

AUTHORSHIP OF *THE COMPLAYNT OF SCOTLAND*

M. Nieves Rodríguez Ledesma
Universidad de Sevilla

ABSTRACT

The Complaynt of Scotland is a literary work in prose modelled on Chartier's *Quadriologue Invectif*, written in 1549 and apparently printed in France, probably Paris. The four extant copies of the original printed edition are without title-pages, so that neither the original title nor the identity of the author are known. This paper summarizes the theories proposed by the different editors of this work concerning its authorship: Leyden (1801), Murray (1872) and Stewart (1979), and then carries out a linguistic study of three poems in the Bannatyne Manuscript (poems 345, 367 and 373) ascribed to Wedderburn (author also of *The Complaynt* according to Stewart), which have echoes of the Complayner's words and allusions. The results are compared to those obtained from *The Complaynt* in order to establish whether it is possible to ascribe this work to Wedderburn.

THEORIES CONCERNING THE AUTHORSHIP OF *THE COMPLAYNT*

According to Leyden and Murray, the earliest writer who mentions *The Complaynt* is Dr. George Mackenzie who, in his *Lives of Scottish Writers*, attributes it to a Sir James Inglis, born in Fife, who studied at St. Andrews and Paris, and became, back in Scotland, a poet in James V's court. In the Harleian Catalogue, however, this work is mentioned twice, and in both instances it is assigned to Wedderburn.

Putting the external authority aside and working only on internal evidence, Leyden ascribes *The Complaynt* to Sir David Lyndesay since, according to this editor, the many similarities between this work and others written by Lyndesay cannot be mere coincidences. The apology that the Complayner introduces in the "Prolog to the Redar" is similar to that of the first book of Lyndesay's *The Monarchie*; both works mention

Carion's calculation concerning the duration of the world, based on Hely's prophecy, as well as many of the signs which precede its termination. Even more significant, according to Leyden, is the similarity between the general plan of Lyndesay's *The Monarchie* and that of the first five chapters of *The Complaynt* concerning the mutation of monarchies, as well as the identity of many of the historical examples found in both works. There are also important similarities between Lyndesay's *The Dreme* and *The Complaynt*, as Labourer, the youngest son of Dame Scotia, who parallels Iohne the Commonweil in *The Dreme*, and who also appears in Lyndesay's *Ane Satyre of the Thrie Estaitis*.

Although acknowledging the similarity between Lyndesay's work and *The Complaynt*, Murray refutes Leyden's theory. According to this author, Dame Scotia's mild criticism of his second son, the clergy, compared with her strong attack against nobility and Labourer, points to a priest as the author of *The Complaynt*, and not to a courtier like Lyndesay. On the other hand, the defence of Catholicism which pervades this work contrasts with Lyndesay's protestantism, reflected in his continual attacks throughout his work on Spirituality's hypocrisy and corruption. The linguistic evidence also works against Leyden's theory: whereas Lyndesay uses the dialect of Fife throughout his work, the author of *The Complaynt* is, according to Murray, "a Southern Scot, and, probably, even a native of the Border Counties" (1872:cii), as the evidence of the distribution of the prepositions *in/into*, *to/til*, and the distinction between the gerund and present participle inflections show.

Concerning Sir James Inglis, Murray states that the courtier, preacher, playwright and satirist referred to by Mackenzie, and mentioned by Lyndesay in *The Complaynt of the Papyngo*, died in 1531; thus, by assigning *The Complaynt* to him, Mackenzie seems to have confused him with another priest of the same name who from 1508 to 1550 was chaplain of the Abbey of Cambuskyneth.

Lyndesay and Inglis having been excluded, Robert Wedderburn is the other writer to whom *The Complaynt* has been assigned. Some arguments supporting this theory are the evidence of the Harleian Catalogue, and the fact that the poems in the Bannatyne Manuscript ascribed to Wedderburn have echoes of the Complayner's words and allusions. Laing also mentions the tone and nature of the work, characteristic of someone inclined to the Reformation but still connected with the Roman Church, and Wedderburn's familiarity with the popular literature of the time, since seven of the songs and dances mentioned in *The Complaynt* are metamorphosed, apparently by him, in the *Gude and Godlie Ballatis* (Murray, 1872:cxiii).

According to Murray, however, someone who, a few years before the date of *The Complaynt*, had such advanced Lutheran ideas as to make professed Protestants his main associates in Paris, and to burn Cardinal Beaton's effigy, could not have written chapter XIX of this work, more specifically Dame Scotia's mild criticism of his second son, the clergy. The linguistic evidence also works against this theory, since a native of Dundee would not have written in the dialect of the Southern Counties.

