An Apostrophe to Scots

The Invention and Diffusion of the Scots Apostrophe in Eighteenth-Century Scottish Verse.

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Submitted in fulfilment of the requirements
for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy.

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September 2020

ABSTRACT

The intention of this thesis is to challenge three fundamental assumptions about the function of the 'apologetic apostrophe' – described henceforth as the 'Scots apostrophe' – which have, until now, exclusively characterised the scholarly understanding of this linguistic form in Scots literary history:

1. The function of apostrophised spelling forms in Scots is to indicate elision.
2. The use of apostrophised forms undermines perceptions of Scots as a language independent from English and is solely for the benefit of accessibility for an English readership.
3. Scots is intrinsically linked with Scottishness: as an agent of anglicisation, the use of apostrophised forms therefore contributes to the erosion of Scottish cultural identity.

Situated within historical pragmatics – and combining corpus and philological analysis – this study investigates the origin and diffusion of the Scots apostrophe in eighteenth-century Scottish literary verse, with particular attention paid to the influential poetic miscellanies of James Watson, Allan Ramsay, Robert Burns, and Walter Scott.

First and foremost, this thesis establishes a theoretical framework with which to understand the function of the Scots apostrophe in literary Scots that simultaneously contests unscholarly myth-making with regards to linguistic practices. In broader terms, the research therein demonstrates the value of non-lexical markers, like the apostrophe, as a capacious avenue for future historical pragmatic research.

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ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

Firstly, I must thank Jeremy Smith. His patience, thoughtfulness, and generosity with both his time and energy were fundamental not only to the successful completion of this thesis but to the enjoyment I had researching and writing it. His ceaselessly creative and insightful thinking has transformed so much of my own (invariably for the better), and I could not be more grateful for his guidance and mentorship. Two sentences seem entirely insufficient to convey the enormity of Jeremy's contribution to this project: any more, however, and we'll all become uncomfortable.

Many thanks to my second supervisor, Joanna Kopaczyk: her observations were helpful in clarifying nascent ideas and improving the presentation of my thesis.

I would also like thank Susan Rennie, who supervised much of my master's thesis, for fostering my early interest in the Scots language and its history, and providing me with fascinating opportunities both translating Scots into English for the Itchy Coo series, and as a project assistant on the Pilot Historical Thesaurus of Scots.

Special thanks my oldest and dearest friend (our mutually agreed epithet, presumably to help me outmanoeuvre her family in any will disputes should she perish prematurely), Steph Rennick. Possessed of a capacious intellect, hilarious and kind, I have never met a human more committed to the practice of decency and charity: it's disgusting. Her unwavering support has often rescued me from my worst impulses, which suggests it is the best kind of friendship. I should also like to thank her partner, David, who has become a great friend these last few years.

I'd like to thank Marc Alexander, who in many ways reminds me of myself (were I, say, forty years older): his advice during my PhD funding application was vital to its success, and – more lately – this project's timely completion may have been jeopardised without his thoughtful intervention.

My thanks to the Arts and Humanities Research Council and Scottish Graduate School of Arts and Humanities for funding this project: it was undoubtedly a crucial factor in preventing any existential crisis afflicting me during the last four years. Not even once. I know, right?

I'd like to thank my very good friends, Julia Moreno and Anissa Capuchino. Hilarious and smart, and whose company – whether by Covid or the Atlantic – I frequently miss: your lives have always seemed so much worse than mine, and for that I shall always be grateful. I'd also like to thank my friend, Ewan Hannaford, who is tall and frequently tolerable.

No acknowledgements would be complete without thanking my mum: her support, all my life, has been constant and unconditional (and some might even say redemptive: her first child, my older brother, was a mediocre parental achievement at best). Consistently prioritising others' happiness over her own, her determination to be a force for good in this world has always left me in awe. I'd be lucky to be even a little like her.

Lastly, I'd like to thank my partner, Joakim. Whereas I've always been the smart, pretty one, Joakim has been [insert generic virtue]. We met the year I began my undergraduate degree at Glasgow – he naturally fell in love first – and he has had the privilege ever since to watch me grow into the handsome, unpretentious, charismatic, modest, intelligent, humble young researcher I am today. Jesting (mostly) aside, I've had the good fortune to spend this last decade happier than one human probably deserves to be. In that time Joakim has been without fail: thoughtful, kind, funny, supportive, smarter than he gives himself credit for, and eminently beatable at video games; my cup runneth over. On occasions where events have conspired to interrupt such happiness, Joakim has, regardless of personal cost, swiftly organised its rescue. It is no exaggeration to say that any words are insufficient to capture my thankfulness and affection: I can only hope that all versions of me, in every universe, find him.

Several of the folk mentioned in these acknowledgements generously gave their time and energy to reading the penultimate draft of this thesis, and accordingly provided phenomenal advice and suggestions for which I am immensely indebted. Any remaining infelicities, therefore, are theoretically their responsibility. Oh fine, they're mine.

D. W. Selfe, September 2020.

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INTRODUCTION

In no other language than Scots could the apostrophe be said to occur with infamy. Widely believed to indicate 'missing' letters found in English cognates – e.g. <a'> = <all>; <wi'> = <with> – for close to a century the 'apologetic apostrophe'[1] has been subject to near-universal criticism. As we will see, scholars, cultural commentators, and language activists have variously denounced its deployment as an attempt to make Scots palatable to an English-speaking readership and imply the language is simply an unrefined off-shoot of its southern relation (see section ii). More strident voices have condemned use of apostrophised forms as symptomatic of a crisis in Scottish cultural identity. This prolonged prescriptivist campaign is all the more remarkable for the fact that no research into the historical origins and function of apostrophised Scots spellings has ever been published or, it seems, conducted: censuring of these forms is entirely founded on supposition. The consequences of this are observable in, for example, the fact that the poet Allan Ramsay (1686-1758), owing perhaps to his prominence in the Scots literary canon, is the assumed innovator of apostrophised forms. In actuality, the man responsible was the printer James Watson (1664-1722), in whose miscellany, *Watson's Choice Collection*, apostrophised Scots first appeared.

This absence of a meaningful evidence-based and theoretical framework points to the broader issue in linguistic and philological scholarship wherein the study of non-lexical marks is typically marginalised in favour of the lexical. The advent of corpus linguistics has done little to change this. Efforts to study the historical and contemporary role of the apostrophe in language has been further compounded by regular miscategorisation. The apostrophe has been characteristically understood as punctuation: akin to the comma, hyphen, or full stop, which parse the unit of the sentence. None of the apostrophe's functions, however, in either the English or Scots languages, contribute to sentential structure. When included in texts or studies focusing on the role of punctuation in language, consideration of the apostrophe is limited. In his seminal work, *Pause and Effect: A History of Punctuation in the West* (1993), Malcolm Parkes devotes a total of two paragraphs out of three hundred pages to the little

[1] *A Note on Nomenclature*: Although rare, the expression *parochial apostrophe* has also been recorded in use (Purves 2002). As both terms – 'parochial' and 'apologetic' – will be shown in this thesis to be anachronistic and unscholarly, they will not be used outside of direct quotes or where relevant to discussion. This thesis will instead, noting the distinctiveness of its particular function, use the term *Scots apostrophe* alongside, variously, *apostrophised form* and *apostrophised variant*. Conversely, corresponding Scots forms that eschew the apostrophe will be typically referred to as *non-apostrophised forms* or *non-apostrophised reflexes*.

mark's historiography, confining discussion to its origin in fifteenth-century Italian printing and even then only of its function as an eliding/contracting mark. I argue in this thesis that the apostrophe is *annotative*: similar to the footnote or marginalia, which convey information outwith the main body of text, the apostrophe represents, and crucially 'triggers,' extratextual data that aids the reader's comprehension.

This thesis, therefore, engages two opportunities. Firstly, it provides long overdue historical contextualisation for modern objections to apostrophised forms in Scots, based within a framework of evidence-based philological and corpus analysis. This is also a chance to radically complicate our modern notion of anglicisation (especially as a negative force in the Scots language), and the history of Scots itself, which – despite contemporary lamentations of decline – has repeatedly demonstrated the structural capacity to innovate and accommodate externally-driven change.

Secondly, this thesis can make a meaningful contribution to the wider study of non-lexical marks and demonstrate their consequential and extensive role in the history of our written language (Scots and English). It is hoped that this project, and any subsequently disseminated material, will encourage future work in this under-researched field of language and linguistics that will only repay further study.

I. EARLY CRITICISM

Writing in the early half of the twentieth century, the first editor of the *Scottish National Dictionary*, William Grant (d.1946), raised concerns about the effect of protracted anglicisation on the Scots language:

> …a great deal of our prose and verse seems to differ very little from [Standard English], except in the occasional use of a distinctively Scottish word or phrase, and the clipping of words of their final consonant with *the apology of an apostrophe*. This spurious Scots is very popular with English readers and on the English stage, because it is easily understood [italics mine] (1931: 18.1).

This passage, readily available in the 'About Scots' section on the Dictionary of the Scots Language website[2], expresses possibly the earliest recorded criticism of apostrophised forms, which had been circulating in the Scots language since the early eighteenth century. A "deplorable result," complained Grant, that "many Scottish writers pander to," he continued

[2] https://dsl.ac.uk/about-scots/

that many others often had the forms imposed on them by profiteering publishers (1931: 18.1). If we look closely at the highlighted passage above, four premises comprise Grant's objection:

1. The apostrophe in relevant lexis – such as <a'>, <an'>, and <wi'> etc – is performing an eliding function: "the clipping of words of their final consonant."

2. The purpose of this apostrophe's function is to manufacture a tokenistic sense of Scots within an otherwise English language text: identifying certain Scots variants as deviant vindicates their use.

3. Apostrophised forms – alongside verse and prose containing only what Grant describes as distinctive Scots words and phrases – are not *intrinsically* Scots.

4. The beneficiary of apostrophised forms – occurring, as Grant claims, in tandem with largely English language verse and prose – is an English-speaking and English-writing readership.

Overall, it seems that Grant's primary objection is the apparent symbolism of apostrophised forms: an indicator of the Scots language's perceived sociocultural decline, reduced to an easily-understood and pleasing exoticism for "English readers." It is striking, for two reasons, that Grant assumes the function of apostrophised forms is to elide. Firstly, it seems a casual fallacy, and unnecessarily anglocentric, to assume a link between the apostrophe in a Scots word and an English cognate which would otherwise have a letter(s). This circumstance is likely tied, at least in part, to the second reason for this point's noteworthiness. In the lifetime of Watson, as we shall see the original innovator of apostrophised forms in Scots, the apostrophe could, alongside elision and contraction (e.g. <don't>), be variously deployed for the purposes of: metrical alignment (e.g. <o'er>; <ne'er>); memorialisation of letters no longer possessing reflex in speech (e.g. <lov'd>); construction of the past tense (e.g. <dee'd>); indication of the genitive singular (e.g. <the boy's cat>) and genitive plural (e.g. <the laddies' cat>); and as a reflection of a particular form of stigmatised speech (e.g. <'Allo!>). Despite this, it is nonetheless elision and contraction, perhaps the twentieth-century's most prevalent use of the apostrophe, that Grant understands as the function of apostrophised Scots spellings. This presumption is at the crux for understanding modern perceptions of apostrophised forms in Scots and will be returned to in this introduction and discussed at length in Chapter One.

II. A Survey of Published Attitudes to Apostrophised Forms

Grant's claims about apostrophised forms, despite a lack of robust evidence to support them, were influential. The *Scots Style Sheet*, the culmination of a meeting between Scots revivalists

at the Makar's Club in 1947 which sought to 'fix' Scots spelling, included a tenet simply reading: "*Apostrophes* to be discouraged" (cited in Purves 2002: 120). However, this was not the extent of the Makar's Club's prescriptivism against such forms: by the time of producing this guide in the mid-twentieth century, apostrophised Scots had become so normalised in the written language that other forms, without explicit reference, had to be modified to expunge their record:

> Aa for older 'all' and colloquial 'a' : caa, baa, smaa, faa, staa. But ava, awa, wha. And snaw, blaw, craw, etc" (Purves 2002: 120).
>
> Y for the diphthong 'a-i' in wynd, mynd, hyst, in distinction to plain short 'i' in wind, bind, find. (The practice of dropping the terminal 'd' to be discouraged in writing.) (2002: 120).

Other authorities were similarly dismissive of the usage. Describing apostrophised Scots as a "curious indicator of Scottish insecurity," Mairi Robinson was particularly critical of Ramsay, in whose work the usage was widely – but erroneously – believed to have first appeared. She writes:

> I castigate Ramsay particularly because of his enormous influence on subsequent Scottish writers. The use of the apostrophe only serves to reinforce the all too prevalent idea that Scots is some kind of uncouth English (1973: 38).

Apostrophised forms, according to Robinson, not only fail to distinguish Scots from English but blur the lines between the languages, and in the process presents Scots as the inferior of the two. If we recall Grant: his primary issue with apostrophised forms was the belief they anchored the Scots language to English solely for the benefit of English speakers. Forty years later, this criticism persists unmodified in the work of Scots scholars like Robinson.

In his collected writings on the Scots language, edited by Caroline Macafee, A. J. Aitken understood apostrophised forms as part of a wider rejection of earlier Scots spelling practices in favour of English varieties:

> By the eighteenth century many characteristic Older Scots spellings had been discarded: quh-, sch-, the letter ȝ…New symbols of mainly Southern English origin were introduced: wh, sh, gh, ee, oo, ea and oa, and word-final -ae and -oe. Where a Scots word differed from a corresponding English one in the apparent omission of a letter, this was acknowledged with an intruded apostrophe, as ha'e beside have, fu' beside full (1985: 12).

Despite his scholarly approach to the subject, Aitken's use of the prefatory "intruded" – with all the word's negative connotations – suggests he did not consider this development positive. Echoing Grant, Aitken claims the function of apostrophised forms was to mark the "omission of a letter" that would otherwise occur in English cognates.

Billy Kay, in *Scots: The Mither Tongue*, argues that apostrophised forms emerged in the language as a result of the failure by eighteenth-century writers, editors, and printers to engage with the nation's linguistic heritage:

> The Scots of the 18th and 19th century revivalists was a mixed dialect of the two languages, reflecting more the prestige of English than any great change to the everyday speech of the mass of the population. The way they wrote their Scots also reflects the English ascendancy. With little knowledge of the old ways of spelling, apostrophes are used in abundance to suggest the English letter that is missing e.g. gie becomes gi'e, o becomes o', an becomes an'. This gives the impression that Scots is derived from English, and in those days of ignorance about how languages evolve, this became the accepted myth. In other words, Scots came to be seen as a debased dialect of English, rather than the dialect remnants of what was once the national language of Stewart Scotland (1993: 103).

Kay's argument that contemporary ignorance resulted in linguistic myth-making is a problematic generalisation: the following chapters in this thesis will show that developed knowledge of language evolution, the etymological relationship between Scots and English, and the spelling practices of the Makars were circulating amongst the eighteenth-century Scots intelligentsia. Further, <o'> is not an example of an apostrophised Scots spelling: it is an eliding apostrophe which predates those forms innovated by Watson in the early eighteenth century. The DSL records an example in George Stuart's *A joco-serious discourse in two dialogues between a Northumberland-gentleman and his tenant, a Scotchman* published in 1686 ("Our maister will be out o' patience…") ('Of, prep' 2004); and the OED in 1616 in Shakespeare's *Twelfth Night* ("Will you make an Asse o' me?") ('Of, prep' 2004).

As Robinson did with her charge of 'uncouthness,' so too does Kay allege apostrophised forms contributed to the perception of Scots as a "debased dialect of English" as opposed to the "remnants" that were once "the national language of Stewart Scotland." Kay seems to be arguing that Scots entered a form of degenerative linguistic stasis prior to the eighteenth century – presumably, it seems reasonable to hypothesise, around the time of the Union of Crowns – whose vestiges were mismanaged by subsequent writers and editors.

Notably, Kay insists on using the earlier Scots spelling of House 'Stewart' as opposed to the more recent 'Stuart,' the French variation later adopted by Mary, Queen of Scots (1542-1587). Although a minor act, it is highly suggestive since – in Kay's complaint, and the text in which it is housed – it becomes increasingly clear that the issue with apostrophised forms in Scots, as with Grant, is not particularly, or at least exclusively, linguistic. Rather, it seems to be one expression of the larger dynamic between language and ethnicity and the tension therein. The blurb to *Mither Tongue* announces:

> *Scots: The Mither Tongue* is now established as essential reading for all who care for Scotland's culture and identity…In this revised edition, Kay vigorously renews the social, cultural and political debate on Scotland's linguistic future, and argues passionately for the necessity to retain and extend Scots if we are to hold on to the values which have made us what we are as a people (1993: back matter).

The text in which Kay condemns apostrophised forms is advertised as intrinsically associating the Scots language with Scottish identity, and suggests the survival of the latter is dependent on attention to the former. In the opening prologue, Kay compares the plight of Scots with that of the Catalan language, whose speakers, despite having at that time achieved a significant level of political autonomy, would require "several generations of confidence-building" before they could throw off "what they call their 'slave mentality'" (Kay does not identify any particulars behind "they") (1993: 11). "The Scottish equivalent of the slave mentality," wrote Kay, was the "Scottish Cringe" (1993: 11). As evidence, he cites the anecdotal example that the "education convener of a major local Scottish authority," when asked if he would make Scottish studies an "integral" element of the curriculum, is reported to have apparently replied "Oh, no. We live in a multi-cultural environment" (1993: 11). "Every culture was to be taught," protested Kay, "except the native one!" (1993: 11-12). In light of his previous remarks on historical ignorance of Scottish linguistic and cultural heritage, and his reference to the necessity of intervention to liberate a culture from "slave mentality," it seems reasonable to theorise that Kay is primarily complaining that a version of Scottish culture of which he and those of a similar outlook approve would not be taught in schools. This suggests a far more complex and abstract motivation for the rejection of the apostrophised form in Scots: it reflects a version of history considered unflattering by proponents of Scots language revival. The material consequences of this argument will be considered at length in the following section.

Repeating Robinson's ad hominem criticism, David Purves has incorrectly described Allan Ramsay's decision to "introduce" apostrophised forms into eighteenth-century Scots words as "unnecessary":

> There were no satisfactory contemporary models of written Scots, so instead of basing his system on the relevant but out-of-date practices of the Makars, Ramsay turned to English and embarked on large-scale anglicisation of Scots spelling. Traditional Scots spellings of many key words were abandoned and Ramsay also introduced apostrophes into Scots words with English equivalents, giving the impression that they were really careless versions of their English counterparts (2002: 110).

Like Kay, Purves venerates the sixteenth-century Makars as the last bastion of credible Scots, and echoes previous criticisms of apostrophised forms in the belief they led to Scots being perceived as unrefined English.

Purves, again like Kay, situates his criticisms against apostrophised forms and their users within the dynamic of language and ethnicity, and a wider argument that explicitly and intrinsically links Scots and Scottishness. He describes the campaign of anglicisation that followed the Act of Union in 1707 as designed to "undermine Scotland's national identity":

> The dilemma involved introduced a schizoid element into the national psyche, for with many people, the 'true self' associated with the complex of feelings and attitudes acquired at home in childhood, had to be denied in the interest of material advancement, in favour of a false persona (2002: 2).

Echoing Kay's comparison with a particular mentality, Purves exploits an unsubtle[3] mental health narrative to characterise the effects of anglicisation in Scots and on the historical Scottish identity, lamenting the suffocation of the abstract "true self," which is decidedly non-English (speaking). The impact of these historical events, Purves claims, continues to blight Scotland. Insistence on English language teaching in schools led to Scottish children feeling "that what they really were was unacceptable" which "often continued throughout life":

> …the sooner they divested themselves of their identifiable Scottish characteristics, the better. The psychological damage caused by this self-hatred is incalculable and the existence of condemnatory attitudes towards the natural speech of children at school has greatly contributed towards the erosion of Scots. In the circumstances, is it rather

[3] Also, inaccurate. This is a stereotypical conflation of schizophrenia with 'split personality' disorder (or 'dissociative identity' disorder). Thanks to Ewan Hannaford for identifying this issue.

> surprising that Scots has survived so long, either as a means of self-expression or of communication (2002: 2-3).

Purves constructs an account of national victimhood – protesting generations of Scottish children psychologically marred by ongoing "self-hatred" – in which apostrophised forms, amongst other elements of apparent anglicisation, are styled as aggressors not only against the Scots language but Scottishness itself. It is worth mentioning at this stage that, as with Kay and previous critics, these abstract claims about the state of the Scots language and its relationship to national and cultural identity are made with no reference to meaningful evidence: it is simply taken for granted that a sympathetic readership will feel similarly.

In an expression widely-quoted across a spectrum of sources, both academic and popular (Glover 2013; Corbett 2013; Broadhead 2013; Wikipedia 2018), *The Edinburgh Companion to Scots* remarks that apostrophised forms had: "the unfortunate effect of suggesting that Broad Scots was not a separate language system but rather a divergent and inferior form of English" (Corbett, McClure et al, 2003: 13). It is particularly surprising that the *Edinburgh Companion to Scots*, an otherwise valuable linguistic compendium comprising the works of established academics, offers no specific evidence to support this claim. This suggests that decades of unresearched supposition about the function of apostrophised forms has normalised the uncritical reception of such views.

This approach has persisted in other scholarly discussions. David Atkinson's 2009 review of David Buchan and James Moreira's *The Glenbuchat Ballads* – a work showcasing a ballad collection compiled in the early nineteenth/late eighteenth century – describes it as a "semi-diplomatic edition" whose intention was to reproduce the manuscripts with "a minimal level of regularization" (2009: 369). This regularisation, he states, "covers stanza alignment and consistency in capitalization and use of apostrophes…The apologetic apostrophe is, however, present and is retained throughout" (2009: 369). That the reviewer felt compelled to note, as an event in the edition, the editors' decision to "retain" apostrophised forms present in the historical text suggests the influence of contemporary attitudes by the likes of Kay and Purves on scholarship. We will return to this issue at length in the following section.

James Costa's chapter 'On the Pros and Cons of Standardizing Scots: Notes from the North of a Small Island' in the larger work, *Standardising Minority Languages* (2017), reports on historical sources impacting contemporary beliefs about apostrophised forms:

> Scots remains, however, and to this day, tied to its capacity to index locality and provenance. Forms of written Scots are loosely united by a set of more or less accepted

> rules, often based on the 1947 document, such as the rejection of the "apologetic apostrophe" – the use of an apostrophe where English has a consonant, said to construct Scots as a form of defective English (hence <aa> or <aw> rather than <a'>, "all") (2017: 54).

He also quotes from the relevant Scots Wikipedia page which, at the time, read: "Ae thing tae mynd is that maist fowk that kens better disna uise the apologetic apostrophe onymair" [sic] ["One thing to remember is that most informed people do not use the apologetic apostrophe anymore"] (2017: 57)[4]. Again, the standard trope that apostrophised forms imply Scots is "defective English" is deployed – notably Costa reports of them as being "said" to do so, without citation. His reference to Wikipedia, and a page which no longer seems available, is interesting insofar as it intimates the continued purchase and evolution of Grant's objections: "Informed peopled do not use the apologetic apostrophe anymore." These attitudes to the Scots apostrophe are contextualised by a text that probes the workability of inventing a standardised form of written Scots. Costa describes his encounter with "Luke" in 2014 – a "self-trained linguist" – who explained to Costa the imperative of creating a single, regularised version of the written language:

> …[Luke] had come to realize the necessity for a standard form of Scots when he noticed that his younger siblings spoke less Scots than he did, a shift he attributed to the language's lack of societal prestige. According to him, if Scots was to survive as a living tongue, it required a standard—one as different as possible from English, a move he thought would facilitate the identification of Scots as a language in its own right. A recognizably different written language would make it easier, he said, for people to take pride in speaking it and to promote it in public life (2017: 56).

A precondition for the idealisation of Scots involves it being "as different as possible" from English, which in and of itself would be of practical value to nurturing "pride in speaking it" and promoting it "in public life." Apostrophised forms, by their repeated association with English, are therefore tainted and impeding the prospect of "societal prestige" for Scots.

[4] At the time of writing this thesis, Scots Wikipedia has been beset by 'scandal' after it was revealed that an American teenager, not particularly fluent in Scots, had edited tens thousands of Scots language articles: https://www.theguardian.com/uk-news/2020/aug/26/shock-an-aw-us-teenager-wrote-huge-slice-of-scots-wikipedia.

Updated since Costa quoted from the site, the English and Scots Wikipedia pages for 'Apologetic Apostrophe' repeat the claim that apostrophised forms were introduced as part of a process of anglicisation. The English page, stating that such forms "occurred where a consonant exists in the Standard English cognate," claims they "were introduced by writers such as Allan Ramsay, Robert Fergusson and Robert Burns as part of a process of Anglicisation" and copies Grant word-for-word when describing them as "easily understood spurious Scots" (Wikipedia 2020). The Scots page repeats the now typical claim that apostrophised forms were designed to "shaw letters wantin frae Scots wirds but's aye tae the fore in Inglis" [sic "show letters absent from Scots words but present in English"] and which gives the impression that "Scots is nocht but orra Inglis" [sic "Scots is nothing but superfluous English"] (Wikipedia 2019). The article contends that apostrophised forms are anachronistic and proceeds to offer the example of <taen> and <ta'en>:

> Aften thae wirds haes nivver haed thir letters "wantin". Ae exemplar in this seestem, is the wird *taen;* it wad be spelt *ta'en* (frae Inglis *taken*); but the wird wis spelt *tane* in the 14t [sic] century, sae the apostrophe here coud be caa'd specious (Wikipedia 2019).
>
> [Often these words have never had such letters "required". An example of this system is the word *taen*; it would be spelled *ta'en* (from English *taken*); but the word was spelled *tane* in the 14th century, so the apostrophe here could be called specious]

Once again, the assumption is that the apostrophes in these select items are only reflecting letters found in English cognates. The lack of research into the history of apostrophised forms is also impactful here: <ta'en> is not an example of apostrophised Scots but is, in fact, a metrical apostrophe found in both Scots and English; and the use of <caa'd>, if we recall the *Style Sheet*, is a direct result of attempting to replace established apostrophes. The editor, not keen on anachronisms, ought logically to have used <ca'd>. The important point here is, like Kay, the editor of this page is attempting to characterise apostrophised Scots as somehow 'ahistorical'. The attempt to position these forms as a kind of cultural anomaly is deepened by the page's remarks on Robert Burns who "altho a Scot his ain sel, wis the maist weel-kent uiser o the apologetic apostrophe" [sic "although a Scot himself, was the most well-known user of the apologetic apostrophe"] (Wikipedia 2019). Apostrophised forms, in an argument recalling Kay and Purves, are implied to be antithetical to Scottishness.

The following image was tweeted at the beginning of January 2019 from the Twitter page of the Scots Café, a project designed to facilitate confidence in Scots speaking and run by the Scots Scriever[5] (at the time), Michael Dempster (Figure i):

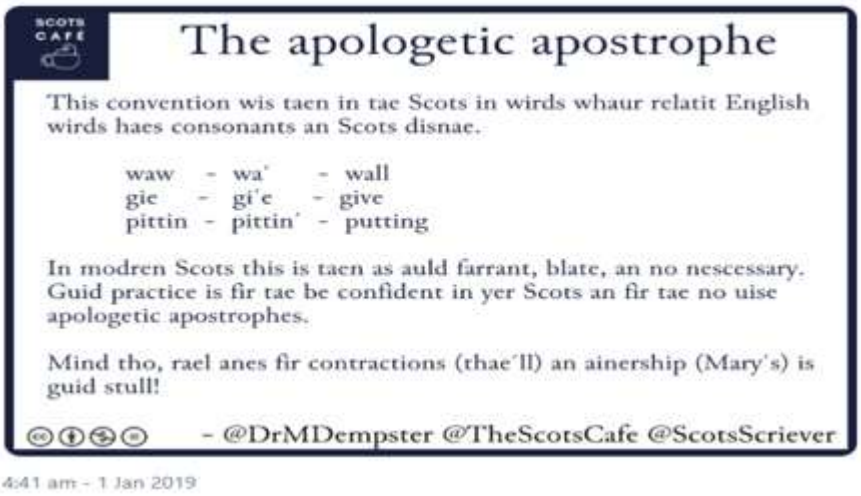


Figure i: **A tweet on apostrophised forms from @TheScotsCafe**

Encouraging users of Scots to be sufficiently confident to avoid them, apostrophised forms are described as "auld farrant" (or 'antiquated') and "blate" (or 'sheepish'). Most fascinating, the apostrophe functioning in these forms is compared to "real anes": as with previous accounts, abstract notions of what constitutes 'real' Scots are used to delegitimise the presence of the Scots apostrophe in the language.

However, in an important and nuanced discussion, John Corbett ventured an alternative interpretation of apostrophised forms which did not rely on simply repeating prior sources. Eighteenth-century writers were, according to Corbett, not trying to produce an alternative spelling system to English but rather "were negotiating the conventions of what for them was a mixed code of cognate elements, drawing on the resources available to refashion Scots for the modern era" (2013: 82). Use of the apostrophe was part of this process, argues Corbett:

> The Scots poets can be understood as extending a more widespread poetic convention in English whereby the apostrophe indicates elided sounds, often for metrical purposes, as in the contraction of *even* to *e'en* or *over* to *o'er*. The extension of this practice by the Scots vernacular revivalists can be read as their adoption of a visible means of acknowledging the hybridity of Modern Scots. The apostrophe in *ha'e*, for example, gives the reader licence to recognise the word simultaneously as *have* and *hae*. It may

[5] Working with the National Library and Creative Scotland, the task of the Scots Scriver is to produce original and creative works in the Scots language.

> also suggest that the *have* form should be mapped onto Scots pronunciation more generally. In this respect the Modern Scots use of the apostrophe can also be read as an etymological spelling, since its use indicates the historical presence of consonants that were retained in conservative Older Scots texts after they were dropped in speech (2013: 82).

Corbett did not pursue the matter further, but his limited observations of the distinct use of the apostrophe in Scots are insightful. Rather than an indication of the Scots language's 'inferiority' to English, Corbett suggests that apostrophised forms reflected the material reality of the eighteenth century: a language not succumbing to arrested development but adapting to changing sociocultural circumstances e.g. the changing prestige of certain languages and language forms, the influence of nationalism, the effects of register that controlled whether certain language forms were appropriate to certain genres, or the writer's/editor's/printer's deployment of particular language forms as acts of social aspiration. Whereas other critics have attacked apostrophised forms as anachronistic, Corbett – mindful of key changes in Middle Scots that will be discussed in Chapter One – argues these forms can be read as "etymological" spellings, indicative of archaic orthography that predates the preferred variants of modern activists.

As will be shown in the course of this thesis, there are only two problems with Corbett's observations (and even these seem to only be the result of his lacking access to the larger historical context). Firstly, and as we shall see, the evidence amassed in the course of this project does not support Corbett's hybridity hypothesis: examination of relevant texts' paratexts, such as glossaries, suggest, rather, that apostrophised variants were not expressly deployed for hybrid understanding. Secondly, Corbett's hypothesis is too modest. His theory of apostrophised Scots spellings as an "extension" of metrical elision – an already commonplace practice in literary English and a function with which James Watson would have been familiar – is an excellent observation but it does not fully capture the matrix of sociocultural and linguistic pressures which led to the innovation of apostrophised forms in Scots. Nevertheless, Corbett's brief discussion of the potential origins of apostrophised forms demonstrates the tenuousness of previous critics' claims when subject to even limited evidence-based, and less ideologically-biased, investigation.

III. Summary: Present-Day Beliefs about the Scots Apostrophe

From the above accounts, it is possible to identify three entrenched beliefs about the historical and continuing function of apostrophised forms in the Scots language. It is important to note

that opposing the use of the Scots apostrophe does not entail one subscribes to all three of following beliefs; rather, across the survey, they emerged as individually recurrent :

1. *The function of apostrophised spelling forms in Scots is to indicate elision.*

This is the belief about apostrophised forms' intralinguistic function: corresponding to the most prevalent role of the apostrophe in the twentieth/twenty-first century (next to indication of possession), they identify 'missing' letters in certain Scots words otherwise present in their English cognates.

2. *The use of apostrophised forms undermines perceptions of Scots as a language independent from English and their use is solely for the benefit of accessibility for an English readership.*

As we have seen, in 1931 Grant established the perception of apostrophised forms as an intralexical gloss designed to facilitate the publicly admissible inclusion of Scots lexis in otherwise English language texts: "This spurious Scots is very popular with English readers and on the English stage, because it is easily understood" (1931: 18.1). For nearly a century afterwards, this position has been largely unchallenged by scholarship.

Similarly, Aitken argued that where a Scots word orthographically diverged from an English one, an apostrophe was "intruded," while Robinson claimed the usage portrayed Scots as "some kind of uncouth English." Kay contended that historical ignorance of how languages evolve meant use of apostrophised forms reinforced the myth Scots was a "debased dialect of English" rather than the pre-English "remnants" of a national tongue. Purves stated apostrophised forms were part of a wider campaign to anglicise the Scots language whilst the *Edinburgh Companion* described them as implying the language's "inferiority" to English.

3. *Scots is intrinsically linked with Scottishness: as an agent of anglicisation, the use of apostrophised forms therefore contributes to the erosion of Scottish cultural identity.*

The perceived function of apostrophised forms according to the above accounts is typically characterised by the dynamic between language and ethnicity and the tension therein. Texts such as Kay's *Scots: The Mither Tongue* and Purves's *A Scots Grammar* consider the 'plight' of the Scots language as symptomatic of a wider crisis in Scottish culture identity and history. Kay argues that apostrophised forms are yet another way in which anglicisation has been weaponised to marginalise and exclude Scottish culture, whilst Purves complains of the psychological impact of continued "cultural repression" in Scottish schools (2002: 2). Robinson thought their use a "curious indicator of Scottish insecurity," implying apostrophised forms were indicative of a lack of faith in native cultural identity. The Scots

Wikipedia page is blunt when it complains that Burns was a regular and recognised user of apostrophised forms *despite* being Scottish.

The intensity to which these beliefs are held by any one agent is, of course, varied. Whilst Aitken implied apostrophised forms' lack of necessity and the *Edinburgh Companion* argued they diminished the prestige of Scots (and neither, notably, appeared to advance belief three), Kay and Purves regard them as historical anachronisms, innovated to tarnish the history of Scots and undermine Scottish culture.

Close proximity between Scots language activism – the goal being to innovate a present-day, functional version of the Scots language with official parity to, and distinction from, English, as seen in modern campaigns like 'Oor Vyce'[6] – and Scots language scholarship has undoubtedly been crucial to the diffusion and sustaining of these beliefs. William Grant was the first editor of the *Scottish National Dictionary* whilst Aitken, Robinson, Purves, and McClure (who was likely responsible for the *Edinburgh Companion's* remark on apostrophised Scots) were and are all academics in the field of Scots language and linguistics. Whether or not this proximity between the two forces is healthy for critical scholarship is beyond the remit of this thesis: nevertheless, the effects have been far-reaching. And nowhere is this association between revivalism and scholarship more evident than in contemporary reproductions of historical Scots literature.

IV. EDITING THE PAST

Following the influence of Grant, the Scots Style Sheet, and the subsequent anti-apostrophe campaign, Purves wrote that: "modern Scots poetry now looks much less like a careless version of English, plagued by a swarm of parochial apostrophes" (2002: 111). This persistent cultural pressure to omit apostrophised forms in Scots has, however, evidently complicated the work of textual critics. Contemporary reproductions of historical Scots texts continue to deploy apostrophised forms inconsistently in their transmissions of earlier texts: retaining some, omitting others, and occasionally erasing apostrophes which are not the distinctly Scots use but clearly elicit suspicion (such as <ta'en>).

Further, this confused practice often occurs in texts that engage in recuperations of Scottish literary history, exemplified by *The Penguin Book of Scottish Verse* (2006). Chronologically-arranged, the contents page lists the tale of Thomas the Rhymer under "Anonymous Ballads," which are in turn located within the sixteenth century: after the works

[6] https://www.oorvyce.scot/

of Sir Robert Aytoun (1570-1638) and preceding those of William Drummond of Hawthornden (1585-1649) (2006: vii-viii). Closer inspection, however, makes apparent that this ballad is in fact a version by Walter Scott first published in his *Minstrelsy of the Scottish Border* (1802), which in turn was heavily influenced by Anna Gordon's ballad, *Thomas Rhymer and Queen of Elfland*, set down only two years prior: two centuries after the Penguin anthology's proposed timeline.

When one compares the two transmissions, a subtle editorial intervention emerges in the Penguin anthology: apostrophised forms, widespread in Scott's version, have been significantly reduced. We might observe the following extracted stanzas, which focus on the Queen of Elphame persuading Thomas to decamp with her:

Thomas the Rhymer, Walter Scott (1802, vol. 2)

"Harp and carp, Thomas," she said ;
"Harp and carp along wi' me :
And if ye dare to kiss my lips,
Sure of your bodie I will be." ---

"Betide me weal, betide me woe,
That weird* shall never danton me."—
Syne he has kissed her rosy lips,
All underneath the Eildon Tree.

---"Now, ye maun go wi' me," she said ;
"True Thomas, ye main go wi' me :
And ye maun serve me seven years,
Thro' weal or woe as chance to be."--- (1802, vol 2: 252).

Thomas the Rhymer, eds. Robert Crawford and Mark Imlah (2006)

'Harp and carp, Thomas,' she said,
'Harp and carp along wi me,
And if ye dare to kiss my lips,
Sure of your bodie I will be."

'Betide me weal, betide me woe,
That weird shall never daunton me;'
Syne he has kissed her rosy lips,

All underneath the Eildon Tree.

'Now, ye maun go wi me,' she said,
"True Thomas, ye main go wi me,
And ye maun serve me seven years,
Thro' weal or woe as chance to be." (2006: 181).

We can immediately see that every <wi'> in Scott's version has been modified to <wi>. In the following stanza, however, <ta'en> is modified to <taen>: "She's ta'en True Thomas up behind" becomes "She's taen True Thomas up behind" (2006: 181). The DSL cites the first recording of the spelling variant of <taen> to the seventeenth century[citation required], long before the innovation of apostrophised spelling forms; though given the Penguin edition's editors' renegotiation of literary history in the contents page, this archaising seems perversely logical. The problem is that the meter is iambic tetrameter and so Scott, in fact, was likely using a metrical apostrophe – not apostrophised Scots – to reduce <taken> to a single iamb.

Another example is provided by a later stanza:

(Scott 1802)

It was a mirk mirk night, and there was nae stern light,
And they waded thro' red blude to the knee ;
For a' the blude that's shed on earth,
Rins thro' the springs o' that countrie (1802: 254).

(Crawford and Imlah 2006)

It was a mirk mirk night, and there was nae stern light,
And they waded thro red blude to the knee ;
For a' the blude that's shed on earth,
Rins thro the springs o that countrie (2006: 182).

Most peculiarly, this stanza has omitted both metrical apostrophes - <thro'> and <o'> - but retained the one example of apostrophised Scots: <a'>.

In the prefatory material, the editors have supplied no editorial account for their modifications, which is perhaps indicative of two points. Firstly, non-lexical marks are typically viewed as having little to no meaningful impact on a text and its communicative power, and therefore anachronistic alteration is relatively unproblematic (a point to be

returned to at length in Chapter One: Methodology). For example, in the 2006 Norton Critical Edition of *Piers Plowman*, the editors simply note that "[w]ord-division, punctuation, and capitalization are all editorial" and it is taken for granted that this intervention, the use of such apparently trivial linguistic units – such as the apostrophe or semi-colon or comma – innovated centuries after the original manuscripts' estimated production, will not profoundly affect the text's reception. Secondly, in light of the decades-long campaign against their use, the erasure of apostrophised forms is unproblematic and an important facet of textually recovering 'historic' Scots.

Nonetheless, detailed inspection of the miscellany's introduction intimates an entwined relationship between the representation of Scots, sociocultural sensitivities, and contemporary attitudes to apostrophised forms. With their "flinty narrative drive" and "natural intensity," the Border Ballads are described by the editors – in an introduction also chronologically-arranged – as "admired abroad from the time of their first printing" and "essential to the first phase of English Romanticism" (2006: ix-xx). Throughout the introduction, the Scots language is cast as an expression of a nation "escaping the colonial yoke," as in John Barbour's *The Brus* (c. 1376); a "richer and more flexible narrative medium" whose capacity for lexical borrowing predated that of English; and, despite being overwhelmed by the language of its southern neighbour and relegated to a "supposedly lowlier artistic function," survived in folk poetry that is "among the great treasures of Scottish literature" (2006: xviii-xx). The atmosphere the editors are attempting to evoke, it would seem, is one of dichotomy: a simplified state of pre- and post-anglicisation in Scots, and it is clear which period we, the reader, are encouraged to celebrate. This characterising of Scots literary history seems to align itself with Kay's and Purves' arguments for a pre-seventeenth-century 'pure' Scots vs. post-seventeenth-century "dialect remnants," mismanaged by careless custodians.

Perhaps most interesting about this editorial behaviour is that it is entirely redolent of eighteenth- and nineteenth-century antiquarian approaches which critics of apostrophised forms have so criticised. Despite his well-attested interventions in the texts he edited – modifying structure, lexis, orthography, and frequently innovating verses – Scott is described by the editors of the Penguin anthology only as the ballads' "chief collector": an epithet which would have undoubtedly delighted him (2006: xix). In his preface to the *Minstrelsy*, he writes:

> No liberties have been taken, either with the recited or written copies of these ballads, farther than that, where they disagreed, which is by no means unusual, the editor, in

> justice to the author, has uniformly preserved what seemed to him the best, or most poetical, reading of the passage…With these freedoms, which were essentially necessary to remove obvious corruptions, and fit the ballads for the press, the editor presents them to the public, under the complete assurance, that they carry with them the most indisputable marks of their authenticity (1802: 62).

Hypothetically, Scott would be in no position to complain about contemporary editors renegotiating his involvement in the ballads' history: he did the same to Anna Gordon, a number of whose oral transmissions of Border Ballads were included in Scott's collection, including Thomas the Rhymer. At no point in the *Minstrelsy* does Scott precisely acknowledge Gordon's authorship, a calculated omission that, when choreographed alongside by-lines such as "Ancient – Never Before Published," renegotiates an idealised version of Scots literary history (Scott, 1803: 269).

It is no accident, therefore, that the editors of the Penguin anthology have modified Scott's role in his own ballad. By dislocating ballads such as Thomas the Rhymer authorially and temporally, the editors of the Penguin anthology are, as Scott did, manufacturing their own idealised version of Scots literary history: one with far fewer 'problematic' apostrophised forms. Of course, it is the raison-d'etre of editors to organise a text into its most ideal form, however awkward that may be, but the manipulation of a text's place in history – what we might call the 'Ossian treatment' (to be expanded upon in chapter five) – is a distinctly neo-antiquarian methodology. When we consider modern scholarly commentary on apostrophised Scots, it becomes clear why the annotation has been erased: convinced of perceived associations between anglicisation and the shrunken capacity of Scots, the editors have removed an anglicising contaminant, the apostrophe, in their reinterpretation of *authentic* Scots literary history.

It should be noted that the editors of the *Penguin Book of Scottish Verse* (2006) are not alone in this practice of temporal and authorial revaluation. Other anthologies with similar chronological placement and text include *The Penguin Book of Scottish Verse* (ed. Tom Scott 1970); *The Edinburgh Book of Scottish Verse, 1300-1900* (ed. W. Macneile Dixon 1910); *A Scots Anthology from the Thirteenth to the Twentieth Century* (eds. John W. Oliver and J.C. Smith); and *Scottish Literature: an Anthology* (ed. David McCordick 1996): all these anthologies deal with the apostrophe in similar ways.

V. RESEARCH QUESTION

This introduction has outlined widespread views on a written-mode usage that is attended by a high level of salience but whose origin and historical function has not been subject to more objective, evidence-based investigation. This thesis proposes to change that situation by addressing the following research question:

> *To what extent are modern beliefs about the origins and function(s) of apostrophised Scots in the long eighteenth century true?*

Those modern beliefs, if we recall, are:

1. The function of apostrophised spelling forms in Scots is to indicate elision.
2. The use of apostrophised forms undermines perceptions of Scots as a language independent from English and is solely for the benefit of accessibility for an English readership.
3. Scots is intrinsically linked with Scottishness: as an agent of anglicisation, the use of apostrophised forms therefore contributes to the erosion of Scottish cultural identity.

The working hypotheses of this thesis, all of which will be tested in what follows, are:

i. Apostrophised forms were not innovated to indicate elision or the "clipping of consonants" but marks of authenticity deployed to distinguish Scots from native English forms amidst an eighteenth-century linguistic climate that witnessed increasing influence of the latter on the former.

ii. Far from being an agent of anglicisation, apostrophised forms were innovated at the beginning of the eighteenth century by Watson to distinguish 'genuine' Scots from 'faux Scots' found in contemporary English literary conceptions of Scotland (notably broadside ballads).

iii. There is no evidence to suggest that apostrophised forms were historically deployed with the intent of being for the benefit of an English readership: such claims are contradicted by the routine presence of English glosses for apostrophised Scots spellings.

iv. The notion of apostrophised forms as 'anti-Scottish' is an anachronistic twentieth/twenty-first century imposition on the historical function of apostrophised forms. By the end of the eighteenth century, they had been normalised as forms indicative of Scots and Scottishness.

Whilst a complete diachronic investigation of the trajectory of apostrophised forms, from their inception in the beginning of the eighteenth century to the present day, would have been ideal, such a timeline is beyond the scope of a doctoral thesis. The proposed timeline of the long eighteenth century (specifically 1706-1803), however, should prove equally as effective for testing the claims of the above beliefs for two reasons:

1. James Watson innovated apostrophised forms in 1706: analysing approximately the following one-hundred-years affords a suitably-sized sample to observe the forms' origin and diffusion, and

2. it is eighteenth-century figures such as Ramsay, Fergusson, and Burns who are 'indicted' for the origin and diffusion of apostrophised forms, and eighteenth and early-nineteenth-century texts such as the contents of Scott's *Minstrelsy* which are subject to inconsistent textual criticism. Concentrating analysis on this period affords the opportunity to directly test modern criticisms against historical evidence.

In order to make the investigation of this thesis's research question as comprehensive as possible, a corpus of eighteenth-century verse, primarily in the form of miscellanies – from 1706 to 1806 – will contextualise the close philological analysis of individual historical works.

Verse miscellanies were prioritised for two reasons. Firstly, apostrophised forms originated in Watson's miscellany, *Choice Collection*. Aside from neatly delineating the scope of the thesis, primarily considering verse miscellanies provides a controlled environment for observing the reception of apostrophised forms by subsequent editors, authors, and printers. Secondly: they are abundant. A widely-circulated form of literary expression throughout the eighteenth century, the use of verse miscellanies as a basis for a corpus in this period both ensures against temporal gaps and can indicate (to an extent) contemporary norms in usage of the Scots apostrophe.

VI. THESIS STRUCTURE

This thesis is divided into five chapters.

'Chapter One: Methodology & Theory' will address three central aspects of the research. Firstly, it will establish a framework of diagnostic markers for identifying the Scots apostrophe in literary works by classifying those changes in Middle Scots such as l-vocalisation, v-deletion, inflectional reduction, and consonant-clustering that created the vacancies which Watson's eighteenth-century innovated apostrophe would eventually inhabit; it will also outline how we might distinguish the 'Scots apostrophe' from other

functions. Secondly, the chapter will discuss the composition of the research corpus, specifically the criteria by which each text was measured against for inclusion, and what exactly qualifies a text to be considered 'Scots.' Finally, a theoretical orientation for the thesis's approach will be offered, relating it to current trends in historical pragmatics. It will conclude by outlining the three-stage analytic approach found in Chapters Two, Three, Four, and Five:

1. extended philological analysis that socioculturally contextualises both the writer/editor/printer and the select miscellany of that chapter;
2. corpus analysis of the text or texts on which each chapter is focused, which considers both the frequency and distribution of apostrophised forms in a miscellany's constituent poems;
3. and a historical pragmatic assessment of the Scots apostrophe that combines philological and corpus analysis to identify constraints affecting its deployment, such as register.

The remaining chapters are constituted as follows. 'Chapter Two: Watson's Choice Apostrophe' will focus on the matrix of sociohistorical conditions which ultimately intersected to encourage James Watson's innovation of apostrophised forms in Scots. It will address the following fundamental questions:

1. What caused Watson to innovate apostrophised forms? The answer to this question will focus on the London-born Scots pastorals popular in English broadside ballads at the end of the seventeenth century. This thesis's hypothesis is that Watson, far from attempting to anglicise Scots according to modern beliefs, innovated apostrophised forms to *distinguish* Scots lexis from English.
2. Why did Watson choose the form of the apostrophe? Here I will consider the possibility of analogy with other functions of the apostrophe, such as memorialisation (the written marking of sounds no longer possessing a reflex in speech e.g. <lov'd>); the complicated associations of annotation with Catholicism; and the contemporary cultural tension arising from the Battle of Ancients vs. Moderns.

The culmination of this chapter will be the corpus-informed study of the first and second editions of Watson's *Choice Collection*: this will identify the historical/contemporary register which informed use of apostrophised forms in at least the first half of the eighteenth century.

'Chapter Three: Ramsay and the Briticising of Scots' will cover the period in which apostrophised forms began their diffusion beyond Watson's miscellany. The discussion in this chapter will be centred on the hypothesis that Ramsay, according to the paratextual evidence in his miscellaneous collections, sought to *Briticise* Scots. The goal of this chapter is specifically to disrupt modern conceptions of anglicisation, and the role therein of apostrophised forms. This chapter will also establish the importance of glossaries in proving that apostrophised forms were not innovated for the benefit of an English readership.

'Chapter Four: Burns and the Performing of Scots,' bringing the timeline for analysis towards the latter eighteenth century, will compare Burns's handwritten manuscripts and their printed reflexes to support the hypothesis that, by his lifetime, apostrophised forms had become normalised practice in literary Scots. The discussion of his prolific use of apostrophised forms will simultaneously consider his semantic constraining of Scots to particular registers: this indicates that apostrophised forms were subject to the same changes alongside the rest of Scots – and not a symptom of anglicisation responsible for them.

Finally, 'Chapter Five: Scott and Editing the Past' will consider the role of apostrophised forms in the recuperation of historical texts, and their disparate use between English and Scots antiquarian editors. Of note will be the observation that apostrophised forms, in a linguistic landscape that was by now heavily influenced by native English forms, had become integral as 'diagnostics' for the Scottishness of texts.

This thesis will close with a concluding summary of its outcomes and suggestions for future directions of research.

CHAPTER ONE: METHODOLOGY & THEORY

Despite the profusion of opinions on the subject (Robinson 1973; Aitken 1985; Kay 1993; Purves 2002; Corbett, McClure et al 2003; Glover 2013; Corbett 2013; Broadhead 2013), to date there have been no (published) investigations into the origin and diffusion of apostrophised forms in literary Scots, either quantitative or qualitative. Understanding the reasons behind this lack of scholarship is crucial for developing a meaningful investigative methodology with which to test modern beliefs about the origin and diffusion of apostrophised forms, reprinted here for convenience:

1. The function of apostrophised spelling forms in Scots is to indicate elision.
2. The use of apostrophised forms undermines perceptions of Scots as a language independent from English and is solely for the benefit of accessibility for an English readership.
3. Scots is intrinsically linked with Scottishness: as an agent of anglicisation, the use of apostrophised forms therefore contributes to the erosion of Scottish cultural identity.

Intuitively, it seems reasonable to surmise that the sheer volume of uniform criticism (with the exception of Corbett's thoughtful dissention), uncritically repeated since Grant's first salvo in the 1930s, might dissuade probity. When we consider apostrophised Scots varieties more broadly, however, it becomes clear that other reasons have not only played a role in deterring research but, in at least one sense, informed those twentieth and twenty-first century beliefs about the origin and diffusion of these forms. To be discussed at length in this chapter, we might summarise them here:

i. The general preference in corpus linguistics for analysis of the lexical. Corpus linguistics represents an important advance in linguistic epistemology but not necessarily the linguist's imagination: the lexical and the orthographic remain the field's overwhelming priorities. As will become evident in the following section, corpus studies of non-lexical marks are few.

ii. The characterising of the apostrophe as punctuation rather than annotation: the apostrophe does not structure the sentence like e.g. commas, full stops, capitalisation etc); it conveys extratextual information much like how footnotes or marginalia relate content not present in the main body of the text. This reinforces the following reason.

iii. The modern belief that the apostrophe's functions are generally restricted to contraction/elision and indicating possession. The limited scholarship that exists on the apostrophe tends to discuss it only in terms of these functions, and thus neglects understanding of a historical capaciousness which points to a function of apostrophised Scots spelling other than contraction/elision.

This latter reason (iii) may have been a significant contributing factor to modern attitudes about apostrophised forms in Scots: elision denotes a 'lack' or 'absence', and when considered in the sociocultural context of Scots' relationship with English, and the sensitive conception of that relationship by revivalists, these connotations of the apostrophe are not sympathetic. When we map this particular relationship between form and function onto our three established beliefs about apostrophised forms, it seems plausible that belief 1 is foundational, and beliefs 2 and 3 are conditional upon it. In other words, apostrophised spellings indicate 'missing' letters in Scots words otherwise present in English cognates; ergo, apostrophised spellings are for the benefit of English-language readers, anglicising the language and disrupting the intrinsic cultural tie between 'true' Scots and Scottishness.

This chapter will be divided into three main sections. The first – Diagnostic Variables – will address how we distinguish apostrophised Scots items from other apostrophised lexis such as common contractions e.g. <don't>. Further, Section 1.1.2 will include an historiography of the apostrophe's functions up to the eighteenth century: this will establish an epistemological framework to help us discern, in the forthcoming chapters, what is *not* an example of the Scots apostrophe. By extension, this section will address another focus of this chapter: the problematic modern preoccupation with the apostrophe's eliding/contraction function (and, to lesser extent, its role in identifying possession), which obscures the apostrophe's historical capaciousness. Section 1.1.3 will provide an overview of relevant language changes which took place during the Middle Scots period, which this thesis argues directly created the necessary 'vacancies' for the Scots apostrophe. This will culminate in a definitive list of those orthographic and word-environments we can expect apostrophised forms to inhabit.

Section 1.2. – 'Quantitative Methodology' – will discuss and outline the construction and implementation of the thesis's corpus of eighteenth-century verse. This will firstly involve surveying a sample of current corpus linguistic studies on non-lexical marks and therein situate this project. The following key questions will then be addressed:

1. How do we define a 'Scots text'?

With reference to other similar corpora, we will arrive at a working definition, informing the criteria by which texts were admitted to the thesis's corpus.

2. Why a corpus of miscellanies and not other textual media?

The answering of these questions will lead to a statistical overview of the corpus: number of texts, individual and cumulative word counts etc. The culmination of this section will be a wordlist extrapolated from the overall corpus data that displays recurring apostrophised Scots forms, ordered by frequency and distribution. This wordlist will form the contextualising framework for the following chapters' localised corpus-informed and philological analysis of individual texts.

The final section – 1.3. 'Theoretical Orientation' – will outline my qualitative analytical approach: investigating the evolution of philological enquiry – from *mouvance* to historical pragmatics to reimagined philology – and previous research which has formed the basis of this thesis's qualitative practice. This section will identify those authors/editors/printers whose work will form the basis of close philological enquiry and explain why they were chosen. This will also highlight why the eighteenth century was such a critical century for observation.

The research practices discussed in this chapter, quantitative and qualitative, were formulated with the intention that they operate in complementary fashion throughout the thesis, providing a framework for the identification of conclusions about apostrophised Scots forms that fundamentally change our understanding of their cultural as well as linguistic significance.

1.1. DIAGNOSTIC VARIABLES

In order for the corpus, and subsequent philological enquiry, to be accurate, a framework for the distinctiveness of apostrophised forms had to be established. This was realised in two ways:

a) A brief overview of modern conceptions of the apostrophe, and the assembly of a historiography of the apostrophe and its functions. Although this historiography, in and of itself, would not be able to identify the function of apostrophised Scots forms, it would be invaluable both in contributing to the realisation of that outcome and discerning what is *not* an example of the Scots apostrophe.

b) The collating of those historical changes in the Scots language which created the necessary 'spaces' for Watson's apostrophised forms to eventually inhabit, and

compilation of a list of permissible word-environments in which we can expect apostrophised forms.

The results of this data would subsequently form the framework with which the corpus wordlist was compiled, concordance results analysed, and diachronic changes in forms comparatively assessed.

1.1.1. ELIDING THE APOSTROPHE'S FUNCTIONS

Elizabeth S. Sklar has previously written that the apostrophe is "the step-child of English orthography": "neither fish nor fowl, typographer's convenience, nor true punctuation" (1976: 175). Sklar, unfortunately, did not meaningfully expand on her suggestion that the apostrophe was not "true punctuation" but it was nevertheless an important reflexion.

The function of punctuation, it has been observed, is to structure the text and resolve ambiguity (Parkes 1993). Parkes has written:

> Punctuation became an essential component of written language. Its primary function is to resolve structural uncertainties in a text, and to signal nuances of semantic significance which might otherwise not be conveyed at all, or would at best be much more difficult for a reader to figure out (1993: 1).

This observation is helpfully demonstrated in an example from Charles Dickens' *Bleak House* that Parkes goes on to discuss. Without punctuation, the example reads:

> out of the question says the coroner you have heard the boy cant exactly say wont do you know we cant take that in a court of justice gentlemen its terrible depravity put the boy aside

When Parkes restores punctuation, clarity returns:

> 'Out of the question,' says the Coroner. 'You have heard the boy. "Can't exactly say" won't do, you know. We can't take *that* in a Court of Justice, gentlemen. It's terrible depravity. Put the boy aside' (1993: 1).

Capital letters (or *litterae notabiliores*) indicate where sentences begin (and emphasise proper nouns), and full stops where they end; speech marks – sharing the apostrophe's form – delineate between narrative and the direct expression of characters; and commas parse the sentence into illustrative clauses and phrases. Parkes states of the apostrophe that the "sign of elision resolves ambiguity created by the form 'its' in the fifth sentence" (1993: 1). Crucially, however, there are unmentioned differences. Unlike the comma, capitalisation, or full stop,

the apostrophe does not structure the sentence. Further, the ambiguity of <its> can be resolved pragmatically: context tells us whether to use the contraction or determiner, where it could not for, say, speech marks: it is not obvious that the Coroner is quoting in the third sentence.

This distinction is, if we recall the Introduction, borne out in the rest of Parkes's book: out of the remaining three hundred pages, the apostrophe only features minorly across three of them, and focuses exclusively on its eliding/contracting function. If we consult the OED, we find the following definitions for PUNCTUATION:

> 1.a. (obsolete) The action of marking the text of a psalm, etc., to indicate how it should be chanted.
>
> 2. a. The practice, action, or system of inserting points or other small marks into texts, in order to aid interpretation; division of text into sentences, clauses, etc., by means of such marks; (occasionally) an instance of this ('Punctuation', OED 2007).

Punctuation facilitates textual structure: this may explain why even Parkes, in a work as rich in historical scholarship as *Pause and Effect*, only devotes minimal attention to the apostrophe. He briefly outlines its origins in Italy and France, and concludes that it is a

> …peculiarity of written language: it was intended as a sign to indicate the elision of a vowel, but it was retained to indicate a missing letter when the vowel no longer appeared in the spoken form (1993: 55-56).

Sklar observes that "punctuation, or the art of pointing, technically refers to only those marks which represent pauses or changes in intonation or pitch; that is, conventional symbols reflecting the prosodic features of spoken English" and notes the "apostrophe has been traditionally catalogued with those marks which have no reflex in speech such as the hyphen or dash" (though has argued "under certain phonological conditions" the apostrophe "is pronounced as a fully-fledged phoneme," explaining that the apostrophe in those genitive singular nouns ending in fricatives or affricates, normally written as *Thomas's*, *boss's*, or *church's*, functions as surrogate /ə/ (1976: 175)). Cataloguing the apostrophe with the hyphen or dash, however, is, at best, a tenuous association: the hyphen and dash organise a sentence; the apostrophe does not.

If we expand this discussion and search in the academic article repository Jstor for APOSTROPHE: PUNCTUATION (the clarification being necessary to avoid confusion with the rhetorical device, responses for which, frustratingly, seem to be algorithmically prioritised),

we find that a sample of the top results (dominated by pedagogy) are each complicated by the unresolved issue of categorising the apostrophe as punctuation. In 'Teach Punctuation by Intonation' (1984), Doris Aimers argues that:

> Teachers have taught punctuation rules and found them to be so rigid that students are confused. A better method, I find, is to punctuate with a pencil what is done with a voice. Good punctuation is a set of signals that shows the reader how he/she should read the flow of words (1984: 674).

Aimers, echoing Smith's practical characterisation of punctuation as a "visual expression of grammar" (2013: 31), proceeds to outline a task that reflects her didactic ethos: providing children with a passage of writing and punctuating it according to a corresponding tape recording, noting that there may be alternative methods of punctuating and any logical response should be accepted. However, an issue arises when she cites examples of passages she provided her own students to punctuate:

b. have your eyes ever been checked
no theyve always been blew

2. little jay decided to walk home
why dont you take the bus asked his friend
because my mother will make me take it back little jay answered

3. teacher abe if you found forty five cents in one pocket and thirty five cents in the other what would you have
teacher abe someone elses pants

As intended by Aimers, each of the examples quoted can be reasonably resolved by intuiting the placement of punctuation based on a recording's intonation: the length of each pause and associated part of speech can determine whether a capital letter, comma, or full stop is required. The exception, however, is the apostrophe: only prior knowledge – not intonation – will allow the student to understand when and where one is required: e.g. the contraction *they've*, the genitive *someone else's*.

In Robert Zais's *The Linguistic Characteristics of Punctuation Symbols and the Teaching of Punctuation Skills*, which communicates the findings of a field investigation into the effectiveness of existing pedagogical frameworks for teaching punctuation in a secondary school in Rhode Island, the apostrophe is only mentioned once:

> …the phonemic characteristic which is inherent in structural punctuation ought not to be ignored in teaching the use of these symbols; but the implication is also evident that the characteristic features of other symbols ought not to be ignored in teaching their use. For example, the "possessive apostrophe" is not phonemic, but orthographic in character; why not employ methods that have been found successful in the spelling lesson to teach this symbol? Other marks have a grammatical basis; perhaps a grammatical approach to teaching their use would be most effective (1963: 677).

As Sklar has mentioned, the apostrophe, under certain environmental conditions, can in fact have a phonemic dimension: it is telling that Zais mentions the apostrophe only in the context of distinguishing it from "structural punctuation" (i.e. punctuation).

Goodman's 1934 publication *Growth in Punctuation and Capitalization Abilities* investigated school-age adolescents' ability to develop punctuation skills and whether patterns of error persistence could be measured. Goodman presented a series of prescriptive rules which students' efforts would be measured against, reproduced in figure one. The apostrophe is mentioned twice:

Rule number 4	Use the apostrophe to show the possessive of a noun
Rule number 7	Use an apostrophe to indicate the omission of a letter in a contraction

(1934: 197).

As with previous discussions of the apostrophe, it has no structural role in the sentence: its prescribed uses are limited to letter and word-level. Conversely, rules regarding other aspects of 'punctuation' contextualise function within a phrase, clause, or sentence:

Rule number 1	Use a semicolon to separate items of a series when commas are used within them.
Rule number 10	Place a comma before "such as" when used in a sentence to interrupt the principal thought or when used appositively or parenthetically.
Rule number 17	Place a question mark at the end of an interrogative sentence

(1934: 197).

CAPITALIZATION

Rule number 1—Capitalize the first word in each quotation.
Rule number 2—Capitalize the principal words in titles.
Rule number 3—Capitalize each proper adjective.
Rule number 4—Capitalize each proper noun.
Rule number 5—Capitalize the pronoun I.
Rule number 6—Capitalize the first word in each sentence.

PUNCTUATION

Rule number 1—Use a semicolon to separate items of a series when commas are used within them.
Rule number 2—Enclose literary titles in quotation marks.
Rule number 3—Place a period after each abbreviation or initial.
Rule number 4—Use the apostrophe to show the possessive of a noun.
Rule number 5—By means of commas separate all direct quotations from the rest of the text matter.
Rule number 6—Place a colon before a formal list.
Rule number 7—Use an apostrophe to indicate the omission of a letter in a contraction.
Rule number 8—Separate a parenthetical expression from the rest of the text matter by commas or dashes.
Rule number 9—Use a semicolon to separate independent clauses when they are not closely or immediately related or when they are not joined by conjunctions.
Rule number 10—Place a comma before "such as" when used in a sentence to interrupt the principal thought or when used appositively or parenthetically.
Rule number 11—By means of quotation marks separate all direct quotations from the rest of the text matter.
Rule number 12—Commas are usually used to separate independent clauses that are joined by such coördinates as *but, for, because, if, or, as,* or *and.*
Rule number 13—Set off by commas the name of a person addressed.
Rule number 14—When a subordinate clause precedes a main clause, follow the subordinate clause by a comma.
Rule number 15—Separate appositives by commas.
Rule number 16—Set off restrictive clauses and phrases by commas.
Rule number 17—Place a question mark at the end of an interrogative sentence.

Figure 1: Goodman's 'Rules' (1934: 197).

It is clear that the apostrophe does not sit easily next to its peers in the category of punctuation. Although the pragmatic analysis needed for such a task is beyond the scope of this thesis, it is worth briefly thinking about whether understanding of the apostrophe might be better served by conceiving of it as something other than punctuation. We might, instead, argue that the apostrophe is instead an example of 'annotation'. Consider the OED definitions of ANNOTATION and ANNOTATE:

ANNOTATION ('Annotation' n, OED 1989)

1. The action of annotating or making notes.

3. A note added to anything written, by way of explanation or comment

ANNOTATE ('Annotate' v, OED 1989)

1. To add notes, furnish with notes (a literary work or author).

2. To add or make notes.

The apostrophe could reasonably be understood as a note: an annotative marker alluding to extratextual information that, though not present on the page, should theoretically be intuitively discernible to the reader due to prior and extended familiarity through language instruction or frequent exposure via literature or newspapers etc. The apostrophe, for example, in this line from Coleridge's *The Rime of the Ancient Mariner*, "it ate the food it ne'er had eat" (1834), is not simply omitting the <v>: it is informing the reader and speaker that the word has been modified for the purposes of accommodating meter. The apostrophe in the title of the '80s comedy *'Allo 'Allo!* is not idly dispensing with <h>: it is performing for viewers an approximation of French speech with the intention of comedic value. When an apostrophe is employed to contract <do not> to <don't>, it is typically signalling an informal style. Akin to the foot or endnote, the apostrophe indicates information not present in the main body of text. This point will be crucial when we consider Watson's intended function for the Scots apostrophe in Chapter Two: as a mark signalling the distinction of 'authentic' Scots lexis.

Addressing the prevalent understanding of the apostrophe as punctuation when in fact it might better be conceptualised as annotation may seem like a pedantic distinction but the conditioned tendency to assume the apostrophe as punctuative has demonstrably obfuscated comprehension of the extent of the mark's functions in both English and Scots. To date, there exists no comprehensive history of the apostrophe. Although the overdue production of one is again beyond the scope of this thesis, the following historiography – detailing contemporary commentary on a variety of its historical functions – represents the first steps towards a necessary theoretical framework around this dynamic marker.

1.1.2. The Apostrophe: A Short Historiography

The following historiography will be divided taxonomically rather than temporally, and provide examples of historical commentary on each of the apostrophe's recorded functions. The apostrophe's apparent resistance to being 'fixed' or standardised is undoubtedly why, unlike other marks in the English and Scots languages such as the comma or full-stop, it has been so unwaveringly capacious: evolving a wide variety of functions from contraction, elision and memorialisation to possession, pluralisation and diacritic. And all the while it has come to inhabit every word-environment: aphaeresis (the beginning of the word), syncope (the middle), and apocope (the end).

1.1.2.1 Contraction, Elision, and Memorialisation

Contraction (aphaeresis, syncope, apocope): the omission of a letter or letters in the process of amalgamating words e.g. it is = 'tis; do not = don't; fish and chips = fish 'n' chips.

Metrical Elision (aphaeresis, syncope, apocope): omitting a letter, or unstressed syllable, in order to harmonise a word within a poetic meter e.g. "What dire offence from am'rous causes spring…A well-bred lord t'assault a gentle belle?...Sol thro' white curtains shot a tim'rous ray" (Pope, *The Rape of the Lock*, 1712).

Memorialisation (syncope): indicating the loss of a once-pronounced vowel, usually in a verbal inflection e.g. loved = lov'd; feared = fear'd.

Contraction and elision, the apostrophe's original functions, have historically been its most stable in terms of popular application (Sklar 1976: 176). Borrowed from the Greek diacritic pantheon (*ἀπόστροφος)* into Latin (*apostrophus*) and afterwards imported into English as a printer's mark via French in the early sixteenth century[7], Carol Kidwell has posited the apostrophe's debut appearance in Pietro Bembo's *De Aetna* (alongside the full stop and the comma) (1495): a Latin dialogue narrating the author's ascent of the eponymous mountain, printed by fellow Venetian, Aldus Manutius (2014: 17). Parkes brings this forward a little further to 1501 (1993: 55). Sklar notes that John Smith, the "father of the printer's manual" in England, said "the Apostrophe was of singular service [in Latin legal documents] to puzzle the Civil Reader; but convenient to the Compositor, because by means of our mark of Abbreviation he was at liberty to shorten and to lengthen all such words as would admit of either" (1755; 1976: 176).

As part of a wider movement towards spelling reform and sociopolitical effort to reflect French's Latin ancestry, it was not long before the apostrophe was popularised in France

[7] The word APOSTROPHE, from the Greek *apostrophē*, which literally means *to turn away* or *the act of turning away*, already existed in English as a rhetorical expression for addressing an absent or personified entity (like death etc). The OED, rather tersely, notes of the pronunciation of the mark: "It ought to be of three syllables in English as in French" but has been "ignorantly confused" with that of the rhetorical device, which articulates the final <e> ('apostrophe' n.2, OED 1989). In the absence of an available record explicitly outlining the application of the word *apostrophe* to the lexically-bound mark we are more familiar with, it seems reasonable to speculate analogy as the reason: as the rhetorical and literary device speaks to something not present, so too does the apostrophe (in its proto-function) stand in (or 'speak') for a letter not present.

through the works of humanist scholars like Jacques Dubois (1478-1555), who advocated in his grammar, *Isagωge* [*Isagoge*], (1529) for the use of the Greek apostrophe to signal the omission of a letter (Piton & Pignot 2010: 3), and Geoffrey Tory (1480-1533). The latter's three-book treatise on orthographical and typographical form, *Champ Fleury* (1529), contains, amongst other intrigues, the argument that Greek was spoken in Gaul, Hercules founded Paris, and the story that all capital letters are derived – wholly or partially – from the original letters, Iota and Omega, formed when Io was transformed into a cow by a characteristically irate Juno, her hooves imprinting I and O on the earth. Tory argued for the use of accents such as the apostrophe to resolve issues of pronunciation (note word-level function as opposed to sentential-level), observable in his print of *Adolescence clementine:* "Clement Marot à ung grant nombre de freres **qu'il** à, tous enfans **d'Apollo**,/ Salut" (1536: 2). By the middle of the sixteenth century, other French printers had since followed suit with the apostrophe as a mark of contraction featuring in such works as *Les Angoysses douloureuses qui precedent d'amours* (1538), written by Helisenne de Crenne, and Guillaume de la Perrière's *Le Theatre des dons engins* (1539), both printed by Denys Janot of Paris. In less than two decades, it became the standard to write, for example, *la ami* as *l'ami* and *le heuvre* as *l'heuvre* (Crenne 2005: 110, 218).

Twelve years later, in 1559, the apostrophe featured in William Cunningham's *The cosmographical glasse*, printed in London by John Day. This has been suggested by both Parkes (1993: 55) and Piton & Pignot (2010: 3) as the advent of the apostrophe's diffusion into English text. The original intention, it seems, was to replicate French functionality of eliding the final <e> of the preceding determiner (in English's case: 'the') where it occurred prevocalically and then contract. This is hardly surprising given the French language's emerging sociocultural dominance in sixteenth century as a result of France's burgeoning military and political pre-eminence in Europe.

> Seinge that in oure lafte daies talke, it was made euidente vnto you, what the Longitude, Latitude, & Circuite of **th'Earth** was, how you also might find the same by diuers & sondrye waies: moreouer the deuision of **th'Earth** into zones, by the helpe of Paralleles…(Cunningham 1531: 111).

