INFLUENCE OF NORMATIVE ENGLISH ON THREE SIXTEENTH-CENTURY SCOTTISH TEXTS

María Nieves Rodríguez Ledesma
Universidad de Sevilla

ABSTRACT

This paper studies the degree of anglicisation that exists in three sixteenth-century Scottish prose texts written between 1549 and 1552: William Lamb's *Ane Resonyng of ane Scottis and Inglis Merchand betuix Rowand and Lionis* (1549), *The Catechism Set Forth by Archbishop Hamilton* (1552), and *Dundee Burgh & Head Court Books, vol. II* (1550). For this purpose, a questionnaire made up of pairs of forms illustrating differences between Scots and English in phonetics-orthography, morphology, syntax and lexis has been devised. The texts represent different genres (argumentative prose, religious text, public document) and media (printed texts and manuscripts), two parameters which, according to various authors, are directly related to the influence of the anglicisation process.

KEY WORDS: Scots, anglicisation, 16th century, prose.

RESUMEN

El presente trabajo estudia el grado de anglificación existente en tres textos escoceses escritos en prosa a mediados del siglo XVI: *Ane Resonyng of ane Scottis and Inglis Merchand betuix Rowand and Lionis* (1549), de William Lamb, *The Catechism Set Forth by Archbishop Hamilton* (1552), y *Dundee Burgh & Head Court Books, vol. II* (1550). Con este objeto se ha elaborado un cuestionario, formado por pares de variables pertenecientes al escocés y al inglés, que ilustra diferencias entre estas dos variedades lingüísticas en los niveles fonético-grafémico, morfológico, sintáctico y léxico. Los textos están impresos y en manuscrito y representan diferentes géneros (prosa argumentativa, texto religioso, documento público), viéndose, por tanto, afectados en distinta medida por el proceso anglificador.

PALABRAS CLAVE: Escocés, anglificación, siglo XVI, prosa.

1. INTRODUCTION

In the history of Scots the sixteenth century can be considered a key period. Originally indistinguishable from the Northern dialect of Middle English, Scots (or 'Inglis', as it was originally called) became the official language of Scotland in the course of the fifteenth century and, as such, it was used for all kinds of purposes

—literature, public records, official documents, diaries, letters, etc. Two linguistic norms coexisted, therefore, in Great Britain at that time: The southern English standard, centered on London, and Scots, centered on Edinburgh, with significant differences between them. Whereas this was the situation in the first half of the sixteenth century, in the second Scots began to decline and to converge towards the southern standard.[1]

Several factors are held to have contributed to the anglicisation process: a) the triumph of the Reformation in 1560, which strengthened the bonds between Scotland and England and introduced the Geneva Bible, written in English, into Scotland; b) the Union of the Crowns in 1603, which involved not only the Court, but also a large number of politicians, noblemen and men of letters moving from Edinburgh to London, and c) the Union of the Parliaments in 1707, which had as a result the transference of the legislature to London. Other factors which seem to have favoured anglicisation are the free circulation of English works in Scotland from the fourteenth century onwards,[2] the influence of Chaucer and his successors on Scottish literature,[3] and printing. The first Scottish printing-press was established in 1508 but, prior to that, printed English books had been circulating throughout Scotland, and these may have been used as models. Some printers, moreover, were English or had worked in England. These factors, together with the fact that books in English had a larger market than books in Scots, account for the printers' practice of anglicising texts.[4]

2. AIMS AND METHODOLOGY

This essay analyses the degree of anglicisation which exists in three sixteenth-century Scottish prose texts written between 1549 and 1552: *Ane Resonyng of ane Scottis and Inglis Merchand betuix Rowand and Lionis* (1549), by William Lamb, *The Catechism Set Forth by Archbishop Hamilton* (1552), and *Dundee Burgh & Head Court Books, vol. II* (1550).

Ane Resonyng is a reply to the English propaganda campaign in support of their war against Scotland (1542-49), more specifically to the document titled *A Declaratioun, contenyning the ivst cavses and consyderations, of this present warre with the Scottis, wherein alsoo appereth the trewe & right title, that the kinges most royall*

---

[1] For an outline account of the history of Scots, see AITKEN (1979, 1985), MURISON (1977, 1979) and TEMPLETON (1973).

[2] For a list of some of those works, see BALD (1926b).

[3] Scots transcripts of their English poems often retained some English forms, especially in rhymes. These seem to have been regarded by Scots poets as alternatives to the corresponding native forms, particularly useful for rhyming purposes, and so they began the practice of introducing occasional anglicisms in their works.

[4] For a detailed account of the influence of printing on anglicisation see BALD (1926a).

maiesty hath to the souerayntie of Scotlande (Lyall 1985: XIX). The work, written in dialogue form, is made up of two parts: the first deals with the relations between Scotland and England from 1500 to the beginning of the war in 1542; the second debates the homage which the Scottish kings apparently paid to the English kings from the tenth to the sixteenth century.

The Catechism is a religious text written to instruct the clergy and the common people which explains the Catholic doctrine concerning the Commandments, the Sacraments, the Lord's Prayer and Angelic Salutation. Law considers it to be "almost the solitary monument of the doctrinal and devotional language of Catholic Scotland" (1884: VIII), and adds that it is written clearly, simply, and earnestly, often with eloquence, and it abounds in homely illustrations" (*ibid.*).

Dundee Burgh & Head Court Books (*DBHCB*), compilation of the acts of the burgh of Dundee, is a public and official document and, therefore, a formal, conservative and nationalist text, written in a formulaic language, in which the content and the clarity of exposition are given priority over the style.