Murray's first objection is refuted by Stewart, who states that the tone and the nature of *The Complaynt* accord with Wedderburn's life: thus, in accepting to become Vicar of Dundee, he shows his attachment to the Catholic Church, even though he acknowledges its faults and abuses; on the other hand, the burning down of his Vicarage in Dundee by the English after Pinkie would account not only for his strong patriotic resentment at English occupation, but also for a distrust of the intense English propaganda warfare and promises, feelings which pervade *The Complaynt*.

Wedderburn's position as Chamberlain to the Knights of St John at Torphichen would have involved him, albeit indirectly, with Mary of Lorraine's plans, and this, in turn, would account for his dedicating *The Complaynt* to the queen. This administrative position would have also given Wedderburn knowledge both of the different categories of sheep and of the medicinal properties of herbs, information which the Complayner displays in his work. His position would, moreover, account for his allusions to Godfrey of Bouillon, and his references to the Turks and Soliman the Magnificent, enemies of the Knights of St John, and would have afforded him the opportunity to send the manuscript to France and have it printed in Paris. On the other hand, the connection of his surname with reformed doctrines and his dedicating *The Complaynt* to Mary of Lorraine would account for his wish to remain anonymous. This, in turn, would explain his final quotation –“Nihil est turpius, quam sapientis vitam ex insipientium sermone pendere”– since, on revealing his name, Wedderburn would have to face criticism regarding both his doctrine and his public and private life (Stewart, 1979:xi-xx).

Murray's second objection to Wedderburn's authorship of *The Complaynt*, the linguistic evidence, will be dealt with in the second part of this paper. For this purpose, a comparative linguistic study is carried out between this work and the three poems in the Bannatyne Manuscript ascribed to Robert Wedderburn.

LINGUISTIC STUDY OF POEMS 345, 367 AND 373 IN THE BANNATYNE MANUSCRIPT AND *THE COMPLAYNT OF SCOTLAND*

The linguistic analysis of the poems and *The Complaynt* is divided into two parts: 1) degree of anglicization and 2) distribution of native variants. For the first part, a questionnaire has been devised, made up of pairs of forms –one Scottish and one English– illustrating differences between these two languages in phonology, orthography, morphology, syntax and lexis.

At the orthographic-phonological level, the following diagnostic variants have been selected: /y:/ vs. /u:/ (*gude/good*,¹ *sune/soon*); <a> vs. <o> + lengthening group (*amang/among*, *lang/long*, *wrang/wrong*); <e> vs. <o> following <w> (*werld/world*, *werk/work*, *werst/worst*); /a:/ vs. /o:/ (*fra/from*, *mair/more*, *na/no*, *sa/so*, *alsa/also*, *baith/both*); /k/ vs. /tʃ/ (*sic/such*, *ilk/each*, *mekil/much*); /s/ vs. /ʃ/ (*sal/shall*, *suld/should*, *Inglis/English*, *Scottis/Scottish*); <quh> vs. <wh> (*quhilk/which*, *quha/wha*, *quhou/how*); <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>.

At the morphological level, the following variants have been selected: plural and possessive inflections (-*is*, -*ys* vs. -*es*); present tense inflections (-*is*, -*ys*, -*s* vs. -(*e*)*st*, -(*e*)*th*, -(*e*)*n*²); past tense and past participle inflections (-*it*, -*yt* vs. -*ed*³); present participle morpheme ({AND} vs. {ING}); indefinite article (*ane/a(n)*); demonstratives (*tha(i)/those*, *thir/these*); negative particles (*na/no*, *nocht/not*); 3rd person fem. sing. pronoun (*scho/she*⁴); 3rd person pl. 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. The variants at the lexical level include native vocabu-

lary (*agane/against, anerly/only, gif/if, lat/let, than/then*), and Romance borrowings (*fail^{3e}/fail, sp(o)ul^{3e}/spoil, fe(i)n^{3e}/feign, cun^{3e}/coin; conte(i)n/contain, dete(i)n/detain, mainte(i)n/maintain, rete(i)n/retain, 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, the analysis of those features consisting of lexemes or words has been carried out using the whole text of *The Complaynt*. For those doublets made up of inflections, however, and because of their high rate of frequency, only eleven out of the twenty chapters have been scanned –four from the beginning (epistle, prologue, chapters 1 & 2), three from the middle (chapters 6, 7 & 8), and four from the end (chapters 15, 16, 17 & 19)– representing different subject matters (history, religion, science, pastoral), different types of discourse (epistle, prologue, description, narrative, monologue) and, although to a lesser extent, different styles, in order to establish whether these variables are significant in reflecting the degree of the process of anglicization. Because of its high rate of frequency, the indefinite article has only been studied in these chapters. This distinction does not apply, however, to the poems.

The second part of the linguistic study of the poems and *The Complaynt* establishes what native variants, within the ample repertoire available in Middle Scots, are selected in these texts to represent features belonging to the different linguistic levels (phonology, morphology, syntax and vocabulary), as well as their different distribution.

