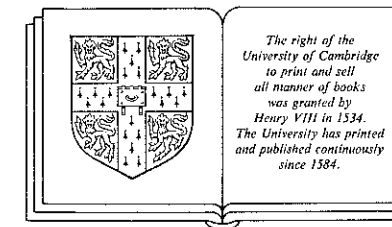


# Standardizing written English

*Diffusion in the case of Scotland 1520–1659*

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to my parents  
and Jim

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# 1 Linguistic standardization and Scots-English

This work is about linguistic standardization – but not, primarily, about institutionally planned and enforced standardization, nor about the complaint tradition and prescriptivism. It is about standardization as a naturally occurring linguistic process, as a historical movement toward uniformity in language use. Although variation is now recognized as a vital and natural aspect of language, standardization has received relatively little attention outside of the field of language planning. Rather than a valid linguistic process and object of linguistic research, standardization has more typically been treated as a non-linguistic subject, the result of laymen's and educators' meddling with the natural processes of language. That perspective is changing, and serious linguists have begun treating standardization seriously (most notably William Haas, 1982, and James Milroy and Lesley Milroy, 1985b). This volume attempts to add to our understanding of the process of standardization by examining the case of Scots-English during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.

## Standardization as a linguistic process

Because no consensus on the definition of standardization has developed, some basic distinctions need to be established.<sup>1</sup> Most important perhaps is the distinction between the social and linguistic aspects of standardization. On the one hand, societies may have definite ideas about what is 'correct' in language use and may believe that all people should use language in the same 'correct' way. Milroy and Milroy (1985b) aptly term such beliefs the 'ideology of standardization.' On the other hand, a language may change over time so that some variation is reduced and some features become more uniform. Such historical change I will term 'linguistic standardization.' Often, linguistic standardization may move in the direction of the ideology of standardization; that is, variants that the ideology considers 'incorrect' may be eliminated in actual usage, leaving a single 'correct' form. The standardization of English spelling may be a case of the ideology determining linguistic behavior. Yet linguistic standardization may also precede the ideology. Milroy and Milroy point out, for example, that the variety of London English which was to spread nationally spread from the fifteenth century on, well before complaints

about specific usage items become common around 1700, and that this variety fulfilled functional needs for a language that could communicate across distances and time – a non-ideological force for standardization (1985b: 32–37). Which comes first – the change toward linguistic uniformity or the belief that a specific form is the only correct one – may in many cases be an unanswerable question.

Yet the two objects – the *ideology* of standardization and linguistic standardization – must be seen as separate entities, for it is quite possible to have one without the other. A language may move toward uniformity – say, toward a single set of personal pronouns – without the new form becoming marked by the ideology. And the ideology may insist on a single form – say, *whom* in the objective case in American English – when even the most ‘proper’ speakers often use a different form. This distinction between the ideology of standardization and the behavior of linguistic standardization might be compared to a distinction that Milroy and Milroy (1985b: 70–71) among others state: between ‘grammar’ as the layman defines it – a set of prescribed rules – and ‘grammar’ as the linguist defines it. Certainly, the social and linguistic aspects of standardization would seem typically to influence each other, and a full knowledge of standardization will require understanding both aspects and how they relate. Unless we separate the two, however, we may be limited to studying only those cases where we can be sure that high status in the ideology and a high degree of actual uniformity co-occur. Since the causes of language change have been perpetually difficult to determine, our study of standardization would be extremely limited if we required a social motivation to accompany a change toward uniformity. More important, standardization, like variation, should be seen theoretically first as a linguistic process, then as it relates to social causes and consequences. Milroy and Milroy argue that standardization demands complete uniformity, which of course is inconceivable in a living language; hence, they claim standardization can only be an abstraction, an ideology. From a social perspective, their argument is cogent and convincing, and the rest of their book expands our understanding of the social aspect of standardization. From a linguistic perspective, however, Milroy and Milroy also recognize that standardization may be seen ‘as a historical process which – to a greater or lesser degree – is always in progress in those languages that undergo it’ (1985b: 22). A completely uniform standard language surely is a set of abstract norms, but linguistic standardization is an actual historical process, a movement toward that uniformity which can never completely be realized.

Arguing for the separability of social standards from linguistic standardization does not entail ignoring social factors in standardization. Variation is a linguistic fact, after all, yet its relationships to social variables are considered. Standardization, as a linguistic process, may involve social factors beyond the ideology of correctness, factors similar to those involved in variation. Seen as the linguistic movement toward uniformity, standard-

ization may in fact serve as a complement to variation. Linguistic features that are not variable, after all, must be uniform. The process of moving toward that uniformity may be standardization.

A potential conundrum lurks in such reasoning, of course. If standardization is the movement toward uniformity, but complete uniformity is always impossible, then standardization will always entail variation. We must recognize variation before we can perceive a possible decrease in variation, or standardization, and that decrease in variation will nonetheless appear as variation, not uniformity. The way out of the conundrum is to see standardization as a process, as change, as a direction of movement rather than a synchronic state. The only synchronic standardization is complete uniformity, invariable features. Though never possible for all elements of a language, some features of language are uniform: those features which constitute the descriptive core of a language’s grammar, for example. It is this sense of ‘standards’ that Haas is using when he points out that ‘Standardization is an intrinsic feature of the use of a language; and whenever we set out to describe “a language”, i.e. to describe the utterances that are or may be heard in a community as “uses of a language”, we are seeking to extract its standards’ (1982: 15). Of the features which are variable at any given time, some may be stable variants, differences in phonology, syntax, or semantics which seem not to be undergoing any change. Stylistic options or differences between speech and writing might exemplify such stable variants, but so too might some differences in regional or social dialects, which may not show any signs of changing. Of the variable features which do seem to be undergoing change at any given time, some may be changing to different forms while maintaining the degree of variation: for example, changes in affirmatives or other age-graded slang. Some may be increasing the degree of variation: for example, the addition of diphthong varieties in American English, of spelling pronunciations, or historically of the *do*-support alternative. And some may be decreasing the degree of variation. The last type of change is standardization.

The causes of standardization may be many. Since we do not know why any linguistic changes occur (see Lass 1980 and Romaine 1982a), we may never know why the change of standardization occurs. But we may discover correlations, and we may speculate. Variation in a feature may decrease in response to some purely internal factor (though we may know too little about the motivations of change to cite a sure example), in response to external factors, or in response to a combination of internal and external factors. One important external factor in the decrease of variation may be society’s attitudes toward the variants. Often a socially marked or stigmatized variant decreases in use; witness the reduction of *ain’t*, at least in northern American English, or the demise of folk terms and pronunciations. Thus the ideology of standardization, the belief that everyone should use the language in a correct and uniform way, surely serves in many cases as a crucial factor, though not

the only factor, in linguistic standardization, the linguistic movement toward uniformity.

### Language standards

The ideology of standardization creates language standards, sets of linguistic features which are considered 'correct.' Although comprised of specific linguistic features, the standards do not need to represent anyone's actual usage at all; in fact, since the ideology requires complete uniformity and language is always variable, a 'standard language' is not a linguistic possibility. As Milroy and Milroy point out, a standard language can only be 'an idea in the mind rather than a reality – a set of abstract norms to which actual usage may conform to a greater or lesser extent' (1985b: 23). Hence the difficulty linguists have had in trying to define 'Standard English': it is not definable as a language variety but only as a social ideal. Some of its features may be codified in handbooks and prescriptive grammars, but not all of them. A language standard may be comparable to other societal norms, like etiquette or dress codes: they consist of specific rules for behavior, to which different people may conform differently, but they exist as socially accepted abstractions rather than as actual behavior. As a social ideal, language standards may influence actual usage. Speakers may try to conform to language standards in their own linguistic behavior, as we know they do when style-shifting. Over time, the attempt to conform to language standards may result in greater uniformity, as more speakers use the form considered 'correct' in the language standard. The linguistic movement toward greater uniformity which may result from the influence of language standards is one type of linguistic standardization.

So far, this argument has assumed that all speakers share the ideology of standardization and hence accept the language standards. Yet we know that variation and 'non-standard' usage continue. Milroy and Milroy, among others, present clear explanations of and convincing arguments for a conflict between 'status' and 'solidarity', between the pressures to conform to high-prestige varieties of language and to conform to peer and community varieties. There is no need to recount here the arguments for such a demonstrable conflict, but that conflict may be seen in a slightly different light from the perspective of standardization. The conflict may be seen as one between two competing language standards: the standard of the social elite and the standard of the peer group.<sup>2</sup> The ideology of standardization, as defined here and by Milroy and Milroy, entails a belief that everyone should speak in the same way and 'correctly.' But that belief does not have to be realized in a single 'standard language.' The features considered 'correct' in one situation may differ from the features considered 'correct' in another situation.<sup>3</sup> Such a difference is already acknowledged, for example, in the recognition that British English prefers a non-rhotic pronunciation while

northern American English prefers a rhotic pronunciation. Both groups share the ideology of standardization, but that ideology has created two different language standards. The same may be said for Lowland *versus* Highland speakers in Scotland, for Boston *versus* Dallas speakers, or for Chanute *versus* Kansas City speakers. Each group holds a different set of features as the standard even as all groups share the belief in correctness. Regional standards have long been proposed (for example Wyld 1936); speakers of different dialects are not denying the need for uniformity but rather following a different language standard.<sup>4</sup>

The same may be said of speakers of different social dialects. The pressure to conform to the community dialect is a pressure to conform to a language standard, a set of features which are considered 'correct.' The features are 'better' for peer situations, and variation from that peer standard may result in non-acceptance by the group. Once we admit any multiplicity of language standards, whether both British and American English or both Boston and Dallas speech, it becomes difficult to draw a line to distinguish 'standard' from 'non-standard,' to say one group's norms constitute a language standard but another group's norms do not.<sup>5</sup> Any set of features may constitute the group's notion of 'correctness.' The difference between the norms of upper-class Bostonians and the norms of lower-class Brooklynites, of course, is that the former consider their language standard to be the best in all situations while the latter have had superimposed a competing language standard, that of so-called 'Standard English.' Speakers of low-status language varieties thus have only one belief, that all should speak 'correctly,' but the language standards which constitute 'correctness' may shift as the situation shifts. Linguistic tests for style-shifting test responses only to 'school-type' situations that call for the superimposed school standard. They do not test the other side, responses to peer situations that call for the peer language standard; as studies by Labov in particular suggest (for example, 1972b), peer situations might elicit just as much style-shifting toward the peer standard, toward what the speakers would in that situation consider more 'correct.'

'Status' and 'solidarity' in this argument would become almost definitions of 'correctness,' just as much in conflict but in conflict because of competing language standards rather than standard *versus* non-standard. Such a perspective would not essentially change our view of the role of external high-status standards for lower-class speakers, but it might sharpen our awareness of the similarities among all language standards. The differences lie in the wider social status of different groups' standards, in the degree of formalism and institutionalization of those standards, or in the weight of overt *versus* covert prescription. One standard may become superimposed, through formal or informal means, on speakers following different standards. Shaklee argues that 'it is natural for a complex social community to establish a standard among divergent dialects and to establish as standard the dialect of the



economically powerful' (1980: 41). If such a standard is superimposed, then other language standards will be seen to differ in terms of how many features they share with the superimposed standard. Yet the essential nature of all language standards is the same, and they all represent an ideology of uniformity. As such, they may all put pressure on their followers' linguistic behavior in similar ways. This is not to say that speakers will consciously acknowledge the different standards. In middle-class America, for example, the heavy prescriptivism and formal institutionalization of the superimposed standard has made people conscious of only one 'correct' form of the language, a situation that also better satisfies the ideology of standardization. Yet speakers are still scorned for 'schoolmarm' language if, in informal peer conversation, they use the superimposed 'correct' 'It is I' instead of the situationally 'correct' 'It's me.'

This flexible definition of 'correctness' does not have to be accepted in order to see the competing pressures on a group of speakers when two standards exist. The ideology of standardization does not accept such variation; it wants uniformity. If two groups with two different language standards come in close contact, the ideology would dictate that one standard must be superimposed on the other. Yet the superimposition of a language standard does not necessarily mean a change in language behavior. Though a standard can be described in terms of the linguistic features it includes, the standard is a social fact which, like all social facts, may or may not correlate with linguistic usage.<sup>6</sup>

Thus standardization comprises three different aspects, with varying degrees of linguistic concreteness. Linguistic standardization is actual linguistic behavior, a historical change in actual usage toward linguistic uniformity. At the opposite extreme lies the ideology of standardization, an abstract belief that there are 'correct' ways of using the language, a belief in 'correctness' without specifying any linguistic features. This ideology might be seen as part of our general sense of 'norms' in life, our sense that there are 'correct' ways of behaving, whether or not we all agree on what that correct behavior is. Between the relative concreteness of linguistic standardization and abstraction of the ideology lies the language standard. Deriving from the ideology, language standards are complete abstractions, mental concepts unembodied in actual linguistic behavior; yet they consist of linguistic features, the socially specified rules for correct and incorrect usage. A complete understanding of standardization may need to consider the abstract and social ideology and language standards, but in a linguistic study the primary subject must be actual linguistic behavior, the actual movement or lack of movement toward uniformity. The concentration of a linguistic study must be on linguistic standardization.

### Anglicization as a type of standardization

When groups with different dialects come into close contact with one another, the dialects may influence each other and produce linguistic change. If these groups also have different language standards (and the preceding section argues that any group with a consciousness of language will have a language standard), then the ideology of standardization will put pressure on those standards, as Shaklee suggests, to select or create a single standard for both groups.<sup>7</sup> But a single language standard need not be the only possible result. As the notions of status and solidarity argue, the pressure for change may result in a functional distribution of the standards: one standard may continue to exist in peer situations, for example, while another standard may be superimposed in formal or 'school-like' situations. Or one standard may oust the other completely, though such a result would seem to require a complete lack of solidarity on the part of the ousted group. If the two groups integrate completely, a new standard might be created that merges the two original standards.

In each of these cases, linguistic behavior might also be affected, since the ideology of standardization is one social factor that probably affects actual usage. The linguistic result, however, need not be linguistic standardization, the movement toward uniformity. Several results are conceivable. If the competing standards become functionally distributed, variation might actually increase as speakers adopt different forms in different situations. If a new standard is created or if one standard completely ousts the other, the degree of variation might remain constant if speakers simply shift from conforming to one standard in formal situations to conforming to another. Again, though, there is a difference between the social standards and the linguistic behaviors. The degree of change in actual usage probably depends partly on the degree of acceptance among speakers of a language standard. A superimposed standard, for example, might never be fully accepted by speakers who are excluded from the group which uses that standard, and their linguistic behavior might thus show little change. Even if the superimposed standard is accepted completely, the actual usage will not automatically and completely conform to that standard. As Milroy and Milroy state, no language is ever completely uniform. In addition, linguistic change may be gradual rather than sudden. The spread of a new form may take considerable time. Bloomfield, for example, describes the spread of a standard language as a gradual, wave-like progression from one dialect to another (1933: 482-85). As a change spreads, variation may actually increase before the change spreads to the whole population. Ironically, then, pressure to conform to a language standard may actually increase linguistic variation rather than standardization. However, these possibilities are at this point merely logical speculation; though we have some knowledge of what

happens when dialects come in contact, what happens when language standards also come in contact is virtually unknown.

The case of the anglicization of Scots-English is a case of standards as well as dialects coming into contact; it is also a case of linguistic standardization, of usage becoming relatively uniform. Scholars of Scots-English have presumed, probably rightly, that the two are related, since the basic linguistic change is from relatively uniform Scots-English usage to relatively uniform Anglo-English<sup>8</sup> usage. That is, when the Scottish language standard and the English language standard came into increasing contact, Scots-English usage changed to conform more closely to the English standard. A relationship in time, however, does not necessarily imply a cause-effect relationship. Since the motivation of linguistic change is virtually impossible to demonstrate, it seems safest to define 'anglicization' as the linguistic movement toward uniform usage of forms that are consistent with Anglo-English usage. This movement may have resulted from internal or external factors. Anglicization may in fact have resulted from the interaction of social and linguistic factors, but, in order to understand the process, we must understand the linguistic change itself before we consider its correlation with social variables. Any historical study should consider the social context of a linguistic change, and the increasing power of Anglo-English over Scots-English norms is a real and important part of the social context of anglicization. But the linguistic change itself is primary, and anglicization is first of all a linguistic change. As a change toward uniformity of usage, anglicization is at least a case of linguistic standardization.

### The historical context of Scots-English

The history of anglicization, however, is not a simple movement from complete variation to complete uniformity, for Scots-English had a great degree of uniformity before it came into conflict with Anglo-English. Both Scots-English and Anglo-English (along with American-English, Irish-English, and other Englishes) are varieties of the language derived from Anglo-Saxon. Both varieties also developed a relatively uniform (that is, standardized) national dialect that was used in writing – what is typically referred to as a 'standard language' but which more accurately might be called a 'national standardized dialect.' The spread of a London-based variety as a national standardized dialect in England, with relative uniformity in writing by the end of the fifteenth century, has often been recounted.<sup>9</sup> But a similar development had also occurred in Scotland. By the middle of the sixteenth century, Scots-English also had developed in writing a national standardized dialect. Its spread was cut short by anglicization.

Scots-English had long before defeated a competing language, Gaelic, but it did not defeat the competing dialect of Anglo-English.<sup>10</sup> When Duncan was crowned the first king of the nation Scotland in 1034, Scotland was a divided

nation linguistically: Gaelic was the dominant language north of the Forth and in the western islands, while Anglo-Saxon (Northumbrian) dominated south of the Forth. By the end of the thirteenth century, Gaelic dominated only in the Highlands and some parts of Galloway and Aberdeenshire, and from at least the seventeenth century on Gaelic declined as a primary language even in these areas.

Although the consequent rise of Scots-English was interrupted by the indirect influence of the Norman Conquest, when Latin and French became the official written languages in Scotland as they had in England, Scottish writers returned to Scots-English relatively quickly. The first literary work known to have been written entirely in Scots-English after 1066 is Barbour's *Bruce*, composed c. 1375. The late fourteenth century saw a surge of literature in the vernacular, which was developing its own distinctive features apart from those of northern Anglo-English. Officially, the Acts of the Scottish Parliaments are recorded in Scots-English from 1424 on, and, beginning with Aberdeen in 1434, local records are also kept in Scots-English (Templeton 1973: 6). The Scottish people generally refer to their native language at this time as 'Inglis'; but after a Scot, Adam Loutfut, reportedly first refers to it as 'Scottis' in 1494, the two terms are both applied to Scots-English (Templeton 1973: 6). Scots-English had doubtless been influenced by the close contact between speakers of 'Scottis' and speakers of French and Anglo-English, but in identification as well as in linguistic features the Scottish dialect appears to have established itself during the Middle Scots-English period, usually cited as c. 1450 to c. 1650.

Middle Scots-English differed from Middle Anglo-English in pronunciation, morphology, syntax, and vocabulary, some differences between Scottish and English still existing today. For the purposes of this study, it may be sufficient to note that Scots-English, like Anglo-English, allowed a great deal of spelling variation, which may or may not have reflected pronunciation (Aitken 1971), and that Scots-English had several differences in forms and distribution from Anglo-English: for example, the use of the conjunctions *gin* for *if* and *nor* for *than*; the use of the negative particles *nae* and *nocht* and the contraction *-na*; the use of *ane* as the indefinite article in all environments; a preference for *that* as the relative pronoun; a preference for uninflected past participles on weak verbs derived from Latin past stems; and the use of *-(i)t* to mark the preterite inflection of weak verbs (Murison 1977: 38–47). The variants of these forms that existed appear not to have been distributed regionally, according to A. J. Aitken (1971: 182). But the incidence of variants increased as the process of anglicization began, probably during the sixteenth century (Aitken 1971: 183).

The sixteenth century thus encompasses both the peak of the rise and the beginning of the fall of Scots-English as a national standardized dialect. During the sixteenth century, a variety of Scots-English had the two major qualities traditionally associated with a 'standard language': it had 'minimal

variation of form and maximal variation of function' (Leith 1983: 32 paraphrased in Milroy & Milroy 1985b: 27). Scots-English had been used as the language of poetry, by Henryson, Dunbar, and others, and as the language of administration. It had been used in 'public and private records, prose and poetry, memoirs and diaries, accounts, letters, testaments, sermons, collections of proverbs' (Templeton 1973: 6). In addition to the broad use of Scots-English in general, there was a relatively narrow range of variation, according to Aitken, across several kinds of texts: national registers, major prose literature and poetry, private records, and writings of local clerks and minor officials. As Aitken writes, 'If we assume that it was writers like these royal and literary clerks who were likely to have set the standards of spelling and of other literary usages, then we may regard this limited, majority practice as the "standard" form of written Middle Scots' (1971: 198). This 'limited majority practice' might well have spread to all written texts, given its already existing functional range, had not the 'Scottish renaissance' of approximately 1460 to 1560 been supplanted in the latter half of the sixteenth century by an English renaissance, with Scotland turning both its attention and its language toward its neighbor.

Up to the sixteenth century, Scotland and England had a history of difficult political relations. During the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, English-Scottish relations wavered between uneasy peace and easy hostility. In 1295, Scotland formed the first formal treaty between Scotland and France, the 'Auld Alliance' (Mackie 1978: 67-68). This alliance was renewed eight times in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, the last renewal coming as late as 1491-1492 (Mackie 1978: 93). Meanwhile, the English kings frequently marched their armies into Scotland, and Scotland attempted to retaliate. Establishing peaceful relations between the two competing neighbors was always difficult. In 1497, a truce was formed between the two countries; a treaty was established in 1502; and in 1503 the Scottish king James IV married Margaret, daughter of Henry VII (Ferguson 1968: 40). As late as 1513, however, Scotland's alliances were divided between England and France; the Auld Alliance with the latter forced James IV to invade England on France's behalf (Mackie 1978: 124). Not until the Reformation and the Treaty of Edinburgh in 1560, which restricted both France and England from interfering in Scottish affairs, did the relations between Scotland and England begin to settle.

In 1603, the political relationship between Scotland and England became intimate. Both countries had shared participation in the Reformation, in spite of their establishment of differing religions and the conflict between Queen Elizabeth and Queen Mary. In the same year that Mary Queen of Scots was beheaded, 1587, her son, James VI, turned twenty-one (Mackie 1978: 171). After Queen Elizabeth of England died on March 24, 1603, James VI, king of Scotland, became also James I, king of England (Mackie 1978: 185). This Union of the Crowns in 1603 had several results of consequence to Scots-

English. Most obvious is that Scotland and England became literally a single kingdom. The symbolic significance of this fact James stressed, attempting to lessen the rivalry between the two nations. In a speech to his first Parliament in 1604, James announced:

I am the Husband and the whole Isle is my lawfull Wife; I am the Head; and it is my Body; I am the Shepherd and it is my flocke; I hope therefore no man will be so unreasonable as to think that I that am a Christian King under the Gospel should be a polygamist and husband to two wives; that I being the Head should have a divided and monstrous Body. [quoted in Mackie 1978: 187]

But the rivalry between the two countries continued. The situation was particularly telling for Scotland, for James moved his court out of Scotland to England. With the Scottish court went many Scottish men surrounding the court and authors who depended on court patronage. The shift of government to England was secured in 1707, after years of meetings and attempts, by the Union of Parliaments. Thus in the eighteenth century, not only the court but much of the national government of Scotland was actually centered in London.

Economically and socially, as well as politically, the Scottish elite found it necessary to spend time in London. Aitken's description of the Scot's contacts with London sounds much like descriptions of an English country squire's contacts with London in earlier centuries, when the London standardized dialect was spreading within England: 'every Scotsman of the nobility was likely to spend part of his time in southern England, at court or residing in the Home Counties, and nearly all other eminent Scots...visited London for shorter and longer periods' (Aitken 1979: 91-92). The social status of England also appears in R. K. Marshall's calculations, cited by Aitken, of the number of inter-marriages between Scottish and English families. In the seventeenth century, 13.7 percent of the Scottish peers arranged marriages with English wives (and a few Welsh ones), and only 23 of those 62 wives were from the English aristocracy. On the other side, only 3.39 percent of the daughters of Scottish peers married outside of Scotland or of their class (Aitken 1979: 91-92).

With all of the political, social, religious, and economic changes combining in the course of a few centuries, it is not surprising that England gained prestige at Scotland's expense. It is also not surprising that Anglo-English gained linguistic prestige at the expense of Scots-English. The linguistic anglicization of Scots-English is but one aspect of the cultural and political anglicization of Scotland. There have, of course, been backlashes in Scotland, politically and linguistically, but none has ever become widespread enough to affect significantly the English subordination of the Scottish. The political and cultural situation in Scotland in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries contains many of the factors which linguists have noted as encouraging the

spread of one language or dialect over another. Primary is contact among different speech communities. Contact allows the perception of variation, which in turn allows the ideology of standardization to require the labelling of some variants as more 'correct' than others. As Uriel Weinreich asserts, 'It is in a situation of language contact that people most easily become aware of the peculiarities of their language as against others, and it is there that the pure or standardized language most easily becomes the symbol of group integrity. Language loyalty breeds in contact situations just as nationalism breeds on ethnic borders' (1953: 100). Paul L. Garvin and Madeline Mathiot, in a language-planning study, define this use of a standard as 'symbol of group integrity' in terms of four basic functions of a language standard: a unifying function (linking speakers of different dialects into a single speech community); a separatist function (opposing speakers of one standard language to speakers of another); a prestige function (giving status to the language precisely because it is standardized); and a frame of reference function (providing a yardstick for judging correctness and thus for judging other speakers in the community) (Garvin & Mathiot 1968: 369-71). In a contact situation such as that of Scotland and England, the need to define the community and hence the speech community would appear to stress the unifying and separatist functions of language standards. As the political pressure for unification increased, so too would the linguistic pressure, but any resistance to unification might exhibit itself in loyalty to the national standardized dialect. Many social factors may increase contact between speech communities - including several in operation for Scotland and England - such as the growth of cities, cited by James Milroy (1981: 19), or religion, marriage, education at public schools and universities, or growth in printing and other means of communication, cited by Otto Jespersen (1946: 40-67). Such social factors may increase the contact of two standard languages and the spread of the ideology of standardization. Whereas these factors may unite members of different speech communities physically, the growth of centralized government may unite different communities both physically and psychologically. The Union of the Crowns and of Parliaments created such centralization of government, which Jespersen cites as one of the most important factors encouraging the creation of a single standardized dialect:

It is self-evident that where we have previously divided states combining under a single government, the chances of a common language being evolved are so much the better. The court, the government have occasion for a language which will carry its message to all the inhabitants of the country, while on the other hand the seat of government naturally attracts people to it from all districts. The greatest uniformity in language is to be found where there is a markedly centralized government, as is evident in the old Roman Empire with its official Latin, and later similarly in France and to a great extent in England. [Jespersen 1946: 52]

The political creation of a single community out of what had been two separate communities would presumably encourage changes in the two dialects as well as in their language standards. The fact that the newly unified nations differed in dialect only, rather than in language, might have increased the chances of mutual linguistic influence. But it was England that gained prestige and power in this unification and its social and economic consequences; and it was Anglo-English that became the prestigious dialect. As the direction of inter-marriages and travel from Scotland to England suggests, the Scottish elite now looked to England for prestige. So too did they look to Anglo-English for their language standard. Labov concludes, from his studies of linguistic insecurity, that recognizing an external language standard is 'an inevitable accompaniment of upward social aspirations and upward social mobility' (1964: 88). For the upwardly aspiring Scots, the standard of London would become their external language standard. By the eighteenth century, according to Aitken, the superimposition of the Anglo-English standard was virtually complete:

the formal or, in the language of the time, 'polite' speech of the social elite of Scotland was now expected to approximate to the southern [Anglo-] English dialect....This was now the language of people with social pretensions and for discussing intellectual topics or speaking in formal circumstances. For some it must also have already become the usual informal or fully vernacular style. And a form of speech which mostly favoured traditional Scots usages...was now identified with conservatives, eccentrics and, especially, the 'common people' or 'the vulgar'.