Shortly thereafter, spelling reformers, such as the influential John Hart, began to prescribe this early function of the apostrophe. Writing in *Orthographie*, an extended argument for the 'correct' representation of written English published in 1569, Hart describes this mark of contraction as a "continuation of half words, or of diverse words which shall be sounded together" (1969: 40).

By the beginning of the seventeenth century, the apostrophe had expanded its function to memorialise those letters no longer pronounced in speech, a move perhaps predicated on opinions such as Hart's who argued that one of the great vices of English was "superfluite" which occurs when "writing is corrupted when any worde or sillable hath more letters, than are bled of voyces in the pronunciation" (1969: 15). Following the loss of Middle English articulated <e>, <loved> hence became <lov'd>.

Simon Daines, in his *Orthoepia Anglicana*, printed in 1640 by Robert Young and Richard Badger for the Company of Stationers, presciently commented on the apostrophe's dissimilarity from other forms of punctuation:

> For pause of time, it hath none belonging to it, and therefore not so properly inserted among the points, or stops. But onely as I thought it convenient, by reason of the Character; which is necessary to be knowne and distinguished (1640: 72-3).

Cataloguing three environments the apostrophe has developed to inhabit – *"Apharesis, Syncope,* and *Apocope"* e.g. whether it occurs in the beginning, middle, or end of a word as in *'twill* (for *it will*), *strength'ning*, or *th'intent* (1640: 72) – Daines notes that apharesis and syncope "chiefly appertaines to Poets, who use it very frequently," suggesting that metrical elision (e.g. *o'er* = *over*; *'Tis* = *it is*) was, like contraction, an early development in the apostrophe's prodigious repertoire. The apostrophe in apocope position, Daines notes:

> …is incident likewise to Lawyers, as chiefly prone to cut off entailes where, in their writings, two words occurre, whereof the former ends, and the latter beginnes with a vowell, they usually combine these two words in one, by contracting the last vowell of the former, and including it in the other (as it often happens in such, as to augment their owne liberties have infringed other mens) especially *E* single, as in *th'intent*, *th'Archangell*, &c. for *the intent*, *the Archangell*, &c. where after the common course of the world, *the weakest goe by the walls*, or rather the worst, and the great word ingrosseth in the lesser, like usurers and fishes (1640: 72).

Alongside contraction, Daines, in his reference to syncope, demonstrates the apostrophe's memorialising function – indicating where a once-important vowel, usually schwa, is no longer pronounced in speech – had evolved as early as the beginning of the seventeenth century and seems to have enjoyed a significant stretch of stability. By the beginning of the eighteenth century, the apostrophe's functions of contraction, metrical elision, and memorialisation were being comfortably summarised. In John Jones's *The New Art of Spelling* (1704), some sixty years after Daines, he wrote:

> An *Apostrophe* or this Mark (‘) is to be put over the Place where you left out a Letter, not by mistake, but when it was lawful to leave out a Letter; as it is, and also neat, when a *Word* may be founded either as *one* or *two* Syllables, to have it founded only as one; as *used*, *us'd*; *loved*, *lov'd*; and the like; or in Poetry to say, or write *ev'ry* for *every*; *slav'ry* for *slavery*; *reck'ning* for *reckoning*; *trav'ling* for *traveling*; *th'Oats* for *the Oats*; *'tis* for *it is*; *t'was* for *it was*; &c (Jones, 1704: 143).

William Turner, in *A Short Grammar for the English Tongue: For the Use of English Schools* (1710), produced a detailed map of the apostrophe's memorialising function and the tenses in which it might occur: the plural tense ("we lov'd"); singular and plural present-perfect tense ("I have lov'd"; "We have lov'd"); the singular and plural pluperfect (or "plusquam-preterit") tense ("I had lov'd"; "We had lov'd"); singular and plural future-perfect tense ("We shall have lov'd") whilst in the singular past tense ("I loved"), and singular and plural future tenses ("I shall love"; "We shall love") (retaining the now phonetically defunct <e>) (Turner, 1710: 17 -18). Several years later, in *The Art of Spelling and Reading English*, he summarised the usage as follows:

> E is very often cut off in the final Syllables *ed* and *est*; as, *lov'd* for *loved*, *lov'st* for *lovest*. And it is further observable, that it is frequently cut off in Pronunciation, tho' it be written; as for *loved*, *filled*, *hired*, *feared*, *grieved*, *named*, and the like, we read *lov'd*, *fill'd*, *hir'd*, *fear'd*, *griev'd*, *nam'd*, for quicker Pronunciation sake (Turner, 1718: 101).

Interestingly, Turner's description eschews poetic association and instead concentrates on the apostrophe's value to speech efficiency. This point will be returned to when we consider the function of Watson's Scots apostrophe in the following chapter.

Samuel Saxon, in his 1737 grammatical aid, *The English Scholar's Assistant*, writes in agreement with Turner: "An *Apostrophus*, is a Note or Mark, which shews the want of some Letter, or Letters, in a Word, left out for quicker Pronunciation; as, *I'll*, for *I will*, *it's* for *it is*, *sha'nt* for *shall not*, & c." (Alston, 1971: 29).

In this same period, however, salience around the apostrophe was translating into objection. Swift, with characteristic bombast, denounced – at length – the apostrophe's functions of metrical elision and memorialisation:

> There is another Sett of Men who have contributed very much to the spoiling of the *English* tongue; I mean the Poets, from the time of the Restoration. These Gentlemen, although they could not be insensible how much our language was already overstocked

> with Monosyllables; yet, to save Time and Pains, introduced that barbarous Custom of abbreviating Words, to fit them to the Measure of their Verses: and this they have frequently done, so very injudiciously, as to form such harsh, unharmonious Sounds, that none but a *Northern* Ear could endure: They have joined the most obdurate Consonants without one intervening Vowel, only to shorten a Syllable: And their taste in Time became so depraved, that what was at first a Poetical Licence not to be justified, they made their Choice, alledging, that the Words pronounced at length, sounded faint and languid. This was a Pretence to take up the Custom in Prose; so that most of the Books we see now-a-days, are full of those Manglings and Abbreviations. Instances of this Abuse are innumerable: What does Your Lordship [the Earl of Oxford] think of the Words, *Drudg'd*, *Disturb'd*, *Rebuk't*, *Fledg'd*, and a thousand others, every where to be met in Prose as well as Verse? Where, by leaving out a Vowel to save a Syllable, we form too jarring a Sound, and so difficult to utter, that I have often wondred how it could ever obtain (1712: 21-22).

The apostrophe emerged and developed in the period wherein it remained common for text to be orally performed. Swift's (likely satirical) criticisms intimate how entwined the apostrophe, a written mark, was with the sociocultural landscape of speech: only a "Northern ear" could endure the "unharmonious" sounds it facilitated; the memorialisation of <e> in examples such as <Drudg'd> created a "jarring Sound." The use of "Northern ear" here suggests 'non-standard' or vernacular. Indeed, Görlach writes that the memorial apostrophe, which disproportionately affected verbal inflections, lasted throughout the eighteenth century before "the morphological principle (with invariable *-ed* in regular verbs) was adopted" (2001: 80). We will observe in the following sub-section the important role of the spoken vernacular in the relationship between certain Middle Scots changes and the Scots apostrophe that I propose was their result.

1.1.2.2. Single & Plural Genitive Apostrophe

> *Genitive Singular* (apocope): indicating a possessive relationship with a noun (e.g. the Queen's horse).
>
> *Genitive Plural* (apocope): e.g. the Queens' love affair.

The use of the apostrophe to differentiate between the written forms of the genitive singular (the hobbit's shire) and genitive plural (the hobbits' shire) was not widely diffused until the late seventeenth and eighteenth centuries respectively. A "vestigial case-marker," the apostrophe's much-contested genitive function is possibly the most interesting of this

historiography insofar as, much like we will see with the Scots apostrophe, it is annotating history (Sklar 1976: 175). In Old English, singular genitive masculine and neuter nouns were commonly inflected with <es>: thus *cyning* (king) became *cyninges*. Much like the apostrophe memorialising the <e> in those verbal inflections inherited from Early Modern English, so too does it recall the <e> from this Old English genitive inflection.

By the end of the seventeenth century, the singular genitive function of the apostrophe was well-established in printed texts: Sklar states that "by 1685 the Fourth Folio of Shakespeare's works made consistent use of the apostrophe in the genitive singular" (1976: 176). Despite this successful diffusion, however, grammarians largely ignored this function, insisting instead on the dominance of periphrastic *of*, and when they did attempt to illustrate its function, they were not necessarily consistent. Sklar points us to the example of Brightland's *A Grammar of the English Tongue* (1711), in which he writes that in lieu of a prepositional marker "there is sometimes…(s) added to the End of the Name . . as the King's Palace." At the introduction of his manual, however, he dedicates: "To the Queens most Excellent Majesty" (1976: 177). Conversely, the 1759 edition reads "To the Queen's most Excellent Majesty" (1759: i).

Although reaching beyond the 1706 introduction of the Scots apostrophe, it is interesting to trace a little further. As seen with Brightland, what grammarians (and printers) said of the apostrophe and how they deployed it in actuality was not necessarily an aligned affair. In his manual *The History and Art of Printing* (1771), Philip Luckombe repeatedly forms the plural of *comma* with an apostrophe, seen in such lines as "Comma's are used to distinguish quoted Matter from the mean Text" but never once mentions this function in his discussions concerning the apostrophe (1771: 264; Sklar 1976: 178). Instead, he describes only the apostrophe's contracting and memorialising functions, its value to the economy of the printer ("may help a Printer to lengthen his Letter") and, of course, now the genitive singular: "The Genitive case of the Singular number is generally known by having 's for its termination; which ⟦s⟧ when it stands with a Proper name, is varied from the Letter of that name" (1771: 276-277).

It was not until 1761 that the genitive plural apostrophe was codified by Joseph Priestley in his *Rudiments of Grammar*: "The Genitive case . . . is formed by adding ⟦s⟧ with an apostrophe before it to the nominative; as Solomon's wisdom; The Men's wit; Venus's beauty; or the apostrophe only in the plural number, when the nominative ends in ⟦s⟧ as the Stationers' arms" (1976: 189). Even then, Sklar observes, contemporary grammarians refused

to tolerate this innovation. John Ash wrote in *Grammatical Institutes* (1779) that "Nouns of the plural number that end in s will not very properly admit of the genitive case," whilst Buchanan, in his *Regular English Syntax* (1767) asserted: "We certainly have a Genitive Plural, though there has been no Mark to distinguish it" (1779: 54; 1767: 124).

By the nineteenth century, however, genitive plural seems to have become sufficiently ubiquitous as to allow Goold Brown, in his imaginatively-titled 1851 text, *Grammar of English Grammars*, "the apostrophe, whatever may have been its origin, is now the acknowledged distinctive mark of the possessive case of English nouns…The general principle is, that the apostrophe forms the possessive case, with an s in the singular, and without it in the plural" (1851: 251).

1.1.2.3. THE DIALECTAL APOSTROPHE

> *Dialectal Apostrophe* (aphaeresis, syncope, apocope): deployed to indicate the approximation of speech e.g. "I 'en't afraid!" (Pullman 1998: 48).

Analysis of the *Corpus of English Dialogues 1500-1700* has shown that the dialectal apostrophe was being deployed as early as the late seventeenth century. Having left his native Switzerland (the Old Swiss Confederacy) aged just sixteen around 1660-61, Guy Miege, a sometime diplomatic attaché and prolific dilettante, published *Nouvelle Methode Pour Appendre L'Anglois* (or *A New Method for Learning English*), a bilingual manual on language learning, in London, 1685. Largely composed of two columns, the left in French, the right its English translation, Miege constructs various 'dialogues' between 'familieres' that document instructional engagements with retailers and tradesmen. As an L2 speaker and writer of English, his textual representations of the language are particularly thought-provoking. An extract from an exchange involving the purchase of gloves from a "Millener" reads:

V. Combien en demandez vous?	V. What must you have for **'em**?
M. Six Chelins.	M. Six Shillings.
V. Je vous en donne cinq	V. I'le give ye five
M. Et demi, s'il vous plait	M. Six-pence more, if you please
V. Non, c'est assez	V. No, 'tis enough
M. Prenez les	M. Take **'em**

(Miege, 1685: 76-77).

For the benefit of the reader – and potential learner – Miege uses Standard French which he then translates into a version of English that includes perceived approximations of speech or

dialectal English e.g. <‘em>, <I’le give ye>, <‘tis>. Notably, Miege corresponds <’em> with polite singular *vous* - <prenez> - the equivalence of which implies a lack of stigma in the annotation’s application (compared with, say, Urquhart’s translation of Rabelais’s *Pantagruel* (1653), which translates the Limousin French dialect into dialectal Scots to better facilitate mockery of the Scholar). This early appearance of the dialectal apostrophe in English intimates an important formal difference with Scots apostrophe in 1706: unlike in the former, the latter never features word-initially (as will be shown in the corpus analysis).

Incidentally, referring back to section 1.1.2.2., Sklar states that a French grammarian named none other than Guy Miege had, over fifty years previously, suggested extending the function of the singular possessive apostrophe to that of the genitive plural (evidently he was ignored) (1976: 177).

1.1.2.4. THE MISCELLANEOUS APOSTROPHE: IDIOSYNCRATIC USE

Outside of those functions of the apostrophe listed above, a number of grammarians and authors saw an opportunity in the annotation’s lack of standardisation to innovate highly distinctive uses.

James Wharton, in his 1654 manual *The English Grammar*, instructed the apostrophe to be affixed to the:

> …third person singular of certain Verbs, with the Nominative set before it, is used Impersonally: as, It rain’s, it snow’s, it lighten’s, it thunder’s (cited in Shea 2014: 74).

Ammon Shea comments that “[t]his view appears to have been unique to Wharton: no other grammarians have made such a claim” (2014: 74).

Recalling that Sklar argued “under certain phonological conditions” the apostrophe “is pronounced as a fully-fledged phoneme” – e.g. in those genitive singular nouns ending in fricatives or affricates, normally written as *Thomas’s*, *boss’s*, or *church’s* as a surrogate /ə/ – the apostrophe has in fact previously found other phonological employment (1976: 175). James Elphinston (1721-1809), in texts such as the second volume of *Propriety Ascertained in Her Picture*, phonetically-written, used the apostrophe as a diacritic to signal vowel-lengthening:

> Dhe yong Philanthropist threw dhe juvenile masterpiece **into’** dhe hands…umbly hoping to’ render it dhare (1787: i-ii).

> …to' dhe calling ov French aid; ow which dhey hav thought so often to' avail dhemselves (1787: 4).
>
> If dhe Inglish hav hiddherto'… (1787: 9).

We can see corresponding vowel-lengthened <oo> in words such as "yoo" (1787: 24), "Woolves" (1787: 55), and "oot" (1787: 119). We know, of course, this idiosyncratic use of the apostrophe never found wide purchase but Elphinston's innovation is testament to the mark's flexibility.

The historical capaciousness of the apostrophe, demonstrated above, illustrates its inherent annotative qualities: its ability to time and again convey complex extratextual information, from memorialisation of vowels that reflected changing speech patterns, to Elphinston's vowel-lengthening, requiring the reader/speaker to modify pronunciation based on their familiarity with the word as a whole.

1.1.2.5. DIAGNOSTIC VARIABLES: RESOLVING AMBIGUITY

One might worry that the breadth of the apostrophe's function might undermine the establishing of the distinct function and corresponding word-environments that characterise the Scots apostrophe. This historiography, however, provides a diagnostic schematic for discerning what is *not* a Scots apostrophe: providing contextualising matter and outlining the word-environments in which we can expect other functions to occur.

1.1.3. PROGNOSTIC CHANGES IN MIDDLE SCOTS

During preliminary reading of historical material for this thesis – chiefly those eighteenth-century miscellanies which would form the basis of the corpus, such as Watson's *Choice Collection* (1706), Ramsay's *Poems* (1721), and Burns's *Poems, Chiefly in the Scottish Dialect* (1786) – the Scots apostrophe was regularly found in particular word environments that were created by phonological/orthographic changes in Middle Scots (c.1450-1700)[8]. The most frequent examples, based on manual enquiry, included: <a'> (from l-vocalised <all>); <wi'> (from <with> that had undergone loss of final /θ/); and <an'> (from consonant clustered <and>). These recurring instances inspired the hypothesis that, rather than the simple

[8] There is by no means universal consensus regarding this temporal delineation and nomenclature. For a discussion of this issue, see Joanna Kopaczyk's paper 'Rethinking the traditional periodisation of the Scots language' (2013).

"clipping of consonants" wrongly claimed by Grant, there was a direct relationship between archaic Scots language change and those forms modified by the Scots apostrophe.

Using both the DSL and Aitken's research on Scots historical linguistics, the following changes were hypothesised (and confirmed, as we will see, by the corpus wordlist) as those which led to the diagnostic word-environments that could identify a Scots apostrophe:

1. L-vocalisation e.g. <full> = <fou> or <fow>
2. V-deletion e.g. <have> = <hae>; <himself> = <himsell> or <himsel>
3. Loss of final /θ/ e.g. <with> = <wi>
4. Inflectional contraction e.g. <running> = <runnin>
5. Consonant clustering e.g. <and> = <an>

Aitken observes that, with the exception of inflectional contraction and consonant clustering, they were all variables typically found in "low-life poetry" – i.e. vernacular poetry – and as such functioned as "formal stylistic markers" (2002: 9.2.4.). Aitken described them as:

> …the written reflections of reductions of unstressed words in rapid speech, and of recent innovations in pronunciation involving the vocalisation or loss of consonants. All were probably still only optional in speech, existing alongside alternative full-form options, as indeed most continue to do in ModSc [Modern Scots] today (2002: 9.2.4.)

This is a crucially important point since Aitken is suggesting that these changes, which would eventually facilitate Watson's apostrophised forms, were closer to the vernacular speech of Scots than the literary forms of the Makars. He continued:

> …When the OSc [Older Scots] poems were written these forms were comparatively recent innovations in speech. They remained unacceptable – presumably as colloquial modernisms – in general written usage and emerged into regular use only with the ModSc dialect verse of Allan Ramsay and his followers (including Robert Burns) in the 18th century (2002: 9.2.4.).

The direct connection Aitken makes between the early vernacular speech associations of these changes and their eventual popularity and function in the written 'Vernacular Revival' of the eighteenth century has significant ramifications for this study. Firstly, it forms the beginning of a case that apostrophised forms have an intrinsically 'Scots' function, contrary to modern estimations, and, secondly, flags an important consideration for when we begin our close corpus and philological analysis of texts in Chapter Two: the potential for register – and style shifting – to constrain the deployment of apostrophised forms.

We might now consider an overview of each of these relevant Middle Scots changes, which will culminate in a definitive list of word-environments that can assist in diagnosing apostrophised forms.

1.1.3.1. L-VOCALISATION

The development of l-vocalisation in Middle Scots has been recently complicated by Molineaux and Kopaczyk et al (2018) who found that, based on a corpus of legal and administrative documents, l-vocalisation was not characteristic of early Scots and had likely not made significant inroads by the beginning of the sixteenth century. They did point out, however, that Aitken observed a greater display of l-vocalised forms in his 'low-life' – or vernacular – poetry, which potentially suggests an early genre constraint (2002: 9.3.7).

L-vocalisation occurred in word-medial and word-final Scots lexis where /l/ was preceded by a stressed syllable – e.g. <ful> - which resulted in a compensatory vowel lengthening in Middle Scots e.g. <fow> or /fu:/ (Smith, 2012: 31). This resulted in contemporary spelling differences between Modern Scots and Present Day English such as <gowf> and <golf>; <haud> and <hold>; and <stoun> and <stolen> (Macafee & Aitken 2002: 6.23).

'Doublets' – e.g. <pull>, <full>, <all> etc – are of particular interest since their l-vocalised forms are especially receptive to being apostrophised in Scots literature. As noted above, Macafee & Aitken mention that vocalised and unvocalised varieties were regularly deployed concurrently by the makars – Dunbar, Kennedy, Douglas, and Lyndsay – for the purposes of rhyme but they highlight the effect of register:

> …the unvocalised type especially in their more serious verse, with rhymes displaying vocalisation only in colloquial passages. Possibly the change was still in the process of diffusion (2002: 6.23.)

Indeed, both William Dunbar's (1459-1520) *Ane Brash of Wowing* (*A Bout of Wooing*) (c.1500) and *The Twa Cummeris* (*The Two Troublemakers*) (c.1500), comic compositions centering on Chaucerian imprudence, feature vocalised forms. The former, a poem about thwarted lust, includes the lines: "I wowit nevir ane vder bot ȝow | My wame is of ȝour lufe so **fow**" and "To hie! Quod scho, and gaif ane **gowf** | Be still, my cowffyne and my **cawf**" (Baildon 1907: 4-5). In the latter, a conversation between women made indiscreet by alcohol, a vocalised form occurs towards the end: "Fill **fow** the glass and drynk me to | This lang lentern makis me lene" (Baildon 1907: 25).

In Dunbar's comparatively serious narrative poem, however, *The Tua Mariit Wemen and the Wedo* (*The Two Married Women and the Widow*), which describes an anonymous narrator's overhearing of a discussion between three women in a garden, non-vocalised forms are exclusive and regular: "full of gay flouris"; "schyning full bricht"; "Off ferlifull fyne favour"; "that 3e call the blist band that bindis so fast" (Baildon, 1907: 10-11). Notwithstanding a corpus analysis of the function of vocalised forms in the works of Dunbar, Kennedy, Douglas, and Lindsay, it is nonetheless interesting that a variant like l-vocalisation, so early in its emergence, was already subject to style-switching. It is worth recalling here (from section II of the Introduction) the Scots Style Sheet's first tenet for standardising Scots reads:

> Aa for older 'all' and colloquial 'a' : caa, baa, smaa, faa, staa. But ava, awa, wha. And snaw, blaw, craw, etc (Purves 2002: 120).

Interestingly, the Style Sheet decided not to advocate returning to archaic <all> but, clearly regarding <a> as spoiled by <a'>, or concerned by its proximity to the English determiner, innovated <aa>.

As will emerge in section 1.2.4.2, l-vocalised forms were the most widely apostrophised in the corpus of texts: indeed, investigated more closely Chapter Two, <a'> was the most frequently used Scots apostrophe by its innovator, James Watson.

1.1.3.2. V-DELETION

Described by Jeremy Smith (2012: 31) as occurring in tangent with a compensatory vowel lengthening and featuring after c. 1450, v-deletion – which could also correspond to <f>, <ff>, and <w> in words such as <giff> for <give> and therefore is inclusive of f-deletion (Corbett 2013: 81) – is a commonly understood diagnostic of Older Scots. Paul Johnston notes that devoicing of /v/, where the following syllable ends with a sonorant, "defines all North Britain from the North Midlands up" (1997: 104).

Interestingly, much like l-vocalisation, v-deletion seems to occur within certain register constraints, which we can observe in the respective results for <devil> and <deil> in the *Dictionary of the Older Scots Tongue* (DOST) (a constituent of the DSL website).

Source material for <devil> (also <dewil> and <divil>) includes John Barbour's *Legends of the Saints* ("Be thi spek I wat now The dewil is mare master than thu"): a collection of hagiographies; Androw of Wyntoun's *Orygynale Cronykil of Scotland* ("In lyklyness off a spayman Off cas the dewyll spak wyth hym than"): a historical account of Scotland in the tradition of John of Monmouth; John Gau's *The Richt Vay to the Kingdom of Heuine* ("Jesus

Christ the quhilk … distroyit the kingdome of the dewil"): a small octavo containing a reforming Lutheran treatise; the *Records of Inverness*, edited by William MacKay and Herbert Cameron Boyd et al ("scho wes yet with the dewyllis kap on hyr hed on hycht of the Kirk of Elgyn"): a formal historical record; and John Stewart's *The Miscellany of the Spalding Club* ("Becaws the Dewill playit nocht so melodiousle and weill as thow crewit, thow tuik his instrument owt of his mouth"): a collection of historical texts published by the eponymous antiquarian society ('Devil n.' DSL 2004). As we can see, the source material for the voiced form of <devil> is universally formal: religious meditation and historical documentary.

By contrast, the source material for <deil> (also <dele>), which lists Sir Richard Holland's *The Book of the Howlat* ("Quhat dele alis thé?"): a Scots adaptation of an eastern fable that mocks vanity; John Rolland of Dalkeith's *The Buke of the Sevyne Sagis* ("3our callit son, 3one dele" and the rather intriguing mix of variants: "I, devill of deillis, I 3ow condame"): another Scots adaptation, this time of a Latin text which dramatizes the 'perils' of female ambition; Dunbar and Kennedy's *The Flyting of Dumbar and Kennedie* ("Generit betuix ane sche beir and a deill"): a bardic contest of increasingly vituperative insults; Robert Charteris' comedy, *Ane verie excellent and delectabill Treatise intitulit Philotus* ("I gat … A deill vnto my dame"), a Chaucerian-style tale that satirises the lust of an old man for a youthful woman; and Walter Chamber's edited *Charters and Documents relating to the Burgh of Peebles with extracts from the Records of the Burgh, AD 1165–1710* ("The said Iames Haldine … sayd: Deill nor he break his neck if that he served upon these termes"): a collection of formal historical texts ('Deil n.1' DSL 2004).

Unlike the entry for <devil>, it is apparent that, with the anomalous exception of the latter, the source material for <deil> is entirely drawn from fictional and humorous sources, suggesting a similar contemporary attitude to the deployment of l-vocalisation: that whether a context is formal or colloquial might affect whether the chosen form features <v>. One of the DSL's sources, however, Rolland's *Buke of the Sevyne Sagis*, featured the line: "I, devil of deillis, I 3ow condame," does suggest that meter was also a factor considered by speakers.

V-deletion will be an interesting point of observation in the following chapters since the environment in which it could be apostrophised – word-medial – was heavily contested in the early eighteenth century by non-apostrophised varieties e.g. <ha'e> and <hae>.

1.1.3.3. Loss of Final /θ/

Bann and Corbett have stated that a "minor sound change" in the Older Scots period "resulted in the loss of word-final /θ/ in a small number of words" and proceed to cite in DOST the word MOU/MOW – a contraction of MOUTH – as the earliest quoted instance, which appears circa 1470 (2015: 35). As with l-vocalisation and v-deletion, the elision of word-final /θ/ was dependent on whether the textual environment was described as "similarly colloquial" (Aitken and Macafee 2002: 6.31.5).

DOST cites both MOW and UNCOW as prime examples of "loss of final th" ('Uncow' n.1; 'Mow' n.2, DOST 2020). One of the earliest instances of the former occurs in the poem, 'Wyf of Auchtirmwchty' ('Wife of Auchtermuchty') (cited from the sixteenth-century Bannatyne MS), a humorous tale of an incompetent husband and his clever wife, which makes light of the chaos that ensues when the latter skilfully tends the fields and the former disastrously attempts housework. It includes the lines:

> Than ben thair come ane gredy sow
> I trow he cund hir littill thank
> and in scho schot hir mekle **mow**
> and ay scho winkit and scho drank (f. 121r).

Again, this change, similarly to others, is deployed as an expansion of the author/copyist's rhyming repertoire. And although 'Wife of Auchtermuchty' is a humorous poem, similar to the others, loss of final /θ/ had evidently began diffusing across registers. An example of <uncow> is found in the printed sermons of the Fife-born theologian, Alexander Henderson (1583-1646):

> The natural man, he knows nothing at all of this peace; speak of this peace to him, and of faith who is the mother of this peace, and of joy who is the compassion of it, they are strange and **uncow** (uncouth) language to him (1867: 83).

There are two striking factors about this example. Firstly, it is taken from *Sermons, Prayers and Pulpit Addresses*, a collection of Henderson's theological writings put together by the Reverend R. Thomas Martin in 1867. In the process of copying the manuscript, Martin has clearly taken exception to the Scotticism "uncow" and provided an urgent gloss. Secondly, it is no surprise that Henderson's prose is largely in what we might recognise as Standard English, the language of the Reformation across Great Britain: Henderson, not coincidentally, was a founder of the Reformed Church of Scotland. It is fascinating, however, that "uncow"

found its way past the anglicising filter of Henderson: the result, perhaps, of "uncow" being a relatively recent innovation and a close reflex of Scots speech.

Interestingly, DOST only contains a single reference to what would be the most popular apostrophised form of the eighteenth century: <wi>. It is cited from an unpublished PhD thesis, 'A History of the Burgh and Parochial Schools of Fife from the Reformation to 1872' by James Meldrum Beale (1953) and quotes from minutes dated 1624 in which a man, Mr. Thomas Bigger of Kinghorn, has requested payment from the local Kirk Session for "past service." Amusingly, Beale notes that Bigger is the "scrib" of these minutes and seemingly takes full advantage of that opportunity:

> Mr Alexander Soriageour notwithstanding he is minister and moderator of the session refuisit to move any wayes in that business: Becaws sayd he the said Mr Thomas had compleanit to the superior powers upon him. Quilk the session hearing: alleadgit you had as littell entres **wi** that busines as he; swa that the said Mr Thomas seeing na apperance of payment to be maid to him: Alieadgit he wald be no moir bund to serve thame than thai wald be bund to pay him for his service (1953: 127).

Again, although its appearances are minor before 1700, suggesting modernity, it is fascinating that <wi> occurs in a format such as minutes designed to approximate speech. Even more so, perhaps, despite its relative recency, is its explosion in popularity in the first half of the eighteenth century as an apostrophised form: <wi'>.

1.1.3.4 Consonant Clusters and Inflectional Reduction

An important change as a result of consonant clustering was the conjunction <and> reducing to <an>, which seems to have occurred relatively early in the fifteenth century. Whereas l-vocalisation and v-deletion showed early signs of confinement to the vernacular and, within that, the comic, <an> begins life in the elevated domain of historical chronicle. DOST cites its appearance in Andrew Wyntoun's circa 1420 *Orygynale Cronykil of Scotland*: "To riche **an** pure" (MS BL Royal 17.D.xx); Hector Boece's *The History and Chronicles of Scotland* (1531): "His body wes brocht to Berigone, **an** beyrit" (Seton & Chambers et al 1821); and Robert Lyndsay's *The History and Cronicles of Scotland* (a1578): "Aie **an** quhill the castell sould be randrit" (Mackay 1911).

In his chapter, 'Debate on Scots Orthography,' in the collection *Focus on Scotland* (ed. Manfred Görlach 1985), discussing how one might distinguish a modernised Scots orthographic system, McClure writes:

> The retention of terminal d in the cluster nd, which disappeared from Scots pronunciation in the fifteenth or sixteenth century is hard to justify (1985: 206).

As with l-vocalisation in the Scots Style Sheet, <nd> – another Scots form which, as will be demonstrated, the Scots apostrophe came to regularly inhabit – becomes a candidate for revision amongst the revivalists. This suggests frequency in Scots across the centuries and the importance, therefore, of its apostrophisation.

Aitken has suggested that, based on early manuscript evidence, the inflectional ending <-ing>, signalling adverbs, had already began to shift to <-in> in the fourteenth century, observing:

> As in other cases, the orthography of MSc is more conservative, and the *-in* form, which was presumably prevalent in speech, is revealed mainly in reverse spellings like *kichin(g* 'kitchen' (2002: 6.31.3).

Although there is comparatively limited discussion on the change from <nd> cluster to <n>, its close association with speech as hypothesised by Aitken again suggests its importance to vernacular use.

1.1.3.5. DIAGNOSTIC VARIANTS: ORTHOGRAPHIC VARIANTS

Based on the language changes which took place during the Middle Scots period, it was hypothesised (and subsequently proven by the thesis corpus) that the Scots apostrophe could be deployed in the following indicative list of orthographic environments:

1. *A'* e.g. A', FA', AWA', A'THEGITHER, WHA'
2. *N' e.g. GLOAMIN', HAUN', MIN'
3. *I' e.g. WI'
4. *U' e.g. FU', CHEERFU', DOLEFU'
5. *I'E e.g. GI'E
6. *E'I* e.g DE'IL
7. *A'E e.g. HA'E, GA'E
8. *L' e.g. HERSEL', HIMSEL'
9. *O' e.g. UNCO'

By cross-referencing the outcomes of this section – a list of potential orthographic environments – with the historiography of 1.1.2 – a taxonomy of the apostrophe's other contemporary functions and their potential word environments – the result of section 1.1. is

a detailed set of diagnostic references that can distinguish the deployment of the Scots apostrophe.

1.2. Quantitative Methodology: Why a Corpus?

With the primary constituent of each subsequent chapter in this thesis being the analysis of texts particular to certain historical authors, editors, and printers – and each agent having discriminated between apostrophised and non-apostrophised variants – the inclusion of a diachronic corpus comprising texts from across the eighteenth century provides important epistemological support. Firstly, it contextualises qualitative philological analysis against long-term trends in the literary diffusion of apostrophised forms, and – secondly – it collates information which can encourage counterintuitive and alternative understandings to the function of apostrophised forms based on widespread use e.g. challenging the common claim that apostrophised forms are intended as anglicising agents in a text.

Corpus analysis was crucial for both diachronic and synchronic assessment, and the uncovering of nuanced data such as the use of apostrophised forms in relation to the following constraints: register (including semantic boundaries, style and code-switching, differences between poems in the same miscellany that are genre-informed etc); word-environment; relationship to non-apostrophised varieties (e.g. are <an> and <an'> used concurrently in the same text?); and diachronic transmission (e.g. does deployment of apostrophised forms change across editions of a text?).

Simply the act of constructing the corpus has proven valuable for classifying apostrophised forms: as was shown in section 1.1.3., the preliminary necessity of establishing those word environments in which apostrophised forms can function, as a result of changes in Middle Scots, meant corpus searches of selected texts could be tailored not only to avoid confusion with other varieties of apostrophe but to identify such data that, with philological context, could suggest motivations other than anglicisation.

Further, and perhaps most significantly in the long-term, the prominent role of the corpus in achieving the goals of this thesis demonstrates the fecundity of non-lexical marks as objects of worthwhile investigation for corpus linguists.

1.2.1 Current Corpus Research

The thesis corpus was necessarily influenced by recent corpus studies into punctuation, not only in terms of what they could do and had done, but also in what they could not do, or as yet were not doing.

In the last thirty years, non-lexical marks have been garnering, if only gradually, the interest of corpus linguists. In her paper for the XPRAG.it Behavioural and Neural Evidence on Pragmatic Processing conference, 'A cognitive pragmatic approach to punctuation', Marcella Bertuccelli observed that "the scientific debate mainly focuses on the prosodic versus grammatical function of punctuation. Studies in corpus linguistics and computational analysis of texts similarly hinge on the rhetorico-prosodic vs parsing function of punctuation" (2017). Arguing that such a binary is over-simplified and "insufficient to explain the complexities of punctuation systems," Bertuccelli contends that:

> …no matter how hard we try to systematically connect punctuation with intonation, pauses and syntactic boundaries, exceptions will always turn out in usage that force us to find specific explanations in specific contexts in terms of intentionality, attitudes, pragmatic force, etc (2017).

Bertuccelli makes an exceptionally important point here: that to rigidly compartmentalise punctuation and, indeed, other marks such as the apostrophe, into binary functions of intonation, rhythm, and stress on the one hand, and grammatical structure on the other, will inherently limit our capacity to understand the broad function of non-lexical marks in language. The discussion in this chapter demonstrates that the apostrophe alone has historically had at least seven functions, some of which operate outside of this binary such as vowel-lengthening and, of course, the distinctly Scots variant. With Bertuccelli in mind, and from the perspective of this project, the corpus (and corpus-focused) studies considered here – Jones (1994); Bayraktar & Say et al (1998), and Sun and Wang (2019) – have two common threads running through them: 1) an uncertainty about the role of the apostrophe in the English language and as a potential object of study, and 2) a desire to uncover a unified theory of punctuation by maximising its machine-readability. Despite being superficially very different concerns, they are in fact intrinsically linked.

On point one, the studies were divided along a spectrum: those that did include the apostrophe in their analyses – Sun & Wang (2019) – and did so without distinguishing it from structural punctuation; those that did not include it and with only ambiguous reasoning for not doing so – Bayraktar & Say et al (1998) – such as prohibitive scope; and those that explicitly did not include the apostrophe such as Jones (1994), who deemed it unviable to include the apostrophe in their data analysis:

> Although arguments could be made for including the sub-lexical marks (e.g. hyphens, apostrophes) and structural marks (e.g. bullets in itemisations), they are excluded since they tend to be lexicalised or rather difficult to represent, respectively (1994: 421).

Their study analysing the role of punctuation in the field of syntax, Jones highlighted the apostrophe's tendency to be lexicalised (i.e. read in its capacity as part of a word: e.g. <don't>) in the course of corpus analysis as grounds for its exclusion; a sympathetic choice insofar as one might understandably wish their study to be uniform with others'. It is, however, problematic when that accepted practice is predicated on error or unfamiliarity. Jones's reasoning suggests the importance of this chapter's historiography: we are conditioned to understand the apostrophe as punctuative but, when attempting to understand its functions within this delineation, are inhibited by its incongruity with markers that have actual punctuative functions.

Sun & Wang's (2019) study, which, using a variety of established corpora including the Brown Corpus, the British National Corpus, and the Global Web-Based English, set out to uncover whether punctuation in global Englishes followed certain patterns of frequency distribution, made the perceptive point that:

> …many linguists associate punctuation with intonation, but the truth is more complex than that – punctuation marks may affect orthography, morphology, syntactic relations, semantic information, and can even influence textual structure (2019: 23).

Whilst their study produces insightful and interesting results – such as concluding that punctuation across Englishes was highly functional with "frequency distribution for English punctuation" following "the laws of least effort," and punctuation use fluctuates dependent on register (2019: 34) – certain conclusions were arguably flawed due to their lack of qualitative contextualisation. Using Google Ngrams, Sun & Wang claim "that the climax for the frequency of apostrophe was reached in the year 1712" and usage "underwent a dramatic fall up until 1850" (2019: 31). Whilst there may be an overall decrease in apostrophe usage (and this is by no means proven beyond doubt although it certainly is interesting if true), this generalisation obscures the fact that certain capacities of the apostrophe during this period radically increased in use: for example, as this thesis's corpus will show, apostrophised Scots spellings. This assessment reinforces the importance, in least in the present age, of coordinating corpus and qualitative enquiry.

Alongside Say & Akman (1997), who in their paper, 'Current approaches to punctuation in computational linguistics,' offered an overview of attempts to improve machine readability of

punctuation, Jones (1994) calls for a theory of punctuation. The former – as a result of surveying contemporary computational linguistic studies into punctuation use and function based on the Parkesian axiom that "[p]unctuation marks are used to make the text maximally relevant and informational for the reader" (1997: 464) – state that we are in a position where "we can list the desiderata for a theory of punctuation" but that currently "no such theory exists" and more corpus studies, especially in languages other than English, were necessary (1997: 467). Jones (1994), meanwhile, concluding that "inclusion and use of punctuational phenomena within natural language syntax can assist the general aims of natural language processing" resolved that:

> …knowledge of the role of punctuation is still severely limited. The grammar only performed reliably on those punctuational phenomena it had been designed with. Unexpected constructs caused it to fail totally. Therefore, following the recognition that punctuation can play a crucial role in natural language syntax, what is needed is a thorough investigation into the theory of punctuation. Then theoretically based analyses of punctuation can play a full and important part in the analysis of language (1995: 425).

Neither Say & Akman (1997) nor Jones (1995) offer significant detail on what form a theory of punctuation would take, although the former study does suggest that it "should account for both structural and text-level punctuation and be formal enough to be applied in the analysis and generation of written language" (1997: 467). But echoing the tenuous conclusion on historical apostrophe use drawn by Sun & Wang (2019), both Say & Akman (1997) and Jones (1995) failed to consider a role for qualitative analysis at any stage of this potential theory's production.

Say & Akman (1997) do offer a short tour through the history of punctuation but it sacrifices nuance for brevity and the authors have chosen not to use such information to contextualise their conclusions, only calling for further corpus analysis (1997: 467). Whilst this thesis considers the creation of any universal, unimpeachable theory deeply questionable – recalling Bertuccelli's assessment that "exceptions will always turn out in usage that force us to find specific explanations in specific contexts" – the call in these studies for a substantial effort in increasing our understanding of the performative role of non-lexical markers in English and beyond is welcome.

1.2.2. What Qualifies as a 'Scots Text'?

An unexpected challenge in developing the corpus for this thesis presented itself with the question: what, exactly, qualifies as a Scots text? Is it one that has been written by a Scot, and specifically someone who has lived for a long time in Scotland? Simply written in Scotland? About Scotland or Scots? Or must it necessarily be more intralinguistic: a text which is written partly or entirely in Scots, regardless of extralinguistic factors? For the purposes of a corpus addressing questions pertaining to Scots, the latter seems the instinctively obvious resolution but comes with its own issues.

Philologically, Scots is relatively easy to define: a member of the West Germanic family of languages (comprising English, Dutch, Afrikaans, Flemish, Frisian, and German), it shares a common ancestor with Modern English in Old English, a dialect from which – Old Northumbrian – Modern Scots is descended (in the same way we might describe Present Day English as descended from Late West Saxon). Historically, its borrowing capacity has been ample, notably importing vocabulary from French, Latin, Dutch, Gaelic, Norse, and, of course, English. By the seventeenth century, Scots was densely spoken in the Lowlands, shared space with Gaelic in the Highlands, and had been imported into Ireland as part of James I's Protestant colonisation of Ulster (see Aitken 2015; Corbett 1999; Jones 1997).

But Aitken has stated that the influence of English on Scots, in an albeit limited fashion, began to manifest as early as the fourteenth century with some verse opting to replace Scots <a> with English <o> as in <ga>=<go> (Aitken 2015: 3). "In prose," he notes, "there is a handful of words that look like the fifteenth-century verse anglicisms" and lists the following examples he has found (which he describes as "quasi-anglicisms"):

> LORD (1379, 1393, 1397, etc.); more (in rhyme in Barbour and Legends of the Saints, which are otherwise virtually free of anglicisms; in prose in 1513, 1521, etc.); QUHOM (1449) (whom); BOTE (1471, frequent thereafter, current earlier but unrecorded?) (boat); and POLE (1474) (a staff) (Aitken, 2015: 3).

Noting that early on in the fifteenth century it "deviates in sense from its cognate LARDE" or LAIRD – becoming confined to a more earthly expression of authority – LORD is a particularly interesting example highlighted by Aitken (2015: 3). DOST lists (not inexhaustively, it should be added) six illustrative examples of LARD/LAIRD as applied in description of Christ. For its English cognate LORD, as applied to God or Christ, there are well over thirty. Notably still inflected with Scots morphemes – "He is king aboue all kingis and lord our all lordis" (Ireland 2015) – the volume of entries collected from a wide array of

Older Scots verse intimate the centrifugal power of pre-Reformation English institutions affecting Scots.

Earlier English access to printing, the Union of the Crowns in 1603, the Act of Union in 1707, the advent and diffusion of standardising English: all contributed in some way to radically modifying Scots and its usage. The rise of bilingualism of Scots and English, and the bidialectalism of regional Scots and Anglo-Scots, created a space in the urbanised districts of Scotland in which Scots and English collapsed into one another, leading a number of scholars, including Aitken, to conclude the existence of a Scots-English continuum (see also Kniezsa 1997 and Kopaczyk 2012). Aitken has argued:

> Something approaching Scottish English, by which I mean the Scots-accented variety of Standard English, more or less 'pure', or phonologically unmixed with Scots except at the level of accent, first emerged, I believe, in the speech of some Scots aristocrats near the end of the seventeenth century. The prior stage in the anglicising of Scots saw the genesis of a prose variety which combined phonological elements of Scots and English in writing and probably also in speech. This mixed variety first appears in some of the correspondence and other personal writings of a minority of Scottish writers in the first half of the sixteenth century. As a label for this variety we might borrow Tom McArthur's term for the continuum of Scots and English at the present day, 'Scots English' (Aitken 2015: 2).

The Corpus of Modern Scots Writing seems to have based its criteria for text inclusion on this understanding of the language. In its 'About' section, it outlines:

> Language use in Scotland in the modern period can be described as a continuum with Standard English at one end, and social and regional varieties of Broad Scots at the other. Writers vary their performance along that continuum, to a greater or lesser extent, depending on their social background and the context of writing. It is generally thought that out of the interaction between Broad Scots and written Standard English, the hybrid prestige variety of today's Scottish English emerged…CMSW contains documents in Scottish Standard English, documents in different varieties of Scots, and documents which may be described as lying somewhere between Scots and Scottish Standard English. While Scottish Standard English has a standard written form, Scots does not. This means that the corpus contains a wide range of variation in spelling. We hope to offer a means of searching for all of the variant spellings automatically in the

future. In the meantime, we recommend the online Dictionary of the Scots Language as an excellent source of possible variants (Corbett & Smith 2013).

Although CMSW has operated with a broad conception of what can be termed Scots, it draws on the DSL as a framework for corresponding variants, which helps to anchor the considerable spelling variation.

This thesis is aligned with the linguistic conception of the language by Aitken and the CMSW: any attempt to discriminate 'Scots texts' based on orthographic 'purity' would be inherently fruitless and counterproductive. This project, however, required an extra 'layer' of classification for 'Scots' that was functional in terms of corpus-admissible criteria. The Scots apostrophe, by definition, only modifies those words with an etymological history of use in Scots literature. Thus, for the purpose of the thesis, a Scots text is one with the potential for a Scots apostrophe; that is, one where the author, editor or printer had a choice between apostrophised or non-apostrophised forms e.g. <a'> or <aw> or <aa>; <cheerin'> or <cheerin>; <de'il> or <deil>. Conceiving of 'Scots texts' in this way, and restricting the corpus accordingly, ensures the data captured is relevant to and useful for the study in question.

1.2.3. Corpus Composition

Table 1.1 provides an overview of this thesis's corpus: comprised of twenty texts by seventeen authors from across the eighteenth century, it outlines the title, author/editor/printer, year of publication, and the word count of each constituent text.

***Table 1.1*: Composition of the thesis corpus.**

Text	Author/Editor/Printer	Year of Publication	No. of Words
1. *Choice Collection*	James Watson	1706	71,800
2. *Poems*	Allan Ramsay	1721	42,725
3. *The Braes of Yarrow*	Anon.	1723	947
4. *The Ever Green*	Allan Ramsay	1724	36,754
5. *Orpheus Caledonius*	William Thomson	1733	20,823
6. *The Birks of Invernay*	David Mallet	c.1733	260
7. *The Gentle Shephard*	Allan Ramsay	1743	21,894
8. *Flowers of the Forest*	Anon.	1755	148
9. *Tullochgorum*	John Skinner	1760	471

10. *The Fortunate Shepherdess*	Alexander Ross	c.1768	675
11. *Ancient and Modern Scottish Songs*	David Herd	1769	81,169
12. *The Daft Days*	Robert Fergusson	1772	694
13. *Auld Robin Gray*	Anne Lindsay	1772	391
14. *Auld Reekie*	Robert Fergusson	1773	2461
15. *The Banks of the Dee*	Joh Home	1775	280
16. *My Ain Fireside*	Elizabeth Hamilton	1780	316
17. *Two Ancient Scottish Poems*	John Callander	1782	50,828
18. *Poems, Chiefly in the Scottish Dialect*	Robert Burns	1786	27,590
19. *Poems*	David Sillar	1787	27,381
20. *Minstrelsy of the Scottish Border*	Walter Scott	1803	211,126
		Total Word Count:	598,722

The medium of this corpus is literary Scots verse; it is composed of a variety of poetic miscellanies and individually sold ballads from across the eighteenth century. This focus was largely motivated by two reasons. Firstly, by containing the corpus to one medium – published verse – it created a kind of 'controlled environment' within which to analyse the extent to which apostrophised forms became regularised. This would have been problematised by the inclusion of other media in terms of both scope and practice. Attempting to investigate the presence and function of the Scots apostrophe in genre groups other than verse – such as journalism, administrative and religious prose, or private correspondence etc – would have far exceeded the resources available for the production of this thesis (primarily time and word count). Further, the methodologies being employed for this thesis – close philological analysis of selected case studies involving multiple editions of a single text, and editorial and printerial[9] effects in the production of those texts – would not necessarily benefit analysis of other genres. Investigation of private correspondence, for example, might involve more biographical analysis, and the sourcing and comparison (if available) with publicised texts by the same author to conclude whether there was evidence of style-shifting or code-switching in use of the Scots apostrophe. Even the inclusion of other literary mediums such as Book Scots in novel prose would have been complicated, since such texts may have differing

[9] 'Printerial' refers to interventions made by a text's printer: either in an editorial capacity or in the process of transforming handwriting into print.

register constraints for apostrophised forms. All of which recommends further study into the extent of the role of apostrophised forms in Scots.

Secondly (although conditional on the first reason): the enduring availability and profusion of literary Scots. From Ramsay to Scott, the poetic genre is a continually rich prospect. By the emergence of the Scots apostrophe in the early eighteenth century, formal writing – religious, instructional and expository, and administrative – was firmly on the path of shifting from native Scots orthographic and lexical variables in favour of native English alternatives, and so, as the Scots apostrophe is a uniquely Scots variable, it made sense to focus attention on the sphere where data would be readily available.

Corpora dedicated to Scottish writing in the period, as previously mentioned, do already exist, namely the Corpus of Modern Scottish Writing 1700-1945 (CMSW) (The Scottish Corpus of Text and Speech 1945-Present Day correspondingly covers the period of the 1950s onwards). For a number of reasons, however, it could not be used in its entirety and required supplementation from other sources.

The original intention when purposing a corpus for this thesis had been to rely heavily on the accumulation of 'verse/drama' tagged texts in the CMSW. This category in the CMSW, however, when delineated to the eighteenth century, only contains four texts by three authors (numbering a substantial 99,550 words however): Ramsay's *Poems* and *Gentle Shephard*; Burns's *Poems, Chiefly in the Scottish Dialect*; and *A True Relation of the Death of Sir Andrew Barton*, anonymous. The majority of the 'verse/drama' category occurs in the nineteenth century (and none whatsoever covering the period of 1900-1945).

Other sources which therefore contributed to the corpus' construction were: archive.org, Project Gutenberg, and Ballads Online. These repositories have been invaluable in making available .txt files where other repositories, such as Google Books, have not, and account for the remainder of the constituent texts.

These repositories, however, were not without issue. Whilst Ballads Online was only used for shorter, verse texts and provided parallel digitised images of source material to corroborate their text – making its use unproblematic – this was not the case for archive.org and Project Gutenberg. In order to provide such vast repositories, their creation necessarily involves scanning vast amounts of information (archive.org stores over 20,000,000 books and similar texts, and has captured over 330,000,000,000 web pages since its inception) but, given that both are non-profit organisations, there are likely to be insufficient resources to quality-

check each scanned document. The result is that some .txt files have been misread by machine intelligence and approximated with incoherent streams of logographs. Each concordance search used in this thesis was manually checked and where results returned misreadings by archive.org or Project Gutenberg's digitisation software, they were deleted from the results: on average, the exclusion rate was below 5% for each text (in terms of word count). Were this a larger project with more than a single person as its human resource, each document could be independently assessed and emended according to its source document. Nonetheless those occurrences of incoherent data are sufficiently minimal to have a negligible impact on final results.

At nearly 600,000 words, this is small corpus. It is, however, more than sufficient to provide meaningful data on a very small mark. Further, as stated in the thesis introduction and the beginning of this chapter, close philological enquiry is a crucial element of this thesis's methodological practice, and on this point Tyrkkö & Kopaczyk have previously outlined the potential complication facing users of larger corpora:

> Unlike the small corpora compiled carefully by philologically oriented teams of researchers, the so-called mega-corpora and corpus-like repositories are – for all their undeniable worth – often only minimally curated, which can lead to systematic errors in the analyses, while the meta-data is too scarce to allow inquiries into reasons behind the phenomena (2018: 2).

This corpus is most definitely of the smaller "philologically oriented" variety (certainly relative to, say, the vast billion-word corpora like the Corpus of American English) (Davies 2008). Given the integrated symbiosis between the qualitative and quantitative this thesis seeks to achieve/pursues, a smaller corpus that could be manually quality-controlled and whose outcomes could be reliably contextualised by philological enquiry was a formative priority.

1.2.4. CORPUS RESULTS

Of the 598,722 words comprising this corpus, there were 67,115 individual tokens. The following wordlist was composed to reveal both the most frequently occurring apostrophised Scots forms and their distribution across the twenty texts comprising the corpus (this ensured no frequently-deployed idiosyncratic forms were being overrepresented). The frequency and distribution of corresponding non-apostrophised Scots and English cognate forms were also identified in order to facilitate contextualisation for later philological enquiry.

1.2.4.1. POTENTIAL ISSUES

Quantitatively analysing the apostrophe has attracted unique challenges. Originally, I had intended to use Lancsbox software (Brezina et al 2020) for analysing corpus data but this proved unworkable: the software had apparently not programmed apostrophes to be machine readable in an orthographic capacity. The result was that searches for e.g. <a'> would return a vast amount of <a> tokens. It should be noted that this is also an issue affecting the CMSW (although I was not interested in its intra-document search function, only the documents themselves).

The solution was to switch to Antconc software (Anthony 2019). Whilst successful insofar as being able to return the relevant results required, the software nonetheless had to be manually tailored to read the apostrophe as an orthographic unit to prevent searches such as <a'> erroneously assuming the primacy of <a> and once again returning tens of thousands of <a> tokens.

This is perhaps the most challenging example of practical problems arising from the neglect of non-lexical markers: a limited conception of what constitutes research-worthy variables will invariably produce inflexible investigatory tools.

Importantly, the corpus was not lemmatised since this would inhibit uncovering relevant outcomes e.g. whether two Scots apostrophes could be deployed in a single word, such as <fa'in'> (<falling>); whether there is a blend of apostrophisation and Scots non-apostrophisation, as in <fa'in>; or whether one negates the other and is replaced with English, such as <fallin'>.

Reference to the historiography in section 1.1.2. was crucial in resolving certain ambiguities in the process of calculating the frequency and distribution of particular items:

a) Word-medial v-deletion apostrophisation was only considered in nouns – e.g. <de'il> - and ignored in other parts of speech. This is because its deployment outside of nouns is regularly metrical in function: e.g. <ne'er>, <e'er>, <o'er>, <e'en>.

b) Despite its regular occurrence, the word <ca'd> was disqualified since it was unclear whether it included a Scots apostrophe, as past tense of <ca'>, or if it was a memorial apostrophe modifying Scots <ca> (often written <caw> and so memorialising the <w>) to disambiguate its past tense from the different word <cad>.

Shared lexis between Scots and English, polysemy within Scots, and neighbouring word environments created further problems for disambiguation. When checking for concordances,

setting AntConc to only find 'words' – as opposed to morphemes – ensured that searching for examples of <wi> did not produce results that included <wither>, <win>, <wish> etc and thus made for easy comparison with <wi'> and <with>. The following represented the most extreme cases:

c) <an'>, <an>, and <an>. Both the non-apostrophised Scots and English reflexes share the same spelling and, given the extreme popularity of the latter language in the corpus, manual disambiguation was required based on concordance contextualisation.

d) The suffixes <-in'>, <-in>, and <-ing>. The non-apostrophised Scots form, in particular, overlaps with words such as <mountain>, <captain>, <rain>, <again>, and <kin>. This problem was overcome by modifying search language. Rather than simply asking AntConc to return all <-in> forms, the search entry [*???in] was used. In AntConc's 'wildcard' searches – non-specific searches – [*] translates as 'zero or more characters' and [?] as 'any one character'. Constructing the search in this manner prevented a glut of monosyllabic words like <rain> being returned, which made the process of manual sifting easier. The concordance results were subsequently manually pruned to ensure only relevant results were taken into account.

e) Similar issues were encountered when searching <a'>, <aw>, <all>, and <a>. Once again, it was the variant with English reflexes whose concordance results were obfuscated, and on this occasion compounded by Scots polysemy: aside from reporting the determiner <a> (e.g. a walk to the shops), the results also included the first person singular pronoun variety commonly used in Scots (e.g. A went walking). The sheer volume of concordances (11044 hits, the majority of which were the English determiner) made manual disambiguation highly impractical, and likely unreliable given the volume of tokens to be sieved, and so the decision was taken to exclude non-apostrophised Scots <a> from analysis.

f) Manual assessment was required to disambiguate <fa> from words that were intended to begin with <sa-> due to the problematic habit of the digitisation process translating long s (<ſ>) as <f>.

1.2.4.2. THE WORDLIST

Table 1.2. contains the top eighteen results of apostrophised Scots forms, ordered by highest to lowest frequency, along with their distribution results across the twenty texts that comprise the corpus. Alongside are the corresponding results for their non-apostrophised

Scots and English reflexes. The cut-off for listing apostrophised forms was a minimal frequency of five.

***Table 1.2*: Frequency and distribution of apostrophised forms, and their non-apostrophised Scots and English reflexes in the corpus of eighteenth-century verse.** No. of texts: 20. No. of words: 598,722. No. of individual tokens: 67,115.

Apost.	Freq.	Dist. /20	Non-Apost.	Freq.	Dist. /20	English	Freq.	Dist. /20
an’	1124	8	an	69	6	and	18,098	20
wi’	1027	16	wi	34	6	with	4124	17
a’	941	16	aw	75	10	all	1697	15
-in’	157	9	-in	60	8	-ing	7457	20
-fu’	129	13	-fu/-fou	64	9	-ful	578	13
awa’	109	7	awa	92	13	away	374	13
fa’	80	10	fa	0	0	fall	183	13
fu’	66	10	fou	71	9	full	200	12
ca’	48	10	caw/caa	6	6	call	154	10
gi’e	39	4	gie	137	11	give	230	11
ha’e	33	5	hae	401	12	have	1374	13
wa’	24	5	waw	1	1	wall	51	7
sma’	15	9	smaw	0	0	small	78	6
bra’	13	3	braw	88	11	n/a	0	0
ga’e	11	3	gied	19	4	gave	137	9
ba’	10	4	baw	0	0	ball	28	8
mou’	8	4	mou/mow	27	8	mouth	87	11
unco’	6	2	unco	48	7	uncouth	16	5

It is immediately observable that the top three results – by a considerable margin of frequency – are <an’>, <wi’>, and <a’>. With the exception of <an’>, which, as analysis in the following chapters will show, built gradual momentum across the century, their corresponding

distribution across texts is similarly sizeable. Whilst <an'> had a distribution value of 8, both <wi'> and <a'> had distribution values of 16 – over 75% of available texts.

Of these forms, <an'> and <wi'> are closed-class words – a conjunction and preposition – whilst <a'> can – and as will be shown, is – deployed in a range of functions: from pronoun to adjective to adverb. Indeed, the top six results in terms of frequency – those with over 100 tokens each – are (or facilitate) non-nouns. This is mirrored in the frequency results for non-apostrophised Scots: two forms occur at a rate larger than 100 tokens - <hae> and <gie>- neither of which are nouns. Recalling Aitken's spoken vernacular associations, one could plausibly attribute this frequency to the common use of their spoken reflexes.

There seems to be a degree of mutual exclusivity between apostrophised and non-apostrophised forms: this will be discussed further below in section 1.2.4.4.

Whilst English forms dominate – fortified by the tendency of writers/editors/printers to produce their paratext in English – there are is one deviation. Non-apostrophised <unco> outnumbers its English cognate in terms of both frequency and distribution. This suggests that even by the eighteenth century, certain lexis and orthography particular to Scots was resistant to English influence, which in turn may have been the result of their spoken reflexes remaining 'inconspicuously' Scots.

1.2.4.3. The Effects of Middle Scots Changes

Crucially, every single apostrophised result here corresponds with those Middle Scots orthographic changes outlined in section 1.1.3. It is especially fascinating that the four most frequently occurring wordlist results – <an'>, <wi'>, <a'>, and <-in'> suffix – respectively correspond to each of the four formative changes in Middle Scots, shown here in Table 1.3.

Table 1.3: **Wordlist results organised by corresponding Middle Scots changes**

L-Vocalisation	V-Deletion	Loss of final /θ/	Inflectional Reduction & Consonant Clustering
<a'>	<gi'e>	<wi'>	<an'>
<-fu'>	<ha'e>	<mou'>	<-in'>
<awa'>	<ga'e>	<unco'>	
<fa'>			
<fu'>			

<ca'>	
<wa'>	
<sma'>	
<bra'>	
<ba'>	

One might object to the inclusion of <awa'> and <bra'> in the l-vocalisation category: the former's non-apostrophised and English reflexes are <awa> and <away>, the latter's typical non-apostrophised Scots reflex is <braw>. As will be shown, however, both forms were the result of analogising with other l-vocalised <-a'> forms.

L-vocalised forms overwhelmingly dominate, representing more than 50% of the most frequently occurring tokens. This is followed by three occurrences each for v-deleted and loss of final /θ/ apostrophised forms respectively, and finally one occurrence of inflectional reduction – <-in'> – and one of consonant clustering: <an'>. These forms, however, represent a disproportionately large portion of tokens in terms of their frequency.

Although only a relatively small sample, this emphasis on the use of certain Middle-Scots-affected-terms is suggestive for diachronic language use: if those forms affected by changes in Middle Scots functioned as closely to speech as Aitken hypothesised, their continued use up to the eighteenth century suggests their relative importance in contemporary Scots discourse.

1.2.4.4. WORD-ENVIRONMENT

Parity between apostrophised and non-apostrophised Scots forms is noticeably infrequent. Where one more demonstrates high frequency use, the other correspondingly shows little. A demonstrable factor pressuring this outcome seems to be word-environment – i.e. whether the apostrophised form is word-medial or word-final occurring – observable in the following Tables 1.4 and 1.5:

Table 1.4: **Apostrophised and non-apostrophised Scots word-final forms**

Apost. Word-Final	Freq.	Non-Apost. Word-Final	Freq.
<an'>	1124	<an>	69
<wi'>	1027	<wi>	34

<a'>	941	<aw>	75
<-in'>	157	<-in>	60
<-fu'>	129	<-fu>	64
<awa'>	109	<awa>	92
<fa'>	80	<fa>/<faa>	0
<fu'>	66	<fu>/<fou>	71
<ca'>	48	<caa>/<caw>	6
<wa'>	24	<waw>	1
<sma'>	15	<smaw>	0
<bra'>	13	<braw>	88
<ba'>	10	<baw>	0
<mou'>	8	<mou>/<mow>	27
<unco'>	6	<unco>	48

Out of a possible fifteen forms, ten – or two thirds – show a preference for apostrophisation in word-final position. Interestingly, those apostrophised forms which adhere to this preference are all l-vocalised items ending with <-a'>, whereas those dissenting word-final forms which show a preference for non-apostrophisation are either non-l-vocalised, as in <mou>, <mow>, and <unco>, or l-vocalisations ending with <-u'> as in <fu'>. The two other exceptions are <braw>, which is a native Scots term with no Standard English cognate and therefore, theoretically, not requiring apostrophisation; and <awa>, whose spelling resulted from a shorn <y>. Given the dominant pattern of <-a'> in word-final apostrophised forms, it seems likely that writers, editors, and printers extended use of the Scots apostrophe to these words by process of analogy: as <aw> was written as <a'>, <braw> became (for some) <bra'>. The pre-existing final <a> of <awa> probably invited apostrophising in order for it to appear uniform with other examples of final <-a'>.

Conversely, when we consider word-medial forms the results are inverted:

***Table 1.5*: Apostrophised and non-apostrophised Scots word-medial forms**

Apost. Word-Medial	Freq.	Non-Apost Word-Medial	Freq.

<gi'e>	39	<gie>	137
<ha'e>	33	<hae>	401
<ga'e>	11	<gied>	19

The reasons for this inversion are not fully clear although we might speculate that since metrical apostrophes were common in v-deleted word-medial environments – e.g. <ne'ver>, <o'er> etc – the Scots apostrophe, over time, may have been regarded as less 'distinguishable' in this word placement. This point will further be addressed in section 4.2.1.

1.2.5. CONSEQUENCES FOR PHILOLOGICAL ENQUIRY

Going forward, the wordlist in Table 1.2 will function as a body of diachronic contextualisation which individual texts – the subjects of the close philological enquiry that will characterise the following chapters – can be measured against to create a trajectory of the Scots apostrophe's frequency and distribution, which in turn can inform qualitative discussion (e.g. is <an'> mostly found in late eighteenth century texts? If so, why?).

The corpus and extrapolated wordlist are foundational to quantitative analysis and providing a deeper understanding of the Scots apostrophe's function across time in way that not only challenges those modern beliefs outlined in the thesis introduction (see section III) but, more importantly, suggests why they are so common. For example, where a text has been transmitted and undergone substantial change in the process, what was the extent of the Scots apostrophe's representation in that change? And what were the functions of the transmission's changes e.g. to Scotticise? Anglicise? Answering these questions can challenge modern perceptions of the Scots apostrophe as an anti-Scottish, anglicising marker.

Likewise, what is the overall register of a text in which the Scots apostrophe is being used or not used? Are there identifiable semantic fields – e.g. religious, historical, domestic etc – where the Scots apostrophe is concentrated or avoided? If a text is using multiple varieties – apostrophised, non-apostrophised, English – how are they delineated? The corpus can help to calculate the answers to these questions, allowing closer philological enquiry to draw informed conclusions about the deployment of the Scots apostrophe by authors/editors/printers.

Eighteen apostrophised variables, however, are too many for one thesis to trace in detail over an extended period of time and discuss in-depth. Therefore, although a range of apostrophised forms will be included in discussion throughout, the top four most frequently-

occurring and (generally) well-distributed forms will receive priority attention: <an'>, <wi'>, <a'>, and <-in'> suffix. Conveniently, as previously mentioned, they correlate in the written mode with a range of Middle Scots sound-changes.

A more detailed account of the corpus and wordlist's application can be found at the end of section 1.3.7, which will outline the methodological stages of analysis in which both the quantitative and qualitative interact to establish research outcomes.

1.3. THEORETICAL ORIENTATION

In his 1950 paper, 'The Rationale of the Copy-Text,' W. W. Greg, discussing the flaws of Lachmann's genealogical method for pursuing a manuscript's 'original' – "What its more hasty devotees failed to understand, or at any rate sufficiently to bear in mind, was that authority is never absolute" (1950: 19) – outlined the distinction between the *substantives* and *accidentals*[10] of a manuscript. The former, substantives, represented "significant [...] readings of the text, those namely that affect the author's meaning or the essence of his expression" and the latter, accidentals, were "such in general as spelling, punctuation, word-division, and the like, affecting mainly its formal presentation" (1950: 21). He proceeded to suggest how we might have expected scribes and compositors to react to both during the copying process:

> As regards substantive readings their aim may be assumed to be to reproduce exactly those of their copy, though they will doubtless sometimes depart from them accidentally and may even, for one reason or another, do so intentionally: as regards accidentals they will normally follow their own habits or inclination, though they may, for various reasons and to varying degrees, be influenced by their copy. Thus a contemporary manuscript will at least preserve the spelling of the period, and may even retain some of the author's own (1950: 22).

Textual criticism (and, adjacently, linguistics) has traditionally underestimated the value of textual minutiae – accidentals – such as spelling, word-division, punctuation, and non-lexical marking, in no small part due to its viewing of them as only useful in obsessive pursuit of a manuscript's earliest extant version. It was not until the twentieth century that thinking on this subject began to evolve. Greg admits:

> The former practice of modernizing the spelling of English works is no longer popular with editors, since spelling is now recognized as an essential characteristic of an author,

[10] One of Greg's contemporaries, Eric Partridge, in his book, *You Have A Point There*, opted for the terms "Allies and Accessories" (1953).

> or at least of his time and locality. So far as my knowledge goes, the alternative of normalization has not been seriously explored, but its philological difficulties are clearly considerable (1950: 21).

By "normalization," Greg means establishing a standardised spelling "for a particular period or district or author" in which to translate manuscripts (we ought to be mindful that sociolinguistics had yet to make its mark). Despite conceding that spelling, at least, was "an essential characteristic of an author," Greg proceeded to note (in a footnote):

> It will, no doubt, be objected that punctuation may very seriously 'affect' an author's meaning; still it remains properly a matter of presentation, as spelling does in spite of its use in distinguishing homonyms. The distinction I am trying to draw is practical, not philosophic" (1950: 21).

Greg's stubborn refusal to admit any form of textual minutiae as crucial to a text's cumulative 'meaning' is commendable in its consistency. In this section, however, we will observe how Greg's refusal to categorise them as anything other than "properly a matter of presentation," is anything but "practical."

As discussed in section 1.1.2. of this chapter, a probable motivator behind contemporary critics' misinformed claims about the role of the Scots apostrophe can, at least partially, be attributed to our limited conception of its capabilities in the text. This is a direct result of scholarship's wider disregard, and active diminution, of non-lexical markers in the function of a text. Lennard has previous written:

> The causes of this failure to be interested in punctuation are worth some consideration. One origin lies in the grammatical tradition, which for more than a millennium has been largely content to analyse marks of punctuation by function, as *elocutionary*, a rhetorical guide to pauses; *syntactic*, a grammatical guide to syntax; or *deictic*, merely for emphasis (2000: 1).

The emergence of historical pragmatics, however – the study of historical forms of language as defined by their contextual use – has created an increasingly voluminous epistemological framework with which to understand the role not only of punctuation but all non-lexical marks (and textual minutiae in general). Gert Ronberg (1995) observed that the Humanist approach to language distinguished itself from medieval Scholasticism in the belief that language existed not only to demonstrate but to persuade (1995: 55). This "rebirth" of classical rhetoric extended to punctuation practice, wherein Ronberg notes the Humanists

"attempted to strike a balance between the logical relationships in syntactic structures and the rhetorical structure of the period" (1995: 55). Whilst our modern punctuation system is "essentially logical and grammatical" – the priority being syntactic agreement such as in clausal relationships – the "rhetorical element" was much "more to the fore in Renaissance text" (1995: 55). Ronberg illustrates this characterisation by comparing an early seventeenth century edition of Francis Bacon's *The Advancement of Learning* with a modern transmission by William Aldis Wright (1973: 170-171), reproduced here for convenience of discussion:

> 1) For as knowledges are now delivered, there is a kinde of Contract of Errour, between the Deliuerer, and the Receiuer: for he that deliuereth knowledge, desireth to deliuer it in such fourme, as may be best beleeued; and not as may be best examined: and hee that receiueth knowledge, desireth rather present satisfaction, than expectant Enquirie, & so rather not to doubt, than not to err: glorie making the Author not to lay open his weaknesse, and sloth making the Disciple not to knowe his strength (Bacon 1995: 56).
>
> 2) For as knowledges are now delivered, there is a kind of contract of error between the deliverer and the receiver. For he that delivereth knowledge desireth to deliver it in such form as may be best believed, and not as may be best examined; and he that receiveth knowledge desireth rather present satisfaction than expectant inquiry; and so rather not to doubt, than not to err: glory making the author not to lay open his weakness, and sloth making the disciple not to know his strength (Wright 1973: 170-171).

Aside from the extensive modernisation of spelling throughout the second version (despite Greg's claim that such practice was waning), and with the notable exception of <eth> ending (which the author possibly retained due to its sufficient salience as an authentic diagnostic of the period), Ronberg notes that the substantial and nuanced punctuation of the earlier text – such as commas used to emphasise "contrastive units" (e.g. "the Contract of Errour, between the Deliuerer, and the Receiuer"; "rather present satisfaction, than expectant Enquirie") – is no longer present in Wright's transmission.

Ronberg's particular focus is the editorialisation of the seventeenth-century text's colons in the Wright transmission: reduced from three to one (1995: 56). The difference, Ronberg observes, is that whilst the single colon in the modern transmission is retained to signify the conclusion, the earlier text's colons have the function of parsing the single sentence into Bacon's four stages of argument a) Introduction of Deliuerer and Recieuer 2) Deliuerer 3)

Recieuer 4) Conclusion (1955: 56). Ronberg objects to Wright's placing of a semi-colon after "expectant inquiry" since it is:

> …too heavy, distorting Bacon's more subtly persuasive use of that punctuation mark [which Bacon uses only to distinguish the "antithetical" *best beleeued* and *best examined*]…The punctuation in the modern version ruins this rhetorically parallel balance by having three *difference* marks for Bacon's three colons, viz. full stop, semi-colon and colon (1955: 56).