This corpus has been selected for several reasons: all the texts are written in the middle of the sixteenth century, just between the golden age of Scots and the beginning of its decline. Secondly, the editions used are diplomatic and the texts are, therefore, reasonably reliable: Lyall preserves the spelling of the manuscript in his edition of *Ane Resonyng,* and underlines those abbreviations that have been expanded; Mitchell's edition is a facsimile of the first printed edition of *The Catechism*, and the text of *DBHCB* is a transcription of the manuscript carried out for *A Dictionary of the Older Scottish Tongue* (*DOST*). Finally, the texts selected represent different genres (argumentative prose, religious text, public document)[5] and media (printed texts and manuscripts), two parameters that, according to various authors (Devitt, MacQueen, Meurman-Solin), are directly related to the influence of the anglicisation process.[6]

The most exhaustive studies on the degree of anglicisation of Scottish texts have been carried out by Devitt and MacQueen. Devitt (1989) analyses in 121 prose texts written by Scottish writers between 1520 and 1659 the distribution of Scottish and English variants of five linguistic variables: the relative clause marker, the preterite inflection, the indefinite article, the negative particle and the present participle. She aims to establish the influence of time, linguistic variables, genre, audience and medium on the anglicisation process. For that purpose, the texts, grouped in twenty-year time periods, represent "the most commonly written non-literary prose genres of the time" (Devitt 1989:54): religious treatises, official corre-

---

[5] According to Meurman-Solin's terminology, the texts selected represent the following text categories: argumentative, religious instruction and statutory, and the following text types: Pamphlet, education and law (1993:148-151).

[6] The results can also be compared with those obtained from my analysis of *The Complaynt of Scotland* (1549). See my forthcoming article: "Linguistic anglicisation in *The Complaynt of Scotland*: A Study of Further Diagnostic Variables".

spondence, private records (diaries and journals), personal correspondence and national public records. MacQueen (1957) selects for her analysis the last genre (records, national and local), considered to be especially resistant to anglicisation, and the first half of the eighteenth century, and she establishes the frequency of 'scotticisms' found in these texts at the different linguistic levels (spelling, grammatical characteristics, word-form, vocabulary, idiom and syntax).

Meurman-Solin (1993), on the other hand, includes among her aims "to trace the anglicization process and to identify conditioning factors influencing the choice of Scottish and/or English variants" in the *Helsinki Corpus of Older Scots* (1993:54). This corpus comprises seventy-four prose texts dating from the period 1450-1700 and representing fourteen text types: law (burgh records), Bible, sermon, education, science, handbook, history, (auto)biography, travelogue, diary, private letter, official letter, trial, pamphlet (1993:63). The diagnostic variants she selects are inflectional endings (English -*ed* vs. Scottish -*it* in the preterite and past participle forms of verbs), variant forms of pronouns (English *wh-* vs. Scottish *quh-* in relative and interrogative pronouns, and English *they* instead of Scottish *thai*) and ten pairs of English and Scottish spelling variants (*ow* for *aw*; /o:/ for /a:/; English variants and the corresponding Scottish *l* and *n* mouillé; *gh* for *ch*, representing the sound /x/; *sh* for *sch*; *o-e* for *oi*; *e-e* or later *ea* for *ei*; *o-e, u-e* or later *oo* for *ui*; *a-e* for *ai*, and *u-e* for *ui*) (1993:126). In her study, the extralinguistic parameters which seem to influence the choice of linguistic variants include dialect, printed versus manuscript, author's sex, author-audience relationship, participant relationship (only in letters) and text type.

My analysis of the degree of anglicisation in the corpus selected has similarities with the previous studies: it is centered on prose texts, which show signs of southern influence later than verse; it establishes the distribution of Scottish and English variants at different linguistic levels, and it tries to determine the factors which condition the choice of these variants. The analysis below uses the results of a questionnaire made up of pairs of forms —one Scottish and one English— illustrating differences between the two languages in phonetics-orthography, morphology, syntax and lexis. The selection of these features has been based on Agutter (1987), Aitken (1971), Devitt (1989), Kuipers (1964), McClure (1986), Murray (1873), Smith (1902) and van Buuren (1982).

At the phonetic-orthographic level, the following diagnostic variants have been selected: [y:] vs. [u:] (*gude/good*,[7] *sune/soon*); <a> vs. <o> before a lengthening consonant cluster (*amang/among, lang/long, wrang/wrong*); <o> vs. <ou> before [x] (*nocht/nought, thocht/thought, dochter/daughter*); <e> vs. <o> following [w] (*werld/world, werk/work, werst/worst*); [e:] (Early Scots [a:]) vs. [ɔ:] (*fra/fro, mair/more, na/no, sa/so, alsa/also, baith/both*);[8] [k] vs. [tʃ] (*sic/such, ilk/each, mekill/much*); [s] vs. [ʃ]

---

[7] The different derivatives, compounds and inflected forms of the selected terms have also been taken into account.

(*sall/shall, suld/should, Inglis/English, Scottis/Scottish*); <quh> vs. <wh> (*quhilk/which, quha/wha, quhou/how*). With regard to those Scottish spelling habits which seem to have had no phonetic implications, the selected diagnostic variants are the following: <sch> vs. <sh> (*schaw/show, sche/she, schort/short*); <e, e/e, ei, ey> vs. <ea> (*greit/great, hede/head, speik/speak*); <ch> vs. <gh> (*hicht/hight, licht/light, nicht/night, richt/right*); <ony> vs. <any>; <mony> vs. <many>.[9]

At the morphological level, the following variables have been selected: plural and genitive inflections (*-is, -ys* vs. *-es*); present tense inflections (*-is, -ys, -s* vs. *-(e)st, -(e)th*);[10] past tense and past participle inflections (*-it, -yt* vs. *-ed*);[11] present participle inflection (*-and* vs. *-ing*); indefinite article (*ane/a(n)*); demonstratives (*tha(i)/those, thir/these*); negative particle (*nocht/not*); third person feminine singular pronoun (*scho/she*);[12] third person plural pronouns (*tha(i)/they, tha(i)m/the(i)m, tha(i)r/the(i)r*).

The Scottish rule for the inflection of the present tense is the diagnostic variant selected at the syntactic level.[13] The variants at the lexical level include native vocabulary (*agane/against, allanerly/only, gif/if, lat/let, than/then*), and Romance borrowings (*failʒe/fail, sp(o)ulʒe/spoil, fe(i)nʒe/feign, cunʒe/coin; conte(i)n/contain, mainte(i)n/maintain, obte(i)n/obtain, perte(i)n/pertain, suste(i)n/sustain; dispone/dispose, expone/expose, propone/propose, suppone/suppose, exerce/exercise, expreme/express, promoue/promote; visy/visit, vome/vomit*).

