t)*, 'wrote' weel, 'well' and wreat, 'write'. *Ane* was included in the other category given it seemed to fall somewhere between a lexical and phonological variant. While some writers followed English phonological norms in alternating between 'a' and 'an', others did not. Aitken (1971: 27-28) notes that the practice of writing the indefinite article *ane* before consonants as well as before vowels first became common in the second half of the fifteenth century, and by the sixteenth century most writers strongly favoured *ane*, though not to the complete exclusion of a. Others varied freely, or imitated English usage of 'a/an' before consonants and vowels.

Sporadic incidences of *ane* before consonants continue to occur in Scottish official and legal writings down to the eighteenth century (see also MacQueen (1957: 397)) and, as the following chapter will make clear, correspondence as well. The feature thus became a conventional and 'unphonetic' or 'artificial' symbol for whatever form of the indefinite article the context required. Yet as *ane* can also alternate with 'one', in which it arguably represents a phonological distinction, it is not wholly a lexical feature either. It thus could not easily be allocated to a singular category as its exact nature was difficult to pinpoint. This lead to its inclusion in 'Other', and its function as a highly-frequent grammatical feature, that was frequently preferred by these writers, likely accounts for the nature of this category observed both in aggregate and across these writers. Additionally, the words *writt*, 'write', *wrot(t)*, 'wrote' and *wreat*, 'write' would likely have occurred in a large proportion of all the letters sent, in epistolary constructions such as apologies for the delay in writing, or asking whether the recipient received previous letters written. This again would have contributed to the highly frequent and consistent nature of the Other category in the corpus. Moreover, these features might not yet have attracted the attention of writers anglicising their work, or perhaps were not recognised as non-standard features, enabling their prevalence in the corpus.

Likewise, the Lexical category is another set containing multiple items, and indeed lexical features tend to occur quite consistently across most writers, albeit in relatively low quantities. Furthermore, considering the legal and ecclesiastical arguments taking place during the Union debates, the need for Scots-specific lexis to describe aspects of Scots law (Kopaczyk, 2013b), as well as feudal rights and issues relating to traditional ways of life involving agriculture and trade (Millar, 2004), likely played a significant role in determining the widespread occurrence of lexical features. These features were difficult to eliminate from writing entirely, given that an appropriate and accurate English equivalent did not always exist. Indeed, looking at a writer in the corpus who demonstrates the least variation - George Ramsay of Carriden - it is notable that he *only* uses lexical items. Ramsay was born in Scotland, but

became a captain of the Anglo-Dutch brigade in the Netherlands at a young age (Childs, 2004). This experience may reduced his contact with written Scots features, preventing him from adopting the orthographic features still in circulation at this time. Yet when it comes to lexical items these seem to have been irreplaceable for him, enabling their continuation.

Similarly, John Ker, Duke of Roxburghe only makes use of lexical items and features from the 'Other' category. In this instance it is unclear why Roxburghe is so anglicised, as he was not geographically mobile to the extent that Ramsay was. However, Roxburghe was part of the Squadrone Volante, and recalling the findings of the previous chapter, politicians from this party were found to be highly anglicised in general. Roxburghe, as a central member, might be leading or following the anglicised style of the Squadrone. Concurrently, the vast majority of his Scots features have been anglicised, with the exception of lexical items which perhaps he could not avoid. Lexical items may thus have been some of the last features to disappear from elite Scots correspondence at the turn of the century, or perhaps did not disappear entirely. Given their non-transferable nature as words denoting a particularly Scottish concept, institution or cultural tradition bound within the fabric of everyday life, they may have remained indispensable to everyday Scottish communication.

Robert Wylie on the other hand *only* uses Scots spelling variants belonging to the Old English [ɑː] category, though his low word count (1,839 words) might partially explain this. This category occurs within the writings of most authors, and in notable proportions for some, such as Patrick Hume, Earl of Marchmont. Marchmont's Scots use is restricted to Old English [ɑː], but also lexical items, suggesting that they might constitute part of a 'baseline' of Scots features that most authors possessed and maintained in their writings. Considering that OE [ɑː] variants essentially stem from a large-scale phonological phenomenon that manifested in a number of different spelling variations, the prevalence of it in personal writing is perhaps not surprising. Again, like 'Other' and Lexical items, it does not form a single target, leading it to be more dispersed within the orthographic system and perhaps thereby able to persist in elite writing. This cannot be the case for another prevalent feature however; <ng> was only found in specific French loanwords (e.g.*reign, align, design*), yet it occurs with considerable frequency across a number of writers. However, the words 'reign', 'align' and 'design' were all important keywords relating to the Union debates, this plausibly encouraged their presence in the corpus, and thus the frequent occurrence of <ng> overall.

The previous plot (Figure 8.1) also indicated that MOUTH words and the <u> - <w> category occurred with greater frequency within the corpus. Examining the writers in Figure 8.2, it is not the case that both variants are widely spread across all these individuals. They are certainly not rare, but they are not found with the consistency of <ie> or 'Other', for example. Rather, their overall frequency is being driven by a few writers in particular, who tend to use these features quite consistently. Interestingly, these two variants frequently occur *together* within the same author, as evident in William Cochrane, Robert Wodrow, John Haldane and Harry Maule. It seems writers who used <u> spellings in the MOUTH lexical set also tended to use <u> over <w> in applicable words, and strikingly, almost

always with very similar proportions. This indicates that these categories are in fact behaving similarly, indeed there is no evidence for a specific pattern associated with MOUTH. This suggests that by this point in time, <u> spellings in the MOUTH set were part of a wider orthographic practice of representing <w> with <u>, rather than reflecting a phonological distinction (i.e. the monophthong /uː/). This would also explain why the two categories are attested with almost equal frequencies in Figure 8.1, given they are essentially conflated into one category by this point.

Other features seem to be more restricted in their range, localised to a specific number of writers in particular. This includes the category <i> - <e> (represented by dark grey), which clusters among writers closest to the x-axis, such as Adam Cockburn, Alexander Wedderburn, the brothers John and Archibald Campbell, John Erskine and George Lockhart. They reflect a curious mixture of individuals, not bound by discernible characteristics such as birthplace, status, political ideals or religious adherence, which suggests the use of <i> - <e> may be largely idiosyncratic. Similarly, the use of <quh> for <wh> is attested across a range of different figures, occurring both among clergymen such as Robert Wodrow, Alexander Monro, and John Bell, as well as the politicians Hew Dalrymple, George Lockhart, David Melville, David Boyle and Charles Hay. Their ecclesiastical and legal training may have plausibly encouraged the persistence of this feature in their writing, as a result of their exposure to archaic and formulaic language styles.

Yet, most politicians in the corpus had legal training, so this alone cannot explain its patterning. Nor does the feature's patterning suggest generational change, as the politicians using <quh> vary in age, and some are among the younger members of parliament (such as Lockhart and Hay). It seems the survival and continuation of certain Scots features was on an individual rather than deterministic basis, for reasons that are not immediately transparent, though a close-up micro-analysis might elucidate more insight as Chapter 9 will make clear. Some features were clearly more commonplace and in wider circulation during this time, whilst others had become more restricted in range, though not necessarily in use, given the robust preferences some of the authors demonstrate here for variants which their contemporaries lacked. This reflects certain patterns that have been observed in Middle Scots texts at different chronological stages, which tended to adhere fairly regularly to a variant spelling system comprised of the more widespread variants, but conversely there also existed a minority of texts in which less common variants were rather profusely used (Aitken, 1971: 197). Perhaps therefore we are observing a continuation of this trend, in which the variability ingrained within Scots written practice was carried over into the eighteenth century, plausibly transmitted through early educational experiences, and reinforced by writers' familiarity with older texts preserving archaic writing styles, through their interaction with legal or ecclesiastical domains.

The idiosyncratic nature of these features is particularly evident if we consider one of the family-pairs represented in the corpus. Plausibly, family members might behave similarly in constructing their letters if they shared the same upbringing and familial connections, having had exposure to similar written norms. Yet, glancing at James and Harry Maule of Panmure for instance, who were brothers differing by just one year in age, Figure 8.2 indicates they have remarkably different ranges of Scots

variants. Similarly, when we examine the father and son pair, Adam and John Cockburn, they too differ in their range of features. Adam Cockburn (henceforth 'Ormistoun') demonstrates a greater breadth of Scots features than his son John (henceforth 'Cockburn'), with a particular preference for the PART variable, which Cockburn does not use at all. This might suggest that a generational change has taken place, in which the range of variants present in Ormistoun's letters had became targets for anglicisation by the time John was being educated.

Cockburn does however use a much greater proportion of lexical items in his personal correspondence than his father, which might relate to the nature of his correspondence. Cockburn's writing is represented almost entirely by correspondence written to his gardener in the post-Union years.[1] Most letters are concerned with Cockburn's estate, involving agriculture, flora and fauna. These were all semantic fields that tended to preserve Scots features, being linked to traditional ways of life, cultural roots and domestic affairs, as well as specific legal lexis around estate matters and questions of land ownership (Millar, 2003, 2004). It is hardly surprising therefore that Cockburn's use is driven by lexical features. Moreover, it suggests the crucial role of context in the survival or persistence of particular written features within a diachronic analysis. Lexical features aside however, overall Cockburn's writing style has notably shifted toward a more anglicised variety than his father, especially in light of the lower status of his recipient and domestic nature of his letters, which arguably would reduce the need for 'formal' language use and encourage use of the vernacular.

Considering the lowest-frequency features identified in Figure 8.1, such as Northern Fronting, Figure 8.2 suggests these tend to occur in writers with a broad range of variables overall. This implies that those who possessed a certain range of Scots variants within their written repertoire were also more likely to retain other features, albeit in low proportions and frequencies. Perhaps this suggests a more conservative and colloquial written style, though these figures include leading Scottish politicians from across the political spectrum, thus hardly periphery figures at liberty to be more 'colloquial' in their writing. They include Tweeddale, Mar, Stair, Seafield, Hamilton, Carnwath and Leven, all of whom were particularly key figures in the Union debates, as well as in the post-Union discourse following its implementation. As the temporal analysis suggested in Chapter 6, the key Union years, especially prior to 1705, saw heightened levels of Scots. These writers may thus have been sensitive to, as well as constructing, the climate and dialogue surrounding this time period, involving different recipients and letters in which Scots could be variously employed. This in turn generates macro and micro-scale patterns of variation that surfaces as higher degree of variability in these individuals. Arguably, this could be driven by the higher volumes of correspondence representing these authors in the corpus. Yet this is not a categorical condition - Robert Wodrow and John Cockburn for example are some of the highest-ranking authors in terms of word and letter count, yet neither of them are particularly broad in their range of features. This suggests that other factors may have influenced elite writers' range of Scots. To explore this possibility however requires a deeper dive into the specific occurrences

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[1]This was part of the SHS publication material sourced during COVID-19 restrictions, as discussed in Chapter 5, Section 5.3.2.

of Scots in individual writers, and that will accordingly take place in the following Chapter, across four individuals selected from the corpus.

As an overall impression therefore, it seems these authors are highly anglicised, given written Scots features have clearly reduced in frequency. Yet, they have not necessarily diminished in scope, as many of the categories occur consistently across the majority of writers being investigated. While certain features are more common than others, even the lowest-frequency variants, such as the sibilant interchange, Northern Fronting and the Front Vowel Merger, are repeated across more than a single author. Their low occurrence or clustering around particular writers does suggests that these spellings were on their way out of personal writing at this point, and given their distinctive nature in differentiating Scots and northern varieties from southern English, it seems that many of the more 'saliently Scots' features were almost gone by this point in time. Yet these patterns are also highly individualised - John Bell for example still uses the sibilant interchange in non-neglible amounts, and it seems unlikely this derives from the fact he is represented by self-reflective memoirs rather than correspondence. The higher-frequency variants on the other hand, do not appear to have attracted the same degree of robust anglicisation as their counterparts, and these can be seen to form a 'baseline' of written Scots features, at least some of the time.

As aforementioned, perhaps the high degree of variability observed between authors should not be unexpected. Indeed, previous research has suggested that few, if any, Middle Scots scribes were wholly consistent in their spelling habits, with some degree of free variation being the norm in the spelling practices of individuals as well as within the system as a whole (Aitken, 1971: 185 and see also Craigie, 1903: 330; Mühleisen, 1913; Craigie, 1950: 118; Kuipers, 1964: 104 and Bawcutt, 1967: xxiii-xxiv, as cited in Macafee and †Aitken, 2015b: 10). In discussing Middle Scots, Aitken (1971: 183) notes that it would be surprising, given its highly variable spelling system, if any one text or author proved to possess a completely consistent writing practice, with a fixed spelling system. Authors were thus likely to vary across and within individual texts for different variables of interest, and a similar story might play out here. He goes on to claim that 'it would be highly improbable, in view of the very large number of different possible combinations within the system as a whole, that any two writers should coincide over the whole range of their spelling habits', but rather, given their equal access to the variant system, each 'made his own personal and idiosyncratic selection from the alternatives available to him' (Aitken, 1971: 184-185). This is indeed what we seem to be observing in these results above - no two authors are exactly alike or even similar in their linguistic behaviour. Instead their choices and preferences seem to be largely idiosyncratic, which might derive from this previous norm of free variation established in Middle Scots, except that choices now included anglicised variants alongside multiple Scots options. Accordingly, when we extrapolate forward to the eighteenth century, and examine multiple authors in aggregate, similarly fluctuating and diverse variant patterns could be - and are - observed. Moreover, increased variability was plausibly introduced into the orthographic system by the incoming English variants, and exacerbated by the uneven rate of change or transition of Scots features out of the same system. This suggests a degree of continuity from the Middle Scots to early Modern Scots period, despite the ongoing influence of anglicisation and dramatic

changes to the political and linguistic landscape.

In light of these observed trends, we can perhaps cautiously posit three groupings of variants which align with greater or lesser degrees of anglicisation. The first group is the 'most common' category, and consists mostly of features that were either broad in scope (such as OE [ɑː]), specific in application (i.e. lexical items) or relatively non-distinct features that could continue relatively unnoticed (such as <u> - <w>). The second is a 'middling' group of features that cluster within particular groups of writers but not others, perhaps reflecting generational, stylistic or socio-political factors, such as the PART variable or <qu(h)>. Finally, the third group comprises of the 'least common' features, usually those that were overtly Scots and which had perhaps been recognised as such, becoming targets for anglicisation. This includes features such as <er> - <ar>. These three groupings are represented in Table 8.1 below.

Table 8.1: Proposed categorisation of eighteenth-century Scots features

Most Common	Middling	Least Common
Other	qu(h)	s-s(c)h
MOUTH	MATE	dg-g
u-w	a-o	ch-gh
OEa	PART	CD
ie-y	i-e	FVMerger
Lexical		NF
ng-n		

This provides a plausible summary of early eighteenth-century written Scots features and their status within elite correspondence, bearing in mind that these patterns may only hold for this corpus and this highly-specific group of people. This suggests, however, that 'Scots' did not behave as an amorphous mass in elite personal writing being produced during the early eighteenth century, to be suppressed en masse when the situation called for it. Rather, individual variants had their own histories within this genre and within individuals or groups of individuals writing at this time.

A question that inevitably remains is the interaction between written Scots features and oral practices, particularly given the phonological distinction characterising many of these features. Certainly considering that written Scots did not have a fixed or codified standard and the regional variation present in written Scots down to the present day, it is highly likely that oral practices did influence the written variants being used to some degree across Scottish writers in general. However, the effect of oral practices is most likely observable in lesser-schooled writers, in which Scots or anglicised targets were less readily available to them. Such writers had limited access to pan-regional or national variants, both as a result of a reduced contact with written and epistolary practices, and through reduced literacy, restricting their ability to exchange and read family correspondence – a key site for transmitting stylistic and orthographic features (Tieken-Boon van Ostade, 1996). A higher incidence of features suggestive of orality has been found for instance in Scottish female correspondence throughout the sixteenth-eighteenth centuries (Gough p.c). Until

the end of the eighteenth century female education rarely extended beyond the early school years (Glover, 2011), likely accounting for these observed practices. The politicians and clergymen in the corpus do not fall into this lesser-schooled category. All were highly educated, bar the occasional exception (such as the Earl of Mar). Yet, while Mar possesses a wide range of Scots features in his correspondence, he is not alone in this regard, nor does he make greater use of the phonological categories than other writers. His education was still considerably more extensive than the middling classes and most Scottish women writing at this time.

Accordingly, the correspondence being produced by these writers is unlikely to demonstrate a high degree of orality, though of course the occasional variant may have been included. Their education, highly frequent exchange of news and personal information, and the epistolary nature of these letters would have increased their contact with varying written norms and the careful nature of their correspondence, reducing the likelihood of idiosyncratic variants reflecting the spoken word. It was, however, not unusual for members of the nobility and elite to employ scribes to write their letters, which they dictated to them. In such cases it is plausible that these letters might reflect a higher degree of orality. At the same time, scribes were usually trained writers, working with a particular written form or standard, which did not necessarily immediately reflect the spoken register of their employer. In the case of the features and letters present in this corpus, the effect of a scribe cannot form a contributing factor, as only autograph letters were used, while all letters written by scribes or other hands were discarded. Moreover, as will be argued further in the Chapter 10, the use of Scots features by these writers is unlikely to represent an incomplete mastery of the anglicised standard, in which we might expect writers to incorporate oral practices in their writing. Rather, as this thesis and the micro-analysis in particular will make clear, the use of Scots features indexed political and ideological persuasions, and writers' connections to others within the bounds of these politically-constrained social networks.

The following chapter will thus move the analysis further along the macro-micro scale to the level of the individual writer and letter. The four individuals selected for this analysis were George Lockhart of Carnwath, John Erskine Earl of Mar, John Hay, Marquess of Tweeddale, and the Presbyterian minister Robert Wodrow. Examining Figure 8.2 above, they all demonstrate use of multiple Scots variants - none are limited in their repertoire - but neither do they pattern identically. The politicians in particular possess a wide range of features, but their proportions and preferences differ between them. By examining how these features patterns within specific letters and to different recipients, the status of individual variants, and authors' abilities to utilise them for particular stylistic and communicative purposes, may become clear. These possibilities can only really be explored by homing in on written variation at its inception and construction, within the bounds of a letter, and accordingly Chapter 9 will lower the microscope to the final degree, to focus on the page itself.

Chapter 9

Micro-Analysis

The previous three chapters painted a picture of written Scots use across time, socio-political groups, and features within the corpus. They have each elucidated interesting patterns, providing a window into the uniqueness of the time period, these particular writers and the nature of the language itself when exploring written Scots in eighteenth-century correspondence. While these analyses necessarily took an aggregate approach that focused on frequencies and proportions, a micro-analysis exploring individual differences in linguistic behaviour, can provide a bottom-up, 'worms-eye' (Elspaß, 2007: 4) perspective into the stylistic, indexical and contextual uses of variation. It is not a given that every language user will behave in entirely predictable ways, neatly following First Wave macro-social models, for example. A qualitative perspective can accordingly encompass the complexity and finesse with which writers might utilise the field of variation available to them, by applying the socially-marked and stylistic approach current in Third Wave analyses (Purnell et al., 2009). Locating statistical trends within the social practices and identities of language users enables the heterogeneity frequently evident in correspondence data to reveal the influence of a highly-specific combination of social factors as they apply to the individual (Auer et al., 2015b: 284). Vice-versa, instances of socially and stylistically-moderated variation demonstrated by individuals can be accumulated to build up a picture of their use, and how this might constitute the macro-social patterns identified in broad sociolinguistic studies.

Accordingly, the final analysis chapter of this thesis focuses on four individuals and their intra-writer variation. Specifically, this will examine when, where and how their written Scots patterns across their different recipients, utilising mosaic plots with proportions alongside micro-analyses of individual letters and extracts. Of particular interest will be whether we can observe the same multi-layered, in-group identity being formed within their social network as that identified in the quantitative analysis in Chapter 7. This might suggest whether the associations of Scots with particular constellations of politically and religiously-linked figures were realised or recognised by these writers, especially considering the medium they were writing in. The exchange of news by personal letters often served to strengthen friendships and to affirm relationships of patronage (Raffe, 2022), and sensitivity to group language norms might assist in constructing such convivial networks. Yet writers may also

have sought to project a particular persona that did not necessarily align with their recipients, dependent on their socio-political ambitions. Both Second and Third Wave perspectives are important here - audience, accommodative desires, identity-marking and stylistic moves may all play contributing roles in conditioning possible variation, and their influence will be considered in the following analysis.

A Country, Court and Squadrone commissioner and a clergyman were selected from the corpus.[1] They are, respectively; George Lockhart of Carnwath, John Erskine the Earl of Mar, John Hay the Marquess of Tweeddale and Robert Wodrow. These four writers were chosen because of their sizeable volume of correspondence and considerable network of recipients, each of whom is represented by more than a singular letter. This provides increased scope for intra-writer patterns of variation to be identified, while reducing the effect of unusual behaviour or outliers. These men were also central members of their respective parties or groups; Tweeddale was the leader of the Squadrone Volante, Wodrow was one of the most outspoken clerical figures against the Union, Lockhart very much embodied the Episcopalian, Jacobite wing of the Country party, and Mar was a 'court politician proper' (Ehrenstein, 2015), successfully establishing himself as a major power in Scottish politics during his time in parliament. Interests are also balanced in terms of religious affiliation; Lockhart and Mar were Episcopalian, Tweeddale and Wodrow were Presbyterian, and they represent a range of locations within the Central Belt; Tweeddale was based in the east, in Haddington, Wodrow in the west, near Glasgow, Mar in centre, at Alloa, and Lockhart to the south, in Lanark. Lockhart and Wodrow's correspondence came from the Scottish History Society publications, while Tweeddale and Mar's correspondence was collected as primary manuscript material. A summary of their correspondence and word counts is given below.

Table 9.1: Letter, Word and Variable Counts for Lockhart, Mar, Tweeddale and Wodrow

Author	Count of letters	Word Count	Variable count
George Lockhart	250	56,529	12,844
Earl of Mar	34	20,752	1,965
Marquess of Tweeddale	87	43,170	3,905
Robert Wodrow	137	85,984	7,553

Before individual analysis takes place, the proportions of Scots and anglicised variants within each writer is considered, to provide an overview of their *general* behaviour. Accordingly, these four authors were selected in the search matrix of POLITECS, and all Scots and anglicised variants within the 'Scots_English' dictionary were extracted, exported to csv, compiled and uploaded to R. The output was plotted using **ggplot2** (Wickham, 2016), shown in Figure 9.1 below.

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[1]'Political Other' was ignored due to low word counts.
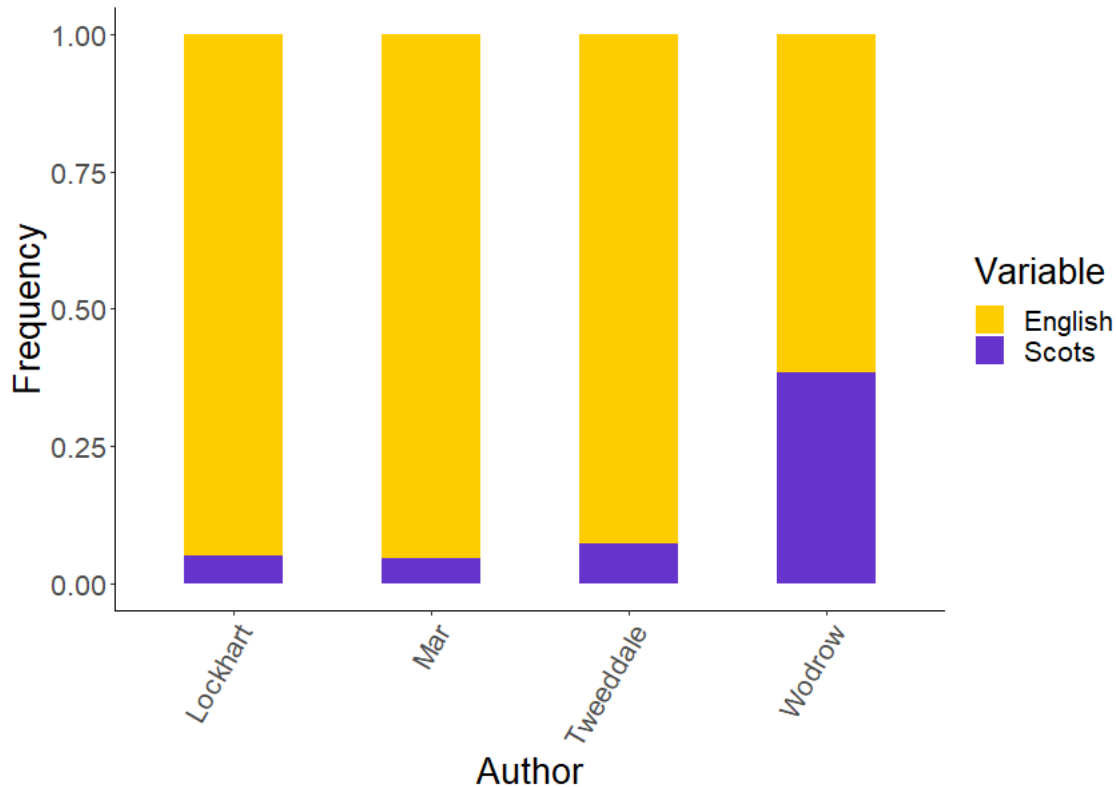
Figure 9.1: Proportions of Scots and anglicised variants across selected writers

Examining Figure 9.1, it is clear the three politicians are highly anglicised; all demonstrate less than ten percent variable Scots features within their correspondence. Wodrow is a glaring exception to this trend, with almost forty percent of all variable written features realised as Scots, which might again point to the distinctive nature of the politicians and clergymen in the corpus, as the second combined MCA and brms model found to be the case (see the end of Section 7.4.1, and Appendix A.10 for details). Out of the three politicians, Tweeddale surprisingly shows the highest proportion of Scots features, which, given he is a Squadrone member, is not supported by the findings of quantitative analysis. Recall that the Squadrone's probability of Scots usage was predicted to be lowest within the corpus overall (depicted in Figure 7.10, Section 7.4). Lockhart and Carnwath demonstrate very similar proportions of Scots (with 5.1% and 4.4% respectively), though considering Lockhart was an Episcopalian-Jacobite member of the Country party, we might expect a greater difference between him and Court politician Mar. While they both represent groups that were found to have higher probabilities of Scots (Mar was an Episcopalian member of the Court party, which was associated with slightly elevated probability levels), the model would still predict Lockhart's Scots use to be higher.

This highlights the difficulties in interpreting descriptive frequencies alone, particularly when examining individuals, given it only provides a very narrow perspective into their linguistic profile. This might not match the writers' ability to utilise features from across the variation space, albeit in low quantities. Taking Lockhart as an example, while his writing is in general highly anglicised, Figure 8.2 in Chapter 8 suggested he was not limited in his *range* of Scots features. Lockhart appears to have had a conventional education for a member of the gentry, acquiring a

sound competency in Latin as well as a reasonable working knowledge of Scots Law. It seems likely therefore that he was exposed to written Scots when acquiring literacy, perhaps enabling his range of Scots features. Moreover, unlike many of his contemporaries, Lockhart did not embark upon a 'Grand Tour' of Europe, and in general never went willingly further afield than England. As a result, he was well-read and intellectually astute, but with perhaps a somewhat narrow mind-set in comparison (Szechi, 2002: 19). This might suggest Lockhart would demonstrate less of a desire to adopt the emerging, pan-national variety appropriate for civic discourse between British and continental intellectuals - contrary to other members of the Scottish elite - preferring Scots options instead. Yet, this explanation does not match the proportions we can observe above. Lockhart was clearly capable of anglicising his writing when required, as a highly literate writer well-versed in various disciplines, but *how* he might use more or less Scots to different recipients remains inaccessible from purely descriptive statistics. Equally, it is not clear for instance whether Wodrow's frequencies are being driven by a categorical preference for certain Scots spellings, or whether a particular recipient encouraged Tweeddale's heightened levels. Their specific behaviour might be more intricate or specialised than what can be captured by collating Scots features and measuring their overall occurrence. To come closer to understanding their behaviour, a detailed, close-up analysis of these writers and their letters is needed, and accordingly, each will now be individually analysed in turn, starting with George Lockhart of Carnwath.

9.1   George Lockhart of Carnwath

George Lockhart of Carnwath (1681?–1731) represents the *Country* party and writes to a large social network, who stemmed from all levels of the social elite, and included Catholics and Protestants, Episcopalians and Presbyterians, Whigs, Tories and Jacobites (Szechi, 2002: 26). Lockhart was inevitably living during a time period in which traditional social structures and alignments were rapidly changing and restructuring, and he could not necessarily afford the outright alienation of opposing elite contacts. Rather, he became a wealthy and economically successful estate manager, interested in agricultural advancement and fondly connected with the most powerful Whig families of post-Revolutionary Britain (Szechi, 1989: xiii). Lockhart utilised these Whig connections to his advantage, though they also exercised a certain influence on him, which may have extended to his linguistic choices. His unique social, political and ideological ambitions probably stemmed from the network he created and maintained throughout his life, and it will be interesting to observe whether Lockhart utilises linguistic features to construct these varying identities within his correspondence, to the very network that developed them in the first place.

However his upbringing almost certainly played a role in his aspirations as well. Lockhart experienced tragedy early on when his father, a successful lawyer from a well-established legal dynasty, was murdered. As a result the eight-year-old heir inherited a very rich estate, but was simultaneously pitched into the volatile political situation of 1689. This may have had quite a decisive role in moulding him, both

in terms of his adherence to the Episcopalian faith, as well as a strong sense of family ties and filial obligations (Szechi, 2002: 16, 25). His uncle and new guardian, Sir John Lockhart of Castlehill, was a firm supporter of the Revolution, and he ensured Lockhart and his siblings were exposed to a thorough grounding in the Presbyterian and Revolution interest. Lockhart's Episcopalian tutor John Gillane was removed, and Lockhart was sent to live with the Presbyterian ducal family of Argyll. Contrary to the intended outcome, Lockhart developed a deep aversion to Presbyterianism and the first Duke of Argyll, although he formed lifelong friendships with his playmates John and Archibald Campbell. These experiences may have contributed to Lockhart's ability and independence from a young age - by 1697 he was already running his own estate (Szechi, 1989: xv), and upon the death of his uncle he personally secured the Episcopalian Sir James Scougall as his tutor, and previous tutor Gillane as his chaplain. This suggests a consistent devotion and allegiance to the church and its members, but also a growing estrangement from the mainstream political (Presbyterian) alignment (Szechi, 1989: xvii; 2002: 17).

Lockhart's ideology was informed by his dedication to the parallel causes of a Jacobite restoration of the deposed Stuart line, and (from 1707) the attainment of an independent Scotland (Szechi, 2011). His political career took off after he was nominated as a Commissioner to negotiate the terms of the Union. Initially reluctant, he was persuaded to accept the role by Fletcher and Hamilton, who suggested he could act as a spy for the opposition, and he did so with enthusiasm and dedication (Szechi, 1989: xviii). Lockhart became an ardent opponent of the Union and Hanoverian Succession, developing an unequivocally hostile stance toward the agreement after his conviction that Scotland had been 'sold out' by a secret deal between the Scottish Revolution interest and the English Whigs. His firm Episcopalian and Jacobite adherence naturally led to his alignment with the Cavalier[2] wing of the Country party, though he became personally attached to its Presbyterian, non-Cavalier leader, the fourth Duke of Hamilton. These twin alliances did not always form an easy coalition, and Lockhart seems to have had occasional misgivings about Hamilton's commitment to the Jacobite cause (Szechi, 1989: xviii). Nonetheless, he remained devoted to Hamilton until his death. Following the passing of the Union, Lockhart joined the British parliament where he continued to lobby for Scottish interests, but after the discovery of his *Memoirs*, which painted a number of his political contemporaries in an unflattering light, he fell out of favour with Scottish noblemen across the political spectrum. Thereafter he dedicated himself to Jacobite plotting, remaining a committed Jacobite until at least 1728.

It seems likely that, had he toed the line and adhered to the Court party platform, Lockhart would have been rewarded politically as well as socially. However, while he appears to have recognised the personal gain at stake in his decisions, Lockhart remained committed to his ideological principles despite the social and political costs they incurred (Szechi, 2002: 40). He was certainly not lacking in social ambition; his efforts had placed the family in the top echelon of Scotland's landed elite in terms of wealth by the 1720s (Szechi, 2011). Moreover, Lockhart's dedication to the Jacobite cause did not blindside him to contemporaries of a different ilk, nor did it destroy

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[2]Recall that this refers to the Jacobite (and naturally Episcopalian) clustering of commissioners within the Country party.

his very strong and cordial bonds with members of the Whig elite, especially Argyll and Ilay. It was thanks to their intervention that Lockhart was frequently saved from arrest, imprisonment and interrogation as a result of his Jacobite dealings (Szechi, 2002: 42). These factors might partially explain his highly-anglicised correspondence; social climbers often demonstrate a greater sensitivity to prestige forms than noble-born authors (Conde-Silvestre and Hernández-Campoy, 2004: 145), while contact and association with social superiors would likely have increased tendencies to use anglicised forms as a mark of respect, especially when those correspondents were English-born, in the case of the Campbell brothers. Nonetheless, despite his social ambitions and connections, Lockhart remained committed to the quasi-national philosophy and dynastically-conceived Scottish nationhood of his fellow Jacobites.

It seems Lockhart played multiple roles simultaneously, much like most historical actors involved in the top levels of Scottish society at this time (Szechi, 2002: 7). Historical identities and ideologies are multilayered constructs, encompassing seemingly contradictory stances into unique subcultures within the broader, political playing field. In many senses he is a microcosm of the complex layering of identities and influences already glimpsed at in the quantitative exploration in Chapter 7, and this intra-writer analysis might further enlighten the multitude of factors contributing to the construction of eighteenth-century political discourse. In summary, Lockhart represents a curious mixture of staunch Scottish patriotism and heightened social ambition - and it may have been the latter driving his anglicised written style. To discern this however, Lockhart's behaviour across recipients and within letters needs to be examined in greater detail, and this takes place in the following subsection.