ANGLICIZATION

At the orthographic-phonological level, the poems and *The Complaynt* coincide in the distribution of <a> and <o> before a lengthening group, the selection of /k/ vs. /tʃ/, and the distribution of /ʃ/ and /s/ in final or unstressed position. None of these features is anglicized in these texts, which always have the Scottish variant: <lang>, <sic, siclyk>, <sal(l)>, <sould, sowld> in the poems; <amang>, <lang>, <vrang>, <sic, sik>, <ilk>, <mekil(l)>, <sal(l)>, <suld>, <inglis>, <scottis> in *The Complaynt*.

Although the diagnostic feature /a:/ vs. /o:/ is anglicized both in the poems and in *The Complaynt*, the situation of the different doublets is not the same in the two texts. Thus, whereas in the poems the Scottish variant is always selected for the pairs *baith/both, fra/from, mair/more* and *alsa/also*, in *The Complaynt* this is the case only for the first two: *more* is used in 3% of all cases, and *also* reaches 7%, as against 5% of the Scottish variant *alsa*. With regard to the other doublets –*na/no* and *sa/so*–, however, the anglicization rate is higher in the poems: 50% and 28% respectively, as against 35% and 3% in *The Complaynt*.

Neither the realization of the Scottish phoneme /y:/, nor the distribution of <e> and <o> following <w> are anglicized in the poems or *The Complaynt*. Both texts differ, however, in the orthographic representation of the selected diagnostic variants: thus, whereas <gud> is the only spelling of the adjective *good* in the poems, <gude> is the dominant form in *The Complaynt*. Regarding the selection of <e> following <w>,⁵ *world* reflects in both texts the lowering and retraction of /e/ to /a/ in the combination –*er* + consonant by selecting the form <warld>; however, whereas *work* preserves the traditional spelling in <e> in *The Complaynt*, three forms of this variant appear in the poems: <werkis> (367, l.47), <wirkaris> (367, l.80), and <warkis> (373, l.81).

The most important difference between *The Complaynt* and the poems at this level concerns the distribution of the Scottish spelling <quh> and the English <wh>: whereas

the author of *The Complaynt* selects the first one not only for the relatives, but also for the variable *how*, the poems have <quh> only in the first case (<quhilk>, <quhilkis>, <quha>), and the anglicized spelling in the second (<how> (2x), <howbeit> (3x)).

With regard to those Scottish spelling habits which seem to have had no phonological implications, neither of the selected diagnostic variants –distribution of <sch>/<sh>, <ch>/<gh>, <ony>/<any>, <mony>/<many>, and realization of /i:/– are anglicized in the poems or in *The Complaynt*, which always have the Scottish form.

Within inflectional morphology, the realization of the plural and possessive morphemes shows a similar rate of anglicization in both texts. In the poems, only two nouns (4%) select the English allomorph *-es* for the plural (*crimes* and *riches*), as against 40 (95%) which choose Scottish *-is*. The selection of *-es* for the first noun, moreover, may obey orthographic reasons rather than the anglicization process, since the confusion of minims resulting from the contact between <m> and <i> may be avoided by using <e> instead. The rate of anglicization is lower in *The Complaynt*, where only eight nouns out of a total of 443 (less than 2%) select the English allomorph *-es* for the plural (*enemies*, *kynges*, *monopoles*, *peces*, *realmes*, *reches*, *stories*, *tymes*). Three of these, however, have forms in *-es* alongside forms in *-is* (*enemeis*; *realmis*, *realmys*; *tymis*, *tymys*) and the fact that two of them end in <m> may again be significant. The possessive morpheme, on the other hand, is not affected by the anglicization process in any of the texts, which always select the Scottish allomorph *-is*.

With regard to the realization of the present, past, and past participle morphemes, the poems are more conservative than *The Complaynt*. The latter has only two instances of the transitional form *-es* for the present (*constrenȝes*, *multiplies*), but in both cases the variant in *-is* is also found in the text (*constrenȝeis*, *multipleis*), the degree of anglicization being, thus, almost non-existent. Regarding the realization of the past and past participle morphemes, 307 verbs in *The Complaynt* (95%) select the Scottish allomorphs <-it>, <-yt>, as against 14 (5%) which have the transitional forms <-et> and <-id> (*assailȝet*, *clethid*, *constrenȝet*, *dediet*, *doctrinet*, *effemenet*, *engeneret*, *failȝet*, *fenȝet*, *gadthrid*, *proportionet*, *spulȝet*, *vidthrid*, *ymaginet*).⁶ Despite the low rate of anglicization found in *The Complaynt*, the poems are more conservative at this level and always have the Scottish allomorphs –<-is> for the present, and <-it> for the past and past participle–, not being, thus, affected by the anglicization process.

