THE UNIVERSITY of EDINBURGH

This thesis has been submitted in fulfilment of the requirements for a postgraduate degree (e.g. PhD, MPhil, DClinPsychol) at the University of Edinburgh. Please note the following terms and conditions of use:

- This work is protected by copyright and other intellectual property rights, which are retained by the thesis author, unless otherwise stated.
- A copy can be downloaded for personal non-commercial research or study, without prior permission or charge.
- This thesis cannot be reproduced or quoted extensively from without first obtaining permission in writing from the author.
- The content must not be changed in any way or sold commercially in any format or medium without the formal permission of the author.
- When referring to this work, full bibliographic details including the author, title, awarding institution and date of the thesis must be given.

THE REPRESENTATION OF NORTHERN ENGLISH AND SCOTS IN SEVENTEENTH CENTURY DRAMA

Lauren Marie Stewart
B.A. (The University of Kansas)
M.Sc. (The University of Edinburgh)

A thesis submitted in fulfillment of requirements for the degree of
Doctor of Philosophy

to

The University *of* Edinburgh
School of Philosophy, Psychology, and Language Sciences
Linguistics and English Language

2011

Declaration

I hereby declare that this thesis is of my own composition, and that it contains no material previously submitted for the award of any other degree. The work reported in this thesis has been executed by myself, except where due acknowledgment is made in the text.

Lauren Marie Stewart

Abstract

Early Modern English (*c*. 1500-1700) is a difficult period for dialectological study. A dearth of textual evidence means that no comprehensive account of regional variation for this period can be attempted, and the field has therefore tended to be somewhat neglected. However, some evidence of regional varieties of English is provided by dialect representation in Early Modern drama. The dialogue of certain English and Scottish characters (and of those who impersonate them) is often marked linguistically as different from other characters: morphosyntactic forms, lexical items, and phonological features shown through variant spellings suggest dialectal usage in contrast to Standard English. This evidence, I argue, forms a legitimate basis on which to build at least a partial account of regional variation.

The 47 plays analysed in this thesis were all written and/or printed between 1598 and 1705, and all feature examples of either Northern English or Scots dialect representation. From these examples we can build up a picture of some of the main phonological, morphosyntactic, and lexical elements of the seventeenth century dialects spoken in Scotland and northern England. Moreover, this literary evidence can help clarify and contextualise earlier scholarly work on the topic. The content of the plays themselves, along with the dialect representations, also provide sociocultural and sociolinguistic information about the perception of Scots and northerners and of the attitudes towards them across the country.

In Chapter 1 I outline my methodology and provide a review of relevant literature, particularly focusing on other studies of dialect representation in drama. Chapter 2 gives an overview of the historical context for my linguistic data in seventeenth century Britain, including discussions of theatrical history in both England and Scotland, and of population movement and dialect contact.

The Scottish dialect evidence is presented in Chapters 3 to 6. In Chapter 3, I give a chronological list of 33 plays featuring Scots dialect representation. In order to contextualise the plays, I provide background information about the author, printing, and performance history; a brief summary of the plot and a description of the dialect speaker; my assessment of the dialect representation; and if pertinent, commentary by other critics.

I present and analyse the data from dramatic depictions of Scots, focusing on lexical items (Chapter 4), morphosyntactic features (Chapter 5), and phonological features as indicated by variant spellings (Chapter 6). I compare the literary data with linguistic reference works, including modern and historical dialect atlases, dictionaries, and dialect surveys. I also consult additional Early Modern sources and other reference works.

The next four chapters focus on representations of dialects of northern England. These chapters follow the same format as the chapters on Scottish dialect: Chapter 7 contains a discussion of 15 seventeenth-century plays featuring representations of Northern English. Chapters 8, 9, and 10 mirror the structure of Chapters 4, 5, and 6, respectively, discussing lexical forms, and morphosyntactic and phonological features in representations of Northern English.

I offer my conclusions in Chapter 11. With my detailed analysis of the data, I demonstrate that representations of regional usage in seventeenth century drama cannot be dismissed as stereotyped examples of a stage dialect, and that these literary data are worthy of being analysed linguistically. Although the quantity of dialect representation differs from one play to the next, and the quality covers a broad spectrum of linguistic accuracy, it nevertheless provides important information about non-standard dialects of northern England and Scotland in the seventeenth century.

Acknowledgments

I am thankful for so many people, and I have been blessed to have been surrounded by their patience, understanding, good humour, charity, and love.

First and foremost, I am indebted to my supervisors Derek Britton and Meg Laing for their constant support, encouragement, and guidance.

The members of the Department of Linguistics and English Language have been friendly and welcoming. I especially thank Linda van Bergen and Keith Williamson, along with my fellow PhD students, especially Remco Knooihuizen, Will Barras, Karen Ludke, and Gareth Roberts. I thank Jane Hodson and Katie Wales for their support and encouragement over the years.

The Dominicans and the Catholic Students' Union hold a special place in my heart. I thank Fr Tim Calvert, Chris McDermott, Christy Lamont, Farlane Whitty, Mark Granroth-Wilding, Hanna Granroth-Wilding, Riccardo Marioni, Tom Conroy, Fr Bruno Clifton, and Shaun McMaster. In particular, I thank my flatmates Jo Breckenridge, Patrice Eastwood, Pablo Olmos, and Catherine Prady.

I thank John Morgan, Sister Aelred, Sister Catherine, the McDermott family, Betty Kirkpatrick, Rob Holford, and all who made me welcome a long way from home.

I thank Mary Klayder, for everything.

I thank my parents, Gregory and Helen Stewart, and my brother, Ross Stewart, for their unwavering support and love.

Finally, I thank Matthew McDermott, my everything.

Dedication

For Derek Britton (1941-2011)

TABLE OF CONTENTS

Declaration i

Abstract ii

Acknowledgments iv

Dedication vi

Table of Contents viii

CHAPTER 1 1

1.1 Methodology 3

1.1.1 Data collection 4

1.1.2 Analysis 6

1.1.3 Presentation 9

1.2 Literature Review 10

1.2.1 Eckhardt, Hulme, and Bartley 11

1.2.2 Bliss, García-Bermejo Giner, Roemer 16

1.2.3 Blake, Blank, Mair 24

1.3 Overview 27

CHAPTER 2 29

2.1 Population, Movement, and Linguistic Diversity 29

2.2 Theatre in Britain 30

2.2.1 Theatre before 1642 31

2.2.2 Theatre and drama during the Civil War 32

2.2.3 Restoration theatre 33

2.2.4 Theatre in Scotland 33

2.3 Attitudes towards Scots and northerners 35

CHAPTER 3 41

Table 3: List of plays featuring Scots representations 43

3.1 The Scottish History of James IV (1598): Robert Greene 45

3.1.1 Author 46

3.1.2 Summary 46

3.1.3 Critical comment 47

3.2 Edward IV, Parts 1 and 2 (1599): Thomas Heywood 47

3.2.1 Author 47

3.2.2 Summary 48

3.2.3 Critical reception 48
3.3 Eastward Ho (1605): George Chapman, Ben Jonson, John Marston 49
3.3.1 Authors 50
3.3.2 Summary 51
3.3.3 Potential usefulness 51
3.4 The Witch (c. 1616): Thomas Middleton 52
3.4.1 Author 52
3.4.2 Summary 52
3.4.3 Potential usefulness 53
3.5 Thierry and Theodoret (1621): John Fletcher, Francis Beaumont, and Philip Massinger 53
3.5.1 Authors 53
3.5.2 Summary 54
3.5.3 Assessment by other critics 55
3.6 King Henry V (1623 folio): William Shakespeare 55
3.6.1 Author 56
3.6.2 Summary 56
3.6.3 Assessment by other critics 56
3.7 The Vow Breaker (1636): William Sampson 57
3.7.1 Author 57
3.7.2 Summary 58
3.7.2.1 Miles's imitation 59
3.8 The Valiant Scot (1637): J.W. 60
3.8.1 Author 60
3.8.2 Summary 60
3.8.3 Critical reception 61
3.9 The Sad Shepherd (1641): Ben Jonson 61
3.9.1 Author 61
3.9.2 Summary 61
3.9.3 Potential usefulness 62
3.9.4 Reception by modern critics 63
3.10 Hey for Honesty (1651): Thomas Randolph 63
3.10.1 Author 64
3.10.2 Summary 64
3.10.3 Quality of the dialect representation 64
3.11 Tatham's plays 65
3.11.1 Author 66
3.11.2 The Distracted State (1651) 66
3.11.2.1 Summary 67
3.11.3 The Scots Figgaries (1652) 68

3.11.3.1 Summary 68
3.11.3.2 Quality and quantity of dialect representation 70
3.11.4 The Rump (1660) 70
3.11.4.1 Summary 71
3.11.4.2 Other editions, adaptations, and critical reception 72
3.12 A Short Representation Performed Before the Lord Generall Monck (1660) 73
3.12.1 Summary 74
3.12.2 Unusual dialect representation 74
3.13 Scotch Songs: From The Scots Figgaries to The Campaigners 75
3.13.1 Tatham's songs 76
3.13.2 The Projectors (1665): John Wilson 77
3.13.2.1 Author 77
3.13.3 The Morning Ramble, or the Town Humours (1673): Payne 77
3.13.3.1 Author 78
3.13.3.2 Quality of dialect representation 78
3.13.4 The Souldiers Fortune (1681): Thomas Otway 79
3.13.4.1 Author 79
3.13.5 Thomas D'Urfey and his Scotch Songs 79
3.13.5.1 Potential usefulness 82
3.14 Sir Barnaby Whigg (1681): Thomas D'Urfey 82
3.15 The Roundheads (1682): Aphra Behn 83
3.15.1 Author 83
3.15.2 Summary 84
3.16 The City Heiress (1682): Aphra Behn 84
3.16.1 Author 84
3.16.2 Summary 84
3.17 The Benefice (1689): Robert Wild 85
3.17.1 Author 85
3.17.2 Summary 86
3.18 The Assembly (c. 1691): Archibald Pitcairne 87
3.18.1 The author(s) 87
3.18.2 Summary 88
3.19 Sauny the Scot (1698): John Lacy 90
3.19.1 Author 91
3.19.2 Summary 91
3.19.3 Contemporary reception 91
3.19.3.1 Bedford's criticism 92
3.19.4 Other editions and modern critical assessment 94
3.20 Courtship A-la-mode (1700): David Craufurd 94
3.20.1 Author 95
3.20.2 Summary 95

3.20.3 Analysis of dialect representation 96
3.20.4 Contemporary reception 98
3.21 Ireland Preserv'd (1705): John Michelburne 99
3.21.1 Author 99
3.21.2 Summary 100
3.22 General Scottish indications 101
3.22.1 St Andrew 101
3.22.2 Scottish place-names 101
3.22.3 Other Scottish references 102

CHAPTER 4 103
4.1 bairn n. 'child' 103
Table 4.1: bairn 'child' 104
4.2 blithe adj. 'merry, glad, cheerful, joyful' 104
Table 4.2: blithe 'merry, glad, cheerful, joyful' 105
4.3 bonny adj. 'beautiful, handsome, pleasing' 106
Table 4.3: bonny 'beautiful, handsome, pleasing' 107
4.4 braw adj. 'brave, strong, excellent, fine' 109
Table 4.4: braw 'brave, strong, excellent' 109
4.5 carl n. 'man; churl' 110
Table 4.5: carl 'man; churl' 110
4.6 crag n. 'neck' 111
Table 4.6: crag 'neck' 111
4.7 deft adj. 'pretty, bonny' 112
Table 4.7: deft 'pretty' 113
4.8 gang v. 'to go' 114
Table 4.8: gang 'to go' 115
4.9 gar v. 'to cause ... to'; 'to do' 117
Table 4.9: gar 'to cause ... to'; 'to do' 118
4.10 gif conj. 'if' 121
Table 4.10: gif 'if' 122
4.11 gin conj. 'if' 122
Table 4.11: gin 'if' 123
4.12 jo n. 'sweetheart, lover'; 'dear' 125
Table 4.12: jo 'sweetheart' 125
4.13 ken v. 'to know' 126
Table 4.13: ken 'to know' 126
4.14 kirk n. 'church' 127
Table 4.14: Kirk 'church' 128
4.15 lig v. 'to lie (down), to recline' 129

Table 4.15: lig 'to lie down' 130

4.16 loon n. 'rascal, scoundrel' 131

Table 4.16: loon 'rascal, scoundrel' 133

4.17 lug n. 'ear' 134

Table 4.17: lug 'ear' 135

4.18 mickle adj. adv. 'great, sizeable; much' 138

Table 4.18: mickle 'great, sizeable, much' 138

4.19 mun v. 'must' 142

Table 4.19: mun 'must' 143

4.20 sark n. 'shirt' 144

Table 4.20: sark 'shirt' 144

4.21 sic adv. 'such' 144

Table 4.21: sic 'such' 145

4.22 sin, sine adv. 'since, then, next'; prep. 'since, after'; conj. 146

Table 4.22: sine 'since, after' 146

4.23 till prep., infinitive marker 'to' 147

Table 4.23: till 'to', including intill 'into' and untill 'unto' variants 149

4.24 whilk adj. 'which' 151

Table 4.24: whilk 'which' 152

4.25 whinyard n. 'sword' 153

Table 4.25: whinyard 'sword' 153

4.26 wood adj. 'crazy' 154

Table 4.26: wood 'crazy' 155

4.27 Other dialect lexis 155

4.27.1 The Scottish History of James IV 155

4.27.2 Edward IV Parts 1 and 2 158

4.27.3 The Vow Breaker 158

4.27.4 The Valiant Scot 160

4.27.5 The Sad Shepherd 161

4.27.6 Hey for Honesty 161

4.27.7 The Distracted State 163

4.27.8 The Scots Figgaries 163

4.27.9 The Rump 164

4.27.10 The Morning Ramble 164

4.27.11 A Fond Husband 164

4.27.12 The City Heiress 165

4.27.13 The Benefice 166

4.27.14 The Assembly 166

4.27.15 Sauny the Scot 168

4.27.16 Courtship A-la-mode 171

4.27.17 Ireland Preserv'd 172

4.28 **Proper names** **173**
Table 4.28: references to proper names 173
4.28.1 Sauny's self-reference in Sauny the Scot 174
Chart 4.28.1: What Sauny calls himself in Sauny the Scot: a cross-edition analysis 175

CHAPTER 5 **179**
5.1 **Ise 'I shall'** **179**
Table 5.1: Ise 'I shall' 182
5.1.1 other pronouns + 's 183
Table 5.1.1: X's : 'X shall' 183
5.1.2 Ized 'I should' 184
5.2 **Ise 'I am'** **184**
Table 5.2: Ise 'I am' 185
5.2.1 we's 'we are' 186
5.3 **Ise 'I' and Wees 'we'** **186**
5.4 **forms of 'shall' and 'should'** **191**
5.4.1 sall 191
Table 5.4.1: sall 'shall' 191
5.4.2 Analysis of all 'shall' forms 192
5.4.3 forms of 'should' 196
Table 5.4.3: forms of 'should' 196
5.5 **-and present participle suffix** **197**
5.5.1 Imitation of -and in drama 199
5.6 **forms of 'be'** **202**
Table 5.6: -n forms of the verb 'be' 202
5.7 **The Northern Present Tense Rule** **204**
5.8 **Noun plural markers** **204**

CHAPTER 6 **207**
6.1 **Alveolar Cluster Simplification** **207**
Table 6.1: Alveolar Cluster Simplification 208
6.2 **wh- and quh- spellings** **209**
6.2.1 /f/ for /ʍ/ 211
6.3 **realisations of <th>** **211**
6.4 **/s/ and /ʃ/ interchange** **213**
6.5 **/v/ → /f/** **214**
6.6 **v-deletion** **216**
6.6.1 sel 'self' and sells 'selves' 218
6.7 **/j/ insertion** **220**
6.8 **l-vocalisation** **220**

6.8.1 Middle English and Older Scots Data 222
6.8.2 EMod Evidence 224
6.8.3 Modern Data Across Britain 225
6.8.4 Evidence from the plays 226
6.8.4.1 <l> in final position 229
6.8.4.2 before <t> 230
6.8.4.3 Possible eye-dialect forms 231
6.8.5 Behn's misinterpretation 231
6.9 /x/ 233
6.10 The A/O boundary (OE /ɑ:/ > NME /a:/) and related features 233
6.10.1 Depictions of a/o forms in Scottish representations 234
6.10.2 OE ɑ:w 239
6.10.3 <-ald> 241
6.10.4 <-amb> 242
6.10.5 <-ang> 244
6.10.5.1 The problematic case of tang 246
6.11 ME /e:/ 247
6.12 ME /i:/ and EModE /i:/ 248
6.13 Northern Fronting (eME [o:]) 251
6.13.1 Depictions of Northern Fronting in plays 251
6.13.2 Courtship A-la-mode 255
6.13.3 Tatham's spellings 256
6.13.4 The Roundheads vs. The Rump 258
6.13.5 Other spellings of Northern Fronting 259
6.13.5.1 <u> spellings 259
6.13.5.2 <ea> spellings 262
6.13.5.3 <eu>, <ew> spellings 263
6.14 ME /u:/ 263
6.14.1 Tatham's plays 265
6.14.2 ME /u:/ in other plays 268
6.15 Miscellaneous forms and features 269
6.15.1 mak 'make' and tak 'take' 269
6.15.2 mon 'man' 270
6.15.3 weel adj. 'well' 271

CHAPTER 7 275

Table 7: List of plays featuring northern dialect representations 276
7.1 Club Law (c. 1599-1600): George Ruggle 277
7.1.1 Author 277
7.1.2 Summary 278

7.2	**Sir John Oldcastle Part I (1600): Munday, Drayton, Wilson, and Chettle**	**279**
7.2.1	Authors	279
7.2.2	Summary	280
7.3	**Cupid's Revenge (1615): Francis Beaumont and John Fletcher**	**281**
7.3.1	Authors	281
7.3.2	Summary	281
7.4	**Bartholomew Fair (1631): Ben Jonson**	**282**
7.4.1	Author	282
7.4.2	Summary	282
7.4.3	Potential problems in the dialect representation	283
7.5	**The Northern Lasse (1632): Richard Brome**	**284**
7.5.1	Author	284
7.5.2	Summary	284
7.6	**Fuimus Troes (1633): Jasper Fisher**	**285**
7.6.1	Author	285
7.6.2	Summary	285
7.7	**The Late Lancashire Witches (1634): Richard Brome and Thomas Heywood**	**286**
7.7.1	Authors	286
7.7.2	Summary	286
7.8	**The King and Queenes Entertainment at Richmond (1637): Anon.**	**287**
7.8.1	Summary	287
7.9	**The Knave in Graine, New Vampt (1640): J.D.**	**287**
7.9.2	Summary	288
7.10	**The Sad Shepherd (1641): Ben Jonson**	**289**
7.11	**The Cheats of Scapin (1677): Thomas Otway**	**290**
7.11.1	Author	290
7.11.2	Summary	290
7.12	**The Lancashire Witches (1682): Thomas Shadwell**	**291**
7.12.1	Author	291
7.12.2	Summary	292
7.13	**Dame Dobson (1684): Edward Ravenscroft**	**292**
7.13.1	Author	293
7.13.2	Summary	293
7.14	**Sir Hercules Buffoon, or the Poetical Squire (1684): John Lacy**	**295**
7.14.1	Author	295
7.14.2	Summary	295
7.15	**The Squire of Alsatia (1688): Thomas Shadwell**	**297**
7.15.1	Author	297

7.15.2 Summary 297

CHAPTER 8 **299**

8.1 bairn n. 'child' 299

Table 8.1: bairn 'child' 299

8.2 belive adv. 'quickly, suddenly, eagerly' 300

Table 8.2: belive 'quickly, suddenly' 300

8.3 bonny adj. 'beautiful, handsome, pleasing' 301

Table 8.3: bonny 'beautiful, handsome, pleasing' 301

8.4 carl n. 'churl' 302

8.5 deft adj. 'pretty, bonny, neat' 302

Table 8.5: deft 'pretty' 302

8.6 gang v. 'to go' 303

Table 8.6: gang 'to go' 303

8.7 gar v. 'to cause ... to'; 'to do' 304

Table 8.7: gar 'to cause ... to'; 'to do' 304

8.8 gif conj. 'if' 305

8.9 gin conj. 'if' 305

8.10 helo adj. 'bashful' 306

8.11 kibbo n. 'club' 306

Table 8.11: kibbo 'club' 307

8.12 lessen conj. 'unless' 307

8.13 lig v. 'to lie (down), to recline' 308

Table 8.13: lig 'to lie (down)' 308

8.14 loan n. 'lane' 308

8.15 loon n. 'rascal, scoundrel' 309

8.16 losel n. 'a ragamuffin; a profligate, scoundrel' 309

8.17 mickle adj., adv. 'great, sizeable; much' 309

Table 8.17: mickle 'great, sizeable; much' 310

8.18 mun v. 'must' 310

Table 8.18: mun 'must' 310

8.19 sike adv. 'such' 311

Table 8.19: sike 'such' 311

8.20 sin, sine adv. 'since'; prep. 'since, after' 311

Table 8.20: sine 'since, after' 312

8.21 till prep., infinitive marker 'to' 312

Table 8.21: till 'to', ill 'to', including intill 'into' variants 312

8.22 tit n. 'horse' 312

Table 8.22: tit 'horse' 313

8.23 wha int. 'wow' 313

Table 8.23: wha ‘wow’ 314
8.24 whoo pron. ‘she’ 314
Table 8.24: whoo ‘she’ 315
8.25 wood adj. ‘crazy’ 315
Table 8.25: wood ‘crazy; furious’ 315
8.26 Other dialect lexis 316

CHAPTER 9 327
9.1 Ise ‘I shall’ 327
Table 9.1: Ise ‘I shall’ 327
9.1.1 other pronouns + ‘s(t) 328
Table 9.1.1: X‘s(t) ‘X shall’ 328
9.2 Ise ‘I am’ 329
Table 9.2: Ise ‘I am’ 330
9.3 Ise ‘I’ 330
9.4 forms of ‘shall’ and ‘should’ 330
Table 9.4: forms of ‘shall’ and ‘should’ 331
9.4.1 reduced forms 331
Table 9.4.1: other reduced forms of shall 331
9.5 -and present participle suffix 331
9.6 forms of ‘be’ 334
Table 9.6: -n forms of ‘be’ 334
9.7 -(e)n suffix 334
Table 9.7.1: -en suffix, infinitive forms 335
Table 9.7.2: -en suffix, modals 335
Table 9.7.3: -en suffix, past participle 336
Table 9.7.4: -en suffix, past indicative 336
Table 9.7.5: -(e)n suffix, present ind. pl. and sing. forms 337
9.8 Noun plural markers 340
9.9 Definite Article Reduction 340

CHAPTER 10 343
10.1 Alveolar Cluster Simplification 343
10.2 wh- spellings 343
Table 10.2: wh- spellings (for initial qu- spellings in StE) 344
10.3 realisations of <th> 344
Table 10.3: realisations of <th> 344
10.4 v-deletion 345
Table 10.4: v-deletion 346
10.4.1 sel ‘self’ and sells ‘selves’ 346

Table 10.4.1: forms of sel ‘self’ 346

10.5 /j/ insertion 346

10.5.1 yate ‘gate’ 347

10.6 l-vocalisation 347

Table 10.6: l-vocalised forms 348

10.7 k-deletion 348

Table 10.7: ma ‘make’ and ta ‘take’ 349

Table 10.7.1: mak ‘make’ and tak ‘take’ 349

10.8 /-ŋg/ to /-ŋk/ 350

10.9 The A/O boundary (OE /ɑ:/ -> NME /a:/) and related features 350

Table 10.9: NME /a:/ 351

10.9.1 OE ɑ:w 352

Table 10.9.1: OE ɑ:w 352

10.9.1 <-ald> 352

10.9.2 <-amb> 353

10.9.3 <-ang> 353

10.10 ME /e:/ 354

Table 10.10: ME [e:ç] -> EMnE [i:] 354

10.11 ME /i:/ 355

Table 10.11: ME /i:/ 356

Table 10.11.1: ME [içt] -> EMnE [i:t] 356

10.12 Northern Fronting (eME /o:/) 357

Table 10.12: Northern Fronting (eME /o:/) 357

10.13 ME /u:/ 358

Table 10.13: ME /u:/ 359

10.14 [a] to [ɔ]/[ɒ] before nasals 359

Table 10.14: [a] to [ɔ]/[ɒ] before nasals 361

10.15 Miscellaneous forms 361

10.15.1 weel adj. ‘well’ 361

Table 10.15.1: weel ‘well’ 362

CHAPTER 11 363

11.1 Distinguishing features 365

11.1.1 Scottish features 365

11.1.1.1 Notable exceptions 366

11.1.1.2 Change in perception or attitude after the Civil War 366

Table 11.1: All instances of bonny 367

Table 11.2: All instances of carl 368

Table 11.3: All instances of gang 369

Table 11.4: All instances of gar 369

Table 11.5: All instances of gif 370
Table 11.6: All instances of lig 370
Table 11.7: All instances of loon 370
Table 11.8: All instances of mickle 371
Table 11.9: All instances of till 'to' 372
Table 11.10: All instances of Northern Fronting (eME /o:/) 376
11.1.2 Northern features 377
11.1.3 Features common to both Northern English and Scots 377
11.2 Accuracy and homogeneity 378
11.2.1 The playwrights 380
11.2.2 Characters 381
11.2.3 Perception of accuracy 382
11.3 Critical reception 384
11.4 Further research 386
11.5 Summary 386

BIBLIOGRAPHY 387
Plays from both datasets 387
Dictionaries, Linguistic Atlases, Databases, and other Reference Works 391
Secondary sources 392

APPENDIX A: LISTS OF FORMS AND FREQUENCIES 403
Appendix A.1: Common forms and features in representations of Northern English and Scots 403
Appendix A.2: All instances of the lexical items common in representations of both Northern English and Scots 406
Appendix A.3: All instances of morphosyntactic features common in representations of both Northern English and Scots 408
Appendix A.4: All instances of phonological features common in representations of both Northern English and Scots 422

Introduction

Chapter 1

“I see a voice …”

Pyramus: *A Midsummer Night’s Dream*

While Pyramus is confused in Shakespeare’s play within a play, his statement rings true when we read dramatic works: we literally ‘see’ the voices of the characters on the page. Their language – both *what* they say and *how* they say it – contributes much to their character, and a talented playwright and a talented actor can make these characters entertaining, enthralling, and believable. Though the majority of drama in the Early Modern (EMod) period (*c.* 1500-1700) was written by London-based playwrights for London audiences, characters in these entertainments come from a variety of cultures and backgrounds. There is an interest in stories and people from across the British Isles. In particular, after the union of the crowns of England and Scotland in 1603, there appears to have been increased interest by English playwrights in the Scots. The speech of regional English and Scottish characters is often written showing regional variation – morphosyntactic forms, lexical items, and phonological features shown through variant spelling – which visually, and presumably also therefore aurally, mark their language as different from the more generally accepted (southern) variants used by most of the other characters. Sometimes other characters make overt reference to their regional manner of speaking, as in the following excerpt from David Craufurd’s comedy *Courtship A-la-mode* (1700). Here, the servant Willie, the Scottish dialect speaker, speaks with his employer, Freelove, who uses Standard English (StE); I have provided a gloss in italics below each of Willie’s lines:

Freelove: And so she bid me stay in this Room till she came --- Was it not so?

Willie: Whaut a deel Sir aur ye deef, shoe baud ye tarry here aun no gang awau till she caum benn.

> *What the devil Sir are you deaf, she bade you tarry here and not go away until she came within.*

Freelove: Ben --- but 'tis no matter; Willie, you must forget Scotland, and conform yourself to the Customs of England; learn our Accent.

Willie: Nau Sir, sheam fau me thaun, Customs o Englaun quo? Nau, nau, I'se do aus our Meast Johoan does pray for yer reformaution in good-bred Scots. Aus for yer accent Sir, I speak as Father Audaum spauke before me.

> *No Sir, shame fall me then, Customs of England say you? No, no, I shall do as our pastor does [and] pray for your reformation in good-broad Scots. As for your accent Sir, I speak as Father Adam spoke before me*.

Freelove: Then Adam spoke Scotch?

Willie: Goad aun thaut he did, Sir.

> *God and that he did, Sir.*

This brief excerpt highlights how the phonological, morphosyntactic, and lexical features of Willie's native dialect can be represented within a Standard English (StE) text. It also provides sociolinguistic information about attitudes towards Scots, as well as a moment of possible confusion over unfamiliar dialect lexis (Willie's use of *ben* 'within', discussed in 4.27.16).

The EMod period is a difficult period for dialectological study. Although some writing in Scots continues into the seventeenth century, most writings in England by this date were in some form of the written standard. This dearth of textual evidence means that no comprehensive account of regional variation for this period can be attempted, and the field has therefore tended to be somewhat neglected. However, some evidence of regional varieties of English is provided in EMod drama by the the sort of dialect representation illustrated above. This evidence, I argue, forms a legitimate basis on which to build at least a partial

account of regional variation, enabling us to 'see' the shapes of voices, albeit in a sometimes imperfect way.

I chose to concentrate on the depictions of Scots and Northern English in this thesis, having already completed an MSc dissertation (2006) focusing on depictions of southern English in Tudor and Jacobean drama. Eleven plays published in the post-Jacobean seventeenth century contain depictions of southern dialects. This southern material is less fruitful for a proper comparative study, with the representations of dialect typically restricted to a handful of stock features, most prominently the voicing of initial fricatives and the use of *ich* forms of 'I' and its cliticized variants, features which appear in the speech of the first tenant in D'Urfey's *The Royalist* (1682):

> First Tenant: *Ich* have liv'd man and boy *cham* sure this five and *vifty* years, yet never *zee* such doings
>
> ***I** have lived man and boy **I am** sure this five and **fifty** years, yet never **see** such doings.*

Much more material is available in representations of Scots and Northern English, as these representations contain a range of phonological features, morphosyntactic forms, and lexical items. In addition, I chose not to focus on the depictions of Irish or Welsh characters at this time, because the representation of their English may show evidence of language contact or interference with Gaelic and Welsh, aspects not found in the northern and Scottish data.

1.1 Methodology

In this section, I discuss the procedures I followed for my data collection and subsequent data analysis, and my motivations and strategies for each. I also outline how my data is presented.

1.1.1 Data collection

In order to keep my investigation as strictly comparative as possible, I have focused on one text-type: dramatic works. A substantial number of plays are extant from the period, so that a range of comparable material is secured. Few other works of the time display regional variation to the same extent. Certain broadsheets, a few pamphlets, some non-dramatic dialogues, and occasionally the works of orthoepists have illustrative samples, but these serve different purposes for their authors from those of the dramatist. Another benefit of confining the dataset to plays is that they seek to mimic natural spoken language and contain passages of informal or colloquial speech.

Other scholars in the field have focused primarily on drama. The other full-length studies (those dealing with a set of texts and including a discussion of phonological features along with morphosyntactic and lexical forms) generally focus on drama before the Civil War: Hulme (1937) analyses Tudor drama, and Eckhardt (1910-11) drama before 1640. Ruano García (2008, 2010) focuses specifically on seventeenth-century dialect lexis, and uses other printed source material such as broadsheets, ballads, and verse, in addition to plays. Bartley (1943, 1954) looks not just at dialect representation but more broadly at the development of stock characters in the depictions of Scots, Welsh, and Irish in the EMod era (1581-1800). Roemer (1998) focuses only on the county of Lancashire and the EMod literary representations of that dialect. Bliss (1979) analyses representations of Irish speech in EMod drama, but no scholar up to now has analysed dramatic representations of the dialects of northern Britain across the entire seventeenth century.

Using the plays analysed by Eckhardt (1910-11) and Bartley (1943, 1954) as starting points, I sought to gain the most complete dataset of plays featuring northern and Scots dialect representation, searching through databases, books, and collections for relevant texts. I searched the full-text collections of *Early English Books Online* (EEBO) and *Eighteenth Century Collections Online* (ECCO)

for commonly occurring dialect forms, and looked at any play with a title that gave an indication that the story contained Scottish or northern elements or with identifiably Scottish or Northern English characters. I gave significant attention to D'Urfey's plays, because of the high occurrence of both dialect-speaking characters and Scotch Songs within his comedies.

My search identified 33 plays with representations of Scots and 15 with representations of northern English; there are 47 plays in total, with one play, Jonson's *The Sad Shepherd*, containing representations of both Scots and northern English. Dialect representations analysed in-depth for the first time include those in *Club Law, The Knave in Graine New Vampt, The Benefice, A Short Representation Performed Before the Lord Generall Monck, The Assembly,* and *Ireland Preserv'd*, as well as several of those in the plays of Thomas D'Urfey.

The printed play-texts seem to be a reliable source, and none of the play-texts I consulted had major printing errors or mistakes. It is crucial to obtain the most accurate readings possible from the source texts to ensure the validity of the findings. When collecting my data, therefore, I sought out the earliest printed editions of the texts, and supplemented these with images of these editions provided by online sources (namely EEBO and ECCO. Presumably, the earliest printed edition would be the closest to that intended by the author, as it was probably produced from a manuscript; at times, later editions show alteration to the dialogue of the dialect-speaking characters, and it is difficult to ascertain the motivations behind these changes. In the case of *The Assembly*, I consulted the 1691 manuscript; EMod manuscripts of plays are rare, and only two of the plays in my dataset have accessible manuscripts (*The Assembly* and *Club Law*). Any secondary or modern editions used for primary data collection are clearly marked as such in the bibliography; I relied solely on modern editions only for *The Witch* and *Club Law*, and explain my reasons for this decision in chapters 3 and 7, respectively. In addition, I tried, as much as possible, to consult the whole range of extant EMod editions of each text in order to investigate how the dialect representation was maintained or modified during this period; this

investigation showed notable variation in the case of three plays: *The Rump*, *The Assembly*, and *Sauny the Scot*. A discussion of multiple editions and editorial changes to the dialect representation from an original edition to its successor(s) can be seen in 3.11.4, 3.18, and 3.19, respectively.

1.1.2 Analysis

After confirming that a particular play did indeed contain dialect representation from either Scotland or northern England, I then read the entire play in order to understand the role of the dialect speaker(s). I follow Wales (2006: 13) in defining 'the north' as the six northern counties, pre-1974: Yorkshire, Lancashire, Durham, Northumberland, Cumberland, and Westmorland. Collecting the relevant sections of dialogue, I isolated and analysed forms and features that appeared to be non-standard. I first compared these potentially dialectal forms and features to those found elsewhere in the work; particular spellings or words were unlikely to be intended as representing dialectal variation if they were present also in the non-dialect sections of the play. If a feature was found elsewhere in the play, it could perhaps be an indication of informal or colloquial speech rather than one of regionality, or it could be an acceptable contemporary StE variant. Any possible dialect words or unfamiliar words or expression I cross-checked in *The Oxford English Dictionary*, *The Scottish National Dictionary*, *The Dictionary of the Older Scottish Tongue*, and other reference works. I excluded the following categories from my dataset: non-dialectal informal or colloquial language (e.g. *i'th'* 'in the'); non-Present-Day-English (PDE) variant spellings that were nevertheless common in EMod StE (e.g. *daunce* 'dance', *Gad* 'God'); words unfamiliar or archaic in PDE that are *not* dialectal (e.g. *dight* 'to dress', *and* 'if', *grice* 'a young badger'); malapropisms and examples of metathesis (e.g. *circumprances* 'circumstances', *drittie* 'dirty'); and words that in PDE are strongly associated with a particular place or region, but which enjoyed a much wider distribution in the EMod period (e.g. *lad* and *lass*).

I came to my decisions about the dialectal status of these forms by looking at their equivalents in Middle English (ME), other EModE, and PDE sources, primarily using the following linguistic reference works:

Linguistic Atlas of Late Mediaeval English (LALME)
Linguistic Atlas of Early Middle English (LAEME)
Linguistic Atlas of Older Scots (LAOS)
Dictionary of the Older Scottish Tongue (DOST)
English Dialect Dictionary (EDD)
Oxford English Dictionary (OED)
Scottish National Dictionary (SND)
Survey of English Dialects (SED)
Linguistic Atlas of England (LAE)

When consulting these reference works, I remained aware of their limitations; for example, the sources for the EDD date from the seventeenth to the twentieth century, with the bulk of them written after the EMod period, which was a concern to Hulme (1937: 3). However, as there are few reference works from this period, I was required to use works focusing on earlier or later periods, but was careful in the conclusions that could be drawn from just those works. In addition, I consulted the extant EModE works on dialect usage, including those of Alexander Gil and John Ray, as well as other reference works including Dobson's [1957] 1968 landmark work on EModE pronunciation.

I have focused on marked dialectal forms, and not typically looked at variation between marked and unmarked (Standard) forms in the dialogue of dialect speakers (for example, if a character's dialogue features some spellings of *gued* 'good' along with any of the typical *good* spelling). I have not usually provided a comparative study for my dialect forms, for two main reasons: first, because of the sheer amount of data collected; and second, because of the nature of the data. The depictions are rarely completely consistent – understandably so, because they were not intended to serve as linguistic studies, but rather to suggest salient features to the actor and to the reader. However, as an illustrative sample I do include in 5.4.1 and 5.4.2 a case study of all of the marked and unmarked uses of 'shall' forms by the dialect-speaking characters.

This is a commonly occurring set which lends itself to a full comparative study, though it also illustrates some of the difficulties involved.

The discussion of each dialectal form or feature is accompanied by a table listing the following information: the dialectal forms, the PDE glosses of these forms, the character using them, the source texts, years of publication, and the number of instances of each form. In providing the specific number of individual instances, I depart from the method used by Roemer (1998) in her thesis on the EModE representation of Lancashire dialect, where she does not provide any information about the frequency of individual forms or features. I also incorporate quotations from the play-texts themselves in order to provide context for the reader. I am always conscious that I am dealing with data that is drawn from a particular context – from a particular character in a particular situation within the drama, interacting with other characters – and that this context can influence the language used.

Because of the wide disparity of the representations, it is also necessary to analyse each text individually. These 47 plays differ in terms of length (cf. the eight page *A Short Representation Performed Before the Lord Generall Monck* and the lengthy two volume *Ireland Preserv'd*, for example) and in terms of quality (cf. Shakespeare's critically acclaimed and popular *Henry V* and the justifiably forgotten *Cupid's Revenge* by Beaumont and Fletcher). They also have diverse origins and plots. Some are based on contemporary events or scandals (e.g. *Club Law*, *The Late Lancashire Witches, The Lancashire Witches, The Vow Breaker, The Rump*), while others are history plays (e.g. *Henry V*, *The Valiant Scot*). My dataset contains comedies (e.g. *Sir Barnaby Whigg*, *Sauny the Scot*, *The City Heiress*), tragedies (e.g. *Cupid's Revenge*), a satire (*The Assembly*), a masque (*The King and Queenes Entertainment at Richmond*), and a pastoral (*The Sad Shepherd*). The plays are often set in the London of the time (e.g. *Bartholomew Fair, The Northern Lasse*, *Sir Barnaby Whigg, Sauny the Scot*), though other plays take place in Sherwood Forest (*The Sad Shepherd*), Lancashire (e.g. *The Late Lancashire Witches*, *The Lancashire Witches*), Scotland (*The Valiant Scot*), or in

far-flung places such as Sicily (*The Distracted State*). I assess the dialect representation within a particular play, and compare it to other plays in the relevant dataset (Scottish or northern) and then across the entire dataset.

I analyse the entire dialogue of each dialect speaker. These characters enjoy a diverse range of roles and positions. The main character can have marked dialect representation (Wallace in *The Valiant Scot*, Connie in *The Northern Lasse*), as can supporting characters (Wareston in *The Rump* or Wariston in *The Roundheads*) and those with small roles (the 3rd soldier in *Thierry and Theodoret*, the gentleman in *The Witch*). The speech of more than one character in a single play can be marked for Scottish or northern dialect, as in *The Late Lancashire Witches*, *The Valiant Scot*, and *The Scots Figgaries*.

These literary representations of dialect can be analysed on multiple levels. Chiefly, we have the playwrights' depiction of the actual regional speech of the time (for which we have no direct evidence, except for some writings in Scots) in the personae of 'genuine' dialectal characters using selected linguistic and/or other markers. We also see the imitation of these selected markers within the play by non-dialect-speaking characters for dramatic effect. A separate, but related issue is the perception of the accuracy of any or all of these by (i) the other characters in the play, (ii) the audience/reader, and by (iii) scholars trying to compare and contrast it with other such depictions. In this thesis, I attempt to present and analyse all these facets of dialect depiction.

1.1.3 Presentation

For ease of reference, the titles of individual plays are here usually shortened to their standard form rather than the form which appears their original title-page: for example, I refer to *Thierry and Theodoret* rather than *The tragedy of Thierry King of France, and his brother Theodoret*, and to *The Rump* instead of *The Rump: Or, The Mirrour of The late Times.* The full titles in each case can be found in the bibliography. The date listed for any given play is the date of first publication,

not the date of the first performance, unless it is otherwise noted in the text. Some plays were published posthumously, including Lacy's *Sauny the Scot* and Jonson's *The Sad Shepherd*. *Club Law* was first published only in 1907, though it dates from *c*. 1599-1600; likewise, Middleton's *The Witch,* dating from *c*. 1616, was first published in 1778. Other plays were first published a year or two after their first performance.

When quoting from entries in dictionaries or grammars, abbreviations for place-names or grammatical features have been silently expanded. As for the dramatic texts themselves, they have been only lightly edited with respect to modern spelling conventions: namely, *u/v*, *i/j,* and *vv/w* have been silently emended, and long *s* <ʃ> has been consistently transcribed as *s*. No additional orthographic changes have been made, and no changes have been made to punctuation.

1.2 Literature Review

Rarely have dramatic dialect representations been considered by linguists, and if they have, they have typically been dismissed as inaccurate, embellished and ultimately unreliable as linguistic data (Barber 1997, Görlach 1999). Hulme (1937: 1) observes that most critics either ignored dialect representations outright or dismissed them as a literary convention. Blake (1981: 61) believes that dialect representations in EMod plays were generally intended to provide "comedy rather than accuracy", and that many of these representations are exempla of a stage dialect. Blank (1996) also refers to EMod dialect representations as stage dialects, and questions their linguistic accuracy. Nevalainen (2006: 22) acknowledges that "the description of phonological variation in Early Modern English owes a good deal to drama", but she too then classifies many of these dialect depictions as examples merely of stage dialect. Nevalainen observes that, because of the requirements and constraints of the theatre, the actual dialect represented in plays may be limited, as the playwright presumably only wanted to "be sure that the stage dialect was recognised as

such by the audience – or that actors could be trusted to imitate it well enough". Thus, to the sociolinguist these EMod dramatic depictions of dialect are stripped of most dialectal or sociolinguistic value. In their work on historical sociolinguistics, Nevalainen and Raumolin-Brunberg (2003: 8) take issue with the inconsistent and incomplete nature of the data provided by dialect representations in plays, concluding that "there is therefore no guarantee, over and beyond a number of stereotypical features, that the dramatist could present anything like a true picture of a Zummerzet speaker, or a speaker of any other local variety of Early Modern English".

Yet, Barber (1997: 22) does concede that this literary evidence is not devoid of merit. The work of several scholars has contributed greatly to the the understanding of dialect in literature. I divide my literature review into three sections. In 1.2.1, I discuss three authors (Eckhardt, Hulme, Bartley) from the first half of the twentieth century, who, in their work, document and begin to analyse data from EMod dramatic dialect representations. While their work is of value, particularly for the background information provided, their conclusions are tentative. The works of the three authors in 1.2.2 (Bliss, García-Bermejo Giner, Roemer) concentrate on the same topic, but are theoretically rigorous, and show the use of modern linguistic methods in their assessment of the data. These works have helped me create a framework for my own study. In 1.2.3 I provide a literary perspective on dialect representation in literature, focusing again only on three authors (Blake, Blank, Mair).

1.2.1 Eckhardt, Hulme, and Bartley

Eckhardt's 1910-11 work is the first (and only) attempt at a full-length study on dialect representation in EModE drama before the Civil War. However, both Eckhardt's arguments and his data are far from being either well-presented (with much of his material provided in the form of lists, without a great deal of explication) or wholly accurate (e.g. sometimes he relies on modern editions, published much later than the original edition, where the dialect representation

has been altered from that in original printed version). Eckhardt believes that, within the drama, the southwestern dialect is an artificial construction, one employed by rustic characters for humour, while the northern dialect, though less commonly found, is generally presented in a more accurate way (Eckhardt 1910-11: 75). While the work of other scholars (e.g. Hulme 1937, García-Bermejo Giner 1998) has corroborated his views on the accuracy of the depictions of northern dialect, my MSc research (Stewart 2006) showed that depictions of southern dialect are in fact more complex and extensive than previously thought. In addition, in light of more recent work done on historical phonology and dialectology, his analysis is dated; García-Bermejo Giner (1998: 11) asserts that Eckhardt's data "should be reassessed in the light of recent research on historical dialectology".[1]

In contrast, Hulme (1937) asserts that dialect representations in Tudor drama are not artificial stage dialects – that is, those lacking any connection to or similarity with the actual dialect of the time, but rather existing only in the drama – but that these dramatic dialect representations are genuine, if at times necessarily limited in scope. She also finds that the representations of northern dialect are generally more accurate than those of southern dialect (Hulme 1937: 189). There is some sense here of certain representations of salient dialect features becoming formalised, but still being based on an accurate knowledge of the actual dialect features rather than forming part of an artificial stage dialect.

Rather than relying on ME or PDE evidence for comparison, Hulme (1937: 2) also analysed contemporary evidence from the EMod period to help formulate her conclusions. These sources are predominantly non-literary ones, including "churchwardens' accounts, wills, depositions in the Court of Star Chamber,

---

[1] The arguments of Weiss (1924) are similarly dated. He arrives at the following conclusions: few playwrights write real dialect, and most authors either use a conventionalised stage dialect or only intend to suggest dialect for purposes of the setting or plot. He does highlight the depictions in Shadwell's *The Late Lancashire Witches* and *The Squire of Alsatia* as being particularly good, though he describes them as examples of the midlands (the 'mittelländischen') dialect, rather than as northern (though, in terms of dialect geography, south Lancashire can be described as north-west midland).

letters and diaries", but a few are other literary works. Her best sources for dialect comparison are "local accounts of corporations or churchwardens" with their localised variants (Hulme 1937: 50). Though Hulme utilised EDD and OED, she was careful not to rely too heavily upon them, because she aimed above all to determine the genuineness and accuracy of the EModE dialect representations, and wished to compare her literary evidence with the most direct evidence possible. As she states, "it has never been taken as a safe procedure to use the EDD as affording direct evidence of the extent or content of the various Elizabethan dialects" (Hulme 1937: 3), as EDD draws its sources from a later period. However, this strategy of focusing on the EMod period might have limited her study, as there is little contemporary non-literary evidence available. She also was writing before the creation of such works as LALME and SED. Hulme (1937: 131) recognises the limits of her study for the field of dialectology, asserting that the evidence from the plays cannot usually point to a specific place, but instead may be indicative of some generalised more extensive region: "we shall not find in many plays a complete picture of the real dialect speech of any actual village, but we do find certain characteristics of a more general kind truly indicated".

Bartley published two works (a 1943 article and a 1954 book) focussing on convention and stereotype in depictions of Irish, Welsh, and Scots characters in drama of the sixteenth to the eighteenth centuries. He is interested in the formation of national stereotypes, and notes that language plays a major role in character development and looks at the linguistic features present in the dialogue of these characters. However, Bartley is neither a linguist nor a dialectologist, and so does not aim to undertake an extensive linguistic study of the dialect depictions. Instead he seeks only to make an "adequate" analysis of these forms, and from that is able to draw his own conclusions about contemporary national stereotypes and issues of national identity (Bartley 1954: 6). Bartley does not analyse the language to any great extent, though he does illustrate some phonological features (indicated through spelling) and provides examples of some lexical items. In doing so, he consults important

works in dialectology – in particular, Murray's *Dialect of the Southern Countries of Scotland* (1873), Wright's *English Dialect Grammar* (1905), and Orton's *Phonology of a South Durham Dialect* (1933).

Despite using linguistic works, Bartley sometimes comes to conclusions that are narrow at best and inaccurate at worst. For instance, he declares that several of the plays of the Restoration era (including *Sauny the Scot* and *Courtship A-la-mode*) appear to rely more on a northern or Scottish 'stage dialect' – a conventional set of dialect words and pronunciations. As Nevalainen (2006: 22) suggests, Bartley (1943: 283) thinks that authors used a stage dialect in these plays in part to make it easy for the audience members to understand; he states that the authors "cannot afford to strain their audience overmuch". He is incorrect about the conventionality of the dialect in these plays, and it is interesting that he came to this conclusion about these particular plays. The dialect representation is in fact very rich, and that in *Courtship A-la-mode*, far from being formulaic, is markedly different from all the other Scottish dialect representations in my dataset, as discussed in 3.20.3.

Bartley describes certain plays in some depth, including *The Scottish History of James IV*, *The Raigne of King Edward III, Henry V, Hey for Honesty, The Vow Breaker, The Valiant Scot*, *Sauny the Scot*, and the plays of John Tatham. He (1954: 88, 89) characterises the dialect representations of Tatham as "extraordinary and freakish", and believes that Tatham's depictions of Scottish dialect are very incoherent, as they "inconsistently" abide by "his own private and unsystematic phonetics, so that it is often hard to recognize what sounds he

intended to represent".[2] Tatham's forms are idiosyncratic and sometimes extremely difficult to parse, but I believe that they are not without value.

Like Bliss (1979), Bartley (1954: 5) concludes that the majority of the salient linguistic features of these different varieties of English were isolated and reproduced accurately (and apparently independently) by playwrights (excepting Tatham). Looking at Scottish characters, he (1954: 251) repeatedly notes the "striking realism of their speech", and attributes this characteristic to several factors, including the independent status of Scots as a language ("Scotsmen spoke Scots correctly, so that they had less motive for acquiring standard English"). However, he contradicts himself by stating that the texts were intended only to guide actors and readers toward a particular dialectal reading, as the dialect representations are "never wholly consistent and often very sketchy" (Bartley 1954: 40).

To Bartley (1954: 79), it is difficult to discern which side of the border a character hails from. He sees the differences between northern English and Scots as too slight to help him determine a character's nationality, and asserts that playwrights did not pay much attention to their differences. Therefore, Bartley analyses the language of certain characters who may be northern as if they were Scottish, since, in his mind, they are not clearly *not* Scottish. Under this heading of "doubtful Scots" fall characters such as Jockie in *Edward IV* and Constance in *The Northern Lasse*, the latter of which he declares "has no sign of location but her speech" (Bartley 1954: 84). He is incorrect. These characters have 'signs of location' other than marked dialect forms, and it seems misguided

---

[2] Bartley makes an interesting aside when describing how nineteenth-century editors of Tatham misanalysed his Scots dialect representations. Bartley declares that these editors made "the mistake of looking at dramatic dialect from a non-dramatic point of view" (Bartley 1954: 90). He elaborates upon this point, focusing on the function of the actor within the drama and giving him a great deal of authority and autonomy: "A competent actor, who would, as actors of dialect parts must, interpret the writer's indications in terms of his own knowledge, could make Tatham's Scots quite adequate for stage purposes to an English audience". Thus, Tatham's Scottish characters must have been intelligible on stage, though the textual representation of their dialogue can appear incoherent.

not to acknowledge them as part of the evidence of regionality, as discussed in 3.2.3 and 7.5.2. In addition, my research shows that the dialectal forms present in the representations of these two characters seem to classify them as Scottish and northern, respectively.

Despite these misconceptions, Bartley does attempt to present a comprehensive account of the representation of Irish, Welsh, and Scottish varieties of English. He begins to assess the plot and characterisation of the plays in question, looking at the wider context of the play and of the era in an attempt to get a full picture. He provides useful background information, but his focus on stereotypes and the development of stock characters leaves his linguistic conclusions on slightly shaky ground.

1.2.2 Bliss, García-Bermejo Giner, Roemer

Working in the late 20th and early 21st centuries, these three scholars use more sophisticated methodologies and form stronger and more solid conclusions than those whose works are discussed in 1.2.1.

In his clear and comprehensive work, Bliss (1979) uses evidence from EMod literary works to form conclusions on spoken English in Ireland in that period. This work is particularly applicable to my study, as in several ways it is a model for how I deal with dialect representations of northern England and Scotland during the same period. The literary data allows Bliss to recreate a fairly detailed picture of spoken Hiberno-English, depicting variation both over time and across space. He has localised the texts in his dataset into four regions: Fingallian, Eastern, Western, and Northern (Ulster). His localisations are at times helped by explicit textual information (the placing of the action in a particular location, for example), but also confirmed by observed linguistic features in the dialectal representation. However, while Bliss (1979: 316) observes that the evidence within these texts is reliable, he acknowledges that it is most likely far from comprehensive or complete. In particular, he highlights

the limitations of the standard alphabet in documenting the "many probable peculiarities of pronunciation", and also the probable omission of other salient, yet more easily depicted features, such as matters of syntax or lexis.

Bliss provides not only a full description of the texts, but also supplies the texts themselves. He then analyses the phonological, morphological, lexical and syntactic features in their representations of Hiberno-English. His data is extensively indexed, and this cross-indexing combined with the inclusion of the texts themselves (either complete or extensively excerpted) is invaluable. This presentation allows the reader to see the data in context, and allows his conclusions to be as clear as possible. Before beginning his analysis, Bliss provides background to the political and cultural factors which influenced the linguistic situation in Ireland.

Bliss also provides commentary on how he analysed his data, discussing in detail the process of reconstructing sounds from spellings. Ideally, we would want to know (and can only speculate in an informed way upon) what the phonological correlates of StE spelling features were in the speech of the author. In describing why, in the spelling *poonsh* for 'punch', he classifies the vowel as /u/ instead of /ʌ/ or /u:/, Bliss (1979: 190) states that "our conclusion will be based, not exclusively on the spelling, nor exclusively on our expectations, but on a combination of the two. If our expectations are ill-founded, our conclusion is likely to be wrong". His detailed explanations are informative and helpful.

Bliss (1979: 312) discusses the concept of 'Stage Irish' – that is, a conventional method of representing Hiberno-English speech, one based, at some stage, upon the observation of Irish speakers, but then copied mindlessly by future writers, resulting in depictions that would remain static, unreflective of the changes occurring in the language. As such, these Stage Irish representations of Irish English would presumably become increasingly inaccurate. Bliss cannot find reasons that would justify the establishment of a Stage Irish tradition; the Irish population in London during this era is documented, and thus playwrights

centred in London could not claim to be wholly unfamiliar with this variety of English. Bliss's texts span 140 years, and the evidence gleaned from them rather shows "a steady chronological progression which can be plausibly linked with known sound-changes at a number of points" (with the development of vowels explained by the historical phonology of English, and consonants by that of Irish) (Bliss 1979: 314). This observable progression seems to refute the existence of Stage Irish.

Based on his evidence, Bliss does, however, believe that two dramatists may have used dialect representations that were overtly tinged with those of another author. This quality stems from reverence rather than laziness or convention; Shadwell and Randolph possibly copied Jonson's language out of homage. Bliss (1979: 315-316) asserts that these two examples (which he describes as "one virtually certain, the other highly probable") can be traced by the appearance interesting and infrequently unattested forms which appear in Jonson's *The Irish Masque* and also in Randolph's *Hey for Honesty* and Shadwell's *The Lancashire Witches*. Bliss postulates that Randolph's possible "special veneration for the older" playwright may explain his unusual choice of spelling , and asserts that Shadwell also aped Jonson's "writing of *sh* for /s/ in all contexts". However, there may be more to the story. Bliss also hypothesizes that, based on the usage of these particular features by authors (like the notoriously particular Jonson) "who in other respects display acute observation and careful notation", these features must have been justified at some point. In short, "it seems that, however mysterious it may be, there must be some phonetic basis for Jonson's usage", even if the later playwrights really were only copying him mindlessly.

Bliss (1979: 314) acknowledges that, though "it is difficult to test the accuracy of the representations of Hiberno-English in our texts, since we have nothing to compare them with, the best we can do is to see how easy it is to explain the features that we actually find". Bliss shows that most of the features one would

expect to find do appear in these texts, and, further, that the number of features that are both unpredicted and inexplicable is "very small indeed".

Recent work by García-Bermejo Giner (1997, 1998, 1999) suggests that dialect representations in EMod literary works are often authentic, that their careful analysis can expand our knowledge of regional variation in this period, and, significantly, that a proper comprehensive study is both feasible and necessary. At times one fears that, she, in spite of her theoretical vigour, is in danger of supporting the familiar clichés about the form and function of literary dialect – specifically, about the supremacy of the artificial stage dialect and about the restriction of dialect representation to comedies – but she mostly avoids doing so, and her work illustrates the depth and breadth of evidence provided in the plays.

In her 1998 article García-Bermejo Giner analyses the dialect representation in Nathaniel Woodes's 1581 play *A Conflict of Conscience*, and in 1999 she focuses on two plays also contained in my dataset, *The Scottish History of James IV* and *Sir John Oldcastle, Part I*. She offers the same basic conclusion in each – that the depictions of dialect in these plays are "for the most part accurate" (1998: 18) – and extrapolates in the 1999 article that that the dialect representations in sixteenth-century drama deserve to be seen as reliable sources of dialectal data. These studies are useful and encouraging, but are limited in scope.

García-Bermejo Giner (1999: 250) outlines past work on EModE dialectology. Contemporary sources of EMod dialect are very limited, primarily spanning the work of "orthoepists, grammarians and spelling reformers". The great bulk of the literary representation of dialect has been ignored, and when it has been studied, the tendency is to analyse the non-standard language from the perspective of literary criticism. This is not to say that purely literary reasons for employing dialect are altogether meaningless; she observes that dialect representation can serve to distinguish characters and drive the action.

García-Bermejo Giner concludes that it is now both necessary and possible to have an analytical, insightful, and multifaceted linguistic study of the regional variation depicted in literature in the EMod period, and she believes that dialect representation in dramatic works and other fictional texts will prove to be valuable and illuminating linguistically. She employs a precise and inclusive methodology for isolating and interpreting often difficult data from literary works, which is an excellent guide for this type of investigation.

With regard to the actual representations of dialect, García-Bermejo Giner (1999: 254) is frustrated at times by the fact that playwrights are inconsistent with regard to dialect, with the characters using "both the 'standard' and the deviant form of the same words". She also notes that, in the case of *Sir John Oldcastle Part I,* the dialect is mixed, with northern characters primarily using northern traits but then slipping into SW pronunciation.[3]

However, García-Bermejo Giner does not consider the fact that it is unnecessary and indeed hardly to be expected for the playwright to be rigidly consistent and all-inclusive in his or her representation of dialect. One must keep the author's intention in mind – that, rather than provide a scholarly and thorough account of the dialect of a particular region, the author's goal was to indicate dialect to his or her actors[4] (and, possibly later, to readers) and, with regard to spelling, to shape the pronunciation of these dialect words. As discussed in 2.1, It would be impossible to mark every instance of dialect usage; marking every non-standard feature would make the text hard to read, thus possibly harder to interpret and understand. The

---

[3] Bartley (1943: 279) also observes the playwrights' inconsistency in the representation of dialect, though this lack of uniformity is less significant to him in light of the overall accuracy of the dialect representation; he states that "after the first act of Greene's *Scottish History of James IV* (*c*. 1591) dialect practically disappears; but in it the dialect which Sir Bartram and Bohan (i.e. Buchan) use contains no obvious errors".

[4] As discussed in 2.1, people from across the British Isles made their home in London throughout the seventeenth century, so it was likely that actors (as well as the average man on the street) would have encountered a range of English dialects while in London.

author provides a dialectal skeleton, but in a way that makes it easy for the actor and his audience to flesh it out correctly[5]. García-Bermejo Giner's frustration with the incompleteness of the dialectal representation, though understandable from a linguist's perspective, is an exaggeration of the problem, I believe. The different playwrights do isolate and highlight features, and can achieve their aims without providing unnecessarily complex transcriptions.

Roemer (1998) follows a procedure much like García-Bermejo Giner's for the analysis of dialect representations in EMod literary texts. She closely examines the text, researches the background of the author and the text itself, and provides commentary evaluating the accuracy of the dialect depiction. While her methodology is admirable, and her linguistic analysis solid, her conclusions about dialect representation in general are less well developed, comparatively.

Roemer's focus is the county of Lancashire. While incorporating a significant amount of material, her study is small, analysing six texts from *c*. 1599 to *c*. 1743. Five of these are plays that fall into my remit and that are included in my dataset: *Sir John Oldcastle Part I*, *The Late Lancashire Witches*, *The Cheats of Scapin*, *The Lancashire Witches*, and *The Squire of Alsatia*. The longest and most extensive section covers Brome and Heywood's *The Late Lancashire Witches.* Roemer's work is focused on the contribution to the knowledge of the development of the Lancashire dialects, and specifically on the major phonological developments of the Lancashire dialect. As such, the result is a study whose evidence is drawn primarily from dramatic dialect representations, but one that does not address the function or context of these depictions in much detail. While precise and thorough, particularly in matters of phonological detail, Roemer's work is restricted by this narrowness of focus;

[5] A related issue is the ability of the actors to be consistent, as they might be more or less consistent than the text or within their own interpretation. This issue is difficult to analyse, as we have no evidence from the time which addresses the 'consistency' of the actor.

her study would be stronger if she discussed the theatrical practices of the time and how these texts fit in with the dramatic tradition.

Following in the tradition of Hulme, Roemer looks at contemporary sources for comparative purposes – namely, at texts where dialect is depicted unconsciously in naïve spellings, as well as texts that offer explicit and focused linguistic commentary, like those of grammarians, or those of lay people concerned with linguistic matters. Roemer (1998: 38) highlights the importance of the "naïve spellings" of lay people, though it is not always clear how she uses such spellings as evidence for her own study. She does note that these "unconscious" spellings need not be subject to the same scrutiny that applies to the crafted representations in literature. In addition to using contemporary evidence, Roemer states that this EModE evidence must also be compared with reference works like LALME, SED, and EDD, in order to place the data more accurately in the dialect continuum.

One of Roemer's goals is to discover if there was a standard, established way to represent the Lancashire dialect, and she concludes that "the evidence is not sufficient to argue for a common Lancashire dialect writing tradition" (Roemer 1998: 42). However, the lack of this "writing tradition" – which could also be termed a stage dialect, as the majority of the primary sources are plays – does not negate the significance of her data. In fact, I would argue that these non-standardised depictions increase the claims to their own accuracy, as the representations seem to have changed over time, mirroring the changing dialect itself.

Roemer's discussion of literary dialect is reliant on the ideas of Blake (1981: 72), who concluded that a typical EMod author would use dialect primarily to help establish an atmosphere and to localise the action, as he "was neither interested in nor saw the necessity of giving an exact linguistic representation of the non-standard language of the time". This viewpoint would appear to negate the importance of her own source material and her study of the depictions of

non-standard English. Roemer (1998: 35), in discussing the role of dialect in EMod literature, states that "the well-known dialect scene in Shakespeare's *King Lear* highlights the attitudes which were to govern society's views of dialect and accent from the Early Modern English period onward". Roemer correctly correlates dialect to social class in Edgar's peasant disguise, and she uses this example as corroborative evidence for the stratification of EModE society and thus of its language. This *King Lear* excerpt – one of the few examples of Shakespearean dialect representation, and a very short one (approximately seven lines) at that – is often referred to by scholars in discussions of dialect in drama, but it is rarely analysed at more than a superficial level.[6] Here, Roemer (1998: 36) too falls prey to the 'well-known' nature of the scene, and provides no context for her statements, and follows them with sweeping generalisations such as "dialect usage in literature was generally reserved for the lower orders of society" and "throughout the literary works of the early Modern English and the later period dialect tends to be exploited as a sign of low breeding". She does acknowledge that these generalisations are challenged by the data provided by one of the dialect-speaking characters in one of her selected texts (Tom Shacklehead in *The Late Lancashire Witches*). While a full-scale evaluation of the form and function of dialect representation in literature is admittedly far beyond the scope of her project, Roemer's arguments would be strengthened with a better informed and more wide-ranging commentary, particularly on the texts in her dataset.

Roemer's analysis of linguistic forms is thorough and accurate. However, some of her other, more general decisions and statements could be better justified. For example, she uses a critical edition (Rittenhouse 1984) for her source text for *Sir John Oldcastle Part I*, and while modern critical editions are usually comprehensive (as the editor consults most if not all of the early printed editions), there is always the concern that non-standard forms are omitted or corrected, intentionally or not, in order to make the text more standardised or understandable. After establishing that Otway and Shadwell were

---

[6] See 5.1 n1 for a discussion of particular features in the dialect representation in *King Lear.*

"acquaintances", Roemer (1998: 42) states that "Otway wrote his *The Cheats of Scapin* shortly after Shadwell's stay in Lancashire, therefore we can postulate that he benefited from his friend's knowledge of the dialect". This conclusion, while possible, does not appear to be explicitly confirmed by the data analysed. In the same vein, Roemer (1998: 51) mentions that Brome's representation of specifically Durham speech in *The Northern Lasse* is "authentic and detailed", but provides no source for this conclusion.

1.2.3 Blake, Blank, Mair

In this section I discuss the work of three authors, Blake, Blank, and Mair, who present more of a literary perspective on dialect representation in plays.

Blake (1981) finds that authors tend to use depictions of regional language to show humour rather than to depict regionality in a realistic way. Characters using dialect are often either wicked or ridiculous, with the wicked characters so exaggerated as to be laughable. Thus, Blake (1981: 74) does not believe that the dialect depictions are truly realistic, but that they serve more to show to the audience "how to respond to a given character"; the purpose of a character speaking a southwestern dialect would not be to provide local colour or to set the scene, but rather to show the "simplicity or stupidity" of a character. As Blake (1981: 74) notes, if this language is used primarily for purposes of characterisation, then it makes sense to find the most thorough representations "clustered either at the beginning or at important parts of the play when it is essential that the audience is not misled about the nature of the characters". However, Blake (1981: 76) declares that the Scottish dialect in *The Scottish History of James IV*, found primarily in the play's "Induction", needs to be "regarded as part of the scene-setting", as in this play there is no indication of the dialect being "regarded as comic or in any way indicating vulgarity or a low-class nature". Likewise, Blake believes that the northern language in several other plays appears to add only "local colour". Therefore, to Blake, dialect forms

would seem only to reinforce the plot or the setting, and thus would not be sufficient for further linguistic study.

Blank's (1996) work looks at the ways that different forms of English interacted in EMod England. Focusing on the politics of language and the role of dialects in EMod society, Blank does not attempt a proper linguistic analysis of the representations of the various non-standard Englishes in EMod texts. Her subject is the language of literature in EMod England, with a particular focus on the power and influence of the writer in moulding and shaping not only their own forms of English, but the English language as a whole. To Blank, the language of EMod English writings was not just indicative of the era's ongoing linguistic changes, but actually helped drive these changes, specifically the movement toward a standard. In other words, the standardisation of English is both reflected in and propelled by the depiction of standard and non-standard varieties of language, including representation of dialects of England and Scotland, in literary texts.

In the EMod period, people were very aware of the differences between varieties of English, a consciousness that can be traced to increased depictions and interpretations of different varieties of English. Yet, there was a sense not only of difference but of preference – that some forms of English were better and more suitable than others. Blank (1996: 2) sees dialect as an alternate but clearly marked language choice, and defines 'dialects' as "alternative Englishes … versions of the language that were defined by their value or status relative to other English dialects, including the King's English", and characterises different dialects by their varying vocabularies and pronunciations. In this work, Blank focuses on literary language – on written dialects – rather than on what she calls " 'real' dialects" spoken in this period. This rather isolating view understandably colours her work, as she does not attempt to study the language itself, but rather discusses its function within literary works and from there its greater function within society.

Blank (1996: 70) says that, as depicted in English drama, regional dialects were clearly inferior and disfavoured forms of English. This view corresponds with the increasingly strong correlation between language and identity – social, regional, and, above all, national identity. She cites Andrew Boorde's 1542 description of the 'naughty englyshe' spoken in Cornwall (carefully differentiated from Cornish, though this 'naughty englyshe' probably results from substrate features from Cornish) as evidence that the English of southern England was seen as strange and inferior, and this perception led authors to use it primarily in disparaging ways (1996: 81). She casually classifies dramatic representations of southern English as a stage dialect (Blank 1996: 100), later noting that depictions of northern dialect contain more marked dialectal features and forms. However, interestingly (and inaccurately), Blank (1996: 105) believes that "from the viewpoint of the capital and the court, northern English was in many ways indistinguishable, in social if not in formal terms, from the southern dialect", as, presumably, both dialects were seen as unsatisfactory and strange.

Mair (1992) encourages the application of a combination of literary and linguistic theoretical approaches in the analysis of representations of non-standard varieties of language. He explores how one can evaluate and measure such non-standard representations, as well as current theories of literary sociolinguistics and stylistics. Mair (1992: 111) particularly looks at Bakhtinian concepts, stating that,

> What Bakhtin understood long before the functional, textlinguistic and pragmatic turn in linguistics was that the link between linguistic – phonetic, grammatical – structure and stylistic function is not direct, predictable and stable but mediated, so that the same form can have different expressive values depending on the text, context, or genre it occurs in, and that it is these mediating levels of textual organisation on which the systematic study of literary style has to be founded.

Mair (1992: 105) notes that the same strategies are used across the board for representations of dialects or non-standard varieties of English:

> Literary renderings of nonstandard English which are generally felt to be successful from an artistic point-of-view are produced by the same technique as the very bad ones, namely the selective deployment of a handful of nonstandard lexical and grammatical clues and deviant spellings which are more often than not stereotyped instances of eye dialect.

I agree that there are difficulties in drawing up strict criteria to distinguish a good literary representation of non-standard English from an average or bad one, when the same basic strategies are used in most cases. However, not all 'deviant spellings' in dialect representations are stereotypical, and most are far from being "stereotyped instances of eye dialect".

Mair (1992: 105) quotes Page (1988: 25-26), who states that representations of non-standard language consist of "the provision of hints toward an imaginative reconstruction of speech by the reader on the basis of his empirical knowledge of speech and his familiarity with the conventions of written dialogue". Mair (1992: 105) concludes that, based on that statement, it would be impossible for anyone to fully appreciate George Bernard Shaw's *Pygmalion* unless he possesses a firm knowledge of Cockney and the attitudes towards it.

1.3 Overview

The work of these scholars has given me a firm foundation for my own work in the study of dialect representation in drama. In Chapter 2, I provide additional contextual information by giving a brief overview of Britain in the seventeenth century, looking particularly at the development of theatre and theatrical practices and at attitudes at the time towards Scots and northerners. I begin discussing the plays in my Scottish dataset in chapters 3, with linguistic analysis

following in chapters 4, 5, and 6. The northern plays are discussed and analysed in chapters 7 to 10. Chapter 11 contains my conclusions.

Britain in the seventeenth century: a brief contextual overview

Chapter 2

Britain in the seventeenth century was undergoing political, cultural, religious, and social turbulence. In this chapter, I focus on aspects of these interrelated upheavals that may have had direct impact on dialect representations in plays. I discuss population movement and the ensuing dialect contact, the demographic makeup of London, attitudes towards Scots and northerners, perceptions of dialects across Britain, and the development of theatre in both England and Scotland.

2.1 Population, Movement, and Linguistic Diversity

London's population swelled during the seventeenth century, with Cook (1981: 52) estimating the population to be 350,000 in 1642, up from 150,000 in 1576. By 1642, London dwarfed the other communities in England; most of them had inhabitants numbering in the hundreds, not in the hundreds-of-thousands. By 1700 nearly 600,000 people made London their home (Reed 1987: 344).

In contrast, Edinburgh, the capital of the separate country of Scotland, was substantially smaller than London, though not without prestige; Houston and Whyte (2005: 13) describe Edinburgh of the early seventeenth century as "the London of the north, albeit a tenth of the size". Reed (1987: 4) estimates Edinburgh's population in 1700 to be about 40,000, making it bigger than all the other major cities (Glasgow, Aberdeen, Dundee, and Perth) put together as well as the second most populous city in Britain.

Then, as now, people from across the world headed to London, resulting in a rich linguistic diversity which was echoed in contemporary drama. As Highley (2004: 56) notes, “the playwrights of the day were not slow in exploiting public fascination with the presence of unfamiliar accents”, and included dialect representations within their plays. Many British men and women also found their way to London; Estabrook (1998: 4) states that “during the century following 1650, one out of every six English adults actually resided in London at some point in his or her life, despite the frightening rate of mortality there”. The Irish, Scottish, and Welsh migrated to London and seem to have been noticed. Looking at the evidence provided by plays, Bliss (1979: 181) declares that the average EMod Englishman must have been reasonably familiar at least with Irishmen and with their manner of speaking:

> Evidence of the familiarity of Englishmen with Irish manners and speech is to be found in the extraordinary frequency with which, in the plays at least, they are able to undertake successful masquerades as Irishmen; sometimes they are even able to deceive real Irishmen. The plays must not be taken too seriously, of course, and we must allow for the convenience of the successful masquerade as a dramatic device; but even as a dramatic device the masquerade would lack plausibility if no Englishmen, or very few, had had the opportunity of observing the Irish.

Bliss’s central point – that the Irish must have been recognisable for the conceit of the plays to work – is a valid one. This familiarity with other cultures would seem to have extended also to the Scottish, who in any case had closer ties to England, particularly with the king and court. Disguise is not uncommon in my representations of northern and Scots dialects, and these disguises are apparently convincing to the other characters.

2.2 Theatre in Britain

In this section I give an overview of theatre in Britain in the seventeenth century, with a special aim to describe factors that may have influenced the

dialect representation in my source texts. The seventeenth century encompassed radical changes to the theatre. The theatres were closed in 1642, and reopened 18 years later, after the Civil War and the Interregnum. Before this time, the period (and thus its drama) can be described by the name of the monarch: Elizabethan (1558-1603), Jacobean (1603-1625), and Caroline (1625-1642).

2.2.1 Theatre before 1642

London was the centre of the British theatrical world, and it was massive, bustling, and "exotic" (Cook 1981: 52). The first playhouse, The Theatre, was constructed in 1576. The Curtain, The Rose, The Swan, and other theatres followed, and "one cannot overestimate the importance of having established buildings for the regular production of drama, leading to solidifying adult acting companies and their repertory system of performance" (Bergeron 2003: 1). Plays were performed in the afternoon, with no performances on Sunday. By 1617, Cook (1997: 314) estimates that London could accommodate between 8,000 and 10,000 playgoers total at a time.

However, the theatrical world was not entirely stable in this period. The theatres themselves were subject to closure because of outbreaks of the plague or during periods of royal mourning, among other events. Cook (1997: 315) notes that "public theaters were dark for two-thirds of the time during the first decade of James's reign" in the early 1600s; the plague of 1603 was particularly serious, leaving 30,000 dead (Munro 2000: 241). Later, the two licensed theatre companies "were instructed to cease acting during the Plague between June 1665 and December 1666" (Thomas and Hare 1989: 19).

The question of who made up the theatrical audience has brought about heated debate. Cook (1981: 9) comes to the conclusion that the dominant force in the audience was the privileged playgoer, who "had long fostered the drama as schoolboys, as patrons, and even as playwrights themselves". However, the

alternate school of thought, advocated by Gurr (1987), holds that the audience was more diverse than this; Highley (2004: 58) too comments on the "socially and linguistically diverse" audience for the Globe, for example. Yet, everyone could find theatre in the streets, quite literally, in the form of civic pageants; Bergeron (2003: 1) describes "the thousands of spectators who never entered the Globe Theatre but who nevertheless encountered theater about them". These pageants were intensely theatrical: "dramatic speeches and action, music, colorful costumes, processions, triumphal arches, and professional actors gave civic occasions imaginative life" (Bergeron 2003: 1). An example would be the English coronation of James I in 1603, which included many of these dramatic elements.

2.2.2 Theatre and drama during the Civil War

The outbreak of civil war brought an end to public theatre in Britain for almost two decades, with a 1642 Act of Parliament banning theatrical performances both in London and in the provinces. Sanders (1999: 2) points out that the closing of the theatres was seen as a temporary measure at first, and done primarily to ensure the safety of the public during times of war. However, Thomas and Hare (1989: 1) note that public sentiment had sided against the theatre before that decree: "even before the outbreak of hostilities in the 1640s, academics, lawyers, merchants and craftsmen of puritan persuasion were united in their hostility towards the theatre, which was seen as an organ for Royalist values and perceptions".

However, political events and the public outcry against the theatre did not completely destroy drama in Britain; as Randall (1995: 15) states, "theatrical history must concern itself with the anguished closings, furtive openings, and reactive demolishings of the playhouses, but the availability of plays for readers can scarcely remain in doubt". Play-texts continued to be printed in this period, including Randolph's *Hey for Honesty* (1651) and Tatham's *The Distracted State* (1651) and *The Scots Figgaries* (1652) (all of which are analysed in this thesis

and discussed in 3.10, 3.11.2, and 3.11.3). Closet theatre was performed among the privileged. Drolls – "a collection of brief and usually farcical pieces often taken from longer plays" – were also frequently performed, as they were far easier to stage and to conceal from the authorities (Trussler 2000: 116).

2.2.3 Restoration theatre

With the restoration of Charles II to the throne in 1660, legitimate theatre was welcomed back to Britain, though much changed from its previous incarnation. A smaller group of people controlled theatrical production; after ascending the throne, Charles II officially established just two companies of actors, the only ones allowed to perform legitimately. Both were founded with members from Caroline theatres; Thomas Killigrew's company, known later as the King's Men, was made up of the "older and more experienced actors from the Red Bull" (Thomas and Hare 1989: 13), and had the right to perform pre-Restoration plays, whereas Sir William Davenant's company, or the Duke's Company, was made up of younger actors from the Phoenix. Other changes to the theatrical culture included the introduction of women actors, the construction of different styles of theatrical buildings, and the emphasis on stagecraft, all aspects clearly showing the influence of continental practices. The preferred genre of plays also changed, with more of an emphasis upon adaptations of French plays (by Molière and Racine, among others), which were popular on the continent, and upon comedies of manners.

2.2.4 Theatre in Scotland

The Reformation gnawed away at the theatrical tradition built up in mediaeval Scotland, despite the favour later bestowed upon it by James VI/I. Findlay (1998: 17) lists the manifold factors leading to the downfall of theatre in Scotland: "the suppression of feast days and the communal religious dramas that accompanied them, the attempted elimination of folk pastimes and plays, the prohibition of plays drawing on Scripture, the submission of non-Scriptural

comedies and tragedies to rigorous censorship, and the rigid adherence to the Deuteronomic injunction regarding disguises". The combination of these factors left behind only the shell of Scottish dramatic tradition by the early seventeenth century, despite the efforts of James VI, who looked favourably enough upon theatre to invite English companies to play in Scotland on three separate occasions (1593-4, 1599, and 1601) (Findlay 1998: 38). James VI overruled the Kirk, permitting these companies to hold public performances; Cameron (1993: 145-146) notes that "until the removal of the Court to London in 1603, it is the royal household which provides the most consistent evidence of early theatrical performances in Scotland".

The Kirk continued to disapprove of theatre, and when the court followed James VI to London, the little drama that existed was destroyed:

> What the Reformation with its censure of ceremony and festival had failed to do, the removal of the Scottish court to London in 1603 accomplished. Popular drama died in Scotland during the post-Reformation era, and theatrical presentations which are recorded indicate that by the seventeenth century drama was at best a court appendage (Tobin 1974: 2).

Dibdin (1888: 25-6) states that "even on such occasions as King James' visit in 1617, and King Charles' coronation at Holyrood in 1633, there seem to have been no dramatic entertainments. Pageantry and exhibitions and music there were, but not a trace of a genuine play". Though Scottish characters appeared on stage in London, and Scottish playwrights like Craufurd and Sydserf worked in London in the late seventeenth century, the growth of professional theatre in Scotland was "stunted" (Tobin 1974: 2).

After the Restoration, a culture of closet theatre existed in Scotland, with the intelligentsia circulating play-texts socially, in taverns and in coffee- and chocolate-houses (Scullion 1997: 106). These plays included *The Assembly*, discussed in 3.18. A theatre opened in the tennis court of Holyroodhouse soon after the Restoration (Cameron 1993: 148), but no professional theatre was

established until the eighteenth century; Cameron attributes the lack of professional theatre to “Scotland’s continuing political and religious strife”.

2.3 Attitudes towards Scots and northerners

The crowns of Scotland and England were united in 1603, under James VI of Scotland (crowned James I of England). In reality, Scotland remained separate from England culturally, economically, politically, and socially; McRae (2009: 15) comments that “for the average English man or woman, therefore, a journey to Scotland was a voyage into a foreign land”.

There were Scots in London, though we cannot be sure of the numbers. Bartley (1954: 78) notes that “James I brought many Scottish courtiers and adventurers to London in his train”. Bartley (1954: 243) later adds that “many Scots … would have disapproved strongly of the theatre, and their genius led them towards the Exchange rather than Drury Lane or Covent Garden”.

In the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries, offending powerful Scots with dramatic portrayals of Scotsmen was apparently a legitimate concern. George Nicolson, an agent to Elizabeth I and English Ambassador to Scotland, addresses this topic in a 1598 letter, referring to a particular play:

> It is regretted that the comedians of London should scorn the king and the people of this land in their play; and it is wished that the matter should be speedily amended lest the king and the country be stirred to anger (Chambers 1945, I: 322, in Kewes 2003: 174).

Leech (1935: 70) notes Chambers’s suggestion that a new theatrical company (the Children of the King’s Revels) was formed as a replacement for another company “who had fallen into disgrace through their satire on the Scots”. Blank (1996: 161) concludes that “the disappearance of Scots from English literature during James’s rule suggests that the portrayal of the dialect itself was

considered a form of slander". The reaction against theatrical portrayals of the Scots is discussed in greater detail in 3.3.

After the announcement in 1603 that James I was to become King of England as well as of Scotland, Thomas Dekker wrote a glowing description of the union of crowns, commenting on the common language of the two nations:

> England and Scotland (being parted only with a narrow River, and the people of both Empires speaking a language lesse differing than english within it selfe, as the providence had enacted, that one day those two Nations should marry one another) are now made sure together, and king James his Coronation, is the solemne wedding day.

However, in general the English appear to have had a hostile attitude to the Scots, which is evident in the plays throughout the seventeenth century. Bartley (1954: 82) refers to two cases: in Shakespeare's *The Merchant of Venice*, "Portia's reference to her Scottish suitor – the 'other lord' – … lays stress on the hostility between English and Scot, and *Eastward Ho* comments sarcastically on the emigratory and ambitious tendencies of Scotsmen". This negative attitude to the Scots can also be seen in other plays in my dataset (e.g. *The Scots Figgaries*). In particular, Scotland, with its mix of fervent Presbyterians and un-reformed Catholics, provoked strong religious hostility from Anglican England (Bucholz and Key 2009: 9), with members of the Church of Scotland and the Catholic Church both looked upon with suspicion and anger; Bartley (1954: 148) quotes Trevelyan (1944: 421) in saying that after the Act of Union in 1707, a Scotsman was seen as "either a Jacobite or a Presbyterian, and in either capacity he alienated four-fifths of English sympathy".

The work *Scotland Characterized* (1701) provides a strongly negative view of the Scots, describing them as "nasty and verminous" (Bartley 1954: 158). This anonymous work, laid out as a personal letter, is ostensibly an attempt to discourage a young Englishman from attending the University of Edinburgh. The

unnamed author (1701: 510) states that the only good Scotsmen are the ones who got out of Scotland:

> I will not deny, but Scotland has formerly given very eminent scholars to the world; nay, I will go further, there are no finer gentlemen in the world, than that nation can justly boast of; but then they are such as have travelled, and are indebted to other countries for those accomplishments that render them so esteemed, their own affording only pedantry, poverty, brutality, and hypocrisy.

The work continues in the same vein, detailing (among other horrid aspects of Scottish life) the ugly and vulgar Scotswomen and the incivility and rudeness found "amongst that proverbially clownish people". The Scottish universities are also insulted: "Their colleges are neither, for learning, libraries, learned men, revenues, or structure, any more to be compared to ours, than a dancing-master's kit to a bass-viol, or a Welch vicarage to St. Paul's cathedral".

Unfortunately, not much can be found about attitudes to people from the six northern counties of England during the seventeenth century, other than what is found in the literature of the time. Wales (2006: 64-82) does not cite evidence from this period other than literary texts and the work of orthoepists.

The language of the north is seen as distinct, differing from that found in the rest of the country. Gil (1619: 102), who takes a favourable view of northern dialect, lists this dialect as one of the six major dialects of English (with the others being the Southern, Eastern, and Western, the General, and the Poetic). Verstegan (1605: 195) describes the 'spatious' English language, with different lexical items and variant pronunciations found across England, highlighting the northern dialect:

> for pronouncing according as one would say at London, *I would eat more cheese yf I had it*/ the northern man saith, *Ay sud eat mare cheese gin ay hadet*/ and the westerne man saith: *Chud eat more cheese an chad it*. Lo heer three different pronountiations in our own countrey in one thing, & heerof many the lyke examples might be alleaged.

Here, Verstegan shows phonological and lexical variation among the dialects, and the features and forms he uses in this short example are found in the dramatic dialect representations in this thesis. John Ray collected hundreds of words from the North Country in his 1674 work, the first general dialect dictionary, and differentiated them from other dialect words in a separate section. He greatly expanded this collection in the 1691 edition.

Alongside these linguistic commentaries, we must rely on the evidence provided by the plays themselves, as Wales does, for additional information about the perception of the north and of northerners.

Dekker, in his dedicatory poem in Brome's *The Northern Lasse* (1632), refers to the north being 'lumpish-cold', contrasting the harsh climate of the north with the gentle and pure disposition of one of its lasses. Brome, in his epistle dedicatory, also refers to the 'cold north' (in opposition to the 'southern sunshine'), and praises his heroine's homegrown qualities of honesty and modesty, even "though she speak broad". Another dedicatory poem, attributed only to St. Br.[7], lauds the "blithe, bonny *Northern Lass*", using items of northern dialect lexis. Wales (2006: 79) hypothesizes that the audience had already been exposed to certain elements of northern culture, and enjoyed northern themes: "it is likely that the audience were already willing to be receptive to the play's northernness, and that Brome was cashing in on the appeal of northern popular culture, no doubt brought from the North, the border and Scotland by wandering minstrels".