9.1.1   Proportions and Letters

Firstly, Lockhart's proportions of Scots and anglicised variants across his network of correspondents were collated and plotted using a mosaic plot, from the ggplot2 package in R. A mosaic plot is a bar graph that indicates the proportions of variants, across the total volume of writing in which they occur. The proportions (as a percentage) are indicated through the shading of the bar - in the results shown below Scots is represented by the blue, and the anglicised variants ('English' for short) by the red section of the bar. If the blue stretched to halfway along the bar, this would suggest 50% of the variable tokens in that correspondence were realised with the Scots variant. The width of the bar represents the volume of material, thus the wider the bar, the higher the wordcount. This puts the proportions into perspective - high frequencies of Scots variants across recipients with very thin bars suggests these are driven by a low overall wordcount. The plot thus gives an idea of *relative* proportions. Figure 9.2 on the following page indicates Lockhart's variable Scots use in a mosaic plot accordingly.
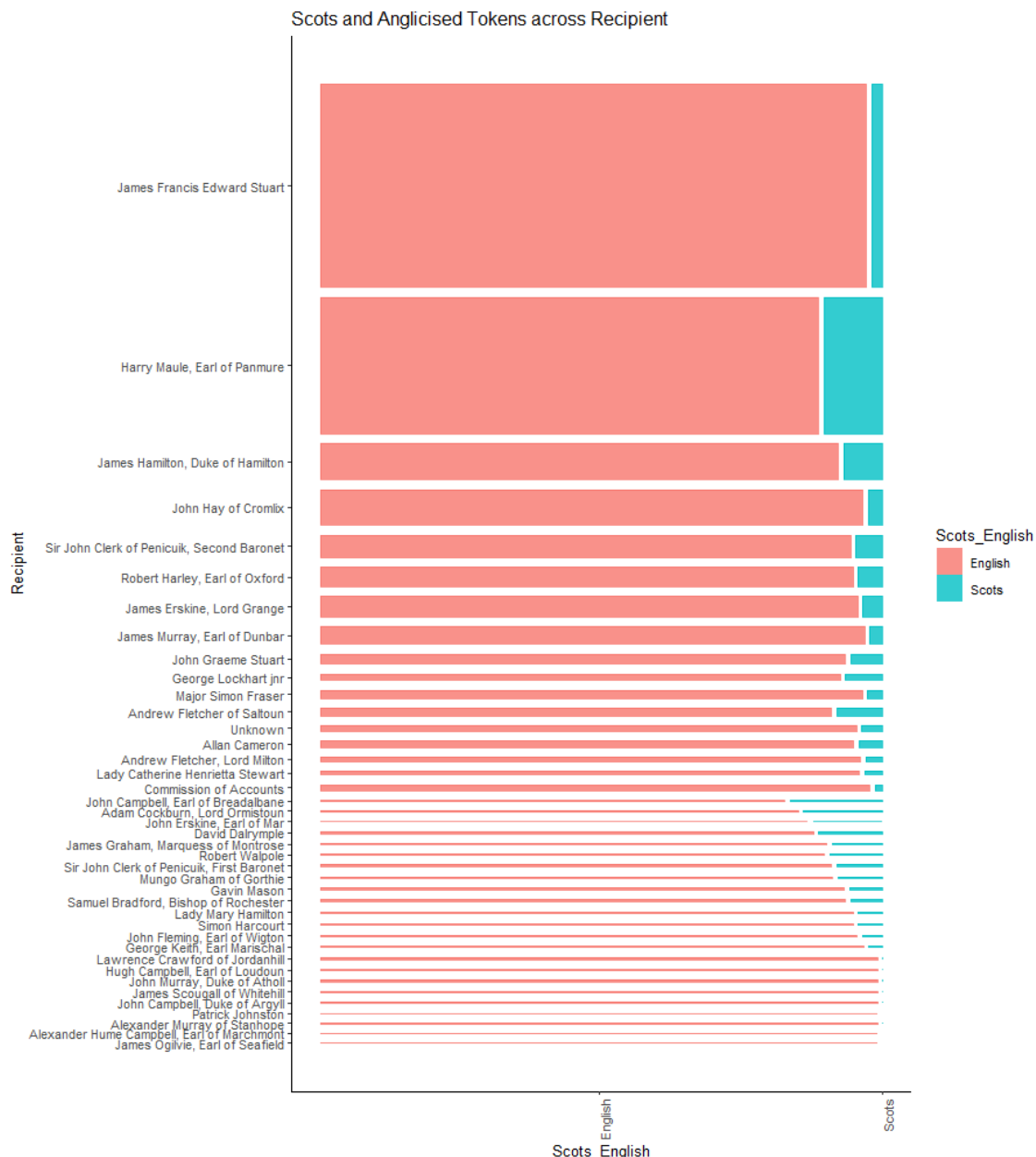
Figure 9.2: Mosaic plot of Lockhart's frequencies of Scots and English by recipient

Examining the mosaic plot, the recipient who sees the largest volume of material is at the top of the graph. This is written to James Francis Edward Stuart, the son of the exiled King James VII and II, who died in 1701. Lockhart's use of Scots in these letters is very minor, given the small proportion that is shaded blue, despite the large volume of correspondence. This may suggest the deference he demonstrates to a member of the exiled royal family. If Lockhart associated the emergent English standard with prestige, it would not be incongruous to employ such variants in higher frequencies when corresponding with a high status recipient, who naturally commanded respect and obeisance when being addressed. Yet, many of the letters exchanged between Lockhart and James were not necessarily of the highly decorous and formulaic nature that royal correspondence often reflects. Lockhart frequently wrote to James using a cipher or code names, following infiltration and discovery of previous Jacobite lines by Court spies, and such letters are noticeable for their more

informal style. An example extract, from a letter dating 23 April 1722 is shown below. The code-names are translated in square brackets.

'I told him that I knew Turner liked him much better than the Sheep [Squadrone], and he knew that against these he woud willingly have joined with him... I had often told him he woud never be trusted by Warts's [the English Whigs'] ministry unless he sold his estate with Swift [Scotland] and gave up his interest with Scrimger [Scotsmen].. so soon as Warrington [Walpole] got the better of Stonehouse [the Earl of Sunderland], he'd retain Skelton [Montrose], well knowing he woud serve and trukle under him or the devil himself for wages'

The extract is peppered with code-names, some which seem to have been rather artfully chosen - the Squadrone are referred to as 'sheep', possibly in reference to their political movements in the new British parliament post-Union, while the English Whigs are referred to as 'Warts'. There are also personal anecdotes, such as the reference to the Duke of Montrose and his countenance, and the content is conversational in nature. The combination of these features suggests the confidential nature of their correspondence. Despite this however, there are no instances of Scots features in this extract, even though the use of less formulaic language choices including vernacular variants, as a means to demonstrate authenticity, reliability and psychological proximity, has been identified in previous Scots research (Dossena, 2019). However, James VIII was born in England and grew up on the continent, having left for France with his exiled father as an infant. Concurrently, he may not have encountered Scots written features, nor would it necessarily have been part of the written medium he acquired. Scots features were unlikely to have much currency with James as a consequence, and perhaps the status and language of the exiled king himself stymied any tendency to use Scots on Lockhart's behalf.

Moreover, Lockhart held an unfavourable opinion of James as a result of his political mismanagement and inability (Szechi, 1989: xxxvi). The exiled court also gave less weight to Scottish agents under James VIII and III, compared to English and Irish personalities, which became a festering grievance within Scottish Jacobite communities, including Lockhart (Macinnes, 2007: 244). Alongside status differences this may have increased the distance between them, resulting in linguistic divergence that manifested as the avoidance of variants that were associated with conviviality and commonality. While Lockhart has a highly anglicised register overall, it seems he shifted even further along the continuum when addressing James, despite the informal contents of their letters.

By comparison, Lockhart's next most frequent correspondent, Harry Maule of Panmure, sees a much higher proportion of Scots, presenting clear evidence of style-shifting. Lockhart, it seems, was able to vary among his correspondents despite his overall anglicised style, and Harry Maule in particular encouraged use of written Scots features. The heightened levels of Scots between Lockhart and Maule might stem from their staunch commitment to the Jacobite cause, and dedication to the Episcopalian church, leading them to become prominent advocates for toleration (Szechi, 1989, 2002; Blair-Imrie, 2011). They developed a close working relationship as leaders of the Lowland Jacobites, and shared a joint interest in early Scottish history, particularly its religious and political developments (Szechi, 2002: 106). Their

alignment along ideological and personal fronts may have encouraged Lockhart to accommodate towards a close friend and fellow Scot, or perhaps to use Scots features to subtly index a shared Scottish identity along Episcopalian and Jacobite lines. Considering their firm dedication to the same cause, along with the esteem with which both the Jacobite and elite community held the academically-accomplished Maule, such identity-marking may have been influenced by Lockhart's stylistic desire to build a positive and authentic social identity that spoke to his recipient (Johnstone, 2000; Moore and Podesva, 2009). While Lockhart, James Stuart and Harry Maule were part of the same Jacobite community, Lockhart's linguistic behaviour does not parallel across these two recipients, and it seems likely that social and stylistic desires were important contributing factors. Examining frequencies, however, can only allow us to postulate so much. An extract of a letter to Harry Maule, written during the last session of the Scottish parliament on the 4th of June, 1706 is considered below. All Scots features are italicised (my emphasis).

'I told you before yt trade & lawe were allmost over, wee'r now proceeding to setle *qt* the equivalent will amount to, *qch* wee are to demand in res-pect of ye proportion of ye debts of Engld which will be payd by Scotlds entring into *ane* equality of ye taxes in Engld & appropriated for paying of debts... This Callcull is made by ye proportion *qch* ye Engl: customs, & excise at prest bear to ye Scots as theyr att present *farmed...* now this I take to be *doun* right buying & selling.. as farr as concerns themselves & as far as ther *pouer* goes ther obsiquious.. '

There are a number of different Scots features present in the text, including the use of <quh> in abbreviated form as *qt* and *qch*, 'wt [what]' and 'wch [which]', <u> spellings in the MOUTH set such as *doun*, 'down' and *pouer*, 'power', and other features such as *farmed*, 'formed'. Lockhart's Scots is not limited to a single feature, nor to the less distinct categories belonging to the 'Most Common' group identified in Chapter 8, considering his use of <quh>. However this only ever occurs in abbreviated form in this tract, suggesting its presence might be due to conventionalised scribal practices integrated within the stylistic norms of everyday correspondence. While there are not many different types of Scots features in this tract, and frequency is similarly low in total, such patterns need to be put in perspective. Lockhart is highly anglicised overall, thus such quantities and occurrences may reflect a considerable shift towards greater vernacularity for him, particularly when we compare it to the earlier tract written to James Stuart which saw no instance of Scots features.

Here, Lockhart is discussing the *Equivalent* - the compensation to be paid to Scotland in return for accepting the future burden of English debt. Lockhart outright rejected the Equivalent and his opinion of commissioners in its favour comes through clearly - he labels them 'obsiquious' and suggests that the whole proposal is '*doun* right buying & selling.' This may have encouraged Lockhart to distance himself from the Court and Squadrone members accepting the Equivalent. Recall from Figure 7.10 in Chapter 7 that their predicted Scots use was lower than the Country party members, particularly its Episcopalian-Jacobite wing of which Lockhart was part. In light of this, Lockhart might be subconsciously laying claim to an in-group identity rooted in dynastic and ecclesiastical legitimacy, by shifting away from the stylistic patterns of the Court. Given that speakers can utilise linguistic features

in ideological and indexical moves to invoke ways of belonging to certain groups (Kiesling, 2001; Podesva, 2011; Eckert, 2012: 94), Lockhart's Scots variants may delineate this in-group association, to which Maule belonged through his Jacobite and theological devotions. An increase in Scots thus marks their affiliation and collective opposition to the Court, who are distanced in Lockhart's letter.

A similar pattern emerges in two other letters, written several years apart, extracts of which are shown below. Scots features are again emphasised.

'..the Scots Commissioners omitted to give any answer to the equality of all excises, without wch there coud not be *ane* intire Union, of *qch* they were so desirious that they'd give *ane* equivalent for *qt* the Scots shoud be burdned by the English debts.. It woud have been too bare-faced to have acquieced att once to all, and therfore they drew up *ane* answer to be presented on Monday in these terms; .. they proposd that they shoud be exempted from all other taxes *qtsoever* for such a period of time as shoud hereafter be *condeshended* on. This is the substance when they explain the equivalent, which I hear's a good summ of mony (alies bribe)'. 4th April, 1706

'The Chancelr having this day reported this answr to ye house my Ld wharton sd he was sorry to see such *ane* answer from ye throne to ye H: of Peers, *qch* was fitter to be given to a litle *bussie* medling fellow or a news monger.. I was told this day by one has heard D of Argyle yesterday say yt ere 2 months went about this ministry woud *bepish* ymselves if they knew what was in a litle time coming on ym..' 13th April, 1714

In the first extract, Lockhart's negative portrayal of the Scottish commissioners is again clearly observable. They are portrayed as self-serving individuals, desperate to ensure the Union takes place, to the point where they would be willing to burden the nation with English debts by agreeing to the Equivalent. Despite Lockhart's active involvement in the Scottish parliament, he was outspoken in his rejection of the Equivalent, and believed Scotland was 'sold out' by this agreement. This comes through in the passage, as he suggests the payment is an 'alies bribe',[3] and sarcastically notes it would have been 'too bare-faced to have acquieced att once to all' for the Commissioners involved. Alongside Lockhart's regular use of abbreviated <quh> and *ane*, he also demonstrates use of the sibilant interchange, in *condeshended*, 'condescended', with the sense of 'to agree on, or upon, something' (DSL, 2022), a sense which is mostly Scottish or northern (OED, 2022). This use of a distinctive feature that represents 'Scottishness' on not just orthographic, but also phonological and semantic levels, would arguably have increased its salience within the context of the letter. Moreover, this Scottish shibboleth was no longer frequent in elite correspondence, indeed it had almost disappeared from such writing as the previous chapter has identified. Its use here might accordingly suggest that stylistic or identity-marking goals were once again influencing the occurrence of Scots.

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[3]Although originally sourced from the SHS publications, having had the opportunity at a later date to check the manuscript from which this letter is taken, my reading of these words differs from Szechi (1989), who has 'a clear bribe'. I have opted to keep my interpretation, but note that either option may be possible.

As before, Lockhart may be seeking to position himself outside the Scottish parliament and the commissioners debating the terms of the treaty, despite the fact that he was a commissioner himself, a position that may have felt conflicting and at odds with his Jacobite ideology at times. It seems almost ironic that Lockhart has used a Scots spelling for an item denoting 'to agree on something', when it was well-known he did not agree at all with the Equivalent or its terms. By utilising a feature both Lockhart and Maule would likely have recognised, given its distinctive nature, Lockhart might thus position himself in opposition to these commissioners, as 'not one of them'. A similar effect appears to be at work in the second extract, written several years after the Union had taken place, in which Lockhart again reflects use of <sh>, rather unflatteringly, in the word *bepish*, 'bepiss' - to wet oneself. In this context, the word is referring to the British ministry, which, like the Scottish commissioners, Lockhart was also part of. Likewise, he might seek to distance himself from them, using salient Scots features to emphasise the odious terms with which he describes his opponents to Maule. Scots could thus be used to denigrate the figures being described, painting the ministry in a sordid, distasteful light, whilst implying Lockhart's divergence from the English and incorporationist figures making up the majority of the British parliament. By using selective, locally-rooted features, Lockhart could tap into the linguistic norms of the Episcopalian-Jacobite collective of which he and Maule are both part, norms that included higher probabilities of Scots as the findings of the quantitative analysis have made clear in Chapter 7. This then underscores their collective, anti-Unionist identity or group membership.

Such patterns suggest Lockhart's increased Scots in letters to Maule, especially within these contexts, might, at a broader level, index their concordant aims to restore the exiled Stuart dynasty and maintain Scotland's independence - the very topics being debated by these commissioners. His casual language use in the second extract, furthermore, suggests a high level of conviviality and confidentiality between them, perhaps enabling the selective use of such salient features. By seeking to foreground their friendship, and the Jacobite ideology they shared, with all its nationalist associations, Lockhart's variable usage lays claim to the in-group identity he shares with a fellow Jacobite like Maule. Overall, Lockhart's use of Scots features (or not) to these first two correspondents suggests familiarity, closeness and politeness were important factors encouraging or reducing its occurrence. Audience pressures are certainly observable, particularly when we consider Lockhart's behaviour to James Stuart, but also perhaps the desire to assert a common in-group association, through use of variants linked to the wider political platform that incorporated Maule and Lockhart's ideological commitments, and excluded the politicians who did not share these ideals. Rather, Lockhart's selective use of salient Scots features appears to be deliberately moving away from the written norms of these out-group members.

To identify whether Lockhart's Scots was being encouraged by association with a narrow Episcopalian-cum-Jacobite identity or broader, party-wide association, letters to the Duke of Hamilton, as leader of the Country party, were also examined. Lockhart's Scots use to Maule already suggested the possible construction of a shared repertoire to highlight their membership and their mutual engagement in shared practices, indicating patterns resembling a Community of Practice (Eckert and McConnell-Ginet, 1992: 464; Meyerhoff, 2002; Kopaczyk and Jucker, 2013: 6).

Members of a CofP negotiate meanings through social practices that are continually reproduced, and negotiating meanings also entails negotiating social identities (Watts, 2008: 39). Thus, Lockhart may be reproducing the social and stylistic practices that construct his Jacobite and Episcoplian identity, which in turn underlines his and Maule's association with this identity. This possibility was already raised briefly in Chapter 7, and based off the behaviour of Lockhart and Maule so far, it appears to hold within the micro-analysis of a single individual. It is plausible, however, that this community stretched beyond close-knit Jacobite links to the Country party at large, particularly during the key years of 1699-1705, a time of heightened political tension and Scots frequencies, as the temporal analysis has indicated. In addition, Lockhart was attached to Hamilton despite his wavering commitments (Szechi, 1989: xvii, Szechi, 2011), which could plausibly encourage the utilisation of shared linguistic resources specific to the identity or group-membership they might index.

Examining the mosaic plot, Hamilton clearly sees a lower proportion of Scots than Maule, but he receives a higher proportion of Scots than most other recipients, adding tentative support to the above possibility. Again, however, exploring some of the letters themselves can provide a window into linguistic choices and the type of Scots that Lockhart employs. In the following letter, Lockhart writes to Hamilton on the 14th of December, 1704 about proceedings in the parliament.

'The report of our having a new Parliament is revived again and much more possitively asserted since our statesmen came *doun*, than before... This is all I know that the land of cakes *affoords* att present worth your Grace's knowledge... the Abby Close is as *throng* just now with brokn *lairds* and tradesmen...'

There is use of the lexical item *throng* - a feature that was present in Middle English but became chiefly Scottish and northern English in later use (OED, 2022) - to suggest the crowded and miserable state of affairs in the Scottish capital. This is accompanied by *lairds*, 'lords', originally indicating Scots variation in the MORE set, though in later usage *laird* became lexicalised as a Scottish title, rather than a descriptive item in its own right (DSL, 2022). Lockhart might be tying the issues created by the parliamentary processes to a specifically Scottish context, through use of these lexical items. Both their semantic meaning - particularly the use of *throng* with its negative connotations in this tract - and nature as lexical items would likely have increased their salience in this instance, perhaps again as part of Lockhart's attempts to position himself in a firmly opposition stance, aligning with Hamilton by emphasising their united rejection of incorporation. Given their shared party platform, the use of Scots lexical variants in particular when discussing the adversity brought upon by the proposed Union might thus seek to underline Lockhart and Hamilton's shared defence of Scottish interests.

However, in general Lockhart's proportion of Scots features in correspondence to Hamilton is more limited than to Maule. Lockhart might be sensitive to Hamilton's Presbyterian background, given that the combined MCA and brms model in Chapter 7 suggested that Presbyterian, non-Jacobite members of the Country party were less likely to use Scots than their Cavalier contemporaries. Lockhart may thus have moderated his writing accordingly, using Scots features, but less liberally than with

Maule. Furthermore they shared an asymmetrical social relationship, as Hamilton was a duke from one of the leading Scottish families, while Lockhart was a member of the minor gentry. Lockhart thus faced a balancing act, combining stylistic and social desires to construct common ground with the need to recognise the status and ideological background of his recipient. His Scots may thus have been chosen selectively for deliberate effect, rather than being spread across a wider range of features to create an informal and confidential tone. This can be seen for example in a further letter to Hamilton, written on the 1st of January, 1706.

'But, by what I coud pick up in England, as I look upon the fare pretences the English make of doing us right, to be only a *plaisture* to skinn over the wound which the approaching division is likely to make..'

The use of *plaisture*, 'plaster'[4] seems to reflect a caustic interpretation of English intentions, especially as it is the only Scots item within the page of text. It underscores Lockhart's disdain for the English parliament and their weak promises, whilst possibly indexing the 'national' position claimed by the Country party that Hamilton and Lockhart both belonged to.

Of Lockhart's remaining recipients, the other Country party member who sees a considerable proportion of Scots is Andrew Fletcher of Saltoun, though within a much smaller volume of correspondence. Lockhart developed a frank admiration for Fletcher, whom he later characterised as the ideal Scottish patriot and whose ideas profoundly influenced him (Szechi, 2002: 56). They differed in terms of ideological and religious convictions - Fletcher was not a Jacobite or Episcopalian, but rather a firm Erastian with a largely latitudinarian outlook, though one that tended towards Presbyterianism (Robertson, 2008). Yet they shared a common commitment to protecting certain Scottish liberties, and increasingly sought each other's company in the aftermath of the Union. This may have induced Lockhart to adopt a more convivial writing style, in which Scots features would not appear incongruous. Lockhart's bid to construct a shared in-group membership is particularly salient in the extract below, written on the 25th of December, 1711.

'But give me leave to say, that I hope both I & all my bretheren in ye Commission, are above being led by malice.. agst you or any other whatsoever wee have each of us our particular Eni-mys as *weel* as you've yrs.. The rules & orders of ye house are you know very misterious; especially to us Scotsmen, Ld I dont know by *qt* rule they make up ye votes. The kind assurances of yr *freindship*, I take as a very great honour, & shoud be more vain therof.. I wish you a *mirry* Christmas'

In this extract Lockhart constructs a discourse that overtly includes Fletcher as part of a conceived 'in-group' of Scottish representatives (presumably Scottish Tories) within the British parliament, claiming 'wee have each of us our particular Enimys as *weel* as you've yours' and referring to themselves as 'us Scotsmen' when disparaging the workings of the parliamentary system. Lockhart posits himself at the centre of this in-group, appearing to speak on their behalf when he suggests that 'I hope

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[4]This feature was classified as 'Other' given its complicated phonological history, and the fact that it was the only example of its kind. 'Master' and 'plaster' originally had Middle English/Older Scots /ai/, giving Modern Scots /e/, but in English this became (for uncertain reasons) /aː/.

both I & all my bretheren in ye Commission, are above being led by malice', and his polite and cordial overtures to Fletcher suggest he conceives of a common alignment between Fletcher and this group. Lockhart's style is overall more formal, but several Scots features occur, including not just <quh> but also <i> for <e> in *mirry*, and the Scots words *weel* and *freindship*. These might serve to index their shared Scottish patriotism, and position as 'outsiders' within the British parliament, given both their Scottish and Tory background.

The content overall suggests Lockhart felt great respect for Fletcher, and this may have influenced his style, which is certainly less informal or filled with rumour than observed in his letters to Maule. Nonetheless, this did not prevent his use of Scots features, like it may have done with James Stuart. Instead, Scots variants might serve to emphasise the commonality and convergence that Lockhart overtly refers to throughout the text. Perhaps Lockhart is seeking to construct and maintain a positive self-evaluation of their in-group membership (Turner and Brown, 1978; Ting-Toomey, 1999: 40), which includes himself, his Scottish Tory associates, and Fletcher, as part of a larger, 'outsider' identity of which their Scottish background forms the common ground. Convergence is thus signalled both on a group level as Scotsmen, and on an individual level between Lockhart and Fletcher as fellow patriots, along a complex interindividual-intergroup continuum (Tajfel and Turner, 1979) that encompasses both large-scale and local identities (Bucholtz and Hall, 2005: 22). This could be seen to parallel with his behaviour both toward Hamilton and Maule, indicating repeated patterns of use within his correspondence that reflect the general findings of the quantitative analysis. Lockhart thus does appear to be sensitive to the broader macro-social patterns uncovered in Chapter 7, given that his highest frequency (and possibly range) of Scots is to his fellow Country party members, particularly when they were also Episcopalian and Jacobite - the very groups associated with increased Scots probabilities.

This possibility becomes more tangible if we consider Lockhart's correspondence with opposition members. Lockhart was well connected to such figures, often serving as a communication link between Court and Country interests (Szechi, 2002: 56). Yet when corresponding with them, his proportion and range of Scots is noticeably smaller than to close associates. Scots features in letters directed to the English peer Robert Harley, the Earl of Oxford, for example, are limited almost entirely to *ane*, and other Court or English associates see mostly lexical features, many of which were indispensable or without viable English alternatives. For the English addressees at least, Scots features would not have had much currency, considering these variants were unlikely to have been present within their own linguistic repertoires. Thus, even if Lockhart did wish to establish a common ground with these recipients, use of Scots would not have assisted such purposes. Moreover, Lockhart shared far less in common with many of these writers than his fellow Jacobite and anti-Unionist contemporaries, negating the desire to index a shared in-group identity in the first place.

For instance, Baron John Clerk, Second Baronet (upon 1722 following his father's death) was a Court politician but also Lockhart's neighbour, and they had an uneasy relationship, frequently arguing over matters relating to land boundaries and access. Matters were not improved by Lockhart's tendency to poach coal miners from Clerk's

pits to work in his own (Szechi, 2002: 25, 33). Scots features in correspondence directed to the baron are comprised almost entirely of lexical items, as opposed to spelling features. Two extracts are shown below.

'..seing you form so many objections against my working the coal on that part of the *brae* opposite to my Engine.. I can do more *convenientlie* if both sides of the *burn* were mine.. I shall apply to my Lord Polton and Mr Baird to see if they'l appoint some day next week for the *excambion.*' 3rd April, 1723.

'On this day sennight, I found 5 *nolt* belonging to John Hunter within my plated enclosures, which I seized.. *Nixt* day I returned 4 of them and keept the 5th.. *earlie* this morning, a *slap* was taken down in the dike.' 28th October, 1723.

In the first extract, Lockhart uses the terms *brae*, 'hillside', *burn*, 'stream/river', and *excambion*, which stems from Scots law, and refers to exchange or barter, specifically of land (DSL, 2022). The second extract contains *nolt*, an individual bull or cow in Scots (OED, 2022). The other lexical feature, *slap*, refers to a 'gap' in a wall or dike, and stems from Older Scots, with origins in Dutch and Low German (OED, 2022). This use of agricultural or legal lexis is not unexpected given the context of the correspondence, and the fact that agricultural and legal spheres tended to retain Scots lexis (Aitken, 1971; Millar, 2003, 2004; Kopaczyk, 2013b). The other Scots features present are those that belong to the 'most common' group identified in Chapter 8, including <i> for <e> in *nixt*, 'next' and <ie> in *convenientlie* and *easie*. Given their less-distinctive and widespread nature, these features were perhaps less likely to function as identity-marking tokens or reflect in-group accommodative behaviour.

Thus, recipients who did not share personal, ideological, religious or political links with Lockhart tended to reduce the frequency and scope of his written Scots. It seems Lockhart could and did shift his language use along a formality and politeness cline, but also along a vector of familiarity, of which Scots features formed a part. In general, he reflects the macro-social patterning observed in Chapter 7; while alignment with fellow Country-party members was important, the biggest influence behind his choice to employ Scots features was his Jacobite-Episcopalian identity. Hence, we see the highest level and widest range of Scots features when he writes to Harry Maule, a fellow Jacobite and Episcopalian, slightly lower levels to Country party members Hamilton and Fletcher, and the lowest levels to James Stuart and Penicuik.

Whether the next recipient similarly demonstrates awareness of the broader social patterning already elucidated requires further investigation, and accordingly the proportions and patterning of Scots features will now be examined in the correspondence of the Earl of Mar.

9.2   John Erskine, Earl of Mar

The next author to be analysed is the Court politician John Erskine (bap. 1675, d. 1732), styled twenty-second or sixth earl of Mar (dependent on a disputed creation in 1565). A major player in Scottish politics during and after the Union debates, Mar was a complex character whose wavering nature and unclear sympathies stemmed from a fundamental internal conflict, which on the one hand drove his ambition and desire for political, social and economic success, and on the other his sentimental association with Jacobitism and an undercurrent of Scottish patriotism. This conflict may have played out in his linguistic choices, given their contradictory associations with the emergent prestige standard on the one hand, and the value of the local, Scots vernacular on the other. Born in Alloa, Clackmannanshire on his family estates, his early education has been described as somewhat 'eclectic' (Ehrenstein, 2015), and he does not seem to have completed a university education. He did not learn another language, bar some rudimentary French quite late in life, nor did he embark upon a 'Grand Tour' through Europe as many leading Scottish nobles did during this time. As such, we might expect Mar's Scots features to be perhaps more prevalent than many of his Court party contemporaries, particularly the high-ranking and powerful Scottish magnates who enjoyed both extensive educational and traveling opportunities.

Mar's curtailed educational opportunities, however, did not dampen his high opinion of his aristocratic background. He took great pride in the ancient lineage of his family, whose status as hereditary keepers of Stirling Castle and guardians of the royal princes had granted them special ties to the royal Stuart dynasty (Gregg, 1982: 179; Ehrenstein, 2015). Yet this pride masked the acute financial difficulties Mar inherited, as a result of crushing debts accumulated during the civil war and further economic mismanagement. This made a Court position very appealing, given the financial security and boost to self-esteem it offered (Smout, 1963: 58), and Mar maintained adherence to the Court party throughout his nineteen years in parliament (Gregg, 1982: 179). He enjoyed being in the thick of political life, seeking to follow in the footsteps of his ancestors by acquiring leading political roles, and was astute in his political maneuvering. Mar quickly worked his way into the Court's inner circle, though following the failed Queensberry plot he temporarily aligned himself with the Jacobite Tories, forging links with Hamilton and Country party and switching so convincingly that many believed it to be genuine (Lockhart, 1995: 85). However, after the events of 1704 he swiftly integrated back into the Court party and became an active speaker for Union, demonstrating energy and zeal as an effective leader of the house (Ferguson, 1964: 108; Macinnes, 2007: 299). Though probably not applied during his lifetime, this kind of behaviour led to his nickname later on as 'Bobbing John'.

Mar's devotion to the cause of Union, and his cultivation of close contacts within English Tory circles secured his selection as one of sixteen representative Scottish peers in the newly formed British parliament. He became the leader of the Scottish Court party in 1710, but also patron to Scottish Jacobite MPs following the death of the Duke of Hamilton, partly as a result of his underlying Jacobite sentiments. In this latter role, Mar began to publicly voice concern about the supposed benefits of

the Union, stating to his brother 'we had fine hopes ... and I think not without good reason, but these hopes have proved vain' (Mar to James Erskine, 1714, NL Scot., MS 5072, fol. 26). For while Mar only really engaged with Jacobitism following the death of Queen Anne in 1714, it seems likely he had always harboured underlying sympathies for the cause, but felt the need to keep these hidden in order to acquire profitable Court positions (Ehrenstein, 2015). When Mar fell from favour and was dismissed from the British parliament, he became involved in plotting the Jacobite rising of 1715, organising supplies and distributing propaganda. Unfortunately, as a military strategist he was less adept, and his decisions were 'marked with a disastrous combination of chronic indecision and strategic incompetence' (Macinnes, 1996: 200). Nonetheless, Mar was offered a role by James VIII as his advisor and secretary of state in the Jacobite court in Paris. Yet, always wavering between one position and the other, Mar acted as double agent for both the Stuart court and Westminster for several years, before his duplicity was eventually discovered.

It seems Mar's personal ambitions, pride and desire for status frequently overrode his ideological persuasions, which ultimately became one of his biggest weaknesses (Gregg, 1982: 179). Yet Mar's writings and architectural drawings do suggest a resolute Scottish patriotism was central to his beliefs, and Lockhart characterised him as 'a man of good sense but bad morals' (Lockhart, 1995: 85). His persistent homesickness for Scotland after his exile, moreover, implies a certain devotion to his country of birth, subtly present throughout his dealings and decisions. Thus, Mar epitomises the complex internal struggle facing Scottish politicians, in which their personal and economic motivations were counterbalanced by a desire to protect Scottish interests. Personal ambition and a sympathy for the Episcopalian-Jacobite cause dove-tailed Mar's movements and decisions, though whether these conflicting loyalties and ambitions might interact with his Scots usage to different recipients representing those interests, remains to be explored.

9.2.1 Proportions and Letters

Accordingly, the proportions of Scots and anglicised variants in Mar's correspondence were extracted from POLITECS and plotted in a mosaic plot, depicted in Figure 9.3 below. This suggests that Mar writes by far the greatest amount of correspondence to the top two recipients; James Erskine (Lord Grange) and Harry Maule, Earl of Panmure.

Scots and Anglicised Tokens across Recipient
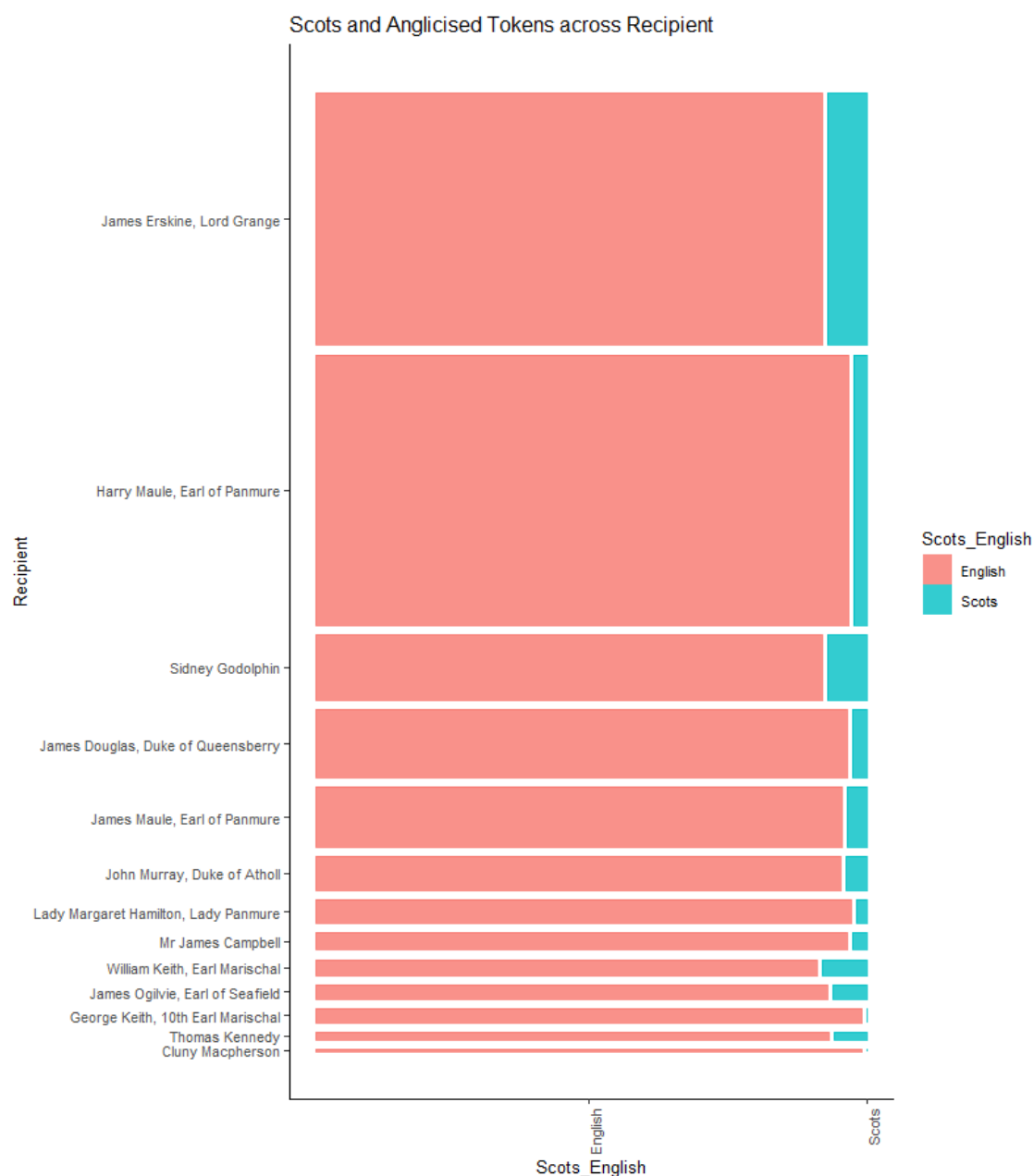
Figure 9.3: Mosaic plot of Mar's frequencies of Scots and English by recipient

Lord Grange was Mar's younger brother, and they seem to have been personally close. Mar successfully campaigned for Grange to gain an influential legal office towards the end of 1706, which was part of Mar's social ambitions more broadly - he secured a number of positions for his relatives during his time in parliament and the Jacobite court (Ehrenstein, 2015). His brother was himself fluctuating and unclear in his political and religious sympathies (Scott, 2006), but Mar's dedication to the family name suggests a high level of familiarity was likely. This might explain Mar's high proportion of Scots features to Grange, as he may have felt less need to shift towards an anglicised register when corresponding with family. An extract from a letter written to Lord Grange on the 12th of March, 1709 is shown below.

'..I had a great *dale* to do & less time to *spair*, so pray be not surpriezed that I wryt not more frequently... Wee hear a great *dale* of noice of the severitys to the

Episcopale *clargie* in putt- putting them out.. I *nather* would nor cou'd protect him; since Glenkindie is to *cairie* it ... Thers nothing yet determined as to yt lord of Session, but will now *e'er* long I belive Lord Tillicull offers to *demitt* both his places in favours of Dougall wch is likly to do.. I shall *mind* the gift of Escheat now since I've got to get it post as soone I can.'