Whether or not one agrees with emotive language such as "ruins" and "distorts" here, Ronberg raises the pertinent issue that (endemic) disregard for the contemporary functions of non-lexical markers when transmitting historical texts has inhibited not only our understanding of the textual role of those non-lexical markers but the wider sociocultural matrix they inhabit and reflect. Wright's transmission of Bacon entirely obscures the rhetorical dimension – closely aligned to speech and likely orally performed – of his verse.

The intention of this remaining section – Theoretical Orientation – is to demonstrate how philology came to a position of understanding that textual minutiae was not simply a matter of formal "presentation," as suggested by Greg, but was just as fundamental in the act of communication, and just as constrained and shaped by sociocultural pressures, as any other aspect of the text. In doing so, I will situate this study of the Scots apostrophe in the increasingly broad field of historical pragmatic research, and make clear the philological value of investigating this small mark.

1.3.1. MOUVANCE

During the latter part of the twentieth century, scholarship began to seriously and critically engage with the fundamental goal of textual criticism, namely its singular pursuit of the most authoritative copy-text. In 1972, responding to traditional conceptions of critical restoration and recovery, the Swiss medievalist, Paul Zumthor, posited the notion of *mouvance*: the essential mobility of a text through time. He argued that the "common medieval combination of authorial anonymity (or near-anonymity) and a high level of textual variation" rendered the modern stress on textual authenticity "anachronistic as an editorial approach" (Millet 2014) and obfuscated the "essential mobility" of the text (Zumthor 1972: 71). Bernard Cerquiglini later expanded on this, suggesting in his work, *In Praise of the Variant*, "that one hand was the first is sometimes, undoubtedly, less significant than this constant rewriting of a work which belongs to whoever recasts it and gives it a new form" (1989: 57).

Citing the example of the several manuscript incarnations of France's oldest substantial extant work of literature, *The Song of Roland* – 'originally', it has been suggested, by a poet named 'Turoid' – Zumthor contended that the "complex unity constituted by the collectivity of its [anonymous] material versions; the synthesis of the signs employed by the successive 'authors' (singers, reciters, copyists)" rendered the work "fundamentally mobile" (1972: 83). There was no original stasis, no complete proto-text crystallised in time: instead, Millet (2014) argues, the work traditionally perceived as the archetype was, in fact, a "dynamic passing in the course of its transmission through phases of growth, transformation, and decline."

Of course, when Zumthor posited the idea of textual mobility, he did so in the context of medieval vernacular manuscripts but the idea of a text in, and emerging from, a state of recurrent transmission – always in "dynamic dialogue with the past" (Smith 2013: 37) – need not be so limited. Placed under the microscope, a non-lexical marker like the Scots apostrophe could be traced across time and text, its evolving function measured both in its frequency and distribution, and how it is deployed in relation to other minutiae such as spelling variants or layout as part of the author/editor/printer's sociocultural priorities. Given Aitken's hypothesis of the close association between those Middle Scots changes which would form the basis of apostrophised Scots forms and contemporary vernacular speech, there is an interesting theoretical parallel with *mouvance*, the foundation of which Zumthor considered to be the direct result of medieval oral culture: an "intervocal" process that functioned on the contiguous relationship between speech and text (cited in Millet 2014).

Zumthor's theory, however, is not without contention. Millet expresses the objection that supporters of *mouvance* might be inclined to make "sweeping, sometimes untenable, generalisations," and whilst she concedes that the theory may result in significant understandings concerning textual transmission, she raises the issue of whether it is "either historically or methodologically, universally applicable" (2014). This seems somewhat incongruous – criticising both susceptibility to simplification and the failure to be universalisable – but we might respond by arguing that, firstly, the inclination to generalise theories is behavioural and not an inherent flaw of *mouvance*; and, secondly, the suggestion *mouvance* might be incapable of universal application is itself problematic. Theoretical frameworks are best understood as conceptual tools – on this occasion, to explore the diachronic movement of text (and their independent variables) – and *mouvance* only becomes awkward, like any theory, when one attempts to view it as an inherent characteristic of the object of study (in this case literary verse texts).

The notion of a text's 'mobility' – its temporal shifting between authors, editors, and printers – as a fundamental aspect of its identity is foundational to understanding the philological value of the Scots apostrophe. Not innovated until 1706, it is a mark that began its existence in the editing of older texts (investigated further in Chapter Two). Its early deployment, therefore, was wholly dependent on the "essential mobility of the text."

1.3.2. NEW PHILOLOGY

As Zumthor was publishing his theory of *mouvance* in the 1970s, New Philology was emerging as a (tangible) fruit of postmodernist thinking – i.e. scepticism of universal theorisations (Nuyen 1992; Torfing 1999) – and transforming critical approaches across a range of disciplines: from ethnographic studies of Mesoamerican culture (Lockhart 1976) to investigations of medieval manuscripts and early printed texts (Jennings 2012). Writing at the time of New Philology's inception, the ethnographer, James Lockhart, remarked:

> Our field seems to have arrived at a stage where the most important tasks ... all demand neither detail-shy theoreticians nor purely document-oriented investigators, but flexible minds who *can see the general within the particular* [my italics] (1972: 36).

Lockhart's understanding of New Philology is an embryonic conception of what later studies of textual minutiae would strive to achieve: using 'minor', traditionally neglected aspects of a text to uncover the wider effects of sociocultural pressures on the text's creation (to be discussed more in-depth later in this section).

Contributing to the prospect of finding "the general within the particular," New Philology drew on another artefact of postmodernism: *reception theory*. Developed in the late sixties by German theorist, Hans-Robert Jauss, reception theory was originally conceived as a method of literary analysis, a conceptual instrument with which to negotiate focus away from attempts to recover authorial intention in favour of the text-reader relationship, each audience's decoding of a text being framed by cultural and temporal contexts. Crucially, this theory could be deployed across a range of media: Lewis Siegelbaum used reception theory as the basis of his investigation into audience response to Soviet displays (specifically the Sputnik satellites) at the 1958 Brussels Exposition, concluding that producers had little control over how they were "decoded" (2012: 120).

Suzanna Fleischman, in a seminal edition of *Speculum* regarded as formative in establishing New Philology, summarised well the departure from traditional textual criticism:

> The philologist's task should be comparison, not archaeology, since the latter reduces to singularity what acquires meaning precisely through plurality, through variation (1990: 25).

Fleischman advocated for a focus on continuity that understood and considered collaboration as an ongoing process in a text's production:

> The utterances of a text are in this sense not decontextualized pieces of language; even the act of writing, which may sever them physically from their origin, does not ipso facto obliterate connections to a speaker, a context, and the locutionary act that produced them…If it is to move beyond an atomistic approach to language and to grammar, aimed simply at 'filling in little holes on the great map of knowledge,' then the New Philologist must, insofar as possible, recontextualize the texts as acts of communication, thereby acknowledging the extent to which linguistic structure is shaped by the pressures of discourse (1990: 29, 37).

Although, unfortunately, New Philology would largely ignore textual minutiae, Fleischman's notions of recontextualising texts as "acts of communication" and their connections to "a speaker, a context" are already well-tailored to understanding the function of the Scots apostrophe. Its historical origins intimated by Aitken as being intrinsically associated with certain changes in Middle Scots spoken reflexes (see the opening of section 1.1.3.), analysis of the Scots apostrophe can be used, amongst other things, to identify contemporary priorities of vernacular speech in Lowland Scotland. This, in and of itself, is an important argument against the omission of apostrophised forms from Present Day reproductions of historical texts which claim historicity.

1.3.3 Historical Pragmatics

Emerging just before the millennium, historical pragmatics maintained the research framework of its modern namesake – uncovering language's meaning by analysis of the context in which it is used – and applied it to historical materials (which, prior to the nineteenth century, exist solely in written form), focusing on "language use in past contexts" and therein examining "how meaning is made" (Taavitsainen & Fitzmaurice, 2007: 13). Of late, historical pragmatics has expanded its repertoire, becoming "more capacious and qualitative in orientation," and bringing into its orbit those features traditionally perceived as non-linguistic such as punctuation and paratextual elements like script, font selection and annotations (Smith 2016). Evidence of the cumulative influence of New Philology and historical pragmatics is already found across a range of disciplines in the humanities: in her

doctoral thesis, *Tracing Voices: Song as Literature in Late Medieval Italy*, Lauren Lambert Jennings argues that "the codex is not merely a neutral container for its texts…a work's meaning (literary and cultural) is determined by the entire manuscript matrix – it's physical form, contents, scribe(s), readers, and history" (2012: 42).

1.3.3.1. THE PRAGMATICS OF NON-LEXICAL MARKS

Historical pragmatics and its subsequent influence has led to a reappraisal, albeit gradual, of the role of non-lexical markers and minutiae in the function and meaning of texts: "To mark a text," writes Bray and Handley et al, "is also to make it" (2000: xvii). In his essay *Mark, space, axis, function: towards a (new) theory of punctuation*, Lennard challenges W. W. Greg's dichotomy of 'substantives' and 'accidentals', and instead argues for an "axis of analysis for punctuation which can accommodate [...] variant understandings, and supplement the received analysis by function" (an analysis we might extend to other non-lexical marks) (2000: 5). The result is a proposed eight-level matrix which comprises:

1. Letter-forms punctuating the blank page; and *scriptio continua* or "wordswithoutspacesormarksbetweenthem."
2. Interword spaces, which includes the paragraph, verse line and stanza break.
3. The marks of punctuation (e.g. stops, tonal indicators, commas, brackets and slashes etc) and the associated spaces which follow them.
4. "Words or other units distinguished by fount, face, case, colour, siglum or position" (including capitalisation, italics, small caps and underlining etc).
5. Mis-en-page.
6. Pagination or foliation.
7. The structure of grouped pages e.g. sections, chapters etc.
8. The book itself "as a complete object punctuating space or as a constituent volume" (Lennard, 2000: 5-6).

Unfortunately, Lennard makes no explicit reference to the apostrophe, which seems jarring given his (*very* broad and *very* capacious) position of including anything that interrupts space up to and including the entirety of the text's materiality (he mentions the apostrophe once during his essay to say that even the BBC is lapsing in its use of the genitive type; and mentions Bembo but, sadly, only to remark upon the semi-colon) (2000: 6, 9). Lennard does,

however, concede that he would "be more than happy for the axis to be constructively modified or revised" and this thesis would therefore suggest a ninth element of the axis: annotative markers, such as the apostrophe, asterisk, and superscript numerals and letters, which signpost information not immediately present: either outwith the main body of text (e.g. marginal) or physically absent from it entirely (e.g. extratextual, as in the case of Watson's Scots apostrophe, denoting historicity).

Without detaining himself too long on any point, Lennard uses the remainder of his essay to observe how his proposed axis might fruitfully provide insight into the literary text. Noting the shift away from Ciceronian rhetoric – "which has a rhetorically maximal definition" – to modern conceptions of the sentence – "which has grammatically minimal definition" – Lennard posits that the modern novel was responsible for "proliferating complexity of internal sentence architecture...with a substantially invariant mis-en-page" (2000: 7). From the latter part of the eighteenth century, he argues, "the deficit of layout was compensated for by an abrupt extension of level 3 [of the axis]," the marks of punctuation:

> In the *soi-disant* ['self-styled'] 'realist' novels of George Eliot and Henry James the trend which began with humanism was at its height: each page presents a closely identical appearance, a block of text, without notes or marginalia, formally broken only by paragraph and chapter divisions, but exhibiting within successive sentences an astonishing variety of marks: four stops, two tonal indicators, three rules and the six combinate rule-marks, single and triple suspension marks, single and double inverted commas, usually in conjunction with *alinea*, the family of brackets and the special sorts (2000: 7).

Although he makes no reference to the apostrophe, Lennard nonetheless implies that non-lexical markers compensate for the absence of explanatory textual structures, such as marginalia. That Lennard includes punctuation in this comparison is an argument that this thesis's conception of only non-punctuative non-lexical marks as annotative might be overly cautious (an argument, for now, beyond its scope).

This increasingly salient connection between non-lexical markers (and other textual minutiae), and contextual meaning beyond the structural resulted in the collection: *Ma r king the Text* (2000) whose entries seek to uncover the association between such textual minutiae and the texts they inhabit. A particular chapter of interest, 'Signs in the text: the role of epigrams, footnotes and typography in clarifying the narrator-character relationship in Stendhal's *Le Rouge et le noir,*' by David Scott, analyses the role of "typography as a system of

signs" in showing how "the creation of meaning on the literary page is both clarified and problematised by Stendhal" in his 1830 text (2000: 26). Identifying Stendhal's sensitivity to the idea of words as signs from the presence of variant demonstrations of typography such as "roman, capitals, italics" (and therefore failing to take into account the role of the editor/printer whose modifications they may have been), Scott makes a number of flimsy simplifications (travellers and tourists are "great readers of signs" and inherently hyper-aware of the "need to identify places, orientate themselves" (2000: 26)) along the way to making a nonetheless important point about Stendhal's use of italicisation:

> Italicisation [...] usually signals quotation of typical sayings or turns of phrase, whether of individuals or groups. The use of italics is shorthand which clearly marks certain words or phrases in the text, leading the reader to interpret them in ways different from the general narrative in roman typeface. In this way, the narrator has no need to intervene and make direct comment on the feature highlighted (2000: 27).

Scott illuminates a significant point of comparison with the Scots apostrophe: a non-lexical feature – in this case, italics, a typographic modification – encoding extratextual information that requires no lexical intervention to make explicit to the reader. As will be investigated across the following chapters of this thesis, there is a clear parallel here with the Scots apostrophe – using textual minutiae to relay to the reader extratextual information – and, as such, the analysis shown in this section is therefore eminently transplantable to this thesis's philological enquiry.

1.3.3.2. HISTORICAL PRAGMATICS AND THE LITERARY TEXT

The merits of the literary (verse) text – the chosen focus of this thesis - as valid, historical data has not been without debate. Corbett has previously written that "linguistics tends to marginalise literature" and cites Kniezsa, six years after the publication of *Speculum's* edition on New Philology, in the *Edinburgh History of the Scots Language*, dismissing literary texts as "much-copied and therefore much-altered" (2013: 69; 1996: 24-25). This kind of view is especially problematic for the historical study of Scots which, as Corbett states, survives "almost exclusively in literature" (2013: 69).

Writing in *Language in Scotland: Corpus-Based Studies* (ed. Wendy Anderson 2013), Corbett, unfortunately, despite his rejection of Kniezsa's privileging of non-literary texts as superior data for being "dated and marked for their location," concedes that literary authors are:

> …more noted for their [sic] playful orthographic idiosyncrasies. The texts are further compromised by editorial interventions and the inevitable typographic errors that creep into the printing process. It is difficult to make linguistic generalisations based on such variable data (2013: 69).

Despite the advances in theory detailed in this chapter, the outmoded prioritisation of 'originals' – which contribute no more to our understanding of language change than copies – remains. This characterising of editorial intervention by Corbett as 'compromising' is anachronistic: the theory involved in New Philology and *mouvance* has demonstrated how modification of a text as a result of transmission usefully reflects contemporary linguistic practice and changing sociocultural influences. Corbett claims it is "difficult to make linguistic generalisations" as a result of the variability of literary data but a) he provides no evidence for this variability or how it obfuscates and b) fails to take into account that all texts, including literary ones, are subject to sociocultural pressures, and the language therein will invariably reflect this fact. This thesis uses literary texts from across the eighteenth century by writers, editors, and printers with differing attitudes to the language in which they are communicating: as will be demonstrated in the following chapters, variability is invaluable to measuring change. It only obfuscates if you think the singular data of value you can get from a text is about its origin.

Although Corbett does not disagree that the 'literary' as a medium for linguistic analysis is valuable, his justification for its investigation is nevertheless problematic:

> First, we have to accept that literary texts are a valuable source of data. Since literary works are culturally prestigious, the use of literature as data for language description is not too difficult to justify, especially if we reject any qualitative difference between 'literary' and 'real' language use, and if we accept the likelihood of idiosyncratic variation amongst the texts (Corbett 2013: 70).

Corbett's identification of "idiosyncratic variation" as anathema to "language description" is unfounded, especially if we use pragmatic analysis to uncover the motivation behind the idiosyncrasy. Corbett seems to be over-estimating the occurrence of "idiosyncratic variation amongst texts": the twenty texts comprising this thesis's corpus, whilst produced by different agents from across differing decades of the eighteenth century, remained consistently influenced, as will be observed, by contemporary communicative pressures: be they sociocultural, such a nationalistic appeal or a reflection of the author's own social aspirations, or economic, such as accessibility and saleability.

Further, Corbett's requisite rejection of the "qualitative difference between 'literary' and 'real' language use'" creates more problems than it solves. If by 'real' language, he means speech, then this chapter, recalling Aitken (section 1.1.3), has already identified the close proximity in which speech and its literary reflexes operate (and which will be expanded upon in the following chapter): Corbett's binary is not binary at all. If, however, he simply means 'non-literary', and that literary and non-literary texts operate on a kind of textual style continuum in which we have literature at one end and legal documents and letters etc at the other, Corbett is still committing the error of thinking that texts like letters and legal documents are somehow not subject to the same communicative constraints that compel the deployment of specific styles as literature. When applying for a job, for example, one might not open their covering letter with: "S'up ding-dongs: heard you losers had an opening."

Whilst historical pragmatics has been crucial in advancing philological methodology and has been increasingly enthusiastic about literature as a source of data – Jucker has stated that "historical pragmatics can also be used as a philological tool to explain literary artefacts from the past" (1995: 6) – its conception of literature has often been problematic. Fitzmaurice & Taavitsainen have previously described historical pragmatics as:

> …an empirical branch of language, with focuses on authentic language use in the past. This definition is sufficient to cover this new and dynamic field (2007: 13).

Fitzmaurice and Taavitsainen's definition is implicitly exclusionary – 'implicitly' because they never actually define what they mean by "authentic" although we can reasonably understand it as one of two things: 1) being representative of spoken language or 2) 'uncompromised' by editorial intervention. It is therefore imperative that as historical pragmatics has benefited philological enquiry, so too must historical pragmatics benefit *from* philological enquiry. Smith and Kay capture this necessity when they write:

> Any text can be viewed as a conversational partnership between transmitter and receiver. In face-to-face conversation, communication is assisted by extralinguistic features such as tone of voice or facial expression; problems of interpretation are often solved by context. For written texts, a greater range of factors may render communication problematic, not least the key role of a third participant in the conversation: the scribe or editor who mediates between the creator and the reader of the text. The further back in time the reader goes, the more problematic this role becomes. When a text has been copied or edited over hundreds of years, repeated opportunities are available to modify or reinterpret not only its language but pragmatic

> features such as layout, punctuation or capitalisation, all of which affect reception. As the edition grows more remote from its source, the importance of recognising the significance of such features increases (Smith and Kay 2011: 212).

Unlike Corbett's rejection of editorial intervention as 'compromising' or Fitzmaurice and Taavitsainen's arguably imprecise championing of 'authentic' language, Smith and Kay identify these maligned features and processes as an integral element in a text's production and afterlife. This is especially important for understanding the role of the Scots apostrophe in textual production: as a mark that is mostly 'edited' into later transmissions, it is a reflection of the changing sociocultural conditions in which these transmissions are produced. Accepting the literary text as valid data, and catering analysis accordingly, is a significant step to illuminating a language's past.

1.3.4. *PRAGMATICS ON THE PAGE*, OR 'PRAGMAPHILOLOGY'

In 2013, Carroll et al published an important study they called *Pragmatics on the Page*, which framed the early theories of Zumthor and New Philology firmly in the realm of pragmatics. They did so with the clear intent of developing them by the introduction of further interdisciplinary perspectives:

> Early texts are characterised by diversity: pages containing largely the same text will vary in linguistic features, specific content, and, crucially for the present study, visual appearance. Within their separate arenas, both book historians and historical pragmaticians have embraced this diversity and variation in their research, but neither field has availed itself of the tool kit of the other [...] The objective of our research group, then, is an integration of pragmatics and materialist philology: bringing material evidence to bear on pragmatic analyses, and employing pragmatic concepts in the study of early English manuscripts and printed books (2013: 54-55).

By incorporating book history into pragmatic analysis of historical texts – in the case of this study, John Trevisa's English translation of the *Polychronicon* – Carroll et al meaningfully diversify their analysis. Like Scott (2000), the authors of *Pragmatics on the Page* characterise the interaction between the reader and (medieval) text as a visual event and state that "our integrated approach focuses on the 'visual pragmatics' (Machan 2011) of anything on the page that adds meaning to the linguistic message" (2013: 56):

> Readers, typically, initially experience books as physical objects: the appearance of the page is integral to the reader's construal of meaning. Research on the late medieval page

> may address script, colour, and layout; the size, binding, and material of the book itself; and paratextual elements such as tables of contents and running titles. Texts are places of interaction (Hoey 2001), even to the point of allowing readers to underline and annotate. This may be true particularly of the medieval period, when book production was a collaborative process, to such an extent that it is often difficult to be certain what to attribute to whom. Those 'articulating text visually' (Twyman, 1998: 32) included scribes, printers, illuminators, bookbinders, and even later readers (2013: 55).

Carroll et al's conception of the collaborative process echoes Zumthor's *mouvance* – citing scribes, printers, illuminators and bookbinders as agents of co-production – but makes the important point of positioning the reader as being in "interaction" with the text and therefore responsible for part of its transmission of meaning (notably individualised to the particular reader's "construal"). Carroll et al's understanding of a text's production as collaborative raises a central point for the quantitative element of this thesis's methodology:

> Therefore, our materialist methodology requires us to examine the sources behind electronic corpora and critical editions, and our knowledge of pragmatics requires us to recognise manuscripts as communicative objects (2013: 56).

Analysis of a variant's frequency, distribution, and concordance is important to a holistic pragmatic understanding but Carroll et al rightly identifies the limitations of corpus study: frequency, distribution, and concordance cannot (yet) account for material aspects of text. Indeed, I would go further and argue that examining the sources behind corpora is crucial since such quantitative analysis cannot account for all extralinguistic motivations behind the deployment of certain variants: the Scots apostrophe is a paradigmatic example. Without close philological enquiry, it would be challenging – if not outright impossible – to determine from machine-read outcomes that Watson's improvised function for the apostrophe was to mark historicity.

The *Pragmatics on the Page* study outlines a four-stage methodology for pragmatically approaching texts: 1) identifying the same 'utterances' (a traditional focus for pragmatics) across different texts 2) the production of a thorough (or 'etic') description of one utterance (subject to a conscious effort to avoid assumptive notions of significance) which would consider "account palaeography, codicology and analytical bibliography, and contextualise the utterance vis-a`-vis producers and consumers" 3) A comparative analysis of the same utterance from different texts, noting "visual differences" 4) The "pragmaphilological stage": the application of historical pragmatics and discourse linguistics to "reconstruct patterns of

correspondence between communicative functions and visual forms and contextual reasons for selections between alternative forms" (2013: 56). It addresses all three levels of discourse: the textual, the interactional (focused on the addressee or reader); and stance: focusing on authorial, printerial, and editorial attitudes.

Characterising the final stage of their levels of enquiry, "pragmaphilology" is an emergent field within historical pragmatics whose investigations are typically, but not exclusively, synchronic, as with 'Pragmatics on the Page'. In *Historical Pragmatics* (ed. Andreas Jucker & Irma Taavitsainen 2010), pragmaphilological studies are outlined by Mari Pakkala-Weckström:

> …their aim is to take into account the various contextual aspects of historical texts, for example the relationships between addressers and addressees, and social setting of each text's production and/or reception (Jacobs and Jucker 1995): 11). Unlike literary studies, the focus of the study in the field of historical pragmatics need not be on the works of a specific author, his or her style, accomplishments, or place in the literary canon. Unlike historical linguistics, in pragmaphilology the amount of data analysed need not be particularly large. It is feasible to research a single text by a single author, bearing in mind that the focus of research is on the meaning of the text itself rather than the author. In a pragmaphilological approach, both literary and non-literary texts are seen as "communicative events in their own right" (Taavitsainen and Fitzmaurice 2007: 14). The sociocultural context and function of the text are regarded as being of primary importance.

There are similarities between the methodology of pragmaphilology and that of this thesis – the prioritisation of sociocultural context and function, and the agreement that a literary text is a "communicative event" in its own right – but there are a number of crucial differences which separate the two. Pragmaphilology, according to Pakkala-Weckström, ought to give precedence to "meaning of the text itself rather than the author" but, as the following chapters will show, both the author of a text (inclusive of editor and printer) and the meaning of the text itself are intrinsic to understanding why the Scots apostrophe was innovated and how it came to be diffused. Further, this thesis is firmly diachronic: although individual chapters focus on single authors, editions of their work moving through time feature heavily in analysis.

The stage-by-stage process outlined by Carroll and Peikola creates a highly flexible and transplantable framework for similar projects: the identification of a variant to be

investigated; the creation of neutral, extensive description predicated on its context both within and outwith the text; a comparative analysis of the variable within other texts; the application of historical pragmatic analysis, including corpus analysis, to understand the text producer's discrimination between the variable in question and potential alternatives. This framework will be the foundation of this thesis's methodological practice, explicitly outlined in the final sub-section.

1.3.5. REIMAGINED PHILOLOGY

"Every aspect of the physical manifestation of a text," states Smith, "is a vector of meaning, and that, as texts move through time, these meanings change" (2016). This maxim encapsulates decades of research and theoretical development leading to the emergence, and continued maturing, of historical pragmatics. It also expresses the fundamental approach of this thesis to its historical texts, and we can observe its application in the following case studies by Smith: Dunbar's *Discretioun in Taking*, Chaucer's *General Prologue*, and Barbour's *Bruce*. Whilst only representing a portion of Smith's 'reimagined philology,' they exemplify a significant component of the methodological approach adopted in this study.

Concern about the impact of transmission has a long tradition. Smith & Kay (2011: 217) quote Dunbar's fear of his work, once beyond his custody, being "mangellit" (mutilated) – a concern that would form the basis of accusation between balladeers and antiquarians in the following centuries. Smith's study into the numerous incarnations – from Allan Ramsay's version in *Evergreen* (1724) to Priscilla Bawcutt's edition (1998) – of Dunbar's *Discretioun in Taking* provides an important overview of diachronic editorial practices that anticipates considerations in this thesis such as antiquarian reception of the ballads, and the role of the Scots apostrophe therein. In the opening pages, Smith & Kay introduce two crucial observations. Firstly:

> Editorial practices are the product of contemporary intellectual assumptions, and because these assumptions are subject to change, so are the practices (2011: 213).

And secondly:

> Editing, traditionally referred to as 'textual criticism', is never neutral: it is an act of interpretation, mediating between the creator of the text and the reader (2011: 213).

This "lack of neutrality" – or editorial/printerial agenda – is demonstrable in Allan Ramsay's reception of Dunbar's work. It is particularly resonant in their discussion of his modernising orthography and punctuation, the latter of which was "clearly influenced by contemporary

Elocutionist views" (2011: 220). Ramsay adds commas and semi-colons in order to choreograph the bodily response of the reader (or speaker), indicating where they ought to draw breath, to pause for effect. Ramsay also Scotticised Dunbar's work according to his own vision for the language: he practises v-deletion throughout – e.g. *diuill* = *deil* (2011: 223) – and exorcises Older Scots syllabic inflections – *takkis* is changed to *taks* (2011: 219). "Ramsay," Smith & Kay state, "while claiming authenticity as part of a recuperating agenda, imposed his own notions of taste" (2011: 221). It was therefore fundamental that this thesis show the editorial decisions of close-read texts in the context of their producers' own conceptions of Scots and its function within contemporary literature.

Smith's study of Chaucer's *General Prologues* (2016) compares the Petworth, Cambridge Gg 4.27 and Ellesmere manuscripts, and demonstrates how, in lieu of modern punctuation – essentially a "visual representation of grammar" (2016) – the scribe deployed closed-class words such as *and*, *that*, *so* and *than* to function as 'discourse markers' or segmenting elements:

And smale foules make melodye
That slepen al nyght with eyghe
So prikeÞ hem nature in here corages
Than longen folk to gon on pilgrymages
And palmers for to seke straunge strondes
To ferne halowes couthe in sondry londes
And specially fram euery shires ende
Of engelond to Caunterbury they wende
The holy blisseful martir for to seke
That hem hath holpen when that Þey were seke

Deploying conjunctions, pronouns and adverbs in such a way highlights the structure of the verse, negating the requirement for modern punctuation. Conversely, the Cambridge manuscript is almost zealous in its application of the *punctus* – crucially, Smith argues, not to signal a completed sentence but rather to segment the verse into "smaller rhetorical units" e.g. phrases (2016b). How a verse's structure functions will be an important consideration when analysis the Scots apostrophe's deployment in ballads such as Anna Gordon's 'Thomas Rhymer and Queen of Elphame', itself a visual expression of the oral, and its reception by the visually-oriented Scott (see Chapter Five).

Smith proceeds to discuss punctuation as an elucidatory practice whose presence (or absence) can be highly indicative of a text's placing in its contemporary sociocultural

environment. He cites the example of the semi-colon occurring at the end of the first four lines of the poem transmitted by the *Riverside Chaucer*, which possesses the elocutionary function of a rhetorical pause. Unlike the Present-Day emphasis (sourced to eighteenth-century prescriptivism) on "balance, clarity and pithiness in prose," the medieval palate was decidedly more aureate, resulting in the somewhat theatrical placing of a declamatory semi-colon (2016).

Smith's 2013 study, 'Textual Afterlives: Barbour's *Bruce* and Hary's *Wallace*', investigates the specific dialogue between a medieval text and its reception by antiquarianism, an intellectual collective which he notes "sentimentalised the past" by way of "Romantic re-creations" and found in it "exemplary figures who could be repurposed as challenges to the perceived corruptions of their own time" (2013: 37-38). Perhaps the defining example of a "Romantic re-creation" purposed to "challenge perceived corruptions" is Macpherson's *Ossian* poetry (1760), liberally spun from the threads of Gaelic mythos to provide Scotland with a nascent Homeric epic (again, see Chapter Five).

The earliest version of Barbour's *Bruce* is witnessed only in two fifteenth-century manuscripts by John Ramsay (though mentions predating this occur in the *Chronicle*, circa 1400, and by Bower, circa 1440, suggesting other copies existed) but it has been transmitted numerously throughout the following centuries – e.g. by Robert Leprevik (1571), Andro Hart (1616 and 1620), Robert Freebair (1758) and John Pinkerton (1790) – one of the most recent being A.A.M Duncan's (2007). For Smith, punctuation is a key focus and the study of such minutiae in the temporal mobility of *The Bruce* is typically revealing of the corresponding sociocultural landscapes in which it was being copied and edited. Recalling Smith's aphorism that modern punctuation, as we understand it, is a "visual expression of grammar" (2013: 41), its function in medieval and early modern texts seems to have instead been "a visual prompt to spoken performance" (2013: 41). As with Chaucer, Ramsay eschews punctuation and instead, as with the former, deploys closed-class words as discourse markers to structure his verse (2013: 41):

> Storys. to red ear delitabill
> Suppos yat yai be mocht bot fabill/
> **yan** suld storys yat suthfast wer
> **And** yai war said on gud maner
> Hawe doubill plesance in herying
> **ye** first plesance is ye carpyng

And ye toyir ye suthfastnes
Yat schawys ye thing rycht as it wes
And suth thyngis yat ar likand
Tyll mannys heryng ar plesand
Yarfor I wald fayne set my will
Giff my wyt mycht suffice yartill
To put in wyrt A suthfast story
That it lest ay furth in memory

Recalling the Petworth manuscript, this technique renders modern punctuation quite unnecessary. Minor lexical choices in the text, far from being unreliable departures from the original, can also articulate the complex relationship between speech and text, and how that relationship is characterised in a specific sociocultural landscape, which Smith demonstrates by highlighting Leprevik's alteration of Ramsay's "rede" with "heir" (2013: 44). Smith observes that whilst the disparity in reading and hearing was less "socially salient" to Ramsay, for Leprevik, in the midst of the "reading revolution," the difference would have been more pronounced and his lexical choice might be explained by his regarding of Barbour as a "repository of an older tradition" (2013: 44).

Finally, Smith's 2013 study considers, most pertinently, notions of authority, antiquity and authenticity, and directs us towards the title page of Hart's edition (1616): "Newly corrected and conferred with the best and most ancient Manuscripts" (2013: 45). Hart is anticipating the future editorial methodologies of antiquarianism: his title page claims both authority and, emphasised by his capitalisation of "Manuscript", authenticity; his text, he announces, is the premier reflection of the original. This is particularly interesting given Hart proceeds to anglicise (into Early Modern English) a number of Scots variants: *suthfast(nes)* becomes *soothfast(nesse)*; *gud* becomes *good* (2013: 46). This reflects the emerging trend of representing Scots sounds with English-influenced orthography, a process possibly hastened by the Scottish court's departure south in 1603. Claims of authenticity and authority will be an important consideration in this thesis: perceptions of historicity, as will be shown, were Watson's motivation behind innovating his Scots apostrophe's function.

Whilst this exegesis does not encapsulate the broad range of Smith's reimagined philological enquiries, it does offer a paradigm for the textual discussions pursued in Chapters Two, Three, Four, and Five.

1.3.6. THIS THESIS: A HISTORICAL PRAGMATIC APPROACH

The last forty years have witnessed a demonstrable and distinctive leap in the study of historical linguistics: the advent of corpus linguistics; the contextualising of historical texts in the sociocultural landscapes which produced them; and a transformative realisation that textual minutiae are deeply meaningful communicative devices.

As a project whose methodology is predicated on both a multi-text corpus and close qualitative analysis, we might reasonably situate this thesis in the field of historical pragmatics, wherein it draws closely on Smith's reimagined philology. This close intersection in historical pragmatics between the qualitative and quantitative is discussed by Jucker and Taavitsainen when observing the debt that historical pragmatics owes to philology, especially in the context of corpus linguistics' increasing prevalence:

> Like historical linguistics, historical pragmatics uses large corpora, but there are also aspects that go back to traditional philology where the method was qualitative. For example, the requirement of thorough knowledge of the cultural and the language form (with its temporal and regional variation) of the period under scrutiny stems from the philological roots of the discipline…the requirement of contextualised readings. Meanings are negotiated, and we need to examine utterances in their context, taking various factors into account. The task of retrieving past meanings is challenging, as the mere distance of time between locutions recorded in texts and the modern researcher's interpretations create difficulties, and misinterpretations can arise. A useful exercise in approaching the contextualisation problem is trying to reconstruct the historical conditions of text production, transmission, and reception (2013: 33-34).

As shown in section 1.2., this thesis will use a reasonably-sized corpus of nearly 600,000 words as the basis for measuring the use and diffusion of the Scots apostrophe across texts published throughout the eighteenth century. The subsequently qualitative aspect of this thesis's practice will be philological, and characterised by Jucker and Taavitsainen's suggested exercise of reconstructing the "historical conditions of text production, transmission, and reception." The following chapters – which focus on the work of Watson, Ramsay, Burns, and Scott and conduct close analysis of individual work – will each begin by outlining the sociocultural landscape in which the agent produced their analysed texts – i.e. proximity of important political events, socioeconomic upheaval – and the corresponding sociocultural priorities of the agent e.g. Watson's patriotism, Ramsay's desire to *Briticise* Scots, Burns's personal social aspiration, and Scott's conception of an idealised Scots history.

The structure of each chapter will be based loosely on Carroll et al's study, and as such will be characterised by three stages of analysis:

Stage One: Philological Analysis

Each chapter will open with a substantial section situating the author/editor/printer and their selected work in question in their contemporary sociocultural environment. This section will discuss relevant political and cultural phenomena, and important biographical information that would have impacted the text's construction and its language therein.

Stage Two: Corpus Analysis

Using the eighteenth-century wordlist extrapolated from this thesis's corpora, a smaller wordlist, derived from a selected text of the author/editor/printer and mirroring the apostrophised, non-apostrophised, and English variants identified in the former, will be comparatively assessed. This will indicate the stage of diffusion – both across form and register – and the level of prestige at which the Scots apostrophe was contemporaneously operating.

Stage Three: Pragmatic Analysis

This final level will map the corpus results of the localised wordlist onto the selected text from which they were derived, and, using numerous examples, contextualise the Scots apostrophe's function both within the text and the sociocultural environment in which it was produced.

These three stages have been designed in such a way that their process will directly test and respond to – in each case, disproving – those modern beliefs that characterise our present day understanding of the Scots apostrophe:

1. The function of apostrophised spelling forms in Scots is to indicate elision.
2. The use of apostrophised forms undermines perceptions of Scots as a language independent from English and is solely for the benefit of accessibility for an English readership.
3. Scots is intrinsically linked with Scottishness: as an agent of anglicisation, the use of apostrophised forms therefore contributes to the erosion of Scottish cultural identity.

Section 1.2. and the breakdown of this thesis's corpus has already challenged Grant's claim that the Scots apostrophe was involved in "the clipping of words of their final consonant" – it

occurred word-medially too (1931: 18.1). Corresponding philological and pragmatic analysis in Chapter Two will prove this thesis's hypothesis, however, that the Scots apostrophe was innovated not as an eliding agent but an authenticating marker to distinguish certain items of Scots lexis. In Chapters Three, Four, and Five, using these three stages of enquiry, I will demonstrate that at no point in the eighteenth century did the function of the Scot's apostrophe transform into one of simple anglicising elision: indeed, by the time of Scott's use at the very beginning of the nineteenth century, it seems to have been considered 'proper' Scots.

Belief 2 – that the Scots apostrophe undermines perceptions of Scots as a language independent from English and its use is solely for the benefit of accessibility for an English readership – will perhaps require the most holistic response in terms of the three stages of analysis. The situating the author/editor/printer and their text within their corresponding sociocultural context will establish such facts as: where the text might be sold and what audience would reasonably be receiving it e.g. primarily Scottish; how we might characterise the author/editor/printer's existing attitudes to Scots; the sociocultural pressures arising from the location of the text's production etc.

Although Belief 2 might instinctively appear harder to clarify via corpus analysis, the role of stage two will in fact be very helpful. This is because the ratio between the sample of apostrophised and non-apostrophised Scots forms and their English reflexes, when combined with stage three's sociocultural contextualisation, can contribute to indicating who a text is being created for.

Analysis of certain textual minutiae – such as paratext – will be critical for refuting Belief 2: the kind of words featuring in a glossary tend to offer a strong reflection of those audiences who may otherwise have issues of accessibility to a text (in terms of comprehension). Dispersion analysis in Antconc software – mapping *where* variables occur in a single text – will be helpful here: are there a concentration of apostrophised forms appearing in a text's glossary? (The answer is yes).

Belief 3 – that the Scots apostrophe disrupts the link between Scots and Scottishness – situates these innovated forms in a dynamic between language and ethnicity, and the tension therein. The priority of stage one at the beginning of each chapter, therefore, will be to socioculturally contextualise each author/editor/printer and their selected work within this dynamic, and therefore provide answers to questions such as: what were the sociocultural pressures of early eighteenth-century Edinburgh and Lowland Scotland that compelled

Watson to innovate the Scots apostrophe? What about the nature of the contemporary sociocultural landscape convinced Ramsay to transmit Watson's innovated apostrophe? Why did Burns choose to write extensively in Scots? What was the role of Scots in Scott's antiquarian recuperations of historical texts? By framing the author/editor/printer in this dynamic between language and ethnicity, we can better understand the intended function of the Scots apostrophe in each of their selected texts.

CHAPTER TWO: WATSON'S CHOICE APOSTROPHE

The apostrophisation of Scots did not occur in a vacuum. This chapter will argue that a matrix of disparate sociocultural and linguistic pressures intersected in Watson's decision to innovate these particular forms, the first of which began (at least) some two centuries earlier. Two fundamental questions will structure this chapter's analyses:

1. *What extralinguistic conditions could have encouraged Watson to innovate apostrophised forms in literary Scots?*

The answer to this question will be delivered through two sub-sections. Firstly, section 2.1 will address the tension between language and cultural identity in Scotland during the seventeenth century. The Act of Union is commonly viewed by scholarship as the catalyst for the so-called 'Vernacular Revival' – the resurgence of interest in literary Scots as a response to the binding of Scotland to England – but anxiety over the state of Scots and Scottish identity had been pervasive for much longer, the effects of which were formative in Watson's production of his 1706 Scots language miscellany in which apostrophised forms first appeared. This will contextualise section 2.2 – a biography of Watson – and section 2.2.1: an analysis of the popular late seventeenth-century trend emergent in London in which broadside ballads pastoralised a remote Scotland and often employed 'improvised' Scots in doing so. This section will outline the hypothesis that Watson – advocate of both national printing autonomy and the preservation of the Scots language – innovated apostrophised forms as a method of authenticating Scots lexis by distinguishing it from common English cognates.

2. *Why, specifically, did Watson choose the form of the apostrophe?*

Section 2.8.2. will consider how Watson's own experiences – including his complex relationship with Catholicism – may have influenced his choice of the apostrophe when seeking to distinguish Scots lexis from English.

The culminating section of this chapter will be a corpus analysis of the first and second editions of Watson's *Choice Collection*, the purpose of which will be to uncover the nuance with which Watson deployed apostrophised forms: notably his use in contemporary-situated poems but not those historically-situated, wherein older spelling varieties were used. This supports Corbett's observation that apostrophisation reflected etymological – Older Scots – spellings orthographically distinguished from English.

2.1. SCOTLAND AS NORTH BRITAIN

First appearing in Watson's miscellany of contemporary and historical Scots poetry, *Choice Collection*, in 1706, it may be tempting to characterise the innovation of apostrophised Scots spellings as a kind of 'cultural prophylactic' to the Act of Union a year later in 1707. "All commentators agree," wrote Görlach, "that there is an immediate connection between Scotland's final loss of political power by the dissolution of the Edinburgh parliament and the strengthened interest in the country's glorious cultural past" (2002: 148). We might assume, reasonably, this "strengthened interest" was stimulated by the Union's anticipation as well. There are, however, two issues with this statement. Firstly, the fallacious composition of Görlach's premise: that universal agreement is somehow hermetically indicative of truth or actuality. This thesis constitutes a rejecting of such thinking. Secondly, it disguises the fact that Scotland's "glorious cultural past" and all of its facets – civic, martial, political, religious – had been continually recuperated throughout its recorded history by those anxious over the status of national autonomy. Colin Kidd has previously written of the pedigree of this "history-as-ideology" in ensuring against terminal orbit with England:

> Scotland's past provided material for a national origin myth; for national independence either through antiquity of settlement or on the grounds of the evident existence of an independent foreign policy in the legendary league of King Achaius with Charlemagne; for competing prescriptive ideologies of the monarchy, constitution and reformed church; for the religious nation's 'chosen people' status; for the church's autonomy; and for pride in caste of aristocratic warriors who preserved freedom intact against foreign invaders and domestic tyrants (1993: 26-27).

During the Wars of Independence, when both Scotland and England were jostling for papal endorsement of their claim to the former's throne, Baldred Bisset (ODNB: *c.* 1260–1311?), a continental-trained Doctor of Law, contested Edward I's claim, supposedly recommended by mythical lineage, by "placing the legends of Scota daughter of Pharaoh beside the legend of Brutus and his sons in order to demonstrate that Scotland was not under the lordship of the early Britons" (Goldstein 1991: 10). The Graeco-Egyptian origins of the Scottish folk (descendants of Scota's union with the Greek prince, Gaythelos) became an important element of Scotland's mythology-as-history and an enduring counterfoil to the Trojan origins of England (Kidd 1993: 18).

In the sixteenth century, two notable humanist histories of Scotland were produced: John Mair's (or Major's) (1467-1550), *Historia Maioris Britanniae tam Angliae quam Scotiae*, or

History of Great Britain as well England as Scotland (1521) (pun presumably intended), and Hector Boece's (1465-1536) *Scotorum Historiae a Prima Gentis*, or *History of the Scottish People* (1527). Mair's was a scholarly, humanist work: it discredited the Mediterranean origin myths of both the Scottish and English peoples, and advanced the notion of an Anglo-Scottish union as the answer to Scotland's internal and inter-island conflicts. Unlike in other histories, Mair avoided declaring any particular virtue as inherent to the Scottish folk and nation. He did, however, make an effort to dispel foreign myths about the country such as the claim Scots possessed cannibalistic tendencies (and speculated the source of such a belief was likely referring to the Irish) (Drexler 1979: 213). Crucially, even as he dissected the mythologies of the nation, Mair was careful to explain that any union with England would have to be as equals. "Major also defended Scotland's historic national independence against any English claim of overlordship," writes Colin Kidd, and "reinforced the association of the freedom of the Scottish community with an ancient constitution in which the monarchy was conceived as trusteeship" – in diametric opposition to the English monarchy's historical, and regularly thwarted, flirtation with absolutism.

Boece's work, conversely, rejected Mair's academic approach to Scotland's history in favour of traditional conceptions of the national mythos. This included echoing previous Scottish historical tellings of the Arthurian narrative – such as Andrew Wyntoun's *Original Chronicle of Scotland* (c. 1420) and Walter Bower's *Scotochronicon* (c. 1447) – which emphasised Arthur's illegitimacy (and thus undermining future English kings' claims to 'King of All Britons' via his lineage). [Content Warning: Sexual Assault] Arthur, Boece explicitly claimed, had been conceived through infidelity when Uther, his father, forced himself upon Igraine, wife of Gorlois, the Duke of Cornwall:

> [Uther,] abandoning all sense of shame and probity, raped the woman (for Gorlois had fled to Cornwall's strongest fortification to avoid the royal wrath), and soon made her pregnant (Hanna 2018: 108).

Kidd observed that Boece:

> …considered his role as humanist was to dress the national mythology in Sunday-best Latin and, by couching it in the *speculum principis* genre ['Mirrors for princes': textbook instruction for king and princes on the matter of effective rulership], to give it an elevated ethical and political dimension (1993: 18).

There was evidently a contemporary appetite for Boece's version of history that was not present for Mair's: the former's work was provided with a royal commission by James V to be

translated from the original Latin whereas the latter's was not, a rejection further compounded by the king's choice of a French, as opposed to English, bride (Drexler 1979: 227).

Roger Mason has argued that the Union of Crowns in 1603 (not so very long after Mair advocated for it in the early fifteenth century) sharply intensified Scottish anxiety over the state of the nation's distinct sociocultural and political heritage. "[I]t needs to be acknowledged," he wrote, "that the idea that seventeenth century Scotland possessed independent sovereignty was far from axiomatic" (2015: 2). The events of 1603, Mason continued:

> …raised profound Scottish concerns about Britain, and Scotland's place within it, that were as urgent in the immediate aftermath of the regal union as they were at the time of its parliamentary equivalent [in 1707]…the nature of the Anglo-Scottish union was the subject of constant anxiety and frequent negotiation throughout the seventeenth century and…for over a century before the union of 1707, Scots had been actively 'debating Britain' and wrestling with fundamental constitutional questions arising from the union. What is Britain and what is Scotland's status within it? (2015: 2).

Mason cleverly refers us to the Early English Books Online (EEBO) Corpus and suggests intimations of this anxiety over Scotland's place in Britain can be detected in certain onomastic traces. If we search for [Scoto-Britannus] (or 'Scot-Briton'), there are sixteen results which are *entirely* confined to the seventeenth century:

1600s	1610s	1620s	1630s	1640s	1650s	1660s	1670s	1680s	1690s
	2		2	1	2	2		6	1

Figure 2.1: **EEBO search results for 'Scoto-Britannus'**

Of those texts available in EEBO, references begin in the decade following the Union of Crowns and, intriguingly, intensify in frequency in anticipation of the dissolution of the Scottish parliament in 1707. Conversely, when we search for [Anglo-Britannus] (or 'English-Briton'), there are only three results, again confined to the seventeenth century but all of which occur in the 1690s:

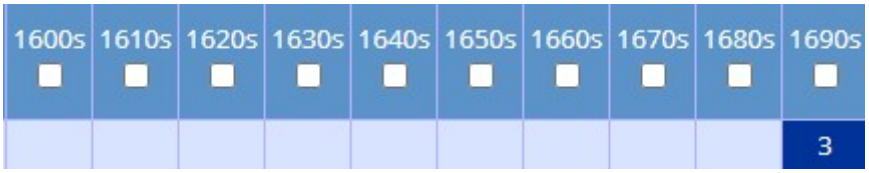


Figure 2.2.: **EEBO search results for 'Anglo-Britannus'**

Although minor numbers, the distribution of these terms speaks to the proportional risk to national identity each nation views integration with the other as having. "What this points towards," writes Mason, "is the unsurprising conclusion that the Scots were much more aware of being part of a multiple monarchy than the English, and much more concerned about making it work in a way that neither disadvantaged themselves nor compromised their kingdom's autonomy and identity" (2015: 10). Similarly, in a point we will return to in the following chapter, Mason contends that the distinct use of these terms – Scoto-Britannus and Anglo-Britannus – are paralleled in distribution and frequency in the eighteenth century with 'North Briton' and 'South Briton'.

The anxiety induced by increasing association with England occasionally spilled beyond the textual. Attempts by James VI's son and successor, Charles I, for example, to assert control over the church in Scotland – and reign in its deviating liturgical practices – were met with fierce resistance throughout the nation. Following several military skirmishes, the expelling of bishops from the Kirk, and the Scottish occupation of Northern England, the Covenanters – those who pledged to resist any infractions against an independent Scottish church by Charles – took control of Scotland and brought about a constitutional revolution. Despite its lack of popularity compared with other histories (such as that of Boece), it was Mair's work which once again found purchase in reality. The political settlement which followed in 1641 echoed his insistence that royal accountability was crucial to successful governance of Scotland when it compelled Charles to sign up to a "limited monarchy" in Scotland: "a form of parliamentary government in which a complex system of session and interval committees" kept royal transgression in check (Brown et al 2007).

2.1.1. Before 1707: Scots and Scottishness

Throughout the seventeenth century, the Scots language, its literature, and the nature of their relationship to Scottishness came under increasing pressure from sociopolitical association with England. In 1672, Sir George Mackenzie of Rosehaugh (1636-1681), a lawyer and friend of Dryden, later reviled as "Bluidy Mackenzie" by Presbyterian Covenanters for his role in their subsequent persecution under Charles II (Couper 1910), published the tract: *Pleadings in some remarkable cases, before the supreme Courts of Scotland, since the year 1661. To which the*

decisions are subjoyn'd. A collection of philosophical ruminations and tales from the Bar, Mackenzie complains in its preface:

> I designed to let Strangers know how we plead in *Scotland*, and therefore it was not fit, that I shou'd have used here the English language. I love to speak as I think, and to write as I speak (1672: iii).

It is most striking that, decades before 1707, a wealthy and powerful man should lament that his work could not be published in the language in which he otherwise regularly writes and speaks: Scots. For Mackenzie – and myriad others – the relationship between language and ethnicity was intrinsic, and he makes clear as much when he continues in the opening chapter, "What Eloquence is Fit for the Bar: An Essay" (quoted at length due to its significance):

> It may seem a paradox to others , but to me it appears undeniable, that the Scottish idiom of the Brittish Tongue is more fit for pleading , then either the English idiom , or the French Tongue ; for certainly a Pleader must use a brisk, smart, and quick way of speaking, whereas the English who are a grave Nation, use a too slow and grave pronunciation, and the French a too soft and effiminat one. And therefore I think the English is fit for harranguing, the French for complementing, but the Scots for pleading. Our pronunciation, is like our selves, firy , abrupt , sprightly , and bold ; Their greatest wits being employ'd at Court , have indeed enricht very much their Language as to conversation, but all ours bending themselves to study the Law , the chief Science in repute with us, hath much smooth'd our Language , as to pleading : and when I compare our Law with the Law of *England* , I perceive that our Law favours more pleading than theirs does for their Statutes and Decisions are so full and authoritative, that, scarce any Case admits pleading, but (like a Hare kill'd in the feat) it is immediately surprys'd by a Decision, or Statute (1672: 17).

This is a crucial point: thirty years prior 1707, the Scots language was being described as "of the Brittish Tongue," redolent of Mair's sixteenth-century notion of a union of equals. Notably, this understanding of Scots and English as constituent "idioms" of British would reappear in Mackenzie's works. Kopaczyk's paper, 'Communication gaps in seventeenth century Britain: Explaining legal Scots to English practitioners' (2020), noted that Mackenzie's *Institutions of the Law in Scotland* (first published in 1684 and experiencing a run of nine editions of the next century), a detailed treatise on the Scottish legal system, used a glossary to bridge linguistic gaps between Scots and English, and included non-legal terms such as 'loches' and 'bairn' (2012: 7). Kopaczyk points us also to the title the of the London

edition of *Institutions*, which read: "The Institutions of the Law of Scotland: By Sir George Mackenzie of Rosehaugh, His late Majesty's advocate" (2012: 8). Kopaczyk observed that this:

> …clearly indicates that the glossary was an important addition to the text and it was intended for the benefit of an English reader (2012: 8).

The identification of glossaries as important paratextual resources for indicating intended audiences of a text is an astute practice, and will be a crucial point of investigation for understanding who the intended beneficiary of the Scots apostrophe was in Chapter Four.

In this landscape of Britishness which bound Scots and English, Mackenzie sought to forge a functional link between speaker and speech that firmly aligned, and therefore distinguished, Scots and Scottishness. Whilst intrinsic deficiencies disadvantaged use of English and French in the medium of pleading, Scots – "like our selves" – was appropriately "firy, abrupt, sprightly, and bold." Mackenzie was not only arguing that the Scots language was better suited but that Scots *themselves*, now drawing on a more Boecian mythos, were functionally superior in this endeavour. He continued:

> Nor can I enough admire, why some of the wanton English , undervalue so much our idiom, since that of our Gentry differs little from theirs, nor do our commons speak so rudely, as their of *Torkshire* : as to the words wherein the difference liyes , ours are for the most part, Old French words, borrowed during the old League betwixt our Nations, as *Cannel*, for *Cannamon* ; and *servit*, for *Napkin* ; and a thousand of the stamp ; and if the French Tongue be at least equal to the *English*, I see not why ours should be worse then it. Some times also our firy temper has made us for hast, expresse several words into one, as *flou*, for *dust in motion* ; *sturdy*, for *an extraordinar giddiness*, &c. But generally , words *significant ex instituto*, and therefore, one word is hardly better than another ; their Language is invented by Courtiers and may be softer, but ours by learn'd men, and men of businesse, and so must be more massie and significant (1672: 17).

Mackenzie compares the effete origins of English – the "language of Courtiers…softer" – with a Scots forged by "learn'd men, and men of businesse" and thereby so much more elaborate and "significant". Most fascinatingly, he argues that the unique Scottish temperament has conditioned the linguistic development of Scots language: their "firy temper" has contracted several words into one or two syllables: "dust in motion" becoming "flou"; or "an extraordinar giddiness" being reduced to "sturdy." He writes further:

> …and for our pronunciation, beside what I said formerly of its being more fitted to the complexion of our people, then the English accent is ; I cannot but remember them , that the *Scots* are thought the Nation under Heaven, who do with the most ease learn to pronounce best, the French , Spanish, and other Forraign Languages, and all Nations acknowledge that they speak the Latin with the most intelligible accent, for which no other reason can be given, but that out accent is natural, and has nothing, at least little in that is peculiar. I say not this to asperse the English, they are a Nation I honour, but to reprove the petulancy, and mallice of some amongst them who think they do their Country good service , when they reproach ours (1672: 17-18).

It is notable that Mackenzie's long list of Scots and Scottish entwined attributes – a paradisiacal land, masters of others' tongues, and a pristine native language fit for capturing the language of learning, Latin – are all deployed in defence against English "petulancy, and mallice" which seeks to denigrate Scotland. English and England are the common denominators in issues of Scottish sociocultural anxiety.

2.2. JAMES WATSON: PATRIOT, REBEL, PRINTER

The complaints of Mackenzie – reflecting the social, cultural, and political anxieties facing writers of Scots in anticipation of potential union with England – found purchase. Freeman notes that:

> After Mackenzie of Rosehaugh these arguments fell eventually into the hands of the earliest Revivalists: James Watson, a founding father of the Revival, who edited Mackenzie's Works (1716-22); and Thomas Ruddiman, Mackenzie's successor as Keeper of the Advocate's Library, and one of the chief vernacular printers (1981: 162).

In the hands of Watson, Mackenzie's apology for Scots and Scottishness would manifest as patriotic calls for the restoration of independent Scottish printing, criticisms of Scotland's imbalanced entanglement with England, and the publication of his miscellany in 1706, *Choice Collection*: a celebration of literary Scots, both contemporary and historical, and one of the earliest texts in the 'Vernacular Revival'.

James Watson was the son of James Watson Senior (d. 1687), the 'Popish Printer': an avowed Jacobite and Roman Catholic who ran a press from the safe confines of Holyrood Palace and enjoyed the favour of King James VII of Scotland and II of England (receiving an annual salary of over £1000 paid directly from his majesty). Although no name is mentioned,

the ODNB has suggested Watson's mother was a Dutchwoman who his father likely met during a trade mission to the Netherlands ('Watson, James' 2004).

Following the king's dethronement and the restoration of a protestant monarch, the Dutch William of Orange, the religion of his father and Watson's own suspected papal sympathies gave life-long provision to smear campaigns. Despite his public renouncement of Catholicism, the whiffs of popery were frequently weaponised by Watson's greatest rival, Agnes Campbell (1637-1716): the indefatigable widow who inherited her husband, Andro Anderson's, printing business (whose father established printing in Glasgow in 1638) and its royal monopoly, and who dominated the industry in Scotland until the end of her life. She claimed Watson's open shrugging of Catholicism was mere opportunism:

> …he was originally a papist, that finding as such he could not well exercise his trade as a printer in Edinburgh, especially that he could not with freedom print such books as either his inclination, his religion or his interest prompted him to, and that he was prosecuted frequently for the same, he was pleased publicly to renounce the religion he was educated in and turn Protestant, - as to what kind of Protestant he turn'd I shall not take upon me to determine whether Episcopal or Presbyterian, whether either of them or both in their turn as he found his interest in conforming to this or that (cited in Couper 1910: 245).

Mocking Watson's conversion, Campbell quipped: "He that can make a jest of changing his religion may, I believe, without breach of charity be said to have changed but in jest" (1910: 245). Watson in turn accused Campbell of abusing the royal monopoly with sacrilegious profiteering, and failing to fulfil its warrant by substandard workmanship:

> Nothing came from the Royal Press (as Mrs Anderson vainly term'd it) but the most illegible and uncorrect Bibles and Books that were ever printed in any one Place in the World. She regarded not the Honour of the Nation, and never minded the Duty lay upon her as the Sovereign's Servant: Prentices, instead of the best Workmen, were generally imploy'd in printing the Sacred Word of god. And, in fine, nothing was study'd but gaining of money by printing Bibles at any rate; which she knew none other durst do, and that nobody could want them (Watson 1913: 13).

Recrimination and revanchism was to be the character of their relationship (Campbell even succeeded in having Watson temporarily exiled from Edinburgh to Glasgow for seditious printing) until Campbell's death in 1716. Following the expiry of the monopoly in 1711, a campaign of litigation, bribery and betrayal ensued, the story of which is most excellently

expounded upon in William Couper's 1910 article, 'James Watson, King's Printer'. Double-crossed by his co-applicants for the monopoly, fellow printer Robert Freebairn and the King's Printer in England, John Baskett, both of whom were in league with Campbell, it would not be until 1718, four years before his death, that Watson truly secured the position of King's Printer (and even then legal skirmishing with Baskett would continue).

2.2.1. *THE HISTORY OF THE ART OF PRINTING*

Watson inherited from his father a vocation whose national state was comparatively rudimentary next to its southern and continental neighbour's, and mired – as we have observed – in litigious tribalism. Long before his eventual triumph over Campbell and the Anderson cartel, Watson had been industriously promoting aspirational reform and improvement in Scottish printing as an act of patriotic service. Under the supposedly tyrannical application of Campbell's monopoly as King's Printer in Scotland, Watson declared that "the art of printing in this kingdom got a death stroke" (1913: 49). He contended that the "Invention, and vast Improvement, of the no less honourable, than useful and admirable art of Printing…deserves a very eminent Place," a philosophy crystallised in his preface to *A History of the Art of Printing, containing an account of its Invention and Progress in Europe, with the names of the famous Printers, the places of their birth and the works printed by them, and a Preface by the Publisher to the Printers in Scotland* (1713), a translation of – it has been suggested (Couper 1910) – J. de la Caille's *The History of the Invention and Progress of the Mysterious Art of Printing*, published in Paris, 1689.

Printed in the same year as the second edition of his miscellany, *Choice Collection*, Watson's preface is a manifesto for his vision of a revitalised printing industry in Scotland, the achievement of which would recuperate a portion of national pride in the era of the nation's erosion of political autonomy; in this sense it can be read metaphorically. He begins with a lamentation: whereas early printers held "the Marks of Honour paid them" that reflected how "those illustrious Persons were honour'd, and ranked, among the best of their fellow Citizens, in those Times", the contemporary state of affairs illustrated how "we are scarcely clas'd or esteem'd above the lower Forms of Machanicks" (1913: 43). Watson hoped, however, his preface might prove a call-to-arms in encouraging his fellow printer to "generous Emulation, nay, exceeding, if we can, the best Performances of our laudable ancestors in the employment":

> That since our Native Country has at present as many good Spirits, and Abundance of more Authors than in any former Age; we may make it our Ambition, as well as it is our Interest and Honour, to furnish them with Printers that can serve them well, that they

> need not, as many of our former Authors have been forc'd to do, go to other Countries to publish their Writings, lest a learn'd Book should be spoil'd by an ignorant or careless Printer (1913: 44).

Watson assured his fellow printer the reward would be greater than riches or property ("immense Sums of Money or opulent Estates"): they would have retrieved the "Art of PRINTING" for the "Glory of our Country" (1913: 44).

At the beginning of the preface, Watson states his intention to inquire "how we came to lose that Honour and Respect due to our Profession (since the present Age is much more learned, and I believe as just too, and discerning of Merit as their Ancestors" (1913: 43**).** The answer is not long in coming: he placed blame squarely with the Covenanters.

> And as we were early famous for our Printing…we maintain'd the same Reputation in our Employment, until the Rebellion against King *Charles* I. of blessed Memory. But then Religion and Learning falling into a Decay ; PRINTING, the faithful Secretary to Both, underwent the same Fate with them (1913: 47).

Watson held the Common Prayer Book printed by Robert Young (d. 1643), the King's Printer to Charles I in Scotland, as an example of the fine quality of printing practice in Scotland (whose excellence far "exceeded" that of the English-printed version). But this "Good and Great Master was ruin'd by the Covenanters, for doing this Piece of Work, and forc'd to fly the Kingdom" (1913: 47). There followed, claimed Watson, the "first Period of our Decay in PRINTING" (1913: 48).

The second, evidently, was the Anderson cartel's prolonged control of the monopoly: "for by it no Printer could print any thing from a Bible to a Ballad without Mr *Anderson's* License" (1913: 49). "She regarded not the Honour of the Nation" complained Watson and "never minded the Duty lay upon her as the Sovereign's Servant" (1913: 50). Watson cast himself as her foil, and concluded his preface with the patriotic invocation: "I wish none of you may have your Country's Honour less at Heart as to PRINTING, than I have had it…And that our noble ART may revive and flourish in the Part of the Island" (1913: 58-59). Even after the union in 1707, Watson was publicly advocating for the advancement of Scotland.

2.2.2. SEDITION FOR SCOTLAND

In a controversial pamphlet printed by Watson for George Ridpath (d. 1726), *Scotland's Grievance Relating to Darien*, published and distributed in 1700, the financial calamity caused by Scotland's attempt to establish a colony in modern-day Panama was explicitly associated

with efforts by England during the Wars of Independence to undermine Scottish autonomy by installing a puppet king, John Balliol:

> SINCE our Nation bethought themselves of advancing their Trade, by the Act for establishing a Company Trading to *Africa* and the *Indies*, a greater Invasion hath been made upon our Sovereignty and Freedom, than hath happened at any time since we were ingloriously betray'd by *Baliol*… The Addresses of both Houses of Parliament in *England* against our Act above-mentioned, was such an Invasion, as to which it may be a proper Enquiry for our Parliament, Whether those Addresses were not Contriv'd and Promoted by some about the K.[ing] as the last Address of the House of Lords was; and whether any Native of *Scotland* was concern'd in Contriving or Promoting the same? (1700: 24).

The consequences of this publication saw Watson jailed for seditious printing, sprung by a rioting mob (a number of whom would replace him in his cell for their crime) and exiled from Edinburgh to the Gorbals in Glasgow. Despite Watson only serving several months of his banishment before it was petitioned against and overturned, however, it was not long before he once again found himself colliding with authority. In 1705, Watson, along with paper manufacturers Evander MacIver and George Ker, found their efforts to raise the standard of Scottish printing "frustrated by the ease with which printed matter could be imported into the country from England" which Watson objected was "an open encroachment on their Native right" (Couper 1910: 14). In protest, Watson, MacIver and Ker defied the Privy Council, who policed illicit printing, and began reprinting English texts without permission. Shortly thereafter, the work was shut down by the Privy Council and Watson et al brought before them and charged for their misconduct. Watson, however, faced additional charges for his printing of another of Ridpath's pamphlets, entitled *The Reducing of Scotland by Arms, and Annexing to England, as a Province, Considered. With an Historical Account of the Grievances the Scots Complain they have suffer'd in their* Religion, Liberty, *and* Trade, *since the Union of the Crowns; which they assign as the Cause of their Delay to come into the same Succession with England, until they have a previous Security against such Grievances for time to come* (1705).

Amongst the grievances of Scots listed in this pamphlet were James VI and I's introduction of bishops in Scotland (subsequently expelled by the Covenanters) at the behest of his English advisors, "contrary to the Mind of their [Scotland's] Church, against their standing Laws, and in Violation of his own solemn Oaths and Protestations" (1705: 9); England's increasing erosion of Scottish liberty: "They [England] have been apt to think that it [liberty] grows

no where but in an *English* soil; and that's perhaps the Reason why they are so little sensible of the Complaint of other People that want it" and references the Scots, the Irish, and the American plantations as specifically aggrieved peoples (1705: 16); and the continued frustration of Scottish efforts towards the "great Advancement of their trade" which were invariably "nipp'd in the Bud, by the Influence of the *English* Councils" (1705: 35).

The outcome of the legal proceedings resultant from Watson's printing of this pamphlet are, frustratingly, unknown but we can safely assume that Watson was not undone since he continued printing. "Above all" writes Couper, "he [Watson] was time and time again champion of his native country against the encroachments of the South" (1913: 9). It is therefore in this context – that of Watson the rebellious printer: frequently defying stifling laws and publishing material critical of Scotland's fall into English orbit – that we might now consider his most enduring work, published only a year after the printing of *The Reducing of Scotland by Arms*, his miscellany, *Watson's Choice Collection of Comic and Serious Scots Poems Both Ancient and Modern. By Several Hands* (1706), and his innovation of apostrophised Scots spellings therein.

2.3. WATSON'S *CHOICE COLLECTION* AND THE "FAUX SCOTS" OF LONDON

A smorgasbord of Scottish literature, both contemporary and historical, Watson's *Choice Collection* was printed across three volumes, published in 1706, 1709 and 1711, eventually totalling seventy-three poems. A second edition came in 1713. The contents page of the miscellany is both a recollection of the nation's literary past and a selection of its current richness. Of the former there features such iconic works of the Makars as Montgomerie's 'Cherry and the Slae' and 'Solsequium', the 'The Flyting Betwixt Polwart and Montgomery', and a modernised version of 'Christ's Kirk on the Green' variously attributes to James I and V (Watson tentatively attaches it to the second). Of the latter there are contemporary favourites of cheap pamphlets and broadside ballad culture such as 'The Last Dying Words of Bonny Heck' and the 'Life and Death of the Piper of Kilbarchan' whose meter, to become commonly known as the 'Habbie Stanza', would be so popular amongst writers like Burns.

We might ask, however, *why* Watson – a printer of renegade pamphlets (amongst other things, such as newspapers) – chose to compile and print a miscellany of contemporary and history Scottish literature? In the *Edinburgh History of the Book in Scotland* (vol. 2), Stephen W. Brown and Warren McDougall suggest one potential reason:

> …it was Watson's commitment to making print a site for sustaining Scottish identity against the subsuming threat of Britishness that set the tone for the history of the book

> in eighteenth century Scotland…Watson's resulting *A Choice Collection of Comic and Serious Scots Poems* (1706-1711) was a political statement that asserted Scotland's authentic indigenous voice against the *faux* Scots of the London publishers (2012: 9).

The "*faux* Scots" to which Brown and McDougall refer, and which Watson was thought as taking a stand against, was the "flourishing genre" of 'Scotch songs' (Johnson 2003: 130). Emerging in London during the latter seventeenth century, the folk music historian, David Johnson, has described them as:

> …somewhat debased popular songs of allegedly Scottish origin, some with fake tunes, all with fake words, and Londoners liked them because they were refreshingly different from the classical productions of Purcell and Lully. They had a quality of 'wildness' – that of breaking the accepted rules of the art and yet giving pleasure to the beholder (2003: 130).

Johnson, rather bluntly, uses the term '"fake" to describe what would have been 'improvised' Scots: as we will shortly encounter, these ballads were typically written by people who possessed no especial familiarity with Scotland or the Scots language. Their artistic intention was simply to capture the remote exoticism of a place far from London and therefore an approximation of Scots, perhaps modelled on limited encounters with its speakers or common stereotypes of its sounds, was implemented to evoke this.

The origins of 'Scotch songs' are unclear. "It is not known how the genre originated," Johnson states but ventures "perhaps from the personal tastes of the royalty, who after all were (from one point of view) third generation Scottish *emigres*" (2003: 130-131). This seems entirely possible. With the arrival of James I and his Stuart dynasty in 1603, aspirational individuals inside or orbiting the court might have sought to capitalise on how representations of Scotland, Scottishness, and Scots could be exploited as social currency. This is to some extent evident in the work of William L'Isle (1569-1637), in whose *A Saxon Treatise Concerning the Old and New Testament* (1623) Scots was conceived of as a 'purer' variety of English. L'Isle remarked on his encounter with Gavin Douglas's (1474-1522) translation of Virgil's *Aeneid*:

> But the Saxon, (as a bird, flying in the aire farther and farther, seemes, lesse and lesse;) the older it was became harder to bee vnderstood. At length I lighted upon *Virgil* Scottished by the Reuerend *Gawin Dowglas* Bishop of *Dunkell*, and vncle to the Earle of *Angus*; the best translation of that Poet that euer I read ; And though I found that dialect

> more hard than any of the former (as nearer the Saxon, because farther from the Norman) yet with help of the Latine I made shift to vnderstand it, and read the booke more than once from the beginning to the end (1623: 38-39).

L'Isle, implicitly, evokes a narrative of ancient continuity around the lineage of Scots: a pre-Norman link to Ælfric's England that persists unbroken. (Incidentally, his notion of Scots' nearness to Old English as a measure of linguistic 'purity' continued well into the eighteenth century and will be discussed in subsequent chapters for its important ramifications on perceptions around apostrophised Scots). An 'esquire extraordinary to the king's body' – being asked only to attend the king on singular occasions – L'Isle's careful intimation of Scots language exceptionalism (from the relentlessness of language change) may have been constructed partly with the audience of his Scottish king in mind. Even without this motivation, L'Isle nonetheless tantalisingly suggests how the presence of a Scottish king in the Court of London provided Scots with a degree of sociocultural prestige: "But I haue heard that an Englishman Scottizing once to our King, was roundly reproued for it, blessed be his Maiesty that so hateth flattery" (1623: 35).

William Chappell, in his 1855-56 tract, *Popular Music of the Olden Time*, noted that "the popularity of Scottish music cannot be dated further back than the reign of Charles II" (though, he also notes, "it may be proved, from various sources, that English music was in favour in Scotland from the fifteenth century, and that many English airs became so popular as at length to be thoroughly domiciled there") (1856: 610). Chappell tentatively suggests in a footnote that this pre-Restoration absence of affection for Scotch songs could be the result of "prejudice against the Scotch, who were long viewed as interlopers, and somewhat to their broad dialect" (1856: 610). The Scottish "broad dialect" would become a salient obstacle to be overcome by later writers of the Scotch songs.