However, it appears that not all the perceptions of northerners are positive ones. In his notes to the 1907 edition of *Club Law*, Moore Smith (1907: 138) cross-references an exchange from *Ram-Alley* (1611), which shows the fieriness and crudeness often associated with northern men:

[7] Possibly Richard Brome's brother, Stephen, or the unrelated Steven Bradwell (see Sanders (ed.) n10171)

> Oliver: The devil take my soul, but I did love her.
>
> Taf: That oath show you are a Northern knight And of all men alive, I'll never trust A northern man in love.
>
> Oliver: And why?
>
> Taf: Because the first word he speaks is, the devil Take his soul ...

In addition, the male characters whose dialogue is marked with northern features in Shadwell's plays *The Lancashire Witches* and *The Squire of Alsatia* are provincial and unsophisticated, contrasting both with southerners and, in the case of *The Lancashire Witches*, with other, more sophisticated northerners.

Scots representation in seventeenth-century drama

Chapter 3

Thirty-three plays published between 1598 and 1705 feature Scots representation. Full linguistic analysis follows in chapters 4, 5, and 6. In this chapter, in order to contextualise the plays, I provide the following:

- background information about the author and also the printing or performance history, at least when these appear to have bearing on the history and/or status of the plays' linguistic usage. For information about the author, I consult the *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (ODNB); the dates of birth and death are taken from there, along with the places of birth. For authors who are well-known, such as Shakespeare and Jonson, I provide a brief biographical sketch, providing more information for those less-widely-known.
- a brief summary of the plot (providing additional information for those plays that are either particularly interesting or less familiar) and a description of the dialect speaker within the play.
- If relevant, my assessment of the potential usefulness of the dialect representation, including the highlighting of particularly interesting forms or passages.
- other commentary, including earlier work on the plays.
- indications of Scottish background other than linguistic ones.

In eleven of the plays (all published and performed after the Restoration), the dialect representation is confined to so-called Scotch Songs. One play features representations of both Scots and Ulster Scots (*Ireland Preserved, Pts 1 and 2*). For some of the plays, the date of creation or performance does not align with

the date of publication. Sometimes the time-gap is only a year or two, but notable is Middleton's *The Witch*, which was only published in 1778, having been written *c*. 1616. *The Assembly* was not published until 1722, but a manuscript exists dating to 1691; I base my analysis on the manuscript, though I briefly discuss the history of the editions in 3.18. For these two plays, I list both the year of publication and the year to which the manuscript is dated. In addition, Wild's *The Benefice* was likely to have been written before the theatres were closed before the Civil War, but was only published in 1689. All 33 plays, their playwrights, and years of publication are listed in chronological order in Table 3.

title	**author(s)**	**year of publication**
The Scottish History of James IV	Robert Greene	1598
Edward IV, Parts 1 and 2	Thomas Heywood	1599
Eastward Ho	George Chapman, Ben Jonson, John Marston	1605
The Witch	Thomas Middleton	(1778) *c.*1616
Thierry and Theodoret	Francis Beaumont, John Fletcher, Philip Massinger	1621
King Henry V	William Shakespeare	1623
The Vow Breaker	William Sampson	1636
The Valiant Scot	J.W.	1637
The Sad Shepherd	Ben Jonson	1641
Hey for Honesty	Thomas Randolph	1651
The Distracted State	John Tatham	1651
The Scots Figgaries	John Tatham	1652
The Rump	John Tatham	1660
A Short Representation Performed Before the Lord Generall Monck	Anon.	1660
The Projectors	John Wilson	1665

title	author(s)	year of publication
The Morning Ramble	Henry Nevil Payne	1673
A Fond Husband	Thomas D'Urfey	1677
Trick for Trick	Thomas D'Urfey	1678
The Virtuous Wife	Thomas D'Urfey	1680
Sir Barnaby Whigg	Thomas D'Urfey	1681
The Souldiers Fortune	Thomas Otway	1681
The Roundheads	Aphra Behn	1682
The Royalist	Thomas D'Urfey	1682
The City Heiress	Aphra Behn	1682
A Fool's Preferment	Thomas D'Urfey	1688
The Benefice	Robert Wild	1689
The Assembly	Archibald Pitcairne	(1722) *c.*1691
The Marriage Hater Match'd	Thomas D'Urfey	1692
The Mock Marriage	Thomas Scott	1696
The Campaigners	Thomas D'Urfey	1698
Sauny the Scot	John Lacy	1698
Courtship A-la-mode	David Craufurd	1700
Ireland Preserved, Pts 1 and 2	John Michelburne	1705

Table 3: List of plays featuring Scots representations

The list includes *Eastward Ho* (1605), famous for the representation of the Scots which resulted in the arrest and imprisonment of its authors Chapman, Jonson, and Marston for mocking the language of the recently crowned James I (Beers 1904: 232). There is a gap of sixteen years between this representation and the next, possibly because of residual anxiety; Neumann (1939: 746) hypothesizes that the lack of Scots depiction in Jonson's subsequent work "may be attributed to Jonson's fear of offending the king", and this feeling may have been more widespread. One possible demonstration of this apprehension can be found in

the fascinating case of Edward Sharpham's *Cupid's Whirligig* (1607), which features the character Nucome, who is described as 'the Welch Courtier' in the Dramatis Personae, though his speech is certainly free of Welsh characteristics. Leech (1935: 69) believes that Nucome "was originally intended as a satiric picture of the Scottish followers of James", and that his nationality was changed from Scottish to Welsh "either for safety's sake or perhaps after an order from authority". The residue of the character's Scottish origins is apparent in the references to thistles and in the v-deletion displayed in the spelling *siller* for 'silver', neither of which are particularly Welsh traits.

My Scottish dataset omits a few plays where the nature of the dialect representation is ambiguous: either the speaker is not clearly identified as Scottish, or a careful analysis of the dialectal data does not restrict the representation to Scotland. Such plays include the masque *The King and Queens Entertainment at Richmond* (1637), where the gentleman usher is either Northern English or Scottish, his speech directly contrasting with the Wiltshire dialect of the other characters with whom he interacts. Hulme (1937: 36) notes that "it is not specifically stated that his speech is Northern but he is referred to as 'the man with the broad speech'". The usher's short appearance in the play contains five dialect features, all of which can be found in the historical dialects of Lancashire and other northern counties, as well as in Scotland. I therefore deal with this play in my analysis of northern dialect representations. I also exclude from my analysis plays published outwith my specified time period. For this reason, Nathaniel Woodes's *A Conflict of Conscience* (1581) (analysed by García-Bermejo Giner 1998) and, at the other end of the timeframe, Susannah Centlivre's *The Perplex'd Lovers* (1712) and *The Wonder* (1714), are not discussed here. Although Lyndsay's *Ane Pleasant Satyre of the Thrie Estaitis* was published in 1602, it was originally written and performed in the mid-1500s, making it too early for my time-frame.

Jonson's *The Sad Shepherd* (1641) is included in my analysis, though the play is set quite specifically in Sherwood Forest, on the Nottinghamshire-Leicestershire

border. The dialogue of one of the dialect-speaking huntsmen includes a *quh*-form for a *wh-* word ("I, *qu'ha* suld let me? I suld be afraid ô you Sir suld I?"), a form that is only attested in writings in Scots. In LALME, *quh-* spellings are confined to Scotland, suggesting that this character might be intended for Scots. Other forms, including the *-and* present participle suffix, are used by the eight additional characters whose speech is marked with dialectal forms. The eclectic mix of features and forms have motivated critics to lump all the dialect representations together, describing them as unified examples of "conglomerate Northern/ Scots dialect" (Wales 2006: 77) or "Lowland Scotch" (Ward 1875: 585). I think, however, that one character, at least, has a genuine claim to represent Scots usage. My analysis in this section is restricted to that character who is most likely to be Scottish – Scathlock, the huntsman.

Only two plays in this selection were written by a Scotsman: *The Assembly* (*c*. 1691), attributed to Archibald Pitcairne, and *Courtship A-la-mode* (1700), by David Craufurd. This situation is hardly surprising, given the inhospitable Scottish attitude toward theatre.

In the final section of this chapter, I discuss non-dialectal indications of Scottish heritage which are included in the dialect representations. These elements help set the scene for the Scottish elements of the plays, without being dialectal.

3.1 *The Scottish History of James IV* (1598): Robert Greene

The full title of the play is 'The Scottish Historie of James the fourth, slaine at Flodden, Entermixed with a pleasant Comedie, presented by Oboram King of Fayeries". Written *c.* 1591, this play is not a history play but rather an adaptation of a story found in the Italian work *Hecatommithi* (Saunders 1970: xxix). As Saunders (1970: xxxvi) goes on to note, the one-time owner of the edition held by the British Library emended the title-page to show the true nature of the play, rendering it *The Scottish Historie* "or rather fiction of English & Scotish matters comicall".

3.1.1 Author

Robert Greene (1558-1592) was born in Norwich and attended St John's College, Cambridge. He was a prolific writer, mainly of prose works, though late in life he tried his hand at plays, all of which were published and performed posthumously.

3.1.2 Summary

The bulk of the plot is concerned with the unrequited love (and lust) of James IV, King of Scotland, for Ida, and his scheme to win her. James IV tries to kill his wife, Queen Dorothea, who also happens to be the daughter of the English king, so he subsequently can be free to marry Ida, the beautiful and virtuous object of his affection. At the play's end, Dorothea, who was only wounded in the assassination attempt, willingly goes back to the man who had plotted to kill her, and all are happy again – including her father, the King of England, who had just been waging a bloody war against the Scots. The "pleasant Comedie" of the Scotsman Bohan (Buchanan) and Oberon, the King of the Fairies, frames the play. Their scenes also convey the depravity of the Scots. At the end of the first scene, Bohan tells Oberon that the foibles of the contemporary Scottish court directly parallel the situation of eighty years previous:

> Now King, if thou bee a King, I will shew thee whay I hate the world by demonstration, in the yeare 1520. was in Scotland, a king overruled with parasites, misled by lust, & many circumstances, too long to trattle on now, much like our court of Scotland this day, that story have I set down, gang with me to the gallery, & Ile shew thee the same in Action, by guid fellowes of our country men, and then when thou seest that, judge if any wise man would not leave the world if he could.

The play presents the Scots in a very negative light, with treachery and deceit shown to come naturally to them.

Bohan's speech is the most thoroughly marked with dialectal features, though other characters – Ida; Lady Anderson; Slipper, a clown; and the King of Scotland – all have parts of their dialogue dialectally marked.

3.1.3 Critical comment

The dialect representation in *The Scottish History of James IV* has been dismissed in the past as very incomplete, with several critics (Bartley 1943: 279-280; Blake 1981: 76; Blank 1996: 161) pointing out that Bohan's speech is marked mainly in the first scene. To Blank, it seems that, in addition, Greene has only scattered a few dialect words here and there in the dialogue of the other Scottish characters. Blake sees the dialect representation as intended only to give a regional colouring to the setting. García-Bermejo Giner (1999: 260) provides a stronger linguistic analysis of the dialect, but even so it is not comprehensive. In fact, this dialect representation contains a range of phonological, morphosyntactic, and lexical features, and the representation is interesting when analysed in the context of the play itself, with its strong anti-Scots sentiment. Moreover, while most of the dialect representation is indeed in the first scene, it should be noted that Bohan has the bulk of his dialogue in that scene. The fact that the amount of overt dialect representation decreases throughout the play need not correlate with its accuracy.

3.2 *Edward IV, Parts 1 and 2* (1599): Thomas Heywood

Edward IV Parts 1 and 2 is the only one of the plays from Heywood's early career that is still extant. I analyse the text of the 1599 edition, though there are also editions from 1600, 1605, 1619, and 1626.

3.2.1 Author

Thomas Heywood (*c.* 1573-1641) was a prolific playwright and author, with a career spanning nearly half a century. The Lincolnshire-born Heywood was

educated at Emmanuel College, Cambridge, though in 1593 he left without graduating and went to London, where he began writing and acting professionally.

3.2.2 Summary

The full title of this history play provides a nice summary of the plot:

> The first and second partes of King Edward the Fourth. Containing his mery pastime with the tanner of Tamwoorth, as also his love to fayre Mistresse Shoare, her great promotion, fall and misery, and lastly the lamentable death of both her and her husband. : Likewise the besiedging [sic] of London, by the bastard Falconbridge, and the valiant defence of the same by the Lord Maior and the cittizens.

One of the main characters is Jane Shore, who becomes the king's mistress in part one, and falls from grace in part two after his death. Her steadfast servant is Jockie, the Scots dialect speaker in this play. The first part also contains another dialect speaker: Hobs, the tanner of Tamworth, a town northeast of Birmingham, in Staffordshire. Hobs's dialogue has only the slightest southern dialectal tinge (one instance of a voiced fricative in *zerves* 'serves'[8]). His honest nature pleases Edward IV, and his characterisation as a dialect speaker would seem to emphasize the stereotype of the noble rustic.

3.2.3 Critical reception

Bartley (1954: 83) is unsure about Jockie's nationality. There are two major issues that Bartley overlooks when he says that Jockie is not definitively Scottish. First, 'Jock', which OED labels as "the Scotch equivalent of Jack", had been used in Scotland since at least the time of Dunbar, though *Jockie* is still common in the northeast of England. Later, the term came to denote a Scottish soldier or any Scotsman. Second, Jockie's first line of dialogue is his petition to

---

[8] In modern terms, Tamworth is far north of the *s/z* boundary

Jane Shore for help, since the "fause loune Billie Grime of Glendale" has taken land from him "wranfully". This reference to Glendale, a township on the Isle of Skye[9], when combined with Jane's acknowledgment that he "dwell[s] so farre off", makes it clear that Jockie is Scottish, even without considering the quality of the dialect representation.

3.3 *Eastward Ho* (1605): George Chapman, Ben Jonson, John Marston

Eastward Ho was first performed by the company of boy actors at Blackfriars Theatre in the summer of 1605 (Van Fossen 1979: 37). The play-text was censored during the printing, with two passages excised; these passages are found only in the first issue of the first edition and are isolated by Van Fossen (1979: 45 and 47-48). In the first offensive passage, the character Bettrice appears leading a pet monkey, about which Gertrude exclaims "What a prophane Ape's here". Immediately after this line, Gertrude ostensibly makes reference to an item of clothing – a hooped petticoat called a Scotch farthingale – by asking her tailor, "is this a right Scot? Does it clip close? and beare up round?". Van Fossen (1979: 48) agrees with Herford and Simpson's claim that the monkey would probably have performed a vulgar trick when hearing the word 'Scot', explaining the censorship.

The second passage is more direct about the underlying antipathy in England to the Scots, with the subtext being that the Scots are wonderful, but only when they are not in England:

> onely a few industrious Scots perhaps, who indeed are disperst ouer the face of the whole earth. But as for them, there are no greater friends to English men and *England*, when they are out an't, in the world, then they are. And for my part, I would a hundred thousand of 'hem were there, for wee are all one Countrey-men now, yee know;

[9] There is also a small community of that name in the Hebrides, on the Isle of South Uist. See NG1749 or NF7917 for more detailed information.

> and wee should finde ten times more comfort of them there, then wee doe heere (3.3.44-52)

The single line of dialect representation by a minor character in a later scene ("I ken the man weel, hee's one of my thirty pound Knights") escaped from the editing and censoring process. This mention of a "£30 knight" is a reference to James I's awarding of knighthoods in exchange for money: "James dubbed 432 knights at a single sitting on the day of his coronation, and ultimately began to exploit his powers of ennoblement for financial gain" (Davis 2003: 107)

3.3.1 Authors

Chapman, Jonson, and Marston were all very successful playwrights by this time, each with a characteristic style, making their collaboration on *Eastward Ho* unusual (Van Fossen 1979: 2). Chapman (1559/60-1634) was from Hertfordshire, Jonson (1572-1637) from London, and Marston (1576-1634) from Oxfordshire. Jonson's grandfather was probably Scottish. Jonson often depicted different varieties of English, as found in *A Tale of a Tub*, *Bartholomew Fair*, and *The Sad Shepherd*.

The scandal created by this play revolved around the negative portrayal of the Scots, and the three authors faced serious repercussions for it. Van Fossen (1979: 4) cites an excerpt from *Ben Jonson's Conversations with William Drummond of Hawthornden*, where Drummond reports that Jonson told him the following story:

> he was delated [accused] by Sr James Murray to the King for writting something against the Scots jn a play Eastward hoe & voluntarly Imprissonned himself wt Chapman and Marston, who had written it amongst ym. the report was that they should then [have] had their ears cutt & noses[10]

---

[10] I have provided the quotations in same format as Van Fossen, with unexpanded abbreviations, superscript letters, and glosses in square brackets.

It is unclear if all three of the authors were imprisoned, but punishment was handed down, and the play-text was edited during the printing process, as detailed above in 3.3.

3.3.2 Summary

Eastward Ho is a city comedy based in London. The plot follows the lives of Golding and Quicksilver, the two apprentices of a London goldsmith. As suggested by their names, Golding leads a virtuous life, and Quicksilver a dissolute one.

I have already mentioned the representation of the Scots in *Eastward Ho*, and the subsequent actions against it, in 3.1, 3.3, and 3.3.1. There remains only one line of dialect representation spoken by a 'Gentleman', who, with a friend, encounters Petronel and Seagul the morning after a night of carousing, where they were too drunk to remember what they did or realise where they are. Petronel is convinced that they have ended up on the coast of France. The Gentleman states that, "I beleeve ye were drownd in a Taverne before, or els you would never have tooke boate in such a dawning as this was. Farewel, farewel, we wil not know you for shaming of you. I ken the man weel, hee's one of my thirty pound Knights". The line of dialect representation here is delivered in a mocking, condescending manner, and the gentleman is addressing his own friend, rather than Petronel.

3.3.3 Potential usefulness

However interesting this play is made by the air of scandal surrounding it, it is of very limited value to this study, as it only provides a brief (albeit accurate) example of dialect representation. This brief representation contains only two dialectal features, one lexical and one phonological, both of which are attested in other dramatic dialect representations.

3.4 *The Witch* (*c.* 1616): Thomas Middleton

The Witch, written by Thomas Middleton, has a small role for a dialect speaker, who is described as a gentleman. Though it was performed in Blackfriars, *The Witch* existed only in manuscript until 1778; recent scholarship puts the date of composition and performance *c.* 1616 (O'Connor 2007: 383).

3.4.1 Author

The London-born Middleton (1580-1627) was a prolific writer. A rival of Ben Jonson, Middleton enjoyed success as a playwright in different genres and in different theatrical venues. He attended Oxford, but did not graduate, and by 1602 was a playwright for the company that was rival to Shakespeare. He worked closely with Thomas Dekker, Drayton, Munday, and Webster. He lived in Surrey from 1608 onwards. His most well-known plays include *The Roaring Girl*, *Women Beware Women*, and *The Changeling*.

3.4.2 Summary

Esche (1993: 26) provides a brief summary of the three plot-lines in *The Witch*, a tragicomedy:

> the successful attempt of Sebastian to reclaim his legally betrothed partner, Isabella, from her marriage with Antonio; the revenge of the Duchess against her husband, the Duke, for his 'barbarous act' of forcing her to drink from the skull of her dead father; and the illicit love affair between Abberzanes and Francesca

Witchcraft also plays a major role in the play, tapping into the public fascination with witchcraft at this time. The dialect speaker in *The Witch* is a messenger, "a gentleman from the northerne parts", who brings a letter to Antonio; his complete dialogue is marked in italics below:

Antonio: From whom?
Gentleman: Your bonney lady mother, Sir.
Antonio: You are kindly wellcom, Sir: how doth she?
Gentleman: I left her heale varray well Sir.

Though the play is set in Ravenna, "the northerne parts" is here clearly used as another term for Scotland.

3.4.3 Potential usefulness

There are only three instances of dialect representation in *The Witch*: the lexical item *bonney*, and the two phonological variants *heale* 'health' and *varray* 'very'. All are attested in Scotland.

3.5 ***Thierry and Theodoret* (1621): John Fletcher, Francis Beaumont, and Philip Massinger**

Thierry and Theodoret (1621) [full title, *The Tragedy of Thierry King of France, and his Brother Theodoret*] contains dialect representation only in a short passage in the beginning of the fifth act, a scene that acts as a bit of comic relief before the death-ridden final scene. Like in *Henry V* and *Hey for Honesty*, the dialect representations appear only in one scene, and among a group of soldiers. Of these three plays, *Thierry and Theodoret* was the first to be published, though the other two had been performed before. Unlike in the other two plays, the dialect speakers in *Thierry and Theodoret* are imitating dialects, not using their native tongue. The third soldier imitates a Scotsman.

3.5.1 Authors

Fletcher (1579-1625) was born in Sussex, Beaumont (1584/5-1616) to a recusant family in Leicestershire, and Massinger (1583-1640) in Salisbury, Wiltshire. Beaumont and Fletcher often collaborated, as in *Cupid's Revenge* (7.3), though probably not on all the plays attributed to the duo in their 1647 folio of

collected works (Finkelpearl 2004); Massinger also collaborated frequently with Fletcher. Beaumont and Fletcher were members of Jonson's circle.

Hoy attributes the scene in *Thierry and Theodoret* containing dialect representation (Act 5, Scene 1) to Beaumont (Logan and Smith 1978: 69).

3.5.2 Summary

This tragedy has a convoluted plot. Thierry and Theodoret are brothers, sons of the despicable Brunhalt. Thierry marries Ordella, but Brunhalt and her followers administer a poison to him that makes him temporarily impotent. Thierry is then tricked into believing that, in order to have children, he must kill the first woman that he sees after leaving the temple – which happens to be his new bride, Ordella. He does not kill her, however, and the plot continues to get more convoluted. The play ends with a series of deaths, including the following: Theodoret murdered by his mother's lover, Thierry murdered by his mother, Brunhalt killing herself, and Ordella dying next to her love.

The scene containing representations of dialect opens with De Vitry, described in the 1811 edition as "a disbanded officer", moaning about the sad state he and his men are in, with "no war, no mony, no master; banisht the Court, not trusted in the citty, whipt out of the country". He issues an order to his men: "let me heare which of you has the best voice to beg in". The men then take turns, each attempting to be the best beggar. The first soldier acts as judge. The second soldier uses a 'high stile'; flattering his target, he proclaims his gentlemanly upbringing, but claims to have fallen on hard times, and hates to beg. Following this attempt, the third soldier latches on to the disguise of an honest, plain-speaking Scotsman, flattering his target and describing the benefits that he would receive from assisting him. It is most likely that the third soldier is mimicking Scots as part of his begging act – deciding a Scots is 'the best voice to beg in' – rather than it being his natural speech. His counterpart, the fourth soldier, speaks after him with a Welsh dialect, identifying himself as 'welch' and

littering his speech with Welsh stereotypes, speaking of leeks, St Tavy [David], and how good he, as a Welshman, is at thievery. None of their attempts satisfy the judge, the first soldier, or their leader, Devitry, who calls them soulless.

3.5.3 Assessment by other critics

Eckhardt's analysis of this text is flawed because he used the 1840 edition of *The Works of Beaumont and Fletcher,* which has revisions and modernisations to the dialect representation. His analysis is therefore based on these later revisions, which are therefore not examples of seventeenth-century representation.

3.6 *King Henry V* (1623 folio): William Shakespeare

The representation of Scots in Shakespeare's *King Henry V* has a complicated textual history. No Scots representation is depicted in the *Henry V* quartos of 1600, 1602, or 1619. In fact, the Scottish character, Captain Jamy, only makes an appearance in the 1623 folio. Critics present a variety of scenarios to explain the disparity between the versions. To critics like Albright (1928: 756), Highley (2004: 57), and Kerrigan (2008: 15), the editing decisions hinged on fears of insulting the future king. The name "Captain Jamy" may directly allude to James VI of Scotland, who would become King of England in 1603; Maley and Murphy (2004: 11) see the character as possibly "part tribute, part mockery of a monarch-in-waiting". Albright (1928: 756) thinks the lack of Scottish references in the quartos was intentional, and that the play, when printed, was stripped "of its most significant personal and political references" in order to avoid the potential wrath of the Stuarts. However, as Bliss (1979: 34) states, the omission of the dialect representation is probably only a byproduct of how the play was prepared for publication: the three so-called 'Bad Quartos' were probably "based on memorial reconstruction of versions of the plays cut for the theatre", and as such are not indicative of any political maneoveuring.

3.6.1 Author

Shakespeare (1564-1616) was born in Stratford-upon-Avon in Warwickshire. An actor as well as a playwright, he wrote *Henry V* around 1599 as one of the plays in his second tetralogy of English history plays (also including *Richard II*, and *Henry IV Parts 1 and 2*).

3.6.2 Summary

Henry V is one of the best known of Shakespeare's history plays, and depicts scenes in the life of Henry V and the victory by the English against the much bigger French army at the Battle of Agincourt.

Captain Jamy is the Scots speaker in this play, and is a minor character appearing in one scene with other military captains representing the different parts of Britain (England, Ireland, Wales, and Scotland). Captain Jamy exemplifies a positive portrayal of a Scotsman. He is well-respected, valorous, and powerful, and both his speech and actions are level-headed and straight-forward. His desire for cooperation and his skill at dealing with the disagreeing captains may reflect James VI's skill at peacemaking, which the contemporary audience would have recognised (Kerrigan 2008: 15). To Kerrigan (2008: 15), Jamy's Catholic-tinged language, with references to 'Our Lady' and the Mass, reflects contemporary anxiety about the religious implications of James I's reign, "play[ing] on James's association with his Catholic mother, Mary Queen of Scots, and the belief that he would extend toleration to recusants if he inherited the English throne". This surmise, however, probably goes beyond the evidence, as many other representations of Scots include such oaths.

3.6.3 Assessment by other critics

Certain critics have disparaged Shakespeare's dialect representation. McGavin and Mills (1987: 187) call Captain Jamy's language "repetitive and stereotyped".

Blake (1981: 86) finds a catalogue of faults in the dialect representation, stating that Shakespeare primarily uses variations in spelling, along with some syntactic variation (which he does not describe in any detail) to "imply a regional accent". Here, Blake overlooks the use of *ligge* for 'lie' when he states that Shakespeare did not use lexical items in his representation. He also highlights the inconsistency of the representation as a whole, where words like *go*, which in other texts are commonly given a dialectal spelling, remain unmarked, and where problematic spellings "like *de* and *theise* ... hardly represent distinctively Scottish pronunciations". Blake also is critical of the inclusion of instances of colloquial speech in Captain Jamy's dialogue, believing that this takes away from the credence of the dialectal representation.

My analysis suggests that the criticisms above are mostly invalid. The dialect representation in *Henry V* is far from a stereotyped depiction, but contains instances of attested dialectal forms and features.

3.7 *The Vow Breaker* (1636): William Sampson

William Sampson's *The Vow Breaker, or the Faire Maid of Clifton* (1636) appears to have been only performed "provincially in Nottinghamshire" (Kathman 2004b). It features dialect representation in one scene, early in the play.

3.7.1 Author

Little is known of Sampson's early life; Kathman (2004b) notes that he may have been connected to the Sampsons in Nottinghamshire (which might explain the Nottinghamshire focus of *The Vow Breaker*), and that he was born in 1599/1600 and died on or after 1655. By 1628, he was based in Risley, Derbyshire, working in the household of Sir Henry Willoughby.

3.7.2 Summary

This dreary play centres around young men from a Nottinghamshire village who are going off to Leith to “see the warrs”. The titular character is an inconstant woman who is untrue to her sweetheart, a situation that results in much unhappiness and a double suicide. Kathman (2004b) notes that both of these plot-lines are borrowed, the first from Holinshed, and the second from a contemporary ballad.

The dialect representation here revolves around disguise – although, uniquely to this dataset, it involves men (Mortigue, Doysells, and seven Frenchmen) disguising themselves as Scotswomen, passing even the close inspection that kissing and cuddling ensures. Bartley (1954: 93) notes that the idea of Frenchmen masquerading as Scotswomen comes from Holinshed’s Chronicle. Of the disguised men, only Mortigue and Doysells’s dialogue is marked with phonological, lexical, and morphological representations of Scots, though Miles and another English soldier use dialect words or expressions in some of their exchanges with the pretended Scottish lasses.

I provide the four lines of dialogue by Doysells and Mortigue (isolated) below:

> Doysells: An the bred an gad man speare the bonny lasses.
>
> Mortigue: An the beanes of me ise a pure lurden?
>
> Doysells: An the dele an the crag ise a Lardes wife ganging
> to seeke my Lourden;
>
> Mortigue: An the Lard nare thee with an my bare bones.

This representation contains lexical (e.g. *bonny*, *gang*, *crag*), phonological (e.g. *beanes* ‘bones’), and morphological (e.g. *Ise* ‘I am’) features. It also contains stock curses and oaths such as *bred an gad* ‘bread of God’ and *an the dele an the crag*, variants of which are found in many plays. The spelling *an* is apparently used here for ‘and’ and for ‘of’ (*bred* ***an*** *gad* ‘bread of God’); this use is unusual.

3.7.2.1 Miles's imitation

After hearing Doysells and Mortigue use the word *lurden*, Miles, an Englishman who thinks he has encountered several fetching Scottish women, seems to use *lurden* for 'lover' when asking a crude question to one of them:

> Miles: And you are ganging to your Lurden, that your Lurden may catch you by the crag, and claw you are the weame, till your guts garr haggergath, haggergath.

Bartley (1954: 87) gets the names wrong in his analysis of this passage, putting the words in the mouth of Mortigue, and calling it "an effort at flyting". This is an understandable mistake, as the character is only called "M." on this line, but it is clear from the context that it is Miles who is speaking. Here, Miles, who, again, is not Scottish but is only mocking the dialect of the 'women' in this brief passage, uses two dialect words incorrectly, parsing *lurden* as 'lover' and using *garr* not as a causative verb but as 'go'. Miles does use other Scots lexis accurately, though, using *gang* 'go' and *crag* 'neck'. However, it is possible that this question is not only violent, but also that it is overtly sexual, fitting with the rest of the dialogue. The verb *claw* is also being used in a Scottish sense of scratching or soothing, but with a strong sexual connotation; *claw* can be defined as *frig*, and according to Williams (1994: 248) it was "used of both coitus and masturbation". *Claw* is used in this way in Henryson's fable of *The Cock and the Fox*: "... to get ane berne suld better *claw* oure breik" (Kindrick 1997). In Miles's question, *are* is a variant spelling of 'o'er'. *Haggergath* is glossed as 'topsy-turvy' in the 1914 edition of *The Vow Breaker*. It appears to be related to *haggerdash* or *haggerdecash*, attested in SND as either a noun ('disorder') or adverb ('in confusion, in a topsy-turvy manner'). In the passage quoted above, Miles is probably being crude, asking the woman a question littered with dialectal forms – if she is going to go find her lover so that he may pleasure her until she orgasms.

3.8 *The Valiant Scot* (1637): J.W.

Described as a very late example of a chronicle play (Carver 1917: 76), *The Valiant Scot* (1637) tells the story of William Wallace. The play was performed on at least two occasions. Randall (1995: 22-23) recounts the story told in the pamphlet *Vox Borealis*, that the players of the Fortune playhouse performed *The Valiant Scot* in 1640 or 1641, after they had gotten in trouble by the authorities for reviving a play focusing on the actions of the ecclesiastical court. As Randall quotes from the pamphlet, the players

> fell to Act the *Valiant Scot*, which they Played five dayes with great applause, which vext the Bishops worse then the other, insomuch, as they were forbidden Playing it any more; and some of them prohibited ever Playing again.

3.8.1 Author

The Valiant Scot is attributed to J.W., a person so far unidentified. Bartley (1954: 87) provides a possible explanation for the play's history. He concludes that, based on the contents of the dedication, the author was not Scottish, but had fought alongside Scotsmen in an army raised to help Gustavus Adolphus, the King of Sweden, a few years previously. This situation would help explain both the dialect representation used and the story itself, which has as its source Blind Harry's 'Wallace', a poem "composed about 1470" (Carver 1917: 77), with at least five editions printed before 1637.

3.8.2 Summary

The Valiant Scot tells the story of the Scottish leader William Wallace.

This play, which to Bartley (1943: 281) "is the only play which contains anything really like the Scottis Tong", contains three main characters whose speech is marked with dialect representation: Peggy, William Wallace's lover;

the Friar; and William Wallace himself, but only when in disguise as a Scottish soldier.

3.8.3 Critical reception

The dialect representation here is more complex than Carver (1917: 100) acknowledges; regarding the frequently erroneous use of the -*and* suffix (see 5.5), Carver notes that “the presumption is still strong that these words were sprinkled through the speech with the indefinite idea of creating a flavor, possibly Scotch, certainly grotesque”. While there are inaccuracies in the representation, these instances do not contaminate all of the attested forms and features.

3.9 *The Sad Shepherd* (1641): Ben Jonson

Greg (1905: i) somewhat diplomatically observes that “*The Sad Shepherd* is not one of the great works upon which Jonson’s Titanic reputation rests”. Rarely read, studied, or performed, Ben Jonson’s pastoral *The Sad Shepherd* was published posthumously as an unfinished work in the 1641 folio.

3.9.1 Author

Jonson (1572-1637) is discussed in 3.3.1. A prolific playwright, the London-born Jonson wrote a number of plays that depict different varieties of English, including *A Tale of a Tub* and *Bartholomew Fair*. In 1618 he walked to Edinburgh from London and back, so had first-hand experience with hearing English spoken across England and Scotland.

3.9.2 Summary

Jonson’s work, one of the earliest examples of an English pastoral, expands on the familiar story of Robin Hood, his merry men, and his love Maid Marian. It is,

as the prologue states, "a Tale/ Of Robin-hood's inviting from the Vale/ Of Be'voir, all the Shep'ards to a Feast". In this way, the setting is secured – the story takes place in Sherwood, in the Vale of Belvoir, on the Nottinghamshire/ Leicestershire border. "His scene is Sherwood", the prologue declares, and all the locations are described as being "full of Countrey simplicity" and the characters as "rustick". The titular sad shepherd is Aeglamour, whose love, Earine, is supposed to have drowned in the Trent. The witch, Maudlin, is said to live in Papplewick, a village north of Nottingham (e.g. Karolin: "Who, the wise good Woman? Old Maud. of Pappelwicke?"). In reality, Maudlin has come upon Earine, taken her clothes for her daughter, Douce, and taken Earine herself for her son, Lorel, to either win by wooing or take by force. Earine is hidden inside a tree, while Aeglamour mourns. His weeping and wailing affects all the other characters.

The text of *The Sad Shepherd* ends abruptly in the middle of Act 3, with Maudlin ordering her son to "Gang thy gait, and try/ thy turnes, with better luck, or hang thy sel'". It is unclear whether the play was ever completed – with a portion of it lost before publication – or if it was left unfinished at Jonson's death. A full summary of each act survives, which F.G. Waldron used as a basis for his continuation, published in 1783.

3.9.3 Potential usefulness

The Sad Shepherd is notable for the amount of dialect representation it contains, and because it is the work of Jonson. As mentioned in the introduction to chapter 3, I will focus on the dialogue of the huntsman Scathlock in this section. The dialogue of Maudlin and her two children, Lorel and Douce, is consistently laden with dialect forms, and, in addition to that of Scathlock, the language of five other characters (Scarlet, Earine, Tuck, George, and Amie) is occasionally spiced with it. These other representations are discussed in detail in 7.10.

Scathlock is a man of few words, but his dialogue does contain some unequivocally Scottish forms, most prominently *qu'ha* for 'who', which is discussed in 6.2.

3.9.4 Reception by modern critics

Several authors and literary critics have considered Jonson's use of dialect in *The Sad Shepherd* as Scottish or northern. Ward (1875: 585) points out that "the witch Maudlin and her son and daughter talk in Lowland Scotch, although the scene of the play is laid in Sherwood Forest". Following Waldron's conclusion, he traces the conflict between the non-northern setting and the northern dialect representation to the long-standing association of witchcraft with Scotland. In contrast, Beers (1904: 232) believes that "Jonson has given us no Scotch dialect" in his plays, and calls the dialect of *The Sad Shepherd* a Yorkshire one, featuring "the common marks of Northern English familiar to the modern reader". Blank (1996: 163) and Wales (2006: 77) see the dialect as mixture of northern and Scots features; Wales explains its use by characters from the midlands as part of the contemporary notion that any location north of the Trent was foreign, distant, and strange: "The idea of the 'north of the Trent' in popular imagination may go some way to explain Ben Jonson's otherwise rather strange use of a conglomerate Northern/Scots dialect in his unfinished play *The Sad Shepherd,* set in the Robin Hood country of Sherwood Forest, west ('north') of the Trent". Wales mentions just two characters who speak in dialect: Maudlin, and Scathlock, a huntsman with a small speaking part but who has the only example of *qu'ha* 'who', which is perhaps the only unequivocally Scottish feature.

3.10 *Hey for Honesty* (1651): Thomas Randolph

Though written to be performed at a Cambridge college in the early 1600s (Moore Smith 1925: 310), *Hey for Honesty* was only printed posthumously in 1651. Randolph's loose adaptation of Aristophanes' *Plutus* (Bliss 1979: 41) has been supplemented with contemporary, Civil War allusions by his editor F.J.

(Day 1926: 333); in light of these editorial additions, Bartley (1943: 280) is unsure if the dialect parts were Randolph's or if they also were added later. The scene featuring Scots does have parallels with *Henry V*, where the dialect representation was published only in the 1623 folio, though presumably this was included in earlier performances.

3.10.1 Author

The poet and playwright Thomas Randolph (1605-1635) was born in Northamptonshire. Like Jonson, who became a mentor to him, Randolph attended Westminster School. He then went to Trinity College, Cambridge, where he became a fellow in 1632. However, the circumstances surrounding the last few years of his life are hazy, though it is likely that he went back to Northamptonshire, where he died at the age of 30.

3.10.2 Summary

Hey for Honesty contains several dialect-speaking characters – a handful of country rustics (though ones that, based on textual evidence, probably hale from places like Islington and Paddington rather than from further afield), an Irishman, Welshman, and a Scotsman. In my analysis, I will focus only on the Scots representation; Bliss (1979) and Bartley (1943, 1954) discuss the speech of the Irish and Welsh characters.

The Scots speaker is Brun, a Scottish soldier, who appears with Irish, Welsh, and English soldiers in "a 'Four Nations' scene comparable with the one in Shakespeare's *Henry V*" (Bliss 1979: 41-42).

3.10.3 Quality of the dialect representation

The dialect representation is not convincing, and is riddled with errors (including the use of the causative verb *gar* to mean 'to say'); Bartley (1954: 86)

believes that Randolph based his dialogue on a ‘vague’ general popular knowledge of Scots. It is probably more accurate to say that Randolph seems to not have put much effort into a realistic representation of Scottish speech, and did not attempt to incorporate any observation into the depiction. The play promotes a view of the Scots as being blunt, violent, and cowardly; when Brun runs away, despite his protestations that he wouldn’t “budge a foot by St. Andrew”, he declares “Aies no endure Poverty, The Scuts love mickle wealth better then so”.

3.11 Tatham’s plays

The Scots were not popular in England during the Civil War, Protectorate, and Commonwealth periods. Thus, representations of Scots in drama were rarely positive. Wright (1934: 97) states that John Tatham, with his unsavoury Scottish characters and their dialect representation, “heaps venom upon a race that many another loyal Englishman hated for their Presbyterianism, their opposition to the Laudian liturgy, and their alliance with Parliament in the first Civil War”. However, the last of these factors appears to have been most significant at this time; when discussing Tatham’s *The Distracted State*, Randall (1995: 262) observes that, “though animosity toward Scots is scarcely a dateable phenomenon in seventeenth-century England, one might observe that in many quarters there was fresh cause for it to flourish after the Scots in effect sold Charles to Parliament in 1647”.

John Tatham is the author of three plays published in this period that feature Scots representation: *The Distracted State*, *The Scots Figgaries*, and *The Rump*. I will discuss each play in chronological order below, after giving a brief biographical sketch of Tatham.

3.11.1 Author

Tatham's place and date of birth and the date of his death are all unknown. Salmon (2004) posits that he was born around 1612, and that he died after 1664, possibly in the plague or in the Great Fire of London. Tatham began his writing career around the same time as the Civil War, and was associated with Richard Brome, Thomas Heywood, and Thomas Jordan (Wiseman 1998: 165). Tatham was most known for the lord mayor's pageants he wrote in London from 1657 to 1664 (Salmon 2004). He is not well-esteemed; Wiseman (1998: 188) notes that "some might say he was also without talent". Critics note that, based on his plays, he appears to have had an intense dislike of the Scots. Nicoll (1921: 227) notes the "terrible Scots dialect" found in Tatham's plays, and Bartley (1954: 89) labels Tatham's dialect depictions as "careless" and "thoroughly grotesque and barbarous", rendering his depictions incomprehensible; Bartley claims that Tatham follows his "own private and unsystematic phonetics, so that it is often hard to recognise what sounds he intended to represent".

3.11.2 *The Distracted State* (1651)

Published in 1651 (though Salmon (2004) claims that it was actually printed in 1650 and dated a year later), the dismal and bloody tragedy *The Distracted State* appears never to have been performed. The title-page states that it was written in 1641, which is probably an attempt by Tatham to avoid parallels between the play and contemporary events (Salmon 2004); "the first audience would indeed have read the play on its publication in 1651 and in the light of the crises of loyalty and iconography precipitated by regicide and republic" (Wiseman 1998: 167). Here, the Scots speaker assists in the assassination of the king.

3.11.2.1 Summary

Despite being set in Sicily, Tatham's first play, described by Wiseman (1998: 166) as "a puzzling political allegory", features a Scots speaker. This 'Scotch mountebank' – an apothecary – is paid by the scheming Cleander to poison the king, and appears briefly in two scenes toward the end of the play. His dialogue is extensively marked as Scottish, predominantly with variation in pronunciation indicated through alternative spelling.

In *The Distracted State*, Cleander is pleased by the Scotsman's directness and sliding morality, remarking that "I'm glad to see the spirit of a Scot so resolute, it starts not at the Murthering Of the Fools Idoll, King". The decision to commit regicide is done in the following manner; I have denoted the dialogue of the Scottish character by italicising it:

> Cleander: I do not love the King.
> *Apothecary: Reight weel Sir, nor I by my saw, what wud you toll him Sir?*
> Cleander: I would be rid of him.
> *Apothecary: Woll your Honor be a Hearse or a Meare?*
> Cleander: Away, I'd be quit of him.
> *Apothecary: Aw Sir, your honor wud be quite au him! be me saw, ye sall, but whilke way me Loord an plase your honor?*
> Cleander: I'd have him poyson'd.
> *Apothecary: Peyson'd! be me saw I kan dew that brawly, I leard it fra Bough-wha-nan Sir.*

Maidment and Logan (1879: 35-6) claim that the appearance of a dialect representation in this play should be seen only as evidence of Tatham's "bitter detestation of the Scotch nation", which they assert is even more apparent in his later play *The Scots Figgaries*, which contains a good deal more dialect representation. They also state that such aversion towards the Scottish was not uncommon in England during the Civil War period, though "not so much for their Puritanical religious assumptions, as for the fact that they had sold their monarch to his opponents for filthy lucre". However, Tatham's feelings appear

to be more extreme, and critics have almost universally observed their influence on his characters and their language.

The apothecary's dialogue contains a mixture of forms and features, including an instance of eye-dialect (*kan* for 'can'), alongside a form like *Bough-wha-nan* for the surname 'Buchanan', indicating a pronunciation attested in Scots of the time of either a velar fricative or the cluster [xʍ]. This feature is discussed in 6.9.

3.11.3 *The Scots Figgaries* (1652)

The Scots Figgaries (1652) features four Scottish characters, who are shown to be "cowardly, treacherous, and evil" (Bartley 1954: 88). Their dialogue is consistently and thoroughly marked throughout the play.

Though *The Scots Figgaries* is far from a great play, it was reprinted in 1735; Maidment and Logan (1879: 115-116) admit being baffled by this edition, as there is no record of the play being performed around that time. The play has a tendency towards the vitriolic, and is unamusing and poorly-paced. The characters' names are suggestive of their personality, including Soonegul'd and his wife Laymedown, the Scottish soldier Scarefoole (who stands in stark contrast to the English soldier Resolution), and Wantwit.

3.11.3.1 Summary

The plot focuses on the actions of Jocky and Billy, two itinerant Scotsmen who travel to London and impersonate Scottish doctors, cheating unsuspecting Englishmen and women. This pair encounter two other Scottish characters in their travels. First, they meet Folly, a jester possibly based on Archibald Armstrong, "the court fool to both James and Charles, who lived through to the Restoration and on the way managed to make himself obnoxious to many" (Randall 1995: 299). They also come across Scarefoole, an out-of-work

soldier who straight-forwardly acknowledges his hypocrisy, stating, "I can carry twa feces under won hood: I can be a Sent, an I can be a Deel, gif ye ha wirk for me" (*I can carry two faces under one hood. I can be a saint, and I can be a devil, if you have work for me*).

This play is unique for both the quantity of dialect representation and for the intensely and relentlessly negative view of all things Scottish. It should be noted that there are unsavoury characters who are not Scottish (Randall 1995: 299-300) – rogues who, in the main subplot, swindle others out of money and drink. Yet, the focus of the play remains firmly Scottish. When Billy enters the first scene, Jocky exclaims to himself:

> In the foule Deels name wha's yon? a sud be me Contremon by's scratin an scrubbin; A leokes like Scotlond it sell, bar an naked; A carries noought bet tha walth o Can aboot him, filth an Virmin.
>
> *In the foul devil's name who's yon? He should be my countryman by his scratching and scrubbing; He looks like Scotland itself, bare and naked; he carries nought but the wealth of Cain about him, filth and vermin*.

Jocky puts forth a view of a Scotland that is empty and worthless, and of Scotsmen who are filthy and uncouth.[11] Scots are also perceived to be greedy: Billy's target in his first attempt at begging is a Courtier who, when giving him a piece of silver, remarks that "there's some of your Countrey men at Court lives better by this trade than you." The play's final lines proclaim the need for a unified front against the Scots: "When all our minds and hearts are firmly knit, Let the Scot do his worst, by Sword or Wit". This distrust of and antipathy for the Scots is not unexpected at this time, as noted in 3.11.

[11] Sauny in Lacy's *Sauny the Scot* is also described having a pastime of "Scratten and Scrubben".

3.11.3.2 Quality and quantity of dialect representation

There is an almost overwhelming amount of dialect representation in this play. *The Scots Figgaries* has more dialectal representation than any other play of this period. The dialogue of each of the four Scottish characters is consistently and thoroughly marked, and there are more words whose spellings indicate phonological variation than any other play in my dataset.

Maidment and Logan (1879: 115) conclude that the dialect is false and riddled with errors:

> The 'Scotch dialect' introduced in this piece is similar to that put in the mouth of the Scotch mountebank in the preceding play, *The Distracted State*, by the same author, and to that subsequently used by Lacy in his comedy, *Sawney the Scot*. Its affinity to Scotch is most remote, as no such dialect or idiom ever obtained in any district in Scotland; and any one thoroughly versant with the Scotch language, ancient or modern, would have great difficulty in translating it.

Maidment and Logan also edited a collection of Lacy's plays (pub. 1875), so they would have been familiar with the language of *Sauny the Scot*. However, they are wrong about the dialect in *The Scots Figgaries* being similar to that in *Sauny the Scot*. The representations in *The Scots Figgaries* contain a number of questionable and incorrect forms, and these representations also include certain idiosyncratic spellings not found in other playwrights' work, including the use of the <eo> digraph (often found in representations of Northern Fronting, as in *geod* 'good' and *leoke* or *leok* 'look'); these spellings are discussed in 6.13.

3.11.4 *The Rump* (1660)

The Rump: Or, The Mirrour of The late Times (1660) was actually performed on the legitimate stage, unlike Tatham's other two plays (Bartley 1954: 152). It was

performed at Dorset-Court, and printed in both 1660 and 1661. I consider both of these editions in my study.

3.11.4.1 Summary

This satire, described by Nicoll (1921: 227) as “fairly well-wrought and readable”, is extremely topical, concerning the political situation immediately before the Restoration and portraying the squabbling, power-hungry, and morally reprehensible roundheads and the noble Royalists. Randall (1995: 300) quotes Harold Love, who describes *The Rump* as a “raucous howl of joy at the end of Puritan rule”, and he himself observes that “this play that would be incomprehensible played before audiences of a subsequent age was in its own time a forceful expression of widespread joy and relief, a comic editorial akin to many of the partisan pamphlets that preceded it”. The characters are based on real-life participants in the events, thinly veiled by easily derivable pseudonyms in the 1660 edition.

The dialect speaker is described in the cast list as “A Scotch Laird, [and] President of the Committee of Safety”, and is called Stonware in 1660, but Wareston in 1661. I will refer to this character as Wareston, as he is based on Archibald Johnston, Lord Wareston (also spelled Warriston), who “had been a member of both Oliver’s and Richard Cromwell’s House of Lords and, before that, Advocate General to the King” (Randall 1995: 302), and who was hanged at the Mercat Cross in Edinburgh in 1663.

A disparaging view of Scots permeates the play. Wareston is portrayed as foolish, money-hungry, and crude in speech and manner. Other characters dislike him, specifically pinpointing the way he speaks as indicative of his character; Lockwhit (presumably based on Bulstrode Whitelocke) describes the “Scottish Fog in’s mouth” and notes that “Scots, we know generally are greedy of gain”, while Lady Bertlam (based on Frances Lambert, the wife of John Lambert) declares that Wareston is “such a Boorish, stammering fellow, I cann’t endure

him”. Unusually, Wareston’s dialogue is consistently marked out in italics, in direct contrast to all other speakers. Thus, his language is clearly marked, visually, as dialectal. Wareston’s dialect resembles that found in Tatham’s two other plays. He frequently uses oaths like *bred o geod* ‘Bread of God’ and makes vulgar jokes.

3.11.4.2 Other editions, adaptations, and critical reception

There is a variety of differences between the 1660 and 1661 editions of *The Rump*. In the 1660 edition, Bertlam and Woodfleet are ‘Competitors for the Protectorship’, their real names being barely disguised by syllable reversal. However, in the second edition, printed the following year, their names have been altered to the transparent Lambert and Fleetwood. The character of the lawyer has been omitted from the 1661 castlist, but still appears in the play, as both reversed Lockwhit and transparent Whitlock. The 1661 editors claim to provide an edition with corrections, but there still is much confusion over names, particularly in the first act. The first soldier cries ‘Gramercy Bertlam’, but soon after repeatedly refers to Lambert: “But Lambert, brave Lambert! that carries Charms on the Tip of his Tongue...”. Then, a stage direction marks the entrance of ‘Bertlam, and Trotter his Secretary’ , and the dialogue is marked as ‘Bertlam’ until page 6, when it transforms into ‘Lambert’.

Regarding the dialect representation, the 1661 edition displays no major changes, though there are alterations to the punctuation and capitalisation. There are almost no additions to Wareston’s dialogue, with the most significant changes occurring in the following passage:

> 1660: Bred, **if** I **should** gang intoll my none Countrey, my Cregg would be **stretcht two** inches longer then ‘**tis**.
>
> 1661: Bred, **gif** I **sud** gang intoll my none Countrey, my Cregg would be **strecht twa** inches longer then **tis**.

Here, one minor typographical change (*'tis*) and a possible misspelling (*strecht*) are found alongside the addition of three more dialectal forms: *gif* 'if', *sud* 'should', and *twa* 'two'. There is also one instance of reanalysis:

> 1660: **Ise ee'n** yar humble Servant my geod Loord.
> 1661: **I see e'n** yar humble Servant my geod Loord.

In this excerpt, *Ise* 'I am', a form attested in Scotland and in the north and discussed in detail in 5.2, is reanalysed as 'I see'.

Behn's adaptation of this work – *The Roundheads* (1682) – is a much better drama in terms of its content, structure, characterisation, and pace. Tatham's play, while at times entertaining and insightful, rarely rises above crude satire. Behn maintained much of Tatham's original dialogue, though she alters Wariston's slightly. Maidment and Logan edited the 1879 collection of Tatham's plays; this is the only modern edition of *The Rump*, and the editors consulted both of the previous editions. They use the 1660 names and alter nothing of dialectal importance, only amending capitalisation and punctuation.

3.12 *A Short Representation Performed Before the Lord Generall Monck* (1660)

A Short Representation Performed Before the Lord Generall Monck, a "dramatic trifle" (Fairholt 1845: 24), was printed as an eight-page pamphlet. It was performed before General Monck in Goldsmith's Hall on Tuesday, April 11, 1660, and was published in that year. It is rare; in the UK, copies are only held at the Guildhall Library and in the National Library of Wales. The author is unknown.

3.12.1 Summary

A Short Representation is one of a number of fawning pieces in honour of General Monck, who had been named "commander in chief of all forces in the two kingdoms" (Randall 1995: 368) in late 1659, and who had arrived in London to prepare for the Restoration of Charles II.

Much of the scene is devoted to songs sung in praise of General Monck by three happy country people – an Englishman, a Scotsman, and a Welshman – who stand united in their praise of George Monck, the first duke of Albemarle. These three men are credited as the authors on the title-page. The Englishman states that, simply, "we are come to make our General Merry, for making us merry." For them, their patron saints pale in comparison to General Monck; the Englishman equates General Monck with St. George, declaring that now "our St George hath set us free from a base Rumps bold slavery; Poor England now shall bleed no more". The Englishman hails from Cheshire, and is presented without any hint of dialect representation in his speech. In contrast, the Welshman's speech is marked with phonological and lexical variation, as is that of the Scotsman.

3.12.2 Unusual dialect representation

The Scotsman's speech contains three curious uses of *Ise* and *Wees*. In Scots, *Ise* can represent either 'I shall' or 'I am'; when attached to *we*, the *'s* clitic represents only 'shall'. These forms are discussed in detail in 5.1.1, 5.2, and 5.2.1. In one instance, *Ise* is clearly representing the pronoun *I*, as both other variations are ungrammatical alongside the verb phrase 'have served':

> and aw for becose **Ise** ha sarved my gude Loard and Maisser the King.
> *and all for because **I** have served my good Lord and Master the King*

This feature, *Ise* 'I' is attested only in dramatic works and Scotch Songs of the latter half of the seventeenth century. In the next example, *wee's* could be representing a form of 'we', but also could represent 'we have':

> introath friend **wee's** come for nething else but to garr the General take notice of our loove
> *in truth friend we [have] come for nothing else but to gar the General take notice of our love*

The same dual interpretation can be found in the last example:

> Nor **I'se** ne care at aw for Kiuntry man St. Aundrew,
> *Nor I [have] no care at all for countryman St Andrew,*

It is interesting that these inaccurate forms of *Ise* and *Wees* are used when the title-page appears to assert that it was performed, if not also written, "by three persons, An English-man, a Welsh-man, and a Scotch-man". They can be seen as evidence that the author did not understand the historically restricted functions of *Ise*. Perhaps even if the dialogue was devised or performed by men from Scotland, Wales, and Cheshire, these men had a limited impact on the printed version.

3.13 Scotch Songs: From *The Scots Figgaries* to *The Campaigners*

Scottish songs, known as Scotch Songs, were very popular during the Restoration, though Bartley (1954: 149) doubts that the fad increased the number of Scottish characters. There already had been a popular ballad tradition, where songs from Scotland, the Borders, and the north of England (or, songs ostensibly from these areas) were distributed and sung across the country; see Wales (2006: 52) for a discussion of the ballad tradition in the Borders and some of the typical linguistic forms and features found therein. Eleven plays contain Scots representation only in a song, not sung by a Scottish character; each of these plays will be discussed in detail in the sections below, with the plays of D'Urfey discussed in 3.13.5. Four other plays feature some type of Scottish song within the dialect representation: *The Scots Figgaries* (see

3.11.3); *A Short Representation Performed Before the Lord Generall Monck* (3.12), where the Scotsman sings a new song to the tune of 'The Highlanders New Rant'; *The City Heiress* (3.16), where the disguised Charlot sings a song about a lovelorn Scottish lad; and *The Roundheads*, (3.15), which indicates that a ballad was led by Wariston in the final scene, though the text is not provided. In *Courtship A-la-mode*, Willie performs a Scottish dance, and in *Ireland Preserv'd* a song is referenced: "Play the old Tune, – Swaggering, Roaring Wolley, thau't weelcome heame to me".

3.13.1 Tatham's songs

The first instance of a specifically Scottish Song occurring within a play-text occurs near the end of *The Scots Figgaries* (1652), when a group of Fiddlers play a "new song" – a Ballad set to a Scottish tune "of the Scots comming into England". This has parallels with the play's plot, where "Scots infiltrators and perpetrators of false ideas" come into England (Wiseman 1998: 171), especially as the main character in the song is called Jocky, as is the main character in the play itself. The song is sung by Englishmen to Englishmen, and though within the song the first person pronouns "our" and "us" refers to Englishmen, the song is written in Scots dialect.

Within this song, Scots are portrayed in a thoroughly negative way. They are shown as hypocritical and sanctimonious ("For Jocky wes riteous, whilke ye wad admire … He fooght for the Kirke, bet a plunder'd tha Quire") and as greedy ("In every streete thay ded sa flutter, Ne Child dorst shaw hes bred an butter"). Scots are considered to be poor excuses for men, with their commander leading their cowardly retreat ("He feect us a while, stret twurn'd Arss aboot"), and with poor personal hygiene ("Our men that ater these valent Scot went … Had ner fond him oout bet by a strong sent".).

Songs also feature in Tatham's *The Rump*. Significantly, at the play's end, when the Roundheads are out of power and peddling wares on the streets of London,

Wareston becomes a ballad-seller, a choice that could be seen as an indication of both how marked his Scots was and of the correlation between ballads and Scottishness.

3.13.2 *The Projectors* (1665): John Wilson

In John Wilson's comedy *The Projectors* (1665), Squeeze, an exchange broker, is very happy, and so is singing part of a song as he enters:

> And wilt thou gang with me my Jo?
> And wilt thou gang with me?
> Now for thy Daddy's Benison,
> I prythee now gang with me.

It is not set off in the text as a Scotch Song, but its Scottish origins are acknowledged by another character. This work is the first play whose dialect representation is entirely confined to a song. *The Projectors* "satirizes speculative financial schemers and the early Royal Society" (Lesko 2008).

3.13.2.1 Author

The London-born Wilson (1626-1695?) was both a writer and a lawyer, and was based in Ireland for fourteen years from 1666. His most famous play is *The Cheats* (1664), which starred John Lacy, author of *Sauny the Scot* and *Sir Hercules Buffoon* (see 3.19 and 7.14), as a non-conformist minister.

This depiction is interesting not because of its content (one instance of *Jo* 'sweetheart' and three of *gang* 'go') but because it is the first example of a Scotch Song in a play without other dialect representation.

3.13.3 *The Morning Ramble, or the Town Humours* (1673): Payne

Henry Nevil Payne's comedy *The Morning Ramble* was printed in 1673 and performed early the following year. It features a Scotch Song sung by Lady

Turnup to her lover Townlove. Townlove demands to hear “the new Scotch Song” before going to bed. The song, about a man who marries and becomes a cuckold, has parallels with the play itself, where the whore Lady Turnup is married off to a man who does not know her background.

3.13.3.1 Author

It is not certain what years Payne was born and died; Hopkins (2008) places his birth sometime before the Civil War, and suggests that his death was 1705 in Paris. He married into a recusant Catholic family, and is most renowned for his work as a spy, agent, and Jacobite conspirator. Involved in the Montgomery Plot, he was tortured under the order of King William in 1690, the last time a political prisoner in Britain was tortured. He spent the next decade in a series of Scottish prisons, and his specific movements after his release are unclear, though he did travel to France.

3.13.3.2 Quality of dialect representation

The representation here is generally good, with multiple lexical and phonological features depicted (and one morphological one). One interesting feature is the spelling of ‘know’ as *knowgh*:

> The Lads and Lasses all do laugh,
> And scorn me as I gang;
> They do me all Cuckold *knowgh*,
> And gibe me with this Sang.

This spelling is otherwise unattested. It seems that this spelling would suggest a final fricative (rhyming ‘know’ with ‘laugh’), an unetymological spelling which would not have occurred in Scots. This spelling therefore seems to be a case of (approximate) eye-rhyme.

3.13.4 *The Souldiers Fortune* (1681): Thomas Otway

In Thomas Otway's comedy *The Souldiers Fortune* (1681), the pimp Sir Jolly Jumble has two lines of a Scotch Song printed at the close of Act 4: "Bonney Lass gan thou wert mine,/ And twonty thoosand poonds aboot thee, &c". The rest of the song may well have been sung, and is published in an 1681 collection of songs (Butler et al. 2005). This short passage of dialect representation contains lexical and phonological forms, including the unusual spelling *gan* for 'gin' ('if').

3.13.4.1 Author

Otway (1652-1685) was born in Sussex. A successful playwright, he also wrote the short comedy *The Cheats of Scapin*, which contains depictions of different varieties of English, including that of Lancashire (see 7.11). His fame was not long-lived, however, and he died in poverty in 1685.

3.13.5 Thomas D'Urfey and his Scotch Songs

The Mock-Marriage (1696): Thomas Scott
A Fond Husband (1677): Thomas D'Urfey
Trick for Trick (1678): Thomas D'Urfey
The Virtuous Wife (1680): Thomas D'Urfey
The Royalist (1682): Thomas D'Urfey
A Fool's Preferment (1688): Thomas D'Urfey
The Marriage-Hater Match'd (1692): Thomas D'Urfey
The Campaigners: Or, the Pleasant Adventures at Brussels (1698): Thomas D'Urfey

The most notable author of Scotch Songs was Thomas D'Urfey. Born in Exeter, D'Urfey (or Durfey, as he added the apostrophe only in his early thirties) was a prolific writer of plays, poems, and songs, but after his death his reputation and his work languished, with no reprints or editions issued between the *Don Quixote* series of comedies in 1729 and Forsythe's edition of *A Fool's Preferment* in 1917. Some of his plays have been reprinted in collections (e.g. Fisk 2005), but there was very little critical comment until McVeagh's 2000 study. McVeagh (2000: 13) states that "such discussion as took place before 1980 was patchy,

superficial, always unfavourable, often unfair", and he proclaims the "modest merit" of D'Urfey's work.

In a career spanning three decades, D'Urfey wrote more than 30 plays, many poems, and "hundreds of songs", some which were incorporated into plays and others which were printed in collections (McVeagh 2000: 5). He had the interest of the king and court, as well; "his favor with Charles II was such that he and the king sang together from the same paper" (Forsythe 1916: 1). He was primarily a writer of comedies, which make up "23 of 28 performed texts" (McVeagh 2000: 23).

Notably, McVeagh (2000) does not mention Scotch Songs or D'Urfey's use of dialect representation, though both feature in a considerable proportion of his works.

Sometimes D'Urfey's songs appear in the plays of other authors. In Scott's *The Mock-Marriage* (1696), the Scotch Song "Twas within a Furlong of Edinbrough Town" is attributed to D'Urfey. In contrast, in *A Fond Husband* (1677), D'Urfey (the play's author) states that he did not write all of the Scotch Song: in the epistle dedicatory, he states "For the Play I can say nothing; only that it was my own, though some are pleas'd to doubt the contrary, (the Scotch Song excepted, a part of which was not mine; nor do I desire any Reputation from it.)". In this play, the maid Betty sings the Scotch Song, a tale of courtship which highlights the fickleness of women. When asked how he liked the song, Sir Roger remarks, "Oh! I have hundred such as this, Sir", attesting to the popularity of this genre. [12]

---

[12] In Otway's *Friendship in Fashion* (1678), this same song is featured, only the first three words are printed ("In January last…"), and it may be that only these words have the chance to be sung. Lady Squeamish requests the singing of the song: "Mr. Truman, Mr. Goodvile, and Ladies, I beseech you do me the favour to hear Mr. Malagene sing a Scotch Song: I'le swear I am a strange Admirer of Scotch Songs, they are the pretti'st soft melting gentle harmless things". But after hearing the opening of it, Valentine protests, exclaiming "Deliver us! A Scotch Song! I hate it worse then a Scotch Bagpipe, which even the Bears are grown weary of, and have better Musick. I wish I could see her Ladiship dance a Scotch Jigg to one of 'em".

I will discuss each of D'Urfey's remaining plays separately, in order of publication.

In *Trick for Trick* (1678), to lighten the mood Miss Dorothy sings a Scotch Song about a goblin. After the song is finished, there is no comment on it, but an immediate transition to another story. Part of this song is featured in Thomas Brown's 1691 dialogue *Wit for Money*, which also contains interesting comments on many contemporary plays. In *Wit for Money*, Johnson also disparages the quality of Scotch Songs, saying that with respect to one inferior writer, "I wou'd confine him to Scotch Songs, I mean such of them as our Gay People of both Sexes call Scotch, tho' they want as much the Dialect, as the sense of some of that Country".

In the text of *The Virtuous Wife* (1680), the Scotch Song is actually set off from the text, signposted in large capital letters. Letitia, in her only appearance in the play (she is not listed in the dramatis personae), sings a lovesick song about how "Sawney wil ne'ere be my Love agen"; this song "was also celebrated in its day" (Forsythe 1916: 34). The song features Scottish phonological and lexical features, including *yen* 'one' and *heam* 'home'.

In *The Royalist* (1682), the Scotch Song is sung by Chloe, and tells the story of Sawney and Jockey, "twa bonny lads". She loves Jockey, but he tries to "undo" her and "would not Marry" her. He is killed in a duel with Sawney. The dialect representation contains inaccurate uses of *Ise* for 'I', as discussed in 5.3. The play also features two non-Scots dialect speakers from the town of Boscobell, Shropshire: Slouch and the 1st tenant.

A Fool's Preferment (1688) also features another dialect speaker: Roger, servant to Grub, from the made-up town of Plowden-Hicket in Staffordshire. It also features a Scotch Song in the fourth act, a dialogue between Jockey and Jenny with just four instances of dialect representation. In the song, Jockey wants Jenny to sleep with him ("Silly Scruples remove, and do no longer deny me"),

but Jenny insists on being married first. Jockey responds that he, being Scottish, is not the marrying kind: "I'm of a Northerly Breed, And never shall love thee well after". However, the song ends happily, with the following duet: "Then since ill Fortune intends/ Our Amity shall be no dearer/ Still let us kiss and be friends/ And sigh we shall never come nearer".

In Act 3 of D'Urfey's *The Marriage-Hater Match'd* (1692), the stage directions call for "A Scotch Song and Dance here"; the text for the song is provided in the appendix. It is a melancholy song, with the lovesick speaker lamenting for his love, Peggy, who "Wedded quite fro me" and now "ligs in anothers Arms". Forsythe (1916: 91) notes that "this play is exceptionally badly printed", but the text of song does not appear to be compromised, though it contains but a handful of phonological and lexical features.

The Scotch Song in *The Campaigners: Or, the Pleasant Adventures at Brussels* (1698) is sung by Madam la Marquise to her husband. In this merry song, Jockey and Jemmy both love the speaker, but she only has eyes for Sawny. The text is vaguely salacious, with talk of "Sawny's Flute can only do't, and Pipe a Tune to please me", and when Sawny plays his flute her "heart kens no denyal". There is little dialect representation besides proper names.

3.13.5.1 Potential usefulness

These Scotch Songs provide interesting contextual content. The quality of dialect representation depends on the song, but they rarely include forms that are implausible for Scotland.

3.14 *Sir Barnaby Whigg* (1681): Thomas D'Urfey

The comedy *Sir Barnaby Whigg* (1681) is D'Urfey's only play with Scots representation *not* in song form. Here, the footman Swift imitates a Scotsman in an entertaining dialogue. Swift's first line – "Bread a Gad, Can I, Sir? and weel

too" – has the densest amount of actual dialect representation in the entire passage, probably because of the context; Wilding has just asked his servant if he could imitate a 'Scotch priest', so it would be advantageous for Swift to demonstrate his facility with and knowledge of the dialect. He imitates Father Sawney, a Scottish Dominican, in a conversation with Sir Barnaby Whigg, exposing Sir Barnaby as a duplicitous old knave who will say anything (and do anything) for money. Sir Barnaby converts first to Catholicism and then to Islam when he thinks that conversion will win him the hand of a wealthy widow and the right to her £10,000. The rest of the passage contains only a few indications of dialect representation. This play also features a Welsh character, Winifred, whose language is marked dialectally, as well as a sea captain, who continually uses nautical terminology.

The dialogue of Swift when he is imitating the Dominican is hardly marked at all dialectally, containing only six dialectal forms. It is clear by the context that the actor would have had to continue to speak in a 'Scottish' fashion in order for the character's disguise to be effective (as is the case in the other representations involving disguise, as well), but the printed text gives no further evidence of it.

3.15 *The Roundheads* (1682): Aphra Behn

The Roundheads is an adaptation of Tatham's *The Rump*, discussed in 3.11.4. Behn retains much of the dialogue, though expands upon it and upon the plot, creating a much better and much more amusing play. However, her dialect representations leave something to be desired; some of her errors are noted in 6.8.5.

3.15.1 Author

Behn (1640?-1689) is one of the best-known writers of the Restoration era, publishing plays on a variety of topics and in several genres. Not much is known of her life before the interregnum, but she probably came from Kent, and

worked for the government as a spy or secret agent (Todd 2004). She also lived (and possibly worked as a agent) in the English colony of Surinam in the mid-1660s. Upon her return to England she continued to work as a government agent, and began to write professionally, with her first play performed in 1670. Two of her plays feature representations of Scots: *The City Heiress* and *The Roundheads*.

3.15.2 Summary

The plot of *The Roundheads* is the same as that in *The Rump* (3.11.4.1), the play Behn adapted. The dialect speaker is Wariston. As noted in 3.11.4.2, Behn kept much of Wariston's original dialogue, though she did make some alternations and additions to the dialect representation.

While the play itself is very amusing, the dialect representation is inaccurate and at times confusing, particularly the use of *aud* 'old' and *faud* 'foul' spellings (see 6.8.5).

3.16 *The City Heiress* (1682): Aphra Behn

The satirical comedy *The City Heiress, or Sir Timothy Treat-all* was published and performed in 1682.

3.16.1 Author

See 3.15.1.

3.16.2 Summary

Charlot, the titular city heiress, is in love with Wilding, a Tory and the disinherited nephew of of the anti-royalist Sir Timothy Treat-all. She is one of several in love with Wilding, who also has a mistress; Wilding and his uncle are

both competing for Charlot's affections. In the third act, Charlot imitates a Scottish lass, speaking with Wilding (also in disguise, but for different reasons) and then singing a Scotch Song. She is described as the niece of Mrs. Clacket's, one "newly come out of Scotland". Her disguise is found out by Wilding, prompting him to exclaim, "What, my little Northern Lass translated into English!".

This representation consists mainly of a small subset of dialectally marked forms, including *gued* 'good' (often in the expressions *gued faith* and *gued deed*. As noted in 5.3, almost every line of Charlot's spoken dialogue here features the form *I's*, either meaning 'I shall', 'I am', or 'I'.

3.17 *The Benefice* (1689): Robert Wild

The subtitle of *The Benefice* states that the text was written long before it was published: "Written in his Younger Days: Now made Publick for promoting Innocent Mirth". Published in 1689, Davis (1969: 154) postulates that it was written around 1641.

3.17.1 Author

Robert Wild (1615/1616-1679) was a writer and a minister, attending St John's College, Cambridge, and working in Northamptonshire and Staffordshire. After the Restoration, Wild became a fervent non-conformist, and was removed from his Anglican post, and he moved to Oundle, Northamptonshire; Heywood (1849: 158n) describes Wild as "a fat, jolly, and boon Presbyterian", and the Dodsleys (1756: 81) as "a dissenting Teacher". Wild wrote primarily satirical poems and other works; *The Benefice* appears to be his only play.

3.17.2 Summary

Langbaine (1691: 511) states that Wild's "opinion of the Orthodox Clergy, may be easily collected from this play". The title of *The Benefice* refers to the paid position of parson, a permanent (and well-rewarded) appointment. The parson has died, making a 'living' available, the appointment of which is controlled by Marchurch. The main plot-line revolves around the scheming of the characters who each want the benefice. Hob, Marchurch's servant, is convinced by Sir Homily to imitate a minister. The play ends suddenly, with no resolution of the various plot-lines.

The dialect speaker is Hob (full name, Hob-Nail). In the Dramatis Personae, Hob-Nail is described as Marchurch's hind-Servant. Marpudding describes Hob as Scottish: "Your Scotchman Hob too, since he came into England, hath learnt to pare his Cheese." His master, Marchurch, calls him a "Northern-Fellow". However, when Hob is disguised as a minister and conversing with his master, he states that he comes from Cumberland, not Scotland, possibly doing so in order to distance himself from the Scots and so avoiding any additional suspicion from his employer. In response to this statement, Marchurch tells the 'minister' that his servant Hob is from Cumberland, as well:

> Why, Sir, a Cumberland Man, say you? I have a Tenant here in Town, your Country-man; his name is Hob,--- an Honest Man.

While Hob's master may be confused as to his origins, Hob's nationality should be regarded as uncertain. Because of the initial description of Hob as a Scotsman, I have analysed his dialogue in this section.

Here, Hob is a stereotypical rustic, often the butt of jokes. There is not much dialectal marking, though most of the features and forms that are used are attested in reference works (with the exception of *Ise* for 'I' and 'I have'). Hob's dialogue is also frequently marked as colloquial, particularly with the use of *Cuds* for 'God's', in phrases like *Cud's Duds*.

3.18 *The Assembly* (*c.* 1691): Archibald Pitcairne

The Assembly is usually attributed to Archibald Pitcairne and was first printed in 1722, though a manuscript of the play exists that dates from 1691. Subsequent editions were published in 1752, 1766, and 1817. I rely on the 1691 manuscript for my analysis. This play, a biting and highly entertaining satire of the Church of Scotland, is unusual for being a rare example of an EMod play written by a Scotsman (or, more likely, by a group of Scotsmen) for a Scottish audience.

3.18.1 The author(s)

Though attributed to Pitcairne, *The Assembly* appears to have been written by a group of authors: the title-page of the manuscript states that it is been 'Corrected and Enlarged by the Authors', and the preface (included first in the 1752 edition) also makes it clear that several men were involved in the writing process. These men were likely to have moved in the same social circles as Pitcairne, possibly meeting in the same club in Parliament Close (nicknamed 'The Greping Office' because of the necessity of groping the walls to find it in the darkened close). In 'The Greping Office', the physician Pitcairne would sometimes see his patients, and he also "wrote diversions which perforated the institutions he detested" (Tobin 1972: 12).

Pitcairne (1652-1713) was born in Edinburgh to an Episcopalian family, and graduated from the University of Edinburgh in 1671. A keen student, he subsequently studied divinity, law, mathematics, and medicine. He returned to Edinburgh in 1680 after receiving his MD in France, setting up a successful medical practice and becoming an important (and jovial) figure in Edinburgh social circles. A founding member of the Royal College of Physicians, Pitcairne was a supporter of the monarchy and of the Stewarts, and was against the Church of Scotland and the Glorious Revolution. He also wrote texts ranging from mathematical and medical works to a satiric poem entitled 'Babell', which circulated among his friends and was not published until 1830. 'Babell' has

similar themes to those in *The Assembly*, highlighting the hypocrisy ever-present in the Church of Scotland.

3.18.2 Summary

The preface to *The Assembly* is very clear about the purpose of the play: "Our entire and uniform plot is to represent the villainy and folly of the Presbyterians in their public meetings, and the private transactions of their lives" (Tobin 1972: 31). There are two separate plots, one concerning the actions of the General Assembly of the Church of Scotland and particularly their dealings with the Episcopalians. Here, the actual events of the General Assemblies of 1690 and 1692 are conflated somewhat. The other plot is a story of young romance, complete with disapproving family members and elaborate disguises, resulting in two elopements. Will and Frank fall in love with Laura and Violeta, respectively, who are the nieces of Old Lady Bigot. In order to court them, they have to pretend to be Whig Preachers, convincing the aunt of their piousness and authority.

The majority of the characters speak in a standardised English, though a handful of dialectal spellings and lexis are scattered across the play. For instance, Will, one of the main characters, refers once to the 'Grass Marcat', using the Scots form *mercat* for 'market', though the 'e' in 'Mercat' has been partially emended to an 'a', in what was presumably an attempt by the scribe to anglicise the Scots spelling. Scottish sources from this time show that the *Mercat* spelling, at least in place-names like 'Grassmarket' or when referring to the 'Mercat Cross', was common. The 1722 printed edition has "Grass-market". Mr Novel, described in the 1722 dramatis personae as a 'Jacobin news monger', refers to a group of "German *Lairds*", using the Scots form. Despite this scattering of these high-frequency dialect features, dialect representation is restrained to two sets of characters: workingmen (Hirers, Boatmen, and a servant-boy) and Presbyterian preachers and members of the General Assembly (the Ruling Elder, Mr

Covenant, Mr Salathiel Little-Sense, Mr Timothy Turbulent, the Moderator of the General Assembly).

While Pitcairne could be indicating class differences through the speech of the workingmen, it is more likely that he is displaying informal, colloquial speech, as the men are having a quite heated argument with Lord Huffy, challenging him over his withholding of their pay. However, the dialect representation is much more detailed in the dialogue of several of the ministers, particularly for the Ruling Elder. Here, Pitcairne could be mocking the provincialism and hypocrisy of the Presbyterian ruling elite. The character of the Ruling Elder has the most marked dialogue, and may be based on a particular person (an Aberdonian minister?), as his speech clearly indicates northeastern features, in contrast to the other dialect speakers. The preface, which appears first in the 1752 edition and is included by Tobin (1972) in the modern edition of the play, identifies the people on whom the characters are based. The Moderator is based on the "violent and fiery" Mr Hugh Kennedy, whereas Mr Salathiel Little-sense is Mr Gilbert Rule, who became the minister at Greyfriars Kirk and principal of the University of Edinburgh. It does not mention the character of the Ruling Elder. The 1766 edition gives the Ruling Elder a name – Laird Littlewit – and other non-linguists have commented on the qualities of his language, always using these later editions, presumably, because the reference to the character's name doesn't appear in the manuscript or in the first printed edition.

The Aberdeenshire dialect of the Ruling Elder has escaped notice by most modern linguists, though Warrack (1911: xii-xiii) mentions the representation in the introduction to his Scots dictionary, and SND cites his use of *fat* 'what' as the earliest citation of the form. His dialect representation is also referenced in an 1843 history of Aberdeenshire as perhaps the oldest extant example of that dialect (Robertson 1843: 73), and by Millar (1903: 250) in his literary history of Scotland as an accurate phonetic representation of the dialect.

The Assembly is particularly interesting for the representation of Aberdeenshire dialect in the speech of the Ruling Elder, though all of the dialect representation is valuable.

3.19 *Sauny the Scot* (1698): John Lacy

Sauny the Scot, John Lacy's adaptation of Shakespeare's *The Taming of the Shrew*, triumphed on the London stage on several occasions in the early eighteenth century. Written and first performed in 1667, when Shakespeare's reputation had ebbed, Lacy's version retains much of the plot, and a substantial portion of the dialogue, but is altered to suit the fashion of day; the title page of the 1714 edition declares that the play was 'Written Originally by Mr. Shakespear, [and] Alter'd and Improv'd by Mr. Lacey, Servant to His Majesty'. Lacy 'improved' the work most significantly by amplifying the role of Grumio, Petruchio's servant, creating the substantial title role of Sauny for himself to play.

Surviving financial records indicate that *Sauny the Scot* possibly was produced as early as 1662; Sir Henry Herbert's list of fees collected that season include one for the 'Revived Play Taminge the Shrew' (Spencer 1927: 83). However, this early date remains unsubstantiated. The accepted date for the first performance is 1667 – the one which Pepys attended and criticised (see 3.19.3). The play was not published until a 1698 revival – seventeen years after Lacy's death in 1681. This lag between performance and publication is not unusual, particularly for adaptations (Spencer 1927: 184). No manuscript survives. There is some question of the authorship of the play. Kilbourne (1906: 79) states, "It is attributed, with much probability, to the actor Lacy, though Langbaine in his account of dramatic writers does not speak of it as his". Langbaine (1691) omits mention of the play altogether, but a later (1699), re-edited edition of his work does classify it as Lacy's play, and all other critics and scholars have accepted it as Lacy's work.

3.19.1 Author

Famous as a comedian as well as a playwright, the Yorkshire-born Lacy (*c.* 1615-1681) was a favourite of Charles II. Lacy is said to have provided Jonson with examples of northern dialect, which Jonson used presumably for *The Sad Shepherd* (see 3.9). *Sir Hercules Buffoon* (see 7.14) also includes dialect representation in the dialogue of both a Yorkshire lass and her cousin impersonating her.

3.19.2 Summary

In this adaptation of *The Taming of the Shrew*, Lacy kept most of Shakespeare's original plot, though the setting is moved to contemporary London and some of the characters' names have been changed (Katherina to Margaret, Grumio to Sauny). As noted in 3.19, Lacy greatly enhanced the role of Petruchio's servant, transforming a minor character (Grumio) into the title character. Petruchio courts, marries, and eventually tames the shrew Margaret.

Sauny's dialect representation is worth looking at in depth, in part because of Lacy's northern heritage.

3.19.3 Contemporary reception

Lacy's performances were generally applauded and admired by Samuel Pepys, who saw the original production of *Sauny the Scot* and documented his reaction to it in his diary:

> 9th April 1667. To the King's house, and there saw The Taming of the Shrew, which hath some very good pieces in it, but generally is but a mean play; and the best part, 'Sauny', done by Lacy; and hath not half its life, by reason of the words, I suppose, not being understood, at least by me (cited in Maidment and Logan 1875: 313-314).

Pepys's quibbles with the play seem to stem from the unintelligibility of Sauny's speech. This previously minor, supporting role was transformed into 'the best part' by Lacy, who increased both the quality and quantity of his dialogue, lacing it with "robust, scatological highland humor" (Canfield 1997: 275n); for example, Bartley (1954: 153) observes that "Sauny is particularly fond of the word 'arse'". This dialogue is heavily and consistently marked as Scottish, containing lexical items as well as morphosyntactic and phonological features, with the pronunciation indicated by spelling. However, in Pepys's opinion, Sauny's language appears to have been marked to the point of excess, thus rendering portions of the dialogue incomprehensible.

3.19.3.1 Bedford's criticism

In addition to Pepys's comments, one other instance of contemporary criticism is worth discussing. Arthur Bedford (1719) lambasts *Sauny the Scot* in his work which meticulously catalogues the evils of the theatre, with plays full of swearing, cursing, immorality, atheism, devil-worshipping, and the like. Bedford (1719: 383), a clergyman, wants to raise awareness of the morally corroding qualities of these plays, concluding with the following question about playhouses posed to the reader: "Can any Person, who values his GOD, his King, or his Nation, or who hath any Modesty left, be present in those places, where so much Debauchery is represented to the Life, and so much Blasphemy, Profaneness, and filthy Communication is continually heard?".

Much of the book is taken up by extensive footnotes containing references to the offensive dialogue (title, page, and line number) in question, as well as chapter and verse references to pertinent (usually disobeyed and dishonoured) Bible passages, the latter of which number "above fourteen hundred" (Bedford 1719: v). Spencer (1927: 236) states that Bedford references *Sauny the Scot* 208 separate times; while I have not counted the appearances of other plays, I can state that *Sauny the Scot* seems to be one of the most disparaged plays in Bedford's work.

To Bedford, *Sauny the Scot* has been altered “in the Devil’s Name” from Shakespeare’s original, and these changes are chiefly linguistic. It has been stuffed “full of the most dreadful Oaths, and horrid Curses”; compared to Shakespeare’s original, it is “ten times more the Child of Hell” (Bedford 1719: 371). The ‘paltry footman’ Sauny has nothing but sinful qualities:

> Sawny is rude and impertinent to both Master and Mistress, and indeed upon all occasions. He swears, he curses, he adjures in the Devil’s name, and ridicules the Name of GOD; he prays to the Devil, and is continually talking of him. He burlesques the Articles of our Faith, and exposes Religion (Bedford 1719: 372-373).

Bedford posits that it is because of these ungodly characteristics that Sauny has been honoured and elevated to the status of title character.

Bedford does not only take offense with Sauny and his coarse dialogue; several other characters in the play curse, swear, reference the devil, and take the Lord’s name in vain. Swearing by God is bad enough, but Bedford (1719: 45) points out that Lacy made it that much worse by having it done by “the most sawcy, silly, impertinent Fellows of the whole Company”. Bedford painstakingly relates the sheer amount of swearing and cursing (the latter of which seems to involve ‘damn’ and the devil’s name), and the great variation of forms employed; for example, “sometimes the Actors swear *By the Blood* of the Son of God, even in a ridiculous Scotch Tone, or their Heathen Dialect; and sometimes by his Wounds, even in the same manner”. While Sauny’s dialect is not his core concern, he does often mention his “Heathen Dialect” and the “ridiculous Scotch Tone”.

Spring (1952: 180) claims that Bedford’s criticism – which was reissued in 1730 – had the opposite effect to his intention, actually increasing public interest in *Sauny the Scot* and helping to prompt the reissue of later editions.

3.19.4 Other editions and modern critical assessment

A popular play, *Sauny the Scot* was performed frequently, and was reprinted four times in 1708, 1714, 1731, and 1736. It was also the inspiration for a 1735 opera (Worsdale's *A Cure for a Scold*). Maidment and Logan produced an edition in 1875 in a collection of Lacy's dramatic works, but no other editions have been published of any of Lacy's plays. In the twentieth century, *Sauny the Scot* is usually mentioned by critics only as a bastard-version of *The Taming of the Shrew*, one of the many inferior adaptations of Shakespeare. To Spencer (1926: 15, 85), *Sauny the Scot* is "a despicable adaptation" and "contemptible alteration". We also have Kilbourne's (1906: 79-81) unabashed outrage at the mere existence – not to mention the continuing popularity of – *Sauny the Scot*, seeing the play as nothing more than the unnecessary corruption and 'violent' and 'degrading' alteration of Shakespeare's 'pleasing comedy'. Chief among his complaints are the movement of the setting to London, the alteration of poetry to prose, and the elevation of Sauny's character, resulting in "a low comedy or… a mere farce" (Kilbourne 1906: 80).