[Aitken 1979: 93]

By the end of the eighteenth century, the ideal for the elite of Scotland, its notion of a language standard, had become tied to the language used not in Edinburgh, but in London society.

Evidence for this shift to the Anglo-English standard appears in explicit comment as well as in the functional shift of the two varieties. Remaining traces of Scots-English became ridiculed as Scotticisms. In the eighteenth century, Scotticisms received conscious attention and correction: lists of features to be avoided were published, and a series of lecturers came to Scotland from 1748 on to teach the educated Scot how to speak and write 'correctly.' One result, writes Aitken, 'was a greatly increased self-consciousness of the Scots intellectuals and middle classes about the provincially of their English speech' (1979: 95). The spread of Anglo-English to previously Scots-English texts, however, preceded such explicit correction. After the Union of the Crowns in 1603, many government documents and laws which appeared in Scotland were written in Anglo-English. In the seventeenth century, anglicization affects also both printed and manuscript literature. Speech remains more 'Scottish' much later than writing does; in pronunciation of course much of spoken Scots-English remains little

anglicized even today. But in the seventeenth century, the speech of the upper classes in Scotland began to conform to that of the elite in England, a practice which spread to members of the middle class in Scotland in the eighteenth century (Aitken 1979). As the political and social union of the new nations increased, so did the prestige and functional range of Anglo-English in Scotland. David Murison describes the consequences dramatically but effectively:

The Union of 1707 was the last act in the story. When the legislature removed to London, [Anglo-] English became in effect the official language of the whole country for law, administration, education and church usage, spoken as well as written. Scots became more and more restricted in use and scope, 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 study of anglicization

In this case of contact between two language standards, one of the standards became superimposed on the other. Scots-English may at best have remained the standard for solidarity, though Aitken claims that the Scots showed no evidence of a widespread feeling of linguistic loyalty to Scots-English (1979: 89). We presume that Anglo-English became a superimposed standard, and we know for a fact that Scots-English became increasingly anglicized. But there are many things that we do not know. Once language standards and linguistic standardization have been distinguished, questions arise about the connection between them. A chronological cause-effect relationship is implied by many scholars of Scots-English, but in fact the chronology is unclear. It is impossible to know precisely when a new language standard has been adopted, since the standard is an abstraction. In Scotland, explicit comments about Scotticisms seem not to have become prevalent until the eighteenth century, yet Aitken and others note that spelling was becoming anglicized as early as the sixteenth century. Such prescription may, of course, have lagged well behind the acceptance of the new standard. External forces were adding to the prestige of Anglo-English as early as 1603 – and presumably even earlier – but such prestige may not have been great enough to superimpose the Anglo-English standard on Scots until much later. Precisely when the Anglo-English standard finally ousted the Scots-English standard for formal written texts simply cannot be known. No clear evidence can exist historically for the origination and spread of such an abstraction.

Though we may never know when or how the Anglo-English standard became superimposed on Scots-English, we can know when and how the anglicization of Scots-English occurred. As a linguistic process – the movement toward uniform usage of forms consistent with Anglo-English usage – anglicization can be observed and studied. Many questions about anglicization remain relatively unexamined. When did relatively uniform use of

Scots-English forms become replaced by relatively uniform use of Anglo-English forms? How did this replacement occur? Was the change sudden or gradual? Did variation increase as part of this change, or was the change consistently one of decreased variation? Did the change spread evenly and uniformly across all texts? What social factors correlate with anglicization? Some questions about anglicization are virtually unanswerable, given current linguistic theory and methodology. The point of origination is just as undiscoverable today as it was when Weinreich, Herzog, and Labov (1968) first questioned it. The investigation of social variables remains troublesome for historical studies (though Chapter 4 of this volume attempts a different way of examining them). What historical studies can examine best are questions of how and when a linguistic change proceeded. This study concentrates on such questions for Scots-English anglicization, especially on the question of diffusion.

To examine the diffusion of anglicization, this study applies some elements of sociolinguistic methodology to the historical study of written language use. It is sociolinguistic both in general perspective and in the methodological sense described by Suzanne Romaine: it measures the differences among writing samples objectively, it seeks the patterns in these differences, and it examines factors which may correlate with those patterns (1982b: 13). More broadly, this study fits best within the general discipline that Romaine has termed 'socio-historical linguistics.' The main goal of socio-historical linguistics is 'to investigate and provide an account of the forms/uses in which variation may manifest itself in a given community over time, and of how particular functions, uses and kinds of variation develop within particular languages, speech communities, social groups, networks and individuals' (Romaine 1982b: x). Though I would add 'or standardization' to 'variation,' my study explores some parts of this general socio-historical goal: it investigates some of the forms/uses in Scotland from 1520 to 1659, and some aspects of how anglicization developed within Scots-English and Scotland. The basic data of this study come from an examination of 121 texts written by Scottish writers between 1520 and 1659.<sup>11</sup> Five linguistic features were studied for the frequency of Scots-English *versus* Anglo-English forms, and these features were correlated with different time periods and different textual variables (genre, medium, and audience). After initial description of the use of Scots-English and Anglo-English forms over time in Chapter 2, this study considers the emergent patterns as they relate to hypotheses about anglicization and theories of language change, especially diffusion, in Chapter 3. Finally, it examines how these patterns of diffusion correlate with primarily the factor of text-type in Chapter 4 before returning in the final chapter to theoretical issues of the study of historical change and of standardization. Although many of the same questions remain at the end of this study, it is hoped that this study can contribute not only to our knowledge of Scots-English anglicization but also to our understanding of standardization as a naturally occurring linguistic process and a worthy object of linguistic study.

## 2 The linguistic diffusion of five variables

With linguistic standardization defined as the movement toward uniformity, a central question becomes how that movement occurs – across time, across texts, and in different features. For anglicization as a particular case of standardization, the process involves movement from relatively uniform usage of one set of features toward uniform usage of a different set, ones corresponding to Anglo-English usage. Although previous work on anglicization, as described in the preceding chapter, has outlined the change in general, it does not describe precisely when this change occurred or how it spread. This chapter will describe the diffusion of Anglo-English features (or, simply, Anglo-English) as it occurred in five linguistic variables.<sup>1</sup> According to the results of this study, the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries did see a dramatic shift from Scots-English to Anglo-English usage, yet Scottish writers do not adopt all five features to the same degree or at the same rate. How this process occurred, how these results correspond to what other scholars have described, and how these five variables relate statistically will be the subject of this chapter.

### The linguistic variables

The five major variables in this study are:

1. the relative clause marker (RelM)
2. the preterite inflection (PretInfl)
3. the indefinite article (IndArt)
4. the negative particle (NegPart)
5. the present participle (PresPtcl)

Although several conditioning factors of each feature were considered, each variable has a primary Scots-English/Anglo-English pair, illustrated in Table 2.1.

In general, Scottish writers tend to use predominantly the Scots-English forms in 1520, but by 1659 they tend to use predominantly the Anglo-English forms. Figure 2.1 shows how dramatic this change is by charting the total percentage of the Anglo-English forms used for all five primary pairs.<sup>2</sup> The shift from 18% to 88% Anglo-English leaves no doubt that, at least for the

Table 2.1. Illustrations of the five major variables

Feature	Scots-English	Anglo-English
Relative clauses	QUH- 'quhilk salbe ... defeased'	WH- 'which shall be defeased'
Preterites	-IT 'efter the proces be intendit'	-ED 'after the proces be intended'
Indefinite articles	ANE 'ane missive, ane oath'	A 'a missive, an oath'
Negative particles	NA 'na man, he is nocht'	NO 'no man, he is not'
Present participles	-AND 'all landis pertinand to him'	-ING 'all lands pertening to him'

variables studied, 1520–1659 constitutes a period of great anglicization overall.

Of course, anglicization is more complex than Figure 2.1 can reveal, for each of the five variables changes differently. When this general pattern is broken down into the five separate variables (Figure 2.2),<sup>3</sup> it becomes clear that each of the variables must be examined separately before anglicization

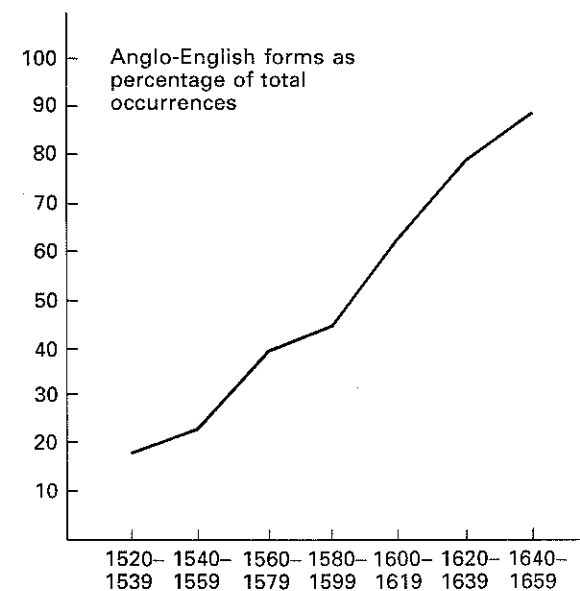


Figure 2.1. Anglicization by date, combining all variables

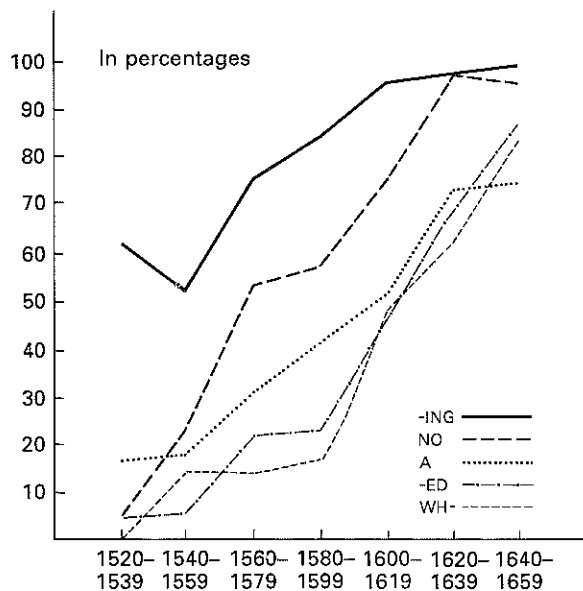


Figure 2.2 Anglicization by date

as a whole can be considered. This chapter will focus on describing the details of the change for each variable.

### The relative clause marker

The aspect of the relative clause marker<sup>4</sup> that most clearly shows anglicization is the shift in spelling from QUH- to WH- in such words as *which* and *who*. The variants and sub-types of the relative clause marker variable are represented in the chart below. Although omitted from the chart for the sake of clarity, THAT and  $\emptyset$  are also possible relative clause markers.

As Figure 2.2 shows, Scottish writers shift from using QUH- spellings in every instance to using WH- 83% of the time. Yet, as the figure also shows, the change does not proceed gradually and regularly. Rather, the use of WH- remains below 20% for the first eighty years. From 1600 on, however, its use increases dramatically in a steady line, moving from 17% to 83% use of the Anglo-English WH- spellings.<sup>6</sup>

This pattern of consistent and low Anglo-English usage until 1600 recurs for each of the (RelM) word-types, as Figure 2.3 shows. All of the WH- spellings cluster around 5% through 1599. The apparent decline in *quhilk* is offset by increases in the other QUH- forms, keeping the WH- spellings consistently low. Once the Anglo-English forms begin to increase, however, *which* rises sharply and steadily, whereas the other WH- forms level off after

Table 2.2. Relative clause marker and variants

(RelM)	
QUH-	WH-
1. <i>quhilk</i>	1. <i>which</i>
2. <i>quha</i>	2. <i>who</i>
3. <i>other quh-</i>	3. <i>other wh-</i>
Variants	
<i>quhilk</i> : <i>quhilk(e)</i> , <i>quhilkis</i> , <i>quilk</i> , <i>quhich(e)</i> <sup>5</sup>	
<i>quha</i> : <i>quha(e)</i> , <i>quham(e)</i> , <i>quhais(e)</i> , <i>quho(e)</i> , <i>quhom(e)</i> , <i>quhois(e)</i>	
<i>other quh-</i> : most common, <i>quhere</i> , <i>quherin</i> , <i>quherby</i>	
<i>which</i> : <i>which(e)</i> , <i>whilk(e)</i>	
<i>who</i> : <i>who</i> , <i>whom(e)</i> , <i>whose</i> , <i>wha</i> , <i>wham</i>	
<i>other wh-</i> : most common, <i>where</i> , <i>wherein</i> , <i>whereby</i>	

1620. The shift to *which* thus accounts for most of the anglicization of the relative clause marker.

The linguistic environment of the relative clause marker does not appear to condition this change. Although instances of the markers were further subdivided according to function (restrictive and non-restrictive) and type of antecedent (personal and impersonal), none of these environments significantly affected the proportion of Scots-English to Anglo-English forms.<sup>7</sup> In addition, the increase of *which* does not correspond to a decrease in the use

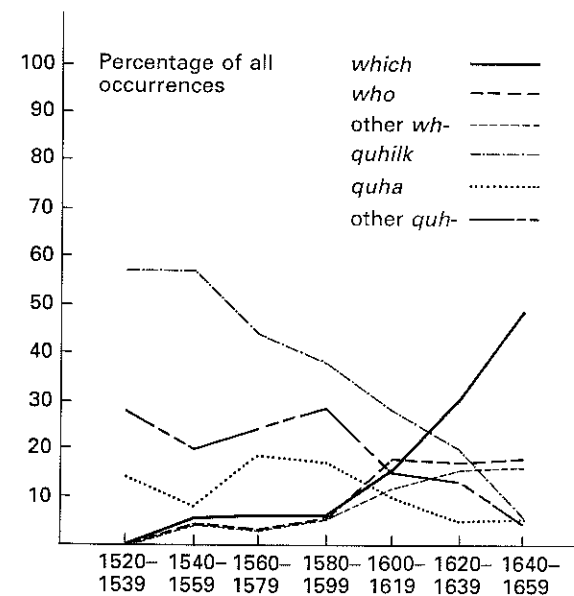


Figure 2.3 QUH- /WH- relative clause markers (RelM)



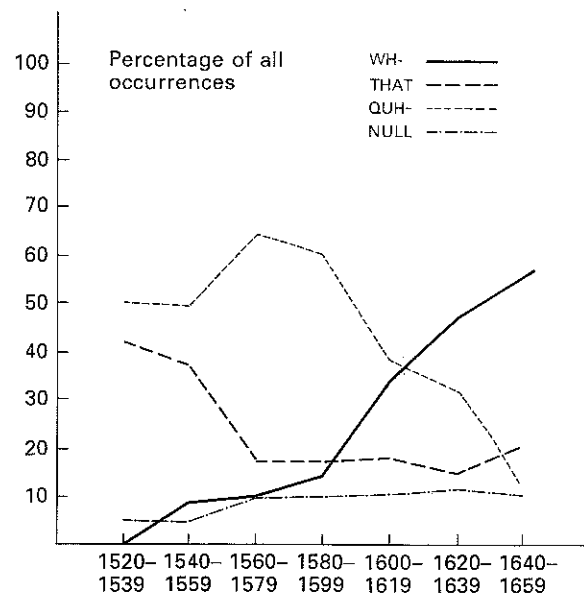


Figure 2.4 All relative clause markers

of THAT or null forms of the relative clause marker. Before 1500, forms of THAT had been the dominant relative clause marker, but QUH-/WH- forms were to become more common (see Caldwell 1974 for the most detailed study).<sup>8</sup> It is thus at least possible that Scottish writers were substituting *which* for THAT instead of for *quhilk*. Figure 2.4, however, shows that this is not the case: the use of THAT does decline, but QUH- forms increase correspondingly. In fact, the decrease in the use of THAT precedes the increase in WH- and decrease in QUH- by approximately forty years. Although WH- forms do show some rise before 1600, as THAT is declining, WH- clearly increases significantly only as QUH- decreases.

These results provide a much more detailed picture of the shift from Scots-English to Anglo-English relative clause markers than we have had up to now. Previous scholars have been most interested in the relative frequency of all forms of *which* compared to forms of *who*, *that*, and null (absence of a relative clause marker). Sarah J. G. Caldwell (1974) and Suzanne Romaine (1980, 1982a) in particular have studied these distributions in great detail for 1375–1500 and after 1700, respectively. In this study, the relative use of these markers roughly confirms Caldwell's and Romaine's results. Caldwell's suggestion that forms of 'who,' spelled with either *quh-* or *wh-*, were not common until c. 1535 (Caldwell 1974: 42–43) might be modified, however, since 14% of all QUH-/WH- markers were forms of *quha/who* in the period 1520–1639 and that proportion stayed relatively level through 1659.

In general, the results for the relative clause marker in this study include nothing to contradict previous scholars' discoveries in other fifteenth- and sixteenth-century texts (in addition to Romaine and Caldwell, see, for example, Murray 1873, Reeves 1893, Craigie 1950). These results add considerably to previous knowledge, however. Although Caldwell (1974: 39) claims to have found an occasional instance of *which* and *whilk* before 1500, the present study found no instances of WH- at all before 1540, and the WH- forms remain relatively rare spellings as late as 1580. Thus, the Anglo-English WH- forms appear to be used very rarely in prose before 1600, when their use increases sharply in all linguistic environments. By 1659 the WH- forms have become the definitely dominant form.

#### The preterite inflection

The change from Scots-English -IT to Anglo-English -ED for the preterite inflection shows the same basic pattern as the relative clause marker. In fact, there is no significant difference between the (PretInfl) variable and the (RelM) variable ( $p = .4210$ ).<sup>9</sup> Figure 2.2 reveals the minor differences in the change to -ED. Instead of remaining virtually level from 1520 to 1599, the preterite shows a slight, but significant, increase from 1559 to 1579, and from then on it remains nearly five percentage points higher than the relative clause marker. But these differences are not significant in the overall pattern. Like the relative clause marker, the preterite inflection shows the Anglo-English form no more than 23% of the time up to 1599, but Anglo-English usage increases sharply from 1600 on. The move from 5% Anglo-English use in 1520 to 87% in 1659 confirms that the preterite inflection becomes highly anglicized during this period.

Also like the relative clause marker, the preterite inflection does not appear to be affected significantly by linguistic environment. In fact, a remarkable parallelism appears among the three types of phonological environment (voiced, dental, unvoiced) in their use of the -ED inflection (see Figure 2.5).<sup>10</sup> 'Irregular' verbs (an admittedly unsatisfactory label for the verbs that do not generally show -IT or -ED inflection, ones that generally take zero inflection, a vowel change, or -en) which in a particular instance have been given regular inflections are the only ones which differ from the other verb-types.<sup>11</sup> They move from one categorical use to another: in 1520–1539, only -IT is ever added to irregular verbs; in 1640–1659, only -ED is ever added to such verbs. This change to -ED still increases dramatically only after 1599, sharing that pattern with the regular verbs. Use of -ED also does not differ significantly for simple preterites *versus* past participles.

Unlike the relative clause marker, the preterite inflection could vary for individual writers within a single sentence and in the same linguistic environment (*italics mine*):<sup>12</sup>



Doctouris Caldvall and Goode com and visitit me, and declared I had the agew, and prescryvit remedies  
(John Lesley, Text 122, p. 119);

the most granted to be vpliftit  
(Records of the Convention of the Royal Burghs, Text 15, p. 178);

Quhilk salbe thankfullie defeased and allowit to you vpoun compt  
(Elphinstone family book, Text 43, p. 139);

after the proces be intendit, hard, and discussed  
(Records of the Convention of the Royal Burghs, Text 28, p. 35).

Such variation might suggest just how variable usage had become, even during periods when one or the other form was dominant. Although different spellings of the same word or morpheme in the same sentence may stand out to us today, during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries spelling variation was so common that a writer need not have been conscious that he was using both forms. In fact, such uses of both forms in a single sentence suggest that these writers may not have been conscious of the variation. This evidence is not surprising if we assume that processes of sound change and of written change may share many traits, since we know that speakers involved in a sound change may use variable pronunciations without being aware of that variation.<sup>13</sup>

In addition to the shift from -IT to -ED, some scholars have pointed out secondary differences between Scots-English and Anglo-English in their uses of the preterite inflection. All revolve around treatment of irregular verbs or

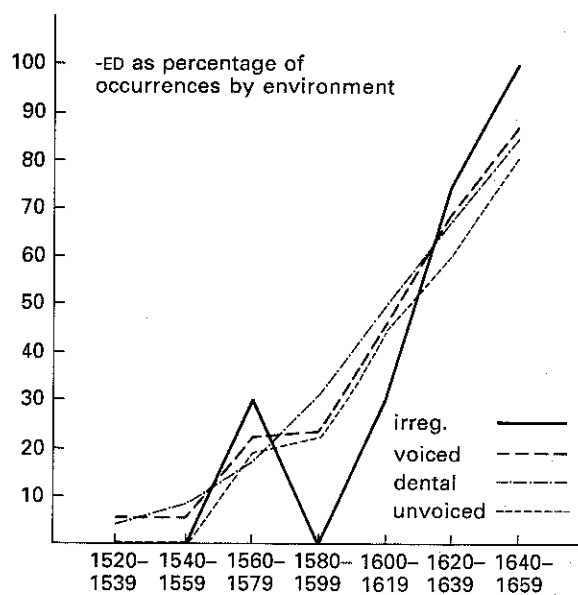


Figure 2.5 Preterite inflections by environment

use of the *-en* inflection. Smith describes the 'well-known tendency' of Scots-English to shift strong-class verbs into the weak class, writing *cumit* rather than *cum* or *cumen* (Smith 1902: xxxvii), although Murray (1873: 201) cites *cumit* as a particular lexical case rather than part of a larger tendency. More generally agreed upon is the tendency of Scots-English to preserve the *-en* inflection in strong past participles, writing *sitten*, *putten*, *fochten* (Murison 1977: 44 and Dieth 1932: 142). If such tendencies had been true of Scots-English, they too seem to have faded in favor of Anglo-English usage. To examine these tendencies, all instances of verbs inflected in these texts with *-en*, vowel change, or null were compared to all instances of verbs which Anglo-English would have inflected in these ways. For the most part, Scots-English writers treated verbs as they would have been treated in Anglo-English. Yet the overlap between the two does increase over time. In 1520-1539, 69% of the instances agreed with Anglo-English usage. The agreement increases over the next time periods (1540-1559: 73%; 1560-1579: 82%; 1580-1599: 83%; 1600-1619: 85%; 1620-1639: 87%). By 1640-1659, Scots-English writers agree with Anglo-English usage 94% of the time. Thus, the tendencies suggested by earlier scholars do appear to exist in 1520, but any differences in usage of irregular inflections or distribution of verbs into the irregular class become minimal by 1659.

By 1659, then, Scottish writers are generally agreeing with Anglo-English writers in their use of preterite inflections. They shift from using -IT as the regular inflection and from classifying some regular verbs as irregular in 1520 to using -ED as the regular inflection and to classifying verbs as do Anglo-English writers in 1659. The primary change, from -IT to -ED, moves slowly until 1600, after which point it moves rapidly and sharply. This general pattern for the change in the preterite inflection, which is not significantly different from the pattern for the relative clause marker, may prove to be the basic pattern for anglicization, as will be discussed in the next chapter.

### The indefinite article

At the beginning of the sixteenth century, Scots-English differed from Anglo-English not only in the spelling of the indefinite article - *ane* as opposed to *an* - but even more so in its distribution. Whereas Anglo-English uses *a* before consonants and *an* (occasionally *a*) before vowels, Scots-English came to use *ane* before all words, as shown in Table 2.3.<sup>14</sup>

When all occurrences of the indefinite article are charted, as in Figure 2.2, the shift to Anglo-English *A* appears much more gradual and regular than the shifts to -ED or WH-. The change also appears less complete. Although use of *A* begins at a higher point (16%) than use of -ED or WH- in 1520, by 1659 *A* has risen to only 74%. Usage in *A* has still become dominantly Anglo-English, however, if only in a ratio of three to one.

Table 2.3. Indefinite article and variants

(IndArt)	
ANE	
A	
1. <i>ane</i> _c	1. <i>a</i> _c
2. <i>ane</i> _v	2. <i>an</i> _v
Spelling variants (rare)	
<i>ane</i> _c: <i>an</i>	
<i>an</i> _v: <i>a</i>	

This generalized pattern in fact obscures the more important anglicization of the indefinite article. When we separate the indefinite article into its use before vowels and its use before consonants, as in Figure 2.6, we see a somewhat more dramatic and more nearly complete change in usage before consonants. Anglo-English forms move from 17% to 80% of all indefinite articles before consonants, still a less complete change than -ED or WH- but one that increases sharply between 1560 and 1639. Usage before vowels, on the other hand, remains highly variable throughout this period. Although beginning with 100% use of *ane* before vowels and shifting to 46% use of *an*, the periods in between reveal great fluctuations in usage and, in 1659, use is split almost 50/50 between *ane* and *an*. This variability may be the result of the low frequency of occurrence of the indefinite article before vowels.

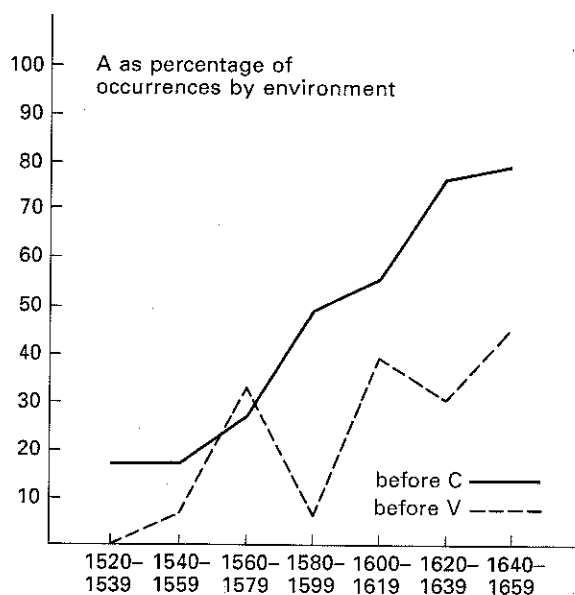


Figure 2.6 Indefinite articles by environment

Whatever the cause, the results of this study evidence a definite change in the article before consonants, but, although a trend toward the Anglo-English *an* before vowels may be appearing, usage is very undecided.

That indefinite articles before vowels should be highly variable while before consonants they show a definite change may not be surprising when the specific forms are considered. Before consonants, two distinct forms are competing: *ane* and *a*. Before vowels, the difference is one of a final *e* only: *ane* and *an*. If the degree of difference or the writers' awareness of that difference has any effect on a change, then the indefinite article before consonants would surely be more susceptible to change. The difference between *ane* and *an* might have been perceived as no more than the free addition of a final *e* (which it in fact was in earlier Scots-English, when *an* or *ane* was used before vowels and *a* before consonants, before the shift to general use of *ane*: see Murison 1977 and Aitken 1971 for more details). Thus, the change from *ane* to *a* before consonants probably represents the heart of anglicization of the indefinite article. Since that environment occurs so much more frequently than the vowel environment, the overall use of the indefinite article is still dominantly Anglo-English by 1659, but in fact its use before vowels is still highly variable.