Both texts are also very conservative in the realization of the present participle, and tend to select the morpheme {AND} in this function and {ING} for the gerund. Thus, in *The Complaynt* only two instances of a present participle in *-ing* have been found in the eleven chapters scanned: “rycht soirly *musing* in my mynde”, and “al *musing* of meruellis amys hef i gone” (p. 51).⁷ Both, however, can be dismissed, since they correspond to titles of songs and belong, thus, to the common folklore of the two countries. With respect to the poems, there is only one instance (7%) of a present participle ending in *-in* (“I was growin blait” (345, l.14)), as against 13 (92%) of *-and* in this function. Murray seems to be wrong, then, when he states that the dialects of central Scotland do not distinguish between these two morphemes (1872:ciii).

The distinction between the present participle and the gerund morphemes, characteristic of Scottish texts written in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, seems to be anachronistic in the sixteenth. Bellenden, for instance, uses both *-ing* and *-and* to realize the present participle; William Lamb’s *Ane Resonyng* has *-ing* in that function in 53% of the cases; in *The Catechism* the degree of anglicization is lower –34%–, and *Dundee Burgh and Head Court Books*, which belongs to the most con-

servative genre in Scottish prose, selects *-ing* for the present participle in 29% of the cases. The results obtained by Devitt in her study of 140 texts written between 1520 and 1659 support this view, and show that the present participle is the most highly anglicized feature, with the English *-ing* already dominant by 1520 –occurring in more than 60% of instances of the present participle– and increasing considerably between 1540-1559 and 1560-1579. The fact that the poems and *The Complaynt* coincide in keeping the distinction between the present participle and the gerund is, thus, quite important, and may be given some weight in ascribing both texts to the same author.

The most important differences between *The Complaynt* and Wedderburn's poems concern the morphology of the parts of speech, especially that of the personal proforms. Thus, whereas *sche* is the only spelling of the 3rd person fem. sing. pronoun in *The Complaynt*, the poems select the Scottish variant *scho* (there are twelve instances of this form) and have *sche* only once, and in rhyme (*subtilitie:sche*). That the situation found in *The Complaynt* with respect to this pronoun is quite anomalous is shown by Curtis's account of the history of the form *sche* in Scots:

It seems, then, that *sche*, *she* came into use in Sc. poetry in the course of the 15th century but only in those writers who are in other respects not free from Engl. influence. In writers of pure Sc. it is unknown even to the end of the Sc. literary period, e.g. Montg. But since that time it has naturalised itself in most of the dialects. (1894:105)

And by his statement that “many MSc. texts show both forms *scho* and *sche*, but there are few which have such a preference for the *e*-form as *Clar.* and in none is the *o*-form altogether absent except *Kingis Quair*” (1894:104). A possible explanation, suggested by Aitken (letter 29-1-94), is to consider *sche* in this work not as an anglicized form, but as an idiosyncratic feature of the author, the scribe, or the printer; if *The Complaynt* is assigned to Wedderburn, however, this characteristic can only be attributed to the scribe or to the printer.

With regard to the 3rd person pl. pronouns, although the nominative is not affected by the anglicization process in *The Complaynt*, which always selects the Scottish forms (*thai*, *thay*, and *tha*), the opposite is true of the accusative and the genitive, which select the English variants in nearly 100% of the cases. Thus, for the former, there is only one instance of *tham* as against 242 of *them*; with regard to the genitive, the native forms *thar* (1x), *thair* (7x) do not reach 2%, as against 98% of the English variants: *there* (248x), *ther* (231x), *their* (13x).⁸ The 3rd person pl. pronouns are not affected, however, by the anglicization process in the poems, which always select the Scottish forms, not only in the nominative, but also in the accusative and the genitive: *thay*, *thai* (13x); *þame*, *thame* (7x); *thair*, *þair* (12x).

As far as the indefinite article is concerned, the usage in *The Complaynt* is totally consistent with sixteenth century Scots practice, and *ane* is found both before vowels and consonants. The following are the only apparent exceptions to this rule:

- bille, vil thou cum by *a* lute and bel the in Sanct Francis cord (p.51),
- thai began vitht tua bekkis and vitht *a* kysse (p.52),
- schaik *a* trot (ibid),

- the poiet francis petrarch *a* florentyne (p.118),
- this veil considrit, suld be *an* animaduertens (p.128).⁹

The first and third examples correspond to the titles of a song and a dance tune respectively; since these are part of the common folklore of the two countries, it is not odd to find mixed spellings here, as the use of the preposition *by* instead of the more usual *be* –which is used throughout the text– confirms. The second exception occurs when talking about the shepherds’ dances, and is doubly strange, as it seems to be an instance of the numeral rather than the indefinite article (“they began with 2 bows and 1 kiss”). The other examples do not seem to have an explanation either.

The five examples which follow the English usage (four of which are cases of *a* before a consonant, and only one of *an* before a vowel) contrast with more than 500 instances of Scots *ane*, both before vowels and consonants. The degree of anglicization concerning the indefinite article is, thus, less than 1% in *The Complaynt*.