3.20 *Courtship A-la-mode* (1700): David Craufurd

The comedy *Courtship A-la-mode*, written by the Ayrshire-born David Craufurd (also spelt Crawford or Crawfurd – the *Craufurd* spelling is used on the title-page), premiered in London at Theatre Royal Drury Lane on 9 July 1700, and was printed that same year. Craufurd claims in the preface to have written the work "in ten successive mornings". The play, though described as "capable and entertaining" (Scullion 1997: 113), remains forgotten to most critics, and Craufurd is now more famous for the literary forgery within his 1706 history of Scotland than for his dramatic works.

However, *Courtship A-la-mode* is notable for providing the earliest dramatic depiction of a Scots composed by an actual Scot *and* performed and published for a London audience, the only such example in the EMod period; *The Assembly*

(3.18) was written by Scotsmen for a Scottish audience, and was only printed in 1722.

3.20.1 Author

Not much is known about Craufurd, and his work has not been studied extensively. In the one scholarly article about his work (Macaree 1967), he is described as the eighth Laird of Drumsoy (a place now called Drongan) in Ayrshire. He lived and worked in London at the time of the writing of both *Courtship A-la-mode* and his other play, *Love at First Sight*. His epitaph was published in 1708, but many scholarly sources (including the ODNB) erroneously cite his year of death as 1726. The epitaph shows that Craufurd was well-respected at the time of his death, comparing his writing talents to those of two renowned French poets:

> The Gods Resolv'd a Master-Piece to show,
> Such as our Vulgar Wonders would outdo:
> They Will'd the Thing; and CRAWFURD did appear
> Great as Corneille, as Racine Soft and Clear:

Craufurd was named historiographer royal in 1704 by Queen Anne, and published a well-regarded history of Scotland. However, a century later it was proved that he had manipulated key source texts in this work in order to rewrite history, tarnishing his reputation.

3.20.2 Summary

Courtship A-la-mode is a sentimental farce set in contemporary London.

The dialect speaker, Willie Beetlehead, is in much the same mould as Lacy's Sauny. A supporting character, he works as a servant to the main character (Freelove) in the play, is unabashedly proud to be Scottish, and refuses to speak 'English'. Scullion (1997: 112) describes Willie as "an early model for the increasingly stereotypical stage Scotsman", though, as seen by the evidence

provided by the plays in my dataset, this is not the case. Scullion (1997: 113) declares that “Willie’s language” has been “energized by an idiomatic Scots: his linguistic identity is fully integrated into his character without reducing him to mere ethnic stereotype” (Scullion 1997: 113). Willie’s speech is represented in a markedly different way from that of Sauny, or any other Scottish character in contemporary dramas, differing from all these other depictions in terms of the dialect features chosen and in the method of their realisation.

The cast list declares that Willie was played by “Mr. Bullock”; William Bullock, a comic actor “probably from Yorkshire” (Backscheider 2004), specialised in transvestite roles. However, he also appears to have been noted for dialect characters, as well, as discussed by Bartley (1954: 306). Bullock created three original performances of Scottish characters: Willie in *Courtship A-la-mode* (1700), Hyland in *Humours of the Army* (1713), and Gibby in *The Wonder* (1714). He also played Sauny in three different productions of *Sauny the Scot* (1707, 1712, 1725), and was the Irish priest Tegue O Divelly in the 1707 production of *The Lancashire Witches.*

3.20.3 Analysis of dialect representation

Willie’s dialect representation comprises a sizable amount of dialogue, with 70 passages totaling 2577 words. Willie is a key player in almost all the scenes in the second half of the play, serving, fighting, scheming, and wooing. His speech displays no notable morphosyntactic features, though it is worth mentioning that only in the plays of John Tatham and in *Courtship A-la-mode* are there no instances of unmarked *shall*: all possible instances have been marked dialectally as *sall* or with the *‘s* clitic.

The most noticeable and prominent trait of Willie’s dialogue is the use of the <au> digraph to suggest a dialectal pronunciation, as in the following examples (with italicised glosses):

Whaun I was in me ain Kintrey, **Maudam**, the Minister's Wife said I **waus** the bonniest **Laud** in **au** her good man's parish.
When I was in my own country, Madam, the Minister's Wife said I was the bonniest Lad in all her husband's parish.

Be my **Saul** do I Sir, we **Scotlaun** Lauds **aur au** Gentlemen whun we come tea **Englaun**, thee **Waulsh aun** Irish **aur** neathing tea us for quality.
By my soul do I Sir, we Scotland Lads are all Gentlemen when we come to England, the Welsh and Irish are nothing to us for quality.

This <au> spelling appears in 362 tokens – in 99 types – out of a total of 806 total phonological tokens. In order to put this figure into some context: <au> spellings appear in nine other dialect representations in plays published between 1598 and 1705. In these nine other plays, the total for <au> spellings comes to 121, including Sauny's 22 references to himself as 'Sauny' or 'Saundy'. Out of these nine plays, the bulk of the occurrences – 109 of them – of <au> spellings occur in the final three plays: *The Roundheads* (1682), *Sauny the Scot* (1698), and *Ireland Preserv'd* (1705). However, not all <au> spellings are created equal. The shoddy dialect representation in Behn's *The Roundheads* includes incorrect *aud* spellings of 'all', and *faud* for 'foul' (and *faudest* 'foulest'). Sauny's depiction contains three forms that are also found in Willie's dialogue: *awau* 'away', *haud* 'hold', and *saul* 'soul', and likewise *Ireland Preserv'd* contains *au* 'all', *lauds* 'lads', and *whau* 'who'.

While Willie's lines are not always marked with lexical or morphosyntactic items or with other phonological features, they almost always contain at least one instance of an <au> spelling; there is only one exception: "A goad I believe the Lass is a Saint" *By God I believe the Lass is a Saint*. 'Lass' appears as both *lauss* and *laus*, though is found unmarked a total of four times. These unmarked forms are the exception rather than the rule. Most features that can be marked, are.

Most of these <au> forms appear authentic, but give the reader a ballpark of reference with regard to phonological realisation instead of pinpointing one particular sound. In depictions of English dialects, <au> indicates a more advanced dissimilation of the diphthong when representing the pronunciation of the vowel-shifted diphthong from ME /u:/. This is not what is being suggested here. Johnston (1997a: 90) notes that, by the sixteenth century, <au, aw> graphemes are associated with low back monophthongs in Scots. Likewise, Craufurd's use of <au> is not just referring to one sound; most of the instances likely suggest /ɑ/; some may suggest /ɔ/ or /ɒ/[13].

A number of these <au> spellings show the development from NME /aʊ/ to /ɑ/, or show the backing (and rounding) of the monophthong from ME /ai/ after /w/, giving Scots /ɑ/ or /ɔ/. The spellings are corroborated by the fact that many modern Scots have a back /ɑ/ descended from /a/, and by the fact that several modern Scots dialects have /ɔ/ for /a/ before nasals (Johnston 1997b: 488-489).

Craufurd's Scots representation is markedly different to other representations of the period. His extensive <au> spellings and representations of Northern Fronting infuse the character of Willie with realism, and his lexical choices speak to his native knowledge of Scots.

3.20.4 Contemporary reception

The play's preface is probably the most quoted part, as it sheds light on some of the theatrical practices of the day. Craufurd took his play from one company to another after extreme delays:

> ...but finding that six or seven people cou'd not perform what was design'd for fifteen, I was oblig'd to remove it after so many sham Rehearsals, and in two days it got footing upon the other Stage. Where 'twas immediately

[13] /ɒ/ is not used in modern Scots phonology, as it is not typical in SSE, but is used in LAS.

> cast to the best Advantage, and Plaid in less than twenty days.

3.21 *Ireland Preserv'd* (1705): John Michelburne

John Michelburne's *Ireland Preserv'd: Or the Siege of London-Derry. Together with the Troubles of the North* (1705) is based on a true story, and is dedicated to "the Survivors, Colonels, Officers and Soldiers, That Served in the late Siege of London-Derry".

Michelburne told this story as a dramatic work because plays were currently "in esteem", though its content and structure prevent it from ever being staged. Bliss (1979: 64) describes this rare, privately-printed work as "extraordinary", and comments on the linguistic and literary value of the text:

> The plays could never have been performed – there are long speeches and theological controversies, and battalion orders of the day are given in full; it is true that a very vivid picture of events emerges in the end, but one would have thought that a straightforward narrative would have served Michelburne's purpose better. Still, we may be grateful for the lively picture that he has given us of the speech and customs of the native Irish.

This work provides the only example of Ulster Scots in my dataset.

3.21.1 Author

The army officer Michelburne (1648-1721) was born in Sussex, though he appears to have spent much of his life in Ireland. A Protestant, he was one of the commanders during the siege of Londonderry in 1689, also serving as military governor of the city during this time. McGrath (2004) notes that Michelburne's "first wife and all seven children died during the siege". After the siege, he remained in Londonderry.

3.21.2 Summary

This play depicts the siege of Londonderry in great detail.

Many characters are depicted as speaking in Scots, including Forgus, who imitates a Scotsman; Bartley (1943: 282) states that the work "contains several Scots-speaking characters, most if not all of whom are 'Ulster Scots'", but notes that Michelburne "does not appear to distinguish their speech from that of the Scots of Scotland".

Also, interestingly, the people in Londonderry are shown not to be able to understand the 'Highland' speech of "Duncan Maccantosh", the persona of the soldier Granade, as his servant Franc remarks:

> But did you observe, the De'il was in the People, as we rid along the Road? They were still asking, who you were? When I was in a good Humour, I told them your Name was Duncan Match and Touch, the Kings Bombardier, an Highland Laird, 'twas the same to them, as if I had spoken French or Dutch.

In this play, the Irish are depicted in a malicious way. The Irish are shown to be low, drunk, and immoral; one Irish man, after being asked if he had "ravish[ed] any of our Protestant Women", replies "I did make de Fornication upon dem, a little, a little". The Irishwomen are not shown in a better light: a group of Irishwomen steal the clothes off of a mother and her child, causing the mother to cry, "Fye Jemmy, Fye, Whare hau yea bin, these Irishes hau taen my Cleathes from little Saunder and my sell". As shown in the first quotation above, Michelburne's text is also viciously anti-Catholic.

Ireland Preserv'd is notable for its depiction of Ulster Scots (though the depiction of it is not delineated from Scots), and for the number and variety of characters whose dialogue is marked dialectally.

3.22 General Scottish indications

In this section, I consider words included in the depictions of dialect-speaking characters that have strong Scottish associations but are not dialectal, including Scottish place-names, saints' names (in particular, St Andrew), and items such as bagpipes.

3.22.1 St Andrew

References to St Andrew, the patron saint of Scotland, occur in six plays. The reference is usually is part of an oath; Sir Bartram in *The Scottish History of James IV* swears "by sweet S. Andrew and my sale", and Brun in *Hey for Honesty* swears, "Aies not budge a foot by *St. Andrew*". In *The Scots Figgaries,* Scarefoole says that he has "broought noought heom wi me bet *St Andras* Cross, want an Poverty". Swift, when impersonating a Scottish Dominican in *Sir Barnaby Whigg*, tries to convince the 'portly' title character that a particular woman loves fat men, remarking, "I never cou'd perswade this Wise Lady to love a Lean man: *by St Andrew* she never cou'd endure 'em.

In *Hey for Honesty*, St. Andrew is mentioned alongside the other three patron saints of the United Kingdom – St. David (as St. Taffie), St. George, and St. Patrick. The same list of saints is also found in *A Short Representation...* , though here without mention of St. Patrick. In *A Short Representation*, each man renounces his patron saint in favour of the man the play honours – General George Monck, who the Englishman describes as "our St. George", who "hath set us free / From a base Rumps bold slavery".

3.22.2 Scottish place-names

While only *The Assembly* and the historical plays *The Scottish History of James IV* and *The Valiant Scot* take place in Scotland, Scottish places are referred to in a few other plays. Billy, in *The Scots Figgaries*, mentions that he was born in a

place called *Andrakeddin*, which though it sounds Scottish (an amalgamation of St Andrews and Edinburgh, perhaps?) does not appear to have been an actual town, unless it is a reference to St Andrews. Three other plays contain references to Edinburgh, the biggest city in Scotland and its capital. Brun in *Hey for Honesty* threatens to "gang to *Edinborow*", while the Scotch Song in *The Mock Marriage* is entitled, 'Twas within a Furlong of *Edinbrough* Town". In *Sauny the Scot*, a tailor comes with an absurd and old-fashioned dress for Margaret, and Sauny states that "it is like the Picture of Queen Margaret in *Edenbrough* Castle, Sir"; Sauny also makes a rueful comment about how Margaret could scold "fro *Edingbrough* to London". These frequent references to Edinburgh underline the significance of the capital (or perhaps simply indicate that Edinburgh was the best-known and most recognisable Scottish place-name to southern English people).

3.22.3 Other Scottish references

In *The Roundheads*, Wariston ends up peddling songs, particularly "Scotch Spurs", and *Scotland* and *Scotch-men* are mentioned in a number of plays. However, Sauny is the most notorious character for referring to his place of origin. His dialogue is littered with references to Scotland, its people, and its customs. Among other things, he refers to a "Highland Lady" and a "Highland-wutch", and to a"Scotch coalepit", a "Scotch pudding", and "The Scotch Directory". He also refers to aspects of the Church of Scotland, including the Covenant and the "Stool of Repantance [sic]". He speaks of pipers and (bag) pipes, though always making either a crude or vulgar joke in doing so. For example, when speaking about an attractive woman, he wishes that he could be "her Piper, wun's Ide sea blea her Pipe", and when asked if he is full after his dinner, he says that he is as full "as a Piper, ye may put ean finger in at my Mouth, and another in mine Arse, and feel beath ends o' my Dinner".

Lexis

Chapter 4

In this chapter, I discuss the lexical items found in dramatic depictions of Scots. The most commonly occurring lexemes are covered first: all but one of the lexemes analysed in sections 4.1 to 4.26 are found at least three times in different plays. In section 4.27, I deal with less commonly used lexical items play by play. Proper names are discussed in 4.28.

4.1 **bairn** n. 'child'

This word for 'child' is well attested in DOST, with the main forms listed as *barne, bairn,* and *bern*. *Bairn* is listed in Ray's 1674 collection of North Country Words, spelled *Barn* or *Bearn*.

SND lists the main form as *bairn*, or *bearn*, and offers the following monophthongal pronunciations: [bern, bɛrn]; with the effect of the Scottish Vowel Length Rule (SVLR), the pronunciations should actually have long vowels, as in [be:rn, bɛ:rn]. However, the failure to undergo lengthening, as SVLR might predict, could be explained as blocking of lengthening within a heavy rhyme in which the coda is already highly sonorant. OED, like SND, states that the Scottish pronunciation is [bern], while the typical northern pronunciation would be the diphthongal [bɛən] (here, the underlying assumption is that the 'typical' northern pronunciation is non-rhotic, excluding the dialects of Northumberland and parts of Lancashire, for instance). OED lists these possible forms for the seventeenth century: *berne*, *bearn*, *barn*, *barne*, and *bairn*. The lexeme is not found in southern England, according to the OED, which classifies *bairn* as "the Scotch form". EDD lists *barn* spellings only in England, in the north and the midlands.

The dataset for *bairn* is provided in Table 4.1.

#	form	character	play	year
2	**barne (1), barns (1)**	Friar	*The Valiant Scot*	1637
2	**barnes**	Wallace	*The Valiant Scot*	1637
1	**barns**	Brun	*Hey for Honesty*	1651
1	**bearn**	Dorothy (Scotch Song)	*Trick for Trick*	1673
1	**bearns**	Sauny	*Sauny the Scot*	1698
2	**bairns**	Willie Beetlehead	*Courtship A-la-mode*	1700
1	**bearne**	Scotch countreyman	*Ireland Preserv'd*	1705
2	**Berns, Bearnes**	Forgus	*Ireland Preserv'd*	1705
12				

Table 4.1: *bairn* 'child'

The two earlier plays, *The Valiant Scot* and *Hey for Honesty*, only have *barn* and *barne* spellings, whereas the post-Restoration plays feature digraphs, primarily containing *bearn* and *bairn* spellings. The vowel digraph does not necessarily suggest a diphthong, considering the evidence provided by both SND and OED; <-ear-> and <-air-> were the most suitable means of representing /ɛ:/ in StE. In addition, perhaps later playwrights had seen the Scots form printed and thus used this legitimately Scottish spelling, rather than the typically English one.

OED notes that *bairn* can be found "occasionally used in literary English since 1700".

4.2 **blithe** *adj.* 'merry, glad, cheerful, joyful'

OED states that *blithe* is rarely used colloquially in England, but that the word is still used in Scotland. However, the word is commonly found in poetry. This use of *blithe* in an elevated, poetic register is echoed in the EDD entry, which, while placing the term squarely in Scotland, Northumberland, and Yorkshire, also states that it is found in "general poetic use". DOST also places *blithe* in Scotland, providing a sizable amount of quotation as evidence.

As seen in Table 4.2, *blithe* appears in plays throughout the seventeenth century, beginning with *The Scottish History of James IV*.

#	form	character	play	year
2	**blyth**	Sir Bartram	*Scottish History of James IV*	1598
1	**blyther**	Sir Bartram	*Scottish History of James IV*	1598
1	**blith**	3rd soldier	*Thierry and Theodoret*	1621
1	**blith**	Brun	*Hey for Honesty*	1651
1	**blithe**	Wareston	*The Rump*	1660
1	**blithe**	Lady Turnup (Scotch Song)	*The Morning Ramble*	1672
1	**blith**	Chloe (Scotch Song)	*The Royalist*	1682
2	**blithe**	Wariston	*The Roundheads*	1682
1	**blith**	Scotch Song	*The Marriage Hater Match'd*	1692
1	**blith**	Musicians (Scotch song)	*The Mock Marriage*	1696
2	**blith (1), blyth (1)**	Sauny	*Sauny the Scot*	1698
14				

Table 4.2: *blithe* 'merry, glad, cheerful, joyful'

Blithe sometimes collocates with *bonny*, as found in *Sauny the Scot* ("ye are *Blith* and bonny Sir") and *Hey for Honesty* ("Aies fought *blith* and bonny".) In *Thierry and Theodoret*, the soldier tells his companion that, "thou hast a bonny countenance and a *blith*". In the Scotch Songs, the word appears at the beginning of the song, within the first three lines. In *The Roundheads*, another character uses *blithe* to describe the Scottish dialect speaker: "If I be not mistake, this *blithe* Ballad-singer too was Chair-man to the Committee of Safety".

These usages would suggest that *blithe* had clear connections with Scotland. However, a search shows that *blithe* is frequently used in other dramatic texts of the period. The word is sometimes associated with rusticity and pastorals, as in Thomas Randolph's *The Jealous Lovers (1632):*

> In what a verdant weed the spring arayes
> Fresh Tellus in! how Flora decks the fields
> With all her tapestry! and the Choristers
> Of every grove chaunt Carrolls! Mirth is come
> To visit mortalls. Every thing is *blithe*,
> Jocund, and joviall.

Blithe also appears in plays that feature tales of Robin Hood, such as Peele's *Edward I* (1593), Greene's *George a Greene* (1599), and Munday's *The Death of Robert, Earle of Huntington* (1601).

The phrase "blithe and bonny" also appears in a variety of contexts. In Shakespeare's *Much Ado About Nothing* (1600), the song 'Sigh no more ladies, sigh no more' contains the admonition 'be you *blith* and bonnie', and *blith* appears a handful of times in the plays in his 1623 folio. The phrase "blithe and bonny" also appears in Beaumont and Fletcher's *The Scornful Ladie* (1616), and in John Fletcher's *The Night-Walker* (1640) as "blith and bonny". In the amusing and ribald song "The Mother and Daughter" (c. 1672-1695), the pregnant daughter effectively blackmails her meretrix mother, so that she may have enough money to "be both *blith* and bonny".

Brome uses *Blithe* as a proper name of one of the characters in *The New Academy* (printed 1659). In D'Urfey's *A Fond Husband* (1677), Old Fumble asks Cordelia if she is " jolly, *blithe*, like a Bird in a Tree?". Magnifico in Richard Carpenter's *A Pragmatical Jesuit, New-Leavened* (*c.* 1670) describes "*blith* and buxom Girls".

It seems, therefore, that *blithe* found on its own is not a sufficient indication of Scottishness, signifying generally a pleasingly rustic, or poetic, flavour. Its use in Scottish dialect representations suggests that it is these elements that are being insinuated, alongside perhaps some slight Scottish flavour.

4.3 **bonny** *adj.* 'beautiful, handsome, pleasing'

DOST traces *bonny* to the sixteenth century, commonly spelt *bony* and *bonie*: "Ane *bonie* wenche sho was" (*Prestis of Peblis*). Despite strong associations with Scotland and Scottishness, *bonny* is not restricted to Scotland. EDD places the word in Scotland, Ireland, and the north of England ('all northern counties of England to Derbyshire'), and states that instances are also found across

England, in Lincolnshire, Rutland, Leicestershire, Warwickshire, Shropshire, East Anglia, Kent, Sussex, Hampshire, and the Isle of Wight. However, OED states that *bonny* is "not a word of ordinary English prose", and is one that is, in actuality, most commonly found in Scotland, and the northern and midland counties.

Forms of *bonny* are listed below in Table 4.3.

#	form	character	play	year
1	**bonny**	Bohan	*Scottish History of James IV*	1598
2	**bony**	Sir Bartram	*Scottish History of James IV*	1598
1	**boone**	Nano	*Scottish History of James IV*	1598
2	**bonnie**	Jockie	*Edward IV*	1599
1	**bonney**	Gentleman	*The Witch*	1609
1	**bonny**	3rd soldier	*Thierry and Theodoret*	1621
1	**bonny**	Doysells	*The Vow Breaker*	1636
5	**bonny (3), bony (1), bunny (1)**	Wallace	*The Valiant Scot*	1637
1	**bunny**	Peggy	*The Valiant Scot*	1637
1	**bonny**	Brun	*Hey for Honesty*	1651
1	**bonny**	Billy	*The Scots Figgaries*	1652
1	**bonny**	Jocky	*The Scots Figgaries*	1652
1	**bonny**	Fidlers (Scotch Song)	*The Scots Figgaries*	1652
1	**bonny**	Lady Turnup (Scotch Song)	*The Morning Ramble*	1672
4	**bonny**	Betty (Scotch Song)	*A Fond Husband*	1677
1	**bonney**	Sir Jolly (Scotch Song)	*The Souldiers Fortune*	1681
1	**bonny**	Chloe (Scotch Song)	*The Royalist*	1682
1	**bonny**	Charlot	*The City Heiress*	1682
1	**bonny**	Jockey/ Jenny (Scotch Song)	*A Fool's Preferment*	1688
1	**bonny**	Scotch Song	*The Marriage Hater Match'd*	1692
1	**bonny**	Musicians (Scotch Song)	*The Mock Marriage*	1696
2	**bonna**	Sauny	*Sauny the Scot*	1698
8	**bonny**	Sauny	*Sauny the Scot*	1698
1	**bonniest**	Willie Beetlehead	*Courtship A-la-mode*	1700
2	**bonnily**	Willie Beetlehead	*Courtship A-la-mode*	1700
7	**bonny**	Willie Beetlehead	*Courtship A-la-mode*	1700
50				

Table 4.3: *bonny* 'beautiful, handsome, pleasing'

Bonny is commonly used in these dialect representations, appearing 50 times across 18 plays throughout the seventeenth century. In the context of my dataset, at least, it appears to be a strong marker of Scottishness. It is used in imitations of Scots in *Thierry and Theodoret*, *The Vow Breaker*, and *The City Heiress*, and *bonny* appears in nine Scotch Songs (including one within *The City Heiress*). More tellingly, the word is not used in the non-Scottish parts of the plays. *Bonny* does appear in a handful of representations of Northern English, as discussed in 8.3.

Bonny sometimes means beautiful or fair, and is used in reference to women. For instance, in *The Vow Breaker,* the first line of the dialect imitation is "speare the *bonny* lasses", and "*bonney* lass" features in the first line of the Scotch Song in *The Souldiers Fortune.* In *The Witch*, *bonney* is the only lexical item included in the brief dialect representation, in reference to Antonio's "bonney lady mother". However, *bonny* often modifies 'men', meaning handsome or attractive. In *The Valiant Scot,* all the 'bonny' and 'bony' forms modify 'man' or 'men'; in *The Scottish History of James IV* , Bohan is described as a "bonny Scot" by Oberon, a non-Scottish character. *Edward IV* also contains a reference to "bonnie men", and while Willie in *Courtship A-la-mode* focuses much more on the "bonny lasses", he does also describe "lauds" as *bonny*.

Some phonological variation is displayed in this dataset. Reduction in the final vowel is indicated by the two *bonna* spellings in *Sauny the Scot*, though this play also contains eight instances of *bonny*. Two *bunny* spellings occur in *The Valiant Scot*: Peggie's affirmation that "my *bunny* Wallace luifes me" and Wallace's sarcastic description of a "*bunny* noyse of Fidlers". *Bony*, found once in *The Scottish History of James IV* and once in *The Valiant Scot*, appears to be a spelling variant, and does not necessarily suggest a long vowel.

4.4 **braw** *adj*. ‘brave, strong, excellent, fine’

OED, DOST, and SND all classify *braw* as the Scottish form of ‘brave’. OED provides quotations from eighteenth and nineteenth century authors writing in literary Scots, namely Ramsay, Burns, and Scott. DOST defines *braw* (with an alternate spelling *bra*) first as “fine, elegant, beautiful, excellent”.

Instances of *braw* are listed in Table 4.4.

#	form	character	play	year
1	**brawly**	Scotch apothecary	*The Distracted State*	1651
2	**braw**	Folly	*The Scots Figgaries*	1652
3	**braw (2), brawe (1)**	Jocky	*The Scots Figgaries*	1652
1	**brawly**	Jocky	*The Scots Figgaries*	1652
4	**braw (2), bra (2)**	Wareston	*The Rump*	1660
2	**braw (1), bra (1)**	Sauny	*Sauny the Scot*	1698
1	**brau**	Willie Beetlehead	*Courtship A-la-mode*	1700
1	**brauly**	Willie Beetlehead	*Courtship A-la-mode*	1700
15				

Table 4.4: *braw* ‘brave, strong, excellent’

Braw was a favourite of Tatham, who used it eleven times across three plays. His Scotch Apothecary in *The Distracted State* exclaims that he “kan dew that *brawly*”. Wareston in *The Rump* thrice describes other characters as *braw*: “he’s a *braw* Mon” and “y’are like a *bra* Mon”*.* In *The Scots Figgaries*, the characters use *braw* to mean ‘fine’ or ‘excellent’; Jockey declares that “wees mack *braw* Dooctors”, and there are references to “yon *braw* mon” and “yon *brawe* fellow”.

Braw is also used to describe meat. In *The Rump,* Wareston excuses himself because he has been “invited by a gay Mon Sirs, tol platters of *bra* Capons Sir”. In *Sauny the Scot*, Sauny tells Margaret that his master will “bring ye heam a *Braw* Bull’s Puzzle to Swaddle your Weam with”, and later declares that “it wod a bin *bra* Meat with Mustard, and she wou’d nea have it.”

4.5 **carl** *n*. 'man; churl'

Carl is found in DOST, EDD, and OED. Most examples in EDD are from Scottish sources, though EDD notes that it is also found in Northumberland, Cumberland, Westmorland, Yorkshire, Lancashire, and Derbyshire. *Carl* has the basic definition of 'man' or 'peasant', but also, as OED and DOST note, can be used to express contempt.

Examples are found in Table 4.5.

#	form	character	play	year
1	**Carles**	Peggy	*The Valiant Scot*	1637
1	**Karle**	Scathlock	*The Sad Shepherd*	1641
1	**Karle**	Wareston	*The Rump*	1660
1	**Carle**	Wariston	*The Roundheads*	1682
1	**Carle**	Sauny	*Sauny the Scot*	1698
5	**carle**	Forgus; mob members; gang members	*Ireland Preserv'd*	1705
10				

Table 4.5: *carl* 'man; churl'

Peggy in *The Valiant Scot* tells Wallace that "these Sotherne *Carles*" are trying to force her marriage to Selby. Scathlock in *The Sad Shepherd* tells his mistress that Lorel was both rude and physically threatening: "I thought the Swine'ard would ha' beat mee, Hee lookes so big! The Sturdie *Karle*, lewd Lorel!". A joke found in *The Rump* is recycled in *The Roundheads*, where a poor woman "bog'd oth *Karle* the Speaker" or "beg'd ot'h' *Carle* the Speaker", respectively. Sauny in *Sauny the Scot* asks disparagingly "what sud an awd *Carle* do with a young bonny Lass". *Carl* appears most frequently in *Ireland Preserv'd* . Three times soldiers proclaim "The Dee'l in the *Carles*", and another man declares that, "In troth, *Carle*, Wee's ne Mass sang in Darry". *Carl* also appears once in an exclamation by Forgus: "Haud, haud, *Carles*, haud, Ise eane of your eane Toon Bearnes".

Sauny and Wareston/ Wariston's uses of *carl* seem to address the second, contemptuous sense of the DOST definition, that of "an old man; a miser". The

other uses all seem to speak to a sense of either just ‘a man’ or more specifically ‘a rustic’ or ‘a peasant’, though they all seem to have negative connotations.

4.6 **crag** *n.* ‘neck’

Crag, meaning the neck, is well attested in DOST (n.2). OED provides chiefly Scottish quotations in its definition (n.2), though also finds it listed in an 1878 Cumberland glossary. EDD (sb.3) finds the word in Scotland and in most of the northern counties (Northumberland, Durham, Cumberland, Yorkshire, Lancashire), as well as in East Anglia.

A complete list of forms in my dataset is found in Table 4.6.

#	form	character	play	year
1	**crag**	Doysells	*The Vow Breaker*	1636
1	**crag**	Miles	*The Vow Breaker*	1636
1	**crag**	Friar	*The Valiant Scot*	1637
1	**crag**	Brun	*Hey for Honesty*	1651
2	**cregg**	Wareston	*The Rump*	1660
2	**Crag (1), Crags (1)**	Wariston	*The Roundheads*	1682
1	**cragg**	Hob	*The Benefice*	1689
2	**Cragg**	Sauny	*Sauny the Scot*	1698
11				

Table 4.6: *crag* ‘neck’

Typically, *crag* occurs alongside words that collocate with ‘neck’ – ‘break’, ‘save’, and ‘venture’. In *Sauny the Scot,* Sauny “venture[s]” his *Cragg*, and states that another character “can nea break his *Cragg* upon her”. In *The Roundheads*, *crag* is used twice, either in the phrase ‘save my crag’ or ‘save our crags’: “Right, but gen ya have any Querks in Law, Mr. Lyer, that will save our *Crags*, ‘twill be warth a Fee” and “Is sav’d my *Crag* fro stretching twa Inches longer than ‘twas borne”.

Some of the uses of *crag* emphasize violence or violent action. Brun in *Hey for Honesty* says that he will “mumble their *crags*”, with *mumble* meaning ‘to handle roughly or clumsily, to maul’, OED’s fourth sense for the verb *mumble*.

Exceptions include the use of *crag* by *The Valiant Scot*'s Friar, who states that "till thy awne bloud, Prove false thilk *Crag* sall nere lig dead". Hob's oath in *The Benefice* (printed 1689), "the Dule rest his *Cragg*", resembles the use by Doysells in his dreadful imitation of a Scottish dialect in *The Vow Breaker*: "An the dele an the *crag*". In the same play, Miles imitates what he believes to be the legitimate Scottish varieties he hears, and his lines contain several lexical items, including *crag*: "And you are ganging to your Lurden, that your Lurden may catch you by the *crag*..."

As shown by the dictionary evidence, *crag* was not restricted to Scotland; this is borne out by the evidence of the plays of the time. *The Valiant Scot* offers one use of *crag* by Clifford, a Northumbrian: "But return sirra, or the next time we take yee Y'are *Crag* shall pay for't". In Brome's *The Queen's Exchange* (printed 1657), featuring a Northumbrian setting, one of the clowns, whose dialogue is otherwise unmarked dialectally, states "Now the Dee'l brast *crag* of him". One of the offstage madmen in the 1653 edition of Middleton's *The Changeling* says, "Give her more onion, or the Divell put the rope about her *cragg*"; it is unclear if this character is supposed to be northern. *Crag* also appears in Spenser's *The Shepheardes Calender* (1579): "Thy Ewes, that wont to have blowen bags, Like wailful widdowes hangen their *crags*".

4.7 **deft** *adj.* 'pretty, bonny'

According to OED, *deft*, whose etymological roots apparently lie in *daft*, can mean 'pretty'. In fact, the first OED citation for sense 3 – "neat, tidy, trim, spruce; handsome, pretty" – is Jockie's "a deft lass" from the 1600 edition of *Edward IV Part I.* EDD places *deft* primarily in the northern countries – in Cumberland, Westmorland, Yorkshire, and Lancashire – as well as Leicestershire, though OED cites Ray's *North County Words* (1674-91), which declares that the word is "of general use all England over".

In contrast, SND cites no instances of *deft* 'pretty or bonny' in Scotland, but defines *daft* (also spelt *dauft*) as chiefly "foolish, stupid, wanting in intelligence, silly". The fourth definition in DOST is "thoughtless, giddy, wanton", which is echoed by the SND's third definition of "frivolous, giddy, thoughtless". The first quotation provided under this latter definition is from Allan Ramsay's 1725 play *The Gentle Shepherd*: "*Daft* Lassie, when we're naked, what'll ye say, Gif our twa Herds come brattling down the Brae, And see us sae?". In this quotation, it seems clear from the context that *daft* means 'thoughtless' or 'unthinking'.

For *deft*, we find uses within these plays that do not quite correlate with the established definitions for Scots.

Forms of *deft* are found in two representations of Scottish dialect: twice in *Edward IV* and once in *Sauny the Scot*. A chart is provided in Table 4.7:

#	form	character	play	year
1	**deft**	Jockie	*Edward IV*	1599
2	**deftly**	Jockie	*Edward IV*	1599
1	**daft**	Sauny	*Sauny the Scot*	1698
4				

Table 4.7: *deft* 'pretty'

In all three examples, *deft* is used to mean something like 'pretty', 'handsome', or 'neat'. In *Edward IV*, Jockie says that his bonnie nag "sal swum away so *deftly* as the winde", and later exclaims about his mistress Jane Shore "By the messe a *deft* lasse, Christ benison light on her". Sauny, in *Sauny the Scot*, exclaims, "O my Saul, she's ean a *daft* gued Lass". The phrase "daft lass" or "deft lass" appears in several representations of dialects of northern England, each time with a connotation of 'pretty girl' rather than the 'foolish girl' in Ramsay's example; these are discussed in greater detail in 8.5.

So, these playwrights are using variants of *deft* meaning 'pretty' or 'neat', which is a definition otherwise only attested in the north of England, in their

depictions of Scottish dialect speakers. It is difficult to ascertain if these playwrights have misplaced the word in Scotland, or if they are mimicking an instance of contemporary usage that is hitherto unattested in the reference material.

4.8 **gang** *v.* 'to go'

Ray (1674) includes *gang* in his collection of North Country words: "To Gang; to goe or walk, from the Low Dutch *Gangen*, both originally from the Saxon *Gan*, signifying to goe". DOST traces its origin to a NME form, and lists the variant forms *gange*, *gaing*, *gayng*, and states that "only the infinitive and present forms remain in use." EDD places the word in Scotland, Ireland, and across the north and midlands, with examples from the North Country (Northumberland, Durham, Cumberland, Westmorland, Yorkshire, Lancashire), as well as in Derbyshire, Lincolnshire, and East Anglia. Its usage as a dialect marker is often characteristically Scottish; this word appears far less frequently in non-Scottish dialect representations, judging from texts found on EEBO and ECCO.

Gang is frequently used in depictions of Scots, as shown in Table 4.8.

#	form	character	play	year
2	**gang (1), ganging (1)**	Bohan	*Scottish History of James IV*	1598
1	**ganging**	Doysells	*The Vow Breaker*	1636
10	**gang (7), gangan (1), ganged (1), gangand (1)**	Wallace	*The Valiant Scot*	1637
3	**gang (2), gange (1)**	Friar	*The Valiant Scot*	1637
6	**gange (3), gang (2), gangand (1)**	Peggy	*The Valiant Scot*	1637
4	**gang**	Brun	*Hey for Honesty*	1651
1	**gaing**	Folly	*The Scots Figgaries*	1652
4	**gang**	Jocky	*The Scots Figgaries*	1652
1	**gange**	Scarefoole	*The Scots Figgaries*	1652
6	**gang**	Wareston	*The Rump*	1660
3	**gang**	Squeeze (Scotch Song)	*The Projectors*	1665
4	**gang (3), out-gang (1)**	Lady Turnup (Scotch Song)	*The Morning Ramble*	1672
1	**ganging**	Betty (Scotch Song)	*A Fond Husband*	1677
1	**gangs**	Letitia (Scotch Song)	*The Virtuous Wife*	1680

2	**gang**	Chloe (Scotch Song)	*The Royalist*	1682
5	**gang (4), gang'd (1)**	Wariston	*The Roundheads*	1682
5	**gang**	Hob	*The Benefice*	1689
1	**o'regang**	Salathiel	*The Assembly*	1691
1	**gang**	Musicians (Scotch song)	*The Mock Marriage*	1696
14	**gang (6), gaung (6). gaunging (2)**	Willie	*Courtship A-la-mode*	1700
9	**gang**	2 Burg (1); Scotch countreyman (1); 4 (mob member) (1); 6th soldier (1); second woman, running (1); David Hewston (2); 2 man (2)	*Ireland Preserv'd*	1705
84				

Table 4.8: *gang* 'to go'

Appearing first in *The Scottish History of James IV, gang* appears 84 times within representations of Scots, across 17 plays. It appears frequently in Scotch Songs (12 times across six plays), and is used nine times by different Ulster-Scots characters in a variety of situations in *Ireland Preserv'd.*

It does not appear in the first edition of *Sauny the Scot*, printed in 1698. However, in the 1708 edition *gang* replaces one instance of *go*. This alteration is one of more than a dozen specific changes that flesh out the dialect representation. They indicate editorial knowledge about Scots usage, or at the very least exposure to depictions of this dialect in songs and plays.

Gang appears most frequently, 18 times, in *The Valiant Scot*, though it is not always used accurately. As discussed in 5.5.1, both Peggy and Wallace use *gangand*, 'going', with *gang* marked with the *-and* present participle suffix, though only Wallace uses it correctly; Peggy asks "Where mun I *gangand* now", where as Wallace states, "I met um playeand at bo-peep, & *gangand* out a their way". Wallace also uses an unusual past tense form, *ganged*: "but there was a cat *ganged* beyond the man a lawe".

Young Selby, the Englishman who has captured Peggy, uses one word of Scottish dialect in his exchange with Wallace:

> Young Selby: Is she your wife?
> Wallace: No.
> Young Selby: She's your whore.
> Wallace: Umh, neither.
> Young Selby: She *gangs* with me then.

Here, Selby appears to be using *gang* to mock Wallace, appropriating his language. *The Vow Breaker* also contains an instance of a non-Scottish character imitating the Scottish speech he hears. Miles imitates the speech of the supposed Scotswomen, repeating parts of the line that the disguised Doysells has just delivered:

> Doysells: An the dele an the crag ise a Lardes wife *ganging* to seeke my Lourden;
> Miles: And you are *ganging* to your Lurden, that your Lurden may catch you by the crag, and claw you are the weame, till your guts garr haggergath, haggergath.

I have included neither Miles nor Selby's uses in my dataset, as they are mere repetition of Scots words, serving a separate dramatic purpose.

Gang appears twelve times in total in Tatham's works (six times in *The Scots Figgaries* and six times in *The Rump*); in contrast, unmarked 'go' only appears once in the dialogue of the dialect speakers across both plays, in Jocky's statement "and tha Curtier noot worth tha grond a goes on" (*and the courtier not worth the ground he goes on*) in *The Scots Figgaries*. In this play, Jocky's four uses of *gang* occur in two repeated lines: "Ise *gang* aboot it stret, Ise *gang* aboot it sir" and "*Gang* awey mon, *gang* awey mon". The other two uses in this play are similar: compare Folly's "Billy sall *gaing* toll th' Contre" and Scarefoole's "Ise *gange* toll me non Contre". This same construction is repeated in *The Rump*, as well, with the 1660 and 1661 versions unusually differing in other elements of the dialectal representation here (as noted in 3.11.4.2): compare the 1660 "if I should *gang* intoll my none Countrey" to the 1661 "gif I sud *gang* intoll my none

Countrey". One of Wareston's uses of *gang* is reused by Behn in *The Roundheads*: Wareston says, "Clerk, *gang* a tyny bit farder", whereas Wariston offers the following instruction: "Scribe ---- *gang* a tiny bit farther".

While most of uses of *gang* have some sense of physical movement, two of Willie's uses speak to an alternate sense, that of losing control of one's actions, of 'going mad': "we *gang* red wood upon bonny Lasses" and "I believe they wull *gang* dauft for want o ye".

4.9 **gar** *v.* 'to cause ... to'; 'to do'

Gar, a causative verb of Scandinavian origin meaning 'to make' or 'to cause ... to', appears in many plays. In his 1674 collection of North Country words, Ray defines *to garre* as "to make, cause, or force", and traces its etymology back to (Old) Danish. DOST traces *gar* as a variant of *ger*, showing the "normal change of -*er* to -*ar*, becoming common in the 15th century"[14]. DOST lists other variant spellings of the base form as *gare*, *garr(e)*, and *gaur*. OED classifies *gar* as a dialect word found in both Scotland and northern England. The first definition provided, listed as now obsolete, is "to do, perform; to make", with the second "to make, to cause". LALME (which only collected instances of this lexeme from the north and the North Midlands) finds its distribution mainly in the north and in Scotland, with a few isolated instances found further south in counties such as Staffordshire, Derbyshire, Lincolnshire, and Suffolk.

Gar must have had clear associations with Scottish dialect, with 24 instances across 12 plays. In Barry's comedy *Ram-Alley* (1611), William Smalshankes, whose dialogue is otherwise not marked with dialect, issues a threat laced with Scottish dialect:"Ile *gar* my whyniard through your weombe"; here, this usage loosely looks like an example of the sense 'to cause, with the omission of a full verb implying *pass*, *go* is of dialectal significance.

[14] It is interesting that DOST states this, as in Scots the change is from -*ar* to -*er*. However, the effect of the collapse is the same as in England in that <er> and <ar> become equivalent graphs.

A complete list of instances of *gar* in my Scottish dataset follows in Table 4.9.

#	form	character	play	year
1	**gar**	Bohan	*Scottish History of James IV*	1598
1	**gard**	Bohan	*Scottish History of James IV*	1598
1	**gars**	Bohan	*Scottish History of James IV*	1598
1	**garr**	Miles	*The Vow Breaker*	1636
1	**gars**	Peggy	*The Valiant Scot*	1637
2	**gar**	Brun	*Hey for Honesty*	1651
1	**gars**	Brun	*Hey for Honesty*	1651
3	**gar**	Jocky	*Scots Figgaries*	1652
1	**gar**	Folly	*Scots Figgaries*	1652
1	**gar**	Wareston	*The Rump*	1660
1	**gard**	Wareston	*The Rump*	1660
2	**garr, gare**	a Scotchman	*A Short Representation...*	1660
1	**gard**	Lady Turnup (Scotch Song)	*The Morning Ramble*	1672
1	**garr**	Wariston	*The Roundheads*	1682
1	**gar**	Hob	*The Benefice*	1689
2	**gar**	Sauny	*Sauny the Scot*	1698
1	**gar**	Willie Beetlehead	*Courtship A-la-mode*	1700
2	**gaur**	Willie Beetlehead	*Courtship A-la-mode*	1700

Table 4.9: *gar* 'to cause ... to'; 'to do'

In two of these plays, *gar* is incorrectly used. In *Hey for Honesty* (printed 1651), *gar* is used to mean 'say' ("What *gars* great Higgen?") or 'go' ("*Gar* away"). In *The Scots Figgaries* (1652), one use of *gar* suggests a sense of 'brought': "On's mon what *gar* thee in these pickle? how camst hither?".

In several of these examples *gar* is used in the now-obsolete sense of 'to do; perform'. Peggy uses gar in *The Valiant Scot* (1637): "what *gars* this lewde?" – where presumably a noun ('man'? 'knave'?) has been accidentally omitted. In *The Vow Breaker* (1636), Miles, a non-Scottish speaker, states that their "guts *garr* haggergath, haggergath". Here, *garr* must mean 'go', presumably an extension of the 'do; perform' usage: their insides will perform somersaults. Jocky's dialogue contains two instances of *gar* where other attested meanings do not fit:

bet tha plaggy shriefe ***gar*** tham tack fro me, an sent me toll tha gale,
but the plaguey sheriff **gar** *them take from me, and sent me to the jail*

... an thay ***gar*** tack awey me brawery;
... and they **gar** *take away my bravery*

In these two examples, *gar* is used eccentrically. Possibly the uses here parallel that of the affirmative, non-emphatic use of periphrastic *do* (from the earlier sense of 'do; perform'), resulting in a construction meant to mean something like "the plaguey sheriff did them take from me" or "and they did take away my bravery".

The usual uses of *gar* outweigh the eccentric ones, however. In *The Scottish History of James IV* (1598), *gar* is used to mean 'to cause ... to':

ay ***gar*** the recon me nene of thay friend by the mary masse sall I
I ***cause*** *thee* ***to*** *reckon me none of thy friend by the merry mass shall I*

Thou wilt not threap me, this whiniard has ***gard*** many better mẽ[n] to lope thẽ[n] thou
Thou will not chide me, this sword has ***caused*** *many better men* ***to*** *jump than thou*

What ***gars*** this din of mirk and balefull harme...
What ***causes*** *this noise of dark and destructive harm* ***to****...*

The Rump (1660) features *gar* twice in the same section of dialogue: a story which is very much in the vein of the scatological humour prevalent at the time[15]. In both examples *gar* is used with the sense 'to cause ... to':

Geod feath Sirs, and Ile tell you a blithe tale of a Scottish Puddin, will ***gar*** ye aw tell laugh, Sirs.

an heed gee her noought Whilke ***gard*** her to let a crack

[15] See 4.27.9, or consult Alexander Brome's 1662 collection of "the choycest poems and songs relating to the late times by the most eminent wits" for more examples.

In contrast, in Behn's 1682 adaptation of *The Rump*, *gar* is used to mean something more like 'perform': "Wons and theys ***garr*** the Loosey Proverb on't te..." (with a probable gloss of *they shall **perform** or **prove** the Lousy Proverb on it, too*).

Gar is used twice in the brief work *A Short Representation Performed Before the Lord Generall Monck* (1660): "introath friend wee's come for nething else but to *garr* the General take notice of our loove" and "what *gare's* us be silent?". Both times it is used in the sense of 'to cause ... to'.

Hob-Nail, Marchurch's hind-servant in *The Benefice* (printed 1689), uses *gar* in a threat: "I'se *gar* mumble the Sloven if he Gang this way". Here, there is evidence of a variant complementation pattern, rather than with direct object immediately following the main verb, as in "I shall make the knave mumble". *Gar* also appears in the Scotch Song in *The Morning Ramble* (1672): "He *gard* them lig alang".

Sauny uses it twice in *Sauny the Scot*, in both cases meaning 'to cause .... to': "I'se *gar* her gea wuth me" and "you'l *gar* me strike ye". Likewise, in *Courtship A-la-mode*, as shown in the following examples, with glosses provided in italics:

> Begoad Sir I wull feght we au her freins, and ***gar*** 'em gee consent
> *By God, Sir, I will fight with all her friends, and* **make** *them give consent*
>
> this letter will ***gaur*** me new Maister loup out o' his skin for faunness
> *This letter will* **make** *my new master jump out of his skin for fondness*
>
> I'll ***gaur*** ye au loap like Dinmonts
> *I will* **make** *you all jump like Dinmonts*

4.10 **gif** *conj.* 'if'

OED states that *gif* /gɪf/ is "an alteration of ME *ȝif* 'if'", and that "probably it was due to the influence of *give*, in which a form with a guttural similarly took the place of an earlier form with a palatal". OED traces *gif* only to the fifteenth century, though DOST provides several quotations from the late fourteenth century:

> 1384: *Giffe* the trewis sall stande, it lyes to yhour heenes
>
> 1398: *Gife* quiete and trewis be betwix Ingland and Scotland
>
> 1399: *Gif* the fiffe mark … mai be recuverit of him.

EDD finds *gif* across Scotland, as well as in Ireland, the north of England (Northumberland, Cumberland, Westmorland, Yorkshire, Lancashire), and Lincolnshire. One of its Lincolnshire examples (listed under the entry for *if*) dates from the seventeenth century, found in Skinner's etymological dictionary of English, published posthumously in 1671. Another EDD example dates to the same period, from Bishop William Nicolson's 1677 manuscript of Cumbrian dialect words, which was printed in the nineteenth century. Ray refers to this form in his 1674 collection of North Country words: "*Gin*, *gif*: In the old Saxon is Gif, from whence the word *If* is made". Still, the word appears to have strong Scottish associations; in LAOS, the wide majority of *if* forms are *gif* variants. In a study of texts from 1380-1500, Williamson (2002: 280) notes the prevalence of *gif* in Scotland, compared to *if* variants in northern England.

While *gif* is attested in reference works, the data provided in Table 4.10 suggests that, in the plays of the seventeenth century, *gif* may have been considered a stereotypical feature.

#	form	character	play	year
1	**gif**	Bohan	*Scottish History of James IV*	1598
2	**gif (1), giffe (1)**	Friar	*The Valiant Scot*	1637
2	**giff (1), giffe (1)**	Wallace	*The Valiant Scot*	1637

#	form	character	play	year
1	**gif**	Scotch apothecary	*The Distracted State*	1651
3	**gif**	Scarefoole	*The Scots Figgaries*	1652
8	**gif**	Folly	*The Scots Figgaries*	1652
14	**gif**	Billy	*The Scots Figgaries*	1652
18	**gif**	Jocky	*The Scots Figgaries*	1652
3	**gif**	Wareston	*The Rump*	1660
2	**gif**	Betty (Scotch Song)	*A Fond Husband*	1677
54				

Table 4.10: *gif* 'if'

These examples are overwhelmingly those of Tatham: *The Scots Figgaries* accounts for 43 examples of *gif*, and Tatham's works contain 47 of the total 54 instances of *gif*. In *The Rump*, in the 1661 edition there are three instances of *gif* 'if', including one altered to *gif* from *if* in the 1660 edition. This particular line of dialogue also has another instance of augmented dialect representation, where *should* becomes *sud*: "*gif* I *sud* gang intoll my none Countrey".

The Scots Figgaries also includes <g> word-initially in other words beginning with <i>, namely, *gin* 'in' and *gis* 'is': i.e. "Thes *gis* tha Doctor" for "This *is* the doctor". These other words with unetymological <g> could be a result of analogy: if English 'if' is Scots 'gif', as is generally known and acknowledged, then perhaps Tatham assumed that this addition of /g/ continued in Scots with other high frequency, short words, with English 'in' becoming Scots 'gin', and so on. Tatham appears to have based his assumption on the *gif* forms that are attested in Scotland.

4.11 **gin** *conj*. 'if'

DOST defines *gin* as a variant of *gif, give* 'if', and provides citations from as early as 1622: "The said Jon Dun being accusit *gin* he saw the said Cristiane Watsoune realie do the samyn … or not". Many citations are provided by SND, which notes that this form is also found in English dialects. This finding is confirmed by EDD, which shows the form appears across Scotland and in the North Country

(Northumberland, Durham, Cumberland, Yorkshire, Lancashire). EDD finds questionable citations in Gloucestershire and Somerset, though OED cites the form in an 1842 Gloucestershire glossary.[16] However, it is clear that the form is most common in the north. OED also finds the word attested in the north of England, with a first citation from Ray's 1674 collection of North Country words, cited in 4.10.

The etymology of the form remains uncertain. OED describes it as "of obscure origin". Both OED and SND hypothesize that, and DOST simply accepts, the conjunction *gin* may be related to *gif* 'if' (though SND highlights problems with this explanation, including a lack of examples showing the development), or that it has developed from the preposition *gin*, which itself developed from the preposition *again*. SND also notes the possibility that *gin* "might be a reduction of *gif* and *an*".

Forms of *gin* are found in Table 4.11.

#	form	character	play	year
2	**gin, ginne**	Jockie	*Edward IV*	1599
1	**gin**	Scotch apothecary	*The Distracted State*	1651
2	**Gin**	Jocky	*The Scots Figgaries*	1652
1	**gan**	Sir Jolly (Scotch Song)	*The Souldiers Fortune*	1681
2	**gen**	Charlot	*The City Heiress*	1682
4	**gen**	Wariston	*The Roundheads*	1682
1	**gin**	Jockey/ Jenny (Scotch Song)	*A Fool's Preferment*	1688
10	**gin**	Sauny	*Sauny the Scot*	1698
10	**gin**	Willie Beetlehead	*Courtship A-la-mode*	1700
33				

Table 4.11: *gin* 'if'

[16] This glossary, a very basic word list of "provincialisms used in Glocestershire [sic]", was published in a collection of Gloucestershire-related material which was in the possession of John Delafield Phelps. This word list contains a widely-varying group of words, some of which seem to be colloquial forms or examples of slang, such as *breadbasket* 'stomach'. Other forms seem to provide evidence for attested Gloucestershire phonological features, including the voicing of voiceless fricatives in *venger* 'finger' *veirs* 'firs', and *vlannen* 'flannel'. Despite the eclectic nature of the glossary, I see no reason to disbelieve its assertion that *gin* was found in Gloucestershire.

Thirty-three examples of *gin* are found in eight plays. Except for in Tatham's *The Distracted State* and *The Scots Figgaries*, there is no overlap between the two Scottish lexemes for 'if', *gin* and *gif*; where you find *gif*, you do not find *gin*. In *The Distracted State*, *gin* is used once, in a conditional clause in the final lines of the (poisoned) apothecary: "god *gin* the King wud gi me bet een hauf ooer toll live bet I cud speak" *God, if the King would give me but one half hour to live but I could speak*.

The Scots Figgaries has two uses of the spelling *gin* for 'in', rather than for 'if': **"*Gin*** me Moders Weomb" ***In*** *my mother's womb* and "Geod feith ***gin*** meny sir" *Good faith* ***in*** *many, Sir.* These unusual spellings are discussed in 4.10.

In *Edward IV* (1599), Jockie's request for Jane Shore's assistance in reclaiming his land begins, "Mistresse gude faith *gin* yeele help me til my laund ...". Clearly, *gin* means 'if' here, though in the 1605 edition *gin* is changed to *give*. If *give* is intended as a verb, this would render the sentence ungrammatical. DOST, however, suggests the spelling *give* can be a variant of *gif*. Under the entry for *give*, conj., it provides a handful of seventeenth-century examples of *give* spellings, including the following from the 1629 *Book of Carlaverock*: "*Give* your Lordship doe, I shall chalange yow for wnkindnes".

Behn uses *gen* spellings in both *The City Heiress* and *The Roundheads*: "Ah, Jenny, *gen* your Eyes do kill" and "Mary Sir, and he's a brave Mon, but *gen* I may cooncel" respectively. In *The City Heiress*, *gen* is definitely the equivalent of *gin* 'if' – not, as Butler et al. (2005) claim, an uncapitalised surname. The modal in the following line only makes sense as part of a conditional clause with *gen* 'if', though it remains an odd construction: "Ah, Jenny, *gen* your Eyes do kill, You'll let me tell my pain". The word's appearance in *The Roundheads* corroborates this conclusion. However, the song does appear in an expanded version as "The Loves of Jockey and Jenny: Or, The Scotch Wedding" (1685), where the typeface and punctuation suggests that "Gin" is a surname: "Ah! Jenny Gin, your Eyn do

kill". It seems likely here that either the author or printer reanalysed the text when confronted with an unfamiliar dialect representation.

Otway uses a *gan* spelling in the Scotch Song in *The Souldiers Fortune* (1681): "Bonney Lass *gan* thou wert mine". This spelling is possibly a misprint, as Butler et al. (2005) provide the text of the score, which was published separately and contains the rest of the song, with the second verse starting, "Bonny Lad, *gin* thou wert mine".

4.12 **jo** *n*. 'sweetheart, lover'; 'dear'

OED and DOST trace the origins of the term of endearment *jo* back to the Scottish form of the noun 'joy'; both sources find it used through the nineteenth century. EDD finds this term of endearment in Scotland and the North Country; all the quotations provided by OED are Scottish ones.

Table 4.12 provides a list of the forms of *jo* in this dataset:

#	form	character	play	year
1	**Jo**	Peggy	*The Valiant Scot*	1637
1	**Jo**	Folly	*The Scots Figgaries*	1652
1	**Jo**	Squeeze	*The Projectors*	1665
3	**Jo**	Dorothy	*Trick for Trick*	1678
3	**Jo**	Willie	*Courtship A-la-mode*	1700

Table 4.12: *jo* 'sweetheart'

There are five plays featuring instances of *jo* (all capitalised in the texts themselves): *The Valiant Scot, The Scots Figgaries*, *The Projectors*, *Trick for Trick*, and *Courtship A-la-mode*. In *The Projectors* and *Trick for Trick*, it appears within a Scotch Song. In *The Scots Figgaries, Jo* appears in the first line of a Scotch Song ("Cam lend, lend y'ar lugs *Joes*"), and Folly also calls a servant "swett hart, my *Jo*". Peggy refers to "Wallace my Jo" in *The Valiant Scot*, and in *Courtship A-la-mode* Willie thrice refers to his sweetheart Betty as *Jo*, telling her at one point to

"Come awau me *Jo*, be me Saul we sall be aus merry aus fifty beggars aut au fair".

4.13 **ken** *v*. 'to know'

This word is well-attested in DOST and SND. EDD defines *ken* as "To know, have knowledge of; to be acquainted with; to recognize", and finds this form not only in Scotland, but also in Ireland and the north of England (Northumberland, Durham, Cumberland, Yorkshire, Lancashire), as well as in Lincolnshire, Northamptonshire, Gloucestershire, Devon, and Cornwall. It is common in contemporary usage in Scotland. Forms of *ken* are found in Table 4.13 below.

#	form	character	play	year
1	**ken**	Bohan	*Scottish History of James IV*	1598
1	**ken**	1st Gent	*Eastward Ho*	1605
2	**ken**	Wallace	*The Valiant Scot*	1637
1	**ken**	Scarefoole	*The Scots Figgaries*	1652
11	**ken**	Jocky	*The Scots Figgaries*	1652
5	**ken (4), kne (1, misprint)**	Folly	*The Scots Figgaries*	1652
1	**kens**	Jocky	*The Scots Figgaries*	1652
1	**kenst**	Folly	*The Scots Figgaries*	1652
1	**ken**	a Scotchman	*A Short Representation...*	1660
3	**ken (2), kenn (1)**	Wareston	*The Rump*	1660
1	**kend**	Wariston	*The Roundheads*	1682
3	**ken**	Hob	*The Benefice*	1689
1	**ken**	Covenant	*The Assembly*	1691
1	**kenn**	Moderator	*The Assembly*	1691
1	**ken**	Scotch Song	*The Marriage Hater Match'd*	1692
5	**ken**	Sauny	*Sauny the Scot*	1698
1	**kens**	Madam la Marquise (Scotch Song)	*The Campaigners*	1698
6	**ken**	Willie Beetlehead	*Courtship A-la-mode*	1700
2	**kent**	Willie Beetlehead	*Courtship A-la-mode*	1700
1	**ken**	Forgus	*Ireland Preserv'd*	1705
1	**ken**	Spy	*Ireland Preserv'd*	1705
1	**kenn**	Scotch countrywoman	*Ireland Preserv'd*	1705
2	**kenn, ken**	Scotch countreyman	*Ireland Preserv'd*	1705

Table 4.13: *ken* 'to know'

Ken is a commonly used lexical item, with 53 instances appearing across 14 plays. Outside of *The Scots Figgaries*, which accounts for 19 instances in total, *Courtship A-la-mode* shows the highest use of *ken* by any single play, with eight forms used by Willie. In the Scotch Song in *The Campaigners*, *ken* is the only specifically Scottish lexical item present excepting the proper names *Jockey*, *Jemmy*, and *Sawney*.

Ken appears in Ben Jonson's dialect representation of Scots in *Eastward Ho* (1605), in the phrase "I *ken* the man weel". This collocation of *ken* with *weel* 'well' is common, and is found in several other plays. It is perhaps echoed by Wallace in his imitation within *The Valiant Scot*: "I *ken* it vary weel" and "I *ken* ye vary weel". Jockey in *The Scots Figgaries* says, among other things, "I *ken* your honor mickle weele", "I *ken* your honor weele enough", "at a plece your honour *kens* mickle weele", and "They *ken* me sa weel sir". In *The Rump*, Wareston says "Geod feath weel sed ye *ken* well enough", where the second 'well' is dialectally unmarked, and also "my Leords yee *kenn* him weele enough", where "well" is marked. Sauny in *Sauny the Scot* declares "You *ken* very well she was awway's a lying Quean when she was Living, and wull ye believe her now she's Dead?". In *Ireland Preserv'd*, a Scotch Man says, "I *ken* weell"

4.14 **kirk** *n.* 'church'

Kirk is well-attested in DOST, which classifies the form as "chiefly Scottish" when it is found in literary use after the fourteenth century. DOST also notes that it is "common also in the modern dialects of north and northeast midland England", but this is not born out by the evidence of SED where it is shown as common only in Northumberland and is absent from the NE midlands. *Kirk* is found in place names in the North of England (e.g. Kirkdale and Kirkby, both in Lancashire, and Kirkoswald in Cumberland), and was in current use in the ME period there. OED's entry for *kirk* provides some seventeenth-century usages of the word by non-Scottish authors, but these works tend to focus on theological matters. As, in modern usage, the term refers to both the buildings used by the

Church of Scotland and the Presbyterian church itself, it is patently Scottish, and not nearly as closely tied to northern England. The characters in my dataset rarely refer to 'church', except in *The Assembly* (which focuses on the Church of Scotland), so the fact that *kirk* is found relatively few times in my dataset can be explained by a lack of possible contexts. A complete list of forms is found in Table 4.14:

#	form	character	play	year
1	**Kirke**	Friar	*The Valiant Scot*	1637
2	**Kirke**	Peggy	*The Valiant Scot*	1637
1	**Kirk**	Folly	*The Scots Figgaries*	1652
1	**Kirke**	Billy	*The Scots Figgaries*	1652
1	**kirke**	Fidlers (Scotch Song)	*The Scots Figgaries*	1652
1	**Kirkmon**	Jocky	*The Scots Figgaries*	1652
1	**Kirk**	Lady Turnup (Scotch Song)	*The Morning Ramble*	1672
4	**Kirk**	Willie Beetlehead	*Courtship A-la-mode*	1700
12				

Table 4.14: *Kirk* 'church'

Peggy, in *The Valiant Scot*, refers to the kirk as the place for weddings, crying that the Englishmen "wad force mee gang untill the *Kirke*, and marry Selby", and declares that "I'de rather be a Scutchman's whore, then an Englishmans waife, and be dreave toth' *Kirke* with helters". Willie in *Courtship A-la-mode* is the single character who uses *kirk* the most, with four instances. Three of the references also focus on the *kirk* being the setting for weddings. He tries to convince Betty to sleep with him before being married, with one of his arguments being purely financial: "we sall save the expences o'*Kirk*-fees". He also admonishes his master to "come awau tea the *Kirk* we her", and gives him wooing techniques: "Hear ye, Sir, tauke her in yer arms this way, aun be me saul shoe wull grow sua tame, ye may lead her tea the *Kirk* in au string, she wull gaung wood toe be mairied upon ye". The fourth usage describes a lecherous young chaplain, "au caunting young loun as is in au the *kirk* again". This type of chaplain is found in the Scotch Song in *The Morning Ramble*, where he is one of the many men having sex with Willie's wife: "Mass Johnne e're he wends to *Kirk*

Mun con a point we her" (*The minister before he goes to church must spend some time [point = quarter of an hour] with her*).

The other uses of *kirk* are relatively straightforward, and tend to refer to the kirk as an institution, rather than as a building. The Fryer's Ghost in *The Valiant Scot* delivers the following message from beyond the grave: "mare need hast thou to serve God in the *Kirke*". In *The Scots Figgaries*, Folly states that England is "mickle sick", particularly "o tha *Kirke*, an tha Law". One of Jocky and Billy's patients/ victims was a *Kirkmon*, and when selling their services they had appealed to any "*Kirke* Prest" in the crowd. The Scotch Song in *The Scots Figgaries* describes how Jocky (the main character of the song, rather than of the play) "fooght for the *Kirke*, bet a plunder'd tha Quire".

4.15 **lig** *v.* 'to lie (down), to recline'

Lig, from ON *liggia* and commonly defined as 'to lie down', is attested in OED, SND, DOST. DOST states that in modern Scots *lig* is found in 'chiefly literary' settings, in contrast to its more widespread use in dialects of the north and northern midlands. OED does not have a separate entry for *lig*, but *lig* forms are found under *lie* (v.1). It is used in Spenser's *The Shepheardes Calender*, and Ray includes *lig*, defined as "to lye", in his 1674 collection of North Country words. In Brome's *The English Moor* (1659), Milicent sings several snippets of bawdy and rude songs, including one with the line, "Make thy bed fine and soft I'le *lig* with thee"; presumably this song is a Scotch Song or a northern one.

A complete list of *lig* forms is found in Table 4.15.

#	form	character	play	year
1	**lig**	Jockie	*Edward IV*	1599
1	**ligge**	Captain Jamy	*Henry V*	1623
1	**lig**	Friar	*The Valiant Scot*	1637
1	**ligs**	Peggy	*The Valiant Scot*	1637
1	**liggand**	Wallace	*The Valiant Scot*	1637
1	**lig**	Lady Turnup (Scotch Song)	*The Morning Ramble*	1672

2	**ligg**	Letitia (Scotch Song)	*The Virtuous Wife*	1680
1	**ligs**	Scotch Song	*The Marriage Hater Match'd*	1692
1	**ligby**	Sauny	*Sauny the Scot*	1698
1	**ligg**	3 Burg	*Ireland Preserv'd*	1705
1	**ligg**	2 Burg	*Ireland Preserv'd*	1705
12				

Table 4.15: *lig* 'to lie down'

In *Edward IV*, Jockie, speaking to Mistress Blage, tells her that his mistress will "*lig* we ye to night mastres". In contrast, in *Henry V* Captain Jamy provides a gloss for the phrase including *lig* immediately after using it: "By the Mes, ere theise eyes of mine take themselves to slomber, ayle de gud service, or Ile *ligge* i'th' grund for it; ay, or goe to death". Here, Captain Jamy is using the second part of DOST's first definition for *lig*: "to lie in the grave, be buried". *Ligge* is the only lexical item used by Captain Jamy in his short passage of dialogue, so perhaps here Shakespeare is hedging his bets and providing a gloss of a term that is perhaps less commonly used.

In *The Valiant Scot*, Wallace uses the lexical item *lig* with a present participle suffix -*and* (this suffix is discussed in detail in 5.5.1): "I doubt ye be three fawse knaves *liggand* yare heads together about na gudenes, a traytors head ist not?". Peggy, when she thinks that her love Wallace has died, instead of Selby, cries, "Wa is me, *ligs* my luife on the cawd ground, Let me come kisse his frosty mouth". The Friar, speaking in verse, gives Wallace a prediction of how their futures are intertwined: "till thy awne bloud, Prove false thilk Crag sall nere *lig* dead".

The use of *lig* in the Scotch Song in *The Morning Ramble* contains overtones of violence, with the the opponents of the main character lying down on the ground after losing a fight: "And if he strave with any ean, He gard them *lig* alang."

DOST also defines *lig* as "to lie, for sexual intercourse, with a mistress". Very few of these examples have this salacious meaning. In the Scotch Song in *The*

Virtuous Wife, the character Sawney "*liggs* by another Lasse"; likewise, in the Scotch Song in *The Marriage Hater Match'd*, Peggy "*Ligs* in anothers Arms". Yet, these two examples, while romantic in nature, are not overtly sexual. The closest thing to this bawdy air is provided by Sauny in *Sauny the Scot*, a character who can be counted on to provide crude comments:

> Beaufoy: Petruchio! I remember him now, How does thy Master?
> Sauny: Marry Sir, he means to make one of your Lasses his Wanch, that is his Love and his *Ligby*.
> Beaufoy: You are a Sawcy Rogue.

Sauny is called "Sawcy" by Lord Beaufoy here, and *ligby* must be the offending word. *Ligby*, also found in Brome's depiction of Northern English in *The Northern Lasse* (1632), means, as the OED puts it, "a bedfellow; a mistress, concubine". The OED also cites the 1876 Whitby Glossary, which defines a *Lig-beside* or *Lig-by* as a concubine.

4.16 **loon** *n.* 'rascal, scoundrel'

OED classifies *loon* as a Scottish and northern dialect word, and this is confirmed by the EDD, who finds *loon* in Scotland, Ireland, Northumberland, Cumberland, Yorkshire, Northamptonshire, Warwickshire, and Shropshire. The variant spellings *loun* and *lown* are found in Scotland and the North Country. It is principally defined as "a rascal, scoundrel, scamp", but is also found to mean a man, or a peasant or servant. DOST, with a headword of *loun* or *lown*, defines the term as a 'fellow of the lower orders' in general, but also as word with the negative connotations of 'rogue', 'rascal' or 'villain.' DOST notes that the word is often used in combination with another 'abusive expression', as in the phrase 'limmer lown', which will be discussed below, or 'cucold lowne'

DOST highlights the literary uses of *loon* or *lowne* in EMod works as a feature of dialect representation of Scottish and English dialects. *Loon* does appear to be only a dialect word in the seventeenth century.

In a poem in a 1661 collection of George Wharton, the Scottishness of *loon* is clear enough, occurring alongside other Scottish dialect words: “Now fie upon him, Loon! the Kirke did cry”. In contrast, a 1666 translation of Horace – “Are rustick *Loons* less pollent at the sports ...” – seems more to suggest rustic and rural connotations, not specifically northern or Scottish ones. Yet, in Richard Burridge’s satirical work “The Shoemaker beyond his last” (1700), he refers to “A Tallow-Chandler thinking that he may, Like Marsyas, with great Appollo play, Makes silly Ballads to old Womens Tunes, On Country Bumpkins, Jilts, and Scottish *Loons*”. Here, the connection to Scotland is made explicit with the reference to ‘Scottish Loons’. However, in George Powell’s play *A Very Good Wife* (1693), there is a reference to “this Irish Loon, [who] is an Impudent Imposter”. While the word is mainly linked with the north, it seems not to be exclusively so. In the late seventeenth century, *loon* appears in many ballads, those political and topical and those more concerned with romance and love; I will discuss a selection of these here. Most of these songs have overtly Scottish connections. There is reference to the “Scottish *loon*” in the ballad of “Bothwell-Bridge” (1679), and to “Scotch Kirk *Loons*” in “Monmouth’s downfal, or, The Royal Victory” (1685). In “The Loyal Scot” (1682), *loon* is used three times: “nene but Knaves and Perjur’d *Loons* do rule the Roast”; “The falsest *Loon* that ever Envy destin’d Damn’d....”; and “for being sike a senseless *Loon*”. In “The loves of Jockey and Jenny: or, The Scotch Wedding” (1684-85), there is talk of the necessity of forsaking one’s “*Loons* and Lubber-*Loons*”. “The Rebel Captive” (1685) refers to the captured Scot, Argile, as a *loon*: “in a disguise the *Loon* thought to shun his Fate”. In “The unfortunate Welch-man; or, The untimely death of Scotch Jockey” (1685-88), the thieving Scotsman sneaks out without paying: “like a false *Loon* he slipt out of the door”. The ballad “A New Scotch Whim” (1693) contains a phrase reused (and partially rewritten) by Burns – “If e’er Ise ken Syke a Parcel of *Loons* in a Nation” – along with three other instances of *loon*: “For the *Loons* of the Kirk”; “Lubber-*Loons* ha’ got weel by the Barter; For our geud valiant prince Takes the faw *Loon* of France”. Some of these instances, such those as in “The Loves of Jockey and Jenny” and

“Bothwell-Bridge”, seem to be used to mean ‘men’ in a general sense, whereas other instances seem to correspond to the dominant, more negative meaning.

Examples of *loon* in my dataset can be found in Table 4.16:

#	form	character	play	year
1	**loune**	Jockie	*Edward IV*	1599
2	**lowne, loone**	Peggy	*The Valiant Scot*	1637
2	**lowne**	Wallace	*The Valiant Scot*	1637
1	**loone**	Scotch apothecary	*The Distracted State*	1651
2	**lowne, loone**	Wareston	*The Rump*	1660
6	**Loone (3), Loon (1), Loones (1), Loons (1)**	Wariston	*The Roundheads*	1682
1	**loun**	Willie Beetlehead	*Courtship A-la-mode*	1700
1	**loones**	Mob	*Ireland Preserv’d*	1705
16				

Table 4.16: *loon* ‘rascal, scoundrel’

As seen above in the phrase “ the faw *Loon* of France” in the song “A New Scotch Whim”, *loon* can be used by Scottish characters to refer to those who are not Scottish. For instance, a member of a mob (presumably Ulster Scots) in *Ireland Preserv’d* declares that “The *Loones* ne gang into’ll our Gates”. *Loones* here refers to the Catholic Irish; another member of the mob declares, “Wee’s not lat Papery into the Town”.

Willie in *Courtship A-la-mode* describes a young Scottish clergyman as “au caunting young *loun*”. Jockie’s first lines in *Edward IV* are a plea for help against the actions of “the faulse *loune* Billie Grime of Glendale”. The collocation of ‘foul loon’ appears in Behn’s *The Roundheads*, where Wariston thrice describes characters as ‘foul loons’ (or, in his dialect representation, a “faud Loone”; see 6.8.5 for a full discussion of the *faud* spelling). He also declares that he does not love the “limmer Loone”, and once he stacks both modifiers, describing Cromwell as “th’ faudest limmer *Loon* that ever cam intol our Country”. Wariston also uses *loon* twice without any modifiers. In this same play, Loveless, a non-Scottish character, also uses the word *loone*, but does so in specific

reference to Wariston, describing him as a fool: “Or betray some honest Gentleman, on purpose to gratifie the *Loone*”.

In *The Valiant Scot*, in all instances *loon* collocates with *foul* rather than with *false*. Peggy speaks of “that foule *loone*” and the “foule meazel’d *lowne*”: “whare’s hee? wha is that foule *loone* amang you, that mun be my hangman?” and “hang thee foule meazel’d *lowne*” Wallace, in disguise, also refers to a “foule *lowne*” in one of his stories, and also refers to “that Lowne Wallace”

As seen in *The Roundheads*, ‘limmer loon’ was a phrase commonly used in representations of Scots. *Limmer* is attested in SND, and is classified by the OED and EDD as a Scottish and northern form. Wallace uses the term “lymmerlike” in *The Valiant Scot*. *Limmer* is still used today, often in the sense of a slattern or loose woman. The Apothecary’s last words before he dies in *The Distracted State* are “thau limmer loone”. In *The Rump*, the phrase ‘limmer loon’ is used twice, when Cromwell is described as “the veryest Limmer *Loone* that ere cam intoll our Countrey” and again to describe another “limmer lowne”. “Limmer loon” is used by a non-Scottish character in *The Sad Shepherd*; when Earine, whose dialogue is not usually marked for dialect, refuses the advances of Lorel, she fills her speech with dialectal forms (some of which are incorrectly used, like *gar* and *fewmand*, as discussed in 8.7 and 9.5), calling him “limmer lowne”.

4.17 **lug** *n.* ‘ear’

According to DOST, *lug* ‘ear’ had two distinct senses, with the dominant one being that of the external body part (rather than that of ‘the organ of hearing’). EDD finds *lug* (sb.2) in Scotland, Ireland, and in England from the north down to Lincoln and East Anglia.

OED (*lug* n. 2.2) states that *lug* first appeared in the sixteenth century, and is of obscure etymology. It also notes that some EMod writers used *lug* as slang rather than as a regionalism, and provide quotations from works by authors

such as Robert Greene and Ben Jonson to that effect. Likewise, Pistol, in Shakespeare's *Henry V* (the 1600 edition), uses *lug*: "Base slave, callest thou me hoste? Now by gads *lugges* I sweare, I scorne the title, Nor shall my Nell keepe lodging." Carelesse in Brome's *The Madd Couple Well Matcht* (published 1653) angrily tells another character that he will take him "by the *luggs*". Other quotations under the aforementioned OED entry are Scottish in origin, by Ramsay, Burns, Scott, and Stevenson.

The word is used by Scots in written texts (for example, in Fowler's 1581 pamphlet: "I sal pluk your *Luggs*", and in Hume's 1629 account of flytting, with "his *lugs* baith lang and leane wha cannot lacke…"), as well by those imitating them or describing them. In a poem that is found in a 1568 collection of his work, Skelton refers to the "wretched scottes", and says to one that he will "shrewe thy scottishe *lugges*, thy munpynnys and thy crag".

Examples of *lug* can be found in Table 4.17:

#	form	character	play	year
1	**lugg's**	Scotch Apothecary	*The Distracted State*	1651
1	**lug**	Folly	*The Scots Figgaries*	1652
1	**lugs**	Billy	*The Scots Figgaries*	1652
1	**lugs**	Fidlers (Scotch Song)	*The Scots Figgaries*	1652
2	**lugs, lug**	Jocky	*The Scots Figgaries*	1652
1	**Lugs**	Wareston	*The Rump*	1660
3	**Luggs (2), Lugs (1)**	Wariston	*The Roundheads*	1682
6	**Luggs**	Sauny	*Sauny the Scot*	1698
2	**lug**	Willie Beetlehead	*Courtship A-la-mode*	1700
18				

Table 4.17: *lug* 'ear'

In these plays, *lug* only appears in the mouths of the Scottish characters whose dialogue is marked with dialect representation.

In *The Distracted State*, the line of dialogue containing *lug* is almost unintelligible, thanks both to misprints and to the method of dialect

representation itself. In response to the news that Cleander desires his help to murder the king, the Scotch apothecary exclaims:

> Aw King Mon! dee'l aw me saw bet I, au me Countramen ha peyson'd thra better Kingdoms as this, au gif I sud noow for aw King the Deel au me faw *lugg's*.

Glossed, this line would appear to mean:

> *A king, man! Devil have my soul but I, and my countrymen have poisoned three better kingdoms than this, and if I should now for a King the devil have my foul ears.*

Tatham continues to use *lug* in his other plays, though in different ways. In *The Scots Figgaries*, Jocky's first lines (which are also the first lines of the play itself) contain a reference to lug as a body part: "... like an Erivigg intoll a mons *lug*, and sall as herdly be gat oout". Jocky also says that his friend had his coat "pul'd ore his *lugs*". Billy uses *lug* in this manner:

> Gif any emong ye bien troubl'd wy tha neyce o Organs in your ***lugs***, thes poowder curs you for ever.
> *If any among you be troubled with the noise of organs in your* ***lugs****, this powder cures you forever*.

In the Scotch Song, *lug* is used to mean the organ of hearing: "Cam lend, lend y'ar *lugs* Joes, an Ise speeke a song". Finally, Folly uses *lug* in an oath, one invoking the devil: "The fow Deele tack thy large *lug*".

Wareston's only use of *lug* in *The Rump* is directly echoed by Wariston in Behn's *The Roundheads*:

> Wareston (*The Rump*): Geod Consideration my geod Loord; bred Sir, that Cromwell was the veryest Limmer Loone that ere cam intoll our Countrey, the faw Deel has tane him bith *Lugs* by this time for robbing so rich a Countrey; bred Sirs, I.

> Wariston (*The Roundheads*): Right, my gued Loord, 'sbred, that Cromwel was th' faudest[17] limmer Loon that ever cam intol our Country, the faud Diel has tane him by th' *luggs* for robbing our Houses and Land.

Behn maintains much of Tatham's original line of dialogue here. Behn employs the term twice more in her adaptation: once in the same vein as Tatham's original use, with Wariston's hope that "the muckle Diel pull him out by the *Lugs*", and the other more difficult to parse*:* "Wons and theys garr the Loosey Proverb on't te, When Loons gang together by th' *Luggs*, gued men get their ene". Behn's examples of *lug* all are found in the construction 'by the lugs'.

In *Courtship A-la-mode*, Willie uses *lug* twice once in reference to the organ used for hearing (e.g. "Haurk ye Sir, a word we ye in yer *lug*"). Sauny has two references to the actual body part: "Ye've awe twa *Luggs* apeece o'your Head" and "has the aul wutch geen him the wraung sow be the *lug*, I woner?"*.* Sauny also tells Freelove "Now have at your *Luggs*, Sir", which appears be a warning to his master to get ready for a verbal, if not violent, onslaught from his bride Margaret, who is not the meek lamb she has just pretended to be.

Sauny also uses *lug* twice when making a comparison, drawing attention to how worthless and awful a situation is: "bot gin I had yea in Scotland, Is'e ne give yea a Bawbee for your *Luggs*" (*but if I had you in Scotland I shall not give you a small coin for your ears*) and "I'se nea gi twa Pence for my *Luggs* gin you make her yer Bride"

Sauny uses *lug* twice in oaths – "or the Deel O my *Luggs*" and "yet the Dee'l faw my *Luggs*" – the latter of which is very close to the apothecary's "the Deel au me faw *lugg's*" in *The Distracted State*.

---

[17] Behn's idiosyncratic use of *faud* for 'foul' is analysed in 6.8.5.

4.18 **mickle** *adj. adv.* ‘great, sizeable; much’

OED and EDD list the headword as *mickle*, while LAOS and SND use *muckle*. DOST provides separate entries for *mekil*, *mikil* and *mukill.* SND lists the pronunciations as /mʌkl/, /mɪkl/, and /mikl/, and provides an extensive entry, with the first citation (meaning ‘large, great in size’) as follows: “Our *mukell* corn kill was brunt with 7 bols of our oats”. EDD finds *mickle* in Scotland, Ireland, and across England (Northumberland, Durham, Cumberland, Westmorland, Yorkshire, Lancashire, Cheshire, Staffordshire, Derbyshire, Northamptonshire, Warwickshire, Berkshire, Hampshire, and Wiltshire). LALME shows that forms of ‘much’ with endings of the ‘-kVl(-)’ type, such as *mikylle*, were found predominantly in the north and northeast midlands in the late ME period (Dot Map 111). Uses of *mickle* are listed in Table 4.18.

#	form	character	play	year
2	**mickle**	Ida (1), Lady Anderson (1)	*Scottish History of James IV*	1598
1	**mickle**	3rd soldier	*Thierry and Theodoret*	1621
4	**mickle**	Peggy (2), Friar (2)	*The Valiant Scot*	1637
1	**mickle (1), muckle (1)**	Scotch apothecary	*The Distracted State*	1651
2	**mickle**	Brun	*Hey for Honesty*	1651
34	**mickle**	Jocky (15), Billy (10), Billy and Jocky (1), Folly (6), Scarefoole (1), Fidlers (Scotch Song) (1)	*The Scots Figgaries*	1652
2	**Mickle**	Wareston	*The Rump*	1660
3	**muckle**	a Scotchman	*A Short Representation...*	1660
1	**mickle**	Lady Turnup (Scotch Song)	*The Morning Ramble*	1672
1	**mickle**	Charlot	*The City Heiress*	1682
5	**mickle (1), muckle (4)**	Wariston	*The Roundheads*	1682
1	**muckle**	Scotch Song	*A Fool’s Preferment*	1688
4	**muckle (3); muccle (1)**	Sauny	*Sauny the Scot*	1698
7	**meekle (1), mickle (2), muckle (4)**	Willie Beetlehead	*Courtship A-la-mode*	1700
5	**muckle**	2 Officer (1), Scotch countreyman (1), mob member (1), 6th soldier (1), Forgus (1)	*Ireland Preserv’d*	1705
1	**mukle**	1 Officer	*Ireland Preserv’d*	1705
74				

Table 4.18: *mickle* ‘great, sizeable, much’

Forms of *mickle* are found 74 times across 15 plays. It most frequently occurs in *The Scots Figgaries*, with 34 instances found there. A *muckle* spelling appears first in Tatham's 1651 *The Distracted State*, though this instance marks the only time Tatham used this spelling. Later plays seem to show a preference for *muckle* forms, though variation is apparent, notably in the three different variants (*meekle*, *mickle*, and *muckle*) found in *Courtship A-la-mode*, written by a Scotsman. Because of the great number of examples, I will only discuss some of the more interesting ones below.

Mickle is used in a variety of ways, and suggesting different senses. It commonly means 'great', in terms of size, quantity, and quality. In *The Distracted State*, the apothecary uses *muckle* instead of the 'great' just used by the other character:

> Cleander: They say you have great skill.
> Apothecary: Very *Muckle* Sir; I ha not ben a Poles-Screamer this twenty yeers far naught.

Brun in *Hey for Honesty* uses *mickle* twice, and both times it can be glossed as 'great' or 'substantial'. He first refers to the "*mickle* rashers" – great blows – he will give in battle (though *rashers*, as discussed below in 4.27.6, is not attested as a Scottish form). In his final line, delivered as he flees in cowardice, Brun emphasizes what he sees as the innate greediness of the Scots: "Aies no endure Poverty, The Scuts love *mickle* wealth better then so".