In both environments, usage varies considerably within time periods, since single texts and single writers mix the Scots-English and Anglo-English forms in the same sentence and before the same words. One text, the Register of the Privy Council (Text 17), writes both '*ane* missive' and '*a* Missive.' Robert Bruce, the writer of Text 97, uses the different forms before words beginning with the same letter, within adjacent sentences: '*he* made his residence at Shalem, be *ane* wonderfull miracle. *A* worke wrought be himself onelie' (f. 2<sup>v</sup>, italics mine). An extreme example of how mixed the usage can be occurs in the Register of the Privy Council, Text 22:

Everie persoun possessing and labouring *ane* pleuche of ground of auld extent sall be furnished with *a* corslet or jacke, *a* heid peece, *a* muskett, *ane* picke and *a* sword, and everie cotter within the said shiresdome with *ane* picke, *ane* heid peece and *a* sword; and ilk persoun worth *a* thowsand merkes in stocke not being *ane* labourer of the ground in quantitie not equivalent to *a* pleuche to be furneist as the man abovewrittin, labourer of *a* pleuche in all respects, and everie persoun worth fyve hundreth merkes to be furneist with *a* muskatt, *a* picke, *a* heid peece, and *a* sword.  
[p. 571, italics mine]

Such variability within the same sentence may reflect the freedom of spelling variation and the writer's lack of awareness of the variation, as was suggested for the preterite inflection. It might also reflect the fact that earlier Scots-English used *a/ane* and that the use of *ane* in all environments seems never to have been a feature of Scots-English speech (see Aitken 1971). Thus, ANE may never have been a well-controlled feature in writing. This possibility, however, would seem to be contradicted by the facts in the present study: in

1520, Scottish writers controlled the feature well enough to use the same form (ANE) 83% of the time, even before consonants; and the forms are controlled well enough by the Scots in general to produce a regular change over time to the Anglo-English forms, without sporadic fluctuations in usage. The instances of variation within single sentences and single texts thus would seem more like those instances for -ED, perhaps attributable to the forms not being marked.

Marked or not, the indefinite article shows regular anglicization over time. Precisely when and how this shift from ANE to A occurs has not been known up to now, though its general use over time has been described in several specific texts. A. J. Aitken has provided the most detailed description, which is confirmed by the results of the present study:

[*ane*] first becomes common in the second half of the fifteenth century, though an instance occurs...as early as 1379. Many sixteenth-century writers...strongly favour *ane*, though seldom to the complete exclusion of *a*. Others...vary freely between these two. On the other hand some, but not all, of the copyists of the 1566 MS of John Knox's *History*, follow what was and is the normal English practice, and had been that of early Scots, of writing *a* before consonants and *an* or *ane* before vowels. Around the turn of the sixteenth century the ministers James Melvill and James Carmichael have the same usage. But sporadic instances of *ane* before consonants continue to occur in Scottish official and legal writings down to the eighteenth century. [Aitken 1971: 209, n. 53]

The use of *ane* before consonants most surely is dominant by 1500, since 83% of all instances use *ane* by 1520-1539. David Murison's claim that the shift to general use of *ane* did not occur until near the 1550s must be rejected in favor of the more common view that it was dominant by 1500 (Murray 1873: 57; Reeves 1893: 87; and Aitken above). The rest of Aitken's description agrees with the pattern discovered in this study, including that instances of *ane* probably occur up to or into the eighteenth century, since this change is not complete. Further research should be done, however, on the use of *ane* before vowels. Although it remains highly variable through 1659, a tendency to use the more common Anglo-English spelling *an* before vowels emerges in these data, and its progress after 1659 should be examined.

The use of *a* before consonants, however, does not vary freely in terms of the larger pattern over time. It shows a definite increase over time, moving most dramatically between 1560 and 1639. Though not as sharp a rise as for -ED or WH-, the change in the use of A shows substantial anglicization by 1659.

Table 2.4. Negative particle and variants

(NegPart)	
NA	NO
1. <i>na</i>	1. <i>no</i>
2. <i>nocht</i>	2. <i>not</i>
Spelling variants	
<i>na</i> : <i>na</i> , <i>nae</i> , <i>naa</i>	
<i>nocht</i> : <i>nocht</i> , <i>noucht</i> , <i>noght</i> , <i>nought</i>	
<i>no</i> : <i>no</i> , <i>noe</i>	
<i>not</i> : <i>not</i> , <i>nott</i>	

### The negative particle

The anglicization of the negative particle in written texts consists of a relatively straightforward change in spelling: from Scots-English *na* and *nocht* to Anglo-English *no* and *not*, as shown in Table 2.4.<sup>15</sup>

The pattern of change for the negative particle, seen in Figure 2.2, differs significantly from the patterns for all other variables. Whereas the difference between (IndArt) and (PretInfl) is significant to a level of  $< .05$ , the difference between (IndArt) and (NegPart) is highly significant ( $< .0001$ ). Although the negative begins in 1520 near the features with the least anglicization overall, by 1659 it has risen to one of the most highly anglicized features. This reversal in usage constitutes the largest shift of any of the features: a movement across ninety percentage points, as opposed to eighty-three for (RelM), eighty-two for (PretInfl), sixty-seven for (PresPrctpl), and fifty-eight for (IndArt).

Its pattern differs from the others most of all in the early periods of this study. While the other features remain relatively stable, *no* increases significantly from 1520 to 1560. After insignificant change from 1560 to 1599, it increases dramatically after 1600 before levelling off (the apparent decline from 1639 to 1659 is not significant).

As was true for the indefinite article, however, the combination of two forms in this general pattern obscures the patterns of separate forms. Table 2.5 shows the change over time for *not* and *no* separately. As this table reveals, the change from *nocht* to *not* occurs earlier and more completely than the change from *na* to *no*. By 1560, *not* has increased to nearly 60%, while *no* remains less than 30%. From 1600 on, *no* increases even more sharply than *not* so that both are nearly categorical by 1659.<sup>16</sup> Since *not* generally occurs much more frequently than *no*, the general pattern for negatives reflects mostly the pattern of *not* alone. Thus the sharp increase in Figure 2.2 to 1560 masks the relatively low level of *no* before that date, and the rise after 1599 reduces the sharpness of that rise for *no*.

In the past, these changes in spelling of the negative particles seem to have

Table 2.5. Negative particles, by type (in mean percentages)

	1520- 1539	1540- 1559	1560- 1579	1580- 1599	1600- 1619	1620- 1639	1640- 1659
<i>not</i> :	12	26	59	58	75	96	100
<i>no</i> :	0	25	29	38	63	97	94
<i>both</i> :	5	23	53	57	75	97	95
	n = 77	n = 130	n = 203	n = 137	n = 167	n = 175	n = 247

held little interest for most scholars of Scots-English, perhaps because they are but one example of larger pronunciation features. The written data from this study for the negatives might of course contribute to others' study of Scots-English pronunciation, but for the purposes of this book the data are more important for the description they allow of written anglicization, which has gone essentially undescribed. From the present study, it seems that the spelling shift from *nocht* to *not* occurs before the shift from *na* to *no*, beginning before 1520 but virtually complete by 1659. Both particles shift relatively rapidly, with the Anglo-English spellings dominating from 1600 on. Thus the negative particles in general are significantly more anglicized than any of the other linguistic variables, except for the present participle.

### The present participle

The present participle is the most highly anglicized feature throughout this study. In 1520-1539, the Scots-English form -AND (spelled *-and* or *-ande*) was already being used less often than the Anglo-English form -ING (spelled *-ing*, *-inge*, *-yng*, *-ynge*, or occasionally *-in*).<sup>17</sup> With this high initial frequency of 62% -ING, the movement to 99% -ING by 1659 is less dramatic than the movement of the other features (see Figure 2.2). After initial periods of relative stability (the apparent decline between 1520 and 1559 being non-significant), use of -ING increases very gradually until 1600, when it virtually levels off. This pattern for the (PresPrtcpl) variable differs significantly from each of the other variables, at a level of < 0.0001.

Although this change occurs more gradually than the changes in the other variables, it still represents a substantial move toward the Anglo-English standard. The 62% use of -ING in 1520-1539 allows considerable variability among texts. In addition, this figure does *not* mean that 62% of the texts use only -ING and 38% use only -AND. Usage up to 1600 remains highly variable within single texts. As was true for (IndArt) and (PretInfl), writers may use both forms in a single sentence, as in:

quhar that ze wryt tuesching Johne Maxwell being in Edinburght labourand at my Ladye Dernlie hand

(Memoirs of the Maxwells of Pollok, Text 65, p. 128, italics mine);

That all guidis...arryuand within the realm of Scotland or ony porte thair of and paying custome thair

(Records of the Convention of the Royal Burghs, Text 19, p. 190, italics mine).

But such variability within texts becomes less common after 1600, when categorical usage of -ING becomes the norm. As Table 2.6 shows, the levelling of anglicization overall from 1600 to 1659 masks a new change: from variable -ING usage to categorical -ING.<sup>18</sup> In Table 2.6 each text is classified according to how variable its usage of -ING is. The high level of -ING in the early periods is reflected here in the fact that -AND is the dominant form in only eleven of the 121 texts, and all before 1580. More revealing is what happens in the texts after 1600. Although the general pattern showed no significant increase in the proportion of -ING over -AND after 1600, individual texts are moving toward greater consistency. By 1659, only two of twenty texts are using both -AND and -ING. Thus the anglicization of the present participle appears to continue even after -ING has become the norm; -ING is increasingly becoming the only possible form.

That the present participle should be so highly anglicized as early as 1520 confirms what previous scholars have claimed about the variation between -AND and -ING. James A. H. Murray's claim that the distinction between the two forms was being lost in literary Scots-English as early as the fourteenth century (Murray 1873: 81) is certainly possible, and it would likely place literary texts as changing earlier than the non-literary ones examined for this study. Similarly, William P. Reeves' statement that in the earliest Scottish prose the participial -ING is 'sufficiently frequent to require notice' (Reeves 1893: 89) does not conflict with the data. The perception, however, that the variable use of -AND and -ING is not common until the sixteenth century should be refined, for texts in this period are far from using the two forms 'promiscuously,' as Eugen Dieth put it (Dieth 1932: 140). Certainly the shift from -AND to -ING must have been well on its way during the fifteenth century. The sixteenth century sees the increasing and almost complete dominance of -ING, while the first half of the seventeenth century is largely a

Table 2.6. Degree of variability in use of present participle

	-AND 100%	-AND 51-99%	-ING 50/50	-ING 51-99%	-ING 100%	Total
1520-1539	0	3	1	4	2	10
1540-1559	2	3	1	5	2	13
1560-1579	0	3	1	9	6	19
1580-1599	0	0	0	15	4	19
1600-1619	0	0	0	7	13	20
1620-1639	0	0	0	5	15	20
1640-1659	0	0	0	2	18	20

period of refinement for this advanced change, of moving to categorical use of -ING in individual texts, of -ING becoming the only possible form.

### Relationships among the five variables

The overall differences among the five linguistic variables considered in this study have been suggested throughout the discussions of each variable. Only the preterite inflection and the relative clause marker anglicize in substantially the same pattern overall ( $p = .4210$ ); the indefinite article differs from these two variables at a level of  $< .05$ , and the negative particle and present participle inflection differ from each of the variables at a level of  $< .0001$ . Thus the overall anglicization pattern, depicted earlier in Figure 2.1, represents a mean around which the five variables fall rather than a linguistic reality. How far each variable falls from the mean can be represented by a calculation of coefficients. With the mean standing at  $-0.0$ , Table 2.7 shows the degree of difference from that mean of each variable; it represents how much or how little anglicization each variable includes overall, regardless of time period.

Clearly, (PresPrtcpl) is the most highly anglicized variable overall, and (PretInfl) and (RelM) are the least anglicized. When we look at these variables over time, however, we do not see five parallel lines, each variable maintaining the same distance from the mean in each time period. Instead, the variables change over time in different patterns. A statistical test of this apparent lack of parallelism is an analysis of variance. Table 2.8 shows the figures from an analysis of variance for linguistic variable, time period, and the interaction of variable and period. For our purposes, the most important information from such a statistical test is the level of significance. This analysis of variance reveals three major conclusions: (1) that the linguistic variable is a highly significant factor in a text's usage – that is, that texts will show different usage in the different linguistic variables, regardless of the date of the texts; (2) that time period is also a highly significant factor – that texts will show different usage in different time periods, regardless of which linguistic variable is considered; and (3) that time period and linguistic variable interact significantly – that a text's usage of a specific variable will depend in part upon the text's date, and that a text's usage at a specific date will depend in part upon which variable is considered. In general, then, the analysis of variance confirms statistically not only that variable and time are both significant factors affecting a text's usage, but also that the changes across time for each variable are not parallel. The linguistic variables move differently across time.

Since this is a study of linguistic change, we of course have no trouble accepting that usage changes over time; it would be a problem only if no such changes occurred. We also expect that changes in different linguistic variables occur at different times. But since all five variables are being

Table 2.7. Coefficients: difference from the mean of each variable

(PresPrtcpl)	0.299
(NegPart)	0.083
MEAN	-0.0
(IndArt)	-0.073
(PretInfl)	-0.141
(RelM)	-0.169

Table 2.8. Analysis of variance

Source	Degree of freedom	Sum squares	Mean squares	F-statistic	Significance
Variable	4	16.1	4.0	63.4	$< .0001$
Period	6	31.3	5.2	82.3	$< .0001$
Variable by period	24	3.5	0.1	2.3	.0005

considered here as aspects of a larger change – of anglicization – we might want to know why some changes occur earlier than others. Why doesn't anglicization affect all five variables at the same rate and to the same degree?

To some extent, the response to this question must admit the impossibility of its being answered. Roger Lass has argued very convincingly, in his 1980 book *On explaining language change*, that questions of cause and effect cannot be answered reliably by traditional linguistic data (or perhaps by any kind of data; see also Romaine 1982b). We can describe differences and co-incidences, but we cannot 'explain' them in anything but descriptive terms. I find Professor Lass' arguments convincing. The discussion in the rest of this chapter and the next will thus not attempt to explain the relationships among the linguistic variables but rather to describe possible relationships. In doing so, I hope only to add to our understanding of how these processes operate, not why.

One traditional source for explanations of how variables differ is the linguistic characteristics of each variable. Lass presents his strongest case against functionalism, which is based in such linguistic traits. However, some co-incidence of linguistic traits might appear for these variables. No obvious linguistic characteristics correlate with the relative rankings of the five variables in this study. All five variables involve spelling, so that trait cannot explain the differences (although it might of course mean that all these variables function differently from other kinds of variables). The one variable with no morphemic status, (RelM), does not differ significantly from the morphemic (PretInfl).<sup>19</sup> The two inflectional morphemes, (PresPrtcpl) and

(PretInfl), sit at opposite ends of the scale of anglicization. The only form that we are fairly sure had no reflection in spoken Scots-English, (IndArt), falls in the middle of the scale. These variables thus do not seem to be ranked according to any simple linguistic characteristic.

The relationship of Scots-English pronunciation to the written forms of these variables is surely important, but it is also troublesome because of the difficulties of studying past pronunciation and because we actually know so little about the pronunciation of these forms. The spoken distinction between -AND and -ING, for example, seems to have been lost, perhaps during the period of this study, through the collapse of the final consonant clusters and of the unstressed vowels and the shift of the velar nasal to the alveolar in inflections. Thus the pronunciation of both the Scots-English and Anglo-English forms, and of both the gerund and present participle, became /ən/ or /ɪn/, a pronunciation still present in Scots-English (see Murray 1873, among others). These pronunciation changes, though, do not account for the choice of -ING over -AND as the standard spelling. Nor do they clarify the relationship of (PresPrtcpI) in this study to (NegPart), the second most highly anglicized form, for which Scots-English maintains a pronunciation different from Anglo-English (*nocht* becoming *no* south of the Tay and *nae* north of the Tay, according to Murison 1977: 40). And one of the last of the variables to anglicize, (PretInfl), similarly retains an /ɪt/ or /t/ pronunciation. The spoken correlates to these written variables surely matter for a full understanding of Scots-English, but they do not appear to shed much light on the process of written anglicization.

Perhaps a more detailed look at the linguistic characteristics of each variable could offer some account of the differing patterns of anglicization. We might attribute greater importance, for example, to the greater ease with which Scots-English could expand the function of the gerund -ING than it could adopt the Anglo-English (or earlier Scots-English) -ED, according to the principle that expanding the function of an existing form is always easier than borrowing a form from a foreign grammatical system. We could attribute the slowness of (IndArt) to the difficulty of transferring the form from one medium to another, from speech to writing, and to its lack of markedness due to freer spelling variation. But such explanations call up the spectre of Lass as they inch toward functionalism. Even without Lass' arguments, such accounts seem at least slightly *ad hoc*. For the variables in this study, the accounts based on internal linguistic traits are not very satisfactory in and of themselves.

Instead of taking a narrower perspective – into smaller linguistic traits – taking a broader perspective into theories of language change may reveal more about how these variables relate to one another. The data presented in this chapter for each of the five variables tell us considerably more than we knew before about how these variables change over time. The picture of Scots-English in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries is more complete.

But the picture of anglicization in general, its relationship to these five variables, and its relationship to theories of language change requires considerably more expansion. The next chapter will use the data for these variables to explore the relationship of anglicization to language change in general.

### 3 Anglicization and theories of language change

The data described in Chapter 2 have begun the detailed description of a case of linguistic standardization, as called for in Chapter 1. Among other things, the results of this study so far have shown that a linguistic movement toward uniformity can be described independent of the social aspects of language standards and an ideology of standardization. For linguistic standardization to prove valuable as a linguistic process, however, it needs also to contribute to our understanding of language change. Although the final chapter in this volume will explore more general implications of this study for linguistics, the particular connections between this study's results and theories of language change will be explored in this chapter. In particular, this chapter will consider the patterns of diffusion occurring within and across the five linguistic variables, seeking general patterns of anglicization and perhaps of standardization.

Since so few detailed studies have been done explicitly of changes in written language or of the process of any natural type of linguistic standardization, we do not know if these forms of language change operate like changes in speech. The relative lack of such studies may suggest not only that they have been deemed relatively unimportant in linguistics, but also that they are considered different – that studying writing or standardization will not reveal general processes relevant to changes in speech. The results of this study, however, suggest that the same processes operate in written anglicization and perhaps in standardization as in other types of language change. The information gained from using a theory of spoken change to understand a written change will also provide new details and modifications of the theory, which may prove relevant to our understanding of changes in speech. One pattern of diffusion that was originally derived from data about spoken change reappears throughout this study of written change.

#### Diffusion across time

The pattern of diffusion that frequently recurs in the data from this study is the S-curve. William S.-Y. Wang (1969) demonstrated and proposed this pattern initially for lexical diffusion, the theory that a language change spreads gradually from morpheme to morpheme through the lexicon. He

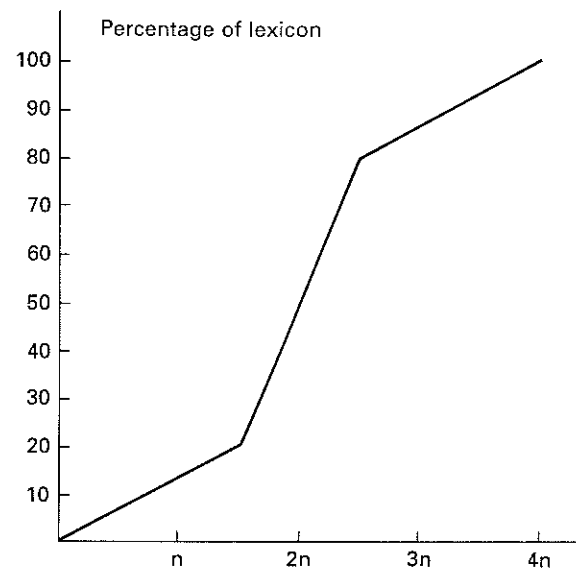


Figure 3.1 Diffusion across time in the ideal S-curve (based on Chambers and Trudgill 1980:179)

posits that, after the actuation of a sound change, the change does not spread evenly across the lexicon but rather begins slowly, reaches a point where it spreads rapidly across many lexical items, and finally slows down before affecting all lexical items. The change may then be completed at the same gradual rate with which it began, or it may never be completed if another change begins competing with it. Represented graphically, this spread over time creates an S-curve, depicted in Figure 3.1. The ideal S-curve of Figure 3.1, as Chambers and Trudgill (1980: 177–78) explain, would have the change spread through the first 20% of the lexicon in  $1.5n$  of time, through the middle 60% of the lexicon in only  $1n$  of time, and the remaining 20% again in  $1.5n$ . We would not, of course, expect to be able to see this mathematical regularity in real linguistic changes, if for no other reason than that we have never been able to determine the precise time of either actuation or completion of a change. Who is the first or last language user to adopt any change? But the S-curve model of diffusion proposes a general pattern of change which we may recognize when we see a relatively slow initial spread, a rapid middle stage, and a slower final spread.

Whether this S-curve constitutes any sort of universal process of language change has not been determined, although the theory of lexical diffusion in some pattern has become traditional. Several other studies by Wang and his colleagues have provided further support for lexical diffusion, but, as Chambers and Trudgill point out (1980: 178), the S-curve model 'predicts



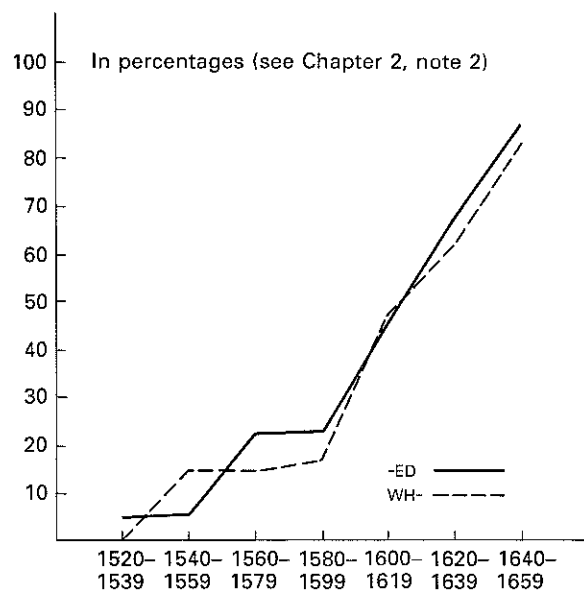


Figure 3.2 Preterite inflection and relative clause marker, by date

that studies of diffusion will much more commonly involve stages at the beginning and end than in the middle, which the available facts support. The S-curve theory would seem especially relevant to this study since diffusion constitutes the core of both anglicization and linguistic standardization, defined as *movement toward* linguistic uniformity. In fact, contrary to Chambers' and Trudgill's reasonable prediction, this study seems to have at least partially captured an S-curve pattern of diffusion in its middle stages.<sup>1</sup>

The diffusion across time of two of the five linguistic variables in this study strongly suggests an S-curve, and the other three variables are easily reconciled with the S-curve model of diffusion. Both (PretInfl) and (RelM), which, as the last chapter explained, are not significantly different from each other overall, show a slow and relatively minor increase up to 1580, followed by a sharp rise to 1640. Their pattern, depicted again in Figure 3.2, can be compared to the ideal S-curve of Figure 3.1. (See Appendix v for the numbers behind these and all other original graphs.) Although the end stage of the curve does not appear here, the early stage shows the gradual, sometimes level movement up to 20% use of -ED or WH-. The movement from 20% to 80% use of these features, occurring rapidly in the next sixty years, fits neatly with the S-curve's middle stage. At least for -ED and WH-, the S-curve model of sound-change diffusion appears to characterize accurately this process of diffusing written change.

The graph of A – repeated in Figure 3.3 along with -ING and NO – might depict all three stages of a rough S-curve. The increase of the middle stage is

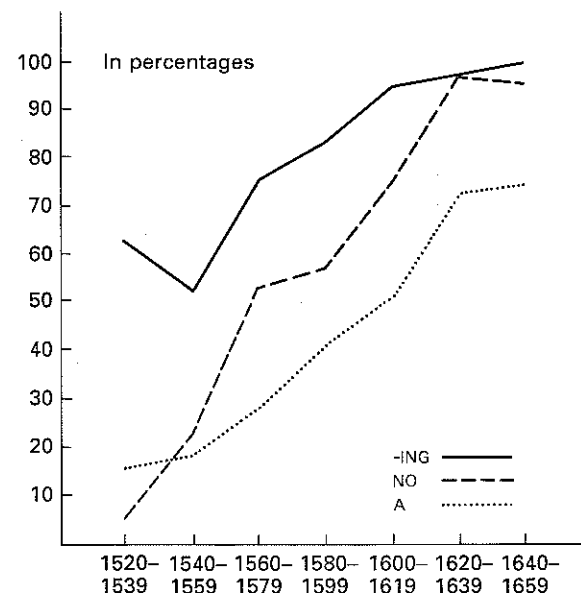


Figure 3.3 Indefinite article, present participle, and negative particle, by date

not as sharp as for -ED or WH-, and the beginning and end periods are too short for us to be sure of their continuation. But the general principles of the S-curve model are confirmed in A: it has a middle stage of relatively rapid spread from approximately 20% to 80% usage, with a much slower, comparatively level spread both before and after that sharp rise. This repeated pattern – these rough S-curves in three of the five variables – is surely not mere coincidence. With what we know of the complexity of language change, the relative regularity of this pattern instead seems remarkable.

The graphs of -ING and NO (Figure 3.3) do not show S-curves, but neither are they definitely incompatible with the S-curve model. The negative particle does include a sharp rise followed by a slower lag before reaching completion. It does not slow down until it is well above 80%, however, and the rapid rise occurs from 5% on, with a possible lag in the middle. That so much more of the change occurs very rapidly need not contradict the S-curve model. At this stage of our theoretical knowledge, the proportions of the three stages contribute far less to our understanding of language change than does the general principle of early, middle, and end stages. The data for NO at the very least indicate a final lag before completion, confirming the concept of a slow end stage.

The graph of -ING shows an even more definite end stage. Perhaps because it is the most highly anglicized variable, -ING shows more of a possible final stage than any of the other variables. The present participle is more highly



anglicized than any of the other variables in 1520, so it presumably was the first to change and may have progressed through most of an S-curve before the first date of this study. The movement before 1600 could be the latter part of a middle stage, with its much faster increase, were it not for the apparent but not significant plateau from 1520 to 1540. But worrying about this plateau, or the lag in the middle of NO, or the relative proportions of the three stages, may be pushing the S-curve theory too far, since both the theory and the graphs are meant to depict general patterns only. The sharp similarity of (PretInfl), (RelM), and (IndArt) to the ideal S-curve, and the appearance of end stages for (PresPtcl) and (NegPart), are strong suggestive evidence for the usefulness of the S-curve model in interpreting historical data and for its possible 'truth' as a model of diffusion of linguistic changes.