The rate of anglicization at this level is higher in the poems, which, though always selecting the Scottish form before a vowel, have twenty-four instances (92%) of the native variant *ane* before a consonant as against two (7%) of its English doublet *a*: “nane sowld hald for a fable” (373, l.54); “ane Ass play on a harp” (373, l.63).

Demonstratives are not affected by the anglicization process in *The Complaynt* or in the poems, which always select the Scottish forms *thir* and *tha(y)*. With regard to the negative particles, both texts agree in selecting the native variant of the doublet *nocht/not*, and in alternating the two forms in the case of *na/no*. The English variant *no*, however, reaches a higher percentage of occurrences in the poems than in *The Complaynt* (50% as against 35%).

At the syntactic level, both the poems and *The Complaynt* follow the Scottish rule for the inflection of the present tense in the case of the lexical verbs and *have*, as the following examples illustrate:¹⁰

- (i)- plutarque or bocchas *hes* discruit (p.1),
- thai *pryde* them and *ascribis* in there reches (p.101),
- ve *indure* tha exactions patientlye and *exsecutis* no traisonabil vegeance (pp.104-5),
- *ʒe lament* hauyly the cruel veyrs, and *ʒe cry & desyris* pace at god (p.131),

- (ii)- And thai *deserf* pvnitoun and pane/ Quhen thai *persome* (367, l.3-4),
- wemen *trymphis* in hie dignitie (367, l.9),
- For men in till all maleiss *hes* no peir (367, l.19).

With respect to the verb *be*, whereas the usage is variable in *The Complaynt*, in the poems the form *ar* is always selected for the plural, regardless of the nature of the subject:

- (i)- the pepil that duellis vndir the equinoctial *ar* blac of ther cullour (p.41),
- inglis men *ar* subtil and scottis men *ar* facile (p.84),
- ʒour hartis *is* ful of maleis (p.110),
- ʒour conditions & conuersations *is* mair lyik til barbarien (p.131),

- (ii)- thir men *ar* verry fals (367, 1.1),
- ffor sum *ar* tyrantis Sum *ar* cmmoun thevis (367, 1.78),
- all þe laif *ar* evill (367, 1.91).

In the past, however, the usage is variable both in *The Complaynt* and in the poems:

- (i)- the pepil that *var* affligit (p.60),
 - sa mony tounis and castellis that *vas* onconquest (p.89),
 - the vordis and communicationis that *vas* to be spokyn (p.93),
 - gold ringis that *var* on the fingaris of the romans that *var* slane (p.137);
- (ii)- diuerss kingis *wes* pvneist for incest (367, 1.56),
 - quhilk *wer* suppreme heidis (367, 1.58).

At the lexical level, the native vocabulary which is represented in the poems selects the Scottish forms, as is the case in *The Complaynt*. With respect to Romance borrowings, those containing the phonemes /λ/ and /ñ/ select the Scottish variant in both texts: *asselʒe/assailʒe*, *felʒe/failʒe*, *fenʒeit*. Some weight may be given to this evidence by the fact that three works contemporary with *The Complaynt* –William Lamb's *Ane Resonyng*, Hamilton's *The Catechism*, and *Dundee Burgh and Head Court Books*– select the anglicized variant *fail* instead. With regard to the other Romance borrowings, those represented in the poems select the same form as in *The Complaynt* (*expreme*, *promest*, *posses*).

In conclusion, *The Complaynt* and the poems are similarly affected by the anglicization process at the different linguistic levels, although the former tends to be a little more conservative and has a higher percentage of the Scottish forms. Most of the linguistic evidence at this level seems to favour, thus, the assigning *The Complaynt* to Wedderburn. Especially strong arguments in this respect are the distribution of the morphemes {AND}/{ING} and the selection of the Scottish form of the doublet *failʒe/fail*. Some of the data, however, work against this theory, namely the distribution of the spellings <quh>/<wh> and the realization of the personal pronouns *she*, *them* and *their*; the latter, however, may be due to the scribe or to the printer and not to the author.

DISTRIBUTION OF NATIVE VARIANTS

At the phonological level, the most important difference between *The Complaynt* and the poems concerns the vocalization of /l/. Thus, whereas the former provides no evidence of the diphthongization of /a/ to /au/ in the combination *-ald*, but uses the traditional spellings <ald> (*old*), <cald> (*cold*), the poems tend to select the diphthongized variant in the first case (<auld> (5x), <awld> (1x), <ald> (1x)), and alternate both in the second (<cawld> (1x), <calder> (1x)).