The popularity of Scotch songs in England remained substantial both in and outwith the court. Johnson points us to the anecdote that Queen Anne (1665-1714), who would become the first monarch of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, whilst entertaining a performance from Henry Purcell (1659-1695), and Arabella Hunt (1662-1705), a singer of contemporary fame who performed several of Purcell's compositions, is reported to have abruptly announced she wished Hunt to sing the Scotch ballad, 'Cold and raw.' Craik notes "she [Hunt] immediately obeyed, accompanying herself on the lute, and not much to the gratification of the great English composer" in attendance (1871: 732). Likewise, sensing that the Scotch tunes "were taking the fancy of the English people," they were prolifically printed

throughout the latter seventeenth century by father and son printing duo, John Playford (1623-1686) and Henry Playford (1657-1707) (Collinson 1966: 125). John Dryden, in his collection *Fables Ancient and Modern*, compared the appeal of Scotch songs to that of Chaucer's poetry:

> The Verse of *Chaucer*, I confess, is not Harmonious to us; but…they who liv'd with him, and some time after him, thought it Musical;…there is the rude Sweetness of a *Scotch* Tune in it, which is natural and pleasing, though not perfect (1700: 24-25).

Dryden's note of "rude sweetness" is portentous: it reflects the bucolic genre that would become so stridently associated with Scots verse by the end of the eighteenth century, and shows that long before Ramsay or Burns, Scots and Scotland were being pastoralised by English writers.

2.3.1. THOMAS D'URFEY

One of the most prolific and (in)famous Scotch song writers was Thomas D'Urfey (c. 1653-1723), whose collection, *Wit and Mirth: or Pills to Purge Melancholy: Being a Collection of the Best Merry Ballads and Songs, Old and New*, first published in 1698, held over one thousand songs by its final sixth edition in 1720. A playwright, his first comedy, *Madame Fickle* (1677), attracted the attention and subsequent patronage of King Charles II and, despite his stammer (which he overcame during singing and, reportedly, swearing), D'Urfey's "resonant baritone voice, impudent, vulgar wit, and good-natured willingness to play the buffoon suited the temper of the court" ('Thomas D'Urfey' 2004, ODNB). Walter Scott, in *Reliquiae Trotcosienses* – an unfinished catalogue of his literary collection at Abbotsford, as told through the perspective of the fictitious antiquary, Jonathan Oldbuck, the Laird of Monkbarns (the eponymous figure of Scott's 1816 novel, *The Antiquary*) – wrote that: "…we have only to observe that the editor of D'Urfey's *Pills*, as his collection is elegantly styled, enjoyed a certain sort of half-reputation and was half celebrated, half ridiculed, by Addison, Dryden, and other Augustan writers in the end of the seventeenth century" (2004: 51). Incidentally, his original name was *Tom Durfey* but by way of a tactfully inserted apostrophe (no less), D'Urfey gallicised his surname in 1683 to recall an ancient, and distinctly more aristocratic, lineage ('Thomas D'Urfey' 2004, ODNB).

Johnson describes how D'Urfey distilled "the writing of 'Scotch song' lyrics to a fine art" (2003: 131): he established the popularity of such conventions in Scotch songs as naming characters *Jockey* or *Sawney* if male, and *Jenny* or *Maggy* if female, and as "poetic diction he used a synthetic Scots dialect, consisting of English with Scottish flavourings" (2003: 132).

Oldbuck expresses a similar point in *Reliquiae Trotcosienses* when he writes of the apparent 'artificiality' of these songs:

> …a variety of songs falsely called Scotch, for example, "'Twas within a mile of Edinburgh Town," and others besides, were in fact songs composed for the players and they are sung (2004: 51).

We might now turn to some examples of Scotch songs in order to highlight why Watson considered it imperative to produce his own miscellany, *Choice Collection*, as a "political statement that asserted Scotland's authentic indigenous voice against the *faux* Scots" emergent in London.

2.3.2. SOME EXAMPLES OF 'SCOTCH SONGS'

The first volume of D'Urfey's *Pills to Purge Melancholy* contains a verse simply called 'A Scotch Song' attached to the tune of 'Twas within a mile of Edinborough Town', and is of particular value in illustrating the conceptualisation – and, from the likes of Watson's perspective, *mismanagement* – of Scots by non-Scots speakers. An extract reads:

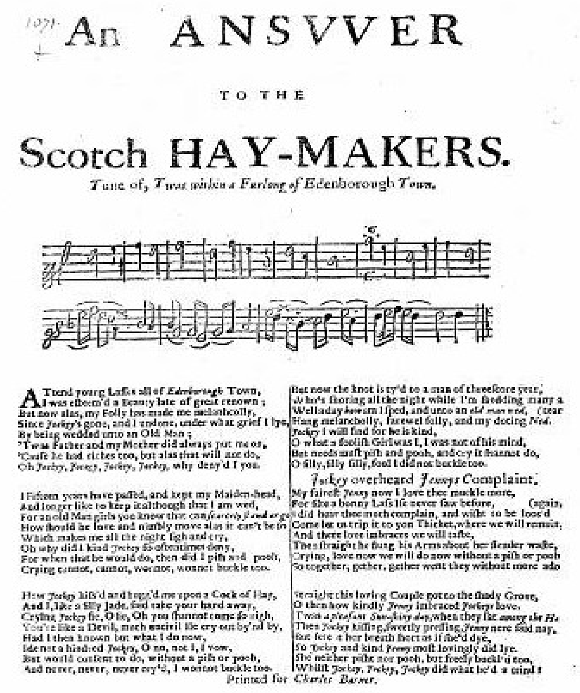
> 'Twas within a Furlong of Edinborough Town,
> In the Rose time of year when the Grass was down;
> Bonny *Jockey* Blith and Gay,
> Said to *Jenny* making Hay,
> Let's sit a little (Dear) and prattle,
> 'Tis a sultry Day:
> He long had Courted the Black-Brow'd Maid,
> But *Jockey* was a Wag and would ne'er consent to Wed;
> Which made her pish and phoo, and cry out it will not do,
> I cannot, cannot, cannot, wonnot, monnot Buckle too (D'Urfey, 1719: 327).

Perhaps the most interesting part is the final line, about which Johnson suggests:

> D'Urfrey regarded the Scots word *canna* as a slurred-over form of *cannot* in English, and by analogy back-formed 'correct' spellings for *winna* and *mauna*. He clearly had no conception of Scots as a separate language with its own spelling conventions: he improvised his own (2003: 132).

Notably, in this excerpt, D'Urfey's innovations are virtually absent beyond *cannot*, *wonnot* and *monnot* and his "Scottish flavourings" are limited to the caricatures Jockey and Jenny, isolated use of "bonny," and mention of "Edinborough Town."

The verse involved in this song, as with many others, had of course been recycled by D'Urfey, and is observable in earlier broadside ballads from the late seventeenth century. One such broadside ballad, found in the Pepys Collection at Magdalene College, Cambridge, and digitised by the invaluable 'English Broadside Ballad Archive,' hosted by the University of California, is called 'An Answer to the Scottish Haymakers' (observable below in figure 2.3).



An ANSVVER
TO THE
Scotch HAY-MAKERS.
Tune of, *Twas within a Furlong of Edenborough Town.*

ATtend young Lasses all of *Edinborough* Town,
I was esteem'd a Beauty late of great renown;
But now alas, my Folly has made me melancolly,
Since *Jockey's* gone, and I undone, under what grief I lye,
By being wedded unto an Old Man;
'Twas Father and my Mother did always put me on,
'Cause he had riches too, but alas that will not do,
Oh *Jockey, Jenny, Jockey, Jockey,* why deny'd I you.

I Fifteen years have passed, and kept my Maiden-head,
And longer like to keep it although that I am wed,
For an old Man girls you know that can *scarcely stand or go*
How should he love and nimbly move alas it can't be so
Which makes me all the night sigh and cry,
Oh why did I kind *Jockey* so oftentimes deny,
For when that he would do, then did I pish and pooh,
Crying cannot, cannot, wonnot, wonnot buckle too.

How *Jockey* kiss'd and hugg'd me upon a Cock of Hay,
And I, like a silly Jade, said take your hand away,
Crying, *Jockey* fie, O fie, Oh you shannot come so nigh,
You're like a Devil, much uncivil Ile cry out by'r la by,
Had I then known but what I do now,
Ide not a hindred *Jockey*, O no, not I, I vow,
But would content to do, without a pish or pooh,
And never, never, never cry'd, I wonnot buckle too.

But now the knot is ty'd to a man of threescore year,
Who's snoring all the night while I'm shedding many a (tear
Welladay *how am* I lyed, and unto an *old man wed*,
Hang melancholly, farewel folly, and my doting *Ned*.
Jockey I will find for he is kind,
O what a foolish Girl was I, I was not of his mind,
But needs must pish and pooh, and cry it shannot do,
O silly, silly silly, fool I did not buckle too.

Jockey overheard *Jennys* Complaint.
My fairest *Jenny* now I love thee muckle more,
For sike a bonny Lass Ile never saw before, (again,
I did hear thee much complain, and wish to be loos'd
Come let us trip it to yon Thicket, where we will remain,
And there love imbraces we will taste,
Then straight he flung his Arms about her slender waste,
Crying, love now we will do now without a pish or pooh
So together, gether, gether went they without more ado

Straight this loving Couple got to the shady Grove,
O then how kindly *Jenny* imbraced *Jockeys* love.
Twas a *pleasant Sunshiny day*, when they lay *among the Hay*
Then *Jockey* kissing, sweetly pressing, *Jenny* nere said nay,
But fetcht her breath short as if she'd dye,
So *Jockey* and kind *Jenny* most lovingly did lye.
She neither pisht nor pooh, but freely buckl'd too,
Whilst *Jockey, Jockey, Jockey* did what he'd a mind t
Printed for *Charles Barnet*.

Figure 2.3: **A copy of the broadside ballad, 'An Answer to the Scottish Hay-Makers'.**

Dated to around 1690-1700, an extract reads:

I Fifteen years have passed, and kept my Maiden-head,
And longer like to keep it although that I am wed,
For an old Man girls you know that can scarcely stand or go
How should he love and nimbly move alas it can't be so
Which makes me all the night sigh and cry,
Oh why did I kind Jockey so oftentimes deny,
For when that he would do, then did I pish and pooh,
Crying cannot, cannot, wonnot, wonnot buckle too (Anon c.1690: lines 9-16).

We might observe the thematic similarity between the two songs: Jockey, for various reasons, is a prospect beyond marriage for the singer, and there are present the limited Scots 'flavourings' such as "cannot" and "wonnot." Most notable is the opening line, which announces: "Attend young Lasses all of Edenborough Town" (c. 1690: line 1). The author here, knowing 'lasses' to be a common Scots term, has attempted to affect a Scots pronunciation with their spelling of "Edenborough."


The Loves of Jockey and Jenny:
OR,
The Scotch Wedding.
A most pleasant New Song.

AH! Jenny Gin, your Eyn do kill,
you'l let me tell my pain;
Guid Faith Ise lov'd against my will,
but wou'd not break my Chain:
I eance was call'd a bonny Lad,
till that fair face of yours,
Betray'd the freedom once I had,
and all my blither hours.

FINIS.
Printed for P. Brooksby, at the Golden-Ball, in West-smithfield.

***Figure 2.4:* Ballad sheet facsimile of 'The Loves of Jockey and Jenny' by Aphra Behn (1684-1685).**

Arguably more well-known now than D'Urfey, the playwright, poet, and sometime spy, Aphra Behn, wrote several Scotch songs. One such example was 'The Loves of Jockey and Jenny' (c. 1684-85), a facsimile of which is shown in figure 2.4. The opening verses read:

AH! Jenny Gin, your Eyn do kill,
    you'l let me tell my pain;
Guid Faith Ise lov'd against my will,
    but wou'd not break my Chain:
I eance was call'd a bonny Lad,
    till that fair face of yours,
Betray'd the freedom once I had,
    and all my blither hours.

And now, wey's me like winter looks,
my faded showring ey'n;
And on the banks of shaddowing Brooks,
I pass the tedious time:
Ise call the streams that glide soft on,

to witness if they see,
On all the banks they glide along,
so true a swain as me.

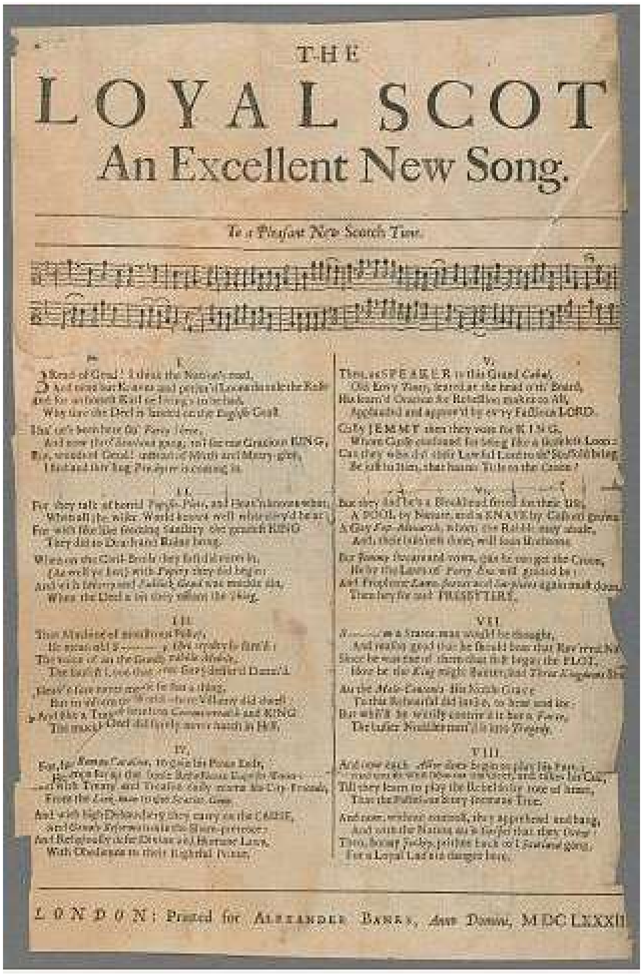
Jockey.
Wey's me, can Jenny doubt my love,
when au the Lasses see,
That I done slight each mikle Dove,
and languish but for thee?
I'se have Five Acres of good Lond,
both Sheep and muckle Rine;
And au for Jenny to Command,
sweet Jenny then be mine.

Jenny.
Wey's me when Jockey kens my store
he's will repent his pain;
And au his mickle suit give o're,
poor Jenny he'l disdain (c.1684–85: lines 1-30).

Like D'Urfey, Behn makes sure to involve those crucial characteristics of Scots speech: "bonny" and "lasses." Other Scots lexical sprinklings include "mickle" (for 'muckle'), "au" (for 'a' or 'aw'), "wey" (for 'wae'), and "eance" (for 'ane' or 'ance'): these English-based spellings seem to be based on rough approximations of their sound.

A recurring lexical item in these Scotch songs is <Ise>, a contraction of <I sall> ('I shall'), as in line 3: "Guid Faith Ise lov'd against my will." The DSL points out this particular contraction was common in the late sixteenth century, and seems to have been pounced upon by English writers of Scotch songs as an 'authenticating' marker ('Ise' 2004). D'Urfey makes significant use of it, observable in versions of 'Bonny Dundee' (1683-1716), 'The Scotch Lover's Complaint' (c. 1671-1702), 'Unfortunate Jockey' (1682), and 'The Scotch-man Out-witted by the Country Damsel' (1685-1688) (all of which can be found on EBBA's online

repository). It can similarly be found in anonymous broadsides such as 'Coy Moggy: Or, The Scotch Lass's Lamentation' (c.1690-1700) whose opening line reads: "Gid faith Ise was a blith and bonny Lass" (note again the approximation of how Scots words might be spelled according to their sound: <Gid>).


THE
LOYAL SCOT
An Excellent New Song.

To a Pleasant New Scotch Tune.

LONDON: Printed for ALEXANDER BANKS, Anno Domini, MDCLXXXII.

Figure 2.5: **Facsimile of the broadside ballad, 'The Loyal Scot' (1682).**

Other interesting examples of "faux Scots" can be found in the anonymous broadside ballad, 'The Loyal Scot' (1682), as seen in figure 2.5. The opening two verses read:

> Bread of Geud! I think the Nation's mad,
> And nene but Knaves and perjur'd Loons do rule the Rost;
> And for an honest Karl ne living's to be had,
> Why sure the Deel is landed on the English Coast.
>
> I ha' ne'r been here sin' Forty Three,
> And now thro' Scotland gang, to'l see our Gracious KING;
> But, wunds of Geud! instead of Mirth and Merry-glee,

I find aud sniv'ling Presbyter is coming in (1682: lines 1-8).

Again, we find interesting approximations of Scots accents: <Geud>, <ne>, and, most interestingly, <Deel> and <ha'>. The former, <Deel> is presumably how the author conceives of Scots pronouncing the v-deletion in <Deil> and uses English <ee> to represent as much. The item <ha'>, presumably an estimation of <hae>, has extended the practice of using an apostrophe to memorialise a letter no longer sounded in articulation: a common practice in contemporary English spelling e.g. <lov'd>. This is a significant point we will return to in the following sections.

We might recall Brown and McDougall's observations from the beginning of this section on Watson's willingness to print material critical of Scotland's deepening associations with English:

> …it was Watson's commitment to making print a site for sustaining Scottish identity against the subsuming threat of Britishness that set the tone for the history of the book in eighteenth century Scotland…Watson's resulting *A Choice Collection of Comic and Serious Scots Poems* (1706-1711) was a political statement that asserted Scotland's authentic indigenous voice against the *faux* Scots of the London publishers (2012: 9).

The English 'Scotch songs' were a powerful example of what might have been considered the "subsuming threat of Britishness": largely English language texts that feigned Scottishness with the sparse inclusion of Scottish-sounding names like Jockey and Sawney, reference to places like Dundee and 'Edenborough', and the aural-approximations of Scots words awkwardly fit into English orthographic moulds. Watson's *Choice Collection*, however, was no simple repudiation of this activity. Although accurate insofar as its nationalistic intent, Brown and McDougall's characterising of Watson's miscellany as "a political statement that asserted Scotland's authentic indigenous voice against the *faux* Scots of the London publishers" underestimates just how nuanced and clever *Choice Collection* was as a patriotic inversion of the Scotch song.

2.4. WATSON'S *CHOICE COLLECTION*: "SEMINAL AND FLAWED"

Despite only receiving comparatively limited critical attention (versus, say, Ramsay's corpus), existing scholarship on Watson's *Choice Collection* frequently repeats two points: 1. it was the proto-text of the Vernacular Revival in Scotland, and 2. an editorial misadventure: Watson seemingly paid no heed to either genre or chronology.

David Daiches, in his short book, *The Paradox of Scottish Culture*, has described *Choice Collection* as marking "the beginning of the eighteenth-century Scottish literary revival" and "an attempt to make contact with Scotland's literary past" (1964: 18). Maurice Lindsay, similarly, in his *History of Scottish Literature*, asserted that Watson's miscellany "ushered in the Eighteenth-century Revival by establishing a direct link with the makars" (1977: 171). Both men describe the collection itself, however, as somewhat disorganised. Daiches regards *Choice Collection* as "an odd assortment": "poems old and new" with the former occurring in "varying degrees of corruption or anglicisation"; whilst Lindsay simply refers to it as a "strange mixture" (1964: 17-18; 1977: 170).

A. M. Kinghorn described *Choice Collection* as "the first literary emblem of lost Scottish independence" for which later scholarship would anoint Watson "the status of pioneer of a vernacular revival" (1992: 6-7). Watson himself, however, was deemed by Kinghorn to be an "inexpert compiler" who structured his collection in a "haphazard fashion without regard to chronology or assembly by individual author" (1992: 6).

Harriet Harvey Wood, who edited the Scottish Text Society's edition of *Choice Collection* (to be specifically returned to in the following section), reminded us that:

> It should not be forgotten just how revolutionary such an undertaking was at that time. No printed collection of miscellaneous poems had previously been published in Scotland (1998: 22).

The "contents of the Choice Collection," however, Wood regrets is a "mess – and so is the arrangement of them":

> He clearly worked in a hurry, and used whatever sources came most easily to hand, and they were very often (though not always) extremely corrupt (1998: 24).

Leith Davis, however, in her recent paper, 'Imagining the Miscellaneous Nation' (2011), suggests that such conceptions of Watson's collection – "as both seminal and flawed" – were the result of "a failure to consider the Collection in the wider context of British and European print culture":

> Criticism of the Collection has come out of a tradition of Scottish studies that has often been, for justifiable but perhaps now outmoded reasons, so concerned with authorizing a Scottish national literature that it has failed to relate Scottish literary activity to what was taking place beyond Scotland's borders. In particular, critics have neglected to notice the Collection's affiliation with the contemporary genre of the miscellany popular

> in England and in France at the time, despite the fact that Watson himself draws attention to that affiliation (2011: 61).

Davis here does two important things. Firstly, she considers the miscellany as a whole: citing invaluable evidence within the collection's paratext (to be discussed momentarily). Secondly, she is careful to contextualise the priorities of Watson's work in its contemporary landscape and not via the lens of Present-Day scholarly sensibilities on 'acceptable' editing methods. As the previous section discussed, Watson's miscellany was an enterprise designed to counter a specifically English phenomenon. On this latter point Davis writes:

> Recognizing the competing interests at stake in the Scottish political landscape of 1706, Watson uses the imaginative space of the miscellany to bring readers of different tastes and interests together to promote the cause of Scotland at a time during which the nation's very existence was under threat (2011: 61).

Daiches himself describes the "motives" behind *Choice Collection* as "patriotic" but fails to make any subsequent connection with Watson's editorial arrangement (1964: 13). Watson could do little to prevent the Act of Union in 1707 but, against such perceived threats to Scotland's cultural integrity as the London production and diffusion of 'Scotch songs', he could meaningfully respond. There is no evidence that Watson's priority was an exquisitely-edited miscellany (by modern or contemporary editorial standards): rather, the indications found in both Watson's pro-Scots activism, as we have observed, and editorial activity within the text (shortly to be analysed in-depth), affirm Brown and McDougall's estimation of the collection as a statement of cultural protectionism.

The reference made by Watson to the "contemporary genre of the miscellany popular in England and in France at the time" occurs in his preface to *Choice Collection.* Although comparatively short (relative to the prefatory dissertations which would become commonplace in miscellanies recuperating historical texts), it repays close study and is therefore printed in full here:

THE

PUBLISHER

TO THE

READER.

> *As the frequency of Publishing Collections of Miscellaneous Poems in our Neighbouring Kingdoms and States, may, in a great measure, justify an Undertaking of this kind with us ; so*

'tis hoped, that this being the first of its Nature which has been publish'd in our own Native Scots *Dialect, the Candid Reader may be the more easily induced, through the Consideration thereof, to give some Charitable Grains of Allowance, if the Performance come not up to such a Point of Exactness as may please an over nice Palate. And since the Undertaker depends much on such Generous Helps as he expects from the Repositories of some Curious and Ingenious Gentlemen, who take pleasure in keeping several Comic and Diverting Poems by them; the Reader is not to look for an exact Precedency as to the Priority or order of Time in which the several following Poems were first Composed : yet at the same time, as a Test of the Undertaker's Care to please his Reader as much as he can, this first Essay is chiefly composed of such Poems as have been formerly Printed most Uncorrectly, in all respects, but are now copied from the most Correct Manuscripts that could be procured of them. And it is intended, that the next Collection shall consist wholly of Poems never before Printed, most of them being already in the Undertaker's Hands, and shall (God Willing) be publish'd at or before the first day of* November *next.*

Pro captu Lectoris habent fua fata Libelli (1869: i-ii).

"Neighbouring Kingdoms and States" (i.e. England) have been prolific in their production of such collections (e.g. D'Urfey's *Pills to Purge Melancholy*), a circumstance Watson regards as sufficient to "justify an Undertaking of this kind with us." This seems to implicitly reference the risk of allowing such collections as those of English Scotch songs to diffuse without native challenge. More so, it is "the first of its Nature" (i.e. a miscellany) to have been published "in our own Native Scots Dialect." *Choice Collection* is immediately marketed by Watson as an intrinsically Scottish enterprise: a text which both functions as an endeavour towards parity with other countries, and an affirming expression of national identity, written in a language which, (if we recall) according to Mackenzie, reflects the character of the Scottish people.

In this sense, the text as a patriotic exercise, the preface operates in tandem with the title page. Across both, Watson deploys a template whose three constituent elements will be reused time and time again – from Ramsay to Scott and beyond – and which communicate his understanding of the indissoluble link between Scots and Scottishness:

1. The promise of authenticity. Watson proclaims his miscellany is *"the first of its Nature which has been publish'd in our own Native* Scots *Dialect…"* This is reinforced by the presence of the word "A N C I E N T" (a recurring lexical favourite of the antiquarian), and the use of archaic blackletter typeface in the miscellany's title to simulate antiquity, shown here in figure 2.6.:

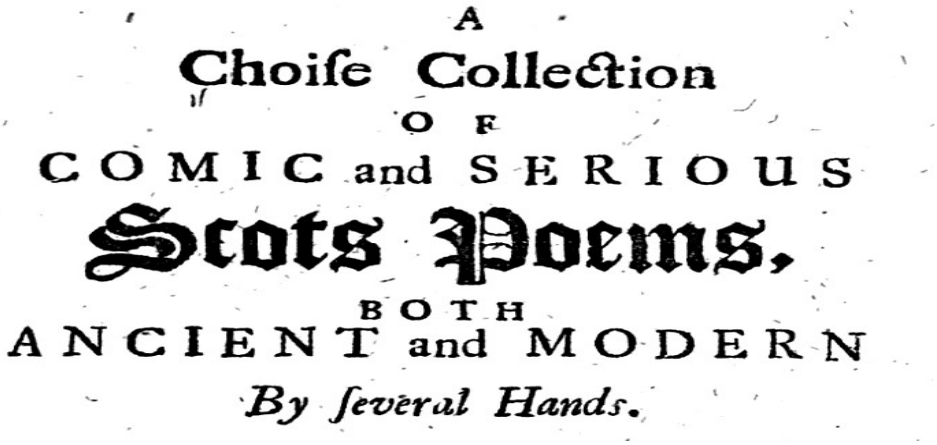


Figure 2.6: **The title page of Watson's *Choice Collection*.**

Watson is advertising not only the pedigree of the Scots language but, by the same hand, the longevity of the Scottish nation to which it belongs.

2. The promise of authority. Watson writes that: "*…this first essay is chiefly composed of such Poems as have been formerly Printed most Uncorrectly , in all respects, but are now copied from the most Correct Manuscripts that could be procured of them.*" An important contingent of the first claim to authenticity is the accompanying promise that the reader is being presented with an accurate representation of literary – and national – artefacts.

3. The excusing of infelicities (either by assuming personal responsibility or, as will become more apparent in the nineteenth century, blaming the incompetence of earlier – usually oral – transmitters). Watson requests "*some Charitable Grains of Allowance, if the Performance come not up to such a Point of Exactness as may please an over nice Palate.*" This final expression – "as may please an over nice Palate" is particular worthy of attention since it recalls Mackenzie's objection to perceived English reproving of Scots and Scotland: "I say not this to asperse the English, they are a Nation I honour, but to reprove the petulancy, and mallice of some amongst them who think they do their Country good service, when they reproach ours" (1672: 18). It is a line we will return to when considering Ramsay and his preface.

2.4.1. "OUR NATIVE SCOTS DIALECT"

Watson's assertion that his miscellany was written in "our Native Scots Dialect" has generally elicited scepticism within scholarly commentary: much of it concluding that such a claim was overly-enthusiastic and unfulfilled. The reasons behind this doubt are worth detaining ourselves to examine in detail since they reflect complexities inherent in distinguishing eighteenth-century literary Scots from English, and language from ethnicity. By addressing

these criticisms, we can uncover just how clever and nuanced Watson's response to "*faux* Scots" was, and, crucially, his reasoning behind the innovation of apostrophised forms.

A. M. Kinghorn has described Watson's claim as "misleading inasmuch" as it:

> …applied to only a handful of poems, seven out of nineteenth in Part I, four out of twelve in Part II and two out of forty-one in Part III. The rest, including lyrics by Montrose and Aytoun, though conceived in a Scots accent, were written in English; in the interests of accuracy Watson might have modified his Preface to read 'the first of its Nature to include poems in our own Native Scots Dialect and to be Entirely Composed by Native Scotsmen'. It is possible that his original plan in Part I may have been altered either because of inability to find suitable material, which is hard to credit, and/or lack of confidence that a larger portion of dialect verses would sell copies (1992: 5).

Kinghorn's observations divorce the written text from its wider material and sociocultural contexts. He contends that, despite Watson's claim, "only a handful of poems" in *Choice Collection* are written in Scots, and points to those included transmissions of Montrose (1612-1650) and Aytoun (1570-1638) which, though conceived in "a Scots accent," are "written in English". Firstly, this is not universally true since both men's work in the miscellany occasionally feature pointedly Scots orthography. Aytoun's poem, 'Diophantus and Charidora', for example, includes the word <sincesyne> ('since then') whose only recorded English spelling equivalent, according to the DSL, would be <sensine> (DSL, 'Sincesyne' 2020). Likewise, Montrose deploys such Scotticisms as <airth> (point of the compass) in his poem 'On Himself, upon hearing what was his Sentence', the same spelling of which south of the border is only recorded in Northern English ('airt', OED 2008).

Secondly, both men wrote much of their poetry within an English sociocultural environment. Montrose (or James Graham, Marquess of Montrose) was a Scottish nobleman who, despite originally supporting the Covenanters, eventually joined the Royalists and Charles I during the War of the Three Kingdoms (following his capture at the Battle of Carbisdale, he was tried and executed by the Scottish Parliament). The poems included by Watson reflect these loyalties: 'Epitaph on King *Charles I*', 'On Himself, upon hearing what was his Sentence' (about Montrose's condemnation to death following his capture), and 'King *Charles's* Lament'.

Similarly, the heading above Aytoun's 'Diophantus and Charidora' reads (figure 2.7):

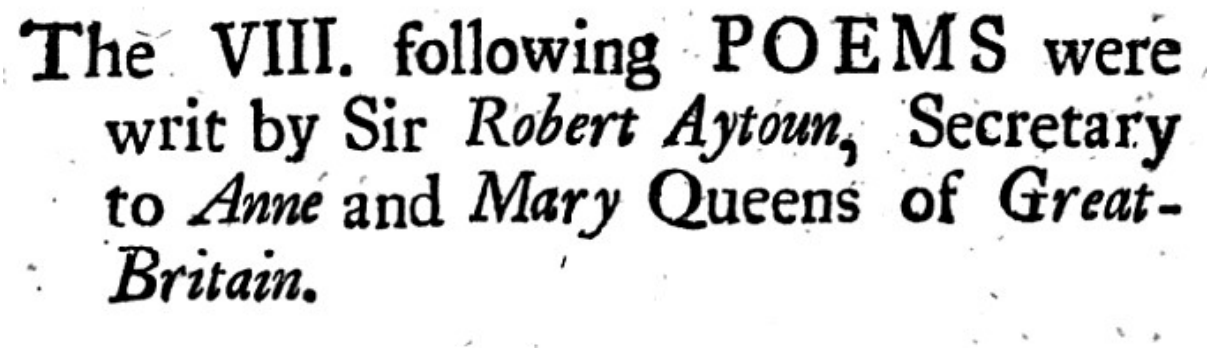

The VIII. following POEMS were writ by Sir *Robert Aytoun*, Secretary to *Anne* and *Mary* Queens of *Great-Britain.*

Figure 2.7: **Heading above Aytoun's 'Diophantus and Charidora' in *Choice Collection.***

Aytoun famously, as a Scotsman, was an early adopter of writing in what we might now loosely term 'English English': this is hardly surprising given his employment in the service of James I of England and his wife, Anne of Denmark.

In Watson's miscellany, however, many decades after Aytoun and Montrose's poems were first published, the context in which their work was being received had greatly shifted; both editions of Watson's *Choice Collection* were printed and sold locally in Edinburgh (figure 2.8):

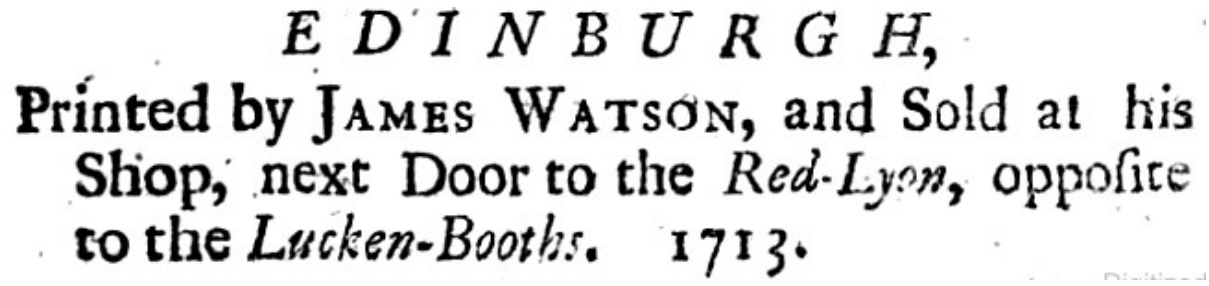

EDINBURGH,
Printed by JAMES WATSON, and Sold at his Shop, next Door to the *Red-Lyon*, oppoſite to the *Lucken-Booths.* 1713.

Figure 2.8: **Title page of Watson's *Choice Collection***

It was now a Lowland Scots audience reading and performing the works of this miscellany whose spoken reflexes of its written word would be somewhat different from that of Anne of Denmark's. This latter point is crucial: Watson intended for his work to be read aloud, and conceived of the text's reading and performative experience as integral elements to the miscellany's conception as being produced in "our Native Scots Dialect."

Traces of Watson's intention are evident throughout the miscellany. Paratextually, for example, Watson deploys (mostly) at the bottom of each page, including his preface, a catchword: the first word of the next page, as illustrated in figures 2.9 and 2.10:

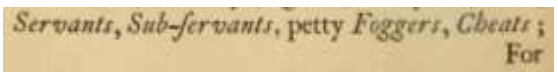

Servants, Sub-ſervants, petty *Foggers, Cheats*; For

Figure 2.9: **Catchword at the bottom of p.22 of *Choice Collection.***

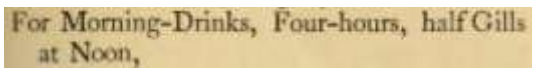

For Morning-Drinks, Four-hours, half Gills at Noon,

Figure 2.10: **The Corresponding first word at the top of p.23 in *Choice Collection.***

Catchwords were historically used to help printers and bookbinders ensure the pages were ordered correctly. Their function, however, gradually evolved to benefit the reader. William Slights has previously observed:

> Once in place within the bound book . . . catchwords can be pressed into further service by readers at some level of consciousness. . . . Finding the catchword at the top of the next page of type can orient readers and insures a continuous flow in the reading experience. (Relying on page numbers in early modern books was a risky business at best, since pagination was often erratic.) (2001: 176).

We might expand upon this idea and suggest that catchwords would have been most beneficial to the *reading aloud* experience: the articulation of the first word of the following page providing sufficient time to transition between them without pause.

In the text proper of the first edition of *Choice Collection*, Scots pronunciation is routinely required throughout the miscellany to realise rhyming schemes. A verse from 'The Life and Death of the Piper of Kilbarchan' reads:

> So kindly to his Neighbours neast
> At *Beltan* and Saint *Barchan*'s feast,
> *He* blew, and then held up his Breast,
> as he were weid ;
> But now we need not him arrest,
> for *Habbie's* dead (1977: 33).

The rhyming scheme for 'The Piper of Kilbarchan' is aaabab: for this to be realised, <Breast> and <arrest> must be articulated as though they were spelled <Breest> and <areest>; and likewise <dead> as though it were spelled <deid> or <deed>. Watson later makes this measurably more explicit in the second edition when he modifies <neast>, <feast> and <breast> to <neest>, <feest>, and <Breest> (1977: 33). For Watson, then, the act of poems in his collection being read aloud by his likely Lowland customers in Edinburgh was sufficient to *Scotticise* them.

2.4.1.1. A Shared Space for Scots and English

The implication by Kinghorn, unwittingly or not, is that speech alone is insufficient to merit the status of language. This judgement arbitrarily renders immaterial the fact that the poetry within Watson's *Choice Collection* will not only be received by a likely Scots-speaking audience

but that it depends upon this outcome for its poetic structure (e.g. as with the rhyming scheme in the 'The Piper of Kilbarchan').

This approach of alienating Scots phonology from apparently English writing is an anachronistic process that reflects modern twentieth and twenty-first century tendencies to prioritise dissimilarity between Scots and English, not necessarily as a methodology with which to understand the former but fundamentally to recover it from perceived suffocation under the latter. We might recall the survey of current attitudes to apostrophised forms in section II of the thesis's Introduction. In Costa's interview with "Luke," the language activist, it was argued:

> …if Scots was to survive as a living tongue, it required a standard—one as different as possible from English, a move he thought would facilitate the identification of Scots as a language in its own right (2017: 56).

Likewise, both Kay and Purves, in the same survey, evoked the sixteenth-century Makars as the last practitioners of authentic, functioning Scots i.e. a Scots which was highly visually distinct from English, especially from a Present-Day perspective.

This attitude characterises criticisms of Watson's miscellany too. Pittock simply describes Watson's assurance of the collection being written in "our Native Dialect" as "not altogether fulfilled" (2007: 327), and Wood regards Watson's inclusion of historical Scottish poems written in English as demonstrative of how "far the Anglicization of the written language had gone before James and his courtiers ever crossed the Border" (Wood: xxv). Daiches, meanwhile, conflates the "linguistic confusion" of Watson's miscellany that undermines the claim of it being printed in "our Native Scots Dialect" with "the whole problem of the Scots language": "a problem which was never solved in the eighteenth century"(1964: 19). He states:

> In the golden age of Scottish poetry, the age of the makars, Scots was a full-blooded literary language, based on the spoken language of the people but enriched by the poets with a great variety of linguistic devices and inventions which had their own peculiarly Scottish relationship to their Latin and other sources (1964: 19).

Like Purves and Kay, Daiches juxtaposes the "linguistic confusion" that allegedly bedevilled later Scots with a romanticised history: the "golden age of the makars." He is similarly ostentatious in his metaphors, describing the Scots of this earlier age as "full-blooded" i.e. more homogenous and less exposed to English-originating lexis and orthography. Time and

again, the success of Scots as a language is measured by the degree to which it is viscerally separate from English. Daiches, unfortunately, vanishes down this particular rabbit-hole:

> Without a literary standard of written Scots to hold the language together, Scots degenerated into a series of regional dialects with no recognised orthography, to be transcribed in patronising or antiquarian or nostalgic mood as though it were a quaint sort of English.
>
> Scots, that characteristic northern form of English with its own logical pattern of sound changes, its own relation to Anglo-Saxon, and its own techniques of borrowing and of developing new formations, was thus reduced from a language to a vernacular (1964: 20).

Daiches' argument that Scots "degenerated" into its various dialects is fundamentally odd, and one which he is careful not to support with any meaningful evidence: the assumption that we, as readers, are apparently meant to draw on is that the literary medium is a language's unifying adhesive. Amusingly, Daiches laments the "patronising" reincarnations of literary Scots by eighteenth and nineteenth-century antiquarians but proceeds in the following paragraph to describe it as "that characteristic northern form of English." Again, modern perspectives – in this case, modern labelling – misrepresents Scots: it emerged from Old Northumbrian and developed in a manner distinct to, say, West Saxon. To describe it as a form of 'English' obscures a far more complex history. Daiches continues to press on with his 'degeneration' narrative by stating that the Scots language which followed the Makars – via the Reformation, Union of Crowns and Act of Union – was "thus reduced from a language to a vernacular." "All had their effect," writes Daiches, "in helping to make Scottish writers turn to English as their medium even though they continued to speak in Scots" (1964: 20). Overall, Daiches' (arbitrary) conception of what a language requires to retain the privilege of that status mirrors Kinghorn's: without a credible literary medium, the spoken form is insufficient and thus the language is 'demoted' to a vernacular.

Although Davis seems to agree with other critics that many of the poems in *Choice Collection* are "written in Standard English," she makes two thoughtful observations: firstly, that those poems Watson chose to include represented "different linguistic registers" – a crucial point when analysing the deployment of apostrophised Scots spellings in *Choice Collection* in the next section – and, secondly, his choice of poems emphasized "the heterogeneity of languages in Scotland" (2011: 68). We can extract from Davis' observations that Watson potentially conceived of the shared Lowland space heterogeneously inhabited by Scots and Standard

English lexis and orthography as "Native" and therefore envisaged no conflict with the assertion that his miscellany would be the first written in the "Scots Dialect." This point, as we will presently discuss, was foundational to Watson's construction of *Choice Collection* as an effective response to English literary infringements on Scots culture.

The chief problem with present-day narratives that inflexibly separate Scots and English is that they obscure nuance and subtlety. For Watson, there was the potential of a 'middle way' that accommodated the increasingly prominent presence of English in Scotland whilst ensuring a continued role for literary Scots. This middle way is further hinted at by Davis in what is a central counterargument to criticisms that Watson did not fulfil the remit of "our Native Scots Dialect":

> …it is important that Watson includes both languages [Scots and English] without privileging either. Indeed, his Collection calls into question what exactly constitutes "our own Native Scots Dialect" (2011: 68).

The inference by Kinghorn and Daiches (and others) that articulation alone is insufficient criteria for the Scots language to 'manifest' – it must be lexically and orthographically (i.e. visually) distinct from English – not only isolates the collection's poems from the context of the book in which they are housed but completely fails to understand the intention of Watson's enterprise. By including the works of the likes of Montrose and Aytoun that were "written in English" but with a "Scots accent," the evidence instead suggests that Watson did not intend "our Native Scots Dialect" solely as a linguistic identifier but also as an expression of ethnic identity i.e. the poems herein were written, and subsequently performed, by various Scots voices. Davis captures this impetus behind the conception of "our Native Scots Dialect" as an ethnic expression:

> Although Watson himself was a Jacobite, his Collection encourages readers from different political affiliations and linguistic registers to see themselves as participants in a nation that is based on difference rather than similarity. Most importantly, his Collection encourages this mixed population to comprehend that the best way of ensuring the continuing existence of the diversity within Scotland is to keep the nation independent (2011: 66).

For Watson, the 'Scots Dialect' was not only that of the Makars: it was the linguistically diverse landscape – lexical, orthographic, phonological – that contemporary Scots speakers inhabited and navigated. This is further evident in the fact Watson sees no contradiction in writing his preface – in which his claim to 'our Native Scots Dialect' occurs – in what we

might now recognise as Standard English. By understanding his language as a fundamentally ethnic expression, and prioritising cultural and political identity, for Watson the sharing of space between Scots and English was not dissonant but a harmonious expression of Scottish identity.

Watson's *Choice Collection*, therefore, is a tactical inversion of the English Scotch song: where the works of D'Urfey and Behn were essentially English language texts with smatterings of anglicised Scots, Watson brings both Scots and English together in his miscellany – privileging, as Davis says, neither – in a linguistic landscape that is decidedly 'Scottish'.

Despite the criticisms of Daiches, Kinghorn, Wood, and Pittock of Watson-the-editor, it was tactful editing and resourcefulness that would prove crucial to this enterprise. Evidently mindful of Mackenzie's earlier complaint that the increasingly insurmountable prestige of English forced him to write in a language alien to his speech – Watson, after all, still had a printing business which required sales and profit – Watson, ingeniously one might argue, *copied* their practice. To ensure the Scots within *Choice Collection* was not smothered by the English, Watson employed register-constrained techniques of distinction and authentication: one of which was his innovation of apostrophised spelling forms.

2.5. THE 'AUTHENTIC' APOSTROPHE

Successfully curating a space in which Scots and English could reasonably function as an expression of Scottish ethnic identity would require a tactful editorial infrastructure. For reasons discussed in the final section of this chapter, Watson decided to eschew the heavy paratext of glosses and other marginalia that would characterise many future miscellanies: instead he made economic use of the apostrophe, strategically deployed in those word environments that had been subject to particular orthographic changes in Middle Scots. Coupled with tactful Scotticisations, these apostrophised forms flagged the distinction of Scots from English lexis and spelling practice, allowing the meaningful accommodation of both in a shared textual space.

The eighteenth-century miscellany wordlist in Chapter One revealed three key trends in the use of apostrophised Scots forms:

1. A dominance amongst apostrophised varieties by <an'>, <wi'>, <a'>, and <-in'>; their respective frequency and distribution scores being: 1124/8; 1027/16; 941/16; and 157/9.

2. An over-representation of l-vocalised forms.

3. A tendency for preference of apostrophised form's word-finally and non-apostrophised forms word-medially.

With these trends in mind, then, we might now consider the individual word list results, and frequency rates, for apostrophised forms in the first edition of Watson's *Choice Collection*, as presented in Table 2.1:

***Table 2.1*: Frequency apostrophised forms, and their non-apostrophised Scots and English reflexes in *Choice Collection* (1706-11).**

Apost.	Freq.	Non-Apost.	Freq.	English	Freq.
a'	18	aw	6	all	440
ca'	3	caw/ca	0	call	26
wi'	2	wi	0	with	758
-fu'	2	-fu/-fou	0	-ful	55
fu'	2	fou	0	full	29
ha'e	2	hae	2	have	213
an'	0	an	4	and	2274
-in'	0	-in	0	-ing	985
awa'	0	awa	2	away	46
fa'	0	fa	0	fall	35
gi'e	0	gie	2	give	30
wa'	0	wa	0	wall	7
sma'	0	sma	0	small	2
bra'	0	braw	0	n/a	-
ga'e	0	gied	14	gave	20
ba'	0	baw	0	ball	4
mou'	0	mou/mow	0	mouth	6
unco'	0	unco	3	uncouth	2

Immediately, we can observe a number of interesting divergences from the overall eighteenth-century data. Whilst <a'> - by a considerable margin – dominates the frequency list amongst apostrophised forms, the other high-frequency variables <wi'> and <an'> are

substantially less exploited (and in the latter's case, not at all). It is unclear why Watson chose <a'> in which to primarily invest his innovation: given the disproportionately low frequencies across the other potential variants, it seems to have been selected as an entrepreneurial vanguard. His new function for the apostrophe was very much in its embryonic stage and Watson might have been disinclined towards a more cavalier distribution. Moreover, Watson's apostrophisation of <a'> is not limited to any part of speech role: he uses it in <a'>'s capacity as a pronoun: "Content them a' with honesty"; as an adverb: "And warmest als in a' that Field"; and as an adjective: "While a' her Harns did clatter".

With the exception of <a'>/<aw> and <ha'e>/<hae>, Watson, unlike in the overall eighteenth-century data, uses apostrophised variants to the complete exclusion of their non-apostrophised counterparts. It is *very important* to note here, however, that the low occurrence of Scots relative to English in this table is not representative of the miscellany: these figures only reflect non-apostrophised reflexes of apostrophised forms. Watson's use of Scots is far more substantial.

Many of the apostrophised varieties which scored highly in the overall eighteenth-century data simply do not occur in Watson's first edition, implying much of apostrophised Scots spelling's capaciousness may have been innovated by later transmitters. As such, apostrophised forms in Watson's miscellany do not appear in all of the orthographic environments where we can expect one to occur. We can find deployment in those environments historically modified by: l-vocalisation (<a'>, <fu'>, <-fu'>); v-deletion (<ha'e>); and loss of final /θ/ (<wi'>). However, inflectional reduction (i.e. <-ing> to <in'>), and consonant clustering (<and> to <an'>) are not present.

Further, observing the majority <a'> form, all of its concordance results – as captured in figure 2.11 – indicate that Watson's innovation was not constrained in deployment by whether it occurred pre-vocalically or pre-consonantally:

, And a' her Friends her befide, They were a' ferv'd with fhrewd Service ; And fae was feen
I'm unto my Exit making : Sirs, ye may a' gae to the Hawking, and there Reflect, Ye'l
demaim'd me, He fed me in his Zfoufe a' hail Eight Days, with good Flefh ^roe and
. Jennie fat up even at the Meace, And a' her Friends her befide, They were a' ferv'd
, And laid upon her with a Batoun, While a' her Harns did clatter. To whom this Beaft
Buckle wi' fome Bends, And cakied Jockie for a' his Pride, And jawed out at baith the
as dear's a Beid. I ran alike on a' kind Grounds, Yea in the midft of Ardry
did relieve me. My Main, my Tail, and a' my I leave but any Procefs mair, H^
. I leave the Cream within my VVame, With a' my ZTeart to Finlay Grame, It will be
pair of B ranks, a Bridle-Renzie ; Of a' our Store we need no Plenzie, Ten Thoufand
fau't o' Food whils did I Swown, For a' that e'er I wan them. But I think
, a full gude Beild, And warmeft als in a' that Field, ^nd there he bade her hide
, Which fiercely gart her lift her Pallat, Nor a' the reft before. She ate thereof with fae
dance. The Piper piped till's Wyme gripped, And a' the Rout began to revel : The Bride about
, Serve them with Sowce and fodden Corn, Till a' their Wyms do ftand awray: Of Swine's Flefh
as I underftand, I awe na mare in a' this Land, But to a filly Colibrand, Tarn
foon, And gave Contentment Tang ere Noon, To a' to wham I wrang had done, Sine fent
ff the firft end, right chearfully, Content them a' with Honefty, Left afterward they wearie me, W

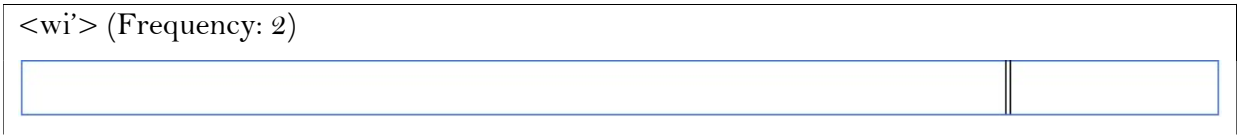
Figure 2.11: **All concordance results for [a’].**

We can observe pre-vocalic instances – “Of a’ our Store” – and pre-consonantal instances: “…in a’ this land.”

Since the occurrence of English forms overwhelmingly dominate relative to apostrophised forms, we might therefore consider *where* in the text these apostrophised variants are being deployed. By comparing AntConc-generated dispersion graphs (Figures 2.12 – 2.16), we can identify where apostrophised, non-apostrophised, and English varieties physically occur within a text (the far left-hand side denoting the first page, the far right-hand side denoting the last):

Figure 2.12: **Dispersion graphs for <a’>, <aw>, and <all>.**

As mentioned, <a’> and <aw> are rare in Watson’s miscellany insofar as they are only one of two variants in which he deploys both apostrophised and non-apostrophised versions. Further, we can see that there is demonstrable overlap at the beginning of the text.



<with> (Frequency: 758)

Figure 2.13: **Dispersion graphs for <wi'> and <with>.**

Compared with its English cognate, <wi'> is used very sparingly and does not occur in Watson's miscellany until Part III, published in 1711.

<fu'> (Frequency: 2)

<full> (Frequency: 29)

Figure 2.14: **Dispersion graphs for <fu'> and <full>.**

Like <wi'>, <fu'> is sparingly used and confined to a single Part rather than distributed consistently.

<-fu'> (Frequency: 6)

<-ful> (Frequency: 55)

Figure 2.15: **Dispersion graphs for <-fu'> and <-ful> suffixes.**

A slight increase on previous variants, the <-fu'> suffix is similarly confined to Part I whilst its English counterpart is distributed evenly throughout.

<ha'e> (Frequency: 2)

<hae> (Frequency: 2)

<have> (Frequency: 213)

Figure 2.16: **Dispersion graphs for <ha'e>, <hae>, and <have>.**

As with <a'>/<aw>, there is a distinctive overlap when Watson does use both apostrophised and non-apostrophised varieties – despite his exclusion of the latter in most contexts. Overall, the following observations emerge from this data:

A. As Watson's *Choice Collection* is a miscellany, we can see that apostrophised varieties are clearly limited in deployment to particular texts.

B. Whilst Watson tends to use either the apostrophised or non-apostrophised Scots variety exclusively, in those exceptional instances of both occurring in the miscellany – <aw>/<a'> and <ha'e>/<hae> – there is evidence of co-occurrence in the same poems.

C. Within Watson's *Choice Collection*, the poems in which we find apostrophised varieties are:
   Part I: 8. *Epitaph on Sanny Briggs;* 9. *The Mare of Collingtoun Newly Revived. Compiled and Corrected by P.D.;* 10. *The Last Dying Words of Bonny Heck, A Famous Grey-Hound in the Shire of Fife [by William Hamilton of Gilberfield]*

   Part III: 42. *The Country Wedding.*

   In the following section, we might address what commonalties exist between these texts.

2.6. HISTORICAL OR MODERN? REGISTER CONSTRAINTS

In section 2.4.1.1. we might recall Davis made the observation that Watson's miscellany, by virtue of being a meeting place between English and Scots, and contemporary and historical poetry, invariably accommodated "different linguistic registers" (2011: 68). Kinghorn, of course, was less charitable and instead argued:

> What Watson did was to collect specimens of near-contemporary Scots, illustrating its scope in certain familiar situations, especially the comic and the rural. In the long run, as later became apparent, this placed a social and psychological limit on Modern Scots but Watson cannot be fairly condemned for not realising this (1992: 8).

Putting aside the grossly-oversimplified (and, as will be shown in the following chapters, erroneous) claim that Watson was somehow inadvertently responsible for initiating events which culminated in the "social and psychological limit on Modern Scots," Kinghorn's claim that Watson provided only "near-contemporary" poems which emphasised the "comic and the rural" is misleading and incorrect. Watson, admittedly, may have been constrained by issues of access and circulation in terms of the texts available to him but his miscellany is nonetheless a highly diverse collection both in terms of genre and temporality. Part I of *Choice Collection*

simultaneously includes a modernised version of the rollicking *Christ's Kirk on the Green*, and Montgomery's pious *Cherry and the Slae*. Part II includes historical works in Scots such as the political *Robert III's answer to King Henry IV's summons to pay homage*, and a 'genteel' description of Ann of Denmark's (the soon-to-be-enthroned Queen of Scotland) visit to Edinburgh: *The discription of the Qveens Majesties Maist Honorable Enttry Into the Tovn of Ebinbvrgh*. Part III has the satirical 'Flyting betwixt Polwart and Montgomery' and Aytoun's lamentation, 'On a Woman's Inconstancy'.

The identification of such an inaccuracy by Kinghorn is important for understanding the discrepancies between the deployment of apostrophised and non-apostrophised Scots. It suggests the use of tropes such as comic Scots/serious English were not part of Watson's conceptual understanding of the languages, and therefore had no bearing on how he delineated his use of apostrophised forms. If we compare those texts with apostrophised Scots varieties versus those texts with only corresponding non-apostrophised Scots varieties (Table 2.2), we see an interesting pattern:

Table 2.2: Text's in *Choice Collection* which use either apostrophised or corresponding non-apostrophised spelling forms.

Apostrophised Scots Texts	Non-Apostrophised Scots Texts
Epitaph on Sanny Briggs	Christ's Kirk on the Green
The Mare of Collingtoun	The Blythsome Wedding
The Last Dying Words of Bonny Heck	The Banishment of Poverty
The Country Wedding	The Life and Death of the Piper of Kilbarchan
	Robert the III. King of Scotland, His Answer to a Summons sent Him by Henry the IV.
	The Discription of the Queens Majesties Maist Honorable Entry into the toun of Edinburgh
	The Passage of the Pilgremer
	Sir Thomas Maitland's Satyr
	William Lithgow, Writer in Edinburgh, His Epitaph
	The Flyting Betwixt Polwart and Montgomery

All texts which use apostrophised forms are either attributed to contemporaries of Watson – e.g. *The Last Dying Words of Bonny Heck* to William Hamilton of Gilbertfield – or functionally anonymous: e.g. *The Mare of Collingtoun*; *Epitaph on Sanny Briggs*; and *The Country Wedding*, and as such not attributed to a historical figure (those texts which do not include Scots that are similarly anonymised are all entirely produced in Standard English or Latin and confined to Part III).

Conversely, those texts written exclusively with non-apostrophised Scots (both inclusive or exclusive of English) are historically-situated, either through attribution to a historical figure – e.g. James the V for *Christ's Kirk on the Green*, or Robert Semphill of Beltrees (1505–1576) – or subject content e.g. *The Discription of the Queens Majesties Maist Honorable Entry into the toun of Edinburgh*. Whether or not Watson deployed apostrophised varieties seems to have been dependent, therefore, on whether a text could be considered *contemporary* or *historical*.

If, for example, we observe *The Passage of the Pilgremer, devidit into twa pairts*, which Watson cites as being the work of John Burel (1566-1603) who flourished during the latter part of the seventeenth century – over one hundred years prior to Watson's miscellany – diagnostics emerge that support the ancient/contemporary delineation. In lines 218-220, Burel writes:

> So gret an multitude,
> Without all mediocrity,
> Amangst the treis that stud : (1977: II, 23).

The DSL describes <all> as the earlier form of <aw> and <a> (notably neglecting any reference to the apostrophised variety) – "In later Sc. the *l* was vocalized" ('All, adj' 2004) – and we can see Burel deploys this variant amidst older (pre-anglicised) Scots diagnostics: e.g. <gret>, <treis>, and <stud>. Indeed, throughout the poem Burel consistently deploys Older Scots variants: the <quh> form e.g. "Quhittret…Quho…Quhilles…quhair" (1977: 22); the <-it> suffix e.g. "hantit…plantit…dropit…knopit…tormentit" (1977: 23); and orthographical particulars such as "pairt…hairt…doun…toun… indeid…" (1977: 24).

Likewise, if we consider the entry *ROBERT the III. King of Scotland, His Answer to a Summons sent Him by Henry the IV. of England, to do Homage to the Crown of Scotland*, we find those vacancies for Watson's apostrophisation created during the Middle Scots period occupied by their pre-apostrophised forerunners – alongside other historical lexical and orthographic elements. During the part of the poem where Robert mocks the historically mongrel lordship of England, he writes:

And other folks in Company
All Soldiers born in *Germany*,
Came with sik power in great hast
That made your Lands baith bair and waist ;
And slew your Gentles of *Ingland*
At *Salysbury* as I understand,
In taken is the Hingand Stanes,
That there were set up for their Names ;
In *Latin* in a Memorial,
That *Saxons* had orset you all (1977: II, V).

Alongside the pre-l-vocalised form <all>, Watson's entry uses archaic spelling forms such as <Ingland> and <sik>: both of which the DSL attests as early as the fourteenth century ('Ingland'; 'Sik', DSL 2020). Throughout the rest of the poem, Watson uses other archaic forms common prior to changes in Middle Scots which creates those word vacancies the apostrophe could later inhabit: pre-l-vocalised forms such as: <full> (1977: II, ii); earlier forms that include final /θ/ such as <with> (1977: II, v); and avoids consonant cluster reduction e.g. <usurping> (1977: II, v) and <And> (1977: II, vi). Whilst some (e.g. Wood etc) might argue that these forms are consistent with anglicisation, it should not be discounted that they are a) deployed alongside similarly archaic Scots lexis and spelling, and b) each of these pre-apostrophised varieties are examples of historically shared lexis between English and Scots. That other historical entries written much more extensively in Scots – such as *The Discription of the Qveens Maiesties Maist Honorable Entry into The Tovn of Edinbvrgh* and *The Passage of the Pilgremer* – also use these pre-apostrophised varieties suggest there is intent behind Watson's archaicisms.

If we recall those 'Scotch songs' from section 2.3.2. – such as 'The Loyal Scot,' 'The Loves of Jockey and Jenny,' and 'Coy Moggy' – we might observe that none of them were written with any distinctive temporal markers. Focussing on archetypal narratives such as frustrated love which could be recycled time and again, as with D'Urfey's transmission of 'An Answer to the Scottish Hay-Makers,' 'Scotch songs' were typically contemporarily-situated or 'non-historical' – much likes those poems in which Watson deploys apostrophised forms. As *Choice Collection* was conceived as an expression of ethnic Scottish identity and voice, it seems reasonable to postulate that Watson used apostrophised forms in those contemporarily-situated – or non-historical – poems that most risked conflation with 'Scotch songs.' 'The

Country Wedding', for example, deploys those naming conventions popularised by D'Urfey: 'Jock' and 'Jennie.'

This highlights why Watson distinguished his use of the apostrophe dependent on whether the text in question was modern or historical: whereas historical texts could have their authenticity verified by use of older Scots lexis and spelling, contemporary texts had no such diagnostics available to them and shared many likenesses with English literature. Apostrophised forms were Watson's watermark to indicate the ethnic pedigree of 'genuine' Scots in his modern poems.

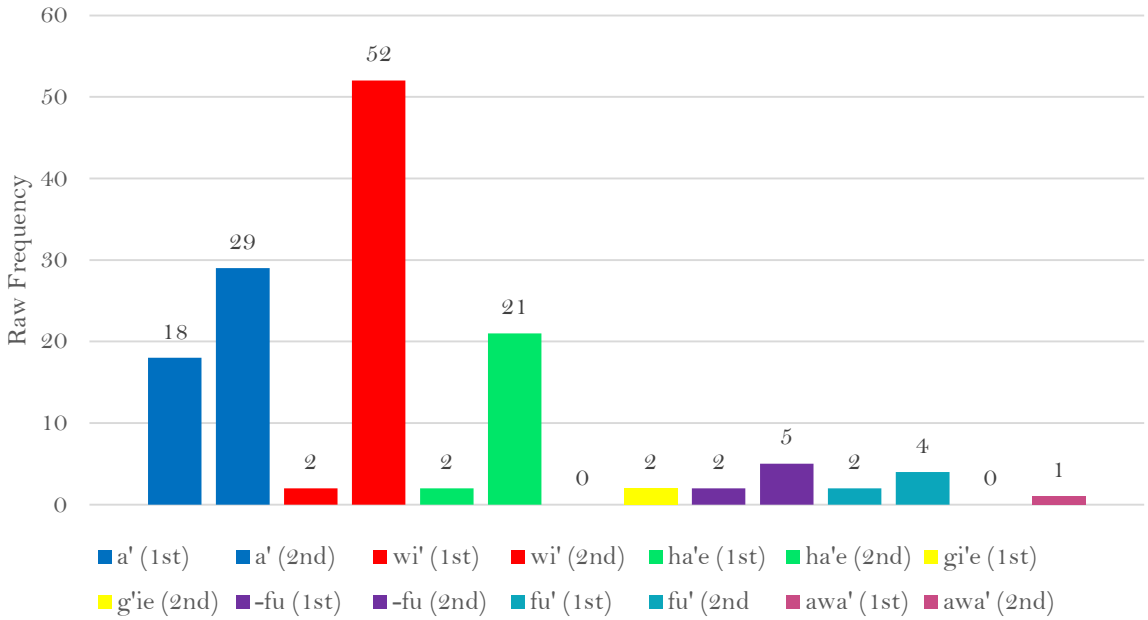
2.7. THE SECOND EDITION, 1713

The editor of the Scottish Text Society's edition of Watson's *Choice Collection* (itself a photolithograph of the 1869 reprint of the first edition), Harriet Harvey Wood, remarked of the miscellany's 1713 second edition:

> Such alterations as Watson made in the second edition of Part I (1713) are for the most part confined to tampering with spelling, capitalization or punctuation; they do not reflect access to new or more authoritative sources of the poems or any radical change of view in his treatment of them (1977: vii-viii).

Wood's use of the term "tampering" is unfortunate (though not surprising) since it dismisses the far-reaching significance of Watson's changes to the second edition's textual minutiae. Wood may be right that they represent no "radical change of view in his treatment of them [the texts]" but such changes, as will be demonstrated presently, represented a) an affirmation of his editorial policy that minor traces, such as apostrophised forms, could distinguish Scots, and b) an intensified belief in the association between Scots and Scottishness. We might consider Figure 2.17 comprising a comparative assessment of apostrophised Scots usage in the first edition (its relevant parts printed in 1706 and 1711 respectively), represented by the first column, versus the second edition, printed in 1713, represented by the second column:

Figure 2.17: **Frequency of Apostrophised Varieties Between the First and Second Editions of Watson's *Choice Collection*.**



Every single sample apostrophised variety demonstrates increased usage: from previously eschewed variants such as <gi'e> and <awa'> to substantially increased ones such as <wi'> and, to a lesser extent, <a'>. Notably, however, the vast majority of these increased variants (approximately 95%) occur in a single text: *The Mare of Collingtoun*: after *The Flyting*, the largest single entry in the whole miscellany.

As mentioned above – and what Wood's dismissal threatened to obscure – the increased use of apostrophised variants did not happen in isolation: they occurred alongside extensive Scotticisation of those texts produced in both contemporary apostrophised Scots and non-apostrophised older Scots. In order to illuminate this point, we might consider the following comparative analyses between samples from the first and second editions of the *Choice Collection*. The intent behind this comparison is so that we might observe how Scotticisation and apostrophised variants were deployed cohesively. Due to its size, and being subject to extensive modification, special attention will be paid to *The Mare of Collingtoun*. Further, changes regarding apostrophised forms seem to have been confined to Part I; Watson entirely ignored *The Country Wedding* in his second edition. As a rule, the first edition here is taken from the Scottish Text Society's faithful photolithograph of the 1869 reprint (Wood 1977); the second edition is taken directly from a digitised copy of Watson's original 1713 production.

Christ's Kirk on the Green

1. *1st Edition*: Let be, quoth Jack, and call'd him Jevel (p. 3)
   2nd Edition: Let be, quo' Jack, and call'd him Jevel (p. 3)

The contraction <quo> predates Watson's innovation of the Scots apostrophe but it's notable that he does not use it until the second edition, which suggests he may have excised the final /θ/ to harmonise with his existing and extensive use of <quo'> in entries such as *The Last Dying Words of Bonny Heck*. Potentially, the contracted form may have been considered by Watson more redolent of the Scots form <quod>.

2. *1st Edition*: She counted him not two clocks (p. 2).
   2nd Edition: She count him nae twa clocks (p. 2).

Watson's earliest modification is straightforward: supplementing English spelling for Scots.

3. *1st Edition:* or his Foe was his Friend : (p. 3).
   2nd Edition: or his Foe was his Freen : (p. 3).

This change is immediately discernible as a Scotticisation. Notably, the corresponding rhyme in both editions is "I trow the Man was teen…" and so the modification harmonises the text with a Scots pronunciation.

THE BANISHMENT OF POVERTY

4. *1st Edition*: I green'd to gang on the *Plain-Stains* (p. 13)
   2nd Edition: I green'd to gang on the *Plain-Stanes* (p. 13).

Whilst the spelling <ai> in <*Stains*> is attested in both the DSL ('Stan(e, n.' 2004) and OED ('Stone, n.' 1989), the modified spelling of <*Stanes*> is only found in the DSL. Whilst both versions are cited as Scottish forms used during the time of Watson's production of *Choice Collection*, the modified spelling of <*Stanes*> is notably attested earlier in the DSL: STANE occurs in Northern Middle English circa 1175-1411 whereas STAIN is not recorded until the fifteenth century. It is possible that Watson became aware of this temporal nuance and modified the form in pursuit of an older, perceptibly 'authentic' variety. Alternatively, he may simply have considered <ai> too English a spelling variety.

THE LIFE AND DEATH OF THE PIPER OF KILBARCHAN

5. *1st Edition:* So kindly to his Neighbours neast,| At *Beltan* and Saint *Barchan*'s feast, | *H*e blew, and then held up his Breast, |as he were weid ; |But now we need not him arrest, |for *Habbie's* dead.
   2nd Edition: So kindly to his Neighbours neest,| At *Beltan* and Saint *Barchan*'s feest, | *H*e blew, and then held up his Breest, |as he were weid ; |But now we need not him arrest,

| for *Habbie's* dead.

As we might recall from its use in section 2.4.1., Watson Scotticises the spelling of <breast>, <neast> and <feast>, all of which are attested in the DSL. Interestingly, he maintains the spelling <dead> throughout the entry, although it is clearly pronounced in Scots fashion considering its rhyming companion is such instances as <wied>. Notably, the DSL records the spelling of <dead> in Scots as late as 1681 ('Deid, n.2' 2004), and so Watson may not have considered its spelling a uniquely English form.

EPITAPH ON SANNY BRIGGS

6. *1st Edition*: And gen ye'll trow he cou'd fu' well | At Wapenshaws the Younkers dreill (p. 38)
   2nd Edition: And gen ye'll trow he cou'd fu' weel | At Wapenshaw's the Younkers dreel (p. 38)

Both DREILL and DREEL are attested in the DSL ('Dreill, v' 2004) (likely borrowed from Dutch DRILLEN during the early seventeenth century) – so it is probable the latter modified spelling was either the aesthetic cause or result of Watson's decision to Scotticise <well> to <weel>. Incidentally, the DSL's attestation of dreel (recorded before dreill by around twelve years) – taken from Adamson's *Muses Threnodie, or Mirthfull Mourning, on the death of Master Gall* (1638) – contains uncanny rhyming similarities with Watson's modification: "Spacious bounds within sojours to *dreel*, To march, to string, to turne about and *wheel* [Italics mine]."

THE MARE OF COLLINGTOUN (NEWLY REVIVED)

7. *1st Edition*: And further wou'd not stier (p.39)
   2nd Edition: And further wou'd na stier (p.39)

Watson Scotticised <not> to <na>. This is particularly interesting – and will be discussed further below – since he opted for the variety much more common in older Scots than perhaps the expected Scots form <no>, which, according to the OED, only "records a sprinkling of no forms in earlier Older Scots" ('No, adv.1' 2003), and which the DSL records as a "common anglicized var. of NA" ('No, adj. adv.' 2004).

8. *1st Edition*: With many a toom and hungry Wame (p. 40)
   2nd Edition: Wi' many a toom and hungry Wame (p.40)

Here, quite straightforwardly, we can see Watson modifying the relic form<with> to <wi'>.

9. *1st Edition*: But now is come my Fatal End, | With you I may no further wend (p. 40).
   2nd Edition: But now is come my Fatal En, | Wi' you I may na further wen (p. 40)

Watson edits the English-shared <no> to the older Scots <na>. Perhaps more interestingly in this section is his implementation of changes emergent in Middle Scots: the consonant reduction of /nd/ to /n/. Whilst neither <En> nor <wen> are attested in the DSL, it is possible Watson (or a scholarly informant) was analogising based on his understanding of the Scots/English <an>/<and> cognates. Even if he intended to only Scotticise one, it would be necessary to mirror the practice for the other to preserve the rhyme.

10. *1st Edition*: To my sweet Huffy me commend, | And all the Rest at Hame. | Oft have I born that on my Banes, (p. 40)
    2nd Edition: To my sweet Huffy me commend, | And a' the Rest at Hame. | Aft ha' I born that on my Banes. (p. 40)

Evident here is both implementation of l-vocalised apostrophisation - <a'> - and v-deletion apostrophisation: <ha'>. Simultaneously, Watson Scotticises <Oft> to <Aft>.

11. *1st Edition:* Then sta away for shame to hide him
    2nd Edition: Then sta' awa' for Shame to hide him

In this except, in a clear intersection between the functions of the Scots apostrophe and Scotticisation, Watson extends the mark's remit to include explicit y-elision.

12. *1st Edition*: VVho thought, if she did VVitness want | To hear't, it were Opression (p. 51)
    2nd Edition: Wha thought if she did VVitness want | To hear't 'twar | na Transgression (p. 51).

What is fascinating about this except is that the modification alters the overall meaning: the first edition claiming oppression, the second that no foul was committed. Whilst possibly an editorial error, it would be entirely expected – given the nature of *Choice Collection* as a patriotic enterprise – that Watson prioritised Scotticisation over fidelity to content.

13. *1st Edition:* Requested him right earnestly |To send the silly Beast Supply:|And he again right thankfully |Did as he was required,

2nd Edition: Requested him right earnestlie | To send the silly Beast Supplie: | And he again right thankfulie | Did as he was required,

Page 51 has extensive revisions including twice modifying <with> to <wi'>, <who> to <wha>, and, as seen above, the suffix <-y>, much more common in English, is Scotticised to <-ie>. Notably, Watson again moves to towards a visually pronounced rhyming structure.

Peculiarly, however, the rhyming couplet <Gude> and <Fude> on page 51 are in fact *respelled* in the second edition to the anglicised <Good> and <Food>. The motivation behind this unclear since, with an aaabcccb rhyming scheme, the companion word is <conclude>. Possibly it may have been to emphasise the long vowel - /u:/ - that was crucial to the rhyme and avoid the risk of readers pronouncing <Fude> as *feud*.