### Diffusion across texts

The S-curve concept can also be applied to variationist studies (Chambers & Trudgill 1980: 178–80). Examining apparent time rather than real time, a graph can be created with a comparable vertical axis (the percentage of total usage of a variable rather than the percentage of the lexicon affected), but with different speakers instead of dates ranged across the horizontal axis. If an S-curve appears, as in the hypothetical Figure 3.4, then we may be seeing a linguistic change in progress. The speakers with the highest usage in such a graph presumably adopted the change before the speakers with the lowest percentage, but as real time progresses the lowest speakers will move into the middle group and, if nothing intervenes, into the highest group. This application of the S-curve model to apparent time presumes a great deal, of course: the validity both of the S-curve theory and of its applicability to apparent-time variationist studies. If we accept that a sound change in progress can be perceived, however, and add the confirmation of the S-curve's existence in real-time studies, then it makes sense that the S-curve should appear in such an apparent-time graph. It would describe the diffusion of a change from one speaker to the next.

In fact, the data from the present study confirm both that we can perceive a change in progress and that apparent-time graphs can reveal real-time S-curves. Because this study covers real time, we know for a fact that a change is occurring in the five variables and we know its pattern over time. Because this study collected data from individual texts, we can also examine that real-time change from an apparent-time perspective. Figure 3.5, for example, graphs the percentage of Anglo-English -ED in each of the texts dated 1600–1619, with the texts ranged across the horizontal axis from lowest to highest percentage. That graph is remarkably similar to Figure 3.4, the ideal apparent-time S-curve. Using assumptions based on studies of sound change in progress, we could interpret Figure 3.5 as suggesting that the preterite is in the middle of a change in 1600–1619, that -IT is shifting to

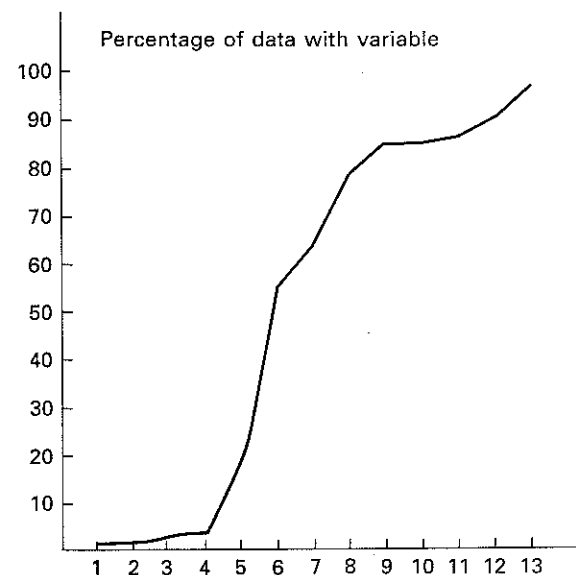


Figure 3.4 Diffusion across speakers in the ideal apparent-time S-curve (based on Chambers and Trudgill 1980:180)

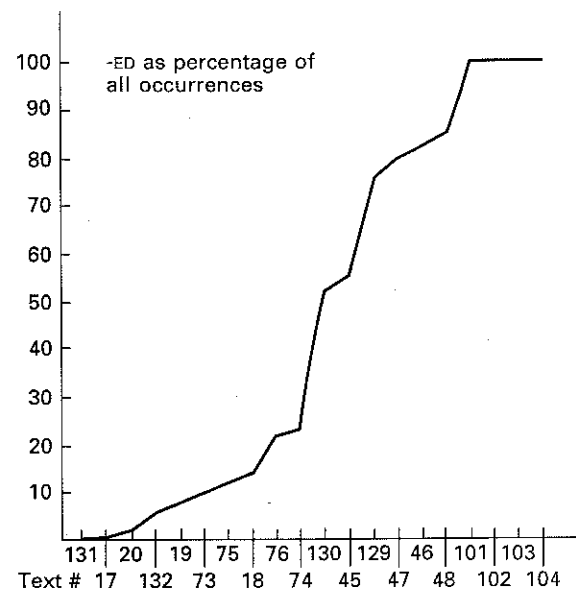


Figure 3.5 Preterite inflection in individual texts, 1600–1619 (apparent time)

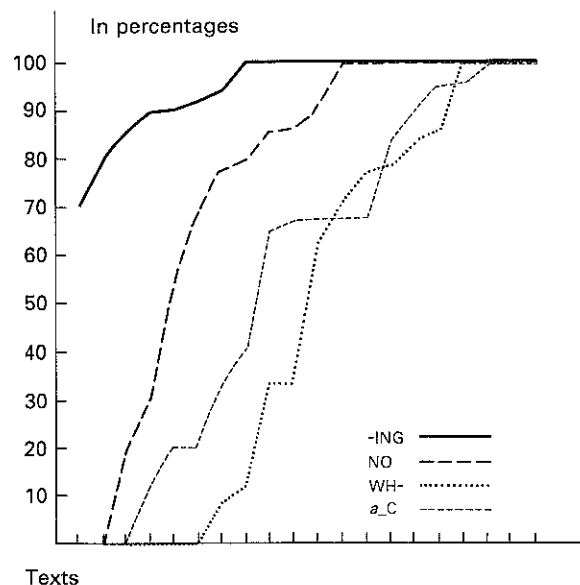


Figure 3.6 Four variables in individual texts, 1600–1619 (apparent time)

-ED, and that over time -ED will become the predominant form of the preterite. These assumptions are in fact accurate; this study has already demonstrated such a change in real time.

Figure 3.5 also reveals that the change is affecting different texts (or different writers) to varying degrees. Several texts have adopted the change completely, several are resisting it strongly, and some are transitional. Thus the S-curve pattern describes the spread of this change across individual texts as well as over time. Both types of diffusion seem to contain a slow start, a rapid rise, and a slow movement to completion.

The preterite variable was used in Figure 3.5 because its real-time change shows a definite S-curve and it has a definite time period (1600–1619) when it is in the middle of the change – not because it shows the only apparent-time S-curve. The four other variables also reveal S-curves across texts in 1600–1619 (Figure 3.6).<sup>3</sup> This graph also suggests their different real-time patterns.<sup>3</sup> The present participle is clearly the most advanced in the change, and the relative clause marker looks very similar to the preterite inflection. Again, the real-time data confirm what the apparent-time data suggest. Although other studies are necessary to confirm these results, this study suggests that variationist assumptions about perceiving change in progress may be accurate and that they may apply to studies of historical (and written) language change as well.

Although 1600–1619 stands out as an especially important period in the real-time study (as will be discussed), the other time periods will also reveal

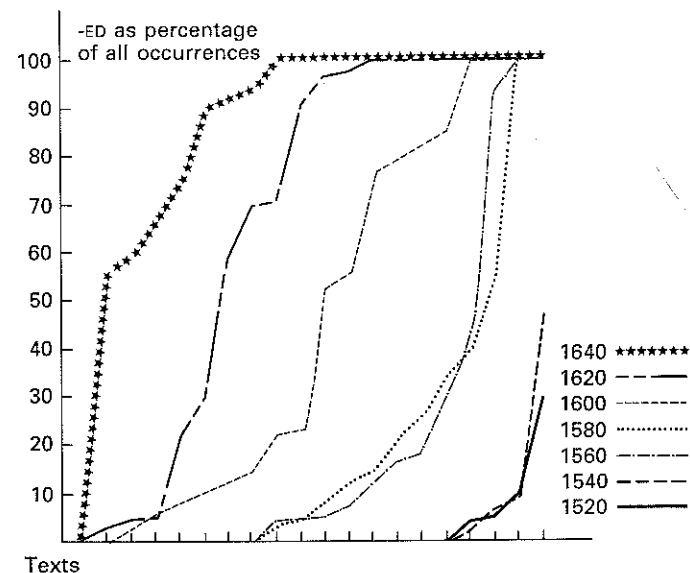
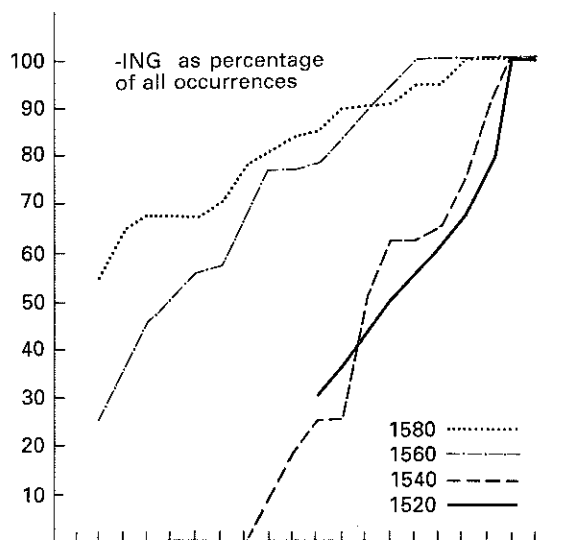


Figure 3.7 Preterite inflection in individual texts, all dates (apparent time)

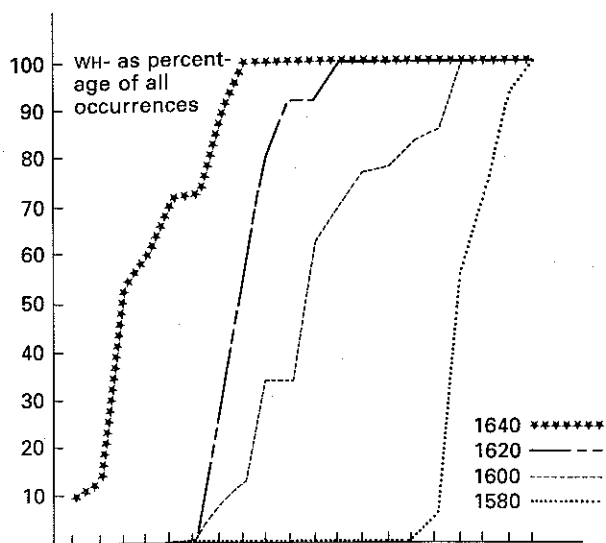
the change in progress. In Figure 3.7, the real-time shift to -ED appears in the shifting apparent-time S-curves.<sup>4</sup> In each of the different time periods, the rate of diffusion across texts reflects the rate of diffusion across real time.<sup>5</sup> An apparent-time study of usage in any one of these time periods would at least suggest a change in progress, though not necessarily the rate or direction of change. This series of apparent-time S-curves also adds to our knowledge of the real-time change: the S-curve diffusion across real time consists *not* of all texts shifting to the same degree at the same time – say, from categorical -IT to 20% -ED to 40% to 80% -ED; rather, more texts begin to use -ED variably, and finally categorically, as the change spreads across texts as well as across time.

Using apparent-time data may also add detail about the change in the present participle. The real-time data show that -ING is already the dominant form in 1520 and that it becomes nearly categorical by 1600. Thus the real-time data show at most the end stage of an S-curve, with most of its change having occurred before 1520, in what may or may not have been an S-curve pattern. Examining -ING in apparent time, however, suggests that it would have shown an S-curve before 1520, for its spread across texts is similar to that of variables which do show a real-time S-curve (see Figure 3.8). Since the data for 1520–1539 contain only ten texts – instead of the twenty texts in later periods – its pattern may not be reliable. The data from 1540 on, however, suggest an S-curve diffusion across texts. Without confirming studies, we cannot conclude from this pattern over apparent time that -ING



Texts

Figure 3.8 Present participle in individual texts, 1520–1600 (apparent time)



Texts

Figure 3.9 Relative clause marker in individual texts, 1580–1659 (apparent time)

Table 3.1. Degree of variability in use of relative clause marker

	<i>quhilk</i> 100%	<i>quhilk</i> 51–99%	50/50	<i>which</i> 51–99%	<i>which</i> 100%	Total
1520–1539	10	0	0	0	0	10
1540–1559	11	0	0	1	1	13
1560–1579	15	1	0	0	3	19
1580–1599	16	1	0	1	1	19
1600–1619	9	3	3	1	4	20
1620–1639	7	0	1	2	10	20
1640–1659	2	1	0	1	16	20

would show an S-curve over real time, including before 1520. But the apparent-time data suggest that the diffusion of -ING occurs earlier than that of the other variables and in a similar manner, making a real-time S-curve possible.

A graph of apparent-time diffusion for the relative clause marker reveals a different pattern (see Figure 3.9). Although we could see these patterns as S-curves, doing so would in fact obscure the diffusion of WH- across texts. The number of texts with variable usage (creating the sharp rise of the middle stage) is very few. Most of the texts use either 100% QUH- forms or 100% WH- forms. This trend over time can be seen more clearly in Table 3.1. In this table, each text has been classified according to the relative dominance of *quhilk* or *which*, the morphemes which constitute most of the (RelM) variable, as described in the preceding chapter. Except for 1600–1619, the great majority of texts in each time period have categorical usage. Only sixteen of the 121 texts studied use both *quhilk* and *which* – only nine texts outside of 1600–1619. Unlike -ED or -ING – or any of the other variables, in fact – WH- does not spread by more texts becoming variable in their usage. Rather, WH- appears to spread as more writers shift from using only *quhilk* to using only *which*. The change in the relative clause marker appears to be, as A. J. Aitken has suggested, a question of form substitution.

The difference of this pattern of diffusion from that of the other variables may be seen most sharply by comparing Table 3.1 with Table 3.2, the relative dominance of -ED. The preterite shows the expected pattern, as more and more texts mix -IT and -ED before using -ED categorically. Of the 121 texts studied, sixty, or nearly half, use some of both forms, as opposed to only sixteen for WH-. Without 1600–1619, -ED still is variable in forty-six texts, while WH- is variable in only nine. Diffusion of -ED does indeed spread across texts in an S-curve, with a middle stage of sharply increasing variability. But WH-, in spite of its apparent S-curve in 1600–1619, spreads categorically, as more and more writers substitute *which* for all instances of earlier *quhilk*.

Table 3.2. *Degree of variability in use of preterite inflection*

	-IT 100%	-IT 51-99%	50/50	-ED 51-99%	-ED 100%	Total
1520-1539	6	4	0	0	0	10
1540-1559	9	4	0	0	0	13
1560-1579	7	9	0	1	2	19
1580-1599	7	9	0	1	2	19
1600-1619	2	8	0	6	4	20
1620-1639	1	5	0	6	8	20
1640-1659	1	0	0	7	12	20

The contrast between -ED and WH- is especially important because the two variables did not differ from each other significantly over real time. Apparently an S-curve over time can reflect different patterns of diffusion across texts. The change over time of both variables is accurately perceived as having a slow beginning and end, with a middle stage of rapid change. The process of that change across texts, however, can be either through increasingly mixed usage, with one form increasingly favored, or through increasing categorical usage of the newer form. The latter type of change, describing WH-, might be described as form substitution as opposed to form variation.

Yet even form substitution may include a period of more variable usage. In the relative clause marker, seven of the twenty texts in 1600-1619 use both *quhilk* and *which*, resulting in the apparent S-curve for WH- of Figure 3.6. This fact challenges the reliability of any single apparent-time S-curve, without other confirming evidence, even though the other four variables all contained both apparent S-curves and variable usage. This fact also suggests a hypothesis that variability will appear even in generally categorical changes. The period of 1600-1619 in fact contained even greater variation in the relative clause marker than Table 3.1 reveals, for it was also the period of much more frequent occurrence of transitional forms.

Both -ED and WH- allow for the appearance of transitional forms, forms which use parts of both the Scots-English and Anglo-English forms. The preterite inflection may appear not only as *-it* or *-ed* but also as *-id* or *-et*. Transitional forms of the relative clause marker may include *quhich(e)* and *whilk(e)*, *quho* and *wha*, and perhaps *quhom(e)*. The spelling *quhom(e)* occurs in seventeen different texts, as compared to *quhich(e)* in six different texts, *whilk(e)* in eight texts, *quho* in seven texts, and *wha* in five texts. The occurrence of *quhom(e)* is so much more frequent than the others, in fact, that it lends credence to Caldwell's claim that *quhom(e)* is a native Scots-English form (Caldwell 1974: 52) and not a transitional form. The more definitely transitional forms appear most frequently in texts dated 1600-1619, the period also of greatest variation between *quhilk* and *which*. As Table 3.3

Table 3.3. *Number of transitional forms of relative clause marker and preterite inflection*

	<i>quhich(e)</i> , <i>whilk(e)</i>	All <i>quh-/wh-</i> transitional forms (except <i>quhom(e)</i> )	-et	-id	Total transitional forms
1520-1539	0	0	0	1	1
1540-1559	1	1	2	2	5
1560-1579	0	2	3	1	6
1580-1599	1	4	4	0	8
1600-1619	8	10	8	1	19
1620-1639	3	4	3	1	8
1640-1659	1	5	4	0	9

shows, the transitional forms of the relative clause marker occurred twice as often in 1600-1619 as in any other period, with eight of the fourteen occurrences of *quhich(e)* and *whilk(e)* occurring at that time. The increases in both transitional forms and variable usage in individual texts suggest that the period 1600-1619 constitutes some sort of distinctive shift in use of the relative clause marker.

That same period of 1600-1619 appears as a watershed for the preterite inflection as well. It too uses transitional forms, primarily *-et*, twice as often in 1600-1619 as in any other period, as Table 3.3 shows. Even though texts mix use of -IT and -ED in all time periods, more texts show such variation in 1600-1619 (see Table 3.2). Overall, the percentage of total use of -ED also stands near 50% in 1600-1619, marking a period of the greatest possible variation.

Yet we know that such variability in 1600-1619 is not random or 'promiscuous' but rather is part of a larger pattern of change over time. For both the preterite and the relative clause marker, that time period stands as the first rapid rise in the middle stage of an S-curve (Figure 3.2). Although we now know that this S-curve contains two types of changes - one of form substitution and one of form variation - both types show greatly increased variation as the middle stage takes off. In all five variables, the apparent middle stages contain more texts with mixed usage. The indefinite article before consonants has a similar increase in variation in its middle stages (from 22% of the texts with variable usage in 1520, to 63% and 70% in 1580 and 1600, back down to 25% in 1640); the negative particle confirms the pattern with much greater variability between 1540 and 1619 (44%-62%, as opposed to 0%-22% for the surrounding time periods); and the present participle has the most variation before 1600 (68%-80% before 1600, 10%-35% after 1600). Of course, the model of the S-curve would

predict such increased variation in the middle stages, but it appears to hold true even for form substitutions, for categorical changes, even when such variation does not occur during the rest of the change. When the diffusion of a change reaches the middle stage, when it shifts from slow spread to rapid rise, writers may become more uncertain about usage, mixing forms within individual texts and attempting to approximate these forms in transitional forms. The greatest variation may appear in the midst of a change toward greater uniformity.

### Summary and implications

This chapter has examined the data from the larger perspective of theories of language change. The S-curve model of lexical diffusion has proven to be especially useful in analyzing how anglicization has affected the five variables. Several insights into the data have been gained. The general pattern of anglicization, recurring across all five variables, appears to be the S-curve: the changes spread slowly at first, then spread very rapidly before slowing down again at the end. This study captured most of the variables in their middle stages of change, though the present participle during this period is in its final stage, moving slowly toward completion. If the S-curve model holds true, all of the variables should anglicize more slowly after 1659, looking more like the present participle does from 1600 to 1659. Before 1520, they should also show a very slow movement after the first occurrences of the Anglo-English forms. The period from 1520 to 1659 in general – and perhaps more narrowly from 1560 or 1580 to 1659 – appears to be the period when anglicization is most affecting usage in Scots-English texts. Some variables like (PresPtcpl), which are affected very early by the general trend, may show considerable anglicization before 1520, and there may be others which would not have been affected by 1659. But since this study did not attempt to select variables on the basis of when they anglicized, the clustering of rapid changes during this period is consistent with an argument for its general importance to anglicization. This period also, of course, is when other scholars have assumed most anglicization occurs. Anglicization does not, however, suddenly begin and end during this period. If the S-curve model reflects the patterns of actual language changes, as appears reasonable for these data, the Anglo-English forms may occur in texts of the fifteenth century, and the Scots-English forms would likely appear even up to 1800. But in the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries, anglicization – as the movement toward uniformity of usage of Anglo-English forms – makes its strongest appearance.

As this movement becomes more pronounced over time, it also affects more and more texts or writers. In most cases, the Anglo-English forms do not suddenly replace the Scots-English forms in a text. Instead, as anglicization reaches its middle stage, individual writers increasingly mix Scots-English

and Anglo-English usage in a single text. They also increase their use of transitional forms, matching neither the Scottish nor the English forms. As anglicization slows before complete uniformity has been achieved, writers increasingly shift from mixed usage to categorical usage of the Anglo-English form. Again, the move to complete Anglo-English usage is slow, for the diffusion of the changes from text to text also takes the shape of an S-curve. Some texts will show completed anglicization very early, while at the same time other texts will show no anglicization and some will range widely across the middle.

The relative clause marker reveals a different type of change from the one just described. Although it too has one time period, 1600–1619, when usage is highly variable within individual texts, when transitional forms are more common, and when an S-curve appears for diffusion across texts, its more typical pattern in one time period is for virtually all texts to use either the Scots-English forms or Anglo-English forms exclusively. In this type of change, writers shift from one categorical usage to another, with only one big period of great variability. Overall, all five variables suggest that change over time occurs in an S-curve pattern, but that diffusion can occur by two different means: movement from most texts using all Scots-English to more texts using all Anglo-English, with a brief transitional period of mixed usage; or the more typical movement of more and more texts using a higher proportion of Anglo-English forms, with mixed usage in every period.

Beyond this fuller understanding of anglicization, these results suggest several implications for the general study of language change. Most obviously this study suggests that the S-curve model of lexical diffusion may be applicable generally to language change. Whether or not the S-curve proves to be a universal pattern of diffusion, its recurrence in these data argues that it may accurately describe many language changes.

The S-curve model may also be especially useful in studies of change in progress. The real-time changes described in this study also appeared in apparent time, in the form of an S-curve. These results lend credence to the variationist assumption that change in progress can be perceived, and they stress the apparent-time S-curve as a sign of such change. This study also suggests some refinements in the interpretation of apparent-time S-curves. In most cases, such studies do not need to capture the change at a certain point in its progress; the change may be evident in its early and late stages, as well as in its middle stage. Of course, apparent-time studies cannot determine the direction of change without other evidence, but they also may not easily determine the rate of change. Apparent-time graphs of the negative participle, for example, appear quite similar to the graphs of the indefinite article before consonants, though the negative is clearly more advanced; yet in real time the negative anglicizes at a very rapid rate, while the indefinite article anglicizes much more slowly. The greatest caution for the use of apparent-time studies of change comes from the relative clause data. An apparent-time

study of the relative clause marker in 1600–1619 would argue, wrongly, that it changes in a manner identical to that of the preterite inflection. In fact, a period of S-curve variation may constitute the middle of two different types of change – from one categorical usage to another, or from dominant usage of one form to dominant usage of another. The relative clause data also suggest that there is no necessary connection between S-curves in apparent time and an S-curve in real time. Although most of the variables showed both real-time and apparent-time S-curves, the relative clause marker did show an S-curve in real time but generally did not show an S-curve in apparent time. Overall, diffusion across texts appears very similar to diffusion across time, but they are not identical processes.

Although further studies are needed to confirm these suggestions, research into the S-curve model seems especially promising for increasing our understanding of diffusion. This study shows that the middle stage of diffusion can be captured in real time and that the middle stage may be especially important for us to understand. If it does indeed correspond to a dramatic increase in variation, even in otherwise categorical usage, it may contribute to our knowledge of the relationship between variation and uniformity in language. The questions of why such variation would suddenly increase, why the S-curve begins its rapid rise, why a change begins to spread rapidly, are questions that need exploring, even though they may never be answered satisfactorily. The last chapter will begin some of this exploration.

The largest implication of this chapter for the study of language is that changes in written language may not be so different from changes in speech. A theory of spoken diffusion has proven enlightening for a study of written diffusion – of a type of standardization in particular. The study of standardization has also proven its potential contribution to our understanding of language change, perhaps even of spoken change. Language change may involve similar processes, regardless of the medium. Discovering what influences these processes may, however, require examining somewhat different perspectives for writing than for speech. One such translation of perspective – from social variables to textual variables – is the subject of the next chapter.

## 4 (Con)Textual variables and anglicization

### Contextual variables and historical research

By examining the changes in Scots-English from different perspectives – as they occurred in each variable, as they revealed common patterns of diffusion – we have been able to learn even more about this case of linguistic standardization. From a sociolinguistic as well as socio-historical linguistic perspective, however, this picture of a linguistic process would be incomplete without a consideration of its social context: how does this process vary in different contexts? Chapter 1 has already described the difficulties of considering some aspects of context most important to standardization. The abstract, mental nature of language standards and of the ideology of standardization creates methodological problems for studying how changes in standards and changes in linguistic behavior (standardization) correlate. We cannot even know for certain if the changes described in the last two chapters were responding to the Anglo-English standard. Not only is it difficult to determine the social causes of anglicization or any type of standardization (or perhaps any type of language change); additional difficulties exist for studying any social variables in historical research. The social information needed for correlating social and linguistic variables in historical research is often unavailable. Most sociolinguistic studies have concentrated on characteristics of the speaker as the central social variable, including the speaker's socioeconomic status, ethnic group, level of education, age, and gender. In historical research, however, unless we study only well-known writers, we often cannot know much at all about a language user's identification with different social groups, not even necessarily the age or level of education.<sup>1</sup> Studying the correlation of speakers' characteristics with their language use may be best left to research into contemporary language.

The impracticability of examining traditional social groups in historical linguistics, however, does not prohibit us from considering contextual variables in language use. 'Context' is constituted by much more than the speaker alone. As early as 1948, Raven McDavid pointed out, in his study of 'Postvocalic/-r/ in South Carolina' (reprinted 1979), that many cultural phenomena can correlate with linguistic variation. In his important conclusion, McDavid returns us to the place of language in society: 'For

language is primarily a vehicle of social intercommunication, and linguistic phenomena must always be examined for their correlation with other cultural phenomena' (McDavid 1979: 140). The social variables which are most commonly studied do result from language's role in society, but these social variables are not the only important cultural phenomena, as McDavid's research has revealed. Labov too has demonstrated convincingly that the most important social variables may be unique to a particular situation: in his study of Martha's Vineyard, the now traditional classifications of speakers could not have captured the determining variable, the young speakers' intentions of remaining on the island or moving to the mainland. Their identification with one group or another – and hence, perhaps, their adoption of a language standard? – was not based on their age or sex, but was instead a factor unique to this situation. Though still concerning a trait of the speaker, Labov's study as well as McDavid's and others' reflect the fact that it is the role of language in society that creates correlations of social and linguistic variables, that speaker characteristics are only one among many important cultural phenomena.<sup>2</sup>

Labov also has directed our attention to contextual variables other than the speaker in his discovery about stylistic variables: language varies according to 'contextual style,' whether reading a word-list, for example, or recounting a near-death experience. The addition of contextual style as a variable draws our attention to the particular context in which language is being used. Not only is the large social context important – the role of the speaker and the language within society at large – but also the particular context makes a difference – the speech event within which the speaker is using the language at a particular time. That speech event itself, of course, takes its meaning from the larger society; that is, different societies will manifest different types of discourse with different linguistic qualities. Labov has described a few types of discourse in the United States with his contextual styles, but the concentration on 'styles' (and on styles within the interview setting) may in fact be missing the more abstract context of which his styles are a part. The delineation of 'casual' and 'careful' speech styles hides the fact that many types of discourse may use a 'careful' style for different contexts, and that those different contexts may result in different language use (as Labov acknowledges, 1972a). Labov's discoveries about contextual styles are only a beginning. We can discover more about how language works by seeking the source of those styles, by seeking the broader cultural phenomena at work. While still not enabling us to study language standards or the ideology of standardization directly, this chapter will try to examine the social context of linguistic anglicization as it is revealed in the variable of genre and rhetorical situation.