In *The Rump*, Wareston says,"*Mickle* Wisdome geod feath in that, Sirs, there's *Mickle* wisdome in that Ise sure yee". This line was repeated in *The Roundheads* as "Bread a gued there's *mickle* Wisdom i that Sirs". This is the only time in *The Roundheads* when the spelling *mickle* is used; the other four instances are *muckle*, once referring to the need to "take muckle pains" and three times referring to "the *muckle* Diel". *Mickle* seems to correlate not infrequently with 'devil', modifying it in *The Roundheads* as we have seen, as well as in *The Distracted State* ("the *mickle* Deul"), *Sauny the Scot* ("Out, Out, in the *Muccle* Dee'ls Name t'ye"), *Courtship A-la-mode* (thrice, including "Aun the *muckle* deel

thaunk ye"), *Ireland Preserv'd* ("Ise maake the *Muckle* Black Deel fly out of you" and "What the *muckle* Dee'll is that!"). Willie in *Courtship A-la-mode* has one instance of an unusual spelling of this phrase: "the *meekle* deel". This spelling suggests that the tonic vowel is long and high.

Another common phrase is "*mickle* wrang", which is said twice in *The Valiant Scot*, once by Peggy and once by the Friar.

The Scotsman's first appearance in *A Short Representation ...* contains *muckle* twice: "But whare be those *muckle* traitors noow?" and "for all his *muckle* pains and care of us". *Muckle* also appears in the Scotsman's song here: "Although he ware as gude a swerd/ As ever *muckle* man drew". *Mickle* appears in several other Scotch Songs, including the one in *The Morning Ramble* ("But Willie needs would Wedded be, He lik'd so weele a Lass, That bonny was, and full of glee, And *mickle* all did pass").

I have already discussed some of the uses of forms of *mickle* in *Courtship A-la-mode*. Here, Willie shows the most variation in terms of forms, though he most frequently uses the *muckle* variant. Aside from using the curse "*muckle* deel"/ "*meekle* deel", Willie uses *mickle* as an adjective meaning a large quantity or amount, and uses the form in a variety of syntactic constructions. He states that "I hea-na *mickle* need o't" and "thauts no *muckle*", and asks "how *muckle* d'ye think waus o't, Sir?". He also tells the story of his laird's sister who seems fated to be single, as she would say "sua *mickle* tea au young maun" with the result that "she sould never be maired in her days". In contrast, Sauny in *Sauny the Scot* uses *muckle* primarily to modify nouns, as seen in the first three of his four quotations below:

> I take as *Muckle* Pleasure, Sir, in Scratten and Scrubben...
>
> Bo a *Muckle* deal of Scotch Punds is as gued as a Little deale of English Punds.
>
> Out, Out, in the *Muccle* Dee'ls Name t'ye.

I’se gat it done *muckle* Cheaper...

A soldier in *Ireland Preserv’d* tells his commanding officer that he has procured a “gued horse”, but can’t bring him inside to show off because he’s too large: “Hee’s not gang in at the Door, hee’s ore *Muckle*”. This use of “ore muckle” as the complement of copulative BE is also found in the first line of a poem by Sedley (cited in OED, and published first in 1722 though written closer to 1700): “Hold, there’s enough; Nay, ‘tis *o’er mickle*”; this poem contains a smattering of Scotticisms. The phrase is also found in a collection of Scottish proverbs published in 1721 and referenced by OED: “*O’er mickle* of yee [one] Thing is good for nething”.

Muckle is used by Ulster Scots speakers in *Ireland Preserv’d*, with officers discussing how “Papacy and Prelacy maake a *muckle* din thro’ the Waarl’d, they’ll awe deu nea gued”. The 1st officer in this scene states “Many *mukle* day ha yea preach tull us, in the Mountains Deare Mess David, all is now come to pass”. Here, it is possible that *mukle* has a more specific meaning, as SND notes the Presbyterian celebration of “muckle Sunday”, the twice-yearly church services where communion was held, and how the following days might be known as “muckle Monday” and so on.

In the earliest play in my dataset, *The Scottish History of James IV,* Ida speaks of those who “are *mickle* blest”, and Lady Anderson tells the prince that he “must yeeld me *mickle* more”. These two characters have very little dialect representation in their dialogue. In fact, *mickle* is the only marked item in Lady Anderson’s speech, and Ida only has one other Scotticism (*weele* ‘well’).

Mickle is used by three characters in their imitations of Scots: the 3rd Soldier in *Thierry and Theodoret*, Charlot in *The City Heiress*, and Forgus in *Ireland Preserv’d*. There are no similarities in terms of the context or content of these three uses; they occur at different points within the imitations, and are used in different ways. The 3rd soldier describes something as “*mickle* good”; Charlot

exclaims that “Ya men make sa *mickle* ado aboot ens Eyes” when responding to a compliment; and Forgus, the spy, declares to the army commander Granade: “In Troth, Sir. Ise no care *muckle* for Feighting. ---- (Shrugs up his Shoulders)”.

4.19 **mun** *v.* ‘must’

Blank (1996: 105) includes *mun* in her list of commonly used items in “the literary northern lexicon”. OED classifies this modal verb, of Scandinavian origin, as a regionalism found in Scotland and in the north and midlands of England, and they note that SED still finds it ‘in widespread use in Sense 1 in the north and north midlands’. OED also notes that the more common Scottish form (with the same senses of ‘must’) is *maun*, a word found in the EDD in Scotland, Ireland, the North Country, and Shropshire. DOST notes that *maun* first appeared in 1487, while *mon* is found earlier. While EDD finds *mon* spellings in Scotland, Yorkshire, and Lancashire, OED and DOST’s *maun* entry contains no *mon* forms. LALME finds *mon* and *mun* forms mainly in Scotland, the north, and the midlands (Dot Map 831).

I discuss the use of *mun* in representations of the dialects of the north of England in 8.18. However, *mun* also appears in other works of the time, including Jonson’s *Every Man in His Humour* (1616 folio), where ‘the countrey Gull” Stephen justifies his attempts at falconry by declaring that “a gentleman *mun* show himselfe like a gentleman”. Stephen is not from the north, let alone from Scotland, presumably coming from rural Middlesex. In addition, in D’Urfey’s *The Royalist* (1682) the lexeme *mun* appears not in the Scotch Song but in the speech of a Southern dialect speaker named Slouch: “Let’s find the Knight Sir Oliver out, that I may know who I *mun* pay my Rent to.”. Here, Slouch is, like Stephen in Jonson’s play, a rustic Southerner, though Slouch’s dialogue is marked dialectally. It seems that *mun* carries with it shades of rusticity rather than regionality. Below, I will assess if the use of *mun* in the representations of Scottish characters has more to do with these rustic connotations.

Instances of *mun* can be found in Table 4.19:

#	form	character	play	year
4	**mun**	Peggy	*The Valiant Scot*	1637
7	**mon**	Folly (2), Jocky (5)	*The Scots Figgaries*	1652
1	**mun**	Scotch Song (Lady Turnup)	*The Morning Ramble*	1672
1	**mon**	Wariston	*The Roundheads*	1682
2	**mun**	Sauny	*Sauny the Scot*	1698
1	**mun**	Willie Beetlehead	*Courtship A-la-mode*	1700
16				

Table 4.19: *mun* 'must'

Here, *mun* is used by a variety of speakers including servants like Willie and Sauny, and people in positions of power like Wariston in *The Roundheads*. The characters in *The Scots Figgaries* use *mun* when speaking amongst themselves as well as when pretending to be educated doctors and speaking to their potential customers.

A clergyman in the Scotch Song in *The Morning Ramble* "*mun* con a point" with Willie's wife. In *Courtship A-la-mode*, Willie exclaims that "this is an Englis trick indeed, a maun *mun* gee siller for an sight o his Sweetheart".

Peggy uses *mun* three times in her first appearance, when she is being taken prisoner and questioned by Young Selby. She asks "whare *mun* I gangand now" (*Where **must** I go now?*), and wonders why "*mun* backerd men gang fencing and florishing about me". She also asks "wha is that foule loone amang you, that *mun* be my hangman". Peggy's Ghost later declares that "I to my rest *mim* gange ere the Cock crawe". The spelling *mim*, otherwise meaningless, must be an error for *mun* based on the printer's mistaken revision of manuscript letters that are all made up of nothing but minim strokes.

Mun occurs most often in *The Scots Figgaries*, and there is always spelled *mon* – identical to the usual spelling of *man* in the dialogue of the Scottish speakers. On occasion the two words appear in the same sentence, as in Jocky's instructions

to his compatriot: “Hark ye me mon, you *mon* tell ‘am you cam o geod parentage, an ha lost aw your siller as ye cam for Anglond”.

When considering the Scottish data, *mun* appears to be a general Scots form, and one that is not confined to rusticity, whatever its connotations south of the border.

4.20 **sark** *n.* ‘shirt’

OED states that *sark*, from ON *serk-r*, is the “ordinary word for ‘shirt’” in Scotland. It is well-attested in DOST and SND. OED and EDD find *sark* in Scotland and in the north of England.

The three examples of *sark* in my dataset can be found in Table 4.20:

#	form	character	play	year
1	**sark**	Jocky	*The Scots Figgaries*	1652
1	**sarke**	Letitia (Scotch Song)	*The Virtuous Wife*	1680
1	**sark**	Hob	*The Benefice*	1689

Table 4.20: *sark* ‘shirt’

Sark is used in three different environments. In *The Scots Figgaries*, Jocky describes “yon brawe fellow, wit his gold Rop aboots neck, an’s long Cot lick a *sark*”. The speaker in the Scotch Song in *The Virtuous Wife* gave Sawney “a fine Scotch *Sarke* and Band”, along with a house and land – but, despite all of these tokens of love, she laments that “Sawney will ne’ere be my Love agen”. When thinking a disguise is necessary, Hob in The Benefice tells Sir Homily that he’ll strip “to the very *Sark*”.

4.21 **sic** *adv.* ‘such’

OED classifies *sic* as a Scottish and northern form of ‘such’. It is well attested in DOST, and EDD lists examples from across Scotland and northern England.

Examples of *sic* are listed chronologically in Table 4.21:

#	form	character	play	year
1	**sike**	Bohan	*Scottish History of James IV*	1598
2	**sike**	Jockie	*Edward IV*	1599
2	**sike**	Peggy	*The Valiant Scot*	1637
2	**sike**	Wallace	*The Valiant Scot*	1637
1	**sick**	Folly	*Scots Figgaries*	1652
3	**sike (2), sick (1)**	Billy	*Scots Figgaries*	1652
4	**sike**	Jocky	*Scots Figgaries*	1652
2	**sike**	Betty (Scotch Song)	*A Fond Husband*	1677
1	**sike**	Wariston	*The Roundheads*	1682
1	**sick-like**	Charlot	*The City Heiress*	1682
1	**sick**	Willie	*Courtship A-la-mode*	1700
20				

Table 4.21: *sic* 'such'

OED classifies *sic, sick,* and *sik* spellings from the fifteenth to the nineteenth centuries as "chiefly Scottish", with the "chiefly northern" forms from the fifteenth to seventeenth centuries being *syke* and *sike*. Contrasting with this assessment, in my data the majority of spellings, and those from the generally more reliable dialect depictions, are of the *sike*-type, while four of the supposedly 'more Scottish' *sick* spellings are from sources that tend to be more impressionistic than accurate (the other occurs in *Courtship A-la-mode*, when Willie declares that he "kent the Captain cheated out o au hunder Guineas by *sick* anither aul wutch aus this").

Bartley (1943: 280) erroneously cites a further example in *Thierry and Theodoret,* where the soldier speaks of "promising mickle good to a *sicker* wombe". But, here the pertinent lexeme is actually the adjective *sicker*, which the OED defines as a Scottish and northern word meaning 'secure' or 'steady', rather than a variant form of *sic*.

4.22 **sin, sine** adv. 'since, then, next'; prep. 'since, after'; conj.

The lexical item *sine* 'since, after', descended from ME *sithen*, is perhaps best known from the Scots song title 'Auld Lang *Syne*'. OED classifies it as Scottish and northern, and it is likewise attested by EDD and SND. In unstressed position, a variant with a short vowel ([ɪ] or [ə]) has developed. Instances of *sine* from my dataset are found in Table 4.22:

#	form	character	play	year
1	**sin**	Jocky	*The Scots Figgaries*	1652
2	**sen (1), sin (1)**	Wareston	*The Rump*	1660
1	**sine**	Betty	*A Fond Husband*	1677
1	**sin**	Wariston	*The Roundheads*	1682
1	**saun**	Willie Beetlehead	*Courtship A-la-mode*	1700
1	**seen**	Willie Beetlehead	*Courtship A-la-mode*	1700
1	**sein**	Willie Beetlehead	*Courtship A-la-mode*	1700
1	**sin**	Willie Beetlehead	*Courtship A-la-mode*	1700

Table 4.22: *sine* 'since, after'

The examples from the Scotch Song in *A Fond Husband* are interesting. The first instance, an adverb, is as follows:

> and she right courteously, Bekt lew and **Sine** kind Sir, she said, Gud Day agen to ye.
> *and she right courteously, curtseyed low and,* ***after/then****, 'kind sir', she said, 'good day again to you'.*

The second instance – "May I not light your Apron *sine* kiss your bonny brow?"– contains a use of *sine* as a conjunction. Variations of this line without *sine* also occur twice:

> Who boldly may my Apron light, *and* kiss your bonny brow.

> Will boldly let me light her Apron, kiss her bonny brow.

I provide the other instances of *sine* below, with italicised glosses.

Jocky, *The Scots Figgaries*:

Be me saw Ise twa yards gron about **sin** I cam fro Scotlond
*By my soul I am two yards grown about **since** I came from Scotland*

Wareston, *The Rump*

Sin ye are so kind Sirs, Scribe read my Paper to.
***Since** you are so kind, Sirs, Scribe, read my paper too.*

... **sen** the Dam bound the head on't.
*... **since** the Dame bound the head on it.*

Wariston, *The Roundheads*

'twas ne're sa moolded **sin** the Dam boond the Head on't.
*'twas never so moulded **since** the Dame bound the head on it*

Willie, *Courtship A-la-mode*

Be goad **sein** na better may be, I wull fight for my head furst
*By God **since** no better may be, I will fight for my head first*

I haud an Letter **saun** I caume out o me ain Kintrey
*I had a letter **since** I came out of my own country*

Be me Saul he threw ean o thea men at my head hauf au yeir **seen**.
*By my soul he threw one of these men at my head half a year **since**.*

4.23 **till** *prep.*, *infinitive marker* 'to'

The preposition and infinitive marker *till* 'to' is ON in origin and is classified by OED as "characteristically northern in reference to place or purpose" after the ME period.

OED and SND state that the form typically occurs before vowel-initial or h-initial words. SND provides the pronunciations /tɪl/ and /tʌl/. SND finds the preposition used more frequently in Insular and Northern Scots varieties than in mid and southern Scots. SND notes that the use of the form within an

infinitive phrase is more restricted than this, found in the far north in Caithness and Shetland. EDD finds *till* 'to' predominantly in Scotland and in the north of England, as well as with sporadic examples in Northern Ireland, Staffordshire, Derbyshire, Lincolnshire, Northamptonshire, and Carmarthen.

Till 'to' can be used both as a preposition and as an infinitive marker, uses documented in numbers 26 and 27 of the LALME questionnaire, respectively. In LALME, *til(l)* and *tyl(l)* variants are found as infinitive markers in Midlothian, East Lothian, Lanarkshire, Northumberland, Durham, Lancashire, Yorkshire, Lincolnshire, and Shropshire; 'to' forms are found in most contexts. *Till* as an infinitive marker is found in OED's sense under III.6, where it is classified as a Scottish form. LALME finds *til(l)* or *tyl(l)* variants for the prepositional use in a wider area in Scotland, the North Country, and the midlands, and notes that "in texts where 'to' and 'til' occur, 'til' is commonly preferred if a vowel follows, apparently as a hiatus-breaker". Williamson (2002: 268-271) shows that *til* as a infinitive marker is disfavoured in the local documents of Northern England (*c.* 1380-1500), possibly because of the text-type (because these legal documents tended to be shorter than literary works, there were fewer opportunities for its use) or because the central training of lawyers in the Inns of Court meant that lawyers working in the provinces were less likely to use local variants in official documents.

Forms of *till* 'to' (both prepositional and as an infinitive marker) in my dataset are listed below in Table 4.23; the infinitive markers are shaded in grey.

#	form	character	play	year
1	**til (1)**	Jockie	*Edward IV*	1599
5	**till (4), til (1)**	Jockie	*Edward IV*	1599
5	**till**	Friar (1), Peggy (2), Wallace (2)	*The Valiant Scot*	1637
1	**till**	Friar	*The Valiant Scot*	1637
1	**untill**	Peggy	*The Valiant Scot*	1637
2	**toll**	Scotch apothecary	*The Distracted State*	1651
1	**toll**	Scotch apothecary	*The Distracted State*	1651
5	**intoll (4), intol (1)**	Jocky	*The Scots Figgaries*	1652
1	**tol**	Jocky	*The Scots Figgaries*	1652

15	**toll**	Jocky (8), Billy (1), Folly (2), Scarefoole (2), Fidlers (2)	*The Scots Figgaries*	1652
6	**toll**	Jocky (3), Billy (1), Scarefoole (2)	*The Scots Figgaries*	1652
2	**intoll**	Wareston	*The Rump*	1660
5	**tol (5)**	Wareston	*The Rump*	1660
2	**toll (1), tell (1)**	Wareston	*The Rump*	1660
1	**tall**	Betty (Scotch Song)	*A Fond Husband*	1677
1	**tal**	Swift	*Sir Barnaby Whigg*	1681
1	**tol**	Charlot	*The City Heiress*	1682
1	**intol**	Wariston	*The Roundheads*	1682
6	**tol**	Wariston	*The Roundheads*	1682
2	**tol**	Wariston	*The Roundheads*	1682
4	**intill, intul, intull, 'tull**	Sauny	*Sauny the Scot*	1698
5	**tull (2), tul (2), til (1)**	Sauny	*Sauny the Scot*	1698
5	**till**	Willie Beetlehead	*Courtship A-la-mode*	1700
1	**into'll**	4 (mob member)	*Ireland Preserv'd*	1705
1	**to'l**	2 Gang	*Ireland Preserv'd*	1705
4	**tu'l**	beggar	*Ireland Preserv'd*	1705
2	**tull**	1 Officer (1), 3 Officer (1)	*Ireland Preserv'd*	1705
86				

Table 4.23: *till* 'to', including *intill* 'into' and *untill* 'unto' variants

Twelve plays contain a total of 86 instances of *till* 'to' (including variants of *intill* 'into' and *untill* 'unto'); Tatham's three plays contribute 39 of these instances. Tatham tends to use *o*- spellings (e.g. *toll*), where D'Urfey uses *a*- spellings (e.g. *tall*); presumably these spellings indicate lowering and backing of the unstressed vowel.

Jockie's first line in *Edward IV* contains an example of *til*:

> Mistresse gude faith gin yeele help me **til** my laund...
> *Mistress, good faith, if you'll help me* ***to*** *my land...*

Similarly, Jocky's first lines in *The Scots Figgaries* contain two instances of *intol (l)* 'into':

> A Sirs thes eyr has a mickle geod savour. Iha creept thus firr **intol**th' [sic] Kingdom, like an Erivigg **intoll** a mons lug, and sall as herdly be gat oout.

Aye, Sirs, this air has a very good savour. I have crept this far ***into*** *the Kingdom, like an earwig* ***into*** *a man's ear, and shall as hardly be got out.*

In the same play you can see variation in Scarefoole's following line of dialogue between the preposition and the infinitive marker:

Aw tha Wirld ore sirs, an noow aw pleces are wary o me; Ise cam **ta** Anglond **toll** seeke wirke.
All the world over sirs, and now all places are weary of me; I am come ***to*** *England* ***to*** *seek work.*

Seven plays show *till* forms used in infinitive phrases as an infinitive marker, a usage restricted to the far north of Scotland by SND. However, it is likely that, during the seventeenth century, this feature was more widespread across Scotland. Yet, there are a few examples of characters ostensibly from the far reaches of Scotland whose speech is marked with *til* as an infinitive marker. In *Edward IV,* Jockie mentions that a man from Glendale has taken his land; as noted in 3.2.3, there is a town of this name on the Isle of Skye and on South Uist in the Hebrides. Five of the six instances of *till* 'to' in Jockie's speech are infinitive markers:

Now must I under colour of playing at bowles, helpe **till** relieve my gude maistres,
Now must I under colour of playing at bowls help ***to*** *relieve my good mistress*.

[she] praies ye mastres **til** dight uppe her Chamber
[She] prays you, mistress, ***to*** *dress up her chamber.*
may maistres speekes deftly and truelie, for shee hes bene **till** see thore that cannot come **till** see her
My mistress speaks deftly and truly, for she has been ***to*** *see those that cannot come* ***to*** *see her.*

And shee hes gynne tham her siller and her géere **till** bay tham fude.
And she has given them her silver and her gear ***to*** *buy them food.*

Perhaps Greene is indicating Jockie's far northerly origins by the use of this form. In *Sauny the Scot*, Sauny is described as an Aberdonian by critics (Bartley 1954: 151), and his speech also contains an instance of this construction:

> I wou'd a gin her an awd Boot **tull** a made Tripes on
> *I would have given her an old boot **to** have made tripe of.*

However, this construction is also found occasionally in the works of D'Urfey and Tatham (as well as, in two instances, in Behn's 1682 adaptation of Tatham's play). I provide a selection of these instances below:

> Billy, *The Scots Figgaries*:
> Kepe off sirs --- kepe off, ga me wund **toll** speeke toll ye
> *Keep off, Sirs -- keep off, give me wind **to** speak to you.*
>
> Wareston, *The Rump*:
> Ile tell you a blithe tale of a Scottish Puddin, will gar ye aw **tell** laugh, Sirs.
> *I'll tell you a blithe tale of a Scottish pudding, will cause you all **to** laugh, Sirs.*
>
> Wariston, *The Roundheads*:
> I must mind your Lordships **tol** consider those...
> *I must mind your Lordships **to** consider those...*
>
> Betty, *A Fond Husband*:
> You need not **tall** ha started for eaght that I did say:
> *You need not **to** have started for ought that I did say:*

It seems that one needs to consider other forms and contextual clues in order to make a proper analysis of what this construction suggests. It is not enough on its own to suggest that the dialect speaker is intended to be from the north of Scotland, let alone that the feature by this time suggested only the dialect from the north of Scotland.

4.24 **whilk** *adj*. 'which'

SND classifies *whilk* as a form found in Scotland and in dialects of northern England. *Whilk* appears in EMod works printed in Scotland, as in Melville's 1598 treatise *A spirituall propine of a pastour to his people* ("to ease the langour of

time, and irksomnes of your labours with singing, *whilk* is a gift naturallie given be God to many for that effect"). It also appears in the speech of one of the northern students in Chaucer's *The Reeve's Tale* ("*Whilk* way is he geen?", as quoted in OED). LALME shows 'which' spellings ending in *-lk(e)* occurring primarily in the north and northeast midlands, as well as in Scotland (Dot Map 83).

Table 4.24 contains the instances of *whilk* in my dataset.

#	form	character	play	year
1	**whilke**	Bohan	*Scottish History of James IV*	1598
1	**whilk**	Jockie	*Edward IV*	1599
1	**whilke**	Scotch apothecary	*The Distracted State*	1651
1	**whilke**	Fidlers (Scotch Song)	*The Scots Figgaries*	1652
3	**whilke (2), whilk (1)**	Jocky	*The Scots Figgaries*	1652
1	**whilke**	Wareston	*The Rump*	1660
2	**whilk**	Willie Beetlehead	*Courtship A-la-mode*	1700
10				

Table 4.24: *whilk* 'which'

Though *whilk* is not found in *The Valiant Scot*, it is found as *quhilk* in several editions of its source-text, Blind Harry's *Wallace*, the 1611 edition of which was printed by the same man who printed the 1618 and 1620 editions.

The majority of examples of *whilk* are uninteresting in terms of their context. The Scotch Apothecary in *The Distracted State* asks "*whilke* way" he should poison the king, for instance. In *1 Edward IV*, *whilk* is used in Jockie's first passage of dialogue, when he is discussing the land "*whilk* the faulse loune Billie Grime of Glendale" has taken from him.

The lexeme is used in the telling of a humorous story in both *Courtship A-la-mode* and *The Roundheads*. Willie describes "au Maun o my Kintrey thaut mairied au aul wuther'd Wife thaut scantly cou'd tell *whilk* was the Stool and *whilk* her Arse whun she saut upon't, aun sometimes scaurted her Head instead

o her Rump". Wareston recounts how the Speaker once refused to give money a poor beggar-woman, "*Whilke* gard her to let a crack Sirs".

In *The Scottish History of James IV*, Bohan asks "*whilke* is he I sawe". *Whilke* can also be used of persons, where we would now use 'who'.

4.25 **whinyard** *n.* 'sword'

Bartley (1943: 281) states that *whinyard* is one of the "most noticeable and regularly used Scottish words" in drama from 1589 to 1659. It is attested in DOST under the spellings *quhingar* and *quhinȝar*, and defined as "a short sword, or a long knife or dagger". DOST states that *quhinȝar* is a Scottish form only, with the EModE form including *whyneherd* and *whiniard*. The only EDD entry for *whinyard* seems related to the established definition, and EDD does not find the form in Scotland. Rather, the EDD entry provides citations only to Ireland, either referring to a knife resembling the bill of a species of duck, or to the word for the duck itself. OED provides several quotations with Scottish connections, but does not state that the form is dialectal. It does seem that the word had associations with Scotland, however; in a 1620 ballad ("A merry Ballad of a rich Maid that had 18. severall Suitors of severall Countries"), the passage about the Scots suitor contains the word *whiniard*.

The dataset for *whinyard* is provided in Table 4.25:

#	form	character	play	year
3	**whiniard**	Bohan	*Scottish History of James IV*	1598
1	**winyard**	Friar	*The Valiant Scot*	1637
2	**whineyard, whinyard**	Sauny	*Sauny the Scot*	1698

Table 4.25: *whinyard* 'sword'

Whinyard appears six times across two plays: *The Scottish History of James IV*, *The Valiant Scot*, and *Sauny the Scot*. All of the uses are tinged with violence. Sauny tells another character to, "tak it awaw, or the Deel O my Luggs, but yest

tak my *Whineyard*", and Bohan states that his "whiniard has gard many better mẽ to lope thẽ thou", and calls for his *whiniard* again. One phrase in particular crops up in all three plays: Bohan's "ais dab this *whiniard* in thy wembe", the Friar's "dip not thy *winyard* in the weambe...", and Sauny's "Is'e put my *whinyard* in your weam". For a discussion of *womb* 'stomach', see 6.10.4. This phrase also appears in Barry's *Ram-Alley* (1611), though there it is not part of a dialect representation. William Smalshankes threatens Taffeta (possibly as part of an erotically-charged game) with his sword. He first claims that, "by this good blade Ile cut your throte directly", and then says "Ile cut your throat, without equivocation". Finally, he exclaims, "By heaven Ile gar my *whyniard* through your weombe". The play is set in the City of London, and Smalshankes's dialogue has no other hints of dialect representation.

4.26 **wood** *adj.* 'crazy'

Wood, with a primary sense of 'insane' or 'crazy', is attested in Scotland. DOST, under the headword *wod*, notes that this meaning occurs "especially with implications of wild behaviour". EDD shows that it has a northern distribution, being found in Scotland, the North Country, and Cheshire and Lincolnshire, as well as in Ireland. The majority of EDD quotations come from Scottish sources. OED finds *wood* in Scotland, but also provides some quotations speaking to its use in the north of England, including a line from Spenser's *The Faerie Queene* and a 1627 quotation from the 'Water Poet' John Taylor who states that "in the North parts of England,..when they thinke that a man is distracted or frenzy, they will say the man is *Wood*". In ME this form is still of general distribution; it seems that the word 'mad' thereafter became generalised in the standard language, with *wood* becoming recessive and dialectally marked.

A list of instances of *wood* in this dataset is found in Table 4.26.

#	form	character	play	year
1	**wud**	Folly	*The Scots Figgaries*	1652
1	**wud**	Jocky	*The Scots Figgaries*	1652
1	**wudnes**	Jocky	*The Scots Figgaries*	1652
4	**wood**	Willie Beetlehead	*Courtship A-la-mode*	1700

Table 4.26: *wood* 'crazy'

In *The Scots Figgaries,* both the frenzied behaviour of the furious Mrs Smallfaith and her husband's mental instability (which can be directly linked to the potions administered to him by the Scottish pseudo-doctors) are described as *wud* by the dialect speakers. Jockey tries to convince her that "thes *wudnes* o his, cam fro tha corruption o his hart".

All of Willie's uses of *wood* describe conduct provoked by feelings of love and romance. Twice Willie uses the word to describe the love-crazed behaviour of a typical lass, one who "wull gaung *wood* toe be mairied upon ye" and one who would "rin *wood* for waunt o me". He also describes how red-blooded Scotsmen like himself "gang red *wood* upon bonny Lasses". In Willie's final use of *wood*, he asks the men who are bribing the matchmaker, "are ye reed *wood* tea gea awau yer siller". Exasperated, he exclaims:

> Wuns cau ye this wooing Alamode! this is an Englis trick indeed, a maun mun gee siller for an sight o his Sweetheart, aus we do in Scotlaun tea see au dancing Meer, or au Eape playing on the Bagpipes.

The specific sense of *red-wood* is discussed in 4.27.16.

4.27 Other dialect lexis

Out of 774 tokens of dialectal lexis, 663 belong to the 26 types discussed above. I discuss other lexical items below, play by play.

4.27.1 *The Scottish History of James IV*

carpe v. 'to talk'

greet v. 'to cry'
lope v. 'to jump, to leap, to spring'
mirk adj. 'dark'
threap v. "to contradict; to chide, to rebuke"
trattle v. "to talk"

Bohan states, "I can no more, my patience will not warpe. To see these flatteries how they scorne and *carpe*". EDD states that *carp*, 'to talk, to recite', is restricted to Scotland and Lancashire. DOST finds it only in poetry. OED does not find the current meaning restricted regionally; under the current sense 'to talk querulously' or 'to find fault' there is a quotation from Burns ("Ne'er grudge an' carp, Tho' fortune use you hard an' sharp"), though there are other quotations without Scottish or northern origins.

Bohan uses *greet* in the following exchange:

> Oberon: Beleve me bonny Scot, these strange events,
> Are passing pleasing, may they end as well.
>
> Bohan: Else say that Bohan hath a barren skull,
> If better motions yet then any past,
> Do not more glee to make the fairie *greet*...

EDD finds *greet* throughout Scotland, and in Ireland, all the counties of the North Country, as well as Derbyshire. EDD only lists the senses of "to cry, weep, lament", whereas DOST also includes another, related sense of "to complain, grumble in a helpless trifling manner". OED notes that now *greet* is only found in dialects of Scotland and of the north of England.

Bohan says that his sword has made "many better me[n] to *lope* the[n] thou". *Lope*, or *loup*, is defined by DOST as "to spring, jump, or leap", and appears in works written in Scots. Montgomerie's 1597 work *The Cherrie and the Slaye*, proclaimed on the title page to be "composed into Scottis Meeter", contains several instances of *loup*, including the instruction, "Luik quhair thou licht befoir thou *loupe*". A similar instruction – "Atend ye, and mend ye, That *loups* before ye luke" – appears along with several other instances of *loup* in the 1596 collection

of verse translated into Scots by John Burel. A sermon by Samuel Rutherford published in 1660 describes sinful men who "*loup* out of this Life out of Despair into the Fire of Hell". *Lope* appears in works written by Scotsmen in English, as well, including in Craig's 1631 work *The Pilgrime and the Heremite*, where again it is noted that "best it were, to looke, before I *lope*". It also appears in the dialect representation in Woodes's 1581 play *A Conflict of Conscience*, as quoted by OED: "In gude feth sir, this newis de gar me *lope*". OED cites a form that occurs in a play without dialect representation: Middleton and Rowley play *The Spanish Gypsy*, published in 1653. Here, the word occurs in the lyrics of a song that mentions other nationalities and countries, which may explain its usage. OED states that *lope* is obsolete except dialectally, and EDD finds *loup* across Scotland, Ireland, England (north, midlands, and south), and America.

Mirk is used twice in this play. Sir Bartram speaks of how welcome the moon is "In *merkist* night", and Bohan asks, "What gars this din of *mirk* and balefull harme, where every weane is all betaint with bloud?". *Mirk* is attested in DOST, and is noted for often collocating with "night". It is not restricted to Scotland, however, with EDD finding it across England (the north, south, and east) and Ireland.

When Bohan uses *threap*, he is angry at Oberon, who has just invited him to "do what thou dar'st" and offered him his breast to strike. Bohan exclaims, "Thou wilt not *threap* me, this whiniard has gard many better me[n] to lope the[n] thou", and then (presumably) stabs him, but is defeated by Oberon's magical powers. In Ray's 1674 collection, *threap* is defined as "to blame, rebuke, reprove, chide". This meaning may be applicable to this use, as the proud Bohan feels affronted by Oberon's manner. OED's first definition of *threap* in a transitive use is also "to rebuke, reprove, chide, scold, blame"; one of the quotations in this section is from Shadwell's 1682 play *The Lancashire Witches*. EDD, which finds the term in general dialectal use throughout Scotland, Ireland, and northern and midland England, gives the primary dialectal definition as "to assert", "to persist", or "to insist on", with the eighth sense being "to scold, chide,

rebuke". EDD also provides a quotation from Shadwell's *The Lancashire Witches* in this section, though from the 1718 edition. The sixth sense that EDD lists is "to contradict", which could also fit the use here in *The Scottish History of James IV*.

Bohan demands to see two characters dance a jig, telling them, "Haud your clacks lads, *trattle* not for thy life, but gather uppe your legges and daunce me forthwith a gigge worth the sight". *Clack* is a (non-dialectal) word for "tongue", and *trattle* is found in OED ("chiefly Scottish"), EDD ("Scottish"), and DOST, defined as "to chatter, to gossip, to prattle".

4.27.2 *Edward IV Parts 1 and 2*
thir adj. 'these'

Jockie twice uses "thore": "for shee hes bene till see *thore* that cannot come till see her" and "off with *thore* bands". This form is a variant form of *thir* 'these'. *Thir* is found by OED and EDD in the north and Scotland. DOST describes *thir* as "extremely common throughout this period". DOST shows no *o*-spellings, but OED lists *thor* variants in dialects of the north, providing a 1790 example from a book on Westmorland dialect: "Thor Men hed been at a College, coad Cambridg". EDD finds 'thore' in northeast Lancashire, and 'thor' in Northumberland, Westmorland, and Yorkshire.

4.27.3 *The Vow Breaker*
lurdan n. 'a miscreant; a whore'

When planning their disguise, Doysells tells Mortigue that "the Scotch language I am perfect in". His passage in *The Vow Breaker* includes one instance of *lurden*: "ise a pure *lurden*". Here, *lurden* appears to be used in the sense provided by OED (under *lurdan*) as a vagabond. OED does not note any dialectal distribution or variation (though several of the quotations provided are Scottish in origin). Yet, *Lurdan* can be traced to Scotland in DOST and EDD. EDD finds the spelling

lurden used in Scotland, and defines the term as 'a lazy, stupid person, an idle fellow; a worthless person of either sex'. DOST's definitions are much more severe – a man described as a *lurdan* is "a miscreant, cut-throat, ruffian", whereas a woman is "a drab; a whore, a strumpet; a slattern, a slut".

Contemporary evidence seems to support these negative definitions in Scotland. Robert Greene uses the term in the 'Debate betweene Follie and Love' (printed 1608): "in stead of some brave Gentleman, I strike some filthie *lurden*". The word *lurdan* (as well as the variant spelling *lurden*) appears in Lyndsay's play *Ane Satyre of the thrie estaits*, written in Scots and first published in 1602 (though first performed in 1552): "It was ane laidlie *lurdan* loun, Cumde to break buithis into this toun". The 1641 work *The life of Merlin*, attributed to Thomas Heywood, contains a pseudo-etymology of the word, dating the term back to the Danish invasion; in this version of events, the phrase *Lord Dane* became *Lurdain* or *Lurdan*, which "grew to a title of great opprobry and contempt, for when any one would rebuke or revile an other hee would in scorne call him Lurdan, a word in the Countrey in use even to this day." Several other seventeenth century sources cite variations on this inaccurate etymology (e.g. Brady 1685). Elisha Coles's 1677 dictionary provides a more accurate definition: "(not from the Danes Lording it here idly while others laboured, but from the French *Lourd*, *Lourdant*, *-din*) a Dunce or Block-head."

In *The Vow Breaker*, Miles, an Englishman, imitates the language of Mortigue, taunting him and his companions: "And you are ganging to your *Lurden*, that your *Lurden* may catch you by the crag, and claw you are the weame, till your guts garr haggergath, haggergath". Here, Miles appears to be using the more severe and negative definition of *lurdan*.

Lurdan is also found once in the Scotch Song in *Trick for Trick* (1678), where it refers to a baby: "And ever as the *Lurden* cry'd, or made any Din". This usage can be justified as dialectal under the milder EDD definitions rather than the DOST ones.

4.27.4 *The Valiant Scot*

blink v. 'to look (at)'
blinkers n. 'the eyes'
clampers n. "shoes"
derne adj. "dark, dismal"
felloun adj. "fierce, cruel"
furth, prep. "forth"
kie n. "cows"
nowther, adv. 'neither'

The Friar prophesies that he will "never *blinck* upon thee meare". This seems to be a predominantly Scottish sense of *blink*, defined by DOST as "to glance or look" and by SND as "to look fondly at". DOST provides a supporting citation from a 1592 letter by James VI. EDD defines sense 3 of *blink* v. "to look at with pleasure; to smile, look at fondly", and finds examples in Scotland and the North Country.

Wallace meets a blind man on his journey, and asks him, "ha' ye na linckers?". It seems likely that the initial *b* has been accidentally omitted from *blinckers* 'the eyes'. This use is attested in SND, and EDD finds the word in Scotland, Ireland, Northumberland, and Lincolnshire. OED classifies this use as slang and only cites one nineteenth-century example.

When Wallace is impersonating a Scottish soldier, he states, "I weare Na shooen but wodden *clampers*". EDD glosses *clampers* as "heavy, thick shoes", found in north Yorkshire and Norfolk. EDD's entry for *clamp* (v.4) defines it as "to stamp" or to walk heavily and noisily.

Peggy uses the phrase "the *derne* and dismawe end". *Dern* is defined by SND as "dark, dreary, lonely, desolate", and found by EDD in Scotland, Northumberland, and Cheshire.

Peggy describes an Englishman as an "awd *fellon* theef". This use of *fellon* 'fierce, savage, cruel' is documented in DOST, and many of the adjectival uses of *felon* in OED are either Scottish or poetic in origin (or both).

Peggy also uses the preposition *furth* ("Rac'd byn his name *furth* the Whayte buke of life that speaks it"). This variant of *forth* is classified as Scottish by EDD and SND.

The plural *kie* 'cows', used by Peggy, is found in DOST, SND and EDD. DOST provides a 1598 quotation describing the "*kie* to feede".

Peggy speaks of a heaven where no foul southerner "*nowther* can extrude, Nor bar us fra celestiall pulchritude". DOST states that, after the fifteenth century, *nowther* 'neither' was primarily, if not only, found in Scotland and in the north of England.

4.27.5 *The Sad Shepherd*

chimley nuik n. "chimney corner, fireside"

Scathlock tells his comrades that he saw Maudlin "I' the *Chimley nuik*". SND defines this term as "the chimney corner", providing the variant spellings *chimley-neuck*, *chimney-nuik*, and *chumley neuk*, as well as a 1819 quotation from Scott: "Mysie, what are ye sitting shaking and greeting in the *chimney-nuik* for?". OED does not define "chimley nuik", though it does define "chimney-corner" as "the corner or side of an open fireplace or hearth", and includes a 1820 quotation from Scott using this term.

4.27.6 *Hey for Honesty*

bellibarne n. "bonny lass"
maunder v. "to beg"
maunder v. "to grumble, to moan"
rasher n. 'blow'

In the case of the noun *bellibarne*, Randolph may be imitating Spenser's use of *bellibone* (Bartley 1943: 280). OED defines *bellibone* as 'a fair maid, a bonny lass', and only provides two quotations for it, both from literary texts from the late sixteenth century. The first quotation is from Spenser's *The Sheapheardes*

Calender (1579). Spenser uses the form twice in his text, and it is glossed within the text as "a Bonibell, homely spoken for a fair mayde, or Bonilasse". Later editions (1581, 1586, 1591, 1597, 1611, 1617) all maintain the 'bellibone' spelling. Neither *bellibone* nor *bellibarne* is found in DOST, SND, or EDD; in fact, the spelling *bellibarne* is found nowhere else except in Randolph's play.

Randolph could have gleaned this term from Spenser's work, but the variant spelling poses a problem to this interpretation. If Randolph was basing this form on a genuine Scots term, perhaps one he had heard spoken, there may have been a mismatch centring on vowel realisation (Scotland, well above the traditional a/o boundary, has the form *bane* for 'bone'), and varying levels of rhoticity. These factors may have led Randolph to misinterpret the form as one based on 'bairn' – although in the context, the Scotsman Brun means 'sweetheart' or 'lover', not a child. I provide the original line of dialogue below, with a literal gloss following it in italics:

> Brun: Nay's mon, aif I cannot give 'um mickle rashers enough my self, aies gang home to my Bellibarne and get lusty Martial Barns, shall pell mell their Noddles:
>
> *Brun: No, man, if I cannot give them great blows enough my self, I shall go home to my sweetheart and beget healthy, fighting children, [and we] shall hit their heads:*

It may be simply that the *barne* part of *bellibarne* has resulted from eye-skip to the closely following *Barns*.

Brun tells his companions that he will leave if they keep behaving badly: "Aife thou's keep a *mundring mandring*, mon, i'se gang to Edinborow". These two forms, "mundring" and "mandring", are possibly non-dialectal, though their shared base form, *maunder*, is found in EDD. Both of the OED definitions of the verb *maunder* can be seen here: "to beg", and "to moan". The definition of 'to grumble, moan', contains the note that the word was very common in the seventeenth century. EDD states that *maunder* was in general dialectal use in Scotland, Ireland, and England, defining it as "to talk idly and incoherently; to

mumble; to grumble; to threaten in an undertone; to muse, ponder". The form in SND is *maunner*.

In Brun's claim, the "mickle rashers" he is going to mete out must refer to 'blows' or 'injuries', based on the context. Nothing like *rasher* in that sense is found in OED or DOST, though EDD does define *rasher* as 'a box on the ear; a slap', finding it only in one (1851) quotation from Gloucester.

4.27.7 *The Distracted State*

poles-screamer n. 'shop-keeper'

Cleander tells the Scotch Apothecary that he hears he has great skill, to which the Apothecary responds, "Very Muckle Sir; I ha not ben a *Poles-Screamer* this twenty yeers far naught". OED provides this same quotation under the entry for *pole*, defining "poles-screamer" as "(prob.) a tradesman with a shop", probably with an allusion to both crying one's wares and to a pole outside a shop, as in a barber's pole. This is the only quotation provided for this term in OED.

4.27.8 *The Scots Figgaries*

riggins n. 'backbone'
scrat v. 'to scratch'
spang v. 'to spring, leap'

An angry Folly tells his countrymen how he is going to beat them: "Ise ge ye sick a Rattle wy a Rom ore tha *Riggins* sall mack your Ribs reore sirs". Found in DOST, *riggings* has the first definition of "back or backbone of a human being or an animal". All the quotations for this sense of *riggings* in OED are Scottish.

The play opens with Jocky delivering a monologue of sorts, when Billy appears on the scene. Jocky assumes he must be a Scot by his behaviour – specifically, "by's *scratin* an scrubbin". Jocky elaborates the point, describing him as resembling Scotland itself, "bar an naked" and carrying nothing but "filth an Virmin" with him. This scratching appears to be a stereotypically Scottish

activity, at least within the plays, as Sauny in *Sauny the Scot* has similar behaviour, and uses similar phrases to express it. Sauny uses the term *scrat* four times, expounding upon the joys he receives from "his Pastime, Scratten and Scrubbin", and describing how common it is in Scotland, as "there's nea a Lad in aw Scotland but Loves it". *Scrat* is found in SND, but is found in general dialectal use across England, Ireland, and Scotland by EDD and OED.

Scarefoole, running away in a panic, shouts to his companions to join him in fleeing: "... sha yeer heeles, sha yeere heeles, *spang* awey sirs, *spang* awey". *Spang*, defined by OED as 'to spring, leap, bound; to move rapidly', is a native northern and Scottish word, and is attested in OED, DOST, and EDD.

4.27.9 *The Rump*

crack n. 'fart'

Wareston is talkative and crude, and tells a joke involving a poor woman and the Speaker. His refusal to give her any money "gard her to let a *crack* Sirs; I marry quo the Woman quo now I see my Rump has a Speaker too". The OED's third sense of *crack* (n.) applies to this usage: "the breaking of wind *ventris crepitus*". It is not found in this sense in DOST, SND, or EDD. OED classifies it as dialectal.

4.27.10 *The Morning Ramble*

con v. 'to know'

In the Scotch Song, it is noted that the pastor spends time with Willie's wife while Willie is at work: "Mass Johnne e're he wends to Kirk/ Mun *con* a point we her". OED notes that *can* has become the normal form of the verb *con* in the sense 'to know'. This form is documented by DOST.

4.27.11 *A Fond Husband*

beck v. 'to curtsey'

brent adj. ‘smooth, unwrinkled, high (of a forehead)’
dow n. ‘dove’
glent v. ‘to shine’

In the Scotch Song in *A Fond Husband*, after the man issues a greeting, the woman “*bekt* low”. OED defines the third sense of the verb *beck* as to curtsey or bow, and adds that the word has a predominantly Scottish usage. The word is found in both DOST and EDD (*beck* v.3); EDD finds it in Scotland, Northumberland, Yorkshire, and Lancashire.

The woman is described as having a “bonny *brent* brow”. EDD finds *brent* used to describe a forehead that is “smooth, unwrinkled, high” in Scotland an north Yorkshire, with a slightly wider remit for the adjective meaning ‘steep, difficult of ascent”. It is found in DOST, and OED classifies it as a Scottish form.

OED lists *dow*, *doo*, and *dou* as Scottish forms of *dove*, and *dow* is the headword for the DOST entry. The song in *A Fond Husband* contains *dow* as a pet name: “When we had walkt a Mile or twa, I said to her, My *Dow*”. This use is described in OED’s entry on *dove* (2d.); here, OED provides a similar use in an 1816 work by Scott: “Is not that worth waiting for, my *dow*?”.

The woman is describing as *glenting*. This word, meaning ‘shining’ or ‘beaming’, is attested in SND, and this sense is found by EDD only in Scotland and the North Country and is called dialectal by OED.

4.27.12 *The City Heiress*

good deed n. ‘good state of existence’

Charlot begins speaking to Wilding by saying, “*Gued deed*, and see ye shall” (*Good deed, and so you shall*). Later, she remarks, “*Gued deed*, and so I have”. The phrase “Gued deed” is attested in the north. EDD finds the sense of “Doings, proceedings, either good or bad” for the noun *deed* in the North Country, with the following explanatory quotation from east Lancashire: “‘Good

deed', 'bad deed', 'rare deed', are popular phrases signifying various conditions of existence".

4.27.13 *The Benefice*

con v. 'to know'
crop n. 'stomach'
louk v. 'to fight'
wammle v. 'to roll, to rumble queasily (as in stomach)'

Con is discussed in 4.27.10. The other three lexical items are found in the same passage, when Hob has become enraged after hearing of the supposed behaviour of Sir Homily. Hob says, "I'll *louk* the Sloven. --- I'll sponge his Gaskins". *Louk* in the EDD is defined as "to strike, beat, thrash; to whip", and is not attested in Scotland but found in the north country, Derbyshire, Leicestershire, Northhamptonshire, Warwickshire, Worcestershire, Shropshire, and Hertfordshire; one example, from the North Country, is, "I'll *lowk* him, if I catch him". Hob goes on, muttering, "I'se *womble* i'th' *Crop* still, but I shall have the better Stomach to him". He is upset; *wammle* is defined by SND as "to roll, to stir uneasily, rumble queasily", and *crop* is classified by OED as a Scottish and dialectal form for stomach. *Wamble* is used by Sauny in *Sauny the Scot*.

4.27.14 *The Assembly*

assythment n. 'reparation'
beik n. 'beehive'
bigging n. 'building'
glisk n. 'glimpse'
the day n. 'today'

One of the hirers wonders what his *assythment* would have been after being assaulted by Lord Huffy: "a Balive would have allowed me 4 Punds *Assythment* beside the Fine". *Assythment* is a Scots word for satisfaction or reparation that is attested in DOST and OED.

The Ruling Elder wonders if a decision has been made that would leave them all like "a *Beik* of Bees without Stangs". *Beik*, for a beehive, is found in DOST (as

byke or *bike*), and classified as found generally in Scotland by SND, with a citation with the *beik* spelling found also in a 1768 Aberdeenshire text. OED calls *bike* (with 18th century *beik* spellings) an example of northern dialect, though all of the EMod and Late Modern quotations come from Scottish sources (including Burns, Ramsay, and Douglas).

The Ruling Elder, trying to protect the Church of Scotland from the petition of an Episcopalian minister, states that he believes that "nae Keerate get a leave to sett's fitt within this *Bigging*" (*no curate get a leave to set his foot within this* ***building***). SND finds *bigging* for 'building' attested from the 12th century in place-names. OED notes that it is now restricted to Scotland and the north of England; all of the quotations for the sense of 'building' from the EMod and late modern period are Scottish in origin, with the relevant quotation from the 1722 edition of *The Assembly* cited (though dated to *a*1713 rather than to 1691).

The noun *glisk* 'glimpse' is classified only as Scottish by the OED, where the quotation from the *The Assembly* provides the earliest citation for the noun. This quotation –"[The greatest Nobles of the Nation thought it their greatest Honor to stand at the Door of the House of God, with drawen Swords to Keep out] the Malignants, whom they knew by the first *Glisk* of their Faces" – also is the first citation in SND, which provides many examples for the verbal forms of *glisk* as well.

The Moderator in *The Assembly* twice uses the phrase *the day* 'today':

> I see many Malignant Spies here *the day*
>
> ... it may be Cause of Lamentation for us *the Day*

In the 1722 printed edition, the first instance of *the day* is altered to *toDay*. OED states that *the day* 'today' is found in Scotland and the Border counties of England, providing a quotation from Scott's *Waverley* (1814): " But we maun a'

live *the day,* and have our dinner". SND calls this a Scottish usage. It is not found in EDD. EDG (§372) finds the form only in Scotland.

4.27.15 *Sauny the Scot*

bawbee n. "Scottish coin"
bride-cake n. "wedding cake"
Clootes n. "the Devil"
dinger n. 'a smashing blow'
durk n. "dagger"
grannam n. "grandmother"
grip n. "firm hold, grasp"
laird n. 'lord'
nor conj. 'than'
scrat v. "to scratch"
sting n. 'forked instrument used in thatching'
tike n. "dog"
wammle v. "to roll uneasily"

Sauny refers to a Scottish coin, a *Bawbee*: "gin I had yea in Scotland, Is'e ne give yea a *Bawbee* for your Luggs". This silver coin, first worth three pennies and then six pennies, received its name after the master of the mint, Laird of Sillebawbe. OED and DOST only find it attested in Scotland.

Sauny asks his master, "Shall Saundy get her a *Bride-Cake*, and Brake o'r her Head Sir?". This quotation makes sense when you become aware of the tradition around this wedding cake. EDD defines *bride-cake* as "the cake provided at a wedding, formerly broken over the head of the bride", and finds it used in the North Country. *Bride-cake* is found in a 1897 quotation in the SND entry for *tour* 'tower': "The minister commonly cuts the *bride-cake* ... ". OED's entry for *bridecake* has no dialectal comment, and the quotations provided do not seem to be dialectally inclined; one such quotation is from Pepys's 1666 diary, "Had a piece of *bridecake* sent me by Mrs. Barbary".

Sauny threatens Jamy, telling him "I'se bang ye tea *Clootes*". *Clootes* here refers to the devil, with his cloven hooves or *clootes*. EDD finds this use in Scotland, as does SND, which glosses it as referring to "His Satanic Majesty".

Part of Sauny's grace before meals is as follows: "Keep us aw from Whoredome and Secresie, fro the *Dinger* o' the swatch to the gallow Tree, keep us aw we Beseech thee". *Dinger* is defined by SND as a "a smashing blow"; EDD finds it in use across England, though not in the north, though the verb *ding* is found in Scottish sources.

Sauny says that he will make Margaret come with him, or he'll put his "*Durke* to the hilt in her Weam". Here, he is using a Scottish word for a dagger or knife, one that is attested as Scottish by EDD, DOST, and OED.

Sauny claims that Margaret is "as Dead as mine *Grannam*". SND classifies *grannam* as a Scottish variant of the English *grandam(e)*, and EDD finds the same spelling variant in Scotland and in north Yorkshire.

Grip, as in 'to take a grip (of something)' or 'to get a grip (of something)' is not dialectally marked in PDE, but in the seventeenth century was marked strongly as Scottish. In fact, OED notes that most of the uses from the fifteenth to seventeenth century are Scottish, and that it was rarely found in the eighteenth century. DOST also notes that *grip* was rare outside of Scotland until the nineteenth century. Sauny, after being hit by Margaret, exclaims, "S'breed the Deel tak a *gripe* O yer faw fingers and Driss your Doublat for ye"; in *Courtship A-la-mode*, Willie makes a similar statement, telling a group of lads to "Gaung awau thaun, whau au deel hauds, au *grip* o'ye".

Sauny calls a man a "*Laird*", using the Scottish term for *lord*, attested in OED as Scottish, and found in Scotland and the northern counties by EDD. Willie, in *Courtship A-la-mode*, refers to his "*Lairds* sister", and in *Ireland Preserv'd* Granade impersonates "an Highland *Laird*"; other than a reference in the cast list of *The Rump* to "the Scotch Laird" Wareston, these are the only uses of *laird* in my dataset.

Sauny is happy that his master and his friend propose going to the tavern and drinking, remarking, "Gude these Lades are o' Saundyes Mind, they'l lather take a Drink, *nor* Fight". It is likely that *lather* is a misprint for *rather*, and that *nor* is used in the sense of 'than'. *Nor* 'than' is attested in DOST (with examples such as "No other *nor* the Scots"). OED states that in recent use this tends to be dialectal, found in Scottish, Irish, American, and English dialects. Sauny uses it again, saying "I'se sooner pick your tang out O' your head, *nor* pick your Pocket". Willie, in *Courtship A-la-mode*, also uses *nor* in this way, telling his master to "kiss her bonny mouth, whaut a deel wull she be the better o' yer kindness aun ye do na mair *nor* thaut till her". Peggy in *The Valiant Scot* also uses *nor* for this sense: "dowty valour merits mare repute *nor* Sike fawe language".

For a discussion of *scrat*, refer to 4.27.8.

Sauny attributes some of Margaret's shrewishness to the devil:

> Now the Deel's a cruppen untell her Mouth Sir, you may see a little of his Tail hang out, it looks for aw the world an it were a *Sting* Sir.

EDD defines *sting* as a 'forked instrument used in thatching', a term found in Scotland. DOST gives a broader definition of a staff or pole, a use which is classified as Scottish and northern by OED. OED also notes the sense found in EDD, which is likely to be that which is intended, as the forked instrument would resemble the bifurcated tail of the devil.

Sauny calls his master "a false Trundle Taile *Tike*", using a word for *dog* that OED classifies as chiefly Scottish and northern, and that is found in DOST (under *tyk(e)*). EDD finds *tike* in general dialect use across Britain, not just in the north. It is also used by Percy in *The Valiant Scot*, and by Maudlin in *The Sad Shepherd.*

A rude Sauny asks Margaret if "your Stomach *wamble* to see his Face, What will ye dea when ye see his Arse Madam"; *wamble* 'wammle' is discussed in 4.27.13.

4.27.16 *Courtship A-la-mode*

benn adv. 'within'
causy n. 'street or pavement'
good man n. 'husband'
learn v. 'to teach'
lope v. 'to jump'
nor conj. 'than'
red-wood adj. 'furious; stark mad'

Willie confirms his master's statement, that a woman told him to wait in this room until she came – to "tarry here aun no gang awau till she caum *benn*". His master, Freelove, seems to become exasperated by Willie's choice of Scottish lexis, and tells him to speak English rather than Scots, saying: "*Ben* --- but 'tis no matter; Willie, you must forget Scotland, and conform yourself to the Customs of England; learn our Accent". OED places *ben* 'within, towards the inner part' as Scottish and northern, noting that the phrase 'come ben' often refers to 'come into the parlour'. It is also well-attested in DOST.

Willie tells the women that their Sweethearts are standing "sighing in the *causy*". OED states that the meaning of *causey* as 'street' or 'street pavement', is primarily Scottish. EDD finds the word used in various senses across Scotland, Ireland, England, and America.

Willie asks a woman, "how waud ye like me for yer *good man*?", and also notes that "the Minister's Wife said I waus the bonniest Laud in au her *good man*'s parish". Here, *good man* has the specific meaning of 'husband'. OED places this sense as now only Scottish or archaic, and this sense is attested in DOST (under *gud-*). Brun in *Hey for Honesty* says that he has "bin a prupder *gud man* in the Borders"; this is an alternate usage of *gud man*, one probably indicating ownership of property.

Willie twice uses *learn* to mean 'to teach', rather than 'to acquire knowledge': "Waud ye *learn* au Gentleman good manners?" and "now I hea *learnt* ye mainers we this bred Sword". This sense is found in DOST, with supporting citations

from the seventeenth century, including this 1640 example from the Dundonald Parish Records: "John Donaldson, ... confessing charming ... was asked who *learned* him that arte". However, OED and EDD find this sense in widespread use, with OED calling it now vulgar.

Willie says that "this letter will gaur me new Maister *loup* out o' his skin", and also promises to make people "*loap*". The verb *loup* is discussed in 4.27.1.

Nor 'than' is discussed in 4.27.15.

Willie kisses a woman he's just met "rudely" (according to the stage direction), and states that in Scotland "we gang *red wood* upon bonny Lasses". Later, he asks others if they are "*reed wood* to give away yer siller". *Wood* 'crazy' is analysed in 4.26. However, *red wood* is a separate phrase; DOST defines the phrase *rede-wod* as 'furious', 'wild with passion', or 'raving mad'. OED classifies *red-wood* as Scottish only; one examples is from a 1692 work, "Drink, Whore, and Debauch, and run *red wood* through the World".

4.27.17 *Ireland Preserv'd*

Irishes n. (pl.) 'Irishmen or Irishwomen'
swats n. 'small beer'

Twice in *Ireland Preserv'd* characters refer to Irishmen and Irishwoman with the plural form *Irishes*. A Scotch Woman tells her husband that "these *Irishes* hau taen my Cleathes from little Saunder and my sell", and another woman says that "the *Irishes* are Ferrying over by hundreds". OED cites this usage as chiefly Scottish, and EDD only provides Scottish quotations for this sense.

The spy asks, "ken you where is awny of my Country *Swats*?". *Swats* is glossed in the text as "Small Scotch Ale". This sense is attested in SND ('newly-brewed weak beer'), EDD ('a kind of small beer'), and in OED ('new small beer or ale'). EDD finds it in Shetland, Orkney, and Caithness. OED states that it is a Scottish form, possibly descending from OE *swatan* 'beer'.

4.28 Proper names

There is variation in the names of the Scottish dialect speakers themselves. Two characters are called Jockey (Jockie in *Edward IV* and Jocky in *The Scots Figgaries*). Captain Jamy in *Henry V* and Sauny in *Sauny the Scot* round out the stereotypically Scottish name list; in *Sir Barnaby Whigg*, the servant Swift imitates a Scottish Dominican, and calls himself Father Sawney. I discuss Sauny in detail in 4.28.1. However, most characters do not have these stereotypically Scottish names.

Wariston, in *The Roundheads*, refers to the devil as "aud Jemmy", stating "'Sbread, sike a Sum wou'd make me honour the face of aud *Jemmy*". The name Jemmy is also found in *Ireland Preserv'd*, though without the devilish connotation, as here a Scotch countrywoman is calling out for her husband. This woman also refers to her son, Rory. The rest of the references to proper names occur in Scotch Songs, and are listed in Table 4.28[18], organised by name and then by year of publication.

#	form	character	play	year
3	**Jemmy**	Madam la Marquise (Scotch Song)	*The Campaigners*	1698
1	**Jocky**	Lady Turnup (Scotch Song)	*The Morning Ramble*	1672
6	**Jockey**	Chloe (Scotch Song)	*The Royalist*	1682
3	**Jockey**	Jockey/ Jenny (Scotch Song)	*A Fool's Preferment*	1688
2	**Jocky**	Musicians (Scotch Song)	*The Mock Marriage*	1696
3	**Jockey**	Madam la Marquise (Scotch Song)	*The Campaigners*	1698
1	**Sawny**	Lady Turnup (Scotch Song)	*The Morning Ramble*	1672
4	**Sawney**	Letitia (Scotch Song)	*The Virtuous Wife*	1680
4	**Sawney**	Chloe (Scotch Song)	*The Royalist*	1682
4	**Sawny**	Madam la Marquise (Scotch Song)	*The Campaigners*	1698
1	**Saunder**	Scotch Woman	*Ireland Preserv'd*	1705

Table 4.28: references to proper names

If proper names appear in a Scotch Song, the reference is likely to be to a Scotsman called 'Jockey', 'Jemmy', or 'Sauny'. In the song in *The Campaigners*, the speaker mentions all three names, declaring that "*Jockey* was a dowdy Lad;

[18] Table numbers correspond to section numbers throughout the thesis.

And *Jemmy* swarth and tawny ... But I love only *Sawny*". The song in *The Royalist* begins with the lines: "Twa bonny Lads were *Sawney* and *Jockey*, Blith *Jockey* was lov'd, but *Sawney* unluckie".

Women, more often than not sing these Scotch Songs, which themselves are sometimes written from the perspective of a woman. Yet, you do not see the same stereotyping of women's proper names to the same extent you do with men's names. The name Jenny appears in three songs. D'Urfey's song in *A Fool's Preferment* is a dialogue between Jockey and Jenny, and the song in *The Mock Marriage*, attributed to D'Urfey, also features Jockey and Jenny. In Behn's *The City Heiress*, Charlot sings the song of a lovesick lad which is addressed to Jenny.

4.28.1 Sauny's self-reference in *Sauny the Scot*

In *Sauny the Scot,* Sauny often refers to himself in the third person, doing so 32 times. While doing so may be a quirk of his personality, Lacy does not appear to characterise this as a particularly Scottish quality. However, it appears that some linguistic observation is hinted at here, as there is a distinct contrast between the other characters' presumed pronunciation of Sauny's name and his own, which often occur in close proximity.

> Sauny: Gud at ge gi *Saundy* a little Siller to gea to Scotland agen.
> Petruchio: Why *Sauny*, I have not us'd thee so unkindly.
>
> Curtis: Honest *Sauny*, Wellcome, wellcome.
> Sauny: *Saundy*'s Hungry; Can't you get a little Meat, Sir?

Sauny seems to prefer referring to himself as *Saundy*, while the other characters address him primarily as *Sauny*. This disparity is lessened in each subsequent edition, when the variant forms appear to be levelled to *Sauny*.

Sauny's full name is Alexander. In the version of *The Taming of the Shrew* (1594) that Shakespeare is supposed to have used as source material, the servant of the

male lead is called Sander; Lacy, too, may have utilised this text in addition to that of Shakespeare (to which he was much more heavily reliant), and drawn Sauny's name from the original play (Maidment and Logan 1875: 314). Therefore, it is reasonable to assume that Lacy intended *Saundy* and *Sauny* as nicknames for Sander – itself a shortened form of Alexander. As charted by the OED, these forms appear to have only Scottish associations, with forms including *Sandy* and *Sawney* becoming used as a generic nickname for any Scotsman and then to a predominantly negative nickname for any Scotsman. The widespread use of *Sauny* as a general term for a Scotsman appears to post-date the performance (though not the publication) of *Sauny the Scot*, so it is not unreasonable to assume that the popularity of the play helped reinforce, if not spark, this connotation.

Sauny's name appears in his own dialogue in the following ways:

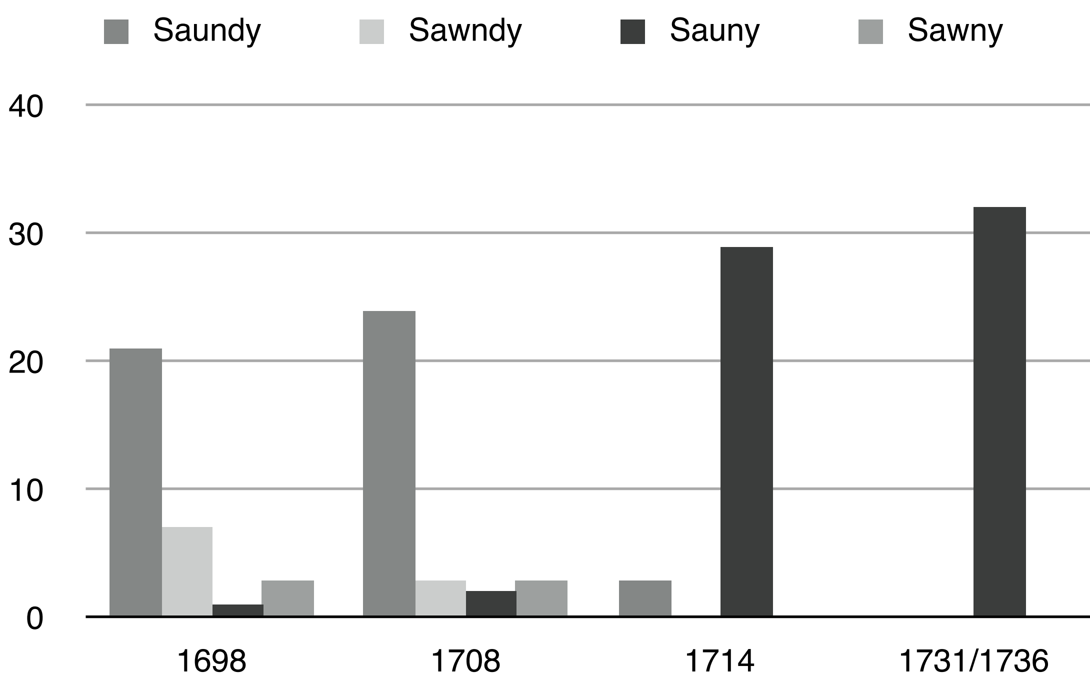

Chart 4.28.1: What Sauny calls himself in *Sauny the Scot*: a cross-edition analysis

As seen above, there are comparatively few self-referential *Saunys* in either the 1698 or the 1708 edition. Rather, most of his forms preserve the [d]. In the 1698 edition, Sauny refers to himself primarily as *Saundy*, spelled *Saundy* in 21

instances or *Sawndy* in seven instances; in comparison, he only refers to himself as *Sauny* once and *Sawny* thrice. These variations appear to be condensed in the 1714, 1731, and 1736 editions to *Sauny*, coming into agreement not only with the title but also with the other characters' pronunciation of his name; the other characters never call him *Saundy* or *Sawndy*.

These spelling variations in the 1698 edition should not be seen as examples of sloppy workmanship or careless editing. Lacy is clearly trying to indicate some kind of linguistic differentiation or variation. Yet, the marked form within the play, oddly, is the [d] form – which is not the one classified by scholars as the dialect form.

This marked loss of the [d] in the speech of non-dialectal characters – and its retention in the sole dialect speaker in the original edition – is unexpected. However, the process itself was, and is, common. Dobson (1968: §393) describes the loss of final [d] in [nd] clusters as a simplification that was 'apparently common in vulgar and dialectal speech but was resisted in careful educated speech'. More specifically, this feature can be considered a Scottish one. This type of alveolar cluster simplification ([nd] to [n]) was attested in Older Scots (see 6.1), and could be considered a marker of regionality; it was regionally variable across Scotland, and 'primarily divides the west and north of Scotland from the rest', but more specifically could have been found across all Scotland excepting 'Tayside, the eastern regions of the Fife and the eastern Borders' (Johnston 1997a: 101). Johnston (1997a: 101) also notes that this trait is by no means restricted only to Scotland, but also is attested in northern England, citing Reaney's 1927 grammar of Penrith and Orton's 1933 grammar of a south Durham dialect.

Now considered part of Edinburgh's Royal Mile, the street *Lawnmarket* was the *land* market; Johnston (1997a: 102) uses this evidence as 'testimony that the rule was once common' in Edinburgh. This example, while interesting in terms of Edinburgh trivia, is also enlightening in terms of vowel quality, as it displays

the same process affecting the word Sauny. When the /nd/ cluster is simplified, and the /d/ lost, an effect is also seen on the vowel, which becomes a rounded back vowel. *Land* [lænd] to *lawn* [lɔn] is paralleled in Sandy [sændɪ] to Sauny [sɔnɪ]. However, this does not fully explain the Saundy form, which preserves the /d/ but indicates a rounded back vowel, and this form is the predominant form that Sauny uses himself. In Petruchio's first line of dialogue he instructs Sauny to stop speaking 'Scotch', insisting instead that Sauny 'speak me English', so possibly the use of *Saundy* could be seen as hypercorrection on Sauny's part, with the other characters' *Sauny* functioning as mimicry of a typical Scottish pronunciation. However, this explanation seems needlessly complex, and as there are no other indications in the text that Sauny is either hypercorrecting or otherwise cleansing his speech of dialect, or of the other characters' mockery or mimicry, this situation is unlikely.

These concerns are conflated in the case of Sauny's name, where there is, somewhat inexplicably, a clear preference for *Saundy* forms for the Scottish Sauny and *Sauny* forms for the English, though these variant forms are leveled out in the later editions.

Also, interestingly, the rest of Sauny's dialogue does not display alveolar cluster simplification, except in the four instances of *Sauny*/*Sawny* and in *sen* 'sent'. This lack is not due to the lack of context for this process, in either marked dialect forms such as *grund* 'ground' and *pund* 'pound', or in unmarked words, which include *and*, *behind*, *friend*, *hand*, *mend*, *Scotland*, *stand*, *thousand*, and *understand*.

Hence, while Sauny refers to himself using a nickname preserving the consonant cluster of his proper name, all the other characters use a form marked either as Scottish or as vulgar, lazy, and non-standard. Perhaps there is more than just outraged bombast in Kilbourne's (1906: 80) declaration that Lacy has made 'Margaret and Petruchio talk like people of the London streets'. Though Kilbourne objected chiefly to the corruption of Shakespeare's dialogue, it

appears that Lacy may have been representing legitimate and acceptable pronunciation differences. It is difficult to analyse this name data as evidence of Lacy's knowledge about dialectal variation (despite Sauny's marked original (1698) preference for the *Saundy* form), but it could be analysed as evidence of casual speech and acceptable variation in EMod London. The changes of later editors' would then be focussed on standardizing spellings and correcting any unusual or superfluous spellings.

Morphosyntax

Chapter 5

In this chapter, I discuss the morphosyntactic features found in the representations of Scots in my selected plays. Morphosyntactic features are not as commonly depicted as phonological features or lexical items are in this dataset. However, such features do appear across a number of plays.

5.1 *Ise* 'I shall'

The form *Ise* 'I shall' contains a reduced and cliticized form of ME *sal(l)* 'shall'. *Sal(l)* is restricted to the north from the fourteenth century, according to OED, though LALME data shows that forms of 'shall' or 'should' with initial 'single s + V', as in *sal* or *sulde*, are found predominantly in the north, with a southern boundary stretching from mid Lancashire to The Wash (Dot Map 148).

This feature is also found in modern data in the north. SND describes the unstressed *s(e)* form of *sall* or *sal* surviving in Scotland. EDD notes that the clitic *'s* 'shall' is found generally in Scotland and the North Country, as well as specifically in Aberdeenshire, Stirling, Northumberland, Cumberland, Westmorland, south Westmorland, north Yorkshire, mid Yorkshire, west Yorkshire, Lancashire, Cheshire, and Durham, as well as in west Worcestershire, and Devon. The LAE map for *(I) Shall* (M48) shows that the cliticized form (*I*)*'s* was found in a strip in the northwest, curving from north and east Cumberland to south Lancashire, and including parts of west Durham, and north and west Yorkshire.

Ise appears in the literature of the EMod period, though the first OED citation dates from a 1796 novel, *The History of Ned Evans*, where, based on the

contextual clues, the speaker is presumably Irish. The second is a Scots quotation from Scott's *Waverley* (1814): '*I'se* warrant him nane of your whingeing King George folk.' OED describes *Ise* or *I'se* as a "dialectal or archaic abbreviation of 'I shall'". DOST notes that this form (*Is*, *Iis*, *Ise*) is particularly frequent in EMod literature "in the speeches of dialect, northern, and especially Scottish speakers", spelled as *Ays*, *Ice*, or *Ise*. One of DOST's quotations is taken from a 1584 work on rhetoric (*Revlis and Cautelis*) by James VI/ I, where he instructs the reader on matters of abbreviation:

> For thais quhilkis ar cuttit schort, I meane be sic wordis as thir, **Iis** neir cair, for I sall neuer cair
>
> *For these which are cut short, I mean be such words as these: '**Iis** ne'er care', for 'I shall never care'.*

James seems to advocate the use of these abbreviations, which in the same passage he describes as often used "in flyting and invectives" – in crude, comic, and vituperative verse and argumentative speech.

Bartley (1943: 281) states that *Ise* is a stereotypical Scottish form in drama from 1589 to 1659, declaring that "the most noticeable and regularly used Scottish words are: *bonny*, *gang*, *mickle* and *muckle*, *gar*, *crag* for 'neck', *sic*, *wame* for 'belly', *till* for 'to', *deil*, *whinyard* for 'sword', and *Ise* for 'I will'". *Ise* is the only common non-lexical feature mentioned by Bartley (who glosses the form incorrectly as descending from "I will" instead of being a form of "I shall").

Ise does not appear to be entirely restricted to the north. There are a few occurrences of *Ise* 'I shall' found in the South – EDD provides a quotation from

Devon, *Ise warrant me. Ise like to see'n* – but nevertheless the bulk of the data has a substantially more northern slant.[19]

EDD, like SND, notes that this unstressed *s(e)* form can only occur after personal pronouns. This rule is obeyed in my dataset, with only one exception: I have recorded 110 instances of *Ise* 'I shall', 41 instances of the form with other pronouns (namely 'he', 'she', 'thou', 'we' and 'ye' or 'you'), and one with a non-pronominal subject (*Saundy's*, in "*Saundy's* gea for Scotland...").

A complete list of these examples of *Ise* can be found in Table 5.1:

#	form	character	play	year
2	**ais (1), ayse (1)**	Bohan	*Scottish History of James IV*	1598
4	**ise (3), ayse (1)**	Jockie	*Edward IV*	1599
6	**Ise (3), Ize (1), I'ze (2)**	Wallace	*The Valiant Scot*	1637
1	**Ise**	Friar	*The Valiant Scot*	1637
10	**Aies (9), I'se (1)**	Brun	*Hey for Honesty*	1651
21	**Ise**	Jocky (9), Folly (6), Scarefoole (3), Billy (2), Scotch Song (1)	*The Scots Figgaries*	1652
3	**Ise**	Wareston	*The Rump*	1660

[19] The form *Ise* 'I shall' appears in Shakespeare's *King Lear*, in what is arguably the most well-known passage of dialect representation in drama. Interestingly, this form does not occur in a representation of a northern or Scottish dialect; Edgar, already in disguise as the mad Tom O'Bedlam, briefly adopts the language of a southern peasant, one from Kent, and is in this guise when he uses the form *Ise*. This inclusion of *Ise* 'I shall' can be illuminated by consulting the different editions of Shakespeare's work. The earliest editions of this play contain vastly different amounts of dialect representation: for instance, the 1608 quarto does not contain *I'se*, but the 1623 folio does:

> 1608: keepe out, chevore ye, or **ile** trie whether your coster or my battero be the harder, ile be plaine with you.
>
> 1623: keepe out che vor' ye, or **ice** try whither your Costard, or my Ballow be the harder; chill be plaine with you.

In fact, the language of the entire 1623 dialectal passage has been spiced up – altered to make it more obviously dialectal and non-standard. These alterations were achieved by the conscious alteration of certain words not previously marked, as well with the addition of apostrophes to words in order to more clearly indicate dialect words or pronunciations. These alterations include *zwaggerd* (1623) for *swaggar'd* (1608), *zo* (1623) for *so* (1608) and *chill* (1623) *ile* (1608), as well as the substitution of *ice* (1623) for *ile* (1608). The *ice* spelling is unusual, and not much attested in contemporary sources; in later editions, such as the modern Pelican edition (Orgel 2002), it is adapted to *Ise*.

15	**I's (12), Is (3)**	Wariston	*The Roundheads*	1682
3	**I's**	Charlot	*The City Heiress*	1682
9	**I'se**	Hob	*The Benefice*	1689
27	**I'se (21); Ise (3); Is'e (3)**	Sauny	*Sauny the Scot*	1698
4	**Ise (2), I'se (2)**	Willie Beetlehead	*Courtship A-la-mode*	1700
4	**Ise**	Forgus (2), Scotch countreyman (1), two women (1)	*Ireland Preserv'd*	1705
1	**I's**	David Hewston	*Ireland Preserv'd*	1705
110				

Table 5.1: *Ise* 'I shall'

While occasional instances of *Ise* appear in 11 plays published from 1598 to 1705, the form is only used with any frequency in a smaller subset of plays. About a fourth (27) of the forms are used by Sauny in *Sauny the Scot*, who makes statements like "*I'se* nea gea ye twa Pennys for them" and "*I'se* undress her". Wariston uses the form 15 times in *The Roundheads*, which is interesting because *Ise* 'I shall' is found only thrice in *The Rump*, the source for *The Roundheads*; presumably Behn was capitalising on a well-known, salient feature, and when expanding the dialogue of Wariston in her adaptation took the initiative to bulk out his speech with additional instances of dialect forms and features. *Ise* 'I shall' also appears 21 times in *The Scots Figgaries*. These relatively high figures for *Sauny the Scot* and *The Scots Figgaries* can be partially explained by the sizable amount of dialogue for dialect speakers in these plays; while not the main character, Sauny is the title character, and has an important role within the play, while the characters in *The Scots Figgaries* have a substantial amount of dialogue.

For this dataset, I make a full comparative study of the dialectal forms and the non-dialectal ones, collecting the number of non-dialectal forms of 'shall' in the dialogue of dialect speakers. A greater discussion of this comparison can be found in 5.4.2. Comparatively, there are 12 instances of the phrase "I sall" in this dataset (1 "ay sal", 2 "I sal", 9 "I sall"). The unmarked phrase "I shall" appears only three times: once in *The Mock Marriage* ("I shall dream of Clogs and silly

Dogs") and twice in *The Benefice* ("How I shall laugh anon" and "I shall have the better stomach to him").

5.1.1 other pronouns + *'s*

The *'s* clitic can be used with other pronouns, though it most frequently appears in this dataset attached to the first person singular pronoun. Table 5.1.1 lists the instances in my dataset of *'s* used with pronouns other than 'I', along with the single instance of *'s* affixing to a non-pronominal subject (*Saundy's*); the latter use is unattested by EDD and SND. The table is organised chronologically by date of publication.

#	form	gloss	character	play	year
1	**thouse**	(thou) shall	Bohan	*Scottish History of James IV*	1598
1	**yous**	(you) shall	Bohan	*Scottish History of James IV*	1598
1	**he's**	(he) shall	Wallace	*The Valiant Scot*	1637
3	**thouse**	(thou) shall	Friar	*The Valiant Scot*	1637
2	**wees (1), weese (1)**	(we) shall	Peggy	*The Valiant Scot*	1637
1	**thou's**	(thou) shall	Brun	*Hey for Honesty*	1651
1	**he's**	(he) shall	Folly	*The Scots Figgaries*	1652
6	**wees**	(we) shall	Jocky	*The Scots Figgaries*	1652
1	**theys**	(they) shall	Wariston	*The Roundheads*	1682
2	**ya's (1), yas (1)**	(you) shall	Wariston	*The Roundheads*	1682
1	**Saundy's**	(Saundy) shall	Sauny	*Sauny the Scot*	1698
1	**shee's**	(she) shall	Sauny	*Sauny the Scot*	1698
1	**wee's**	(we) shall	Sauny	*Sauny the Scot*	1698
3	**ye's**	(you) shall	Sauny	*Sauny the Scot*	1698
3	**ye'st**	(you) shall	Sauny	*Sauny the Scot*	1698
1	**hee's**	(he) shall	6th soldier	*Ireland Preserv'd*	1705
1	**They's**	(they) shall	2 Burg	*Ireland Preserv'd*	1705
1	**wa's**	(we) shall	David Hewston	*Ireland Preserv'd*	1705
7	**wee's**	(we) shall	1 Man; 2 Man; mob members 2 and 3; 1 Gang (2); 2 Gang	*Ireland Preserv'd*	1705
1	**yeas**	(you) shall	women	*Ireland Preserv'd*	1705
1	**yous**	(you) shall	1 Burg	*Ireland Preserv'd*	1705
2	**ya's**	(you) shall	2 Burg, 3 Burg	*Ireland Preserv'd*	1705
42					

Table 5.1.1: X*'s* : 'X shall'

All seven plays featuring this use also contain instances of *Ise* 'I shall'. The particle *'s* is put into heavy use by the characters in *Ireland Preserv'd*, with 14 instances. It appears nine times in *Sauny the Scot*, and is used six times by the characters of *The Valiant Scot* and seven by those in *The Scots Figgaries.*

5.1.2 *Ized* 'I should'

The Valiant Scot provides another otherwise unattested use of an *Ise* form – *Ized* 'I should':

> ...wad I had his head here too, **Ized** beare it by my sawle
> toth' English Campe
> *would I had his head here too, **I should** bear it by my soul*
> *to the English Campe*

Ized is not reported from any other source concerned with dialectal usage. However, *suld* is an attested EME form, and *suld* forms are also found in EMod Scotland and the north, attested by OED and DOST. J.W., the author of *The Valiant Scot*, appears to have extended the usage from the present tense *Ise* form.

5.2 *Ise* 'I am'

OED's first definition for *Ise* and *I'se* relates to 'I shall'; the second part of that entry states that *I's* and *I is* also is dialectal for *I am*. SND discusses this use under *Is*, v., though they inaccurately state that *I is* for 'I am' is an incorrect usage. The structure of this form has been borrowed from ON (*ek es* 'I am'), providing the model for Scots and NME 'I is' forms. This form also appears as a northern trait in the speech of the northern students in Chaucer's 'The Reeve's Tale'; four examples of this northern shibboleth are listed below, taken from *The Riverside Chaucer*, and preceded by their line number:

> 4045 **I is** as ille a millere as ar ye
>
> 4086 **I is** ful wight, God waat, as is a raa;

4202 Now may I seyn that **I is** but an ape.

4239 **I is** thyn awen clerk, swa have I seel!"

LAE data (M1, M5) shows *I is* 'I am' only in the north – Cumberland, Westmorland, north Lancashire, south Northumberland, Durham, and north and central Yorkshire. Map M15 shows a cliticized form *I's* in the same locations excepting most of Northumberland (all but the southwest and southeast corners).

Examples of *Ise* 'I am' are found in Table 5.2.

#	form	character	play	year
2	**ise**	Doysells (1), Mortigue (1)	*The Vow Breaker*	1636
1	**Ize**	Peggy	*The Valiant Scot*	1637
4	**I'ze (3), Ize (1)**	Wallace	*The Valiant Scot*	1637
1	**Aies**	Brun	*Hey for Honesty*	1651
22	**Ise**	Jocky (11), Billy (6), Scarefoole (3), Folly (2)	*The Scots Figgaries*	1652
10	**Ise**	Wareston	*The Rump*	1660
1	**I's**	Charlot	*The City Heiress*	1682
5	**I's (4), Is (1)**	Wariston	*The Roundheads*	1682
4	**I'se**	Hob	*The Benefice*	1689
3	**I'se (1), Is'e (1), Ise (1)**	Sauny	*Sauny the Scot*	1698
2	**Ise**	Forgus	*Ireland Preserv'd*	1705
55				

Table 5.2: *Ise* 'I am'

Most of these uses – 32 of 55 total – come from two of Tatham's three plays: *The Scots Figgaries* and *The Rump*. Five more are found in *The Roundheads,* Behn's adaptation of *The Rump*. Behn twice reuses the same line as found in Tatham's play: "Bread a gued, and *I's* for him than" and "Ah, my gued Loord, *I's* yare most obedient humble Servant", from the original "Bred a God *Ise* for him than" and "*Ise* ee'n yar humble Servant my geod Loord".

Ise 'I am' is also found in characters' imitations of Scots . Mortigue and Doysells, when imitating Scotswomen, use it in their first and second lines (respectively) in *The Vow Breaker*. Wallace uses it five times when imitating a Scottish soldier

in *The Valiant Scot.* Charlot, in *The City Heiress*, uses it once, though as noted in 5.3 she frequently uses *Ise* (with three different senses) throughout her passage of dialect. *Ise* 'I am' also appears in Forgus's imitation in *Ireland Preserv'd*. *Ise* 'I shall' is found in these same imitations of Scots .

5.2.1 *we's* 'we are'

Likewise, there are four examples of *we's* 'we are' in my dataset, three found in *The Scots Figgaries* and one in *The Roundheads*:

> ***wees*** yar on Contremons ye knee weele enough.
> **we are** your own countrymen you know well enough
>
> **wees** at your Commandement.
> ***we are*** *at your commandment*
>
> **wees** y'ar on Contremons sir, doobt it noot.
> ***We are*** *your own countrymen, Sir, doubt it not*
>
> **wee's** now for a Cup o'th' Creature.
> ***we are*** *now for a cup of the creature*

This specific use is not attested in SND or OED, though it is found in modern-day colloquial speech.