Scots features are scattered liberally throughout the letter, including the <ai> spelling for MATE in *spair*, 'spare', <ie> in *cairie*, 'carry', <ar> in *clargie*, 'clergy', the Front Vowel Merger in *nather*, 'neither' and *dale*, 'deal', a deleted consonant in *e'er*, 'ever' and use of lexical items such as the legal term *demitt*, 'to let go, send away or dismiss, chiefly used by Scottish writers' (OED, 2022), and *mind*, 'remember'. Unlike Lockhart, Mar seems to use a much greater range of Scots features within his correspondence, including some features from the 'Least Common' group identified in Chapter 8. This might indicate the different upbringing and schooling the two had - certainly Mar's education was far less extensive than Lockhart's. While out of the two writers, Lockhart possessed a wider range of features overall (as evident in Figure 8.2 of Chapter 8) and was slightly less anglicised (recall Figure 9.1 above), he was not writing many letters to family members. Thus his Scots features may have been used more sparingly for particular effect. Mar on the other hand was frequently communicating with a highly familiar correspondent, which may have enabled greater freedom of expression and a reduced monitoring of language use, leading him to use a wider range of Scots features in higher proportions. This suggests the plausible effect of audience in conditioning Scots, in which relatively equal family connections encouraged increased vernacularity and ergo, written Scots features.

To consider this further, another extract written to Grange on the 13th January, 1709 is shown below.

'I send you incloased a Paper wch will direct you... they say the submission expirse soon, so pray *mind* it. I had a letter last post from my Lord Bowhill, & he sayes he *had spoke* to you. Give him my service & tel him that at this time to be sure the Queen will do nothing in re-lation to the Justiciary *nather* by *receaveing* demissions nor filling up any places tho they were vacant, but I should be *glade* if it were in my power to serve him.'

This extract is composed of a series of demands; Mar orders his brother to *mind*, 'remember' the paper he is sending, and to give Lord Bowhill his service. There is less recognition of epistolary politeness conventions than might be expected among upper-class writers, particularly when a request is involved, presumably because Mar did not feel the need to use them with his own brother. Alongside this, a range of Scots features are observed within the letter, including both orthographic variants such as *nather*, 'neither', *receaving*, 'receiving' and *glade*, 'glad', as well as the lexical item *mind*, and the past tense form *had spoke*. This provides additional evidence that the influence of a familiar recipient could perhaps enable the increased presence of Scots features in Mar's correspondence, as we saw in the earlier extract. This might also be responsible for the reduction in epistolary norms observed here, given that an overt recognition of increased politeness standards was not required with Grange.

However, this does not mean they were entirely negligible, and in this instance, Scots features could play an additional function of softening the request being made. Rather than having to include formulaic politeness models, the use of features associated with a 'domestic' or vernacular register might assist in dampening the impact of the request by establishing common ground. Indeed, such patterns were identified in Cruickshank's (2011; 2012) analyses of Lord Fife's letters to his estate factor, in which Scots features accompanied instances of scolding or demands. This served to reduce the face-threatening act being performed, despite the considerable difference in status and power between the correspondents (Cruickshank, 2012: 116-117). Similarly, though Mar had no pressing need to defer to his brother, maintaining cordial relations was essential all the same, and Scots forms might invoke increased amicability between them by drawing on resources from a common plane of written variation. Mar might for instance seek to foreground his close relationship with his brother through variants linked to a locally-rooted identity and upbringing, especially considering his pride in their ancient family lineage within Scotland. Language users are after all able to construct interactionally-specific stances and participant roles within their discourse (Bucholtz and Hall, 2005: 592), and these stylistic moves can occur across multiple levels synergistically rather than independently of one another (Campbell-Kibler et al., 2006; Moore and Podesva, 2009: 448-449). Mar's use of Scots variants, which include not just orthographic but also lexical and morphosyntactic features, might accordingly aid in constructing an authoritative but nonetheless brotherly persona, enabling him to make a potentially face-threatening request.

In this vein, it is worth considering whether alongside the recipient, the topic of the letter may also have influenced Mar's use of Scots features. Intention or agency could equally underpin his variable usage, particularly in salient contexts that created a conflict between his multiple identities. To explore this possibility, an earlier extract from the same letter to Grange, written on the 13th January, 1709 is shown below. In this section, Mar is defending his actions in the British parliament following the aftermath of the failed Jacobite rising of 1708.

'Our being in the Queen's service made it impossible for us to show our haveing [deleted] no hand in this before now, but only saying as we did that it was not as it was given out, but now I hope all our countrymen will be convinced of it. I cou'd wish for my own *shair* that all my papers were printed, but of tho they be not, by being laid before the house they will be *pritty* publick.. & my being against the bring-ing up the prissoners haveing past in Councill so will not appear so clearly by my own papers .. all wch I hope will be known in Scotland since there was so much pains taken to asperss us wt the *contrarie*.'

The letter again contains a range of Scots spellings, including <ai> in *shair*, 'share', <i> for <e> in *pritty*, and <ie> in *contrarie*. We might presuppose that some of these features are consistently Scots for Mar, considering they also occur in the earlier extract. However the previous letter saw use of <y> alongside <ie> in 'frequency', for instance, suggesting Mar was variable for certain features. It seems letters to his brother do encourage a wide range of Scots features, but these were not necessarily fixed in Mar's usage. Nonetheless, the nature of the extract might reflect not just audience influences, but also the indexing of Scottish identity as

conceived through a popular, Jacobite-inspired lens. Mar expresses the wish that his papers would be made public, to clear his name of any association with the imprisonment of the Jacobites among his fellow 'countrymen'. Despite his focus on personal advancement and political aggrandizement, Mar was clearly concerned with his image and reputation at home. His social ambitions did not entail an indiscriminate embrace of Court politics, and it is trivial to assume an individual's ideological stance is unitary and lacking in contradiction (Millar, 2020: 103). There were diverse pressures acting on Scottish politicians during this time, and the sentiments Mar professes in this letter are indicative of the conflicting influences operating on his multilayered identity. His use of features associated (whether consciously or subconsciously) with his homeland might thus seek to index and reinforce the undercurrent of patriotism in Mar's ideological make-up. Considering that stylistic variation can operate as a resource rather than a product of interaction, that speakers actively utilise to shape their linguistic and social identity (Coupland, 1985, 2001; Mendoza-Denton, 1997; Eckert, 2000, 2016: 75), Mar might similarly be shaping one of his particular social identities, through utilising features of a shared linguistic code between two Scotsmen when discussing matters relating to the heart of Scottish politics.

By comparison, Harry Maule of Panmure, as the next most common recipient, sees much less Scots despite sharing family and political connections with Mar. Harry Maule was Mar's uncle, and although he gave up his parliamentary career in 1689, at the time of the Union debates Maule was allied personally and politically with Mar. In light of Mar's behaviour to his brother, it seems unusual that their family connection would suppress the prevalence of Scots. Yet, unlike Lockhart, who used the highest levels of Scots with Maule, Mar seems to distinctly disfavour using Scots when corresponding with him. Perhaps Mar acknowledged the age and status difference between himself and Maule, given their familial connection was nonetheless hierarchical. Maule may have represented a senior and authoritative figure to Mar, whereas Lockhart and Maule shared perhaps a more symmetrical relationship, based around analogous political ideals and academic pursuits. Maule was an exceptional scholar whose political and intellectual abilities came to be widely recognised by the Scottish elite across the political spectrum (Blair-Imrie, 2011), while Mar was meanwhile aware of his own limited schooling, of which he remarked to his son 'you have been more luckie in your education than I was' (Erskine, 1896: 178). In addition, Maule was outwardly Jacobite and Episcopalian, whereas Mar kept such sympathies hidden at least until 1714. These factors may have induced a shift towards variants considered 'polite', given the increased association of Scots with traditional and informal usage by this time. Perhaps Mar's conception of 'alignment' and 'closeness' did not necessarily operate along a simple vector of kinship relations, but was tied up in social and political identities, creating different levels of association and ergo, different patterns of language use as a consequence.

To turn now to some of Mar's correspondence to Maule, the first extract, taken from a letter written 26th of May, 1717, shows a noticeable reduction in both Scots and non-standard features in general, compared to the previous extracts written to Grange.

'My Dear Hary. It was a very great pleasur to me to hear by Sr Hugh that

you was well & I came here in expectation of meeting a near friend wch hap-ned accordingly some time ago & to be in the way in case a certain thing had gone on, wch for a twelve month before had *cast* us a good *dale* of pains to bring to that pass the dissapointment in that was no great surprize to me.'

The letter is formal in tone, and there is a recognition of epistolary norms in Mar's reference to the correspondent's health. The spelling and word choices are also much closer to the incipient standard, and there are only a few Scots features present throughout. The features that are present in the text include *you was*, a morphosyntactic feature present in Scots but also many non-standard English dialects,[5] as well as *dale*, 'deal' (Front Vowel Merger), which seems to be largely invariable for Mar. The widespread or consistent nature of these features might indicate Mar's lack of awareness of their Scots origins, though it is less clear whether his use of *cast*, 'cost' (<a> - <o>) falls into this category, given this feature was disappearing from correspondence by this time, which might suggest its salience as a Scots feature. Nonetheless, taken together, these characteristics might indicate Mar's awareness of the learned character and social standing of his recipient. His avoidance of both informal language use and most Scots features could suggest he associated Scots with an informal or less-polite register, which would be supported by his behaviour to his brother.

Mar's tone throughout the letter is also slightly cryptic, as he suggests he was present 'in case a certain thing had gone on', which is referred to as 'that' throughout. This careful construction of language may have been necessitated by the need to avoid accidentally letting any vital information slip, which could be intercepted and used against him. Mar was involved in Jacobite circles by this point in time, plausibly demanding careful language use in written correspondence as a result. This would suggest a greater attention paid to writing choices in general, thereby encouraging language shift in the direction of the incoming standard, particularly if there was a need to remain as 'anonymous' as possible. Mar's careful language use also comes through in an earlier letter to Maule, prior to his Jacobite dealings, dated 9th March, 1706. The subject matter is delicate - Mar is discussing the Union debates, and is suggesting that incorporation is inevitable, perhaps justifying his stance. Mar spoke out in favour of Union agreement, but this ran counter to Maule's Jacobite principles, and Mar was likely all too aware that Maule would disagree with his news.

'The Affair of the *Treatie* will now be the great sub-ject of discourse. The English nation *were* never in so good a disposition towards Scotland as at this time, but I'm affraid they will be unwilling to treat of anything but an *Intear* Union A federall union they think a jest & I *realie* belive they will give us no terms (*simplie*) of any *valow* for going into their succession... You certainly have heard Annandale's *storie*

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[5]Although morphosyntactic features were not included in the categories identified during the methodological process, nor in following the quantitative analyses of Chapters 6, 7 or 8, some of these features came to light during the micro-analysis. This is hardly surprising, considering the careful inspection of individual letters that a close-up investigation allows. To ignore these features however would be to ignore part of the linguistic behaviour characterising these individuals, as well as ignoring the Scots use they may imply, and thus they are pointed out in these extracts as they occur. Nonetheless, as this thesis does not intend to undertake a morphosyntactic analysis of early Modern Scots, no further investigation of their function or form takes place, and they are merely highlighted here as another written Scots feature.

so I will not *fash* you with it.

Despite Mar's disfavouring of written Scots features when conversing with Maule, Scots could be employed for effect, plausibly to reduce the impact of a difficult or potentially face-threatening communicative act. This was observed earlier in Mar's letter to Grange, and similarly, there appears to be an almost deliberate choice of the lexical item *fash*, 'to afflict, annoy, trouble, vex, bother or weary' (OED, 2022). The utilisation of a local feature might reduce the impact of the message and emphasise their shared Scottish heritage, within a context that highlighted the clear breach in their political ideologies. Mitigation strategies are apparent within the letter - Mar suggests there is a certain inevitability to incorporation, but takes an opportunistic view, stressing the need for Scottish politicians to capitalise on the favourable political climate. Yet, he recognises the irritation his news might cause Maule and his use of *fash* might seek to repair the common ground between them. The use of Scots to minimise the difficult subject matter has been identified in other studies (c.f. Dossena, 2002; Cruickshank, 2012) and in a similar vein, Mar may be using a Scots lexical item to signal linguistic and cultural solidarity.

Interestingly, the exact opposite appears to happen in one of Mar's letters to Sidney Godolphin, the English High Treasurer and a recipient who interestingly sees higher proportions of Scots. Written on the 26th of October 1706, the letter concerns negative Scottish reactions towards the proposed Union treaty, and the tone differs considerably from the letter written to Maule. Here, Mar takes a pro-Union viewpoint, in line with the stance of his recipient, and suggests the parliament will be successful in passing the agreement.

'Tho we have still as good hopes as ever of succeeding in Parliament, yet I must *acquent* your Lordship that the humour in the country against the *treatie* of union is much increst as late.. and the opposeing *pairties* misrepresenting every article of the *treatie* makes the comonality believ that they will be opprest with taxes..Yet the union will certainly do in the Parliament..'

The letter attempts to take a reassuring tone, perhaps because Mar felt the Scottish parliamentary process reflected on the competence of the Court party in securing the agreement. Mar wanted to establish connections with Godolphin to ensure political success post-Union, thus impressing him and portraying an image of capability was an important consideration. Yet while Mar would clearly have sought his receivers social approval, he is not doing so by accommodating toward Godolphin's register as would be expected (c.f. Labov, 1990), considering the range of Scots features identified here. Rather, as we saw earlier with Lockhart, Mar may similarly be distancing himself from an identified out-group within the Scottish parliament, seeking to align with Godolphin instead. These opposition in this case are the Country party members who are causing problems in parliament, and Mar uses the PART variable in *pairties* to describe them. In utilising a Scots variable when discussing the opposition, Mar might seek to remove himself from association with these figures and their actions, especially given that he is writing to a politically-important Englishman who could potentially secure his political future.

To do so, Mar might be tapping into the 'rustic', even 'backwards' status that Scots

had been slowly acquiring over the past century, as the result of a prestige-shift in the linguistic landscape of Scotland. The PART variable was a distinctly northern phenomenon and as a result, Godolphin may have recognised this as a Scots, or at least non-standard, feature. Accordingly, Mar might be correlating the increasingly negative associations of Scots features with the Country party, which could be perceived as such by Godolphin. Interactional positions can accumulate ideological assumptions that come to be associated with both large-scale and local categories of identity and social categories, which in turn feed back into language choices (Bucholtz and Hall, 2005: 22). Mar may thus be tapping into local identity politics and relating these to broader macro-social associations around Scots and its users, forging links between the Country party and the undertones that regional varieties, especially Scots, were acquiring by this time.

Thus, while both Lockhart and Mar use Scots features to paint their adversaries in a bad light, Lockhart's usage foregrounds a shared, in-group identity with his fellow Country or Cavalier recipients in opposition to the Court, whereas Mar's use might rather draw upon the broader, supra-regional connotations Scots was acquiring as a 'domestic' variety to characterise the opposition. Moreover, the fact that it is the word *parties* itself which attracts this variable, indicates a deliberate move on the part of Mar. Politically-charged language can reflect and promote political cohesion (Hall-Lew et al., 2012: 61), and such behaviour could plausibly span political parties and national borders in eighteenth-century Scotland. Rather than referring to a shared Scottish background, Mar instead creates an alternative alignment along political lines, one that incorporates Godolphin by delineating their 'in-group' from the opposition party through his disparaging language use.

In another letter to Godolphin, written 22nd September, 1706, Mar's use of Scots features similarly seems to portray the anti-Union stance in an unfavourable light.

'The Queen's Advocat did not like it, and he *continows* of his own oppinion, and *argowd* against it to us all *togither*... His main arguments against it are the loosing of our *soverainity* and that a toleration will ruin the *Presbitrie*.. acting the *pairt* he does most be with a designe, for a man of his sence cou'd never be convinced with those *waik* reasons and arguments he makes use of.'

In this instance, Mar is discussing the Lord Advocate's negative opinion of the Union articles, which he rejected. Rather than being described as a genuine political or ideological stance, the Advocat is instead playing a *pairt*, his whole opposition platform is based on *waik* reasons, with a focus on constructs deemed unimportant by Mar or Godolphin, such as Scottish *soverainity* and the *Presbitrie*. As with his previous letter, Mar's use of particular Scots spellings may seek to discredit the opposition through use of vernacular language features and their associated connotations, particularly when writing to an English recipient based firmly at the source of the emerging English standard.

While's Mar's behaviour between Maule and Godolphin seems almost polar opposite, in many senses his relationship with them also spanned the two poles of the political spectrum. Mar was both a Court politician motivated by personal ambition, and a tactical Jacobite with hidden sympathies and a strong loyalty to family. Consequently,

Mar's use of Scots to his Jacobite uncle and to his English political patron could be employed for quite radically-different effects, though ultimately in both cases he seeks to close the gap between them through careful positioning and alignment, in which Scots features might play a part. This does not necessarily form a contradiction in stance therefore, given Mar's twin loyalties to family and fortune. In particular the social relationships Mar sought to build through his letters was a secondary but important influence in his choice of spelling and lexical features. Scots accordingly appears to have acted as a mitigation strategy at times, particularly to fellow Scots and family members, while to influential outsiders it acted as an alignment device, positioning Mar within their political remit through the 'othering' of the opposition.

Overall, both Mar and Lockhart's Scots use seems to have been sensitive to audience pressures and accommodative desires, though features could also be used for particular socio-pragmatic effects. They thus demonstrate similar social and stylistic constraints, but also highly specific behaviour unique to the individual alone, particularly when it comes to the political, religious and Jacobite identities of their recipients. Yet by demonstrating a sensitivity toward these identities, such observations suggest they were in some sense conscious of the broader, macro-social patterns at work across the political elite of the Scottish parliament, as identified in the quantitative results of Chapter 7. How they compare to Tweeddale, however, as a Squadrone member with complex bilateral relations across the political spectrum, will now be explored, to ascertain whether these patterns hold in this instance also.

9.3   John Hay, Second Marquess of Tweeddale

John Hay, second Marquess of Tweeddale (1645–1713) was the leader of the Squadrone Volante in the Scottish parliament. Born into a distinguished family, Tweeddale became firmly associated with the Williamite regime after the Revolution, despite being seen as 'sadly out of his depth at court and, for that matter, in most other places' (Riley, 1979: 49). It seems that Tweeddale lacked interpersonal skills which hindered his political advancement, despite his prominence in the Scottish and first British parliament. While he eventually became an active proponent for incorporation, in the opening years of the eighteenth century Tweeddale was a spokesman for the Country party, and his early political activity can be seen as a firm defence of Scotland's independent institutions and enterprises, naturally aligning him with many Country party members. His political platform was based around safeguarding the Kirk and freedom of trade, and he and his followers pushed the revival of the 1641 constitutional settlement in Scotland (Young, 2004a), an agreement focused on Scottish ecclesiastical liberties and securities (Russell, 1995: 237). Tweeddale was furthermore a staunch defender of the Darien scheme (Riley, 1979: 132; Young, 2004a).

Yet, as touched upon in previous chapters, the Country party did not have the sole claim to patriotism or the defence of Scotland's institutions; those who professed support for the Union could also be some of the most steadfast supporters of Scottish national interests. Thus, when Tweeddale was approached by the Crown in 1704

to form a new administration, he broke with the Country party and instead came to support the Court, but this shift was occasioned by a fundamental mismatch between his religious and political ideals and those of the opposition, rather than pure political expediency. Tweeddale formed the *Neu Party*, which was composed of Whigs formerly in opposition (Ferguson, 1964: 98), particularly Presbyterian adherents within the amorphous Country party who could not be reconciled with the political objectives of their Cavalier counterparts (Macinnes, 2007: 261-262). They eventually formed into the *Squadrone Volante* (as described previously in Chapter 2, Section 2.3.3), of which Tweeddale played a leading role, some contemporaries even labelling them 'Tweeddale's party'. The political splinter group joined with the Court, and became crucial in securing the Union treaty as it passed through the final session of the Scottish parliament between 1706-1707 (Young, 2004a).

The Squadrone were linked by a relatively cohesive set of political and ecclesiastical goals, as well as close-knit social connections through their kinship ties, and they maintained a presence for several years in the ensuing British parliaments post-Union (Simpson, 1970; Scott, 1981). Tweeddale was meanwhile made one of the sixteen Scottish representative peers in the British House of Lords. Despite his active involvement in the debates and key role in the Squadrone, however, both contemporary and later historical accounts have suggested Tweeddale was of a rather simple nature, well-meaning and modest, but not particularly driven by political success (Macky, 1733: 186; Riley, 1979: 50; Lockhart, 1995: 66). Tweeddale it seems, was not driven by the same complex socio-political ambitions as Lockhart and Mar, nor was he strongly oriented toward personal aggrandisement. This might suggest Tweeddale felt less need to shift his variable usage along the 'politeness' cline toward a more anglicised register, perhaps partially explaining why his Scots proportions are slightly elevated. To gain more perspective on his language use, however, Tweeddale's behaviour across individuals must now be examined.

9.3.1   Proportions and Letters

Accordingly, Tweeddale's Scots and anglicised variants were extracted from POLITECS, compiled and plotted in the mosaic plot shown in Figure 9.4 below.
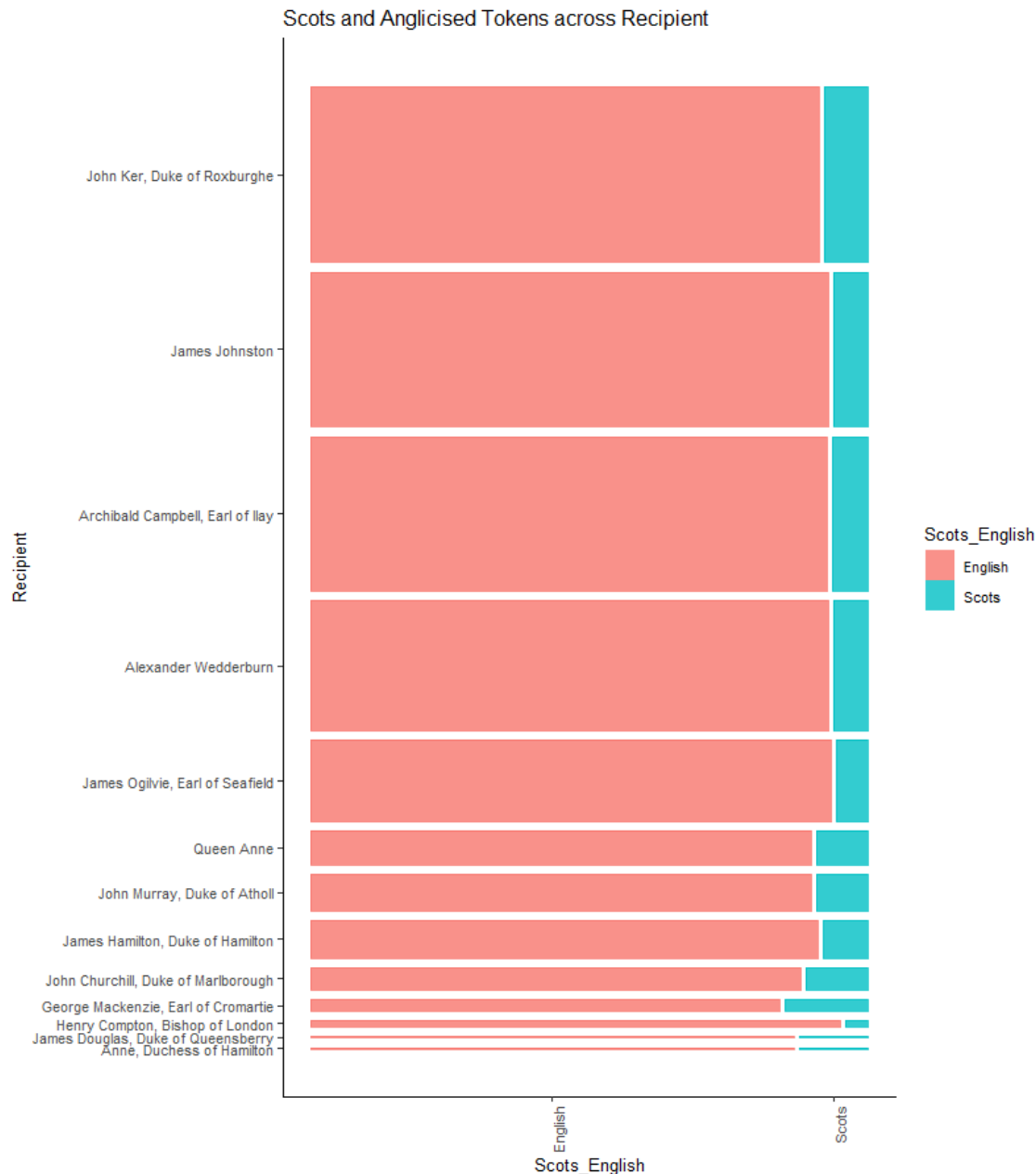
Figure 9.4: Mosaic plot of Tweeddale's frequencies of Scots and English by recipient

Figure 9.4 suggests that overall, Tweeddale barely differentiated between his recipients, which might indeed point to his lack of interpersonal skills within parliament. Tweeddale writes to a mix of Squadrone, Court and Country party members, and yet, unlike Lockhart and Mar, there is no single recipient who is clearly favoured or disfavoured when it comes to Scots usage. This is not the result of minute levels of Scots either, indeed Figure 9.1 suggested that Tweeddale was most Scotticised out of the politicians. Nor is his behaviour driven by categorical use of one or two minor Scots variants, given that Figure 8.2 in Chapter 8 indicated Tweeddale used a wide range of Scots features. Instead, Tweeddale might not have been sensitive to the same audience pressures or stylistic concerns as Mar and Lockhart, while his changing allegiances may have hindered his ability to construct a coherent political persona through discourse.

Honing in on micro-level differences however, there is a very small split within Tweeddale's recipients. He uses very similar proportions of Scots to Roxburghe, Johnston and Wedderburn - all Squadrone members - as well as the Court politicians Ilay and Seafield. The remaining recipients see slightly higher proportions of Scots. These include Queen Anne, the Dukes of Atholl, Hamilton and Marlborough, and the Earl of Cromartie - a somewhat eclectic mix of royalty, Country party members and English commissioners. It is not immediately clear what might motivate this patterning across these two groups of recipients. The Queen, for instance, seems unlikely to have encouraged use of Scots features given her status and English upbringing, while the close-knit nature of the Squadrone would, if anything, be predicted to encourage vernacular language use, especially considering the family ties between them. Instead, the minimal differences between recipients might reflect Tweeddale's personal inability to cultivate political connections. Indeed, he seems to have been rather stiff, withdrawn and introverted when it came to personal relations, failing to network effectively with the right patrons and associates and gaining a reputation for being inflexible and staid in his communications (Riley, 1979: 50).

Nonetheless, Tweeddale's behaviour to his Squadrone recipients in particular is notable for its consistency. John Ker of Roxburghe is Tweeddale's more frequent correspondent and like Tweeddale, he was a central member of the Squadrone Volante, serving as its secretary from October 1704 to May 1705 (Simpson, 2005). Roxburghe played a particularly prominent role in the party - it was through his intervention that Queensberry was sacked and the 'New Party' emerged under Tweeddale, and he has been credited for the Squadrone's alignment with the Court position regarding Union (Simpson, 2005; Macinnes, 2007: 264). Tweeddale and Roxburghe were furthermore connected by kinship connections, as Roxburghe was Tweeddale's nephew (Riley, 1979: 56). James Johnston meanwhile was a key member of the Squadrone; he pushed for the adoption of the 1641 constitutional settlement together with Tweeddale. Johnston had also previously worked with Tweeddale's father in parliament (Young, 2008), and was concerned to cultivate Tweeddale himself (Riley, 1979: 50, 83). They shared a firm adherence and loyalty to Presbyterianism and their political careers continued post-Union in the British parliament, suggesting a similar political agenda bound by theological concerns. Alexander Wedderburn was not a politician himself, but acted as deputy Secretary of State and appears to have been a political ally of the Squadrone. He corresponded frequently with several members of the party, and can be considered part of the Squadrone faction.

Tweeddale uses fairly uniform levels of Scots across these Squadrone addressees in Figure 9.4, which might suggest the homogeneous composition of the party. Their congruity in terms of political goals, Presbyterian orthodoxy, geographical proximity and marriage ties has already been noted in previous historical scholarship (Ferguson, 1977: 216-218; Simpson, 1970; Riley, 1978: 115-118; Scott, 1981; Macinnes, 2007: 246), and such factors have also been found to determine the strength of a social network (Fitzmaurice, 2007). Tweeddale's patterns of Scots use observable here might similarly reflect a linguistic similitude between Squadrone members. Recall from Figure 7.10 in Chapter 7 that Squadrone commissioners were particularly tightly clustered within the bi-dimensional space, demonstrating less variation between them than the Court and Country party members. Their tight-knit nature might

have encouraged less variability in their internal correspondence, perhaps constructing a community of practice that drew from and contributed to this shared linguistic repertoire (Wenger, 1998: 72-85; Tieken-Boon van Ostade, 2000). Dispositions (whether linguistic or otherwise) are learned interactively through participation in practices most typical for members of a particular group or class (Bourdieu, 1977). Thus, Tweeddale's language behaviour may have derived from his frequent correspondence with his fellow Squadrone members. Micro-patterns of variation can accumulate into larger macro-social categories, continually informing and being reinforced by stylistic practice and group membership desires, and Tweeddale's behaviour plausibly demonstrates this interaction between different sociolinguistic frames of reference. This in turn reinforces the pattern we have already seen in the quantitative analysis - unlike the more nebulous composition of the Court and Country parties, Squadrone members reflect a relatively uniform linguistic identity.

The conditional effects plot (Figure 7.8) of Chapter 7 also suggested the Squadrone figures were particularly anglicised, in fact, their probability of using Scots was among the lowest within the corpus. Moreover, in comparison to Tweeddale, Roxburghe has a much more limited range of Scots features (see Figure 8.2 in Chapter 8), indeed he only uses lexical items and variants from the 'Other' set, and Wedderburn is similarly more limited in his range of features. This might indicate that Scots features were not a resource they utilised to index relations with fellow members, and the strength of their party membership may have instead encouraged the adoption of a highly anglicised register among them. When mutual relationships within a network affect more than one sphere, such as profession, family and friends, individuals are under greater pressure to maintain the circumscribed linguistic variety (Conde-Silvestre, 2012: 333). Consequently, Tweeddale may have been sensitive to the need to maintain a more anglicised register, despite his clear ability to use Scots features, as demonstrated by his greater proportion and range of Scots relative to Lockhart and Mar. However, some extracts need to be analysed to provide more clarity on his behaviour.

Several extracts from a letter written to Roxburghe, dated 11th December 1704, demonstrate a preponderance of lexical items, particularly those that relate to Scots law and legal terminology. Their presence is not surprising given the natural link between politics and law.

'Treasury had resolv'd upon for *rouping* of ye Customes wherof a copy was sent yow *togither* with yt of their letter, to Her Majesty *theranent*.'

'I have showen ye Treasurer *deput* what yow write as to your meeting with yt person..'

'..might occasion a jealousy that it was not to be a free *Roup*, but that we were to pitch upon those we lik'd best which might hinder people to *engadge* to bid for it..'

The legal lexical items include *rouping*, 'to put up for public auction', *theranent*, 'concerning', *roup*, 'public auction', and *deput*, 'deputy' (OED, 2022), whilst there is little evidence of other Scots features throughout the letter. Similarly when writing

to the Squadrone members Wedderburn and Johnston, most of Tweeddale's usage is largely lexical, as demonstrated in the following extracts.

'I made a short speech thinking to divert the motion and to make ym fall again upon ye acts of Security and for ye *cesse*, but it would not do till I was forc'd to consent to go to ye nomination ye first *sederunt* next week..' Wedderburn, 6th August, 1704

'It is true that I found it convenient immediatly after ye address *anent* ye plott was voted to make a short speech and in ye conclusion of it to adjourn..' Wedderburn, 28th August 1704

'The publick instructiouns seem likewayes defective and therfor severall things desired to be added which it is supposed will not be stuck at particularly a clause to ye 4th article *anent* ye succession..' Johnston, 9th June, 1704

In these letters Tweeddale uses lexical items such as *cesse* - the land tax in Scotland, though this is also still the official term in Ireland (OED, 2022), *sederunt*, 'A sitting of a deliberative or judicial body' (OED, 2022), and *anent*, 'concerning, about or in view of, frequently used in legal and quasi-legal phraseology' (DSL, 2022). Again they are linked to political and legal proceedings, or are associated with such discourse. Given a sufficient or appropriate English alternative did not always exist, their continuation is perhaps to be expected, especially within political discourse, private or otherwise. This does suggest however that when Tweeddale wrote to his Squadrone recipients, his use of Scots features was largely dictated by the need for precise legal or political terms, for which an anglicised alternative might not have been immediately accessible to him.

However, Tweeddale did also occasionally use instances of Scots spellings in his letters to these recipients, some of which are demonstrated in the following extracts:

'.. will give a great *dale* of satisfaction to ye nation. Tho *tuo* letters to ye Treasury were *likewayes* read this day, and we are doing what we can to make a clear account of ye Bishops *reats* as soon as possible.' Roxburgh, 11th December 1704

'.. all who have gott ym are *verrie* pressing to have ym past in Exchequer.. and of yt litles above the third in money.. ffor these reasons I think it were not amisse yt Her Majesty were spoke to to send *doun* a stop to ye passing of all these new precepts ..' Wedderburn, August 6th 1704

'.. we spoke to for their *encouradgment*.. I believe a new draught of them will be *necessar* so farre was our *oun* would allow for *carrieng* on ye measures.. for tho what hath been done as to Queensberrie and oyrs hath given a great *dale* of satisfaction but now *eneugh* of complaining tho no more yn ye case requires ...' Johnston, 9th June 1704

These extracts demonstrate a greater range of Scots features present in Tweeddale's writing, including the Front Vowel Merger in *dale* and *reats*, Northern Fronting in *eneugh*, <dg> in *encouradgment*, use of <u> in *oun*, 'own', and use of <ie> in

verrie and *carrieng.* Clearly Tweeddale could and did use written Scots features to Squadrone members alongside lexical items, and these included both more common Scots spellings, but also those that were less frequent. The use of occasional, non-lexical instances of Scots to his party associates is not unexpected, given that Tweeddale appears to be more conservative[6] in general in his linguistic behaviour. Figure 8.2 in Chapter 8 suggested Tweeddale possessed a wide range of Scots variants, and his extracts above demonstrate use of a number of 'Least Common' features (as classified in Chapter 8), including the Front Vowel Merger and Northern Fronting, despite their declining occurrence within elite correspondence. Tweeddale was clearly not able to remove all instances of Scots from his correspondence, even those that may have attracted more attention.

This does not necessarily negate the possibility that Tweeddale is subtly shifting into a more-anglicised register, however, and it is erroneous to assume that style or code-switching must necessarily involve a complete transition. What represents a 'shift' for Tweeddale is relative to his baseline behaviour and ability to do so, which may have been more limited than Lockhart's capabilities, for instance. Considering his use of Scots to the Squadrone tends to be composed mostly of legal or political lexis, and commonly-occurring features (though not exclusively as we saw above), Tweeddale does appear to be sensitive to the anglicised nature of his recipients, reducing the range of Scots features to those that were less distinct or were required by the discourse. As a result, by seeking to avoid features that had less currency among the Squadrone, Tweeddale may have been tapping into a common alignment within the newly-formed party, one that flowed along both political and linguistic lines. Language use is frequently linked to relations of power and political arrangements in societies (Gal and Woolard, 1995; Gal, 1998; Blommaert, 1999) and thus, the power-dynamics within the emergent party could have encouraged Tweeddale to move in the direction of his fellow members, to ensure their continued homogeneity.

Alongside these Squadrone members, there are two recipients from the Court party with whom Tweeddale uses almost identical proportions of Scots. They are Archibald Campbell, Earl of Ilay, and James Ogilvie, Earl of Seafield. Initially, Tweeddale's adherence to the Country party would likely have distanced him from such figures, but he shared their dedication to Presbyterian church government and the Hanoverian succession, and came to vote with the Court after 1704. Tweeddale's correspondence to both recipients is dated between 1704-1705 - the exact time when the Squadrone were forming and shifting in their political adherence. This may have led Tweeddale to accommodate toward the linguistic behaviour of his Court recipients, as he did with his own Squadrone members, marking this transition. Indeed, in correspondence directed to Ilay and Seafield Tweeddale similarly uses mostly lexical items, as is demonstrated in the extracts below.