At the morphological level, the same prepositions introduce the agent in a passive in *The Complaynt* and the poems. Thus, although *be* is normally selected in this function in the former:

- Richart the sycond *vas* cruelly slane *be* his auen men (p.68),
- there *vas* neuer faitht nor promes kept *be* them (ibid),

vitht is found occasionally in this construction:

- sche vas slane vitht hyr auen son (p.63),
- he vas slane vitht ane of his auen sodiours (ibid),
- ane charriot veil acoutreit quhilk vas drauen vitht foure horse (p.117),
- he vas stranglit to dede vitht his auen doggis (p.123),
- 3e vald be lovit vitht al men and 3e hef na cherite to na man (p.131).

The same situation is found in the poems:

- (i)- quhen þe hett culter wes schott in his herss/ be clerk nicolus (345, l.17-8),
- Virgill... wass lichtleit be his luvē (345, l.30),
- (ii)- howbeit ane hes bene temptit w' þe devill (367, l.90).

Both texts differ, however, with respect to conjunctions. Whereas the author of *The Complaynt* never uses *and* with conditional value, selecting *gif*, *that* and *so that* instead,¹¹ the poems have one example of *and* and another of *gif* in this function:

- The devill ressaue me And I doid Agane (345, l.63),
- gif thow be wyiss do my command (373, l.96).

With regard to concessive clauses, *quhou beit* (*that*) is the only conjunction used by the author of *The Complaynt* in these constructions, as the following examples illustrate:

- he hes keipit his subiectis in liberte but oppresseione, quhou beit his cuntre lay betuix tua of the maist potent princis (p.4),
- for quhou beit that the laubir vitht the pen & the studie on speculatione of vertu apeir to be ydilnes, 3it thai ar no ydilnes (p.8);

The poems, however, also have *tho'*:

- (i)- 3it howbeit þat men mak it sa nyce (367, l.45),
- And 3it howbeit sum wemen falt be cace (367, l.85),
- howbeit ane hes bene temptit w' þe devill (367, l.90);
- (ii)- Tho' sum wemen be sene be avingtour (373, l.68),
- Tho' thow be coistilie cled (373, l.99).

Comparative clauses of superiority also select different conjunctions in both texts. The author of *The Complaynt* never uses *than* in this function, but has *nor* instead:

- 3our heroyque vertu, is of mair admiracione, nor vas of valeria (p.1),
- ther can nocht be ane mair ample probacione, nor is the famous atentic croniklis of diuers realmes (p.3),

- quhilkis ar mair prompt, to reprehende ane smal falt, nor tha ar to commend ane verteouse act (p.14),
- ther is maye of the sect of sardanapalus amang vs, nor ther is of scipions, or camillus (p.23).

Only very seldom in this work is *as* used instead of *nor*:

- ane verteous captain can noch exsecut ane mair vailzeant act as quhen he purchessis pace ande concord (p.4),
- ane prince can nocht schau hym mair nobil, nor mair verteouse, as quhen he resauis in his favouir ane desolat prince (p.10),
- ther can nocht be ane mair folye, as quen ane ydiot distitute of knaulage, presumis to teche (p.11).

The poems, on the other hand, select both *than* and *nor* in these constructions, although instances of the latter are more numerous:

- (i)- scho luvit ane vdir bettir than scho luvit me (345, 1.8),
- Thow garris me marvell mair than I can mene (373, 1.29);
- (ii)- Quha wass mair crewall nor calligula (367, 1.64),
- And quha hes done mair tressone ny^t or da/ Nor did þe falsc cedussa symon maguss (367, 1.67),
- Quha did mair errasy nor Arrius (367, 1.68),
- Thow dois becum war nor ane brutal beist (373, 1.15),
- Heit as þe fyre and calder nor þe leid (373, 1.18),
- Thow hes mair mistir of ane dowbill cap/ Nor of þe farest lady in to france (373, 1.85-6).

At the syntactic level, prepositions deserve special attention. With regard to the distribution of *til(l)/to*, the author of *The Complaynt* tends to select the former before vowel or *h*, the second before a consonant:

- the egiptiens var inducit tyl adhere to vertu, ande to leyrne sciens (p.7),
- hed no thyng to present tyll his kyng (p.6),
- to support & til excuse my barbir agrest termis (p.13).¹²

This usage which, according to Murray (1872:ciii), is characteristic of the south of Scotland, as against the common use of *til* for *to* in Fife and Lothian, is also found in Wedderburn's poems:

- (i)- comparit be till half the schame (345, 1.35),
- I gafe till hir (345, 1.48),
- than pety gart me grant till hir desyre (345, 1.55),
- till holy wemen he did first appeir (367, 1.16),
- till his appostillis he drew not first neir (367, 1.18),
- For men in till all maleiss hes no peir (367, 1.18),
- thow art cum till aige (373, 1.37);

- (ii)- thay draif me to grit skorne (345, 1.9),
- quhilk troyellus gaif to cresseid (345, 1.46),
- On þat same sort scho did to me maling (345, 1.47),
- men þat sklanderis wemen to þair defame (367, 1.41).¹³

The distribution of the prepositions *in/into*, *intill*, however, is completely different in *The Complaynt* and in the poems. In the former, *in* is often used for *into* and *intil*, as the following examples illustrate:

- entrit in the toune (p.5),
- he resauis in his fauoir ane desolat prince (p.10),
- and garris them fal in the depe fosse of seruitude (p.15),
- i entrit in ane grene forrest (p.30),
- the sune entris in the fyrst degre of aries (p.41).