### Rhetorical situation and genre

The larger cultural phenomenon which underlies Labov's contextual styles is the influence of rhetorical situation on language use. Speakers use different language in response to different contexts. But 'context' is too vague a term, for not all aspects of a context necessarily correlate with linguistic usage; only some aspects of the broad context are relevant to the shaping or understanding of a discourse. Those relevant aspects of the context are rhetorical ones, characteristics of the speaker, hearer, occasion, subject, purposes, and so on which contribute to shaping the discourse. This concept of 'rhetorical situation' is closest perhaps to Bronislaw Malinowski's concept of 'context of situation' (1952). Narrower than the concept of 'domain' used by Joshua Fishman and other sociologists of language, rhetorical situation comprises all (and only) those aspects of the context which are relevant to shaping or understanding a discourse.

Because relevance changes from one situation to the next, 'rhetorical situation' is, like context, at once intuitive and difficult to define. It harkens back at least to Aristotle's concept of 'decorum,' or the fit between subject and form and style, and the notion is reflected in the modern communication triangle of speaker, hearer, and subject. Yet the full rhetorical situation may include much more than speaker, hearer, subject, and even purpose, though it will most often include these aspects. One of the first explorations of the concept came, not surprisingly, from rhetoric in Lloyd F. Bitzer's article on 'The rhetorical situation' (1968). Bitzer defines it in part as a 'complex of persons, events, objects, and relations' (though he limits rhetorical situation to classically rhetorical occasions, ones in which an exigence exists which discourse may somehow alter, 1968: 6). Even before Bitzer coined the term, rhetoricians were exploring the effects of the situation on discourse, just as linguists have long recognized the importance of context.

Even though we may easily recognize the importance of the rhetorical situation for language use, it does not lend itself easily to empirical study. To go beyond untestable claims about the influence of a particular situation on a particular discourse's use of language, we must be able to control the situation variable. Yet the situation by definition may be different for every piece of discourse. Prompted in part by Labov's research, linguists have attempted to control the situation by controlling the circumstances of the interview: noting the place of the interview and who is present as well as asking for certain tasks to be performed (reading a word-list, for example). At best, such precautions can limit the situation variables, but the range of situations that can be studied is also limited by these strategies. Most of all, such interviews always share a single overriding aspect of the situation: they all examine language in the situation of an interview. Of course, many researchers (especially naturalistic researchers) have tried to subvert the observer's paradox, but the interviewer always constitutes one relevant aspect of the situation.



Researchers of historical language would seem to have even less control of the situation variable. Historical research cannot create comparable situations from which to collect data; it must instead seek comparable situations which occur naturally. Some rhetorical situations do indeed recur. Each President in the United States is faced with the situation calling for an inaugural address; many prospective husbands are faced with proposing marriage; and office workers may greet each other daily. These situations of course recur in general only. One President addresses a nation at war while another addresses a nation in depression; one office greeting comes after Christmas vacation while another comes on a tired Friday. Yet these generally similar situations share major aspects of the context and they contrast with other situations, just as the different occasions of reading a word-list contrast generally with the different occasions of narrating a near-death experience.

As may already be apparent, these recurring rhetorical situations are recognized at least in part by the recurring types of discourse they produce: an inaugural address, a marriage proposal, a greeting, or a word-list reading. Rhetorical situations and discourse types are in fact closely related, for a rhetorical situation calls for an appropriate response in discourse. As speakers and writers respond to the situation, they use certain discourse characteristics: a particular type of organization, a certain amount and type of detail, a level of formality, a syntactic style, and so on. Particular discourse qualities, in other words, respond most appropriately to particular purposes, audiences, subjects, occasions – to particular rhetorical situations. As these situations recur, so do the responses to those situations, creating recognizable similarities among texts responding to similar situations. The different texts responding to similar situations become recognizable as a type of discourse. Bitzer describes this relationship between situation and discourse type and adds its eventual recursiveness:

Due to either the nature of things or conventions, or both, some situations recur. The courtroom is the locus for several kinds of situations generating the speech of accusation, the speech of defense, the charge to the jury. From day to day, year to year, comparable situations occur, prompting comparable responses; hence rhetorical forms are born and a special vocabulary, grammar, and style are established...The situation recurs and, because we experience situations and the rhetorical responses to them, a form of discourse is not only established but comes to have a power of its own – the tradition itself tends to function as a constraint upon any new response in the form. [1968: 13]

Though expressed differently, the importance of discourse types and their relationship to context has also been explored in discourse analysis and text linguistics (as well as, at least indirectly, in speech-act theory and pragmatics). In their *Introduction to text linguistics*, for example, Robert-Alain de

Beaugrande and William Dressler note the inability of traditional linguistic methods to deal with types of texts because these methods tend to ignore 'the functions of texts in communication and the pursuit of human goals' (de Beaugrande and Dressler 1981: 183). The authors' definition of 'text types,' in contrast, includes both formal properties and communicative functions: 'classes of texts expected to have certain traits for certain purposes' (1981: 182). Those traits and purposes, as well as expectations, return us to the rhetorical situation behind text types. As de Beaugrande and Dressler state, 'A typology of texts must be correlated with typologies of discourse actions and situations. Unless the *appropriateness* of a text type to its setting of occurrence is judged...participants cannot even determine the means and intent of upholding the criteria of textuality' (1981: 183). That texts and situations can be grouped into types seems apparent, especially when the widely noted concept of 'intertextuality' is understood. Intertextuality, or 'the ways in which production and reception of a given text depends upon the participants' knowledge of other texts' (1981: 182), plays an increasingly important role not only in text linguistics but also in literary theory and composition studies. It also formalizes and clarifies Bitzer's notion of how the recurrence of discourse forms comes to constrain new responses to similar rhetorical situations. As similar situations call for similar textual responses, those similar responses come to form part of the writers' and readers' 'knowledge of other texts.' That intertextuality, now including an evolving text type, serves as what de Beaugrande and Dressler call a 'procedural control' (p. 206) upon further responses to similar situations. Eventually, that text type may become institutionalized, as Todorov (1976: 163) and others point out, so that the text type strongly constrains future texts. Even without institutionalization, the evolution of a text type requires this intertextuality, so much so that de Beaugrande and Dressler claim that 'intertextuality is, in a general fashion, responsible for the evolution of TEXT TYPES as classes of texts with typical patterns of characteristics' (1981: 10). Writers' and readers' awareness of previous texts and their characteristics certainly strengthens the evolution of a text type, and such a type will not come to serve as a constraint on future texts unless intertextuality (and the rhetorical situation) comes to include that type as a reader and writer expectation. Yet readers and writers will expect a certain type of text only if they recognize that they are facing a certain type of rhetorical situation. They expect an inaugural address only when they confront an inaugural situation; they expect a greeting only when the situation calls for one. If they were not expecting a marriage proposal, the beginning of such a proposal might be confusing until they recognized that a proposal situation existed.

Hence intertextuality comes into play only after a writer has recognized a situation type and has distinguished those past texts which are relevant to this situation. A reader may search his or her knowledge of texts in order to



recognize the situation and then be able to understand the text. Although intertextuality is crucial for the solidification of text types, both intertextuality and text types depend on the perception of recurring rhetorical situations.

These textual responses to recurring rhetorical situations are what I am calling 'genres.' The term 'genre' has an advantage over 'text type' largely in that it may call to mind the abstract situation as well as the concrete text. Instances of a genre are all recognizable, at least within a discourse community, as being similar to other instances of the same genre and different from instances of other genres. Depending perhaps on how important, common, or long-lived a genre is, it may be more or less conventionalized, formalized, or institutionalized; genres may, in other words, vary in how strong a constraint they impose on future responses to the same rhetorical situation. But once the recurrence of a situation has been recognized, the strength of intertextuality argues that recurring rhetorical situations will produce recurring types of discourse – genres.

This conception of genre may thus enable us to examine the influence of rhetorical situation on language. When speakers or writers use a particular genre, they have at least perceived their situation as being similar to the situation behind other texts of the same genre. When we study texts of a particular genre, therefore, we may be studying texts with a generally common rhetorical situation. And when we compare texts of different genres, we may be comparing the language used in different rhetorical situations. If different rhetorical situations correspond to different genres, and if different genres correspond to different language use, then generic differences of language use may be related back to differences of rhetorical situation. By studying linguistic variation across genres, we may be as close as we can get to studying the relation of language to rhetorical situation, to relevant aspects of the context.

This theoretical argument for the importance of genre to linguistic research helps to explain the results of this study. Genre proved to be a highly significant variable for Scots-English anglicization, as significant a variable as time. The strength of this correlation between genre and usage can best be understood by recognizing that genre represents not just one aspect of the context, but rather the general rhetorical situation.

### Genre and anglicization

This study examines five genres: religious treatises, official correspondence, private records (diaries and journals), personal correspondence, and national public records (such as the records of the Privy Council). These five represent the most commonly written non-literary prose genres of the time. On the assumption that we recognize genres largely by their forms, each genre is defined formally as well as situationally. The distinction between official and personal correspondence, for example, includes differences of address and signature that indicate a business or family relationship.<sup>3</sup>

Table 4.1. *Coefficients: difference from the mean of each genre*

Religious treatises	0.185
Official correspondence	0.032
Private records	0.018
MEAN	-0.0
Personal correspondence	-0.077
National public records	-0.158

Anglicization varies significantly in these five genres. Although the general linguistic changes and the relationships among the five linguistic features appear roughly the same in each genre as they did in all texts combined (discussed in Chapters 2 and 3), the genres differ in how they exhibit the change. Some show early and rapid anglicization, while others show late and slow change. As an independent variable in an analysis of variance, genre is highly significant ( $p < .0001$ ). That is, the genre of a text correlates as strongly with its usage as does the date of a text. Genre, time period, and linguistic feature also interact significantly ( $p < .0001$ ), so that the usage of any given text will show the combined results of its date, its genre, and which feature is being considered. But genre alone, regardless of the date or feature considered, significantly correlates with usage. Different genres have significantly different degrees of anglicization.

In addition to genre being significant overall, each genre differs significantly from all other genres, with one exception. Table 4.1 shows the coefficients for each of the five genres. In simple terms, these coefficients represent the difference of each genre's usage from 'typical' usage, or a mean usage of  $-0.0$ . Thus, usage in private records is fairly near the mean, and usages in religious treatises and national public records are the farthest from the mean. As Table 4.1 suggests, official correspondence and private records are closer to one another than any other genres. Usage in these two genres, in fact, is not significantly different ( $p = .6786$ , again derived from t-statistics based on coefficients). All of the other coefficients represent significant differences among the genres (at least  $< .05$ ).

The higher the coefficient in Table 4.1, the greater the use of Anglo-English features; the lower the number, the greater the use of Scots-English features. Overall, therefore, religious treatises are the most highly anglicized genre and national public records the least anglicized. Personal correspondence uses a higher proportion of Anglo-English than do public records but less than any other genre, and the remaining two genres, official correspondence and private records, are even more highly anglicized, though significantly less so than religious treatises.

Although such coefficients and significance figures help to clarify overall differences among the genres, particular differences appear more vividly when usage in the genres is examined over time. The degree and rate of

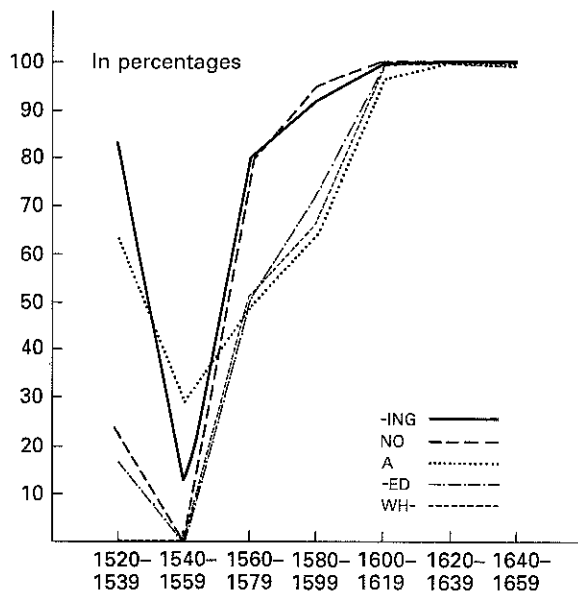


Figure 4.1 Anglicization in religious treatises

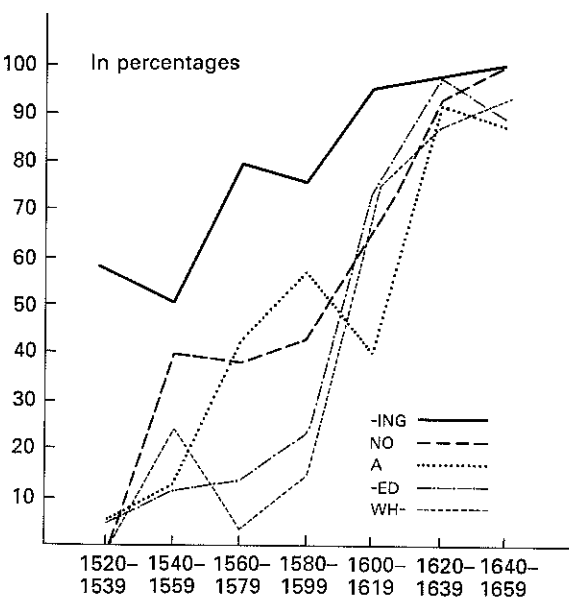


Figure 4.2 Anglicization in official correspondence

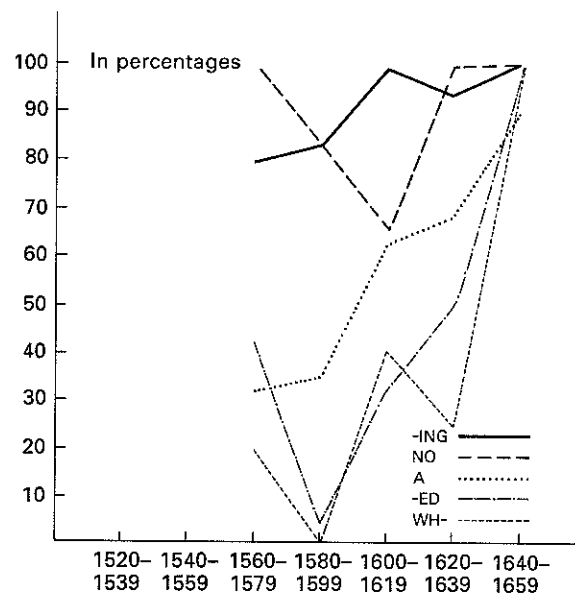


Figure 4.3 Anglicization in private records

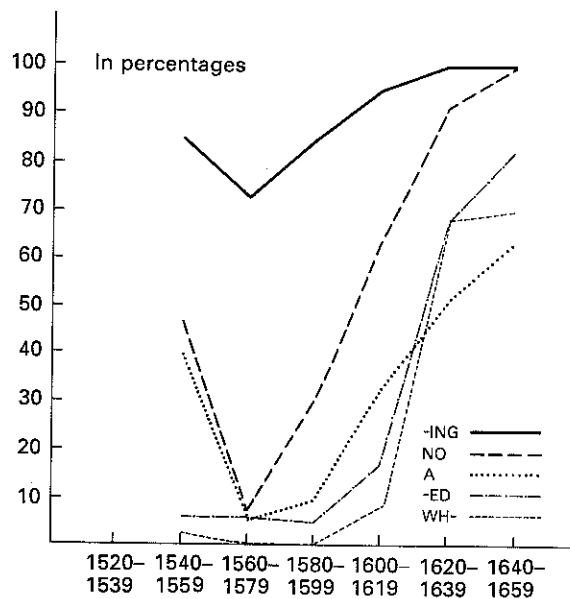


Figure 4.4 Anglicization in personal correspondence

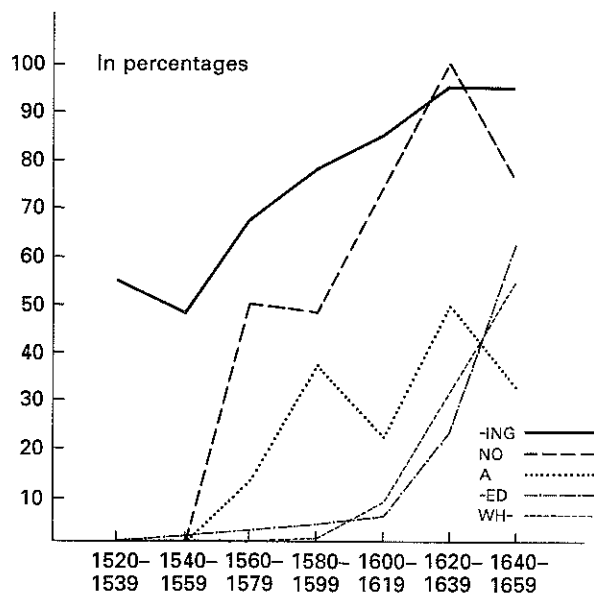


Figure 4.5 Anglicization in public records

change from 1520 to 1659 differs significantly in the five genres. Figures 4.1 to 4.5 graphically show the percentage of Anglo-English usage of each linguistic feature in each genre over time. (See Appendix v for the numbers behind these and all other graphs.) The contrast between usage in the most and least anglicized genres appears sharply (religious treatises in Figure 4.1 and national public records in Figure 4.5). The religious treatises show rapid and early anglicization, at least from 1540 on,<sup>4</sup> while the national records anglicize much more slowly and gradually.

Each genre, in fact, reveals a different pattern of anglicization, though again the relationships among the five linguistic features remain relatively constant. The religious treatises anglicize rapidly. By 1580, all five linguistic features show the Anglo-English variant most of the time, and by 1600 only the indefinite article is less than 100% Anglo-English (and even the article stands at 96% Anglo-English). The next most highly anglicized genres, official correspondence and private records, show a different pattern (Figures 4.2 and 4.3). Their use of Anglo-English forms increases more gradually. The lack of data for the early periods confuses the pattern somewhat for private records, but still the more gradual anglicization appears. Some features show a relatively early and steady increase in their use of Anglo-English forms, but only after 1580 do -ED and WH- show much anglicization. Then the increase is sharp so that all Anglo-English forms dominate by 1640. (Note too the reappearance of the S-curve in these and the other graphs; the existence and

Table 4.2. Anglicization in all genres, 1640–1659 (in percentages)

	-ING	NO	A	-ED	WH-
Religious treatises	100	100	100	100	100
Official correspondence	100	100	87	88	93
Private records	100	100	89	100	100
Personal correspondence	100	100	63	83	70
Public records	94	75	32	62	54
All texts	99	95	74	87	83

importance of this pattern of diffusion is again strongly suggested within single genres, as will be discussed later in this chapter.)

The two less anglicized genres (Figures 4.4 and 4.5) show later and slower anglicization, but again in two different patterns. In personal correspondence, all of the linguistic features but -ING show less than 10% Anglo-English usage before 1580, and even by 1600 only the negatives and present participles use more than 40% Anglo-English forms. When the proportion of Anglo-English does increase in any feature, it tends to increase dramatically in personal correspondence, from 30% to 65% NO between 1580 and 1600, for example, or from 8% to 68% WH- between 1600 and 1620. Although some increases are dramatic in national public records (from 0% to 50% NO between 1540 and 1560, for example), overall anglicization appears later and more gradually in this genre. As late as 1620, most of the features use predominantly Scots-English forms in the national records, and by 1640 Anglo-English is just beginning to dominate usage.

A comparison of the degree of anglicization achieved in each of the genres by the final time period reflects both the overall statistical significance of genre and the differences among the five genres. Table 4.2 shows the proportion of Anglo-English usage by genre at the end of this study, 1640–1659. By 1659, religious treatises use only Anglo-English forms; uniformity in these five features has been achieved. Usage in national public records, though showing the change toward Anglo-English, remains highly variable. Personal correspondence has adopted Anglo-English in some features, but remains variable in others. Official correspondence and private records have largely, though not categorically, shifted to Anglo-English forms. If genre is ignored, as it is in the percentages for All Texts, usage appears predominantly Anglo-English overall. Yet that generalization masks the high variation across genres.

A final perspective showing genre as an important variable in usage involves the S-curve. As discussed in Chapter 3, the S-curve may represent a pattern of diffusion across time and across individual texts, revealing that a

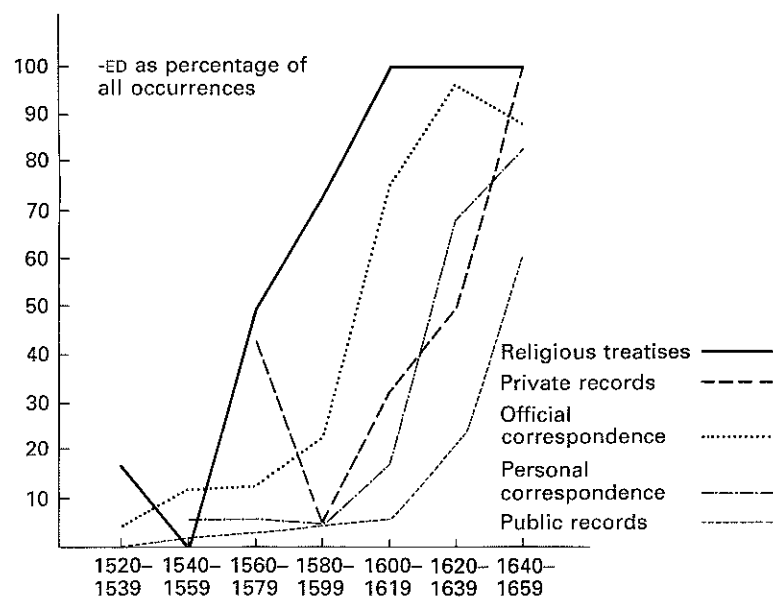


Figure 4.6. Preterite inflection across time, by genre

change in progress spreads slowly at first, reaches a middle stage when the change spreads rapidly and dramatically, and slows again before becoming categorical. This S-shape appears in diachronic graphs of anglicization from 1520 to 1659 and in synchronic graphs of usage in all texts of a single time period. Separating the data by genres does not destroy this pattern of diffusion; in fact, an S-curve appears frequently in the graphs of usage in each genre (Figures 4.1 through 4.5). A graph of the preterite inflection – a variable that showed a clear S-curve overall – divided by genres shows both the reappearance of the S-curve and the differences among genres (Figure 4.6). While -ED spreads in a clear S-curve in each genre over time, the rapid middle stage occurs earlier in the more highly anglicized genres and later in the less anglicized genres. The change accelerates dramatically in religious treatises after 1540, in private records and official correspondence after 1580, in personal correspondence after 1600, and in public records after 1620.

The regularity of this pattern supports both the importance of the S-curve as a description of diffusion and the importance of genre as a crucial variable. Genre's importance is also supported by the synchronic diffusion of each linguistic feature from one genre to the next. Figure 4.7 graphs the spread of -ED and WH- across genres in two separate time periods (1580–1599 and 1600–1619). This synchronic graph reveals that the spread from one genre to the next again occurs as an S-curve: at one point in time, some genres use

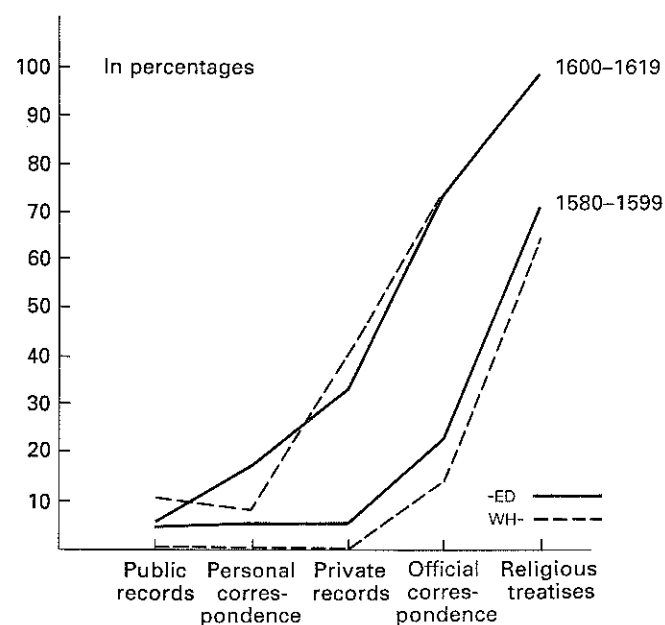


Figure 4.7 Preterite inflection and relative clause marker across genres, 1580–1599 and 1600–1619

very little of the Anglo-English form while those who do use them are dramatically higher. If the horizontal axis in this graph represented social classes instead of genres, many sociolinguists would interpret this graph as supporting not only the idea that a change is in progress but also that social class is a significant variable in the change. On this basis, Figure 4.7 would seem to support the idea that genre is a central variable in these changes. As the linguistic change occurs, it affects some genres early and rapidly while others remain largely unaffected. The diffusion from text to text is controlled in part by the genres of those texts.

From all of these perspectives, genre appears to be a significant variable in linguistic usage. The data have described a sort of 'generic diffusion' or 'generic stratification.' If genre were but a single aspect of context, considered no more than a set of formal conventions, the degree of its significance would, I think, be surprising. As a reflection of the full context, of the rhetorical situation, genre has more reason to correlate so strongly with linguistic characteristics. To understand genre's strong correlation with such small linguistic elements as variation in usage, we need to return to an examination of rhetorical situation, especially the particular situations of these genres. The discussion that follows may appear uncomfortably *ad hoc*, but it is necessary to explore further how rhetorical situation, and genre, may affect linguistic variation.

### Rhetorical situations of Scottish genres

The specific situations of individual texts are, of course, unique, but the situational traits shared by texts of one genre may help us to understand how situation and genre relate to linguistic variation. Even though theoretically the advantage of examining genres is that the full rhetorical situation may be captured, it is still possible that a single aspect of the situation may be the determining variable. Is there a common element of all five situations that may be overriding other factors, producing the varying levels of anglicization? Labov's use of contextual styles, for example, suggests that a genre's degree of formality ('casual' versus 'careful') may be the sole determining variable. L. E. C. MacQueen, studying Scots-English, also concludes that level of formality determines usage (MacQueen 1957: 156-58).<sup>5</sup> Yet this study does not support formality as the central variable. The most formal genre, as subjective as the concept of formality is, would surely be national public records, the least instead of the most highly anglicized genre; and the two other formal genres, religious treatises and official correspondence, fall at the opposite end of the scale from national records. David Murison has proposed that the primary contextual variable for Scots-English may be the degree of removal from ordinary and domestic life (Murison 1977: 5), but again the present study does not support his proposal, since the personal correspondence and the very 'removed' public records constitute the less anglicized genres.

An obvious factor for Scots-English, given the political and socioeconomic climate, would be the nationality of the audience. One could make a case for two of the highly anglicized genres - religious treatises and official correspondence - being directed largely at an English audience (though the case for official correspondence would not be especially convincing). But the third highly anglicized genre, private records, does not differ significantly from official correspondence, and these diaries and journals are surely meant for a Scottish audience, whether it be the writer, his family, or posterity. Audience may still be the crucial factor, if more than nationality is considered. Much of the recent research in rhetoric appears to assume that audience is the most important aspect of the rhetorical situation (for the amount of research into audience, see Lisa Ede's bibliography in *College Composition and Communication*, 1984). So it is worthwhile considering whether this single component overrides all others.