'..all ye D. of Queensberries friends, and particular *dependers* went in to a man, and all those Her Majesty hath honoured with new Titles, except ye E. of Hoptoun, and on ye other hand none of D. Hamiltons ffriends, or any one of His family except my Ld Bargeny, both his brothers having quitt him particularly my Ld Selkirk who hath behav'd with a wonderfull firmness... circumstances with yow have had a

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[6]By 'conservative' this refers to retaining multiple Scots features, rather than anglicising them.

contrair effect with us' Ilay, 18th July 1704

'.. according to ye articles of ye *Roup* which had been read to ym at ye Barre and wherof I here send your LoPP a copy...' Seafield, 11th of January, 1705

Tweeddale uses the terms *roup*, 'public auction', *dependers*, 'dependants' and *contrair*, 'contrary'. The latter two variants are graphically similar to their anglicised equivalent, but both are chiefly Scottish (DSL, 2022; OED, 2022). The similar nature of the cognates may have meant Tweeddale was less likely to recognise their Scots status. Speakers are considered to be more aware of variants that are radically different, or which are involved in the maintenance of contrast (Trudgill, 1986: 11). A similar effect is plausible in written language, which would enable such non-distinct lexical items to persist. Moreover, Ilay was born in England and his family estates were based in the Western highlands, where the common language spoken was Gaelic rather than Scots. Consequently, Tweeddale's use of Scots in correspondence directed to Ilay was unlikely to have promoted an increased socio-political association between them. On the other hand, Ilay was likely familiar with legal lexical items through his active role in parliament, particularly given their close similarity to their anglicised forms, sanctioning their use in Tweeddale's correspondence.

Tweeddale's behaviour might also suggest an alignment with the Court, in which he similarly recognised the more anglicised nature of their register. As we observed earlier in Figure 7.10 of Chapter 7, Court party members, particularly those who were Presbyterian and non-Jacobites (like Ilay and Seafield), were associated with lower probabilities of Scots. Tweeddale may have sought to accommodate toward this, perhaps laying claim to a shared unionist identity, thereby garnering Court support and bolstering his position in the new parliament. Often positioning is linked to a desire to assert group membership (Bucholtz and Hall, 2005: 18), and we have already seen how Lockhart and Mar positioned themselves relative to the 'other' in a bid to affirm their membership of a particular group or identity. The extract to Ilay above hints at a similar motive for Tweeddale. Written in the aftermath of the failed Queensberry plot, it captures his gradual adherence to the Court political line and correspondingly, he appears to distance himself from the Country party that he had been part of. Tweeddale writes that the Queen had not honoured any of Hamilton's friends (all of whom were members of the Country party), and that even his family members had 'quitt' (left) Hamilton's party, his brother Lord Selkirk having done so with 'wonderful firmness',[7] suggesting his approval of the affair. Tweeddale had been condemned as a turncoat by his old Country associates, who refused to support his new parliament and its main objective of securing the Hanoverian Succession (Ferguson, 1964: 99-100). Such strained relations may have added to his desire to shift away from their usage patterns. Thus, Tweeddale was perhaps in the process of changing his group membership to one that encompassed the Court political platform, a process that might be indicated both by his tone and the anglicised nature of these extracts.

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[7]At the point when this letter was written, the reforged alliance between the Country party and its Cavalier wing disgruntled Presbyterians within the party, leading Hamilton's brother Charles, Earl of Selkirk and his kinsman, John, Lord Belhaven, to join Tweeddale's party instead (Macinnes, 2007: 264).

Further evidence of his transition towards supporting the Court is suggested in another letter, written 30th May 1704:

'The honour I had of your LoPP letter gave me great satisfaction, and ye assurance I had by it of your concurrence for obtaining what may be thought fitt or *necessar* to promote her Majestys service and interest here which If I had not hoped for I should never had ventured to undertake ye trust she has been pleas'd to putt upon me. My Ld in ye memoriall sent, there was all consideration had to ye measures laid *doun* and circumstances there so farre as we thought our *oun* would admitt of.'

Tweeddale notes the 'trust she [the Queen] has been pleas'd to putt upon me', suggesting his alignment with the Crown, and remarks upon Ilay's concurrence with Tweeddale's intentions, indicating shared political goals. Alongside this, the tone is polite and respectful, which may have favoured an increase in features associated with the incoming 'polite' standard from the South. The level of politeness demonstrated by writers is often moderated by the relative power and social distance between correspondents (Raumolin-Brunberg, 1996a: 14; Dossena, 2019: 71), and recipients of higher rank would likely induce greater politeness and formality than letters between family members, especially when asking a favour or making a request (Fitzmaurice, 2006; Palander-Collin et al., 2009: 12; Hernández-Campoy and Conde-Silvestre, 2015). As Ilay came from one of the largest aristocratic interests in Scotland (Murdoch, 2006), Tweeddale could not have failed to be aware of this, encouraging his adoption of politeness conventions. Indeed, the only Scots features are the use of <u> in *doun* and *oun*, and *necessar*, 'necessary', perhaps suggesting they had not attracted his attention. The considerable discrepancy in social status, and the extensive political power Ilay wielded in parliament, may thus be responsible for Tweeddale's greater use of anglicised features, but this does not suggest such variation was bound by a simple shift along the vector of formality or attention to speech. Rather, Tweeddale might seek to demonstrate the formality and respect required by his recipient, *in order to* achieve membership of the group or interest that Ilay represented. Scots use (or lack thereof) might be utilised by Tweeddale to position himself along the same political lines as Ilay, and the content of the letter, its semantic and pragmatic devices, and the politeness conventions used, all lend weight to this possibility.

Considering an extract written to his other Court recipient, the Earl of Seafield, a similar claim to an in-group membership might be demonstrated in the following, written 12 December 1704.

'..partly yt ye servants we have to employ are not verry *cliver* at yt as your LoPP *knous verrie* well.'

This extract alludes to a common understanding between them, as Tweeddale suggests the servants employed in the parliament were wanting for competence, 'as your LoPP[Lordship] knous verrie well', which assumes he recognises Seafield's opinions or perceptions of these men. This foregrounds a commonality between the two politicians, highlighting their shared opinion (or so Tweeddale concludes) and perhaps suggests his alignment with the Court position, in which he shares similar perspectives

on the state of parliament with other Court members like Seafield. There are some Scots features accompanying this statement, including <i> - <e> in *cliver*, <u> - <w> in *knous* and <ie> in *verrie*, though they reflect Tweeddale's most common and least distinctive Scots features. Given that salient features tend to be accommodated to in contact situations, and adjustments made to linguistic forms that are high in the speaker's consciousness (Trudgill, 1986: 16), the fact that Tweeddale does not adapt his spelling of these forms indicates they may have been below the level of consciousness for him. This possibility becomes more likely if we consider that they occur in most of his correspondence, including his Squadrone recipients, but also Court politicians such as Seafield and even Ilay, who may have potentially induced the greatest attention to orthographic choices. Thus, the possibility that Scots variants are being used to index a Court or incorporationist position seems less likely here.

In general, it seems that Tweeddale's letters to Seafield and Ilay establish a prevailing sense of analogous motives, initiatives and goals. This might go some way to explaining why his letters to Court politicians pattern so similarly to the Squadrone figures. Tweeddale might again be aligning himself on a linguistic front with their practices, perhaps to integrate himself into a new position within the pre-existing social structure. This was not just a passive reaction to their influence and status, however, as his letters clearly suggest he actively sought to portray himself as a trustworthy, esteemed and valuable member of parliament. In his new role as high commissioner of the Scottish parliament, Tweeddale would have been keen to demonstrate his competency and ability to manage a role of high standing, and his highly anglicised style was quite plausibly an attempt to position himself as such, using variants that were both associated with higher prestige, and had greater currency with his recipients. Moreover, the Court party and Squadrone did harbour an active alliance during the final sessions of the Scottish parliament, evident in the Court's moves to recognise the Squadrone's reservoir of support by selectively distributing rewards promised after the ratification of the treaty (Macinnes, 2007: 304). Tweeddale, as leader of the Squadrone, would have been aware of this and might seek to align himself with these Court politicians through adopting their stylistic written register. Despite his difficulties in cultivating political connections (Riley, 1979: 50), Tweeddale does appear to have been sensitive to the linguistic norms of his Court party associates, and subtly moves towards these.

In comparison, Tweeddale's correspondence to the Duke of Hamilton and Duke of Atholl, both Country party members, sees a small uptick in proportions of Scots. Perhaps, as with his Squadrone and Court correspondents, Tweeddale sought to index his affiliation with their political group, particularly if these letters were written prior to 1704. Considering the Country party was associated with higher probabilities of Scots (see Figure 7.10), Hamilton and Atholl would be more likely to use Scots features, and Tweeddale may likewise have increased his use as an initial member of their faction. Use of Scots features could underline a common opposition identity and membership, encouraged perhaps by Tweeddale's own political insecurity and poor networking skills, which demanded greater effort on his part to align with his political patrons in parliament. Dossena's (2019) analysis of nineteenth-century Scottish correspondence found that writers frequently sought to express authenticity, reliability and psychological proximity through means of less formulaic choices such

as vernacular usage, as well as utilising the vernacular for positive and negative politeness moves, reinforcing mutual bonds (Dossena, 2019: 70).

Similar effects may be observable here, in which Tweeddale's use of Scots reinforced his value to the leaders of the Country coalition, moving in the direction of their variable norms. Neither Hamilton or Atholl were part of the Cavalier wing of the Country party, thus they shared Tweeddale's Presbyterian and Hanoverian goals, or at least concurred on ecclesiastical and dynastic issues. This relationship changed after 1704, and we have already seen the comments Tweeddale made about Hamilton to Ilay in the earlier extract, which suggested a political distancing took place. Initially however, the Tweeddale and Hamilton families were 'allies in resentment and ambition' (Riley, 1979: 133) following the aftermath of the Darien failure. Both had invested in the Company of Scotland, and the two of them exploited popular anger in Edinburgh in a bid to put pressure on the English Court (Riley, 1979: 137). All of Tweeddale's letters to Hamilton were written between 1700-1702, a time when they were arguably most closely aligned, and similarly letters to Atholl are dated mostly around 1703, prior to Tweeddale's shift away from the Country party.

To explore this in further detail, an extract from a letter written to Hamilton on the 12th of January, 1702, is shown below.

'God *hes blist* you with a sone of *lait* which the news was *receav'd* with the greatest satisfactione of all such.. I did not againe meett with the D. of Arg:.. however I think the loss was not great for either the advances he made *was* with the designe you *writt* or he would never have *engadg* furder for the publick then he found would be usfull for his owne private interest for that *hes* been *alwise* the maxime that familye *hes* gone upon.'

Tweeddale's style in this letter seems a lot less formal than that observed in letters to his Squadrone and Court party recipients, suggesting he felt less need to shift towards a highly standardised variety when writing to Hamilton. Tweeddale's close working relationship with him is evident from the extract, in which he congratulates Hamilton warmly for the birth of his son. He also paints Argyll in a rather negative light, suggesting he is motivated primarily by private interest rather than the good of the public which '*hes* been *alwise* the maxime that familye *hes* gone upon'. The tone is almost tale-telling in nature, and alongside this, he demonstrates a range of Scots features, including <i> - <e> in *blist*, 'blessed', <dg> in *engadg*, 'engage', the non-standard past tense form *was* and 'Other' features including *writt*, 'wrote', *hes*, 'has' and *alwise*, 'always'.[8] His Scots is thus increased both in terms of prevalence and in terms of type, especially in comparison to the Court recipients examined earlier. These Scots features might serve as a mark of familiarity, indexing Hamilton and Tweeddale's shared Scottish background and perhaps their joint opposition to the leader of the Court (Argyll), by referencing this common ground.

As with his Court recipients, Tweeddale appeals to a mutual understanding with his correspondent, this time based around othering the Court rather than opposition members, and such moves are accompanied by various instances of Scots, rather than

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[8]Scots 'way' is pronounced 'wye', leading writers to misinterpret '-ways' as '-wise' or spell this phonologically, as in this case.

increased levels of anglicisation. The use of written Scots features, as variants that were disfavoured by Court politicians and more closely associated with a Country party register, could consequently enable Tweeddale to make such observations to its leader by closing the socio-political distance between them. The attitude portrayed here is interesting to observe, given that, as we saw in the earlier extract, just two and a half years later Tweeddale writes to Argyll's brother Ilay about Hamilton, whom he casts off. Tweeddale's changing political allegiances might subsequently be matched by a slight change in linguistic behaviour, suggesting a sensitivity to the usage patterns of whichever group he was seeking to integrate into. In a letter to Atholl, dated 2nd November 1703, we can similarly observe Tweeddale referring to their common understanding - in this case their suspicions regarding certain members who recently joined the Court party - and a subsequent scattering of Scots features are present throughout.

'As to my *oun* particular your Grace hath all alongst *knoun* so much of my mind in those matters having been as plain with yow as with any... if yow believe me sincere in what I professe as I hope yow do, and I am persuaded may ye same of all our other friends. I am *sorie* such pitifall tricks, and under hand insinuations should bear such weight after they have been so often *catched* in ym as to support a *partie* who have no other thing to recommend them and litle or no interest of their *oun* to do it but what favour they have gained at Court by indirect means gives them.'

Tweeddale's letter underlines their similar interpretation of events, inferring a mutual distrust that reinforces their alliance within the Country party. This enables Tweeddale to be 'as plain with yow (Atholl) as with any', and he refers to 'all our other friends', alluding to a common network of political figures between them within the loose amalgamation of interests in the Country party. He also seeks to negatively portray the Court party, who 'have no other thing to recommend them' and 'little or no interest of their *oun*', given their primary motivation is the favour they have gained at (the English) Court. As with Hamilton, a distinction between the Court and Country interests is being foregrounded, and there are several Scots features present, including the use of <ie> in *sorie* and *partie*, the past tense form in *catched*, and the use of <u> in *oun*, 'own' and *knoun*, 'known'. While it seems Tweeddale did not distinguish his *range* of Scots features in writing to Atholl, he does slightly alter his *proportion* to incorporate more Scots features, which may have signalled increased authenticity and reliability to Country party members.

In many ways, Tweeddale's stylistic behaviour towards Hamilton and Atholl mimics his demeanor towards the Court politicians he would write to just two years later. In each instance, he sought to align himself with their group membership. For the Court politicians this was achieved through anglicised language use and allusions to shared perceptions, perhaps to portray himself as a respectable figure worthy of leading parliament. For Country members, a slight increase in Scots features and a more confidential and amicable tone is observable. While patterns are subtle, they infer a tantalising link between socio-political connections and language use, that parallels the general usage patterns found in the macro-analysis in Chapter 7. As Tweeddale's later letters to his Squadrone and Court recipients make clear, he is capable of writing in a more standardised style that uses only the occasional,

largely invariable Scots feature. The use of the vernacular has frequently been found to correspond with in-group convergence or out-group divergence (Llamas et al., 2009: 385-386), and Tweeddale seems to subconsciously recognise the more anglicised registers of his Squadrone and Court contemporaries, and the increased vernacularity of his Country associates with their slightly higher Scots probabilities.

Thus, while at first glance Tweeddale's behaviour might seem inconsistent, identities emerge only in relation to other identities, making them naturally dynamic, fractured, and discontinuous, and different roles will be projected in different circumstances (Bucholtz and Hall, 2005: 25; Hernández-Campoy and Conde-Silvestre, 2015: 15). In this case, the transformative events around 1704 led Tweeddale to change his group membership, and the combination of content, tone and vernacular written features suggest Tweeddale's attempts at alignment or integration with either party and political platform as the situation demanded. Groups and individuals in multi-lingual settings have the ability to negotiate identity in response to ideologies demanding conformity and uniformity (Blackledge and Pavlenko, 2001: 248) and similarly Tweeddale seems to be negotiating his own stance through slight changes in his stylistic behaviour, altering his Scots depending on the political climate he was operating in. While contemporary and more recent historical accounts have highlighted Tweeddale's lack of charisma, drive and political shrewdness in his communications with others in the parliamentary circuit (Riley, 1979; Lockhart, 1995), this does not necessarily come through in his correspondence. Perhaps he was a more nuanced and politically astute narrator than previous scholarship has given him credit for, with an ability to identify the style and register required for different recipients at different moments in time. Where the differences lie are subtle and intricate, and this in turn points to the value of complementing a quantitative analysis with a close-up micro-analysis, in which these faint patterns can be illuminated.

To determine the extent to which the stylistic use of Scots for positioning and in-group/out-group membership claims was unique to these politicians or occurred more generally in educated, eighteenth-century Scottish society, the corpus must be explored from one final, non-parliamentary perspective. Accordingly, the proportions and range of Scots demonstrated by the Presbyterian clergyman Robert Wodrow will now be examined.

9.4   Robert Wodrow

Robert Wodrow was a Presbyterian minister based in the parish of Eastwood, near Glasgow. He was the second son of James Wodrow (1637–1707), a professor of divinity in the University of Glasgow and a devout Presbyterian. Wodrow similarly acquired an unwavering commitment to the Presbyterian cause, especially after experiencing the tumultuous events of pre-Revolution Scotland as a young child. He completed his divinity studies at the University of Glasgow and was ordained a minister at the parish of Eastwood on the 28th of October, 1703. A keen scholar with a range of intellectual interests, Wodrow was an astute ecclesiastical historian well-versed in literary pursuits. During his years at Eastwood he also became an avid

collector of manuscripts, pamphlets, and natural history specimens, corresponding frequently with his associates about their discoveries. These factors may influence the proportion and range of Scots features in his correspondence. While Wodrow did not come from an elite or noble background, his education was certainly not wanting and indeed, Figure 8.2 in the previous Chapter indicated that Wodrow had the lowest range of features out of the writers analysed here. However, it also suggested Wodrow's correspondence contained a very high proportion of <quh> spellings, which are a salient Older Scots feature (see Devitt (1989); Meurman-Solin (1993, 1997); Kniezsa (1997) and van Eyndhoven and Clark (2019) for details). Moreover, Wodrow was by far the least anglicised writer of the four analysed here, as shown in Figure 9.1, which might be driven by the consistent retention of certain Scots features. Perhaps this was encouraged by his clerical duties within the Presbyterian Kirk, given the tendency for Scots lexis and set phrases to continue in ecclesiastical fields. In addition, his historical pursuits may have led him to work with older manuscripts that were more conservative and traditional in their nature, and his collector's interests would increase the chances of specific flora and fauna being discussed - both fields in which Scots lexis is historically retained.

A popular and active parish minister, Wodrow devoted much of his spare time to his scholarly interests, and resisted all attempts at moving him to higher-profile charges such as Stirling or Glasgow (Yeoman, 2004). He also refused to become chair of divinity at Glasgow University when it became vacant, preferring to remain in his small parish. Wodrow's brother and many of his colleagues studied abroad in the Netherlands, and his letters to them are keen for news from the cities of great learning. However, Wodrow himself never travelled much further than Edinburgh, instead establishing a network of couriers and correspondents across the British Isles and the continent to overcome his isolation (Sharp, 1937: xxix). His largely immobile and rooted nature within the surrounds of his local parish is another a factor that might encourage the maintenance of certain Scots features, given lack of direct contact with southern English speakers. Of course, Wodrow's correspondence may have provided avenues through which his written language use could be influenced. All the same, such contact is less pervasive and less intense than spending long periods of time in the metropolitan capital, or even associating with contemporaries in Edinburgh, where Scottish Standard English was slowly emerging. This might add another layer of explanation for Wodrow's higher proportion of Scots in his writing, given the relatively quiet and localised life he led.

Despite this preference for the quiet country life, Wodrow played an active role in the discussion around the Union, as a vocal and expressive opponent to the proposed agreement. He articulated an ardent and passionate defence of Scotland's religious and civil liberties and independence (Sharp, 1937: xxviii), and wrote both publicly and privately about his concerns for the security of the Presbyterian Kirk, which he believed the Union did not adequately accommodate for (Yeoman, 2004; Raffe, 2012a). His most famous work remains *The History of the Sufferings of the Church of Scotland, 2 Vols*, begun in 1705 and taking seventeen years to complete. Despite this involvement, Wodrow was not caught up in complex party politics that integrated ideological commitments, denominational differences, kinship ties and personal ambitions, within their complicated socio-political composition. He did not seek to further himself in terms of economic and social enhancement, nor to

secure a place post-Union in the new political order. He therefore had no interest in ingratiating himself with the right patrons in parliament, thus his correspondence was not predicated upon political networking and advancement. Rather, Wodrow was in many ways the very opposite. As a result, any sociolinguistic influences on his Scots are likely to be calibrated along quite different lines. Of particular interest is thus how Wodrow *compares* to the politicians. This can illuminate whether the linguistic behaviour observed in the previous three writers was reflective of Scottish society more broadly, or tightly localised to their specific community of practice(s).

9.4.1 Proportions and Letters

Wodrow's Scots and anglicised features were accordingly extracted from POLITECS and plotted in a mosaic plot, shown by Figure 9.5 below.
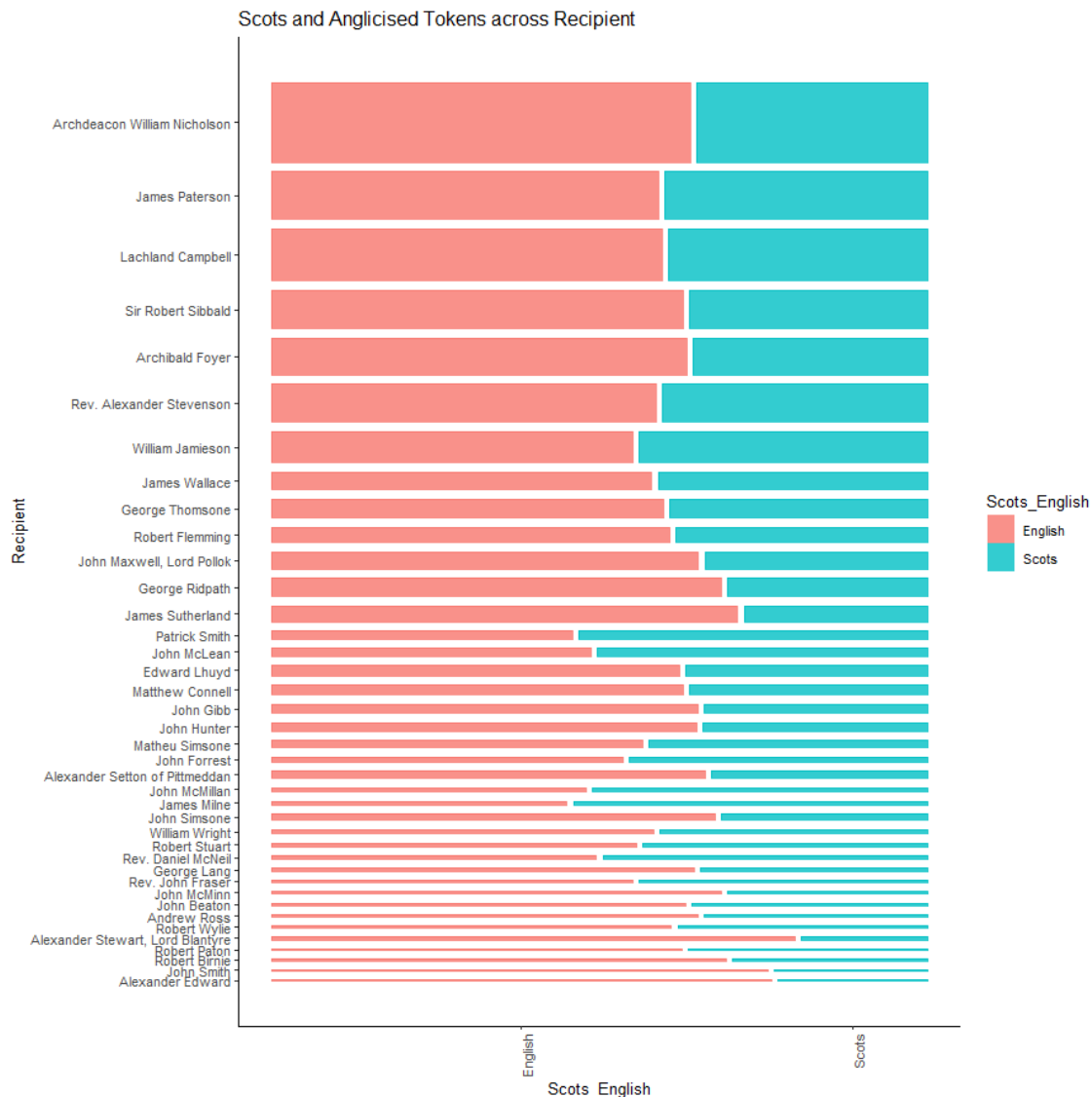
Figure 9.5: Mosaic plot of Wodrow's frequencies of Scots and English by recipient

Examining Wodrow's proportions across his different correspondents, the first observation

is how strikingly consistent he is. Regardless of the volume of correspondence he sends his recipients, almost all see very similar proportions of Scots. This proportion falls around 30-40% of the variable tokens within the letters, though some recipients, such as Patrick Smith and John McLean, see 50% or more. The second thing to observe is just how Scotticised Wodrow is - unlike the previous three figures examined, Wodrow clearly uses much higher proportions of Scots features. This was already evident in Figure 9.1 and observing the patterns here, it is clear this higher Scots usage is applied across the board, rather than being driven by a handful of recipients.

Wodrow's Scots is not influenced by his audience in any obvious way, nor is there evidence of more subtle patterns like we saw with Tweeddale - Wodrow's usage barely fluctuates between letters written to established or esteemed literary figures such as the Archdeacon Nicolson, Edward Lhuyd and Sir Robert Sibbald, and his Glasgow colleagues from his divinity days, including George Thomson, the Simson brothers and Alexander Stevenson. This might suggest Wodrow's role in society did not place the same demands on his writing style as the socially-mobile politicians seeking advancement and prestige. After all, Wodrow did not aspire to further his clerical ambitions, and was nowhere near as mobile as figures such as Lockhart or Mar, nor did he share their network of influential acquaintances in the English parliament. There are no letters to promising benefactors with the aim of advancement or influence through service, though this was not a concern of Wodrow's anyhow. His main desire was to remain in his parish, which offered him ample time to pursue his interests, rather than seek advancement through the clerical system. The patterning here exemplifies such interests, implying that for Wodrow, Scots features had not become available as a stylistic resource, but neither were they particular targets for anglicisation as part of epistolary politeness norms.

Such results might suggest that the multilayered identity politics influencing Lockhart, Mar and Tweeddale do not apply to Wodrow. While he was clearly devout in his Presbyterian loyalties, this in itself did not influence his linguistic behaviour toward others. As a result, Wodrow strikes quite a different figure. Such patterning would suggest that politicians in the Scottish parliament did indeed form their own community of practice, in which their participation in the Union debates created a common objective, that was enacted and reinforced through the shared activities and routines they participated in on a regular basis. While there was divergence, derived from their adherence to different ideological commitments underpinning the political agenda of the parliamentary groups, these historical actors were bound by mutual engagement in an endeavour and shared practices (c.f. Eckert and McConnell-Ginet, 1992: 464; Meyerhoff, 2002; Kopaczyk and Jucker, 2013: 6), and this seems to have stretched to their specific language use. This in turn created similar influences on their use of Scots, including stylistic intentions, socio-political positioning and group membership claims. These factors have been tangible in the patterning and behaviour observed so far both across the corpus in aggregate, and in Lockhart, Mar and Tweeddale specifically. Wodrow's notably different patterning as a figure outside of parliament lends further support to this possibility.

Moving on and examining Wodrow's letters more generally from the perspective of which Scots features he uses and where, might indicate how an eighteenth-century

individual from a non-elite background was using written Scots features. Examining Wodrow's single letter to Patrick Smith, written on the 5th of August, 1699, it quickly becomes clear that the high proportion of Scots to this recipient is being driven almost entirely by his consistent use of <quh> in interrogative and relative clause markers. The only other instances of Scots features are <u> in *hou*, 'how' (MOUTH) and *knoulege*, 'knowledge', as demonstrated below.

> 1. *Quhat* longitude & latitude *Neu* Edinburgh lyes in; *quhat* distance from Panama, Porto Bello, Cartagena, Jamaica and other adjacent places of note. 2. *Quhat* time of the year the raines in Caledonia begin ; *hou* long they last; *quhat* are the ordinary antecedents of ther coming. 3. *Quhat* is the nature of the country, if mountanouse ; if ther be good hopes of mettales in the hills and of *quhat* kind ; *quhether* the ground be barren *quher* the mines are ; As to the natives: *quhat* is ther disposition and genius, if sagaciouse or dull; if they have any *knoulege* of one God *quhom* they look upon as superiour to the rest..'

Wodrow's letter is a series of queries sent to his recipient, who was bound for 'Caledonia Nova' - the Scottish colony of Darien, established on the isthmus of Panama.[9] As a result of these requests, Wodrow uses many more interrogative clause markers than would otherwise be expected in a regular letter, and he is highly consistent in using <quh> for these. Considering many of Wodrow's letters involve appeals to his recipients for information or news, drawing on their own scholarly or botanical knowledge or enquiring into their collections or findings, it is perhaps not surprising that Wodrow's proportion of <quh> identified in Figure 8.2 of Chapter 8 is so high. At first glance, it also appears that, unlike Lockhart, Wodrow consistently writes out the markers in full. However, examining the Scottish History Society transcription notes accompanying Wodrow's collection of letters, the editor L.W. Sharp notes that Wodrow regularly uses the contracted forms q^h, q^t, q^n and q^r for *quhich, quhat, quhen* and *quhere*, 'which', 'what', 'when' and 'where'. Sharp decided to expand these abbreviations into the Older Scots form 'in view of the archaic quality of much of Wodrow's vocabulary' (Sharp, 1937: li). In some of his later letters, however, Wodrow does write out these words in full, and always in the anglicised form, which indicates that his use of the Older Scots feature survives mainly in the contraction.

This would match the same pattern we have seen in Lockhart, suggesting that <quh> was no longer in everyday use as a full written form, being perhaps salient enough that authors were aware of its Scots nature and sought to anglicise this. This salience has been highlighted by previous research into <quh> in the Older and Middle Scots period, which has consistently found a rather abrupt change from <quh> to <wh> around the beginning of the seventeenth century, suggesting authors were aware of its status as a Scots marker (MacQueen, 1957; Devitt, 1989; Meurman-Solin, 1997; van Eyndhoven and Clark, 2019). In light of this, the continuation of <quh> into the eighteenth century might be conditioned by its presence in abbreviated forms. Abbreviations and contractions, particularly of high frequency function words, were common in correspondence at this time (Markus, 2006: 125-126),

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[9]Confusingly the same name was given to the Melanesian archipelago 'New Caledonia', which was only sighted by Captain James Cook in 1774.

given their time-saving nature and the utilitarian status of correspondence, along with its copious production and quick turnaround relative to other types of printed work (Kopaczyk, 2011: 95). Recent work on <quh> has indeed highlighted the near-categorical preference for its abbreviated forms in eighteenth-century Scottish correspondence, enabling it to persist in personal writings despite its disappearance from most printed and written genres by this point (van Eyndhoven, 2023[in press]). In line with this, Pietsch (2015) and Elspass (2012a) have suggested that evidence of archaic grammatical structures in emigrant letters were not necessarily attempts to recreate a historical vernacular, but rather were remnants of 'standard' formulae that had been acquired in letter writing practice. Similarly, the incorporation of abbreviated <quh> into standard writing practice might result in this near-categorical preference shown by Wodrow, and the persistence of this variant in his correspondence and in other political figures who had maintained this practice in their writings.

Nonetheless, given the variant had been disappearing from most text types since 1600, the retention of this feature and its highly consistent use does suggest a slightly more traditional or conservative linguistic behaviour. This might support the possibility that the relatively isolated and immobile lifestyle that Wodrow led, combined with the archaic language of the Kirk, influenced his own orthographic choices. The development of profession-specific standards including the preservation of precise forms has been identified for example in the use of Chancery standard among legal clerks in London (Fisher, 1977: 893-894; Richardson, 1980: 743-744; Conde-Silvestre and Hernández-Campoy, 2004), as well as in Scots law, in which specific lexical bundles required to validate legal documents were sites where Scots was preserved (Kopaczyk, 2013a,b). This could lead to the preservation of <quh> forms, which were often present in Scots law and ecclesiastical texts, and which Wodrow may have concurrently had greater contact with through his scholarly pursuits and profession more generally.

Moving on to another tract, the consistent use of <quh> remains, but other features are also observable in Wodrow's letter written to John McLean on the 13th of April, 1701.

> '4ly. *Ane* account of the fashions and customes that are peculiar to the Highlanders would be very acceptable ; of their ancient bards, their peculiar games, the customes and *frites* ... I hear there was *ane* accompt of all *thir write* by some body or other..'

Alongside <quh>, the feature *ane*, ('Other'), and the lexical items *thir*,[10] 'these' and *frites*, 'a superstition, a superstitious belief, observance or act' (DSL, 2022) are all observed, as well as the use of *write* as a past participle - a feature that had been fading out of use in English throughout the 1600s, but carried on into the eighteenth century for Scottish writers (OED, 2022). Regarding this last example, Wodrow's use of a feature that was slowly becoming obsolete again seems to reflect his reduced levels of anglicisation, as well as perhaps the more archaic style of writing that Sharp (1937) referred to. The use of *frites* on the other hand was not a disappearing feature, having entered Scots from around 1420 onward and continuing throughout the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. It stems from the

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[10] A Scots pronoun form, see Aitken, 1971: 179.

Older Scots word 'frete' meaning 'superstition' and the nature of the lexical item itself might have encouraged its usage. Referring to a concept bound within cultural practice, it represents in many ways the traditional, everyday associations that Scots was increasingly acquiring by this time. However its use here also reflects the nature of Wodrow's correspondence - both as a figure rooted in his local, rural and Scottish community, and as a correspondent who frequently wrote about topics connected to the land, folk and traditions that comprised his surroundings. Perhaps unsurprisingly, Wodrow's correspondence reflects a slightly higher proportion of lexical items in general when compared to the politicians. The contents of his letters frequently discuss matters linked to agriculture, flora and fauna, as well as folklore and culturally specific rituals, alongside legal and ecclesiastical lexis when Wodrow writes of the Union debates. These fields encouraged use of Scots lexis, given the lack of culturally appropriate, viable alternatives (Millar, 2003, 2004; Kopaczyk, 2013a,b). In addition, the Scots lexical item may simply have been more accessible to Wodrow. Thus, the more linguistically-conservative style Wodrow adopts might mirror his localised identity and traditional vocation, which was strongly rooted in local custom and national heritage.

This 'traditional' disposition may be reflected in his use of another distinctive and disappearing Scots feature, which occurs further along in the same letter. In this instance, Wodrow uses <ch>, the spelling representing [x] where southern English would typically have [Ø] of [f], though in this case it does not correspond to an English <gh> or zero form.

'I hope Mr Beaton can give you light here, fibulas, old silver, brass or *Pechs* money will be very satisfying, as likwise any old utensiles for house, feild, or warr.'

The use of <ch> in *Pechs*, 'Picts' is observed and represents [x], which in English had become [k] by this time.[11] The use of this feature is interesting, given its overt links to Scots phonology and the fact that it had largely disappeared from the writing of most authors in the corpus. The only authors who still use the <ch> variant in measurable quantities are William Cochrane, John Dalrymple the Earl of Stair, and the Duke of Hamilton. Interestingly, these three writers all came from the West or South West; Cochrane and Hamilton were, like Wodrow, based close to Glasgow, and Stair's family came from Ayrshire. This might suggest an interesting correlation between the persistence of this feature and a particular geographic area, though further, targeted research into this correlation would be needed to state this with any certainty.

Despite a lack of observable audience pressures on Wodrow's Scots usage, he does seem to recognise the status of his recipient in his letters, but does so largely through using conventional epistolary norms, rather than altering his proportions of Scots. For instance, in the following extract, written to Archdeacon Nicolson on the 22nd September 1701, he refers to him as 'Sir', expresses humility by suggesting his efforts

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[11]The Scots forms with [ç] represent Old English *Peoht*, 'Pict' with original <ht> for [x] from which we get *Peghttes* in Middle English; the forms in [-k] come from Latin *Picti* meaning 'the painted people', probably from their habit of tattooing or painting themselves with woad, but compare also the native names *Pictavi* and *Pictones* in Gaul (Poitou) as well (DSL, 2022; OED, 2022).

are but 'small pains', as well as excusing his demands and the length of his letter. Nicolson was a learned and well-esteemed Archdeacon at Penrith in Cumbria, and Wodrow's tone reflects this accordingly.