5.3 *Ise* 'I' and *Wees* 'we'

Both *Ise* 'I shall' and *Ise* 'I am' are well attested dialectally. In my dataset, *I'se* can also appear for the pronoun 'I', with no implication of 'shall' or 'is'. Likewise, in two plays, *Wees* can appear for 'we'. There are 43 instances of *Ise* 'I' across 9 plays, and 4 of *Wees* 'We' in two of these same plays (*The Scots Figgaries* and *A Short Representation Performed Before the Lord Generall Monck*). This is a hitherto unnoticed and undiscussed use, one that appears only after 1651 in print and usually in plays with an abundance of other *Ise* forms. Eight of these works contain Scottish representations, and the other (*Dame Dobson*) contains a northern, but not Scottish, one. The textual examples of the misanalysed *Ise*

forms are listed below, in chronological order by the date of publication. I provide the title, author, year of publication, and the proportion of these misanalysed forms to the total number of instances of -*'s* forms in the text (all senses of *Ise* and the forms explicated in 5.1.1), as well as the pertinent line of dialogue followed by an italicised gloss.

***Hey for Honesty* (Randolph 1651) (4/ 14)**

Aies Captain, for **aies** have more scutch Lice, then thou hast English creepers, or He Brittish Goats about him.
*I am captain, for **I** have more scotch lice, than you have English creepers, or he British Goats about him.*

And **aies** wes gang with thee Mon. **Aies** have bin a prupder gud man in the Borders. **Aies** fought blith and bonny for the gewd Earle Duglasse:
*And **I** will go with thee Man. **I** have been a proper good man in the Borders. **I** fought blithe and bonny for the good Earle Douglas;*

***The Scots Figgaries, or, A Knot of Knaves* (Tatham 1652) (12/53)**

Ise tolld 'um o thair knavery
***I** told them of their knavery*

Ise sall uncass ye sirs
***I** shall uncase you, sirs*

Ise cud mack tha King, bliss his Worship, an't lick your honour, mickle geod Puttins...
***I** could make the king, bless his worship, if it please your honour, very good puddings...*

Ise sall bien her or noot ta sey whot operation thay ha had upon ye; Ise sur ye sall ha remedy or non; an sa far ye wall
***I** shall be here or not to say what operation they had had upon you. I am sure you shall have remedy or not, and so far you will*

Ise sur **Ise** ded whot **Ise** cud toll mack 'um ...
*I am sure **I** did what **I** could to make them ...*

Ne sir, **Ise** can dee mere than **Ise** speeke sir.
*No, Sir, **I** can do more than **I** speak, Sir*

bet **Ise** sall ge ye that sir
*but **I** shall give you that, Sir*

wees ha skill enough ta bleede its siller vains
***we** have skill enough to bleed its silver veins*

wees ment ne bad
***we** meant no bad*

wees leove tha Anglish mickle weele
***we** love the English very well.*

***A Short Representation Performed Before the Lord Generall Monck* (1660) (3/3)**

and aw for becose **Ise** ha sarved my gude Loard and Maisser the King
*and all because **I** have served my good Lord and Master the King*

Nor **I'se** ne care at aw For Kiuntry man St. Aundrew
*Nor **I** no care at all for countryman St Andrew*

introath friend **wee's** come[20] for nething else but to garr the General take notice of our loove
*in truth friend **we** come for nothing else but to make the General take notice of our love*

***The City Heiress, or Sir Timothy Treatall* (Behn 1682*)* (2/6)**

Marry and **I's** have ene a Song tol that tune, Sir.
*Marry and **I** have even a song to that tune, Sir.*

Gued faith, and yau're i'th'right, Sir; yet 'tis a thing **I's** often hear ya gay men talk of.
*Good faith, and you're in the right, Sir; yet it is a thing **I** often hear you gay men talk of.*

***The Roundheads, or the Good Old Cause* (Behn 1682) (11/34)**

gen **I's** 'ave any Judgment.
if I have any judgment

I's serv'd the Commonwealth long and faithfully; **I's** turn'd and turn'd to aud Interest and aud Religions that turn'd up Trump, and wons a me, but **I's** get naught but Bagery by my Sol; I's noo put in for a Pansion as well as rest o ya Loones.
***I** served the Commonwealth long and faithfully; **I** turned and turned to all Interest and all Religions that turn'd up Trump, and wounds of me, but **I** get nought but beggary by my soul; I shall now put in for a pension as well as [the] rest of you loons.*

Bread a gued, tak't among yee Gentlemen, **I's** ment weele.
*Bread of God, take it among you Gentlemen, **I** meant well.*

Wons, my Loord, **I's** sware as little as your Lordship, only **I's** sware out, and ya swallow aud.
*Wounds, my Lord, **I** swear as little as your Lordship, only **I** swear out, and you swallow all.*

Gued faith an **I's** ha been a trusty Trojon Sirs, what say you my very gued and gracious Loords?
*Good faith and **I** have been a trusty Trojan Sirs, what say you my very good and gracious Lords?*

Ah, my gued Lord, the Honour is too great! 'Tis not but I's dare fight my Lord, but I love not the limmer Loone, he has a villainous honest Face an's ene; **I's** kend him ence, and lik't him not; but I's drink tol yar gued Fortune; let it gang aboote, ene and ad Sirs.
*Ah, my good Lord, the honour is too great! It is not but I shall [should] dare fight my Lord, but I love not the limmer loon, he has a villainous honest face and he's one; **I***

[20] This form could be analysed as 'We is/are come', with *come* as a potential past participle, as at this time verbs of motion could take *be* as an auxiliary. However, based on the evidence provided by the other forms, its classification as a form of 'we' is more likely.

knew him once, and liked him not; but I shall drink to your good fortune; let it go about, one and all Sirs.

Is scapt hither te weele enough**, Is** (**I's** 1698) sav'd my Crag fro stretching twa Inches longer than 'twas borne:
***I** escaped hitherto well enough, **I** saved my neck from stretching two inches longer than it was born.*

The Royalist **(D'Urfey 1682) (2/2)**
Yet Sawney was tall, well-favour'd and witty,
But **I se** in my heart thought Jockey more pretty;
Yet Sawney was tall, well-favoured and witty,
*But **I** in my heart thought Jockey more pretty.*

Jockey would Love, but he would not Marry,
And **Ise** had a dread lest I should miscarry;
Jockey would love, but he would not marry,
*And **I** had a dread lest I should miscarry;*

Dame Dobson **(Ravenscroft 1684) (3/5)**
Ise warrant you he shall touch it, or it shall gang very hard.
***I** warrant you he shall touch it, or it shall go very hard.*

Ise ha mony very goad reasons
***I** have many very good reasons.*

Ise know ean enough already.
***I** know even enough already.*

The Benefice **(Wild 1689) (3/17)**
Does not Mr. Marchurch live here, **I'se** pray?
Does not Mr Marchurch live here, I pray?

I'se hear you have a Living in your Gift
***I** hear you have a Living in your gift.*

It's so long ago, that **I'se** forgotten
*It's so long ago, that **I have** forgotten*

Sauny the Scot **(Lacy 1698) (3/33)**
Wuns, Sir, **Ise** be sea hungry, snd [sic] sea empty, ye may travell quite through me, and nere faw your fingers Sir.
*Wounds, Sir, **I** am so hungry, and so empty, you may travel quite through me, and never foul your fingers Sir.*

bo [sic] Ise sea hungry, **Ise** ha nea Memory
*but I am so hungry, **I** have no memory*

Gin **Is'e** had ye in *Scotland,* Is'e put my Whinyard in your Weam, gin ye were as stout as *Gilderoy*
*If **I** had you in Scotland, I shall put my whinyard in your stomach, if you were as stout as Gilderoy*

All these examples, except for the two in the Scotch Song in D'Urfey's play and the examples from the *Short Representation before General Monk*, occur in plays with attestations of the legitimate forms. Sometimes the misanalysed forms occur within the same sentence as *Ise* 'I shall' or *Ise* 'I am', as in *The Roundheads, Sauny the Scot*, and *The Scots Figgaries* (***Ise*** *sur* ***Ise*** *ded whot* ***Ise*** *cud toll mack 'um* '**I** am sure **I** did what **I** could to make them'). In Behn's *The City Heiress*, the heroine Charlot disguises herself as a Scottish lass; almost every line of her spoken dialogue features *I's*, either as 'I shall', 'I am', or 'I'. *The Roundheads* is Behn's adaptation of Tatham's *The Rump*. Great portions of Tatham's dialogue – including that of the Scot, Wariston – have been transplanted directly into her version, without acknowledgment. However, Tatham only used *I'se* for the historically parsable 'I shall' and 'I am' in that play; *I's* for 'I' is Behn's addition. It appears that Behn, along with these other authors, is using *I's* as a general (or generic) marker of Scottishness. This mistake is either an example of overgeneralisation or just plain confusion of the forms. *Ise* 'I' also appears in the anti-Scottish pamphlet *Scotland Characterised* (1701), in the speech of a "beggarly Scot", alongside an instance of *Ise* 'I shall':

> **Ise** neer heard of that Lord, but get ye to him, and will him immediately to surrender all to me, or **Ise** pull him out by the lugs
>
> ***I*** *never heard of that Lord ... or* ***I shall*** *pull him out ....*

Three of the four examples of *wees* 'we' break the Northern Present Tense Rule (which would not apply to the fourth, past tense, example); see 5.7 for more information about this rule. I can find no data to validate this use in genuine Scots data. I provide the three relevant quotations from *The Scots Figgaries*, with italicised glosses, below:

> **wees** ha skill enough ta bleede its siller vains
> ***we*** *have skill enough to bleed its silver veins*
>
> **wees** ment ne bad
> ***we*** *meant no bad*

wees leove tha Anglish mickle weele
we *love the English very well.*

5.4 forms of 'shall' and 'should'

5.4.1 *sall*

Though the Scottish forms of 'shall' and 'should' could be discussed in my chapter on phonology (specifically, in section 6.4), I include them here with other forms of 'shall'. The common form of 'shall' in the north and Scotland is *sall*, attested by EDD, SND, and OED. OED notes that *sal* forms are restricted to the north after the fourteenth century. Johnston (1997a: 105) states that the /s/ ~/ʃ/ interchange was "one of the more salient features of Older Scots", and notes that the typical Scots form of 'shall' – *sal* – (alongside its related forms) is the only instance of this phonological process found in initial position.

Forms of *sall* are found in nine plays, and are listed in Table 5.4.1:

#	form	character	play	year
1	**sal**	Sir Bartram	*Scottish History of James IV*	1598
4	**sal (2), sall (2)**	Bohan	*Scottish History of James IV*	1598
3	**sal (1), sall (2)**	Jockie	*Edward IV*	1599
4	**sall (3), sal (1)**	Captain Jamy	*Henry V*	1623
2	**sall**	Friar	*The Valiant Scot*	1637
2	**sall**	Peggy	*The Valiant Scot*	1637
4	**sall**	Wallace	*The Valiant Scot*	1637
2	**sall**	Scotch apothecary	*The Distracted State*	1651
13	**sall (12), sal (1)**	Jocky	*The Scots Figgaries*	1652
8	**sall (7), saw (1)**	Billy	*The Scots Figgaries*	1652
10	**sall (9), sal (1)**	Folly	*The Scots Figgaries*	1652
3	**sall**	Wareston	*The Rump*	1660
4	**sal**	Sauny	*Sauny the Scot*	1698
6	**sall**	Willie Beetlehead	*Courtship A-la-mode*	1700
66				

Table 5.4.1: *sall* 'shall'

32 of these 66 instances occur after a personal pronoun subject (*ay*, *he*, *I*, *Ise* [I], *she*, *thay*, *we*, *ye*, and *you*); five more appear with the pronominal subject omitted.

There are two additional uses of *salt* 'shalt', one by Peggy in *The Valiant Scot* and another by Folly in *The Scots Figgaries*.

5.4.2 Analysis of all 'shall' forms

I highlight some of the interesting data on forms of 'shall' below.

The end of sentence tag "sall I" is found in the two earliest plays in my dataset: *The Scottish History of James IV* and *Edward IV Parts 1 and 2*. Bohan says, "ay gar the recon me nene of thay friend by the mary masse *sall* I", while Jockie declares "ise be your true beadsman mistresse, I indead, *sal* I", and says, "Marie *sall* aye, gynne yéele be bud petient a while". Wallace in *The Valiant Scot* also uses the phrase "Marry sall I" in the same line as Ise 'I shall': "Marry sall I, luke to your selfe, Ise thrust you into the Dewles chops". Captain Jamy uses a similar construction twice in *Henry V*: "and I *sall* quit you with gud leve, as I may pick occasion: that *sall* I mary" and "and Ile pay't as valorously as I may, that *sal* I suerly do".

Some depictions, like that in *Thierry and Theodoret*, do not attempt to mark 'shall'; the third soldier's speech includes the line, "when they *shall* heare a thy tourtesie [sic] to their wandring countriman". Others don't contain the feature at all, including those in *Eastward Ho*, *The Witch*, *The Vow Breaker*, *The Projectors*, *The Morning Ramble*, *Trick for Trick*, *The Virtuous Wife*, *The Souldiers Fortune*, *The Royalist*, *The Marriage Hater Match'd*, or *The Campaigners*. These plays contain neither forms of *sall*, nor the *'s* clitic, nor *shall* itself.

Towards the end of *Edward IV*, Jockie uses 'shall' repeatedly where before he always used a marked form: "... and yonder gude pure woman *shall* keepe the

stakes, and this cheese *shall* be the measter", and "Heare ye sir, *shall* they be whipt and hangd that give to the pure, then they *shall* bee damne that take fro the pure".

Henry V contains several instances of *sall* and of variants of *Ile*, but no *Ise*. Captain Jamy's two longest passages of dialogue contain parallel phrases involving these features:

> Scot: It *sall* be vary gud, gud feith, gud Captens bath, and I *sall* quit you with gud leve, as I may pick occasion: that *sall* I mary.
>
> Scot: By the Mes, ere theise eyes of mine take themselves to slomber, *ayle* de gud service, or *Ile* ligge i'th' grund for it; ay, or goe to death: and *Ile* pay't as valorously as I may, that *sal* I suerly do,

In some plays, *sall* and *shall* are both used. In *The Valiant Scot*, the Friar uses *sall* twice, and *shall* three times; Wallace has four instances of *sall* to two of *shall.* In the Friar's first passage, *shall* and *sall* are both used:

> Theke sword *shall* keep in mickle aw,
> Fell Sotherne folk, many a crie,
> Fray cradled barns, e're he *shall* flie,
> Nurses sighes, and mothers tears
> *Shall* swell the clouds, till thy awne bloud,
> Prove false thilk Crag *sall* nere lig dead.

However, in his next passage, all forms of *shall* are dialectally marked:

> ... for giffe thou gange,
> *Thouse* [thou shall] weark thy lives friend mickle wrang,
> *Thouse* [thou shall] come back seafe, but barne I feare,
> *Ise* [I shall] never blinck upon thee meare,
> Kneel till thy Sier his benuson crave,
> Next duty bin till dig her grave,
> Kisse, kisse thy Peg, for well a neer,
> Thase amerous twins *sall* nere kisse mare,
> Till in deaths armes they kisse, thilke state
> Stands writ in heaven and seal'd by fate

Wallace also uses *shall* and *sall* interchangeably, as seen below:

> *Ize* [I am] a Scotch man sir, ye *shall* neere find me in twa tales. and *sall* I be hanged for my good deeds of charrity
>
> *Ise* [I shall] near cum back agen, but *Ize* [I shall] bring you where yee *shall* see that Lowne Wallace.

In contrast, *The Scots Figgaries* contains 31 instances of the *sall* type, and 28 of '*s* cliticised forms. There are no instances of *shall* in the dialogue of any of the Scottish characters, though it does appear in the speech of other characters. This is also the case for Tatham's other two plays, *The Distracted State* and *The Rump*, and for *Courtship A-la-mode*: there are no instances of *shall*, so all instances of 'shall' have been dialectally marked as either *sall* or with *'s*.

While there are no instances of *shall* and three of *sall* in *The Rump,* in *The Roundheads* Wariston declares that "I've a faud Theefe here *shall* dance ye dance tol a Horn-pipe". *The Roundheads* also contains 18 instances of *'s* 'X shall'.

Sall appears in no plays published or otherwise distributed (i.e. *The Assembly*) between 1660 and 1698. This is not for lack of context. In *Sir Barnaby Whigg*, Swift is impersonating a Scottish Dominican. There is a good deal of dialect representation initially, which tails off fairly quickly. There are two instances of *shall* (including the following: " if you happen to prove an honest, godly, Roman Catholick, she *shall* have Ten thousand pounds; but if you are a Protestant ---"). Hob's dialogue in *The Benefice* contains 14 instances of *shall.* The manuscript of *The Assembly* does contain examples of *shall* and *shalt*; for example, the 1st boatmen pleads with Lord Huffy, asking, 'How *shall* poor Men Live?", and the Moderator of the General Assembly asks, "Well *shall* we call him in, that he may come in?". Only one form is marked in *The Assembly*: the Ruling Elder's *sud* for 'should'.

In *The City Heiress*, unmarked *shall* appears alongside forms of *I'se* 'I shall' in the same sentence:

> Gued deed, and see ye *shall*, Sir, gen you please. Tho *I's* [I shall] not dance, Sir, *I's* [I shall] tel ya that noo.
>
> Gued faith, ya *shall* not, Sir, *I's* [I shall] sing without entreaty.

In the 1651 *Hey for Honesty*, Brun uses *shall* ("...shall pell mell their Noddles"), while the Irish character Termock uses *sall*: "Brun *sall* be te besht in te company, if tere were a tousand tousand of 'um". Likewise, the Scotsman's song in *A Short Representation* contains two instances of *shall*: "Our Cities now ne mere *shall* pay The hire of their Fetters; Ne mere *shall* Major Generals Now rant it ore their betters". While the Scotsman does not use *sall,* the Welshman in this play does use it: "And Wallis *sal* pe as her was before".

Three additional Scotch Songs show only *shall*. In one of the verses of the Scotch Song in *A Fond Husband,* the speaker declares "I will choose yen o my own that *shall* not on me rew,"; the song in *A Fool's Preferment* includes the lines "And never *shall* love thee well after", "Our Amity *shall* be no dearer", "And sigh we *shall* never come nearer"; the song in *The Mock Marriage* contains the following refrain:

> And cry it ne're shall do;
> I shall dream of Clogs and silly Dogs
> And cry it ne're shall do,
> No, no, it ne're shall do.

Though he uses *sal* four times, Sauny in *Sauny the Scot* also uses *shall* four times, twice in lines with *'s* forms:

> *Shall* Saundy get her a Bride-Cake, and Brake o'r her Head Sir? and *wee's [we shall]* gatt us a good Wadding Dunner.

I'se [I shall] pipe 'em sea Whim---Whum, their Arses *shall* nere leave giging and joging while their's a Tooth in their head.

In *Ireland Preserv'd*, the dialect representation is found in the speech of more than 30 characters across 175 pages. Rarely do the dialect-speaking characters appear in more than one scene. I have found no *shall*s in the dialogue of dialect speakers.

5.4.3 forms of 'should'

For 'should', EDD finds *sood* forms in Scotland and the north of England, and SND states that *sud* is a Scottish form of the English 'should'. As discussed in 5.1., LALME shows *s*-initial forms of 'shall' and 'should' predominantly in the north and in the northwest midlands (Dot Map 148).

Variant forms of 'should' are less common in this dataset than those of 'shall', and are listed in Table 5.4.3.

#	form	character	play	year
1	**sud**	Jockie	*Edward IV*	1599
3	**sud (2), shild (1)**	Peggy	*The Valiant Scot*	1637
1	**sulled**	Wallace	*The Valiant Scot*	1637
3	**suld**	Scathlock	*The Sad Shepherd*	1641
4	**sud**	Jocky	*The Scots Figgaries*	1652
3	**sud**	Billy	*The Scots Figgaries*	1652
1	**sud**	Wareston	*The Rump*	1661
1	**sud**	Ruling Elder	*The Assembly*	1691
4	**sid (2), sud (2)**	Sauny	*Sauny the Scot*	1698
8	**soud (7), sou'd (1)**	Willie	*Courtship A-la-mode*	1700
21				

Table 5.4.3: forms of 'should'

In the 1661 edition of T*he Rump*, one instance of 'should' has been changed to the more dialectal *sud*; the relevant sentence is found below:

> 1660: if I *should* gang intoll my none Countrey, my Cregg would be stretcht two inches longer then 'tis
>
> 1661: gif I *sud* gang intoll my none Countrey, my Cregg would be strecht twa inches longer then tis

Other words have been altered in this passage: notably, *if* becomes *gif*, and *two* becomes *twa*, so that the dialect representation between the earlier edition and the later has been accentuated.

5.5 -*and* present participle suffix

Although the suffixes for the present participle and the gerund are the same in PDE (-*ing*), earlier there were two separate forms, which only became identical in many areas (though not all) in the late ME period.

Both OED and SND provide inaccurate etymologies for the -*and* present participle suffix. The OED -*ing*[2] entry contains a more accurate and full description of the history of the -*and* form than appears under -*and* itself. In fact, this -*and* present participle suffix is a reflex of ON -*andi*, and is now largely obsolete. The -*ing* suffix for gerunds, coming from OE -*ung*, was levelled across gradually. However, in the north and in Scotland the reflex of the -*and* present participle suffix was maintained, and a *d*-less reflex continued to be used in these areas through the late nineteenth century.

King (1997: 180) states that -*and* "was probably pronounced /ən/" in Older Scots, basing this conclusion on parallel losses of syllable-final consonants in voiced or voiceless consonant clusters; she remarks that identical pronunciations are found in Modern Scots. OED and SND note that after the written forms had become standardised, different pronunciations still continued to be employed to differentiate participial and gerundial forms in parts of southern Scotland and northern England. Beal (1997: 356) provides a passage from Murray (1873) that seems to attest to the marked distinction

between the pronunciation of the present participle and the gerund, at least in certain areas of Scotland:

> It is as absurd to a Southern Scot to hear *eating* used for both his *eiting* and *eatand*, as it is to an Englishman to hear will used for both *will* and *shall*. When he is told that 'John was *eating*', he is strongly tempted to ask what kind of *eating* he proved to be.

EDG (§437) states that in parts of Northumberland, north Cumberland, southern Scotland and a 'few other Scots ' "the present participle ends in *ən*, from older *and*, and the verbal noun ends in *in* from older *ing*". EDG notes that, in other regions of England and Scotland, the two endings are identical in form and realisation, except for areas of Northumberland and north Cumberland, where the endings follow the same pattern as in Scotland. These alternate forms are not found in present-day north Northumberland and north Cumberland. Beal (1997: 356), citing MacQueen's 1957 study, notes that the -*and* form was basically non-existent ("practically obsolete") by the start of the 18th century. In addition, Beal states that Grant and Main Dixon (1921) find this distinction in the south and Caithness, but the feature is not discussed in studies of Modern Scots. SND states that "this feature has now practically disappeared from all dialects, except southern Scotland, where it is obsolete". As one would expect when considering these findings, the SED grammar (§72, 73, 77) contains no information about present participle suffixes or verbal noun suffixes, and there is nothing in the SED dictionary about -*and* or other such verbal suffixes.

The -*and* form was always more productive in the north. LAOS evidence shows that the -*and* suffix was the primary marker of the present participle in Older Scots (between 1380-1500), though the -*ing* suffix is found in Scots texts from the fifteenth century. LALME evidence (§57) attests that, while the -*ing* and -*yng* types were the more dominant variant, the -*and* forms of the present participle enjoyed a wide distribution, but one still with a clear northerly focus. The form -*and(e)* is in ME general usage in the NW and NE Midlands, and it is found in the

east of the country all the way down to the northern half of Norfolk (where it co-existed with -*end(e)*).

5.5.1 Imitation of -*and* in drama

Stylistically, the use of the -*and* suffix in dialectal representations is quite unusual in the EMod period: only two plays feature it, Jonson's *The Sad Shepherd* (1641), and J.W.'s *The Valiant Scot* (1637). The use of the -*and* suffix has been considered an important part of the dialect representation in these plays, since the form is rarely imitated, but is attested in critical works. However, it is almost always used non-historically, which is presumably indicative of a lack of knowledge and understanding of the form and an ensuing overgeneralisation of its function by the two playwrights. Of the two plays utilizing the form, *The Sad Shepherd* is more accurate in its representation, although it is not completely error-free. Because the characters using the *-and* suffix in *The Sad Shepherd* are not Scottish, I discuss these findings in 9.5.

In *The Valiant Scot*, the form is always used to mark verbs, though it displays unattested variation in terms of tense and aspect. There are 17 instances of the -*and* type suffix (once as -*an)* in total, occurring in the speech of each of the three Scottish dialect-speaking characters: Peggy (six instances), Friar Gertrid (one instance), and William Wallace (ten instances). However, there are only four instances of the form being used to mark what is manifestly a present participle, all occurring in Wallace's imitation of a wounded Scottish soldier. In contrast, there are four examples of *-and* as the ending for past participles, four for infinitives, four for present tense forms, and one for a past tense form. None of these additional usages are recorded from other Scottish and northern sources, nor do they appear in sources from elsewhere.

J.W. is also inconsistent in his dialect representation, as the -*and* forms occur in the same lines as -*ing* forms, the standard way to express the present progressive suffix in this period ("whay mun backerd men gang **fencing** and

florishing about me" *why must backward men go* ***fencing*** *and* ***flourishing*** *about me?*). The mixture of functions of the *-and* suffix in *The Valiant Scot* – though restricted to expressing some sort of verbal behaviour – seems to indicate that, though J.W. realised that the Scots did use the *-and* suffix on verbs, he did not understand its historically restricted function. This generalised use of a marked feature is not unique; it is another exemplification of the adoption of dialectal forms as shibboleths, regardless of function, throughout the play. It may indicate lack of research or observation by the playwright, or it may simply be the operation of a kind of dialectal shorthand.

I provide the relevant dataset below from the *The Valiant Scot*, providing a gloss of each line of dialogue, for ease of intelligibility.

-and* data from *The Valiant Scot

PRESENT PARTICIPLE (4)

gangan 'going' (present participle)
Wallace: I'ze not **gangan** to hanging yet.
I'm not going to hanging yet

liggand 'lying' (present participle)
Wallace: I doubt ye be three fawse knaves **liggand** yare heads together
I think you be three false knaves ***lying*** *your heads together*

playeand 'playing' (present participle)
gangand 'going' (present participle)
Wallace: I met um **playeand** at bo-peep, & **gangand** out a their way
I met them ***playing*** *at bo-peep, and* ***going*** *out of their way*

PAST PARTICIPLE (4)

gaugand [sic; *gangand*] 'gone' (past participle)
Wallace: I deempt the pure man had **gaugand** [sic: '**gangand'**] lang to lawe
I deemed the poor man had gone long to law

hurrand 'hurried' (past participle)
Peggy: what lossell am I that am **hurrand** thus till and fra with sweards and wapins
What losel am I that am ***hurried*** *thus to and fro with swords and weapons*

misusand 'misused' (past participle)
Wallace: wha that fawse traytor Wallace has **misusand** in sike wise.
who that false traitor Wallace has ***misused*** *in such ways*

slizand 'sliced' (past participle)
Wallace: he had better a **slizand** theire weazond pipes
*he had better have **sliced** their weazened pipes*

PRESENT TENSE (4)
beseekand 'beseek' (1st sing pres)
Peggy: I thee **beseekand** for him dy'd on tree,
*I thee **beseek** [beseech, entreat] for him died on tree*

luifand 'loves' (3rd sing pres)
luifand 'loves' (2nd sing pres)
Peggy: the awd fellon theef, **luifand** the truemans siller as you **luifand** me
*the old felon thief **loves** the trueman's silver as you **love** me*

reckand 'reck' (1st sing pres)
Peggy: I **reckand** mickle your luife, fay upon sike luife,
*I **reck** much your love, fie upon such love*

PAST TENSE (1)
standand 'stood' (3rd sing past)
Wallace: the Cat outreach'd him, and leaped toth' top oth lindging, and **standand** on the tyles,
*the Cat outreached him, and leaped to the top of the lodging, and **stood** on the tiles*

INFINITIVE (4)
dingand 'ding' (infinitive)
Wallace: the man a lawe scoarning any ane to be abuife him, offer to fling and **dingand** downe the poor puscatt
the man of law scorning any one to be above him, offer[21] *to fling and **ding** down the poor pusscat*

feightand 'fight' (infinitive)
Wallace: I'ze a poor Scutch souldier, and am ron away from that Rebell Wallas, to **feightand** for your gude Prince,
*I'm a poor Scottish soldier, and am run away from the Rebel Wallace, to **fight** for your good Prince*

gangand 'go' (infinitive)
Peggy: whare mun I **gangand** now,
*where must I **go** now*

lestand 'last' (infinitive)
Friar: Thouse not **lestand** lang
*Thou shall not **last** long*

[21] The original text is imperfect; to be grammatical, the verb form must be either 'offers' or 'offered'. Also, it is unclear why 'fling' and 'ding' have different forms.

5.6 forms of 'be'

Most of the variant forms of the verb *be* appear in *The Valiant Scot* and *The Scots Figgaries*. The seven instances of *gis* 'is' have been discussed in 4.10, and are properly an instance of hypercorrection rather than an observed dialectal feature.

The Valiant Scot has *bin, byn*, and *beene* spellings for 'is' or 'are', and *bien* 'be' (as well as 'are') appears in *The Scots Figgaries*. Table 5.6 lists these -*n* spellings:

#	form	gloss	character	play	year
3	**beene (1), bin (1), byn (1)**	is	Friar	*The Valiant Scot*	1637
3	**bin (1), byn (2)**	are (2), is (1)	Peggy	*The Valiant Scot*	1637
22	**bien**	be	Billy (13), Folly (3), Jocky (4), Scarefoole (2)	*The Scots Figgaries*	1652
2	**bien**	are	Jocky	*The Scots Figgaries*	1652

Table 5.6: -*n* forms of the verb 'be'

I discuss first the forms of *is* and *are*. The Friar states that "Many a tall wood oake *beene* fell'd Ere Wallace stoope", that Wallace's "Next duty *bin* till dig her grave", and that "Bruce *byn* thy bane". Peggy asks her captors, "what kin *bin* you to the hangman?", and states that "Selby and Haslerigg *byn* the fell blood-hounds" and that "Rac'd *byn* his name..." (*Erased **is** his name...*). Jockey states that the rich "*bien* buried aleife in fin lenin an lown sleeffes" and that "they *bien* swetten'd leiving an deed, abo an under gron".

Billy uses *bien* 'be' ten times in the subjunctive mood, in phrases such as "If there be" and "If any among you be troubled....". In these sentences, *bien* seems to refer to an ongoing activity – specifically, to a malady still suffered by his would-be patients: for instance, "Gif eny emong ye ***bien*** troubl'd wy heart burnings, tha Poowder in thes pauper curs ye stret" (*If any among you **be** troubled with heartburn, the powder in this paper cures you straight*). Folly also uses *bien* twice in this way ("gif ye *bien* sa high..." and "an ye *bien* not wud").

Tatham also uses the spelling *bien* (or *bein*) in the dialogue of all four characters to mean 'been'. Billy says he "sud a *bein* whopt aboot tha Toown o Barwick for theiffing in Scotlond" (*should have been whipped about the town of Berwick for thieving in Scotland*), and Scarefoole looks for work as a Scottish soldier "wha ha *bien* aw tha Wirld ore ons ten toes" (*who has* ***been*** *all the world over on his ten toes*).

LALME does not appear to provide any information about these forms. An explanation for these forms can be found in DOST, who notes that the typical forms of *be* appear to be augmented by poets' use of more Anglicised forms from about 1500; these forms include the use of *bene* for the infinitive *be*, as well as for *are* and *is* (calling the last an erroneous use). Macafee (2002: 9.3.1) notes that some poetic works feature "the inflection -*n* on vowel-final stems, in imitation of the PreStE -*en* ending of the infinitive and the plural present indicative". She describes this -*en* ending as useful for rhyme. Works with this feature cited by DOST include *The Buke of the Chess* (*a*1500) ("chaist in hir persone to *bene*"), a work by Dunbar ("he went agane to *bene* bespewit"), *The Freiris of Berwik* (*a*1540) ("quhat may this *bene*?"), and Blind Harry's *Wallace*, the source of *The Valiant Scot* ("thow mon *bene* set in feyr"). The presence of these forms suggests that Tatham and the author of *The Valiant Scot* utilised older Scots works when writing the dialect representations in their plays.

Two other plays feature unconjugated *be* in the plural present tense. Brun, in *Hey for Honesty*, says that "there *be* gewd men in the Company", while the Scotchman in *A Short Representation*... tells another character that "Your plots *be* aw discover'd, The Nation to enslave; but where *be* those muckle traitors noow?". This use is not a particularly Scottish one, and is attested in other plays of the period (OED cites Shakespeare's *Richard III*, "where *be* thy brothers?).

The form *beis* for 'is, art, are, shall be' is attested by DOST; in my dataset, it is only found in *The Assembly*. DOST also notes that the indicative form was extended to the subjunctive mood, as seen in this line of Turbulent's dialogue:

> If he ***beis*** Admitted within these Walls, let him not come near any of Us
> *If he **shall be** admitted within these walls, let him not come near any of us.*

However, the other use of *beis* in this play is more difficult to parse:

> Hirer: God damne him ***beis*** me looks after him again -- That's a good ane indeed.

The sense here seems to be along the lines of 'God damn him if I look after him again', as the hirer is angry with Lord Huffy.

5.7 The Northern Present Tense Rule

There is only one example of the Northern Present Tense rule, also known as the Northern Subject Rule, in my dataset. The 1st boatman in *The Assembly* asks, "How shall poor Men Live? when you & the like of you will not give us our Money but *abuses* us like Dogs this gate". Here, the verb *abuses* takes the -*s* suffix, as it does not immediately follow a pronoun subject.

5.8 Noun plural markers

Plural forms are not generally marked as dialectal. The only five variant plural markers used in these dialect representations are all -*n* plurals. In *The Valiant Scot*, Wallace tells his companions that he wears "Na *shooen* but wodden clampers" (*no shoes but wooden clampers*). The other four examples are all spellings of *eyne* 'eyes', found once each in *The Scots Figgaries*, *The Morning Ramble*, *The City Heiress*, and *Sauny the Scot*. In *The Morning Ramble* and *The City Heiress*, this form is found within a Scotch Song, and both refer to the "watry Eyne" or "gloomy showering Eyne" of a lovelorn character. Sauny warns his master that Margaret is so upset that she will "Scratch your *eyn* out", and Jockey tells his companions to look at "yon braw mon tofore thy *eyne*". EDD finds the *eyne* spelling in Scotland, Northumberland, Yorkshire, Lancashire, Cheshire,

Derby, and Devon. In contemporary works, however, *eyne* is used in a poetic register, sometimes indicating a pleasant sense of poetic rusticity and other times archaicness, rather than a specifically northern (or Scottish) sense. *Eyne* appears in plays and poems, including a 1593 collection of poetry by Barnabe Barnes, which contains five instances of *eyne* (my red-swolne *eyne*, which were mine harts betrayers”).

Phonology

Chapter 6

In this chapter I discuss the major phonological features found in the representations of Scots in my selected plays. I focus primarily on a set of highly salient and/or frequently depicted features. I first analyse consonants and then focus on the long vowels, providing pertinent examples and quotations from the plays themselves as well as evidence from dictionaries, linguistic atlases, and works contemporary with my texts. I then discuss miscellaneous forms.

Because of the constraints of space, I cannot catalogue and analyse every instance of a phonological feature shown through spelling variation in this dataset. *The Scots Figgaries* alone has hundreds of altered spellings, each presumably an attempt to indicate some kind of phonological feature. Instead, I highlight those that are most prevalent in the texts, and which are most indicative of Scots dialect.

6.1 Alveolar Cluster Simplification

Alveolar Cluster Simplification is also discussed in 4.28.1, in the analysis of forms of 'Sauny' and 'Saundy' in *Sauny the Scot*. This loss of /t/ or /d/ in a syllable-final alveolar consonant cluster is, as Johnston (1997a: 101) notes, found in more widespread contexts within Scots than within other dialects. In my dataset, examples of this process are found in the contexts of /ld/, /nd/, and /nt/ clusters.

My dataset is provided in Table 6.1, organised chronologically:

#	form	gloss	character	play	year
78	**an**	and	Jocky (34); Folly (17); Billy (15); Scarefoole (6); Fidlers (Scotch Song) (6)	*The Scots Figgaries*	1652
2	**gron**	ground	Jocky	*The Scots Figgaries*	1652
1	**sen**	sent	Billy	*The Scots Figgaries*	1652
1	**Serpans**	serpents	Jocky	*The Scots Figgaries*	1652
4	**On's (2), Ons (2)**	Wounds	Jocky	*The Scots Figgaries*	1652
5	**On's (3), Ons (2)**	Wounds	Folly	*The Scots Figgaries*	1652
2	**Ou'z (1); Ounz (2)**	Wounds	Wareston	*The Rump*	1660
9	**an**	and	Wareston	*The Rump*	1660
1	**an**	and	Wariston	*The Roundheads*	1682
1	**sen**	sent	Sauny	*Sauny the Scot*	1698
1	**stan**	stand	Sauny	*Sauny the Scot*	1698
16	**Wuns (8), Wun's (8)**	Wounds	Sauny	*Sauny the Scot*	1698
38	**aun (37), an (1)**	and	Willie Beetlehead	*Courtship A-la-mode*	1700
12	**aun**	and -> if	Willie Beetlehead	*Courtship A-la-mode*	1700
1	**caul**	cold	Willie Beetlehead	*Courtship A-la-mode*	1700
3	**Englaun**	England	Willie Beetlehead	*Courtship A-la-mode*	1700
2	**fin**	find	Willie Beetlehead	*Courtship A-la-mode*	1700
1	**faunness**	fondness	Willie Beetlehead	*Courtship A-la-mode*	1700
1	**frein**	friend	Willie Beetlehead	*Courtship A-la-mode*	1700
1	**freins**	friends	Willie Beetlehead	*Courtship A-la-mode*	1700
1	**Lonon**	London	Willie Beetlehead	*Courtship A-la-mode*	1700
2	**mein**	mind	Willie Beetlehead	*Courtship A-la-mode*	1700
8	**aul**	old	Willie Beetlehead	*Courtship A-la-mode*	1700
6	**Scotlaun**	Scotland	Willie Beetlehead	*Courtship A-la-mode*	1700
1	**stauning**	stand	Willie Beetlehead	*Courtship A-la-mode*	1700
2	**thousaun**	thousand	Willie Beetlehead	*Courtship A-la-mode*	1700
1	**understaun**	understand	Willie Beetlehead	*Courtship A-la-mode*	1700
2	**waurran**	warrant	Willie Beetlehead	*Courtship A-la-mode*	1700
2	**waurren**	warrant	Willie Beetlehead	*Courtship A-la-mode*	1700
1	**woner**	wonder	Willie Beetlehead	*Courtship A-la-mode*	1700
4	**Wuns**	wounds	Willie Beetlehead	*Courtship A-la-mode*	1700
1	**haw**	hold	1 Burg	*Ireland Preserv'd*	1705
2	**haw**	hold	1 Gang	*Ireland Preserv'd*	1705
1	**haw**	hold	2 Gang	*Ireland Preserv'd*	1705

Table 6.1: Alveolar Cluster Simplification

The most commonly depicted form undergoing this development is 'and', with 50 examples in *Courtship A-la-mode* and 78 in *The Scots Figgaries*. Willie Beetlehead is the single character that provides the most examples of this feature, with 89 instances of this development affecting words containing /nt/, /ld/, and /nd/ clusters.

Variants of 'Wounds', an interjection meaning 'God's Wounds', are found in *The Scots Figgaries*, *The Rump, Sauny the Scot*, and *Courtship A-la-mode*. While the oath itself is not dialectal, the d-less pronunciations seem to have a dialectal slant. EDD finds *wuns*, defined as "an exclamation of wonder", only in Northumberland. OED cites an example of Lancashire dialect from 1746 ('Tim Bobbin') of the dialectal variant *wuns*. OED does not overtly classify *wauns* spellings from the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries as dialectal, though the two quotations provided are dialectal in nature; both examples come from plays, with the 1706 example from Farquhar's *The Recruiting Officer*, set in Shropshire (Shrewsbury), and the 1796 citation clearly found in a representation of dialect ("*Wauns* I forgot. It be maister Dashall fra Lunnon[22]").

In the case of *haw* 'hold', first there was alveolar cluster simplification, followed by l-vocalisation: /-ald/ > /-al/ > /-au/. Most cases in Table 6.1 show loss of /d/ after /u/.

6.2 *wh-* and *quh-* spellings

One of the features of written Older Scots is the use of *quh-* forms for words which are normally written initial *wh-*, such as *quha* 'who' and *quhat* 'what'. In LAOS, all the spellings of 'who', for example, are spelled with initial *quh-* or *qwh-.* While LALME does show sporadic <qu-> or <qw(h)> spellings for *wh*-words in the south and north of England (in Suffolk, Norfolk, Lincolnshire, and Yorkshire, for example), by Jonson's time the *quh-* spelling is only found in written Scots (and LALME shows no ME instances of *quh-* (or *qvh-*) spellings outside of Scotland). These spellings are not common in seventeenth-century dramatic representations of the dialect; a *quh-* spelling is found only once in my dataset: *qu'ha* 'who' in Jonson's *The Sad Shepherd*, with *wh-* spellings also occurring. The

---

[22] Dobson (1968: §401b) discusses the case of 'London' in detail. The omission of the /d/ in 'London' is not truly an example of Alveolar Cluster Simplification, as the /d/ is syllable-initial (<'Lon,don>). This pronunciation seems to have been found in StE, based on the spellings found in Brown and Wyld. Willie uses *Lonon* in *Courtship A-la-mode*, claiming that his master "wull storm a Fort we ony laud in au *Lonon* aun ye wull gee him a Commission".

apostrophe here (*qu'ha*) possibly only indicates the 'dialect' nature of this spelling to the reader and actor, as it is an unusual spelling to find in an English text. These spellings probably represent /ʍ/, the voiceless labial-velar fricative. Johnston (1997a: 98) states that /ʍ/ was not exclusively found in Older Scots, but also in other northern dialects, and that you would find "/ʍ/ in places where the original /x/ in /xw/ had been weakened to nothing more than a voiceless 'prosody' running through the semivowel". However, Macafee (2002: 6.31.1) cites the orthography of Alexander Hume (*c*. 1617) to conclude that the general realisation of this initial cluster sequence in early seventeenth-century Scots was still [xʍ]. Dobson (1968: §369) makes a passing reference to a northern orthoepist (Tonkis) having the [xʍ] realisation. Whichever realisation was prevalent in the lowlands of seventeenth-century Scotland (as /f/-initial variants are found in the northeast even before this time (Johnston 1997a: 110)), the sound contrasts to that of StE. In fact, LAS records /xʍ/ in Roxburghshire for the mid-twentieth century.

Again, this feature is not commonly depicted in my dataset, and is only spelt with an initial *quh* in Scathlock's dialogue in *The Sad Shepherd*, discussed in 3.1; it is probable that Jonson had some exposure to writing in Scots, having travelled to Scotland and staying with his friend the poet William Drummond of Hawthornden.

Other examples of *wh*- spellings for words typically spelt with initial *qu*- are mostly found in *Edward IV*. In his first line, Jockie promises to reward Jane Shore with the gift of a horse if she will help him, saying, "ise *white* your gudenes with a bonnie nag, sal swum away so deftly as the winde". *White* is a form of the verb 'to requite', or 'to reward', and the form *white* is found by EDD in Durham, Lakeland, Yorkshire, and Lancashire. Jockie's dialogue also includes three instances of *whicke* 'quick' and one of *whickly* 'quickly'. The final example is found in *The Scottish History of James IV*, where Bohan uses *whayet* 'quiet', telling the noisy Oberon to "trouble not may *whayet*". These examples are probably depicting a different phenomenon – [kw] > [xw] > [ʍ] – which is

discussed by Johnston (1997a: 110) and is a well-known northern English change. A less likely scenario might be that these *wh-* spellings might imply the retention of a [kw] quality, with these serving as back spellings.

6.2.1 /f/ for /ʍ/

The Ruling Elder in *The Assembly* is the only dialect-speaking character to show /f/ for word-initial /ʍ/, as in *fat* 'what' and *fin* 'when': *"Fat* hae they Deen?*" and "fan* that Claim was drawen". Millar (2007: 3) describes it as the traditional pronunciation in and around Aberdeen, and it can be traced to the sixteenth century (Johnston 1997a: 99); its origins possibly lie in the acquisition of English by Gaelic speakers, who did not have /ʍ/ in their inventory and instead substituted /f/, another voiceless labial fricative (Macafee 2002: 2.4). Johnston's timing may be corroborated by the lack of earlier citations; neither LAOS nor LALME have evidence of initial *f-* spellings of *wh-*. SND cites the Ruling Elder's use of *fat* 'what' as a spelling from Aberdeenshire as the first citation of the form. EDD finds it mainly in northeast Scotland, with specific examples in Caithness, Moray, Nairn, Elgin, Banff, Aberdeen, Kirkcudbright, Forfar, and north Angus. This feature is still found today.

6.3 realisations of <th>

Honeybone (2007: 124) states that *th*-stopping is not found in Scotland, aside from in Shetland. However, *th*-stopping was found in Wigtownshire and in Ulster Scots (Johnston 1997b: 506), though it is now more frequent in southern Irish English. Johnston (1997b: 506) continues by stating that "traditionally in Aberdeenshire, /d/ appeared for /ð/ intervocalically in words like *mother*, *father*, *bother*, particularly in coastal localities".

Table 6.3 contains a list of all forms where <th> (in StE) is represented by <t> or <d>. Some of these examples are of '/d/-frication' in StE, not *th*-stopping in Scots, i.e. the original consonant was /d/. For example, the /d/ is retained in

'father' and 'mother'. DOST shows *fader*, *fadir* spellings for 'father', *oder* for 'other', as well as *farder* for 'farther'.[23] OED's entry for *father* (n.), states that, while -*der* spellings were frequently found in the late Middle English period, the orthographical use of *d* does not necessarily indicate a pronunciation of /d/. However, the same entry does contain the observation that alveolar or dental realisations of /d/ *are* scattered in the north of England and the "north Lowlands" of Scotland.

#	form	gloss	character	play	year
1	**farder**	farther	Peggy	*The Valiant Scot*	1637
1	**farder**	farther	Wallace	*The Valiant Scot*	1637
1	**fader**	father	Folly	*The Scots Figgaries*	1652
1	**faders**	fathers	Billy	*The Scots Figgaries*	1652
1	**moders**	mothers	Billy	*The Scots Figgaries*	1652
2	**Moders**	Mothers	Jocky	*The Scots Figgaries*	1652
1	**neder**	neither	Jocky	*The Scots Figgaries*	1652
2	**oder**	other	Billy	*The Scots Figgaries*	1652
1	**oder**	other	Jocky	*The Scots Figgaries*	1652
1	**rader**	rather	Jocky	*The Scots Figgaries*	1652
1	**tan**	then	Folly	*The Scots Figgaries*	1652
1	**ten**	then	Billy	*The Scots Figgaries*	1652
10	**tow**	thou	Folly	*The Scots Figgaries*	1652
6	**tow**	thou	Jocky	*The Scots Figgaries*	1652
1	**tow**	thou	Billy	*The Scots Figgaries*	1652
1	**farder**	farther	Wareston	*The Rump*	1660

Table 6.3: <th> represented as <d> or <t>

The bulk of these examples come from Tatham's *The Scots Figgaries*, a play known for its idiosyncratic and sometimes inaccurate dialect representation, as discussed in 3.11.3.2. However, there is evidence to support these spellings, including those observations of Johnston provided above.

The words 'then' and 'thou' come from original [θ] (before it developed to [ð] under reduced stress). The examples of *tow* 'thou' also can be found in Scotland. SND finds the nominative forms *tou* and *tu* in Fife and southern Scotland (*tou*

[23] DOST, interestingly, explains the *farder* spelling for 'father' as originating from "English influence, after 1570". It is unclear what significance the date of 1570 has.

only) and Ayrshire (both). These stopped forms are also found in the north of England; EDD provides a quotation stating that, in Cumberland, "*Tou* in place of the 'you' when contempt or familiarity are to be indicated").

6.4 /s/ and /ʃ/ interchange

The alternation in Older Scots between /s/ and /ʃ/ is clearly noticeable. Johnston (1997a: 99) observes that "in words ending in *-ish* in English, Early Scots usually shows *-is* or *-eis*", citing Robinson (1985). He traces this trait back to its possible French origins, though he also notes that the feature also could have been influenced by Gaelic or could be an example of an endogenous change. Johnston (1997a: 105) also observes that the alternation only appears word-finally, except for 'shall' and 'should' where it occurs word-initially. This trait is, however, not restricted to Scotland or to the north of England; LAEME provides many examples of <s> for <sh>, including in the texts written by the Tremulous Hand of Worcester.

This feature is most commonly depicted in my dataset in these forms of 'shall' and 'should', as analysed in 5.1 and from 5.4.1 to 5.4.3. *Sall* forms appear 66 times across nine plays, and *sud* forms appearing 15 times across six plays. Excluding the the *sall/ sud* types, this feature is only depicted in two plays: *The Valiant Scot* and *Courtship A-la-mode*. A complete list of these forms is found in Table 6.4.

#	form	gloss	character	play	year
1	**Scottis**	Scottish	Wallace	*The Valiant Scot*	1637
4	**Scottis (3), Scotties (1)**	Scottish	Peggy	*The Valiant Scot*	1637
7	**Englis**	English	Willie	*Courtship A-la-mode*	1700
1	**haw-thornbuss**	hawthorn bush	Willie	*Courtship A-la-mode*	1700

Table 6.4: forms with <s>/ <sh> alternation, excluding *shall* and *should* forms

These forms – *Englis*, *Scottis*, and *buss* – are well-attested in DOST. In *The Valiant Scot*, these *-s* spellings stand in contrast with the *-sh* ones. Also, interestingly, *Scottis* seems to be marked, while *English* is not, perhaps indicating the dialectal differences in pronunciation in the two countries. This disparity is seen in Peggy's two separate lines of dialogue below, where she is upset at having to cover her face:

> Peggy: Why shild I hayd my Scottis face, my Scottis face is as gude as yare English feace, 'tis a true Scotties feace.
>
> Peggy: ... I'de rather be a Scutchman's whore, then an *Englishmans* waife

In contrast, Willie never uses the adjective 'Scottish', but instead makes a series of comments about English people and customs, including his observation once that Englishwomen are morally loose: "yer *Englis* Womaun will trust her person whaur she wonna trust her purse".

6.5 /v/ ➔ /f/

In OE, the voiced fricative [v] was an allophone of /f/, appearing word-internally between voiced sounds. Later, Johnston (1997a: 104) notes that in the north, "voiceless forms are more resistant to being replaced by voiced ones, especially finally", and later states that "the devoicing of /v/ ... does seem to be diagnostic of Scots as a whole". Macafee (2002: 6.31.2) states that "it appears that the phonotactic rule governing voicing was still operating after the loss of inflections, yielding voiceless final fricatives in e.g. *gif* and *haf*"

Examples of <f> spellings instead of <v> in my dataset are listed chronologically in Table 6.5:

#	form	gloss	character	play	year
2	**abuife**	above	Wallace	*The Valiant Scot*	1637
1	**abuife**	above	Peggy	*The Valiant Scot*	1637

2	**guifes (1), guiff (1)**	gives	Peggy	*The Valiant Scot*	1637
1	**luife**	love	Wallace	*The Valiant Scot*	1637
6	**luife (4), luifes (1), luif (1)**	love	Peggy	*The Valiant Scot*	1637
1	**aleife**	alive	Jocky	*The Scots Figgaries*	1652
2	**beleeff**	believe	Folly	*The Scots Figgaries*	1652
1	**gaffst**	gavest	Jocky	*The Scots Figgaries*	1652
1	**sleeffes**	sleeves	Jocky	*The Scots Figgaries*	1652
1	**theiffing**	thieving	Billy	*The Scots Figgaries*	1652
1	**gif**	give	Wareston	*The Rump*	1660
2	**gif**	give	Wariston	*The Roundheads*	1682

Table 6.5: *v* to *f* alternation

These 21 examples of 'f' spellings occur across four plays.

However, there is a debate as to whether these *f* spellings actually suggest a voiceless pronunciation, or if they are written artifacts, ones that indicate Scottishness by their spelling. Under its entry for *'abufe, above*', DOST seems to advocate for a voiced realisation of the fricative even with 'f' spellings, stating that "the pronunciation is most clearly represented by the spelling *abuve*, but the forms with *f* are the more frequent". The DOST entry for *beleve,* n., contains a similar disclosure: "spellings with *f* or *ff* do not necessarily indicate change of *v* to that sound: cf. the verb". These conclusions seem rather over-cautious; <ff> could be a strong indication of voicelessness, with the doubling of the consonants emphasizing this trait.

DOST provides 'f' and 'v' variants of 'sleeves' and for both the noun and the verb 'love'; in *The Valiant Scot*, Peggy's dialogue has one instance of *luive* alongside her six 'f' spellings. DOST also shows both *f* and *v* spellings for 'alive', with seventeenth century examples of 'f' spellings including "if he be *alayf*" (from 1644) and "if his grandfather wer *alayff*" (from 1683).

In contrast, DOST lists only variants of *gif* with *f* spellings, with the headwords *gif* and *gyf*. In Tatham's *The Rump*, Wareston is concerned about getting his share of the money, using both *gif* and *gi* forms of 'give', exclaiming, "Marry Sirs, an ye *gif* so fast, yeel gi aw away fro poore Archibald Johnson". In Behn's 1682

adaptation, Wariston makes a similar statement, also using *gif* 'give': "Haud, haud Sirs, Mary en ya gift se fast ya'll *gif* aud away fro poor Archibauld Johnson". Here, Wariston uses *gif* again, claiming that he shall "*gif* my Voice for Fleetwood".

6.6 v-deletion

Johnston (1997a: 104) cites LALME when stating that v-deletion ("the deletion of medial /v/ ... when the next syllable ends in a sonorant") is found in the north midlands and northern England, as well as in Scotland. Macafee (2002: 6.31.5) observes that many of these forms are seen as colloquial. Final /v/ may also be deleted, as in the case of 'give': /gi:v/ >/gi:/.

I present all forms from my dataset showing v-deletion in the next two tables, 6.6 and 6.6.1; the latter table isolates all *sel* forms of 'self'/ 'selves'.

#	form	gloss	character	play	year
6	**deele**	devil	Bohan	*Scottish History of James IV*	1598
1	**diell**	devil	Jockie	*Edward IV*	1599
1	**gynne**	given	Jockie	*Edward IV*	1599
2	**siller**	silver	Jockie	*Edward IV*	1599
1	**dele**	devil	Doysells	*The Vow Breaker*	1636
1	**siller**	silver	Peggy	*The Valiant Scot*	1637
1	**Deel**	devil	Scotch apothecary	*The Distracted State*	1651
1	**gi**	give	Scotch apothecary	*The Distracted State*	1651
2	**Deill**	devil	Brun	*Hey for Honesty*	1651
3	**Deel (1), Deele (1), Deeles (1)**	devil	Scarefoole	*The Scots Figgaries*	1652
7	**Deele (5), Deel (1), Deeles (1)**	devil	Jocky	*The Scots Figgaries*	1652
8	**Deele (8), Deeles (1)**	devil	Folly	*The Scots Figgaries*	1652
1	**Deeles**	devils	Billy	*The Scots Figgaries*	1652
1	**ga**	give	Billy	*The Scots Figgaries*	1652
3	**ge**	give	Folly	*The Scots Figgaries*	1652
1	**ge**	give	Jocky	*The Scots Figgaries*	1652
4	**siller**	silver	Billy	*The Scots Figgaries*	1652
1	**siller**	silver	Folly	*The Scots Figgaries*	1652
4	**siller**	silver	Jocky	*The Scots Figgaries*	1652
5	**Deel**	Devil	Wareston	*The Rump*	1660

1	**geen**	given	Wareston	*The Rump*	1660
3	**gi (2), gee (1)**	give	Wareston	*The Rump*	1660
1	**siller**	silver	Wareston	*The Rump*	1660
12	**Diel**	devil	Wariston	*The Roundheads*	1682
4	**dule**	devil	Hob	*The Benefice*	1689
2	**D'il (1), D'ill (1)**	devil	3rd hirer	*The Assembly*	1691
1	**Di'le**	devil	1st boatman	*The Assembly*	1691
1	**Dil**	devil	3rd boatman	*The Assembly*	1691
2	**gi**	give	Moderator	*The Assembly*	1691
30	**deel (18); Dee'l (11); De'll (1)**	devil	Sauny	*Sauny the Scot*	1698
8	**gi (6), gea (2)**	give	Sauny	*Sauny the Scot*	1698
1	**gin**	given	Sauny	*Sauny the Scot*	1698
3	**Siller**	silver	Sauny	*Sauny the Scot*	1698
17	**deel**	devil	Willie Beetlehead	*Courtship A-la-mode*	1700
5	**gee (4), gea (1)**	give	Willie Beetlehead	*Courtship A-la-mode*	1700
1	**geen**	given	Willie Beetlehead	*Courtship A-la-mode*	1700
5	**siller**	silver	Willie Beetlehead	*Courtship A-la-mode*	1700
2	**Dee'l**	devil	1 Gang	*Ireland Preserv'd*	1705
1	**Dee'l**	devil	2 Gang	*Ireland Preserv'd*	1705
1	**Dee'll**	devil	5 (mob member)	*Ireland Preserv'd*	1705
2	**deel**	devil	Scotch countreyman	*Ireland Preserv'd*	1705
1	**Deels**	devil	1 (mob member)	*Ireland Preserv'd*	1705
1	**Siller**	silver	Scotch countreyman	*Ireland Preserv'd*	1705

Table 6.6: v-deletion (without *sel* forms)

The process of v-deletion appears here in a restricted set of words: 'devil' (109 times), 'silver' (22 times), and 'give' or 'given' (28 times total). The *deel(e)* spelling of 'devil' is most common in this dataset, occurring 84 times; while OED does not provide *deel* in its extensive list of possible spellings of 'devil', it does provide a quotation from a 1721 collection of Scottish proverbs ("'Between the *Deel* and the deep sea'; that is between two difficulties equally dangerous".) EDD finds *deel* spellings in the North Country, not listing any instances from Scotland.

Deele appears in the first play in my dataset: *The Scottish History of James IV*. Bohan uses it six times, invoking the devil in oaths ("and what the *deele* should I then do there") or describing Oberon as a devil. Variants of 'devil' are used 30 times by Sauny in *Sauny the Scot*, in oaths, curses, and descriptive statements. I provide a collection below, with italicised glosses:

Wun's I think the **Deel** has flead off her Skin, and put his Dam intul't;
Zounds I think the devil has flayed off her skin, and put his Dame into it.

Now the **Deel's** a cruppen untell her Mouth Sir, you may see a little of his Tail hang out, it looks for aw the world an it were a Sting Sir.
*Now the **devil's** a-creeping into her mouth, Sir, you may see a little of his tail hang out, it looks for all the world if it were a sting sir.*

Mara the **Deel** stuff his Wem fow a Hemp, and his Dam Spin it out at his Arse
Marry, the Devil stuff his stomach full of hemp, and his Dame spin it out at his arse

De ye nea budge a foot Sir, **Deel** a my saul bo she'll Scratch your eyn out
Do you not budge a foot Sir, Devil have my soul but she'll scratch your eyes out

Sauny's vulgarity is particularly noted in Bedford's 1719 work, analysed in 3.19.3.1.

Siller also has a northerly distribution. OED classifies *syller* and *siller* spellings as Scottish ones, providing examples from Ramsay's 1725 play *The Gentle Shepherd* ("With spraings like gowd, and *siller* cross'd with black") and Burns's 1790 poem *Tam o'Shanter* ("Ilka melder, wi' the miller, Thou sat as lang as thou had *siller*"). EDD finds *sillar* and *siller* spellings of 'silver' in Scotland; *siller* (as well as *siler*) forms are also found in the North Country. DOST lists both *silver* and *siller* variants. SED shows no forms of 'devil' with v-deletion in the six northern counties (VIII.8.3); 'silver' has forms without /v/ in Northumberland, Durham, Lancashire, and Yorkshire (VII.7.7).

6.6.1 *sel* 'self' and *sells* 'selves'

EDG (§280) notes that the reduced form *sel* (along with *sen*, which is presumably from the 'selven'-type) is common to many dialects, finding it in Scotland, Northern Ireland, the North Country, Cheshire, Staffordshire,

Derbyshire, Nottinghamshire, Leicestershire, Northamptonshire, and Shropshire. SND notes that *sel* is found across Scotland and is the general form for 'self'; interestingly, DOST lists few *sel* variants in its entry on 'self'. OED shows *sell* spellings in Scotland from the sixteenth century.

All *sel* variants (singular and plural) are found in Table 6.6.1:

#	form	gloss	character	play	year
1	**sale**	self	Jockie	*Edward IV*	1599
3	**himsell**	himself	Jocky	*The Scots Figgaries*	1652
1	**sell**	self	Folly	*The Scots Figgaries*	1652
2	**sell**	self	Jocky	*The Scots Figgaries*	1652
2	**sells**	selves	Folly	*The Scots Figgaries*	1652
1	**sells**	selves	Jocky	*The Scots Figgaries*	1652
2	**themsells**	themselves	Jocky	*The Scots Figgaries*	1652
1	**sell**	self	Wareston	*The Rump*	1660
2	**sel**	self	Wariston	*The Roundheads*	1682
11	**sel (9), sell (1), sen (1)**	self	Sauny	*Sauny the Scot*	1698
1	**himsel**	himself	Sauny	*Sauny the Scot*	1698
3	**sell**	self	Willie Beetlehead	*Courtship A-la-mode*	1700
1	**sell**	self	Scotch countrywoman	*Ireland Preserv'd*	1705
1	**sels**	selves	David Hewston	*Ireland Preserv'd*	1705

Table 6.6.1: *sel* forms

These pronominal forms are sometimes written as two words, a practice remarked on by SND. In this dataset, most of these forms are part of compounds whose components are written separately. For example, in *The Scots Figgaries*, Jocky notes that someone "leokes like Scotlond ***it sell***, bar and naked" (*looks like Scotland* ***itself****, bare and naked*). An Ulster Scots woman in *Ireland Preserv'd* wails to her husband that "these Irishes hau taen my Cleathes from little Saunder and ***my sell***" (*these Irish people have taken my clothes from little Saunder and myself*). Sometimes the first element of the compound is also marked dialectally; Willie, in *Courtship A-la-mode*, surprised by the appearance of angry and armed men, proclaims, "Be me saul I'm a dead man; I wull hide ***me sell*** beneath this Table".

Plural forms are found in *The Scots Figgaries* and *Ireland Preserv'd* (*themsells* and *your sells*, and *our sels*, respectively).

6.7 /j/ insertion

Johnston (1997a: 109) states that "the /j/-insertion which is seen in words of the ONE group starts to appear in that word in the late sixteenth century, and becomes found in other words in the seventeenth". This feature is attested in SED (VII.1.1), who find /j-/ initial forms of 'one' in all six northern counties.

However, most instances of 'one' in my dataset do not show this feature, as shown in 6.10.1; in addition, four instances of *won* 'one' appear in *The Scots Figgaries*, which are clearly examples of eye-dialect. However, there are three instances of /j/ insertion, all found in Scotch Songs written by D'Urfey. These are listed in Table 6.7:

#	form	gloss	character	play	year
2	**yen**	one	Betty (Scotch Song)	*A Fond Husband*	1677
3	**yen**	one	Letitia (Scotch Song)	*The Virtuous Wife*	1680
1	**yen**	one	Madam la Marquise (Scotch Song)	*The Campaigners*	1698

Table 6.7: /j/-insertion

It seems clear that D'Urfey is suggesting an initial /j/ with these spellings, such as "I will choose *yen* o my own" (*A Fond Husband*) and "he was a bonny *yen*" (*The Virtuous Wife*). Interestingly, the three examples of *yen* 'one' in *The Virtuous Wife* are all altered to *eane* in the 1683 edition of D'Urfey's songs.

6.8 l-vocalisation

Aitken (2002: 101-102) describes the "rather common" process of l-vocalisation, where "the alveolar-lateral consonant [l] ceases to be fully articulated, the front of the tongue failing to make contact with the alveolum, thus leaving a back vowel, commonly [u] when the [l] had been velarised." In

Scots, it began to occur in the late fourteenth or early fifteenth century in the following environment: “when /l/ was preceded in a stressed syllable by one of the three short back vowels”. This led to the following sound changes:

/al/ > /au/
/ol/ > /ʌ u/
/ul/ > /uː/ (Macafee 2003: 148).

There is also evidence for this change in the north of England in this period. This process did not affect all possible elements; there were exceptions, such as the verb *sall* ‘shall’ and the Latinate -*all* suffix, such as in words like *celestiall* (Macafee 2003: 148).

Currently, linguists typically focus on the “current wave of /l/-vocalisation” (Johnson and Britain 2007: 298) in London and the southeast, and its subsequent spread. Wells only speaks of l-vocalisation in London, and in Cockney and near-RP. Wells (1992: 314, 299) states that “London /l/ is very susceptible to vocalization in syllable-final position”, and notes that in near-RP there is “frequent vocalization of /l/ in non-prevocalic environments, as [bɛʊt] *belt*, [fɔʊs] *false*, [ˈnʌkʊ] *knuckle*”. Britain (2002: 59) discusses the late-20th-century distribution of l-vocalisation, finding it in London, Colchester, Reading, Milton Keynes, the Fens, Derby, and Birmingham (and not in Norwich or in the north). Johnson and Britain (2007: 295) do not mention northern England or Scotland as possible locations for l-vocalisation, stating instead that the process is found in southeast England, the U.S., Australia, New Zealand, and the Falkland Islands. They believe that, in the UK, l-vocalisation today is “a characteristic of London English, spreading radially to engulf progressively more dialects” (2007: 296), and that this process is different to those “sporadic and apparently rather localised occurrences of vocalisation” found historically in other dialects, particularly in the north (2007: 298). These recent developments of l-vocalisation follow a similar mechanism to the earlier changes, and show that this is a process that comes and goes at different times and different places (cf. Stuart-Smith et al. 2007, for a discussion of contemporary l-vocalisation in Glasgow).

6.8.1 Middle English and Older Scots Data

LALME contains no evidence for l-vocalisation, but Dobson (1968), Aitken (1983, 2002), and LAOS provide contemporary evidence for the change in Scotland and England. Dobson (1968: §425) dates the change in English to the early fifteenth century, based on the sequence of related sound changes: "the change was later than diphthongization of ME *ă* and *ŏ* to *au* and *ou* before *l*, and must therefore also be later than the development of ME *ŭ* to *ū* before *l* + consonant – changes which are due to the development of a [u] glide before back [l]. On the other hand it is earlier than fronting of ME *ā*, since the dialectal monophthongization of ME *au* to [a:] produced in *psalm*, *half*, &c., a sound which was identified with ME *ā*".

Aitken (1983: 44) looks at what he terms 'low-life poetry' – comic, burlesque, or abusive poetry – for evidence of linguistic change in Older Scots. He asserts that, authors working in this low register were more likely to "mimic in writing recent innovations in the pronunciation of spoken Scots (as heard in everyday local speech by the ear)", including l-vocalisation. Alternatively, the l-vocalised spellings in this genre could reflect the possibly less-educated, less-professional background of the authors, or otherwise reflect social stratification in the use of l-vocalised and non-vocalised forms within Scots.

The "earliest reliably attested direct evidences of these changes" that Aitken (2002: 102) finds in Scotland come from local records from the mid-fifteenth century: *kaw* 'call' (from Ayr in 1438), and *Hawch* 'halch' (from Peebles in 1457). Also attesting to the change are examples of reverse spellings, which Aitken (2002: 103) describes as "common and widespread thereafter". These examples of hypercorrection occur when speakers, confused by the merger of the vowel sets, place <l> in words lacking it etymologically. Aitken (2002: 103) provides several examples of these reverse spellings, including *half* for 'have/ haf' (in 1425), and the town-name of Falkirk (in 1458), which was earlier

attested as *Fawkirk* and *Faukirk* (in 1298). Aitken hypothesizes that the changes originated either in south Scotland or northern England, and they then percolated throughout the country.

LAOS also provides early evidence for l-vocalisation across Scotland. It occurs in Older Scots in two words which also show it in *The Valiant Scot* – 'all' and 'hold'; they are listed below with their location and dates:

aw 'all' (Fife 1468/9)
haw 'all' (Fife 1461, 1468)
hawtdyn, hawdyn, hawdyn~ 'holding' (Fife 1468, 1469, 1471)

However, a number of other words also display l-vocalisation, including the following:

behaw 'behalf' (Fife 1463)
behawf 'behalf' (Angus 1464)
kaw 'call' (Ayrshire 1438)
chawder 'chalder' (Peeblesshire 1492)
fow 'full' (Fife 1466, 1469, 1469; Peeblesshire 1494)
gowd 'gold' (Fife 1463)
hawff 'half' (Fife 1471)
haw 'hall' (Peebleshire 1484/85/90/93)
mawyte 'malt' (Angus 1482)
mowtir 'multure' (Angus 1446)
sowd 'should' (Fife 1471)

The l-vocalised forms were not the most frequent spellings, as the data in LAOS attest; in all cases, the l-vocalised examples make up a small proportion of those attested. Nevertheless, l-vocalisation is present in a significant minority of forms suggesting either a change in progress or internal variation. The spellings with <l> could just be traditional presence if the spelling implies that the change had happened, at least variably. As Aitken (1983: 44) states, this sound change was "probably still only optional in speech, existing alongside alternative full-form options, as indeed most continue to do in modern Scots today".

6.8.2 EMod Evidence

L-vocalisation is well-attested and observed in the EModE period, particularly in the north. Dobson (1968: §425) notes that l-vocalisation of /a/ and /ɔ/ is "normally shown in the seventeenth century" in southern dialects; however, the change was context-sensitive, happening before /f/, /m/, and /k/, mainly. Dobson (1968: §425 n3) mentions the allusion to l-vocalisation in Shakespeare's *Love's Labour's Lost*, where the vocalised form is shown to be the preferred form. In the scene, Holofernes, the pompous pedant, lambasts Armado for speaking in an untutored and uncouth way, saying that, among other faults, "he clepeth a Calfe, Caufe: halfe, haufe", not pronouncing these words as they are written (Shakespeare 1598: 5.1). This example seems to illustrate that the normal way to pronounce *calf* and *half*, and words like them, was with a vocalised *l*, with only pedants insisting on spelling pronunciations.

Ihalainen (1994: 202) refers to examples of l-vocalisation found within Ray's 1674 (and revised 1691) work *A Collection of English Words Not Generally Used*. Ray, as Ihalainen notes, intended to focus primarily on lexical variation, not pronunciation. An Essex man, Ray intended his work to be useful to people travelling in the north, so that they could "understand the common language there", as well as to be interesting in general, perhaps serving as a precursor to modern books of trivia. However, Ihalainen (1994: 202) observes that Ray's lexical examples often provide evidence of "significant phonological features", like l-vocalisation in the north. These examples of northern l-vocalisation are sometimes hidden within an entry, such as *aw* 'all' within the Cheshire quotation *with aw my beer* 'with all my force', found in the entry for *beer/ birre* 'force, might'. Other l-vocalised entries include *fow* 'foul', which Ray pinpoints to Cheshire, though noting that it appears in various northern dialects. The 1691 edition, which was revised and greatly expanded, includes *aud* 'old'; in this entry Ray himself links this word to others undergoing the same change: *caud* 'cold', *wauds* 'wolds', and *aum* 'elm'. Ihalainen (1994: 263) states that l-vocalised spellings like *book* 'bulk' and *awmeast* 'almost' were "frequent in seventeenth-

and eighteenth-century dialect texts illustrating Yorkshire English", also noting that twentieth-century studies of the same dialects (Tidholm 1979) tended to show that /l/ was no longer vocalised.

OED provides some examples of l-vocalisation in its entries. For 'hold', OED notes the sixteenth-century Scottish form *hawd*, and that *haud* and *had* appear from the sixteenth century onwards. It also cites the nineteenth-century northern English form *hod*. For 'malt', OED has the northern forms *maut* (17-) and *mote* (19-), and several Scottish forms showing l-vocalisation, including *maut* (17-).

6.8.3 Modern Data Across Britain

L-vocalisation persisted through the late modern period, and continued to be used in dialect representations, particularly those with a northern focus. Ihalainen (1994: 213) lists l-vocalisation/ dropping as one of the key traits used in the depiction of northern dialects in England in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries.

While EDG notes that "l has generally remained unchanged initially, medially, and finally" (§251), it soon clarifies that l "has often disappeared" in certain environments – "especially in the combinations *ld*, *lf*, *lh*, *lk*, *lp*, *ls*, and *lt*" (§253). and "after a guttural vowel" (§255) in final position. Examples in consonant clusters include *cold,* found with a vocalised *l* in Scotland, the North Country (Northumberland, Durham, Cumberland, Westmorland, Lancashire, and Yorkshire), as well as in Cheshire, Flintshire, Denbighshire, Staffordshire, Derbyshire, Nottinghamshire, Lincolnshire, Leicestershire, Worcestershire, Shropshire, and Norfolk. L-vocalisation is attested in *hold* in many of the same places, as well as further south: Scotland, the North Country, Cheshire, Staffordshire, Derbyshire, Nottinghamshire, Lincolnshire, Leicestershire, Worcestershire, Herefordshire, Norfolk, Suffolk, Essex, Kent, Surrey, and Sussex.

The ‘disappearance’ of final *l* occurs “especially in the Scottish, Irish, North Country, and North Midland dialects”, such as with *foul*, found across Lancashire, Cheshire, Staffordshire, and Derbyshire in EDD.

SED grammar does not discuss l-vocalisation explicitly, though SED data does attest it; for example, ‘cold’ (VI.13.17) has pronunciations with l-vocalisation (including /ka:d/) in all six northern counties. LAE also provides evidence of the process, though more reflecting the modern developments. As such, the entries showing l-vocalisation typically show a restriction to the southeast – to parts of Sussex, Surrey, Kent, and Essex – and sometimes a pocket in Berkshire and Oxfordshire as well, as in *twelve* (Ph18b) and *silver* (Ph28b). However, in words like *shoulder* (Ph55b) and *school* (Ph144b), l-vocalisation is shown in the north as well as the south. *Shoulder* displays the most widespread l-vocalisation of any word mapped in LAE, with the sound change shown in most of the north and north midlands, as well as in the south and southeast. In *school*, l-vocalisation is shown in Lancashire, Cheshire, northeast Shropshire, and northwest Derbyshire, as well as in the southeast, and in south Oxfordshire, northwest Berkshire, and northeast Wiltshire; the latter group displays what is certainly the result of these later developments. However, variation is present: LAE maps for ‘cold’ and ‘old’ (Ph132b and Ph133b, respectively) show that in some dialects of NW England /l/ does not vocalise in the context of NME /a/ + /ld/, though it does in many other northern locations.

6.8.4 Evidence from the plays

Blank (1996: 105) classifies l-vocalisation as one of the “more typical features of literary northern”, describing specifically “the vocalization of *l* to *u* in *fause* (false) and *caud* (cold)”. Table 6.8.4 lists all l-vocalised forms in the Scottish dataset, organised chronologically by form:

#	form	gloss	character	play	year
1	**awe**	all	Peggy	*The Valiant Scot*	1637

1	**aw**	all	Friar	*The Valiant Scot*	1637
12	**aw**	all	Billy	*The Scots Figgaries*	1652
6	**aw**	all	Folly	*The Scots Figgaries*	1652
20	**aw**	all	Jocky	*The Scots Figgaries*	1652
8	**aw**	all	Scarefoole	*The Scots Figgaries*	1652
5	**aw**	all	a Scotchman	*A Short Representation...*	1660
9	**aw**	all	Wareston	*The Rump*	1660
1	**ad**	all	Charlot	*The City Heiress*	1682
12	**aud (8), ad (4)**	all	Wariston	*The Roundheads*	1682
1	**a**	all	3rd boatman	*The Assembly*	1691
1	**a**	all	4th boatman	*The Assembly*	1691
2	**a**	all	Ruling Elder	*The Assembly*	1691
4	**aw**	all	Scotch Song	*The Marriage Hater Match'd*	1692
11	**aw (10) awe (1)**	all	Sauny	*Sauny the Scot*	1698
10	**au**	all	Willie	*Courtship A-la-mode*	1700
1	**au**	all	Forgus	*Ireland Preserv'd*	1705
1	**aw**	all	1 Man	*Ireland Preserv'd*	1705
1	**aw**	all	Forgus	*Ireland Preserv'd*	1705
1	**awe**	all	1 Burg	*Ireland Preserv'd*	1705
2	**awe**	all	1st Drag	*Ireland Preserv'd*	1705
1	**awe**	all	2 Burg	*Ireland Preserv'd*	1705
1	**awe**	all	2 Officer	*Ireland Preserv'd*	1705
2	**aw reight**	all right	Scarefoole	*The Scots Figgaries*	1652
1	**auready**	already	Willie	*Courtship A-la-mode*	1700
1	**awter'd**	altered	Jocky	*The Scots Figgaries*	1652
3	**awway's, awways, aw wayes**	always	Sauny	*Sauny the Scot*	1698
2	**aw faw**	awful	Sauny	*Sauny the Scot*	1698
1	**bawk**	balk	Sauny	*Sauny the Scot*	1698
1	**Boyes**	bowels	Sauny	*Sauny the Scot*	1698
1	**caw**	call	Folly/Jocky	*Scots Figgaries*	1652
3	**Caw**	call	Sauny	*Sauny the Scot*	1698
2	**cau**	call	Willie	*Courtship A-la-mode*	1700
1	**caum**	calm	Willie	*Courtship A-la-mode*	1700
1	**cawd**	cold	Peggy	*The Valiant Scot*	1637
2	**caud (1), cawd (1)**	cold	Sauny	*Sauny the Scot*	1698
1	**dismawe**	dismal	Peggy	*The Valiant Scot*	1637
1	**faw**	fall	Peggy	*The Valiant Scot*	1637
2	**faw**	fall	Jocky	*The Scots Figgaries*	1652
1	**fa**	fall	Willie	*Courtship A-la-mode*	1700
2	**fau**	fall	Willie	*Courtship A-la-mode*	1700
1	**fause**	false	Jockie	*Edward IV*	1599
2	**fawse**	false	Wallace	*The Valiant Scot*	1637
1	**fawe**	foul	Peggy	*The Valiant Scot*	1637

1	**fawe**	foul	Wallace	*The Valiant Scot*	1637
1	**faw**	foul	Folly	*The Scots Figgaries*	1652
1	**faw**	foul	Scarefoole	*The Scots Figgaries*	1652
1	**fow**	foul	Folly	*The Scots Figgaries*	1652
6	**faw**	foul	Wareston	*The Rump*	1660
6	**faud**	foul	Wariston	*The Roundheads*	1682
6	**faw**	foul	Sauny	*Sauny the Scot*	1698
1	**fou**	foul	Sauny	*Sauny the Scot*	1698
1	**faudest**	foulest	Wariston	*The Roundheads*	1682
1	**foo**	full	Sauny	*Sauny the Scot*	1698
3	**fow**	full	Sauny	*Sauny the Scot*	1698
1	**fou**	full	Willie	*Courtship A-la-mode*	1700
1	**hauf**	half	Scotch apothecary	*The Distracted State*	1651
1	**hauf**	half	Willie	*Courtship A-la-mode*	1700
2	**Haupeny**	halfpenny	beggar	*Ireland Preserv'd*	1705
1	**hawter**	halter	Billy	*The Scots Figgaries*	1652
1	**haud**	hold	Bohan	*Scottish History of James IV*	1598
2	**hawd**	hold	Jockie	*Edward IV*	1599
2	**hawd**	hold	Peggy	*The Valiant Scot*	1637
2	**hawd**	hold	Wallace	*The Valiant Scot*	1637
3	**hawd**	hold	Scarefoole	*The Scots Figgaries*	1652
1	**hawd**	hold	Wareston	*The Rump*	1660
1	**hade**	hold	Wariston	*The Roundheads*	1682
3	**Haud**	hold	Wariston	*The Roundheads*	1682
1	**Had**	hold	Moderator	*The Assembly*	1691
2	**haud (1)** **hau'd (1)**	hold	Sauny	*Sauny the Scot*	1698
2	**haud**	hold	Willie	*Courtship A-la-mode*	1700
3	**haud**	hold	Forgus	*Ireland Preserv'd*	1705
1	**haw**	hold	1 Burg	*Ireland Preserv'd*	1705
2	**haw**	hold	1 Gang	*Ireland Preserv'd*	1705
1	**haw**	hold	2 Gang	*Ireland Preserv'd*	1705
1	**hauds**	holds	Jockie	*Edward IV*	1599
1	**knough**	knoll	Betty (Scotch Song)	*A Fond Husband*	1677
1	**awd**	old	Peggy	*The Valiant Scot*	1637
1	**awde**	old	Wallace	*The Valiant Scot*	1637
3	**aud**	old	Wariston	*The Roundheads*	1682
7	**awd (4), aw'd (1), aud (2)**	old	Sauny	*Sauny the Scot*	1698
4	**awd (3), aw'd (1)**	old	beggar	*Ireland Preserv'd*	1705
1	**smaw**	small	Wallace	*The Valiant Scot*	1637
1	**smaw**	small	Billy	*The Scots Figgaries*	1652
4	**saw**	soul	Scotch apothecary	*The Distracted State*	1651

12	**saw**	soul	Billy (1), Folly (1), Jocky (8), Scarefoole (2)	*The Scots Figgaries*	1652
1	**saws**	souls	Billy	*Scots Figgaries*	1652
2	**saw**	soul	Wareston	*The Rump*	1660
1	**sau**	soul	Forgus	*Ireland Preserv'd*	1705
1	**tawke**	talk	Jocky	*The Scots Figgaries*	1652
1	**wau**	well	Willie	*Courtship A-la-mode*	1700
	247				

Table 6.8.4: l-vocalised forms

Fifteen plays contain forms showing l-vocalisation in this dataset, with the spellings <aw> and <au> are typically used to represent l-vocalisation. The most common words showing l-vocalisation are 'all' (112 instances), 'hold' (28 instances), and 'foul' (25 instances). *The Scots Figgaries* shows the most l-vocalisation of plays in this dataset, with 62 instances; *Sauny the Scot* has 43, *Courtship A-la-mode* 22, *Ireland Preserv'd* 21, and *The Valiant Scot* 20.

<A> spellings are found in *The Assembly* ("what needs - *a* - this" or "where was - *a*- this slashing at Gillichrankie ?") and in Behn's plays. In *The Roundheads*, 'hold' is spelled two different ways in one line of Wariston's, as he instructs the musicians to stop playing: "*Haud* Minstrels *hade*". I discuss Behn's interpretation of l-vocalised forms (in *The Roundheads* and *The City Heiress*) in 6.8.5.

The *hawter* spelling of 'halter' in *The Scots Figgaries* is interesting, as the form typical in the north and Scotland is *helter*, without l-vocalisation.

In the following sections, I will discuss l-vocalisation in different environments, highlighting the representations in particular plays and by particular authors.

6.8.4.1 <l> in final position

L-vocalisation in word-final position was not a feature of StE. Dobson (1968: §425) states that the "loss of final *l* is recorded only as a dialectalism". Eckhardt

(1910-11: §249) discusses the omission of *l* in final position ("Nach *u* schwindet *l* völlig") in depictions of Northern English and in Scots, in words like 'pull', which is rendered *pu*' by a non-Scottish character in *The Sad Shepherd*. Final position is the most common position for l-vocalisation in my data, with instances that date from 1637's *The Valiant Scot*. The most commonly depicted such word is 'all'; other words with l-vocalised spellings are 'awful', 'call', 'dismal', 'fall', 'foul', 'full', 'knoll', 'small', and 'soul'.

'Soul' is the odd word out in this selection, as it does not contain the appropriate environment for l-vocalisation. Other northern and Scottish spellings of 'soul' in my dataset show the reflex of NME /a:/, highlighting the variation of that feature; no other examples of these l-vocalised spellings for 'soul' exist in any of the reference works, and studies like Orton (1933: §144.4) do not show l-vocalised spellings. These l-vocalised spellings of 'soul' are found in a very small subset of plays. Tatham's three plays provide a total of 18 examples of *saw* 'soul', and a *sau* spelling appears once in *Ireland Preserv'd*, within the speech of a character who is imitating a Scottish beggar. It is clear that Tatham and Michelburne's representation of this word is inaccurate. Knowing that an *l* in final position is likely to be vocalised, these playwrights overgeneralise the rule. These examples help strength the case against the accuracy of their representations.

6.8.4.2 before <t>

Dobson (1968: §425) notes that "loss before [t] is not normal in StE". Any spellings containing l-vocalisation before *t* could therefore be seen as dialectal. This process only occurs twice in this data, both times in Tatham's *The Scots Figgaries*, in *hawter* 'halter' and *awter'd* 'altered'. However, 'Halter' does not have the right environment for l-vocalisation in Scots. The Scots lexeme is 'helter', which SND traces back to Older Scots, and from there back to NME 'heltere', "with unusual vowel". In contrast, EDD shows *hauter* and *awter* variants in Cheshire, and *auter* in Shropshire; these English variants must

descend from an /al/ pronunciation. DOST, EDD, and OED do not provide evidence of l-vocalised forms of ‘alter’.

6.8.4.3 Possible eye-dialect forms

As discussed in 6.8.2, l-vocalisation was commonly found in StE in particular contexts – after “late ME *au* and *ou* and before [m], [k], [f], and [v]” (Dobson 1968: §425). Therefore, forms that display l-vocalisation in these contexts could be seen as examples of eye-dialect, if the dominant, standard pronunciation contained a vocalised *l*. Rather than truly indicating an alternate pronunciation, these forms just emphasize the ‘otherness’ of the dialect.

However, several depictions contain these forms, often in direct contrast to the spellings used in the dialogue of other, non-dialectal speakers. For example, *Courtship A-la-mode*, written by a Scotsman, contains *caum* ‘calm’ and *hauf* ‘half’, forms that perhaps represent a vowel difference, as well (see 3.20.3).