In order to establish the distribution of Scottish and English variants at the different linguistic levels, samples ranging from 8,000 to 12,000 words have been scanned using the Oxford Concordance Programme. Except for the *Dundee Burgh and Head Court Books*, where a continuous text has been selected (proceedings from the 7th of October to the 12th of November 1550), the samples have been taken from different sections: pages 3-43 (first part) and 93-145 (second part) in *Ane Resonyng*; fol. V-XII ('Ane introductioun to the commandis'), CXX-CXXV ('Ane prologe to the sevin Sacramentis') and CLXV-CLXXV ('Of the sacrament of Matrimonie', 'Of the maner how christin men and wemen suld mak thair prayer to God') in *The Catechism*.

---

[8] Of these, Aitken (1997:2-3) considers the forms *more* and *no* as 'quasi-anglicisms', since they occur very early and in verse texts which are otherwise free of anglicisation.

[9] According to *DOST*, *moni, mony* are Northern, West Midland and South-Western ME. forms, from OE. *maniʒ, moniʒ*, 'with vowel as in *ony*'. These forms with *o* are still retained in the modern dialects in Scotland and northern England. With respect to the form *ony*, *DOST* explains that it is a variant, with unexplained change of vowel (but perhaps after *mony*), of ME. and e.m.E. *eni, eny*, and *ani, any*, from OE. *ǣniʒ*. In the modern dialects this form occurs in Scotland and northern and north midland England. *Any* is listed as the English form of *ony*, used occasionally in Scots in the sixteenth century and common in the seventeenth.

[10] The transitional allomorphs *-ist, -ith, -es* have also been considered anglicised forms.

[11] *-Id* and *-et* are considered transitional forms.

[12] The transitional form *sche* has also been considered an anglicised form.

[13] According to this rule, the verb is uninflected in the plural when immediately adjacent to a subject personal pronoun; otherwise, it takes *-s*.

3. PHONETICS-ORTHOGRAPHY

The results show a low degree of anglicisation at this level in the selected corpus. In *Ane Resonyng*, only two of the diagnostic features show some signs of southern influence: [e:] (from Early Scots [a:]) vs. [ɔ:] (19.9 per cent) and <quh> vs. <wh> (33.3 per cent). Different doublets are affected, however, differently by the anglicisation process. With regard to the first feature, *fra/fro, na/no* and *baith/both* are not anglicised. The Scots variants are the dominant ones in the case of the doublets *mair/more* and *sa/so*, although the percentages are different: *mair* occurs 10 times and *maist* twice, as against one instance of *most* (7.7 per cent); in the case of *sa/so*, *sa* and *swa* occur 12 and 11 times respectively, and *so* 16 times (41 per cent). The doublet *alsa/also* is the only one in which the anglicised form is more frequent than the native one:[14] there is only one instance of *alswa* as against 34 of *also* (70.8 per cent).[15]

With regard to the opposition between Scots <quh> and English <wh>, the former is always found for the relatives: *quhilk* (46x), *quhilkis* (5x), *quha* (12x), *quha(y)is* (2x), *quhom(e)* (7x). However, for the doublet *quhou/how*, the spelling *how* (11x) is the only one found in *Ane Resonyng*.

These two diagnostic features, [e:] vs. [ɔ:] and <quh> vs. <wh>, are also analysed by Meurman-Solin in her study on the *Helsinki Corpus of Older Scots*. Some of the variables selected, however, are different: she does not include, for example, the doublet *alsa/also* in the first case or *quhou/how* in the second, which show the highest percentage of anglicisation, and, consequently, the results do not always coincide. Thus, for the text type pamphlet in the subperiod 1500-1570 (represented by three texts), these two features show 83 per cent and 100 per cent respectively of Scottish variants, that is, 17 and 0 per cent of English forms (Meurman-Solin 1993:157). With regard to the opposition <sch> vs. <sh> and <ch> vs. <gh>, however, the results are the same: 100 per cent of Scottish variants.

TABLE 1: RATIO OF ANGLICISATION AT THE PHONETIC-ORTHOGRAPHIC LEVEL OF *ANE RESONYNG*. SELECTED VARIABLES	
gude/good	0%
sune/soon	0%
amang/among	0%
lang/long	0%
wrang/wrong	0%

---

[14] This situation is similar to that found in the Asloan MS *Buke of the Sevyne Sagis*, where the relatively low proportion of *so* (which occurs 19 times as against 119 instances of *sa*) contrasts with the high percentage of *also* (with the same number of occurrences as *alsa*). (Van Buuren 1982:71).

[15] The remaining instances (13x) show the reduced form *als*.

nocht/nought	0%
thocht/thought	0%
dochter/daughter	0%
werld/world	0%
werk/work	-
werst/worst	-
fra/fro	0%
mair/more	7.7%
sa/so	41%
alsa/also	70.8%
na/no	0%
baith/both	0%
sic/such	0%
ilk/each	-
mekil/much	0%
sal/shall	0%
suld/should	0%
Inglis/Inglish	0%
Scottis/Scottish	0%
quhilk/which	0%
quha/wha	0%
quhou/how	100%
sche/she	0%
schau/shau	0%
schort/short	0%
greit/great	0%
hede/head	0%
speik/speak	0%
licht/light	-
richt/right	0%
nycht/night	0%
hicht/hight	-
ony/any	0%
mony/many	0%

TABLE 2: RATIO OF ANGLICISATION AT THE PHONETIC-ORTHOGRAPHIC LEVEL OF *ANE RESONYNG*. SELECTED DIAGNOSTIC FEATURES	
[y:] vs. [u:]	0%
<a>/<o> before lengthening group	0%
<o>/<ou> before [x]	0%
<e>/<o> after [w]	0%
[e:] vs. [ɔ:]	19.9%
[k] vs. [tʃ]	0%
[s] vs. [ʃ]	0%
<quh> vs. <wh>	33.3%
<sch> vs. <sh>	0%
<e, e/e, ei, ey> vs. <ea>	0%
<ch> vs. <gh>	0%
<ony> vs. <any>	0%
<mony> vs. <many>	0%

In *The Catechism*, three of the eight phonetic diagnostic features are anglicised: <a>/<o> before lengthening group (4.8 per cent), [e:] vs. [ɔ:] (12.5 per cent), and <quh> vs. <wh> (12.7 per cent). In the first case, only the doublet *amang/among* shows some signs of southern influence, with six instances of *amang(is)* as against one of *among*. This is also the case for [e:] vs. [ɔ:]: four of the five variables select forms in <a/(e), ai>: *sa* (55x), *swa* (3x); *fra* (48x); *mair* (14x), *maist* (10x); *baith* (17x). Only the doublet *alsa/also* is anglicised in this work and, as happened in *Ane Resonyng*, the English variant is dominant in this case, with 75 per cent of occurrences.[16] With respect to <quh> vs. <wh>, the situation is also similar to the one described for *Ane Resonyng*: <quh> is always selected by the relatives (*quhilk* (107x), *quhilkis* (2x), *quha* (1x), *quhais* (2x), *quhom(e)* (17x)), whereas both spellings are found to represent *how* (*quhow* (13x), *how* (8x)).