'*Nou* Sir, by this time I think I have quite wearied you and almost my self too by soe long a scroll, *quhich* if it can be any way usefull to the helping on your Scotch Historicall Library, I have much more then all my small pains can amount to. I *most* at this time deferr troubling you about matters of natural history, & c. These shall be the subject of the *nixt* from your very much *oblidged*.'

There is a slight reduction in Scots features, but they do not differ considerably from Wodrow's fellow Glasgow colleagues or 'comrades' (Sharp, 1937: xxix). Despite sharing their ideological dedication to the Presbyterian church, which had became central to or even synonymous with Scottish nationhood for many people (Whatley, 2008: 7; Wallace and Kidd, 2018: 194-195), if Wodrow chose to index any kind of affiliation with them, this was not facilitated through use of Scots features. When it comes to Nicolson, the majority of the letter *is* rather anglicised in terms of spelling choices. We do not see, as with Mar for example, a scattering of non-standard or even quasi-phonological spellings throughout the text. Yet this is the case with Wodrow's writings in general - he uses certain Scots variants very consistently, but the remainder of his letters are very standardised, perhaps reflecting his high level of education and well-read nature. It seems Wodrow was largely invariable, both in his Scots and his anglicised spelling features, adopting one or the other almost categorically. Occasionally he reflects plausible generational changes, as in the case of his adoption of <wh> toward the end of his life, but in general, he appears less aware of his Scots usage, making it unavailable as a target for anglicisation.

A final indication that Wodrow's Scots variants mostly fell below the radar of consciousness is supported by the passage below, written to John Forrest, on the 28th of May, 1702. Forrest was co-editor with John Gullon of the *Sedulius*, which was published at Edinburgh in 1701, and which forms the topic of the letter. Wodrow specifically discusses language, particularly the value of learning the classical languages. Yet, his own written language does not overtly move towards the incipient English standard, despite its status being recognised in elite and educated circles within Scotland for quite some time. Rather, there are various Scots features and non-standard spellings throughout.

'He is very *weel* satisfyed with the designe of a vocabulary for the use of the youth, I *knou* nothing more usefull for schools then a *weel* digested vocabulary ; at least I found nothing soe usefull to my self in *atteaning* and *reteaning* the small pittance of Latine, Greek and *Hebreu* as this kind of helps I composed for my *oun* use in all the languages. I expect to wait on you *nixt* week at Edinburgh *quher* Mr Skirvine likwise *desings* to be, and then we shall discourse at more *lenth* on all these heads. Till then and ever belive me to be, Sir, your *oblidged* humble servant, R. Wodrow.'

Wodrow does show variation in the use of <ng> in the word 'design' which sees both 'designe' and *desings*, 'designs', but most features are consistently Scots, and Wodrow's diverse range of features in the text suggests he is not particularly altering

or monitoring his language use when discussing this topic, despite the heightened focus on language it portrays. Even as he reflects on his own language abilities Scots features emerge, when he discusses '*atteaning* and *reteaning* the small pittance of Latine, Greek and *Hebreu*'.

Overall, Wodrow's tendency to use certain Scots features, particularly the 'Middling' and 'Least Common' features that were gradually disappearing from correspondence at this time, might signal the retention of written practices acquired through his intellectual undertakings, and the traditional Scottish institution that he was part of. Through participation in the Kirk, engagement with ecclesiastical documents, and correspondence with fellow ministers and other influential clerical members within the Presbyterian parish structure, Wodrow may thus have accumulated aspects of his written repertoire. Accordingly, Wodrow's more conservative linguistic style might be at least partially driven by his belonging to a particular sub-culture within Scottish society, while the other three writers analysed here belonged to their own community of practice. In that sense, his Scots might still index his belonging to a particular group, though it was not an identity Wodrow consciously or subconsciously manipulated, foregrounded or suppressed to achieve particular socio-pragmatic goals. In this sense, he perhaps belongs to the ecclesiastical or Presbyterian discourse community operating in Scotland, especially considering that members of discourse communities may not be conscious of sharing discourse practices, whereas members of communities of practice often are (Watts, 1999: 43). Considering the behaviour of the likes of Tweeddale, for instance, the politicians thus seem to be operating within a CofP much more obviously than Wodrow.

9.5 Concluding Thoughts

The quantitative analyses in Chapters 6 and 7 were able to indicate how Scots patterned across time and across the writers of the corpus, including those analysed here, suggesting that the complex and interwoven identity politics characterising the Union debates played a role in shaping Scots usage. This micro-analysis was able to examine these tendencies up close within four selected authors, cautiously suggesting the extent to which they reflect the wider structural trends identified in the macro-social analysis, and the intricate role that relationships with their recipients alongside personal goals may have played in shaping their writing choices. While Lockhart, Mar and Tweeddale show sensitivity to the general conglomeration of political, religious and ideological interests encouraging greater levels of Scots or anglicisation, they do not necessarily embody these personas themselves. Their baseline levels of Scots, as indicated by their proportions in Figure 9.1, are not mere replicas of the general patterns identified in Chapter 7 - Tweeddale for instance is least anglicised out of the three of them, despite being a Squadrone figure. However, by exploring their individual relationships to different recipients, not only is there evidence that *audience design* influenced their linguistic behaviour - in line with the general patterns identified in the statistical chapter - but also highly specific *social* and *stylistic* goals. Scots features seem to have been available as a linguistic resource, enabling these writers to position themselves relative to their recipient or a

collective 'other', or to reduce impositions or face-threatening requests by increasing amicability through use of shared, vernacular features.

All three politicians possessed a wide range of Scots features, suggesting they had a large number of variants to draw from. Naturally this increased the features they had to consciously or subconsciously anglicise if required, but the continuation of particular features regardless of status or politeness requirements might also point to their lack of salience for the Scottish elite. In particular, features such as <u> - <w> and its associated use in the MOUTH lexical set, <i> - <e> and <ie> seem to have been very persistent across all four authors examined here, and matches the frequencies found across the corpus at large in Chapter 8. Most of these features were present in other English dialects (though not the nascent standard), perhaps reducing their salience. Considering the social patterning of linguistic features might relate to their linguistic level (phonological, morphosyntactic, discoursal) or their sublevel, such as consonants and vowels (Kerswill and Williams, 2002: 91), these features, based largely on historic phonological changes and vowel distinctions, could persist as less-distinct forms. Diachronic language contact situations have often identified a mixed dialect, in which the most salient local forms were replaced with variants from the prestige norm, while low-level features continued in use (Samuels, 1981: 43; Raumolin-Brunberg and Nevalainen, 1990: 124; Conde-Silvestre and Hernández-Campoy, 2004: 136). The indistinct and geographically fluid nature of these features might accordingly suggest they were not the most salient of variants, operating below the level of consciousness. Furthermore, not all variants may necessarily be clear exemplars of change over time, as certain tokens can show greater durability as variables (Eckert, 2016: 82). This does not mean however that they were not available for sociolinguistic and indexical marking, as some of these writers have plausibly demonstrated, but they may have done so in stable and predictable ways throughout the eighteenth century.

Returning to the authors overall, Wodrow reflected a strikingly-different patterning with a much higher proportion of Scots, albeit one that was being driven largely by his consistent use of certain features, such as <quh>. Nonetheless, his behaviour indicates that certain individuals remained much more Scots in their writing than others during the eighteenth century, particularly when they were localised, largely immobile individuals operating within traditional institutions such as the Kirk. Wodrow also provides additional evidence that the politicians within the Scottish parliament formed their own community of practice, one that was bound by shared linguistic behaviour in a broad sense (they all tended towards the highly anglicised side of the spectrum) but also by the shared influences operating on their language choices. Yet, Wodrow's use of Scots might similarly be a reflection of his locally-rooted, Presbyterian identity, and if so, in this respect he aligns with the others. Scots use, in some shape or form, does appear to reflect these writers' position within the larger, macro-social structure. Yet in the case of Wodrow, this was a consistent feature of his writing that he demonstrated uniformly across his social network, rather than one he fine-tuned according to who he was writing to. Scots accordingly may have been developing into a resource to index the values particularly important to each individual analysed, whether they were necessarily aware of it or not.

Chapter 10

Discussion

There is no doubt that the turning of the eighteenth century, and the tumultuous time period around the parliamentary debates, was unique, unprecedented and complex in its scope and influence across large swathes of Scottish society. Not only the Union of the Parliaments itself, but also the increasingly tense lead-up to the debates, and the subsequent revolts, rebellions and popular uprisings in the aftermath, speak to the sentimental, emotionally-charged and often quite personal relationship many in Scotland had with this moment in history. For the signing of the treaty was by no means a mere legal formality, solidifying tendencies that had been in motion for decades or even centuries prior. Equally, it would be unfair to suggest that incorporation materialised out of thin air, forced upon the negotiating table by the English during a moment of Scottish economic and political weakness. Rather, it captures an intricate web of interrelated and intertwined interests, that combined, intersected and undermined each other throughout the progression of the debates, from the first serious discussions through to the treaty's final form and ratification. Political, religious, economic, local and national concerns, not to mention vested personal interests, all played a role in shaping perception and stance towards incorporation, and these factors have come back throughout this thesis again and again on a linguistic front as well.

Historical and contemporary accounts of the Union have already indicated the complexity of the situation and how these intervening factors influenced alliances and voting behaviour within the Scottish parliament. What has been less clear until now is whether they could also have influenced language use, particularly in terms of written Scots usage. This specific time period - a period fraught with rivalries, ambition and ardent proclamations of national spirit and loyalty among the politicians debating the heart of the matter - is promising to explore from a sociolinguistic perspective, particularly considering the links between language and the political sphere identified in contemporary variationist research. Yet eighteenth-century Scots has fallen into a curious gap in historical Scots scholarship, and correspondence has only been examined in a handful of (non-political) individuals, usually from the latter end of the century, and often concerning a small range of written features. Presumably this stems in part from a belief that there are very few Scots features left to find in personal writings from this time, and previous accounts

have also suggested as much (Aitken, 1997: 30). Certainly there is no denying that written Scots, particularly many of its more distinctive features, had greatly diminished by 1700. Equally accountable however, is the lack of an established collection of correspondence to address these questions, preventing a straightforward cross-political analysis of writing choices and use of Scots. The compilation of a corpus from primary source material is time consuming and complicated by legibility, digitisation issues, access, and limited extralinguistic information. As a result, previous scholars have been hindered from being able to explore the persistence and patterning of written Scots across the early eighteenth century, the sociolinguistic influences operating on it, its form and function in the personal writing of the elite, and the possible roles of audience design, accommodative behaviours and stylistic desires across various axes of allegiance, ambition and identity.

Thus this thesis has sought to address this gap, by compiling a purpose-built corpus containing selected writings from relevant political individuals, incorporating a broad range of phonological-orthographic Scots features in the search criteria, and drawing upon insights from the three waves of sociolinguistic investigation to interpret and analyse the patterning found. With this toolkit, the research questions could then be explored from both a macro and micro-perspective. Quantitative statistical methods were used to model variation in the corpus, complemented by careful qualitative analyses of selected individuals, providing data-driven inspections of the temporal and sociolinguistic patterning of frequencies alongside descriptive examinations of the form and function of features across the writers. The combined insights of these analyses provide a scope that is at once both broad and narrow, creating a more holistic view of eighteenth-century written Scots, whilst indicating the continual feedback loop between general and specific patterns of variation.

As a result, this thesis has been able to explore this critical moment with greater depth, breadth and nuance than has previously been possible, across the temporal, social and linguistic landscape. The detailed and informed perspective acquired through such a combined approach also speaks more generally to the benefit of employing a complementary macro-micro approach to historical data, one that utilises insights from the three waves of sociolinguistic enquiry and their methodological toolkits. Using the twin benefits of robust, objective statistical models to uncover insightful patterns within the data, and the careful, human insight of the researcher to explore singular instances of variation, we can acquire a greater understanding of what was taking place at large within a language community, whilst never losing sight of what was happening on the ground, as is want to happen if we focus purely on frequencies and large-scale corpus analysis alone. Historical sociolinguistic research is thus not only possible and feasible through this approach, but also enhanced by it, and future studies examining diachronic variation might similarly benefit from applying the multiple lenses of the different frameworks to their data, in aggregate and across individuals.

Such an approach turned out to be particularly appropriate for the time-frame and linguistic variety under investigation here. Chapter 2 highlighted the complexities of this time period, in which the opening years of the eighteenth century created a convoluted, byzantine set of influences upon commissioners operating within the Scottish parliament, who had to navigate an increasingly complex cultural dualism

as the Union treaty drew to a conclusion. For some this formed a considerable dilemma, and there were varying social, cultural and political pressures created on the one hand by local and regional interests, and on the other hand by the desire for social mobility and pan-regional influence. It seems allegiance and ambition were not built upon a singular plank, but were the product of a multifaceted, interlinked combination of interests. Secondly, Chapter 3 suggested the heavily-reduced nature of written Scots by 1700, but also the unique bridge this period forms between the ongoing transition to majority anglicised features preceding it, and the reawakening of written Scots and its literary traditions just a few decades later. Finally, Chapter 4 highlighted the key role that historical correspondence has often played in enabling the persistence of vernacular variants, as well as the influence of political identities, group membership, and style-specific factors in encouraging non-standard language use, despite macro-social pressures to conform. Changes to form should thus be considered in the context of the dynamic interaction between extra and intra-linguistic processes and pressures (Smith, 1996b: 78), and these were certainly tangible during the early eighteenth century. Considering these complex influences derived from various linguistic and extralinguistic sources, including the historical background itself, the state of the language, and the nature of the medium under investigation, a thorough linguistic investigation of this historical event similarly needs to be polymorphic in its approach.

Recounting exactly what the acquired insights of this thesis were, the first research question was interested in whether this time period *did* in fact have an impact on written Scots usage. If results suggested a noticeable change in the general frequencies of Scots during the Union years, then political influences may have tangibly had an impact on writing practices, and would be worth exploring further. Accordingly, the frequencies of Scots features were measured over the time-period captured in the corpus and plotted. Utilising a data-driven approach through VNC circumvented the potential shortfalls of partitioning data into arbitrary time chunks, which might fail to capture meaningful changes in Scots frequencies, particularly within such a small time window. This approach was validated by the findings of the VNC analysis, which found that the time period 1699-1704 - key years in the Union debates - reflected a marked increase in the frequencies of Scots. Moreover this increase took place at precisely the time of maximum tension between Scotland and England, and heated political debate within the Scottish parliament. A traditional partitioning of the data would likely have split the timeline of the corpus at 1700, given the generally-accepted boundary of 1700 marking the end of Older or Middle Scots, and the beginning of Modern or Early Modern Scots. This would have divided the data of these crucial years into two, thereby dissecting their combined frequencies and potentially failing to identify the notable increase in written Scots at the turning point of the century. Yet these five years in particular - only a very small window in the grand scheme of Scottish history - *were* able to indicate that the period around the Union debates influenced variable language use, precisely because the VNC analysis enabled them too. The temporal analysis thus highlighted the value of VNC, particularly when dealing with a relatively small collection of texts spanning a short time period. Future analyses wishing to explore subtle changes in variability might thus benefit from utilising similar methodologies, rather than traditional partitioning.

The temporal analysis provided the first plausible evidence that, alongside the political, religious and social changes taking place at the time, the written language use of Scottish politicians was also affected by the Union debates. It might seem instinctive that their linguistic behaviour changed and Scots increased precisely at a moment of heightened national debate. Yet, as has been mentioned several times throughout this thesis, regardless of the conceptual links between the vernacular and local identity, language use will not necessarily follow suit. Plausibly, the ongoing anglicisation and status-shift of Scots, coupled with a changing socio-political climate, may have caused the Scots features that remained in personal writing to fall below the level of consciousness, making them unavailable as a linguistic resource for these elite writers to draw upon. Certainly, this may have happened to particular Scots variants, as the feature analysis in Chapter 8 and micro-analysis in Chapter 9 have suggested. However, that is clearly not the case across the board, otherwise we would expect more uniform levels of Scots throughout. Instead, while the broad picture gleaned from the proportions of Scots between 1689-1745 suggests continuing anglicisation, the individual cluster around the debates implies something more was going on, at least for a majority of Scots features involved in the analysis.

This rise in Scots, and its subsequent tailing off just at the point where the Squadrone consolidated into a separate political body, might mirror the fluid and dynamic environment in which the Union debates took place. While some authors were committed to their position throughout the process, for others involved it encompassed a constantly shifting quicksand of emotional hostility, pragmatic concession, political acumen and social ambition, and the Squadrone can be considered to belong to the latter. They may accordingly have reflected their shift within the political spectrum not just by votes, but also through language. Given that groups and individuals in multilingual settings have the ability to negotiate identity in response to ideologies demanding conformity and uniformity (Blackledge and Pavlenko, 2001: 248-253), the Squadrone may have been in the process of changing their group membership to one that encompassed the Court and ruling class - rather than their traditional domain within the Scottish gentry. In doing so, greater use of an anglicised writing style, which, as the following quantitative analysis made clear, was associated with a Presbyterian Court position, may have indexed this shift. Conjectures aside, the temporal analysis indicated overall that something unique and distinct was going on specifically during these years, supporting the possibility that this time period was exceptional from a linguistic point of view. The complex series of events and the discourse constructed around the debates do appear to have influenced the language use of those most involved with them.

Given that this particular moment in time indicated increased variability and frequencies of written Scots, the potential factors interacting with these patterns were then examined through a quantitative exploration of the data in the following chapter. This sought to answer the second research question, which was concerned with the extralinguistic factors influencing the occurrence of Scots, and whether political or ideological affiliations were important in particular. Utilising multiple statistical methodologies that sought to explore the linguistic landscape provided a vantage point that proved highly beneficial to uncovering the intricate, subtle and multilayered nature of influencing factors and their patterning across groups of individuals. Different effects, including political and religious affiliations, party associations, Jacobite

leanings, birthplace and family or landed connections all came to light. Rather than one factor trumping all others in terms of significance and predictive power, it seems multiple influences were operating at any one time, and it was their combination that could encourage or repress the use of Scots features, exercising complimentary or push-pull effects on different groups.

Within these intertwined interests, the combination of the MCA and Bayesian regression analysis identified that in particular, Country party writers who were Episcopalian and Jacobite (and it goes without saying anti-Unionist), were most likely to use written Scots features. Examining this purely from a big picture perspective, these results suggested that despite the multiplicity of the context and analysis, political identity *did* play a role in Scots use overall, patterning along pro or anti Union lines and their associated political parties. Broadly speaking, writers belonging to incorporationist or opposition platforms demonstrated a general tendency to use more or fewer Scots features. Possibly, they were indexing their membership to these alliances through subconscious changes in language use, during a moment of heightened national awareness. This is in keeping with many of the contemporary analyses observing variation in modern-day political situations, in which politicians have been found to utilise lexical and phonological features to index their leadership or membership of particular political parties (e.g Fairclough, 1989, 2000; Hall-Lew et al., 2010, 2012, 2017). Yet this was by no means a given in 1707, considering the fluid nature of the emergent Scottish political parties and the potential strength of family connections, personal ambition and Court favour in overriding stylistic moves to claim in-group membership. It is thus all the more interesting therefore, that such a link has been identified, albeit one tempered by other contributing factors.

However, homing in more closely on individual patterns, the combination of individual biplots also indicated a slightly increased probability of Scots use among writers who were Episcopalian, tactically Jacobite and members of the Court party. This suggests that the likelihood of using Scots cannot be reduced to simple alignment along the apparent dichotomy between supporters and opponents of the Union, which, as has been previously discussed, was hardly a dichotomy at all, being much more opaque and nontransparent. This aligns with what Chapter 2 highlighted about this time period already - the amorphous nature of the political parties (with perhaps the exception of the Squadrone), suggests their political identity was fluid and bound by deeper ties and commitments that went beyond mere party policy (Ferguson, 1964: 94). While this accumulates into a large-scale distinction between pro and anti-Union stances, the quantitative analysis was also able to uncover subtleties within the linguistic data, suggesting the landscape was more heterogeneous than might first appear.

The amorphous nature of the different political parties was exemplified by the interrelated effects of *Religion* and *Jacobite* (and perhaps *Birthplace*) on Scots use. It seems there were more-or-less coherent groups of individuals bound by multiple strong network ties within these parties, and they align within their linguistic practices. This was indicated in particular by the Cavalier wing of the Country party, who shared Episcopalian and Jacobite goals but also the highest probabilities of Scots. Similarly, the linguistic behaviour of the Squadrone Volante was strikingly

uniform, and this came through again in the micro-analysis of Chapter 9. It seems that, along with sharing a staunchly Presbyterian and Hanoverian platform, and firm, long-standing family connections, their anglicising tendencies were also part of this identity. In many ways each respective group reflects the characteristics of a Community of Practice, bound by common goals, mutual practices, and a shared repertoire of resources (Wenger, 1998: 72-85; Tieken-Boon van Ostade, 2000), in which their variable language use both belonged to and constructed their socio-political identity. Communities of Practice are ultimately defined by "practice" itself, according to Wenger's (1998: 137) terms, and this in turn is constitutive of individual identities within the community. Participants involved in the typical practices of a CofP must therefore know what those typical practices are likely to be, and in this case, each respective political party seemed to be aware of the group's collective linguistic practices, whether consciously or subconsciously, when it came to levels of Scots. This manifested with a degree of consistency high enough to be identified within the statistical analysis, while the micro-analysis demonstrated this recognition of different registers or Scots standards on a more subtle, individual layer.

Just as speakers have been shown to utilise features in ideological and indexical moves that characterise certain groups, to invoke ways of belonging to that population (Kiesling, 2001; Podesva, 2011; Eckert, 2012: 94), so too these writers might be invoking their membership of these specific collections of interest within the Scottish parliament. These socio-political identities became increasingly salient around the events of 1704-5, perhaps encouraging this sharp linguistic distinction between two groups who had previously been part of the same political grouping. Their use of specific features in correspondence may thus have indexed their community ties, but also established their collective entity in the process, particularly as the newly-formed Squadrone splintered off into a unit of its own, leading the Country party to become more focused around its central concerns as a result. Interactional positions can accumulate ideological assumptions that come to be associated with both large-scale and local categories of identity and social categories (Bucholtz and Hall, 2005: 22), and similarly, repeated patterns of use by Squadrone or Country members may have accrued into a broader sense of identity, marking religious, political and ideological lines of allegiance. When their moves are examined in aggregate, as they were here, they can accordingly be associated with meaningful macro-social categories, like those identified in the statistical models.

The quantitative analysis was thus able to tap into this elaborate linguistic situation, providing a more holistic understanding of a brief but significant snapshot of Scottish history. Considering the diametric forces at work in 1700, perhaps it isn't surprising that influencing factors cannot be reduced to a single variable operating in isolation. Rather, we can observe frequencies of Scots patterning in interesting ways across multilayered groups within the corpus, appropriately capturing the historical context within a linguistic situation. The multi-dimensional nature of the extralinguistic influences speaks both to the nature of this time period, and to the value of a combined statistical approach that reduces dimensionality and uncovers probability distributions rather than point estimates with hard cut-off points. The role of these interwoven identities was able to be suitably explored through the composite nature of the final statistical model, which validates a multifaceted approach that combines

the strengths of MCA and Bayesian regression modelling.

Perhaps this also indicates why traditional frequentist models and the original Random Forest struggled to produce an output. Their focus on statistically-significant cut-off points could not adequately capture the extent to which these factors combined and interacted to influence probabilities of Scots in the data. Even after downsampling, the random forest still suffered from low prediction accuracy, yet much of this likely stems from the nature of the data itself. For instance, the ranking of political affiliation as least important can be attributed to the binary nature of this factor. Within its scope, different sub-groups were incorporated - those who were 'Anti-Union' could also be either Episcopalian or Presbyterian, Jacobite or not, and as we have seen, Scots use interacted with these groups in highly specific ways. This division of interests subsequently reduces the importance of Political Affiliation within the random forest, despite the fact that higher probabilities of Scots were associated with an anti-Union agenda overall. Rather, utilising the combined statistical power of MCA and Bayesian regression modelling unbinds the statistical examination from a need to pinpoint a 'significant effect', given they seek to *explore* rather than *prove* potential relationships in a dataset. This approach generates a perspective of the data that is more sensitive and attuned to its historical reality. As a consequence, not only has early eighteenth-century Scots been explored for the first time using a comprehensive quantitative approach, but with the added insight from multiple modelling techniques to assist in illuminating trends taking place.

Following on from examining Scots features in aggregate (collated under the category 'Scots'), the next step was to unpick this usage on an individual feature level, to determine what written Scots looked like by this time period, and how it behaved. This provided an important window into the appearance of the variation itself, enabling potential nuances in the data to come to light, which are unavoidably lost when assembled into a large, overarching category represented purely by statistical data points. Given that the first two analyses had determined that the time period and certain political factors were important in conditioning written Scots frequencies, the focus shifted from extralinguistic to linguistic factors, to uncover whether these frequencies were being driven by particular variants, or whether the features identified as Scots were behaving similarly across the board. This sought to answer the third research question, which was interested in how the different Scots features patterned across the writers in the corpus, and what might this suggest about their persistence or decline in elite correspondence.

The analysis found that there was a 'baseline' of Scots features shared by most writers in the corpus, in particular the category 'Other', and certain orthographic spellings reflecting historic phonological differences between Scots or northern English varieties, and southern Standard English. These were found to be most common in the corpus in general, and most consistent across the writers in the corpus. They were classified as 'Most Common'. Outside this group, the remaining features differed considerably in frequency and use across different writers. Some were clearly on their way out of correspondence, such as the sibilant interchange and Northern Fronting, as these occurred in very few writers or in very low proportions. They were placed into the 'Least Common' group. The remaining features demonstrated fluctuating frequencies and idiosyncratic patterning across writers - some figures

preferred a certain variant whilst others did not use it at all, such as <quh> or <a> - <o>. They were classified as 'Middling'.

The writers themselves also reflected a diverse range of behaviours. Some clearly possessed a wide repertoire of written Scots features, whereas others used just one or two variants, or only used the 'Most Common' features. There were no clear patterns in terms of who used which variants across the corpus - with no obvious patterning among the different political parties or socially-connected politicians, nor was it the case that older or more archaic features were exclusively preferred by the older commissioners, or by the ministers in the corpus for instance, considering the nature of their profession. Even a salient Older Scots feature such as <quh> was used by a number of political figures, including socially and geographically mobile writers such as Lockhart, although the micro-analysis in the following chapter highlights the role of abbreviation in determining the presence of this feature. These findings and the highly variable nature of the writers, suggested a line of continuity stretching from the earliest days of Scots, to the early Modern period and indeed beyond; the old tolerance of spelling variation has continued in writings in Modern Scots vernacular down to the present day (Aitken, 1971: 183). It seems that the variation observed by Aitken and other scholars in Middle Scots times was still around in 1700, although the variation occurred largely in terms of the range of feature categories used in writing, rather than variation within the categories itself. Put another way, there was variation between writers using features such as Northern Fronting or <quh>, or not, but a word such as "write" was usually only present in two or three different forms in the correspondence, despite there being over thirty attested spelling variations. This is likely due to the reduction in oral practices by this time, as elite education and the politicians' contact with large urban centres such as Edinburgh and London introduced them to written practices quite independent of the orality characterising earlier correspondence.

Interestingly, some of the most diverse writers in terms of range were those most closely involved with the Union debates, and as a result writing to the widest range of recipients from across the political spectrum. This might suggest that while certain baseline features indicative of Scots were part-and-parcel of everyday writing practices, others were available as a stylistic and social resource, ready to be employed to different recipients at different times. These writers' wider range of Scots was not simply a liability affecting their ability to anglicise their written register, and the following micro-analysis in Chapter 9 indicated the capacity and finesse with which they could shift up and down the scale in terms of both proportions and range of Scots features to achieve subtly-different stylistic goals. The feature analysis was thus able to show that 'Scots' did not behave as an indeterminate mass, and features did not pattern in unison either on a group or individual level. Rather, they manifested in unusual and interesting ways across the corpus and across the writers comprising it, suggesting that the use of Scots was not being driven by the highly consistent use of a small number of features. This would have implied that they were still below the level of consciousness at this time and thus invariable, making them unavailable for socially-motivated variation. Such findings were important in informing the following micro-analysis, given the possibility for the individualised, stylistic use of Scots they suggested. Chapter 8 thus set the scene for the final analysis, in which the range of features writers had

within their linguistic repertoire was an important consideration in exploring social and stylistic influences on their written Scots use to different associates.

The last part of this thesis comprised of a micro-analysis into the language use of four individuals, to determine whether the macro-social patterns identified in Chapter 7 were reflected in their linguistic behaviour. A close-up analysis into the written Scots tendencies of selected individuals could tentatively support or refute the suggestions arising from the statistical outputs, informing and complementing an understanding of eighteenth-century Scots from a Second and Third Wave perspective. In particular, the plausible indexical links between Scots use, and various facets of the socio-political groups operating within the Scottish parliament, were of interest. Accordingly, the correspondence of a Country, Court and Squadrone Volante politician and a Presbyterian minister was examined, in which frequency and forms of Scots across recipients and individual letters was measured and analysed. This furthermore gave an idea of what written Scots looked like in the letters themselves, and the extracts examined highlighted the individualised nature of Scots use by this time. Yet, while it may have diminished in frequency, it certainly hadn't diminished in complexity and the range of functions it could perform.

The three political figures all suggested sensitivity to the overarching patterns found within the quantitative results - their proportions of Scots to recipients within their own political grouping tended to match the general baseline for that collection of writers. Hence we saw that the Country party politician Lockhart tended to use more Scots to other Country party members, and in particular to recipients who were Jacobite and Episcopalian. Episcopalian-Jacobite members of the party were identified by the statistical analysis as having the highest probability of using Scots, and accordingly, Lockhart seems to have followed suit, even when writing to a non-parliamentary member in the case of Harry Maule. Lockhart's network of contacts certainly influenced him on a social level, helping to construct and shape his ideology, and this appears to have been mirrored in his linguistic choices, in which he developed that identity and directed it back toward them. Despite being more anglicised than Tweeddale for instance, his range of Scots features was the broadest out of all four writers, and he seems to have used these features in subtle ways to mark out stronger and weaker relationships. Conversely, Tweeddale used slightly less Scots to his Squadrone contemporaries, and was extremely uniform between different members of his party, which might reflect the highly anglicised and close-knit nature of the group identified in Chapter 7.

Indeed, Tweeddale's behaviour towards his Court, Squadrone and Country party recipients suggests he was somewhat of a political chameleon, subtly emulating their writing style and aligning himself with whichever party he was cooperating with at that point in time. His overarching motives are not particularly surprising - this would have been the course of action for various parliamentary members who professed their own social and political agenda, and this was particularly the case for the Squadrone who sought to act as political brokers. Unlike some of the more established members of the Court or Country parties, the changing loyalties of the Squadrone members meant that their alliances shifted over time, despite a common adherence to the Protestant succession and the security of the Presbyterian Kirk. Thus, it is all the more relevant that Tweeddale's greater Scots use occurs both to

his Country recipients, and before 1705 - the point at which the Squadrone had consolidated into a separate interest, and the year the temporal analysis identified as the turning point in Scots frequencies, which began to decline following their sudden rise. From this point onward, Tweeddale writes only to Court and Squadrone recipients in the corpus, and his levels of anglicisation subtly increase. Such patterns do not suggest that Tweeddale was unaware of available Scots options, indeed his correspondence to Country party recipients, and the range of features he possessed overall, suggested that he could and did use a range of Scots variants within his correspondence. However, room for variability depends on the specific situation and relations between the groups or individuals in question (Blackledge and Pavlenko, 2001: 250), and in the case Tweeddale, his language choices may have been curtailed by a need to ensure a continuity of status and influence in the new political order. In doing so, his behaviour echoes the large-scale corpus trends identified in Chapter 6, and this micro-analysis was able to provide potential insight into that change.

Although compelling, audience design or accommodative desires alone could not explain all the variable patterns among the authors - it was not simply the case that they used the highest proportion of Scots features with the recipients they were closest to politically and personally. This was evident both in Mar's behaviour, which demonstrated a considerable reduction of Scots features when corresponding with his uncle, Harry Maule of Panmure, and in Tweeddale's language use to his Squadrone Volante members. Although both writers knew the recipient(s) well and were closely affiliated with them, they did not increase their proportions of Scots variants in these letters, even though they were addressing fellow Scotsmen. Yet all three politicians possessed a wide range of variants within their linguistic repertoire, suggesting that Scots features were available to them. Moreover, all were capable of shifting, though Tweeddale did so more subtly than Lockhart and Mar, and they all did so across recipients with whom they shared varying goals. These could be socio-political goals in the case of Tweeddale's correspondence with the Court politicians, personal goals in the case of Mar's letters to his brother, or ideological goals in the case of Lockhart's writings to Harry Maule of Panmure. Importantly, shifting wasn't unidirectional either, encompassing both increases and decreases in written Scots, as well as the use of specific features to index particular associations or meanings, or the adoption of registers reflecting increased politeness or familiarity with their recipient along anglicised or vernacular lines. In some senses, these patterns also mirror the situation Scots speakers face today, in which individuals can dialect switch or style drift across a range of registers incorporating more or less Scots features depending on the interlocutor, but also the social context and personal motivations (Stuart-Smith, 2004).

Looking beyond the influence of audience then, the range of stylistic behaviours demonstrated by Lockhart, Mar and Tweeddale suggested that written Scots could additionally be used for a variety of stance and identity-driven purposes. These included the claiming of in-group membership with others; in which Scots features could be utilized not just to index congruous identities, but also to paint opponents in an unflattering light, as well as politeness strategies - which manifested sometimes through increased or specific Scots use to establish common ground with the recipient, and other times through elevated levels of polite, anglicised forms to demonstrate respect. Additionally, Scots variants could also be employed as part of an informal

register, generating greater conviviality among correspondents. Of these various factors, what came through particularly strongly across all three writers was the use of Scots for positioning - either in opposition to the people mentioned in the extract, as we saw for example with Lockhart when discussing the Court politicians and with Mar when he references the *pairties* (the Country and Cavalier politicians) in the Scottish parliament - or in accord with their recipient by highlighting their shared identity, as Tweeddale does when corresponding with Hamilton and Atholl, his fellow Country members prior to the formation of the Squadrone.

This might reflect what Bucholtz and Hall (2005: 24) label the *tactics of intersubjectivity* - the idea that constructing identity revolves around more than just the simple dichotomy of sameness and otherness, but instead builds upon several, often overlapping, complementary relations. The different dimensions of intersubjectivity are not mutually exclusive - two or more typically work in conjunction with one another - and a particularly relevant set of these relations is *adequation and distinction.* This essentially revolves around the idea of similarity and difference; while groups or individuals cannot be identical, they must be understood as sufficiently comparable to be positioned along similar lines. Differences that would run counter to this will be downplayed, while similarities become more salient to and supportive of the immediate identity being constructed, and as such will be foregrounded (Bucholtz and Hall, 2005: 24). Tweeddale's correspondence for instance reflects adequation and distinction particularly clearly. To his Court party associates he made dismissive comments about the leader of the Country party - the Duke of Hamilton - and shifted into a more formal and polite register. He reduced his levels of Scots in the process, or used it for effect to discuss the opposition, seeming almost to disparage them through his use of 'rustic, domestic Scots'. Yet, when conversing with his Country party correspondents, Tweeddale emphasised his loyalty to the party and the nation, and aired negative opinions on one of the leading members of the Court party (Argyll). In these letters, his affiliation with the opposition platform is foregrounded instead, and concurrently his writing style also came to approximate his recipients more closely, perhaps reflecting the political persona Tweeddale sought to project to acquire acceptability. Tweeddale's socio-political identity was not fixed, and neither it seems was his linguistic identity. This enabled him to highlight similarities with whichever political orbit he was operating in, while downplaying characteristics that would set him apart, like for instance his past association with the opposition, within the bounds and constraints of a letter.