14. An interesting change takes place across Part I, both in *Epitaph on Sanny Briggs* and *The Mare of Collingtoun*. In the former, on page 37, Watson modifies <jaw> to <ja'>. In the latter, on page 42, alongside <bra> to <bra'>, he makes the following changes:

    *1st Edition: A*nd they, before wha never saw her, |Nor in her Life did ever knaw her, |That they were of her Kin, did shaw her, |*A*s after ye shall hear.
    *2nd Edition: A*nd they, before wha never sa' her, |Nor in her Life did ever kna' her, |That they were of her Kin, did sha' her, |*A*s after ye shall hear.

There is a potential combination of influences governing the modifications Watson has made here but, based on our previous analysis, the likeliest is 1) rhyme preservation 2) Scotticisation and 3) apostrophic analogy. Certainly, for the latter example, part of Watson's motivation would be ensuring the integrity of the rhyme and thus changing one would necessitate changing all. That he modified <saw> alongside Scots <shaw> and <knaw> suggests Watson either a) was preserving the visual rhyme or b) perceived <saw> as a shared Scots word. Finally, the replacing of <w> with an apostrophised form is an anomaly insofar as what the overall data dictates its functions can be. However, considering every replaced <w> is preceded by an <a>, it is entirely possible Watson was analogising the change with <aw> to <a'>. If nothing else, Watson's deployment of apostrophised <bra'> (more typically spelled <braw>) is evidence against the modern belief that the 'apologetic apostrophe' only indicates letters missing in English cognates: <braw> has no English cognate.

The above examples, of course, are not exhaustive but they do represent the editorial agenda of Watson: a programme of intensified Scotticisation whose function was the visual authentication of contemporary Scots elements within *Choice Collection*. It is notable, however, that where Watson was content to allow a Scots voice performing the poems within to realise rhyming schemes in 1706, by 1713 – five years after the Act of Union – he no longer seemed

willing to leave their 'Scottish' realisation to chance and accordingly visualised many of the rhymes. The priority of a visual presence for Scots in such texts would dominate eighteenth-century Scottish miscellanies.

2.8. Form: Why the Apostrophe?

Having established the intended function of Watson's apostrophised forms – to distinguish authentic, native Scots – this final section of the chapter considers form: why did Watson choose the apostrophe as his mark of authentication? Unfortunately, Watson provided no explicit account and so this section will posit two candidate reasons which may, to varying degrees, have informed Watson's eventual decision: 1. similarity of function with other contemporary uses of the apostrophe; and 2. the complicated Catholic associations of glossing and marginalia.

2.8.1. Form by Analogy

As established above in section 2.4, one of the main problems with editorial criticism of Watson's *Choice Collection* was that much of it was from the perspective of modern editorial tastes and the prioritisation of dissimilarity between Scots and English. This anachronistic approach extends to modern conceptions of the function of apostrophised Scots spellings. We might recall Grant's formative accusation:

> …a great deal of our prose and verse seems to differ very little from ⁅Standard English⁆, except in the occasional use of a distinctively Scottish word or phrase, and the clipping of words of their final consonant with *the apology of an apostrophe*. (1931: 18.1).

From this moment onwards, modern criticism of apostrophised Scots has (almost) unwaveringly considered its function to be one of *elision*: the 'apologetic apostrophe' indicates letters 'missing' in Scots words otherwise present in their English cognates much like the apostrophe in <don't> indicates an elided space and <o>. This eliding function has since been repeatedly weaponised as an example of aggressive anglicisation which conspires to paint Scots as 'inferior'.

Corbett, however, if we recall, suggested an interesting departure from the popular assumption:

> The Scots poets can be understood as extending a more widespread poetic convention in English whereby the apostrophe indicates elided sounds, often for metrical purposes, as in the contraction of *even* to *e'en* or *over* to *o'er*. The extension of this practice by the

> Scots vernacular revivalists can be read as their adoption of a visible means of acknowledging the hybridity of Modern Scots (2013: 32).

Whilst Corbett's chosen analogous apostrophe – the metrical apostrophe – is not in fact analogous, there is a stronger candidate: the memorial apostrophe. We might here reprint its explanation from the historiography of the apostrophe in section 1.1.2.1 of Chapter One: 'Methodology & Theoretical Orientation':

> *Memorialisation* (syncope): indicating the loss of a once-pronounced vowel, usually in a verbal inflection e.g. <loved> = <lov'd>; <feared> = <fear'd>.

Although apostrophised Scots spelling differs in terms of word-environment placement – overall they tend to occur in apocope (the end of a word) rather than syncope (the interior of a word) – there is a degree of similarity in function. The memorial apostrophe marked a vowel sound no longer articulated in speech, and this change, when applied to its written reflex, modified the word's structure e.g. from two syllables to one. Apostrophised Scots similarly marks words whose spoken reflexes underwent changes that reduced sound such as l-vocalisation e.g. <full> = <fu> or <fou>; v-deletion e.g. <devil> = <de'il>; loss of final /θ/ e.g. <mouth> = <mou> or <mow>; and consonant clustering e.g. <-ing> = <-in>. Apostrophised forms essentially memorialise these changes and watermark the pedigree of Scots. This analogous function would make the appropriation of the apostrophe's form that much easier.

2.8.2. Popish & Pedantic Paratexts

Despite widespread thought to the contrary, the apostrophe is an example of *annotation*, not *punctuation*: similar to the footnote or marginalia – which convey information outwith the main body of text – the apostrophe represents, and crucially 'triggers', extratextual data that aids the reader's comprehension. This is a crucial distinction, and is especially important given the significance of two particular factors: historical tension over marginalia and other paratextual elements between Protestants and Catholics, and the cultural fallout from the Quarrel between the Ancients and Moderns.

2.8.2.1 Apostatic Annotations

During the sixteenth century, citation and reference emerged as an ideological battleground for competing Catholic and Protestant visions of the textual relationship between humanity

and God. Reminiscent of contemporary populist objections to 'expert opinions',[11] senior Protestant voices remonstrated the use of extensive marginal commentary and notation as interrupting the private dialogue between the reader and God. Robert Connors cites the example of the *Glossa Ordinaria*, a twelfth-century arrangement of biblical commentaries comprised wholly of glosses:

> If we read the essential impulse behind the Reformation as a desire to free the word of God from layer upon layer of dogmatic institutional corruption, then the complex scriptural glosses of the *Glossa Ordinaria* could easily be read as that corruption made into text. The *Glossa*, with its layers of *commentaria*, *commentariola*, *expositions*, *glossae*, *glossulae*, *lectiones*, *lecturae*, and *postillae*, represented the "official word" of canonical interpretation of all scriptural text, and thus Protestant writers condemned it as at best obscuring a direct relation with the scriptures and at worst providing incorrect or misleading ideas about them. As Philip Melanchthon wrote in 1518, "Now let's get rid of all these frigid little glosses, concordances, discordances and other such obstructions to our natural abilities. When our hearts have reflected upon the sources, we shall begin to discern Christ" (Connors 1998: 15).

Philip Melanchthon's (1497-1560) objection to annotative pagination is perhaps counterintuitive to (broadly speaking) our contemporary understanding of it: as objective critical apparatus deployed in support of the main textual body's efforts to persuade. Notably, however, Peter Cosgrove has suggested otherwise:

> …among those components of textuality that have hitherto escaped the scrutiny of literary critics one of the more obvious is the footnote. Perhaps this indicates a too-general acceptance of its claims to be regarded as an objective tool rather than a rhetorical device (1991: 130).

If modern literary critics have overlooked the nature of such annotations, sixteenth and seventeenth-century critics most certainly had not. Protestant intellectuals across Europe attacked scholasticism's tradition of imposing widespread marginal and interlinear glosses throughout biblical text, instead arguing that readers ought to be exposed "to the unmediated truth of scripture" (Connors 1998: 18). This tension would affect biblical production in England and Scotland in both the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. Connors notes that Miles Coverdale, the primary editor for the printing of the new Church of England's 'Great

[11] Mance, H. (2016). 'Britain has had enough of experts, says Gove', *Financial Times*. Retrieved from: https://www.ft.com/content/3be49734-29cb-11e6-83e4-abc22d5d108c.

Bible' in 1539 (sponsored by Henry VIII himself), was so anxious about the extent to which glosses and marginalia could feature that he:

> …finally settled on a series of small pointing hands throughout the text, indicating passages that would have been glossed (with endnotes) had the glosses been allowed. Coverdale warned that those specific passages were pointed out so readers would know that no "private interpretation" of them would be countenanced; these passages were the property of the Church of England. The margins were mostly white space" (Connors 1998: 19).

Connors states that this "battle of the glosses" was concluded in spartan Protestant triumph with James I's sponsored biblical translation, completed in 1611, which he decreed would contain no glossing whatsoever:

> James was concerned by the increasing vituperation in glossing and by the antimonarchical tone in some of the glosses of the Geneva Bible" (Connors 1998: 23).

Watson, whose father was derided with the epithet 'Popish', would have been keenly aware of this tension. His nemesis, Agnes Campbell, if we recall, was known to have exploited Watson's alleged papal sympathies:

> …he was originally a papist, that finding as such he could not well exercise his trade as a printer in Edinburgh…he was pleased publicly to renounce the religion he was educated in and turn Protestant…He that can make a jest of changing his religion may, I believe, without breach of charity be said to have changed but in jest (Campbell 1910: 245).

The apostrophe was Watson's salvation: conveying necessary etymological and cultural information – i.e. the Scottish pedigree of certain lexical items – it did so without ever disturbing the margins of *Choice Collection*'s text. This is an important example of how contemporary sociocultural pressures led to the specific occurrence and modification of – and thereby are reflected in – the minutiae of historical texts.

2.8.2.2. The Quarrel of the Ancients vs Moderns

The Quarrel of the Ancients and Moderns has been, Baron writes, historically understood as the "revolt against the traditional acceptance of Antiquity as a superior model in literature and art" (1959: 3). Bury has previously argued that Modernity arose in the seventeenth century with the revolution against of "the tyranny of antiquity" and a rejection of the Renaissance's obsession imitation of all that was "old." As will become apparent, marginalia

and glossing became a key cite of tension in this 'Quarrel', which Watson – who wished to mark the authenticity of his Scots – may have been keen to avoid falling foul of.

A vocal champion of the Ancients in Britain, the statesman Sir William Temple (1628-1699) argued against what he imagined to be contemporary scholastic arrogance, writing in his treatise, *An Essay Upon the Ancient and Modern Learning*, that:

> By all this may be determined, whether our Moderns or our Ancients, may have had the greater and the better guides, and which of them have taken the greater pains, and with the more Application in the Pursuit of Knowledge. And I think, it is enough to shew, that the Advantages we have, from those we call the Ancients, may not be greater, than what they had from those that were so to them…So a man that translates, shall never be a Poet, nor a Painter that only Copies, nor a Swimmer that Swims always with Bladders…if we Dwarfs, we are still so, though we stand upon a Gyant's shoulders (1909: 16, 18).[12]

In diametric opposition were figures such as William Wotton (1666-1727) and Richard Bentley (1662-1742), the classicist and textual critic described by the German diplomat and scholar C.C. Bunsen (1791-1860) as the creator of "historical philology" (cited in Brink 2010: 220). Bentley's most renown scholarly effort (or cultural vandalism, dependent on which side of the fence one falls) was his exposure of the *Epistles of Phalaris* as a second century AD forgery – *not* the sixth century BC letters of the tyrant of Acragas in Sicily. By way of conjectural emendation, comparative analysis, and historical investigation, Bentley demonstrated the improbability of the *Epistles* being produced in the second century BC: he exposed instances where the author cited "Pythagoric treatises" that "appear'd but late in the World, and long after the times of their pretended Authors" (1699: 382); the use of the Attic dialect which was "not yet in fashion: there was no Attic prose then, besides Draco's and Solon's Laws" (1699: 389); and the inconsistency of the author having both "*Phalaris*, and his Smith, *Perliaus*, to be born at *Agrigentum*; but the Letters bring one of them from *Astypalæa*,

[12] The essay itself is captioned with the line *Juvat antiquos accedere fontes*, which seems to be a slightly altered appropriation of Lucretius's line *Juvat integros accedere fontes*, found in his first century BC treatise *De Rerum Natura* ('On the Nature of Things'), explaining Epicureanism to a Roman audience and which Addison, in his 1712 essay, Pleasures of Imagination, translates as "To come on undefiled fountains there." The substitution of "undefiled" with antiquos, or 'ancient,' precipitates Temple's extended metaphor, found continuously throughout the essay in lines such as: "Now to consider at what Sources our Ancestors drew their Water" (1705: 10), and "To strengthen this Conjecture, of much Learning being derived from such remote and ancient Fountains…" (1909: 12).

and the other from *Athens*" (1699: 507). Bentley concludes that "even the Highest Quality and Greatest Experience cannot always secure a Man from Cheats and Impostures" (1699: 540).

Such intense philological enquiry into (often cherished) historical canon aroused accusations of pedantry and disrespect, and Bentley found himself the target of the poets' ire. Published in 1704, shortly before Watson's *Choice Collection* appeared on the market, Jonathan Swift (1667-1745) attempted to parody Bentley and his fellow Moderns in his satire, *Tale of a Tub*, prefaced with the lines: "An Account of the BATTLE between the Ancient and Modern Books in St James's Library" and to which he impishly captioned a continuation of the passage from Lucretius used by Temple: *Juvatque novos decerpere flores, Insignemque meo capiti petere inde coronam, Unde prius nulli velarunt tempora Muse* ('I love to pluck new flowers, and seek an illustrious chaplet for my head from fields whence before this the Muses have crowned the brows of none'). The relevant passage regarding the controversy surrounding the exposure of the *Epistles* reads:

> As he came near, behold the two heroes of the ancients' army, Phalaris and Æsop, lay fast asleep: Bentley would fain have dispatched them both, and, stealing close, aimed his flail at Phalaris's breast. But then the goddess Affright interposing, caught the modern in her icy arms, and dragged him from the danger she foresaw; both the dormant heroes happened to turn at the same instant, though soundly sleeping, and busy in a dream. For Phalaris was just a minute dreaming how a most vile poetaster had lampooned him, and how he had got him roaring in his bull…Bentley, leaving the two heroes asleep, seized on both their armours, and withdrew in quest of his darling Wotton (1704: 258).

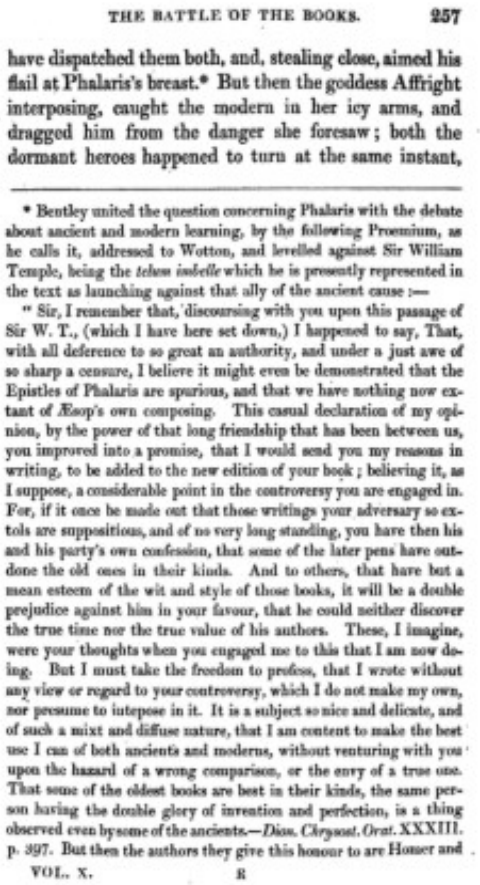
Swift's lampooning of the Moderns' pedantry reflected fears present in the literary class that art, when placed under the critical looking glass, would suffer. Cosgrove writes the specific targeting of Bentley was not incidental:

> …as Bentley was one of the foremost textual scholars of the age, the choice of victim necessarily revealed itself as a thoroughly powerful attack by the supporters of the ancients on the idea of textual scholarship as such. This attack was the culminating point of a social struggle that had been waged since the invention of printing gave new impetus to the revival of learning – a struggle between the hierarchical domination of a relatively easily controlled body of literary and philosophical knowledge, and the erosion of that domination by a combination of the relaxing of ecclesiastical and civil control of the rate of literary diffusion and the increased investigation into the validity

of the texts both sacred and secular that upheld the hierarchical social structure (1991: 135).

It is striking how much this tension between scholars and artists mirrored that between the Catholics and Protestants over the same issue: marginalia and its relationship with established institutional power structures. In the case of the Ancients vs Moderns, Bentley represented a microcosm of the sociocultural disruption posed by textual criticism.

It is also deeply ironic that Swift's critical apparatus – his marginal and bottom-of-the-page commentaries evidencing his sendups – is far more extensive than anything found in Bentley's *Dissertations*, and often he devotes more than half the entire page to footnotes which quote his primary resources (see figure 2.18 below).



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have dispatched them both, and, stealing close, aimed his flail at Phalaris's breast.* But then the goddess Affright interposing, caught the modern in her icy arms, and dragged him from the danger she foresaw; both the dormant heroes happened to turn at the same instant,

* Bentley united the question concerning Phalaris with the debate about ancient and modern learning, by the following Proemium, as he calls it, addressed to Wotton, and levelled against Sir William Temple, being the *telum inibelle* which he is presently represented in the text as launching against that ally of the ancient cause :—

" Sir, I remember that, discoursing with you upon this passage of Sir W. T., (which I have here set down,) I happened to say, That, with all deference to so great an authority, and under a just awe of so sharp a censure, I believe it might even be demonstrated that the Epistles of Phalaris are spurious, and that we have nothing now extant of Æsop's own composing. This casual declaration of my opinion, by the power of that long friendship that has been between us, you improved into a promise, that I would send you my reasons in writing, to be added to the new edition of your book; believing it, as I suppose, a considerable point in the controversy you are engaged in. For, if it once be made out that those writings your adversary so extols are suppositious, and of no very long standing, you have then his and his party's own confession, that some of the later pens have outdone the old ones in their kinds. And to others, that have but a mean esteem of the wit and style of those books, it will be a double prejudice against him in your favour, that he could neither discover the true time nor the true value of his authors. These, I imagine, were your thoughts when you engaged me to this that I am now doing. But I must take the freedom to profess, that I wrote without any view or regard to your controversy, which I do not make my own, nor presume to interpose in it. It is a subject so nice and delicate, and of such a mixt and diffuse nature, that I am content to make the best use I can of both ancients and moderns, without venturing with you upon the hazard of a wrong comparison, or the envy of a true one. That some of the oldest books are best in their kinds, the same person having the double glory of invention and perfection, is a thing observed even by some of the ancients.—*Dion. Chrysost. Orat.* XXXIII. p. 397. But then the authors they give this honour to are Homer and

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***Figure 2.18*: An example of a footnote found in Swift's Tale of a Tub (1704: 257).**

It was just such critical apparatus that Alexander Pope (1688-1744) would later attack in his seminal *Dunciad* (and the subsequent *Dunciad Variorum* a few years later, modified with an extended prolegomenon), overloading his text with annotation designed to frustrate and ridicule. He wrote:

There, thy good Scholiasts with unweary'd pains
Make Horace flat, and humble Marco's strains;
Here studies I unlucky moderns save,
Nor sleeps one error in its father's grave,
Old puns restore, lost blunders nicely seek,
And crucify poor Shakespeare once a week.
For thee I dim these eyes, and stuff this head,
With all such reading as was never read;
For thee supplying in the worst of days,
Notes to dull books, and prologues to dull plays;
For thee explain a thing till all men doubt it,
And write about it, Goddess, and about it (1752: 98).

Cosgrove notes that "…the footnotes to Pope's poem are written and appended by Pope not in order to clarify or authenticate, but in order to satirize the footnote as apparatus" (1991: 134-135). McLaverty writes: "Pope intended his poem to be hemmed in by scholarship: the work was designed not only to refer to the dangerous plight of literature but to exemplify it as well" (cited in Cosgrove 1991: 135).

As a printer of texts at the forefront of innovation and progress within his vocation, it seems judicious to conjecture that Watson would have been at the very least aware of the ongoing struggle, especially with the involvement of figures such as Swift, and it may very well have influenced his decision to use the apostrophe. Connors writes that:

> Writers were beginning to realize that they had rhetorical choices to make about their uses of notes and annotations, and that the typographic structures they chose would mark them as members of one or another kind of discourse community. In general, authors and writers chose to use fewer marginal notes and to use informal sets of citation symbols while scholars identified themselves through use of the complex full-cite, letter-and-number systems that used Latin terms. By the turn of the seventeenth century, these appurtenances of scholarship - and the ethos they projected - had become so well established in writing and publishing that they could be fit subjects for satire and criticism" (1998: 11).

Importantly, he goes on to say:

> On the one hand, serious writers during the period 1600-1800 knew that they could be rendered respectable only by showing their membership in the community of classical

> learning that defined education as control of the Greek and Latin writers. On the other hand, the gradually developing conception of 'original composition' and a fear of scholarly affectation meant that one's classical learning must be worn lightly, must be in the service of precision rather than pedantry (1998: 13).

Watson's collection was not scholarly: it was a patriotic enterprise designed to be sold to those Scots who could afford such things. This kind of sociocultural pressure, that would likely have diffused beyond England, may have been a contributing factor in Watson's choice of the apostrophe: as an annotation, the use of such a form nodded to the extratextual history behind those lexical items whose etymology Watson wished to draw attention to whilst being sufficiently discreet to escape accusations of "scholarly affectation" and "pedantry".

2.9. CONCLUSION

The outcomes of this chapter challenge all three modern beliefs about the Scots apostrophe: its apparent eliding function; its undermining the perception of Scots as a language to benefit an English readership; and its disrupting of the link between Scots and Scottishness.

The mixed method approach of this thesis – using close philological and corpus analysis – was crucial to establishing the relationship between Watson's innovated apostrophe and those Middle Scots changes which created the necessary vacancies for it: in particular, his preliminary emphasis on l-vocalised affected forms such as <a'>. The precision and extent with which Watson deployed the Scots apostrophe in certain orthographic environments – the corpus results showed (with the exception of <aw> and <hae>) the presence of an apostrophised form would be to the complete exclusion of its non-apostrophised reflex – suggests one of two points. He either had an awareness of those relevant Middle Scots changes and wanted to signal association with them: given the community of practice he operated in, it is entirely possible Watson became aware of these forms' association with Middle English changes via the genius of the likes of Ruddiman. Or, just as likely, they were closely reflexed in vernacular speech and, combined with the ideal orthographic spaces created by Middle Scots, were perfect candidates to mark as 'authentic' Scots forms. Either way, Watson seems to have been aware that the forms he was using were natively Scots: not 'clipped' English words.

Further, between his 'seditious' printing that criticised the impending union with England, and a miscellany which constructed a linguistically-diverse expression of Scots ethnicity, the evidence suggests that Watson was simply too patriotic and too invested in distinguishing Scotland and Scottishness from English and Englishness (and, by extension, Britishness) to

have concocted designs of anglicisation that undermined perceptions of the Scots language and threatened Scottish cultural identity. Likewise, Kinghorn's argument implicating Watson in imposing "social" and "psychological" limits on the development of "Modern Scots" simply fails to grasp the sophisticated tactic developed by Watson to navigate a greatly changed – and changing – linguistic landscape in Scotland (1992: 8).

Notably, the corpus results showed that Watson made no use of <-in'> suffix or the conjunction <an'> despite their respective high scores in terms of frequency and distribution in the overall eighteenth-century data. This was an early indication that the Scots apostrophe would be subject to considerable development throughout the century.

Chapter Three: Ramsay and the Briticising of Scots

The opening philological analysis of this chapter will establish the sociocultural environment into which the Scots apostrophe was transmitted beyond Watson: this will involve extended investigation of Ramsay's conception of Scots and its accommodation of English in the new British state. In particular, I will enquire as to whether the transmission of the Scots apostrophe to Ramsay's first major work, *Poems* (1721), was authorial or editorial: was it Ramsay himself or his editor, Thomas Ruddiman? Evidence suggests the former.

Analysing the corpus results of Ramsay's *Poems* (1721), compared with the overall eighteenth century wordlist, will highlight the extent and distribution of apostrophised varieties throughout the miscellany's individual entries. The 1721 edition is especially valuable since it includes a taxonomy of (notably Augustan) genres, identifying each poem as either: comic, serious, satirical, lyrical, epistolary, or epigrammatical. This will suggest whether genre constraints on the use of the Scots apostrophe are present.

Following this, elements of the 1721 and 1723 editions of *Poems* will compared, the importance of which is that the 1723 edition, unlike the 1721, was specifically printed to be sold not only in Scotland but in London too. An analysis of modifications to the 1723 text, in the knowledge of its potential commercial viability in England, might elucidate Ramsay's intentions for the Scots apostrophe.

Finally, a brief consideration of *The Ever Green*, Ramsay's collection of Scots poems "Wrote by the Ingenious before 1600" will help to establish whether he transmitted Watson's register constraint and distinguished his use of the Scots apostrophe between contemporary and historically-situated texts.

3.1. "Beautiful Thoughts dress'd in British": Elevating the Scots Tongue

The extent of the relationship between Watson and Ramsay is unknown: Ramsay's miscellanies are, in terms of printing, primarily associated with Ruddiman but he did employ the services of Watson on more than one occasion: in 1715 to print a full broadside poem called *A Scheme and Type of the Great and Terrible Eclipse of the Sun*, which was sold at Watson's shop; and a compilation in 1719 – a short collection of English texts numbering around twenty pages – called *Scots Songs* ('Ramsay, Allan,' ODNB 2010). Regardless of the extent of

their association, it is clear that Ramsay was affected by Watson's *Choice Collection*. Aside from the faithful transmission of Watson's innovative use of the apostrophe – shown in forthcoming detail – both men recognised the existence of Scots in a heterogenous linguistic landscape. We might observe their respective prefaces from Watson's *Choice Collection* (1706) and Ramsay's *Poems* (1721):

Watson, *Choice Collection*, 1706

> …'tis hoped, that this being the first of is Nature which has been publish'd in our own Native Scots Dialect, the Candid Reader may be the easily induced, through the Consideration thereof to give some Charitable Grains of Allowance, if the Performance come up to such a Point of Exactness *as may please an over nice Palate* [Italics mine] (1706: ii).

Ramsay, *Poems*, 1721

> The Scotticisms, *which perhaps may offend some over-nice Ear* [italics mine], give new Life and Grace to the Poetry, and become their Place as well as the Doric dialect of Theocritus, so much admired by the best judges (1721: 7).

As Watson did mocking an "over nice Palate," Ramsay similarly evokes Mackenzie when he notes that the use of Scots may "offend some over-nice Ear" of those who prefer Scottish-English: "I say not this to asperse the English, they are a Nation I honour, but to reprove the petulancy, and mallice of some amongst them who think they do their Country good service, when they reproach ours (1672: 18). As Mackenzie professed the superiority of Scots in the domain of pleading – "Our pronunciation, is like our selves, firy , abrupt , sprightly , and bold" – Ramsay makes similar claims: Scots is functionally adept for expression in poetry, giving to it "new Life and Grace." Ramsay's Hellenic analogy, however, implies his recognition of the current sociocultural relationship between Scots and English but the classical comparison Theocritus also intimates his aspirations for the language: as Scottish English is to Attic so Scots is to Doric. Incidentally, Johnson has noted that:

> There was, for example, a literary debate in progress in London in the 1710s as to the correct method for moderns to imitate the pastorals of Theocritus. Theocritus wrote in Doric, an ancient Greek dialect noticeably different from the Attic Greek which was taught to schoolboys. It was suggested that moderns should, as a parallel, write pastorals in broad Yorkshire or Devonshire. Allan Ramsay in Edinburgh jumped on this band-wagon with a resounding thud. He wrote a pastoral (later extended into the

play *The Gentle Shephard*) in Lowland Scots, which he surrounded with such an effective publicity campaign that Scottish intellectuals have ever since referred to Scots dialect, affectionately, as 'the Doric' (2003: 133).

Johnson's observations require some qualification. The point on Scots being referred to "ever since" as 'the Doric' neglects that it shifted in the twentieth century to mostly describe North-Eastern Scots (Millar 2007: 116). Further, Johnson's description of Ramsay simply 'jumping on the band-wagon' of pastoral composition entirely ignores the complex sociocultural apparatus in which it and works like *Poems* were being constructed (Johnson regularly makes such statements throughout *Music and Society in Lowland Scotland*: he argues, for example, that transmissions of songs that do not copy their exact originals are of little scholarly value) (2003: 146). Nevertheless, it is interesting that non-Standard English language forms – sourced from Devon to Lowland Scotland – could be used as conceptual tools with which to recuperate distant literary history.

From the perspective of this thesis, we might describe Ramsay as the natural successor of Watson: the retroactively-anointed herald of the Vernacular Revival, the origins of which arguably began with Watson (Maclaine 1964). The complex sociocultural matrix in which Ramsay developed as a poet/editor/collector was no less so than the one Watson had to navigate: compulsory schooling in English – a powerful vestige of the Reformation – eschewed native Scots expressions and idioms, and instead venerated Shakespeare, Milton, and Pope as heroes of poetry to be admired and imitated. Testament to his enduring sociocultural currency, it was Ramsay, not Watson, who would eventually be erroneously singled out as the originator of the Scots apostrophe: "I castigate Ramsay in particular," we might recall Robinson admonishing (1973: 38). Ramsay, in fact – not unlike the Scots apostrophe – has been the subject of much modern criticism for his perceived transgressions against the dynamic of Scots and Scottishness. Manfred Görlach, helpfully, distils these objections into three points:

1. He "used English spelling conventions (especially the apostrophe) for words shared with English to indicate Scots pronunciation, or even employed StE spellings, leaving proper Scots pronunciations to the individual readers and their fluency and regional differences" (2002: 149).

2. "…used a cline of Scots and English, in which the varieties are correlated with genres, reserving the broader, more vernacular forms to the 'Standard Habbie'…which is mainly used for comic and satiric poems" (2002: 149).

3. "…used somewhat synthetic Scots enriched with old words which he had encountered in old authors, e.g. in Gavin Douglas, whose works Ramsay had edited and glossed" (2002: 149).

We can see echoes of Kinghorn's assertion that Watson played a role in the "psychological and social" limiting of Scots (see section 2.6.) when Görlach goes on to state that Ramsay "intentionally or not" had "contributed to the understanding of Scots as an 'anti-language' which excellently fitted into some niches of the prevalent literary framework" and which "remained largely intelligible to non-Scottish audiences" (2002: 149). Görlach's use of the term "anti-language" is worth inspecting. If he means Ramsay deployed Scots primarily for decorative – rather than communicative – purposes, then it is not especially illuminating. If, however, he is referencing M. K. Halliday's specific notion of an 'anti-language' – as the language of sub-cultures or "anti-society" – then Görlach is arguing that Ramsay is responsible for turning Scots into the private discourse of an elite literati (1976: 570). The popular consumption of the later Scots-heavy works of Burns (and Scott after him), however, defies this characterisation.

The claim that the Scots apostrophe is an "English spelling convention" has of course already been refuted in Chapter Two's analysis of Watson and his miscellany (though Görlach demonstrates no awareness of Watson in his account). But it is notable that all of the criticism outlined by Görlach – and it is very clearly criticism since he later goes on to describe Ramsay's "establishing" of Scottish writing as part of English literature as being "On the positive side" (2002: 149) – is framed as Ramsay undermining the Scots language and its inherent Scottishness: either by 'contaminating' his work with native English forms, or the apparently improper handling of older – artefactual? – Scots, and thereby creating a Frankensteinian "synthetic" entity. We can see in Görlach's assessment of Ramsay the exact same attitudes and beliefs that led to the universal, self-perpetuating ignorance surrounding the historical functions of apostrophised Scots: a) reconstructing history from an inflexibly modern perspective, and b) an implicit belief that Scots was/is a cultural artefact which could/can be measurably ruined by the carelessness of its speakers and writers. Such a narrative, constructed at a distance from history, seems to work backwards using deductive reasoning fuelled by confirmation bias i.e. 'Scots was undermined by anglicisation: therefore, to what degree were each of its cultural agents liable?'

The reality, as we have already observed in Chapter Two, was far more nuanced. Like Watson, Ramsay sought (or had) to navigate the relationship between language and ethnicity: carving a space for Scottishness out of intensifying Anglo-Britishness. In the coming analysis,

however, we will witness a notable divergence between Watson and Ramsay: whereas the former worked to ringfence Scots and Scottishness – an effort stimulating his apostrophic innovation – Ramsay's output suggests a radical future-proofing intention to *Briticise* Scots. In his preface to *Poems* (1721), he writes:

> Such Pedants as confine Learning to the critical Understanding of the dead Languages, while they are ignorant of the Beauties of their Mother Tongue, do not view me with a friendly Eye : But I'm even with them, when I tell them to their Faces, without Blushing, that I understand Horace but faintly in the Original, and yet can feast on his beautiful Thoughts dress'd in *British*…*That* I have exprest my Thought in my native Dialect, was not only Inclination, but the Desire of my best and wisest Friends ; and most reasonable, since good Imagery, just Similies, and all Manner of ingenious Thoughts, in a well laid Design, disposed into Numbers, is Poetry ------Then good Poetry may be in any Language -------- But some Nations Speak rough, and their Words are confounded with a Multitude of hard Consonants, which makes the Numbers unharmonious. Besides, their Language is scanty, which makes a disagreeable Repetition of the same Words. -------- These are no Defects in our's, the Pronunciation is liqud and sonorous, and much fuller than the *English*, of which we are Masters, by being taught it in our Schools, and daily reading it ; which being added to all our own native Words, of eminent Significancy, makes our Tongue by far the completest: For Instance, I can say, *an empty House, a toom Barrel, a bass Head*, and *a hollow Heart* ------ Many such Examples might be given, but let this one suffice (1721: vii).

Interestingly, pertaining to the examples showing Scots fortified by English, Ramsay, like Watson, evidently considers the phonetic realisation of Scots of equal importance to its written reflex: <House> would be pronounced /hu:s/ (as though written <hoose>); <Head> would be pronounced /hi:d/ (as though written <heed>); and <Heart> as /heɪrt/ (as though written <hairt>). For Ramsay, then, this vindicates the integration of English orthography.

Again, there are echoes not only of Mackenzie's fierce defence of Scots but of its understanding as a constituent "idiom" of the "Brittish Tongue." Challenging the notion that knowledge of Latin and Greek represent the apex of cultural taste and transmission, Ramsay unabashedly celebrates his ignorance of the former when confessing his delight at Horace's "beautiful Thoughts dress'd in *British*." Ramsay included a number of imitations of Horace in *Poems*, writing towards the end of the preface:

> There are towards the End of this Miscellany, five or six Imitations of *Horace* which any acquainted with that Author will presently observe. -------- I have only Snatched at his Thought and Method in gross, and dress'd them up in *Scots*, without confining myself to no more or no less" (1721: viii).

The mirroring of the term "dress'd" when referring to transmissions of Horace in both British and Scots is interesting. Corbett has previously stated that "The reference to 'British' rather than 'English' suggests that Ramsay identifies the English tongue with the British state – implicitly the function of his 'native Dialect', is to express his identity as a Scot" (2000: 48). Corbett is likely correct, insofar as noting the conflation of English with British, but that does not preclude the identification of Scots with the new British state – the like of which we saw decades earlier in the work of Mackenzie. The syntactic similarities in Ramsay's use of the expression 'dress'd up in *X*' when referring to both British and Scots suggests a degree of perceived interchangeability. This seems feasible given the encroaching process of Briticisation wherein, Kidd notes, by "the middle of the eighteenth century Britishness had become associated with Scottishness, but not," he adds, "with a united Anglo-Scottish identity" (1993: 205). For Ramsay, the goal was to locate Scottishness within Britishness, and – presumably – thereby avoid it being subsumed by Englishness.

Sermonising on the superior aesthetic qualities of Scots – its "liquid and sonorous" articulation, and lexical capaciousness – Ramsay's preface envisions a Scots elevated by the addition of English. Whether or not he was sincere in this belief – and there is no evidence to suggest he was not – his aspirational conception of the contemporary state of Scots, from the perspective of a modern observer, is fascinatingly counterintuitive. Kinghorn writes that:

> Among the Lowland Scots, with the Swedes and the Dutch one of the three most highly literate peoples of Europe, the gulf between writing and speaking become almost unbridgeable and an unbalanced bi-lingualism [sic] was their awkward legacy. Even the ultra-patriotic Ruddiman considered old Scots unclassical. Many of his generation were dubious about the long-term wisdom of refashioning Scots for what they saw as mainly political ends and preferred to honour the tongue of the *makars* as a museum-piece only (1992: 9).

"Against this already well-entrenched trend," Kinghorn continues, "Ramsay and his first supporters asserted Scots" (1992: 10). Far from being detained in the era of makars – considered by contemporaries like the printer Ruddiman a "museum piece only" – Ramsay characterises Scots as a living entity which can energise poetry: a language comparable to

that of Theocritus, galvanised by English. Theocritus was an interesting selection for comparison given his reputation as being both a writer of pastoral and epic poetry; and the comparison of Scots with Doric is perhaps a playful ethnic nod by Ramsay, being as it was the dialect of Sparta (perhaps adjacent to England's Athenian Republic?).

Both Murray Pittock and Michael Murphy have discussed the dynamic between Scots and Scottishness at length in respective papers, and it is worth considering their positions here. In his paper 'Allan Ramsay and the Decolonisation of Genre', Pittock, in an insightful paper, conceptualises the relationship between Scots and English in Ramsay's work and writes:

> The answer, perhaps, lies in Ramsay's daring promotion of a hybrid language to deal with hybrid use of genre, an English Britticised by the predominance in it of Scots, seen not as alien, but as an alterity within a wider British cultural duality: like the Doric of Theocritus in Ramsay's famous formulation [''The Scotticisms... give new Life and Grace to the Poetry, and become their Place as well as the Doric Dialect of Theocritus, so much admired by the best Judges' (Works I:xix)], one inherited on and expanded by Burns. Basil Kennet had compared the Scottish songs of the day to Theocritus in his 1713 Idylls of Theocritus [Crawford (1979), 78], and Ramsay developed this hint into a statement of worth for Scots as a tongue on a par with classical antecedents. In differentiating Scots and English, Ramsay also slyly notes the language of the old English poets as an exemplar: language which itself of course differed widely from the standard of the day (Works I: XIX)" (2007: 325-326).

Pittock's expression "English Britticised by the predominance of Scots" is potentially problematic insofar as it assumes English is the default language in Ramsay's work and onto which Scots has been superimposed (despite noting the "predominance of Scots" within *Poems*). This is an arguably anachronistic assumption which applies present-day conceptions of each language's status to Ramsay's work. Indeed, on the subject of anachronism, Pittock subscribes (understandably) to present-day conceptions of the Scots apostrophe:

> Ramsay often used the apostrophe after the Scots 'a' for 'all,' indicating in an apparently obliging way that Scots was a deviation from standard English, the omission shown by apostrophe (2007: 325-326).

As has been established, the Scots apostrophe omits nothing: it reflects earlier changes that distinguished Scots from English. The expression "in an apparently obliging way" is notable: presumably Pittock means Ramsay acknowledging that Scots was a deviated form of English

but the latter gives no indication of this belief whatsoever in his corpus – as the preface to *Poems* shows, he imagines parity between both languages.

Referencing the previously quoted passage from Ramsay's Preface in *Poems*, Pittock goes on to say:

> Ramsay is explicitly promoting a hybrid of Scots and English as 'the completest Tongue'; he states both that Scottish knowledge of English is the product of Scottish subservience (the Scots are taught English, it is 'his language before it is mine' and they see themselves 'in the cracked looking glass of a servant' in Joycean terms), and that they are its 'Masters' (2007: 327).

Pittock's interpretation of Ramsay's statement that English is daily taught in Scottish schools and thus its learners are proficient as connoting "Scottish subservience," aside from being an unevidenced impression recalling of Kay's graceless "slave mentality," is evocative of a simplistic Scots/English dichotomy rather than the continuum that is evident in Ramsay's *Poems*. Further, it is selectively quotative – and therefore objectively incorrect – to say that Ramsay is "explicitly promoting a hybrid of Scots and English as 'the completest tongue…'" He clearly states that he wishes to have "added" – not amalgamated – English to "all our own native Words, of eminent Significancy," which "makes *our* [Italics mine] Tongue by far the completest…" Ramsay's use of the possessive pronoun intimates an unspoken relationship between the Scots language and Scottish ethnicity that Pittock's interpretation obscures.

Rather than being "Joycean," Ramsay's statement in his Preface to which Pittock refers is reminiscent of Sir Francis Bacon's thoughts on the subject, written over a century prior in 1602, on the eve of the Union of Crowns:

> It is true the nations are *unius labii* [one tongue], and have not the first curse of disunion, which was confusion of tongues, whereby one understood not the other. But yet, the dialect is differing, and it remaineth a mark of distinction. But for that, *tempori permittendum* [time allowed], it is to be left to time. For considering that both languages do concur in the principal office and duty of a language, which is to make a man's self understood, for the rest it is rather to be accounted (as was said) a diversity of dialect than of language: as I said in my first writing it is *like to bring forth the enriching of one language, by compounding and taking in the proper and significant words of either tongue, rather than a continuance of two languages* [italics mine] (1740: 220).

Orator, philosopher, and at various times Lord Chancellor and Attorney General of England, in Bacon's conception of a union voiced by a new language enriched by the "proper and significant words" of Scots and English, we can see reflections of Ramsay's preface. In much the same way Bacon likely conceived of English as the basis of this union, Ramsay seems to have envisaged a similar pre-eminence for Scots in Scotland. This is significant for Scots philology since it further suggests historically-situated understandings of the relationship between Scots and English were far more nuanced and complex than a collective resignation to rampant anglicisation, or a reductive binary of 'mastery' and 'subservience'.

Murphy's paper, 'Allan Ramsay's Poetic Language of Anglo-Scottish Rapprochement,' adopts a less definitive approach than Pittock's. Noting that Ramsay's literary career began in the shadow of the Union of 1707 – having been both "born in an independent Scottish state" and "also part of the first generation of Hanoverian Britons" – Ramsay, until at least the 1730's, "hoped for the restoration of an independent, Stuart, Scottish kingdom, but he also worked for Anglo-Scottish reconciliation" (2015: 12). The latter effort, Murphy states:

> …was neither a premeditated project on his part, nor direct support of the Hanoverian dynasty, their governments, or the terms of the Treaty of Union. It was a slow movement, measured notably through epistolary poems exchanged with Englishmen. These personal, literary contacts helped him to imagine a common future shared by two peoples, or more precisely their elites. Ramsay's writing demonstrates both open-mindedness and attachment to Scottish particularisms. This shows his attentiveness to the possibilities of a British future which would not deny two thousand years of Scottish history (2015: 12).

Ramsay, Murphy contends, "is an unrecognised pioneer in the complex encounters between the two dominant British cultures" (2015: 12). He hypothesises that Ramsay, as a closet Jacobite, "uses language as a way to reduce the contradiction and tension in his political positions" and, in particular, "he uses language as a marker of Scottish identity" (2015: 12). The parallels here with Watson are considerable: the relationship between Scots and Scottishness, all the more urgent post-1707, is crucial to preserving a distinct cultural identity in the era of (Anglo)Britishness. Murphy's expansion on this relationship between language and ethnicity is astute:

> How does Ramsay's poetic language express both his attachment to Scotland's identity and his openness to a British identity shared with England? First, he both invents a "composite" Anglo-Scottish poetic language and uses traditional Scottish genres and

> metrical forms in order to express his political concerns, with national identity, but also with practical matters such as Edinburgh's economy and urban development. He seeks acceptance for a "mixed" form of Scots as a second British language alongside English. This mixed Scots facilitates comprehension by non-Scots readers while keeping a link with monoglot Scots, thereby creating a united Anglo-Scottish public. Ramsay also makes a plea in prose in favour of the dignity of Scots (its venerable age, its purity, its prestigious literary heritage…). Finally, his poetry itself provides proof of this dignity: Ramsay never satirises Scots as a language and avoids any simple dichotomy between "comic" Scots and "serious" English (2015: 13-14).

Whilst Murphy's use of the word "invent" might be questionable (unless, of course, it is being used in the older rhetorical sense of 'finding'[13]) – Ramsay's language choices are very similar to Watson's – his observed connections between genre, national identity, and the rejection of "any simple dichotomy between "comic" Scots and "serious" English" are manifestly perceptive (see section 3.3.3.). Murphy's notion of a "mixed form of Scots" captures Ramsay's desire to develop Scots by adding native English lexical and orthographic forms: inoculating Scots from displacement by English through measurably absorbing it. There are, of course, historical parallels with this kind of strategy: David I invited Norman nobles to settle in southern Scotland as a method by which to avoid a full-scale invasion such as had toppled the Saxons in England, radically disrupting the sociocultural, economic, and political landscape of that nation (West 1999).

Murphy describes this mixing of Scots and English as Ramsay's invention of a "linguistic middle way" – though in fact beaten to the post, we might correct, by Watson – to navigate the "new state of Great Britain" (2015: 12). Interestingly, Murphy applies this understanding to his advancing of Corbett's hybrid language theory for Ramsay's "invention of the so-called apologetic apostrophe" (2015: 15):

> Thus, "ha'e" indicates the proximity between the English "have" and the Scots word pronounced differently, since glottalised (2015: 15).

As established in Chapter Two, Watson (not Ramsay) innovated the Scots apostrophe to distinguish Scots lexis within textual environments that included native English language forms as a cumulative expression of Scots ethnicity. Although Murphy's hypothesis certainly sits well with the notion of Ramsay finding a "linguistic middle way" that negotiated

[13] The historically close association between <find> and <invent> can be observed in the relevant section – 'Finding/Discovery: 01.15.10.02.01 n.' – of the Historical Thesaurus of English.

accessibility for Anglo-Scottish public, the following evidence of this chapter – based on both corpus and qualitative analysis – suggests Ramsay was continuing Watson's function of deploying the Scots apostrophe to distinguish Scots forms in an Anglo-Scots textual space. Murphy goes on to say:

> Rather than prefer either Scots or English, which might be seen as a choice between extremes, one made by later contributors to the Scottish Enlightenment, he chose a diplomatic voice astride the Anglo-Scots linguistic border (2015: 12).

Ramsay *clearly* states his preference for Scots in *Poems'* preface: but he was by no means a petulant supremacist and, as shown, conceived of Scots elevated with borrowings from English. If we take our cue from his preface, and be mindful of the sociopolitical climate Ramsay grew up in which normalised the increasing intersection between Scots and English, why could it not be the case that Ramsay considered his literary output as examples of Scots enriched with English? In one of the entries, Ramsay produces a memorable line of verse:

> While on Burn Banks the yellow Gowan grows,
> Or wand'ring Lambs rin bleeting after Ews,
> His Fame Shall last : last shall his Sang of Weirs,
> While British Bairns brag of their bauld Forebears (1721: 176).

"While British Bairns brag of their bauld Forebears" – this line is a microcosmic representation of Ramsay's approach. An expression of British identity "dress'd in Scots" that incorporates native English forms, Ramsay evokes a common heritage which transcends borders without compromising individual national/cultural identity.

As will be shown in the following subsection, Ramsay deploys throughout his first large collection, *Poems*, a kaleidoscopic range of Scots across distinct and numerous genres that integrates – but never prioritises – English. With echoes of Watson's determined Scotticisation and Ramsay's aspirations of *Briticising* Scots in mind, we might now observe more closely the selected text for close analysis in this chapter: *Poems* (1721).

3.2. EDITORIAL OR AUTHORIAL?

Before we turn to the corpus results for *Poems*, it is important to establish whether the transmission of the Scots apostrophe into Ramsay's work was editorial/printerial – i.e. inserted by Ramsay's editor and creator of *Poems'* glossary, Thomas Ruddiman – or by the hand of Ramsay himself. Although subtle, evidence suggests transmission was authorial.

The rapid diffusion of the Scots apostrophe shortly after its inception was likely the result of the close community of practice that dominated Scottish printing and the book trade in the early eighteenth century. Watson – a close associate of Robert Freebairn (fl. 1701-47, according to ODNB) (see section 2.2) – was a friend of Thomas Ruddiman (1674-1757) who on occasion had employed his services as a printer e.g. *The Works of William Drummond* (1711), edited by Ruddiman alongside John Sage (1752-1711). Amidst this nexus of text production, it is worth understanding whether the apostrophe's early diffusion was editorial/printerial – and therefore via a single agent deploying it across different texts written by different authors – or authorial: Ramsay taking his cue directly from Watson and incorporating it himself. The outcome will be established by comparing the earliest incarnation of Ramsay's *Elegy on the Death of Maggy Johnston* (1711) with its later inclusion in the Ruddiman-edited *Poems* (1721).

In a recently published paper – 'The First Edition of Allan Ramsay's *Elegy on Maggy Johnston*' (2019) – Adam Fox outlines the impressive discovery of Ramsay's first version of *Elegy on Maggy Johnston*, thought to have been produced in 1711 (at the same time, incidentally, as the publication of the third volume of Watson's first edition of *Choice Collection* wherein the Scots apostrophe had existed for at least five years). A popular figure in Edinburgh before her death, Ramsay annotated the opening page of her elegy in *Poems* (1721):

> Maggy Johnston liv'd about a mile southward of Edinburgh, kept a little farm, and had a particular art of brewing a small sort of ale agreeable to the taste, very white, clear and intoxicating, which made people who lov'd to have a good pennyworth for their money be her frequent customers. And many others of every station, sometimes for diversion, thought it no affront to be seen in her barn or yard (1721: 16).

The value of which is to be discussed presently, early in the paper Fox references the manuscript: *Journal of the Easy Club* (an intimate social and literary club founded by Ramsay and his friends in 1712, the *Journal* contains irregular entries of minuted meetings until 1715). The feelings of a singularly underwhelmed peer were recorded:

> On 1 July 1712 one of the Club's members had mused on whether Ramsay 'should pull down his Sign of ye wig and Mercury and in Stead thereof hang up ye venerable effigies of Maggie Johnstoun it would be a more effectuall Method to perpetuate her Memory than ye late elegy made by that Author upon her death' (cited in Fox 2019: 32).

A wig-maker before he turned his attention to authorship, collection, and the book trade, this suggests "ye wig and Mercury" (or some variation of it) may have been the name of Ramsay's

shop in Edinburgh. Now, if we consider the 1720 first edition of Ramsay's *Poems*, it reads at the bottom of its front page (Figure 3.1):

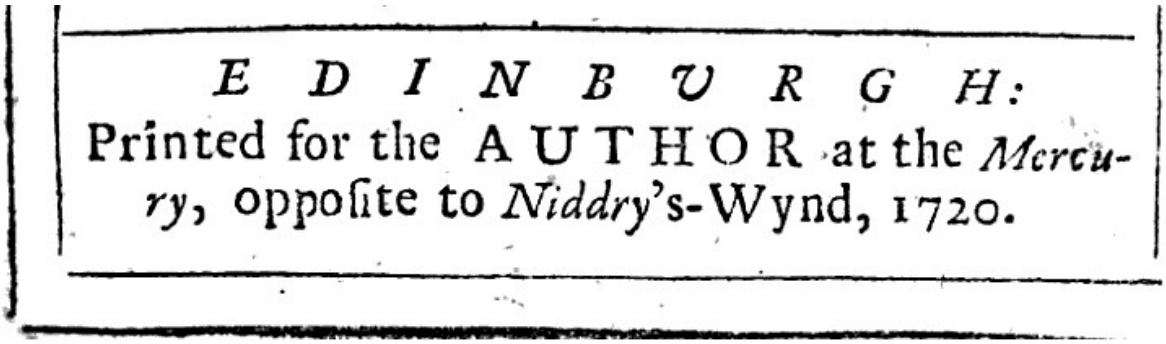

E D I N B U R G H:
Printed for the AUTHOR at the *Mercu-*
ry, oppoſite to *Niddry*'s-Wynd, 1720.

Figure 3.1: Front page of the 1720 edition of Ramsay's *Poems*.

Whilst the frontpage of the 1721 edition of *Poems* reads (Figure 3.2):

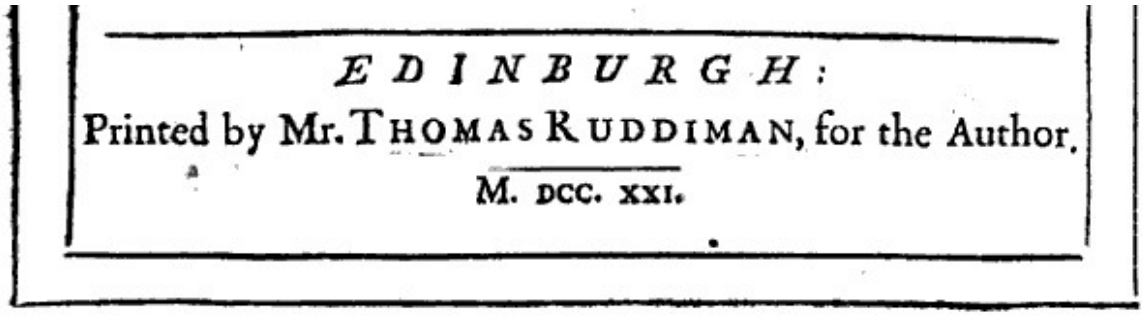
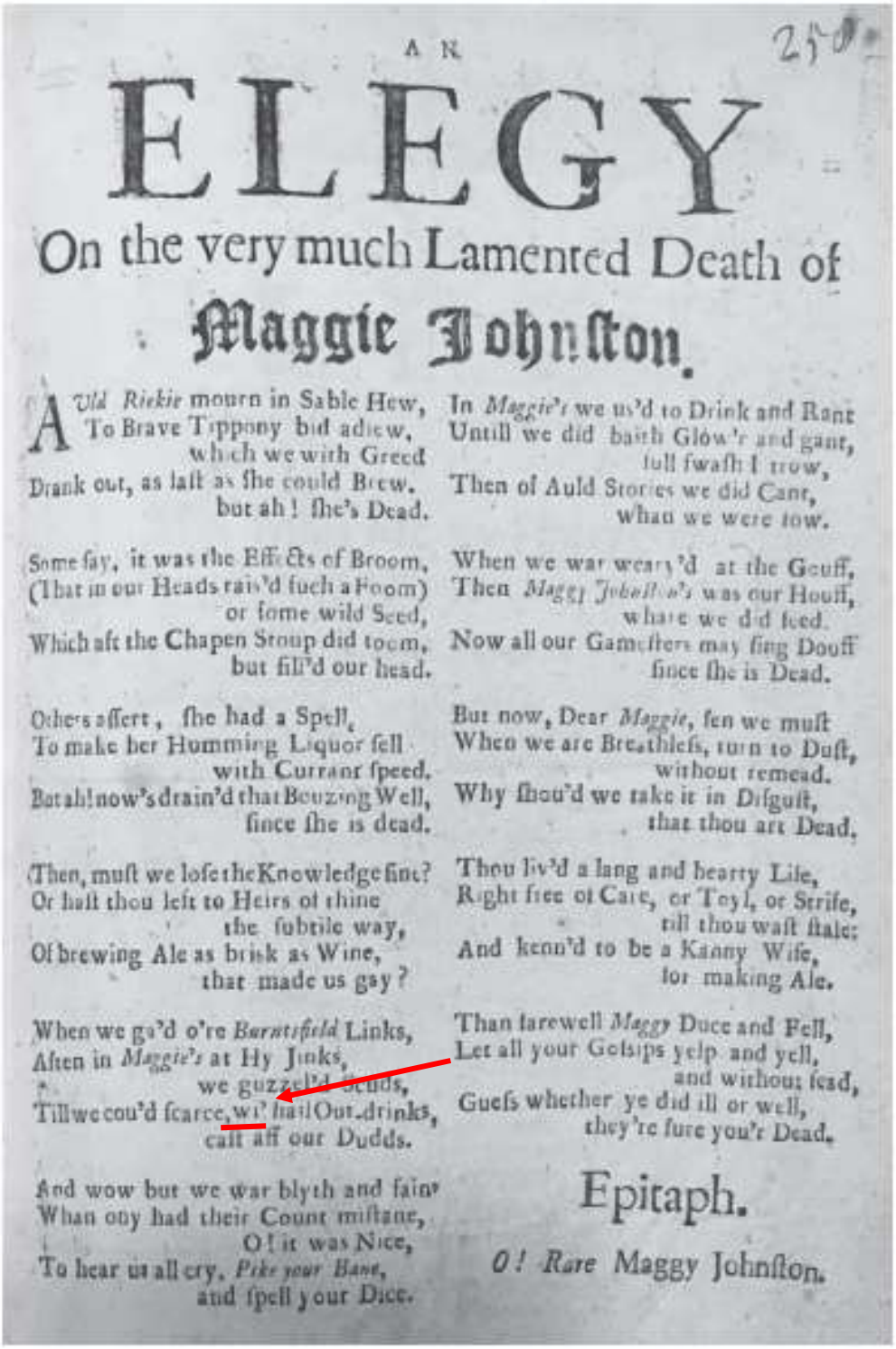

E D I N B U R G H:
Printed by Mr. THOMAS RUDDIMAN, for the Author.
M. DCC. XXI.

Figure 3.2: Front page of the 1721 edition of Poems.

We might note the 1720 edition references printing at the *Mercury* – likely Ramsay's shop – whereas this has been removed in 1721, where such work has accordingly shifted premises. As early as 1718, Ramsay's work was appearing on pamphlets identified as being printed for the author at the *Mercury opposite Niddry's-Wynd* (notably, MacLachlan observes, with various spellings of the latter location) (2012: 563). MacLachlan writes of these early incarnations of Ramsay's work that "the poet, now evidently his own publisher and bookseller, was also undoubtedly his own marketing executive" (2012: 563).[14]

With this knowledge in mind, we might now consider the 1711 edition of Ramsay's *Elegy on Maggy Johnston* (reprinted here from Fox's paper, and originally titled *An Elegy on the very much Lamented Death of Maggie Johnston*) (Figure 3.3):

[14] It is unlikely – though not impossible – that the Mercury in question was the *Caledonian Mercury*, a rival newspaper of the *Edinburgh Courant*, which was not established until 1720 (although Ramsay did use it to advertise a subscription to his forthcoming *Poems* miscellany) (NLS, MS.582(615)).



AN

ELEGY

On the very much Lamented Death of

Maggie Johnston.

A *Vld Rickie* mourn in Sable Hew,
To Brave Tippony bid adiew,
which we with Greed
Drank out, as laft as ſhe could Brew.
but ah! ſhe's Dead.

Some ſay, it was the Effects of Broom,
(That in our Heads rais'd ſuch a Foom)
or ſome wild Seed,
Which aft the Chapen Stoup did toom,
but fill'd our head.

Others aſſert, ſhe had a Spell,
To make her Humming Liquor fell
with Currant ſpeed.
But ah! now's drain'd that Bouzing Well,
ſince ſhe is dead.

Then, muſt we loſe the Knowledge fine?
Or haſt thou left to Heirs of thine
the ſubtile way,
Of brewing Ale as brisk as Wine,
that made us gay?

When we ga'd o're *Burntiſield* Links,
Aften in *Maggie's* at Hy Jinks,
we guzzel'd Suds,
Till we cou'd ſcarce wi' haill Out-drinks,
caſt aff our Dudds.

And wow but we war blyth and fain
Whan ony had their Count miſtane,
O! it was Nice,
To hear us all cry, *Pike your Bane*,
and ſpell your Dice.

In *Maggie's* we us'd to Drink and Rant
Untill we did baith Glow'r and gant,
full fwaſh I trow,
Then of Auld Stories we did Cant,
whan we were low.

When we war weary'd at the Gouff,
Then *Maggy Johnſton's* was our Houff,
whare we did feed.
Now all our Gamefters may ſing Douff
ſince ſhe is Dead.

But now, Dear *Maggie*, ſen we muſt
When we are Breathleſs, turn to Duſt,
without remead.
Why ſhou'd we take it in Diſguſt,
that thou art Dead.

Thou liv'd a lang and hearty Life,
Right free of Care, or Toyl, or Strife,
till thou waſt ſtale:
And kenn'd to be a Kanny Wife,
for making Ale.

Than farewell *Maggy* Duce and Fell,
Let all your Goſips yelp and yell,
and without fead,
Gueſs whether ye did ill or well,
they're ſure you're Dead.

Epitaph.

O! Rare Maggy Johnſton.

Figure 3.3: **Manuscript*: An Elegy On the very much Lamented Death of Maggie Johnston* (Edinburgh? 1711?) (Fox 2019: 39).**

Underlined in red in the fourth line of the fifth stanza is an apostrophised <wi'>. Occurring a decade before Ruddiman was brought onboard to print the second edition of *Poems* in 1721 and in such temporal proximity to the mark's emergence in Watson's *Choice Collection*, it

seems reasonable to conclude that the Scots apostrophe was borrowed into Ramsay's work by his own design as opposed to being an editorial or printerial addition.

3.3. CORPUS RESULTS: *POEMS* (1721)

Much less discussed than his *Tea-Table Miscellany* or *The Ever Green*, Ramsay's *Poems* was an important milestone in his literary career: his first miscellany, it secured his fame on both sides of the border (MacLachlan 2012). Table 3.1, ordered by highest frequency of apostrophised forms, and showing the distribution of forms across the miscellany's seventy-eight entries, demonstrates the evolution of its use ten years after its first appearance in *Elegy for Maggy Johnston* in Ramsay's 1721 edition of *Poems*:

***Table 3.1*: Frequency and Distribution of Apostrophised and Non-Apostrophised Varieties, and their English reflexes in *Poems* (1721).**

Apost.	Freq.	Dist. /78	Non-Apost.	Freq.	Dist. /78	English	Freq.	Dist. /78
wi'	130	37	wi	2	2	with	458	78
a'	118	35	aw	0	0	all	103	73
fa'	11	8	fa	0	0	fall	17	5
ha'e	17	9	hae	0	0	have	80	6
-fu'	14	8	-fou	12	10	-ful	81	10
gi'e	9	8	gie	1	1	give	30	10
unco'	9	7	unco	3	3	uncouth	3	n/a[15]
awa'	7	1	awa	5	5	away	31	10
ca'	6	5	caw/caa	0	0	call	19	6
ga'e	2	2	gied	0	0	gave	9	7
fu'	1	1	fou	10	7	full	11	6

[15] <uncouth> was excluded from analysis since it did not occur in any poem, only the letters of praise for the author and glossary.

The distribution values immediately show that Ramsay deployed the Scots apostrophe across a significantly higher number of entries in his miscellany than Watson (where it occurred in four comparatively contemporary poems): <a'> and<wi'>, dominating in frequency as they did with Watson, occur in nearly 50% of *Poems* entries. Outside of <an'> and <wi'>, apostrophised forms in *Poems* have a generally high rate of distribution compared to their frequency: <fa'> occurs only eleven times but its instances are spread across eight poems; <unco'> has a frequency rate of nine and a distribution rate of seven.

The distribution results are interestingly inverted between apostrophised forms, and their non-apostrophised and English reflexes. Where apostrophised forms have a higher distribution rate, non-apostrophised and English reflexes have a correspondingly lower rate and vice versa. This suggests Ramsay, like Watson, deploys the Scots apostrophe with certain constraints (to be discussed at length in the following section). This is further evident in the exception to the distribution pattern: <a'>. Despite outnumbering <all> in frequency – 118 to 103 – the latter is deployed in over twice as many entries as the former.

With the exceptions of <awa>, <-fou> suffix, and <fou>, Ramsay uses apostrophised forms almost to the complete exclusion of their non-apostrophised reflexes: whereas Watson vacillated between using apostrophised and non-apostrophised forms, Ramsay establishes the former as the preferred variety when the choice between them is presented. When we consider the philological analysis of section 1.1., wherein Ramsay made clear in his preface to *Poems* his desire to *Briticise* Scots and make it more complete with the addition of English, this suggests Ramsay has transmitted Watson's innovated apostrophe with the same intended function: to authenticate and distinguish Scots forms from incoming English forms.

The exceptions, as noted, are <fou>, <awa>, and <-fou> suffix, which in the two latter cases occur in parity with apostrophised variants, and in the former case is used almost exclusively. Not shown in the table, however, was a third hybrid variety: <fou'> occurs once whilst <-fou'> endings occur twice across two difference entries as <hopefou'> and <watchfou'>. Given the regularity of apostrophised/non-apostrophised varieties shown in the rest of the miscellany, it is possible these occurrences are editorial oversights – briefly confusing <-fou> and <-fu'> but one wonders whether they are the remnants of aborted attempts to apostrophise all Scots words ending in vowels, and thereby developing the marker beyond the relationship with Middle Scots forms. There is, for example, corresponding with other instances in the overall eighteenth-century wordlist, a single example of <bra'> in the poem, 'Elegy on Lucky Wood': "A bra' Goofe pye" (1721: 31). A Scots lexical item with no

English cognate, this suggests Ramsay may have been extending his use of the Scots apostrophe by analogy (e.g. with <a'>).

As with Watson, there is no evidence to suggest a Scot's apostrophe being pre-vocalic or -pre-consonantal affected word-final occurrences, as observable in the following list of concordances (Figure 3.4) wherein apostrophised forms inhabit both positions:

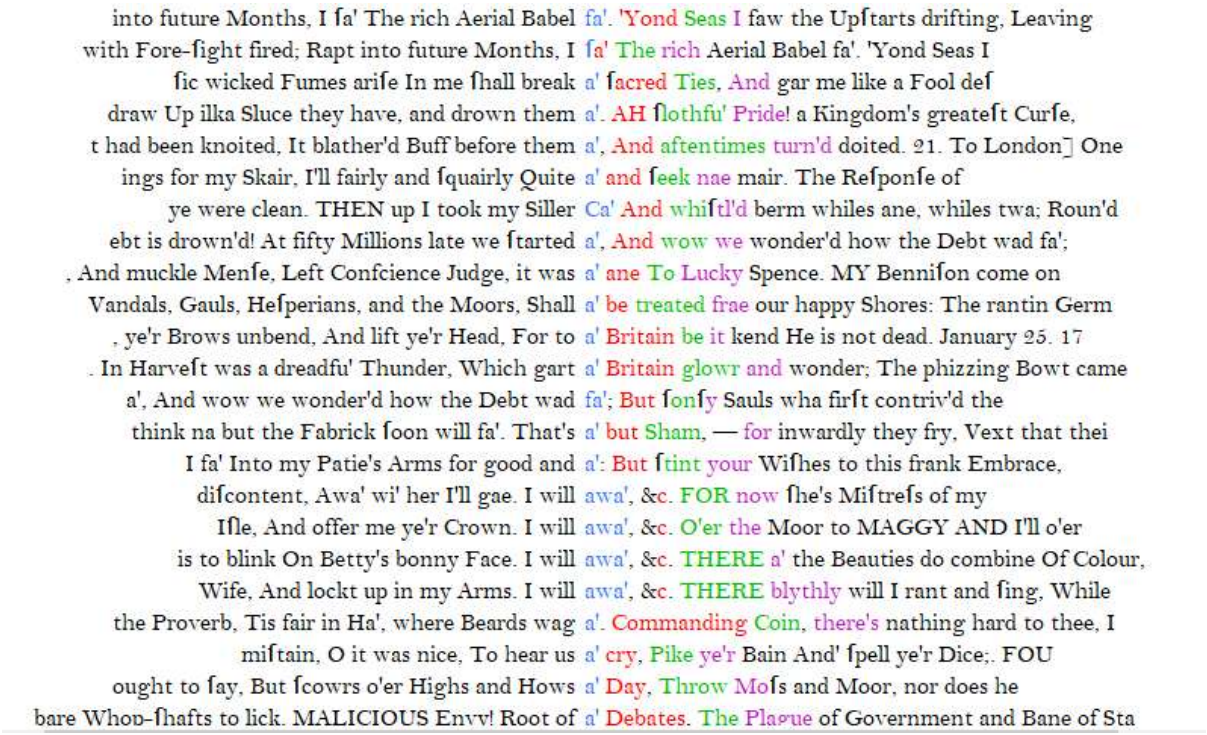


***Figure 3.4*: A sample of concordance results for the search [*a'].**

As we can observe in this list of concordance results for the search [*a'] (where [*] represents zero or more characters), the Scots apostrophe occurs both pre-vocalically – as in "I took my Siller Ca' And whistl'd" – and pre-consonantally, as in "For to a' Britain be it kend."

We might now reprint here, in Table 3.2, the word list results from the overall eighteenth century for comparison:

***Table 3.2*: Frequency and distribution of apostrophised forms, and their non-apostrophised Scots and English reflexes in the corpus of eighteenth-century verse.**

Apost.	Freq.	Dist.	Non-Apost.	Freq.	Dist.	English	Freq.	Dist.
an'	1124	8	an	69	6	and	18,098	20
wi'	1027	16	wi	34	6	with	4124	17

a'	941	16	aw	75	10	all	1697	15
-in'	157	9	-in	60	8	-ing	7457	20
-fu'	129	13	-fu/-fou	64	9	-ful	578	13
awa'	109	7	awa	92	13	away	374	13
fa'	80	10	fa	0	0	fall	183	13
fu'	66	10	fou	71	9	full	200	12
ca'	48	10	caw/caa	6	6	call	154	10
gi'e	39	4	gie	137	11	give	230	11
ha'e	33	5	hae	401	12	have	1374	13
wa'	24	5	waw	1	1	wall	51	7
sma'	15	9	smaw	0	0	small	78	6
bra'	13	3	braw	88	11	n/a	0	0
ga'e	11	3	gied	19	4	gave	137	9
ba'	10	4	baw	0	0	ball	28	8
mou'	8	4	mou/mow	27	8	mouth	87	11
unco'	6	2	unco	48	7	uncouth	16	5

Despite their high levels of frequency and distribution overall, both <an'> and the <-in'> suffix remained absent in Ramsay's work. This suggests when and where the Scots apostrophe was deployed was still in the process of development by Ramsay's period of production (<an'> is also absent from Ramsay's other major miscellany of contemporary poems, *Tea Table Miscellany* (1724)). Notably, however, Ramsay makes no use of non-apostrophised <an> but nine instances of <-in> suffix do occur. Watson made no use of apostrophised <-in'> suffix so it may be that Ramsay did not think to either.

Interestingly, the overall eighteenth century wordlist shows that Ramsay's use of the Scots apostrophe diverges in two major ways: l-vocalised forms are not over-represented, and he demonstrates a preference for word-medial (v-deleted) apostrophisations such as <ha'e> and <ga'e> (which are substantially less popular overall). Again, the reason for both these points likely aligns with Ramsay's general intent of using apostrophised forms as much as possible to properly distinguish the Scots of his miscellany. Outside of these deviations, when we palimpsestuously apply this wordlist to Ramsay's, patterns of frequency and distribution are already beginning to emerge in the form of the dominance of <wi'> and <a'>.

3.3.1. THE 1723 EDITION

The 1723 edition makes for an interesting comparison insofar as there is little to compare: an important fact considering this version was specifically printed to be sold in England as well as Scotland. Figure 3.5 is an excerpt from the title page detailing its locations of sale:

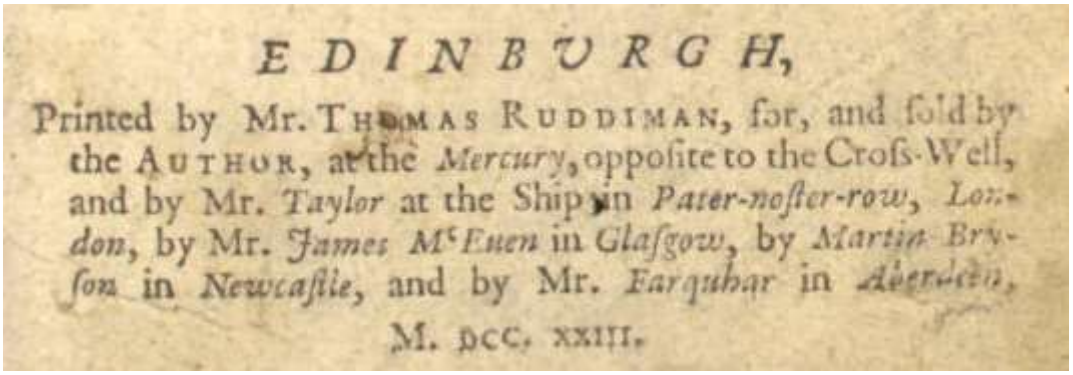

EDINBURGH,
Printed by Mr. THOMAS RUDDIMAN, for, and sold by the AUTHOR, at the *Mercury*, oppoſite to the Croſs-Well, and by Mr. *Taylor* at the Ship in *Pater-noſter-row*, *London*, by Mr. *James* M^c*Euen* in *Glaſgow*, by *Martin Bryſon* in *Newcaſtle*, and by Mr. *Farquhar* in *Aberdeen*,
M. DCC. XXIII.