In the poems, however, *into* and *intil* are regularly used for *in*, as is the norm in the dialect of Fife, according to Murray (1872:cii):¹⁴

- Bot quhan scho was in to necessitie (345, 1.50),
- quhen thay persome in to þair vane consait (367, 1.4),
- For men in till all maleiss hes no peir (367, 1.18),
- As in to dyverss volomis may be sene (367, 1.32),
- in till all bukis þat I cowlid fynd or reid (367, 1.48),
- men sowld not allage in to no place (367, 1.87),
- Tormentand þair thy self in till ane trance (373, 1.23),
- Ry^t sendill in to landis quhair I haif bene (373, 1.64), þe farest lady in to france (373, 1.86).¹⁵

At the lexical level, the evidence found in the poems concerning the distribution of “synonyms” is too scant to carry out a comparative study with *The Complaynt*. The distribution of the doublet *knau/ken* is different, however, in both texts: in *The Complaynt*, *knau* is the general term, used both with nominal clauses and noun phrases as direct object, whereas *ken* is normally restricted to the latter construction. The following examples illustrate this distinction:

- (i)- the pepil knauis thir mutations to be of verite (p.17),
- he that tynis ane thing, and syne knauis nocht quhair it is (p.66),
- and sen ʒe knau that god hes schauen sic fauoir (p.71),
- sum men that knauis the secret of scotland (p.87);

- (ii)- to grant them grace to ken them selfis, for as lang as thai ken nocht them selfis thai sal neuyr ken god (p.102),
- i am leukand gyf i can fynd my fathers hardyn pan, amang thir dede mennis banis bot i can nocht ken it amang them (p.121).¹⁶

The opposite, however, is true for the poems, which have *ken* as the general term, as illustrated by the following examples:

- To gar me ken he was mair in his grace (345, l.42),
- þe warld may weill persaif & ken/ That wemen tryvmphis in hie dignitie (367, l.8),
- As to chafas non wes kend so falss (367, l.70).

In contrast, there is only one instance of *knaw*:

And god þat knawis wemenis nobilite (367, l.12).

The results concerning the selection of native variants within the ample repertoire available in Middle Scots and their different distribution in the poems and in *The Complaynt* are different from those regarding the degree of anglicization in both texts, since the weight of the evidence in this case works against assigning *The Complaynt* to Wedderburn. Thus, whereas only one argument –the distribution of the prepositions *till/to*– favours this theory, there are six against it: the spelling evidence of the vocalization of /l/, the distribution of the prepositions *in/into*, *intil*, the selection of different conjunctions in conditional, concessive and comparative clauses, and the distribution of the doublet *ken/knaw*.

CONCLUSIONS

The comparative linguistic analysis of the poems attributed to Wedderburn and *The Complaynt* provides positive and negative evidence for ascribing the latter to that author. Thus, both texts coincide in keeping the distinction between the present participle and the gerund morphemes, in selecting the Scottish variant of the doublet *fail*/*ʒe/fail*, as well as in the distribution of the prepositions *till/to*. On the other hand, the realization of the personal pronouns *she*, *them* and *their*, the spelling of the variable *how* and its compounds, the orthographic evidence of the vocalization of /l/, the distribution of the prepositions *in/into*, *intil*, and of the doublet *ken/knaw*, as well as the selection of different conjunctions in conditional, concessive and comparative clauses point to two different writers as the authors of the poems and *The Complaynt*.

To sum up, and even though the anomalous situation of the personal pronouns *she*, *them* and *their* in *The Complaynt* may be due to the scribe or to the printer, and not to the author, the evidence against ascribing *The Complaynt* to Wedderburn is more abundant than that in favour. On the other hand, the distribution in the poems of the morphemes {AND}/{ING} and of the prepositions *till/to* makes unnecessary Murray's condition that the author of *The Complaynt* must have been a native of the Southern counties of Scotland.