Mar also sought to highlight different elements of similarity and difference to his recipients, depending on the context, and the personal and socio-political goals he was trying to achieve in the process of constructing his letters. When corresponding with his brother, for instance, familial connections and shared upbringing were plausibly foregrounded by his greater level and range of Scots features. The impact of potentially face-threatening requests could be reduced through variants that indexed their shared kinship ties and national heritage, an important source of pride for Mar. Similarly, despite the respectful tone and polite, anglicised register observed in letters to Maule, Mar may have used Scots variants with his uncle to mend the potential breach threatened by the contents of his letter, alongside epistolary politeness conventions and carefully-worded phrases. Being a political figure involved in the very heart of the matters being discussed (through Mar's

position as a Court politician) was problematic, given this clearly clashed with Maule's politics. Scots features might thus have formed part of a range of techniques he employed to reduce the impact of his news and deflect its connotations away from him. In both cases, Scots was used to position Mar on a similar, locally-rooted plane of identity to his recipients, to achieve pragmatically-related means. Audience design alone cannot explain Mar's behaviour, given the considerable difference in Scots frequencies between his uncle Maule and his brother Grange, despite both being family members. Rather, stylistic and communicative goals played a highly specific role in determining Mar's use of Scots, at least for certain figures. It seems Mar employed similar *strategies* when it came to using Scots with family members, drawing upon their mutual background to minimise any damage done by his correspondence, but not similar *frequencies*, perhaps out of deference to his esteemed uncle.

Mar's correspondence with his family members thus suggested Scots could be used to emphasise adequation in contextually-constrained instances, but distinction could also be underlined through vernacular features. In conversing with Godolphin, for instance, the reverse seemed to be taking place, in which Mar positions himself in opposition to the Scotsmen he describes through use of disparaging terms and possibly, Scots features. Rather than indexing a common, Scottish identity, his variable usage instead has the opposite effect, disassociating Mar from the subjects he describes precisely by associating the vernacular, and its arising connotations, with them. While such behaviour may seem contradictory, in both cases a positioning is taking place, the only difference being who is aligned with, and who is 'othered'. Moreover, language users can be subject to multiple loyalties, despite overarching discourses and the collective negotiation of identity seeking to reinforce a larger, national belonging (Blackledge and Pavlenko, 2001: 253). Thus, despite Mar's personal drive for success, which may have dictated adherence to the emerging English standard and the new political order that was being developed, Mar may still have felt loyalty to his country of birth and the old order; a mixed loyalty that could have emerged in his writing choices and positioning.

The politicians explored in the micro-analysis thus suggested a complex combination of influences and motivations encouraging or suppressing the use of Scots features, in which themes from the Second and Third Wave frameworks became relevant at different moments and in different examples. Audience, interindividual-intergroup identities and membership claims, positioning, political indexicality, accommodation and divergence, and their thematic equivalents *adequation* and *distinction*, all had some role to play in the intricate patterning of Scots features within correspondence being produced at this time. The type of features themselves added another layer to this complex puzzle. For some recipients, lexical items may have been applied for particular effect, perhaps as a face-saving technique, or to increase the harmony between the correspondents while a request or imposition was being made. Particularly when used between Scottish recipients who shared multiple network ties that were strongly oriented in local or national spheres, lexical items could act as a means to establish a shared heritage or background. For Tweeddale however, lexical items were one of the few Scots features that occurred in his correspondence to the Court or Squadrone figures, whose stylistic behaviour suggested Scots variants would have less currency with them. Rather, the presence of lexis was largely generated by the

lack of viable alternatives for political or legal terms specific to Scots law.

Wodrow behaved remarkably differently to these three writers, suggesting that the politicians formed a Community of Practice of their own. Their frequencies of written Scots were significantly lower than Wodrow, although contrariwise they demonstrated a wider range of features and stylistic applications of Scots. Wodrow's Scots proportions were highly uniform across his different recipients, as was his use of particular features, which were almost always consistently Scots or consistently anglicised, as we saw in the case of <quh>. His personality and lifestyle may have been responsible for this, given Wodrow did not share the aspirations or social pressures of the three political writers. He was not influenced by socially-structured ambitions that encouraged loyalty or opposition to different political and ideological identities, nor was he motivated by stylistic desires to position himself in relation to his recipient. Accordingly, he may not have utilised Scots as a stylistic resource to the same degree. Instead, his high frequencies seem to stem from the nature of his writings themselves, which contained high levels of specific lexis relating to flora, fauna and folklore, as well as frequent requests or enquiries which required interrogative and relative clause markers, enabling a greater presence of <wh> words. Additionally, Wodrow's categorical use of certain Scots variants will have elevated his proportions. This suggests he was a relatively invariable writer who felt less need to anglicise his writings, though he also had a smaller range of features at his disposal. Wodrow's linguistic style was perhaps most influenced by the traditional institution he was part of, as well as his relatively immobile lifestyle, and lack of desire for social success.

Overall, the micro-analysis enabled the analysis to move from a top-down viewpoint of the corpus and the writers in aggregate, in which the focus was largely on the combined frequencies of multiple variants and the effects of macro-social influences on the observed variation, to a bottom-up, 'worms-eye' perspective in which the use of written Scots was observed within individuals and across specific texts and features. The analysis suggested that each writer did to some extent reflect their positioning within the Scottish political order at this time, given their apparent awareness and imitation of the patterns of variation identified at large across the different political groups. Although their overall proportions did not always adhere to this, when it came to individual recipients, their frequencies and forms of Scots tended to match the expected levels predicted for each group, regardless of their personal usage patterns. Accordingly, Tweeddale's baseline level of Scots was not a perfect replica of what would be predicted for a Squadrone member by the final statistical model - he has slightly higher frequencies than both Lockhart and Mar, despite the Squadrone being the most anglicised. Yet, once he was examined up close, it became clear he was aware of the Squadrone's linguistic practices, and matched them accordingly. Even Wodrow may have shown an awareness to a specific group membership, built along Presbyterian and national Kirk lines.

Alongside their general awareness of the broad patterns suggested by the quantitative analysis, the examination of individual letters also suggested the individuality, agency and creative ability of the politicians in using Scots features for their own purposes and intentions. That such patterns are suggested by the data is not inherently inconceivable, given the rich interplay of stylistic factors identified in contemporary

studies on spoken variation. These have suggested that the individuality, stance, performativity and agency of the speaker as they navigate communicative situations, whilst negotiating and maintaining their personal and interpersonal social identity and authenticity, is as much responsible for determining variation as external influences (Johnstone, 2000: 72-73; Moore and Podesva, 2009; Eckert, 2012: 90; Auer, 2015: 134; Hernández-Campoy and Conde-Silvestre, 2015: 15). Moreover, various historical sociolinguistic studies examining correspondence data have similarly found letter writers able to express various facets such as personal identities, degrees of social distance, familiarity, and the social context of their letters, by varying their use of particular constructions, and this applies even to aristocratic authors characterised by their classical education and expected awareness of the English standard (i.e. Fitzmaurice, 2015). Such patterns do appear to play out in subtle ways within this collection of correspondence. These politicians did not passively adopt a consistently-anglicised register when corresponding with their social network, rather, they used Scots in varying degrees across their different recipients, and across both lexical and orthographic levels. In the process they have been performing certain alignment or positioning moves, but also maintaining their complex interpersonal identities.

These stylistic intentions not only draw from, but also inform, the extralinguistic factors identified in Chapter 7, reflecting the common feedback loop between macro and micro instances of variation that continually constructs and reinforces these categories and influences (Schilling-Estes, 2002: 389; Eckert, 2012: 91, 2016: 68; Hernández-Campoy and Conde-Silvestre, 2015: 15). In this vein, eighteenth-century politicians may have become subconsciously aware of the associations between style and social identity as they developed, leading for instance to the variable behaviour of the Squadrone. Their highly-anglicised style was plausibly derived both from their long-standing kinship connections and presumably frequent correspondence, which enabled the transmission of a shared written style, and their shifting identity within the Scottish parliament toward one that sought incorporation and post-Union opportunities, perhaps encouraging the embrace of the emergent English standard. Plausibly, as members increasingly adopted anglicised variants, this accumulated into a community style that could be identified by the statistical analysis. Even figures who did not necessarily adopt the anglicised register as their baseline, such as Tweeddale, could still recognise and show sensitivity to it when corresponding with other members of their party. Communities of Practice are fundamentally based around *practice*, whose major characteristic is precisely that it is emergent and reproduces previous practice or transforms it (Watts, 2008: 51), and it seems that these writers reflected some conscious or subconscious awareness of their community practice, in terms of their frequencies and range of Scots.

Of course, the question inevitably remains whether it is truly possible to know if the failure to conform to the anglicised standard was an instance of deliberate stance-taking in the indexical field of Scottish identity or something else, such as incomplete mastery of the standard or reference to something other than national identity. This notion is within itself somewhat problematic, given the incoming English standard was still in a process of flux, and though much less variable than Scots, it continued to be disputed and adapted throughout the eighteenth century. As a result, it could not necessarily be 'mastered' as such, and rather than viewing anglicisation as the blanket adoption of a fixed variety, it is perhaps more

illuminating to think of this as a gradual transition from written Scots options - which may be shared with northern dialect areas - to those that reflect southern English spelling patterns or word choices.

In addition, a number of findings in this thesis suggest that the use of Scots variants was part of a wider stylistic repertoire that reflected political identities and loyalties, rather than being merely the result of writers still adapting to the incoming Southern English standard. Firstly, the temporal analysis indicated a clear and sudden rise in Scots during the critical Union years, one that was not matched by the later section of the time-period. Considering that the same body of writers produced the material across this timeline, we would expect if anything either a fairly consistent level of Scots throughout the fifty five years represented by their correspondence, or perhaps a slight decrease in Scots over time as anglicised standards slowly take hold, especially among the younger writers in the corpus.

Secondly, the statistical analysis found repeated and observable differences between the three political parties in relation to their probabilities of Scots usage that aligned with what we would expect. If these writers demonstrated incomplete mastery of the standard, we would expect this to be reflected across the political spectrum, regardless of the political, social and ideological position of the politicians. Yet, this was not the case. The combined MCA and brms model indicated higher probabilities of Scots precisely among the group whose ideology was based around nationalist sentiments, patriotism, and a staunch defense of Scottish independence and sovereignty – the Episcopalian and Jacobite wing of the anti-Union Country party. Conversely, those at the very opposite of this spectrum – the firmly Presbyterian, pro-Union Squadrone Volante, were the most anglicised. They had the most to prove in terms of being seen as fit to sit in the post-Union British parliament, making their increased use of anglicised features all the more pertinent. In many ways, they resemble the aspiring middle-class identified in contemporary sociolinguistic analyses and dialectal variationist studies, in which hypercorrection and adoption of pan-regional or national standards frequently characterises these speakers (c.f. Labov (1966a)). Similarly, the Squadrone's adoption of the incoming standard might reflect a desire to be recognised as an acceptable addition to the English (soon-to-be-British) ruling class, which suggests that Scots features were to some degree marked for them and associated with a local, Scottish identity. The statistical analysis moreover did not identify other factors, such as location or relationship, as explaining the greatest amount of variation. Thus, while Scots features may have indexed these characteristics to some degree (as part of the wider indexical field (Eckert, 2008)), they were not the principle factors driving Scots usage, at least for these writers. Rather, Scots reflected political identities in particular.

Thirdly, the feature analysis highlighted the hugely variable and idiosyncratic nature of written Scots across the corpus, both in terms of the writers' frequency and range. While there were some features that occurred more frequently than others, there was no clear group of variables that were consistently identified in the correspondence of *all* the writers. A 'baseline' of Scots features was suggested, but even this did not apply to every writer in the corpus. Had this been the case, this might have suggested a combination of features that fell below the level of consciousness, enabling their persistence among writers still in the process of adopting the incoming English

standard. Yet this was not observed, and even those that were highly educated (such as the Duke of Hamilton, for instance) demonstrated a wide variety of Scots features in their correspondence. Moreover, some of the most anglicised writers (such as George Lockhart, for instance), still used salient written Scots features such as <quh>, even though it had disappeared from almost all written texts and from the correspondence of more than half the authors in the corpus. This again rejects the idea that these politicians and clergymen had simply failed to fully convert to anglicised norms.

Finally, when examining the writers individually in the micro-analysis, there was clear evidence of style-shifting through Scots use between various recipients, that aligned with the in-group affiliations these writers had. That the large-scale statistical patterns identified in the macro-analysis could also be observed up close on an intra-writer level (despite not always aligning on the inter-writer level) suggests the awareness and sensitivity of these writers to these influences, regardless of their own political standpoint. If there was incomplete grasp of the anglicised standard, we would expect this to be mirrored across their social network, while if Scots was referencing something other than national identity, a repeated pattern across our writers in relation to some other factor should be observable. Yet, factors such as family, location or status did not emerge as clear conditioners for variable language use – Maule differed between his family connections while Lockhart did not demonstrate higher use of Scots with his family at all. Tweeddale and Lockhart both used notable frequencies of Scots (relative to their baseline) with the Duke of Hamilton, despite his high status as a member of one of the leading families of Scotland. Of course, ultimately we can never be completely sure whether Scots was indeed indexing national identity or some other factor(s) entirely, perhaps influences that were not included in the analysis at all. Nonetheless, the findings from the four analyses refute the idea that written Scots use was just incomplete mastery of the English standard. Moreover, the consistent behaviour among this group of writers points to the influence of their political identity and ideology on their language and in return the role of Scots in constructing this, a not altogether surprising effect considering the central nature of politics within their daily lives during the Union debates period.

Thus, by exploring variation in Scots from both top-down and bottom-up perspectives, we have seen how one informs the other, and vice-versa. The subtle patterns outlined here could not be picked up by any broad-based, accumulative statistical analysis, and that is indeed not its purpose. Rather, through a combination of quantitative and qualitative exploration we can obtain a bicameral perspective on written Scots usage, recognising both the larger social forces at work on this small but significant group of historical figures, but also the range of abilities, some unique and some shared, that these writers possessed in utilising Scots variants in correspondence. This also speaks to the power of combining the First, Second and Third Wave frameworks within a sociolinguistic analysis, enabling their insights to continually inform and reinforce one another. The value of this approach, both in this thesis and for the field of Historical Sociolinguistics more generally, has already been highlighted above, but is worth reiterating here. By not restricting the analysis to a singular line of inquiry, we not only obtain a richer and more informed understanding of the linguistic landscape, we also crucially understand the connections between

each layer of influence. Written Scots has as a result been shown to be influenced by broad considerations of ideology and identity, but crucially, has also been found to act as a valuable resource to index those identities and the shared connections between individuals.

As a result, eighteenth-century written Scots appears to be more resilient than previous accounts have given it credit for (c.f. Aitken, 1979, 1997), or than would be predicted from its historical trajectory. Yet, language change or decline does not necessarily follow a teleological, unwavering course to a natural endpoint, nor does it suggest a wholehearted abandonment by all sectors of society is the only plausible outcome. Written Scots did not disappear, even if it was heavily reduced in frequency and range by 1700. Rather, individual features and variants persisted, or were incorporated into a wider linguistic repertoire that included both Scots and English options, in which Scots features could be utilised to signal various allegiances or standpoints. This is particularly evident in the political community of practice operating within the Scottish parliament. Scots continued to be used in correspondence, even for the top tier of Scottish society, and could play an important role in establishing their connections and their position within this elite layer and beyond the border. Perhaps it can even be said to have found a new vitality, to some extent, through its reinterpretation as a resource used to reflect wider social and interactive goals, and to index the relationships and identities therein. This has interesting links to the *Vernacular Revival* that took off some decades later, in which Scots has similarly been argued to have undergone a revitalisation and reinterpretation that was strongly informed by political and nationalist sentiments, although within the realm of poetry rather than correspondence. Perhaps these results suggest a certain line of continuity between the two, bridging time and genre. Moreover, these results needn't be unexpected, necessarily. Auer (2015: 155) found that among Early Modern English writers, the better the schooling and written skills, the greater their stylistic variation, as such writers possessed a wider repertoire which allowed them to move between styles and adopt different ones as they saw fit. We might similarly be seeing such a relationship between the Scots and anglicised variants playing out in these letters here. Both Scots and correspondence, it appears, was not rigid but flexible within its social context.

Reiterating each of the main findings derived from the research questions under investigation here has shed light on the significance of this time period in influencing the form, function and use of written Scots in correspondence during the early eighteenth century. They also contribute, however, to a broader understanding of socio-politically inspired variation and change. Sociolinguistic analyses have suggested the importance of national identity, political allegiances and constructed idealisms of the self and other in influencing language usage, largely from contemporary perspectives (Chambers, 1995; Fairclough, 2000; Joseph, 2006; Llamas, 2007; Llamas et al., 2009; Krivoruchko, 2008; Hay and Drager, 2010; Hall-Lew et al., 2010, 2012; Fetzer and Bull, 2012; Watt, 2014a; D'Onofrio, 2015; Kirkham and Moore, 2016; Shoemark et al., 2017a; Devlin, 2017; Blas Arroyo, 2019; Woschitz and Yağli, 2019). Some diachronic studies have also been undertaken, as in the case of Welsh (Phillips, 2012) or English aristocratic networks (Fitzmaurice, 2000b, 2007, 2015). Such research has found language users able to appropriate variants and varieties to signal allegiance or belonging to the identity, associations, and collection of interests

indexed by their usage. Oftentimes, this manifests as resistance to overarching narratives demanding conformity to the standard, through use of local or vernacular variants in contested linguistic settings, but this can also develop along more subtle lines of variation, in which social allegiance, rather than outright rejection, is indexed.

Either way, use of the vernacular frequently corresponds to in-group convergence or out-group divergence (Llamas et al., 2009: 385-386), and the results of this thesis align with such findings, suggesting the universality of indexicality within and outwith political contexts, spanning time, space and even language medium. The identities constructed through variable Scots use were by no means straightforward, indeed they have been found to be multilayered and malleable, but the connection between written Scots and these associations are there, all the same. The political events of the Union debates, and the politicians' alignment with supporting or opposing stances toward incorporation, did in fact influence both frequencies of Scots and use of Scots variants to individual recipients, though recipients clearly exercised an influence on the politicians in return. Along with politically-inspired variation, patterns of convergence and divergence to claim membership of shared, socially-constructed identities, have been identified time and again in studies exploring accommodative behaviour in various scenarios, political or otherwise. This includes both diachronic instances (Jaffe et al., 2012; Vosters, 2013; Vosters and Rutten, 2015) and synchronic examples (Hay et al., 2006; Babel, 2010; Drager et al., 2010; Hay and Drager, 2010; Llamas, 2010; Watt et al., 2010; Jungbluth et al., 2015; Sanchez et al., 2015; Walker et al., 2018), and such patterns can occur consciously, but also below the level of awareness in speech or writing. The results of this thesis support previous findings, similarly suggesting the role of accommodation in supporting claims to social or local identities, mediated by recipients posing as representatives of their respective political groups. The Scottish politicians did appear to reflect a subconscious awareness of the language norms and written repertoires of the various political interests and subgroups within the parliament, and adjusted their behaviour accordingly.

Their stance was thus informed and mediated by a range of factors, but crucially, these were largely interrelated political factors, including party platform, religious adherence, Jacobite ideology and their socio-political ambitions post-Union. This conglomerate of interests was clear in the findings of the thesis, in which an anti-Union, Country party, Jacobite and Episcopalian identity was found to encourage greater and more diverse use of written Scots variants, both by these writers themselves and in correspondence directed to them. Meanwhile, those embodying incorporationist and Hanoverian ambitions, and Presbyterian sentiments, tended to reduce the range and frequency of Scots in correspondence both to and from them, while writers seeking social success also recognised their social superiors or English contacts through increased anglicisation. These patterns infer a tangible link between a 'nationalist' political identity and use of the local vernacular, which may have indexed membership to this identity in parliament. Despite the historical setting, written medium, and social pressures operating on the elite, use of the vernacular and national identities still came to the fore, intimating the universal nature of variation in politically-charged settings.

This suggests that the overarching concepts informing contemporary sociolinguistic

research on identity and indexicality, can be equally applicable to a historical setting and scenario, even one as complex as the unification of Scotland and England. This is not a given, considering we are dealing with written as opposed to spoken data, produced by an elite, highly mobile and socially-ambitious group of writers, during a time when the local language variety had become increasingly relegated to domestic and spoken usage. Appearance and demeanor, both outwardly and in their correspondence, was an important consideration for these political figures, reflecting their education, manners, refinement, relative status and power, and ergo befitting of their social role. As such, these factors would predict a preference for anglicised features or those adopted from the nascent standard in their correspondence, rather than features increasingly associated with a 'rustic' and 'homely' agenda. Furthermore, while the researcher can posit an intuitive link between language use and political allegiance, this will not necessarily follow suit on the ground, for even if the spoken variety did acquire such meanings, this may not apply to writing. The fact that consistent, politically-inspired patterns of variation have been observable, both across individuals and across the corpus in total, is thus all the more intriguing.

Consequently, this reflects the power of national and political interests on language variation, even when the variety in question is disfavoured (at least in writing), and no longer supported by the establishment and prestigious institutions that may once have been its stronghold. The persistence of varieties in the face of a dominant standard, despite the potential inconveniences, difficulties or even dangers this may pose to its users, is nothing new (c.f. Joseph, 2016). Yet, while there is no doubt that spoken Scots continued during this time, evidenced in particular by the fact that it is still spoken today across many parts of Lowland Scotland and the North East, written Scots had suffered a severe decline in context-suitability and prestige across a most written domains. Even its revitalisation later in the century during the *Vernacular Revival*, took place largely in the realm of popular literature and poetry, where its use was sanctioned by the elite, rather than in public or personal writing. In these latter domains Scots features were instead remarked upon by grammarians as remnants of a 'barbaric culture', and they frequently became specific targets for anglicisation. The landed elite of Scotland, whose goals were often driven by personal ambition and a vested interest in furthering their political dominance, are thus the least likely candidates to demonstrate continued use of written Scots.

Despite these factors, we have seen that these historical figures all used written Scots, which patterns in intricate but accountable ways across various extralinguistic factors and different recipients. This persistence does not derive from the invariable nature of these features, nor were they accidental slips of the pen, or the forgotten residue of a time long since passed. In spite of the increasingly restricted status of Scots by 1700, this politically powerful minority within Scottish society still utilised Scots features, plausibly reflecting their identification with the complex identities to which they subscribed. This again highlights a degree of universality between the diachronic and synchronic, in which the power of language users to resist domineering narratives of incorporation, adaptation and amalgamation, is as salient in historical settings as it is today. Simply because our objects of study are long deceased and a product of their time should not deny them the agency to carve out their own relationships with variation and change, that may defy both the global linguistic trends taking place, as well as our expectations of them. Historical

language users were not passive individuals acquiescent to broad linguistic changes happening around them, but rather were at the forefront of local and large-scale change, in which they were instrumental in shaping the linguistic landscape they operated in.

In line with this, rather than framing language developments arising from contact through a narrowly-constructed narrative of 'decline' and 'disappearance', perhaps we need to consider that reinterpretation and redevelopment of a language variety is also a plausible outcome, particularly in instances where concerns around prestige or social mobility collide with heightened national awareness and political tension. In lieu of generating an ultimate winner, a redistribution of functions is a possible alternative, in which the prestige variety dominates the medium, but individual features from the minority can be employed in subtle ways as the situation and stylistic goals of the writer requires. The outcome is not a guaranteed zero-sum game, but a situation much more nuanced and subtle in its colouring. Rather, the written repertoire can increase in scope, encompassing a greater range of options that enable a broad range of highly specific styles, spanning social, political, personal and geographical spheres of interest. In many respects, this is similar to the linguistic situation we observe with modern day spoken Scots and its 'bi-polar continuum' (Stuart-Smith, 2004), as well as the use of written Scots features on public platforms such as Twitter (Shoemark et al., 2017a,b). This might speak to a degree of historic continuity from the eighteenth century until today, in which these factors had a powerful and lasting impact on language use, and the persistence of a language variety, even with the odds stacked against it. In spite of the very small window of time being investigated, such a development could still be observed, and this appears to have led to tangible and discernible influences across the diachronic and synchronic timeline of language change. Given its pertinence and explanatory power in the setting investigated here, historical sociolinguistic research might indeed benefit from considering the role of politically-inspired identity marking alongside other social influences, particularly in politically-loaded contexts. Moreover, agency should be accorded not just to the historical actors involved, but also to the variants under investigation. Simply because their range might be reduced in a situation of diachronic change, does not mean their vitality should similarly be diminished. Indeed, this thesis has demonstrated how Scots features were *repurposed* for certain communicative, stylistic and ideological goals. They weren't the washed-up leftovers of a fading language, delivering their swansong, but rather new tools in constructing the changing social and political world of these writers, and their relationships within it.

Chapter 11

Conclusion

This thesis has provided a detailed perspective of early eighteenth-century Scots, through which we can obtain a window into the fluctuating and ephemeral political landscape of pre-Union Scotland at the turn of the century. It offers a linguistic understanding of the convoluted and interlinked interests scaffolding the identities and ideologies of the ruling families and their representatives in the Scottish parliament. Alongside this, the nature of written Scots itself has been elucidated with greater depth than what was previously available, paving the way for future analyses through its identification of relevant Scots features. This time period has been understudied within historical Scots scholarship, situated as it is right on the cusp of 'Older Scots' and 'Modern Scots', between the ongoing anglicisation of the previous century and a half, and the emerging *vernacular revival* and orthoepist movements that were to take off just half a century later. In addition, an analysis into a corpus of writers, or a community of practice, as opposed to an individual author, has not yet been undertaken for eighteenth-century Scots, nor have quantitative analyses utilising statistical techniques been particularly forthcoming. Finally, most previous work has focused on individual orthographic or lexical features, or have used selected wordlists to explore Scots variation, rather than taking a more holistic approach to 'Scots'. This thesis has been able to address a number of these gaps, by identifying not just a single Scots variant but a range orthographic and lexical features, by focusing on a corpus of writers and on correspondence rather than printed works, and by incorporating several statistical techniques to measure the effect of multiple macro-social factors simultaneously on written Scots variation during this time period. The results have been able to suggest the salience of the political context in influencing variation among this community of historical actors, highlighting the existence and continuity of written Scots in their writings, despite previous claims to the contrary.

Yet large-scale corpus analysis alone misses much of the complexity and finer detail characterising variation, especially when examining a variety that has been retreating from the written sphere and is no longer as prolific in frequency and scope as it may have been. Thus, along with top-down influences from broad political characterisations, the active role of the writers themselves in utilising variation to reflect salient, socio-political identities, or position themselves in alternative camps,

was shown to be a palpable possibility. Accordingly, complementing the quantitative results with the micro-analysis produced a bottom-up perspective incorporating greater finesse, and highlighting important stylistic factors to consider in further analyses. The findings from the second half of the results suggested the agency of the writers in structuring their variation to mark, claim or distance themselves from certain memberships or identities. The intricate role of stylistic desires working symbiotically with large-scale, macro-social patterns was posited, highlighting the value of a combined approach to uncover variation operating within a relatively unknown and underexplored time period. Additionally, the benefit of combining the three waves of sociolinguistic investigation became apparent, as concepts from each 'wave' added a layer of definition and insight into what *was* a multilayered and convoluted historical setting. Again, such an approach is novel within early Modern Scots research, which has seen very little in the way of historical sociolinguistic analysis, and none that combine quantitative and qualitative methodologies, or the three waves of variation study. This has enabled this thesis to suggest the persistence of Scots features and their dynamic potential in personal communication.

That written Scots did continue, in large enough quantities for it to pattern in interesting and predictable ways across the corpus, suggests that pressure to anglicise was not absolute, even among highly educated, highly mobile and socially ambitious elite writers. Rather, this reflects a certain resistance in the face of an ideology demanding conformity, but perhaps also a reinterpretation of Scots features as elements in themselves. These could be utilised for particular social and pragmatic goals that were sensitive to in-group memberships and political ideologies, rather than appearing as unwanted remnants in writing, present only to be removed if enough attention was paid to language choices. Scots features may have been shifting from being part of their own system to being incorporated into a new, elite register. While this was based upon the anglicised standard emanating from the south, it nonetheless employed select Scots features in ways both conscious and subconscious, for various purposes that included political goals, at least for these writers, at this moment in time. The fact that several of the extracts examined in the micro-analysis seemed to suggest an almost-deliberate application of Scots features, given the meaning, context or word, speaks to this possibility.

Moreover, variants did not pattern in uniform or orderly ways across the political figures in the corpus - writers seemed to demonstrate their own, idiosyncratic behaviour when it came to which features they preferred, maintained or had lost. Again, this suggests that the continuation of Scots was not simply the fall-out from varying degrees of linguistic attention, and a lack of salience or distinction. These writers might not necessarily have 'lost' variants present in the speech community, rather they may merely display a different pattern in terms of variant choice, as has been found in other contemporary sociolinguistic studies (cf. Milroy and Milroy, 1992). This in turn reflects more broadly the possibility that persistence, continuity and room for resistance in the face of pressure to conform to an imposed standard, brought about by an established or higher political order, is not a simple numbers game, in which the higher the frequency and wider the scope, the greater the vitality of the variety in question. Indeed, while the frequencies of written Scots overall had clearly diminished by this time period, and Scots features were vastly dominated by anglicised tokens in the dataset, a considerable range of different variants were

still in use. All writers, from the most powerful dukes through to clergymen in their country parishes, continued to use Scots in their writings, often in creative and stylistically-advanced ways. Rather, it seems focus can shift from a language system to its individual components, in which remaining features can be employed in subtle, concise and nuanced ways, that are informed by and help to construct the social and political spectrum. Instead of viewing such cases of 'decline' as a unidirectional movement toward ever-increasing decay, variation instead can be thought of as multitudinous in its application, used as part of an extended repertoire to mark or delineate a range of identities and communicative goals. Any such patterns observed should not necessarily be seen as a 'loss' of a complete written register, but rather a reinterpretation of its function as a selective resource, to be utilised within the wider language community.

Nor does it seem that historical instances of language contact and preservation necessarily require a climate convivial to continuation, much in the same way that contemporary studies have highlighted the resilience of features or varieties in reaction to environments encouraging their reduction or loss. The linguistic situation in eighteenth-century Scotland was almost entirely geared toward adoption of the incoming standard, at least from a written point of view. This was especially the case for the Scottish political elite seeking social advancement and political success. As the Union progressed, the pragmatic need to acquire status, patronage or respect among English elite circles must have become increasingly clear. By 1705 incorporation was more and more likely, and the consequence of its passing was almost certain to be a social amalgamation of sorts among the elite. Yet, written Scots did not disappear in their writings, even if it reduced after this point.

Accordingly, these results have hinted at the power of politically-inspired identities and political change in encouraging the continuation, or even increase, in variants from a minority variety, despite all pressures operating to the contrary. Such processes form a continual feedback loop, in which these events or loyalties influence the use of certain language variants, but these in turn accumulate into indexical associations that mark or characterise related identities in measurable ways. Political and ideological concerns can facilitate the construction, negotiation and re-negotiation of identities in a multilingual setting, based on practices of language use. These language practices then become a central plank of such identities, rather than the by-product of a complex socio-political situation. Looking forward to Scots as it is both spoken and written today, such relationships seem as salient as ever, suggesting a fine-spun line of continuity, stretching from the eighteenth-century and possibly earlier, through to the present day. The desire to claim membership and belonging is universal in its scope after all, and diachronic variation and its users are no less unique than their contemporary cousins in this respect. Perhaps it was not the end of an auld song after all, but simply the beginning of the next verse, sung to a *neu* tune.

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A

Appendices

A.1   Appendix 1

SHS Publication	Writers	Letters	Word Count
Series 2, Volume 11: *Letters Relating to Scotland in the Reign of Queen Anne, 1702-1707*	James Ogilvie, First Earl of Seafield	80	43,979
	James Hamilton, Fourth Duke of Hamilton	5	2,054
	George Mackenzie, Lord Tarbat and Earl of Cromartie,	4	5,628
	John Murray, First Duke of Atholl,	5	2,655
	George Ramsay of Carriden,	3	737
	David Melville, Third Earl of Leven,	5	2,281
	Adam Cockburn, Lord Ormistoun,	5	2,024
	Hugh Campbell, Third Earl of Loudoun,	3	647
	Thomas Hay, Sixth Earl of Kinnoul,	1	615
	John Erskine, Earl of Mar,	2	823
	David Boyle, First Earl of Glasgow,	6	1,999
Series 5, Volume 2: *Letters of George Lockhart of Carnwath*	George Lockhart of Carnwath	250	148,352
	Simon Fraser, Lord Lovat	1	781
	Sir John Clerk of Penicuik, First Baron	1	105
Series 3, Volume 24: *Early Letters of Robert Wodrow, 1688-1709*	Robert Wodrow	137	85,984

SHS Publication	Writers	Letters	Word Count
Series 3, Volume 5: *Letters to John Mackenzie of Delvine from the Rev. Alexander Monro, D.D., 1690 to 1698*	Alexander Monro	63	20,483
Series 5, Volume 15: *Protestant Piety In Early-Modern Scotland*	John Bell	2	37,120

A.2   Appendix 2

I would like to thank the following collection holders for their co-operation in kindly granting me access to the following collections within the National Records of Scotland.

Collection Holder	Collection Reference	Collection Title
The Earl of Eglinton	GD3	Papers of the Montgomerie Family, Earls of Eglinton
Mrs Gillean Smythe	GD190	Papers of the Smythe Family of Methven, Perthshire
Mr Will Anderson	GD248	Papers of the Ogilvy family, Earls of Seafield (Seafield Papers)
The Duke of Montrose	GD220	Papers of the Graham Family, Dukes of Montrose (Montrose Muniments)
James Peill	GD44	Papers of the Gordon Family, Dukes of Gordon (Gordon Castle Muniments)
The Earl of Leven and Melville	GD26	Papers of the Leslie family, Earls of Leven and Melville
Keren Guthrie, Archivist at Blair Atholl Estates	Blair MS Box 29.I, 44 and 45	Various Papers of the Atholl Estate

A.3 Appendix 3

Repository	Reference No.	Collection Title
National Records of Scotland	**GD3**	*Papers of the Montgomerie Family, Earls of Eglinton*
	GD26	*Papers of the Leslie family, Earls of Leven and Melville*
	GD29	*Papers of the Bruce family of Kinross (Kinross House Papers)*
	GD44	*Papers of the Gordon Family, Dukes of Gordon (Gordon Castle Muniments)*
	GD45	*Papers of the Maule Family, Earls of Dalhousie*
	GD112	*Papers of the Campbell Family, Earls of Breadalbane (Breadalbane Muniments)*
	GD124	*Papers of the Erskine Family, Earls of Mar and Kellie*
	GD190	*Papers of the Smythe Family of Methven, Perthshire*
	GD220	*Papers of the Graham Family, Dukes of Montrose (Montrose Muniments)*
	GD248	*Papers of the Ogilvy family, Earls of Seafield (Seafield Papers)*
	GD406	*Papers of the Douglas Hamilton Family, Dukes of Hamilton and Brandon*
	RH15	*Miscellaneous Papers (Formerly known as MP Bundles)*

Repository	Reference No.	Collection Title
National Records	**GD40**	*Papers of the Kerr Family, Marquises of Lothian (Lothian Muniments)*
	B34	*Records of Inverkeithing Burgh*
National Library of Scotland	**MS.1248**	*Letters and papers of clients or correspondents of the Mackenzies of Delvine, with the surname Carnegie*
	MS.1300	*Letters and papers of clients or correspondents of the Mackenzies of Delvine, with surnames from Len-Les, with papers of the 21st Earl of Crawfurd*
	MS.1403	*Letters and papers of Murray, Duke of Atholl, from the 1st Marquess to the 2nd Duke, including Tullibardine and Nairne*
	MS.2617	*Single manuscripts and small collections*
	MS.3112	*Miscellaneous letters and manuscripts*
	MS.3278	*Miscellaneous letters and papers*
	MS.3366	*Letters addressed to Lord Godolphin concerning Scottish Parliamentary affairs*
	MS.3648	*Single letters and small collections*
	MS.5136	*Miscellaneous correspondence of the family of Murray of Atholl*
	MS.7013	*Letters to the 1st and 2nd Marquesses of Tweeddale, with a few letters concerning them*
	MS.7031	*Letters of the 2nd Marquess of Tweeddale*
	MS.7104	*'Tweeddale Letters, 1869'. A volume of letters, 1631-1745, to the Earls and Marquesses of Tweeddale, compiled and arranged by Sir William Fraser*

Repository	Reference No.	Collection Title
National Library	**MS.14418**	*Miscellaneous business, estate and local affairs correspondence of the 2nd Marquess of Tweeddale*
	MS.16746	*Correspondence, undated, of the family of Fletcher of Saltoun*
	MS.20772	*Correspondence chiefly of the Earls of Wigtown on local and estate affairs*
	MS.25276	*Correspondence chiefly of Sir David Dalrymple, but also including letters to his wife, Lady Janet Dalrymple*
Blair Atholl Archives	NRAS234/Box 45/2	**BA.45(2).4** **BA.45(2).66** **BA.45(2).155** **BA.45(2).235**
	NRAS234/Box 45/6	**BA.45(6).3** **BA.45(6).42** **BA.45(6).56** **BA.45(6).57** **BA.45(6).58** **BA.45(6).59** **BA.45(6).65** **BA.45(6).66** **BA.45(6).85** **BA.45(6).90** **BA.45(6).100** **BA.45(6).104** **BA.45(6).106** **BA.45(6).108** **BA.45(6).110** **BA.45(6).113** **BA.45(6).121** **BA.45(6).124** **BA.45(6).125**

A.4   Appendix 4

Counts of writers or letters (in case of *Location, Address* and *Relationship*) for each factor level included in extralinguistic tagging of correpsondence

Factor	Levels	Count
Political Affiliation	Pro	22
	Anti	15
Political Party	Court	14
	County	10
	Squadrone	7
Religious Affiliation	Presbyterian	23
	Episcopalian	14
Jacobite	Yes	12
	No	18
	Tactical	5
	Unknown	2
Birthplace	Central Scotland	7
	East Central Belt	7
	England	3
	North East	7
	South	6
	West Central Belt	7
Location	Central Scotland	61
	East Central Belt	454
	England	292
	Europe	29
	North East	17
	Unknown	6
	West Central Belt	161
Address	Central Scotland	55
	East Central Belt	472
	England	234
	Europe	74
	North East	86
	South	28
	Unknown	11
	West Central Belt	47
	West Highlands	19
Relationship	Close	485
	Distant	526
	Unknown	19
Profession	Politicians	27
	Minister	5
	Political Other	5

A.5 Appendix 5

Different approaches to classifying Scots

A.5.1 The Traffic Light System

A number of different approaches were trialled in an attempt to differentiate 'Scots' from early Modern English, and establish a robust, concise manner through which to classify Scots features. Initially, a 'traffic-light' system was implemented, in which each feature was classified according to 'how' Scots it was on a scale of Green, Orange and Red in order of decreasing confidence or evidence of its 'Scottishness'.