***Figure 3.5*: Title page of the 1723 edition of *Poems*.**

Unfortunately, the copy available for use had been poorly cared for and was missing a substantial amount of pages (everything beyond p. 228 is absent and the text does not resume until the glossary on p. 365) but, from what remains, it is strongly suggested that Ramsay's use of apostrophised Scots remained stable. The available 1723 copy contains only the first thirty-one entries: however, the contents of that edition have been reordered away from the 1721 edition. The first thirty-one entries of the 1721 order comprise seventeen Scots poems and fourteen English poems. Comparatively, the first thirty-one entries of the 1723 edition comprise fifteen Scots poems and sixteen English poems. By the end of the thirty-first entry, the 1721 edition had seventy-two instances of <wi'> and fifty examples of <a'>. Conversely, by the end of the thirty-first entry in the 1723 edition, despite slightly fewer Scots entries having occurred, there are eighty-eight examples of <wi'> and fifty-three examples of <a'>. Of course, the reason behind the increase could be that those Scots entries which had occurred were longer or contained more examples of apostrophised Scots than those included in the

missing pages. Importantly, however, what it does indicate is that Ramsay did not feel compelled to radically expand the use of apostrophised Scots for the benefit of an intended English readership, contrary to the claims of modern commentators.

Continuing his approach of situating Scots and Scottishness within a British context, however, Ramsay does make a subtle change in his dedications. The heading from his dedication page in the 1721 edition, reproduced as Figure 3.6, reads:

***Figure 3.6*: The heading of the 1721 version of *Poems'* dedication page.**

Whereas, however, the dedicatory headline of the English-sold 1723 version in Figure 3.7 reads:

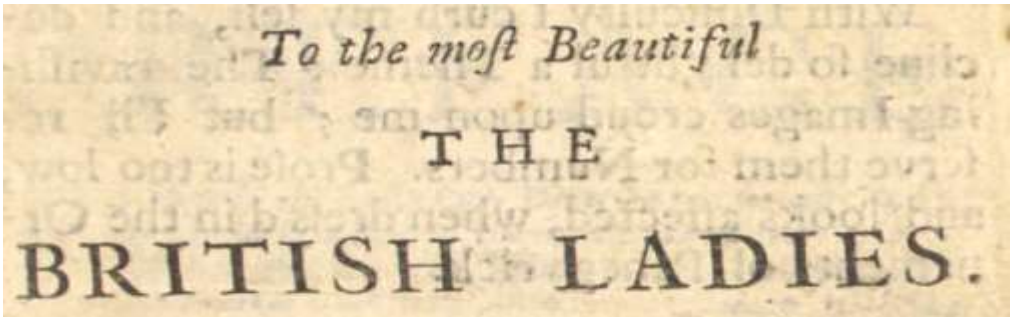


***Figure 3.7:* The heading of the 1723 version *Poems'* dedication page.**

The dedication itself reads the same. "…the Ladies too are on my side, they grace my Song with the Sweetness of their Voices, coun over my Pastoral and Smile at my innocent merry Tale" (1721: vi; 1723:vi). As nauseating as this line may be, it is in fact very valuable. "…they grace my Song with the Sweetness of their Voices": Ramsay implies here the understanding his poems will be orally performed. This establishes a close link with Watson's regard for the oral realisation of this text as an important dimension of its Scottishness.

With the exception of this dedication's headline, Ramsay's opening remarks and preface remains the same. His celebration of Scots, its advantages over English, and uncomplicated place within a British space: that the explicitness of these beliefs was not compromised in the 1723 edition is further evidence that an English readership was not Ramsay's prioritised audience.

3.3.2. The Contemporary/Historical Register

Unlike *Choice Collection*, which contained a temporal mix of Scots and English verse, Ramsay's *Poems* exclusively concerns itself with the contemporary. Even *Christ's Kirk on the Green*, the twenty-first entry in the in the 1721 miscellany, a poem attributed to James the Fifth by both Watson and Ramsay, can be considered modern in this context. A popular poem to be distributed on cheap pamphlets, it is written in modernised Scots, and Ramsay even updates it with two extra Cantos of his own creation.

We might, however, compare it with Ramsay's reproduction of *Chryst's-Kirk on the Grene* in his 1724 historical-focused miscellany: *The Ever Green, Being a Collection of Scots Poems, Wrote by the Ingenious before 1600*. For this miscellany, Ramsay omits his innovated Cantos, and, footnoted on the first page of the poem, states that he "strictly" observes the "Old Orthography" (1724: 1). We might consider the following comparison of corresponding stanzas between the two miscellanies:

Poems (1721: 103-104)

The Miller was of manly Make,
To meet him was nae Mows ;
There durst nae tensome there him take,
Sae neyted he their Pows ;
The Bushment heal about him brake,
And bickered him wi' Bows ;
Syne traitrously behind his Back,
They hew'd him on the Howes,
Behind that Day.
Twa that were Headsmen of the Herd,
On ither ran like Rams,
They follow'd, seeming right unfear'd,
Beat on with Barrow-Trams :
But where their Gabs they were ungear'd,
They gat upon the Gams ;
While bloody barkn'd was their Beards,
As they had worried Lambs,
THE Wives keist up a hideous Yell,
When all these Yonkiers yoked ;
As fierce as Flags of Fire-flaughts fell,

The Ever Green (1724: 11-13)

The Millar was of manly Mak,
To meit him was nae Mows,
There durst not Ten cum him to tak,
Sae noyit he their Pows,
The Buchment hale about him brak,
And bikkert him with Bows,
Syne tratorly behind his Bak,
They hewt him on the Hows,
Behind, at, *c. that Day.
Twa that war Herdmen of the Herd,
On udder ran lyk Rams,
Then followit Feymen, rickt unaffoird,
Bet on with Barrow trams,
But quhair their Gobs thay were ungeird,
They gat upon the Gams ;
Quhyl bludy berkit war their Baird,
As they had worriet Lamms,
Maist lyk, at, *c. that Day.
THE Wyves keist up a hideous Zell,
Qnhen all thir Zounkers zokkit,

Frieks to the Field they flocked :		Als fers as ony Fyre-flauchts fell ;
The Carles with Clubs did others quell		Freiks to the Fields they flokit.
On Breasts, while Blood out boaked ;		The Carlis with Clubs did uder quell,
Sae rudly rang the common Bell,		Quhyl Blude as Breists ot bokit ;
That a' the Steeple rocked	25	Sae rudely rang the common Bell,
For Dread that Day.		That all the Streipill rokkit
		For reid, at Chrysts-Kirk on the Grene that Day.

The difference is stark. Now inserted into a 'historical' miscellany, Ramsay's transmission in the *Ever Green* is transformed lexically and orthographically into Older Scots: <wh> reverts to <qu> as in <When> to <Qnhen>; <y> to <z> as in <Yonkiers> to <Zounkers>; <-es> to <is> as in <Carles> to <Carlis>; <ed> to <it> as in <follow'd> to <followit>; <their> to <quthair>; vowel-lengthening is regressed e.g. <take> to <tak>; and the English vowel-shifted /i:/ sound is jettisoned: <meet> becomes <meit>.

In Ramsay's modern version of *Christ's Kirk*, there are two Scots apostrophes – one <wi'> and one <a'>, occuring in lines 6 and 25 (there are many more in his additional second and third Cantos). As in the historical entries of Watson's *Choice* Collection, these have been modified in *The Ever Green* transmission to their pre-l-vocalised and θ-inclusive versions of <all> and <with>. With the regression to conservative spellings found Middle Scots that predated those important changes, the Scots apostrophe is not required: the archaised spelling fulfils its function of authenticating, distinguishing marker.

3.3.3. GENRE

The 1721 version of *Poems* is especially useful insofar as it contains an Index delineating each poem of the miscellany into a particular genre: comic, serious, satirical, pastoral, epistolary, and epigrammatical. By identifying each poem as either primarily Scots or English (whether the majority of their forms could reasonably be expected to appear in the DSL), it was possible to generate a graph (see Figure 3.8) that reflected Ramsay's conception of the scope of Scots:

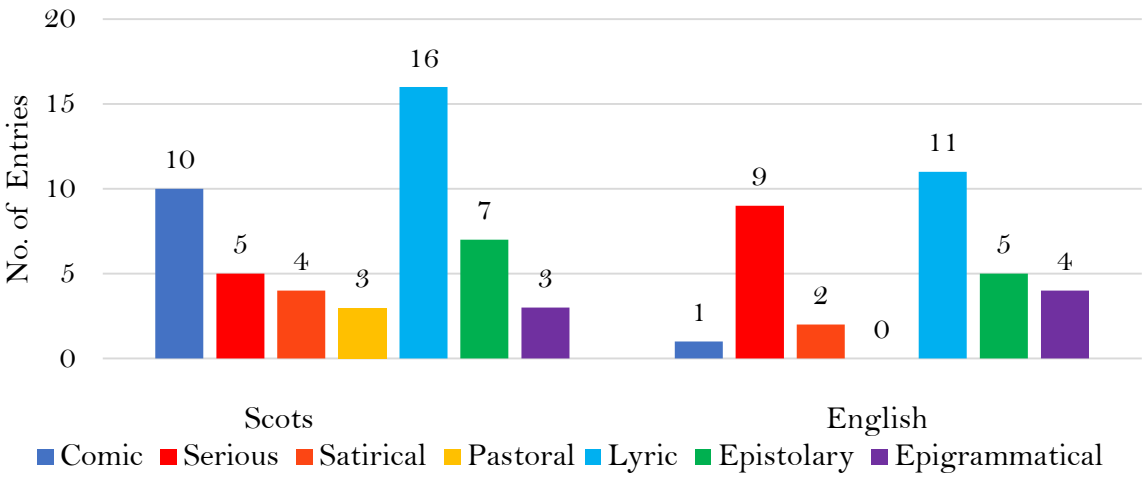


Figure 3.8: **Genre Taxonomy in Ramsay's *Poems* (1721).**

This graph recalls Murphy's assessment that Ramsay "never satirises Scots as a language and avoids any simple dichotomy between 'comic' Scots and 'serious' English" (2015: 13-14). Whilst comic Scots entries outnumber English ones and vice versa with regards to serious entries, there are still a significant number of serious Scots poems included. Overall, entries in Scots substantially outnumber those in English – forty-eight to thirty-two - and exhibit a much wider breadth of function: featuring at least several times in every genre, whilst English barely occurs in the comic and satirical categories and is all but absent from pastoral. Kinghorn's and Görlach's regret that Watson triggered the process of reducing Scots to the pastoral and rustic was evidently premature (1992; 2002).

This evidence is especially important since it contributes to refuting the modern belief that the Scots apostrophe was complicit in, to borrow the *Edinburgh Companion to Scots* expression, having "the unfortunate effect of suggesting that Broad Scots was not a separate language system, but rather a divergent or inferior form of English" (2003: 12-13).

Johnson raises an interesting connection here: between that of Ramsay and the Scotch Song (recall Chapter Two, sections 2.3.1 and 2.3.2.). He notes that:

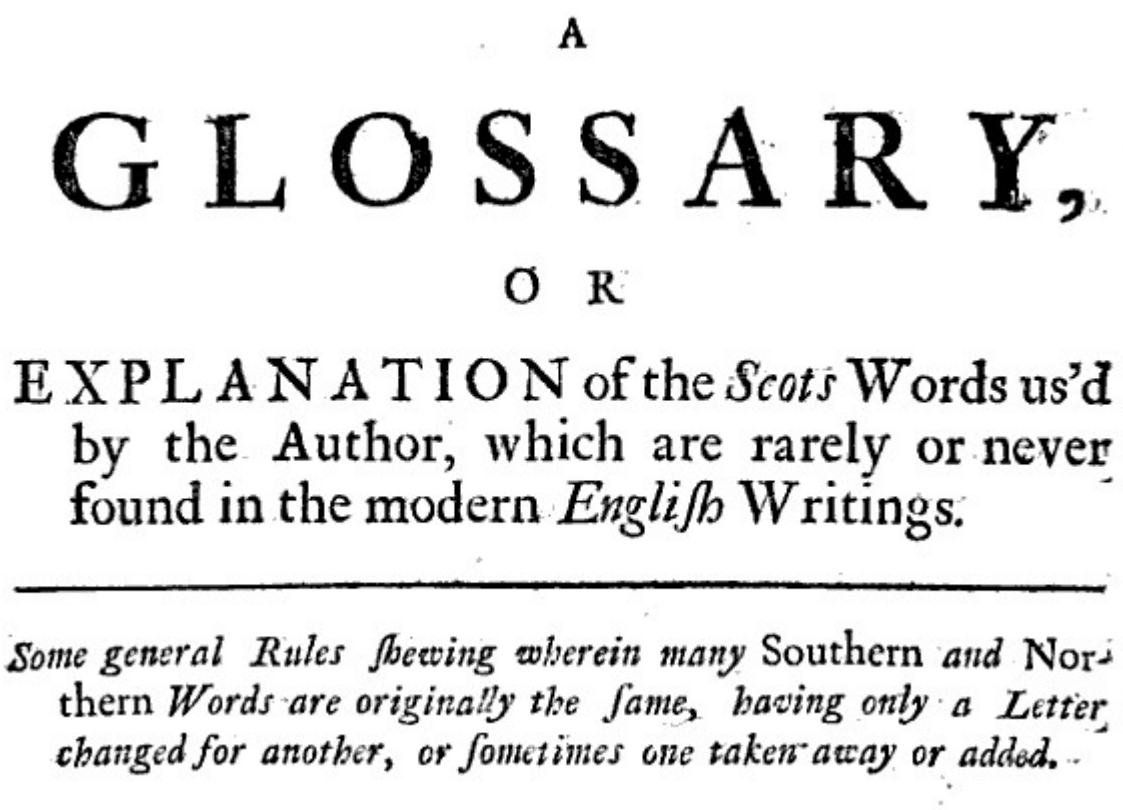
> The London 'Scotch Song' was an obvious next target. It was already established and fashionable, yet to Ramsay's way of thinking it was a genre which Scottish poets could not help but do better at than Londoners, by the mere fact of their being Scots (2003: 133).

Johnson proceeds to note that Ramsay would lift many songs from D'Urfey's *Pills to Purge Melancholy* for his 1723 miscellany, *Tea-Table Miscellany*. In a sense, one might argue that Ramsay did do a better job insofar as he did not confine his use of Scots in poems/songs

to simply the pastoral. This sense of competition with the likes of D'Urfey can be mapped onto Ramsay's desire for Scottishness to compete with Englishness in the British arena of letters.

3.3.4. THE GLOSSARY

At the end of the 1721 edition of *Poems*, Ramsay includes an extensive eighteen-page glossary, the first page of which is presented in Figure 3.9:



A

GLOSSARY,

OR

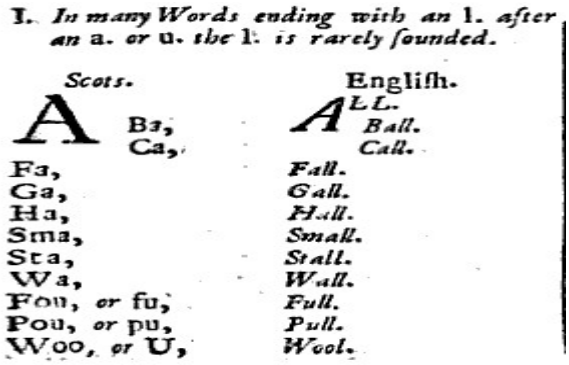
EXPLANATION of the *Scots* Words us'd by the Author, which are rarely or never found in the modern *Engliſh* Writings.

Some general Rules ſhewing wherein many Southern *and* Northern *Words are originally the ſame, having only a Letter changed for another, or ſometimes one taken away or added.*

Figure 3.9: **The first page of *Poems'* Glossary (1721: 381).**

Ramsay displays insight into the historical proximity of Scots and English, noting that their orthographies were often only removed from one another by one or two letters. Further, he once again Britticises Scots (and English) by referring to similarities between "Southern" and "Northern" words.

What is most interesting, however, is that at no point in Ramsay's considerable "EXPLANATION of the Scots Words us'd by the Author" does he make explicit mention of the apostrophe (1721: 381). For example, the comment on the lexical impact of l-vocalisation (see Figure 3.10) reads: "*In many Words, ending with an* l. *after an* a. *or* u. *the* l. *is rarely founded.*"

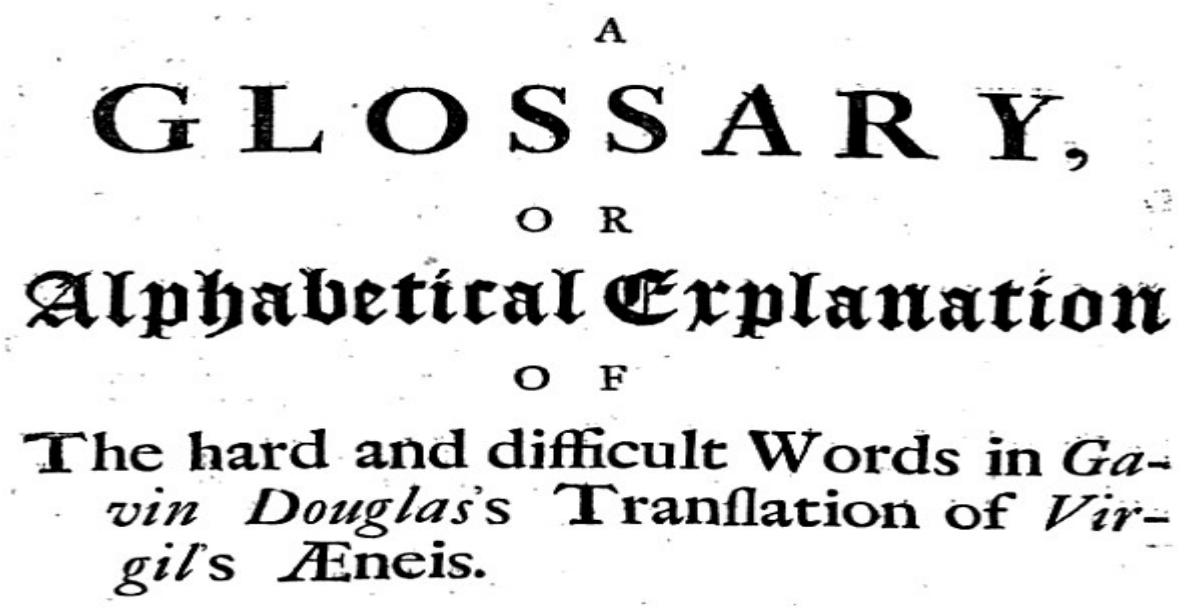


I. *In many Words ending with an* l. *after an* a. *or* u. *the* l *is rarely ſounded.*

Scots.	*Engliſh.*
A Ba, Ca,	A *LL. Ball. Call.*
Fa,	*Fall.*
Ga,	*Gall.*
Ha,	*Hall.*
Sma,	*Small.*
Sta,	*Stall.*
Wa,	*Wall.*
Fou, *or* fu,	*Full.*
Pou, *or* pu,	*Pull.*
Woo, *or* U,	*Wool.*

Figure 3.10: **An extract from *Poems'* glossary, outlining the effect of l-vocalisation (1721: 381).**

As with Watson, Ramsay's silence about his use of the Scots apostrophe, despite its ubiquity in his work, is frustrating. It is quite possible that Ramsay, in much the same way he did not elucidate upon his use of other marks such as the colon or comma, considered an expansion upon the apostrophe unnecessary. And yet this omission remains peculiar: so much so, we might speculate that it was not Ramsay who produced the glossary but Ruddiman. If we compare the title of Ruddiman's famous glossary for the 1710 transmission of Gavin Douglas's *Eneados* (Figure 3.11), we can note similarities:



A

GLOSSARY,

OR

Alphabetical Explanation

OF

The hard and difficult Words in *Gavin Douglas*'s Tranſlation of *Virgil*'s Æneis.

Figure 3.11: **The first page of the glossary in the *Eneados* (1710).**

We can see syntactic similarities between the titles – 'A Glossary, or…*X*', and both use the exact same typeset (aside from the blackletter of "Alphabetic Explanation"). Susan Rennie, when discussing Ramsay's glossary for *The Ever Green*, has noted "Although Ramsay certainly consulted Ruddiman, and often raided his glossary [from the *Eneados*] for its pithy definitions, his borrowings are unacknowledged" (2012: 27). Despite the glossary of the

Eneados's 1710 edition being one of his notable accomplishments, Ruddiman is also not directly credited in that text either (only thanked in the preface for his "Care and Pains") (1710: ix). It is therefore entirely possible that Ruddiman had an extensive role in the creation of Ramsay's glossary for *Poems*, which might explain the jarring lack of inclusion of, or even allusion to, apostrophised forms.

We might also take the opportunity here, before continuing on to Burns, to note that Watson did not include a glossary in *Choice Collection*. The *British Critic*, in a volume from 1807, contained a review of *The Poetical Works of Sir David Lindsay*, which incidentally mentioned Watson and wrote:

> The first essay towards a *miscellaneous collection* of Scottish poetry was made by Watson, the printer, at Edinburgh, in 1706, a hundred and fifty years after the publication of *Totell's Miscellany*, in 1557 : But Watson did not attempt a glossary ; leaving the reader to find the meaning of many words, according to the reach of his ingenuity, and the measure of his learning… (1807: 26).

Whilst we may never be certain of the reason for not including a glossary – whether it was deliberate or the result of external constraints such as time or resource – we do know that, nevertheless, Watson thought his miscellany capable of surviving publication without one. This is a crucial point since it shows that the innovator of apostrophised Scots was not prioritising accessibility and understanding for an English readership. Watson, we might reasonably argue, printed his miscellany in Scotland for Scots as an act of national celebration – and the Scots apostrophe played a role accordingly.

3.4. CONCLUSION

Combined philological analysis of Ramsay's sociopolitical beliefs and corpus analysis of his miscellany, *Poems*, produced important evidence with which to challenge those modern beliefs about the Scots apostrophe (see section III of the Introduction).

As shown in the corpus analysis of his miscellany, Ramsay radically expanded use of the Scots apostrophe: both in terms of frequency and distribution, and orthographic environment to more closely reflect patterns established in the overall eighteenth-century wordlist results. Crucially, these developments in use of apostrophised forms were concurrent with Ramsay's manifesto of *Briticising* Scots: adding native English forms to make the Scots "Tongue by far the completest." In Ramsay's possession, therefore, the Scots apostrophe continued its function of distinguishing authentic Scots forms in texts that increasingly accommodated

English reflexes; contrary to modern assumptions, the priority of Ramsay was the perceivability of Scots. Corpus data was also crucial in further challenging the belief that the Scots apostrophe simply elided English reflexes for the benefit of an English readership: it was uncovered that Ramsay on more than one occasion apostrophised the already native Scots <bra'> and <-fou'> suffix.

Overall, the philological analysis of this chapter's first section shows that Ramsay, like Watson, similarly conceived of an intrinsic relationship between Scots and Scottishness: his preface and subsequent use of apostrophised forms reflect a desire to protect that abstract relationship, and secure a distinct place for Scots and Scottishness within the new Union's nascent Britishness. We might argue, then, that Robinson's 'castigation' of Ramsay for the use of a form which implied Scots "was some kind of uncouth English" may have been premature.

Chapter Four: Burns and Performing Scots

This chapter will begin by establishing the sociocultural environment in which Burns produced his first major body of work – *Poems, Chiefly in the Scottish Dialect* (1786) – and some of the changes which occurred since Watson and Ramsay's lifetime, specifically in terms of native attitudes to Scots. This will be illustrated by drawing on the work of two of Burns's contemporaries, David Sillar (1760-1830) and John Callander (1722-1789). As with Ramsay, I will investigate whether the Scots apostrophe would have been transmitted in Burns's work by his how own hand or with editorial intervention: the evidence, again, points to an authorial outcome. This point is arguably more important than when discussed in terms of Ramsay's work due to the significant passage of time: Burns was born in 1759, one year after Ramsay died in 1758 and some decades after Watson died in 1722. Therefore, the transmission of the Scots apostrophe to the work of Burns was dependent on at least one of two factors: a) apostrophised Scots having been established as standard printing practice i.e. intrinsically Scots, and/or b) apostrophised forms having sufficient sociocultural currency that Burns adopted them of his own volition. In order to find the answer, I compared samples of Burns's manuscripts with their printed editions.

Watson and Ramsay both deployed the Scots apostrophe as apparatus to support their conception of Scots, and Scottishness, within the new state of Great Britain and the idea of (Anglo)Britishness. The corpus analysis section of this chapter will be geared towards uncovering how Burns's use of apostrophised forms compare to his forerunners. As before, this will be done by first identifying the frequency and distribution of apostrophised forms in *Poems, Chiefly in the Scottish Dialect*. The Kilmarnock (first) and Edinburgh (second) editions of the text – printed 1786 and 1787 respectively – will be comparatively analysed to investigate whether Burns's knowledge that the latter edition was destined for a wider audience – i.e. English – impacted his use of apostrophised forms.

Recalling the utility of glossaries to indicating a text's potential audience as outlined in Kopaczyk (2012), the chapter will conclude with a comparative analysis of the glossaries used in both the Kilmarnock and Edinburgh editions. We know that the latter was radically expanded in anticipation of its wider audience: it was also the case that the glossary was sizeably increased for its larger (English) audience and contained a detailed range of apostrophised forms.

4.1. The Rustic Bard

Born in 1759, one year after Ramsay's death and nearly four decades after Watson's, Burns had early in his life cultivated the local reputation in Ayrshire of a rhymer. It was not until 1786, however, that he turned to *guid black prent* and published *Poems, Chiefly in the Scottish Dialect*: a miscellany largely comprising rural and domestic homages. G. R. Roy notes that Burns was "unusual amongst the poets of his own century and those who have followed, in that he had published nothing before the appearance of his first full volume of poetry" (2012: 570). Printed by John Wilson of Kilmarnock, with a run of 612 copies selling at three shillings – a not immodest sum[16] – the publication was a success and caught the attention of the Edinburgh literati. The poet Thomas Blacklock (1721-1791) shortly thereafter wrote to Burns praising his collection, reception of which Burns, famously, in a letter to Dr. John Moore a year later, recalled:

> I had taken the last farewel of my few friends ⌜Burns had been intending to leave for Jamaica: a consequence, perhaps, of his amorous entanglements⌝; my chest was on the road to Greenock; I had composed my last song I should ever measure in Caledonia, "The gloomy night is gathering fast," when a letter from Dr Blacklock to a friend of mine overthrew all my schemes by rousing my poetic ambition,—The Doctor belonged to a set of Critics whose applause I had not even dared to hope.—His idea that I would meet with every encouragement for a second edition fired me so much that away I posted to Edinburgh without a single acquaintance in town, or a single letter of introduction in my pocket (Burns 1787).

Whilst his first Edinburgh review may have been less-than-tepid – the *Edinburgh Magazine, or Literary Miscellany* (October 1786) wrote: "to those who admire the exertions of untutored fancy, and are blind to many faults for the sake of numberless beauties, his poems will afford singular gratification" (cited in Manning 2013: 240) – it would be a review shortly after in December by the novelist Henry Mackenzie (consuming an entire volume of *The Lounger*, a literary magazine of which he was editor) that would capture and characterise Burns's enduring public image:

> The power of genius is not less admirable in tracing the manners, than in painting the passions, or in drawing the scenery of Nature. That intuitive glance with which a writer like Shakespeare discerns the characters of men, with which he catches the many-changing hues of life, forms a sort of problem in the science of mind, of which it is easier

[16] Three shillings, according to the National Archives, equalled around £12.72 in 2017 – roughly the purchasing power of a day's wages for a skilled labourer: (https://www.nationalarchives.gov.uk/).

> to see the truth than to assign the cause. Though I am very far from meaning to compare our rustic bard to Shakespeare, yet whoever will read his lighter and more humorous poems, his Dialogue of the Dogs, his Dedication to G— H—, Esq; his Epistle to a young Friend, and to W. S—n, will perceive with what uncommon penetration and sagacity this Heaven-taught ploughman, from his humble and unlettered station, has looked upon men and manners (Mackenzie 1786).

"Our rustic bard…this Heaven-taught ploughman, from his humble and unlettered station" – this was to be the legacy of Burns, and it was a performance that would determine how he would navigate the relationship between Scots and Scottishness in the time of Great Britain. Mackenzie is quick to mention in the review, however, the obstacle that Burns's native Scots presented to the understanding of an English readership and the prospect of even wider fame:

> In mentioning the circumstance of his humble situation, I mean not to rest his pretensions solely on that title, or to urge the merits of his poetry when considered in relation to the lowness of his birth, and the little opportunity of improvement which his education could afford. These particulars, indeed, might excite our wonder at his productions; but his poetry, considered abstractly, and without the apologies arising from his situation, seems to me fully intitled to command our feelings, and to obtain our applause. One bar, indeed, his birth and education have opposed to his fame, the language in which most of his poems are written. Even in Scotland, the provincial dialect which Ramsay and he have used is now read with a difficulty which greatly damps the pleasure of the reader: in England it cannot be read at all, without such a constant reference to a glossary, as nearly to destroy to destroy that pleasure (Mackenzie 1786).

Whilst the unique qualities of Scots were emphasised in the works of Watson and Ramsay, this was never accompanied by the suggestion the language may be imperceptible to native English speakers/readers. Mackenzie, conversely, ignores any notion of shared lexis and warns of the gulf of understanding that exists between the two: "in England it cannot be read at all, without such a constant reference to a glossary, as nearly to destroy that pleasure." Mackenzie extends this gulf of understanding to stretching between strata of Scottish society: "Even in Scotland, the provincial dialect which Ramsay and he have used is now read with a difficulty." Scots, as far as Mackenzie could see, now only survived amongst the provincial folk living outside of the urban societies of Edinburgh, Glasgow, and Aberdeen. Perversely, this corresponds with the intrinsic relationship between language and ethnicity: Scots, as

Mackenzie distinguishes it, had not only retreated from the cities but became the inherent language of those people outwith them. It is the language of a *type* of Scot.

Accordingly, Roy notes that "Burns's audience for the Kilmarnock edition did not stretch much beyond Ayrshire, but the poet felt the need for a glossary because Scots were not used to reading works in the Scottish dialect" (2012: 572). Roy does not expand on this point, however, and it is not entirely clear what he means by such a generalisation. It is possible he is referring to those Scots schooled in English and taught to regard its mastery as aspirational and who may be unfamiliar with literary Scots. Or perhaps he is claiming that since the majority of literature is published in an increasingly standardised English, Scots may not recognise written reflexes of their speech (which seems unlikely). Given the successful diffusion and consumption of the works of Ramsay (and subsequently popular writers of literary Scots like Robert Fergusson) (1750-1774), Roy's claim ought to be regarded with more than a little scepticism.

In 1787, the second or 'Edinburgh Edition' of *Poems, Chiefly in the Scottish Dialect* was published. Intended for sale across Britain, as shown in this excerpt from its title page (Figure: 4.1), it elevated Burns's renown across Britain:[17]

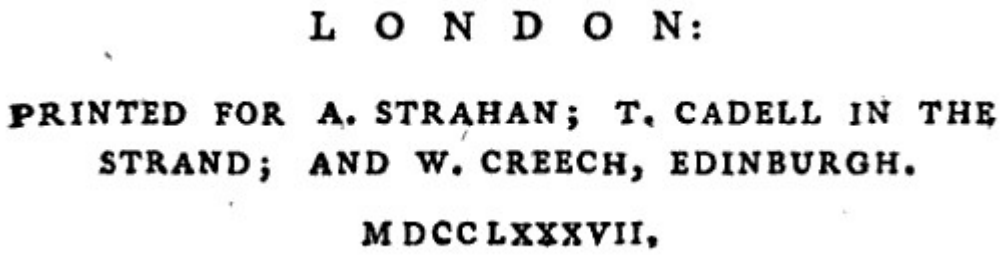


Figure 4.1: **From the title page of the 'Edinburgh Edition' of *Poems, Chiefly…* (1787).**

Roy notes that Burns's:

> …involvement with the Edinburgh edition was substantial. He mentions proofreading the volume, and there exists a small portion of the glossary in the poet's hand, with corrections, which indicates that he did not leave that compilation to someone else (2012: 573).

The Edinburgh edition is substantially larger than the Kilmarnock: the latter includes thirty-six entries whilst the former was nearly doubled in size to sixty-three. Burns also radically

[17] Owing to a printing error in the first attempt, the second and third editions were printed concurrently and are generally thought to be a single version (see Roy 2012: 571-572).

expanded the glossary: whilst a reader of the Kilmarnock edition has only a mere four pages to find potential illumination, the Edinburgh edition banished any threat of confusion with a twenty-four-page glossary. Unlike Ramsay, or indeed Watson, Burns explicitly addresses apostrophised Scots: the significance of this will be shown in forthcoming detail in section 4.3.

In his preface to the Kilmarnock edition, there is further divergence from Watson and Ramsay. The unspoken requisite that one must address their use of Scots is present but, unlike the former two men, Burns – not unlike a contemporary 'influencer' – centres himself and his experience within the narrative of navigating Scots and Scottishness:

> The following trifles are not the production of the Poet who, with all the advantages of learned art, and perhaps amid the elegancies and idlenesses of upper life, looks down for a rural theme, with an eye to Theocrites or Virgil. To the Author of this, these and other celebrated names their countrymen are, in their original languages, 'A fountain shut up, and a book sealed.' Unacquainted with the necessary requisites for commencing Poet by rule, he sings the sentiments and manners, he felt and saw in himself and his rustic compeers around him, in his and their native language (1786: iii).

In his paper, 'Copia Verborum: The Linguistic Choices of Robert Burns', Smith correspondingly underlines Burns's performativity:

> Burns loved to pose, it seems, in life as much as in literature: as a lover ('Sylvander' to 'Clarinda'), as a drinker, as a libertarian, as a reincarnation of Tom Jones. And of course one of Burns's poses was, to quote from the formal opening of *The Brigs of Ayr*, as 'The simple Bard, rough as the rustic plough' (2007: 73-74).

The effect, Smith notes, was "to 'place' Burns within a pastoral tradition going back to Allan Ramsay" (2007: 74). The positioning of oneself within such a tradition, and the link between the two men therein, is tangibly observable in the Prefaces of their respective miscellanies. Burns's reference to Theocritus echoes Ramsay's:

> The Scotticisms, which perhaps may offend some over-nice Ear, give new Life and Grace to the Poetry, and become their Place as well as the Doric dialect of Theocritus, so much admired by the best judges (1721: 7).

There is a crucial difference, however, in the shared allusion to Theocritus (famed, if we recall, for both his pastorals and epics). Whereas Ramsay does not detain himself with preoccupation on the pastoral and rural, instead discussing the prospect of English contributing to the

completeness of Scots and the pleasure of being able to read classical works "dress'd in British," Burns prioritises an emphasis on the bucolic. Metaphorically looking "down" upon the rural – and summoning to the reader's mind Virgil's *Georgics* – Burns proceeds in his Preface to theatrically chastise himself:

> Now that he appears in the public character of an Author, he does it with fear and trembling. So dear is fame to the rhyming tribe, that even, he, an obscure, nameless Bard, shrinks aghast, at the thought of being branded as ' An impertinent blockhead, obtruding his nonsense on the world ; and because he can make a shift to jingle a few doggerel, Scotch rhymes together, looks upon himself as a Poet of no small consequence forsooth' (1786: iv).

Burns, distinct from Watson or Ramsay, explicitly addresses the sociolinguistic imbalance between Scots and English – more acute, it seems, than when the former two men flourished – but his motivation for doing so is that such a dynamic is an asset to his self-invention as an "obscure, nameless Bard." Whereas Ramsay and Watson celebrate Scots – either as the equal of English or made exceptional by its addition – Burns revels in the inequitable political and social dynamic. Mocking his own code-switching to "doggerel Scotch rhymes," Burns proceeds to quote the celebrated English poet, William Shenstone – "humility has depressed many a genius to a hermit, but never raised one to fame" – whose "divine Elegies do honour *our* language [italics mine]" (1786: iv-v). This use of "our" is fascinatingly disruptive. Juxtaposing reference to his Scots rhymes as "doggerel," it may be tempting to consider "our" code for 'English'. It is entirely possible, however – indeed, likely, if we recall the words of Sir George Mackenzie of Rosehaugh and Ramsay – that Burns means 'British'. And much in the same manner that modern observers and users do so between Broad Scots and Standard Scots English, Burns likely subscribes (at least superficially) here to a continuum: between rural Scots and urban(e) Scottish-English.

"In other words," writes Smith, "linguistic and social fluidity go together" (2007: 84). In an extended point, Smith captures the contemporary social and cultural pressures that may have shaped Burns's attitudes to Scots and English, and the performative manner in which he chose to navigate them:

> The indirect witness of Burns's poetry, combined with our knowledge of his life-story and other contemporary references, suggests that he had the ability to 'codeswitch' i.e. to shift from one register or variety of language to another in accordance with the social situation of his language. This ability, then, is his copia verborum; he ranges between

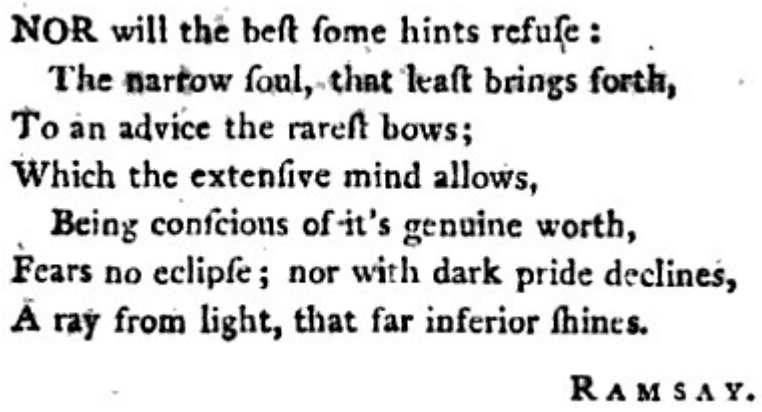
> Ayrshire Scots at one end of the cline to the emerging Scottish Standard English of the period, the refined 'Scottish English' which was recommended by such arbiters of elegance as Sylvester Douglas, Lord Glenbervie, in his Treatise on the Provincial Dialect of Scotland (1799). In this practice he would be exemplifying the linguistic behaviour typical of a 'rising' middle-class person with working-class roots, whose social trajectory ran from Alloway to Edinburgh, and then on to public service (2007: 84).

Crawford notes that even his father, William Burnes, was congratulated insofar as he:

> …possessed an exceptionally good English pronunciation for one in his walk of life…All the evidence goes to show that the community from which Burns sprang was composed of men and women who were accustomed to shifting from one level of usage to another (1994: 23).

Smith's observations on Burns's language use being shaped by both his early roots in the working-class strata and his later trajectory towards and within the middle-class strata forecast the very particular register constraints Burns would innovate for the Scots in his poetry, to be discussed in section 4.2.1.

Though Burns was to be held up as the exceptional example of a Scotsman who could not only code-switch between languages but social strata, fellow Scotsmen deployed other strategies to contend with the contemporary linguistic and social pressures. In 1789, Burns's close friend and fellow poet, David Sillar, released a miscellany, similarly printed in Kilmarnock by John Wilson (reflected in a parallel title page) with the familiar title: *Poems*. Indeed, shown in Figure 4.2, he quotes Ramsay on the front matter:


NOR will the beſt ſome hints refuſe:
The narrow ſoul, that leaſt brings forth,
To an advice the rareſt bows;
Which the extenſive mind allows,
Being conſcious of it's genuine worth,
Fears no eclipſe; nor with dark pride declines,
A ray from light, that far inferior ſhines.

RAMSAY.

Figure 4.2: **The title page of *Poems* by Sillar (1789).**

Likely aided by Burns in its final arrangement (included also is a letter, in apostrophised Scots, from Burns to Sillar), in the preface Sillar writes:

> Mankind in general, but particular those who have had the advantage of a liberal education, may deem it presumption in the Author, who has been denied that privilege, to attempt either instruction or amusement. But however necessary a learned education may be in Divinity, Philosophy, or the Sciences, it is a fact, that some of the best Poetical Performances amongst us have been composed by illiterate men. Natural genius alone is sufficient to constitute a Poet : for, the imperfections in the works of many poetical writers, which are ascribed to want of education, may, he believes, with more justice, be ascribed to want of genius (1789: iv).

Like Burns, Sillar emphasises his humble origins and their lack of impediment to him: despite receiving no formal education, "Natural genius alone" allowed Sillar to aspire to the role of poet. As the quotation on the front matter intimates, however, his miscellany is far more redolent of Ramsay's work than Burns's: his content matter stretches far beyond the rural and domestic. And unlike Burns, as we will see in forthcoming analysis, Sillar amalgamates Scots and Augustan English in a manner evocative of Ramsay, as seen in this opening except from *The Duel*, a rumination on human nature:

> Serene, unclouded, whyles the morn doth rise ;
> Ere night the thunder echoes tho' the skies.
> Man too at morn may ca'mly leave his rest,
> An' lang ere night his mind may be o'ercast ;
> For joy an' grief alternately are giv'n ;
> Such is our fate, an' such the will o' Heav'n.
> Some men may ask an' wonder, wi' surprise,
> How this variety in them arise.
> Go search great Nature, an' the cause is plain ;
> Without that knowledge a' our search is vain (1789: 19).

We might also note, of course, that Sillar includes apostrophised forms in his repertoire (using the most prevalent varieties: <an'>, <wi'> and <a'>). In the introduction to the poem, headed by a quote from Scottish poet Robert Blair's *The Grave* (1743) – later famed for its influence on William Blake's illustrations – Sillar, like Watson and Ramsay, insists on the value of Scots and its parity with other languages:

> Give ear a' people, while that I rehearse

Britannia's follies in her native verse :
Nor think our foibles, tho' they're clad in satin,
Deserve their painting frae the Greek or Latin.
A Scotchman's ears shou'd never tak offence,
Because his failings are na wrote in French.
A country's dialect still will do maist good,
Within the bounds where 'tis best understood.
If wrote unknown, 'twil riase our mirth or spleen,
As much when heard o', as when it is seen :
So I a Scotchman send a Scot amang you :
Gif do him justice, f—h he'll never wrang you :
But if ye fight, he'll cut you to the bone.
The foll'wing dress wha fits may pit it on (1789: 18).

The opening two lines particularly repay closer study: "Give ear a' people, while that I rehearse *Britannia's follies* in her native verse." Sillar does not only seek to emulate Ramsay's poetic and linguistic style: he subscribes to his understanding Scots' place in the British pantheon of languages. We might also note the continued amalgamation of native English orthography and the corresponding importance of the spoken dimension with which to realise their Scots form: e.g. Sillar's rhyming in the final two lines of <bone> and <on>.

Even this brief analysis of Sillar shows that Burns's conception of Scots and its relationship to English was not, in the latter half of the eighteenth century, universal: attitudes and beliefs around the issue remained complex. It is of course true to say that a whole elocutionary industry devoted to the identification and purging of Scotticisms had long been established by Burns's birth: one of its earliest and most prominent adherents, the philosopher David Hume, was famously described by Lord Monboddo as having "died confessing not his sins but his Scotticisms" (cited in Joseph 2006: 9). Mackenzie, however, who only six years later would fatalistically worry that Burns's Scots inhibited accessibility to a predominant English-speaking readership, lamented in 1780:

> …the old SCOTTISH dialect is now banished from our books, and the ENGLISH is substituted in its place. But though our books be written in ENGLISH, our conversation is in SCOTCH… when a SCOTSMAN therefore writes, he does it generally in trammals. His own native original language, which he hears spoken around him, he does not make use of; but he expresses himself in a language in some respects foreign to him,

> and which he has acquired by study and observation (Mackenzie 1780, cited in Mackenzie 1794: 138).

Even in Burns's lifetime, existential anxiety persisted around Scots and its complicated relationship to English. Scots, its pedigree, and the intrinsic link with Scottishness is implied when Mackenzie compares the "old SCOTTISH dialect" with "English," and the uncomfortable duality Scots inhabit, thinking and hearing in their "native original language" and being schooled in another "in some respects foreign." Like Watson and Ramsay, though, contemporaries like Sillar addressed this reality by integrating English into Scots: producing native English spelling forms to be realised as Scots in speech. A "linguistic middle way" Murphy would say.

Two years later, in 1782, John Callander – writing in the preface of *Two Ancient Scottish Poems* (the two poems being *The Gaberlunzie Man* and *Christ's Kirk on the Green*, the whole text being an annotated critique of them, undoubtedly much to the horror of sixteenth-century protestants) – said:

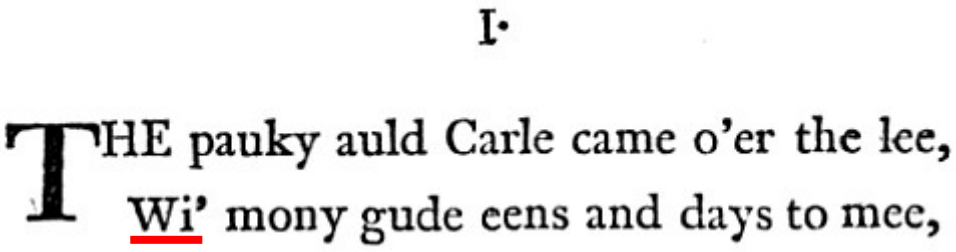
> Our language, as it is at present spoken by the common people in the Lowlands, and as it appears in the writings prior to the seventeenth century, furnishes a great many observations, highly deserving the attention of those who wish to be acquainted with the Scandinavian dialects in general, or the terms used by our ancestors in their jurisprudence and poetry, in particular...we, in Scotland, have preserved the original tongue, while it has been mangled, and almost defaced, by our Southern neighbours (1782: 8).

Callander shifts Scottish ethnicity towards Scandinavia, citing the many lexical similarities between Scots and Norse, and holds up the Scottish folk as the gatekeepers of linguistic integrity, the Scots language as an artefact well-preserved. It would be more accurate to describe Callander's preface as a comparative philological treatise on the differences between Scots and English: he lays out, as he sees it, the history of language, the origins of Scots and English in the Old English dialects (and the influences beyond that have enriched the former), and regularly detains the reader with comparisons showing English deviations (see Table 4.1):

***Table 4.1*: Comparative examples of cognates, Callander (1782).**

German.	Scots.	English.	
Beide	Baith	Both	
Eide	Aith	Oath	
Kiste	Kist	Chest	(1782: 11)

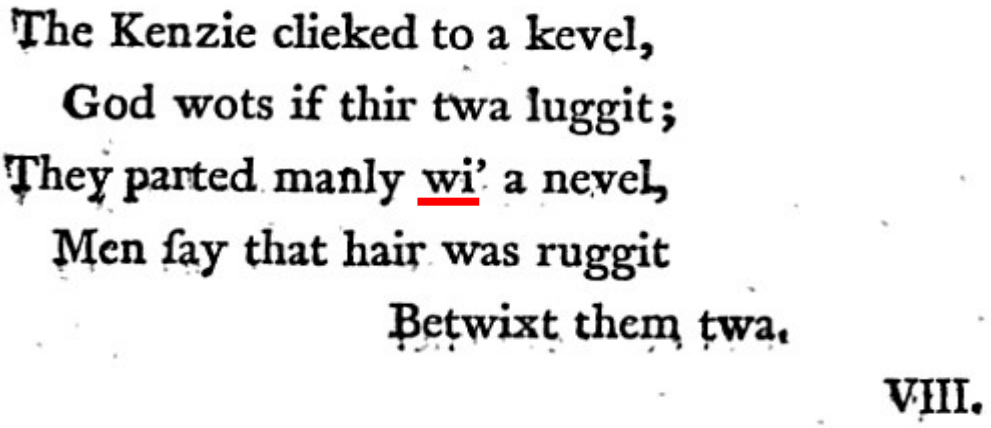
Importantly, Callander envisages no problem with documenting the long and complex history of Scots to exemplify its purity when compared with English, and deploying apostrophised Scots forms throughout *Two Ancient Scottish Poems*. In *The Gaberlunzie Man*, Callander opens with the lines (Figure 4.3):


I.

THE pauky auld Carle came o'er the lee,
Wi' mony gude eens and days to mee,

Figure 4.3: **Opening lines of *The Gaberlunzie Man* (1782: 17).**

In a notable departure from Watson and Ramsay, Callander, who is evidently transmitting an Older Scots variety of *Christ's Kirk on the Green* ("Scho compt him not twa clokkis" (1782: 114)), does not discriminate in use of the Scots apostrophe dependent on whether the text is contemporarily or historically-situated, as seen here in Figure 4.4:


The Kenzie clieked to a kevel,
God wots if thir twa luggit;
They parted manly wi' a nevel,
Men say that hair was ruggit
Betwixt them twa.

VIII.

***Figure 4.4*: An extract from *Christ's Kirk on the Green*, Callander (1782: 127).**

Though we should be careful in drawing generalisations out of single instances, Callander's lack of discrepancy in the deployment of apostrophised Scots between contemporary and historically-situated texts, nearly eighty years after it was innovated by Watson, suggests that by the latter part of the century, its original function of *saliently* ringfencing modern Scots from English was being lost. In Callander's work, it seems to have been *normalised* as an expected usage in literary Scots, historical or contemporary.

All of the above indicates that Burns's was producing Scots literary verse in a period as complex as Watson and Ramsay's. Indeed, for the literati, this tension between Scots and

Scottishness never goes away. Writing in 1936, the poet Edwin Muir echoes Mackenzie in 1780 when he says:

> …linguistic division means that Scotsmen feel in one language and think in another; that their emotions turn to the Scottish tongue, with all its associations of local sentiment, and their minds to a standard English which for them is almost bare of all associations other than those of the classroom (1936: 20-21).

Conversely, the likes of Watson, Ramsay, and Sillar resolved this tension by amalgamating native English and Scots spelling forms, and ensured the distinctiveness of the latter by means of phonetic realisation, use of older Scots, and careful deployment of the Scots apostrophe.

Between the 1786 and 1787 editions – the "trajectory from Alloway to Edinburgh" – Burns modifies representations of himself, Scots, and Scotland, and accordingly does away with his preface entirely, replacing it with a dedication to the Caledonian Hunt: a collection of gentleman sportsmen, a number of whom are listed as patrons in the subscribers section of the second edition. The change in tone is arresting: whereas in the preface to the Kilmarnock edition Burns styled himself as an "obscure, nameless Bard" appearing for the first time "in the public character of an Author… with fear and trembling," in the Edinburgh edition – destined for sale across Britain – he seeks to enhance the mythology of both himself and Scotland. Much closer now in outlook to Watson and Ramsay, Burns, in the 1787 edition, speaks in essential terms of the link between Scotland, her ancientness, and the inherent value this gives to her poetry:

> MY LORDS, AND GENTLEMEN,
>
> A Scottish Bard, proud of the name, and whose highest ambition is to sing in his Country's Service, where shall he so properly look for patronage as to the illustrious Names of his native Land ; those who bear the honours and inherit the virtues of their Ancestors? ---- The Poetic Genius of my Country found me as the prophetic bard Elijah did Elisha ---- at the plough ; and threw her inspiring mantle over me. She bade me sing the loves, the joys, the rural scenes and rural pleasures of my natal Soil, in my native tongue : I tuned my wild, artless notes, as she inspired. ----She whispered me to come to this ancient metropolis of Caledonia, and lay my Songs under your honoured protection : I now obey her dictates…I was bred to the *Plough*, and am independent. I come to claim the common Scottish name with you, my illustrious Countrymen ; and to tell the world that I glory in the title.-----I come to congratulate my Country, that the blood of her ancient heroes still runs uncontaminated… (1787: vi-vii).

Burns is undoubtedly massaging egos ("the blood of her ancient heroes still runs uncontaminated") – and thereby persuading the continued availability of their purses – but he is careful to use the occasion to advance his legend: a humble ploughman anointed by the spirit of his nation to communicate its rustic charm and community "in my native tongue." Whereas the first edition's preface was written for the anonymous reader, Burns clearly revels in the intended audience of the second edition's dedication and performs accordingly. What especially matters, though, is the raised level of prestige he affords Scotland and her poetic output comparative to the Kilmarnock preface: all mention of "doggerel Scotch rhymes" is gone.

4.1.1. AUTHORIAL, EDITORIAL, PRINTERIAL?

Who was responsible for transmitting the Scots apostrophe to *Poems, Chiefly in the Scots Dialect*? Roy, if we recall, notes that Burns's "involvement with the Edinburgh edition was substantial" and that he was an active proof-reader and compiler of the glossary (2012: 573). It seems likely then that Burns was heavily, if not more so, involved with the first, Kilmarnock edition. Interestingly, Smith notes that "the role and significance of the apostrophe might be noted; Burns marks apostrophes carefully in his autographs" (2007: 78). Two separate instances of this can be observed in Burns's manuscript versions of *The Cotter's Saturday Night* (1786) and *Holy Willie* (taken from the Glenriddel Manuscripts) (1791), shown here in Figures 4.5 and 4.6 respectively:

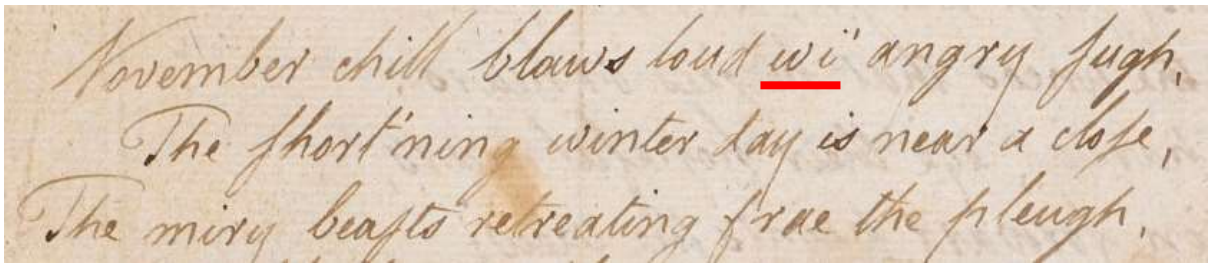


***Figure 4.5*: An extract from 'The Cotter's Saturday Night' in the Glenriddel MS (1796).**

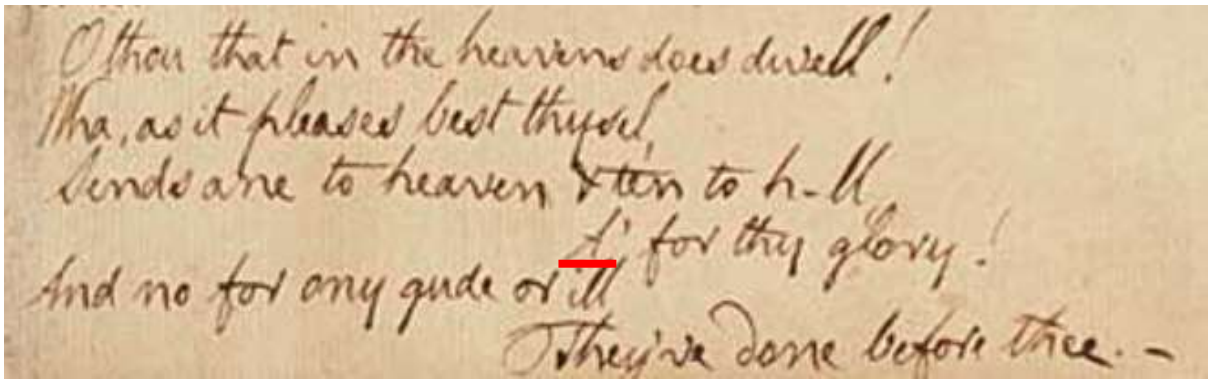


***Figure 4.6*: An extract from 'Holy Willie' in the Glenriddel MS (1791).**

In the first except, Burns uses <wi'> in the first line – "November chill blows loud wi' angry sugh" – and in the second he uses <A'> in the fourth line: "A' for thy glory!" Combined with Roy's observations about Burns's heavy involvement in the production of his miscellanies, and Smith's note on his extensive use of apostrophised varities in his autographs, it seems reasonable to conclude that Burns himself was responsible for transmitting the Scots apostrophe to his work. Considering that we have observed use of apostrophised varities in the works of his friend Sillar and even in Callander's antiquarian projects, we might conclude that, by this part of the century, the Scots apostrophe was regarded as intrinsically Scots as <frae> or <gude>.

4.2. *Poems, Chiefly in the Scottish Dialect* (1786)

Compared with Watson and Ramsay, the data from Burns's use of apostrophised Scots in the first edition of *Poems* (1786) is fascinating. Table 4.2 outlines the frequency of Burns's deployment of apostrophised forms, with their corresponding non-apostrophised and English reflexes, as distributed across the miscellany's thirty-six entries:

Table 4.2: **Frequency of apostrophised forms, and their non-apostrophised and English reflexes, in the Kilmarnock edition of *Poems, Chiefly…* (1786).**

Apost.	Freq.	Dist. /36	Non-Apost.	Freq.	Dist. /36	English	Freq.	Dist. /36
an'	587	24	an	6	6	and	433	36
wi'	197	28	wi	0	0	with	107	22
a'	91	26	aw	0	0	all	47	12
-fu'	56	20	-fou	8	5	-ful	30	9
fu'	15	6	fou	7	3	full	6	4
sma'	9	8	sma	1	1	small	0	0
ca'	7	5	ca	1	1	call	2	1
fa'	4	3	fa	0	0	fall	3	1
ba'	2	1	baw/ba	0	0	ball	0	0

wa’	2	2	waw/wa	0	0	wall	1	1
-in’	1	1	-in	118	24	-ing	405	36
awa’	0	0	awa	14	10	away	8	4
gi’e	0	0	gie	24	12	give	9	4
ha’e	0	0	hae	51	14	have	12	8
ga’e	0	0	gied	5	4	gave	0	0
mou’	0	0	mou/mow	0	0	mouth	1	1
bra’	0	0	braw	11	8	n/a	0	0
unco’	0	0	unco	17	8	uncouth	3	2

Absent in both Watson and Ramsay’s work, Burns introduces the consonant clustered <an’> form, and with great enthusiasm: 587 tokens and occurring in two-thirds of the miscellany’s entries. In fact, after <the> and <a>, it is the most frequently occurring word in the entire miscellany.

Burns, like Ramsay, deploys apostrophised forms to the (almost universal) exclusion of non-apostrophised forms and vice versa. Notably, however, where apostrophised forms outperform non-apostrophised forms in frequency, they also almost always outperform English variants. Especially interesting: only a single English reflex – <-ing> suffix – outperforms in frequency both apostrophised and non-apostrophised forms. Burns’s commitment to the use of Scots forms is made clear by the fact common closed-class English words like <and> and <with> are heavily outnumbered by their apostrophised Scots counterparts; their importance, however, remains visible, despite their comparable minority frequency, by their substantial distribution value: <and> at 36; <with> at 22.

Inversely, however, Burns uses non-apostrophised forms to the (again, almost) complete exclusion of apostrophised reflexes. Completely opposite to Ramsay, he eschews all word-medial apostrophised forms, preferring <gie>, <hae>, and <gied> exclusively. This suggests that Burns’s deployment of the Scots apostrophe is more targeted than Ramsay’s: the intervening decades between the publication of *Poems* in 1721, and the publication of *Poems*,

Chiefly in the Scottish Dialect in 1786 perhaps having finessed its general use. Likewise, Burns has reversed Ramsay's preference for <awa'> and <unco'>, instead exclusively deploying <awa> and <unco>. It is entirely possible that for <awa> Burns decided no apostrophe was needed since it would not be recalling a pre-l-vocalised spelling.

As with Watson and Ramsay, Burns also eschews <-in'> form in favour of a combination of its non-apostrophised Scots and English reflexes (weighted towards the latter). Only occurring once in Burns's work, this suggests that <in'> suffix was a very late development in the Scots apostrophe's eighteenth-century trajectory.

With further similarities to Watson and Ramsay, Burns's use of the Scots apostrophe is unconstrained by pre-vocalic or pre-consonantal use, shown here in Figure 4.7: a sampling of concordance results for <a'>:

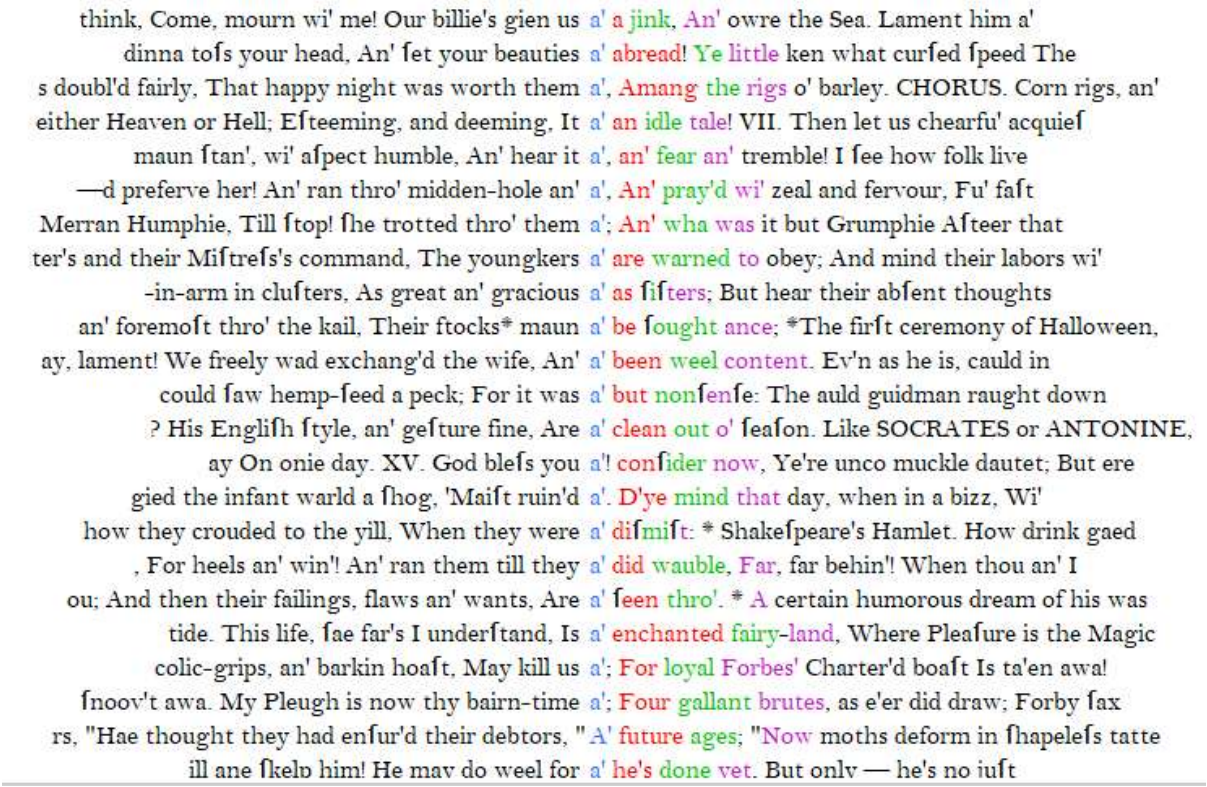


Figure 4.7: **A sample of concordance results for <a'> in *Poems, Chiefly…***

As we can observe, <a'> occurs pre-vocalically in "An hear it a' an' fear"; and pre-consonantally in "An' ran them till they a' did wauble."

We might now compare these results to the overall eighteenth-century data in Table 4.3:

Table 4.3: **Frequency and distribution of apostrophised forms, and their non-apostrophised Scots and English reflexes in the corpus of eighteenth-century verse.**

Apost.	Freq.	Dist. /20	Non-Apost.	Freq.	Dist. /20	English	Freq.	Dist. /20
an'	1124	8	an	69	6	and	18,098	20
wi'	1027	16	wi	34	6	with	4124	17
a'	941	16	aw	75	10	all	1697	15
-in'	157	9	-in	60	8	-ing	7457	20
-fu'	129	13	-fu/-fou	64	9	-ful	578	13
awa'	109	7	awa	92	13	away	374	13
fa'	80	10	fa	0	0	fall	183	13
fu'	66	10	fou	71	9	full	200	12
ca'	48	10	caw/caa	6	6	call	154	10
gi'e	39	4	gie	137	11	give	230	11
ha'e	33	5	hae	401	12	have	1374	13
wa'	24	5	waw	1	1	wall	51	7
sma'	15	9	smaw	0	0	small	78	6
bra'	13	3	braw	88	11	n/a	0	0
ga'e	11	3	gied	19	4	gave	137	9
ba'	10	4	baw	0	0	ball	28	8
mou'	8	4	mou/mow	27	8	mouth	87	11
unco'	6	2	unco	48	7	uncouth	16	5

The pattern of dominance shown by <an'>, <wi'>, and <a'> is cemented in Burns's poems: indeed, Burns's work contributes a substantial number of frequency tokens: 587/1124; 197/1027; and 91/941 respectively.

Burns's exclusion of word-medial forms – such as <ga'e> and <ha'e> - reflects the overall preference indicated in the cumulative eighteenth-century data. For Burns in particular, as a poet, his eschewing could be the result of word-medial Scots apostrophes colliding with already established metrical forms: e.g. <o'er> and <ne'er>.

Compared to the overall data, Burns uses far fewer types of apostrophised lexis (and especially when compared with the likes of Ramsay, who was liberal in his usage): out of the

eighteen top-occurring (according to frequency) forms, Burns deploys eleven. Given, however, that alongside those Scots forms preferred by Burns being densely and widely deployed, he also uses native Scots lexis substantially throughout in general, it may be that Burns was not as concerned as Ramsay that the Scots in his text risked being subsumed. Quite possibly between the publication of *Poems* in 1721 and *Poems, Chiefly in the Scottish Dialect* in 1786, English-language learning in schools had made differences between Scots and English more pronounced, and therefore readily recognisable.

Indeed, Burns's use of Scots was so extensive that objections were raised by contemporary readers. Roy shares with us a letter sent in May 1787 by Dr John Moore for whom the appearance of so much Scots was too much:

> It is evident that you already possess a great variety of expression and command of the English language, you ought, therefore, to deal more sparingly, for the future, in the provincial dialect – why should you, by using *that*, limit the number of your admirers to those who understand the Scottish, when you can extend it to all persons of taste who understand the English language? (Chambers 1896: II: 94-5, cited in Roy 2012: 574).

Putting aside Dr Moore's extraordinary sense of entitlement, we might recall William Grant's criticism of apostrophised Scots in 1931:

> This spurious Scots is very popular with English readers and on the English stage, because it is easily understood (1931).

Dr Moore's objection would appear to contradict Grant's: apostrophised Scots, at least in the work of Burns it seems, apparently did little to improve understanding of Scots for "all those persons of taste who understand the English language." Moore, incidentally, may also have included a minor ethnic dig when questioning the number of those who understand "the Scottish" – it is unclear whether he solely meant the language.

4.2.1. DISPERSION GRAPHS: FILLING IN THE GAPS

Whilst, as we have mentioned, apostrophised varieties are used throughout *Poems, Chiefly in the Scottish Dialect* (1786), there are noticeable gaps. We might now observe Antconc-generated dispersion graphs (Figures 4.8, 4.9, and 4.10) for <an'>, <wi'> and <a'> and their English reflexes, to better visualise their distribution by Burns:

Figure 4.8: Dispersion graphs of <an'> and <and> throughout *Poems, Chiefly…*(1786).

Figure 4.9: Dispersion graphs of <wi'> and <with> throughout *Poems, Chiefly…*(1786).

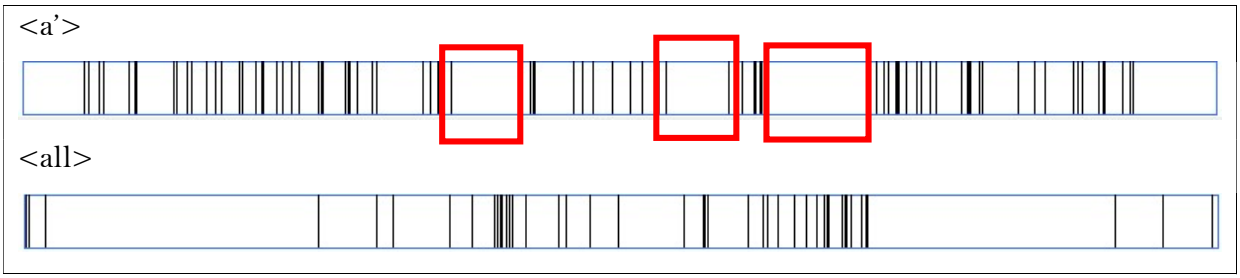


Figure 4.10: Dispersion graphs of <a'> and <all> throughout *Poems, Chiefly…*(1786).

Whilst it is evident that apostrophised usages (and Scots in general), as with Ramsay, are found throughout the text, these graphs show distinct, parallel gaps in their deployment, which have been highlighted by red rectangles (the absence of apostrophised forms at both the beginning and end of the text can be attributed to the initial dedication and preface, and concluding glossary).

The first rectangle represents a portion of *The Vision*, a rumination on the poet's poverty; the second a portion of *The Cotter's Saturday Night*, another musing on the value of rustic simplicity; and the third a portion of *Epistle to Davie, A Brother Poet*, about his friend and fellow poet, David Sillar. Each of the identifiable gaps in apostrophised Scots, it emerges, is the result of Burns's code-switching: specifically, shifting between Scots and English across stanzas. What is significant, however, is *why* Burns code-switches at these moments. The following examples include four stanzas from each entry, two Scots and two English, the code-switch – as represented by the gap on the dispersion graph – occurring approximately between them:

'The Vision'

1. When click! the *firing* the *snick* did draw ;

2. Ya need na doubt, I held my whisht;
The infant aith, half-form'd, was crusht ;

And jee! the door gaed to the wa' ;
And by my ingle-lower I saw,
Now bleezan bright,
A tight, outlandish *Hizzie*, braw,
Come full in sight.

I glowr'd as eerie's I'd been dursht,
In some wild glen ;
When sweet, like *modest Worth*, she blursht,

3. Green, slender, leaf-clad *Holly-boughs*
Were twisted, gracefu', round her brows,
I took her for some SCOTTISH MUSE,
By that same token ;
And come to stop those reckless vows,
Would soon been broken.
And stepped ben.

4. A "hare-brain'd, sentimental trace"
Was strongly marked in her face ;
A wildly-witty, rustic grace
Shone full upon her ;
Her *eye*, ev'n turn'd on empty space,
Beam'd keen with *Honor*.

The instance of <gracefu'> suggests the code-switch does not occur until line two of the third verse but this occurrence seems to be an outlier: it is preceded by English in the first line (it could possibly be a metrical apostrophe but Burns achieves iambic tetrameter regardless of using an l-vocalised variant, and both <-fu'> and <-ful> function comfortably as unstressed syllables). The first two verses in Scots focuses on the author's experiencing the appearance of the Muse of Lowland Scots, and the latter two, in English, physically describe her.

'The Cotter's Saturday Night'

1. But now the Supper crowns their simple board,
The healsome *Porritch*, chief of SCOTIA'S food :
The soupe their *only Hawkie* does afford,
That 'yont the hallan snugly chows her cood:
The *Dame* brings forth, in complimental mood,
To grace the lad, her well-hain'd kebbuck, fell,
And aft he's prest, and aft he ca's it guid ;
The frugal *Wifie*, garrulous, will tell,
How 'twas a townond auld, sin' Lint was I' the bell.

2. The chearfu' Supper done, wi' serious face,
They, round the ingle, form a circle wide ;
The Sire turns o'er, with patriarchal grace,
The big *ha'Bible*, ance his *Father's* pride :
His bonnet rev'rently is laid aside,
His *lyart haffets* wearing thin and bare ;
Those strains that once did sweet in ZION glide,
He wales a portion with judicious care ;
'*And let us worship GOD*!' he says with Solemn air.

3. They chat their artless notes in simple guise!
They tune their *hearts*, by far the noblest aim:
Perhaps *Dundee's* wild warbling measure's rife,

4. The priest-like Father reads the sacred page,
How *Abram* was the Friend of GOD on high;
Or, *Moses* bade eternal warfare wage,

Or plaintive *Martys*, worthy of the name ;
Or noble *Elgin* beets the heaven-ward flame,
The sweetest far of SCOTIA'S holy lays :
Compar'd with these, *Italian trills* are tame ;
The tickl'd ears no heart-felt raptures raise ;
Nae unison hae they, without CREATOR'S praise.