As mentioned before, because of the selection of different variables, the results for the last two diagnostic features do not agree with Meurman-Solin's. Thus, for the text type education in the subperiod 1500-1570 (represented by one text), [e:] vs. [ɔ:] and <quh> vs. <wh> show 97 per cent and 100 per cent respectively of Scottish variants, that is, 3 and 0 per cent of English forms (Meurman-Solin 1993:157), as against 12.5 and 12.7 per cent of English forms in *The Catechism*.

---

[16] There are 18 instances of *also*, four of *alswa* and two of the reduced form *als*.

With regard to those Scottish spelling habits which seem to have had no phonetic implication, *The Catechism* differs from the remaining works, since, out of the five selected diagnostic variants, four show signs of southern influence. In the case of <sch> vs. <sh>, the first two doublets select the Scottish form (*sche* (8x), *schaw* (3x)), whereas both spellings are found for the last one (*schort* (2x), *short* (1x)). With regard to the realisation of [i:], one of the variables presents Scots <ei, e>: *speik(is)* (3x), *spek-* (3x), as against another, which selects both spellings: *gret(ar)* (10x), *greit(er)* (6x), *greater* (1x). Finally, both the Scots and the English variants are found for the doublets <ony>/<any> and <mony>/many>, the former being by far dominant: *ony* (19x), *any* (1x); *mony* (15x), *many* (1x).

TABLE 3: RATIO OF ANGLICISATION AT THE PHONETIC-ORTHOGRAPHIC LEVEL OF *THE CATECHISM*. SELECTED VARIABLES	
gude/good	0%
sune/soon	0%
amang/among	14.3%
lang/long	0%
wrang/wrong	0%
nocht/nought	0%
thocht/thought	0%
dochter/daughter	-
werld/world	0%
werk/work	0%
werst/worst	-
fra/fro	0%
mair/more	0%
sa/so	0%
alsa/also	75%
na/no	0%
baith/both	0%
sic/such	0%
ilk/each	0%
mekil/much	0%
sal/shall	0%
suld/should	0%
Inglis/Inglish	-

Scottis/Scottish	-
quhilk/which	0%
quha/wha	0%
quhou/how	38.1%
sche/she	0%
schau/shau	0%
schort/short	33.3%
greit/great	5.9%
hede/head	-
speik/speak	0%
licht/light	0%
richt/right	0%
nycht/night	0%
hicht/hight	-
ony/any	5%
mony/many	6.25%

TABLE 4: RATIO OF ANGLICISATION AT THE PHONETIC-ORTHOGRAPHIC LEVEL OF *THE CATECHISM*. SELECTED DIAGNOSTIC FEATURES	
[y:] vs. [u:]	0%
<a>/<o> before lengthening group	4.8%
<o>/<ou> before [x]	0%
<e>/<o> after [w]	0%
[e:] vs. [ɔ:]	12.5%
[k] vs. [tʃ]	0%
[s] vs. [ʃ]	0%
<quh> vs. <wh>	12.7%
<sch> vs. <sh>	11.1%[17]
<e, e/e, ei, ey> vs. <ea>	2.95%
<ch> vs. <gh>	0%
<ony> vs. <any>	5%
<mony> vs. <many>	6.25%

---

[17] MEURMAN-SOLIN (1993:157) gives 100 per cent of Scottish variants for this feature in education in the subperiod 1500-1570.

DBHCB is more conservative than the previous texts, since none of the selected diagnostic features is anglicised.[18] Thus, with regard to the opposition [e:] vs. [ɔ:], all the variables select forms in <a>: *fra* (8x), *mair, maist* (1x and 4x), *alswa, als* (3x and 2x), *swa, sa* (2x and 1x), *na* (23x), *bayth* (2x). This is also the case with <quh> vs. <wh>: the Scottish spelling is found in this work not only for the relatives (*quhilk* (56x), *quha* (11x)), but also for the variable *how* (*quho* (5x)).

These results are similar to Meurman-Solin's, although *DBHCB* registers in this case a lower degree of anglicisation. Thus, for the text type law (represented by three texts) in the subperiod 1500-1570, <quh> vs. <wh> and <ch> vs. <gh> show 100 per cent of Scottish variants, whereas [e:] vs. [ɔ:] and <sch> vs. <sh> show 95 per cent and 93 per cent respectively of Scottish variants (Meurman-Solin 1993:157).

TABLE 5: RATIO OF ANGLICISATION AT THE PHONETIC-ORTHOGRAPHIC LEVEL OF *DBHCB*. SELECTED DIAGNOSTIC FEATURES	
[y:] vs. [u:]	0%
<a>/<o> before lengthening group	0%
<o>/<ou> before [x]	0%
<e>/<o> after [w]	0%
[e:] vs. [ɔ:]	0%
[k] vs. [tʃ]	0%
[s] vs. [ʃ]	0%
<quh> vs. <wh>	0%
<sch> vs. <sh>	0%
<e, e/e, ei, ey> vs. <ea>	0%
<ch> vs. <gh>	0%
<ony> vs. <any>	0%
<mony> vs. <many>	-

4. MORPHOLOGY

With respect to nominal inflections, *Ane Resonyng* has Scots *-is* as the genitive ending. In the case of the plural, only three nouns out of a total of 100 select

---

[18] Some of the selected variables are not represented in *DBHCB*. This is the case of *amang/among, wrang/wrong; dochter/daughter; werld/world, werst/worst; mekil/much; Scottis/Scottish; schort/short; greit/great, speik/speak; licht/light, hicht/hight; mony/many.*

English -es (*crymes, names, realmes*). Two of these, however, have forms in -es alongside forms in -is: *names* (3x), *namis* (2x); *realmes* (2x), *realmis* (2x). The fact that all of them end in <m> may be significant, since the confusion of minims resulting from the contact between <m> and <i> may be avoided by using <e> instead. The selection of -es in these cases may be motivated by orthography rather than by anglicisation.