The difficulties of defining audience objectively, however, make the testing of an audience variable problematic. Unlike genre, which is apparent in the text itself, audience exists in the author's intention, which we may or may not interpret accurately, or in actual readership, which can rarely be known. Even if we knew the audiences of these texts, determining which characteristics of the audience are relevant would be as difficult as determining which characteristics of the speaker are relevant, as was discussed at the beginning of this chapter. Nationality, which would have

seemed relevant, did not correlate clearly with high or low anglicization. Other audience characteristics which rhetorical theory suggests might be important could include the generality/particularity of the audience and the degree of intimacy between writer and audience. The degree of anglicization in national public records makes any of these audience traits difficult to argue: the audience for these records is surely most like the audience for religious treatises or official correspondence, except perhaps in nationality, and least like the audience for the genre of personal correspondence, the genre nearest to public records in degree of anglicization. Neither the factor of general versus particular audience nor the factor of unknown versus known audience nor any other factor involving the relationship between writer and reader would seem to be supported by this study.

That is not to say that audience is unimportant. Combined with other components of the rhetorical situation, audience may indeed help to explain the variety of anglicization in these texts. Genre, however, encompasses audience, so the apparent lack of significance of audience as an independent factor merely underscores the independent significance of genre.

One component of the situation not yet discussed may be powerful enough by itself to override all others: whether or not the text is printed. In this study, all printed texts were found to be significantly more highly anglicized than all texts in manuscript. The variable of medium is not tested reliably here, however, for all of the printed texts were religious treatises (though not all religious treatises were printed; all of the texts from 1520-1539 were manuscripts). The time of this study and its limitation to non-literary prose of course produce this unevenly distributed variable. The only true instances of the other four genres were at the time unpublished texts, but religious pamphlets were commonly published. In theory, then, we cannot know whether medium or genre is the variable most associated with high anglicization. The data from the other four genres argue for genre being the most important variable, and there may well be situational aspects other than the medium of religious treatises that call for high anglicization. Yet the very nature of the medium and the specific circumstances of printing in Scotland would argue that the texts' being printed may be the most important factor. Printing in Scotland was strongly influenced by English models. Many of the Scottish printers were trained in England, so their influence as editors might increase the author's original use of Anglo-English forms. English books may also have formed the model of what printed texts should look like, since printed English books had been circulating in Scotland before printed Scottish books. In addition, all printed texts had to reach the widest possible audience for publishing to be profitable. In both countries, that audience included both Scottish and English readers, but all the social circumstances conspiring to make Anglo-English the common dialect were also pushing Anglo-English as the dialect of choice in common printing. As Hans Meier points out in his comparison of standardization in Scotland and Switzerland:

No doubt far more books were produced in England than in Scotland at the critical period – and this fact alone, without additional pressure from other constellations, may have turned the scale slowly but surely in disfavour of the old standard... Furthermore, the sixteenth century was above all the age of pamphlets and translations, which the intellectually agile would no doubt read even more avidly than the Bible, and these productions would be chiefly in that standard which had a wider range of publicity. [Meier 1977: 207]

Traits inherent in the nature of printing would also reinforce the use of a developing common standard in printed books: the relative uniformity of books in their appearance, for example, and the ability to produce identical copies of a text and hence identical usage (see Eisenstein 1979). A great number of reasons exist, therefore, for printing to be the primary factor in religious treatises' adopting Anglo-English so much more rapidly and completely than the other genres.

Since medium is one aspect of the rhetorical situation (writers may have written with publication in mind), this discussion of the possible effects of printing also illustrates how situation and language may be related in religious treatises. The importance of medium, however, does not mean that no other aspects of the situation were important. Printing may, in fact, merely have exaggerated the importance of some traits of all religious treatises, whether printed or not. For example, all religious treatises (especially Protestant ones, which dominate this study) were probably directed at English as well as Scottish readers, had a general and largely unknown audience, and were meant to be kept rather than discarded. These generic traits, though emphasized by printing, might by themselves have encouraged the use of Anglo-English forms, especially since the treatises had largely persuasive purposes and needed their English as well as Scottish audience to identify with the writer (see Burke 1953 for the connection between identification and persuasion). The subject matter of the genre could also have promoted Anglo-English usage. The language of the Bible must have had a strong impact on the language of religious treatises during this time when use of the vernacular was such a conscious and divisive issue. A Scottish law of 1579 required every Scottish householder worth 300 merks to own a vernacular Bible and Psalm Book (Templeton 1973: 7). Yet the vernacular Bible widely available at this time was the Geneva Bible, a Bible translated by Englishmen into Anglo-English. In spite of the nationalistic disagreements between Scottish and English clergy at the time, the Scottish writers of religious treatises were working from an Anglo-English Bible. The writers' knowledge of this text, its importance in the intertextuality of religious treatises, may have encouraged the use of Anglo-English. In fact, Aitken calls the lack of a Scots-English Bible 'One of the crucial facts in the history of Scots [-English]' and cites its influence even on speech, since 'at least once a week, they [Scotsmen] heard readings from the Bible in southern

English, and sermons in a language partly modelled on Biblical English' (Aitken 1979: 90–91).

Thus in many ways the rhetorical situation of religious treatises would seem to encourage anglicization. Understanding their situation does not explain their linguistic usage, but it does illustrate how rhetorical situation might be related to the linguistic usage of a particular genre.

The relationship is not as obvious in the genre of national public records, but it may be a more typical illustration. Rather than all aspects of the situation pointing to use of one linguistic variety, some traits we would suppose to encourage Anglo-English but others to encourage Scots-English. As stated earlier, the audience of these records would probably be general and unknown, including even readers in future decades. The situation was also a highly formal one (recording governmental acts for posterity), it concerned legal subject matter, and it required a high degree of permanence for its documents, even though they were unprinted. Based on today's usage, and compared to the situation of the religious treatises, we might expect such a situation to produce documents with the most highly standard usage. Since Anglo-English was becoming the educated and most widely accepted standard in both Scotland and England, we might thus expect the national records to use a high proportion of Anglo-English, especially after 1600 or so, when the new standard is becoming so obviously dominant. Yet the national public records seem to resist using Anglo-English; as late as 1659 Scots-English appears frequently.

A fuller understanding of the situation offers a fuller understanding of the records' apparent resistance. Anglo-English may have been becoming the new standard for the Scots, but Scots-English had been the standard for centuries. The situation described in the last paragraph would produce documents that used not the most widely accepted standard but rather the most conservative standard. The writers had no obligation to persuade their readers, but they did have an obligation to preserve the proceedings of the government. In addition to encouraging linguistic conservatism, the situation may have encouraged linguistic nationalism. These public records were, after all, national records: their purpose was to record the activities of groups which represented Scotland. As these groups were increasingly undermined by the political unification of Scotland and England, the perhaps unconscious nationalism of the authors, who were writing documents to preserve Scottish laws and actions, might have expressed itself quite readily in use of the Scottish language, in conformity with the Scots-English standard.

Thus, the formal, conservative, and national nature of this particular situation may have encouraged the use of Scots-English in the national public records and even inhibited the adoption of Anglo-English. One final aspect of the situation may have clinched these tendencies: the genre itself was so well established as to have served as a constraint on writers of the genre, to have

strengthened intertextuality. The Acts of the Privy Council and other national records had been written for centuries, though not always preserved. They constituted a long-standing and highly traditional genre. As pointed out earlier in this chapter, a genre can become a part of the situation itself if that genre becomes so conventionalized that certain formal characteristics are expected of all instances of the genre, whether appropriate or not. The national records had become so conventionalized. Long before Anglo-English became prestigious, the Scottish records had not only adopted the Scots-English language standard, but also developed their own expected style, full of established formats and traditional phrases, as suggested by MacQueen (1957: 157–58). The established convention of the genre thus constrained *any* change in the genre, including a change in usage. This effect of the tradition reveals itself especially in the traditional phrases, the stock phrases which seem to have maintained Scots-English forms even more strongly than the rest of the genre. For example, a record of 1520–1539 (*Registrum secreti sigilli regum Scotorum*, Text 4) uses the Scots-English *-and* for the present participle inflection in every occurrence of the stock phrase 'landis liand' (in a certain region), but 'pertening' and 'being,' which appear in several other traditional phrases, vary in usage, *-ing* being most frequent. Similarly, a text of 1560–1579 (the *Register of the Privy Council*, Text 10) uses *-and* only three times, each time in the word 'comperand,' a Scottish legal term comparable to 'testify' or 'witness.' The tradition of the genre itself thus becomes a component of the situation, combining with the situation's formality, conservatism, and nationalism to produce texts which maintain Scots-English usage and anglicize more slowly than any other genre.

Situational variables can be described for the remaining three genres as well, though their connections of situation and usage are less transparent than in the two genres with the most and least anglicization. Official and personal correspondence differ significantly in usage, for example, even though, as noted earlier, they seem to differ very little in content or stylistic formality. Here the relationship between writer and reader does seem to be an important situational variable. Some of the other components of the two situations are quite similar – similar business-like subject matter and purposes, for example, and at least somewhat similar degree of permanence to the documents, which were usually kept. The primary difference of situation is that personal correspondence was written to family and friends. That the two types of letters had such apparent similarities of both form and situation, in light of the significant differences in their use of Anglo-English features, strongly suggests that Scots-English was being used to express intimacy.

If Scots-English expressed intimacy, we might expect a lower level of anglicization in the private records. To do so, however, would be to misrepresent the nature of diaries and journals in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. Although regarded as private and intimate today,

individual records were probably far more public and formal in earlier manifestations. Rather than writing for themselves, diarists of the time wrote largely for posterity. Rather than writing about themselves, diarists wrote largely about public events. A diarist like James Melvill, who wrote explicitly for his children and future family, is less typical than diarists like Robert Birrel or John Lesley, who made little reference to their own lives. Many texts which scholars consider diaries are little more than compilations of official letters, sermons, charters, and financial transactions. Several aspects of the situation, then, including the diarist's possible self-consciousness, suggest a formal and public genre written for posterity rather than any sort of intimate account of an individual.

This and the preceding interpretations of the writers' situations are certainly incomplete, but they help us to consider anglicization as both a social and a linguistic process. They also are suggestive of how rhetorical situation may inform linguistic usage. The variables of genre and usage are variables we can see, count, study; the situation we must abstract from other facts. Hence we must study usage and genres, but we must understand the relationships between genres and rhetorical situations in order to understand the relationship between genres and usage.

#### Anglicization, genre, and rhetorical situation

Genre correlated significantly with linguistic usage in this study – as an overall variable, in the differences between the genres diachronically and synchronically, and as a variable in the S-curve diffusion of anglicization across texts.<sup>6</sup> The shift from Scots-English to Anglo-English forms occurs at different rates and to different degrees in different genres. Although general generic differences have been suggested by other scholars of Scots-English, the results of this study contradict some of their more specific proposals. The arguments for level of formality and for distance from everyday life, described earlier in this chapter, are not confirmed. This study also contradicts A. J. Aitken's claim that official records, such as those of the Parliament, were highly anglicized in the seventeenth century and that private writings remained much less anglicized (Aitken 1971: 199). In fact, the official records in this study were the least anglicized texts, even to 1659, while private writings were more highly anglicized, the degree depending on the particular type of private writing. The most detailed studies of genre differences in Scots-English have been done by Suzanne Romaine, though she does not consider anglicization. In her examination of the relative clause marker (Romaine 1980, 1982a), she considers differences in how frequently texts use *wh-* forms as opposed to *that* and  $\emptyset$  (absence of a relative marker). After connecting use of the relative pronoun to degrees of 'syntactic complexity,' Romaine finds that syntactic complexity correlates with 'stylistic categories.' The most complex of these categories, she finds, are national and



then local records; the less complex are narratives and epistolaries; and verse is the least complex. Romaine's earlier, 1980, conclusion attributes these rankings to the level of formality: 'WH forms occur more frequently in more formal styles, whether written or spoken, while *that* and  $\emptyset$ ...occur in the less formal styles of speaking and writing' (Romaine 1980: 225). Although my study confirms neither the central importance of level of formality nor the specific ordering of stylistic categories which she discovers, the differences in our subjects of study – mine anglicization, hers syntactic complexity – make the difference in our results immaterial. In one important respect, we had similar results: we both found the type of text to be a significant variable in the language used by Scottish writers. As Romaine concludes (using a different term from my 'genre' but referring to substantially the same concept), 'My results suggest that within the larger context of the history of Scots and English we must recognize stylistic stratification as an important factor in both language maintenance and shift' (Romaine 1982a: 214).

With much larger goals in mind, Romaine does not explore the source of generic or stylistic stratification; but my study suggests that the source does not lie in any overriding factor, such as formality, which our studies failed to control. Rather, as I have argued, it is genre's reflection of the rhetorical situation which allows genre to correlate significantly with anglicization. Each situation involves different factors, some of which may encourage while others may inhibit anglicization. The degree of anglicization of any specific genre may relate to the particular combination of such factors in the genre's situation. Without extensive study of more Scottish genres, it is impossible to say that any particular situational factor will always be encouraging or inhibiting, but for these five genres some factors seem most important. Having a strongly nationalistic purpose, as did the public records for example, may tend to inhibit anglicization, as might an intimate relationship between Scottish writer and reader. On the other hand, the probability of being published may encourage anglicization. If a genre has become conventionalized so as to become part of the situation, and its tradition is Scottish and conservative, the genre may itself, through intertextuality, be a situational factor inhibiting anglicization. If, on the other hand, the situation involves Anglo-English texts – the Geneva Bible, for example, for religious treatises – or perhaps if the genre's tradition is progressive, intertextuality may encourage anglicization. In all cases, it seems that the combination of traits in a particular genre at a particular time relates to anglicization. Audience alone, for example, cannot predict usage, but such aspects as the nationality or generality of the audience may be important in combination with other aspects of the particular situation. For the anglicization of Scots-English, we now know that religious treatises were on the forefront of the change and that national public records lagged behind, that diaries and journals were not the last to anglicize, and that the anglicization of correspondence may depend on the relationship between writer and reader.

The anglicization of verse and literary genres remains unknown, though we might hypothesize that it could depend on the genre's potential publication combined with its nationalistic or conservative tradition and its attempt to create intimacy between author and readers.

Yet even such hypotheses would be invalid without examining carefully the full rhetorical situation of each genre in Scotland at a particular time. The situational factors which may have been important in this study may not be important to other genres in other situations. The very particular socio-historical context of Scotland in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries influences all of these genres' situations somewhat, from the relative newness of printing to the potentially heightened nationalism of the public records. In any study of changing standards, the relevant situational factors will be tied, as they were for Scots-English, to the status and associations of the two language varieties. In addition, the genres and their traditions will change eventually as their rhetorical situations change, and societies with different situations will manifest different genres. Genre may always, however, constitute a significant variable in linguistic change and will always need to be considered.

### Implications

Knowing that genre may influence usage may turn out to be similar to knowing that contextual style may influence usage: it may complicate our scholastic lives, but once we have seen it demonstrated we need only to adjust our methods to control for this new variable. Yet its implications for our knowledge of how language works go beyond the methodological. Acknowledgment of genre's importance also acknowledges the importance of the rhetorical situation, of the context within which language is used. In cases of standardization, genre may even be a key to the language standard being followed. But this study questions any view of language which fails to consider the full context. Genre's significance derives from its reflection of the full rhetorical situation, not of any single component. Just as, when rhetorical research concentrates on the importance of audience only, it has ignored major aspects of the situation, so too, when linguistic research concentrates on characteristics of the speaker only, it has ignored major contextual variables. The point is not to abandon research based on the speaker's social groups; we have learned a great deal from such sociolinguistic research. The point is to add to that knowledge by studying other aspects of the situation.

We have long stated the importance of context and have tried to control contextual variables. The conception of genre as an embodiment of rhetorical situation, argued in this chapter, offers a way of studying aspects of the context other than the speaker. We may never discover a way of studying context both empirically and directly: any 'laboratory' study becomes a part of the situation itself, and the 'real world' offers an uncontrollable variety of



situations. The study of recurring natural situations, however, as they are reflected in genres, can broaden our research to include all manner of contextual variables. As we discover more, it may even broaden our understanding of how language works.

## 5 Conclusions

### Anglicization

Not surprisingly, the changes in Scots-English texts described in this volume have proven to be as complex as any other language change. Some aspects of these changes have been substantially described by the data presented, requiring only a small leap to conclusions. The five features studied all moved between 1520 and 1659 toward increased use of variants that conformed to Anglo-English usage. The present participle showed the greatest use of the Anglo-English variant during this time, followed by the negative particle, the indefinite article, the preterite inflection and the relative clause marker. Over time, the amount and rate of change differed significantly for different features. The pattern of diffusion for some of the features, across time and across texts, took the shape of an S-curve, with a gradual increase at the beginning, a sudden and sharp increase in the middle, and a more gradual increase at the end. Other features either showed considerable use of the Anglo-English variant from the beginning, in 1520, or still had highly variable usage at the end, in 1659. Those features might have shown an S-curve pattern if earlier or later usage had been included. Within these general patterns of diffusion, the features differed in whether they revealed form-variation (in which usage remains variable throughout but shifts from one variant dominating to the other) or form-substitution (in which usage shifts from largely categorical Scots-English to largely categorical Anglo-English, with only a brief period of variation in between).

The changes in the five features also differed significantly in different genres. Although all genres demonstrated the change toward increased use of Anglo-English variants, some genres changed relatively quickly and completely while other genres changed much more slowly. The genre that had the greatest use of Anglo-English variants was religious treatises, followed by official correspondence, private records, personal correspondence, and national public records. In fact, the spread of Anglo-English variants from one genre to the next also showed the pattern of an S-curve.

These conclusions about the five features studied can be stated fairly confidently, based directly on the data collected. Drawing conclusions about anglicization in general requires another small leap, assuming these five

features are typical of all those features that changed toward Anglo-English usage in this period. Their frequent citation in other studies of anglicization suggests that they are at least part of the process. Because the five features changed at different times and rates, however, an immediate issue is whether these features can be considered as part of a single, larger change. That is, does anglicization constitute a coherent linguistic process? Theoretically, the definition of anglicization offered in Chapter 1 assumes a single linguistic change toward uniform usage of forms consistent with Anglo-English forms. The direction of change in all five features can thus serve as a unifying principle. Practically, these five features have more in common than just a direction of change. Obviously, but most importantly, all five features were changing in the same direction at roughly the same time. Within less than two centuries, five different linguistic features changed substantially, from one variant to another. The fact that five features changed during a relatively short period of time and all toward usage consistent with Anglo-English usage certainly is suggestive linguistically that a common process was at work. The degree of difference among the five features does not necessarily undermine the coherence of anglicization, for most linguistic changes show gradual diffusion. Yet the differences do require a caution, that anglicization be considered an abstraction, a historical direction that may be embodied differently in different linguistic features.

With this caution established, a general outline of Scots-English anglicization and some of its features can be proposed. The sixteenth and seventeenth centuries appear to be the central period for anglicization, though Anglo-English variants must still have appeared before 1500 and Scots-English variants after 1700. In 1520 Scots-English usage predominated; in 1659 Anglo-English predominated. In many respects, 1600 appears to be a pivotal date for anglicization. After 1600, an already highly anglicized feature shifts toward categorical Anglo-English usage, less anglicized features often shift from gradual diffusion to a rapid middle stage, variation becomes predominant, and transitional forms occur most frequently. Anglicization also spreads differently in different genres, perhaps, as argued in Chapter 4, reflecting the different recurring rhetorical situation to which each genre responds. The diffusion of anglicization within and across genres also reveals an S-curve pattern. Combined with the highly variable usage around 1600, these facts suggest that anglicization may be strongest when Scottish texts are showing the greatest amount of variation.

This general picture of anglicization could be confirmed or denied by further studies of other anglicized features, but what remains unknown – and what may be unknowable – is how this linguistic change relates to social and cultural changes. It is difficult to resist positing a connection between the Union of the Crowns in 1603 and the apparently pivotal nature of 1600 linguistically. But in fact there is no evidence that the Union spurred increased anglicization, no way of establishing cause and effect convincingly,

no conclusion that can be drawn reliably from the fact of coincidence. The same must be said at this point about the coincidence of linguistic anglicization and sociocultural anglicization. Because the prestige and influence of England over Scotland was growing in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, we might like to prove a social motivation for the linguistic anglicization occurring at the same time. In fact, however, it is probably impossible to prove that any single feature changed in response to England's prestige. In addition to the theoretical difficulty of explaining any language change (Lass 1980), arguments for internal linguistic motivations are always possible. We can certainly posit what seems so intuitively reasonable: that anglicization is a socially motivated change toward Anglo-English usage. But we may never have the means of demonstrating that supposition, and we still will not know how such social changes proceeded. Was the Anglo-English standard superimposed on the Scots-English standard, or did the Scots-English standard itself change? Did the change in language standard precede the change in linguistic behavior, or did the change in the behavior of the prestigious writers precede a change in the standard? Explicit remarks on Scotticisms, after all, did not become common until after anglicization was well on its way, even in the most resistant features and genres. Did Scottish writers in fact adopt the Anglo-English standard as well as some Anglo-English features? Once we move away from the linguistic process – the actual change in behavior toward uniform use of a set of forms – and move toward the social aspects – the ideology of standardization and its resulting language standards – we have moved into murky areas for linguistic research. We can and should attempt to correlate anglicization with social variables: the correlation of anglicization and genre in this study attempts to add support for the influence of context on anglicization. Yet the ideology of anglicization may be beyond our demonstrable reach, while the linguistic process of anglicization has much still to reveal. Concentrating on the linguistic process, further research needs to investigate how anglicization occurs in many other linguistic features, in earlier and later time periods, in poetry and fiction as well as other non-fiction genres, and perhaps in speech as well as writing. Linguistic anglicization was a major change in Scots-English, and understanding it further may tell us much about Scots-English as well as potentially about other language changes.

### Standardization

The first chapter of this volume defined anglicization as one type of standardization, as one type of movement toward uniformity. To the degree to which the features studied might be typical, it would seem worthwhile to explore what this study might contribute to our understanding of the general linguistic process. Most revealing may be the relationship between standardization and variation which this study illustrates. The general direction

of change was toward uniformity, some of which was fully achieved during this time (in the present participle and religious treatises, for example). But uniformity was achieved only through increased variation. This particular case, of course, began with the relative uniformity of Scots-English, rather than with 'free' variation. It may well be that other situations, with more variable usage from the start, might show only a decrease in variation as the dialect moves toward uniformity. Yet we do not know the source of that initial variation. One wonders if much variation, if it could be traced back to its origins, might not occur as the result of contact between speech communities. Originally relatively uniform dialects may have developed increased variability through contact with other dialects; standardization may be the other half of a cycle, from relative uniformity to increased variation to relative uniformity.

Whether or not that hypothesis proves supportable, this particular case of standardization seems to have developed out of increased variation. In particular features also, a period of greater variation preceded the movement toward greater uniformity. The S-curve pattern of diffusion, which appeared so frequently in these data, in fact requires such a period of variation in its middle stage. Even in instances of form-substitution, as in the relative clause marker, a middle period of variation between two forms and of frequent transitional forms occurred. For this linguistic change – or perhaps any change that shows S-curve diffusion – increased variation seems to be an important part of developing uniformity, of standardization.

Rather than challenging the definition of standardization as movement toward uniformity, the appearance of variation within standardization reveals once again that such variation is not 'free.' It is constrained by and functions within other linguistic processes. The discoveries of style-shifting have shown that even relatively stable variation is regulated by linguistic and social facts, that the importance of variation is its role in the greater workings of language. This study of standardization suggests another role for variation, as part of a larger linguistic change. When variation reveals a change in progress, it may in fact be revealing a middle stage of standardization. Such a perspective does not minimize the importance of variation; rather it increases its importance by defining another way variation functions within other linguistic processes.

If we accept the movement toward uniformity as a valid linguistic process, we may have a perspective which reunites the heterogeneity and homogeneity of language. We need to know how uniformity develops and how stable it is. Is variation a necessary stage of standardization? What can keep standardization from becoming complete, either in single features or in a dialect as a whole? How much uniformity is possible? Are there cycles of standardization and variation? Are they complementary processes? Of course, these largest questions of the relationship between standardization and variation can only be explored after considerably more research into

other cases of standardization. Defined linguistically, as the movement toward uniformity, standardization becomes much more prevalent and more natural, offering many more cases for study. A fuller understanding of standardization must comprehend more cases of planned standardization, cases of standardization without such obvious contact and conflict of speech communities, and cases of dialects with less standardization. The issue of what motivates standardization, especially of the relationship between linguistic standardization and social language standards, may never be fully answerable, but this issue too may be explored after we gain better linguistic descriptions of how standardization operates. It is hoped that this study contributes to such linguistic descriptions and that it raises questions for further research.

### Implications for linguistics

Beyond the need for more serious study of standardization, the results of this study, if confirmed, suggest other implications for linguistic research at large. Most important perhaps are the discoveries about genre and the S-curve theory of diffusion.

The S-curve pattern of diffusion recurred throughout the data, prompting a more detailed look at the data from this perspective. Its usefulness for uncovering patterns of similarity and difference gave it considerable descriptive power. That this study demonstrated the existence of S-curves in real-time data further confirms the validity as well as usefulness of the model. The occurrence of S-curves in the apparent-time analyses also may contribute to our ability to perceive change in progress (though with several reservations and limitations, as discussed in Chapter 3). The study of diffusion in general falls at the center of historical linguistics, as it falls at the center of linguistic change. We may never know how or why a change originates or is completed, but the study of written texts in real time may help us to discover how a change spreads. If the S-curve model does not apply to all diffusion, then we need to discover other models so that we can develop a more comprehensive and validated theory of linguistic change.

Any such theory of change must consider the social and cultural context of change. Language in the past surely was not immune to the social forces that we know are at work on language today. The difficulties of examining social variables in historical research are being tackled by many linguists, and Romaine's desire for a truly socio-historical linguistics is becoming more practicable all the time. The concept of genre, as this study has defined it, may prove to be one source for examining context. Although an abstraction, genre is embodied in the text (or speech-event) itself and so can be controlled and examined. Studying genre, as a response to rhetorical situation, may allow us insight into the context of language use and its correlation with linguistic features.

Even in contemporary studies, where context is discoverable through other means, genre must be considered. The results of this study show genre to be a potentially powerful variable in language use, a variable which correlated with usage as significantly as did the variable of time. If linguistic studies do not control the genre variable, they may be obscuring their data or even creating artificial results, as inaccurate as generalizations about a community's usage which failed to consider the sex, social class, or ethnicity of the speakers. Conclusions based on data collected from interviews alone may not be generalizable to other rhetorical situations, no matter how speech-events are controlled within the interview, for the data may always be colored by the rhetorical situation of the interview.

Whether or not speech responds to genre or speech-event as significantly as did writing remains to be investigated (though pragmatics and discourse analysis would argue that it does). In fact, the questions that remain are many – whether considering how genre is defined and operates, how and why diffusion occurs in an S-curve, what constitutes standardization and how it proceeds, or how anglicization proceeded in other features, genres, and times. The fact that so many questions have been raised and initially explored by this book may confirm one of its initial hypotheses: that linguistic standardization is a naturally occurring and highly complex linguistic process that merits extensive and serious study.