With *Amalek's* ungracious progeny ;
Or how the *royal Bard* did groaning lye,
Beneath the stroke of Heaven's avenging ire;
Or *Job's* pathetic plaint, and wailing cry ;
Or rapt *Isaiah's* wild, seraphic fire ;
Or other *Holy Seers* that tune the *sacred lyre.*

Like the previous entry, the occurrence of code-switching in *The Cotter's Saturday Night* is not neatly delineated by stanza. Instead, stanzas one and two are thick with Scots; stanza three thins to a single <nae> before turning completely to English in stanza four. Stanza one paints a domestic scene of a family with little more than each other; stanza two concludes with the patriarch bringing out the Bible, discussion of which comprises stanzas three and four.

'Epistle to Davie, A Brother Poet'

1. Then let us chearfu' acquiesce ;
Nor make our scanty Pleasures less,
By pining at our state :
And, ev'n should Misfortunes come,
I, here what fit hae met wi' some,
An's thankfu' for them yet.
They gie the wit of *Age* to *Youth* ;
They let us ken oursel ;
They make us see the naked truth,
The *real* guid and ill.
Tho' losses, and crosses,
Be lessons right severe,
There's *wit* there, ye'll get there,
Ye'll find nae other where.

2. But tent me, DAVIE, *Ace o' Hearts !*
(To say aught less wad wrang the *cartes*,
And flatt'ry I detest)
This life has joys for you and I ;
And joys that riches ne'er could buy ;
And joys the very best.
There's a' the *Pleasures o' the Heart*,
The *Lover* and the *Frien'* ;
Ye hae your MEG, your dearest part,
And I my darling JEAN !
It warms me, it charms me,
To mention but her *name* :
It heats me, it beets me,
And sets me a' a flame !

3. O, all ye *Pow'rs* who rule above !
O THOU, whose very self art *love* !
THOU know'st my words sincere !
The life *blood* streaming thro' my heart,
Or my more dear *Immortal part*,
Is not more fondly dear !
When heart-corroding care and grief

4. All hail ! ye tender feelings dear !
The smile of love, the friendly tear,
The sympathetic glow !
Long since, this world's throny ways
Had number'd out my weary days,
Had it not been for you !
Fate still has blest me with a friend,

Deprive my soul of rest,
Her dear idea brings relief,
And solace to my breast.
Thou BEING, Allseeing,
O hear my fervent pray'r !
Still take her, and make her,
THY most peculiar care !

In ev'ry care and ill ;
And oft a more *endearing* band,
A *tye* more tender still.
The tenebrisic scene,
To meet with, and greet with,
My DAVIE or my JEAN !

Stanzas one and two discuss the value of joy amidst, and arising from, hardship, and the luck of both the author and his companion to have found love. Unlike the previous two entries, the code-switch is sudden between stanzas two and three, and the latter two stanzas concern a prayer on behalf of the author's lover, and a secular celebration – evoking the baroque technique of Tenebrism, or dramatic illumination – of the author's joy to have found companionship both romantic and platonic.

All of the above poems are situated contemporaneously, which means Burns could not deploy apostrophised forms according to the Watson-Ramsay historical/contemporary register divide. Instead, the acts of code-switching in all three examples can be mapped onto a register shift that delineates between the domestic and earthly, as expressed by Scots, and the religious and ethereal, as expressed by English. In the *Vision*, the poet describes in Scots environmental changes - "the door gaed to the wa'," "bleezan bright," a "tight, outlandish *Hizzie*" – which precede the appearance of the Scottish Muse, described in English as resembling "Green, slender, leaf-clad *Holly-boughs*," with "wildly-witty, rustic grace," and who "Beam'd keen with *Honor*." *The Cotter's Saturday Night* is divided into a homely family scene described in Scots – "The soupe their *only Hawkie* does afford, That 'yont the hallan snugly chows her cood…The chearfu' Supper done, wi' serious face…The Sire turns o'er, with patriarchal grace, The big *ha'Bible*, ance his *Father's* pride" – which turns to English when the father brings out the Bible: "He wales a portion with judicious care ; '*And let us worship GOD*!' he says with Solemn air. They tune their *hearts*, by far the noblest aim. The priest-like Father reads the sacred page, How *Abram* was the Friend of GOD on high." Finally, in *Epistle to Davie, A Brother Poet*, similar to *The Cotter's Saturday Night*, earthly concerns are written in Scots – "Then let us chearfu' acquiesce ; Nor make our scanty Pleasures less, By pining at our state" – before the poet's eye turns skywards and he switches to Augustan English: "O THOU, whose very self art *love* ! THOU know'st my words sincere!"

Notably, the Scots apostrophe does not facilitate this particular register divide in any way: it is deployed accordingly with the rest of Scots lexis. Burns is performing Scottishness via

Scots. In a way, he fulfils the likes of D'Urfey's bucolic conception of Scotland, although with actual Scots his vision is far more convincing. One might argue, however, recalling this chapter's introductory discussion, that Burns's reasoning for reducing Scots to the earthly, the domestic, and the pastoral is not that he seems to believe such functions were intrinsic, or that Scots was only capable of being expressed in such domains, but that it was on-brand for Burns: the Heaven-Taught Ploughman could hardly be seen to use Scots in any other way.

Lastly, we might note in these examples the pattern reflected in the corpus results: Burns entirely restricts his use of apostrophised forms to word-final placements. In 'Epistle to Davie, A Brother Poet,' for example, we may note <chearfu'> and <wi'>, and <*Frien'*>, in stanzas one and two respectively. Word-medial occurrences, meanwhile, are exclusively metrical or memorial in function e.g. in stanza two we find <ne'er> (metrical) and <flatt'ry> (memorial).

4.2.2. The 'Edinburgh' Edition (1787)

Now we might turn to extent and frequency of apostrophised forms and their non-apostrophised and English reflexes in the second, or 'Edinburgh', edition of *Poems* (1787) in Table 4.4. Burns's second, Edinburgh edition was notably expanded in size: from thirty-six to sixty-three poems. This is an important point to be mindful of when analysing the forthcoming corpus data (increases to frequency and distribution between editions have been marked):

Table 4.4: **Frequency of apostrophised forms, and their non-apostrophised and English reflexes, in the Edinburgh edition of *Poems, Chiefly…* (1787).**

Apost.	Freq.	Dist. /63	Non-Apost.	Freq.	Dist. /63	English	Freq.	Dist. /63
an'	613 (+26)	33 (+11)	an	11 (+5)	8 (+2)	and	681 (+248)	62 (+26)
wi'	228 (+31)	36 (+8)	wi	0	0	with	176 (+69)	22 (+8)
a'	106 (+15)	36 (+10)	aw	0	0	all	123 (+76)	25 (+13)
-fu'	86 (+30)	26 (+6)	-fou	1	1	-ful	103 (+73)	12 (+3)
fu'	15	9 (+3)	fou	7	4 (+1)	full	9 (+3)	6 (+2)
sma'	10 (+1)	11 (+3)	sma	0	0	small	0	0
ca'	9 (+2)	6 (+1)	ca	0	0	call	5 (+3)	2 (+1)

fa’	7 (+3)	2	fa	0	0	fall	7 (+4)	5 (+4)
ba’	4 (+2)	1	baw/ba	0	0	ball	2 (+2)	1 (+1)
wa’	4 (+2)	1	waw/wa	0	0	wall	5 (+4)	3 (+2)
-in’	2 (+1)	-	-in	219 (+101)	32 (+8)	-ing	862 (+457)	63 (+27)
awa’	3 (+3)	1	awa	15 (+1)	11 (+1)	away	11 (+3)	5 (+1)
gi’e	0	0	gie	36 (+12)	16 (+4)	give	21 (+9)	6 (+4)
ha’e	0	0	hae	65 (+14)	20 (+6)	have	26 (+14)	13 (+5)
ga’e	0	0	gied	6 (+1)	4	gave	3 (+3)	1 (+1)
mou’	0	0	mow	1 (+1)	1 (+1)	mouth	1	1
bra’	0	0	braw	14 (+3)	11 (+3)	n/a	0	0
unco’	0	0	unco	25 (+8)	12 (+4)	uncouth	6 (+3)	3 (+1)

With the second edition increasing by twenty-seven entries, from thirty-six to sixty-three, almost every single form – apostrophised, non-apostrophised, and English – present in the first Kilmarnock edition has increased in both frequency and distribution throughout the miscellany. Notably, Burns has not deployed any new types: he has only expanded on those firms present in the first edition.

The largest increases are in English forms: for example, <-ing> suffix increases by 457 tokens to 862; <and> increases by nearly a third to 681 tokens; and <with> by 69 tokens to 176. All three see distribution value increases by 27, 26, and 8 to 63, 62, and 22 respectively.

Apostrophised forms see modest increases to both frequency and distribution: <an’> increases by 26 tokens to 613 with a distribution increase by a third to 33 poems; <wi’> increases by 31 tokens to 228, its distribution rising from 28 to 36; and <-fu’> suffixes increases by 30 tokens to a frequency value of 86, and increases its distribution by 6 to 26.

At first sight, it may be tempting to argue that these increases – particularly in the apostrophised Scots and English categories – are indicative of the second edition being bound for sale in London and consumed by a native English-speaking audience, and the belief that

the Scots apostrophe was functionally deployed for English-speaking accessibility might begin to have some purchase. If this were the case, however, it seems unlikely that Burns would nearly double in frequency non-apostrophised <-in> suffix from 118 to 219 tokens, and increase its distribution throughout the edition by a quarter to 32. Indeed, why increase any of the non-apostrophised forms if native English user-friendliness was the priority and the Scots apostrophe was being used accordingly?

Despite knowingly being destined for sale in both Scotland and England, and despite being over one hundred pages larger than its first edition with nearly double the poems, Burns did not rapidly expand use of apostrophised Scots even as he substantially increased a number English forms (likely for the benefit of the incoming English readership). This suggests increases in the frequency and distribution of apostrophised forms were simply concurrent with the edition's expansion. The following section, focussing on the glossaries appending both the 1786 and 1787 editions, definitively disproves the notion that Scots apostrophes facilitated accessibility for an English readership.

4.3. GLOSSARY

Recalling once again Roy's observation that Burns's "involvement with the Edinburgh edition was substantial" both as a proof-reader and compiler of the glossary (2012: 573), it is therefore interesing that – unqiue amongst the other three figures considered at length in this thesis: Watson, Ramsay, and Scott – Burns makes explicit reference to Watson's innovated apostrophe in the 1786 Kilmarnock edition: (Figure 4.11):

GLOSSARY.

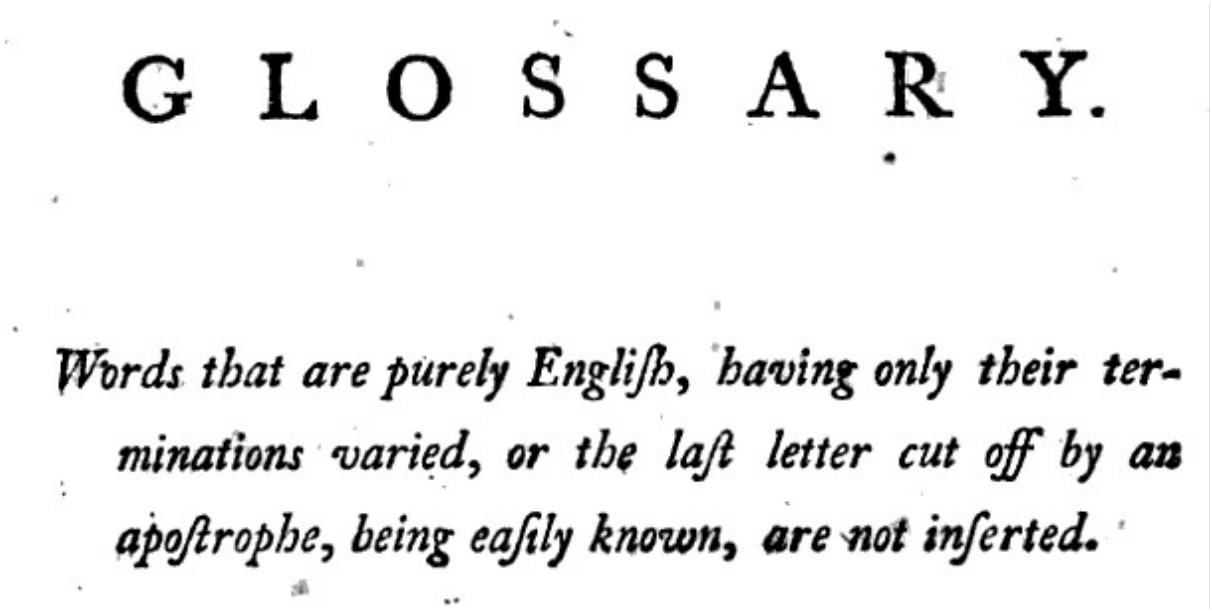
Words that are univerſally known, and thoſe that differ from the Engliſh only by the eliſion of letters by apoſtrophes, or by varying the termination of the verb, are not inſerted. The terminations may be thus known; the participle preſent, inſtead of *ing*, ends, in the Scotch Dialect, in *an* or *in*; in *an*, particularly, when the verb is compoſed of the participle preſent, and any of the tenſes of the auxiliary, *to be*. The paſt time and participle paſt are uſually made by ſhortening the *ed* into *'t*.

Figure 4.11: **The heading of the 1786 edition's glossary (1786: 236).**

It may be tempting to understand this statement by Burns – that words which differ from English "only by the elision of letters by apostrophes" – as confirmation of Grant's belief that its function was merely to "clip the consonants" of native English words and convince English readers of an authentic Scots experience. Careful study, however, suggests otherwise.

The Kilmarnock edition, printed at a number of 612 copies, was not intended to reach much farther than Burns's locale. With this in mind, alongside apostrophised forms, Burns includes in his list of unneccsary constituents: "Words that are universally known" such as *wee* or *gude*; and common Scots verb endings such as <-in>, <-an>, and <it>. Burns, therefore, was not dismissing apostrophised forms because he thought they were appeasing forms of English but because they, like common verb endings, were obvious to the likely audience of the Kilmarnock edition – local Scots speakers – and therefore needed no glossing (qualifying Roy's earlier claim that Scots did not recognise their language on the page).

We can see a similar approach to glossing, possibly involving Burns's hand, in Sillar's *Poems* (1789), shown here in Figure 4.12:



GLOSSARY.

Words that are purely Engliſh, having only their terminations varied, or the laſt letter cut off by an apoſtrophe, being eaſily known, are not inſerted.

Figure 4.12: **Heading of the glossary in Sillar's *Poems* (1789: 238).**

As with Burns, Sillar had his miscellany printed in Kilmarnock (although he ordered one thousand copies) and stipulates the following, similar exclusions from his glossary: 1) Words that are "purely English" i.e. not examples of shared lexis, 2) words that only differ in their verb-ending, or 3) apostrophised words and therefore "being easily known." Based on the eighteenth-century corpus data, we know that apostrophised forms tend to focus on short and/or closed-class – and therefore well-known – words such as <wi'> and <an'> and <fu'>,

and commonly understood suffixes such as <-fu'>. As with Burns's intended local audience, it seems to have been presumed that Scots would not require glosses for these highlighted constituents: they were instrincally understood elements of the language.

When we delve into both mens' glossaries, however, the situation becomes more interesting and complex: both Burns and Sillar include apostrophised forms. In the Kilmarnock edition glossary, Burns includes three instances of l-vocalised apostrophised forms (Figure 4.13):

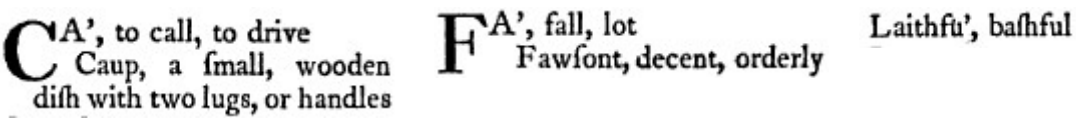

CA', to call, to drive
Caup, a ſmall, wooden diſh with two lugs, or handles
FA', fall, lot
Fawſont, decent, orderly
Laithfu', baſhful

***Figure 4.13*: L-vocalised items from the glossary of *Poems, Chiefly…* (1786: 237-238).**

Stating that words which differ from the English "only by the elision of letters with apostrophes" and proceeding to include l-vocalised apostrophised forms suggests that, potentially, Burns did not understand the Scots apostrophe as having a single value: i.e. marking lexical changes from Middle Scots or indicating the historicity of particular Scots words. By the time Burns receives the Scots apostrophe, half a century after Watson first innovated it, he seems to understand it as an inherent element of certain Scots words. This would explain why he includes it in his casual omissions of any Scots element too close – insufficiently exotic – to their English cognate: be that verb endings, commonly understood Scots lexis, or apostrophised varieties.

Sillar, meanwhile, includes a number of apostrophised Scots terms he feels require translating into English (Figure 4.14):

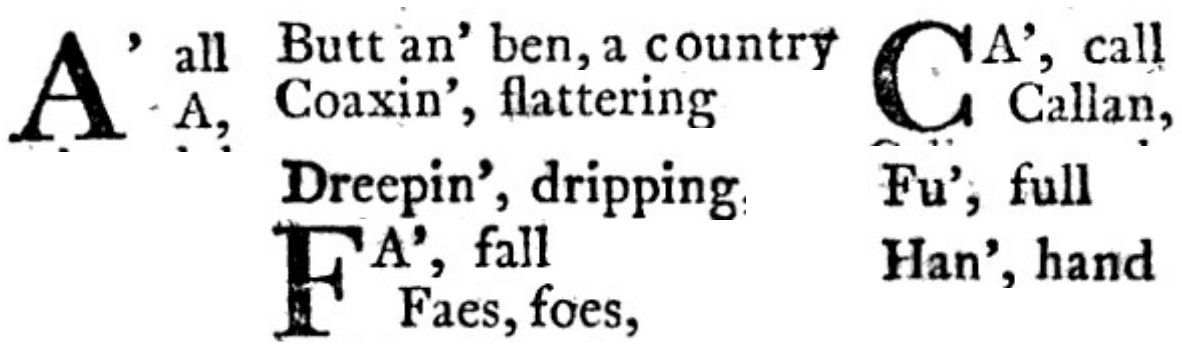

A' all
A,
Butt an' ben, a country
Coaxin', flattering
Dreepin', dripping
FA', fall
Faes, foes,
CA', call
Callan,
Fu', full
Han', hand

***Figure 4.14*: Select items from the glossary of Sillar's *Poems* (1789: 237-243).**

Unlike Burns, Sillar includes common apostrophised forms such as <a'> and familiar close-class apostrophised words such as <an'> included in glosses expressions such as "Butt an'

ben." Sillar's glossary – again, likely compiled with Burns's aid – was published three years after the second edition of Burns's miscellany and this potentially played a role in its content.

The 1787 glossary of the second, Edinburgh edition of *Poems, Chiefly in the Scottish Dialect*, however, was intended for a British readership and Burns made radical changes accordingly. He replaces the introduction to the glossary in its entirety – along with references to omission of Scots verb endings, universally understood words, and, of course, apostrophised forms. In its stead, Burns briefly outlines some important phonological differences between Scots and English in Figure 4.15:

GLOSSARY.

THE *ch* and *gh* have always the guttural ſound. The ſound of the Engliſh diphthong *oo*, is commonly ſpelled *ou*. The French *u*, a ſound which often occurs in the Scotch language, is marked *oo*, or *ui*. The *a* in genuine Scotch words, except when forming a diphthong, or followed by an *e* mute after a ſingle conſonant, ſounds generally like the broad Engliſh *a* in *wall*. The Scotch diphthongs, *ae*, always, and *ea* very often, ſound like the French *é* maſculine. The Scotch diphthong *ey*, ſounds like the Latin *ei*.

Figure 4.15: **Opening page of the Edinburgh edition of *Poems, Chiefly…* (1787: 349).**

What follows is a glossary that details every apostrophised Scots word Burns uses with a corresponding English gloss. Figure 4.16 illustrates only a sample of the terms included:

A', all
Aback,

An', and, if
Artfu', artful

CA', to call,
drive

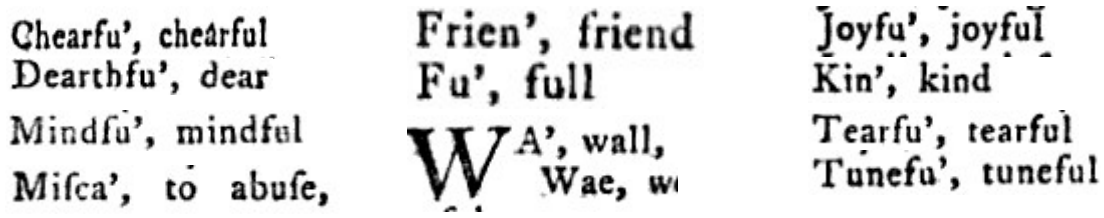

Chearfu', chearful
Dearthfu', dear
Mindfu', mindful
Miſca', to abuſe,
Frien', friend
Fu', full
A', wall,
Wae, w
Joyfu', joyful
Kin', kind
Tearfu', tearful
Tunefu', tuneful

***Figure 4.16*: A sample of terms from the Edinburgh edition's glossary of *Poems, Chiefly*…(1787: 348-370).**

This data represents the clearest evidence yet that apostrophised Scots was not innovated or subsequently intended in the eighteenth century for the benefit of an English readership: knowing that his second edition would be sold in London, Burns revised his glossary extensively in order to translate apostrophised lexis, alongside non-apostrophised Scots, into English and only thereby make it accessible. By the end of the eighteenth century, apostrophised forms were identifiably Scots and a normalised constituent of the written Scots language.

4.4. CONCLUSION

To recap, the modern beliefs about apostrophised Scots outlined in this thesis's introduction are:

1. The function of apostrophised spelling forms in Scots is to indicate elision.
2. The use of apostrophised forms undermines perceptions of Scots as a language independent from English and is solely for the benefit of accessibility for an English readership.
3. Scots is intrinsically linked with Scottishness: as an agent of anglicisation, the use of apostrophised forms therefore contributes to the erosion of Scottish cultural identity.

With regards to Belief 1, Burns evidently understood the orthographical proximity between certain apostrophised terms and their English reflexes: it does not follow, however, that he considered such forms derivative. As we have observed, apostrophised Scots required extensive glossing when anticipating transmission to an English-speaking and reading audience in the London-bound second edition. If apostrophised Scots had been intended by Burns as an accessible pseudo-Scots for the benefit of an English readership, it seems unlikely he would have included it in his glossary alongside terms such as <AGLEY>, <AYONT>, <BROGUE>, <FAND>, or <HUGHOC>.

The corpus results for Burns's *Poems, Chiefly in the Scottish Dialect* were fascinating, insofar as they reversed a trend of wide-ranging apostrophisation by Ramsay in favour of a clear

delineation: apostrophised forms for word-final environments; non-apostrophised forms for word-medial environments. It may be that Burns considered non-apostrophised reflexes such as <hae> sufficiently salient as Scots already, or – as a poet – the word-medial use of the Scots apostrophe may have too frequently overlapped with established metrical apostrophes such as <o'er>.

For Burns, delineating between Scots and English was crucial to the construction of his identity: the Heaven-Taught Ploughman, raised in a western Scottish shire; a bucolic prodigy. When he code-switched, it was between Augustan English and apostrophised Scots: the latter to express the rural, the domestic, and the pastoral which characterised his legend. Delineating Scots, and Scottishness, was therefore vital to the manufacture and maintenance of Burns's literary persona: the rustic Scots bard who spoke and wrote the language of those beyond the city, of which the Scots apostrophe was a locally-recognised, normalised constituent. Contrary to Beliefs 2 and 3, the perceivability of Scots, and the highlighting of its link to Scottishness, were integral to Burns.

Chapter Five: Scott and the Emending of History

This chapter, focussing on Walter Scott's transmission of the Scots apostrophe, involves a departure from previous chapters insofar as its philological contextualisation (Stage One of analysis methodology) is substantially broader in its conception and extent. I considered this adjustment necessary due to the definitive and explicit role of literary and historical recuperation in the works of Scott, and the complex space between antiquarians and oral transmitters in which his literary activity was situated. In order to therefore meaningfully understand the nature of Scott's transmission of the Scots apostrophe, and its function within his seminal miscellany, *Minstrelsy of the Scottish Border* (1802), it was fundamental that this enlarged philological contextualisation, alongside relevant biographical analysis Scott, address the following two points:

1. The formative influence of the antiquarian community and its practices in the latter eighteenth century.

The first Society of Antiquaries in Scotland was founded in 1780 by David Steuart Erskine, the 11th Earl of Buchan (1742-1829), and symbolised the increasingly interventionist nature of literary recuperation of the past by antiquarians – and their preoccupation with documentary evidence – in the latter half of the eighteenth-century. Scott's own editorial practices and methods of recuperation, as we will see in section 5.1.2., were particularly influenced to varying extents by prominent antiquarians: Thomas Percy (1729-1811), Joseph Ritson (1752-1803), John Pinkerton (1758-1826), and David Herd (1732-1810). The initial phase of this chapter, therefore, will feature a comparative analysis of a sample of their works in order to contextualise latter eighteenth-century antiquarian editorial practices, and the contemporary role of the Scots apostrophe therein. Particular attention will be paid to how they deployed or disrupted the Watson-Ramsay contemporary/historical register for apostrophised forms.

2. The sociocultural tension between oral and textual transmission.

If we recall the issue raised with textual criticism in the twentieth century by Suzanna Fleischman from Chapter One, she neatly captured the far-reaching influence of eighteenth-century antiquarianism:

> The philologist's task should be comparison, not archaeology, since the latter reduces to singularity what acquires meaning precisely through plurality, through variation (1990: 25).

As we will observe in the editorial practices of the above-mentioned antiquarians – Scott included – there existed a pervasive tension between oral and textual transmission that lasted well beyond the eighteenth century. From Percy to Scott, antiquarians typically derided oral transmitters as irresponsible stewards of the nation's literally wealth, and sought to divorce textuality from orality, and 'fix' on paper the most ideal incarnation of poetry. The philological analysis of this section will address this tension by examining the testimony of antiquarians and oral transmitters alike, and closely analyse an example of Scott's own transmission from orality to textuality: Anna Gordon's (1747-1810) – aka Mrs Brown of Falkland's – version of 'Thomas the Rhymer', as dictated to Alexander Tytler (1747-1813). Scott made explicit that his editorial practice was highly interventionist: making structural modifications to 'recover' lost rhyme, and stylistically blending various versions of a poem in order to achieve the "best and most poetical reading." He did, however, make clear his opposition to widespread archaicising of lexis and orthography, which he regarded as an obstacle to the reader's pleasure – an interesting departure, we will observe, from other antiquarians.

Following this extended philological contextualisation – which should provide the necessary holistic framework for understanding the manner of Scott's transmission of the Scots apostrophe – will be a corpus analysis of Scott's ballad collection, *Minstrelsy of the Scottish Border* (1803), the second edition.[18] This is advantageous insofar as the second edition delineates its ballads amongst three volumes which are characterised by genre: volume one is 'Historical'; volume two is 'Romantic'; and volume three, which contains both historical and romantic-tagged ballads, also contains a quantity of 'Modern Imitations' by Scott and various other contemporaries. By comparatively analysing the deployment of apostrophised forms amongst these self-selected groupings, we might understand how Scott approached the Watson-Ramsay historical/contemporary register constraint when using the Scots apostrophe. I will conclude by discussing Scott's textual interactions with the historical transmissions of Ramsay, who frequently drew upon the Bannatyne MS.

5.1. 'Cultural Particularism': Tension Between Antiquarianism and

[18] Unfortunately, no .txt formatted file of the first edition's volume one was available. Efforts to acquire one were disrupted by the current Covid-19 pandemic.

Kidd has previously written of the success with which the notion of 'North Britishness' disarmed Scottish history and prevented its weaponization against the British state in the manner we observed in the printing and literary enterprises of Watson. "North Britishness," wrote Kidd:

> …was an aspiration towards full participation in English liberties; a set of intellectual approaches to the history of English liberty; and a celebration of the growing contribution made by Post-Union Scots to the domestic security and imperial expansion of the new British state.
>
> Scottish patriotism survived in this way as a cultural particularism…the Scottish past as a repository of political and institutional value remained empty (1993: 214-215).

By the time Scott published his first edition of *Minstrelsy of the Scottish Border* in 1802, nearly a century had passed since the Act of Union in 1707 and the publication of Watson's *Choice Collection* (1706). In those intervening years we have observed, in the works of figures such as Ramsay and Burns, a literature which increasingly situated a culturally distinguished Scottishness within wider Britishness, and for the facilitation of which the Scots language was a crucial conceptual tool. Growing participation in the British state and its composite languages, however, made Scottish history, of which its older literature was a fundamental component, a remote, pre-British phenomenon: to be observed, summoned, and celebrated but, crucially, not mobilised (Kidd 1993).

With the passage of time, however, came new constraints. Watson's compositing method for his miscellany – gathering available contemporary and historical verse, and letting them sit alongside one another, temporally incongruent, as a collective expression of Scots ethnic identity – was no longer functionally appropriate. Although *Choice Collection* may have been the founding document of the 'Vernacular Revival', Scots literary history, having been made distant by union with England, now required the return of those scholarly apparatus – eschewed by Watson (possibly) for their damning papal associations – to distinguish the pedigree of texts.

Whilst Watson, Ramsay, and Burns could all be described as having engaged actively in editorialisation of the past – from the former pairs' lexical and orthographic Scotticisations to the latter's register coding that pre-industrialised the image of Scotland – it was this contemporary method of empirical recuperation that differentiated the antiquarian approach

of Scott. Kidd argues that this development occurred within the "framework of Anglo-British progress" – that is, preventing the Kingdom's junior constituents from political appropriations of their individual histories – and the subsequent "trend towards understanding the past on its own terms" (1993: 251). Kidd writes:

> A new sensitivity was apparent, fostered by antiquarian collectors such as John Pinkerton (1758-1826), in favour of the directness of unmediated historical sources such as ballads, coins, medals, songs and artefacts of all kinds. An important aspect of this movement was the lexicographical drive to capture the vividness and variety of the historic Scots tongue (1993: 251).

As will become evident in section 5.1.1, however, Kidd's observation that antiquarians such as Pinkerton favoured the "directness of unmediated historical sources" requires some qualification since it implies that the recuperations of late eighteenth-century antiquarians adhered to some kind of present-day conception of 'objectivity'. Whilst this incarnation of antiquarianism in Scotland (and across Britain) actively eschewed the identity of personal authorship – so crucial to Burns's practice – it instead cast historical recuperators in the role of self-styled editor: a figure 'reluctantly' compelled to polish and purify their source materials – often incestuously-handled manuscripts assumed to be originating in the oral tradition – in order to extract and expel adulterations accumulated during the passage of time. As we discussed at length in Chapter One's history of philological evolution (see section 1.3.1. onwards), the essential mobility of texts – *mouvance* – meant it was unlikely that any historical resource could be safely described as "unmediated." Antiquarians like Pinkerton, regardless of the nature in which they received historical artefacts like the ballads etc actively engaged in their 'mediation,' modifying them according to their own idealised conceptions of Scottish and Scots literary history. Pinkerton, for example (again, see section 5.1.1.), sought to eradicate the contemporary vernacular of "the historic Scots tongue" through the process of recuperation – its "vividness and variety" did not persuade him. McNeil summarises the point elegantly when he writes:

> As the wellspring of the nation's cultural identity, the oral world was found in fragments, fossilised under layers of literary sediment, or in living transmutations that were pale shadows of the original. The tension between the dead (but pristine) past and the living (but corrupted) present gave rise to the antiquarian editor-function (2012: 26).

Whereas the vernacular was celebrated in Watson's *Choice Collection* and important to its reception, the difference between written literary Scots and spoken vernacular Scots, especially amongst the nation's literate, had become more pronounced as the century wore on (see section 5.1.1.) for reference to the industry that sprung up to exorcise spoken Scotticisms from writing. Vernacular speech, as we will see in the following section, came to be regarded by antiquarians as an insufficient and wasting mode of documenting the nation's literary heritage; they prioritised the physical document – properly emended, of course – in evidencing their version of the past. With Scots and Scottishness now primarily existing in what Kidd defined a "cultural particularism" – "Scots continued to trumpet the virtues associated with their national character…because emphasis on national character remained the only plausible mode of chauvinistic boasting" (1993: 215) – this led to pronounced tension in the reception of certain literary artefacts drawn from oral transmission; between those that understood them as expressions of the nation's ethnic character, and antiquarians who doubted their historical pedigree.

Perhaps the most famous example of this tension was James Macpherson – a formative example of the antiquarian-as-editor – and his *Fragments of Ancient Poetry*. Published in 1760, it was a critical event in the arena of national, linguistic, and antiquarian interest. In the preface, Macpherson promised:

> THE public may depend on the following fragments as genuine remains of ancient Scottish poetry. The date of their composition cannot be exactly ascertained. Tradition, in the country where they were written, refers to an æra of the most remote antiquity : and this tradition is supported by the spirit and strain of the poems themselves ; which abound with those ideas, and paint those manners, that belong to the most early state of society (1760: iii).

Claiming to have salvaged from Gaelic oral tradition and translated into English the 'ancient' tales of Ossian, styled as a Caledonian Homer, *Fragments* became a flashpoint in the wider debate over a Scottish heritage that was meaningfully distinct from England. Susan Manning, in her paper 'Ossian, Scott, and Nineteenth-Century Scottish Literary Nationalism' (1982), noted that "the Ossian controversy remained a live issue in Scotland long after the epic's claimed antiquity had been discredited" (1982: 44). The Ossian cycle played an important role in what Curley has described as "national cultural wars over historical origins and political precedence for an ethnically mixed people" (2009: 1). "The contest over the authenticity of Macpherson's pseudo-Gaelic productions" he wrote, "became a seismograph of the fragile

unity within restive diversity of imperial Great Britain in the age of Johnson" (2009: 1). Manning refers us to the correspondence of the poet, Anne Laggan (1755-1838), more commonly known as Mrs Grant of Laggan, who wrote on the subject of Ossian to her daughter, Mary, in 1805:

> I forgive the Reviewers, like a Christian, for what they say of myself but I feel as revengeful as a Malay for what they say of the Highlanders; for their silly and absurd attempt to prove the fair-headed Fingal and his tuneful son nonentities, includes an accusation of deceit and folly against the whole people. Arrogant scribes that they are, to talk so decidedly of the question, of all others, perhaps, which they are least qualified to determine! They are doubtless clever, but intoxicated with applause and self-opinion. Why should they wish to diminish the honour their country derives from the most exalted heroism, adorned by the most affecting poetry that ever existed? (1805, cited in Grant 1844: 63-64).[19]

"Arrogant scribes" – evocative, perhaps, of 'scribes and Pharisees' – fail to understand the importance of the 'recovered' poems of Ossian because they lacked emotional investment. For those that considered Ossian an artefact of national heritage that helped distinguish Scotland from England (and, indeed, the Highlands from the Lowlands), the Ossian cycle was too important to be compromised by critical interrogation. It is notable that Laggan even frames the manner of her feelings in comparative ethnic terms: the abuse of the Highlanders inspires her to "feel as revengeful as a Malay."

These objections, situated in the dynamic between ethnicity and literature, were similarly advanced by Thomas Meek who, in *A Small Tribute to the Memory of Ossian; Containing an Original Method for Vindicating the Authenticity of the Poems* (1809), quotes the Rev. Andrew Gallie's dismissing of Malcolm Laing's Ossian criticisms:

> As I have not seen Mr Laing's history, I can form no opinion as to the arguments wherewith he has attempted to discredit Ossian's poems : the attempt could not come more naturally than from Orcadians. Perhaps the severe checks given by the ancient Caledonians to their predatory Scandinavian predecessors raised prejudices not yet

[19] As an interesting aside, Laggan playfully wrote in the letter a verse in Scots commemorating a visit from a friend, Mrs Steuart of Touch: "Though I should wear out a' my shoon, | Just gaun to see her, | Wi' every other pair that's done, | Mair ta'en I'm wi' her" (1844: 65). Note the apostrophised forms of <a'> and <wi'> (<ta'en> here is an example of metrical elision): use of apostrophised forms had become so normalised in literary Scots as to be deployed accordingly in private correspondence.

> extinct. I conceive how an author can write under the influence of prejudice, and not sensible of being acted upon by it (1809: 16).

Gallie asserted that the only reason the authenticity of the works of Ossian were in question was because of the ethnic instincts of those whom had historically been bested by the "ancient Caledonians." Laing's suspicion of Macpherson's work was not born from his sense of historical enquiry but his restless Orcadian heritage.

Chief amongst MacPherson's detractors was Samuel Johnson, described by Meek as "the head of the junta who reprobate the idea of Ossian's poems being authentic publications" (1809: 4), who attacked the likes of Laggan's reception of *Fragments*. In *A journey to the Western Islands of Scotland'* (1775), an account of his travels with Scottish writer, James Boswell, he wrote:

> The Scots have something to plead for their early reception of an improbable fiction : they are seduced by their fondness for their supposed ancestors. A Scotchman must be a very sturdy moralist, who does not love *Scotland* better than truth; he will always love it better than inquiry: and if falsehood flatters his vanity, will not be very diligent to detect it. Neither ought the *English* to be much influenced by *Scotch* authority; for of the past and present state of the whole *Earse* nation, the Lowlanders are at least as ignorant as ourselves (1775: 276).

Johnson is indiscreet in his own ethnic prejudice: Scots were uniquely predisposed to obvious artificialities as a consequence of their compulsion to build a national heritage distinct from English influence. Certainly, when placed alongside Laggan's testament, Johnson's remarks reflect the role of sociocultural bias and priority in modifying reception. Both Laggan's and Johnson's measure of willingness to accept the authenticity of Macpherson's work was, at least in part, informed by the relative extent to which they considered such work an artefact of the community with which they identified. For Johnson, however, the issue was also *evidence*. Orality was an insufficient witness for history. He wrote:

> I suppose my opinion of the poems of Ossian is already discovered. I believe they never existed in any other form than that which we have seen. The editor, or author, never could shew the original; nor can it be shewn by any other; to revenge reasonable incredulity, by refusing evidence, is a degree of insolence, with which the world is not yet acquainted; and stubborn audacity is the last refuge of guilt. It would be easy to shew it if he had it; but whence could it be had? It is too long to be remembered, and the language formerly had nothing written. He has doubtless inserted names that

> circulate in popular stories, and may have translated some wandering ballads, if any can be found; and the names, and some of the images being recollected, make an inaccurate auditor imagine, by the help of Caledonian bigotry, that he has formerly heard the whole. I asked a very learned Minister in Sky, who had used all arts to make me believe the genuineness of the book, whether at last he believed it himself? but he would not answer. He wished me to be deceived, for the honour of his country; but would not directly and formally deceive me. Yet has this man's testimony been publickly produced, as of one that held Fingal to be the work of Ossian (1775: 273-275).

Incidentally similar to Laggan, but from a much less charitable perspective, Johnson observed that this aspect of 'history' could only thrive with the support of belief ("by the help of Caledonian bigotry"). Without an original manuscript, Johnson concludes that Macpherson was compelled to rely on names circulating in orally-transmitted tales and "wandering ballads," and which would certainly not have been able to provide MacPherson with the "whole" narrative. Concurrently, Johnson deploys the term 'author' as a condemnation – "The editor – or author – could never shew the original" – which encapsulates the obsessive desire amongst contemporary and later antiquarians to convince their readership of their sole capacity in a text's construction as editorial.

5.1.1. ORALITY, VERNACULAR & THE APOSTROPHE

Only a few years after Scott's death, his son-in-law and biographer, J.G. Lockhart, in his *Memoirs of the Life of Sir Walter Scott*, wrote:

> The poet's aunt spoke her native language pure and undiluted, but without the slightest tincture of that vulgarity which now seems almost unavoidable in the oral use of a dialect so long banished from courts, and which has not been avoided by any modern writer who has ventured to introduce it, with the exception of Scott and I may add, speaking generally, of Burns (1837: 43).

This, of course, is a retroactive portrayal of Scott – and part of a nineteenth-century trend to suffuse his legend with a Burnsian pedigree[20] – but it does contain two particularly interesting

[20] See, for example, the Charles Martin Hardie's (1858-1916) oil-on-canvas 'The Meeting of Robert Burns and Sir Walter Scott at Sciennes Hill House', painted in 1893: https://artuk.org/discover/artworks/the-meeting-of-robert-burns-and-sir-walter-scott-at-sciennes-hill-house-208636.

elements which, as we will see, characterised Scott's antiquarian miscellany (and, indeed, his later novels):

1) A perceived register divide: historical 'pure' Scots vs contemporary 'vulgar' Scots.

2) (An extension of the first point) Oral transmission perceived as a degenerative linguistic process.

These attitudes, briefly intimated in this chapter's introduction, were highly pronounced in latter eighteenth-century antiquarianism's recuperation and redeployment of Scots history (notably, as we will observe, both for their adherence *and* rejection) and are exemplified in Thomas Percy's (1729-1811) formative *Reliques of Ancient English Poetry*. First published in 1765, and described by Atkinson as the "foundation document of the European ballad revival" (2018: 31), in the preface to *Reliques*, Percy – echoing Macpherson – writes in the preface:

> …the Editor has endeavoured to be as faithful, as the imperfect state of his materials would admit ; for these old popular rhimes have, as might be expected, been handed down to us with less care, than any other writings in the world (1765: xii).

By the posthumously published sixth edition in 1823, Percy had made himself even clearer:

> …the Editor has endeavoured to be as faithful, as the imperfect state of his materials would admit. For, these old popular rhymes being many of them copied from illiterate transcripts, or the imperfect recitation of itinerant ballad-singers, have, as might been expected, been handed down to us with less care than any other writings in the world (1823: 12).

Like Macpherson did prior to him in *Fragments*, Percy assures his reader that the poetry presented to them is a "faithful" recuperation of earlier incarnations. They have been necessarily modified, however, to apprehend the marks of "imperfect" orality and "illiterate" writing. McNeil expands:

> The emendations of various latecomers to the source material – often identified in antiquarian writing as careless monk transcribers, sloppy itinerant troubadours, or, in the more recent past, old spinsters with faulty memories – required the editor to rescue his source material, to restore it to its original state while at the same time preserving it by rendering speech into text (2012: 26).

It is worth detaining ourselves to consider these particular complaints of Percy's. The opening chapter of Tessa Watt's excellent study, *Cheap Print and Popular Piety, 1550–1640*, reads:

> Any study of the impact of printing in England [and, indeed, Scotland] must take account of the fact that one of the first widespread and widely affordable forms of the printed word was the song (1991: 11).

Delving into the history of song in Britain is beyond the scope of this thesis. But it is important to be mindful that balladry in the history of Scotland and England, both in print and orality, has been an enduring cultural and commercial enterprise, eminently accessible to much of the general (especially urbanised) populace. McShane has written:

> Increasingly, as the [seventeenth] century wore on, ballad singers and sellers brought the popular musical productions of the metropolis to the provinces (though this was not entirely a one-way process), acting as cultural mediators between town and country, centre and periphery, orality and print (2019: 94-95).

From at least the sixteenth century onwards, balladry – in both England and Scotland – existed at the intersection between text and orality, and represented, as McShane describes, a fluid mode of transmission that traversed social and geographical boundaries. These performances would regularly be transmitted into print, often as cheap single-leaf broadsides and pamphlets purchasable for a minimal sum, as seen with popular transmissions by Ramsay such as *Elegy on Maggy Johnston*. Paula McDowall notes:

> Ballads were among the earliest products of the press, and they were also among the largest classes of printed materials. Some three thousand distinct ballads were printed between 1550 and 1600, and the number of ballads circulating during this period may have reached as high as "between 3 and 4 million" (2006: 151).

The cultural phenomenon of the spoken and printed ballad converging in print – based on these figures alone – was extensive and widely-circulated. Ruth Perry adds:

> Ballads were still a living form in the eighteenth century. Sung in the fields and on city streets, hawked at country fairs and on street corners, they were sold throughout the British Isles by peddlers who covered the length and breadth of the country on foot. Ballads were sung by ordinary people in their cottages at night before the fire or in local taverns to entertain an evening. John Clare's father knew more than a hundred ballads and would sing them as requested over a pint in the local pub on a Saturday night.

> Women sang ballads as they spun thread or yarn, felted cloth, or shelled peas. People pasted the broadsides up on the walls of their cottages even when they could not read, for the pleasure of the decorative woodcuts that adorned the top or bottom of the sheet (2012: 72).

Unsurprisingly, then, during the eighteenth century, McDowall observes, there was an increasingly "substantial printed discourse about ballads" which "commented both negatively and positively on balladry as a hybrid oral and textual practice" (2006: 151). She directs us to a letter printed in a 1735 copy of the *Grub-Street Journal* – a satirical newspaper – signed by a 'Democritus', who denounced the "scandalous practice of ballad-singing" as:

> …the bane of all good manners and morals … a continual nursery for idlers, whores, and pick-pockets; a school for scandal, smut, and debauchery; where our youth of either sex (of the lower class especially) receive the first taint, which by degrees so contaminates the mind, that, with every slight temptation, they become abandoned, lewd, and strangers to all shame (2006: 152).

The writer, Democritus, mock-crusades against the societal ills transmitted by ballad-singing: compromised morality entailing "scandal, smut, and debauchery" which particularly ensnares "lower class" young minds into crime and disrepute: "idlers, whores, and pick-pockets…" This returns us to Percy. As the nature of satire is to, theoretically, critique real world reflections, it is telling, then, that Percy also assures the reader in his preface:

> As great care has been taken to admit nothing immoral and indecent ; the Editor hopes he need not be ashamed of having bestowed some of his idle hours on the ancient literature of our own country (1765: xiv).

When Percy complains of "illiterate transcripts" and the "imperfect recitation of itinerant ballad-singers," he is referring to *who* has traditionally had access and been a formative receiver of these ballads: the general vernacular-speaking (and, increasingly, writing) populace. 'Illiterate' is not used here in the modern sense of being unable to read or write but, to borrow from the OED: "Of things: Characterized by or showing ignorance of letters, or absence of learning or education; unlearned, unpolished" (Illiterate' adj. and n., OED 1989).

In the same preface, however, Percy valorises 'ancient' oral practitioners as historical folk-figures:

> THE Reader is here presented with select remains of our ancient English Bards and Minstrels, an order of men who were once greatly respected by our ancestors, and

> contributed to soften the roughness of a martial and unlettered people by their songs and by their music…Yet perhaps the palm will be frequently due to the old strolling Minstrels, who composed their rhimes to be sung to their harps, and who looked no farther than for present applause, and present subsistence (1765: ix-xi).

Percy, it would seem, concurrently maintains two narratives: the romanticisation of the oral tradition's earliest practitioners; and the corrupting nature of spoken/written vernacular transmission as a historical-literary conduit. Despite his complaints about oral rendition, not a single poem in Percy's collection was directly drawn from orality: instead, he lists an "ancient folio manuscript" (which he claimed he had rescued from entirely becoming kindling in Humphrey Pitt's house), and the collections at the "Pepysian Library at Magdelan [sic] College," Cambridge; the "Ashmole Library at Oxford"; the "archives of the Antiquarian Society of London"; and the "British Museum" as his sources (1765: xvii).

We might therefore conclude that orality (specifically the *oral tradition*) can, in the context of the material we are investigating, be understood as *synonymous* with the written vernacular – collectively referred to as the 'vulgar' – insofar as the attitudes of antiquarians are concerned. In the first edition, Percy conflates the "old popular rhimes" with "writings," and in the sixth edition explicitly criticises "illiterate manuscripts." The "itinerant" minstrels and bards to which Percy refers would have very likely spoken the vernacular particular to their time and geographical origins, but they are sufficiently in the past to be redeemed and venerated as iconic purveyors of "pleasing simplicity" and "artless graces" (1765: x). Fielding describes this antiquarian process as "cultural purification in which an ideal was being extracted from the real" (1996: 44) and finely summarises our discussion so far when she writes that:

> Percy and [Joseph] Ritson [to be discussed shortly] made ballad literature popular among a fashionable readership, yet, at the same time, actual orality was systematically demoted as the production of socially inferior classes (1996: 44).

Percy was not simply rescuing 'ancient' literary artefacts from mismanagement and subsequent degradation but from a sizeable portion of the populace deemed unfit custodians of the nation's heritage (in Percy's case, England, but the point is eminently analogous to Scotland). This phenomenon is particularly pronounced in Scotland wherein McNeil writes:

> …orality, expressed as a problem of 'scotticisms' that had to be purged from the polite speech of educated Scots, was the sign of a national lack, a linguistic reminder of the

> nation's struggle to achieve economic and social parity with the nation's more advanced neighbour to the south (2012: 25).

The synonymising of orality with the vernacular can be reasonably understood as stemming from the same antipathy to Scots shown by avowed anglicisers like Hume who, alongside others such as James Beattie and John Sinclair (who later published *Observations on the Scottish Dialect*), famously produced a list of Scotticisms to be purged from text and speech (first written in 1752 and later published in *Scots Magazine* in 1760). As such, the antiquarian conflation of orality and the vernacular as interchangeable concepts existing outside a prestigious standard was acutely present in works involving Scots.

Despite being called *Scotish Songs*, Ritson's 1794 publication is almost entirely drawn from previously printed works – including Watson's *Choice Collection* (1706), and Ramsay's *Tea-Table Miscellany* (1723) and *The Ever Green* (1724) – with the exception of a singular instance which he claims was "from a manuscript copy, dictated to the editor many years ago by a young gentleman, who had it from his grandfather" (1794: 5). In the prefatory essay on Scottish song, Ritson attempts to revise history in order to establish English as the historically dominant language in Scotland. Misinterpreting *Inglis* for 'English' (rather than the term for what is now 'Scots'), he thus claims:

> The vulgar language of the Lowland Scots was always called English by their own writers till a late period and evidences a passage from the *Flyting of Dunbar and Kennedie*:
>
> I haif on me a pair of Lowthiane hipps
> Sall fairer Inglis mak, and mair perfet
> Than thou can blebber with thy Carrick lipps (1794: 21).

This error was compounded a few pages prior when Ritson attempted to claim that whilst it was not "probable that English language became all at once, or even during the reign of Malcolm…the common speech of the people," the "innovations then made were productive of such consequences, that in the time of Alexander III, A.D. 1249, the language of the two countries [Scotland and England] differed, if at all, only in dialect" (1794: 20).[21] This idealised reconstruction of his history – in the form of a lengthy essay recalling Johnson's demand for

[21] Perhaps most egregious of all, Ritson denounces the words 'Scottish', 'Scotch', and 'Scots' as corruptions: "The word *Scottish* is an improper orthography of *Scotish*; *Scotch* is still more corrupt; and *Scots* (as an adjective) a national barbarism" (1794: 1).

contextualised evidence – was an important accessory in the latter eighteenth-century antiquarian's toolkit. McNeil writes:

> As documenting the provenance of source material became increasingly necessary to establish claims of authenticity, of ancientness, antiquarian writers relied increasingly on extensive framing apparatuses. Headnotes and footnotes served to contextualise and legitimise each source within the collection, while lengthy dissertations and essays preceding or appending the entire collection served to contextualise and legitimise the claims of the writer within the antiquarian scholarship that preceded him (2012: 26).

McNeil mentions the word "legitimise" twice and with good reason. If we recall Fielding's notion of the antiquarians' project to extract the ideal from the real, a network of paratext would be fundamental in convincing the reader of the 'editor's' idiosyncratic conception of cultural history and heritage. These techniques, of course, are neither new nor unique to the period's antiquarians. We might recall the title page of Watson's *Choice Collection*, wherein he used a blackletter font for <Scots Poems> in order to reinforce the claims to historicism of the texts within (shown here in Figure 5.1):

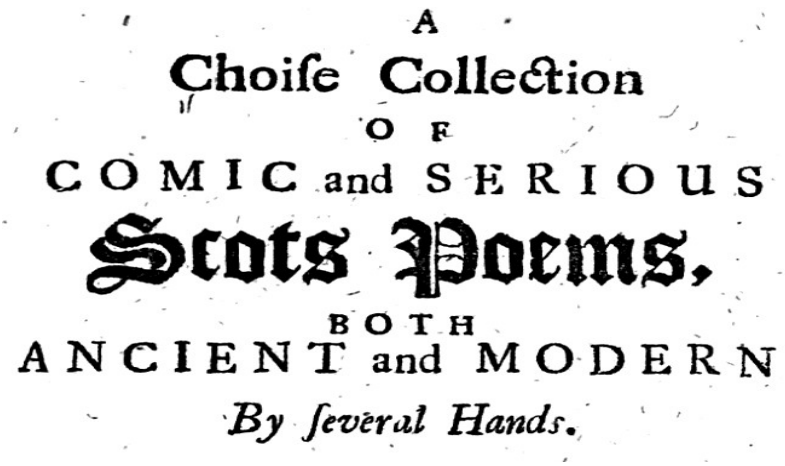

A
Choiſe Collection
OF
COMIC and SERIOUS
Scots Poems,
BOTH
ANCIENT and MODERN
By ſeveral Hands.

Figure 5.1: The title page of Watson's *Choice Collection* (1706).

On the contemporary antiquarian conception of orality, the written vernacular, and the collapsing of the semantic distinction between the two, Ritson echoes Percy:

> There are in Scotland many ballads, or legendary and romantic songs, composed in a singular style, and preserved by tradition among the country people…It must, however, be confessed, that none of these compositions bear satisfactory marks of the antiquity they pretend to…But, in fact, with respect to vulgar poetry preserved by tradition, it is almost impossible to discriminate ancient from the modern, the true from the false.

> Obsolete phrases will be perpetually changing for those better understood ; and what the memory loses the invention must supply. So that a performance of genius and merit, as the purest stream becomes polluted by the foulness of its channel, may in time degrade to the vilest jargon. Tradition, in short, is a species of alchemy which converts gold to lead (1794: 77-78).

Ritson pointedly, where Percy had been (only slightly) more subtle, characterises the preserved "ballads" and "songs" by the "country people" as having insufficient "marks of the antiquity they pretend to," and thus argues their unsuitability as custodians of national heritage. The lack of fixity in the vernacular, according to Ritson, had corrupted the textual sources sufficiently that their authenticity could hardly be verified: speech and writing, when associated with non-prestigious origins, are indistinguishable. Ritson clearly held influence over Scott's own editorial attitudes: in the *Quarterly Review* the latter copied the former's metaphor: "tradition, generally speaking, is a sort of perverted alchemy which converts gold into lead" (1809: 30).

The works of John Pinkerton (1758-1826) and David Herd (1732-1810) offer a more extreme version of the antiquarian conception of orality, and the written vernacular vs. "pure and undiluted" Scots. Pinkerton – inheriting Ruddiman's antipathy to the idea of Scots as anything other than a "museum piece" honouring the old makars (Kinghorn 1992: 9) – sought to purge the "*Scottish* colloquial dialect" from historical transmissions to encourage English language learning (1786: xvii). Described by Kinghorn as "the sworn enemy of the vernacular" who "wished its total extinction as a spoken tongue as well as a written one" (1954: 50), Pinkerton wrote in the prefatory contextualising essay to his ballad collection, *Ancient Scottish Poems* (1786):

> Perhaps some may say the Scots themselves wish to abolish their dialect, and substitute the English; why then attempt to preserve the Scottish language? Let me answer that none can more sincerely wish a total extinction of the Scottish *colloquial* dialect than I do, for there are few *modern* Scotticisms which are not barbarisms…Yet, I believe, no man of either kingdom would wish an extinction of the Scottish dialect in poetry. At first, as shewn in the following Essay, a sister language, it became a kind of Doric dialect to the English ; and has a simplicity which will always recommend it where that character ought to prevail. But it were to be wished that it should be regarded in both kingdoms equally as only as an ancient and a poetical language and nothing can take it so much out of the hands of the vulgar as a rigid preservation of the old spelling. Were

> there no Scotish books that the common people in Scotland could read, their knowledge of the English would increase very rapidly (1786: xvii).

Kinghorn wrote that "the Scots…tended to look upon their task of editing and publishing ancient Scottish texts more or less as a sacred duty" (1954: 46). For Pinkerton the duty of the Scottish antiquarian was highly political: by 'fixing' Scots through editing, and thus reversing language change, 'vulgar' or common speakers could be sufficiently disenfranchised from the language – both in speech and writing – that they had little other recourse than to learn English. It is with Pinkerton's editing practice in mind when we quote from McNeil that "conventional antiquarian discourse 'anachronised' both oral material and the 'common' people who drew upon it" (2012: 26).

In an interesting note, Pinkerton, who was frequently contemptuous of Ramsay, describing him in his collection as a "buffoon," twisted the latter's analogous conception of Scots as the Doric to English's Attic: employing the comparison to suggest its backwards inferiority when compared with English's metropolitan prestige.

At the other end of the spectrum, however, was the likes of David Herd, much admired by Scott, who is quoted as saying: "Mr. Herd was known and generally esteemed for his shrewd manly common sense and antiquarian science…His hardy and antique mould of countenance, and his venerable grizzled locks, procured him, amongst his acquaintances, the name of Greysteil" (1776: xi). In his preface to *Ancient and Modern Scottish Songs*, Herd wrote:

> THE common popular songs and national music, as they form a favourite entertainment of the Gay and the Chearful, seem likewise to merit some regard from the Speculative and Refined, in so far as they exhibit natural and striking traits of the character, genius, taste and pursuits of the people. And trivial as his idea of a song may be, the statesman has often felt this paultry engine affecting the machine of government ; and those who are versant in history can produce instances of popular songs and ballads having been rendered subservient to great revolutions in church and state (1776: v).

Herd goes on to state that he has avoided any attempt to "reduce the language to the orthography of the times" in which the texts comprising his own collection "may be supposed to have been written" (1776: viii). His stated that his "collection was not intended to be confined to the critical antiquarian" but, quite the opposite to Pinkerton, be "devoted to the amusement of the public at large" (1776: viii-ix). Herd, unique amongst contemporary editors, intended to transmit the original function of the ballads – general public entertainment – and proposed that the changing nature of the vernacular, represented in contemporary

orthography quite differently from that of the time these texts were written, nonetheless continued to reflect the "natural and striking traits of the character, genius, taste and pursuits of the people." An extension of this position, and further distinguishing Herd from Percy, Ritson, and Pinkerton, his collection contained no prefatory, contextualising essay with which to present a preferred historical narrative.

Similar to the other antiquarians discussed, however, Herd does use terms like "songs" and "music" – oral and aural expressions – in the same vein as "orthography" and "written." Fielding summarises the indistinction amongst antiquarians neatly upon observing: "when the romance of orality is constructed by a dominant ideology it begins to look suspiciously like writing" (1996: 10).

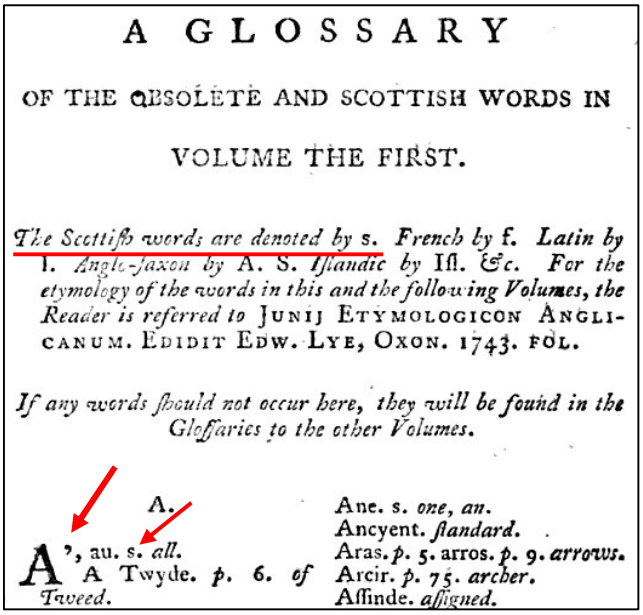
5.1.1.1. THE ANTIQUARIAN'S APOSTROPHE

Of the antiquarians we have discussed so far – Percy and Ritson, both of whom were English, and Herd and Pinkerton, both of whom were Scottish – only the very latter, Pinkerton, eschewed apostrophised Scots in his published collection.

Percy's deployment is particularly noteworthy. Despite his *Reliques* beings a repository of *Ancient English Poetry*, he includes a number of "Select ballads in the old Scottish Dialect" (1765: x). In the entry 'Edward, Edward', the opening reads:

> QUHY dois zour brand fae drap wi' bluid,
> Edward, Edward ?
> Quhy dois zour brand fae drap wi' bluid ?
> And quhy fae fad gang zee, O ?
> O, I hae killed my hauke fae guid,
> Mither, mither : (1765: 53).

By the time Watson innovated apostrophised Scots, <qu-> forms and yogh, represented here as <z>, had long passed from popular use. Nonetheless, alongside these Middle Scots terms, we find <wi'>. Editing in the period after Ramsay – who, alongside Watson, strictly deployed apostrophised forms only in texts considered contemporary – but before Burns, apostrophised Scots seems to have become sufficiently ubiquitous for Percy, an Englishman on the outside looking in, to judge it an authentic constituent of the Scots language's earlier 'ancient' form.



A GLOSSARY

OF THE OBSOLETE AND SCOTTISH WORDS IN

VOLUME THE FIRST.

The Scottiſh words are denoted by s. *French by* f. *Latin by* l. *Anglo-Saxon by* A. S. *Iſlandic by* Iſl. *&c. For the etymology of the words in this and the following Volumes, the Reader is referred to* Junij Etymologicon Anglicanum. Edidit Edw. Lye, Oxon. 1743. fol.

If any words ſhould not occur here, they will be found in the Gloſſaries to the other Volumes.

A.

A', au. s. *all.*
A Twyde. *p.* 6. *of Tweed.*

Ane. s. *one, an.*
Ancyent. *ſtandard.*
Aras. *p.* 5. arros. *p.* 9. *arrows.*
Arcir. *p.* 75. *archer.*
Aſſinde. *aſſigned.*

***Figure 5.2*: Glossary in *Reliques of Ancient English Poetry* (1765:330).**

Equally as notable is Percy's glossary, its introduction observable here in Figure 5.2. As Burns would do, if we recall, in his second edition of *Poems, Chiefly*… bound for London – but not his first to be sold locally in Ayrshire and the Central Belt – Percy has included, for the benefit of his English readership, "obsolete and Scottish words" in his glossary; the first among them being a translation of <a'>.

Ritson, despite the "disadvantages of an English birth," hoped that through "extensive reading" and "unwearied assiduity," his collection would not "suffer by comparison with anything of the kind hitherto published" in either Scotland or England (1794: 8). Unlike Percy's collection, which makes no reference at all to Ramsay, Ritson was eminently familiar with *The Ever Green* author and editor, whom he described as a "fine poetic genius" (1794: 60). He drew liberally upon Ramsay's collections, especially the aforementioned title and the *Tea-Table Miscellany*, and mentions the historical Scot no less than forty-three times in the course of his publication. When transmitting songs from Ramsay's work, Ritson is careful to maintain apostrophised forms. 'Song II', borrowed from *The Gentle Shephard*, reads:

My Peggy smiles sae kindly,
Whene'er I whisper love,
That I look down on a' the toun,
That I look down upon a croun.
My peggy smiles sae kindly,
It makes me blythe and bauld,

And naething gi'es me sic delight,
As waukin' o' the fauld (1794: 120).

Examples of apostrophised Scots observable in this instance are <a'>, <waukin'> and the very rare word-medial <gi'es>. Notably, however, Ritson has been discerning in his transmission of Ramsay's work to ensure the most 'authentic' appearance. The song copied here, titled variously as the Wawkin'/Waukin'/and Waking of the Fauld', and appearing in numerous editions of the *Tea-Table Miscellany* and separate publications of *The Gentle-Shephard*, has previously in every one spelled <toun> and <croun> as <town> and <crown>. Alongside transmitting apostrophised forms as evidence of historicity, Ritson has altered the orthography to better suit his perception of a Scots text.

Ritson includes a glossary for his English audience in the second volume that contains a range of apostrophised Scots forms alongside other lexis (Figure 5.3):

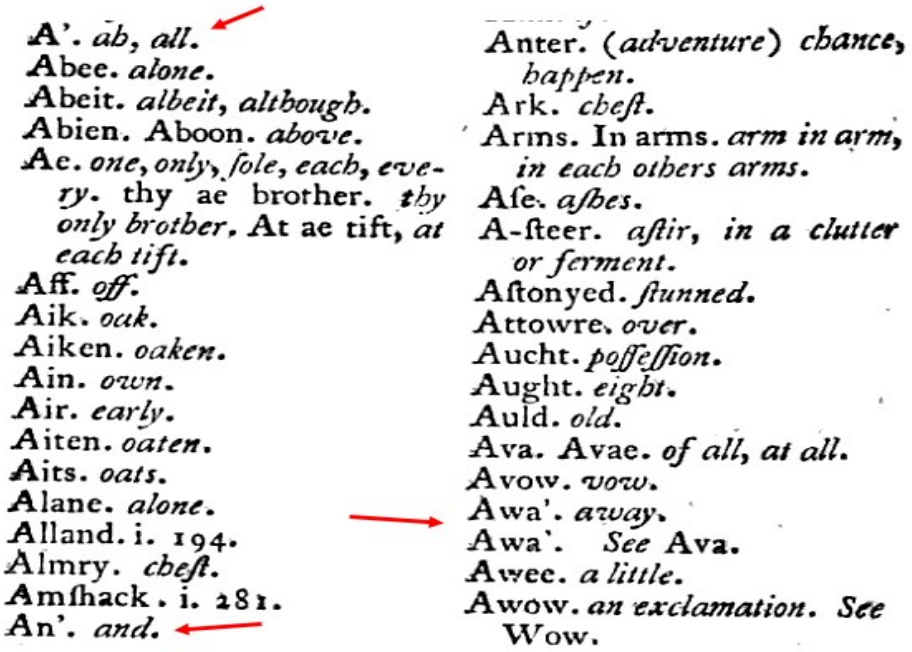

A'. *ab, all.*
Abee. *alone.*
Abeit. *albeit, although.*
Abien. Aboon. *above.*
Ae. *one, only, ſole, each, every.* thy ae brother. *thy only brother.* At ae tift, *at each tift.*
Aff. *off.*
Aik. *oak.*
Aiken. *oaken.*
Ain. *own.*
Air. *early.*
Aiten. *oaten.*
Aits. *oats.*
Alane. *alone.*
Alland. i. 194.
Almry. *cheſt.*
Amſhack. i. 281.
An'. *and.*
Anter. (*adventure*) *chance, happen.*
Ark. *cheſt.*
Arms. In arms. *arm in arm, in each others arms.*
Aſe. *aſhes.*
A-ſteer. *aſtir, in a clutter or ferment.*
Aſtonyed. *ſtunned.*
Attowre. *over.*
Aucht. *poſſeſſion.*
Aught. *eight.*
Auld. *old.*
Ava. Avae. *of all, at all.*
Avow. *vow.*
Awa'. *away.*
Awa'. *See* Ava.
Awee. *a little.*
Awow. *an exclamation. See* Wow.

Figure 5.3: Glossary from Ritson's *Scotish Songs* (1794: 217).

Like Percy, then, the prevalence of apostrophised forms in Scots literature was sufficient to convince Ritson of their inherency to historical conceptions of the language. This glossary also shows that English readerships were not sufficiently familiar with apostrophised forms as to warrant their use without translation

Given Herd's stated intent to avoid archaicising the orthography of his transmitted texts, a number of which are drawn from Ramsay's corpus, apostrophised forms are frequent throughout the entire text, text; many of these – in anonymous texts – were quite possibly

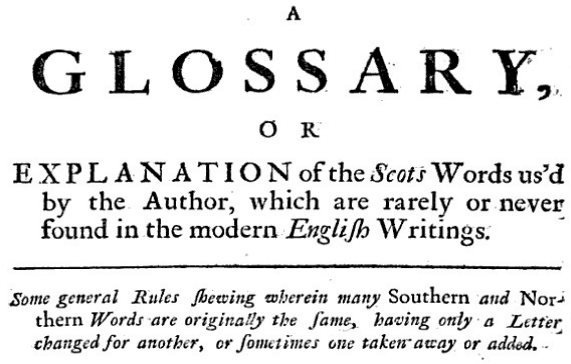
emendated by him. For example, in the entry *Fine Flowers O' the Valley*, unattributed to any author, the opening reads:

> THERE was three ladies in a ha',
> Fine flowers I' the valley ;
> There cam three lords amang them a',
> The red, green, and the yellow (1776: 88).

Observable is the regular instance of <a'>, the less frequent <ha'> and, though not an apostrophised Scots form but worthy of note, an example of the Shakespearean <I'>, made famous in *Hamlet* with the line: 'I am too much I' the sun'. Possibly, in Herd's work, this is an example of a metrical apostrophe, designed to avoid a stressed, disyllabic pronunciation of /in/ that would disrupt the meter. Other versions of this ballad, variously called *The Cruel Brother* or *The Bride's Testament*, often change <ladies> to <sisters> and <lords> to <knights> (singular or plural) but the apostrophised Scots rhyme is generally maintained. In Robert Jamieson's 1806 ballad collection, *Popular Ballads and Song* – notably *From Tradition, Manuscripts, and Scarce Editions* – it is transmitted thusly:

> There was three ladies play'd at the ba',
> With a heigh-ho! and a lily gay ;
> There cam a knight, and play'd o'er them a',
> As the primrose spreads so sweetly (1806: 66).

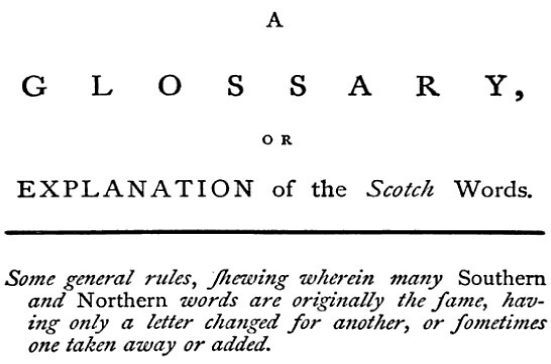
It is the glossary in volume two of Herd's collection which represents, however, the most subtle delight. He almost directly copies the glossary from Ramsay's *Poems* with only slight changes to orthography and typography (Figures 5.4 and 5.5):



A
GLOSSARY,
OR
EXPLANATION of the *Scots* Words us'd by the Author, which are rarely or never found in the modern *Engliſh* Writings.

Some general Rules ſhewing wherein many Southern *and* Northern *Words are originally the ſame, having only a Letter changed for another, or ſometimes one taken away or added.*

Figure 5.4: Ramsay's glossary from *Poems* (1721:381).

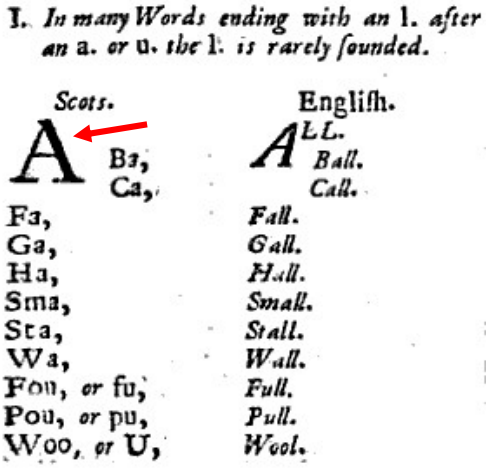


A
GLOSSARY,
OR
EXPLANATION of the *Scotch* Words.

Some general rules, ſhewing wherein many Southern *and* Northern *words are originally the ſame, having only a letter changed for another, or ſometimes one taken away or added.*

Figure 5.5: Herd's glossary from *Ancient Scottish Songs* (1776: 241).

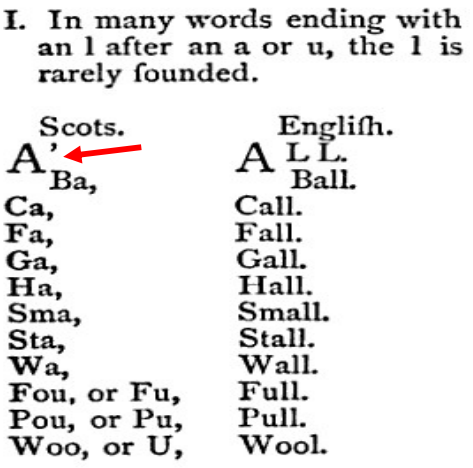
When we consider the glossary proper, the slight modification is eminently important, displayed here in Figures 5.6 and 5.7:



I. *In many Words ending with an* l. *after an* a. *or* u. *the* l. *is rarely ſounded.*

Scots.	*Engliſh.*
A Ba, Ca,	*ALL. Ball. Call.*
Fa,	*Fall.*
Ga,	*Gall.*
Ha,	*Hall.*
Sma,	*Small.*
Sta,	*Stall.*
Wa,	*Wall.*
Fou, *or* fu,	*Full.*
Pou, *or* pu,	*Pull.*
Woo, *or* U,	*Wool.*

Figure 5.6: Ramsay's glossary from *Poems* (1721: 381).