With regard to verbal inflections, 32 verbs in *Ane Resonyng* select -is for the present and only one the transitional form -es: *clames* (the fact that this verb ends in <m> may be significant). With respect to the past and past participle inflection, 123 verbs select Scots -it, as against one (less than 1 per cent) which shows English -ed (*stormested*). In the realisation of the present participle, the confusion of the inflections -and and -ing found in *Ane Resonyng* is normal in a 16th-c. text; in this case, -ing is dominant, with 30 instances, as against 26 of -and. These results agree with those obtained by Devitt (1989), according to which the present participle is the most highly anglicised feature, with the English -ing already dominant by 1520 —occurring in more than 60 per cent of instances of the present participle—, and increasing considerably between 1540 and 1559 and 1560 and 1579.

With regard to the other diagnostic features, only two, the third person feminine singular pronoun and the indefinite article, are anglicised. The pronoun appears three times: twice as *scho* and once as *sche*. For the indefinite article, there are 51 instances of Scots *ane* before a consonant, as against 26 (33.8 per cent) of English *a*.[19] This agrees with Devitt's findings, according to which in the period 1520-1659 "Anglo-English forms move from 17% to 80% of all indefinite articles before consonants" (1989:24).

Two of these diagnostic features are analysed by Meurman-Solin in her study on the *Helsinki Corpus of Older Scots*: the past and past participle inflection and the subject form of the third person plural pronoun. For these variables, pamphlets in the subperiod 1500-1570 show 100 per cent and 84 per cent respectively of Scottish variants. These results agree with those obtained from *Ane Resonyng* in the first case, whereas in the second this text is more conservative.

In *The Catechism*, the genitive and present inflections show no anglicisation. In the case of the plural, 123 nouns select Scots -is as against 12 which show English -es (*auctorities, bodies, cities, pointes, princes, properties, punitiones, saules, signes, sonnes, tymes, wyffes*).[20] Eight of these end in <i>, <m> or <n>: therefore, the selection of -es in these cases may be due to the orthographic context. With respect to the realisation of the past and past participle, 105 verbs show -it and only two

---

[19] Both *ane* and *a* are found before the same noun, as the following examples illustrate: "a meting" (p. 35), "ane meting" (p. 39); "sick ane kyng" (p. 35), "a kyng" (p. 39), etc.
[20] Five of these, however, have forms in -es alongside forms in -is, the latter being more frequent.

TABLE 6: RATIO OF ANGLICISATION AT THE MORPHOLOGICAL LEVEL OF *ANE RESONYNG*	
plural	3%
genitive	0%
present	3%
past and past participle	0.8%
present participle	53.6%
indefinite article	33.8%
demonstrative *these*	0%
demonstrative *those*	0%
negative particle *not*	0%
3rd pers. sing. feminine pronoun	33.3%
subject form of 3rd pers. pl. pronoun	0%
object form of 3rd pers. pl. pronoun	0%
possessive form of 3rd pers. pl. pronoun	0%

have *-ed* (*ansuered, ministred*[21]). In the case of the present participle, 61 verbs select *-and* as against 32 which show *-ing*.[22]

With regard to the other diagnostic features, three show southern influence: the indefinite article, the third person singular feminine pronoun and the subject form of the third person plural pronoun. In the first case, there are 100 instances of *ane* before a consonant as against 48 of *a*.[23] The eight occurrences of

---

[21] This verb has also forms in *-it*: *ministerit, ministrit*.
[22] That these two inflections are found in free variation in this work to represent the present participle is shown not only by the fact that both are selected by the same verb:
(1) spekis our saluiour Christ *sayand* (fol. VI),
(2) S Paul exhortis vs thus *saying* (fol. VII),
(3) spak to thame mair scharply *saying* (fol. VIII),
 but also because both are found to alternate in the same sentence:
(4) be the mycht of God *assistant* and *being* present in & with his sacrament (fol. CXXII),
(5) nocht *intendand* procreatioun of barnis, nother *eschewing* fornicatioun of his wyfe (fol. CLXIX).
[23] As happened in *Ane Resonyng*, both *ane* and *a* are found in this work not only before the same noun:
(1) ane sacrament (fol. CXXIIII),
(2) a sacrament (fol. CLXVII),
(3) ane sensibil thing (fol. CXXIIII),

the feminine pronoun found in the text present the form *sche*. In the case of the plural pronoun, there are 54 examples of *thai* and one of *they*.

The results obtained for this last variable and for the realisation of the past and past participle are very similar to those given by Meurman-Solin for the text type education in the subperiod 1500-1570: 100 per cent of Scottish variants for the pronoun and 99 per cent for the inflection (1993:157), as against 98.2 and 98.1 per cent respectively in *The Catechism*.

TABLE 7: RATIO OF ANGLICISATION AT THE MORPHOLOGICAL LEVEL OF *THE CATECHISM*	
plural	8.9%
genitive	0%
present	0%
past and past participle	1.9%
present participle	34.4%
indefinite article	32.4%
demonstrative *these*	0%
demonstrative *those*	0%
negative particle *not*	0%
3rd pers. sing. feminine pronoun	100%
subject form of 3rd pers. pl. pronoun	1.8%
object form of 3rd pers. pl. pronoun	0%
possessive form of 3rd pers. pl. pronoun	0%

In *DBHCB*, all the inflections show signs of southern influence. In the case of the plural, for example, 34 nouns select *-is* as against four which have *-es* (*ba(i)llies, dayes, judges, lettres*). Two of these, however, have forms in *-es* alongside forms in *-is*: *ba(i)llies* (42x), *bail_eis* (2x); *dayes* (12x), *dayis* (1x). As mentioned before, the selection of *-es* in some of these cases may be due to the orthographic context. For the genitive, 13 nouns show *-is* and two *-es* (*grayes, lady(i)es*).