## Appendix I Text selection chart

Date	National public records	Official correspondence	Personal correspondence	Religious treatises	Private records
1520–1539	1	29	—	85	—
	2	30	—	86	—
	3	31	—	—	—
	4	32	—	—	—
1540–1559	5	33	61	89	—
	6	34	62	90	—
	7	35	63	—	—
	8	36	—	—	—
1560–1579	9	37	65	93	121
	10	38	66	94	122
	11	39	67	95	123
	12	40	68	96	—
1580–1599	13	41	69	97	125
	14	42	70	98	126
	15	43	71	99	127
	16	44	72	100	—
1600–1619	17	45	73	101	129
	18	46	74	102	130
	19	47	75	103	131
	20	48	76	104	132
1620–1639	21	49	77	105	133
	22	50	78	106	134
	23	51	79	107	135
	24	52	80	108	136
1640–1659	25	53	81	109	137
	26	54	82	110	138
	27	55	83	111	139
	28	56	84	112	140

*Note:* Each number in each cell represents one text; Appendix II lists the texts that match these numbers, and each primary work in the bibliography is labelled with its text number from this chart. Dashes in this chart represent spaces which could not be filled.

## Appendix II Data sources

Each text from which data were taken is listed in short form below in order of text number (its place in terms of date and genre). For an overview of how these texts fit into the text selection cells, see the chart in Appendix I. For full edition and bibliographical information, see the title or author listed below in the Bibliography: Primary works.

### National public records

Date	Text #	Author or short title
1520-1539	1	Ancient criminal trials
	2	Records of the Convention of the Royal Burghs
	3	Acts of the Lords of Council
1540-1559	4	<i>Registrum secreti sigilli regum Scotorum</i>
	5	Register of the Privy Council
	6	Ancient criminal trials
	7	Records of the Convention of the Royal Burghs
1560-1579	8	Acts of the Lords of Council
	9	Register of the Privy Council
	10	Register of the Privy Council
	11	Register of the Privy Seal
1580-1599	12	Records of the Convention of the Royal Burghs
	13	Register of the Privy Council
	14	Acts and proceedings of the General Assemblies
	15	Records of the Convention of the Royal Burghs
1600-1619	16	Trials for witchcraft
	17	Register of the Privy Council
	18	Acts and proceedings of the General Assemblies
	19	Records of the Convention of the Royal Burghs
1620-1639	20	Register of the Privy Council
	21	Selected judiciary cases
	22	Register of the Privy Council
	23	Records of the Convention of the Royal Burghs
	24	Register of the Privy Council

Date	Text #	Author or short title
1640-1659	25	Records of the Commissions of the General Assemblies
	26	Selected judiciary cases
	27	Register of the Privy Council
	28	Records of the Convention of the Royal Burghs

### Official correspondence

Date	Text #	Author or short title
1520-1539	29	Douglas book
	30	Papers from the charter chest at Pittodrie
	31	Acts of the Lords of Council
	32	Douglas book
1540-1559	33	Book of Carlawerock
	34	Scottish correspondence of Mary of Lorraine
	35	Selections from unpublished manuscripts
	36	Douglas book
1560-1579	37	Warrender papers
	38	Douglas book
	39	Correspondence of Sir Patrick Waus
1580-1599	40	Selections from unpublished manuscripts
	41	Letters to the Argyll family
	42	John Colville
	43	Elphinstone family book
1600-1619	44	Warrender papers
	45	Douglas book
	46	Memorials of the Earls of Haddington
	47	Letters and state papers
1620-1639	48	Original letters relating to ecclesiastical affairs
	49	Robert Baillie
	50	Hamilton papers
	51	Red book of Menteith
1640-1659	52	Letters and state papers
	53	Stirlings of Keir
	54	Hamilton papers
	55	Robert Baillie
	56	Patrick Ruthven

## Personal correspondence

Date	Text #	Author or short title
1540-1559	61	John Knox
	62	Correspondence of Sir Patrick Waus
	63	Douglas book
1560-1579	65	Memoirs of the Maxwells of Pollok
	66	Correspondence of Sir Patrick Waus
	67	Memoirs of the Maxwells of Pollok
	68	Miscellaneous papers
1580-1599	69	Memoirs of the Maxwells of Pollok
	70	Correspondence of Sir Patrick Waus
	71	Memoirs of the Maxwells of Pollok
	72	Douglas book
1600-1619	73	Chiefs of Grant
	74	Memoirs of the Maxwells of Pollok
	75	Memorials of the Montgomeries
	76	Douglas book
1620-1639	77	Correspondence of Sir Robert Kerr
	78	Memoirs of the Maxwells of Pollok
	79	Book of Carluverock
	80	Memorials of the Montgomeries
1640-1659	81	Correspondence of Sir Robert Kerr
	82	Robert Baillie
	83	Memoirs of the Maxwells of Pollok
	84	Chiefs of Grant

## Religious treatises

Date	Text #	Author or short title
1520-1539	85	Murdoch Nisbet
	86	Murdoch Nisbet
1540-1559	89	John Hamilton
	90	John Hamilton
1560-1579	93	David Fergusson
	94	Henry Charteris
	95	George Hay
	96	Ninian Winzet
	97	Robert Bruce
1580-1599	98	Robert Rollok
	99	[James Melvill]
	100	Henry Balnaues

Date	Text #	Author or short title
1600-1619	101	John Welsche
	102	William Birnie
	103	William Birnie
	104	David Blak[e]
1620-1639	105	Zacharie Boyd
	106	[George Gillespie]
	107	David Dickson ( <i>Short Explanation</i> )
1640-1659	108	[Alexander Henderson]
	109	James Durham ( <i>Dying man's Testament</i> )
	110	David Dickson ( <i>Brief exposition</i> )
	111	Samuel Rutherford
	112	James Durham ( <i>Commentarie</i> )

## Private records

Date	Text #	Author or short title
1560-1579	121	Robert Birrel
	122	John Lesley
	123	John Lesley
1580-1599	125	David Wedderburne
	126	Robert Birrel
	127	David Wedderburne
1600-1619	129	James Melvill
	130	Sir James Melville
	131	David Wedderburne
	132	Robert Birrel
	133	Sir Archibald Johnston ( <i>Diary, 1632-1639</i> )
1620-1639	134	Sir Thomas Hope
	135	David Wedderburne
	136	Robert Baillie
	137	Sir Archibald Johnston ( <i>Diary, 1650-1654, 1655-1660</i> )
1640-1659	138	Andrew Hay
	139	Sir James Hope ( <i>Diary, 1646-1654, 1646</i> )
	140	John Lamont

# Appendix III Sample data sheets

## Sheet 1

Text \_\_\_\_\_

Present participles

-AND \_\_\_\_\_

-ING \_\_\_\_\_

Indefinite articles

\_\_\_ Vowels:

ANE \_\_\_\_\_

A \_\_\_\_\_

\_\_\_ Consonants:

ANE \_\_\_\_\_

A \_\_\_\_\_

Negative particles

NA \_\_\_\_\_

NO \_\_\_\_\_

NOCHT \_\_\_\_\_

NOT \_\_\_\_\_

## Sheet 2

Text \_\_\_\_\_ Preterite inflections

Past participles

Irregular

Simple preterites

Irregular

	(-ed)Verb	(-t)Verb	(-d)Verb	Irregular verb	(-ed)Verb	(-t)Verb	(-d)Verb	Irregular verb
-IT								
-ED								

Anglo-English

pattern

Other

no -IT/-ED

## Sheet 3

Text	Relative clause markers			
	Restrictive impersonal	Restrictive personal	Non-restrictive impersonal	Non-restrictive personal
that				
quhilk				
which				
quha				
who				
ø				
other quh-				
other wh-				

## Appendix IV Statistical results

Table A.1. *Analysis of variance*

Source	Degree of freedom	Sum squares	Mean squares	F-statistic	Significance
Feature	4	16.1	4.0	63.4	< .0001
Period	6	31.3	5.2	82.3	< .0001
Feature by Period	24	3.5	0.1	2.3	.0005
Genre	4	8.0	2.0	31.5	< .0001
Feature by Genre	16	3.4	0.2	3.4	< .0001
Period by Genre	21	6.1	0.3	4.6	< .0001
Error	524	33.2	0.1		

Table A.2. *Coefficients: difference from the mean of each variable*

(Mean-0.0)		Linguistic feature	Genre	
Time period				
1640-1659:	0.371	-ING: 0.299	Religious treatises:	0.185
1620-1639:	0.285	NO: 0.083	Official correspondence:	0.032
1600-1619:	0.121	A: -0.073	Private records:	0.018
1580-1599:	-0.065	-ED: -0.141	Personal correspondence:	-0.077
1560-1579:	-0.114	WH: -0.169	National public records:	-0.158
1540-1559:	-0.281			
1520-1539:	-0.317			

Table A.3. *Significance: derived from t-statistics based on coefficients*

All differences between two variables are significant at a level of < 0.0001 unless noted below.

### Time period

- (1) 1620-1639, 1640-1659 (0.0162)
- (2) 1560-1579, 1580-1599 (0.1905)
- (3) 1540-1559, 1560-1579 (0.0001)
- (4) 1520-1539, 1540-1559 (0.4766)

### Feature

- (1) (IndArt), (PretInfl) (0.0477)
- (2) (IndArt), (RelM) (0.0055)
- (3) (PretInfl), (RelM) (0.4210)

### Genre

- (1) Private records, official correspondence (0.6786)
- (2) Personal correspondence, official correspondence (0.0008)
- (3) Personal correspondence, private records (0.0096)
- (4) National public records, personal correspondence (0.0125)



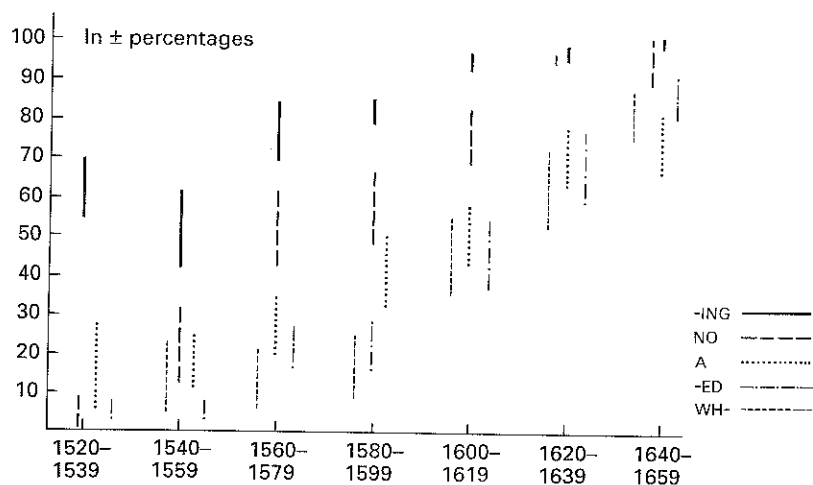


Figure A.1 Standard error in anglicization by date

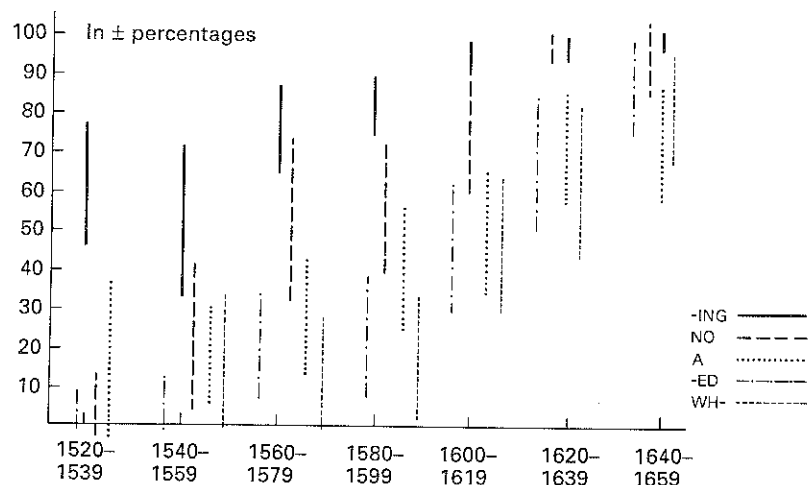


Figure A.2 95% confidence interval for anglicization by date

## Appendix V Basic data

This appendix presents the basic data from which the original figures in Chapters 2, 3, and 4 derive. Each table below, labelled with the number of the figure it represents, gives the percentages which the figure graphs and the number of instances from which those percentages are derived. For the method of calculating percentages used here, see note 2 in Chapter 2. For the texts which served as the sources of the data, see Appendix II and Bibliography: Primary works.

Figure 2.1. Anglicization by date, combining all variables (Anglo-English forms as percentage of total occurrences)

	1520- 1539	1540- 1559	1560- 1579	1580- 1599	1600- 1619	1620- 1639	1640- 1659
Five major variables	18 n = 514	23 n = 750	39 n = 1279	44 n = 1310	63 n = 1472	79 n = 1429	88 n = 1634

Figure 2.2. Anglicization by date (percentage of all occurrences)

	1520- 1539	1540- 1559	1560- 1579	1580- 1599	1600- 1619	1620- 1639	1640- 1659
-ING	62 n = 93	52 n = 120	76 n = 220	83 n = 284	95 n = 248	97 n = 233	99 n = 261
NO	5 n = 77	23 n = 130	53 n = 203	57 n = 137	75 n = 167	97 n = 175	95 n = 247
A	16 n = 60	18 n = 75	28 n = 121	41 n = 195	51 n = 197	72 n = 237	74 n = 336
-ED	5 n = 229	6 n = 321	22 n = 526	23 n = 483	46 n = 629	68 n = 576	87 n = 560
WH-	0 n = 55	15 n = 104	14 n = 209	17 n = 211	47 n = 231	62 n = 208	83 n = 230

Figure 2.3. *QUH-/WH-* relative clause markers (RelM) (percentage of all occurrences)

	1520- 1539	1540- 1559	1560- 1579	1580- 1599	1600- 1619	1620- 1639	1640- 1659
<i>which</i>	0 n = 0	6 n = 8	8 n = 16	7 n = 29	16 n = 39	30 n = 67	49 n = 108
<i>who</i>	0 n = 0	4 n = 4	3 n = 9	5 n = 15	18 n = 48	17 n = 40	18 n = 46
<i>other wh-</i>	0 n = 0	4 n = 6	3 n = 10	5 n = 13	12 n = 31	16 n = 37	16 n = 37
<i>quhilk</i>	57 n = 30	57 n = 58	43 n = 91	38 n = 67	28 n = 60	20 n = 35	6 n = 18
<i>quha</i>	14 n = 11	8 n = 8	18 n = 40	17 n = 35	10 n = 20	5 n = 8	6 n = 11
<i>other quh-</i>	28 n = 14	20 n = 20	24 n = 43	28 n = 52	15 n = 33	13 n = 21	4 n = 10

Figure 2.4. All relative clause markers (percentage of all occurrences)

	1520- 1539	1540- 1559	1560- 1579	1580- 1599	1600- 1619	1620- 1639	1640- 1659
<i>WH-</i>	0 n = 0	9 n = 18	10 n = 35	14 n = 57	34 n = 118	44 n = 144	56 n = 191
<i>THAT</i>	42 n = 46	37 n = 72	17 n = 64	17 n = 52	18 n = 62	15 n = 53	21 n = 62
<i>QUH-</i>	51 n = 55	49 n = 86	65 n = 174	61 n = 154	38 n = 113	29 n = 64	12 n = 39
<i>NULL</i>	6 n = 7	5 n = 8	9 n = 22	9 n = 20	10 n = 29	12 n = 35	11 n = 39

Figure 2.5. Preterite inflections by environment (-ED as percentage of occurrences by environment)

	1520- 1539	1540- 1559	1560- 1579	1580- 1599	1600- 1619	1620- 1639	1640- 1659
<i>-ED in irregular verbs</i>	0 n = 0	0 n = 0	29 n = 2	0 n = 0	29 n = 6	75 n = 3	100 n = 2
<i>-ED after voiced dental</i>	6 n = 8	6 n = 10	22 n = 71	23 n = 61	46 n = 166	69 n = 236	88 n = 314
<i>-ED after unvoiced</i>	4 n = 2	8 n = 5	17 n = 23	28 n = 26	50 n = 54	68 n = 82	84 n = 109
<i>-ED after unvoiced</i>	2 n = 1	0 n = 0	18 n = 16	22 n = 11	45 n = 39	60 n = 47	80 n = 53

Figure 2.6. Indefinite articles by environment (A as percentage of occurrences by environment)

	1520- 1539	1540- 1559	1560- 1579	1580- 1599	1600- 1619	1620- 1639	1640- 1659
<i>Before consonants</i>	17 n = 9	17 n = 12	27 n = 37	46 n = 97	56 n = 112	77 n = 183	80 n = 262
<i>Before vowels</i>	0 n = 0	7 n = 1	33 n = 6	7 n = 1	39 n = 12	31 n = 8	46 n = 24

Figure 3.2. Preterite inflection and relative clause marker, by date (percentage of all occurrences)

	1520- 1539	1540- 1559	1560- 1579	1580- 1599	1600- 1619	1620- 1639	1640- 1659
<i>-ED</i>	5 n = 229	6 n = 321	22 n = 526	23 n = 483	46 n = 629	68 n = 576	87 n = 560
<i>WH-</i>	0 n = 55	15 n = 104	14 n = 209	17 n = 211	47 n = 231	62 n = 208	83 n = 230

Figure 3.3. Indefinite article, present participle, and negative participle, by date (percentage of all occurrences)

	1520- 1539	1540- 1559	1560- 1579	1580- 1599	1600- 1619	1620- 1639	1640- 1659
-ING	62 n = 93	52 n = 120	76 n = 220	83 n = 284	95 n = 248	97 n = 233	99 n = 261
NO	5 n = 77	23 n = 130	53 n = 203	57 n = 137	75 n = 167	97 n = 175	95 n = 247
A	16 n = 60	18 n = 75	28 n = 121	41 n = 195	51 n = 197	72 n = 237	74 n = 336

Figure 3.5. Preterite inflection in individual texts, 1600-1619 (apparent time) (-ED as percentage of all occurrences)

Text #	Percentage	n =
131	0	0
17	0	0
20	2	1
132	6	2
19	8	3
73	10	3
75	12	2
18	14	7
76	22	5
74	23	6
130	52	16
45	56	18
129	76	29
47	79	26
46	82	33
48	84	26
101	100	15
102	100	15
103	100	29
104	100	29

Figure 3.6. Four variables in individual texts, 1600-1619 (apparent time) (in percentages)

Text #	-ING percentage	n =	Text #	NO percentage	n =
19	70	7	19	0	0
20	79	15	129	0	0
47	86	12	47	20	2
73	89	16	76	30	3
18	90	9	74	54	7
76	92	12	45	69	11
129	94	16	48	78	7
17	100	8	130	80	4
45	100	13	73	86	6
46	100	17	132	86	6
48	100	14	75	90	9
74	100	13	17	100	1
75	100	19	18	100	3
101	100	5	20	100	1
102	100	8	46	100	6
103	100	4	101	100	23
104	100	13	102	100	10
130	100	16	103	100	4
131	100	4	104	100	18
132	100	13	131	100	1
Text #	wh- percentage	n =	Text #	a_C percentage	n =
19	0	0	19	0	0
20	0	0	74	0	0
73	0	0	75	0	0
74	0	0	47	12	1
76	0	0	18	20	1
131	0	0	132	20	3
132	8	1	17	33	3
18	12	2	48	40	2
17	33	2	130	64	7
75	33	3	20	67	4
48	62	8	45	67	4
45	71	12	73	67	4
130	77	10	76	67	4
129	78	14	131	83	15
46	83	10	101	90	9
47	86	6	104	94	17
101	100	19	102	95	19
102	100	12	46	100	1
103	100	6	103	100	13
104	100	13	129	100	5

Figure 3.7. Preterite inflection in individual texts, all dates (apparent time) (-ED as percentage of all occurrences)

Text #	1520			1540			1560			1580			1600			1620			1640				
	%	n =	Text #	%	n =	Text #	%	n =	Text #	%	n =	Text #	%	n =	Text #	%	n =	Text #	%	n =	Text #	%	n =
1	0	0	5	0	0	9	0	0	13	0	0	17	0	0	135	0	0	26	0	0	26	0	0
2	0	0	7	0	0	10	0	0	69	0	0	131	0	0	23	3	1	27	56	23	56	58	23
3	0	0	33	0	0	11	0	0	70	0	0	20	2	1	134	4	1	53	58	14	53	58	14
4	0	0	34	0	0	65	0	0	71	0	0	132	6	2	21	5	2	83	67	14	83	67	14
29	0	0	36	0	0	68	0	0	98	0	0	19	8	3	24	22	8	84	74	17	84	74	17
31	0	0	61	0	0	94	0	0	125	0	0	73	10	3	80	29	7	28	91	32	28	91	32
85	4	1	63	0	0	96	0	0	127	0	0	75	12	2	22	59	16	81	92	11	81	92	11
30	5	1	89	0	0	39	3	1	15	4	1	18	14	7	79	70	16	56	93	28	56	93	28
32	9	2	90	0	0	67	4	1	14	5	2	76	22	5	78	71	15	25	100	21	25	100	21
86	30	7	6	2	1	38	8	2	16	5	1	74	23	6	52	91	21	54	100	37	54	100	37
			62	17	4	37	14	4	41	12	3	130	52	16	51	97	36	55	100	14	55	100	14
			35	47	8	66	21	3	126	17	5	129	76	18	136	98	50	82	100	30	82	100	30
						40	26	8	72	18	4	47	79	26	50	100	28	109	100	21	109	100	21
						122	33	16	44	31	8	46	82	33	77	100	27	110	100	18	110	100	18
						123	39	17	42	42	15	48	84	26	105	100	14	112	100	29	112	100	29
						121	56	5	99	93	14	101	100	15	106	100	15	137	100	18	137	100	18
						93	100	25	97	100	19	102	100	15	107	100	26	138	100	27	138	100	27
						95	100	27	100	100	24	103	100	29	108	100	30	139	100	48	139	100	48
												104	100	29	133	100	40	140	100	45	140	100	45

Figure 3.8. Present participle in individual texts, 1520-1600 (apparent time) (-ING as percentage of all occurrences)

1520			1540			1560			1580		
Text #	%	n =	Text #	%	n =	Text #	%	n =	Text #	%	n =
30	30	3	33	0	0	94	25	1	43	54	7
2	36	4	90	0	0	68	36	4	13	64	14
31	43	3	8	18	2	9	45	9	70	67	4
3	50	2	34	25	2	65	50	3	97	67	2
4	55	11	89	25	1	11	56	9	125	67	2
29	60	3	7	50	3	121	57	4	41	70	14
86	67	4	5	62	5	40	67	10	16	78	7
1	77	10	6	62	5	10	77	10	15	81	13
32	100	13	63	64	9	37	77	10	127	83	39
85	100	4	35	75	6	39	78	14	69	85	11
			62	91	20	122	83	5	14	89	8
			36	100	11	12	90	9	42	89	16
			61	100	7	96	94	15	44	91	10
						38	100	18	71	94	17
						66	100	3	72	94	15
						67	100	6	98	100	14
						93	100	18	99	100	9
						95	100	11	100	100	24
						123	100	9	126	100	13

Figure 3.9. Relative clause marker in individual texts, 1580–1659 (apparent time) (WH- as percentage of all occurrences)

1580 Text #	1600			1620			1640				
	%	n =	Text #	%	n =	Text #	%	n =	Text #	%	n =
13	0	0	19	0	0	21	0	0	84	10	1
15	0	0	20	0	0	23	0	0	26	13	2
16	0	0	73	0	0	80	0	0	27	53	8
41	0	0	74	0	0	133	0	0	28	60	3
43	0	0	76	0	0	134	0	0	83	71	5
44	0	0	131	0	0	135	0	0	53	72	13
69	0	0	132	8	1	24	25	3	25	87	7
70	0	0	18	12	2	50	54	7	54	100	19
71	0	0	17	33	2	78	80	8	55	100	8
72	0	0	75	33	3	52	92	12	56	100	20
98	0	0	48	62	8	79	92	11	81	100	8
125	0	0	45	71	12	22	100	5	82	100	15
126	0	0	130	77	10	49	100	10	109	100	17
127	0	0	129	78	14	51	100	10	110	100	11
14	5	1	46	83	10	77	100	6	111	100	4
42	56	10	47	86	6	105	100	19	112	100	8
97	73	8	101	100	19	106	100	14	137	100	9
99	93	13	102	100	12	107	100	9	138	100	3
100	100	25	103	100	6	108	100	15	139	100	18
			104	100	13	136	100	15	140	100	12

Figure 4.1. Anglicization in religious treatises (in percentages)

	*1520– 1539	*1540– 1559	1560– 1579	1580– 1599	1600– 1619	1620– 1639	1640– 1659
-ING	83 n = 10	13 n = 15	80 n = 49	92 n = 50	100 n = 30	100 n = 30	100 n = 23
NO	24 n = 29	0 n = 16	79 n = 68	95 n = 55	100 n = 55	100 n = 56	100 n = 97
A	63 n = 17	29 n = 11	48 n = 27	63 n = 39	96 n = 69	100 n = 62	100 n = 112
-ED	17 n = 46	0 n = 63	50 n = 118	73 n = 71	100 n = 88	100 n = 85	100 n = 99
WH-	0 n = 6	0 n = 26	50 n = 53	66 n = 57	100 n = 50	100 n = 57	100 n = 40

\*An asterisk by any date signals that fewer than four passages were examined for that date and genre.

Figure 4.2. Anglicization in official correspondence (in percentages)

	1520– 1539	1540– 1559	1560– 1579	1580– 1599	1600– 1619	1620– 1639	1640– 1659
-ING	58 n = 35	50 n = 29	80 n = 64	76 n = 62	96 n = 58	98 n = 44	100 n = 37
NO	0 n = 34	40 n = 42	38 n = 57	43 n = 22	67 n = 41	93 n = 47	100 n = 52
A	6 n = 11	13 n = 26	42 n = 21	57 n = 27	39 n = 23	92 n = 42	87 n = 57
-ED	4 n = 92	12 n = 81	13 n = 118	23 n = 115	75 n = 136	97 n = 115	88 n = 105
WH-	0 n = 34	24 n = 23	3 n = 45	14 n = 47	75 n = 49	87 n = 46	93 n = 65

Figure 4.3. Anglicization in private records (in percentages)

	*1520– 1539	*1540– 1559	*1560– 1579	*1580– 1599	1600– 1619	1620– 1639	1640– 1659
-ING	X	X	80 n = 22	83 n = 63	99 n = 50	93 n = 60	100 n = 63
NO	X	X	100 n = 10	83 n = 5	66 n = 16	100 n = 20	100 n = 21
A	X	X	32 n = 37	35 n = 59	63 n = 58	68 n = 56	89 n = 91
-ED	X	X	43 n = 101	5 n = 114	33 n = 145	50 n = 160	100 n = 138
WH-	X	X	21 n = 43	0 n = 27	41 n = 55	25 n = 41	100 n = 42

\*An asterisk by any date signals that fewer than four passages were examined for that date and genre.

Figure 4.4. *Anglicization in personal correspondence (in percentages)*

		*1520- 1539	1540- 1559	1560- 1579	1580- 1599	1600- 1619	1620- 1639	1640- 1659
-ING	X	85 n = 43	72 n = 26	85 n = 53	95 n = 63	100 n = 52	100 n = 57	
NO	X	47 n = 53	7 n = 63	30 n = 36	65 n = 40	92 n = 34	100 n = 49	
A	X	40 n = 21	6 n = 21	12 n = 31	33 n = 16	51 n = 35	63 n = 47	
-ED	X	6 n = 63	6 n = 78	5 n = 71	17 n = 95	68 n = 83	83 n = 86	
WH-	X	3 n = 36	0 n = 44	0 n = 30	8 n = 42	68 n = 35	70 n = 40	

\*An asterisk by any date signals that fewer than four passages were examined for that date and genre.