Green Scots features were words or spellings considered to be particularly localised to lowland Scotland, and were labelled as such in both the Oxford English Dictionary (OED, 2022) and Dictionary of the Scottish Language (DSL, 2022), though some were occasionally shared with the far north of England. These were almost always lexical items, such as the word *maelin* for 'morsel', or certain Older Scots spellings often considered shibboleths of Scots, for instance the use of <qu(h)> for the cluster <wh> in interrogative and relative clause markers. This category could also include words or spellings that may have been used in the Middle English period, but which had died out of use long before the time period under investigation. The spelling of 'contrary' as *contrair* is one such example - this spelling had died out in English by 1600 but continued to be used in Scots well after 1700. This indicates the word existed in both Scots and English in earlier time periods, but it had disappeared from English, while continuing in Scots. Finally, words or spellings that were originally Scots (and Northern Middle English) and that only entered English from around the eighteenth or nineteenth century onward were also included in this category. Given they were not associated with the emerging southern English standard that was emerging from London, and did not enter the standard until after the Union debates had taken place, they were considered markers of Scots features. This category was much more rare but there were some examples, such as the spelling of 'clever' as *cliver*, which was common in northern dialects, but this spelling only entered standard English from the mid-1700s onward (OED, 2022).

The **Orange** category consisted largely of words or spellings that were widely shared with other *northern* dialects. While this also applies to some of the Green features, given as has been mentioned throughout, there is a high degree of overlap between Scots and northern dialects. However Green features tended to be more tightly constrained to Scotland alone, or the very far north, whereas the Orange category contained features that were commonly attested in northern varieties across a wider geographic area. Thus, if the feature that was labelled as 'Northern' by the OED rather than 'Scottish' of 'Scottish and Northern', then it was placed in the Orange category, as it suggested a wider geographic origin for the feature. An example would be *bairn* for 'child' which was found more commonly in northern varieties.

Finally the **Red** category included features that were more widespread throughout English regional dialects, and/or Irish English, while still being considered non-standard in relation to what was most commonly in use for the emerging English standard at the time. This included features such as the word *brither* for 'brother', which is used in various Scots and northern varieties, but also in south Devon for example. Given the wide geographical spread of such features, they cannot really be considered 'Scots' in their own right, although they were likely also a mark of non-standardness, which might indicate interesting behaviour independently of the Scots question. The other features being placed in the Red category were author idiosyncrasies. These were features suggestive of a Scots orthography or pronunciation, but could not be located in either dictionary, and often seemed to be specific to the author in question. However their sound-spelling correspondence matched patterns observed in other words, or the use of certain spellings such as double geminates imitated Scots orthographic tendencies. For example, the word 'highflown' could be written *hefloun*, where the 'he' morpheme at the start for what would be 'hi' in southern Standard English is a feature that occurs more commonly in Older Scots, as in *heland*, 'highland'. Occasionally these features or words were attested in the textual examples given in the OED or DSL, and in the case of the former, sometimes the feature only occurred in Scottish examples from Scottish texts. These features were also included, though they were placed in the Red category as a cautionary approach.

While this categorisation initially seemed promising, this approach was problematic in that it was based off subjective categorisation rather than concrete or recognisable feature divisions. Decisions were made largely on an individual basis, and trying to differentiate between 'far northern only' vs 'widespread northern' could be difficult when relying on the labelling of the OED, and when considering the various, minor spelling variations that often existed. This approach also hinders replicability, preventing future studies from being able to undertake a similar analysis, as despite detailed explanations of how decisions were made, these would still have to be reviewed on a case-by-case basis, nor does this provides a framework for how to incorporate potential new features that might come to light in other textual material.

A.5.2   Time and Space Categorisations

Following on from this 'traffic-light' system, another approach was taken through differentiation based on the relative time origin of the feature. This was researched in the case of each observed feature, and coded for in the spreadsheet. In this instance a distinction was made between words first attested in the Dictionary of the Older Scottish Tongue (DOST) and those in the the Scottish National Dictionary (SND). The former covers the period prior to 1700 and contains Older Scots words and spellings, and features labelled as such were considered Older Scots features that had continued on into the eighteenth century. Those that were found in the latter, or only identified in examples dating from 1650 onward suggested a newer feature, perhaps of hybrid nature and possibly influenced by the anglicisation process. The interpretation of such a distinction was complex and problematic, however, and the features identified were heavily skewed towards the Older Scots category, given the SND tends to cover much more recent Scots additions (i.e. dating beyond the

eighteenth century). Moreover, the first attestation of a feature in a text is rarely a concise timestamp of its existence in the language, and in the case of categorising features before and after 1650, this becomes problematic. Features only attested around 1650 onward may just as well have been present earlier, making them an Older Scots feature, but have simply not been recorded, or do not feature in the materials informing the DSL webpages. Finally, the periodisation of Scots itself is problematic (see Kopaczyk (2013c) for a detailed discussion), and hence taking a binary approach to labelling features, differentiating only between 'Older' and 'Modern' Scots seemed simplistic, and lacking in the nuance that examining multiple features would offer in the first place.

As one other option, coding for the etymological origin of the feature (i.e. Anglo-French, Latin, Scandinavian etc) was trialled, to distinguish where it may have originated from and thus how distinct it might be from similar cognates in southern English, as well as coding for the geographical spread of a feature (i.e. 'Northern', 'Irish', 'Regional' or 'English Dialectal' for example) to suggest again how widely it was used outwith Scotland. Both approaches were abandoned, given again their time-consuming nature, which poses issues for future replications of this study, and the difficulties in determining these aspects in case of more obscure features (for example, those that only occurred in a textual example in the DSL, without accompanying information).

A.6 Appendix 6

Lexical Features	'Other' Category
adoeing, advertish, ae, alenarlie, anent/annent, approwen, arent(s), attaint(ed), attegue, atteigue, aye, barrous, bedellus, beik, beis, bigging, bisket, boaking, bra', brae(s), braeface, brok, bruckle, brucklness, cabaling, cabals, casten, cesse(s), clog-bag, cognosce, coldrife(ness), Commissar(s), commissariat, commontie, comontie, commonty, compartnery, compear, complean(ed), contrair, contraire, corkie, corkie-lit, cotter, craige-pick, creil, darties, dead-chack, decreet, difficulted, dilator(y), demitt, deput(e), dimitt, dipping, drumly, dyet, dytment(s), evite(d), excambion, exime(d), exped, expiscate, faill, fale, ffaill, firmance, flyting, forfault(ing), frae, frite(s), frush, gaet, gars, goand, hain'd, haining, harangue(s), harrangue(s), hereaway, heughhirnes, homologate, hurtcheoun, infeft, infeftments, judicatory, judiccatories, Justiciorie, keil, ken, loch(s), lochan, lou, lugs, lymmer(s), lymmers, liver, liver'd, livered, macer(s), mae, maelin, mank, mart(s), maun, meikle, mettle, minch(ed), minch'd, mind(ing), minding, moyen, muckle, mump(ing), mure, nae, nolt, outmake, outmaking, outreek, outreik(e), outreiking, overtour, nae, Pech(s), Pecht, pickle, platt, powny, praejudge, praelimiting, precognition, prelimit, prelimitation, propale(ing), prorogation, rawen, repulls, repone(d), rexive, roop, roup(s), rouping, scrufe, sederunt, sen, sensyne, shotle, siller, slap, sneck, sned(ing), subscryve(d), subtile, superplus, syke, syre, saugh, saughs, sclate, theick, theranent, therannent, Thesaury, Thraesurie, Thrasurie, thray, thir, thire, thirr, throng, tirring, tost, trafect(ing), treater(s), treatters, tye, umquhill, vocable(s), whin(s), wordle	ane, airth, brack, carring, catell, fan (when), fat (what), ffrayday, frayday, gad, gefe, graafe(s), jokky, miscarring, steipend, suk(ed), suking, sweem(s), ware, wark, weel(l), weet, wictuall(ers), wreat(s), wreating, writt, wrot(t)

A.7   Appendix 7

Year	Word Count	Anglicised features	Scots features
1689	1085	7	105
1690	1040	90	13
1691	6405	544	38
1692	10461	797	72
1693	14262	1058	105
1694	6568	494	40
1695	1732	166	2
1696	3553	261	32
1697	4660	363	19
1698	5041	299	67
1699	9198	532	314
1700	27459	1617	859
1701	20996	1231	544
1702	30305	2001	783
1703	25461	1789	445
1704	37378	3367	362
1705	62076	4982	898
1706	64658	4940	583
1707	1301	106	17
1708	8099	668	42
1709	11700	836	134
1710	1857	119	9
1711	5319	382	16
1712	2399	195	7
1713	9970	711	33
1714	21015	1719	186
1715	3198	230	8
1716	1840	139	20
1717	7422	705	36
1718	8454	862	22
1719	1193	131	2
1720	4247	511	24
1721	8315	756	36
1722	6931	604	20
1723	8072	633	22
1724	5722	490	6
1725	15811	1299	36
1726	17864	1477	29
1727	11931	1024	47
1728	2463	234	9
1729	927	88	3
1730	327	31	1

Year	Word Count	Anglicised features	Scots features
1731	5223	515	32
1732	1503	138	10
1733	0	0	0
1734	3302	286	10
1735	10572	1106	10
1736	0	0	0
1737	330	26	1
1738	0	0	0
1739	3420	348	10
1740	6303	631	12
1741	2603	268	14
1742	3876	39	14
1743	748	85	2
1744	1068	120	9
1745	0	0	0

A.8   Appendix 8

The graphs below show two different pieces of information. The plots on the left indicate the probability distributions of each factor level, indicating where probability is spread. In this instance, we can see that most of the probabilities are spread around zero, highlighting the problematic nature of the dataset already mentioned in Chapter 7, Section 7.2.3. On the right side the plots reflect the MCMC chains in the model, these indicate the iterative process the algorithm goes through during the sampling of the data, as they converge towards the highest probability region. As there were multiple chains included in the model (four in this instance), a successful convergence toward this region looks like a 'Hairy Caterpillar' as it is commonly termed, in which the chains are well mixed into each other, rather than remaining distinct or with large gaps between them. The output from the brms model is difficult to see clearly, but there are four different shades of blue, each representing a different MCMC chain, and their amalgamation indicates a successful brms analysis. Examining these plots, it is clear that these chains are well-mixed - there are no large, discernible areas containing just one chain (and shade of blue) only, which would suggest that convergence was not adequately reached. Despite the lack of robust probabilities on the left-hand side, the plots on the right do suggest that overall, the model was behaving as expected and converging toward the highest probability region. The issue in this case is rather that the highest probability region was in fact not very high at all, but rather spread widely for most of the factor levels. This was due to issues with very high dimensionality as discussed in Section 7.2.3, thus leading to the combined approach of MCA and brms.

Chapter A   Sarah van Eyndhoven
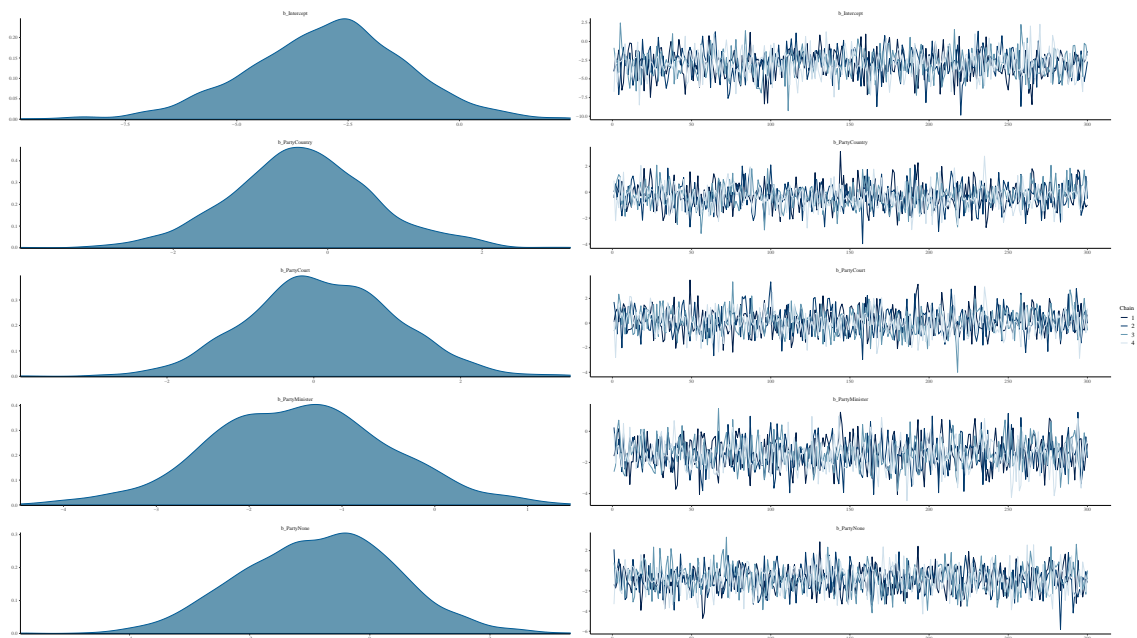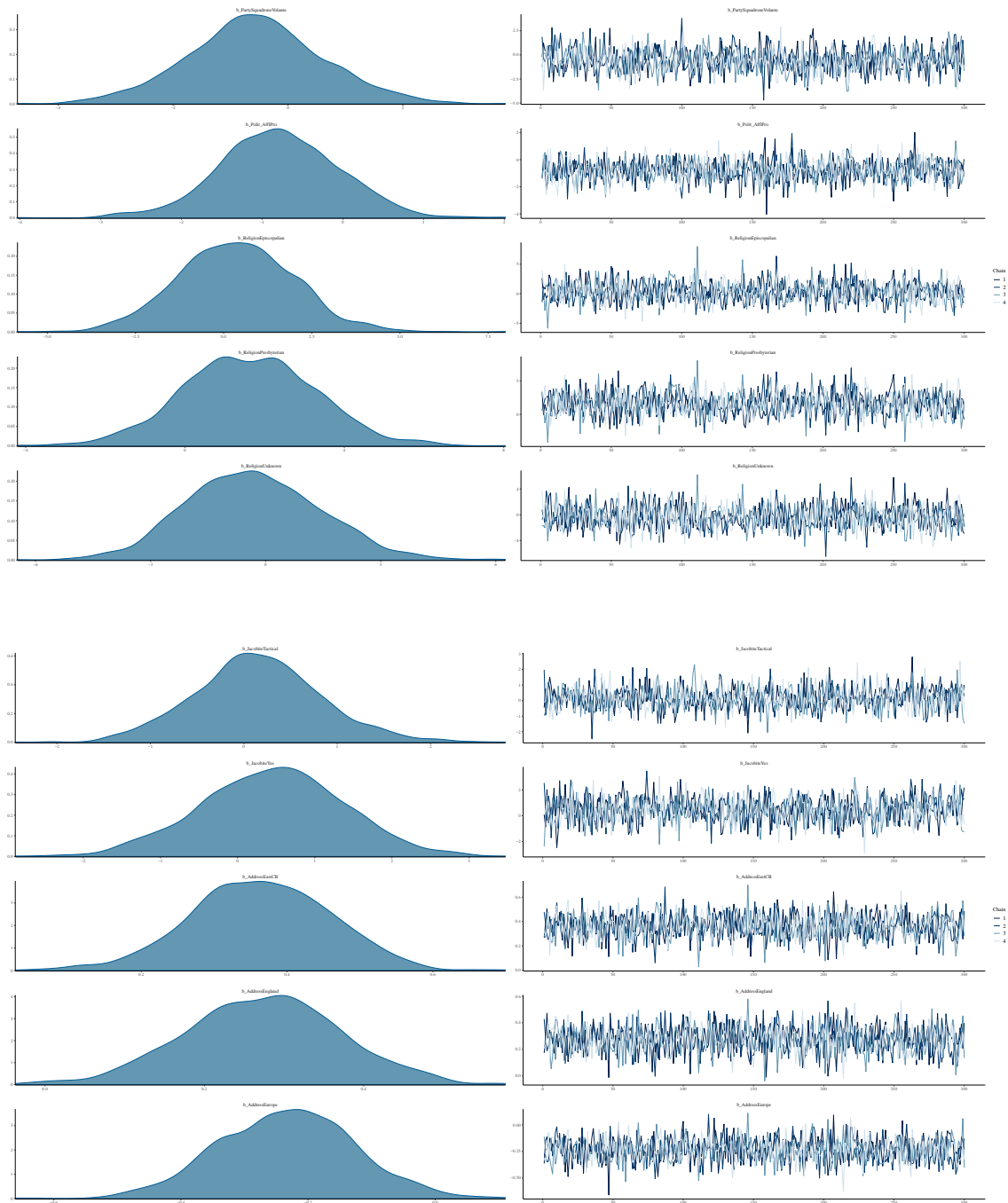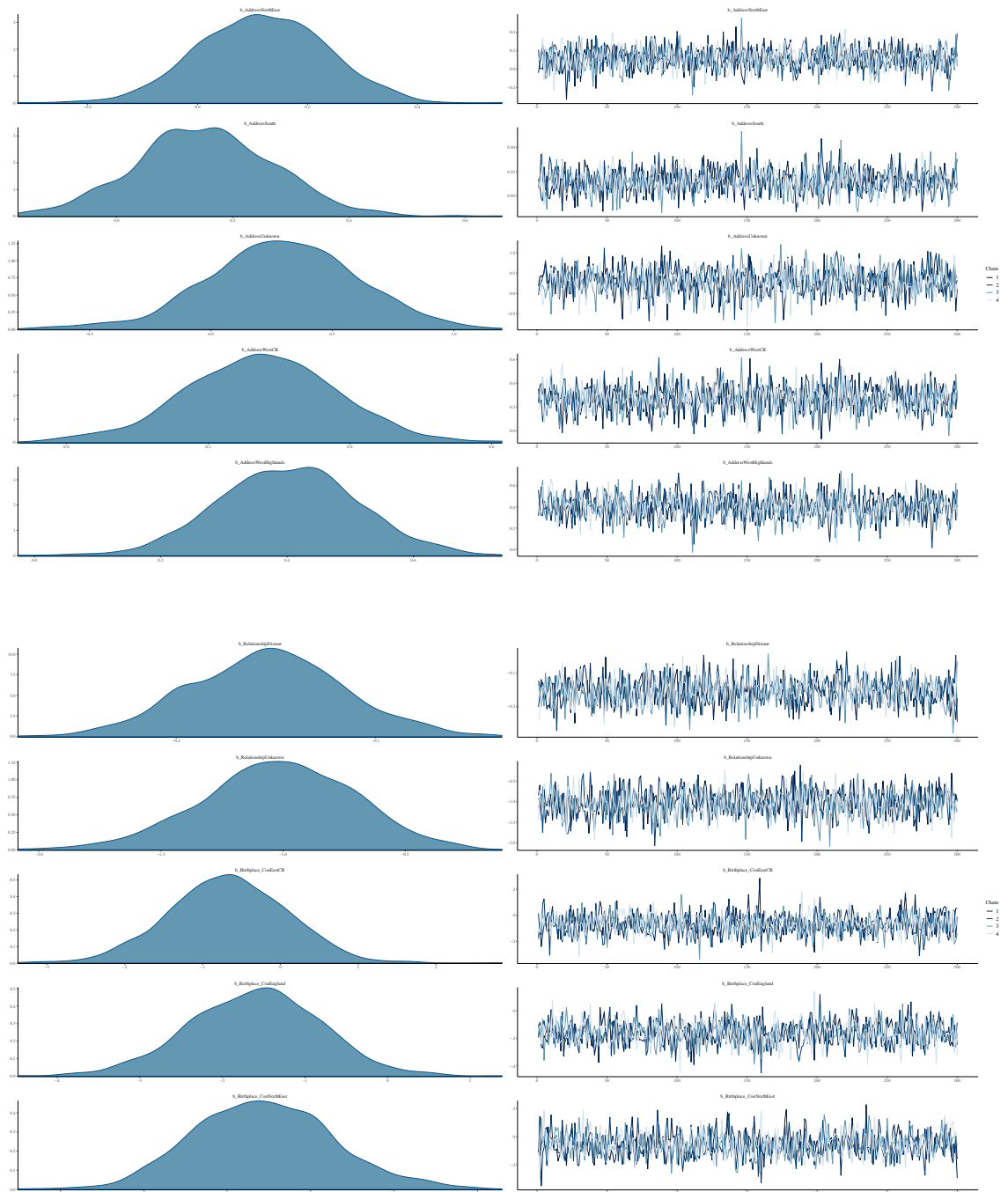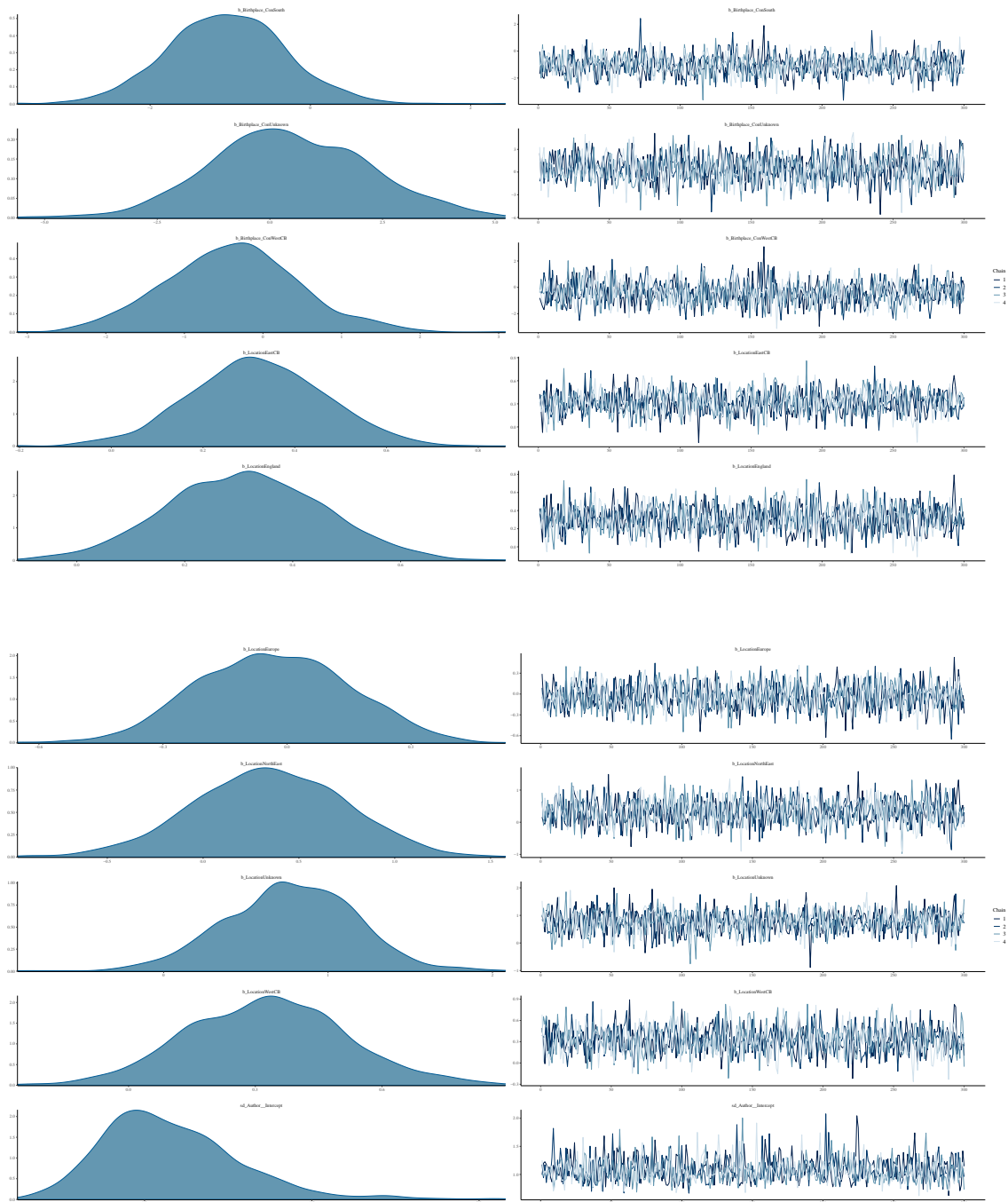
A.9   Appendix 9

Again the same considerations apply as in Appendix 7 above - a robust, well-performing Bayesian regression model will indicate 'Hairy Caterpillars' for the MCMC chains shown on in the plots on the right side, while the strength and reliability of the predictors can be judged based off the spread of their probability distributions, in the plots on the left. Examining the output below, it is clear the MCMC chains are well-mixed and behaving as expected, converging toward the highest probability density. The plots on the left indicate that all three independent effects have a strong relationship to the data, as none of their Credible Intervals are spread around zero. Of the three, the interaction between Dimension 1 and Dimension 2 is the strongest determinant predicting probabilities of Scots.
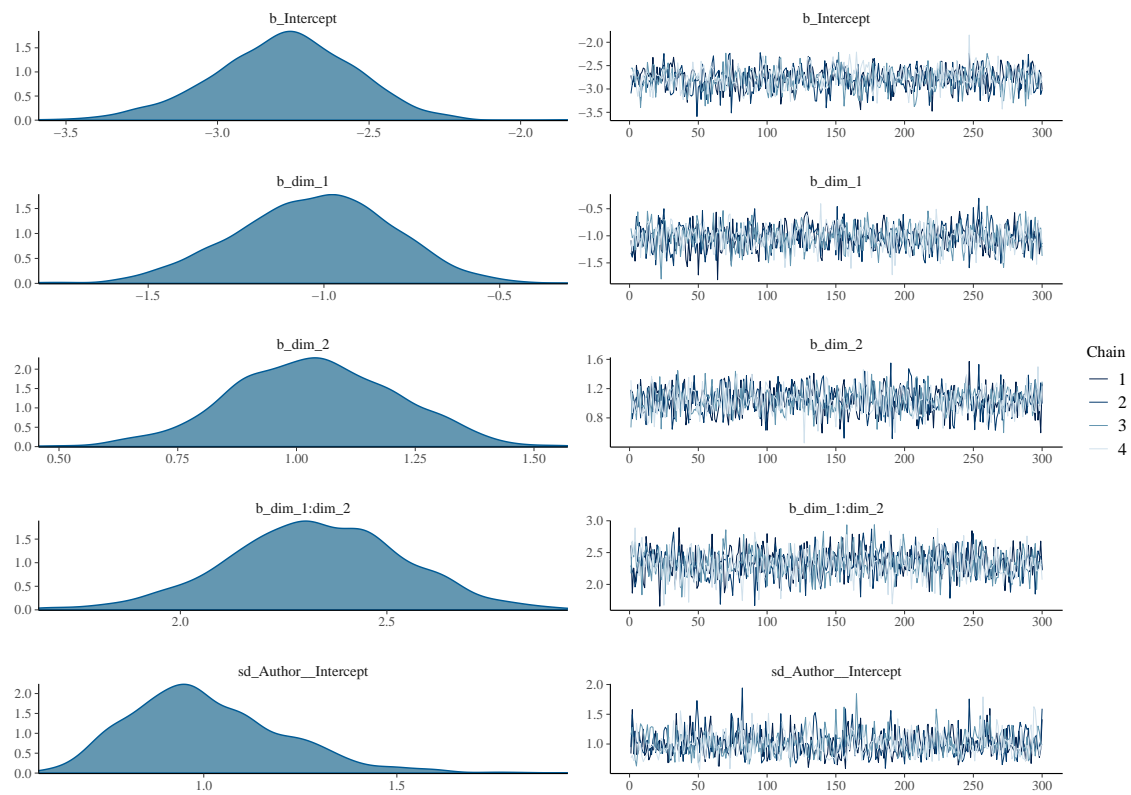
Figure A.1: Posterior distributions and MCMC chains for final model

A.10   Appendix 10

MCA outputs, brms model output and conditional effects, and probability biplots for combined model using full dataset (politicians, ministers and political others)

MCA factor map
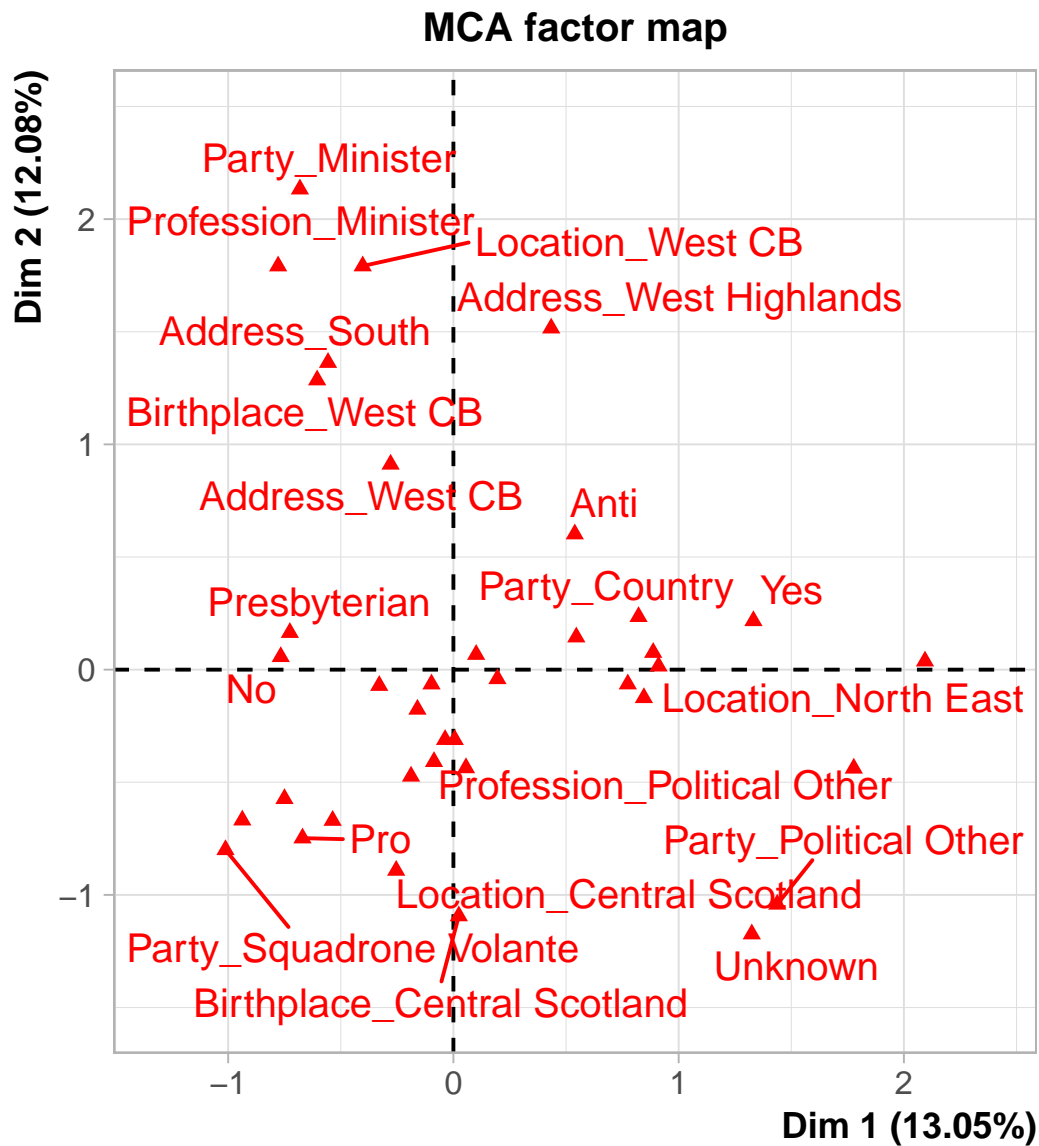
Figure A.2: MCA plot showing similarity distances between predictor levels for model including entire corpus
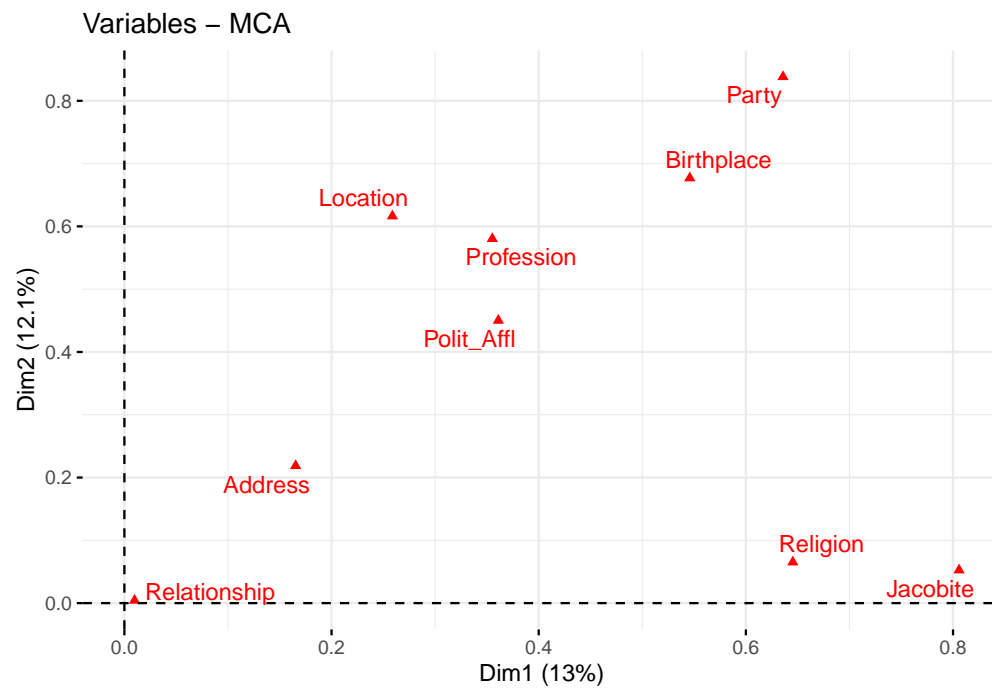
```
##  Family: bernoulli
##   Links: mu = logit
## Formula: Scots_English ~ dim_1 * dim_2 + (1 | Author)
##    Data: Scots_mca1 (Number of observations: 47497)
##   Draws: 4 chains, each with iter = 3000; warmup = 1500; thin = 5;
##          total post-warmup draws = 1200
##
## Group-Level Effects:
## ~Author (Number of levels: 39)
##               Estimate Est.Error l-95% CI u-95% CI Rhat Bulk_ESS Tail_ESS
## sd(Intercept)     1.28      0.20     0.94     1.74 1.00      736     1032
##
## Population-Level Effects:
##             Estimate Est.Error l-95% CI u-95% CI Rhat Bulk_ESS Tail_ESS
## Intercept      -2.67      0.23    -3.13    -2.23 1.00      791      966
## dim_1          -0.87      0.25    -1.38    -0.41 1.00      684     1065
## dim_2           0.34      0.15     0.05     0.63 1.00     1187     1206
## dim_1:dim_2     0.26      0.22    -0.17     0.69 1.00     1046     1147
##
## Draws were sampled using sampling(NUTS). For each parameter, Bulk_ESS
## and Tail_ESS are effective sample size measures, and Rhat is the potential
## scale reduction factor on split chains (at convergence, Rhat = 1).
```