----

(4) a sensibil & effectious signe (fol. CLXVIII),
      but also in the same sentence:
(5) I will leif to young men *a* stowt exempil, for I will with *ane* constant mynd dee *ane* honest deid (fol. VII),
(6) all we that beleiffis in him with *a* levand faith, ressavis *ane* certane measure of grace (fol. CXXI),
(7) For *ane* man maryit mony wyffes, & sumtyme *a* man haffand displesure at his wife (fol. CLXVI).

With regard to verbal inflections, eight verbs select -*is* for the present, whereas two show -*es* (*byes, taryes*). In the case of the past and past participle, 70 verbs have -*it* and only two the transitional form -*et* (*distroyet,*[24] *vnpayet*). Finally, 39 verbs select -*and* for the present participle, as against 16 which show -*ing*.[25]

These results show that, except for the present participle, the degree of anglicisation at the inflectional level is higher than in the previous works. In most cases, however, the selection of allomorphs in -*e* seems to be conditioned by the phonetic-orthographic context (most bases end in <y>) and not by English influence. With regard to the other diagnostic variables, *DBHCB* is more conservative than the previous texts and selects invariably the Scottish forms.

As in the previous cases, the results obtained for the third person plural pronoun and for the realisation of the past and past participle are very similar to those given by Meurman-Solin for the text type law in the subperiod 1500-1570:98 per cent of Scottish variants for the pronoun and 99 per cent for the inflection (1993:157), as against 100 and 97.2 per cent respectively in *DBHCB*.

TABLE 8: RATIO OF ANGLICISATION AT THE MORPHOLOGICAL LEVEL OF *DBHCB*	
plural	10.5%
genitive	13.3%
present	20%
past and past participle	2.8%
present participle	29.1%
indefinite article	0%
demonstrative *these*	0%
demonstrative *those*	-
negative particle *not*	0%
3rd pers. sing. feminine pronoun	0%
subject form of 3rd pers. pl. pronoun	0%
object form of 3rd pers. pl. pronoun	0%
possessive form of 3rd pers. pl. pronoun	0%

[24] This verb selects also -*it* in some cases.

[25] As happened in the previous works, the same verb may select -*and* in some cases and -*ing* in others to represent the present participle, as the following examples illustrate:

    (1) refuse ye said money yai *beand* on rongit & vnvatterit (p. 4),

    (2) qhilkis *being* suorne exponit in plane court (p. 2),

    (3) yare is acht twn *pertenand* to patrick lyon (p. 30),

    (4) to pay to ye said dauid xj s *pertening* to ville gray (p. 14).

5. SYNTAX

At the syntactic level, *Ane Resonyng* and *DBHCB* follow the Scottish rule for the inflection of the plural present tense in the case of the lexical verbs and *have*. With respect to the verb *be*, the usage is variable, as the following examples taken from *Ane Resonyng* illustrate:

(1) Thir sam sax causis *is* contenit (p. 9),
(2) quhilk twa things *is* specialie requirit (p. 103),
(3) in þe quhilk twa buikis *ar* contenit sex iust causis (pp. 5-7),
(4) bayth ȝour tractatis *ar* autentick (p. 17).

This is typical of Scots, however, and not attributable to the anglicisation process.

In *The Catechism*, on the other hand, there are some examples which select {Ø} even though the verb is not immediately adjacent to the personal pronoun subject:

(5) Quhidder ȝe eit or *drink* or *do* ony other thing, do al to yᵉ glore of God (VII),
(6) Gyf that ȝe gang in my lawis, and *keip* my commandis and *do* thame, I sal gif ȝow rayne in tyme conuenient (X),
(7) nocht only thai syn nocht bot yai have merit & *pleise* God in sa doing (CLXIX),
(8) Gyff carnell fathers (quha is evyll) *gyff* thaire sonnis gude gyftis, mekle mair your Hevinlie father (CLXX),
(9) he may & wyl do abone the thing yᵗ we think or *vnderstand* (CLXX).

In examples (5), (6) and (8), the verbs may be in the subjunctive, since the conjunctions *quhidder* and *gyf(f)* may select this mood, as the following examples illustrate:

(10) thair is na prayer maid be man, quhidder it *be* written in the auld testament or the new... (CLXXV),
(11) Gyf ony of you askis his father breid will he geve to him a stane? Or gyf he *ask* fysche at his father, wil his father geve to him a serpent? (CLXXI).

Therefore, if these instances are not taken into account, only in two cases in the samples scanned (3.3 per cent) does the verb appear without an ending in the plural present indicative when not immediately adjacent to a personal pronoun subject, whereas in 59 instances the verb selects {S}.

The low percentage of anglicisation concerning this linguistic variable is confirmed by Meurman-Solin (1993:206), who claims that "even the texts that have been shown to be anglicized rather early use the suffixed verb forms" after plural noun subjects and in relative clauses after plural antecedents in the Helsinki Corpus. She adds the evidence provided by Montgomery, who shows that "the

TABLE 9: RATIO OF ANGLICISATION AT THE SYNTACTIC LEVEL	
	PLURAL PRESENT INDICATIVE
Ane Resonyng	0%
The Catechism	3.3%
D.B.H.C.B.	0%

subject constraint... operated almost categorically for verbs other than *be* until at least the mid-seventeenth century" (1993:207).

6. LEXIS

At the lexical level, the evidence is not conclusive, since almost half of the items are not represented in the texts and many that are have a very low rate of frequency. Nonetheless, *Ane Resonyng* and *DBHCB* seem to have a lower ratio of anglicisation, since all the variables analysed, with the one exception of *failʒe/fail*, select the Scottish forms. In both texts the verb occurs only twice and has the forms *faill* (*Ane Resonyng*) and *failleand* (*DBHCB*).

In *The Catechism*, on the other hand, three variables show English influence. In the case of the doublet *allanerly/only*, there are 13 instances of *allanerly* as against three of *only*. The latter, however, seems to be restricted to the construction *nocht only... bot*, whereas *allanerly* has a wider range of uses, as the following examples illustrate:

(1) quhilk saiffis nane, bot thame allanerly to quhome it is applyit (fol. CXXI),
(2) seing yat na creature hes powar to geve grace, bot God allanerly? (*ibid.*),
(3) nocht be thair awin natural powar and vertew, bot allanerly be the mycht of God (fol. CXXII),
(4) nocht allanerly to signifie and betakin grace and halynes to be gevin to us, bot also... (*ibid.*).