I. In many words ending with an l after an a or u, the l is rarely founded.

Scots.	Engliſh.
A' Ba,	A LL. Ball.
Ca,	Call.
Fa,	Fall.
Ga,	Gall.
Ha,	Hall.
Sma,	Small.
Sta,	Stall.
Wa,	Wall.
Fou, or Fu,	Full.
Pou, or Pu,	Pull.
Woo, or U,	Wool.

Figure 5.7: Herd's glossary from *Ancient Scottish Songs* (1776: 241).

Where Ramsay, likely because of Ruddiman's involvement in its creation, has not included the apostrophe in his glossed forms, Herd has pointedly introduced one. Given the pan-British popularity of Scottish antiquarian texts and its printing and publication in Edinburgh, a glossing of apostrophised forms was likely deemed necessary for non-Scots audiences. It also reflects the extent to which apostrophised forms were not only a normalised but expected component of written Scots.

Pinkerton's complete eschewing of apostrophised forms is consistent with Watson and Ramsay's disparity in its use between historical and contemporary Scots (and where Percy's evidently was not). Both volumes that constitute his collection are written with archaicised lexis and orthography, drawing upon the Maitland and Bannatyne manuscripts, and the 1710 transmission Gavin Douglas's *Eneados*. Like Herd, Pinkerton has transplanted the efforts of Ruddiman to his own collection by explicitly copying the glossary from the *Eneados* (and thereby demonstrating a particularly impressive stubbornness to acknowledge post-Middle Scots). Unlike Herd, however, Pinkerton is not so subtle. Firstly, he complains of the modern editor's tendency to represent yogh as <z>: "Nothing has hurt the true pronunciation so much as this stupid blunder, which is even yet retained by ignorant editors" (1786: 520). Secondly, never missing an opportunity to dismiss the contemporary vernacular, he suggests that if the reader "wishes to learn the Scottish tongue, he is referred to the introductory part of Mr. Ruddiman's Glossary ; Douglas's Virgil, 1710, where it appears, not being uncommon here in England" (1786: 521). Pinkerton's eschewing of apostrophised forms is an alternative perspective to a similar understanding of it vis-à-vis Herd: a marker of contemporary Scots,

it was incompatible with expressions of older varieties of the language such as <qu-> spellings.

Overall, the distinction between Percy and Ritson, and Herd and Pinkerton is fascinating: there is an understanding of apostrophised Scots forms' historical/contemporary register constraint by Herd and Pinkerton, the Scotsmen, that is not present in the works of Percy and Ritson, the Englishmen, who simply consider the Scots apostrophe an authenticating component of the language. This alone challenges the argument that the Scots apostrophe undermined perceptions of Scots as a separate language from English.

5.1.2. SCOTT AS BALLAD EDITOR

Lockhart's biography contains a note by Scott recalling his first encounter with Percy's *Reliques* in his early youth:

> But above all, I then first became acquainted with Bishop Percy's Reliques of Ancient Poetry. As I had been from infancy devoted to legendary lore of this nature, and only reluctantly withdrew my attention, from the scarcity of materials and the rudeness of those which I possessed, it may be imagined, but cannot be described, with what delight I saw pieces of the same kind which had amused my childhood, and still continued in secret the Delilahs of my imagination, considered as the subject of sober research, grave commentary, and apt illustrations, by an editor who showed his poetical genius was capable of emulating the best qualities which his pious labour preserved (1837:21).

This recollection can be juxtaposed with a letter sent to the poet and botanist, Anna Seward (1742-1809) in 1805, who in previous correspondence had asked for Scott's opinion on the authenticity of Ossian (a topic, as Manning pointed out, still meriting conversation nearly fifty years after its original publication). Stating that he was, "as a very young boy," first introduced to Ossian "by old Dr Blacklock" – the same poet whose letter of praise encouraged Burns to come to Edinburgh and commit, crucially, to a second edition of *Poems Chiefly in the Scottish Dialect* – the charms of Macpherson's work had been insufficient to survive his maturity and increasingly critical eye:

> …although I agree entirely with you that the question of their authenticity ought not to be confounded with that of their literary merit, yet scepticism on that head takes away their claim for indulgence as the productions of a barbarous and remote age; and, what is perhaps more natural, it destroys that feeling of reality which we should otherwise combine with our sentiments of admiration. As for the great dispute, I should

> be no Scottishman if I had not very attentively considered it at some period of my studies; and, indeed, I have gone some lengths in my researches, for I have beside me translations of some twenty or thirty of the unquestioned originals of Ossian's poems. After making every allowance for the disadvantages of a literal translation, and the possible debasement which those *now* collected may have suffered in the great and violent change which the Highlands have undergone since the researches of Macpherson, I am compelled to admit that incalculably the greater part of the English Ossian must be ascribed to Macpherson himself and that his whole introductions, notes, etc. etc. are an absolute tissue of forgeries (1837: 270-271).

The comparison is an interesting one. Whereas Scott admits the substantial influence of Percy's romanticised reconstructions of the past through "sober research, grave commentary, and apt illustrations," he makes no such allowances for Macpherson. Despite Percy's own philosophy on the liberal recuperations of history – we might recall Fielding's notion of extracting 'the ideal from the real' – the works of the latter are stated to be "an absolute tissue of forgeries." Whilst Scott admits the "poetical genius" of Percy, an "editor…capable of emulating the best qualities which his pious labour preserved," he regrets the authorial innovations of Macpherson. We will return to Percy's potential influence over Scott when considering the latter's use of apostrophised forms and the historical/contemporary discrepancy in their use in section 5.2.1.

A key issue for Scott, a student of the later eighteenth-century antiquarianism that considered history a remote object to be archeologically recovered, was likely Macpherson's complete lack of legitimising apparatus. When Macpherson's *Fragments* was first published in 1760, it contained no contextualising matter outside of the preface – unlike the works of Percy, Ritson, and Pinkerton, which all comprised significant treatises 'corroborating' their modifications.

When the *Minstrelsy of the Scottish Border* was first published in 1802 – printed by James Ballantyne in Kelso, in whose printing house Scott would invest a significant stake – its prefatory essay ran to one-hundred-and-twenty-nine pages: just under half of the first volume. A largely aristocratic and miscellaneous history of the Borders, it shifted from the violent encounters between the "ancient British and Teutonic invaders [the Saxons]," and the founding of the House of Douglas, powerful landowners in the region brought low by the Royal Family, to the nature of local superstitions – "*Shellycoat* must not be confounded with *Kelpy*, a water spirit also, but of a much more powerful and malignant nature" (1802: lxxxv) –

and, of course, conceptions of early society and its attitudes to poetry and music: "The more rude and wild the state of a society, the more general and violent is the impulse received from poetry and music" (1802: xc). Scott – in a belief that has a long pedigree in the work of Watson, Ramsay, Herd, and Burns – conceives of the ancient oral heritage as objectively reflecting the immutable national character:

> …this predisposition of a savage people to admire their own rude poetry and music, is heightened, and its tone becomes peculiarly determined.---- It is not the peaceful Hindú at his loom, it is not the timid Esquimax in his canoe, whom we must expect to glow at the war song of TYRTÆUS. The music and the poetry of each country must keep pace with their usual tone of mind, as well as with the state of society (1802: xci).

Quite unlike Percy, Ritson, Herd, and Pinkerton, however, is Scott's crediting of oral sources in the production of his collection:

> JOHN GRÆME, of Sowport, in Cumberland, commonly called *The Long Quaker*, a person of this latter description, is still alive; and several of the songs, now published, have been taken down from his recitation. The shepherds also, and aged persons, in the recesses of the border mountains, frequently remember and repeat the warlike songs of their fathers…It is chiefly from this latter source that the editor has drawn his materials, most of which were collected many years ago, during his early youth (1802: ci-cii).

We cannot be certain that the majority of materials involved in the creation of the *Minstrelsy* were truly copied down during Scott's youth from oral reciters but it worthy of note that he recognises the role of oral sources, especially named ones such as John Graeme (and, as we will see, others). Immediately following this recognition of oral sources, however, Scott expresses his gratitude to available manuscripts for their amending contribution:

> But he [the editor] has been enabled, in many instances, to supply and correct the deficiencies of his own [oral-drawn] copies, from a collection of border songs, frequently referred to in the work, under the title of Glenriddell's MS…compiled from various sources by the late Mr Riddell, of Glenriddell, a sedulous border antiquary (1802: cii).

We have, of course, already encountered part of the Glenriddell MS in Chapter Four, section 4.1.1.: it contained evidence of apostrophised forms in Burns's handwriting, proving they were not editorial but authorial in his work. The MS seems to have been procured for Scott's use at the turn of the century by his friend and invaluable helper, John Leyden (1775-1811)

(Montgomerie 1968: 92). That this MS deployed apostrophised Scots may have been a formative factor in Scott's own transmission of such varieties.

The notion that manuscripts written by lettered men were able to correct the "deficiencies" of versions (theoretically) copied down from oral recitation is solidified when Scott, on the same page, outlines his own editorial approach to his source material:

> No liberties have been taken either with the recited or written copies of these ballads, farther than that, where they disagreed, the editor, in justice to the author, has uniformly preserved what seemed to him the best or most poetical reading of the passage. Such discrepancies must very frequently occur, wherever poetry is preserved by oral tradition ; for the reciter, making it a uniform principle to proceed at all hazards, is very often, when his memory fails him, apt to substitute large portions from some other tale, altogether distinct from that which he has commenced. Besides, the prejudices of clans and of districts have occasioned variations in the mode of telling the same story. Some arrangement was also occasionally necessary to recover the rhyme, which was often, by the ignorance of the reciters, transposed or thrown into the middle of the line. With these freedoms, which were essentially necessary to remove obvious corruptions, and fit the ballads for the press, the editor presents them to the public, under the complete assurance, that they carry with them the most indisputable marks of their authenticity (1802: cii-ciii).

The influence of Percy and antiquarians of the same mind is evident. Scott assures the reader – as Percy did when stating the "Editor has endeavoured to be as faithful, as the imperfect state of his materials would admit" – that "No liberties" had been taken; and – like Macpherson did when he opened *Fragments* with the declaration that "THE public may depend on the following fragments as genuine remains of ancient Scottish poetry" – guaranteed his poems as bearing "the most indisputable marks of their authenticity." Scott also transmits what Zug termed "the theory of the decay of tradition" (1976: 60). McNeil expands on this point when he writes that "Scott as compiler-editor of the Minstrelsy adopted the conventional antiquarian stance that the passage of time meant degradation and distortion, not refinement" (2012: 26). The preservation of poetry by oral tradition, Scott writes, invariably means discrepancies "must very frequently occur": "reciters" would inevitably "proceed at all hazards" even "when his memory fails him," and were inclined, by "ignorance" to dismantle historical rhymes by having them "transposed or thrown into the middle of the line." In this

point we can hear echoes of Ritson's warning that "what the memory loses the invention must supply."

Notably, however, Scott is far more explicit than Percy, Ritson, or Pinkerton in explaining the necessity and goal of his interventions. He is clear about comparing available versions of the same poem/ballad in order to "uniformly preserved what seemed to him the best or most poetical reading of the passage"; and Scott is forthright about his belief in the priority of print and the modifications that necessarily entails: "With these freedoms, which were essentially necessary to remove obvious corruptions, and fit the ballads for the press…" And crucially, like Herd, who saw no advantage in reducing his poems "to the orthography of the times" and explicitly desired his collection to be available to a non-antiquarian audience, Scott does not consider the blanket archaicising of language to be a function of successful recuperation. Correspondingly, further on in his prefatory essay, he writes:

> It would have been easy for the editor to have given these songs an appearance of more indisputable antiquity, by adopting the rude orthography of the period, to which he is inclined to refer them. But this (unless when MSS. of antiquity can be referred to) seemed too arbitrary an exertion of the privileges of a publisher, and must, besides, have unnecessarily increased the difficulties of many readers. On the other hand, the utmost care has been taken, never to reject a word or phrase, used by a reciter, however uncouth or antiquated. Such barbarisms, which stamp upon the tales their age and their nation, should be respected by an editor, as the hardy emblem of his country as was venerated by the poet of Scotland [Burns] (1802: cvi-cvii)

This statement of intent represents an important departure from Percy's editing practice: Scott considered the prospect of archaicising his language to manufacture authenticity "too arbitrary" and inconvenient for "many readers." Indeed, conversely, the entries which constitute Scott's *Minstrelsy* have in fact been largely *modernised*, and primarily feature contemporary Scots and English. This move to prioritising accessibility for a pan-British readership had interesting consequences for the Scots apostrophe's historical/contemporary register constraint, to be discussed in section 5.2.2.

By contrast with Percy, who was careful to "admit nothing immoral and indecent," Scott vowed to "never reject a word or phrase…however uncouth or antiquated." "Such barbarisms" he stated, were a critical reflection of Scottish heritage. Recalling Fielding's notion of extracting the ideal from the real, Scott's notion of recuperation, therefore, was substantially less idealising than Percy's: the result, perhaps, of growing up in a dualistic linguistic

landscape shared by Scots and English. Whereas Percy could pursue the concept of a linguistically 'pure' transmission, Scott, like Watson nearly a century before him, had to navigate a more linguistically dynamic landscape.

We might now briefly consider an example of Scott's editorial function and practice of recuperation by comparatively analysing his transmission of 'Thomas the Rhymer' with its source material, Anna Gordon's ballad, as dictated to Alexander Tytler, 'Thomas Rhymer and Queen of Elphame.'

5.1.2.1. Fitting the Ballads for the Press

At the turn of the century, Anna Gordon (aka Mrs Brown of Falkland) (1747-1810) wrote down a collection of ballads from memory for Alexander Fraser-Tytler (1747-1813), including 'Thomas Rhymer and Queen of Elphame', a copy of which Scott managed to avail himself. In his prefatory notes to the ballad's inclusion in volume two, 'Romantic Ballads,' Scott notably downplayed Anna Gordon's role in its production, noting only that his version of 'Thomas the Rhymer' was "obtained from a lady, residing not from Ercildoun" and was "corrected and enlarged by one Mrs Brown's MSS" (1803: 268). The obvious and extensive similarities with Gordon's version, however, suggest it was perhaps more influential than Scott was prepared to admit.

Gordon's manuscript version is striking for its absence of contemporary literary structure: indeed, if we observe its opening sixteen lines, echoes of the ballad's oral heritage may be noted:

True Thomas lay oer yon'd grassy bank
And he beheld a Ladie gay
A Ladie that was brisk and bold
Come riding o'er the fernie brae
Her skirt was of the grass green silk
Her mantle of the velvet fine
At ilka tett of her horses mane
Hung fifty silver bells and nine
True Thomas he took aff his hat
And bow'd him law down till his knee
All hail thou might queen of heaven
For your peer on earth I ne'er did see
O no O no true Thomas she says

That name does not belong to me
I am but the queen of fair Elfland
And I'm come here for to visit thee

Malcolm Parkes, if we recall from Chapter One, section 1.1.1., has previously argued that the primary function of punctuation is "to resolve structural uncertainties in a text, and to signal nuances of semantic significance which might otherwise not be conveyed at all, or would best be much more difficult for a reader to figure out" (1992: 1). Whilst, at first sight, any effort on the part of the reader to "resolve structural uncertainties" and understand the "nuances of semantic influence" might be obfuscated by Gordon's lack of punctuation, if we similarly recall from Chapter One, section 1.6., Smith's 2016 study of Chaucer's *General Prologue*, the structuring influences of orality become apparent. As was the case in the Petworth manuscript, Gordon deploys monosyllabic and mainly closed-class words – pronouns, propositions and conjunctions – in the function of discourse markers, or "anchoring devices" (Östman 1995: 99), highlighted in red, to structure her verse. The use of closed-class words in this way, an extension of the pragmatic conception of discourse markers as "stand-alone words, syntactically independent from the rest of the utterance" (Jucker & Taavitsainen, 2013: 55), can be understood in terms of how grammar is perceived as functioning within oral culture. Albert Lord, in his book, *Singer of Tales*, explains (expansively but helpfully):

> The method of language is like that of oral poetry, substitution in the framework of the grammar…In studying the patterns and systems of oral narrative verse we are in reality observing the 'grammar' of the poetry, a grammar superimposed, as it were, on the grammar of the language concerned. Or, to alter the image, we find a special grammar within the grammar of the language, necessitated by the versification… The speaker of this language, once he has mastered it, does not move any more mechanically within it than we do in ordinary speech.
>
> When we speak a language, our native language, we do repeat words and phrases that we have memorised consciously, but the words and sentences emerge from habitual usage. This is true of the singer of tales working in his specialised grammar (1960: 34-35).

Since the intention of 'Thomas Rhymer and Queen of Elphame' was to be realised in speech, specifically song, these short, mostly closed-class words, recycled throughout the poem, function as a structuring as well as mnemonic device: reminding the speaker where a new line begins. David Buchan argues that the "strongest evidence" for the mastery of structural

pattern and system in oral verse was to be found in the works of Gordon (1972: 61). Gordon, like those incarnations of Chaucerian verse, deploys a "specialised grammar" to structure and segment, and paired with her ABCB rhyming scheme to segment delivery, this renders contemporary methods of punctuation quite unnecessary. We might now view the first sixteen lines as transmitted by Scott in the *Minstrelsy* (1803):

True Thomas lay on Huntlie bank;
A ferlie he spied wi' his e'e:
And there he saw a ladye bright,
Come riding down by the Eildon Tree.

Her shirt was o' the grass-green silk,
Her mantle o' the velvet fine;
At ilka tett of her horse's mane,
Hang fifty siller bells and nine.

True Thomas, he pull'd aff his cap,
And louted low down to his knee,
"All hail, thou mighty queen of heav'n!
For thy peer on earth I never did see."

"O no, O no, Thomas," she said;
"That name does not belong to me;
I am but the queen of fair Elfland,
That am hither come to visit thee.

Smith has argued that present-day punctuation is a "visual expression of grammar" (2013: 41). For the antiquarians like Scott, punctuation was a structuring technique with which to "remove obvious corruptions" and "fit the ballads for the press." Scott here echoes the methods of Percy and Ritson by emending Gordon's text into strict quatrains of iambic tetrameter (or 'ballad stanzas'), which are then presented to the reader (or, potentially, speaker) with a sweeping installation of punctuation to guide and aid them: commas, exclamations marks, semi-colons, and speech-marks. Smith highlights the observation by Derek Attridge that iambic tetrameter traditionally favours "end stopping" and, he adds, "the coincidence of period and line," and this is reflected in each quatrain of Scott's concluding with a full-stop (1982: 107; 2013: 42). Likewise, the extensive application of the comma and colon are designed to tightly choreograph the audience response, distinguishing shorter pauses (comma) and longer

pauses (colon). The use of punctuation, however, represented a fundamental departure from the ethos of performance in Scots. Gerould, in *The Ballad of* Tradition, wrote: "Folk without writing know the art of composition in language, and preserve the memory of what they have composed."

Reflecting the dynamic linguistic landscape in which Scott operated, other modifications include both Scotticisation and Anglicisation. Like Watson did in *Choice Collection*, Scott Scotticises a number of terms: in line eight of stanza two, he alters Gordon's "silver" to "siller"; but at the same time changes the syntactic Scots of the final line in Gordon's version, "And I'm come here for to visit thee," to the rather more Augustan English "That am hither come to visit thee" in his own. Alongside these changes, of course, was the insertion of apostrophised forms such as <wi'> in line two. "The Ballads," wrote Gerould, are "the flower of an art formalised and developed among people whose training has been oral instead of visual" (1932: 1, 12). With Scott's audience being an increasing swell of the literate, middle-class, the antiquarians were not writing for those "whose training has been oral." Indeed, Margaret Laidlaw Hogg (1730-1813) famously scolded Walter Scott when he visited to transcribe the ballad of 'Auld Maitland', discussed in section 5.2.2. Her son, James Hogg, in attendance, reported the exchange involved her slapping Scott on the leg and lamenting the practice of transcribing ballads as having brought oral culture to ruin:

> They were made for singing an' no for reading; but ye hae broken the charm now, an' they'll never be sung mair. An' the worst thing of a', they're nouther right spell'd nor right setten down (Hogg 1834: 125).

The lack of recorded response from Scott suggests he may have sought self-preservation in silence. Laidlaw's recorded objections are important, however, insofar as they indicate the tension referenced in the beginning of this chapter between much of the vernacular-speaking populace in the Lowlands of Scotland, for whom these narratives were orally exchanged as cultural expression, and antiquarians like Scott who extracted and recuperated them as historical artefacts. Laidlaw's objection that the antiquarian transmissions were "nouther right spell'd nor right setten down" likely intimates the editorial interventions – lexical, orthographic, and structural – intended to "fit the ballads for the press." Hogg himself later wrote that Scott, and others', antiquarian editing practices were responsible for far-reaching cultural vandalism:

> The publication of the Border Minstrelsy had a singular and unexpected effect in this respect. These songs had floated down on the stream of oral tradition, from generation

> to generation, and were regarded as a precious treasure belonging to the country; but when Mr Scott's work appeared their areanum was laid open, and a deadening blow was inflicted on our rural literature and principal enjoyment by the very means adopted for their preservation (cited in Bold and Gilbert 2013: 13).

By removing orality from its source and transforming it with fixation to print, Hogg argued that this extraction and modification, intended as 'restorative', had the effect of diminishing the ballads and the communities with which they were affiliated. To "fit the ballads for the press," however, in a collection that would be sold across Britain, such changes were deemed necessary by Scott to reconcile the recuperation of Scottish literary history with the tastes of a modern audience, many of whose native language was either English or increasingly influenced by its forms. It is worth noting here that, unlike Burns, Scott did not restrict his use of Scots according to genre: it features in poems serious and solemn, comedic and romantic.

5.2. CORPUS ANALYSIS: *MINSTRELSY OF THE SCOTTISH BORDER* (1803)

We might now turn to a corpus analysis of the contents of Scott's *Minstrelsy* and the role of apostrophised Scots in his wider editorial practice, including its potential register constraints. We may recall from section 5.1.2 that both Herd and Pinkerton adhered to the Watson-Ramsay discrepancy in deployment of apostrophised forms, acknowledging them – from very different perspectives – as a normalised development within relatively contemporary Scots. Herd included apostrophised forms to avoid reducing "the language to the orthography of the times," whilst Pinkerton, understanding them to be a facet of modern Scots, eschewed them completely when transmitting his Middle Scots poems. Percy and Ritson, however, both Englishmen, seem to have interpreted the ubiquity of apostrophised forms, following Ramsay's death, in printed Scots literature as evidence of their being authentic constituents of the "Old Scottish Dialect." This presentation radically disrupted the historical/contemporary register binary: whereas Watson innovated apostrophised forms to authenticate contemporary Scots (and distinguish it from English and the 'faux Scots' of D'Urfey and Behn), Percy and Ritson inverted this function. They deployed apostrophised forms as markers of authentic historical Scots, rescued from the vulgar written/spoken vernacular.

How, then, did Scott navigate this complexified contemporary/historical register binary? The second edition of the *Minstrelsy* (published in 1803, only one year after the first edition) was, if we recall from this chapter's introduction, divided into three volumes, each of which

was characterised by the nature of the ballads they contained: 'Historical' in volume one; 'Romantic' in volume two; and an equiparative combination of 'Historical,' 'Romantic,' and 'Modern Imitations' by Scott and others in volume three. By comparatively analysing the frequency and distribution of apostrophised forms, it becomes clear that Scott approached the historical/contemporary register of apostrophised forms in a similar way to Watson and Ramsay. Although his transmitted texts were historical (often distantly), he modernised the language to contemporary forms and deployed the Scots apostrophe accordingly.

There are eighty-five poems in the second edition of the *Minstrelsy*. Table 5.1 shows the corpus results for the frequency and distribution of apostrophised forms, and their non-apostrophised and English reflexes, throughout the entire miscellany:

Table 5.1: **Frequency and distribution of apostrophised forms, and their non-apostrophised Scots and English reflexes in *Minstrelsy of the Scottish Border* (1803).**

Apost.	Freq.	Dist. /85	Non-Apost.	Freq.	Dist. /85	English	Freq.	Dist. /85
a'	334	63	aw	10	1	all	390	66
wi'	289	60	wi	4	4	with	1295	75
an'	61	9	an	4	2	and	6649	85
fa'	24	19	fa	1	1	fall	30	19
fu'	17	11	fou	4	3	full	51	29
ca'	17	12	caw	2	1	call	38	23
wa'	15	12	waw	1	1	wall	31	13
-fu'	14	8	-fu/-fou	4	3	-ful	204	52
-in'	18	9	-in	16	8	-ing	2721	85
sma'	6	5	sma	3	2	small	42	26
awa'	6	6	awa	29	20	away	109	48
bra'	4	3	braw	8	7	n/a	-	-
ba'	3	2	baw	0	0	ball	8	7
gi'e	0	0	gie	45	19	give	52	24
ha'e	0	0	hae	152	42	have	610	76
ga'e	0	0	gied	1	1	gave	61	29
mou'	0	0	mou/mow	5	2	mouth	31	21

unco’	0	0	unco	0	0	uncouth	8	8

There are a number of conclusions we can immediately draw. Firstly, English reflexes, in terms of frequency, are the majority form in every single category, although there is noticeable near-parity between <a’> and <all>, and <gie> and <give>. Crucial structuring words, such as the conjunction <and> and preposition <with>, not only appear significantly in terms of frequency but are deployed throughout the miscellany: the latter appears in 75 out of 85 poems, and the former in every single one. Nevertheless, however, apostrophised <a’> and <wi’>, despite their lower frequency, are prevalent throughout the collection: appearing in 63 and 60 entries respectively.

In a continuation of the trend we saw emerging with Ramsay and definitively with Burns, Scott uses apostrophised and non-apostrophised forms to the almost complete exclusion of the other, and the criteria for this seems to be word-placement. Word-final environments continue in Scott’s practice to be generally dominated by apostrophised forms, such as <a’> and <wi’>, but are especially over-represented in l-vocalised forms: e.g. <fa’>, <fu’>, <ca’>. Non-apostrophised forms, meanwhile, retained their monopoly in word-medial – notably v-deleted – environments as seen in Burns’s practice: e.g. <hae> and <gie>.

Scott does, however, seem to have been uncertain about apostrophised <-in’> and non-apostrophised <-in> suffix, which occur in terms of frequency at a rate of 18 and 16 tokens, and have distribution values of 9 and 8 respectively. Both, however, pale substantially in comparison to English <-ing>, which occurs with a frequency of 2721 tokens, and is distributed across every single entry. We might now compare these results to the overall eighteenth-century wordlist in Table 5.2:

***Table 5.2*: Frequency and distribution of apostrophised forms, and their non-apostrophised Scots and English reflexes in the corpus of eighteenth-century verse.**

Apost.	Freq.	Dist.	Non-Apost.	Freq.	Dist.	English	Freq.	Dist.
an’	1124	8	an	69	6	and	18,098	20
wi’	1027	16	wi	34	6	with	4124	17
a’	941	16	aw	75	10	all	1697	15
-in’	157	9	-in	60	8	-ing	7457	20
-fu’	129	13	-fu/-fou	64	9	-ful	578	13
awa’	109	7	awa	92	13	away	374	13

fa'	80	10	fa	0	0	fall	183	13
fu'	66	10	fou	71	9	full	200	12
ca'	48	10	caw/caa	6	6	call	154	10
gi'e	39	4	gie	137	11	give	230	11
ha'e	33	5	hae	401	12	have	1374	13
wa'	24	5	waw	1	1	wall	51	7
sma'	15	9	smaw	0	0	small	78	6
bra'	13	3	braw	88	11	n/a	0	0
ga'e	11	3	gied	19	4	gave	137	9
ba'	10	4	baw	0	0	ball	28	8
mou'	8	4	mou/mow	27	8	mouth	87	11
unco'	6	2	unco	48	7	uncouth	16	5

The frequency results are, essentially, a microcosm of the overall eighteenth-century results, suggesting those trends emerging in Burns's work had been crystallised by Scott. As mentioned, although inverted in terms of their frequency, Scott's *Minstrelsy* has continued the pattern of dominance for <an'>, <wi'> and <a'>, which suggests that by this stage, nearly a century after their introduction by Watson, they were firmly entrenched varieties of Scots, and the preferred form when compared with their non-apostrophised reflex.

Possibly influenced by the popularity of <a'> - which may have convinced writers such as Scott to analogise with other forms accordingly (not dissimilarly to Ramsay extending use to <-bra'> – l-vocalised forms continue to be frequently deployed and comparatively well-distributed in Scott's *Minstrelsy* compared to their non-apostrophised reflexes.

The same can be said for word-medial, v-deleted non-apostrophised forms, which are used to the complete exclusion of apostrophised varieties by Scott. The disproportionately larger use of <hae> and <gie>, when compared with potential apostrophised forms, suggests a continued preference for the particular spelling variety favoured by Burns.

These emergent patterns – continued discrimination by different agents over when and when not to use apostrophised forms – suggest that by the end of the eighteenth century, use of the Scots apostrophe was becoming settled. We might consider the following two graphs (Figures 5.8 and 5.9 respectively), which show the trajectory of apostrophised forms between

the first and second halves of the eighteenth-century corpus, both in terms of their frequency and distribution. There are nine texts pre-1750 and eleven texts post-1750: the former comprising 197107 words and the latter 393,593 words. The frequency results of Figure 5.8 have therefore been normalised to per thousand words:

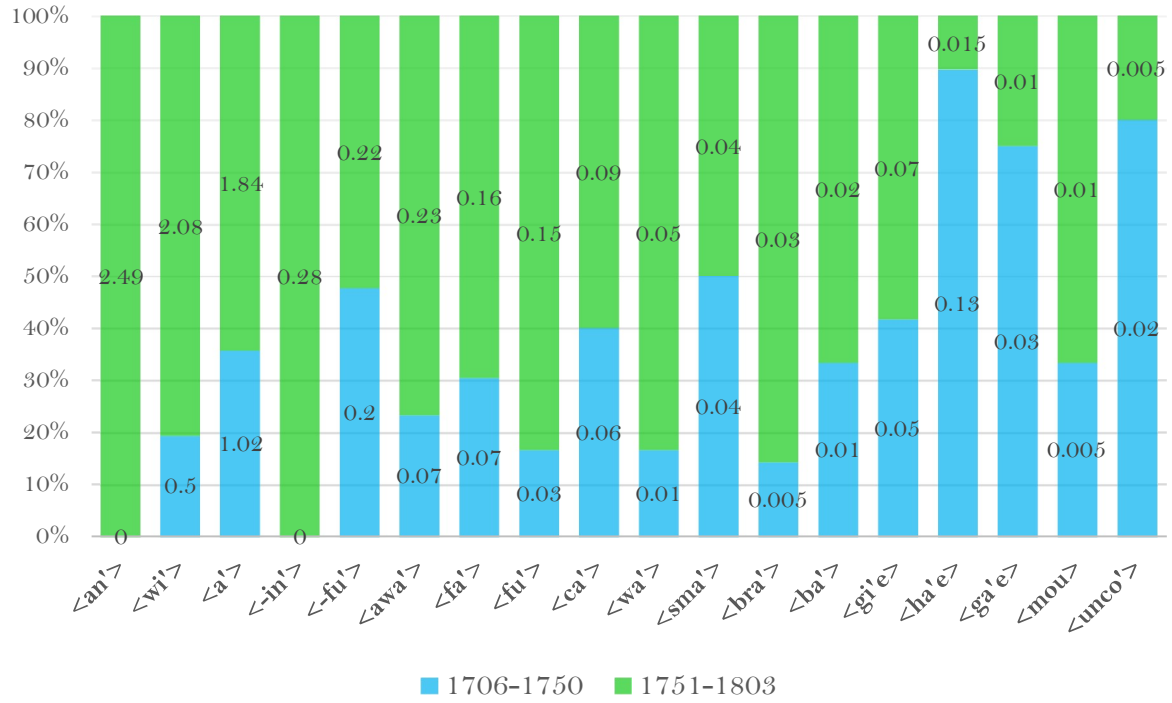


Figure 5.8: **A graph showing the comparative normalised frequencies of apostrophised forms between the first and second halves of the eighteenth century.**

Figure 5.8 shows that as apostrophised forms move into the second half of the century, their frequency increases as well – dramatically in most cases. As expected, word-medial apostrophised forms decrease in most cases, except, we might note, for <gi'e>, where the second half of the century defies an expected decline to show a slight increase. This is, however, explained by the following graph concerning distribution.

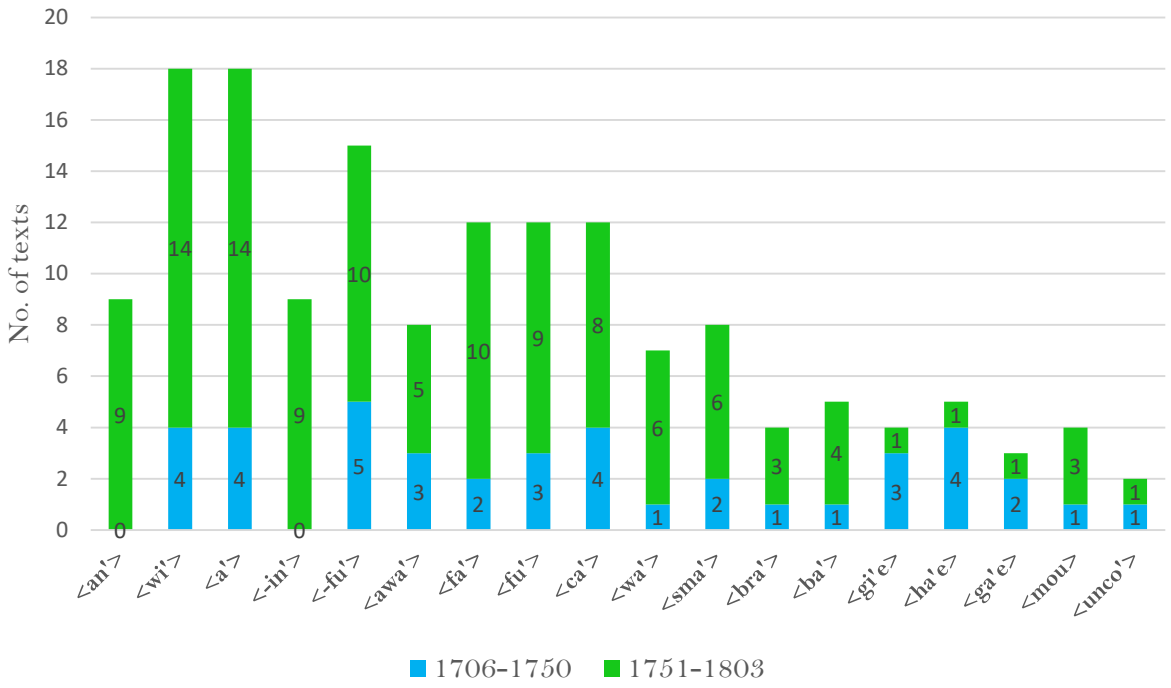


Figure 5.9: **A graph showing the comparative distribution of apostrophised forms between the first and second halves of the eighteenth century.**

Figure 5.9 shows that whilst <gi'e> demonstrates an increase in the second half of the century, this does not reflect an increasing popularity: rather, a single text – in this case, David Herd's *Ancient and Modern Scottish Songs* (1769) – is responsible for the inflated result. The form <gi'e> has, as expected, decreased in overall popularity among the corpus texts.

Outside of <gi'e>, the patterns of distribution and frequency map neatly onto one another: <an'>, <wi'>, and <a'> drastically increase in both frequency and distribution in the latter half of the eighteenth century, alongside increasing use and distribution of l-vocalised word-final forms. Conversely, <ha'e>, <ha'e>, and <gi'e>, the preferred choices of Ramsay but eschewed by Burns and Scott, decline heavily (with the qualified exception of the latter's frequency) after 1750 in both regards. The other examples of loss of final /θ/, <mou'> and <unco'>, show a preference for the former in the second half of the century, but equal distribution for the latter.

The patterns of preference begin to indicate settlement: the Scots apostrophe became a normalised, even expected, occurrence in word-final forms but fell away in use word-medially, where <hae>, <gied>, and <gie> remained the norm.

5.2.1. The Absence of a Glossary

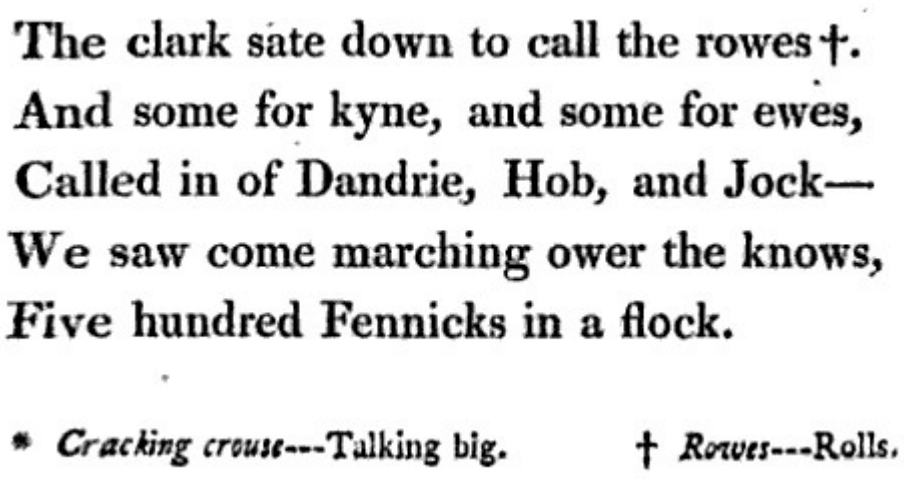
When Scott made clear that he had no interest in 'archaicising' the lexis and orthography of his transmissions, it seems reasonable to speculate his chief concern, compared to those prior

figures we have discussed, may indeed have been accessibility for an English-speaking readership (the number of which in Scotland alone had grown substantially since Ramsay's time). In an extremely important study, which considered the evidence for a Second 'Vernacular Revival' in latter nineteenth-century Scotland, *The Language of the People: Scots Prose from the Victorian Revival*, William Donaldson stated that:

> Most of Walter Scott's readers would have been English – he could never have built that Gothic extravaganza at Abbotsford on returns from the Scottish book-trade alone – and he had to write about things they could understand in a way they could tolerate (1989: 2).

The latter portion of Donaldson's claim, however, does not particularly stand up to scrutiny. Burns use of Scots, for example, in *Poems Chiefly in the Scottish Dialect*, was far more extensive than Scott's and does not seem to have inhibited his considerable British and European success.

Donaldson is, however, right to say that accessibility to an English audience, given their status as the most populous reading demographic on the archipelago, would nonetheless have been a conscious priority – in the same way, of course, it was for Burns, hence his sizeable glossary at the end of the second Edinburgh edition of *Poems* bound for sale in England (as opposed to the first edition, whose sale was confined to the Central Belt and contained a significantly smaller glossary). Scott, however, provided no such glossary in the *Minstrelsy*, a fact which may have impacted the Scots/English ratio in his work. He did, however, frequently include glosses of particularly uncommon Scots words (from the perspective of a native English speaker) as footnotes (Figure 5.10):


The clark sate down to call the rowes †.
And some for kyne, and some for ewes,
Called in of Dandrie, Hob, and Jock—
We saw come marching ower the knows,
Five hundred Fennicks in a flock.

* *Cracking crouse*---Talking big. † *Rowes*---Rolls.

***Figure 5.10*: Excerpt from Minstrelsy showing glossed terms footnoted on the page (1803, vol. 1: 116).**

At no point, however, are apostrophised forms ever glossed. This does not, however, suggest that Scott was unaware some English readers might find such forms unrecognisable. To this end, Scott – in a tradition shared by Herd and Pinkerton – directs the reader to a previous figure's glossary, in this case Burns: "For explanation of the more common peculiarities of the Scotish dialect, the English reader is referred to the excellent glossary annexed to the last edition of BURNS'S works" (1803: cvii). Given that editions of Burns's miscellany, *Poems, Chiefly in the Scottish Dialect*, were being printed with the same glossary as the 1787 edition – thus including the extensive glossing of apostrophised forms – at the beginning of the nineteenth century when Scott was preparing the *Minstrelsy* for publication, this suggests – potentially – that not all apostrophised forms were universally understood by English readers.

5.2.2. CONTEMPORARY/HISTORICAL REGISTER: VOLUME THREE

Volume three of the *Minstrelsy* is of particular interest to us since it is divided into three approximately equal-sized sections, organised into the following order: 'Historical Ballads,' containing fourteen poems; 'Romantic Ballads,' containing nine poems, and 'Modern Imitations' of historical narratives, containing ten poems. We might therefore consider the following graph in Figure 5.11, which reflects the number of tokens recorded for the most frequent apostrophised forms in *Minstrelsy* – <a'>, <wi'>, <an'> – as they occur in each section: Historical, Romantic, and Modern Imitation:

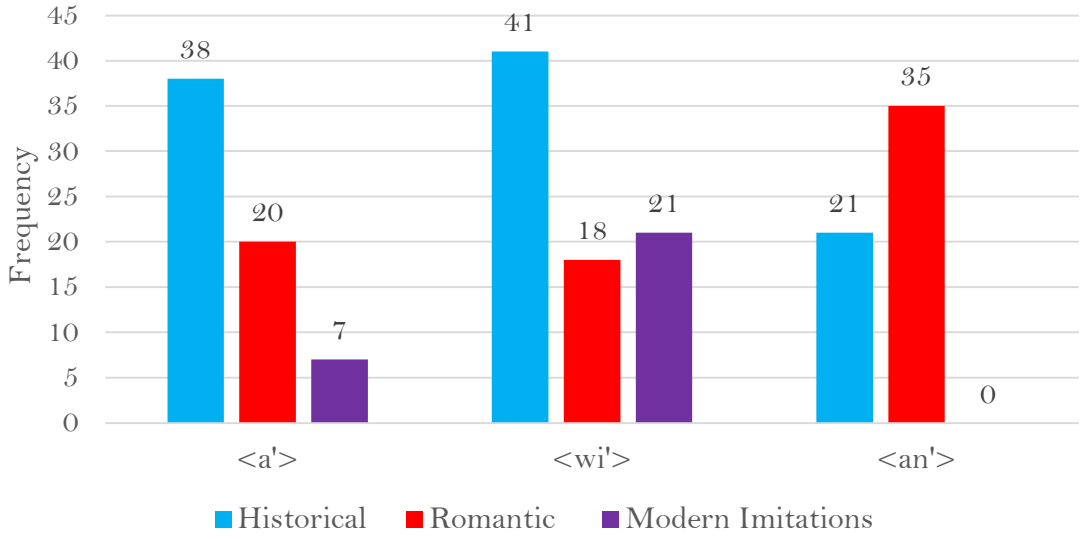


Figure 5.11: **Graph displaying respective frequencies of <a'>, <wi'>, and <an'> according to the three genres of the *Minstrelsy*, vol. 3 (1803).**

'Romantic' verse, which contains both historical verse, such as "The Douglas Tragedy' – "one of the few, to which local tradition has ascribed complete locality" (1803, vol 3: 243) – and non-historical verse, such as 'Proud Lady Margaret,' which was "communicated to the editor by Mr Hamilton, Music-seller, Edinburgh, with whose mother it had been a favourite," notably, possesses more than half of all instances of <an'> in the entire miscellany (1803, vol.3: 275).

Completely counter, it seems, to Watson and Ramsay, the Historical genre contains the most examples of apostrophised forms overall: 38 tokens for <a'>, 41 tokens for <wi'>, and 21 tokens for <an'>. Modern Imitations of historical texts, interestingly, deploys the fewest apostrophised forms, and completely eschews <an'>. That said, it contains 'imitations' invited for inclusion in the miscellany by Scott's contemporaries which shed further light on contemporary non-Scot's use of apostrophised forms. One of these inventions is by a name we have already encountered: Anne Seward, the English poet and botanist with whom Scott corresponded about the authenticity of Ossian. The Scots of her contribution, 'Rich Auld Willie's Farewell' is impressive: a ballad about "a freebooter, taken by the English in a border battle, and condemned to be executed," she uses older Scots morphemes – e.g. <speck**'t**> and <bour**is**>; older Scots orthography – e.g. <kine> and <na>; older Scots lexis – e.g. <ilka>; all of which is married with use of apostrophised forms: <wi'>, <a'> and <fu'>. This concordance is evocative of Percy and Ritson's anachronistic application of apostrophised Scots alongside elements of the language which significantly predated apostrophisation. It continues to suggest that, certainly outside of native Scots speakers and writers, apostrophised forms were seen as an authenticating norm of the language.

We might have thought the level of Scott's adherence to the Watson-Ramsay historical/contemporary divide should, theoretically, manifest itself in terms of how apostrophised variants are distributed throughout the volume e.g. where they do and, crucially, do not occur.[22] As such, we might be forgiven for thinking that Scott did not discriminate in how he deployed the Scots apostrophe according to a historical/contemporary register; instead, one might interpret the data as showing its use in Scots as a non-temporal-

[22] It is worth noting that the poems transmitted in these sections were not static and shifted as Scott's conception of his sources and the effects of his own editing evolved: by the 1806 edition, for example, 'Thomas the Rhymer' had moved from 'Romantic Ballads' to 'Modern Imitations' (understandably: of the three parts which constituted the ballad, only the first was not entirely authored by Scott, a point we will return to in the next sub-section).

specific feature akin to the manner of use by Percy and Ritson (and Seward), who understood it as a form of 'proper Scots.'

Such a conclusion, however, would neglect an important point. We might remind ourselves that in Chapters Two and Three, historically-situated texts in Watson and Ramsay were necessarily composed in older Scots: e.g. *ROBERT the III. King of Scotland, His Answer to a Summons sent Him by Henry the IV. of England* in section 2.6., and *Chryst's-Kirk on the Grene* in section 3.3.2. The Scots apostrophe, therefore, was not needed since older Scots forms – especially conservative Middle Scots spellings – were visually distinct from English anyway. Scott, however, like Herd, had linguistically modernised his ballads to reflect the contemporary linguistic landscape: this inevitably meant a significant increase in native English forms, even in historical Scots ballads. For example, in the opening notes to first ballad of the 'Historical' genre in volume three, 'Auld Maitland' – copied from a recitation, if we remember, by a bemused Margaret Laidlaw – Scott writes:

> This ballad, notwithstanding its present appearance, has a claim to very high antiquity. It has been preserved by tradition; and is, perhaps, the most authentic instance of a long and very old poem, exclusively thus preserved. It is only known to a few old people, upon the sequestered banks of the Ettrick; and is published, as written down from the recitation of the mother of Mr James Hogg, in Ettrick House, who sings, or rather chaunts it, with great animation. She learned the ballad from a blind man, who died at the advanced age of ninety, and is said to have been possessed of much traditionary knowledge. Although the language of this poem is much modernised, yet many words which reciters have retained without understanding them, still preserve traces of its antiquity (1803, vol 3: 1).

Scott observes these traces to be "Springals," "sowies," and "portcullize," which, he asserts, "could never have been introduced by a modern ballad-maker" (1803, vol. 3: 2). It is noticeable that antiquarians such as Scott rely on advertising the insufficiencies of oral transmitters: the alternative would undermine the identification of words such as "sowies" and "portcullize" as certain diagnostics of antiquity. This seems especially important for Scott who has transmitted largely modernised versions of his ballads. An extract of stanzas from 'Auld Maitland,' a ballad which Scott implies could have originated as early as the thirteenth or fourteenth century, read:

> "At our lang wars, in fair Scotland,
> I fain hae wishes to be ;

If fifteen hundred waled wight men
You'll grant to ride wi' me."

"Thou sall hae thae, thou sall hae mae :
I say it sickerlie ;
And I myself, an auld gray man,
Array'd your host sall see."

King Edward rade, King Edward ran---
I wish him dool and pyne!
Till he had fifteen hundred men
Assembled on the Tyne. (1803: 12).

Organised into Augustan quatrains of alternating iambic tetrameter and hexameter, the lexis and orthography are in many respects English. Interwoven, however, is a significant level of Scots which is functionally important for the rhyme and rhythm of the verse. Scots <wi'> creates a necessary unstressed foot preceding stressed <me>; and Scots <sickerlie> secures the abcb rhyming scheme with English <see> in the second stanza.

Given the intervening years between Watson/Ramsay and Scott, it seems reasonable to postulate that the historical/contemporary register constraint might no longer be so salient. Nevertheless, since Scott was not primarily transmitting his versions of 'ancient' ballads in older Scots forms, distinguishing factors were required to sell the 'Scottishness' of his texts. Shown here in Table 5.3 is a sample from a localised wordlist of the lexical items that comprised the *Minstrelsy* suggesting apostrophised forms were emerging as diagnostic Scotticisms in literary expression:

***Table 5.3*: Sample wordlist from the *Minstrelsy* (1803).**
Word types: 23,003; Word tokens: 200,339

Word	Rank	Frequency
the	1	13897
of	2	7403
and	3	6649
to	4	4681
a	5	3703
a'	60	334
wi'	69	289
hae	127	152

bonny	136	145
gude	139	141

We may recall from Chapter Two, section 2.3.2., the function of certain lexis in constructing a faux Scottish identity by writers of Scotch Songs, such as, incidentally, <bonny> and <gude>. In terms of their frequency, these two lexical items rank at 136th and 139th out of a possible 23,003 word types. It may be that Scott included these at such frequency as to create a scaffolding of familiar 'diagnostic Scots' that English readers could readily recognise. The same might be said, then, for <a'>, <wi'> alongside <hae>, each of which occur highly disproportionately when compared with the overall number of word types. A feature of Scots literature for nearly a century, it would not be surprising if these particular forms were now similarly recognisable to an English audience as those appropriated by D'Urfey and Behn at the end of the seventeenth century. The application of the Watson-Ramsay historical/contemporary register constraint may not be applicable in its most literal sense here but nonetheless, certain apostrophised forms alongside other Scots lexis, having become so familiar to British readerships, were being deployed as diagnostics that distinguished the Scottishness of Scott's collection.

As a final example of this method of reception and transmission by Scott, we might look at a ballad in volume one of the *Minstrelsy*, 'The Raid of Reidswire.' In the opening note, Scott explains that it has been copied from the sixteenth-century Bannatyne manuscript, and writes:

> It first appeared in *Allan Ramsay's Evergreen*, but some liberties have been taken by him in transcribing it; and, what is altogether unpardonable, the MS., which is itself rather inaccurate, has been interpolated to further his readings; of which there remains obvious marks (1803, vol 1: 111).

Scott, interestingly, did not regard his own transcribing of the Bannatyne's version from Middle Scots to Modern Scots/English as a 'liberty'. Detailing a military skirmish between Scottish and English forces in 1575, a sample stanza from each version (the third respectively), Scott's, Ramsay's, and the Bannatyne's, reads:

'The Raid of Reidswire,' the *Minstrelsy* (Scott 1803, vol. 1: 114).	'The Ballat of the Reid-Squair,' *Ever Green* (Ramsay 1724, vol. 2: 225)	'The song of the rid square,' Bannatyne MS. (Adv.MS.1.1.6)
Then Tividale came to wi' speid ;	THEN *Twidail* came to with Speid,	Than tividale came to Indeed the sherriffe brought the douglas down

The sheriff brought the Douglas down, Wi' Cranstane, Gladstin, good at need, Baith Rewle water, and Hawick town. Beanjeddart bauldly made him boun, Wi' a' the Trumbills, strong and stout; The Rutherfoords, with grit renown, Convoyed the town of Jedbrugh out.	The Scherif brocht the *Douglas* doun, With *Cranstane*, *Gladstane*, gude at Neid, Baith *Rewls-Watter* and *Hawick-Town.* *Beangeddart* bauldly maid him boun, With all the *Trumbulls* strang and stout; The *Rutherfuirds*, with grit Renoun, Convoyit the Toun of *Jedbruch* out.	with Cranstane gladstain good at need baith rewls water & hawick town Beangeddert baldely made him bown with all the trumbels strong & stout the rutherfoords with grit renown convoyed the town of Iedbrugh out

Ramsay considered his role as editor to recuperate and Scotticise where the Bannatyne MS has insufficiently done so: Middle Scots, remote from 1707, was under no obligation to be Briticised like those more contemporary works in his *Poems* miscellany. In the preface to *The Ever Green*, Ramsay wrote:

> *When these good old* Bards *wrote, we had not yet made Use of important Trimming upon our Cloaths, nor of foreign Embroidery in our Writings. Their* Poetry *is the Product of their own Country, not pilfered and spoiled in the Translation…There is nothing can be heard more silly than one's expressing his* Ignorance *of his native* Language…*shew them the most elegant Thoughts in a* Scots' *Dress, they as disdainfully as stupidly condemn it as barbarous. But the true Reason is obvious : Every one that is born never so little superior to the* Vulgar, *would fain distinguish themselves from them by some Manner or other, and such, it would appear, cannot arrive at a better* Method (1724: vii, x-xi).

This may be where Scott has taken exception to Ramsay's "unpardonable" interpretations to "further his readings." Ramsay, not unlike Kay and Purves in the Introduction to this thesis, understood Middle Scots as 'pre-British' and therefore undiluted by exposure to native English forms: the language exists outwith foreign influences. Scott, as a historian, likely knew this view to be untrue. Nevertheless, Ramsay's editorial interventions closely reflected this idealisation of Scots history. Throughout, he modifies typically English orthographies to their Scots varieties: e.g. <sherriffe> to <Scherif>; <brought> to <brocht>; <down> to <doun>; <good> to <gude>; <made> to <maid>; <convoyed> to <convoyit>; and <town> to <toun> etc.

Scott's collection, like Herd's, however, was purposefully not limited to being received by antiquarians but rather a general pan-British readership. Zealous Scotticisation, based on a romanticised history of the Scots language, was not only antithetical to Scott's sensibilities as a historian but also as an editor: for Scott, a crucial function of recuperation was its subsequent viability for diffusion.

Scott's transmission of the ballad is closely aligned with the Bannatyne MS but, with different sociocultural priorities to Ramsay, he has modernised the spelling throughout: <sherriffe> becomes <sheriff>; and <baldely> becomes <bauldly>. Scott also transmits the Bannatyne's use of English orthography to represent Scottish phonology: e.g. <Rutherfoords> and <Judbrugh> where Ramsay wrote <Rutherfuirds> and <Jedbruch>.

As we can see in Ramsay's transmission, there are – unsurprisingly – no apostrophised forms. In Scott's 1803 transmission, there are three alone in stanza three: two examples of <wi'> and one of <a'>. The modernisation of the sixteenth century MS's language in Scott's version therefore required diagnostic Scots to advertise the ballad's Scottishness, which might otherwise be unclear. It is also notable that, as with Gordon's version of 'Thomas the Rhymer', Scott has employed a regime of modern punctuation – semi-colons, commas, and full-stops – not present at all in the Bannatyne transcript.

5.3. CONCLUSION

To recap, the modern beliefs about apostrophised Scots outlined in this thesis's introduction are:

1. The function of apostrophised spelling forms in Scots is to indicate elision.
2. The use of apostrophised forms undermines perceptions of Scots as a language independent from English and is solely for the benefit of accessibility for an English readership.
3. Scots is intrinsically linked with Scottishness: as an agent of anglicisation, the use of apostrophised forms therefore contributes to the erosion of Scottish cultural identity.

Recalling Grant's early criticism, the assumption that apostrophised forms were simply 'clipping' the consonants of otherwise native English words was clearly not shared by Scott. In a roundabout way, he subscribed to the Watson-Ramsay historical/contemporary register. By modernising the language of historical texts, and frequently using native English lexis in the process – in the manner we witnessed with his transmission of the Bannatyne MS's 'song of the rid square' – Scott deployed apostrophised forms as verifiable instances of the Scots

language. Corpus results indicated – alongside native Scots forms such as <gude> and <bonny> – that Scott used them as diagnostic markers of Scots in texts now being written extensively in linguistic varieties closely-aligned with Southern English linguistic norms.

Despite modern criticisms that apostrophised forms were a covert anglicisation and undermined the language's connection with Scottish cultural identity, in the latter half of the century the Scots apostrophe was so closely associated with Scots and Scottishness that English writers and antiquarians – like Percy, Ritson, and Seward – all deployed apostrophised forms in their transmissions of Scottish texts: even anachronistically alongside Middle Scots varieties. In this sense, the Scots apostrophe's sociocultural function of delineating the Scots language from native English influence, and thereby highlighting a text's Scottish presence, was still being maintained a century after its innovation by Watson.

By the time of the *Minstrelsy's* second edition being published in 1803, however, there is evidence to suggest apostrophised forms were now largely *intelligible* to an English readership. Whilst Scott referred readers who may have struggled with comprehension to Burns's glossary in *Poems, Chiefly in the Scottish Dialect*, which glossed apostrophised forms, he evidently felt a glossary of his own warranted no urgency, and nor did any of his footnotes gloss apostrophised forms. This indicates that, after several generations of writers, editors, printers making use of it, the Scots apostrophe had become so normalised in the production and diffusion of Scots literature that it was recognisable on both sides of the border. Vitally, this is not the same as saying apostrophised forms were innovated or used to make Scottish literature accessible to an English-speaking audience at the expense of the language's integrity. Rather, as observable in the works of Watson, Ramsay, and Burns, it was the Scots apostrophe's highly successful diachronic transmission and diffusion that invariably led to its familiarity amongst English and Scots-English readers.

CHAPTER SIX: CONCLUSION

To summarise, this thesis had three intentions: two empirical and one conceptual. The first, and foundational, was challenging modern myth-making about the origin and historical role of the Scots apostrophe in the Scots language. This first goal was fulfilled through the creation of an epistemological framework – based on corpus and close philological analysis – that tested, and subsequently disproved, present-day beliefs concerning the inception and function (both intra- and extratextual) of apostrophised forms in eighteen-century literary verse. The modern beliefs that mischaracterise the Scots apostrophe in historical texts – its derivative 'clipping' of words, and undermining of both the integrity of the Scots language through covert anglicisation for the benefit of an English readership and the link between Scots and Scottish cultural identity – were all shown to have little purchase in historical actuality. In fact, the function of the Scots apostrophe was demonstrated to be entirely the opposite of modern conceptions: it was innovated to distinguish 'authentic' Scots lexis in texts which were increasingly influenced by native English forms. This use was marked by a distinct contemporary/historical register, which saw the Scots apostrophe typically reserved for the former; the latter's older Scots spellings were deemed sufficient to distinguish them from native English varieties. By the beginning of the nineteenth century, the Scots apostrophe was established as an expected feature of Scots texts north and south of the border.

The second intention, by extension, was demonstrating the importance of non-lexical markers, broadly-conceived, as repositories of meaning in texts. The process of disproving modern myths around the Scots apostrophe – e.g. its derivative 'clipping' function and 'anti-Scottishness' – realised this goal by showing how a mark such as the Scots apostrophe functioned in relation to the sociocultural tastes and priorities of its users and consumers. Paralleling this outcome, this thesis has provided compelling evidence for consideration of the apostrophe as 'annotative' rather than 'punctuative', in line with its textual function.

The third and final 'conceptual' intention of this thesis was to disrupt established narratives about the history of the Scots language. As was observed in works cited in the introduction – e.g. those of Kay (1993) and Purves (2002) – the Scots language is often conceived as having entered a state of terminal decline following the end of the sixteenth century and the age of the Makars: a language, by way of the Reformation, Union of Crowns, and Act of Union, which has repeatedly been victim to injurious circumstance. Research into the Scots apostrophe, however, has shown how contemporary figures such as Watson and Ramsay –

nationalists who recognised the value of Scots, to both poetry and identity – understood the effects of such extralinguistic events as *changes*, rather than wounds, which the leid could accommodate. The innovation and diffusion of the Scots apostrophe is evident of this: a modernisation that defied the notion of decline and instead facilitated the incorporation of this 'new normal' into literary conceptions of the language. For this reason, this thesis has been careful to avoid casual use of a term like 'anglicisation', which obliterates nuance.

The following summaries outline the contribution of each chapter to realising the intentions of this thesis.

6.1. Summary of Chapter One: Methodology & Theory

Misinformation on the word placement and orthographic environments of the Scots apostrophe – see Grant's "clipping of final consonants" remark and Kay's misidentified apostrophised form in <o'> in sections I-II of the Introduction – suggested the urgent need for an epistemological framework that could clearly discriminate the occurrence of the Scots apostrophe. Drawing on the etymological relationship between eighteenth-century apostrophised forms and corresponding language change in Middle Scots orthography – l-vocalisation in <a'>; loss of final /θ/ in <wi'>; consonant clustering in <an'>; and inflectional reduction in <-in'> – the culmination of this chapter was a list of diagnostic variables which could be used to distinguish the Scots apostrophe from other functions. This was supported by the outline of a comparative historiography of the apostrophe, which helped to identify overlaps between the Scots apostrophe and other types – such as memorialisation, which could also occur in v-deleted word-medial position e.g. <ne'er> – and discriminate accordingly.

The qualitative analysis in this chapter (section 1.2.) produced a definitive diachronic wordlist with which to compare synchronic results – both rates of frequency and textual distribution – from the individual miscellanies of Watson, Ramsay, Burns, and Scott. This contextualised the Scots apostrophe's development arc from inception at the beginning of the century, rapid diffusion during, and normalisation by its close. Substantial manual intervention, however, was required to prune results e.g. for non-apostrophised <-in> suffix where there was regular overlap with non-suffixed words ending in the letters <in>: e.g. <mountain> and <captain>. This section also revealed the urgent need for historical pragmatic research into punctuation and annotative marks that goes beyond notions of grammatical structure: what limited corpus studies that currently exist are typically in the field of natural language processing.

Finally, this chapter theoretically orientated the thesis in the decades-long paradigm shift – from Zumthor's *mouvance* to Smith's reimagined philology – that increasingly recognised textual minutiae as inherently valuable to the understanding of a text's, and its subsequent transmissions', evolving sociocultural contexts. The result was a three-stage methodology – philological contextualisation, corpus analysis, and pragmatic assessment of the Scots apostrophe in a selected text – that structured the investigations of Chapters Two, Three, Four, and Five. Inspired by *Pragmatics on the Page*, this three-stage methodology was designed with the notion that it be transplantable to future research prioritising punctuative and annotative markers.

6.1.1. SUMMARY OF CHAPTER TWO: WATSON'S CHOICE APOSTROPHE

Chapter Two confirmed the viability of the three-stage methodology in questioning modern beliefs about apostrophised Scots. Philological analysis challenged the association between apostrophised forms and anglicisation – both orthographic and cultural – by demonstrating the methods by which Watson navigated the contemporary sociocultural environment: an avowed patriot and nationalist, he regularly printed criticisms of governance in Scotland that were firmly anti-Union. Further, Watson's miscellany – and his innovation of the Scots apostrophe – came at a time of popularity for London-originating broadsheets and printed collections of 'Scotch songs': poems and songs which pastoralised Scotland and improvised 'faux' Scots forms. Watson was explicit in the preface of his miscellany that its creation was a distinctly Scottish response to this circumstance.

Although Watson included a significant range of native English forms in *Choice Collection*, contextualisation of the corpus results by means of philological analysis of the first edition (1706-11), and subsequent comparison with its second edition, demonstrated a range of corresponding editorial measures that sought to accommodate this circumstance for the benefit of the Scots language. In addition to the Scots apostrophe illuminating certain forms as 'clearly Scots', Watson interwove native English orthography with Scots phonology, and archaicised certain spellings to reflect older, distinct Scots (e.g. <no> to <na>). Further, corpus analysis revealed the fascinating outcome that Watson modified deployment of apostrophised forms according to whether a poem/song was written in historical or contemporary Scots: it occurred only in the latter, which suggest he considered the lexical and spelling variants of the former sufficiently diagnostic of Scots and Scottishness. Overall, this chapter identified the strong link between language and ethnicity for Watson, and the role played by apostrophised forms in navigating it, as opposed to undermining it.

6.1.2. SUMMARY OF CHAPTER THREE

Chapter Three identified an interesting departure from the concern of anglicisation and the overwhelming of Scots by English: Ramsay's *Briticising* of Scots by actively enriching it with English. This disruption of the typical narrative characterising the linguistic relationship between Scots and English was further reflected in the corpus analysis of Ramsay's *Poems* (1721, 1723). Including, like Watson, a substantial range of native English forms, Ramsay accordingly deployed a significant portion of native Scots forms and radically expanded environmental and orthographic use of the Scots apostrophe – particular to v-deleted word-medial environments such as <ha'e> and <ga'e> (and in doing so entirely disproved Grant's claim that the Scots apostrophe only 'clipped' final consonants from English cognates). He also deployed Scots forms across a range of genres (unlike the singular pastorals of 'Scotch songs').

Notably, Ramsay continued the register delineation between historical and contemporary Scots devised by Watson, shown by the inclusion of apostrophised forms in *Poems*, which contained contemporarily-situated songs and poems, and their exclusion in *The Ever Green* (1724), which exclusively contained historical Scots spelling and lexis, and accordingly made no use of the Scots apostrophe. This is further evidence against modern accusations of 'anglicisation': the Scots apostrophe was fulfilling the role that older spellings did in early forms of the language in distinguishing Scots from English.

The close relationship between Ramsay's expansive use of apostrophised forms and his intention to make Scots the "completest Tongue" with the infusion of native English forms suggests a far more complex attitude to the contemporary linguistic landscape than a reductive binary between Scottishness and anglicisation (again, culturally or linguistically). The Scots apostrophe, once again, played a functional role in preserving – or, at least, illuminating – Scots within a text.

6.1.3. SUMMARY OF CHAPTER FOUR

The mixed method approach of corpus and philological analysis was integral to uncovering in the work of Burns an interesting evolution in the use of the Scots apostrophe: whereas Ramsay had deployed it as frequently as possible both word-medially and word-finally, Burns entirely eschewed word-medial apostrophised forms such as <ha'e> and <ga'e> exclusively in favour of <hae> and <gied>. This difference suggested that, in the kind of miscellanies which increasingly placed Scots and native English forms in close proximity, certain forms

were emerging as diagnostically Scots: this included word-final occurring apostrophised forms such as <an'>, <wi'>, and <a'>.

Chapter Four emphasised the use of glossaries in disproving the belief that the Scots apostrophe was solely for the benefit of an English readership. The first 'Kilmarnock' edition of his *Poems, Chiefly in the Scottish Dialect* (1786) was sold locally and provided only minimal glossing for apostrophised forms. The second 'Edinburgh' edition, however, was destined for sale in England and, accordingly, was appended with a radically expanded glossary that included expansive glossing of apostrophised forms, which strongly indicated the Scots apostrophe's function was not accessibility for a non-Scots readership.

6.1.4. Summary of Chapter Five

Scott's use of apostrophised forms as authenticating signifiers of Scottishness were final examples of the evidence amassed in this thesis to challenge – and overturn – those modern beliefs about apostrophised forms being 'clipped' cognates of English, and undermining perceptions of Scots as a language and its relationship to Scottishness. Use of a localised wordlist indicated that Scott understood apostrophised forms in the same manner as words such as <gude> and <bonny>: distinct markers of Scots in texts that were, overall, increasingly closely aligned with Southern English linguistic norms. The Scots apostrophe was by this stage so closely associated with Scots and Scottishness that English writers and antiquarians – such Percy, Ritson, and Seward – used the Scots apostrophe extensively in their transmissions of Scottish-themed texts. Percy and Ritson are particularly interesting examples since they transgressed the historical/contemporary register and used apostrophised forms alongside Middle Scots spelling lexis. This showed that the Scots apostrophe had become so normalised in textual representations of the Scots language that for English antiquarians wishing their transmissions of Scots texts to seem 'authentic', inclusion of apostrophised forms was imperative. The Scots apostrophe and Scottishness, by the beginning of the nineteenth century, remained in deep association.

6.2. Thesis Contributions

The research presented in this thesis makes the following key contributions:

1. It disproves of modern myths around the origin and function of the Scots apostrophe. Rather than being an agent of anglicisation – the 'apologetic apostrophe' as it has been commonly mischaracterised – the Scots apostrophe functioned as a diagnostic of 'authentic' Scots.

2. It provides further evidence that non-lexical markers are important repositories of meaning in a text. Going forward, this should be an important consideration for textual critics and editors of historical collections when making their emendations.

3. This thesis has shown that non-lexical markers, such as the apostrophe, are highly fecund opportunities for corpus analysis.

4. This thesis has shown the value of categorising the apostrophe more effectively as 'annotation,' which will better explain its function in written language.

5. This thesis has complicated the traditional Scots language narrative. Following the sixteenth century, Scots continued to experience complex innovations like the Scots apostrophe and in doing so navigated a rapidly changing linguistic environment and defied present-day narratives of 'decline'.

6. Watson scholarship: by identifying him as the innovator of the Scots apostrophe, this thesis has shown Watson to be a far more influential figure than has hitherto been realised in the sociocultural history of Scotland.

7. Ramsay scholarship: the notion of his *Briticising* of the Scots language – and thereby preserving it through situation in the wider British landscape – has hitherto not been investigated beyond this thesis (existing comparable analyses argue he either anglicised Scots or 'Scotticised' English).

8. Burns scholarship: identifying Burns's role in the transmission of the Scots apostrophe and his influence on its deployment, this thesis has presented entirely new examples of Burns scholarship.

9. Scott Scholarship: by identifying and illuminating Scott's use of the Scots apostrophe – its role within his editorial practice of "fitting the ballads for the press" – this thesis has made fresh contributions to scholarship of Scott.

6.3. Future Research & Concluding Remarks

The outcomes achieved in this thesis point to numerous avenues for potential future research, the most obvious, of course, being similar studies that consider the trajectory of apostrophised forms throughout the remaining nineteenth, twentieth and twenty-first centuries. Outwith the subject of this thesis, however, the methodology used is eminently transplantable to the diachronic investigation of other punctuative and annotative markers, and their sociocultural

function in texts: the dialectal apostrophe, for example, in either Scots or English, would be a fascinating object for this kind of study.

It is also hoped that this thesis, in presenting a narrative of Scots which demonstrates its post-seventeenth-century capacity to innovate in a shifting sociocultural landscape, will encourage us, as scholars and commentators, to revisit our traditional preconceptions. The understanding of Modern Scots as a 'language in decline' rather than one in the process of great change has – until now – obscured the rich and complex history of the Scots apostrophe. Following the example of Watson and Ramsay, we might better conceive of Modern Scots – influenced by an influx of native English forms – as far more capacious than previously considered. Norwegian Bokmål and Danish, commonly understood as two different languages, possess very similar vocabularies but dissimilar sounds: not unlike Scots and English. Syntactic, lexical, and orthographic similarity with English, therefore, should not be considered a hinderance to the distinctiveness of Scots.

Lastly, the Corpus of Modern Scots Writing is currently the only diachronic corpus that serves the period of 1700-1945. Although a valuable resources as is, the methodological processes that produced the outcomes of this thesis suggest certain upgrades could be transformative for the CMSW. Alongside expanding its repertoire of literary verse, the CMSW could radically aid comparative historical analysis by growing its corresponding metadata: for example, tagging paratextual elements in documents such as glossaries and typography. This would greatly contribute to facilitating form-to-function mapping by users e.g. the sociocultural pressures informing antiquarians using blackletter when printing <Ancient> in their title pages. Further, CMSW only includes a single edition of a text: documenting more than one edition and tagging differences (e.g. spelling, lexis, typography), as shown in this thesis, would offer users the opportunity to directly chart diachronic developments.

To conclude, we might remind ourselves of Smith's maxim: "Every aspect of the physical manifestation of a text is a vector of meaning, and that, as texts move through time, these meanings change" (2016). There are no 'accidentals', and no text is the work of a single genius: the priorities and preferences of scribes, authors, editors, printers, and compositors all leave traces that, regardless of size or extent, share a small piece of a document's history and reflect the time in which it was produced. Smith's maxim reminds that the past is not received impassively and nor it is ever very far away: it is a set of affairs with which we are in constant and close negotiation.

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