4

Figure A.3: MCA plot showing similarity distances between predictors for model including entire corpus, and brms model output
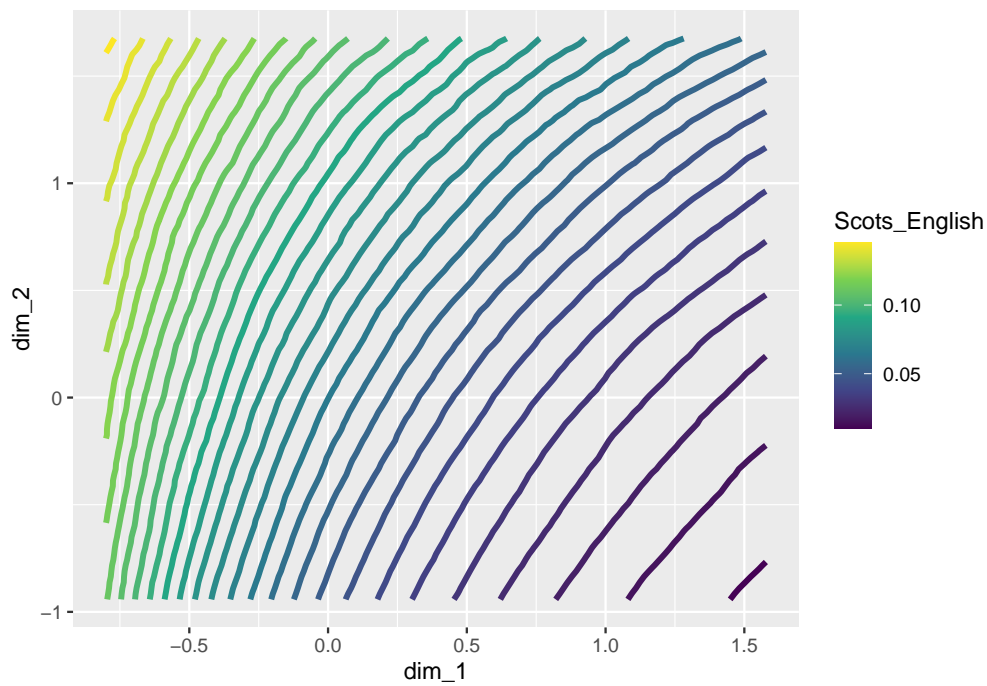
Figure A.4: Conditional probabilities of Scots for model including entire corpus
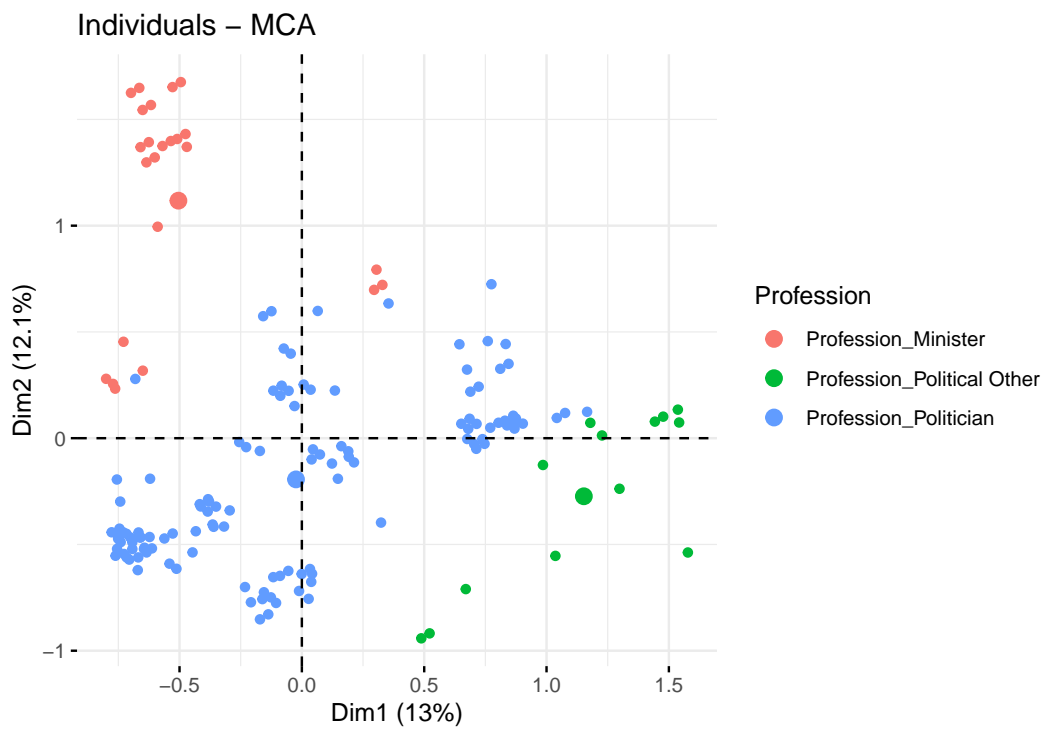
Figure A.5: Probabilitiy biplot for 'Profession' for full model
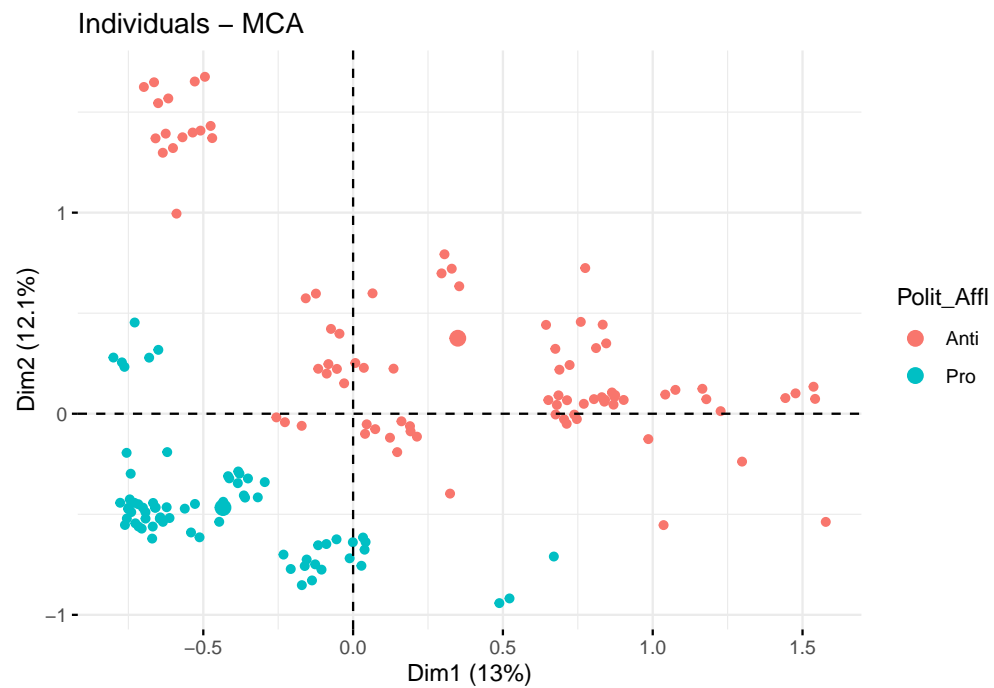
Figure A.6: Probabilitiy biplot for 'Political Affiliation' for full model
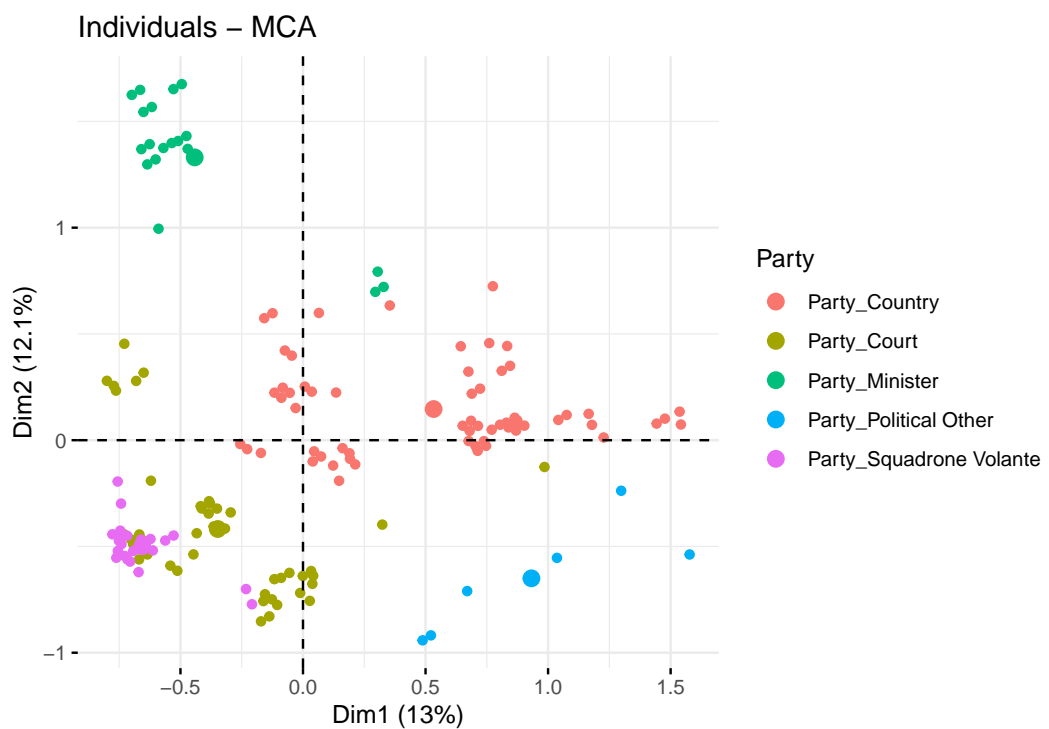
Figure A.7: Probabilitiy biplot for 'Party' for full model
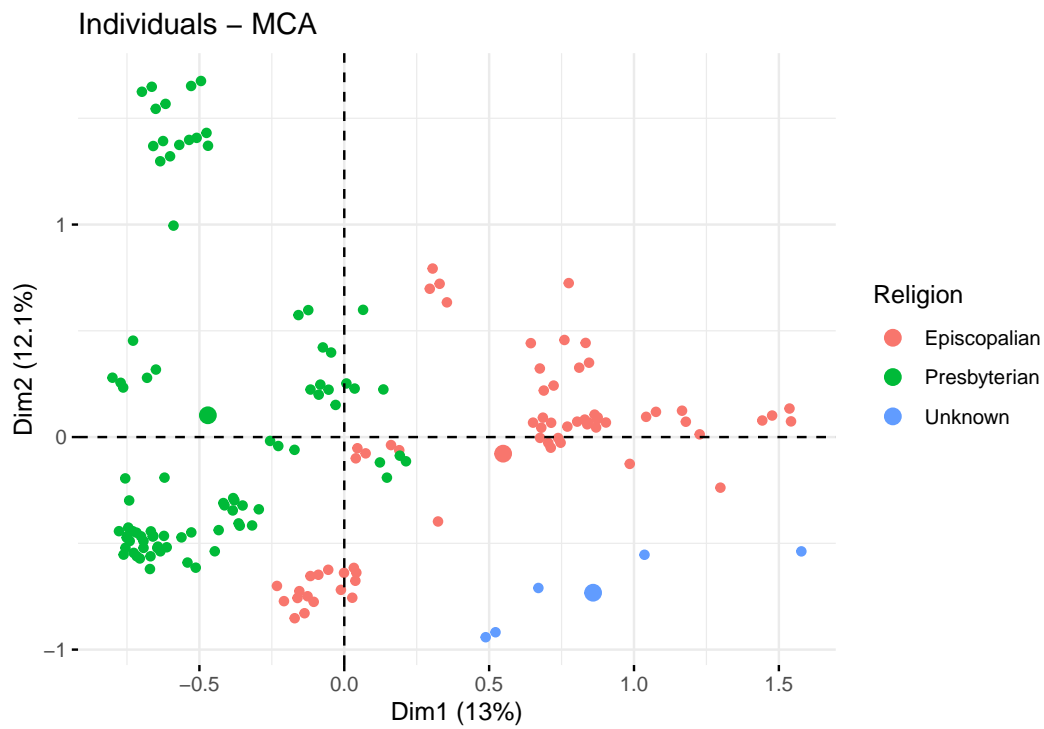
Figure A.8: Probabilitiy biplot for 'Religion' for full model
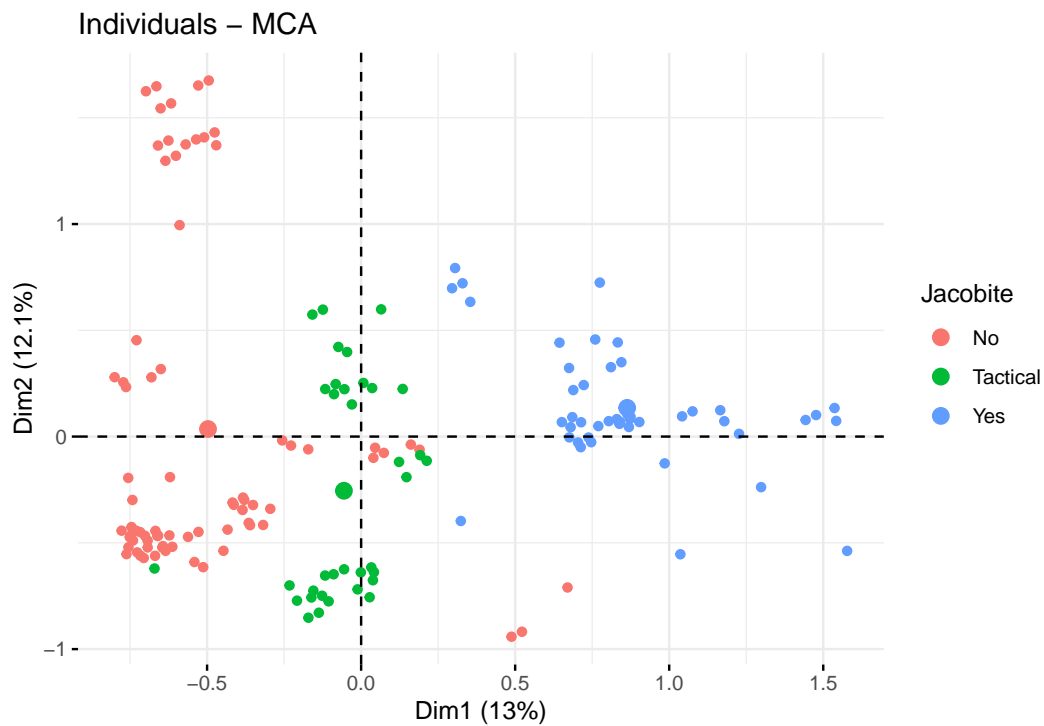
Figure A.9: Probabilitiy biplot for 'Jacobite' for full model
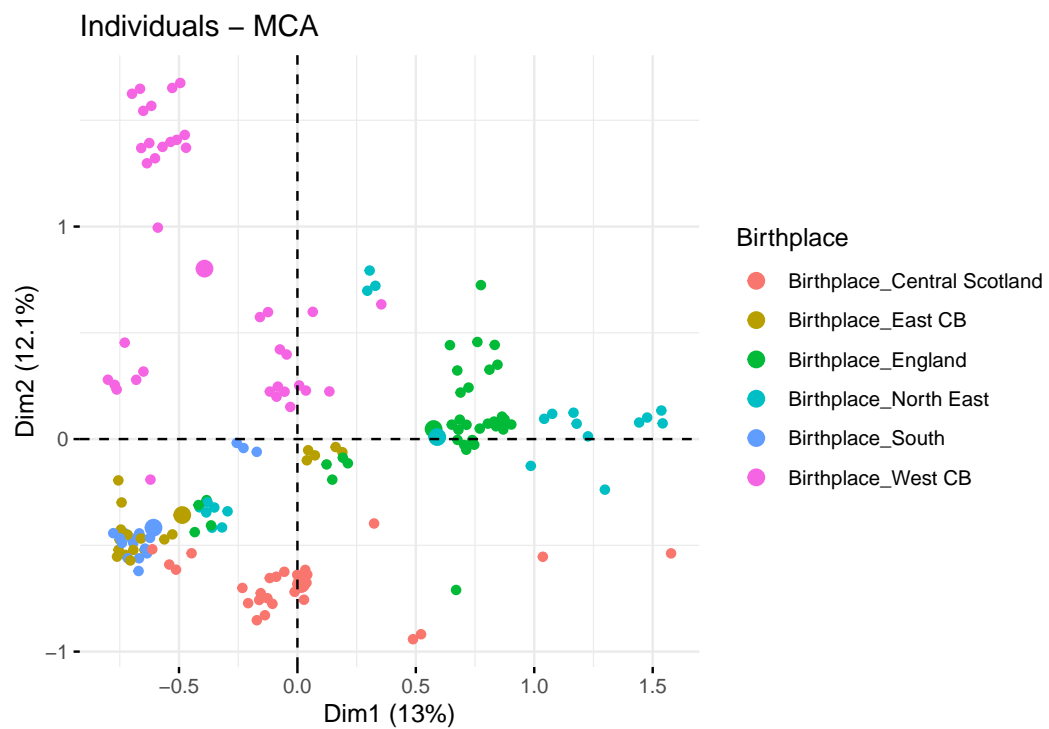
Figure A.10: Probabilitiy biplot for 'Birthplace' for full model
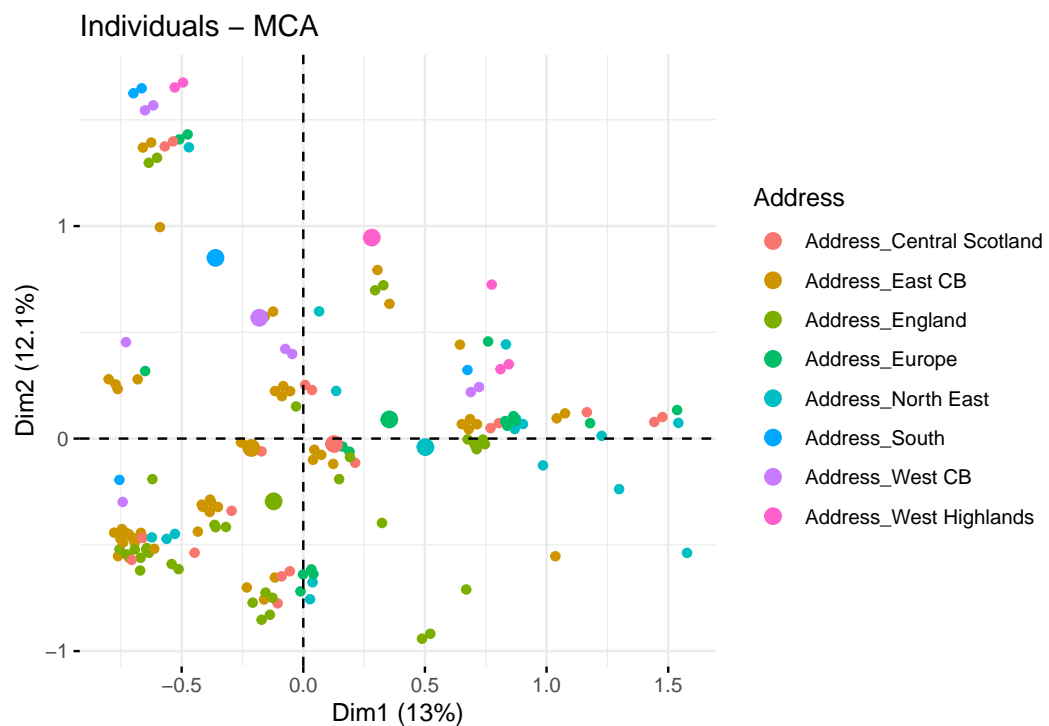
Figure A.11: Probabilitiy biplot for 'Address' for full model
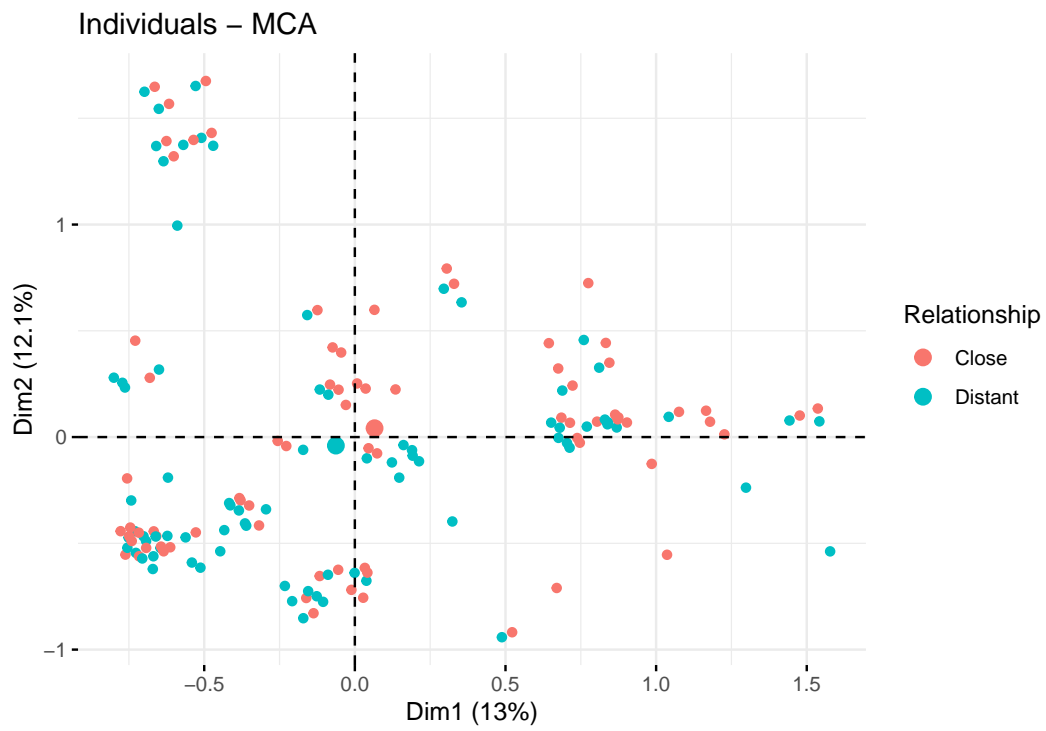
Figure A.12: Probabilitiy biplot for 'Relationship' for full model
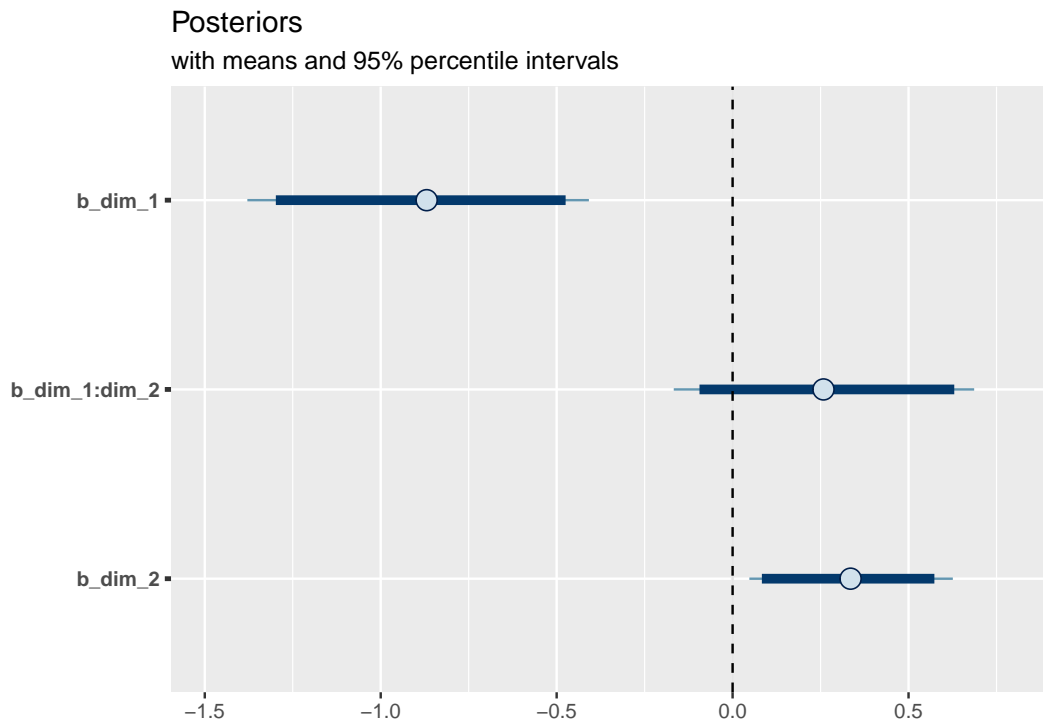
Figure A.13: Posterior distributions for full model

A.11 Appendix 11

Counts and Proportions of Scots Features

A.11.1 Raw Counts of Scots Features across all Authors

The first two sets of tables below indicate the raw counts of the Scots categories across all the authors included in the analysis.

Author	OEa	Other	PART	qu(h)_wh	s_s(c)h	u_w
Adam Cockburn	4	1	9	0	0	0
Alexander Monro	20	7	0	2	0	0
Alexander Wedderburn	0	2	0	0	0	0
Andrew Fletcher	3	3	0	0	0	0
Earl of Ilay	0	0	0	0	0	0
Earl of Erroll	0	0	0	1	0	0
Earl of Glasgow	7	0	0	1	0	0
Earl of Leven	31	19	1	10	0	1
George Lockhart	279	53	2	146	9	0
Earl of Cromartie	7	0	1	1	0	1
George Ramsay	0	0	0	0	0	0
Harry Maule	0	3	0	0	0	1
Hew Dalrymple	5	0	0	5	0	0
Earl of Loudoun	6	0	0	0	0	3
Duke of Hamilton	58	61	0	1	1	2
James Maule	1	10	0	0	0	0
Earl of Seafield	150	91	146	66	0	72
John Bell	32	0	0	1	6	0
Duke of Argyll	4	2	0	0	0	1
John Cockburn	11	9	0	0	0	0
Earl of Stair	40	43	1	1	3	2
Earl of Mar	4	3	2	1	0	0
John Haldane	1	3	0	0	0	1
Marquess of Tweeddale	77	5	1	2	2	0
Duke of Roxburghe	0	3	0	0	0	0
Earl of Rothes	8	0	0	0	0	0
Duke of Atholl	7	8	0	0	0	0
Earl of Marchmont	2	0	0	0	0	0
Robert Wodrow	675	75	0	1316	4	172
Robert Wylie	2	0	0	0	0	0
Lord Lovat	0	0	1	0	0	0
Earl of Kinnoull	1	2	0	0	0	1
William Carstairs	1	0	0	0	0	0
William Cochrane	2	0	1	0	0	2
Marquess of Annandale	6	0	0	0	0	0

Author	a_o	CD	ch_gh	dg_g	er_ar	FVMerger	i_e	ie_y	Lexical	MATE	MOUTH	NF	ng
Adam Cockburn	0	0	0	0	0	1	25	0	3	1	0	0	0
Alexander Monro	0	0	0	0	0	0	4	0	2 0	0	0	1	
Alexander Wedderburn	0	0	0	0	0	0	4	0	2	0	0	0	1
Andrew Fletcher	2	1	0	0	0	1	3	0	3	0	1	1	1
Earl of Ilay	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	1	0	0
Earl of Erroll	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	4	0	0	1	0	2
Earl of Glasgow	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	2	0	0	
Earl of Leven	2	0	0	0	1	16	44	31	0	2	8	3	3
George Lockhart	4	8	0	5	0	46	17	56	1	24	1		
Earl of Cromartie	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	2	2	0		
George Ramsay	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	2	0	0	0	0
Harry Maule	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0
Hew Dalrymple	0	0	0	2	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	1	0
Earl of Loudoun	1	0	0	0	0	0	3	1	0	3	0	0	
Duke of Hamilton	3	0	38	1	1	16	0	20	10	16	19	3	4
James Maule	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	9	0	1	12	1
Earl of Seafield	0	1	0	3	2	61	3	174	49	33	113	2	10
John Bell	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	61	0	10	1	0
Duke of Argyll	0	0	0	0	0	0	3	0	0	2	3	0	1
John Cockburn	0	0	0	0	0	4	0	0	67	0	0	0	0
Earl of Stair	1	0	12	1	0	32	0	0	18	24	23	1	1
Earl of Mar	0	12	0	2	0	18	13	9	12	7	1	0	3
John Haldane	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	3	0	4	0	0
Marquess of Tweeddale	0	11	0	8	1	27	2	36	46	3	50	14	0
Duke of Roxburghe	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	3	0	0	0	0
Earl of Rothes	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	2	0

Duke of Atholl	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	1	1	5	2	1	0
Earl of Marchmont	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0
Robert Wodrow	0	3	0	0	1	36	2	0	217	1	344	2	47
Robert Wylie	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Lord Lovat	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0
Earl of Kinnoull	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	1	1
William Carstairs	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	3	0	1	0	0
William Cochrane	0	0	2	0	0	0	0	5	0	0	7	0	0
Marquess of Annandale	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	12	3	0	0	0	0

A.11.2   Proportions of Scots Features across all Authors

The following two tables indicate the proportions of Scots features across all authors in the corpus. These are calculated as a percentage out of their total, variable usage which includes both Scots and anglicised equivalents.

Author	OEa	Other	PART	qu(h)_wh	s_s(c)h	u_w
Adam Cockburn	15.4	50	100	0	0	0
Alexander Monro	5.1	10.4	0	0.7	0	0
Alexander Wedderburn	0	100	0	0	0	0
Andrew Fletcher	5	42.9	0	0	0	0
Earl of Ilay	0	0	0	0	0	0
Earl of Erroll	0	0	0	11.1	0	0
Earl of Glasgow	29.2	0	0	6.3	0	0
Earl of Leven	27.7	95	3.1	8.1	0	7.1
George Lockhart	10.6	18.1	0.7	6.1	2.4	0
Earl of Cromartie	8.8	0	2.6	0.9	0	8.3
George Ramsay	0	0	0	0	0	0
Harry Maule	0	100	0	0	0	100
Hew Dalrymple	25	0	0	18.5	0	0
Earl of Loudoun	37.5	0	0	0	0	100
Duke of Hamilton	18.6	82.4	0	0.4	0.7	18.2
James Maule	1.8	83.3	0	0	0	0
Earl of Seafield	22.2	58.3	56.6	10.2	0	40.7
John Bell	5.6	2.7	0	0.2	4.5	0
Duke of Argyll	2.6	18.2	0	0	0	5.9
John Cockburn	1.6	4.5	0	0	0	0
Earl of Stair	15.6	76.8	3.2	0.3	3.2	5.9
Earl of Mar	1	5.3	18.2	0.2	0	0
John Haldane	7.7	100	0	0	0	100
Marquess of Tweeddale	10.1	4.8	1.5	0.2	1	0
Duke of Roxburghe	0	25	0	0	0	0
Earl of Rothes	19.5	0	0	0	0	0
Duke of Atholl	7.1	33.3	0	0	0	0
Earl of Marchmont	66.7	0	0	0	0	0
Robert Wodrow	51.9	27.1	0	91.1	0.9	97.7
Robert Wylie	6.3	0	0	0	0	0
Lord Lovat	0	0	100	0	0	0
Earl of Kinnoull	11.1	100	0	0	0	20
William Carstairs	2.4	0	0	0	0	0
William Cochrane	100	0	50	0	0	66.7
Marquess of Annandale	7.4	0	0	0	0	0

Author	a_o	CD	ch_gh	dg_g	er_ar	FVMerger	i_e	ie_y	Lexical	MATE	MOUTH	NF	ng
Adam Cockburn	0	0	0	0	0	7.1	43.9	0	10	14.3	0	0	0
Alexander Monro	0	0	0	0	0	0	100	0	0.6	0	0	0	25
Alexander Wedderburn	0	0	0	0	0	0	66.7	0	14.3	0	0	0	100
Andrew Fletcher	66.7	12.5	0	0	0	2.6	60	0	6	0	6.3	4	100
Earl of Ilay	0	0	0	0	0	0	100	0	0	0	25	0	0
Earl of Erroll	0	0	0	0	0	33.3	0	100	0	0	25	0	100
Earl of Glasgow	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	4.8	0	18.2	0	0
Earl of Leven	100	0	0	0	100	15.2	88	94	3.1	5.4	17.4	6.5	60
George Lockhart	8.9	5.6	0	1.2	0	0	13.3	11.2	2.6	0.1	3.9	0.1	0
Earl of Cromartie	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	2.7	0	4.9	0	0
George Ramsay	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	25	0	0	0	0
Harry Maule	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	100	0	0
Hew Dalrymple	0	0	0	50	0	0	0	0	6.7	0	0	5.3	
Earl of Loudoun	100	0	0	0	0	0	100	25	0	100	0	0	
Duke of Hamilton	100	0	82.6	14.3	20	11.4	0	78	3.7	19.8	12.2	1.4	66.7
James Maule	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	89	22	0	6.3	31.6	100
Earl of Seafield	0	1.9	0	7.7	20	11.1	3.2	100	8.1	15.3	56.2	0.6	30.3
John Bell	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	12.4	0	7.5	0.5	0
Duke of Argyll	0	0	0	0	0	0	60	0	0	3.3	5	0	6.7
John Cockburn	0	0	0	0	0	1.4	0	0	14.7	0	0	0	0
Earl of Stair	20	0	24.5	4.8	0	19.5	0	0	7.1	29.6	28	0.9	25
Earl of Mar	0	25.5	0	16.7	0	15.1	21	100	4.2	11.3	0.6	0	100
John Haldane	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	100	27.3	0	100	0	0
Marquess of Tweeddale	0	29.7	0	29.6	16.7	8.5	3.9	80	8.6	1.5	20.2	4.3	0
Duke of Roxburghe	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	10	0	0	0	0
Earl of Rothes	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	2.9	0	0	7.7	0

Duke of Atholl	0	16.7	0	0	0	0	0	98	0.9	13.5	7.1	2	0
Earl of Marchmont	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	50	0	0	0	0
Robert Wodrow	0	2.7	0	0	1.5	6	1.4	0	15.2	0.2	99.1	0.3	97.9
Robert Wylie	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Lord Lovat	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	6.3	0	0	0	0
Earl of Kinnoull	0	0	0	0	0	9.1	0	0	0	0	0	25	100
William Carstairs	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	67	6.5	0	6.7	0	0
William Cochrane	0	0	100	0	0	0	0	100	0	0	100	0	0
Marquess of Annandale	0	0	0	0	0	50	0	68	9.7	0	0	0	0