With regard to Romance borrowings, the doublets *failʒe/fail* and *suppone/suppose* are represented by only one example each, and in both cases the English variant (*fail* and *suppoise*) is selected. These results do not confirm Meurman-Solin's hypothesis that *l* and *n* mouillé may be related to printing (1993:145). In her study the two printed texts in the subperiod 1500-1570 use only the Scottish variants, while in manuscripts the English variants occur instead of *l* and *n* mouillé. In the present study, however, not only *Ane Resonyng* and *DBHCB*, but also *The Catechism* (a printed work) use the English form of the only doublet represented in the three texts (*failʒe/fail*).

TABLE 10: RATIO OF ANGLICISATION AT THE LEXICAL LEVEL OF *ANE RESONYNG*	
agane/against	0%
allanerly/only	0%
gif/if	0%
lat/let	-
than/then	0%
failʒe/fail	100%
sp(o)ulʒe/spoil	-
fe(i)nʒe/feign	-
cunʒe/coin	-
conte(i)n/contain	0%
mainte(i)n/maintain	0%
obte(i)n/obtain	0%
perte(i)n/pertain	0%
suste(i)n/sustain	0%
dispone/dispose	-
expone/expose	-
propone/propose	0%
suppone/suppose	0%
exerce/exercise	-
expreme/express	0%
promoue/promote	-
visy/visit	-
vome/vomit	-

TABLE 11: RATIO OF ANGLICISATION AT THE LEXICAL LEVEL OF *THE CATECHISM*	
agane/against	0%
allanerly/only	18.75%
gif/if	0%
lat/let	0%
than/then	0%
failʒe/fail	100%

sp(o)ul3e/spoil	-
fe(i)n3e/feign	-
cun3e/coin	-
conte(i)n/contain	0%
mainte(i)n/maintain	-
obte(i)n/obtain	0%
perte(i)n/pertain	0%
suste(i)n/sustain	-
dispone/dispose	-
expone/expose	0%
propone/propose	0%
suppone/suppose	100%
exerce/exercise	0%
expreme/express	0%
promoue/promote	-
visy/visit	-
vome/vomit	-

TABLE 12: RATIO OF ANGLICISATION AT THE LEXICAL LEVEL OF *DBHCB*	
agane/against	0%
allanerly/only	0%
gif/if	0%
lat/let	-
than/then	-
fail3e/fail	100%
sp(o)ul3e/spoil	-
fe(i)n3e/feign	-
cun3e/coin	-
conte(i)n/contain	0%
mainte(i)n/maintain	-
obte(i)n/obtain	0%
perte(i)n/pertain	0%

suste(i)n/sustain	0%
dispone/dispose	0%
expone/expose	0%
propone/propose	0%
suppone/suppose	-
exerce/exercise	-
expreme/express	-
promoue/promote	-
visy/visit	0%
vome/vomit	-

7. CONCLUSIONS

The analysis carried out in the selected corpus reveals that the degree of anglicisation depends on the linguistic variables analysed and, therefore, is different at the different linguistic levels, and that factors such as genre, audience, medium (what Devitt (1989) calls the rhetorical situation of a text) influence the anglicisation process.

With regard to the different linguistic variables analysed, [e:] vs. [ɔ:] and <quh> vs <wh> at the phonetic-orthographic level, the present participle, the indefinite article and the third person singular feminine pronoun at the morphological level, and *failʒe/fail* at the lexical level show the highest degree of English influence. Different doublets, moreover, are affected differently by the anglicisation process, as has been shown to be the case with *alsa/also* and *quhou/how*, for example.

With respect to the different linguistic levels, syntax is most resistant to anglicisation, followed by phonetics-orthography, and finally morphology, which is anglicised in all the texts of the corpus.[26]

With regard to each of the works analysed, *Ane Resonyng* shows no English influence at the syntactic level. Phonetics-orthography registers 4.1 per cent of anglicisation, followed by lexis with 7.7 per cent, the morphology of the parts of speech, with 8.4 per cent, and finally inflectional morphology with 12.1 per cent.

In *The Catechism* all the linguistic levels, including syntax, show signs of English influence. The degree of anglicisation is higher than that of the other works:

---

[26] As mentioned before, the evidence at the lexical level is not conclusive, since many items are not represented in the corpus.

4.25 per cent in phonetics-orthography, 13.8 per cent in morphology (9 per cent in inflections and 16.8 per cent in parts of speech), 3.3 per cent in syntax and 15.6 per cent in lexis.

By contrast, in *DBHCB* not only syntax, but also phonetics-orthography and the morphology of the parts of speech remain unaffected by English influence. Lexis registers 8.3 per cent of anglicisation and inflectional morphology 15.1 per cent. This high percentage is mostly due to the realisation of the genitive, plural and present morphemes, although in most cases the selection of *-es* seems to be motivated by orthography rather than by anglicisation. These results agree with MacQueen's findings for the official records of the 17th and first half of the 18th century. She identifies inflectional morphology as the first level significantly affected by English influence: instances of *-es* and *-s* in nouns and verbs, and of *-ing* for the present participle, which occur sporadically in Older Scots, become the norm in the 17thc.

TABLE 13: RATIO OF ANGLICISATION AT THE DIFFERENT LINGUISTIC LEVELS			
	ANE RESONYNG	THE CATECHISM	D.B.H.C.B
phonetics-orthography	4.1%	4.25%	0%
inflectional morphology	12.1%	9%	15.1%
morphology of the parts of speech	8.4%	16.8%	0%
syntax	0%	3.3%	0%
lexis	7.7%	15.6%	8.3%

If the number of linguistic levels affected by anglicisation is taken as an indicator for measuring the influence of English on the different texts of the corpus, the following results are obtained: *Dundee Burgh & Head Court Books* is placed at the lower end of the anglicisation scale, with only two levels affected by English; next comes *Ane Resonyng*, with four and, finally, *The Catechism*, where all the linguistic levels show English influence.