6.8.5 Behn’s misinterpretation

Behn wrote two plays that contain representations of Scots, both published in 1682: *The City Heiress*, where Charlot pretends to be a Scottish lass, and *The Roundheads*, an adaptation of Tatham’s *The Rump*, with the dialect speaker Lord Wariston. In both plays, her spellings of ‘all’ and ‘foul’ and are unusual, containing unetymological *d*, as in the two excerpted passages below, each with an italicised gloss:

> The Diel confound ‘em **aud**
> *The devil confound them* ***all***
>
> …Cromwel was th’ **faudest** limmer Loon that ever cam intol our Country, the **faud** Diel has tane him by th’ luggs for robbing our Houses and Land.”
> *…Cromwell was the* ***foulest*** *limmer loon that ever came into our Country, the* ***foul*** *devil has taken him by the ears for robbing our houses and land.*

A complete list of all such examples is found in Table 6.8.5, arranged alphabetically.

#	form	gloss	character	play	year
1	**ad**	all	Charlot	*The City Heiress*	1682
12	**aud (8), ad (4)**	all	Wariston	*The Roundheads*	1682
6	**faud**	foul	Wariston	*The Roundheads*	1682
1	**faudest**	foulest	Wariston	*The Roundheads*	1682

Table 6.8.5*:* all examples of l-vocalisation with unetymological *d* in Behn's plays

Bartley (1954: 152) notices Behn's treatment of these words in *The Roundheads*, and explains it as probably "the result of careless confusion between 'aud' = 'old' (as in *Sauny the Scot*) and 'aw' or 'au' = 'all' ". To be clear, Behn could not be patterning her spellings after Lacy's written depiction, as *Sauny the Scot* was only printed in 1698, but Bartley correctly describes the incorrect interpretations guiding Behn's decisions. These spellings of 'all' and 'foul' can be analysed as hypercorrection, and appear to be formed on a series of misinterpretations, particularly those related to the realisation of 'old'.

The Scots form of 'old' is 'ald' /ald/, which (after lengthening of /a/) "had developed to /auld/ in some varieties through breaking before /l/" (Williamson 2008: personal communication). The final /d/ is often lost in Modern Scots; this process is also depicted in *Courtship A-la-mode*, with eight instances of *aul* 'old' (alongside two instances of *auld* 'old'). This results in three variants: [ald], [aul], and [auld]. The d-less pronunciation of 'old' is misanalysed as being identical to that of the (non-vocalised) pronunciation of 'all'. This misanalysis leads Behn to a reverse spelling – if the pronunciation is the same, then so is the spelling – with Behn adding an unetymological *d* to the word. 'Foul', which is not etymologically related to 'old', is lumped into the same etymological set when the Scots vowel is mistakenly analysed as /au/ and not /u:/. In the seven examples of 'foul', there is the same insertion of unetymological *d*, paralleling the formation of *aud* 'all' (or of *haud* 'hold', appearing thrice in *The Roundheads*).

6.9 /x/

While the voiceless velar fricative /x/ may be indicative of contemporary Scots, it is only overtly indicated once in my dataset. In Tatham's *The Distracted State*, the Scotch apothecary claims that he is an excellent poisoner: "Peyson'd! be me saw I kan dew that brawly, I leard it fra *Bough-wha-nan* Sir". Here, *Bough-wha-nan* represents 'Buchanan', a surname with the SND pronunciation of [bʌxɑnɑn] (with the earlier pronunciation [bəˈhwanan]). The combination of *gh-wh* probably suggests either this velar fricative or the /hw/ cluster.

6.10 The A/O boundary (OE /ɑ:/ > NME /a:/) and related features

This boundary, which follows the well-known Humber-Ribble Line (Wakelin 1984: 70-71), enjoyed lasting significance, and remained a stable divide, delineating the north from the south; Ihalainen (1994: 219) calls it "the most important linguistic border in England". The Humber-Ribble Line is described by Wales (2006: 18) as "an ancient linguistic North-South divide", one that "roughly follows the river courses (including the Ouse, Wharfe, and Lune) east and west between the Humber Estuary and the mouth of the Ribble near Preston and Lancashire". The A/O boundary is only one of several phonological features which follow the Humber-Ribble Line; this boundary concerns sound changes affecting OE /ɑ:/, which in the north fronted to NME /a:/, while in the south it rounded to ME /ɔ:/.

There is an area of overlap, at least in ME; Ihalainen (1994: 219) notes, "the late Old English rounding of long *a* stopped, roughly, at the river Humber, so that even today north-of-the-Humber pronunciations of words like *stone* can be heard that are reflexes of *a*: rather than *o*:". LAE's evidence shows that "it is obvious that the traditional pronunciations with /ɩ, ɩɛ, ɩa, ja/ [in modern IPA notation, /ɪ, ɪɛ, ɪa, ja/] and /ea/ (from earlier /ia/) are rapidly disappearing". Ihalainen (1994: 219) then notes that the reflexes of this process have now been lost, citing Trudgill (1990: 76), who states that the division "has disappeared

completely”. However, there are still occasional examples, such as *claes* ‘clothes’ in Scotland (with SND providing recent examples of *claes* ‘clothes’ from the 1980s to the present). Front, unrounded reflexes of OE, OScand *ā* are the norm in Scots and, arguably, the northern boundary of these is around the Highland Line.

6.10.1 Depictions of *a/o* forms in Scottish representations

This feature was “prominent and regular” in texts depicting northern dialects in the Late Modern period (Ihalainen 1994: 219). It also is attested in EDD, OED, LAE, and DOST material. It is one of the most frequent features portrayed in seventeenth-century drama, with a number of high frequency vocabulary items marked across 23 plays.

Table 6.10.1 displays instances of the fronting to NME/a:/ from OE/ɑ:/; I have isolated reflexes of OE *a:w* in 6.10.2. I discuss the related developments of -*ald*, -*amb,* and -*ang* forms in 6.10.3, 6.10.4, and 6.10.5, respectively.

#	form	gloss	character	play	year
1	**beanes**	bones	Mortigue	*The Vow Breaker*	1636
1	**bath**	both	Captain Jamy	*Henry V*	1623
1	**beoth**	both	Folly	*The Scots Figgaries*	1652
1	**Cleathes**	clothes	Scotch countrywoman	*Ireland Preserv’d*	1705
1	**ga**	go	Billy	*The Scots Figgaries*	1652
1	**gee**	go	Jocky	*The Scots Figgaries*	1652
12	**gea (9) gee (2), ge (1)**	go	Sauny	*Sauny the Scot*	1698
1	**heom**	home	Scarefoole	*The Scots Figgaries*	1652
26	**heom**	home	Fidlers (Scotch Song)	*The Scots Figgaries*	1652
1	**heam**	home	Letitia (Scotch Song)	*The Virtuous Wife*	1680
2	**heam**	home	Sauny	*Sauny the Scot*	1698
1	**heame**	home	Granade	*Ireland Preserv’d*	1705
1	**lath**	loath	Sauny	*Sauny the Scot*	1698
1	**leath**	loathe	Betty (Scotch Song)	*A Fond Husband*	1677
1	**Leords**	Lord	Wareston	*The Rump*	1660
2	**Lerd**	Lord	Wariston	*The Roundheads*	1682
1	**Leards**	Lords	Jocky	*The Scots Figgaries*	1652
1	**mere**	more	Bohan	*Scottish History of James IV*	1598

1	**mare**	more	Peggy	*The Valiant Scot*	1637
3	**mare (2), meare (1)**	more	Friar	*The Valiant Scot*	1637
1	**mare**	more	Peggy	*The Valiant Scot*	1637
3	**mare (2), meare (1)**	more	Friar	*The Valiant Scot*	1637
1	**mare**	more	Scotch apothecary	*The Distracted State*	1651
1	**mere**	more	Billy	*The Scots Figgaries*	1652
3	**mere**	more	Folly	*The Scots Figgaries*	1652
4	**mere**	more	Jocky	*The Scots Figgaries*	1652
2	**mere**	more	a Scotchman	*A Short Representation...*	1660
3	**meere**	more	Wareston	*The Rump*	1660
1	**mere**	more	Lady Turnup (Scotch Song)	*The Morning Ramble*	1672
2	**mere**	more	Wariston	*The Roundheads*	1682
2	**mair**	more	Covenant	*The Assembly*	1691
5	**mear (1), meare (1), meer (1), meere (1), mere (1)**	more	Sauny	*Sauny the Scot*	1698
2	**mair**	more	Willie	*Courtship A-la-mode*	1700
1	**mest**	most	Folly	*Scots Figgaries*	1652
1	**ne**	no	Bohan	*Scottish History of James IV*	1598
2	**na**	no	Peggy	*The Valiant Scot*	1637
4	**na (3), ne (1)**	no	Wallace	*The Valiant Scot*	1637
1	**nea**	no	Friar	*The Valiant Scot*	1637
1	**na**	no	Scotch apothecary	*The Distracted State*	1651
11	**ne**	no	Billy	*The Scots Figgaries*	1652
6	**ne**	no	Folly	*The Scots Figgaries*	1652
17	**ne (15), nee (2)**	no	Jocky	*The Scots Figgaries*	1652
2	**ne**	no	a Scotchman	*A Short Representation...*	1660
3	**ne**	no	Wareston	*The Rump*	1660
1	**Nea**	no	Lady Turnup (Scotch Song)	*The Morning Ramble*	1672
1	**nea**	no	Betty (Scotch Song)	*A Fond Husband*	1677
1	**ne**	no	Wariston	*The Roundheads*	1682
3	**na (2), nae (1)**	no	Covenant	*The Assembly*	1691
4	**nae (3), na (1)**	no	Ruling Elder	*The Assembly*	1691
32	**nea (28) ne (3), nee (1)**	no	Sauny	*Sauny the Scot*	1698
4	**nau**	no	Willie	*Courtship A-la-mode*	1700
1	**ne**	no	3 (mob member)	*Ireland Preserv'd*	1705
3	**ne**	no	Forgus	*Ireland Preserv'd*	1705
1	**nea**	no	2 Officer	*Ireland Preserv'd*	1705
2	**nea**	no	Scotch countreyman	*Ireland Preserv'd*	1705
1	**nea**	no	women	*Ireland Preserv'd*	1705
3	**nea**	no/ not	Willie	*Courtship A-la-mode*	1700

15	**na**	no/ not	Willie	*Courtship A-la-mode*	1700
1	**nene**	none	Bohan	*Scottish History of James IV*	1598
1	**nen**	none	Billy	*The Scots Figgaries*	1652
1	**nen**	none	Folly	*The Scots Figgaries*	1652
5	**nen**	none	Jocky	*The Scots Figgaries*	1652
1	**Nene**	none	Lady Turnup (Scotch Song)	*The Morning Ramble*	1672
1	**nean**	none	Betty (Scotch Song)	*A Fond Husband*	1677
1	**Nene**	none	Wariston	*The Roundheads*	1682
1	**nean**	none	Jockey/ Jenny (Scotch Song)	*A Fool's Preferment*	1688
2	**nean**	none	Sauny	*Sauny the Scot*	1698
1	**na**	not	Jockie	*Edward IV*	1599
1	**ne**	not	4 (mob member)	*Ireland Preserv'd*	1705
1	**nea**	not	prisoners	*Ireland Preserv'd*	1705
1	**nething**	nothing	a Scotchman	*A Short Representation...*	1660
2	**neathing**	nothing	Willie	*Courtship A-la-mode*	1700
1	**neene**	nown [own]	Wareston	*The Rump*	1660
1	**ean**	on[ly]	Sauny	*Sauny the Scot*	1698
2	**ence**	once	Charlot	*The City Heiress*	1682
1	**ence**	once	Wariston	*The Roundheads*	1682
1	**ens**	once	Ruling Elder	*The Assembly*	1691
1	**eance**	once	Sauny	*Sauny the Scot*	1698
1	**eans**	once	Willie	*Courtship A-la-mode*	1700
2	**ene**	one	Bohan	*Scottish History of James IV*	1598
1	**ane**	one	Peggy	*The Valiant Scot*	1637
2	**ane**	one	Wallace	*The Valiant Scot*	1637
1	**een**	one	Scotch apothecary	*The Distracted State*	1651
1	**ean**	one	Lady Turnup (Scotch Song)	*The Morning Ramble*	1672
2	**ene**	one	Charlot	*The City Heiress*	1682
2	**ene**	one	Wariston	*The Roundheads*	1682
2	**one**	one	Letitia (Scotch Song)	*The Virtuous Wife*	1683
1	**ane**	one	Ruling Elder	*The Assembly*	1691
1	**ane**	one	Hirer	*The Assembly*	1691
3	**ean**	one	Sauny	*Sauny the Scot*	1698
1	**an**	one	Willie	*Courtship A-la-mode*	1700
2	**ean**	one	Willie	*Courtship A-la-mode*	1700
4	**ean**	one	beggar (2), David Hewston (1), spy (1)	*Ireland Preserv'd*	1705
1	**ean**	one	David Hewston	*Ireland Preserv'd*	1705
1	**eane**	one	Forgus	*Ireland Preserv'd*	1705
1	**ens**	one's	Charlot	*The City Heiress*	1682
1	**eaght**	ought	Betty (Scotch Song)	*A Fond Husband*	1677
1	**ene**	own	Bohan	*Scottish History of James IV*	1598

1	**awne**	own	Friar	*The Valiant Scot*	1637
1	**awne**	own	Friar	*The Valiant Scot*	1637
1	**awn**	own	Letitia (Scotch Song)	*The Virtuous Wife*	1680
1	**awn**	own	Letitia (Scotch Song)	*The Virtuous Wife*	1680
1	**ene**	own	Wariston	*The Roundheads*	1682
1	**ene**	own	Wariston	*The Roundheads*	1682
1	**ean**	own	Sauny	*Sauny the Scot*	1698
1	**aun**	own	Sauny	*Sauny the Scot*	1698
1	**ean**	own	Sauny	*Sauny the Scot*	1698
3	**ain**	own	Willie	*Courtship A-la-mode*	1700
1	**reore**	roar	Folly	*The Scots Figgaries*	1652
5	**sa (4), sae (1)**	so	Wallace	*The Valiant Scot*	1637
2	**sea**	so	Peggy	*The Valiant Scot*	1637
1	**sa**	so	Peggy	*The Valiant Scot*	1637
6	**sa**	so	Billy	*The Scots Figgaries*	1652
6	**sa**	so	Folly	*The Scots Figgaries*	1652
14	**sa**	so	Jocky	*The Scots Figgaries*	1652
1	**sa**	so	Scarefoole	*The Scots Figgaries*	1652
1	**sa**	so	Fidlers (Scotch Song)	*The Scots Figgaries*	1652
1	**see**	so	Folly	*The Scots Figgaries*	1652
3	**sa (2), se (1)**	so	Wareston	*The Rump*	1660
1	**sa**	so	Charlot	*The City Heiress*	1682
1	**see**	so	Charlot	*The City Heiress*	1682
3	**sa (2), se (1)**	so	Wariston	*The Roundheads*	1682
12	**sea**	so	Sauny	*Sauny the Scot*	1698
11	**sua**	so	Willie	*Courtship A-la-mode*	1700
2	**sear**	sore	Lady Turnup (Scotch Song)	*The Morning Ramble*	1672
1	**sear**	sore	Sauny	*Sauny the Scot*	1698
1	**stean**	stone	Lady Turnup (Scotch Song)	*The Morning Ramble*	1672
1	**streake**	stroke	Sauny	*Sauny the Scot*	1698
1	**steake**	stroke [misprint)]	Sauny	*Sauny the Scot*	1698
2	**teaken**	token	Sauny	*Sauny the Scot*	1698
1	**twea**	two	Jockie	*Edward IV*	1599
1	**twa**	two	Friar	*The Valiant Scot*	1637
1	**twa**	two	Wallace	*The Valiant Scot*	1637
3	**twa**	two	Billy	*The Scots Figgaries*	1652
3	**twa**	two	Jocky	*The Scots Figgaries*	1652
1	**twa**	two	Scarefoole	*The Scots Figgaries*	1652
2	**twa**	two	Betty (Scotch Song)	*A Fond Husband*	1677
1	**twa**	two	Wariston	*The Roundheads*	1682
1	**twa**	two	Chloe (Scotch Song)	*The Royalist*	1682
1	**tway**	two	Hob	*The Benefice*	1689
14	**twa**	two	Sauny	*Sauny the Scot*	1698
3	**twa**	two	Willie	*Courtship A-la-mode*	1700
1	**tway**	two	Captain Jamy	*Henry V*	1623
1	**twa**	two	Wareston	*The Rump*	1660

2	**tua**	two	Ruling Elder	*The Assembly*	1691
1	**wha**	who	Wallace	*The Valiant Scot*	1637
4	**wha (3), whae (1)**	who	Peggy	*The Valiant Scot*	1637
14	**wha**	who	Folly	*The Scots Figgaries*	1652
4	**wha**	who	Jocky	*The Scots Figgaries*	1652
2	**wha**	who	Scarefoole	*The Scots Figgaries*	1652
1	**wha**	who	Wareston	*The Rump*	1660
1	**wha**	who	Moderator	*The Assembly*	1691
3	**whau**	who	Willie	*Courtship A-la-mode*	1700
1	**whau**	who	Scotch countrywoman	*Ireland Preserv'd*	1705
1	**heal**	whole	Willie	*Courtship A-la-mode*	1700
1	**wham**	whom	Peggy	*The Valiant Scot*	1637
1	**Wa**	woe	Peggy	*The Valiant Scot*	1637
1	**wae**	woe	Peggy	*The Valiant Scot*	1637
1	**wea**	woe	Lady Turnup (Scotch Song)	*The Morning Ramble*	1672
2	**way**	woe	Charlot	*The City Heiress*	1682
1	**wea**	woe	Sauny	*Sauny the Scot*	1698
1	**wa**	woe	Willie	*Courtship A-la-mode*	1700
1	**Wey**	woe	two women running	*Ireland Preserv'd*	1705
1	**weas**	woe's	Jockie	*Edward IV*	1599

Table 6.10.1: NME /a:/

Playwrights frequently acknowledge this northern and Scottish trait, highlighting different words and using variant spellings.

Aitken (2002: 116-117) discusses dramatic representations of Scottish vowels, citing a few early examples (*The Scottish History of James IV*, *The Valiant Scot*, *Henry V*, and the 1581 *The Conflict of Conscience*). He notes that the <e> (and <ea> and <ei>) spellings for NME /a:/ seem to suggest a mid to high front vowel.

Because of the number of examples, I highlight only a few unusual ones below.

This is the only phonological trait shown in the Scotch Songs in *The Royalist*, *The Virtuous Wife*, and *A Fool's Preferment.* Billy, in *The Scots Figgaries*, uses *twa* for 'too'; Dorothy also includes this form (*twa* for 'to') in the Scotch Song in *Trick for Trick*. These spellings must be based on the homophones *two, to*, and *too*, since 'too' and 'to' come from /o:/, not /a:/. Wareston, in *The Rump* uses *Leord* 'Lord' once, but *Loord* 'lord' twelve times. In the 1660 edition, Wareston uses the

standard spelling of *two*, which is altered in the 1661 edition to *twa* ("*twa* inches longer").

Other characters often use this feature when mimicking or mocking Scots characters. In *The Scots Figgaries*, the Courtier that Billy and Jockey have just begged for money mocks their accent, repeating *ne* 'no' and making a joke:

> Courtier: There --- that will serve to buy you Oatmeale; sir there is no more of your Catterwalling Companions here abouts, is there?
> Jockey: **Ne, ne** sir, ant lick your honor. (*No, no, sir, if it like [please] your honor.*)
> Courtier: **Ne, ne**, pox on your **Nees** and your Nose too; I'm glad I'm rid on you.

Here , the Courtier is making an indirect reference to the height of the vowel,as discussed by Aitken (2002: 116-117), and is punning on the variant pronunciations of 'no'.

In *Ireland Preserv'd,* after a bombastic statement by David Hewston, where he proclaims his ability to "destroy Five Hundred with my ean Haund", the Major mimics him, saying to his men:

> What pitty it was, that Mess David, was not at the Rout of Dromoore, to have Destroy'd Five Hundred with his *ean Haund*.

In *Sauny the Scot*, when answering Sauny's question, Woodall uses the same phrase that Sauny has just used: "*sear* grief". Here, Woodall is either mocking Sauny's pronunciation of 'sore grief', or he cannot understand what Sauny has said, possibly because of the dialectal difference.

6.10.2 OE *a:*w

In Table 6.10.2, I isolate words that can be traced back to OE *a:w*, organised by form.

#	form	gloss	character	play	year
1	**blaw**	blow	Jockie	*Edward IV*	1599
2	**blaw**	blow	3rd boatman (1). Ruling Elder (1)	*The Assembly*	1691
1	**blaw**	blow	Sauny	*Sauny the Scot*	1698
1	**blea**	blow	Sauny	*Sauny the Scot*	1698
1	**crawe**	crow	Peggy	*The Valiant Scot*	1637
1	**knee**	know	Folly	*The Scots Figgaries*	1652
1	**knee**	know	Jocky	*The Scots Figgaries*	1652
1	**knaw**	know	Betty (Scotch Song)	*A Fond Husband*	1677
1	**lew**	low	Betty (Scotch Song)	*A Fond Husband*	1677
1	**sale**	soul	Sir Bartram	*Scottish History of James IV*	1598
1	**sawle**	soul	Friar	*The Valiant Scot*	1637
4	**sawle**	soul	Wallace	*The Valiant Scot*	1637
4	**saw**	soul	Scotch apothecary	*The Distracted State*	1651
1	**saw**	soul	Folly	*The Scots Figgaries*	1652
8	**saw**	soul	Jocky	*The Scots Figgaries*	1652
2	**saw**	soul	Scarefoole	*The Scots Figgaries*	1652
2	**saw**	soul	Wareston	*The Rump*	1660
1	**saule**	soul	Letitia (Scotch Song)	*The Virtuous Wife*	1680
5	**Sol**	Soul	Wariston	*The Roundheads*	1682
1	**soul**	soul	Letitia (Scotch Song)	*The Virtuous Wife*	1683
1	**saul**	soul	3rd boatman	*The Assembly*	1691
12	**saul**	soul	Sauny	*Sauny the Scot*	1698
19	**saul**	soul	Willie	*Courtship A-la-mode*	1700
1	**sau**	soul	Forgus	*Ireland Preserv'd*	1705
1	**sawles**	souls	Peggy	*The Valiant Scot*	1637
1	**solls**	souls	Jocky	*The Scots Figgaries*	1652

Table 6.10.2: OE *a:w*

This category contains 72 tokens from fourteen plays. The majority of these are forms of 'soul'.

Most of these forms are spelt with <au> or <aw> digraphs, possibly suggesting an /ɔ(:)/ or /a:/ pronunciation.

Sauny has one instance of *blea* 'blow', Folly and Jocky both use *knee* 'know' in *The Scots Figgaries*, and Wariston uses *Sol* 'soul' five times in *The Roundheads*.

In the Scotch Song in *The Morning Ramble*, Lady Turnup uses the form *knowgh* 'know', presumably rhyming the word with 'laugh':

The Lads and Lasses all do *laugh*,
And scorn me as I gang;
They do me all Cuckold ***knowgh***,
And gibe me with this Sang.

As there is, historically, no fricative in 'know', there are three possibilities for the inclusion of the <gh> digraph here. It could be an instance of eye-rhyme with 'laugh', a visual indication of a 'foreign' dialect that was not intended to be voiced. Or, it could be an attempt at a real rhyme with 'laugh', with an actual (and incorrect) addition of the fricative. Or, 'knowgh' could be a joke rhyme with 'laugh', with Lady Turnup deliberately attempting a funny fricative pronunciation in her rendition of the new Scotch Song.

6.10.3 *<-ald>*

These -*ald* forms did not originally have /ɑː/, but /ɑ/, and were subject to homorganic lengthening because of the influence of the /ld/ cluster. These forms are seen in Table 6.10.3.

#	form	gloss	character	play	year
1	**cald**	cold	Ruling Elder	*The Assembly*	1691
3	**scaud (1), scau'd (1), Scawd (1)**	scold	Sauny	*Sauny the Scot*	1698
2	**Scaulding (1), scauden (1)**	scolding	Sauny	*Sauny the Scot*	1698
1	**caul**	cold	Willie	*Courtship A-la-mode*	1700
8	**aul**	old	Willie	*Courtship A-la-mode*	1700
2	**auld**	old	Willie	*Courtship A-la-mode*	1700

Table 6.10.3: -*ald* forms

These forms are found in the three plays written by northerners (Lacy) or Scots (Pitcairne and Craufurd), and so seem to be credible. DOST and SND do not provide any evidence of l-vocalised forms of these words, but SED shows l-vocalised forms of 'cold' (VI.13.18) and 'old' (VIII.1.20) in all six northern counties ('scold' was not found in their questionnaire).

6.10.4 <-*amb*>

The only word in this category is *womb* (or *wame*) 'stomach'*.* The sense of 'stomach' for *wame, womb* is now recognised as predominantly Scottish, though it has been attested in the north of England as well. In the DOST entry, *wame* primarily refers to the stomach or digestive organs specifically, or to the abdomen more generally. The only mention of 'uterus' comes in the third definition. This ordering of senses is paralleled in OED and EDD. EDD finds *wame*, initially and chiefly defined as "the belly; the stomach", in Scotland, Northumberland, Cumberland, Westmorland, Yorkshire, Lancashire, Derbyshire, and Lincolnshire, as well as Somerset. EDD also has a short entry under *womb* for the same sense; this entry however is marked as obsolete and as found in Scotland and Yorkshire.

According to OED, the sense of 'belly' for the lexeme *womb* was previously much more widespread, used, for example, by Shakespeare in *2 Henry IV*. OED notes (in *wame* 2) that "in the seventeenth century the dialect word seems to have been adopted (in the forms *wem*, *wemb*, *weamb*) in southern use as a jocular substitute for 'belly'". One of the quotations they cite is from the play *Ram-Alley* (1611), discussed in 4.25, which perhaps explains the uses of *weame* and *whyniard*; another citation involves both swords and 'wembs': "He clapped his hand to his sword, and told him, were he a man..he would have run him through the *wemb*."

A full list of the instances of *womb* in the Scottish dataset can be found in Table 6.10.4.

#	form	character	play	year
1	**wembe**	Bohan	*Scottish History of James IV*	1598
1	**womb**	3rd soldier	*Thierry and Theodoret*	1621
1	**weame**	Miles	*The Vow Breaker*	1636
1	**weambe**	Friar	*The Valiant Scot*	1637
1	**weamb**	Scotch apothecary	*The Distracted State*	1651
3	**Weomb**	Jocky	*The Scots Figgaries*	1652

1	**Weombs**	Folly	*The Scots Figgaries*	1652
2	**Wem**	Wariston	*The Roundheads*	1682
10	**weam (7), weem (1), weeme (1), wem (1)**	Sauny	*Sauny the Scot*	1698
1	**weam**	Willie Beetlehead	*Courtship A-la-mode*	1700
1	**wem**	prisoners	*Ireland Preserv'd*	1705
23				

Table 6.10.4: *womb* 'stomach, belly'

Noticeably, the earlier examples (before the Restoration) all preserve the <b>, and there are a variety of ways to represent the vowel. Presumably, the digraphs <ea> and <eo> indicate either a diphthong or the long vowel /eː/ (see 6.13.3). Or, in an alternate explanation, the <eo> spelling could indicate breaking, or a rounded glide before <mb>. Only one token preserves the <womb> spelling, that in *Thierry and Theodoret*.

Miles, in *The Vow Breaker*, is imitating the speech of the 'Scotswomen' when he uses *weame*. One of Jocky's uses of *weomb* in *The Scots Figgaries* refers to the sense of 'uterus', as he speaks of his "Moders *Weomb*".

Several of the quotations are concerned with the fullness (or emptiness) of one's stomach. In *The Scots Figgaries*, Jocky speaks of "the empty *Weomb*" he often had in Scotland, and later tells his companion to "fill thy *weomb*". In *Courtship A-la-mode*, Willie exclaims that an Englishwoman would be eager for love when she was away from prying eyes: "she waud be aus caum as au laum, and let a laud kiss his *weam* fou".

If the context does not have to do with food, it may deal with violence instead. The collocation between *whinyard* and *womb* has already been discussed in 4.25.

In *The Distracted State*, *weamb* is found in a oath, a folksy explanation for the Apothecary's tardiness: "Goud faith, gif I had rid the Deel and splut the *weamb* o the wund, I cud a mead na mare heast". This use is echoed in Behn's *The*

Roundheads, where Wariston declares, " 'twas en the Work o'th' faud Loone, the Diel brest his *Wem* for't".

Sauny is the single character with the most instances of forms of *womb*, with 10 in total. Most of these uses refer either to food ("Sawny will cut it into Tripes to Stuff your *Weam* with", "ye'st Eat of that tull your *Weam* crack"), or to violence ("I'se put my Durke to the hilt in her *Weam*"); the last example appears only to have violent connotations, not sexual ones. Interestingly, the *wem, weem,* and *weeme* spellings are used in oaths, invoking the devil:

> Mara the Deel stuff his *Wem* fow a Hemp, and his Dam Spin it out at his Arse
>
> That is, the Deel creep into her *weem* t'ith very bottome on't that's to the Croone gued faith of her head
>
> Let her gea her gate Sir, an e'n twa Deels and a Scotch wutch, blaw her *weeme* full of Wind.

6.10.5 <-*ang*>

This feature also follows the Humber-Ribble Line. LALME categorises -*ang*, the reflex of WGMc *ă* before the *ng* cluster, separately (#270). This -*ang* material constitutes a small set, with 25 examples found in seven plays. This dataset is presented in chronological order in Table 6.10.5; in the interest of space, I do not include instances of *gang* 'go', which are explained and listed in 4.8, in this table.

#	form	gloss	character	play	year
1	**wranfully**	wrongfully	Jockie	*Edward IV*	1599
1	**alang**	along	Wallace	*The Valiant Scot*	1637
1	**amang**	among	Peggy	*The Valiant Scot*	1637
3	**lang**	long	Friar (1), Wallace (2)	*The Valiant Scot*	1637
3	**wrang**	wrong	Friar (1), Peggy (1), Wallace (1)	*The Valiant Scot*	1637
1	**wranged**	wronged	Wallace	*The Valiant Scot*	1637
1	**lenger**	long(er)	Brun	*Hey for Honesty*	1651
1	**alang**	along	Lady Turnup (Scotch Song)	*The Morning Ramble*	1672

1	**Sang**	song	Lady Turnup (Scotch Song)	*The Morning Ramble*	1672
8	**tang**	tongue	Sauny	*Sauny the Scot*	1698
1	**amaung**	among	Willie Beetlehead	*Courtship A-la-mode*	1700
1	**laung**	long	Willie Beetlehead	*Courtship A-la-mode*	1700
1	**wraung**	wrong	Willie Beetlehead	*Courtship A-la-mode*	1700
1	**aloang**	along	David Hewston	*Ireland Preserv'd*	1705
25					

Table 6.10.5: -*ang* forms

These forms are found predominantly in those plays whose authors are postulated to have had experience in Scotland or contact with Scots (or Ulster Scots): namely, in *The Valiant Scot*, *Sauny the Scot*, *Courtship A-la-mode*, and *Ireland Preserv'd*. The example of *lenger* 'longer', unusual in its choice of <e>, appears in *Hey for Honesty*, which is shown to have several incorrect forms (c.f. 4.9, 5.3); for our purposes, we will focus on the other examples in this dataset.e

However, the examples found in this dataset are more complex than they may seem at first glance. The LALME -*ang* category (based on the spellings of any word with OE or ON -*ang*) shows exclusively -*ang* in Scotland (in Ayrshire, Berwickshire, East Lothian, Midlothian, Peebles-shire, Perthshire, and Wigtownshire). The LAOS materials show exclusively -*ang* forms in *lang* 'long', *wrang* 'wrong', and *amang* 'among'. *Lang* 'long' is also well attested in DOST (with the variant forms *lange*, *launge*, *laing*, and *layng*), as is *wrang* 'wrang'. These forms are also classified as Scottish in the OED. *Amang* 'among' is found in DOST and SND; other variant spellings include *amange* and *amaunge*. EDD finds the spelling *amang* not only in Scotland, but also in Ireland, Cumberland, north and east Yorkshire, Lancashire, and Lincolnshire. The spelling *alang* 'along' is recorded only rarely in these sources, and the spelling *tang* 'tongue' is entirely absent from them; these cases therefore require explanation.

Alang appears less frequently before the eighteenth century. *Alang* 'along' appears only once in DOST, in a quotation from Knox (*c*. 1558-1566): "The Frenche … laid thair deid carcassis … *alang* thair wall". In the SND, the first citation comes from a 1728 collection of Ramsay's poetry: "See with what

Gayety, yet grave, Serena swims *alang*". The other eighteenth-century citations all are from Scots poetry, by such poets as Fergusson and Burns. A note on the SND entry attempts to shed some light on this situation, stating that *alang* was rarely found in Older Scots (with only the Knox example provided in DOST), and that the dominant OSc form was *endlang*, with entries in both DOST and SND. This form is classified as northern and Scottish by the OED. *Alang* is also found in George Buchanan's 1571 work *Ane detectioun of the duinges of Marie Quene of Scottes*: "The pepill, all *alang* the way lukyng pitiously shewit a foreboding of na gude lucke to come".

6.10.5.1 The problematic case of *tang*

Tang 'tongue', while seemingly formed on analogy from these -*ang* forms, is etymologically unrelated, descending from OE *tunge*. *Tang* is not a common spelling of 'tongue' in Scots, though it is cited twice in the DOST entry for *toung*, both metaphoric extensions of a 'tongue of land', an outjutting: "Daleting is so called, because it is a dale with a *tang* or ness", and "All the parishes of Zetland, that run out into the sea, are called *tangs*" (*c.* 1650-1700). Both of these citations are confined to sources in Orkney or Shetland, suggesting that the form *tang* has come directly from OScand *tange*.

Three possibilities can be posited for its use in *Sauny the Scot*, the only play to mark this word.

One, Lacy has assumed that, on evidence of regular spellings of *tong* for 'tongue', that 'tongue' is part of the group of words that includes 'wrong', 'song', and 'long', and has spelled it with <a> accordingly.

Two, while Lacy did realise that 'tong' does not historically belong with the other '-*ong*/ -*ang*' words, he uses *tang* spellings to deliberately exaggerate the Scotticism.

Three, it could be part of a deliberate play on words, using *tang* to mean 'serpent's tongue' or 'sting' in order to emphasize the derogatory nature of the attitude towards the tongue in question. This possibility could occur in conjunction with either of the first two suggestions. Since most of the uses of *tang* occur when Sauny is speaking specifically of the tongue of Margaret, the renamed shrew of Shakespeare's title, this play on words could be likely. The lines of dialogue with *tang* are isolated below, with the ones referring specifically to Margaret listed first:

> Hear ye Sir, Cou'd not ye Mistake? and pull her ***Tang*** out instead of her Teeth.
>
> S'breed Sir, stay her yer sen, but hear ye Sir, an her tale gea as fast as her ***tang***, Gud ye ha meet with a Whupster, Sir.
>
> Gud be nea Angry, Ye ha ne aw yer Pay yet Sir. Cud ye not Mistake, and Draw her ***Tang*** in stead of her Teeth Sir.
>
> Gud wull a Sir, he'll tak you[r] Lass with a Long ***Tang*** that the Deel and Saundy wun a venter on, but he's here his aun sel, Sir.
>
> O my saul Sir, I'se hau'd a thousand pund, shee's set up her ***Tang***, and Scaud fro Edingbrough to London, and nere draw bit for't.
>
> Mustard is nea gu'd for your ***Tang***, 'twill make it tea keen, and ye can Scau'd fast enough without.
>
> I'se sooner pick your ***tang*** out O' your head, nor pick your Pocket.
> Gud has she, haud ye ***tang***, ye faw dranken Swine, out, out, out, was ye tak a Drink and nere tak Saundy to yee, out, out, out.

6.11 ME /e:/

There do not appear to be any notable variants of ME /e:/ in the Scottish dataset.

6.12 ME /i:/ and EModE /i:/

In the Great Vowel Shift, ME /i:/ diphthongized, though this process occurred at different times and to different extents across Britain; Dobson (1968: §137) argues that the diphthongization of ME /i:/ to [ai] probably could not be found in "careful Southern speech before 1700", whereas it could be observed in the north of England and in Scotland from 1600. This process results in variation between the diphthongs /əi/ or /ai/, or their variants, as a result of the Scottish Vowel Length Rule, in Modern Scots.

Playwrights imitating Scottish speech generally use <ay> or <ai> to represent an advanced dissimilation of the diphthong, as they do in imitations of northern dialects as well (see 10.11). A list of the Scottish examples can be found in Table 6.12:

#	form	gloss	character	play	year
10	**Ay**	I	Bohan	*Scottish History of James IV*	1598
1	**ayl**	I'll	Bohan	*Scottish History of James IV*	1598
2	**may**	my	Bohan	*Scottish History of James IV*	1598
1	**may**	my	Sir Bartram	*Scottish History of James IV*	1598
2	**thay**	thy	Bohan	*Scottish History of James IV*	1598
6	**whay**	why	Bohan	*Scottish History of James IV*	1598
2	**bay**	buy	Jockie	*Edward IV*	1599
2	**may**	my	Jockie	*Edward IV*	1599
1	**maye**	my	Jockie	*Edward IV*	1599
1	**rayds**	rides	Jockie	*Edward IV*	1599
1	**ayle**	Ile	Captain Jamy	*Henry V*	1623
1	**daying**	dying	Peggy	*The Valiant Scot*	1637
1	**flay**	fly (v.)	Peggy	*The Valiant Scot*	1637
1	**hayd**	hide	Peggy	*The Valiant Scot*	1637
1	**Aid**	I'd	Peggy	*The Valiant Scot*	1637
1	**laife**	life	Peggy	*The Valiant Scot*	1637
1	**may**	my	Peggy	*The Valiant Scot*	1637
1	**whayte**	white	Peggy	*The Valiant Scot*	1637
1	**whay**	why	Peggy	*The Valiant Scot*	1637
5	**waife (4), waif (1)**	wife	Peggy	*The Valiant Scot*	1637
4	**aies**	I	Brun	*Hey for Honesty*	1651
1	**aleife**	alive	Jocky	*Scots Figgaries*	1652
2	**fiev**	five	Jocky	*Scots Figgaries*	1652

1	**leife**	life	Jocky	*Scots Figgaries*	1652
2	**mein**	mind	Willie Beetlehead	*Courtship A-la-mode*	1700
2	**seir**	sire	Willie Beetlehead	*Courtship A-la-mode*	1700
1	**Leife**	life	Forgus	*Ireland Preserv'd*	1705

Table 6.12: reflexes of ME /i:/ and eModE /i:/ with diphthongal spellings (<ai>, <ay>, <ei>, <ie>)

These diphthongal spellings occur in eight plays, with the most common spelling being <ay>. Aitken (2002: 117) notes that the <ai> and <ay> digraph spellings suggest a "diphthong with a low to mid front first element". However, for *flay* 'fly', v., the expected ESc vowel would be /ei/, which would later monophthongise to /e:/ and then raise to /i:/ after the Scots Vowel Shift, rather than the /aɪ/ suggested by this spelling. Table 6.12 includes the erroneous form *daying* 'dying' in *The Valiant Scot*; this form should have a spelling like *deeing*, as 'die' comes from ME d*ēȝen, dēghen.* After the eventual loss of the fricative, the vowel is subject to GVS raising to /i:/ (ME [e:jə] > EMnE [i:]). 'Die', as Johnston (1997a: 92) notes, falls into the MEET class "in most modern North and North Midland traditional dialects and in all Scots". These type of forms are found below in Table 6.12.1:

#	form	gloss	character	play	year
1	**hee**	high	Jockie	*Edward IV*	1599
1	**flee-flaps**	fly-flaps	Peggy	*The Valiant Scot*	1637
1	**flee**	fly	Folly	*Scots Figgaries*	1652
3	**lee (1), lee'd (1), leed (1)**	lie	Wariston	*The Roundheads*	1682

Table 6.12.1: reflexes of ME /i:/ without diphthongization

A different development is seen in <-ight> forms, reflexes of ME [içt]. In traditional varieties of Modern Scots, a /ɪxt/ pronunciation is usually found – a short vowel followed by a velar fricative. Often the fricative is written as <ch>. DOST documents the forms *bricht, brycht* for 'bright' and *nicht* 'night', for example, and SND has the headword *nicht* 'night', with the usual realisation [nɪçt] (alongside a diphthongal realisation in Caithness: [nɛɪçt]). OED does note under the entry for *night* that several Scots forms "show 16th-century

diphthongization of this vowel before /ç/"; however, the only Scottish quotation overtly suggesting a diphthong comes from the Dundee Shipping Papers of 1601: "That hellpit to keep the schip *naycht* and day".

This set underwent a different development in dialects of northern England, where the fricative was lost sometime after the GVS, and the vowel lengthened in compensation (without then going through GVS diphthongisation), leading to realisations such as /ri:t/ for 'right' (Roemer 1998: 121).

Table 6.12.2 contains the marked forms of <-ight> words in the representations of Scottish characters.

#	form	gloss	character	play	year
1	**Reight**	right	Scotch apothecary	*The Distracted State*	1651
2	**aw reight**	all right	Scarefoole	*Scots Figgaries*	1652
1	**leight**	light	Jocky	*Scots Figgaries*	1652
1	**meight**	might	Jocky	*Scots Figgaries*	1652
2	**Reight**	right	Folly	*Scots Figgaries*	1652
4	**Reight**	right	Jocky	*Scots Figgaries*	1652
2	**seight**	sight	Billy	*Scots Figgaries*	1652
1	**sleight**	slight	Folly	*Scots Figgaries*	1652
1	**breeght**	bright	a Scotchman	*A Short Representation...*	1660
1	**Leeght**	light	a Scotchman	*A Short Representation...*	1660
1	**Reight**	Right	Wareston	*The Rump*	1660
1	**feght**	fight	Willie Beetlehead	*Courtship A-la-mode*	1700
1	**Winterneight**	winter's night	Willie Beetlehead	*Courtship A-la-mode*	1700

Table 6.12.2: ME [içt] forms

Uncharacteristic of most Scots varieties, the vowel digraphs in all but one of the forms (*feght* 'fight'[24]) suggest a long vowel or a diphthong. While the preservation of the <gh> could indicate the maintenance of the fricative, this does not explain the choice of vowels unless all these characters hail from the far north of Scotland. The <ee> spellings of *breeght* 'bright' and *leeght* 'light' are from the short play *A Short Representation Performed Before the Lord Generall Monck*, and indicate a /i:/ realisation. All but one of the questionable <-ei->

[24] 'fight' differs from the other words in this table, often having had earlier /ex/, not /ix/.

forms come from the works of Tatham, whose dialect representation often contain erroneous or curious forms, so perhaps this feature is less credible. However, DOST does provide three example of *neight* spellings: one from a 1613 Haddington Burgh Record ("Let them waitch every *neight*"), another dated to 1649 but with basically the same as the Haddington record ("Let them waitch, every *neight*"), and a 1653 description of "A old *neight* weastcoat".

6.13 Northern Fronting (eME [o:])

Northern Fronting affected reflexes of eME [o:] in the north of England, Lincolnshire (see Britton 2002), and Scotland. Britton (2002: 221) notes that the process is "generally dated to the thirteenth century", and that it "must post-date Open Syllable Lengthening of /ʊ/, the lengthened output of which merged with /o:/ and shared in the fronting process". Aitken (2002: 80) claims the fronting affected ESc /y:/ which represents a merger of /o:/ and /y:/ (the latter from Old French).

Northern Fronting possibly first resulted in the front mid-rounded vowel [ø:]. After this original fronting, the vowel has undergone different developments in the north of England and in Scotland. Britton (2002: 222) notes that "in Scots dialects the reflexes of the fronted vowel in its context-free development remain monophthongal, as in [ɛ], [e(:)], [ø(:)], [i(:)] and [ɪ]," whereas in England the present day reflexes are either diphthongs ([ɪʊ], [ɪɤ], [ɪə]) or those which have developed post-diphthongization [jʊ], [jɤ], and [i:].

6.13.1 Depictions of Northern Fronting in plays

Twenty plays published between 1598 and 1705 contain representations of Northern Fronting, producing 318 examples. The word most commonly depicted as having Northern Fronting is 'good', along with its derivatives 'goodly', 'goodness', 'goods', and 'goodwife'. Other words frequently marked include 'do', 'fool', 'love', 'poor', and 'to'; a full chart of all forms, with the number

of instances of each, organised chronologically by date of publication, is found below in Table 6.13.1.

#	form	gloss	character	play	year
6	**guid**	good	Bohan (4), James IV (1), Sir Bartram (1)	*Scottish History of James IV*	1598
1	**gudlie**	goodly	Bohan	*Scottish History of James IV*	1598
1	**guidwife**	goodwife	Slipper	*Scottish History of James IV*	1598
1	**peur**	poor	Bohan	*Scottish History of James IV*	1598
1	**du**	do	Jockie	*Edward IV*	1599
1	**fude**	food	Jockie	*Edward IV*	1599
8	**gude**	good	Jockie	*Edward IV*	1599
1	**gudely**	goodly	Jockie	*Edward IV*	1599
1	**gudenes**	goodness	Jockie	*Edward IV*	1599
4	**pure**	poor	Jockie	*Edward IV*	1599
1	**de**	do	Captain Jamy	*Henry V*	1623
6	**gud**	good	Captain Jamy	*Henry V*	1623
1	**pure**	poor	Mortigue	*The Vow Breaker*	1636
1	**bluide**	blood	Friar	*The Valiant Scot*	1637
1	**bludy**	bloody	Wallace	*The Valiant Scot*	1637
1	**buke**	book	Peggy	*The Valiant Scot*	1637
7	**gude**	good	Wallace (5), Peggy (2)	*The Valiant Scot*	1637
1	**gudenes**	goodness	Wallace	*The Valiant Scot*	1637
3	**luke**	look	Friar (1), Peggy (1), Wallace (1)	*The Valiant Scot*	1637
1	**luick'd**	looked	Wallace	*The Valiant Scot*	1637
1	**liuve**	love	Peggy	*The Valiant Scot*	1637
1	**luife**	love	Wallace	*The Valiant Scot*	1637
6	**luife (4), luifes (1), luif (1)**	love	Peggy	*The Valiant Scot*	1637
1	**luive**	love	Peggy	*The Valiant Scot*	1637
3	**pure**	poor	Wallace	*The Valiant Scot*	1637
1	**chimley nuik**	chimney nook	Scathlock	*The Sad Shepherd*	1641
1	**gud**	good	Scathlock	*The Sad Shepherd*	1641
1	**fules**	fool	Brun	*Hey for Honesty*	1651
1	**gewd**	good	Brun	*Hey for Honesty*	1651
1	**gud**	good	Brun	*Hey for Honesty*	1651
1	**dew**	do	Scotch apothecary	*The Distracted State*	1651
1	**bleod**	blood	Jocky	*The Scots Figgaries*	1652
2	**de (1), dee (1)**	do	Billy	*The Scots Figgaries*	1652
8	**dee**	do	Folly (4), Jocky (3), Scarefoole (1)	*The Scots Figgaries*	1652
1	**feod**	food	Folly	*The Scots Figgaries*	1652
1	**feul**	fool	Billy	*The Scots Figgaries*	1652

6	**feul (2), feule (1), feuls (3)**	fool	Jocky	*The Scots Figgaries*	1652
3	**feul (2), feules (1)**	fool	Folly	*The Scots Figgaries*	1652
1	**gead**	good	Folly	*The Scots Figgaries*	1652
63	**geod**	good	Billy (16), Folly (2), Jocky (40), Scarefoole (4), Fidlers (1)	*The Scots Figgaries*	1652
4	**geods**	goods	Billy (2), Folly (1), Jocky (1)	*The Scots Figgaries*	1652
1	**leoke**	look	Folly	*The Scots Figgaries*	1652
6	**leoke (4), leokes (1), leok (1)**	look	Jocky	*The Scots Figgaries*	1652
1	**leov**	love	Scarefoole	*The Scots Figgaries*	1652
3	**leove**	love	Billy (1), Billy and Jocky (1), Scarefoole (1)	*The Scots Figgaries*	1652
3	**gude**	good	a Scotchman	*A Short Representation...*	1660
28	**geod**	good	Wareston	*The Rump*	1660
4	**geodly**	goodly	Wareston	*The Rump*	1660
1	**leoke**	look	Wareston	*The Rump*	1660
3	**gud**	good	Betty (Scotch Song)	*A Fond Husband*	1677
1	**leaked**	looked	Betty (Scotch Song)	*A Fond Husband*	1677
1	**gude**	good	Letitia (Scotch Song)	*The Virtuous Wife*	1680
1	**Gud**	good	Swift	*Sir Barnaby Whigg*	1681
7	**gued**	good	Charlot	*The City Heiress*	1682
1	**Fule**	fool	Wariston	*The Roundheads*	1682
18	**gued**	good	Wariston	*The Roundheads*	1682
3	**Guedly**	goodly	Wariston	*The Roundheads*	1682
4	**te**	too (3), to (1)	Wariston	*The Roundheads*	1682
1	**gud**	good	Scotch Song	*The Marriage Hater Match'd*	1692
1	**cuke**	cook	Sauny	*Sauny the Scot*	1698
9	**dea (5), de (4)**	do	Sauny	*Sauny the Scot*	1698
14	**gued (10), gude (2), gud (1), gu'd (1)**	good	Sauny	*Sauny the Scot*	1698
8	**tea (7), 'tea (1)**	to / too	Sauny	*Sauny the Scot*	1698
1	**dinna**	don't	Willie Beetlehead	*Courtship A-la-mode*	1700
1	**mither**	mother	Willie Beetlehead	*Courtship A-la-mode*	1700
28	**tea**	too (16) to (12)	Willie Beetlehead	*Courtship A-la-mode*	1700
1	**deu**	do	2 Officer	*Ireland Preserv'd*	1705
1	**geud**	good	women	*Ireland Preserv'd*	1705
5	**gued**	good	1 Burg (1), 2 Officer (1), 6th soldier (1), Forgus (1), two women (1)	*Ireland Preserv'd*	1705
4	**peaur**	poor	beggar	*Ireland Preserv'd*	1705
1	**peor**	poor	Scotch countreyman	*Ireland Preserv'd*	1705

Table 6.13.1: All instances of Northern Fronting

This feature is depicted by the northerner Lacy and the Scotsman Craufurd in their representations of Scottish speech. Northern Fronting is also used by the unknown author of *The Valiant Scot*, and Bartley (1954: 87) posits that, based on the information provided in the dedication, this English author had spent time fighting alongside Scotsmen in the army raised for Gustavus Adolphus in the early 1630s, and thus had ample exposure to Scots. A more extensive discussion of the treatment of Northern Fronting in *Courtship A-la-mode* follows below in 6.13.2. Interestingly, Northern Fronting is not explicitly shown in *The Assembly*, a play written by a Scotsman for a Scottish audience. The only possible instance of Northern Fronting – *geed* 'good' – occurs in the following line of the Ruling Elder:

> I jeedge it *geed* & for sekeeritie of ye Protestant Religion that nae Keerate get a leave to sett's fitt within this Bigging.

It is evident from this quotation that the author is consistently using <ee> spellings in <oo>/<u> contexts, including the [ju]- types like 'security' or 'Curate'. The Ruling Elder is probably from northeast Scotland (see 6.2.1). Millar (2007: 27) finds /i/ in BUIT 'boot' and MEET lexical sets, the former of which includes 'good' and 'poor', in Mid- and North Northern Scots; he also notes that the typical pronunciation of 'good' in Mid-Northern dialects is /gwid/ whereas in North Northern Scots this /w/ is not present (Millar 2007: 28).

The other twelve plays that do not feature Northern Fronting contain brief depictions of Scots. Some of these contain only fragments of dialect usage: *Eastward Ho*, with its single line of marked dialogue, does not have any contexts for Northern Fronting, and neither does the short dialogue of the servant in *The Witch.* In eight of these plays, the totality of the dialect representation is contained within a Scotch Song, often sung as an interlude, extraneous to the action of the plot. Of the twelve plays with some Scots included, seven do contain opportunities for Northern Fronting – that is, words in the

representation that could have been marked, but were not. For instance, in *Thierry and Theodoret*, the soldier imitating a Scottish beggar has unmarked forms for 'good' and 'to'.

However, inconsistency within a particular play's dialect representation should not be viewed necessarily in a negative light. Plays that display a great deal of dialect representation often do not have every possible form marked for Northern Fronting, or for any other phonological process. In analysing these features, one must consider factors such as the intended audience, the role of the actor or reader in the interpretation of the dialect, the function of the dialect within the play, and the role of the editor or printer in the production of the play-text.

Inconsistency within a particular play could also be explained linguistically. Aitken (2002: 117) notes the different realisations of the reflex of MSc /øː/ in *Henry V* (namely, *de* 'do' and *gud* 'good'). These vowels occur in two different environments, with SVLR predicting a long vowel for 'do' (before a word-boundary) and a short vowel for 'good' (before /d/). Aitken wonders if the SVLR has had an impact on the rounding or unrounding of the vowel, with *de* 'do' having an unrounded /eː/ and *gud* 'good' remaining a "rounded [ø]-like sound" in short environments. This is currently the state in certain dialects of Central and Southern Scots.

6.13.2 *Courtship A-la-mode*

This geographical differentiation discussed by Britton (2002: 222) – that present-day reflexes are monophthongal in Scots and tend to be diphthongal in England – seems to be reflected in certain dramatic dialect depictions. In *Courtship A-la-mode*, the most consistently marked example of Northern Fronting is *tea* for 'too' and 'to', occurring 28 times, alongside six unmarked instances of 'to' or 'too'. The <ea> digraph is also used by Craufurd in other dialectal spellings including *ean* 'one', *eans* 'once', *frea* 'from', *hea* 'have', *nea* 'no',

nea ‘not’, and *neathing* ‘nothing’. They seem to indicate the monophthong [e:]. At this date, the <ea> digraph still represented /e:/ for many speakers of StE, which would explain Craufurd’s choice of spelling. These <ea> spellings must reflect the merger of the northern fronted vowel and NME /a:/ in final position, a feature displayed by many modern Scots dialects.

Only two other instances of Northern Fronting are indicated in the text: *dinna* ‘don’t’ and *mither* ‘mother’. These spellings seem to indicate a pronunciation of [ɪ], and these pronunciations and spellings of *dinna* and *mither* are also attested in SND. *Dinna* could show this unrounding due to reduced stress. The inclusion of these authentic forms adds an extra detail to Craufurd’s representation; no other playwrights marked these forms in their depictions of Northern Fronting, perhaps choosing only to highlight a subset of more commonly marked words, such as ‘good’ and ‘poor’.

Interestingly, Craufurd does not go out of his way to illustrate this trait, as Willie’s dialogue includes multiple unmarked instances of ‘good’ and ‘do’. It seems that Craufurd only marked an illustrative few, including *dinna* and *mither*.[25]

6.13.3 Tatham’s spellings

Northern Fronting was consistently marked by Tatham in his plays. Almost half of the total examples of Northern Fronting in these Scottish plays – 139 out of 318 – appear in Tatham’s three plays (*The Distracted State*, *The Scots Figgaries*, and *The Rump*). The bulk of these forms are found in *The Scots Figgaries*, where Tatham marks the dialogue of each Scottish character to a remarkable extent.

---

[25] One might conjecture from this lack of marked instances of Northern Fronting that Craufurd himself, who was probably university-educated and who spent several years living in London, might not have had this feature in his own accent, which may have been a standardised accent, possibly with fronted [ü] in the GOOSE lexical set, as found in present-day speakers of SSE, and which is not so much different, certainly not on a phonemic level, from the [u:] of StE.

Tatham is the only playwright to use an <eo> spelling with any regularity in his depictions of Scots. It appears only once in another text, in *peor* 'poor' in *Ireland Preserv'd*, alongside four alternate spellings of 'poor' as *peaur*. Heywood and Brome also use <eo> to represent Northern Fronting in dialects of Northern English (particularly, Lancashire ones) in *The Late Lancashire Witches*, as seen in 10.12.

Tatham uses this <eo> spelling extensively, as seen in Table 6.13.3.

#	form	gloss	character	play	year
1	**bleod**	blood	Jocky	*The Scots Figgaries*	1652
1	**feod**	food	Folly	*The Scots Figgaries*	1652
63	**geod**	good	Billy (16), Folly (2), Jocky (40), Scarefoole (4), Fidlers (1)	*The Scots Figgaries*	1652
4	**geods**	goods	Billy (2), Folly (1), Jocky (1)	*The Scots Figgaries*	1652
1	**leoke**	look	Folly	*The Scots Figgaries*	1652
6	**leoke (4),leokes (1), leok (1)**	look	Jocky	*The Scots Figgaries*	1652
1	**leov**	love	Scarefoole	*The Scots Figgaries*	1652
3	**leove**	love	Billy (1), Billy and Jocky (1), Scarefoole (1)	*The Scots Figgaries*	1652
28	**geod**	good	Wareston	*The Rump*	1660
4	**geodly**	goodly	Wareston	*The Rump*	1660
1	**leoke**	look	Wareston	*The Rump*	1660

Table 6.13.3: <eo> spellings

This <eo> is Tatham's preferred method of demonstrating Northern Fronting, and this spelling can be found particularly in *The Scots Figgaries,* with 63 instances of *geod* 'good', 7 of *leoke* or *leok* 'look', 4 of *geods* 'goods', 4 of *leove* or *leov* 'love', and one each of *bleod* 'blood' and *feod* 'food'. But what pronunciation could Tatham be indicating with this unusual spelling? In *The Scots Figgaries*, Tatham also spells the following words with an <eo> vowel: *beoth* 'both', *deon* 'done', *heom* 'home', *reore* 'roar', *weomb* 'womb'; these spellings seem to suggest an [e(:)] pronunciation (though, unlike the other examples here, 'done' is not a reflex of *ā*, but of *ō*). He perhaps chose the unusual <eo> spelling in an attempt to avoid confusion with other vowel sounds, perhaps patterning after the (pre-GVS) pronunciation of 'people'. It is very likely that Tatham intended the same

pronunciation for the forms undergoing Northern Fronting. In fact, the reflexes of fronted ME /o:/ and NME /a:/ in non-final position collapsed into /e/ in Fife, as attested by map 26 of the *Linguistic Atlas of Scotland* (LAS); for example, the respondent from Leuchars, Fife, has /e/ realisations of 'good' and 'home' (see 14.1, vol. 3). Johnston (1997a: 78) finds [e(:)] pronunciations of the BOOT class of words (those with original /o:/) across Fife and Tayside. Alternatively (while in modern times there is a merger in some modern varieties of the reflexes of OE and OScand *ō* and *ā*, this might not have been true at the time Tatham was writing), the <eo> spelling could suggest a yod-onset in reflexes of *ō*, but '/e(:)/+ glide' in reflexes of *ā.*

6.13.4 *The Roundheads* vs. *The Rump*

In adapting *The Rump* (1660, 1661) into *The Roundheads* (1682), Behn skillfully expanded both Tatham's original plot and dialogue, although she maintained much of both. Accordingly, the dialogue of the Scottish character, Wariston, is based on a skeleton of Tatham's dialogue upon which Behn expanded. While Behn added dialect features in her newly written lines of dialogue, she also altered a number of Tatham's existing dialect forms in the dialogue she maintained; further discussion of Behn's alterations can be found in 6.8.5.

There is no overlap between the two plays in terms of the method of displaying Northern Fronting. Behn's changes seem to emphasize the fronted quality of the vowel, and can be seen as an attempt to provide a clearer depiction of Northern Fronting. As such, they appear to be based on observation of some kind. Behn alters Tatham's characteristic <eo> spelling in *geod* 'good', resulting in *gued*; this <ue> spelling in *gued* is also found in her 1682 *The City Heiress*, as well as in *Sauny the Scot* and *Ireland Preserv'd*.

Tatham's *ta* for 'to' is changed to *te*, clearly indicating a front vowel rather than an unstressed vowel. Behn also alters the representation of 'fool', which appears (in separate lines of dialogue) as *foole* in *The Rump* but as *fule* in *The*

Roundheads: 'Geod feath I had been a very *foole* els' and "a *Fule* had the shooftling of 'em". *Fule* is an attested Scottish spelling, cited by the OED and DOST.

6.13.5 Other spellings of Northern Fronting

6.13.5.1 <u> spellings

The <u> spellings have been the focus of other scholars discussing Northern Fronting. In fact, in his analysis of Northern Fronting, Eckhardt (1910-11: §271) only discusses <u> spellings, stating that in representations of Scottish and Northern English in Tudor and Jacobean drama, ME /o:/ was typically represented with these <u> spellings ("die Schreibung *u* + einfacher Kons. + (stummes) *e*"). Eckhardt also describes the difficulty in determining the sounds represented by these forms, noting the diphthongisation of forms in Northern England and fronting in Scotland:

> Wie das *u* in diesen Wörtern damals in jenen Mundarten ausgesprochen wurde, ist schwer genau zu bestimmen. Wahrscheinlich hatte diese Schreibung mit *u* im Nordeng. und im Schott. verschiedenen Lautwert, entsprechend der auch noch in derselben Zeit auftretenden diphthongischen Aussprache des me. ō. im Nordengl. (geschrieben *eu, eo, iu*), und der schott. Aussprache ö, ü (geschrieben *ui*).

With reference to the late ME period, Britton (2002: 224) states that the only clear spelling evidence of Northern Fronting in late ME texts can be linked to French spelling practice, observing that "spelling evidence consists of <u>, <ui>, and <uy> spellings of eME /o:/ words, resulting from the influence of French orthographic practices in the representation of a high front rounded vowel". Ruano García (2008: 109) touches on the same point when discussing evidence of Northern Fronting in the broadside '"A Yorkshire Dialogue" (1683), stating that "it is quite possible that the author showed a preference for the somehow

archaic French spelling <u> due mainly to the similarity between the reflex of French /ū/ and that of ME /o:/ in the dialect".

García-Bermejo Giner (1997: 12) discusses <u> forms in her analysis of the language depicted in Thomas Deloney's work *Thomas of Reading*, and states that in the late sixteenth century "in the North words with ME o: were also pronounced with /y:/ and /iu/", concluding that these pronunciations presumably were what was indicated by such representational spellings as *gud* or *gude*. García-Bermejo Giner (1997: 12) finds the spelling *gud* attested for northern and Scottish pronunciations in sixteenth-century sources, including in a French grammar (*An Introductione for to lerne to rede, to pronounce and to speke French trewly, c.* 1532) where the reader is instructed to pronounce the letter 'u' as the Scots do: "after the Skottes, as in this worde *gud*"; García-Bermejo Giner concludes the implied pronunciation must contain the fronted variant, as in /gy:d/. García-Bermejo Giner (1997: 12) also describes the solidification of dialect representation over time, with <u> spellings becoming conventionalised and employed by authors as part of a ready-made Scottish or northern repertoire of dialect forms; she states that "as the centuries have gone by *gud*, *gude*, and *fule* have become part of the traditional literary dialect spellings to indicate a northern or Scottish pronunciation". Presumably, this conventionalisation would be thought to result in later dialect representations being less authoritative or less representative of genuine dialect. However, my data show that <u> spellings, while a common method of depicting Northern Fronting must not be considered to be only stereotypical.

Bartley (1954: 300) describes Northern Fronting as a process affecting "Anglian ō; Mod E [u]", and states that "Mod Scots has [ū] + [œ], with more or less rounding, or, in some cases, an unrounded vowel such as [i] or [e]." Bartley notes that words affected by this process include 'book', 'good', 'look', 'do', and 'should', and he lists some possible spellings. Bartley isolates examples of what he terms Scots literary spellings – *guid* and *gude* for 'good' and *buke* for 'book' – and does not factor them into his analysis, a rationale I do not agree with. In his

dataset – which includes plays that I exclude, and vice versa – 29 of 32 relevant plays published before 1760 display this feature.

The most common way to depict Northern Fronting in my Scottish dataset is with <u> spellings, typically <u>, <ue>, and <ui>. These spellings make up 119 instances, and appear across 16 plays. Table 6.13.5.1 displays these spellings, arranged chronologically by year of publication.

#	form	gloss	character	play	year
6	**guid**	good	Bohan (4), James IV (1), Sir Bartram (1)	*Scottish History of James IV*	1598
1	**gudlie**	goodly	Bohan	*Scottish History of James IV*	1598
1	**guidwife**	goodwife	Slipper	*Scottish History of James IV*	1598
1	**du**	do	Jockie	*Edward IV*	1599
1	**fude**	food	Jockie	*Edward IV*	1599
8	**gude**	good	Jockie	*Edward IV*	1599
1	**gudely**	goodly	Jockie	*Edward IV*	1599
1	**gudenes**	goodness	Jockie	*Edward IV*	1599
4	**pure**	poor	Jockie	*Edward IV*	1599
6	**gud**	good	Captain Jamy	*Henry V*	1623
1	**pure**	poor	Mortigue	*The Vow Breaker*	1636
1	**bluide**	blood	Friar	*The Valiant Scot*	1637
1	**bludy**	bloody	Wallace	*The Valiant Scot*	1637
1	**buke**	book	Peggy	*The Valiant Scot*	1637
7	**gude**	good	Wallace (5), Peggy (2)	*The Valiant Scot*	1637
1	**gudenes**	goodness	Wallace	*The Valiant Scot*	1637
3	**luke**	look	Friar (1), Peggy (1), Wallace (1)	*The Valiant Scot*	1637
1	**luick'd**	looked	Wallace	*The Valiant Scot*	1637
1	**luife**	love	Wallace	*The Valiant Scot*	1637
6	**luife (4), luifes (1), luif (1)**	love	Peggy	*The Valiant Scot*	1637
1	**luive**	love	Peggy	*The Valiant Scot*	1637
3	**pure**	poor	Wallace	*The Valiant Scot*	1637
1	**chimley nuik**	chimney nook	Scathlock	*The Sad Shepherd*	1641
1	**gud**	good	Scathlock	*The Sad Shepherd*	1641
1	**fules**	fool	Brun	*Hey for Honesty*	1651
1	**gud**	good	Brun	*Hey for Honesty*	1651
3	**gude**	good	a Scotchman	*A Short Representation...*	1660
3	**gud**	good	Betty (Scotch Song)	*A Fond Husband*	1677
1	**gude**	good	Letitia (Scotch Song)	*The Virtuous Wife*	1680
1	**Gud**	good	Swift	*Sir Barnaby Whigg*	1681
7	**gued**	good	Charlot	*The City Heiress*	1682

1	**Fule**	fool	Wariston	*The Roundheads*	1682
18	**gued**	good	Wariston	*The Roundheads*	1682
3	**Guedly**	goodly	Wariston	*The Roundheads*	1682
1	**gud**	good	Scotch Song	*The Marriage Hater Match'd*	1692
1	**cuke**	cook	Sauny	*Sauny the Scot*	1698
14	**gued (10), gude (2), gud (1), gu'd (1)**	good	Sauny	*Sauny the Scot*	1698
5	**gued**	good	1 Burg (1), 2 Officer (1), 6th soldier (1), Forgus (1), two women (1)	*Ireland Preserv'd*	1705
119					

Table 6.13.5.1: <u>, <ue>, <ui> spellings

The word most commonly spelt with <u> is 'good', which appears, as García-Bermejo Giner suggests, in representations that are less sophisticated (and thus more reliant on stereotypes), as found in D'Urfey's plays and *Hey for Honesty*. But <u> spellings for such words as 'good' also appear in *Sauny the Scot,* although, in this play, these spellings are less frequent variants.

6.13.5.2 <ea> spellings

There are 43 instances of an <ea> spelling, as displayed chronologically in Table 6.13.5.2:

#	form	gloss	character	play	year
1	**gead**	good	Folly	*The Scots Figgaries*	1652
1	**leaked**	looked	Betty (Scotch Song)	*A Fond Husband*	1677
5	**dea (5)**	do	Sauny	*Sauny the Scot*	1698
8	**tea (7), 'tea (1)**	to / too	Sauny	*Sauny the Scot*	1698
28	**tea**	too (16), to (12)	Willie Beetlehead	*Courtship A-la-mode*	1700
43					

Table 6.13.5.2: <ea> spellings

As is evident from the table, the majority of these spellings come from two later plays. There is one example from Tatham's *The Scots Figgaries*, an atypical spelling for Tatham, and another from D'Urfey's Scotch Song within his play *A Fond Husband*, and D'Urfey rarely portrayed Northern Fronting. Otherwise, all examples of these spellings come from *Sauny the Scot* and *Courtship a la Mode*.

These plays both were published near (or at) the turn of the century (1698 and 1700, respectively), and, as discussed above, both were written by authors with native knowledge of northern and Scottish varieties of English. These spellings may be representing /e:/, as discussed in 6.13.2. However, a variety of central vowels, both rounded and unrounded, are present in Scots dialects; it would be difficult to work out how to spell these sounds using English orthography.

6.13.5.3 <eu>, <ew> spellings

These spellings appear infrequently, in a small subset of plays, as seen in Table 6.13.5.3:

#	form	gloss	character	play	year
1	**peur**	poor	Bohan	*Scottish History of James IV*	1598
1	**gewd**	good	Brun	*Hey for Honesty*	1651
1	**dew**	do	Scotch apothecary	*The Distracted State*	1651
1	**Deuke**	duke	Fidlers	*The Scots Figgaries*	1652
1	**feul**	fool	Billy	*The Scots Figgaries*	1652
6	**feul (2), feule (1), feuls (3)**	fool	Jocky	*The Scots Figgaries*	1652
3	**feul (2), feules (1)**	fool	Folly	*The Scots Figgaries*	1652
1	**deu**	do	2 Officer	*Ireland Preserv'd*	1705
1	**geud**	good	women	*Ireland Preserv'd*	1705
16					

Table 6.13.5.3: <eu>, <ew> spellings

These spellings could point to a front rounded vowel, which we might expect, or to a diphthongal pronunciation: "Obviously, <eu> is more clearly suggestive of a closing diphthong [ɪʊ], whereas <u> hardly points to it" (Ruano García 2008: 109). It could also be signifying forms with yod-onset of the vowel (/ju/).

6.14 ME /u:/

Johnston (1997a: 68) discusses some of the "most salient vocalic shibboleths of Scotland and the north of England", and one of these is the reflex of ME /u:/,

which failed to diphthongise in the north and in Scotland during the Great Vowel Shift. This feature also follows the Humber-Ribble Line.

My dataset of the reflexes of ME /u:/, shown in Table 6.14, is small but complex, consisting of a total of 82 instances of dialect representations from 11 plays.

#	form	gloss	character	play	year
1	**'boot**	about	Billy	*The Scots Figgaries*	1652
2	**aboot**	about	Billy	*The Scots Figgaries*	1652
3	**aboot**	about	Jocky	*The Scots Figgaries*	1652
1	**aboot**	about	Sir Jolly	*The Souldiers Fortune*	1681
1	**aboot**	about	Charlot	*The City Heiress*	1682
1	**aboote**	about	Wariston	*The Roundheads*	1682
1	**aboots**	about his	Jocky	*The Scots Figgaries*	1652
1	**cooncel**	council	Wariston	*The Roundheads*	1682
1	**coows**	cows	Jocky	*The Scots Figgaries*	1652
3	**Croon (2), Croone (1)**	crown	Sauny	*Sauny the Scot*	1698
2	**doobt (1), dooubt (1)**	doubt	Billy	*The Scots Figgaries*	1652
1	**doon**	down	Sauny	*Sauny the Scot*	1698
1	**doown**	down	Billy	*The Scots Figgaries*	1652
2	**doown (1), doowne (1)**	down	Jocky	*The Scots Figgaries*	1652
4	**hoow**	how	Jocky	*The Scots Figgaries*	1652
2	**Loosey**	lousy	Wariston	*The Roundheads*	1682
1	**loowzy**	lousy	Jocky	*The Scots Figgaries*	1652
1	**mooth**	mouth	Billy	*The Scots Figgaries*	1652
1	**mooth**	mouth	Jocky	*The Scots Figgaries*	1652
2	**noo**	now	Charlot	*The City Heiress*	1682
6	**noo**	now	Wariston	*The Roundheads*	1682
2	**noo**	now	Letitia (Scotch Song)	*The Virtuous Wife*	1683
2	**noow**	now	Billy	*The Scots Figgaries*	1652
5	**noow**	now	Folly	*The Scots Figgaries*	1652
7	**noow**	now	Jocky	*The Scots Figgaries*	1652
1	**noow**	now	Scarefoole	*The Scots Figgaries*	1652
2	**noow**	now	a Scotchman	*A Short Representation..*	1660
2	**noow**	now	Wareston	*The Rump*	1660
1	**ooer**	hour	Scotch apothecary	*The Distracted State*	1651
1	**Penthoowse**	penthouse	Jocky	*The Scots Figgaries*	1652
1	**poonds**	pound	Sir Jolly	*The Souldiers Fortune*	1681
2	**poond**	pound	Wariston	*The Roundheads*	1682
4	**Poowder**	powder	Billy	*The Scots Figgaries*	1652
6	**pund**	pound	Sauny	*Sauny the Scot*	1698
2	**pund**	pound	Willie Beetlehead	*Courtship A-la-mode*	1700
1	**soound**	sound	Jocky	*The Scots Figgaries*	1652
1	**thoosand**	thousand	Sir Jolly	*The Souldiers Fortune*	1681

1	**Toown**	town	Billy	*The Scots Figgaries*	1652
1	**Toon**	town	Sauny	*Sauny the Scot*	1698
2	**Toon**	town	Forgus	*Ireland Preserv'd*	1705

Table 6.14: complete dataset of ME /u:/ forms

6.14.1 Tatham's plays

However, instances from the works of John Tatham make up the bulk of that figure, with 45 (out of this 82) coming from his three plays, and 42 of those from *The Scots Figgaries.* For the sake of clarity, I will first discuss this subset of forms, isolated in Table 6.14.1 and arranged chronologically by year of publication.

#	form	gloss	character	play	year
1	**ooer**	hour	Scotch apothecary	*The Distracted State*	1651
1	**'boot**	about	Billy	*The Scots Figgaries*	1652
2	**aboot**	about	Billy	*The Scots Figgaries*	1652
3	**aboot**	about	Jocky	*The Scots Figgaries*	1652
1	**aboots**	about his	Jocky	*The Scots Figgaries*	1652
1	**coows**	cows	Jocky	*The Scots Figgaries*	1652
2	**doobt (1), dooubt (1)**	doubt	Billy	*The Scots Figgaries*	1652
1	**doown**	down	Billy	*The Scots Figgaries*	1652
2	**doown (1), doowne (1)**	down	Jocky	*The Scots Figgaries*	1652
4	**hoow**	how	Jocky	*The Scots Figgaries*	1652
1	**loowzy**	lousy/ lousey	Jocky	*The Scots Figgaries*	1652
1	**mooth**	mouth	Billy	*The Scots Figgaries*	1652
1	**mooth**	mouth	Jocky	*The Scots Figgaries*	1652
2	**noow**	now	Billy	*The Scots Figgaries*	1652
5	**noow**	now	Folly	*The Scots Figgaries*	1652
7	**noow**	now	Jocky	*The Scots Figgaries*	1652
1	**noow**	now	Scarefoole	*The Scots Figgaries*	1652
1	**Penthoowse**	penthouse	Jocky	*The Scots Figgaries*	1652
4	**Poowder**	powder	Billy	*The Scots Figgaries*	1652
1	**soound**	sound	Jocky	*The Scots Figgaries*	1652
1	**Toown**	town	Billy	*The Scots Figgaries*	1652
2	**noow**	now	Wareston	*The Rump*	1660

Table 6.14.1: Reflexes of ME u: in Tatham's plays

Tatham appears to be recognising this key difference between Scots and StE. However, the majority of Tatham's spellings in this subset – 34 tokens/ 10 types

– are written with trigraphs of either <oow> or, less frequently, <oou>. These spellings are highly unusual, indicating the monophthongal pronunciation while maintaining the standard spelling. Tatham does not include either of these trigraphs in his spellings of *aboot* 'about', *doobt* 'doubt', and *mooth* 'mouth'. In *doobt* 'doubt', Tatham preserves the <b>, though it presumably was not pronounced, as it is unetymological. Possibly he is marking a difference in the vowel while maintaining as much of the standard orthography as possible, a strategy which then could explain the maintenance of <w> or <u> in the other examples.

Other contemporary spellings of 'now' as *noow* exist. This spelling *noow* 'now' is found twice in the anonymous short dramatic work *A Short Representation Performed Before the Lord Generall Monck* (1660), which is the only other instance of this trigraph in my complete dataset. The 1700 broadside "The pretended Prince of Wales's New Exercise of the Scotch Lang Goon", written consistently in a representation of a Scottish dialect, has a <noow> spelling in its subtitle ("Tak Care on your Sell, Sir, *noow*") and eight additional instances of *noow* (against one *now* spelling). The work also contains fifteen instances of *doown* 'down', alongside three *down* spellings. These spelling variations can be seen in the following line: "Hod him *doown* the Speun Seede, hod him *down noow*."

In *coow*, *hoow*, *noow*, and *loowzy* (assuming that the <z> is voiced), it is possible that the Scottish Vowel Length Rule is being observed, with the inclusion of <w> indicating length; Macafee (2002: 6.28.1) states that SVLR affected *u:*, resulting in differences in vowel length between "*now* with [u:] and *about* with [u]". However, the SVLR does not account for the other examples: *doown(e)*, *penthoowse*, *poowder*, *soound*, and *toown*. Therefore, this explanation is not a satisfactory one. Perhaps here the <w> could have been intended to signify that the vowel should be pronounced in a more exaggerated way, either lengthened or with greater lip-rounding.

Complicating matters, this <oo> spelling is not only confined to the reflexes of ME /u:/ within Tatham's works. Tatham employs <oo> spellings in a variety of words and contexts in *The Scots Figgaries.* A complete list of words with <oo> spellings can be found arranged alphabetically in Table 6.14.1.1.

#	form	gloss	play	year
1	**boody**	body	*The Scots Figgaries*	1652
4	**boorn**	born	*The Scots Figgaries*	1652
1	**boound**	bound	*The Scots Figgaries*	1652
1	**broought**	brought	*The Scots Figgaries*	1652
1	**coows**	cows	*The Scots Figgaries*	1652
7	**Dooctor**	doctor	*The Scots Figgaries*	1652
2	**doobt (1), dooubt (1)**	doubt	*The Scots Figgaries*	1652
1	**doown**	down	*The Scots Figgaries*	1652
2	**doown (1), doowne (1)**	down	*The Scots Figgaries*	1652
1	**droops**	drops	*The Scots Figgaries*	1652
4	**enoough**	enough	*The Scots Figgaries*	1652
1	**fooght**	fought	*The Scots Figgaries*	1652
4	**hoow**	how	*The Scots Figgaries*	1652
1	**loofty**	lofty	*The Scots Figgaries*	1652
1	**loowzy**	lousy/ lousey	*The Scots Figgaries*	1652
1	**loove**	love	*The Scots Figgaries*	1652
2	**mooth**	mouth	*The Scots Figgaries*	1652
1	**Noorth**	North	*The Scots Figgaries*	1652
25	**noot**	not	*The Scots Figgaries*	1652
8	**noought**	nought	*The Scots Figgaries*	1652
14	**noow**	now	*The Scots Figgaries*	1652
1	**noow**	now	*The Scots Figgaries*	1652
1	**oofe**	off	*The Scots Figgaries*	1652
3	**oought**	ought	*The Scots Figgaries*	1652
5	**oour**	our	*The Scots Figgaries*	1652
14	**oout**	out	*The Scots Figgaries*	1652
1	**ooutwards**	outwards	*The Scots Figgaries*	1652
1	**oout wot**	outwit	*The Scots Figgaries*	1652
1	**Penthoowse**	penthouse	*The Scots Figgaries*	1652
1	**Potsloose**	pot-sluice	*The Scots Figgaries*	1652
4	**Poowder**	powder	*The Scots Figgaries*	1652
1	**remoove**	remove	*The Scots Figgaries*	1652
1	**sooft**	soft	*The Scots Figgaries*	1652
1	**soound**	sound	*The Scots Figgaries*	1652
1	**Soows**	Sow's	*The Scots Figgaries*	1652
1	**stooff**	stuff	*The Scots Figgaries*	1652
1	**thoough**	though	*The Scots Figgaries*	1652
1	**thoought**	thought	*The Scots Figgaries*	1652
2	**toough**	tough	*The Scots Figgaries*	1652

1	**Toown**	town	*The Scots Figgaries*	1652
1	**won noot**	won't	*The Scots Figgaries*	1652
2	**woork**	work	*The Scots Figgaries*	1652
2	**woorth**	worth	*The Scots Figgaries*	1652

Table 6.14.1.1: <oo> spellings in *The Scots Figgaries* (1652)

As evident by this dataset, Tatham uses <oo> to represent a range of sounds, including /o(:)/, rather than restricting this spelling to a particular feature or process. Tatham also doubles <e>, and does so in an idiosyncratic and puzzling way. In *The Scots Figgaries*, <ee> (along with <ff>) is used in *sleeffes* 'sleeves', and <ee> is found in a range of other words, notably, *weele* 'well', but also in *seele* 'sell', *smeel* 'smell', *see* 'so', *speek* 'speak', *dees* 'days', and *dee* 'die' and *dee* 'do', among others.

The best explanation may be that, in using the trigraphs <oow> and <oou> to represent the reflexes of ME /u:/, Tatham had delivery in mind, rather than vowel quality. These trigraphs <oou> and <oow> could indicate a slow method of delivery or an exaggerated pronunciation of the vowel (either lengthened or with greater lip-rounding), two characteristics which would contribute to the image of the Scotsmen as slow, lazy, and untrustworthy. Bartley (1954: 88, 89) observes that all four Scottish characters in *The Scots Figgaries* "are represented as cowardly, treacherous, and evil", and believes that Tatham did all he could to strengthen this negative image of the Scots and that he "no doubt delighted in the thoroughly grotesque and barbarous appearance which he gives to Scottish speech as a result".

6.14.2 ME /u:/ in other plays

When excluding data from Tatham's works and *A Short Representation Performed Before the Lord Generall Monck* from the analysis of ME /u:/, one is left with a substantially smaller dataset of 35 instances in 7 plays. This dataset is isolated in Table 6.14.2, in alphabetical order by form.

#	form	gloss	character	play	year
1	**aboot**	*about*	Sir Jolly	*The Souldiers Fortune*	1681
1	**aboot**	*about*	Charlot	*The City Heiress*	1682
1	**aboote**	*about*	Wariston	*The Roundheads*	1682
1	**cooncel**	*council*	Wariston	*The Roundheads*	1682
3	**Croon (2), Croone (1)**	*crown*	Sauny	*Sauny the Scot*	1698
1	**doon**	*down*	Sauny	*Sauny the Scot*	1698
2	**Loosey**	*lousy*	Wariston	*The Roundheads*	1682
2	**noo**	*now*	Charlot	*The City Heiress*	1682
6	**noo**	*now*	Wariston	*The Roundheads*	1682
2	**noo**	*now*	Letitia (Scotch Song)	*The Virtuous Wife*	1683
1	**poond**	*pound*	Sir Jolly	*The Souldiers Fortune*	1681
2	**poond**	*pound*	Wariston	*The Roundheads*	1682
6	**pund**	*pound*	Sauny	*Sauny the Scot*	1698
2	**pund**	*pound*	Willie	*Courtship A-la-mode*	1700
1	**thoosand**	*thousand*	Sir Jolly	*The Souldiers Fortune*	1681
1	**Toon**	*town*	Sauny	*Sauny the Scot*	1698
2	**Toon**	*town*	Forgus	*Ireland Preserv'd*	1705
35					

Table 6.14.2: ME /u:/ in other plays

Interesting here are the variant spellings of 'pound'. The two instances of *pund* 'pound', found in *Sauny the Scot* and in *Courtship A-la-mode* do not show /u:/, but rather reflect the northern OE tendency for /u/ not to be subject to homorganic lengthening before /nd/.

6.15 Miscellaneous forms and features

Certain words are consistently marked with variant pronunciations or spellings, either within one play or across several. I discuss them below.

6.15.1 *mak* 'make' and *tak* 'take'

There are no certain explanations for the Scots forms *mak* 'make' and *tak* 'take', which are also found in parts of the north of England. DOST and SND show the widespread use of these forms, *mak* and *tak,* with short vowels. LAE notes the characteristic short vowels found in the north of England, whose reflexes are still seen in the north and north midlands (Ph69b and Ph70b).

A table of the forms of ‘mak’ and ‘tak’ is found below:

#	form	gloss	character	play	year
4	**mack**	make	Billy	*The Scots Figgaries*	1652
3	**macks**	makes	Billy	*The Scots Figgaries*	1652
1	**macking**	making	Billy	*The Scots Figgaries*	1652
3	**mack**	make	Folly	*The Scots Figgaries*	1652
7	**mack**	make	Jocky	*The Scots Figgaries*	1652
1	**macks**	makes	Jocky	*The Scots Figgaries*	1652
5	**mak (3); mack (2)**	make	Sauny	*Sauny the Scot*	1698
5	**mauke (4), mauk (1)**	make	Willie Beetlehead	*Courtship A-la-mode*	1700
1	**maake**	make	2 Officer	*Ireland Preserv’d*	1705
1	**maake**	make	Scotch countreyman	*Ireland Preserv’d*	1705
2	**maake**	make	Scotch countrywoman	*Ireland Preserv’d*	1705
4	**tack**	take	Billy	*The Scots Figgaries*	1652
2	**tacks**	takes	Billy	*The Scots Figgaries*	1652
7	**tack (6), tacke (1)**	take	Folly	*The Scots Figgaries*	1652
1	**tacken**	taken	Folly	*The Scots Figgaries*	1652
5	**tack**	take	Jocky	*The Scots Figgaries*	1652
1	**tacken**	taken	Jocky	*The Scots Figgaries*	1652
1	**tack**	take	Scarefoole	*The Scots Figgaries*	1652
2	**tak’t**	take it	Wariston	*The Roundheads*	1682
12	**tak**	take	Sauny	*Sauny the Scot*	1698
7	**tauke**	take	Willie Beetlehead	*Courtship A-la-mode*	1700
1	**tauke**	take	Forgus	*Ireland Preserv’d*	1705

Table 6.15.1: ‘make’ and ‘take’

The use of the <au> digraph in *Courtship A-la-mode* is analysed in 3.20.3.