Notes

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

2. The transitional allomorphs *-ist*, *-ith*, *-in*, *-es* have also been considered anglicized forms.
3. *-id* and *-et* are considered transitional forms.
4. The transitional form *sche* has also been considered an anglicized form.
5. In Scots, /e/ seems to have undergone lowering and retraction to /a/ in the 14th c. in the combination *-er* + consonant, but, according to Wright, the results of this change had probably been undone by the sixteenth century, when the tendency towards fronting and lengthening /a/ before *r* had probably become stronger (Kuipers 1964:86). Curtis (1894), Craigie (1940 and 1941) and McDiarmid (1973), among others, are not sure about the different stages of this phonetic change. The evidence of the rhymes is not conclusive either since, though proving the merging of the two sounds, they do not establish the quality of the resulting vowel; the spelling, on the other hand, varies with different writers. According to most critics, however, the three selected variants (*world*, *work*, *worst*) underwent the lowering and retraction of /e/ to /a/, since the spellings in <a> dominate in the three cases.
6. Some of these verbs, however, have variants in *-it*: *assail ʒit*, *constre ʒeit*, *engenerit*, *gadrit*, *spulʒeit*, *ymagynit*. On the other hand, the fact that four of the verbs selecting the transitional allomorph <-et> end in <n> (*doctrinet*, *effemenet*, *proportionet*, *ymaginet*), and that two of those having <-id> end in a liquid (*gadithrid*, *vidthrid*) may be significant. In the first case, confusion of minims may be avoided by selecting a form in <-e> rather than in <-i>; in the second, the variants in <-id> do not need to be anglicized forms since, according to Van Buuren (1982:87), in older Scots the verbs ending in nasals or liquids formed their past and past participle by adding either <-it> or <-d>.
7. All references to *The Complaynt* are to Stewart's edition.
8. A possible explanation for this anomaly, suggested by Aitken (letter 29-1-94), is to consider *them* and *ther(e)* as the printer's expansions of MS *þ^m*, *y^m* and *þ^r*, *y^r* respectively.
9. *A* in "mait keip ful and by, *a luf*" (p.32) may be dismissed as not being an instance of the indefinite article, but part of the adverb *aluf* (cf. *a burde* "aboard" (p.32) and *a bak* "aback" (ibid.)).
An in "ane cheptour of the canon lau in the xxiii distinctione in the viii questione callit *an* episcopo liceat ad bellum proficisci sine licentia pape" (p.130) has not been taken into account either, since it is included in a quotation in Latin.
10. According to this rule, the verb is uninflected in the plural when immediately adjacent to a subject personal pronoun; otherwise, it takes *-s*.
11. The distribution of these conjunctions in *The Complaynt* is the following: *gyf* is the most frequent one, and is used in any conditional clause:

- for *gyf* ane craft or sciens be gude (p.8),
- *gyf* thou obeyis nocht the voce of the lorde (p.19).

That tends to be selected in comparative clauses; thus "mair... nor that" is equivalent in *The Complaynt* to "more... than if":

- did mair displesir to the romans nor that pontius ansuer hed been to sla them al cruelle (p.80),
- the quhilk concord amang ʒour selfis vil be ane mair aful scourge til ingland nor that the realme of France and the empire hed tane querrel contrar ingland (p.136).

Sa that, on the other hand, tends to be used with the modal verbs *vil* and *vald*:

- his aful scourge of aperand exterminatione sal change in ane faderly correctione sa that ve vil knau his mageste (p.20),
- ʒour enemeis sal fal to the grond venquest in ʒour presens, sa that ʒe vil obeye to my command (p.21),
- offrit hym sax mulis chargit witht gold, sa that he vald lyue witht hym in pace and concord (p.84).

12. The following, however, are some exceptions to this rule:

- (i)- that instrument seruit til mony officis (p.8),
- culd be comparit til gladius delphicus (p.9),
- it is necessair at sum tyme til myxt oure langage (p.13);
- (ii)- to be qualifeit to excerse al sortis of craftis (p.9),
- entrit in the achademya to heir ane lesson of philosophie (p.10),
- sa temerair as to vndirtak to correct the imperfectione (p.12).

13. The following are the only exceptions to this rule:

- Rathir nor w^t fresche ladeis for till sport (373, 1.91),
- Scho tald it to hir luvè vpoun þe morne (345, 1.11).

14. Murray points out that this usage is not only found in the dialect of Fife of the 19th century (“he’s sitten’ intil the hoose”), but in the language of Lyndesay and other contemporaries, and offers as examples the following:

the purify it Virgin trew,
In to the quhome the prophicie was compleit.

Into that Park I sawe appeir
Ane ageit man quhilk drew me nere.

Quhairfoir I wald al bukis necessare
For our faith wer in tyll our tounge vulgare.

Thocht we in till our vulgare tounge did know
Off Christ Jesu the lyfe and Testament.

Arestotill thow did precell
In to Phylosophie naturell;
Virgill, in tyll his Poetrye,
And Cicero in tyll Oratrye.

(Murray 1872:cii-iii)

15. *In* also occurs, although sporadically, in the poems:

- As in þe goldin legend men may reid (367, 1.34),
- Ane awld proverb in storeis did I fynd (367, 1.36).

16. “Sen god kennis that ʒour hartis ar euil”, and “that men kennis that ʒour verkis ar euyl” (p.135) are the only exceptions to this rule.

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