These results agree with the findings of Devitt (1989), according to which religious treatises and national public records lie at opposite ends with respect to anglicisation. The former were usually directed at a Scottish and English audience, were modelled on a text written in English —the Bible—, and were usually printed: all these factors tend to favour anglicisation. Official records, on the other hand, were aimed at a Scottish audience, had a long tradition in Scotland and had developed a formulaic style; this, together with the formal, conservative and nationalistic nature of the genre, may have discouraged anglicisation.

Although *The Catechism* is, among the works analysed, the one most affected by anglicisation, the difference with respect to the other texts is not great.

This may be due to the fact that, as against many contemporary religious treatises, *The Catechism* rejects Protestantism and is in favour of Catholicism. This fact has two important implications: first, instead of taking English Protestant texts as models, *The Catechism* follows the Scottish Catholic tradition, and secondly, it is aimed at a Scottish audience. The results drawn from the analysis of this religious text reveal that it is still possible to find printed religious texts written in Scots by the middle of the sixteenth century.

The corpus selected by Devitt does not include argumentative prose, works such as *Ane Resonyng*. However, as in the previous cases, the rhetorical situation of this text may account for its degree of anglicisation. The fact that *Ane Resonyng* uses as its main source a text written in English, *A Declaratioun*, may favour anglicisation. More important seem to be other factors that discourage the use of English forms in this text in favour of their native counterparts: the fact that it is aimed at a Scottish audience, and the strong nationalism of its author, who condemns the English yoke and pleads for the freedom of Scotland. These factors account for the low degree of anglicisation in *Ane Resonyng*, situating it on the scale between the religious treatises and the official documents.

WORKS CITED

AGUTTER, Alex. "A Taxonomy of Older Scots Orthography." *The Nuttis Schell: Essays on the Scots Language*. Ed. C. Macafee & I. MacLeod. Aberdeen: Aberdeen UP, 1987. 75-82.

AITKEN, A.J. "Variation and Variety in Written Middle Scots." *Edinburgh Studies in English and Scots*. Ed. A.J. Aitken, A. McIntosh & H. Pálsson. London: Longman, 1971. 177-209.

—— "Scottish Speech: A Historical View with Special Reference to the Standard English of Scotland." *Languages of Scotland*. Ed. A.J. Aitken & T. McArthur. Edinburgh: Chambers, 1979. 85-118.

—— "Introduction." *The Concise Scots Dictionary*. Ed. M. Robinson. Aberdeen: Aberdeen UP, 1985. IX-XVI.

—— "The Pioneers of Anglicised Speech in Scotland: A Second Look." *Scottish Language* 16 (1997): 1-36.

BALD, M.A. "The Anglicisation of Scottish Printing." *The Scottish Historical Review* 23 (1926a): 107-115.

—— "Vernacular Books Imported into Scotland." *The Scottish Historical Review* 23 (1926b): 254-267.

CRAIGIE, William, & A.J. Aitken, eds. *A Dictionary of the Older Scottish Tongue*. Chicago: Chicago UP; London: Oxford UP, 1931-.

DEVITT, Amy J. *Standardizing Written English: Diffusion in the Case of Scotland 1520-1659*. Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 1989.

—— *Dundee Burgh and Head Court Books*. Vol. II: 1550. Transcript made for DOST.

JONES, Charles, ed. *The Edinburgh History of the Scots Language*. Edinburgh: Edinburgh UP, 1997.

KUIPERS, C.H. "Kennedy's Language." *Quintin Kennedy (1520-1564): Two Eucharistic Tracts: A Critical Edition*. Nijmegen: Drukkerij, 1964. 75-103.

LAW, T.G., ed. *The Catechism of John Hamilton. Archbishop of St. Andrews. 1552*. Oxford: Clarendon, 1884.

LYALL, Roderick J., ed. *William Lamb: Ane Resonyng of Ane Scottis and Inglis Merchand betuix Rowand and Lionis*. Aberdeen: Aberdeen UP, 1985.

McCLURE, J.D. "A Comparison of the Bannatyne MS and the Quarto Texts of Lyndsay's *Ane Satyre of the Thrie Estaitis*." *Scottish Language and Literature, Medieval and Renaissance; Fourth International Conference, 1984. Proceedings*. Ed. D. Strauss & H.W. Drescher. Frankfurt am Main: Verlag Peter Lang, 1986. 409-21.

MacQueen, L.E.C. "The Last Stages of the Older Literary Language of Scotland: A Study of the Surviving Scottish Elements in Scottish Prose, 1700-1750, Especially of the Records, National and Local." Diss. U of Edinburgh, 1957.

Meurman-Solin, Anneli. *Variation and Change in Early Scottish Prose: Studies Based on the Helsinki Corpus of Older Scots*. Helsinki: Suomalainen Tiedeakatemia, 1993.

Mitchell, A.F., ed. *The Catechism Set Forth by Archbishop Hamilton: Printed at Saint Andrews, 1551. Together with the Two-Penny Faith, 1559*. Edinburgh: William Paterson, 1882.

Murison, David. *The Guid Scots Tongue*. Edinburgh: James Thin, 1977.

—— "The Historical Background." *Languages of Scotland*. Ed. A.J. Aitken & T. McArthur. Edinburgh: Chambers, 1979. 2-13.

Murray, James A.H. *The Dialect of the Southern Counties of Scotland*. London: Philological Society, 1873. Oxford Concordance Programme. Oxford: Oxford UP, 1988.

Rodríguez Ledesma, Mª. Nieves. "Linguistic anglicisation in *The Complaynt of Scotland*: A Study of Further Diagnostic Variables." Tuckwell, forthcoming.

Smith, G. Gregory. "Introduction." *Specimens of Middle Scots*. Edinburgh: William Blackwood, 1902. xi-lxxv.

Templeton, J.M. "Scots: An Outline History." *Lowland Scots*. Ed. A.J. Aitken. Edinburgh: Association for Scottish Literary Studies. *Occasional Papers* 2, (1973): 4-19.

Van Buuren, C. "Introduction." *The Buke of the Sevyne Sagis*. Leiden: Leiden UP, 1982. 1-130.

MARÍA NIEVES RODRÍGUEZ LEDESMA