These forms do not frequently appear in the depictions of northern dialects in my dataset (c.f. 10.7).

6.15.2 *mon* ‘man’

OED lists *mon* spellings of ‘man’ for Scotland and northern England from the seventeenth century, but specifically only in the vocative sense (sense 16b). DOST does not list *o*-spellings for ‘man’; EDD finds *mon* not in Scotland, but in the North Country (Durham, Yorkshire, Lancashire) and in Cheshire,

Derbyshire, Northamptonshire, Warwickshire, Worcestershire, Herefordshire, Gloucestershire, and Wiltshire. These findings seem to reinforce *mon* 'man' as a West Midland feature.

Mon 'man' spellings are found particularly in *The Scots Figgaries*, as seen in Table 6.15.2.

#	form	gloss	character	play	year
7	**Mon**	man	Brun	*Hey for Honesty*	1651
3	**Contremon**	countryman	Billy	*The Scots Figgaries*	1652
5	**Contremon**	countryman	Jocky	*The Scots Figgaries*	1652
1	**Contremon**	countryman	Scarefoole	*The Scots Figgaries*	1652
1	**Contremons**	countrymans, pl. [sic]	Billy	*The Scots Figgaries*	1652
1	**Contremons**	countrymans, pl. [sic]	Jocky	*The Scots Figgaries*	1652
1	**Contrymon**	countryman	Folly	*The Scots Figgaries*	1652
1	**Gentlemon**	gentleman	Scarefoole	*The Scots Figgaries*	1652
1	**Hangmon**	hangman	Folly	*The Scots Figgaries*	1652
1	**Kirkmon**	Kirkman	Jocky	*The Scots Figgaries*	1652
52	**mon**	man	Billy (9); Folly (11); Jocky (29); Scarefoole (2); Fidlers (1)	*The Scots Figgaries*	1652
7	**mon**	man	Wareston	*The Rump*	1660
7	**Mon**	man	Wariston	*The Roundheads*	1682
1	**Mon**	man	Forgus	*Ireland Preserv'd*	1705

Table 6.15.2: *mon* 'man'

These spellings likely indicate a short vowel before the nasal, /ɑ/ or /ɔ/. Since 'mon' is usually a West Midland feature (see 10.14), these spelling might be an attempt to represent Scots 'maun', a word undergoing *hand*-darkening as discussed by Johnston (1997a: 90). Johnston (1997b: 486) discusses how, in modern varieties of Scots in the central belt, "*hand* is darkened to merge with CAUGHT, so that *hand* rhymes with *sawn* and *pal* with *Paul*".

6.15.3 *weel* adj. 'well'

The lengthening of the vowel in 'well' is traced to the fourteenth century in northern and Scottish texts by OED, which also states that the lengthened

variant is still common in northern, Scottish, and north midland dialects. The form also appears in the northern dataset; Roemer (1998: 81) discusses it in relation to the Lancashire play-texts.

Table 6.15.3 lists all forms of *weel* 'well' in the Scottish texts:

#	form	character	play	year
1	**weele**	Ida	*Scottish History of James IV*	1598
2	**weele**	Bohan	*Scottish History of James IV*	1598
1	**weele**	Sir Bartram	*Scottish History of James IV*	1598
1	**weel**	1st Gent	*Eastward Ho*	1605
1	**weel**	Peggy	*The Valiant Scot*	1637
3	**weel (2), weele (1)**	Wallace	*The Valiant Scot*	1637
1	**weel**	Scotch apothecary	*The Distracted State*	1651
25	**Weele**	Billy (5), Billy and Jocky (1), Folly (2), Jocky (17)	*The Scots Figgaries*	1652
2	**weel (1), weele (1)**	Wareston	*The Rump*	1660
1	**weele**	Lady Turnup (Scotch Song)	*The Morning Ramble*	1672
1	**weel**	Dorothy (Scotch Song)	*Trick for Trick*	1673
1	**weel**	Betty (Scotch Song)	*A Fond Husband*	1677
1	**weel**	Swift	*Sir Barnaby Whigg*	1681
1	**weel**	Charlot	*The City Heiress*	1682
6	**weel (3), weele (2), wele (1)**	Wariston	*The Roundheads*	1682
1	**weel**	Madam la Marquise (Scotch Song)	*The Campaigners*	1698
1	**weell**	Scotch countreyman	*Ireland Preserv'd*	1705

Table 6.15.3: *weel* 'well'

The lengthening of *weel* 'well' seems to have been commonly accepted as a northern or Scottish form in the EMod period. It is found in a number of plays throughout the century, and it appears in several Scotch Songs where phonological features are less commonly depicted. *Weil* and *weill* spellings of 'well' are also found in *Courtship A-la-mode*.

Ida and Bohan both use *weel* in the phrase "*weele* I wot" in *The Scottish History of James IV*. In *The Valiant Scot*, two of Wallace's uses of *weel* seems to parallel that found in *Eastward Ho* (where the representation of Scots resulted in the censorship of the play-text and the imprisonment of two of its playwrights): "I

ken it vary *weel*" and "I ken ye vary *weel*" compared with "I ken the man *weel*". Similar constructions are found in Wareston's line "yee kenn him *weele* enough" in *The Rump* and in *Ireland Preserv'd* (I ken *weell*).

In addition, *weelcome* 'welcome' is found in *Ireland Preserv'd*, when Granade requests a particular song, entitled "Swaggering, Roaring Wolley, thau't *weelcome* heame to me", and the exclamation *wele aday* 'well a day' is found in Charlot's speech in *The City Heiress*. A form of 'well a day' with a lengthened vowel is found in Scotland by EDD, with the form itself attested across Scotland and England.

Northern dialect representation in seventeenth-century drama

Chapter 7

In this section, I present the 15 plays written between 1599 and 1688 that feature representations of the dialects of northern England. I follow Wales (2006: 13) in defining 'the north' as the six northern pre-1974 counties: Yorkshire, Lancashire, Durham, Northumberland, Cumberland, and Westmorland. The format of this chapter follows that of Chapter 3, where the plays featuring Scots representations are discussed; I provide background information about the play and author, a brief summary of the plot, and my comments and analysis.

Fifteen plays from the seventeenth century feature representations of Northern English. One play, the first in my dataset, *Club Law* (*c*. 1599-1600), was published only in a 1907 edition by Moore Smith; in several other plays, the gap between the first performance and publication is a year or two. A complete list of the plays, their authors, and their year of publication is found in Table 7.

title	author(s)	year of publication
Club Law	George Ruggle	[1599] 1907
Sir John Oldcastle, Part I	Munday, Drayton, Wilson, and Chettle	1600
Cupid's Revenge	Francis Beaumont and John Fletcher	1615
Bartholomew Fair	Ben Jonson	1631
The Northern Lasse	Richard Brome	1632
Fuimus Troes	Jasper Fisher	1633
The Late Lancashire Witches	Thomas Heywood and Richard Brome	1634
The King and Queenes Entertainment at Richmond	Anon.	1637
The Knave in Graine, New Vampt	J.D.	1640
The Sad Shepherd	Ben Jonson	1641

The Cheats of Scapin	Thomas Otway	1677
The Lancashire Witches	Thomas Shadwell	1681
Dame Dobson	Edward Ravenscroft	1684
Sir Hercules Buffoon	John Lacy	1684
The Squire of Alsatia	Thomas Shadwell	1688

Table 7: List of plays featuring northern dialect representations

I do not include George Chapman's *Two Wise Men and All the Rest Fooles* (1619), because the dialect representation is not specifically northern. Eckhardt (1910-11: §191) notes that two characters in this play, Rustico and Vulcano, occasionally use northern forms ("aber hier und da auch eine nordliche Form einflechten"), including lexical items such as *bairn*; for example, Rustico asks if he will "never come home againe to my wife, and my pretie *barnes*?". Here, though, the desired effect seems to be that of a general sense of rusticity (hence Rustico's name), as southwestern forms such as *cha* 'I have' also appear in their speech, alongside vulgarisms and malapropisms.

The antiquary Robert Moth in William Cartwright's *The Ordinary* (1651) could be described as having northern dialect. However, an analysis of his dialogue shows that much of it is lifted directly from Chaucer; for example, the line "The world is now full Tykel sykerly" appears in 'The Miller's Tale', with "My fire yreken is in Ashen cold" comes from the prologue to 'The Reeve's Tale'. Cartwright's intention is to give Moth an archaic and learned tone, rather than a regional one.

Anthony Brewer's *The Love-Sick King* (pub. 1655, written *c*. 1617?) is listed by Bartley (1954) as one of his sources, though he does not discuss it in his book. This play is a conglomeration of different stories and eras, and contains many opportunities for dialect representation with characters from across England and Scotland, though there is little, if any, dialect representation[26]. One of the major storylines is explicitly northern-focused, and follows the life of Thorneton

---

[26] Referring to the speech of Grim the Collier, Wales (2006: 90) notes the "touch of the North-east in his salutation: 'How ist't, how ist't man?'"

(or Thornton) the Peddler, from Northumberland, who by the play's end becomes a wealthy and beneficent merchant and the mayor of Newcastle. There is no attempt to show regional variation, despite the specifically northeasterly focus of the storyline.[27] Thornton, though proud to hail from Northumberland, presumably has an accent that is unidentifiable even to his own countrymen, who have to ask him where he is from:

> Randolfe: ... Prethee, what Country-man art?
>
> Thornton: Faith Sir, a poor Northumberland man, and yet I tell yee Gentlemen, not altogether the poor Fellow, which you behold me...

7.1 *Club Law* (c. 1599-1600): George Ruggle

Club Law is the only play in my dataset where I have used a modern edition of a text without consulting the original. I have done so as the play only exists in manuscript[28], and have relied on the 1907 edition carefully prepared by Moore Smith. The MS itself is imperfect, missing several leaves, and is attributed to George Ruggle, author and fellow of Clare Hall (Moore Smith 1907: lv).

7.1.1 Author

George Ruggle (1575-1621/2), was born in Suffolk, and studied at Cambridge, where he became a fellow of Clare College in 1598. He primarily wrote plays in Latin, including the play *Ignoramus*, which, like *Club Law*, appears to have been based on contemporary events in the town.

---

[27] The play does emphasize the benefit of a good relationship between Scotland and England, with the two kingdoms uniting against foreign threats and confirming their affection for one another; at the end of the play, King Alured of England tells his Scottish counterpart, "Most fit it is that we be ever lovers; The Sea that binds us in one Continent, Doth teach us to imbrace two hearts in one, To strengthen both 'gainst all invasion...". So, while this play does not contain overt dialect representation, it is useful as a contemporary document, perhaps indicating the desire for a strong, stable relationship between England and Scotland.

[28] St John's College [Cambridge] S.62 (James 447)

7.1.2 Summary

The play is set in Cambridge, and was written by scholars for a performance at a Cantabrigian college (for an audience of both townspeople and scholars). A contemporary comedy, it details the 'Town and Gown' relationship between the townspeople and the students and faculty of the university, a feud which Moore Smith (1907: xii) states "at the close of the 16th century had become specially acute". The play ends happily (though with the academics, naturally, on top). The characters are apparently based on real people; Moore Smith (1907: xl) quotes Fuller's *History of the University of Cambridge*, which states that, at the performance, "they [the townspeople] did behold themselves in their own best cloathes (which the Schollars had borrowed) so livelily personated, their habits, gestures, language, lieger-jests, and expressions, that is was hard to decide, which was the true Townsman, whether he that sat by, or he who acted on the Stage".

The northern dialect speaker is Mr Rumford, a butcher and a member of the civic government (and possibly also the executioner...). Moore Smith (1907: xxxviii) describes him as "the most fiery spirit" among the rabble-rousing townspeople, and he makes such statements as "Mary sir twere very good to twacke their Crags and make their bones sore" (lines 703-4) and "Ile bange them; and I doe not, the deale on my cragge" (779-780). Another character, Philenius, describes the fiery Rumford in this way:

> And hot spurd Rumford, hee begins or ends every speech,
> with well said: breake their cragg: stricke their teeth into
> their throats: deele ha my saul: wack her wele.

Rumford's son is called Jockie, whose few lines of dialogue are not marked dialectally.

Rumford's dialect is marked throughout the play, with phonological, morphological, and lexical forms and features, which are attested in reference works and in other works of the time.

7.2 *Sir John Oldcastle Part I* (1600): Munday, Drayton, Wilson, and Chettle

As Rittenhouse (1984: 1) notes, *Sir John Oldcastle Part 1* has had "a varied and tempestuous printing history". Two quartos bear the date of 1600; I use Q1 (printed by V.S. for Thomas Pavier), the same reproduced for the *Tudor Facsimile Texts* (1911). The play has been attributed to Shakespeare, a claim now generally unsupported. This play contains depictions of Welsh and Irish dialects, as well as those pinpointed to Lancashire. There is a problem with continuity in the scenes with northern dialect representation, with several pages inadvertently printed out of order.

7.2.1 Authors

Anthony Munday (1560-1633) was baptised in London. Bergeron (2004) notes that Munday often collaborated with his co-authors on *Sir John Oldcastle Part I*. The poet Michael Drayton (1563-1631) was born in north Warwickshire. It is not known when or where either the actor and playwright Robert Wilson (d. 1600) or the printer and playwright Henry Chettle (d. 1603x7) were born, though Chettle's father was a London dyer.

The dialect representation in *Sir John Oldcastle Part I* may have been written by Wilson; Kathman (2004c) claims that "Wilson probably wrote the comic scenes, which bear definite similarities to his earlier work", and the dialect representation occurs in such scenes.

7.2.2 Summary

In the scenes with northern dialect representation, the authorities are in pursuit of Sir John Oldcastle (Lord Cobham), who has escaped from the Tower. While searching, the Constable points out "a little Inne where cariers use to lodge", though he doesn't think their fugitive would stay there. Sir John Oldcastle and his wife are indeed there, sharing a room with a Lancashire carrier and his daughter. An Irishman is also staying there, on the run after murdering his master. He steals the clothes of Oldcastle's servant, Harpoole, and attempts to impersonate him, but his speech, full of pronunciations such as "Vat mester" for "What, master" and of references to St Patrick, eventually marks him out as an Irish imposter rather than an Englishman.

Harpoole awakes to find that the Irishman has stolen his clothes, and after finding the authorities outside, he tells his master and his wife to impersonate the "carier and his wench": "Get up, get up, and if the carier and his wench be asleep, change you with them as he hath done with me, and see if we can escape". Oldcastle speaks a few lines in disguise as the "Lankashire carier", and his dialogue is overtly marked with only one feature: the definite article reduction in "lets *int* stable".

The rest of the sparse dialect representation is found in the dialogue of Club, the carrier, and his daughter Kate, and consists of a handful of phonological features alongside morphological features *Ise* 'I shall', *Ise* 'I is', *thowse* 'thou is', and Definite Article Reduction. The two provincial northerners are made the butt of the joke, having to wear the outlandish London fashions that Oldcastle and his wife left behind for them; Kate is so upset by her unusual clothing that she doesn't know what to do, wailing that she will be the subject of mockery: "Ise be so flowted and so showted at: but byth messe Ise cry".

As noted above, the dialect representation in this play is not extensive. While the majority of the forms are accurate, Club does use the form *forzweare*

‘forswear’, containing a voiced fricative – a feature found in depictions of southern dialect, and one not attested in the north. Possibly the authors wished just to emphasize the rusticity of the two northerners rather than creating an accurate representation.

7.3 *Cupid’s Revenge* (1615): Francis Beaumont and John Fletcher

Beaumont and Fletcher’s[29] dismal psuedo-Greek tragedy *Cupid’s Revenge* (1615) was a popular one, with its first documented performance occurring in 1612.

7.3.1 Authors

Beaumont and Fletcher are discussed in 3.5.1.

Hoy attributes the scenes with Urania’s dialect representation to Beaumont (Logan and Smith 1978: 56).

7.3.2 Summary

This play begins on the birthday of the virtuous Princess Hidasþes [sic]. Though she is 20 years old and unmarried, she actively avoids marriage and romance. Her father, “can deny her nothing”, and calls her the “onely comfort of my feeble age”. As a birthday present, she wants all the naked statues of Cupid – these “erected obsceane Images” – destroyed, and all who offer a sacrifice to him executed. She is warned of the consequences of her actions, if Cupid is really a God. People follow her father’s orders and reject Cupid and his works, causing Cupid to come to earth to take his revenge. He first makes the princess fall in love with her brother’s dwarf Zoylus, “the most deformed fellow i’the land”.

[29] The first edition omits mention of Beaumont on the title-page, but later editions (1630, 1635) list both authors.

Hidasþes's brother has been dallying with a greedy, two-faced widow called Bacha; she states that her motivations in seeing him are two-fold: "being poore, Ile both enjoy his bodie and his purse". His father the king is captivated by the same woman, and marries her. The dialect speaker in this work is Urania, Bacha's daughter. Bacha's goal is for her daughter to become the king's heir.

Urania is described as "an innocent soule", and is virtuous and kind. Her northern dialect is the result of her upbringing: "She was brought up Ith Country, as her tongue will let you know". Blank (1996: 110) relates this depiction to the notion at the time that the northern dialect was purer and somehow more authentic than other forms of English, thus being both "provincial and somehow superior to London English".

The pure and innocent Urania's role in the play is not a large one. Though her speech contains only a few markers of northern dialect, these features are attested in reference works.

7.4 *Bartholomew Fair* (1631): Ben Jonson

Bartholomew Fair (first published 1631 with the title *Bartholmew Fayre*) was performed in 1614.

7.4.1 Author

Jonson is discussed in 3.3.1 and 3.9.1.

7.4.2 Summary

The northern dialect speaker in *Bartholomew Fair* is never addressed by name. He, like Puppy ('a Westerne man') is supposed to wrestle for the Lord Mayor. The northern man is described as a Clothier; according to Ashley (1887: 65), Bartholomew Fair, held at Smithfield, was "especially known as the Cloth

Fair" (though cloth was sold at other fairs). Puppy's dialogue is also marked with dialect representation (see Stewart 2006), as is the dialogue of the Irishman Captain Whit. Bristle, a Welshman, is told that he stinks of leeks and Welsh beer (Metheglin), and Haggis, with his Scottish heritage presumably indicated by his name, is never explicitly linked with Scotland.

The northern clothier cannot hold his liquor, and the bulk of his short passage of dialogue is concerned with this fact; he begins by moaning, "I'l'e ne mare, Il'e ne mare, the eale's too meeghty". His other two lines are variations on this theme: "I'le ne mare, Iis e'en as vull as a Paipers bag, by my troth, I" and "I'le ne maire, my waimb warkes too mickle with this auready"

7.4.3 Potential problems in the dialect representation

The voiced fricative in *vull* 'full', more commonly seen representations of southern or southwestern dialects, is not a feature of northern dialects. This feature appears in Puppy's dialogue, and its inclusion in the northern dialect representation could be a mistake on the part of Jonson, one caused by the interference. However, the northern man is replying to Puppy at this point:

> Puppy: Why, where are you zurs? Doe you vlinch, and leave us i'the zuds, now?
>
> Northern: I'le ne mare, I'is e'en as *vull* as a Paipers bag, by my troth, I.

The northern man may be jokingly appropriating a dialect feature from his fellow drinker – which is, in fact, the *only* such feature documented explicitly in Puppy's speech.

The dialect word *mickle* 'much' is also used by a character whose speech is not marked dialectally; Lanthorne, when describing the greatness of a character called Littlewit, exclaims that his name should be "*Mickle*-wit! if not too *mickle*".

7.5 *The Northern Lasse* (1632): Richard Brome

Brome's comedy *The Northern Lasse* (1632) was among his most popular works, and was revived and published at least three times before the century's end.

7.5.1 Author

Playwright Richard Brome (*c*. 1590-1652) was possibly born in Cornwall. He became part of Jonson's group, working for him for many years as a servant; Brome is mentioned by name in Jonson's *Bartholomew Fair* (Butler 2004). *The Northern Lasse* was the first of his plays to be published, although it premiered in 1629.

7.5.2 Summary

Constance is the eponymous Northern lass, freshly arrived in London from County Durham and under the care of her uncle, Sir Paul Squelch. She is young, charming, and, to her fellow characters, wholly Northern; she "sings, and speakes so pretty northenly they say," as the widow describes her to her brother. She is also lovesick over the older, more experienced Sir Philip. Philip receives a letter from Constance in which she declares her constant and undying love. Thinking that the letter comes not from the sweet, virginal, northern girl but rather from an older whore of the same name (with whom he had previously dallied), Philip expedites his existing wedding plans to an older widow in the hopes of avoiding any messy complications. By the play's end, Constance and Sir Philip are betrothed, and all is well, despite many cases of mistaken identities, impersonations, and the scheming of certain characters. No one is who they seem, and at one point the whore, Constance Holdup, is persuaded to impersonate the northern lass Connie. This charade contributes to an already sizable amount of northern dialect representation. This play also contains two examples of southwestern dialect words in the speech of Master Nonsense from Cornwall.

7.6 *Fuimus Troes* (1633): Jasper Fisher

In Jasper Fisher's play *Fuimus Troes*[30], a chorus of druids sing a song of rejoicing in a northern dialect.

7.6.1 Author

The clergyman Fisher (1590/91-1643) took his degrees at Oxford. *Fuimus Troes* was his only play.

7.6.2 Summary

The play "depicts the defence of the Britons against the invasion of Julius Caesar, with ghosts, songs by a chorus of bards ending each act, and a masque halfway through" (Bradley 2004). At first glance, the song containing northern dialect is almost incomprehensible because of its language, with its dense use of dialectal lexical items and (to a lesser extent) of phonological features indicated through variant spelling. An online edition by a university student (Butler 2007) glosses some of the more obscure features and forms.

This dialect representation is dense and difficult to interpret. Other critics have puzzled over it; Ward (1899: 182) describes the song containing dialect representation as one that "attempts the Scottish dialect – or what the author supposes to be such", though Bartley (1954: 84) does not think it qualifies as Scots. With a lack of convincing evidence for a Scottish interpretation, I have classified the dialect as 'northern'. Yet, the song includes dialectal lexis from the south (e.g. *haydegues* 'haydigees', a dance), as well as many words and phrases from Spenser's *The Sheppeardes Calender* (e.g. *hidder and shidder* 'he and she'). In fact, one of the earliest instances of the noun 'tambourine' appears in the song in *Fuimus Troes*, with the spelling *timbarins*. OED's first citation for

[30] The title has been glossed as 'We are Trojans'; however, if *Fuimus* is the past perfect form *fuimos*, the gloss would be 'We were/have been Trojans'.

‘tambourine’ (with the spelling *tamburins*) comes from Spenser’s *The Shepheardes Calender*; the next citation comes from Jonson’s *The Sad Shepherd* (see 7.10), also pastoral in theme. OED notes that the actual sense of the word is unclear in both Spenser and Jonson’s works, as the modern sense of the word (as an instrument consisting of a hoop stretched over one side with material and with small cymbals around the edge) only appears from the late eighteenth century. The inclusion of this word in *Fuimus Troes*, alongside the other instances of borrowing, helps to confirm Fisher’s reliance on Spenser as a source.

7.7 *The Late Lancashire Witches* (1634): Richard Brome and Thomas Heywood

Brome and Heywood’s *The Late Lancashire Witches* (1634) has been edited and analysed by critics and historians, including Roemer (1998). The play, based on a contemporary scandal, was exceedingly popular at the time.

7.7.1 Authors

Brome is discussed in 7.5.1, and Heywood in 3.2.1.

7.7.2 Summary

The couple Lawrence and Parnell are the main dialect speakers in this play, though several other characters (Peg, Doughty, Seely, Joan) have isolated instances of dialect within their speech. Lawrence and Parnell are the servants to the Seely family, and like the Seelys they are bewitched by the spells of an active coven of witches in their community. The spells turn life upside-down – so, the servants rule the masters, and the children rule the parents. Lawrence and Parnell get married, and their wedding is also turned topsy-turvy by the witches.

After the wedding, Lawrence is rendered impotent by a witch's spell (in the form of a bewitched codpiece), driving his new bride mad. It leads Parnell to become violent and wail, "Ware ever poore mayden betrayed as ay ware unto a swagbellied Carle that cannot aw waw that cannot". However, the witches are led away at the play's end (after some salacious dialogue about townswomen having sex with devils: "there was sweet coupling"), and the witches' spells are broken.

7.8 *The King and Queenes Entertainment at Richmond* (1637): Anon.

As Hulme (1937: 36) notes, a character in the anonymous masque *The King and Queenes Entertainment at Richmond* (1637) makes reference to the 'broad speech' of the usher, though the usher is not specifically referred to as northern.

7.8.1 Summary

The usher appears in the introduction to a country dance, and interacts with the characters from Wiltshire (whose speech is marked with southern dialect features). The usher's part consists of two lines, as follows (in italics):

> *Usher: Now sir whare would you gang?*
> Tom: Where is the Queene, chud spoke with the Queene?
> *Usher: Gang away, and be honged you Carle, you speake with the Queene.*

Though brief, this passage of dialect representation contains northern features attested both in other reference works and in other plays.

7.9 *The Knave in Graine, New Vampt* (1640): J.D.

Little has been written about the comedy *The Knave in Graine, New Vampt* (1640). Meyer (1897: 162) describes the play as "an excellent comedy ... too little known". Based on the evidence in its title ('New Vampt'), it appears to be

an adaptation of an earlier play, one which was revived in 1639 and, as the title page declares, which was "acted at the Fortune many dayes together with great applause". Bald (1945) analyses this adaptation, commenting on the "extremely disconcerting" manner in which the additional scenes have been inserted and printed. He also concludes that the revised edition was probably written soon after 1631.

7.9.1 Author

The play is attributed to "J.D. Gent"; Stern (2009: 69) states that the author is John Day, while Butterworth (2005: 204) observes that " 'J.D.' has been tentatively identified by some as 'John Davenport'".

7.9.2 Summary

The dialect representation in *The Knave in Graine* is found only in imitation, and is found within a scene that Bald (1945: 44) implies must have featured in the original play. Antonio, the son of Arbaces, a Venetian Senator, is speaking with an old shepherd when Cornelia and Phemone come in, disguised, though Antonio quickly realises who they are. Antonio, who is also in disguise, imitates a shepherd. His dialect imitation is indicated by italics, a strategy later found in *The Rump* (1660) as well as in *The Cheats of Scapin* (1677).

The dialect is indicated through lexical items – *blith*, *bonny*, *deft*, *mickle*, *sike*, *welladay*, *well a neare*, and *wight*. Antonio also speaks entirely in rhyming verse: "Bonny wight, what e're you be, /Lucke be in your company:/ Are you Sylvanus, say to me?". It is unclear whether the dialect mimicked is meant to be a general northern one, or a Scottish one; the other shepherd's dialogue is unmarked. The inclusion of a dialect representation in this play may have been part of an attempt to hearken back to the archaic northern shepherds in Spenser's work.

7.10 *The Sad Shepherd* (1641): Ben Jonson

I discuss *The Sad Shepherd* in greater detail in both the introduction to chapter 3 and in 3.9, and Jonson in 3.3.1 and 3.9.1. The speech of nine characters is marked with dialect representation to some extent; the dialogue of Maudlin and her two children, Lorel and Douce, is consistently laden with dialect forms, and the language of six other characters (Scarlet, Scathlock, Earine, Tuck, George, and Amie) is occasionally spiced with it. As stated in the introduction to chapter 3, I classify Scathlock as Scottish, but the rest of the dialect characters as northern.

Jonson's dialect representation appears to be inaccurate not in terms of its quality or quantity, but in terms of its geographical placement. The dialectal forms and features included in *The Sad Shepherd* are manifestly 'northern', even though the area where the play is lies outside my definition of 'the north'. Though some of the forms were found in Nottinghamshire (and even further south) in late ME, as evidenced by LALME, several prominent features – including northern fronting, *quh-* for *wh-*, the *-and* present participle suffix, and the northern descendants of OE /ɑː/ – are not probable anywhere near the Leicestershire and Nottinghamshire border, as required by the play's very specific setting of Sherwood Forest and the village of Papplewick. These features place the dialect further north. It is unclear why Jonson, pedantic and particular about his language, would choose northern English and possibly Scottish[31] forms for his midland characters.

[31] Scots forms are spoken by Scathlock, one of Robin Hood's huntsmen. James VI/ I was so passionate about hunting that he "became notorious for refusing to attend to matters of state when it did not suit him and spending his time hunting at one of his – or his subject's – country retreats" (Hadfield 2003: 218). Since hunting was the favourite pastime of the Scottish king, it is not improbable that some of his huntsmen were Scots, and thus that huntsmen might be associated on a wider level with Scots.

7.11 *The Cheats of Scapin* (1677): Thomas Otway

Thomas Otway's interesting and entertaining short farce *The Cheats of Scapin* (1677) contains a good representation of Lancashire dialect. It was published with the full-length tragedy *Titus and Berenice.*

7.11.1 Author

Otway is discussed in 3.13.4.1.

7.11.2 Summary

Octavian is secretly married to Clara, but is worried because his father wants him to marry the daughter of his friend. He doesn't realise that Clara is his intended spouse. Octavian looks to Scapin for assistance with this problem. Gripe, Clara's father, is convinced to hide inside a sack by Scapin, and cannot see. While on the road, Scapin pretends that they encounter different men, each speaking in a distinctive way and each angrily seeking Gripe. First, Scapin imitates a Welshman (with only a slight suggestion of dialect, including the line "her has no creat pus'ness' *she has no great business*), then a man from Lancashire, then an Irishman. He then impersonates a man speaking in "a hoarse Sea-man's Voice", then one in speaking in 'broken French-English', finally mimicking 'a Number of e'm together'. Gripe peeps out of the bag during the last section and realises what is happening, calling Scapin a "Dog, Traitor, Villain!".

The dialect representation is denoted in italics in the play-text. This format does not just echo that found in *The Rump*, but serves the practical purpose of delineating Scapin's imitations from his own speech, as shown in the following excerpt:

> Scapin: *Yaw Fellee, wi'th Sack theere, done yaw knaw whear th' awd Rascatt Graip is?*

Not I; but here is no Rascal.

Yaw Leen, yaw Dogue, yaw knawn weel eenuh whear he is, an yaw-den teel, ond that he is a foo Rascatt as any is in aw the Tawn; I's tell a that by'r Lady.

Not I, Sir, I know neither, Sir, not I.

7.12 *The Lancashire Witches* (1682): Thomas Shadwell

Set in Lancashire, near Pendle-Hill, Shadwell's *The Lancashire Witches* (1682) fell foul of the censors because of its subject matter and political sentiment, possibly leading to Shadwell's subsequent seven-year absence from the theatrical world (Slagle 1991: 3). However, it was popular on stage, not only because of the scandalous subject matter but also because of the amount of innovative stagecraft employed, including having witches rise and fly across the stage. In the early eighteenth century, interest in the play revived, with it being performed more than 50 times before 1729 (Slagle 1991: 6). Two separate editions were published in 1682, both by same publisher. The second one has revised spelling and punctuation, and the first edition is the one seen as authoritative.

7.12.1 Author

The Norfolk-born Shadwell (*c.* 1640- 1692) attended Gonville and Caius College, Cambridge, though he did not graduate. His wife, Anne, was an actress. He was a noted playwright and a poet.

Shadwell was possibly motivated to write *The Lancashire Witches* after spending time in Lancashire (Slagle 1991: 2). He provides extensive notes on his source texts (which include the works of Jonson, in particular, and Shakespeare, as well Heywood and Brome's *The Late Lancashire Witches*); Slagle (1991: 19) defends his practices, stating that "Since it was not uncommon for writers in this period and earlier to 'borrow' from other writers, Shadwell's reliance on

Jonson seems more a compliment than a theft". This play, with its "crude anti-Catholic satire" (Bennett 2004) was heavily censored, and led to a six-year gap in his playwriting career.

7.12.2 Summary

The plot revolves around the appearance of witches in a Lancashire village, and features four characters whose speech is marked to some extent with dialectal features: Clod, Thomas O Georges, Young Harfort, and Tom Shacklehead. All these characters are provincial in their attitudes, if not their status (the drunkard Tom Shacklehead is the younger brother of a knight, Sir Jeffrey.) These characters are described as either a "country fellow" (Clod and Thomas O Georges), a "Country fool" (Young Harfort), or a "drinker in the Country" (Tom Shacklehead) in the cast-list. These four bumpkins contrast with the Oxford-educated or "worthy Hospitable true English" gentlemen as well as to the other Lancastrian characters in the cast.

All of the dialect speakers have direct contact with the witches. Thomas O Georges meets the witch Mal Spencer, who summons a giant cat for him to ride to Rochdale on: " whoo cawd a Cat to me, a huge Cat, and we ridden both to Rachdale strieght along". Clod is turned into a horse by the same witch, and is naturally distressed by this turn of events, wailing, "Mun Ay live of Oates, and Beans, and Hay aw my life, instead of Beef and Pudding: uds Flesh I neigh too". Later, a group of men, including Tom Shacklehead and Young Harfort, encounter the shape-shifting witches (who are first birds or bats, and then cats), and Tom Shacklehead cuts off one of Mal Spencer's hands whilst she is a witch.

7.13 *Dame Dobson* (1684): Edward Ravenscroft

Edward Ravenscroft's comedy *Dame Dobson* (1684) was unsuccessful, ending his string of successes; he "produced no more plays for a decade" (Knafla 2004).

7.13.1 Author

It is not known when or where Ravenscroft was born or died, though he was active between 1659 and 1697. He wrote his first play in 1671. He often borrowed ideas and plots from other playwrights, including Shakespeare.

7.13.2 Summary

The titular character bills herself as a fortune-teller, whose talents are employed by influential and important members of society. Her skills appear to be manifold; Mrs. Francis, while in disguise, asks Dame Dobson for her assistance, saying that she is "inform'd that you not only can tell by Astrology things past, present, and to come; but that also you have Charms to cure all Diseases, not cureable by the Physicians, and Countercharms for Witchcrafts and the like".

The Countess, who wishes to marry the Colonel, disguises herself as a northern woman, putting on a mask and "speak[ing] my North-Country tone". Bartley (1943: 282) states that the Countess is pretending to be Scottish, though the Countess herself clearly describes herself as speaking as someone from the North-Country. Charles Johnson's *The Female Fortune-Teller* (1726) is an adaptation of this play, though it passes itself off as an original work, making no reference to its origins. Here, Astrea, the main character, disguises herself as a northern lass while trying to trap the titular fortune-teller, Mrs. Joiner. The 'psychic' was "overthrown ... utterly" by Astrea's disguise, describing how convinced she was by the "broad North-Country Dialect" that she spoke.

As in *Sauny the Scot*, the spellings of 'good' and 'God' are sometimes identical, and therefore sometimes difficult to tell apart. Three instances of *geud* and one of *gued* are unambiguously 'good': "*geud* Sir", "a *geud* reward", a "*geud* turn", and "*gued* faith". Another – "Ene *Geud* betide you now in troath Dame" – seems to be a spelling of 'good', with the line then glossed to be "only good happen to

you now in truth Dame" It seems likely, based on context, that the other two forms – "*Geud*, *Geud* blessing on thy heart for't" – could be 'God', a conclusion supported by the capitalization of these forms.

The spelling *ene* is used three times by the Countess. In the first instance – "*Ene* Geud betide you now in troath Dame" – *ene* could represent an abbreviated form of 'only', but also perhaps 'even' or 'and'. I do not count this instance in my dataset. The other examples of *ene* 'one' or 'on(ly)' are less ambiguous, standing for 'one' and 'on(ly)': "I mun no show my face tol any ene [one] in London" and "Ene [only] give me the Paper quickly, Dame I am with barn till I gripe it in my hand". Likewise, *ean* 'one' is used once ("not so much as *ean* Letter"), though the same spelling is also found to mean 'even' ("Ise [I] know *ean* enough already").

Some of the seven forms of *Ise* also present problems with intelligibility. *Ise* 'I shall' appears twice: "*Ise* [I shall] pray for thee tol my dying day" and "I shall be soar afraid in gued faith Woman, therefore *Ise* [I shall] see no Deil"; this legitimate use is discussed in detail in 5.1. *Ise* 'I' is also found twice, as analysed in 5.3: "*Ise* [I] ha mony very goad reasons why I mun no show my face tol any ene in London" and "*Ise* [I] know ean enough already". One example could represent either 'I' or 'I shall': "*Ise* warrant you he shall touch it, or it shall gang very hard"

There are two instances of *Ise* representing more complex verb phrases. In the (somewhat panicked) line "*Ise* naught to do with Spirit", *Ise* must mean "I shall have". Because of the past participle form of 'given' in the following example – "Ise given you ten times as mough ..." – *Ise* must here represent a past tense modal + 'have': likely, 'I should have', but 'I would have' or 'I could have' would also be grammatical. These forms are not attested in the critical literature. It seems likely that Ravenscroft is overgeneralising the use of *Ise*.

7.14 *Sir Hercules Buffoon, or the Poetical Squire* (1684): John Lacy

John Lacy's play *Sir Hercules Buffoon, or the Poetical Squire*, was performed and published posthumously in 1684. The title page states that this comedy was "written by John Lacy, Com."; presumably the 'Com.' highlights his fame as comedian and reinforces the idea that this hitherto unknown play contains humour of a high standard. Later editions of Lacy's play *Sauny the Scot* refer to Lacy as 'Servant of His Majesty' or 'Esq.'.

7.14.1 Author

Lacy is discussed in 3.19.1.

7.14.2 Summary

Similar to Connie in *The Northern Lasse*, the dialect speaker in *Sir Hercules Buffoon* is Innocentia, a young country girl from Yorkshire who happens to end up in London under the guard of her uncle. Another character, Fidelia, later impersonates her and mimics her speech.

The play opens with the release of Sir Marmaduke Seldin from prison – presumably a debtor's prison, as another character, Bowman, comments that Seldin "spent on till he was clapt in prison" – in order for him to be able to serve as guardian to his late brother's two daughters, Innocentia and Belmaria. His nieces happen to be heirs to a £300,000 fortune. He soon sets upon a greedy and murderous plan that involves having his own two daughters, Fidelia and Mariana, impersonate his two nieces, shipping off the actual nieces to Norway where they either will "be starv'd to death, or torn to pieces by wild Bears".

Being raised in the north, Innocentia has a recognisably Yorkshire accent, and "the world has got some hint of her country speech". (The oddity of having one sister with a strong regional accent and the other without any particularly

marked speech is neither explained nor addressed by the playwright or the other characters). As Innocentia is known for her distinctive dialect, the effectiveness of her imitation is of the utmost importance. Sir Marmaduke Seldin confides to his daughter, “the necessity of it is great, for there is such notice taken of her Yorkshire speech, that shou’d her tongue be missing, we were all in question”.

The other plot concerns the activities of the Buffoon family. Sir Hercules Buffoon is “the most notorious Lyer of all Norfolk”, and his son becomes apprenticed to the poet Overwise. The city wits convince the Buffoons that a poet’s apprentice holds the title of Ass for his first year (“So he that means to be a Poet the first year he’s an Ass, the second a Fop, the third a Witlin, the fourth a Wit, and the fifth year a Poet o’th’ first head”). They ensure Squire’s participation in an initiation ceremony, where they make an Ass out of him. Their actions highlight and help reinforce the image of the foolish rustic. However, notably, although members of this titular rustic family hail from Norfolk, they do not speak in a regionally marked way; the only indication of any speech that is dialectally marked is found in the dialogue of Innocentia, or in Fidelia when she is imitating her cousin.

This imitation is a vital plot point. Fidelia imitates Innocentia by adopting not only her behaviours and mannerisms, but also certain lexical and phonological features of her Yorkshire speech. Fidelia’s imitation is said to be of good quality: her father rejoices that “never was so ingenious a Mimick”. Her sister Mariana thinks that she impersonates Innocentia too effectively, as in doing so “she puts me but too much in mind of my poor little Cousin” and thus may make her start to feel guilty about her actions. Squire Buffoon, lovestruck, declares that the masquerading Fidelia is the “Suparlative [sic] Paragon of the North”.

Lord Arminger comments about the general esteem of northern dialects. When speaking to Bowman about the lovely young Innocentia, Lord Arminger notes that people “say her Northern speech is a great addition to her Beauty, which is

very strange; but being a Child it may the better become her". It seems that, while both Innocentia herself and her speech are charming, a northern dialect is not inherently attractive for the characters in the play.

7.15 *The Squire of Alsatia* (1688): Thomas Shadwell

After the controversy surrounding *The Lancashire Witches*, Shadwell wrote his next play, *The Squire of Alsatia*, in 1688. It was "enormously successful" (Bennett 2004).

7.15.1 Author

Shadwell is discussed in 7.12.1. Bennett (2004) notes that after the great success of this play Shadwell was named both poet laureate and historiographer royal.

7.15.2 Summary

The dialect speaker is Lolpoop, described in the cast-list as "A North Country fellow, servant to Belfond Senior, much displeas'd at his Masters proceedings". The role was played by Mr Underhill. Lolpoop is the typical country bumpkin in the big city. He tells his master's rakish friends, "I understand not this South-Country speech not I" and also states that he is "not Book-learn'd". These dissolute gentlemen – with names like Cheatly, Shamwell, and Hackum – eventually convince the hapless Lolpoop that the whore Betty is actually a lady; Lolpoop exclaims, "whoo Loves me! who'll make me stark wood e'en naw", using the northern *whoo* form for 'she'.

The dialect representation here is quite similar to that in Shadwell's other play featuring Northern English, *The Lancashire Witches* (7.12). As in the dialect representation in *The Lancashire Witches*, *-en* suffixes are used on many verb

forms, including participles, infinitives, modals, and present tense forms, some of which are illustrated in the following excerpt from Lolpoop's dialogue:

> they *saiden* Squire Belfond had done it, and Ravish'd a Wench: and that they *hadden gotten* the Lord Chief Justice Warren for you, and *wooden* bring a pawr of Actions against yeow.

This feature is also found in *The Cheats of Scapin* and *The Late Lancashire Witches*, and is discussed in 9.7.

Lexis

Chapter 8

In this chapter, I discuss the dialectal lexical items found in dramatic depictions of Northern English. I follow the format of chapter 4, first discussing common lexical items found in at least two plays[32] (8.1 to 8.25) and then less commonly used dialectal lexis play by play. I omit words that are non-dialectal at this period (e.g. Innocentia and Fidelia's use of *hunny* 'honey' as a term of endearment for both sexes in *Sir Hercules Buffoon*; the use of *lad* or *lass* across the plays[33]; *wight* 'man'; and *eke* 'also').

8.1 **bairn** *n.* 'child'

The history of this form is provided in 4.1.

Table 8.1 lists all instances of *bairn* in my dataset of representations of Northern English:

#	form	character	play	year
1	**barnes**	Rumford	*Club Law*	1599
2	**barne**	Holdup	*The Northern Lasse*	1632
1	**barnes**	Connie	*The Northern Lasse*	1632
1	**barn**	Countess	*Dame Dobson*	1684
4	**barn (2), bearn (2)**	Fidelia (imitation)	*Sir Hercules Buffoon*	1684

Table 8.1: *bairn* 'child'

[32] As the northern dataset is significantly smaller than the Scottish one, I discuss words that appear in two (rather than three) plays in 8.1 to 8.25.

[33] At this time, *lad* and *lass* are not restricted to the north, but instead are in much more widespread use, as attested by the quotations in OED and by their frequent appearance in the dialogue of non-dialect-speaking characters in seventeenth-century drama in general and in the plays in my Scottish and northern dataset in particular.

These uses of *bairn* occur in different contexts, and have different referents. Rumford in *Club Law* and Connie in *The Northern Lasse* use *barnes* to refer to actual children; Connie urges another character to wash his face, otherwise “hee’ll scare some bodies *Barnes* else”. The other seven instances of *bairn* in my dataset all come from characters impersonating northern women. In *The Northern Lasse*, Holdup, imitating Connie, is pretending to be pregnant, and sings a song about a fatherless child (“Peace, wayward *Barne*”). She also claims that another character is the father of her unborn child: “You have getten a *barne* by me, I is sure o’that”.

The Countess tells Dame Dobson that she cannot wait to hold a particular piece of paper: “I am with *barn* till I gripe it in my hand”. Fidelia, imitating Innocentia, uses *Barn* and *Honey Bearn* as terms of endearment.

8.2 **belive** *adv*. ‘quickly, suddenly, eagerly’

EDD finds *belive* ‘quickly; eagerly; immediately, soon’ in Scotland, the North Country, and Derbyshire, providing many citations. OED states that the form is obsolete except in dialect, providing the definition of ‘with speed, with haste, quickly, eagerly’; OED also notes here that this sense is still found in Scotland.

The examples of *belive* in my dataset are listed in Table 8.2:

#	form	character	play	year
1	**belive**	chorus	*Fuimus Troes*	1633
1	**blive**	chorus	*Fuimus Troes*	1633
1	**by live**	Lorel	*The Sad Shepherd*	1641
2	**believe**	Thomas o Georges	*The Lancashire Witches*	1682

Table 8.2: *belive* ‘quickly, suddenly’

The song in *Fuimus Troes* contains an order to dance quickly or eagerly (‘trip haydegues *belive*’). In *The Sad Shepherd*, Lorel tries to woo Earine by telling her of the things he could provide her with, including honey and beeswax:

Twentie swarme of bees,
Whilke (all the summer) hum about the hive,
And bring mee Waxe, and Honey in *by live*.

Thomas o Georges in *The Lancashire Witches* uses *belive* twice in one passage of dialogue; I have isolated the relevant lines below, followed by an italicised gloss:

and whoo kist and who clipt Cat, and ay set me dawn a bit
and ***believe*** Cat went under her Coats,
*and she kissed and she hugged the cat, and I set me down a bit and **suddenly** the cat went under her coats*

whoost carry me to Rachdale ***believe***
*she shall carry me to Rochdale **quickly***

In the second edition of *The Lancashire Witches* (1682b), the spelling *believe* is changed to *belive*, possibly to avoid confusion with the verb 'to believe'.

8.3 **bonny** adj. 'beautiful, handsome, pleasing'

Table 8.3 contains all instances of *bonny* in the northern dataset:

#	form	character	play	year
1	**bonne**	Rumford	*Club Law*	1599
7	**bonny**	Rumford	*Club Law*	1599
2	**bonny**	Connie	*The Northern Lasse*	1632
1	**bonny**	chorus	*Fuimus Troes*	1633
1	**bonny**	Lawrence	*The Late Lancashire Witches*	1634
2	**bonny**	Antonio	*The Knave in Graine*	1640

Table 8.3: *bonny* 'beautiful, handsome, pleasing'

Bonny appears less often here than in the Scottish dataset (a total of 14 times), and only in texts printed before the Civil War. While bonny is, as discussed in 4.3, a strong indication of Scottishness, its use here in representations of northern dialects is acceptable dialectally, as the form is attested in the north as well. In *Club Law*, *bonny* collocates with 'lad' or with 'nag'; the *bonne* spelling

occurs when Rumford is referring to his "*bonne* whiniard" (see 4.25). *Bonny* appears in the lamenting song Connie sings about her lost love ("A *bonny bonny* Bird I had"), and in the song in *Fuimus Troes* ("bee bonny, buxome, jolly"). Lawrence refers to himself as the "*bonny* Bridegroome", and Antonio addresses a "*bonny* wight" and two "*bonny* girles" when he is imitating a shepherd.

8.4 **carl** *n.* 'churl'

The pejorative sense of *carl* 'churl' appears three times across two plays in this dataset. The form itself is discussed in 4.5. The usher in *The King and Queenes Entertainment at Richmond* uses it as a form of abuse, telling another character, "Gang away, and be honged you *Carle*". Lawrence and Parnell each have one instance of *carle* in *The Late Lancashire Witches*; an angry Lawrence proclaims that he forbade her "to meddle with the old *carle*", and an upset Parnell later wails, "Ware ever poore mayden betrayed as ay ware unto a swagbellied *Carle* that cannot aw waw that cannot".

8.5 **deft** *adj.* 'pretty, bonny, neat'

Deft is discussed in detail in 4.7.

Examples of *deft* are listed in Table 8.5:

#	form	character	play	year
1	**deaft**	Connie	*The Northern Lasse*	1632
1	**deft**	Joan, in a song	*The Late Lancashire Witches*	1634
1	**deft**	Antonio	*The Knave in Graine*	1640
1	**Deft**	Lorel	*The Sad Shepherd*	1641
1	**deft**	Marian (Maudlin in disguise)	*The Sad Shepherd*	1641
3	**deft**	Innocentia	*Sir Hercules Buffoon*	1684
8				

Table 8.5: *deft* 'pretty'

The phrase 'deft lass', found in two of the Scottish plays, is used both by Connie in *The Northern Lasse* ("*deaft* lasse") and by Marian when she is being impersonated in appearance and speech by the witch Maudlin ("*deft* lasse"). Joan sings a song about a "deft lad" and his lass, and Innocentia refers to the "*deft* Lord", and Lorel his "*Deft* Mistress". Antonio refers to the two women as "*deft* and trim". All of these uses seem clearly aligned with the northern definition of *deft* as 'pretty, bonny, neat', rather than the more negative sense of 'stupid' or 'lacking intelligence'.

8.6 **gang** *v*. 'to go'

While *gang* 'to go', analysed in 4.8, is a common Scottish form, it is also attested in the north of England. Table 8.6 contains all examples of *gang* in the northern dataset:

#	form	character	play	year
10	**gange (7), gang (2), gangst (1)**	Rumford	*Club Law*	1599
1	**gang**	chorus	*Fuimus Troes*	1633
1	**gang**	Lawrence	*The Late Lancashire Witches*	1634
2	**gang**	Usher	*The King and Queenes Entertainment at Richmond*	1637
4	**gaang (1), gaing (1), gang (2)**	Maudlin	*The Sad Shepherd*	1641
1	**gaing-night**	Maudlin	*The Sad Shepherd*	1641
1	**gang**	Lorel	*The Sad Shepherd*	1641
2	**gang**	Countess	*Dame Dobson*	1684

Table 8.6: *gang* 'to go'

Twenty-two examples occur across six plays. Most examples are unremarkable in their context. For example, Lawrence uses it once in *The Late Lancashire Witches*:

> And I thought it would ma' Parnel, love me i'd be sure on't, and **gang** about it now right.
> *If I thought it would make Parnell love me I'd be sure of it, and **go** about it now right.*

Rumford in *Club Law* uses variants of *gang* nine times, including in the following lines: "whither *gangst* Tom. now?"; "Ile *gange* and tell our ladds of it"; and "lett us *gange* crush a pott or two of Ale att thy house".

8.7 **gar** *v*. 'to cause ... to'; 'to do'

The causative verb *gar* is analysed in 4.9. Table 8.7 lists all instances of *gar* in this dataset:

#	form	character	play	year
1	**garr**	Colby	*Club Law*	1599
2	**garre (1), garr (1)**	Rumford	*Club Law*	1599
3	**gar**	Connie	*The Northern Lasse*	1632
1	**gars**	chorus	*Fuimus Troes*	1633
2	**gar**	Maudlin	*The Sad Shepherd*	1641
1	**gar**	Earine (mocking)	*The Sad Shepherd*	1641

Table 8.7: *gar* 'to cause ... to'; 'to do'

Two of these instances document incorrect uses of the word; both are in *The Sad Shepherd*. Earine is mocking the dialect used by Lorel in his attempts at wooing, and orders him to take back his gift of two hedgehogs and a baby badger: "*Gar* take them hence: they fewmand all the claithes". Here, Earine uses two incorrect dialectal forms: *gar* takes a sense of 'go', and *fewmand* 'fume' an incorrect present participial suffix (c.f. 9.5). *Claithes* 'clothes' is a dialectal feature used correctly. As Earine's speech is not usually marked with dialectal features, perhaps Jonson was emphasizing her mocking of Lorel by including incorrect forms (as she would be unfamiliar with the specifics of the dialect). However, Maudlin also uses *gar* idiosyncratically:

> I'is **gar** take thy new breikes fra' thee
> *I shall **[?cause/?go]** take your new breeches from thee*

The uses of *gar* in other plays are all correct. In *Club Law*, the character Colby, who does not otherwise speak dialectally, uses *gar* after Rumford does:

> Rumford: I, by the messe, wees **garr** them loape

*Yes, by the mass, we shall **cause** them **to** jump*

Colby: will you goe with us? wees fetch that will **garr** them stand further.
*Will you go with us? We shall fetch that [which] will **make** them stand further.*

Moore Smith (1907: 80) notes that it is likely that Colby is copying Rumford's northern dialect here, as another character copies the accent of the Welshman Tavie earlier in the play.

8.8 **gif** *conj.* 'if'

Discussed in 4.10, *gif* 'if' is found five times in the northern dataset: once in *Fuimus Troes* and four times in *The Sad Shepherd* (once used by Douce, and thrice by her mother Maudlin).

Douce tells her mother to stop nagging her brother: "Gud Mother, *gif* yow chide him hee'll du wairs".

8.9 **gin** *conj*. 'if'

Discussed in 4.11, *gin* 'if' appears five times in this dataset: twice used by Connie in *The Northern Lasse*, and twice by Fidelia and once by Innocentia in *Sir Hercules Buffoon*.

For instance, Connie recounts how she met her love: "Then by and by as we walkd, he askd mine Uncle, *gin* hee would give him me to make a Lady till him". Fidelia, while impersonating her cousin, makes the following remark about her French tailor: "*gin* I'd let him alane, he had taken measure o'the inside of me as well as o'th'out".

8.10 **helo** *adj*. 'bashful'

OED defines *helo* as 'bashful, modest, shamefaced', and classifies it as obsolete or dialectal. OED provides one of the quotations from a play in my dataset (*The Squire of Alsatia*) as evidence, along with an entry from Ray's 1674 dictionary of northern words ("*Heloe* or *Helaw*, bashful, a word of common use"). The word is not found in DOST or SND. EDD finds it in the North Country, Cheshire, and Derbyshire, with *hala* spellings in west Yorkshire.

Helo appears in twice in my dataset, once in each of Shadwell's plays: *The Lancashire Witches* and *The Squire of Alsatia*.

In *The Squire of Alsatia*, Lolpoop is embarrassed at the order to kiss a woman he has just met: "I am so *ha la*: I am asham'd".

In *The Lancashire Witches*, Young Harfort is drunk, and propositions his fiancée Theodosia:

> I am drunken well neegh, and now I am not so *hala* (since we must marry to morrow) I pray you now let us be a little better acquainted to neeght

Slagle (1991) incorrectly defines this word as *hale*; *helo* is a better semantic fit.

8.11 **kibbo** *n*. 'club'

EDD finds *kibbo* 'a long stick; a cudgel' in Lancashire, Cheshire, and Shropshire only. It is an l-vocalised form of the noun *kibble* 'a strong, thick stick'; see 8.26.7 for the verb *kibble*. OED has an entry for *kibbo* 'a stick, cudgel', with both quotations from literary representations of dialect ('Tim Bobbin', and *The Squire of Alsatia*).

Table 8.11 lists the instances of *kibbo* in my dataset:

#	form	character	play	year
1	**Kibbo**	Scapin	*The Cheats of Scapin*	1677
1	**kibbo**	Clod	*The Lancashire Witches*	1682
1	**kibbo**	Lolpoop	*The Squire of Alsatia*	1688

Table 8.11: *kibbo* 'club'

The earliest quotation comes from *The Cheats of Scapin*, where Scapin is imitating a Lancashire dialect:

> Why, I mun knock him dawne with my *Kibbo*, the first bawt to the grawnt, and then I mun beat him aw to pap by th' Mess

The two quotations from Shadwell's plays are very similar in phrasing and content:

> *The Lancashire Witches*: Stand off by'r Lady an I lift *kibbo* once, Ist raddle thy bones: thou art a fow Queen, I tell o that, thou art a fow Witch.

> *The Squire of Alsatia*: Hawd you, hawd you: And I tak *kibbo*, I'st raddle the Bones o' thee; Ise tell a that: for aw th'art a Captain mun.

8.12 **lessen** *conj*. 'unless'

Brome includes the word *lessen* 'unless' once in each of his plays featuring depictions of northern dialect, *The Northern Lasse* and *The Late Lancashire Witches*:

> Tell that no further; for wee are all too gentle *lessen* men were lesse cruell.

> Dresse me no dressings, *lessen* I dresse yeou beth

This word is not attested in EDD, SND, or DOST. Thus, it could be considered a neologism, except for the fact that OED does have a citation for *lessen*, conj. 'unless', but classifies it as an example of American dialect, with quotations all

from the late nineteenth or twentieth centuries. It is possible that this word was in use before these attested instances in America.

8.13 **lig** *v.* 'to lie (down), to recline'

Lig is discussed in 4.15. Examples of *lig* in my northern dataset are found in Table 8.13:

#	form	character	play	year
1	**Ligby**	Connie	*The Northern Lasse*	1632
1	**ligg**	chorus	*Fuimus Troes*	1633
1	**lig**	Parnell	*The Late Lancashire Witches*	1634

Table 8.13: *lig* 'to lie (down)'

Connie uses the term *ligby* 'bedfellow', attested in the north in OED: "And o' my conscience I'Ie be none of his *Ligby* for twise so mickle". In *The Late Lancashire Witches*, an upset Parnell declares that, regarding her new husband, she will not "bee baund to *lig* with him and live with him". In *Fuimus Troes*, *ligg* has the sense of 'remain' or 'lie': "Fewle mickle teene betide ye/ If ye *ligg* in this plight".

8.14 **loan** *n*. 'lane'

Thomas o Georges uses *lone* three times (e.g. "turn'd dawn th' *Lone*") and Clod once in *The Lancashire Witches*, and Scapin uses it once in *The Cheats of Scapin*. Slagle (1991) glosses *lone* as a lodging-house, citing EDD; this definition is highly unlikely in the hills of Lancashire (and based on the context of the quotations themselves), and that sense has but one citation from Somerset. Here, *lone* is a variant spelling of *loan* 'lane', found by EDD in Scotland, the North Country, Cheshire, Staffordshire, Derbyshire, and Norfolk. OED finds *loan* now only used in Scotland or dialectally.

8.15 **loon** *n.* 'rascal, scoundrel'

Loon 'rascal, scoundrel' is discussed in 4.16. In this dataset, *loon* always collocates with *limmer*, a use also found in the Scottish dataset. In *The Sad Shepherd*, Lorel is called by the term by his mother Maudlin ("fowle *Limmer*! Drittie *Lowne*!") and by Earine, who mocks him by appropriating his dialect ("*limmer lowne*, Thy vermin, and thy selfe, thy selfe art one"). Parnell also calls Lawrence a *lymmer lowne* in *The Late Lancashire Witches*.

8.16 **losel** *n*. 'a ragamuffin; a profligate, scoundrel'

Losel is found in *The Northern Lasse* and *The Late Lancashire Witches*. Parnell, in *The Late Lancashire Witches* refers to "a dow little *losell*", and Connie to a "*Lozell*". A *losel* is glossed by EDD as "a lazy rascal, a good-for-nothing fellow". OED additionally provides a somewhat stronger definition as 'a profligate', 'rake', or 'scoundrel'. EDD finds *losel* restricted mainly to the north, found in Scotland, Yorkshire, Lancashire, Cheshire, and Shropshire, with the spelling 'lozzel' being documented in Cheshire. The word is now classified as archaic and dialectal by the OED, though, based on the textual examples provided, it could have been in more standard use during the seventeenth century.

8.17 **mickle** *adj*., *adv.* 'great, sizeable; much'

Mickle is discussed in 4.18. Table 8.17 lists all the instances of *mickle* in this dataset:

#	form	character	play	year
5	**mickle (3), micke (2)**	Rumford	*Club Law*	1599
1	**mickle**	Northern Clothier	*Bartholomew Fair*	1631
3	**mickle**	Connie	*The Northern Lasse*	1632
1	**mickle**	chorus	*Fuimus Troes*	1633
1	**over mickle**	Doughty	*The Late Lancashire Witches*	1634
1	**mickle**	Antonio	*The Knave in Graine*	1640
1	**mickell**	Lorel	*The Sad Shepherd*	1641
1	**mickell**	Maudlin	*The Sad Shepherd*	1641

Table 8.17: *mickle* 'great, sizeable; much'

There is less variation in the forms of *mickle* in the northern dataset, compared to the Scottish one. Like *bonny* (8.3), *mickle* only appears in representations of Northern English that were published before the Civil War.

8.18 mun *v.* 'must'

Mun is discussed in 4.19. A complete list of *mun* forms in the northern dataset is found in Table 8.18:

#	form	character	play	year
1	**mun**	Urania	*Cupid's Revenge*	1615
1	**mun**	Holdup	*The Northern Lasse*	1632
4	**mun**	Connie	*The Northern Lasse*	1632
1	**mun**	Parnell	*The Late Lancashire Witches*	1634
4	**mun**	Lawrence	*The Late Lancashire Witches*	1634
4	**mun**	Scapin	*The Cheats of Scapin*	1677
4	**mun**	Tom	*The Lancashire Witches*	1682
5	**mun**	Clod	*The Lancashire Witches*	1682
2	**mun**	Countess	*Dame Dobson*	1684
8	**mun**	Fidelia	*Sir Hercules Buffoon*	1684
1	**mun**	Lolpoop	*The Squire of Alsatia*	1688
35				

Table 8.18: *mun* 'must'

Mun appears 35 times across eight plays in the northern dataset. It appears in four imitations of Northern English, by Fidelia (*Sir Hercules Buffoon*), the

Countess (*Dame Dobson*), Scapin (*The Cheats of Scapin*), and Holdup (*The Northern Lasse*).

8.19 **sike** *adv*. 'such'

Sike is discussed in 4.21. To reiterate, OED classifies *sike* and *syke* spellings as being predominantly northern, with *sic, sick,* and *sik* spellings being Scottish. Table 8.19 contains a list of all forms in my northern dataset:

#	form	character	play	year
5	**sicke (3), sick (1), silke (1)**	Rumford	*Club Law*	1599
1	**sike**	Connie	*The Northern Lasse*	1632
1	**sick an (a)**	Lawrence	*The Late Lancashire Witches*	1634
1	**sick**	Lawrence	*The Late Lancashire Witches*	1634
1	**sicky**	Parnell	*The Late Lancashire Witches*	1634
1	**sickerly**	Parnell	*The Late Lancashire Witches*	1634
1	**sike**	Antonio	*The Knave in Graine*	1640
2	**sike (1), syke (1)**	Maudlin	*The Sad Shepherd*	1641
2	**sike ana**	Innocentia	*Sir Hercules Buffoon*	1684
1	**sike**	Innocentia	*Sir Hercules Buffoon*	1684

Table 8.19: *sike* 'such'

This table includes forms of *siccan* (in *The Late Lancashire Witches* and *Sir Hercules Buffoon*); *siccan* is classified by OED as Scottish and northern, and is found in SND and EDD.

Many of these forms are of the *sike*-type, with *The Late Lancashire Witches* showing only the *sick*-type, possibly specifically indicating a quality of the Lancashire dialect. A discussion of variant spellings is found in 4.21.

8.20 **sin, sine** *adv*. 'since'; prep. 'since, after'

Sine is discussed in 4.22. A table of sine forms in the northern dataset is found in Table 8.20:

#	form	character	play	year
3	**sine**	Connie	*The Northern Lasse*	1632
2	**sin (1), sine (1)**	Parnell	*The Late Lancashire Witches*	1634
1	**sin**	Clod	*The Lancashire Witches*	1682

Table 8.20: *sine* 'since, after'

8.21 **till** *prep.*, *infinitive marker* 'to'

Discussed in 4.23., *till* 'to' is found only in three plays in the northern dataset: *The Northern Lasse*, *The Late Lancashire Witches*, and *Dame Dobson*. A table (8.21) of the forms is below, and as in Table 4.23 the instances of *till* as an infinitive marker are shaded in grey .

#	form	character	play	year
2	**till**	Connie	*The Northern Lasse*	1632
2	**intill**	Lawrence (1), Parnell (1)	*The Late Lancashire Witches*	1634
1	**till**	Lawrence	*The Late Lancashire Witches*	1634
2	**tol**	Countess	*Dame Dobson*	1684
1	**tol**	Countess	*Dame Dobson*	1684

Table 8.21: *till* 'to', *ill* 'to', including *intill* 'into' variants

The *tol* spelling in *Dame Dobson* is interesting; *o*-spellings of *till* are found only in Tatham and Behn's plays in the Scottish dataset.

8.22 **tit** *n.* 'horse'

This word for 'horse' or 'nag' may have a Scandinavian origin, according to OED. EDD finds the word used across England, both dialectally and also as a slang word (with the latter form possibly restricted to the nineteenth century, based on the citation provided). It provides information on several Lancashire sources ("One o'th bowdest riders 'at ever crossed a *tit*").

Examples of *tit* 'horse' can be found in Table 8.22:

#	form	character	play	year
1	**Tit**	Thomas o Georges	*The Lancashire Witches*	1682
1	**Titt**	Tom	*The Lancashire Witches*	1682
6	**Titt (5), Tit (1)**	Clod	*The Lancashire Witches*	1682
1	**Titts**	Lolpoop	*The Squire of Alsatia*	1688

Table 8.22: *tit* 'horse'

In this dataset, this form appears only in the plays of Shadwell.

8.23 **wha** *int.* 'wow'

Wha is described by OED as 'a natural exclamation', and is classified as a feature of northern dialect. OED provides a 1684 quotation, which glosses *whaugh* as "word of Admiration, as God bless us, etc" in Yorkshire. EDD finds it in Scotland, the North Country, and Derbyshire, and gives an explanation of its use: it is "used to express expostulation or as introductory to an assertion; also used when speaking in an encouraging manner to a person". EDD notes that *wha* can also be used to negate a statement or as a prohibition, and that if this is the case it is generally repeated (e.g. *wha wha*). The form is not found in SND or DOST.

Despite these clear indications of 'northern-ness', *whaw* appears in other works of the period, always suggesting regionality though not always suggesting a northern origin. Randall, an old servant from Nottinghamshire in Brome's *A Jovial Crew* (pub. 1652), uses it several times. In an anonymous ballad "to the tune of I'll tell thee, Dick" (1684), "Whaw whaw!" appears in a depiction of a Devonshire dialect. A Welshman uses it as a greeting in a 1700 revision of Fletcher's *The Pilgrim*. Sir Ralph, a "foolish Country knight" in Dryden's *The Mall* (1674) uses *whaw*, and a woman from Buckinghamshire repeats it several times in a joke found in a 1679 reprint of a jest book attributed to Robert Burton.

A list of forms of *whaw* in my dataset is found in Table 8.23.

#	form	character	play	year
12	**whaw**	Parnell	*The Late Lancashire Witches*	1634
2	**whaw**	Clod (1), Thomas o Georges (1)	*The Lancashire Witches*	1682
1	**whaw whaw**	Fidelia (imitation)	*Sir Hercules Buffoon*	1684
1	**whaw whaw**	Lolpoop	*The Squire of Alsatia*	1688

Table 8.23: *wha* 'wow'

In these four plays, *whaw* is used only by the dialect speakers. Shadwell's characters (Clod, Thomas o Georges, Lolpoop) all use *whaw* to express surprise:

> Clod: *Whaw*, what a Storm is this!
>
> Thomas: *Whaw*, quo ay, that's protty
>
> Lolpoop: Odsflesh, here's whaint wark: By'r Lady this is fine! *whaw whaw!*

In *The Late Lancashire Witches*, Parnell is overwhelmed when Lawrence finally comes to her and wants to set a day for their wedding; all of her instances of *wha* occur as they do in the excerpt below, where she is otherwise speechless in disbelief:

> Joan: I'le dresse the dinner, though I drip my sweat.
> Lawrence: My care shall sumptuous parrelments provide.
> Winlove: And my best art shall trickly trim the Bride.
> Parnell: *Whaw, whaw, whaw, whaw.*

Fidelia, impersonating Innocentia, uses *whaw whaw* as a prohibition, expressing her anger and irritation at Squire Buffoon: "*Whaw, whaw*, marra the Devil take thee and thy King Pippin to boot".

8.24 **whoo** *pron*. 'she'

Whoo 'she' is found only in the two plays by Shadwell in my dataset: *The Lancashire Witches* and *The Squire of Alsatia*. A table (8.24) listing these uses is found below:

#	form	character	*play*	year
3	**who (2), whoo (1)**	Tom	*The Lancashire Witches*	1682
4	**whoo (2), who (2)**	Clod	*The Lancashire Witches*	1682
11	**whoo (6), who (5)**	Thomas o Georges	*The Lancashire Witches*	1682
7	**Whoo (3); who's [she is] (1); whoo's [she is] (2); who'll [she shall] (1)**	Lolpoop	*The Squire of Alsatia*	1688
25				

Table 8.24: *whoo* 'she'

These *whoo* forms are, as referenced by OED, reflexes of the original OE feminine pronoun 'heo'. *Hoo* 'she' is found predominantly in the northwest by EDD, and two of the quotations provided there from Yorkshire comment on how the use seems to be focused on Lancashire (e.g. west Yorkshire: "Seldom used except on the borders of Lancashire"). Ray, in his 1674 collection of North Country Words, states that the forms *hoo* and *he* are "in the Northwest parts of England most frequently used for *she*"; Thomas o Georges also uses *he* 'she' once. Here, it seems that Shadwell is specifically indicating a Lancashire dialect, rather than relying on forms found across the north.

8.25 **wood** *adj*. 'crazy'

Wood is discussed in 4.26. Table 8.25 contains a list of all forms of *wood* in the northern dataset:

#	form	character	play	year
1	**wood**	Holdup	*The Northern Lasse*	1632
3	**wood**	Tom	*The Lancashire Witches*	1682
2	**wood**	Lolpoop	*The Squire of Alsatia*	1688

Table 8.25: *wood* 'crazy; furious'

Holdup, impersonating Connie, fears that her uncle will be "right *wood*" after receiving particular news. In Shadwell's two plays, the uses of *wood* are similar, generally collocating with *stark*. In *The Lancashire Witches*, Tom exclaims, "What a dickens is the fellee wood?". He also notes that "by th' Mass who'l be e'en stark

wood an who hears on't" (by the mass she'll be even stark crazy if she hears of it) and that his "Nephew will bee stark *wood*" after drinking heavily. In *The Squire of Alsatia,* Lolpoop notes that Betty is making him go crazy with her affections: "who'll make me stark wood e'en naw" (*She'll make me stark crazy even now*). He also notes that his master will "be stark *wood*" after seeing the antics of his son.

8.26 Other dialect lexis

In this section, I discuss items of dialect lexis that occur in only one play (though the items may appear multiple times within that play).

8.26.1 *Club Law*

billie n. 'fellow, friend'
crag n. 'neck'
lope v. 'to jump'
lurdan v. 'a miscreant; a whore'
scrammel adj. 'lean, thin'
whinyard n. 'sword'

Rumford refers to his friend "good *billie* Collie". *Billie* 'fellow' is classified as a Scottish and northern dialect word by OED. It is found in SND, and in EDD in Scotland, Northumberland, Cumberland, and Yorkshire.

Crag is discussed in 4.6.

Lope is discussed in 4.27.1.

Lurdan is discussed in 4.27.3.

Rumford, seeing his friend Catch, comments, "marrie hee's a good *strammell* lad, Il'e lett him know all". The only quotation in EDD for *strammel* comes from Shropshire, a noun defined as "a lean, gaunt, ill-favoured person or animal". However, the noun *scrammel* is listed in both Lancashire and Shropshire, with

the same definition, and the adjective *scrannel* (defined as ‘lean, thin; poor, worthless’) is found in Yorkshire and Lancashire, as well as in Northamptonshire and Warwickshire.

Whinyard is discussed in 4.25.

8.26.2 *The Northern Lasse*

dow v. ‘to thrive, prosper’
greet v. ‘to cry’
marrow n. ‘friend, mate, companion’
play-fere n. ‘play-fellow, play-mate’

Connie states that “This Lozell *dow* not”. *Dow* is a dialect word primarily found in Scotland and the north (including Durham, where Connie is said to come from), though EDD documents it in Derbyshire, Shropshire, and East Anglia, as well. The first OED citation of this sense postdates *The Northern Lasse*, appearing in Ray’s 1674 work on North Country words: “to *Daw* or *Dou*: to thrive. He’ll never dow, i.e. He will never be good.”

Greet is discussed in 4.27.1.

The song Connie sings contains the line “A bird that was my *Marroe*”. *Marrow* ‘friend, mate’ is still in use in the north and in Scotland. EDD observes its presence from Scotland to Yorkshire and Cheshire, and OED finds it mainly in the north and Scotland as well.

In the same song, Connie also refers to “a pretty *play-fere*”. OED classifies *play-fere* ‘play-fellow, play-mate’ is a chiefly Scottish form, a conclusion attested by EDD, which provides examples from Caithness and Edinburgh.

8.26.3 *Fuimus Troes*

mirk adj. ‘dark’
teen n. ‘harm; anger’
welkin n. ‘the open sky’

wimble adj. 'quick, lively, nimble'

Mirk is discussed in 4.27.1.

The song speaks of the "Fewle mickle *teene*" facing the lads and lasses. *Teen* is given the senses 'sorrow, grief' and 'wrath, anger, rage' by EDD, who find the form in Scotland, the North Country, and Cheshire. These meanings are attested by SND. OED classifies the term as archaic, though it notes that the sense of 'irritation' or 'anger' can be found in Scotland. OED finds the first sense of 'harm' or 'injury' obsolete, and provides a quotation from Spenser's *The Faerie Queene* ("Gainst that proud Paynim king that works her *teen*").

Welkin 'the open sky' is not classified as dialectal by OED (or listed in SND), but EDD finds it in Scotland, Cumberland, and Lancashire.

Wimble 'quick, lively, nimble' is classified as dialectal or archaic by OED, and found in that sense in Yorkshire and Lancashire. The adjective appears in the second line of the song in *Fuimus Troes*, describing the nimble and strong lads and lasses who are "sa *wimble* and sa wight"; this phrase is found in Spenser's *The Shepheardes Calender*: "He was so wimble, and so wight" (OED).

8.26.4 *The Late Lancashire Witches*

con v. 'to know'
mell or make v. 'to meddle or interfere with'

See 4.27.10 for a discussion of *con*.

Parnell angrily confronts another character, stating the following:

> ile ware them to *mel or ma* with a woman that *mels or mae's* ...
> *I'll teach them to meddle with a woman that meddles...*

The phrase "mell or make" is attested as Scottish or as English regional by OED, which provides a quotation from this play as evidence. EDD (*mell* v.2) finds examples in Durham, Cumberland, Yorkshire, and Somerset.

8.26.5 *The Knave in Graine New Vampt*

blithe adj. 'merry, glad, cheerful, joyful'

Blithe, discussed in 4.2, appears once in Antonio's verse.

8.26.6 *The Sad Shepherd*

ken v. 'to know'
kirk n. 'church'
mercat n. 'market'
threaves n. 'a large number'
tike n. 'dog'
whilk adj. 'which'

Ken is discussed in 4.13.

Kirk is discussed in 4.14.

Lorel states that he is able to make cheese to sell in the "*Mercatts*". *Mercat* is the regular Scottish form of 'market' according to DOST, and classified as a Scottish (but not a northern) form by EDD.

Tuck makes reference to Robin Hood's many friends: "his jolly friends, who hether come in *threaves* to frolick with him, and make cheare". *Threaves* is classified by OED as a Scottish and northern form, denoting a measure of shocks of corn but used figuratively to indicate a large number.

Tike is discussed in 4.27.15.

Whilk is discussed in 4.24.

8.26.7 *The Cheats of Scapin*

kibble v. 'to beat'
lug n. 'ear'
snite v. 'to pull (the nose)'

Scapin, impersonating the Lancashire man, tells Gripe that he will beat him:"ay's raddle th'bones on thee, ay's *keeble* thee to some tune". Forms of the noun *kibble* [*kibbo*] are discussed in 8.11. EDD provides a quotation for *kibble* 'to beat, thrash' in Northumberland.

Lug is discussed in 4.17.

Scapin also tells Gripe that he'll "*snite* th'Nase o'thee". The verb *snite* has the dominant meaning of 'to blow the nose', as well as the secondary meaning 'to pull the nose', and is attested as a dialectal word by OED and EDD. EDD finds the form in Scotland and the north of England, as well as in Cheshire, Derbyshire, Lincolnshire, Leicestershire, and Gloucestershire, though the two verbal meanings are not differentiated in terms of their location in the EDD entry.

8.26.8 *The Lancashire Witches*

boggart n. 'an apparition, ghost'
bree v. 'to scare, frighten, terrify'
caple n. 'horse'
clem v. 'to starve'
pleck n. 'place; plot of land'
threap v. 'to argue, quarrel, chide'
won v. 'to live, dwell'

Clod warns two travellers to be on guard, using a dialectal word for 'ghost' or 'apparition': "yeow mun tack a care o your sells, the plec s haunted with *Buggarts*, and Witches". EDD finds *buggart* spellings (of *boggard* 'a ghost') in Lancashire and Cheshire, and finds the term *boggart* used in Cumberland, Westmorland, Yorkshire, Lancashire, Cheshire, Staffordshire, Derbyshire, Nottinghamshire, Lincolnshire, and Worcestershire. OED classifies the word as

being used frequently in Westmorland, Lancashire, Cheshire, Yorkshire, and the north midlands

A terrified Clod states, “I am e’n *breed* aut o my sences”. The verb *bree* ‘to frighten’ is found in Ray’s collection of North Country words. OED classifies it as dialectal, and EDD finds in it Scotland and the North Country (specifically in Lancashire).

The witch Mal Spencer turns Clod into a horse, leading Clod to exclaim, “what con Ay do naw, I am turn’d into a Horse, a *Capo*, a meer Titt?”. *Tit* ‘horse’ is discussed in 8.22. *Capo* is an l-vocalised form of *caple* ‘horse’, a word found by EDD in Scotland, Lancashire, and Cheshire. OED finds the word in wider, poetic use in the ME period, though by the time of this play it had become dialectal.

Clod, stuck up in a tree because of the antics of the witches, wails that “Ayst be *clemd* an I stay here aw neeght” (*I shall be starved if I stay here all night*). *Clem* ‘to starve’ is classified as dialectal by OED, found in the north and in the midlands. Ray glosses the word in his 1674 collection of North Country words, explaining that the term developed “because, by famine, the guts and bowels are as it were clammed or stuck together”. EDD finds the participial adjective *clammed* in Lancashire, and the verb *clam* (v.2) in use in Ireland, the North Country, and in many other counties across England.

Tom Shaklehead exclaims that they have evidence of witchcraft, with an old woman suddenly appearing “i’th same *pleck*” where a cat had just mysteriously disappeared. *Pleck* ‘place; plot of land’ is classified as a regionalism by OED, though the form was in wider use (in the sense of ‘small piece or spot of ground; a plot’) in earlier periods. It appears in Ray’s 1674 collection of North Country Words. EDD finds *pleck* used in the North Country, as well as in the midlands and south.

Thomas o Georges says that one of the women (Gammer Dickinson) "*threped* and *threped*" with him last night. *Threap* 'to argue, quarrel' is classified by OED as (now) Scottish and northern; EDD finds it in general dialect use in Scotland, Ireland, the north and the midlands.

Thomas o Georges tells the constable that he "was at Mal. Spencers House where he *wons* i'th' Lone". EDD finds *won* 'to live, dwell' in Scotland, the North Country, Cheshire, and Derbyshire. OED classifies it as currently dialectal, with most of the quotations from the eighteenth century onwards coming from Scottish or northern texts.

8.26.9 *Sir Hercules Buffoon*

defty n. 'idiot'
Lad Lass n. 'tomboy'
lake v. 'to play'
naunt n. 'aunt'
nuncle n. 'uncle'

Fidelia, impersonating Innocentia, speaks to Squire Buffoon, whom she calls a *Defty*:

> Hang thee thou mun now frown, thou mun smile sweetly on me when I box thee, now thou's my Defty: and wilt thou play finely with me, and not hurt me?

EDD defines *dafty* as "an idiot, imbecile; a madman". It appears to be used here as a (mild) term of endearment. The form appears to be dialectally restricted to the north, with EDD examples from Perthshire, Northumberland, Westmorland, and Yorkshire. SED defines the term as 'a silly person', with only an example from Yorkshire provided. This word appears to be based on *daft* 'silly, stupid' rather than on *deft* 'pretty' (cf. 4.7 and 8.5)

The common diminutive marker -*ie*/-*y* does not necessarily refer to the size of a person or object, but instead indicates familiarity or affection. It is strongly affiliated with, though far from unique to, Scotland; some of the earliest usages of this form are found in the hypocoristics of proper names, which OED traces

back to Scotland in 1400. It is also found in the north. Among other applications, it is also used with common nouns (*boatie*, *lassie*), as well as to form nouns from adjectives, “signifying a person or thing having the quality specified by the adjective, [with] many of these forms being also found in England”, including *daftie* and *sweetie*. Both SND and OED state the preference for -*ie* forms in Scotland. It is a productive word formation strategy even now.

The term *Lad Lass* ‘tomboy’ is used by Fidelia in the imitation scene, when she orders Squire Buffoon to dress up as a woman in order to play a game with her: “Thou mun first put on a Petticoat: my French Woman shall make a *Lad Lass* of thee.” EDD’s definition of *Lad Lass* does not indicate any sense of female impersonation: “a rough, romping girl, a tomboy”. The term *lad-lass* is found in OED in a quotation under another entry (*gauster*, *goster*, v.); the quotation, from a 1736 work focusing on the Isle of Tenet [Thanet] in Kent, lists two synonyms for ‘a goystering Wench’: a Boy-maid, or a *Lad-lass*. Based on this work’s close association with the south, the lexeme would not appear to be marked as northern. However, EDD classifies it as northern, and the quotation provided pinpoints it to north Yorkshire (“Stop in, thou great *lad-lass*”, from Wilkinson’s unpublished collection of dialect words of north Yorkshire).

Descending from the ON *leika*, the verb *lake* ‘to play, perform’ is predominantly restricted to the north. OED states that “its currency is almost entirely northern”. This restriction is also attested in dialect works; in Ray’s 1674 collection of North Country words, *lake* is described as “a word common to all the North Country” (OED). EDD finds it attested predominantly in the north, with examples from Scotland, Northumberland, Durham, Cumberland, Westmorland, Yorkshire, Lancashire, Cheshire, Derby, Nottingham, and Lincolnshire, but also Gloucestershire. Other variant spellings found in Yorkshire include *laak*, *laake*, *laek*, and *laik*. *Lake* is also attested only in the north in SED.

Lake is used by Fidelia while imitating Innocentia as she plays with Squire Buffoon. The younger Buffoon has quickly become enamoured with her and her presumably innocent but sexually suggestive games. She proposes another game, which has already been mentioned before in the play to the great entertainment of the men: "Now my Barn thou mun *lake* at, *Come mother, saw you my cock to day*?". *Lake* is only used this single time. Its use by an imitator may indicate its clear northern associations, as Fidelia would want to ensure her disguise was convincing, particularly with Innocentia being known for her northern dialect.

Innocentia uses *naunt* 'aunt' once and *nuncle* 'uncle' six times, and Fidelia employs them in her imitation three and five times, respectively. These are forms created by metanalysis: 'mine aunt' becomes 'my naunt'. This trait is described in 1640 by the orthoepist Simon Daines as one used by "the vulgar sort"; Edmund Coote, in his *The English schoole-master* (reprinted 1630, and first printed 1596), classifies this process under the category "corrupt pronunciation & writing". *Naunt* and *nuncle* do not appear in DOST or SND, though they are documented in EDD. EDD finds *nuncle* not only in the North Country but also across England (in the North Country, Lancashire, Cheshire, Derbyshire, Leicestershire, Worcestershire, Shropshire, Gloucestershire, Hampshire, Wiltshire, Dorset, Somerset, and Devon).

In contrast, OED states that the later use of *naunt* 'aunt' *is* regionally restricted (though it is unclear when this narrowing took place), providing a 1778 quotation as evidence: "My Nearn, my *Nont*; Nuncle, *Nont* ... are used familiarly in the North by young people to the elder sort, though there be no ... relation between them".[34] The form is also found in one of the works of Walter Scott

[34] In Ravenscroft's play *The London Cuckolds* (1681), the character Peggy is described as "an innocent, and Country-bred", and she uses *nuncle* in the way described by the 1778 quotation (as well as using *naunt* to refer to what presumably is her actual aunt) Peggy bears a passing resemblance to Innocentia in *Sir Hercules Buffoon* (which was published posthumously in 1684, but was likely performed earlier), though her speech cannot be said to be marked with dialect representation aside from the frequent use of *naunt* and *nuncle.*

which is set in England – *Peveril of the Peak* – where it is used by a Derbyshire speaker.

8.26.10 *The Squire of Alsatia*

at after adv. 'after; afterwards'
farrantly adv. 'pleasantly, handsomely, splendidly'

After being given money by his master, Lolpoop exclaims, "give me ten times more and send me whome agen *at after*." OED classifies the use of the phrase *at after* for the sense of 'after,' as northern, and EDD provides examples of the sense of 'afterwards' in the north country, Cheshire, Staffordshire, Derbyshire, and Warwickshire.

Lolpoop is shy around Betty, saying: "I am asham'd, who's [she's] *farincly* a pratty Lass!". *Farincly* must be a form of 'farrantly' or 'farrandly' (with the spelling thus attributed to a typographic error, with a misreading of <d> as the two separate letters <cl>), meaning 'pleasantly, handsomely, splendidly'. OED classifies the word as dialectal, found in Scottish and the north. EDD finds the adverb in Cumberland, Yorkshire, and Lancashire.

Morphosyntax

Chapter 9

In this chapter, I discuss the morphosyntactic features found in the representations of Northern English, following the format and sequence of chapter 5.