Figure 4.5. *Anglicization in public records (in percentages)*

		1520- 1539	1540- 1559	1560- 1579	1580- 1599	1600- 1619	1620- 1639	1640- 1659
-ING		55 n = 48	48 n = 33	67 n = 59	78 n = 56	85 n = 47	95 n = 47	94 n = 81
NO		0 n = 14	0 n = 19	50 n = 5	48 n = 19	75 n = 15	100 n = 18	75 n = 28
A		0 n = 32	0 n = 17	13 n = 15	37 n = 39	22 n = 31	49 n = 42	32 n = 29
-ED		0 n = 91	2 n = 114	3 n = 111	4 n = 112	6 n = 165	22 n = 133	62 n = 132
WH-		0 n = 15	0 n = 19	0 n = 24	1 n = 50	11 n = 35	31 n = 29	54 n = 43

Figure 4.6. *Preterite inflection across time, by genre (-ED as percentage of all occurrences)*

	1520- 1539	1540- 1559	1560- 1579	1580- 1599	1600- 1619	1620- 1639	1640- 1659
Religious treatises	17 n = 46	0 n = 63	50 n = 118	73 n = 71	100 n = 88	100 n = 85	100 n = 99
Private records	X	X	43 n = 101	5 n = 114	33 n = 145	50 n = 160	100 n = 138
Official correspondence	4 n = 92	12 n = 81	13 n = 118	23 n = 115	75 n = 136	97 n = 115	88 n = 105
Personal correspondence	X	6 n = 63	6 n = 78	5 n = 71	17 n = 95	68 n = 83	83 n = 86
Public records	0 n = 91	2 n = 114	3 n = 111	4 n = 112	6 n = 165	22 n = 133	62 n = 132

Figure 4.7. *Preterite inflection and relative clause marker across genres, 1580-1599 and 1600-1619 (in percentages)*

	Public records	Personal correspondence	Private records	Official correspondence	Religious treatises
1580-1599					
-ED	4 n = 112	5 n = 71	5 n = 114	23 n = 115	73 n = 71
WH-	1 n = 50	0 n = 30	0 n = 27	14 n = 47	66 n = 57
1600-1619					
-ED	6 n = 165	17 n = 95	33 n = 145	75 n = 136	100 n = 88
WH-	11 n = 35	8 n = 42	41 n = 55	75 n = 49	100 n = 50

the written channel, was needed for reasons of efficient communication over long distances and periods of time. [1985b: 36]

If prescription is necessary for the ideology, then writers who shifted their usage to conform to the model of Caxton's printed books could not have been responding to a belief in the greater 'correctness' of Caxton's usage; then the speakers before the eighteenth century who took part in 'the movement towards a national standard of language' by shifting their usage to conform to that of more educated or prestigious speakers could not have believed that the prestigious, educated usage was more 'correct.' To equate prescriptivism and the ideology of standardization is to minimize considerably and needlessly the prevalence and importance of the ideology of standardization. The belief that some forms of language are more 'correct' than others, and even the belief that all speakers should use the 'correct' forms, does not require overt rules about which forms to use nor overt condemnation of those who vary from the rules. The pressure to conform can be much more subtle. Since the concept of prescriptivism already exists to define the overt statement of rules in support of a single and specific language standard, the concept of an ideology of standardization may more usefully include all beliefs that some forms are better than others.

4. What I am calling here different language standards may be what Milroy and Milroy call 'norms *other than* those of the "standard"' (1985b: 56). They go on to note the 'disapproval of deviations' which helps to maintain these 'norms' (1985b: 58) and which, I would argue, supports the equation of such norms with other language standards, the difference being one of larger social status and codification. Romaine and Reid seem to make a similar distinction between a 'social norm' and a 'community norm' (in 'Glottal sloppiness? A sociolinguistic view of urban speech in Scotland,' *Teaching English* 9, 3 (1976), Edinburgh, C.I.T.E., as summarized in Milroy & Milroy 1985b: 108-9).
5. Milroy and Milroy argue that 'non-standard' dialects may differ from 'standard' dialects in the amount of variation they allow, that 'non-standard' dialects allow more variation in pronunciation, for example (1985b: 8). In the terms used in this study, however, it seems questionable that the actual usage of, say, upper-class New Yorkers actually shows less variability than that of lower-class Brooklynites. The language *standard* of the elite group may be more rigid, but more evidence would be needed to claim that their actual usage is less variable.
6. The problem of how we know what constitutes a language standard if it is an abstraction rather than actual usage is not easy to solve. Only the standards of the educational elite are formalized and codified in handbooks and dictionaries, and the specific features of even this standard contain 'a good deal of fuzziness...around the edges' (Milroy & Milroy 1985b: 26). This same learned standard is the one that Labov found speakers would cite if questioned directly about 'correctness.' Direct questioning about the 'best' usage in peer situations seems unlikely to overcome trained responses about 'good English.' Style-shifting tests may hold promise for discerning 'correct' usage in peer situations, but the nature of such 'tests' may preclude access to the peer standard, no matter what artificially informal situation is created. Naturalistic observation would seem necessary to perceive those forms which become exaggerated or more frequent in

## Notes

### 1. Linguistic standardization and Scots-English

1. The ideas and perspective presented in this chapter have developed out of readings in a number of fields, which serve as background to the synthesis presented here. Such fields include: dialectology (e.g. Allen 1963, Atwood 1971, Kurath 1971, McDavid 1971); studies of bilingualism and language planning (e.g. Weinreich 1953 and 1968; Byron 1976, Haugen 1966 and 1968, Ray 1968, Garvin & Mathiot 1968); sociolinguistics (e.g. Labov 1964, Trudgill 1978, J. Milroy 1981, Milroy & Milroy 1978, Romaine 1980, 1982b, 1982c); anthropological linguistics (e.g. Goody 1968, Goody & Watt 1968); and 'traditional' and historical linguistics (e.g. Bloomfield 1933, Wyld 1936, Krapp 1913-1914 and 1925, Jespersen 1925, Kenyon 1948, Sweet 1888).
2. The line of reasoning that follows does not deny the special importance of a standard that has been superimposed on several groups of speakers. The language standard that we call 'Standard English' certainly has more social significance than other standards; this section argues only that we should acknowledge the linguistic equivalence of all standards as we do of all dialects.
3. It is important here to remember that the ideology of standardization and prescriptivism are not the same thing. Milroy and Milroy note the existence of a distinction several times: for example, when they write that 'Prescription depends on an ideology (or set of beliefs) concerning language which requires that in language use, as in other matters, things shall be done in the "right" way' (1985b: 1), or, later, that 'the standard ideology encourages prescription in language' (1985b: 52). Yet at other times, Milroy and Milroy appear to equate the two, especially when they discuss the rise of explicit comment on 'correct' usage from Caxton through the eighteenth century. To say, as they do, that 'What the eighteenth century finally established was what we have called the *ideology of standardisation*, to which virtually every speaker now subscribes in principle' (1985b: 36) is to equate prescription of a superimposed standard with the general belief in the 'correct' use of language. It is also to deny that the ideology of standardization was involved at all in the rise of London English. Milroy and Milroy themselves argue that:

The movement towards a national standard language in England arose not primarily because authoritarian individuals wished to impose complete conformity on everyone else, but in response to wider social, political and commercial needs. Caxton needed a standard language for printed books, and eighteenth-century authoritarianism was a symptom of the requirements of British society at that time. Standardisation, particularly in

situations with strong peer pressure. Haas points out that 'in the absence of any formal enactment or judiciary recognition, linguistic norms are not only capable of being abrogated by "established usage"; they have no effective existence at all unless they are confirmed by the tacit agreement of usage' (1982: 5). Even careful naturalistic studies, however, can discern actual usage only and must abstract from that usage to discover forms which might be marked in that language standard. Describing the dialect is not equivalent to describing the standard.

7. In spite of the ideology, however, competing standards might co-exist if the groups are not in competition. Timothy Shopen and Joseph Williams point out that some communities tolerate a great deal of variation while others mark relatively minor differences as significant (1980: xii-xiii). Although Shopen and Williams do not put it in these terms, it appears that some communities may develop relatively open standards, with few features marked as 'incorrect,' while others may develop highly specified standards, with many small variations becoming marked.
8. The extent to which Scots-English, particularly the English written in Scotland, constitutes a language separate from the English of England is a matter of much debate. But the debate is largely one of terminology; in substance most scholars agree (see, for example, the discussions in Aitken 1979, McArthur 1979, McClure 1979). Aitken describes their relationship most succinctly: 'though the two languages were in a political or social sense separate languages, in a linguistic sense they were distinct but related dialects, much as is the case with the Scandinavian languages today' (1979: 87). To clarify this relationship, this study will use the term 'English' to refer to all varieties of the language that derives from Anglo-Saxon; Abercrombie's (1979) term 'Anglo-English' will be used for the variety of English dominant in England, and 'Scots-English' for the variety in Scotland. These terms assume, of course, that both England and Scotland had a dominant dialect in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, a dominant language standard. Such an assumption seems reasonable given current scholarship on the development of standard English and Scottish (see, for example, Aitken 1971, Fisher 1977, Romaine 1982a). In particular, this study will usually be referring to the written prose versions of each variety. (For a detailed discussion of the language of Scots poetry, see Aitken 1983.)
9. This development is discussed in virtually all of the traditional histories of English. See, for example, Sweet 1888: 199-201; Wyld 1936: 97-103; Dobson 1955: 25-54; as well as the more recent histories of Strang 1970 or Baugh & Cable 1978.
10. The historical and social context of Scots-English described in this section draws from five main sources: Ferguson 1968; Templeton 1973; Murison 1977, Chapter 1; Mackie 1978; and Murison 1979: 2-13. Citations will be given only when a piece of information comes from a single one of these sources.
11. It hardly seems necessary today to argue for the validity of studying writing rather than speech (for explicit and coherent arguments, see Stubbs 1980 and Romaine 1982b). For historical study in particular, speech becomes secondary to - even derivative from - writing since past speech becomes a matter of hypothesis rather than of I.P.A. notation or tape recording, known only through written sources such as rhymes and meter or commentary by contemporary but

untrained observers. For a historical study of standardization, writing may provide especially important data since the medium may encourage standardization and make the process more sharply visible. Writing may increase the contact among different speech communities, extend the accessibility of standards, solidify traditional usage while remaining changeable, and affect speech. (For especially interesting discussions of writing effects, see Goody 1968, Goody & Watt 1968, Vendryes 1925.) Using written texts for data has its own problems - the biases of preservation, the use of scribes and their idiosyncracies, the anonymity of authors, the editing of copyists and printers - yet statements about the written language of the past may still assure greater validity than statements about the spoken language.

## 2. The linguistic diffusion of five variables

1. The data for this study come from randomly selected thousand-word passages from 121 texts. The goal in text selection was to choose texts that would be distributed across time period and the textual variable of genre and that would be representative of the general population of Scottish texts at the time. The time span of 1520 to 1659 incorporates the spread of printing in Scotland (begun c. 1507-1508) and the Reformation. These 140 years were examined in twenty-year intervals; that is, each text represents one of seven time periods: 1520-1539, 1540-1559, 1560-1579, 1580-1599, 1600-1619, 1620-1639, or 1640-1659. Each text also represents one of five genres, described in Chapter 4. To distribute texts evenly across time and genre, a chart was used containing thirty-five cells, each cell representing an intersection of one genre and one time period (see Appendix 1). Each cell contained spaces for four different texts in order to minimize the problem of idiolects. Thus, 140 spaces were to be filled. The specific texts were then selected, using a computer-generated list of random numbers; the population of all Scottish texts from 1520 to 1659 was represented by the most complete list available, the 'Combined Register of Titles of Works Quoted' in Volume III of the *Dictionary of the older Scottish tongue* (supplemented as occasionally necessary by H. G. Aldis' *List of works printed in Scotland*). No texts randomly selected from this list were omitted if they filled any empty space in a cell and were accessible in any reliable edition. (Only editions which explicitly maintained original spellings were used.) When all sources had been exhausted, remaining empty spaces were filled when possible by a second passage from a text already used in that cell. Such duplicates appeared in eleven cells. The biases of preservation appear in the remaining empty spaces: only two religious treatises could be found before 1560, and there are no entries for personal correspondence in the first time period or for private records in the first two time periods. Thus, the early data are weighted toward official correspondence and national public records. In all, 121 of the original 140 spaces were filled by usable texts.

From each text, a thousand-word passage was randomly selected to provide the data. Each passage begins with the first complete sentence on a page selected by a list of random numbers and ends at the end of a sentence after one thousand words is reached. The longest passage thus selected was 1115 words long; with the exception of Birrel's diary (247 words), used to provide some data for one cell, no passage was shorter than 870 words. All but a few passages were within



fifty words of 1000. Material from one genre that was copied into the text of a different genre was eliminated from the thousand-word count: for example, copies of acts, decrees, and official letters in the national public records; copies of letters, poems, and Biblical passages in the private records; and Biblical quotations in the religious treatises. Using the same criteria, any study of any thousand-word passage in these texts should produce similar results.

2. In order to present the data as simply and clearly as possible, most of the data from this study will be presented in line graphs and in terms of percentages. Presenting percentages, rather than numbers of occurrences, is often most revealing of linguistic changes and trends, as is the use of line graphs. Both percentages and graphs, however, may also obscure some important distinctions among the data which must be kept in mind. For this study in particular, line graphs may imply continuous data connecting two points, whereas in fact data exist only for the points themselves as isolated units. The greatest disadvantage of using percentages is that they may obscure the actual frequency of occurrence of a variant: the figure 73% can represent twenty-five or two occurrences of a variant. This disadvantage can be counteracted by the greater clarity of trends in percentages, as long as the actual numbers which percentages represent are kept in mind. These numbers appear in Appendix v. An additional problem arises when some features have a lower frequency of occurrence than others: the two primary methods of deriving a single percentage from a group of cases may produce markedly different results. For example, suppose that a single percentage is desired to represent both a text with 2 Scots-English and 0 Anglo-English forms of a feature and a text with 0 Scots-English and 16 Anglo-English forms of that feature. Calculating a percentage by dividing the total number of Anglo-English occurrences by the total number of all occurrences would result in 89%; calculating the percentage by finding the percentage of Anglo-English occurrences in each text separately would produce a single mean percentage of 50%. Both calculations are statistically valid; which is used depends on the type of data involved and the focus of attention in a study. For this study, the second calculation (of a mean percentage) is always used. The mean percentage can represent an abstracted 'typical' text and it maintains the integrity of each text, treating low-frequency features in texts as no more 'anomalous' than high-frequency features. Independent corroboration that low-frequency features accurately represent anglicization comes from the fact that low-frequency features are consistent in degree of anglicization with high-frequency features in the same genre. Since every genre includes at least one feature with low occurrence and one with high occurrence, and since most textual variables incorporate different genres, the mean percentage calculation, it was decided, more accurately represents anglicization across different texts, without exaggerating the anglicization in one genre over another. An added benefit to using mean percentages is that they are consistent with the methods of calculation used in the statistical analyses.

3. In Figure 2.2, and many of the following graphs, the percentages represented for the five linguistic features are as follows:

-ING is the percentage of all present participles that occur as forms of -ING;  
 NO is the percentage of all negative particles that occur as forms of NO (see Table 2.4 for variants);

A is the percentage of all indefinite articles that occur as forms of A (see Table 2.3 for variants);

-ED is the percentage of all preterites that take an -IT or -ED inflection that occur as forms of -ED;

WH- is the percentage of all relative clause markers with a QUH- or WH- spelling that occur as forms of WH- (see Table 2.2 for variants).

4. Identifying a clause as relative was rarely problematic, except in a few early texts. Some of the early passages made heavy use of elision. Thus a clause occasionally appeared which could be interpreted as having deleted either a relative marker or a personal pronoun (see Caldwell 1974: 60-64, for a thorough discussion of this ambiguity in even earlier texts). Some other kinds of clauses, many of which cause debate in grammatical theories, were not considered in this study because of their unclear status as relatives or their different (usually more categorical) rules for selecting relative markers. These constructions include: comparisons using 'as' ('happy as a man could be'); constructions modifying a noun or adjective which is preceded by 'what' or 'how' ('what news he received,' 'how happy he would be'); clauses replaced by the impersonal pronoun 'it' ('it is good news that we aren't going'); clauses following 'so' plus adjective ('I am so happy that we are going'); clauses following the pattern 'such *noun* as *clause*' ('such goodness as you will ever know'); and the particular construction 'the rather that...' Some clauses more clearly considered relative, although somewhat similar in form to a few of the omitted types, are included, particularly 'there is/are' constructions ('there is a rumor that we are going,' 'there are rumors which say we are going') and 'which *noun*' constructions ('The jury found him guilty, which judgment we were happy to see').
5. These last two forms and other possible transitional forms will be discussed in Chapter 3. The use of *the quhilk* and inflected forms with -is is an important part of the relative clause feature before the sixteenth century. However, since, as Caldwell states (1974: 79), it becomes superseded by *quhilk* after 1460, I have omitted separate discussion of its complex distribution.
6. This pattern of diffusion will be discussed in detail in Chapter 4.
7. Although I had assumed from previous experience that many clauses would have ambiguous functions, I discovered during data collection that a truly ambiguous clause was very rare. All clauses could be clarified by the context, and most such decisions could be made confidently. Thus I eliminated the ambiguous categories, instead classifying each as restrictive or non-restrictive based on contextual information. For a very thorough discussion of the usual syntactic contexts of restrictive relative clauses, see Caldwell 1974, Chapter 1.  
 The distinction of subjective/objective case was not included in the data because the results of my earlier pilot study indicated that it did not affect the choice of QUH- or WH- spellings. To distinguish the subjective null-form relative from the post-posed adjective verbal phrase I required a complete verb phrase to appear in the null-form relative clause: thus 'The man lived there stole my cattle' was counted as one null-form relative clause whereas 'The man living there stole my cattle' was not.
8. The relative markers are quite different today in speech than in writing, so a special caution is necessary that this distribution of markers in sixteenth-century texts does not necessarily correspond to that of sixteenth-century speech. It is

- interesting to note that the relative marker in modern Scottish colloquial speech has been simplified to *that*, more commonly the earlier-banished *at*.
9. This probability figure and all other statements about significance in this volume are derived from t-statistics based on coefficients. Analyses of variance were also performed, some of which will be presented later in this chapter. Detailed statistical results, including standard error and confidence intervals, are presented in Appendix IV. For general descriptions of the statistical tests used in this study, see, for example, Davis 1982 or L. Milroy 1980: 120–31.
  10. Verbs were classified according to Anglo-English pronunciation, a choice made because of the difficulty of knowing precisely how Scots-English pronunciation differed in this period. We do know, however, that the Scots-English distribution of verbs might have differed somewhat from the Anglo-English, for some Scots-English speakers may have pronounced final unstressed /d/ as /t/ and there may occasionally have been different rules for voicing of the intervocalic consonants *f* and *s*. The classification by Anglo-English pronunciation has the virtue of consistency but is probably not completely accurate for Scots-English. More detailed study of the preterite inflection by phonological environment needs to be undertaken in the future.
  11. Words that ended in a *t* or *d* (e.g., 'hit' or 'mold') rarely constituted ambiguities, thanks to *DOST* entries; when such a word was also spelled with a double *t* or *d*, which could conceivably represent an inflection with the vowel elided, the word was always included among the category of no inflection. Otherwise the primary distinction was unambiguous. If a verb had, as some did, both vowel change and an -IT or -ED inflection, that occurrence was included among the regular verbs. Along with auxiliary 'verbs,' a few very frequent verbs were not included in the data: 'be,' 'have,' 'do,' 'go,' and 'said' as an adjective ('the said document').
  12. It has been suggested to me that the choice of -IT or -ED may be influenced by internal vowel harmony. This seems an intriguing possibility, and may in fact have influenced writers' use of -IT and -ED. Of course, vowel harmony cannot account for the change in the relative proportion of -IT to -ED shown in this study.
  13. Variable usage within single texts will be discussed in more detail in the next chapter.
  14. Originally a third environment, before words beginning with 'h,' was included. Examples of this environment occurred so rarely, however, that they were counted in the final results as members of the other two environments, dependent on the probable pronunciation of the letter as vocalic or consonantal. This decision simplified the dealings with the final data while at the same time concerning too few occurrences to have appreciably altered the results.
  15. No other negative forms were included in the data. Thus other negative particles (such as *nane/none*) and all combinations of verbs and negatives in a single word (such as *canna/cannot*) were left out of consideration. One instance of *nought* occurred that could have been interpreted as either the negative or the word meaning 'none,' or 'zero'; the context clearly resolved this sole potential ambiguity.
  16. Although this outline of *no* and *not* can indicate the general differences between the two forms, it is important to note that there are too few instances of the separate negatives for these data to be statistically valid. A text with only one or two instances of *no* or *na*, for example, can skew the results – as it did for *no* in

- 1640–1659, when a single text with only one instance of *na* kept the use of *no* in 1640–1659 at five percentage points below categorical use of *no*. Thus, such small differences between *no* and *not* should probably be discounted. When *no* and *not* are combined, there are sufficient instances for statistical validity.
17. Since -ING was the form for the Scots-English gerund, careful attention was paid to distinguishing gerunds from present participles in the data-collection. Most present participles appeared clearly and unambiguously. When a rare instance remained ambiguous even in context (some compound nouns, for example), it was omitted from the data. Occasionally a form appeared that could be either a present or a past participle in function, most typically in a verb phrase following an inflected 'be,' as in 'he is cumene.' Such instances were omitted from the data if the ambiguity could not be resolved contextually. In addition, certain words were never counted, even though some might be present participles, because their high rate of occurrence and formulaic quality could have altered the results substantially and misleadingly. The following words, whether ending in -ing or -and, were omitted: 'according (to),' 'concerning,' 'during,' 'notwithstanding,' 'proceeding' in the legal phrase only, and 'providing' in the phrase 'providing that.'
  18. The degree of variable or categorical usage in individual texts will be discussed for all five of the linguistic variables in the next chapter.
  19. The relative clause marker may in fact have morphemic status, if it appears to be a form substitution of *quhilk* for *which*. This possibility is explored in the next chapter.

### 3. Anglicization and theories of language change

1. I am grateful to Professor James Milroy, who first suggested examining my data from the perspective of the S-curve model of diffusion.
2. The arrangement of specific texts across the horizontal axis does not remain constant for all four variables. A text may be high in its usage of -ING, for example, but low in its usage of WH-. The possible combinations of high and low usage for different variables in individual texts would be an interesting topic for research. It would be especially important for understanding standardization.
3. It should be remembered that individual points for A sometimes contain too few instances to be statistically valid. The same is occasionally true for other variables, although their overall patterns are reliable.
4. Note that the number of texts available for the early periods is fewer than for later periods, so the points are not consistent from one time period to the next. Since 1520–1539 has only half the texts of the later periods, its pattern may be less reliable.
5. This statement is not true only of -ED, for similar apparent-time graphs of the other variables also showed their patterns across time. The one exception is WH-, which will be discussed in detail in this chapter.

#### 4. (Con)Textual variables and anglicization

1. What we can know about the social status of the Scottish writers in this study may be illustrative. The background of a few individual writers can be traced through other sources, but many of the writers are either anonymous or unknown. We might make some assumptions based on our knowledge of historical preservation and of literacy at the time. The texts thought worthy of preserving or, later, of publishing would more often have been those written by 'important' and perhaps higher-class authors. In addition, the literate population of the time was more restricted than now, a fact which may further narrow the likely social status of these authors. Although past literacy levels in Scotland have not been carefully studied, Kenneth A. Lockridge in his work on New England literacy asserts that literacy levels in New England and Scotland were very similar in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries (Lockridge 1981: 188 and 192). Both had nearly universal male literacy by the end of the eighteenth century, but in the sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries literacy in writing must still have been restricted largely to the higher classes of society (Lockridge 1981: 188). Thus the range of social status of these writers was surely narrower than it would be for a randomly selected group today, but much more than that we cannot know.
2. Of course, the ability of virtually any aspect of the context to correlate with linguistic variation poses problems for all linguists, not just historical researchers. How can we control for social variables if we do not know what those variables will be in a particular case? Intentionally or not, James and Lesley Milroy's work in Belfast offers one possible answer. Instead of traditionally defined social groups, they examine individual speakers for their linguistic networks, the number and type of associations a speaker has with other speakers. While concentrating on individuals, their methods may be able at the same time to discover and control important social variables. Using their methods in Martha's Vineyard, for example, might well have revealed a denser local network for those speakers intending to remain on the island and a looser network, including more mainland associations, for those intending to leave. Whether true or not for Martha's Vineyard, Milroy and Milroy's discoveries of social variables at work in the networks of Belfast promise a useful method for discovering some of the specific contextual variables at work in other contemporary urban communities.
3. The definition of these five genres as most common was based on examination of relatively complete bibliographies of works during the period, both printed and manuscript. The biases of preservation may, of course, have influenced their selection. Each genre was defined according to a set of situational and formal criteria. National public records are narrative accounts (e.g. Privy Council records but not acts and decrees), arranged according to date, of the proceedings of some nationally constituted body (e.g. the General Assembly but not the Edinburgh town council); so far as can be known, they must have been written in the same year as the proceedings they record. Private records are also arranged by date but are an individual's narrative account of events not tied to any single group. Private records are generally written shortly after the events, usually as a daily account. A few, however, recount the author's life from memory and are written years after the events, such as James Melvill's autobiography; in these

- few cases, used because of the difficulty of finding preserved diaries from before 1600, the date of probable composition is the only date for which texts are used as evidence. Religious treatises are defined as polemical tracts on religious subjects; thus, non-polemical texts such as prayers are not included, but written sermons are. Both correspondence genres consist of letters: texts, often headed by dates and locations, with an addressed reader, closing, and signature (except for those with some parts destroyed in the surviving copy). The distinction between official and personal correspondence was based on the apparent relationship between writer and reader as expressed in the address or closing. Whenever possible, letters considered personal correspondence stated an immediate family tie, such as mother or daughter-in-law; when necessary, letters between cousins and *emes* (uncle, or male relative) were included, and finally, though rarely, between *affectionate* or *loving* friends. Official correspondence expressed non-personal relationships, typically addressed to *Sir* or *Honored Sir* or to official bodies such as the Lords of Council or the King. Perhaps because of the formal nature of and difficulty of sending any letter in these centuries, the subject matter of the two correspondence genres differed little, dealing with business matters, and hence was not used as a distinguishing criterion. The nature of letters in this period, and their development later as ease of mailing increased, could itself form an interesting topic for further study.
4. Note that the data for the two earliest periods represent fewer than four religious treatises in each.
  5. Suzanne Romaine also cites the level of formality as the key variable in her 1980 study of Scots-English, which will be discussed later in this chapter.
  6. A later study I did of usage in colonial American texts supports the importance of genre as a variable. The correlation of genre with use of the apostrophe and of the third-person singular present verb inflection in this second study was reported in a paper delivered for the American Dialect Society at the Modern Language Association national convention, New York City, December 1986, and in the article 'Genre as textual variable,' *American Speech* (forthcoming).

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