9.1 *Ise* 'I shall'

The history and use of *Ise* 'I shall' is discussed in 5.1. Examples from the northern dataset are found in Table 9.1:

#	form	character	play	year
13	**Ise**	Rumford	*Club Law*	1599
3	**Ise**	Kate	*Sir John Oldcastle*	1600
2	**ay's**	Parnell	*The Late Lancashire Witches*	1634
2	**I'is**	Maudlin	*The Sad Shepherd*	1641
4	**ay's (2), Ays (1), I's (1)**	Scapin	*The Cheats of Scapin*	1677
1	**Ayst**	Young Harfort	*The Lancashire Witches*	1682
5	**Ayst (3), I'st (2)**	Tom	*The Lancashire Witches*	1682
7	**Ayst (3), Ay'st (1), I'st (1), Ist (1), Ise (1)**	Clod	*The Lancashire Witches*	1682
3	**Ise**	Countess	*Dame Dobson*	1684
3	**Iste**	Innocentia	*Sir Hercules Buffoon*	1684
5	**Ise (2), I's (2), I'st (1)**	Lolpoop	*The Squire of Alsatia*	1688
48				

Table 9.1: *Ise* 'I shall'

Forms of *Ise* 'I shall' are found 46 times across nine plays. The examples here parallel those in the Scottish dataset, and include Parnell's "*ay's* never be jealous the mare for that", Scapin's "*Ays* find him by'r Lady, an he be above grawnt", and Clod's "by th' mass *I'st* be revenged o'thee".

9.1.1 other pronouns + *'s(t)*

Section 5.1.1 contains a discussion of this construction. Table 9.1.1[35] lists the instances in the northern plays of the clitic *'s(t)* 'shall' used with pronouns other than "I', along with the single instance of *'s(t)* affixing to a non-pronominal subject (*Devilst*, in *Sir Hercules Buffoon*). The table is organised alphabetically by form:

#	form	gloss	character	play	year
1	**Devilst**	Devil shall	Innocentia	*Sir Hercules Buffoon*	1684
1	**heest**	he shall	Connie	*The Northern Lasse*	1632
1	**Hee's**	he shall	Maudlin	*The Sad Shepherd*	1641
1	**whoost**	she shall	Thomas o Georges	*The Lancashire Witches*	1682
3	**thous (3), thouse (1)**	thou shall	Rumford	*Club Law*	1599
2	**thou'st**	thou shall	Innocentia	*Sir Hercules Buffoon*	1684
1	**wees**	we shall	Colby	*Club Law*	1599
10	**wees**	we shall	Rumford	*Club Law*	1599
1	**we'st**	we shall	Innocentia	*Sir Hercules Buffoon*	1684
1	**youst**	you shall	Urania	*Cupid's Revenge*	1615
1	**yeou'st**	you shall	Clod	*The Lancashire Witches*	1682
1	**yeost**	you shall	Thomas o Georges	*The Lancashire Witches*	1682
1	**Yeowst**	you shall	Lolpoop	*The Squire of Alsatia*	1688

Table 9.1.1: X*'s(t)* 'X shall'

Forms with an *-st* clitic are more common here than in the Scottish dataset (where they appear only in the speech of Sauny – *ye'st* 'you shall'). These variants can be seen as in the following examples from *Cupid's Revenge* and *Sir Hercules Buffoon*:

> Urania: ...*youst* quickly heare ont sir
>
> Innocentia: *Iste* be dead Cousin, and if I die weas me, *we'st* never play at Clapperdepouch again

These *-st* forms are found only in the north and north midlands (Westmorland, Yorkshire, Lancashire, Cheshire, Derbyshire, Lincolnshire) by EED. Neither OED,

[35] Table numbers correspond to the section numbers throughout this and other chapters.

EDD, DOST, nor SND discuss the etymology of the <st> reduced suffix; OED only states that the reduced cliticised form is dialectal and found from the fifteenth to eighteenth centuries. One of the few examples of the -*st* suffix in OED comes from Cotton's 1675 work *Burlesque upon Burlesque*, a translation of some of Lucian's dialogues. Here, the examples of -*st* seem to have no dialectal suggestion, despite the OED's heading:

> But hang me if I drink a sup,
> Unless my Boy present the Cup.
> Nay, at each draught, I'le tell thee more,
> **Hee'st** give me kisses half a score .
> Come, come, my pretty Favourite,
> Do not thou whimper for her spite.
> Let who dares vex my Boy, **thou'st** see (Cotton 1675: 59)

The page earlier, the same character uses *thou'dst,* "I know what 'tis, ***thou'dst*** have thy Gripple", so perhaps the -*st* spellings are a variant of these spellings in this work. The other two quotations provided by OED do have clear dialectal associations.

EDD provides a quotation from Robinson's 1876 dictionary of mid-Yorkshire addressing the process ("When the verb or the verb and pronoun together are unemphatic [shall] contracts to *st*"), but neither Robinson nor Wright expand upon the development.

9.2 *Ise* 'I am'

Ise 'I am' is discussed in 5.2. Instances of *Ise* 'I am' are also found in representations of Northern English, and are listed in Table 9.2:

#	form	character	play	year
2	**Ise**	Rumford	*Club Law*	1599
1	**Ise**	Club	*Sir John Oldcastle*	1600
1	**Ise**	Kate	*Sir John Oldcastle*	1600
1	**I'is**	Northern Clothier	*Bartholomew Fair*	1631
1	**I is**	Holdup	*The Northern Lasse*	1632

3	**I is**	Connie	*The Northern Lasse*	1632
1	**Ay's**	Lawrence	*The Late Lancashire Witches*	1634
2	**I's (1), I is (1)**	Fidelia	*Sir Hercules Buffoon*	1684
8	**Ise (7), I is (1)**	Innocentia	*Sir Hercules Buffoon*	1684
20				

Table 9.2: *Ise* 'I am'

Additionally, Rumford in *Club Law* uses one instance of *Wees* 'We are' and one of *thous* 'thou is'. Club in *Sir John Oldcastle* also uses *thowse* 'thou is', as does Lawrence (*thou's*) in *The Late Lancashire Witches*. Innocentia and Fidelia both use *thou's* 'thou is' twice in *Sir Hercules Buffoon*.

In *The Northern Lasse* and *Sir Hercules Buffoon*, both the northern character and her imitator use variants of *I is* 'I am'; compare Connie's "For *I is* weell sure" and Holdup's "*I is* sure o'that", or Innocentia's "Is it the pratty Lord that comes to help me? then *I is* varra well again" and Fidelia's "Why no, *I is* thy Clapperdepouch[36] Honey".

9.3 *Ise* 'I'

Ise for the pronoun 'I', a use described in 5.3 and not attested anywhere but in the literary representations in my datasets, is found only once in the northern dataset, in *Dame Dobson*. This example is discussed in 5.3.

9.4 forms of 'shall' and 'should'

Variant forms of 'shall' and 'should' are listed in Table 9.4.

#	form	gloss	character	play	year
2	**shan**	shall	Lawrence	*The Late Lancashire Witches*	1634
2	**shan**	shall	Parnell	*The Late Lancashire Witches*	1634
4	**sall**	shall	Maudlin	*The Sad Shepherd*	1641
1	**sad**	should	Rumford	*Club Law*	1599

[36] A child's game that Innocentia is known to play, and which Fidelia plays whilst imitating her.

1	**shadden**	should	Parnell	*The Late Lancashire Witches*	1634
1	**shudden**	should	Lawrence	*The Late Lancashire Witches*	1634
1	**suld**	should	Maudlin	*The Sad Shepherd*	1641
1	**shoulden**	should	Clod	*The Lancashire Witches*	1682

Table 9.4: forms of 'shall' and 'should'

Sall is discussed in 5.4.1, and *suld* in 5.4.3. Interestingly, *sall* and *suld* forms, which are found in a total of ten Scottish plays, are only found in *The Sad Shepherd* in the northern dataset, again indicating the Scottish tendencies of the language of this group of dialect speakers (c.f. 9.5).

Shan forms, found in *The Late Lancashire Witches*, are classified as dialectal by OED. EDD finds *shan* only in Derbyshire and Leicestershire. Forms with the *-en* ending, appearing in *The Late Lancashire Witches* and *The Lancashire Witches*, are discussed in detail in 9.7, and also appear in table 9.7.2.

9.4.1 reduced forms

In *The Late Lancashire Witches*, Parnell and Lawrence also use variant, reduced forms of *shall*, listed in Table 9.4.1:

#	form	gloss	character	play	year
1	**ine**	I shall	Parnell	*The Late Lancashire Witches*	1634
1	**theyn**	they shall	Lawrence	*The Late Lancashire Witches*	1634
2	**ween (1), weene (1)**	we shall	Lawrence	*The Late Lancashire Witches*	1634
1	**ween**	we shall	Parnell	*The Late Lancashire Witches*	1634

Table 9.4.1: other reduced forms of *shall*

These reduced, cliticised forms are based on *shan* 'shall', discussed in 9.4.

9.5 *-and* present participle suffix

A discussion of the etymology and use of this suffix are presented in 5.5.

Contrasting to the use of the form in a variety of contexts in *The Valiant Scot*, Jonson uses the *-and* form in a quite different way. In *The Sad Shepherd*, the *-and* type form (once printed as *-end*) is used ten times, eight times by the witch Maudlin, once by her son Lorel, and once by Earine, the woman Lorel is attempting to woo. It is most commonly used as an adjective pre-modifying a noun (six times), twice as a present participle, once to mark present tense and once to mark past tense. Including the uses of the participial adjective, there are eight legitimate forms out of ten instances. The two inaccurate uses of *-and* (*fewmand* '[they] fume, perfume'; *wishend* 'wished') seem to parallel such inaccurate usages in *The Valiant Scot*. I list all ten *-and* forms in *The Sad Shepherd* below:

-and* dataset for *The Sad Shepherd

present participle (2)	
command 'coming'	Maudlin: He is **command** now, to woo
whyrland 'whirling'	Maudlin: While I sate **whyrland**, of my brasen spindle
participial adjective (6)	
barke and 'barking'	Maudlin: Withall the **barke and** parish tykes set at her
fugeand 'fuguing, ever-present'	Maudlin: Be mickell i'their eye, frequent, and **fugeand**
pleasand 'pleasing'	Maudlin: Hee suld present them with mare **pleasand** things
stinkand 'stinking'	Maudlin: With twa hedge-hoggs! A **stinkand** brock?
swilland 'swelling'	Maudlin: The **Swilland** Dropsie enter in the Lazie Cuke
trilland 'trilling' (from	Lorel: Twa **trilland** brookes, each his spring) doth meet
present tense (1)	
fewmand 'fume, perfume'	Earine: Gar take them hence: they **fewmand** all the claithes
past tense (1)	
wishend 'wished'	Maudlin: A tu luckie end Shee **wishend** thee

One of the incorrect uses of *-and* (*fewmand*) can be explained by the context: Earine is mocking Lorel and his speech, and as a non-native speaker of this particular dialect she makes several mistakes in terms of dialectal features. The

other incorrect use (*wishend*) may be a simple case of a misprint for *wished*, which occurs in the line above:

> Lorel: Did you heare this? Shee *wish'd* mee at the feind,
>   With all my presents!
>
> Maudlin: A tu luckie end
>   Shee *wishend* thee, fowle Limmer! Drittie Lowne!

As noted previously, *The Sad Shepherd*'s setting is too far south to be 'northern', but the dialect representation seems to place the characters in the north. As stated in 5.5, EDG (§437) finds a distinction in the realisations of present participles and gerunds (in parts of Northumberland, north Cumberland, southern Scotland and a 'few other Scots' "the present participle ends in *ən*, from older *and*, and the verbal noun ends in *in* from older *ing*"), so it may be possible that these features were found in the north of England in the seventeenth century.

Wales (2010: 73) believes that Jonson's use of this feature is intentionally archaic, and possibly influenced by Spenser's use of this feature. Spenser uses it in *The Shepheardes Calender*, a poem with a pastoral setting and featuring, as the title indicates, shepherds, both of which appear in Jonson's *The Sad Shepherd*. This influence may be echoed in *The Valiant Scot*, discussed in 5.5.1, especially considering that the author of *The Valiant Scot* took his storyline from a medieval poem (Blind Harry's 'Wallace', written around 1470 and first published in 1508). Compared to the use of the -*and* suffix in *The Valiant Scot*, the use in *The Sad Shepherd* is more accurate; whether Jonson was influenced either consciously or unconsciously by Spenser, perhaps he also spent time determining the behaviour of the dialect feature.

9.6 forms of 'be'

Variant forms of *be* in the Scottish dataset are analysed in 5.6. The only variant forms of *be* in the northern dataset are found in *The Late Lancashire Witches*, where Parnell and Lawrence use -*n* forms of the verb 'be', as listed in Table 9.6:

#	form	gloss	character	play	year
3	**been (1), bene (1), bin (1)**	be (are)	**Parnell**	*The Late Lancashire Witches*	1634
1	**been**	be (are)	**Lawrence**	*The Late Lancashire Witches*	1634

Table 9.6: -*n* forms of 'be'

In all four cases, *been* (and its variant spellings) are used in the sense of 'are', as in the following exchange:

> Bantam. The world's well mended here; we cannot but rejoyce to see this, Lawrence.
> Lawrence: And you *been* welcome to it Gentlemen.
> Parnell: And we *been* glad we han it for you.

LAE shows *bin* forms of 'I am', 'you are', 'she is' in maps M1, M2, and M3, respectively. These forms all occur only in the northwest midlands; '(I) am' is found in Shropshire, south Cheshire, north Worcestershire, and southwest Staffordshire. EDD shows *bin* forms for the plural in Lancashire and south Cheshire. LALME shows *been*, *ben*, and *bene* spellings for 'are' across Britain.

The -*en* suffix is frequently used in the representations of Northern English, as discussed in 9.7.

9.7 -(*e)n* suffix

The -*en* suffix is used on a variety of verbal forms in five plays: two authored (or co-authored) by Brome (*The Northern Lasse* and *The Late Lancashire Witches*), Shadwell's two plays (*The Lancashire Witches* and *The Squire of Alsatia*), and Otway's *The Cheats of Scapin.*

Wales (2006: 122) notes the prevalence of 'traditional' *-en* past participles in representations of Lancashire dialect. In my dataset, many verbal forms are marked with the *-en* suffix, not only the participial forms. These forms are unusual, and often not predicted by reference works; in fact, *-(e)n* is usually lost in the north in both past participles and in the present indicative plural, for example, and is not historically used to mark the singular. Tables 9.7.1 to 9.7.5 list all the instances of verbal forms with *-en* suffixes, arranged chronologically by category: infinitives, modals, past participles, past indicative, and present indicative (singular and plural). In Tables 9.7.2, 9.7.4, and 9.7.5, person is marked in brackets.

#	form	gloss	category	character	play	year
1	**teln**	tell	infinitive	Lawrence	*The Late Lancashire Witches*	1634
1	**doone**	do	infinitive	Parnell	*The Late Lancashire Witches*	1634
1	**han**	have	infinitive	Lolpoop	*The Squire of Alsatia*	1688

Table 9.7.1: *-en* suffix, infinitive forms

#	form	gloss	category	character	play	year
1	**shadden**	should	modal (3rd sg)	Parnell	*The Late Lancashire Witches*	1634
1	**shudden**	should	modal (1st pl)	Lawrence	*The Late Lancashire Witches*	1634
1	**shoulden**	should	modal (2nd sg)	Clod	*The Lancashire Witches*	1682
1	**wun**	will	modal (2nd sg)	Lawrence	*The Late Lancashire Witches*	1634
1	**wodden**	would	modal (2nd sg)	Parnell	*The Late Lancashire Witches*	1634
1	**wouden**	would	modal (2nd sg)	Clod	*The Lancashire Witches*	1682
2	**wooden (1), wouden (1)**	would	modal (3rd pl, 2nd sg)	Lolpoop	*The Squire of Alsatia*	1688

Table 9.7.2: *-en* suffix, modals

#	form	gloss	category	character	play	year
1	**casten**	cast	past participle	Parnell	*The Late Lancashire Witches*	1634
2	**drunken**	drunk	past participle	Tom	*The Lancashire Witches*	1682
1	**drunken**	drunk	past participle	Young Harfort	*The Lancashire Witches*	1682
3	**drunken**	drunk	past participle	Lolpoop	*The Squire of Alsatia*	1688
1	**forgetten**	forgotten	past participle	Parnell	*The Late Lancashire Witches*	1634
1	**getten**	gotten	past participle	Holdup	*The Northern Lasse*	1632
1	**getten**	gotten	past participle	Parnell	*The Late Lancashire Witches*	1634
1	**gotten**	gotten	past participle	Lolpoop	*The Squire of Alsatia*	1688
1	**getten**	gotten/ got	past participle	Clod	*The Lancashire Witches*	1682
1	**getten**	gotten/ got	past participle	Tom	*The Lancashire Witches*	1682

1	**leen**	laid	past participle	Lolpoop	*The Squire of Alsatia*	1688
1	**thoughten**	thought	past participle	Lolpoop	*The Squire of Alsatia*	1688
1	**unbeggen**	unbegged	past participle	Connie	*The Northern Lasse*	1632

Table 9.7.3: -*en* suffix, past participle

#	form	gloss	category	character	play	year
1	**forbodden**	forbade	past ind. (1st sg)	Lawrence	*The Late Lancashire Witches*	1634
1	**hadden**	had	past ind. (3rd sg)	Lawrence	*The Late Lancashire Witches*	1634
1	**hadden**	had	past ind. (3rd pl)	Lolpoop	*The Squire of Alsatia*	1688
1	**losten**	lost	past ind. (1st pl)	Tom	*The Lancashire Witches*	1682
1	**ridden**	rode	past ind. (1st pl)	Thomas o Georges	*The Lancashire Witches*	1682
1	**saiden**	said	past ind. (3rd pl)	Lolpoop	*The Squire of Alsatia*	1688

Table 9.7.4: -*en* suffix, past indicative

#	form	gloss	category	character	play	year
1	**caw'n**	call	present ind. pl. (3rd)	Tom	*The Lancashire Witches*	1682
1	**casten**	cast	present ind. pl. (1st)	Parnell	*The Late Lancashire Witches*	1634
1	**han**	have	present ind. pl. (1st)	Tom	*The Lancashire Witches*	1682
2	**han**	have	present ind. pl. (1st)	Clod	*The Lancashire Witches*	1682
2	**han**	have	present ind. pl. (1st)	Lawrence	*The Late Lancashire Witches*	1634
2	**han**	have	present ind. pl. (1st)	Parnell	*The Late Lancashire Witches*	1634
1	**wanten**	want	present ind. pl. (3rd)	Lolpoop	*The Squire of Alsatia*	1688
1	**den**	do	present ind. sg. (2nd)	Scapin	*The Cheats of Scapin*	1677
1	**done**	do	present ind. sg. (2nd)	Scapin	*The Cheats of Scapin*	1677
1	**don**	do	present ind. sg. (2nd)	Thomas o Georges	*The Lancashire Witches*	1682
1	**done**	do	present ind. sg. (2nd)	Parnell	*The Late Lancashire Witches*	1634
3	**don (1), done (2)**	do	present ind. sg. (2nd)	Lolpoop	*The Squire of Alsatia*	1688
1	**han**	have	present ind. sg (2nd)	Clod	*The Lancashire Witches*	1682
5	**han (3), han' (2)**	have	present ind. sg. (1st, 2nd)	Parnell	*The Late Lancashire Witches*	1634
1	**han**	have	present ind. sg. (2nd)	Lolpoop	*The Squire of Alsatia*	1688
1	**jeern**	jeer	present ind. sg. (2nd)	Lolpoop	*The Squire of Alsatia*	1688
1	**kissen**	kiss	present ind. sg. (2nd)	Lolpoop	*The Squire of Alsatia*	1688
1	**knawn**	know	present ind. sg. (2nd)	Scapin	*The Cheats of Scapin*	1677
1	**maken**	make	present ind. sg. (2nd)	Lolpoop	*The Squire of Alsatia*	1688
1	**mistaken**	mistake	present ind. sg. (2nd)	Lolpoop	*The Squire of Alsatia*	1688
1	**pleasen**	please	present ind. sg. (2nd)	Lolpoop	*The Squire of Alsatia*	1688
1	**prayen**	pray	present ind. sg. (1st)	Parnell	*The Late Lancashire Witches*	1634
1	**prayn**	pray	present ind. sg. (1st)	Lawrence	*The Late Lancashire Witches*	1634
1	**sayn**	say	present ind. sg. (2nd)	Scapin	*The Cheats of Scapin*	1677
1	**Sayn**	say	present ind. sg. (2nd)	Parnell	*The Late Lancashire Witches*	1634

3	**sen (2), saen (1)**	say	present ind. sg. (2nd)	Lolpoop	*The Squire of Alsatia*	1688
1	**seen**	see	present ind. sg. (2nd)	Lolpoop	*The Squire of Alsatia*	1688
1	**takken**	take	present ind. sg. (2nd)	Lolpoop	*The Squire of Alsatia*	1688

Table 9.7.5: -*(e)n* suffix, present ind. pl. and sing. forms

These -*en* forms occur in only five plays. They are most common in *The Late Lancashire Witches* (25 instances) and *The Squire of Alsatia* (26 instances); they appear 16 times in *The Lancashire Witches*, four times in *The Cheats of Scapin*, and twice in *The Northern Lasse*. Four of these plays (*The Late Lancashire Witches*, *The Lancashire Witches*, *The Cheats of Scapin*, and *The Squire of Alsatia*), a Lancashire dialect is intended; as Wales (2006: 122) notes, Dickens also uses the suffix (at least in participles) in the Lancashire dialect of Stephen Blackpool in *Hard Times* (1854), and the feature also is noted by *Tim Bobbin.* So, it is possible that the playwrights had noted a legitimate form in Lancashire and tried to indicate the more specific Lancashire dialect as opposed to a type of 'General Northern' dialect. However, in these plays the -*en* suffix is much more pervasive than expected

As seen in Table 9.7.1, this suffix is found on an infinitive twice in *The Late Lancashire Witches* and once in *The Squire of Alsatia*:

> and I shan ***teln*** yeou
> *and I shall* ***tell*** *you*.
>
> Thus wodden yeou ***doone*** and I were dead
> *This would you* ***do*** *if I were dead*
> To be drunken each night, breake Windows, Roar, Sing and Swear i'th' Streets; go to Loggerheads with the Constable and the Watch, ***han*** Harlots in Gold and Silver Lace
> *...* ***have*** *harlots in gold and silver lace*

This -*en* suffix also appears on modals, as seen in Table 9.7.2, found on forms of 'should', 'would', and 'will' in *The Late Lancashire Witches* and Shadwell's plays. This suffix is used on both singular and plural forms. For example, Lolpoop uses

several -*en* forms in both of the following lines from *The Squire of Alsatia*, including *wooden* 'would' (pl.) and *wouden* 'would' (sg.):

> ... they saiden Squire Belfond had done it, and Ravish'd a Wench: and that they hadden gotten the Lord Chief Justice Warren for you, and **wooden** bring a pawr of Actions against yeow
>
> ... By'r Lady yeow were so fow drunken last neeght I had thoughten yeow **wouden** ha leen a bed aw th' morn.

Singular forms with the -*en* suffix are historically unexpected in the language in general. In EDD, -*n* forms are attested in the plural for 'should', with *should'n* attested in Lancashire and *shuden* found in Lancashire and Cheshire. In LALME questionnaire numbers 23 and 25, forms of *should* and *would* with -*(V)n* are typically found in the midlands, not the north. For example, *schulden* is found in Bedfordshire, Buckinghamshire, Cambridgeshire, Cheshire, Derbyshire, the Isle of Ely, Huntingdon, Leicestershire, Lincolnshire, Norfolk, Northamptonshire, Nottinghamshire, Shropshire, the Soke of Peterborough, Staffordshire, Warwickshire, and in the West Riding of Yorkshire; *sulden* is found in Norfolk and Staffordshire.

Table 9.7.3 shows past participles with -*en*. It is striking that the past participial form with an -*(e)n* suffix is a marked northernism in this dataset; in ME, the loss of -*n* in the past participle is a northern characteristic and retention of it is a southern one (see LALME #63).

The past indicative forms marked with -*en*, shown in Table 9.7.4, are also not attested in LALME for the north. Questionnaire #61 shows that -*(V)n* is used only rarely to mark weak preterite plural in the north (e.g. -*en* is attested in one text each from Lancashire and Norfolk); questionnaire #62 shows that the strong preterite plural form in the southern data was predominantly marked with -*Vn* (e.g. -*en*, -*in*, -*yn*). This information does not explain the use of the -*en* suffix to mark past tense singular, as found in this example from *The Late Lancashire Witches*:

I ***forbodden*** yeow to meddle with the old carle

In four plays (*The Late Lancashire Witches*, *The Lancashire Witches*, *The Cheats of Scapin*, and *The Squire of Alsatia*), -*(e)n* is used for both singular and plural forms in the present indicative, as seen in Table 9.7.5. Sometimes the same verb is used in both contexts. Parnell in *The Late Lancashire Witches* uses *han* 'have' seven times in the present indicative, five times in the singular (four times with 'I', once with 'you'), and twice for the plural (with 'we'). Her husband Lawrence uses *han* for the first person plural present indicative twice. This situation is paralleled in the later play *The Lancashire Witches*, where Clod twice uses *han* for the first person plural present indicative and once with the second person singular, with Tom using it once with 'we'.

These particular -*(e)n* endings do not seem to be attested in the north. King (1997: 175) states that, in the ME period, the -*(e)n* ending for the present indicative plural occurred only in the South; in contrast, Northern English generally marked all persons and number with -*(i/e)s,* except when subject to the Northern Present Tense Rule. LALME (#59) finds no -*n* endings for the 3rd person singular present indicative form, and also shows that the present plural -*en* ending is more typically a Midland feature, with -*es* being much more common in the north (questionnaire #60).

While certain modals were marked with -*en* in the plural in the north, most of the verbal forms depicted with the same suffix are not attested in other sources. The data presented by all five plays seems to suggest that the playwrights generally associated the -*(e)n* ending with the north, perhaps because it sounded 'rustic' or 'archaic' (-*en* forms are found in Chaucer, for instance; a search of EEBO shows that almost all verbal forms with -*en* suffixes in EMod texts are found in quotations of Chaucer or other older texts, where it marks only plural forms). The -*en* suffix is then over-applied, occurring in contexts where it is unexpected (including in singular forms) but where it still suggests a

sense of regionality in the immediate context of the dialect representation (cf. *Ise* 'I' in 5.3 and 9.3 or *-and* in 5.5 and 9.5).

9.8 Noun plural markers

Plural markers are discussed in 5.8. As in the Scottish dataset, plural forms are not generally marked as dialectal, with only nine dialectal variants found. These forms are found in *Club Law*, *The Northern Lasse, The Late Lancashire Witches*, *The Lancashire Witches*, and *The Squire of Alsatia*, and are, for the most part, the same plural forms as found in the Scottish dataset: *shone* 'shoes' and *eyne* 'eyes', both of which are discussed in 5.8.

Rumford in *Club Law* asks his companion, "is thy *shone* on", and Parnell in *The Late Lancashire Witches* refers to "a new paire o *shoine*". Clod in *The Lancashire Witches* states that he believes what he saw with his "*Eyne*", and Lolpoop, exhausted from his excursions in London in *The Squire of Alsatia*, tells his master that his "*eyne* ake a gazing up and down on aw the fine sights". *The Northern Lasse*'s Connie thrice uses forms of *eyne*: "I saw with both mine *eyen*", "to see my selfe in's *eyen*", and "I had seene with mine *eyne*".

This *-n* ending is also found twice in *seln* 'selves', one in each of Brome's plays, *The Northern Lasse* and *The Late Lancashire Witches*. However, in *The Northern Lasse*, it seems to be used for the singular 'self', when Connie speaks to Mrs Trainewell: " and your *seln* were by too". In *The Late Lancashire Witches*, *seln* refers to the plural 'selves'. Urania in *Cupid's Revenge* twice uses *sen* 'self'; in later editions this form is modified to *selfe*.

9.9 Definite Article Reduction

My dataset contains a few examples of Definite Article Reduction (DAR), now a characteristic feature of Northern Englishes, where the definite article *the* is either reduced to a plosive (/t/) or not realised. Wales (2010: 73-74) finds a

first citation of DAR in 1683, with a zero form in the text of a ballad opera printed in 1736. I find both a reduced form and a zero form from 1600, in *Sir John Oldcastle Part I*: Sir John, imitating the northerner Club, says, "Come, lets *int* stable to looke to our capons", and Club himself later tells the cold Kate to "get in *to fier* and warme thee". Connie, in *The Northern Lasse* (1632) disowns her love, Philip, thinking that he is already married: "Another wife would gar him be put downe *at gallowes*".

Once they figured out how to lift the witch's curse, Lawrence and Parnell quickly were able to consummate their marriage in *The Late Lancashire Witches* (1634): "And this were not above an houre sine, and you connot devaise how we han lov'd *t'on t'other* by now". *Tother* is cited by Wales (2010: 74) as a lexicalised form of DAR. At this time, however, 'tone and tother' do not seem to be restricted to the north, or even to be particularly dialectal at the period. DOST explains the etymology of *tothir*: "the *t* being attached to *other* when *þe* became the general form of the definite article". OED does classify *tother* as currently dialectal, but not all of the quotations provided from the EMod period are dialectal. *Tother* 'the other' is also found in *The Northern Lasse*, where Connie declares that something "deserves hanging worse then *tother* matter". However, Brome frequently uses *tother,* with the form appears in many of his plays (and in the mouths of non-dialect-speaking characters). For example, in *The Late Lancashire Witches*, a non-dialect-speaking character (Gregory) uses *tother*: "hee was at the Ale but *tother* day". In *The Northern Lasse*, *tother* is used seven times by other characters[37] and once by Connie.

In Parnell's line in *The Late Lancashire Witches*, the use of apostrophes seems to indicate a more 'dialectal' pronunciation of *t'other* (and *t'one*). This realisation would contrast with the same phrase in Brome's *The Sparagus Garden* (said by a

---

[37] e.g. a servant explaining typical topics of gossip: "How this Ladies Milk does: and how *tothers* Doctor lik'd her last water: how this Ladies husband; and how *tother* Ladies dogge slept last night"; also, Luckless recounts some gossip by remarking, "shee had a Bastard *tother* day too".

non-dialect-speaking character): "...in one match that held 'em tugging *tone the tother*".

In *The Lancashire Witches* (1682), Thomas o Georges has a passage of dialogue where he appears to use zero forms of the definite article. I provide the passage below, with an italicised gloss:

> and whoo had a meeghty great Cat, a black one by'r Lady, and whoo kist and who clipt ***Cat***, and ay set me dawn a bit (meet a bit) and believe ***Cat*** went under her Coats, Quo ay what don yeo doo with that fow Cat? why, says Whoo, who soukes me. Soukes tee! Marry that's whaint quo ay, by'r Lady what can ***Cat*** do besides?...
>
> *and she had a mighty big cat, a black one by our lady, and she kissed and she hugged* ***the cat****, and I set me down a bit (just a bit) and suddenly* ***the cat*** *went under her petticoats, said I what do you do with that foul cat? why, says she, she sucks me. Sucks thee? Marry that's quaint said I, by our lady what can* ***the cat*** *do besides?*

A few lines later, both Sir Jeffrey (whose dialogue is not marked dialectally) and Thomas o Georges use the unmarked form again:

> Sir Jeffrey: Where did you take *Cat*, say you, together?
> Thomas o Georges: Why, we took *Cat* ith' Lone meet a mile off.

In the same play, Tom omits the definite article: "Flesh that Thunder Clap shook the hawse, Candle burns blew too".

The Scotsman Hob[38], in *The Benefice* (printed 1689, but written *c*. 1640) says "God speed Plough" when imitating the northern clergyman.

Most of these forms seem genuine, and indicate a clear difference between the use of definite articles in the northern dialects and in StE.

---

[38] See 3.17.2.

Phonology

Chapter 10

This chapter follows the format and structure of Chapter 6, allowing comparisons of the data to be easily made. Here, I discuss a collection of the major phonological features found in the representations of Northern English, first focusing on consonantal features and then on vocalic ones, and then discussing miscellaneous forms. Roemer (1998) extensively analysed the phonology of the Lancashire plays (*Sir John Oldcastle Part I*, *The Late Lancashire Witches*, *The Cheats of Scapin*, *The Lancashire Witches*, and *The Squire of Alsatia*); I follow many of her strategies and support most of her conclusions.

10.1 Alveolar Cluster Simplification

Alveolar Cluster Simplification is discussed in 6.1. As Johnston (1997a: 101) notes, this feature is found in more widespread contexts within Scots than within other dialects. I discuss it here in this chapter in order to keep the two chapters on phonology (Scottish and northern) roughly in parallel. Only one instance of Alveolar Cluster Simplification is found in the northern dataset: *growne* 'ground' in a short song recited by Maudlin in Jonson's *The Sad Shepherd*. This word, occurring at the end of a line, is presumably intended to rhyme with *swoune* 'swoon': "Fall in a Swoune, upo' the *growne*".

10.2 *wh-* spellings

Wh- spellings for words spelt in StE with initial *qu-* are discussed in 6.2.

Table 10.2 lists these *wh-* spellings in the northern dataset:

#	form	gloss	character	play	year
1	**whickly**	quickly	Parnell	*The Late Lancashire Witches*	1634
1	**white**	quite	Parnell	*The Late Lancashire Witches*	1634
4	**whyet**	quiet	Parnell (3), Lawrence (1)	*The Late Lancashire Witches*	1634
1	**whaint**	quaint	Mal Spencer	*The Lancashire Witches*	1682
1	**whaint**	quaint	Thomas o Georges	*The Lancashire Witches*	1682
2	**whaint (1), wheint (1)**	quaint	Clod	*The Lancashire Witches*	1682
1	**whaint**	quaint	Lolpoop	*The Squire of Alsatia*	1688

Table 10.2: *wh*- spellings (for initial *qu*- spellings in StE)

Forms of 'quickly' and 'quiet' with *wh*- spellings are also found in the Scottish dataset.

Variants of the adjective *whaint* 'quaint' – with the sense of 'strange', 'cunning', or 'clever' – are found in Shadwell's plays (*The Lancashire Witches* and *The Squire of Alsatia*). OED finds forms with *wh*- spellings in the northern from the sixteenth century; EDD finds *whaint* spellings in Westmorland, Yorkshire, and Lancashire. This feature is found in traditional dialects of the north and in the west of England; SED (VI.7.9) finds *wick* 'quick (of a fingernail)' with initial /w/ in Northumberland, Cumberland, Durham, Westmorland, Lancashire, Yorkshire, Cheshire, Derbyshire, Staffordshire, Oxfordshire, Nottinghamshire, Lincolnshire, Hertfordshire, Somerset and Cornwall.

In addition, in *Club Law*, Rumford uses *wake* 'quake'.

10.3 realisations of <th>

Examples from the northern dataset are found in Table 10.3.

#	form	gloss	character	play	year
1	**togeder**	together	Parnell	*The Late Lancashire Witches*	1634
1	**de**	the	Clod	*The Lancashire Witches*	1682
1	**tiss**	this	Clod	*The Lancashire Witches*	1682
1	**ta**	thou	Fidelia (imitation)	*Sir Hercules Buffoon*	1684

Table 10.3: realisations of <th>

This feature is also discussed in 6.3. These forms with variant realisations of <th> are not found in the Scottish dataset, though there are *tow* spellings of ‘thou’. *Ta* ‘thou’ is attested in the north. EDD quotes Wright’s 1892 grammar from Windhill, west Yorkshire, that states that the form “can only be used interrogatively and in subordinate sentences”. It is so used in *Sir Hercules Buffoon* by Fidelia, when imitating her Yorkshire cousin, and in a question:

> wie wad ***ta*** make a Slut of me...
> *why would **thou** make a slut of me...*

Here, the Yorkshire-born Lacy is probably using a genuine northern form. EDD also finds *ta* ‘thou’ used in Northumberland, Cumberland, Lancashire, Nottinghamshire, and Lincolnshire.

Tis forms of ‘this’ are attested in Lancashire by EDD. OED and DOST find <-d-> spellings of ‘together’ attested in Scotland until the seventeenth century. These forms must have descended, as OED notes, from *-gidir* forms in NME and Scots.

Forms of ‘the’ with initial <d> are found in EDD in northeast Yorkshire (*d’*), Shetland and Orkney (*da*), and Kent and Sussex (*de*).

10.4 v-deletion

V-deletion is discussed in 6.6.

Table 10.4 shows forms displaying v-deletion (excluding *sells*) in my dataset, organised chronologically by form.

#	form	gloss	character	play	year
13	**deale (4), dele (3), deele (5), de’ele (1)**	devil	Rumford	*Club Law*	1599
1	**deell**	devil	Parnell	*The Late Lancashire Witches*	1634
2	**Dee’l (1), Deel (1)**	devil	Tom	*The Lancashire Witches*	1682
7	**Dee’l (5), Deel (2)**	devil	Clod	*The Lancashire Witches*	1682

3	**Deal (1), Deil (2)**	devil	Countess	*Dame Dobson*	1684
1	**Deel**	devil	Lolpoop	*The Squire of Alsatia*	1688
1	**heane**	heaven	Parnell	*The Late Lancashire Witches*	1634
1	**Hea'n**	heaven	Lolpoop	*The Squire of Alsatia*	1688

Table 10.4: v-deletion

Only forms of 'devil' and 'heaven' show v-deletion in this dataset. *Deel* is found in the North Country by EDD; I find no evidence of *heane* forms in EDD or OED.

10.4.1 *sel* 'self' and *sells* 'selves'

Sel and *sen* forms are discussed in 6.6.1.

There are no instances of *sells* 'selves' in the northern dataset. Table 10.4.1 isolates *sel* forms.

#	form	gloss	character	play	year of pub
2	**her sel'**	herself	Maudlin	*The Sad Shepherd*	1641
1	**thy sel'**	thyself	Maudlin	*The Sad Shepherd*	1641
1	**your sells**	selves	Clod	*The Lancashire Witches*	1682
1	**your sel**	selves	Lolpoop	*The Squire of Alsatia*	1688

Table 10.4.1: forms of *sel* 'self'

Sel forms occur twice in *The Sad Shepherd*, and once each in *The Lancashire Witches* and *The Squire of Alsatia*. *Sen* 'self' occurs once in *Cupid's Revenge* . *Seln* 'self/selves' is discussed in 9.8.

10.5 /j/ insertion

This feature is discussed in 6.7. It occurs twice in *The Lancashire Witches.* Young Harfort mentions a "a brokken *Yead*" ('head'), and Clod calls Edward "*Yedard*".

10.5.1 *yate* 'gate'

Yate 'gate' appears once in both Shadwell's *The Lancashire Witches* and *The Squire of Alsatia*. This form descends from the original OE /j-/ for the singular; initial /g-/ forms are from the plural. OED notes that "dialectally the forms with *y* remain in northern and north-midland districts". *Yate* spellings of 'gate' are found by EDD in Scotland and in England, including in the North Country, Cheshire, Derbyshire, Rutland, Leicestershire, Northhamptonshire, Shropshire, and Bedfordshire. Orton (1933: §41.1) discusses [jɑt] forms of 'gate' in his analysis of the dialect of Byers Green, County Durham.

10.6 l-vocalisation

L-vocalisation is analysed at length in 6.8, with evidence from the Scottish dataset found in 6.8.4.

Table 10.6 lists all examples of l-vocalisation found in the northern dataset, organised by play.

#	form	gloss	character	play	year
1	**auready**	already	Northern Clothier	*Bartholomew Fair*	1631
8	**aw**	all	Lawrence (2), Parnell (6)	*The Late Lancashire Witches*	1634
1	**awas**	always	Parnell	*The Late Lancashire Witches*	1634
1	**awd**	old	Lawrence	*The Late Lancashire Witches*	1634
3	**awd (2), owd (1)**	old	Parnell	*The Late Lancashire Witches*	1634
1	**caw'd**	cold	Lawrence	*The Late Lancashire Witches*	1634
1	**faw**	fall	Lawrence	*The Late Lancashire Witches*	1634
1	**faw**	fall	Parnell	*The Late Lancashire Witches*	1634
1	**fawing**	falling	Parnell	*The Late Lancashire Witches*	1634
1	**baudly**	boldly	Maudlin	*The Sad Shepherd*	1641
1	**Baudrick**	Baldrick	Marian (Maudlin in disguise)	*The Sad Shepherd*	1641
1	**pu'**	pull	Maudlin	*The Sad Shepherd*	1641
2	**aw**	all	Scapin	*The Cheats of Scapin*	1677
1	**awd**	old	Scapin	*The Cheats of Scapin*	1677
1	**Kibbo**	kibble [club]	Scapin	*The Cheats of Scapin*	1677

2	**aw**	all	Thomas o Georges	*The Lancashire Witches*	1682
2	**aw**	all	Tom	*The Lancashire Witches*	1682
6	**aw**	all	Clod	*The Lancashire Witches*	1682
1	**awd**	old	Mal Spencer	*The Lancashire Witches*	1682
1	**awd**	old	Tom	*The Lancashire Witches*	1682
1	**awd**	old	Young Harfort	*The Lancashire Witches*	1682
1	**becaw'd**	becall	Thomas o Georges	*The Lancashire Witches*	1682
1	**capo**	caple [horse]	Clod	*The Lancashire Witches*	1682
1	**cawd**	called	Thomas o Georges	*The Lancashire Witches*	1682
1	**haud**	hold	Tom	*The Lancashire Witches*	1682
1	**hawd**	hold	Clod	*The Lancashire Witches*	1682
1	**kibbo**	kibble [club]	Clod	*The Lancashire Witches*	1682
1	**stabo**	stable	Clod	*The Lancashire Witches*	1682
1	**steepo**	steeple	Clod	*The Lancashire Witches*	1682
10	**aw**	all	Lolpoop	*The Squire of Alsatia*	1688
4	**awd**	old	Lolpoop	*The Squire of Alsatia*	1688
1	**fow**	fool	Lolpoop	*The Squire of Alsatia*	1688
2	**hawd**	hold	Lolpoop	*The Squire of Alsatia*	1688
1	**kibbo**	kibble [club]	Lolpoop	*The Squire of Alsatia*	1688
1	**pood**	pulled	Lolpoop	*The Squire of Alsatia*	1688
65					

Table 10.6: l-vocalised forms

Sixty-five forms displaying l-vocalisation are found across six plays. The most common forms are *aw* 'all' and *awd* 'old', occurring 30 and 12 times, respectively. 'All' was also the word most frequently depicted as having l-vocalisation in the Scottish dataset.

Some of the same examples of dialectal lexis (which exhibits l-vocalisation as well) occur in Otway's *The Cheats of Scapin* and in Shadwell's plays: namely, *kibbo* 'club' and *capo* 'horse'. Shadwell's plays feature most of the examples of l-vocalisation in this dataset, with 40 out of 65 examples.

10.7 k-deletion

Words like 'make' and 'take' have reduced variants *ma* or *ta* in a total of five plays. Table 10.7 lists these forms.

#	form	gloss	character	play	year
1	**ma**	make	Urania	*Cupid's Revenge*	1615
1	**ma'**	make	Connie	*The Northern Lasse*	1632
1	**ma'**	make	Parnell	*The Late Lancashire Witches*	1634
4	**ma'**	make	Lawrence	*The Late Lancashire Witches*	1634
1	**ma**	make	Clod	*The Lancashire Witches*	1682
2	**ta'**	take	Connie	*The Northern Lasse*	1632
1	**ta**	take	Clod	*The Lancashire Witches*	1682
1	**ta**	take	Tom	*The Lancashire Witches*	1682

Table 10.7: *ma* 'make' and *ta* 'take'

EDD finds *ma* 'make' in west Yorkshire, north Staffordshire, Derbyshire, and Leicestershire, and *ta* 'take' in west Yorkshire, Lancashire, Cheshire, and Derbyshire. EDG (§340) notes the loss of *k* in these environments.

Forms of 'make' and 'take' with short vowels, as discussed in 6.15.1, are also found in the northern dataset, as seen in Table 10.7.1:

#	form	gloss	character	play	year
1	**mack**	make	Lolpoop	*The Squire of Alsatia*	1688
1	**tacke**	take	Parnell	*The Late Lancashire Witches*	1634
1	**undertack**	take	Parnell	*The Late Lancashire Witches*	1634
1	**tack**	take	Scapin	*The Cheats of Scapin*	1677
1	**tack**	take	Clod	*The Lancashire Witches*	1682
1	**tak**	take	Lolpoop	*The Squire of Alsatia*	1688

Table 10.7.1: *mak* 'make' and *tak* 'take'

EDG (§45) finds a shortened vowel (/a/) in 'make' in Scotland, the North Country, and the Midlands, and in 'take' in the same places as well as in Oxfordshire, Surrey, and Hampshire. Orton (1933: §94) finds [mɑk] 'make' in a Durham dialect, positing that this pronunciation is "derived from ancestral forms with short *a* found in the North already in the ME period". SED (IX.3.6) shows /mak/ variants in all the northern counties.

10.8 /-ŋg/ to /-ŋk/

Devoicing of the voiced velar plosive in final /-ŋg/ clusters is shown twice in *The Late Lancashire Witches: stronk* ‘strong’ and *lonker* ‘longer’. This feature is discussed by Dobson (1968: §367), who notes that it was “regular in the North-west Midlands in ME and is a widespread vulgarism in ModE”. EDD finds *wrank* ‘wrong’ attested in south Lancashire.

These spellings are related to the ‘velar nasal plus’ feature, where the /g/ is maintained alongside the nasal in <-ng> clusters, as in ‘sing’ /sɪŋg/. This continues to be a well-known feature of dialects in NW England (Wells 1982: 365).

10.9 The A/O boundary (OE /ɑ:/ -> NME /a:/) and related features

This feature is discussed in 6.10, and appears in eleven plays in the northern dataset.

Table 10.9 contains examples of the descendants of NME /a:/. As in 6.10, I discuss OE *a:w* forms separately, and subsequently analyse *-ald*, *-amb*, *-ang* forms in separate sections.

#	form	gloss	character	play	year
1	**alane**	alone	Fidelia	*Sir Hercules Buffoon*	1684
1	**beth**	both	Parnell	*The Late Lancashire Witches*	1634
2	**brawd**	broad	Tom	*The Lancashire Witches*	1682
1	**claithed**	clothed	Maudlin	*The Sad Shepherd*	1641
1	**claithes**	clothes	Earine (mocking)	*The Sad Shepherd*	1641
1	**claithes**	clothes	Maudlin	*The Sad Shepherd*	1641
2	**gea**	go	Innocentia	*Sir Hercules Buffoon*	1684
1	**gan**	gone	Holdup	*The Northern Lasse*	1632
3	**geane**	gone	Connie	*The Northern Lasse*	1632
1	**hame**	home	Fidelia	*Sir Hercules Buffoon*	1684
1	**heame**	home	Lawrence	*The Late Lancashire Witches*	1634
1	**whoame**	home	Tom	*The Lancashire Witches*	1682
4	**whome (3), whom (1)**	home	Lolpoop	*The Squire of Alsatia*	1688

1	**maer**	more	Connie	*The Northern Lasse*	1632
1	**mare**	more	Parnell	*The Late Lancashire Witches*	1634
1	**mare**	more	Maudlin	*The Sad Shepherd*	1641
4	**mare (3); maire (1)**	more	Northern Clothier	*Bartholomew Fair*	1631
1	**mear**	more	Countess	*Dame Dobson*	1684
3	**na**	no	Parnell	*The Late Lancashire Witches*	1634
1	**na'**	no	Lorel	*The Sad Shepherd*	1641
4	**ne**	no	Northern Clothier	*Bartholomew Fair*	1631
1	**ne**	no	Countess	*Dame Dobson*	1684
1	**ne**	no	Connie	*The Northern Lasse*	1632
9	**Nea**	no	Countess	*Dame Dobson*	1684
2	**ne**	not	chorus	*Fuimus Troes*	1633
2	**eance**	once	Lawrence	*The Late Lancashire Witches*	1634
1	**eance**	once	Countess	*Dame Dobson*	1684
2	**eance**	once	Connie	*The Northern Lasse*	1632
1	**ea**	one	Lawrence	*The Late Lancashire Witches*	1634
1	**ean**	one	Countess	*Dame Dobson*	1684
5	**ean**	one	Innocentia	*Sir Hercules Buffoon*	1684
1	**eane**	one	Lawrence	*The Late Lancashire Witches*	1634
1	**eane**	one	Parnell	*The Late Lancashire Witches*	1634
2	**eane (1), ane (1)**	one	Connie	*The Northern Lasse*	1632
3	**sa**	so	chorus	*Fuimus Troes*	1633
1	**sa**	so	Connie	*The Northern Lasse*	1632
2	**sa (1), sea (1)**	so	Innocentia	*Sir Hercules Buffoon*	1684
1	**steane**	stone	Lawrence	*The Late Lancashire Witches*	1634
1	**twa**	two	Rumford	*Club Law*	1599
2	**twa**	two	Lorel	*The Sad Shepherd*	1641
2	**twa (1), twâ (1)**	two	Maudlin	*The Sad Shepherd*	1641
1	**tway**	two	Lawrence	*The Late Lancashire Witches*	1634
1	**twea**	two	Innocentia	*Sir Hercules Buffoon*	1684
1	**haell**	whole	Lawrence	*The Late Lancashire Witches*	1634
1	**whame**	whom	Maudlin	*The Sad Shepherd*	1641
1	**wayes me**	woe (is me)	Rumford	*Club Law*	1599
1	**wea**	woe	Connie	*The Northern Lasse*	1632
2	**wa (1), wea (1)**	woe	Parnell	*The Late Lancashire Witches*	1634
1	**wa**	woe	Countess	*Dame Dobson*	1684
7	**weas me (1) , waise me (1), waes me (5)**	woe (is me)	Innocentia	*Sir Hercules Buffoon*	1684

Table 10.9: NME /a:/

A variety of spellings are used to show the reflexes of NME /a:/: <a>, <a'>, <ae>, <ai>, <aw>, <e>, <ea>, and <oa>. Roemer (1998: 59) provides a good discussion of this trait, detailing how NME /a:/ had raised and diphthongised in the north, with Gil's <ea> spellings also suggesting this change. However, the vowel seems

only to have diphthongised in certain environments; for instance, the spellings *na* 'no' and *wa* 'woe' seem to indicate a low monophthong, which would be unexpected at this date. Roemer (1998: 62) looks on Brome's spellings favourably, commenting on how, in "the spellings of OE [a:] words Brome is quite systematic, carefully distinguishing different qualities and quantities of the derived vowels according to environment".

The <ae> spellings are found in the works of *maer* 'more' and *haell* 'whole' are curious, as <ae> usually indicated ME [ɛ:], as Roemer discusses.

10.9.1 OE *a:*w

Forms of 'know' and 'soul' are marked in six plays, as seen in Table 10.9.1:

#	form	gloss	character	play	year
1	**knawest**	know	Rumford	*Club Law*	1599
1	**knaw**	know	Parnell	*The Late Lancashire Witches*	1634
1	**knaw**	know	Maudlin	*The Sad Shepherd*	1641
2	**knaw (1), knawn (1)**	know	Scapin	*The Cheats of Scapin*	1677
1	**knaw**	know	Fidelia	*Sir Hercules Buffoon*	1684
2	**saule**	soul	Rumford	*Club Law*	1599
1	**saule**	soul	Holdup	*The Northern Lasse*	1632
8	**Saul**	soul	Innocentia	*Sir Hercules Buffoon*	1684
3	**saul**	soul	Fidelia	*Sir Hercules Buffoon*	1684

Table 10.9.1: OE *a:w*

These spellings are also found in the Scottish dataset (see 6.10.2).

10.9.1 <-*ald*>

There is only one instance of an -*ald* form marked in the northern dataset: *caw'd* 'cold' in *The Late Lancashire Witches*. *Cald* 'cold' and *caul* 'cold' appear in the Scottish dataset in *The Assembly* and *Courtship A-la-mode*, respectively.

10.9.2 <-*amb*>

Three reflexes of -*amb* are marked in this dataset. Two are found in Brome and Heywood's *The Late Lancashire Witches*: *cocksceam* 'cockscomb' and *weambe* 'womb' ('stomach'). In Jonson's *Bartholomew Fair*, the Northern Clothier refers to his *waimb* 'womb'. These examples do not follow the pattern seen before nasals as in *Loncoshire* 'Lancashire', as discussed in 10.14 because of early lengthening of /a/ to /a:/ (hence, dealing not with /am(b)/ but with /a:m(b)/).

10.9.3 <-*ang*>

Forms of -*ang* are attested in the north in reference works; LAE shows /a/ realisations of 'wrong' (Ph6) and 'among' (Ph7) in Northumberland, Cumberland, Westmorland, Durham, much of Yorkshire, and parts of Lancashire. OED classifies *wrang* as a feature of both Scottish and northern dialects, and EDD finds *wrang* in Yorkshire (and *wrank* in Lancashire).

These -*ang* forms are found only twice in the northern dataset, once in *The Sad Shepherd* and once in the imitation in *Sir Hercules Buffoon*:

> Maudlin: shew your sell, Tu all the Sheep'ards, baudly: gaing ***amang*** 'hem
> *show yourself to all the shepherds, boldly going among them*
>
> Fidelia: yee wad have me wear a ***lang*** tale behind me
> *you would have me wear a* **long** *tail behind me*

There are a few contexts where this feature could have been marked, but is not. Rumford, in *Club Law*, uses 'long' several times: e.g. "Ile laye my legges on my bonny gray nagge and ride as *longe* as ere he is able to stand". In *Cupid's Revenge*, Urania uses the word 'wrong' in one of her first appearances ("to doe you *wrong*"); while this standard spelling is used in both the 1615 and 1630 editions, it is modified to the dialectal *wrang* in the 1635 edition. Urania also

uses ‘long’ and another, unchanged ‘wrong’. ‘Long’ appears in Connie’s dialogue in *The Northern Lasse*. There are also unmarked forms of ‘among’ in the dialogue of dialect speakers in *The Sad Shepherd* and *The Lancashire Witches*.

10.10 ME /e:/

In *The Lancashire Witches*, a small set of words show the development of ME [e:ç] to EMnE [i:], as seen below:

#	form	gloss	character	play	year
1	**neegh**	nigh	Tom	*The Lancashire Witches*	1682
1	**neegh**	nigh	Young Harfort	*The Lancashire Witches*	1682
2	**neegh**	nigh	Clod	*The Lancashire Witches*	1682
1	**theegh**	thigh	Clod	*The Lancashire Witches*	1682

Table 10.10: ME [e:ç] -> EMnE [i:]

In these examples of *neegh* ‘nigh’, *theegh*’ thigh’, it is likely that [e:] persisted, and was later subsequently raised under the Great Vowel Shift (rather than first raising to ME /i:/ and then going through GVS diphthongisation). Johnston (1997a: 72) states that, in the sixteenth century, the pronunciation would likely have been /i:/ across Scotland (with the only variation being found after /w/ or /ʍ/ in certain regions). *Neegh* spellings of ‘nigh’ are attested in north Yorkshire and Lancashire by EDD.

A larger subset of plays shows the development of ME [e:jə] to EMnE [i:]:

#	form	gloss	character	play	year
1	**day**	die	Urania	*Cupid’s Revenge*	1615
1	**dee**	die	Connie	*The Northern Lasse*	1632
2	**lee**	lie	Connie	*The Northern Lasse*	1632
1	**deeing**	dying	Parnell	*The Late Lancashire Witches*	1634
3	**leear**	liar	Parnell	*The Late Lancashire Witches*	1634
1	**breed**	frightened [bree, v.]	Clod	*The Lancashire Witches*	1682
1	**leen**	lain	Lolpoop	*The Squire of Alsatia*	1688

Table 10.10.1: ME [e:jə] -> EMnE [i:]

These forms, except for *day* 'die' in *Cupid's Revenge*, show a monophthongal realisation (eME morpheme-final /e:jə/ became /ei/~/ej/, which then became /i:/ in certain northern dialects). OED notes that this northern form of *dee* 'die' is "still current from Lancashire to Scotland"; EDD shows *lee* spellings of 'lie' in Scotland and the North Country.

10.11 ME /i:/

ME /i:/ is discussed in 6.12. Table 10.11 shows the reflexes of ME /i:/ in the northern plays:

#	form	gloss	character	play	year
1	**aile**	I'll	Urania	*Cupid's Revenge*	1615
1	**taime**	time	Urania	*Cupid's Revenge*	1615
1	**Tayrant**	tyrant	Urania	*Cupid's Revenge*	1615
1	**Paipers**	piper's	Northern Clothier	*Bartholomew Fair*	1631
1	**cray**	cry	Connie	*The Northern Lasse*	1632
1	**devaise**	devise	Connie	*The Northern Lasse*	1632
1	**unkaind**	unkind	Connie	*The Northern Lasse*	1632
1	**whayle**	while	Connie	*The Northern Lasse*	1632
1	**Brayd**	bride	Parnell	*The Late Lancashire Witches*	1634
1	**devaise**	devise	Parnell	*The Late Lancashire Witches*	1634
6	**faire**	fire	Parnell	*The Late Lancashire Witches*	1634
2	**ay-doll (1), aydoll (1)**	idol	Parnell	*The Late Lancashire Witches*	1634
1	**Ay's**	Ise --> I is	Lawrence	*The Late Lancashire Witches*	1634
2	**ay's**	Ise --> I shall	Parnell	*The Late Lancashire Witches*	1634
2	**laife**	life	Parnell	*The Late Lancashire Witches*	1634
3	**laik (1), laike (2)**	like	Parnell	*The Late Lancashire Witches*	1634
1	**laive**	live, adj.	Parnell	*The Late Lancashire Witches*	1634
1	**layves**	lives, n.	Parnell	*The Late Lancashire Witches*	1634
1	**maine**	mine	Lawrence	*The Late Lancashire Witches*	1634
4	**may**	my	Lawrence	*The Late Lancashire Witches*	1634
1	**thaine**	thine	Lawrence	*The Late Lancashire Witches*	1634
2	**whay**	why	Parnell	*The Late Lancashire Witches*	1634
1	**waife**	wife	Lawrence	*The Late Lancashire Witches*	1634
1	**waild**	wild	Parnell	*The Late Lancashire Witches*	1634
1	**Graip**	Gripe [proper name]	Scapin	*The Cheats of Scapin*	1677
3	**ay**	I	Scapin	*The Cheats of Scapin*	1677
4	**ay's (2), Ays (1), I's (1)**	Ise --> I shall	Scapin	*The Cheats of Scapin*	1677
1	**besaid**	beside	Clod	*The Lancashire Witches*	1682

5	**ay**	I	Thomas o Georges	*The Lancashire Witches*	1682
8	**Ay**	I	Clod	*The Lancashire Witches*	1682
1	**Ay**	I	Tom	*The Lancashire Witches*	1682
1	**Ayst**	Ist --> I shall	Young Harfort	*The Lancashire Witches*	1682
3	**Ayst**	Ist --> I shall	Tom	*The Lancashire Witches*	1682
4	**Ayst (3), Ay'st (1)**	Ist --> I shall	Clod	*The Lancashire Witches*	1682
1	**mail**	mile	Clod	*The Lancashire Witches*	1682
2	**smait**	smite	Young Harfort	*The Lancashire Witches*	1682
1	**waife**	wife	Clod	*The Lancashire Witches*	1682

Table 10.11: ME /i:/

The playwrights here seem to use the digraphs <ay> and <ai> to represent an advanced dissimilation of the diphthong, a depiction that is paralleled in the Scottish dataset.

The development of ME [içt] to EMnE [i:t] is shown in Table 10.11.1:

#	form	gloss	character	play	year
1	**meeghty**	mighty	Northern Clothier	*Bartholomew Fair*	1631
1	**leeght**	light	Clod	*The Lancashire Witches*	1682
1	**meeghty**	mighty	Thomas o Georges	*The Lancashire Witches*	1682
1	**meeghty**	mighty	Tom	*The Lancashire Witches*	1682
1	**neeght**	night	Thomas o Georges	*The Lancashire Witches*	1682
2	**neeght**	night	Young Harfort	*The Lancashire Witches*	1682
3	**neeght**	night	Tom	*The Lancashire Witches*	1682
5	**neeght**	night	Clod	*The Lancashire Witches*	1682
1	**reeght**	right	Clod	*The Lancashire Witches*	1682
1	**reeght**	right	Tom	*The Lancashire Witches*	1682
2	**neeght**	night	Lolpoop	*The Squire of Alsatia*	1688

Table 10.11.1: ME [içt] -> EMnE [i:t]

In these examples, the fricative would be lost before /t/, and the vowel lengthened in compensation (Roemer 1998: 121).

10.12 Northern Fronting (eME /o:/)

Northern Fronting is discussed in 6.13. Britton (2002: 222) notes that, in England, the traditional dialectal reflexes are either diphthongs ([ɪʊ], [ɪɤ], [ɪə]) or those which have developed post-diphthongisation or jod-onset [jʊ], [jɤ], and [i:].

Examples from my dataset are found in Table 10.12:

#	form	gloss	character	play	year
3	**dea**	do	Rumford	*Club Law*	1599
2	**gude**	good	Connie	*The Northern Lasse*	1632
1	**luk'd**	looked	Connie	*The Northern Lasse*	1632
1	**shuke**	shook	Connie	*The Northern Lasse*	1632
1	**tuke**	took	Connie	*The Northern Lasse*	1632
1	**cewles**	cools	Lawrence	*The Late Lancashire Witches*	1634
2	**deow (1), deu (1)**	do	Lawrence	*The Late Lancashire Witches*	1634
1	**deone**	done	Lawrence	*The Late Lancashire Witches*	1634
2	**leove**	love	Parnell	*The Late Lancashire Witches*	1634
1	**leoves**	loves, v.	Parnell	*The Late Lancashire Witches*	1634
1	**shoine**	shoes	Parnell	*The Late Lancashire Witches*	1634
1	**seun**	soon	Lawrence	*The Late Lancashire Witches*	1634
2	**Cuke**	cook	Maudlin	*The Sad Shepherd*	1641
1	**du**	do	Douce	*The Sad Shepherd*	1641
2	**du**	do	Maudlin	*The Sad Shepherd*	1641
1	**Gud**	Good	Maudlin	*The Sad Shepherd*	1641
1	**Gud**	good	Douce	*The Sad Shepherd*	1641
1	**gud**	good	George	*The Sad Shepherd*	1641
1	**Luime**	loom	Maudlin	*The Sad Shepherd*	1641
1	**tu**	to	Maudlin	*The Sad Shepherd*	1641
1	**tuday**	today	Maudlin	*The Sad Shepherd*	1641
2	**tu**	too	Maudlin	*The Sad Shepherd*	1641
1	**undu'**	undo	Maudlin	*The Sad Shepherd*	1641
5	**geud (4), gued (1)**	good	Countess	*Dame Dobson*	1684
1	**tee**	too	Fidelia (imitation)	*Sir Hercules Buffoon*	1684

Table 10.12: Northern Fronting (eME /o:/)

This feature can be seen in only six plays, four of them published and/or performed before the Civil War. Appearing 37 times in total in this dataset, it is found most frequently in *The Sad Shepherd*, 14 times across the speech of three

characters (the witch Maudlin, her daughter Douce, and George, one of Robin Hood's men). This is the only dialectal feature marked in George's dialogue: "this *gud* learned Man Can speake her right". Northern Fronting is also shown nine times in *The Late Lancashire Witches* and five times in *The Northern Lasse*. The word most commonly depicted as having Northern Fronting is 'good', as was the case in the Scottish dataset. 'Good' is marked with a fronted vowel in 10 instances; 'do' is marked this way in eight instances. The spelling *dea* for 'do', found in *Club Law*, is also found in plays in the Scottish dataset, and is discussed in 6.13.5.2.

Spellings with <u> are discussed in 6.13.5.1. In the northern dataset, they only appear in two plays: *The Northern Lasse* and *The Sad Shepherd*.

Heywood and Brome use the <eo> spelling to represent Northern Fronting in *The Late Lancashire Witches*; Tatham is the only other playwright to regularly use this spelling, as discussed in 6.13.3. The only common form in these data-sets is *leove* 'love', so it is unlikely that Tatham relied on this earlier work as a source or guide.

10.13 ME /u:/

Reflexes of ME /u:/ in Scotland are discussed in 6.14.

Table 10.13 lists all examples of the reflex of ME /u:/ in the northern dataset:

#	form	gloss	character	play	year
1	**caurse**	course	Urania	*Cupid's Revenge*	1615
2	**thoosand**	thousand	Connie	*The Northern Lasse*	1632
1	**baund**	bound	Parnell	*The Late Lancashire Witches*	1634
1	**naw**	now	Parnell	*The Late Lancashire Witches*	1634
1	**poore**	power	Parnell	*The Late Lancashire Witches*	1634
1	**tawne**	town	Parnell	*The Late Lancashire Witches*	1634
2	**bawt**	but (without)	Scapin	*The Cheats of Scapin*	1677
1	**dawne**	down	Scapin	*The Cheats of Scapin*	1677
1	**foo**	foul	Scapin	*The Cheats of Scapin*	1677

2	**grawnt**	ground	Scapin	*The Cheats of Scapin*	1677
1	**thaw**	thou	Scapin	*The Cheats of Scapin*	1677
1	**Tawn**	town	Scapin	*The Cheats of Scapin*	1677
1	**abaut**	about	Clod	*The Lancashire Witches*	1682
1	**dawn**	down	Thomas o Georges	*The Lancashire Witches*	1682
1	**dawn**	down	Tom	*The Lancashire Witches*	1682
5	**dawn**	down	Clod	*The Lancashire Witches*	1682
2	**grawnt**	ground	Tom	*The Lancashire Witches*	1682
1	**haw**	how	Clod	*The Lancashire Witches*	1682
1	**naw**	now	Tom	*The Lancashire Witches*	1682
4	**naw**	now	Clod	*The Lancashire Witches*	1682
1	**pawer**	power	Clod	*The Lancashire Witches*	1682
2	**oot**	out	Fidelia (imitation)	*Sir Hercules Buffoon*	1684
1	**agraunt**	a ground	Lolpoop	*The Squire of Alsatia*	1688
1	**Caunty**	county	Lolpoop	*The Squire of Alsatia*	1688
1	**caurse**	course	Lolpoop	*The Squire of Alsatia*	1688
1	**dawne**	down	Lolpoop	*The Squire of Alsatia*	1688
1	**Hause**	house	Lolpoop	*The Squire of Alsatia*	1688
1	**Mause**	mouse	Lolpoop	*The Squire of Alsatia*	1688
3	**naw**	now	Lolpoop	*The Squire of Alsatia*	1688
1	**pawr**	power	Lolpoop	*The Squire of Alsatia*	1688

Table 10.13: ME /u:/

Interestingly, most of the examples here use the <au> or <aw> digraph, as opposed to the <oo> spelling favoured by the playwrights writing depictions of Scots. These <au> or <aw> spellings probably indicate a diphthongal pronunciation of /au/; Dobson (1968: §160) describes how these spellings are "based on an advanced pronunciation", a pronunciation not found in StE at this date. As the bulk of these instances come from representations of Lancashire dialect, perhaps they are indicating the different realisation found in Lancashire.

10.14 [a] to [ɔ]/[ɒ] before nasals

The vowel [a] backed and rounded to [ɔ] or [ɒ] before nasals in the West Midlands. This feature is attested in LAE (Ph5), where an /ɒ/ realisation in 'man' is shown in a region stretching from Lancashire south to Herefordshire and Worcestershire and east to Derbyshire and Warwickshire. The same map

shows /ɑ/ in parts of north Yorkshire. EDG finds /mon/ in east Durham, north Cumberland, Yorkshire, and Lancashire.

OED classifies *ony* as the common form of 'any' in the north and midlands. EDD shows o-spellings of 'any' in Yorkshire and Westmorland (*onny*), and in Yorkshire, Staffordshire, and the North Country (*ony*).

In ME, *o*-forms of 'many' are found "in a broad band stretching from Lancashire, through the west midlands, and into the south-west as far as Somerset (roughly speaking the area in which rounding of Germanic *a* before nasals is preserved in Middle English), and also in the far north of England and southern Scotland". In terms of the modern distribution, OED states that "the region occupied by *o*-forms covers the west midlands, Lancashire, northern parts of Yorkshire, Durham, and Northumberland", and cite Kolb (1966) who asserts that forms with/ɒ/ and /ɔ/ can be found in the "far north-east".

Table 10.14 lists all forms showing the development of /a/ to [ɔ]/[ɒ] before nasals in the northern dataset:

#	form	gloss	character	play	year
1	**ond**	and	Scapin	*The Cheats of Scapin*	1677
3	**ony**	any	Connie	*The Northern Lasse*	1632
2	**ony**	any	Lawrence	*The Late Lancashire Witches*	1634
1	**ony**	any	Parnell	*The Late Lancashire Witches*	1634
1	**onny**	any	Young Harfort	*The Lancashire Witches*	1682
1	**bonk**	bank	Clod	*The Lancashire Witches*	1682
2	**con**	can	Lawrence	*The Late Lancashire Witches*	1634
3	**con**	can	Parnell	*The Late Lancashire Witches*	1634
5	**con**	can	Clod	*The Lancashire Witches*	1682
1	**con**	can	Young Harfort	*The Lancashire Witches*	1682
1	**condle**	candle	Clod	*The Lancashire Witches*	1682
4	**connot**	cannot	Parnell	*The Late Lancashire Witches*	1634
2	**conno**	cannot	Clod	*The Lancashire Witches*	1682
1	**connot**	cannot	Tom	*The Lancashire Witches*	1682
1	**Const**	Canst	Tom	*The Lancashire Witches*	1682
1	**hont**	hand	Scapin	*The Cheats of Scapin*	1677
5	**hont**	hand	Clod	*The Lancashire Witches*	1682
1	**honds**	hands	Lawrence	*The Late Lancashire Witches*	1634

1	**hong**	hang	Parnell	*The Late Lancashire Witches*	1634
1	**honckt**	hanged	Lawrence	*The Late Lancashire Witches*	1634
1	**honckt**	hanged	Parnell	*The Late Lancashire Witches*	1634
1	**honged**	hanged	Usher	*The King and Queenes Entertainment at Richmond*	1637
1	**Loncoshire**	Lancashire	Lawrence	*The Late Lancashire Witches*	1634
1	**Loncoshire**	Lancashire	Parnell	*The Late Lancashire Witches*	1634
2	**Loncashire**	Lancashire	Clod	*The Lancashire Witches*	1682
1	**lond**	land	Lawrence	*The Late Lancashire Witches*	1634
1	**mon**	man	Lawrence	*The Late Lancashire Witches*	1634
1	**Mon**	man	Scapin	*The Cheats of Scapin*	1677
5	**mon**	man	Clod	*The Lancashire Witches*	1682
1	**Mon**	man	Mal Spencer	*The Lancashire Witches*	1682
3	**mon**	man	Young Harfort	*The Lancashire Witches*	1682
2	**Mon (1), mun (1)**	man	Lolpoop	*The Squire of Alsatia*	1688
1	**money**	many	Lorel	*The Sad Shepherd*	1641
1	**mony**	many	Maudlin	*The Sad Shepherd*	1641
1	**mony**	many	Countess	*Dame Dobson*	1684
1	**thonke**	thank	Parnell	*The Late Lancashire Witches*	1634

Table 10.14: [a] to [ɔ]/[ɒ] before nasals

This feature is most common in *The Late Lancashire Witches* and *The Lancashire Witches*, and is found less frequently in *The Northern Lasse*, *The King and Queenes Entertainment at Richmond*, *The Sad Shepherd*, *Dame Dobson*, and *The Cheats of Scapin.* The <o> spelling is most frequently used in this dataset to show the rounding of this vowel.

10.15 Miscellaneous forms

10.15.1 *weel* adj. 'well'

These spellings for the adjectival 'well' are also found in depictions of Scots, as analysed in 6.15.3.

Table 10.15.1 lists forms of *weel* 'well'

#	form	gloss	character	play	year
3	**weele**	well	Rumford	*Club Law*	1599

3	**weel (1), weele (1), weell (1)**	well	Urania	*Cupid's Revenge*	1615
10	**weel (2); weell (8)**	well	Connie	*The Northern Lasse*	1632
1	**weell**	well	Holdup	*The Northern Lasse*	1632
2	**weell**	well	Lawrence	*The Late Lancashire Witches*	1634
2	**weel**	well	Parnell	*The Late Lancashire Witches*	1634
1	**weel**	well	Scapin	*The Cheats of Scapin*	1677
1	**weel**	well	Clod	*The Lancashire Witches*	1682
1	**weell a neare**	well-a-nere	Connie	*The Northern Lasse*	1632
1	**well a neare**	well-a-nere	Antonio	*The Knave in Graine*	1640
1	**welladay**	welladay	Antonio	*The Knave in Graine*	1640
1	**Weladay**	well-a-day	Countess	*Dame Dobson*	1684

Table 10.15.1: *weel* 'well'

In *The Northern Lasse*, Connie and Holdup both have two instances of unmarked 'well'.

I have included the examples of 'well-a-neare' and 'well-a-day' in this table. 'Well-a-day' is mentioned in 6.15.3, appearing in Charlot's imitation of Scottish speech in *The City Heiress*. In the northern dataset, both instances of 'well-a-day' and one of 'well-a-neare' appear in imitations of Northern English by non-northern characters in *The Knave in Graine* and *Dame Dobson*.

Conclusion

Chapter 11

The detailed analysis of Northern English and Scots in the 47 seventeenth-century plays in my dataset indicates that the linguistic evidence provided by these literary sources should be taken seriously. The isolation of phonological, morphosyntactic, and lexical forms from a time when there are few primary sources has revealed important information about non-standard dialects of the time. Subject to certain caveats, the results form a legitimate foundation on which to build at least a partial account of regional variation. This analysis also shows that there is variation in terms of the style and content of these dialect representations, as well as variation between the depiction of northerners and Scots (and, in some cases, clear focusing of the dialect representation onto a particular country, e.g. Lancashire or Aberdeenshire), strengthening the case for the authenticity of these forms.

Overall, all representations of dialect in these plays always index 'foreignness' or the 'other' in the dialect-speaking character, marking out his or her language, and thus his or her character, from the other characters. These dialect representations also index a variety of ideas, concepts, and attitudes about the north and Scotland, and of Northerners and Scots: purity; impurity; an quaint, old-fashioned, and archaic sensibility; politeness; authority; honesty; rudeness; violence; cheerfulness; a dour personality; intelligence; and stupidity, among other traits. These qualities are not absolutely predicted by genre (e.g. comedy, tragedy, pastoral) or by the dialect-speaking characters' role in the play (e.g. supporting, minor, central), or by the origin of the dialect-speaking character (whether he or she comes from the north of England or Scotland, or if he or she is imitating a northerner or Scot).

In three plays containing northern dialect representation, a northern dialect is strongly associated with pure, innocent northern girls. This trend begins with Urania in *Cupid's Revenge,* and is also exemplified by Connie in the *The Northern Lasse* and Innocentia in *Sir Hercules Buffoon* (as well as by Holdup and Fidelia, who imitate the latter two characters, respectively). This purity and innocence is also seen in Charlot's imitation of a Scottish lass in Behn's *The City Heiress.* However, though these characters are similar in terms of the values they index (including purity, innocence, femininity, and honesty), their language is far from identical. There are a few common features that appear in all three northern plays, including the use of the *-st* suffix for 'X shall' and *mun* 'must', but, as seen in Tables 9.1.1 and 8.18, these features are not restricted to this character type.

This apparent mismatch is also true for other character types that appear across my dataset – including the rude, belligerent, or fiery Scotsman, for example, or the quaint, old-fashioned rustic. While the characters who share these qualities are similar in a broad sense (and might be what Bartley (1954) would describe as 'stock characters'), their dialect representation is dissimilar in terms of content and structure, though they may share a few common features or similar mannerisms. I continue my discussion about characters in 11.2.2.

One can analyse the dialect representations as appearing on a cline. At one end are features which are salient and authentic to the dialect in question, gleaned through observation of some kind (whether aural or written). The opposite end contains inaccurate dialect features, possibly non-current ones (e.g. those drawn from Chaucer or Spenser, and which therefore can be considered both archaic and regional), or features which could be classified as 'stereotype', and, as Labov (1972: 180) states, one "which may become increasingly divorced from the forms which are actually used in speech".

A form can be both authentic to the dialect of the time and also frequently apparent in dialect representations. Certain forms do occur frequently in representations of dialect and are seen as being typical of Scots or Northern

English. For example, a small set of lexemes show v-deletion, as seen in Appendix A.4, including 'devil' and 'silver'; the appearance of these *deel* or *siller* forms in the dialect representations may be 'stereotypical', in the sense that they are commonly occurring and that they index but that observation does not negate the appearance of these forms or this process in the dialect of the time. These 'stereotypical' forms are different from the non-current, inaccurate forms which function as a stereotype.

11.1 Distinguishing features

For the purposes of my thesis, one relevant question is whether it is possible to determine how people of the time perceived different dialect regions, and whether there were differentiations between the perception of Scotland and of the north of England (and within the north, between the northern counties), or whether the perceived 'North' is more nebulous and contains both regions (and may begin somewhere further south than the traditional six northern counties). In fact, there are general differences between the Scots and northern dialect representations, which allow for the creation of generalisations about the content and structure of these respective depictions.

11.1.1 Scottish features

Characteristically Scots lexical items include *blithe*, *braw*, *crag*, *jo*, *ken*, *kirk*, *lug*, *sark*, and *whilk*. These words (with a few exceptions, discussed below) appear only in depictions of Scots. Phonologically, the Scottish data show monophthongal reflexes of ME /u:/, as well as a collection of Scots consonantal features, including alveolar cluster simplification; /f/ for /ʍ/; *quh-* spellings for /ʍ/; the interchange between /s/ and **/ʃ/** (including *sall* 'should' and *suld* 'should'); /v/ >/ f/; and the presence of /x/. A complete list of these forms can be found in Appendix A.1.

11.1.1.1 Notable exceptions

Notably, the northern dialect of the non-Scottish characters in *The Sad Shepherd* – particularly, that of Maudlin and her children Lorel and Douce – seems to be consistently more Scottish than that of the northern characters in other plays. Their dialogue provides the only example in the northern dataset of the following features and forms:

- alveolar cluster simplification
- the lexical items *ken*, *kirk*, and *whilk*
- *sall* 'shall' and *suld* 'should'
- the -*and* present participial suffix

The presence of these forms and features in the dialect representation seems to corroborate the view of other critics that it is a 'Scottish' dialect in the mouths of English characters. As discussed in 9.5, the dialect of Maudlin, Lorel, and Douce could also have been made intentionally archaic by Jonson, reinforcing the rustic setting and pastoral genre of the play by echoing Spenser's use of these (and other features) in *The Shepheardes Calender*.

Blithe also only appears in the northern dataset once, in Antonio's imitation of a verse-speaking shepherd in *The Knave in Graine, New Vampt*. This could demonstrate the secondary association of *blithe* with a sense of rusticity, as discussed in 4.2. *Lug* appears in *The Cheats of Scapin*, again the only play to feature this word in the northern dataset, and *crag* occurs once in *Club Law*.

11.1.1.2 Change in perception or attitude after the Civil War

Increasingly, a number of high-frequency items of dialect lexis appear to become associated only with Scotland, and do not appear in depictions of northern English. After 1641, *bonny*, *carl*, *gang*, *gar*, *gif*, *lig*, *loon*, *mickle*, and *till* only appear in depictions of Scots (excepting two instances of *gang* and three of *till* in the Countess's imitation in 1684's *Dame Dobson*, which is discussed below in detail, after the tables). These items are included in Appendix A.1. The

following nine tables show the change over time of the use of these forms; with the shaded rows taken from depictions of northern English.

#	form	character	play	year	dialect
1	**bonny**	Bohan	*Scottish History of James IV*	1598	Scottish
2	**bony**	Sir Bartram	*Scottish History of James IV*	1598	Scottish
1	**boone**	Nano	*Scottish History of James IV*	1598	Scottish
2	**bonnie**	Jockie	*Edward IV*	1599	Scottish
1	**bonne**	Rumford	*Club Law*	1599	Northern
7	**bonny**	Rumford	*Club Law*	1599	Northern
1	**bonney**	Gentleman	*The Witch*	1609	Scottish
1	**bonny**	3rd soldier	*Thierry and Theodoret*	1621	Scottish
2	**bonny**	Connie	*The Northern Lasse*	1632	Northern
1	**bonny**	chorus	*Fuimus Troes*	1633	Northern
1	**bonny**	Lawrence	*The Late Lancashire Witches*	1634	Northern
1	**bonny**	Doysells	*The Vow Breaker*	1636	Scottish
5	**bonny (3), bony (1), bunny (1)**	Wallace	*The Valiant Scot*	1637	Scottish
1	**bunny**	Peggy	*The Valiant Scot*	1637	Scottish
2	**bonny**	Antonio	*The Knave in Graine*	1640	Northern
1	**bonny**	Brun	*Hey for Honesty*	1651	Scottish
1	**bonny**	Billy	*The Scots Figgaries*	1652	Scottish
1	**bonny**	Jocky	*The Scots Figgaries*	1652	Scottish
1	**bonny**	Fidlers (Scotch Song)	*The Scots Figgaries*	1652	Scottish
1	**bonny**	Lady Turnup (Scotch Song)	*The Morning Ramble*	1672	Scottish
4	**bonny**	Betty (Scotch Song)	*A Fond Husband*	1677	Scottish
1	**bonney**	Sir Jolly (Scotch Song)	*The Souldiers Fortune*	1681	Scottish
1	**bonny**	Chloe (Scotch Song)	*The Royalist*	1682	Scottish
1	**bonny**	Charlot	*The City Heiress*	1682	Scottish
1	**bonny**	Jockey/ Jenny (Scotch Song)	*A Fool's Preferment*	1688	Scottish
1	**bonny**	Scotch Song	*The Marriage Hater Match'd*	1692	Scottish
1	**bonny**	Musicians (Scotch Song)	*The Mock Marriage*	1696	Scottish
2	**bonna**	Sauny	*Sauny the Scot*	1698	Scottish
8	**bonny**	Sauny	*Sauny the Scot*	1698	Scottish
1	**bonniest**	Willie Beetlehead	*Courtship A-la-mode*	1700	Scottish
2	**bonnily**	Willie Beetlehead	*Courtship A-la-mode*	1700	Scottish
7	**bonny**	Willie Beetlehead	*Courtship A-la-mode*	1700	Scottish

Table 11.1: All instances of *bonny*

#	form	character	play	year	dialect
1	**carle**	Lawrence	*The Late Lancashire Witches*	1634	Northern
1	**carle**	Parnell	*The Late Lancashire Witches*	1634	Northern
1	**Carles**	Peggy	*The Valiant Scot*	1637	Scottish
1	**Carle**	Usher	*The King and Queenes Entertainment at Richmond*	1637	Northern

1	**Karle**	Scathlock	*The Sad Shepherd*	1641	Scottish
1	**Karle**	Wareston	*The Rump*	1660	Scottish
1	**Carle**	Wariston	*The Roundheads*	1682	Scottish
1	**Carle**	Sauny	*Sauny the Scot*	1698	Scottish
5	**carle**	Forgus; mob members; gang members	*Ireland Preserv'd*	1705	Scottish

Table 11.2: All instances of *carl*

#	form	character	play	year	dialect
2	**gang (1), ganging (1)**	Bohan	*Scottish History of James IV*	1598	Scottish
10	**gange (7), gang (2), gangst (1)**	Rumford	*Club Law*	1599	Northern
1	**gang**	chorus	*Fuimus Troes*	1633	Northern
1	**gang**	Lawrence	*The Late Lancashire Witches*	1634	Northern
1	**ganging**	Doysells	*The Vow Breaker*	1636	Scottish
10	**gang (7), gangan (1), ganged (1), gangand (1)**	Wallace	*The Valiant Scot*	1637	Scottish
3	**gang (2), gange (1)**	Friar	*The Valiant Scot*	1637	Scottish
6	**gange (3), gang (2), gangand (1)**	Peggy	*The Valiant Scot*	1637	Scottish
2	**gang**	Usher	*The King and Queenes Entertainment at Richmond*	1637	Northern
4	**gaang (1), gaing (1), gang (2)**	Maudlin	*The Sad Shepherd*	1641	Northern
1	**gaing-night**	Maudlin	*The Sad Shepherd*	1641	Northern
1	**gang**	Lorel	*The Sad Shepherd*	1641	Northern
4	**gang**	Brun	*Hey for Honesty*	1651	Scottish
1	**gaing**	Folly	*The Scots Figgaries*	1652	Scottish
4	**gang**	Jocky	*The Scots Figgaries*	1652	Scottish
1	**gange**	Scarefoole	*The Scots Figgaries*	1652	Scottish
6	**gang**	Wareston	*The Rump*	1660	Scottish
3	**gang**	Squeeze (Scotch Song)	*The Projectors*	1665	Scottish
4	**gang (3), out-gang (1)**	Lady Turnup (Scotch Song)	*The Morning Ramble*	1672	Scottish
1	**ganging**	Betty (Scotch Song)	*A Fond Husband*	1677	Scottish
1	**gangs**	Letitia (Scotch Song)	*The Virtuous Wife*	1680	Scottish
2	**gang**	Chloe (Scotch Song)	*The Royalist*	1682	Scottish
5	**gang (4), gang'd (1)**	Wariston	*The Roundheads*	1682	Scottish
2	**gang**	Countess	*Dame Dobson*	1684	Northern
5	**gang**	Hob	*The Benefice*	1689	Scottish

#	form	character	play	year	dialect
1	**o'regang**	Salathiel	*The Assembly*	1691	Scottish
1	**gang**	Musicians (Scotch song)	*The Mock Marriage*	1696	Scottish
14	**gang (6), gaung (6). gaunging (2)**	Willie	*Courtship A-la-mode*	1700	Scottish
9	**gang**	2 Burg (1); Scotch countreyman (1); 4 (mob member) (1); 6th soldier (1); second woman, running (1); David Hewston (2); 2 man (2)	*Ireland Preserv'd*	1705	Scottish

Table 11.3: All instances of *gang*

#	form	character	play	year	dialect
1	**gar**	Bohan	*Scottish History of James IV*	1598	Scottish
1	**gard**	Bohan	*Scottish History of James IV*	1598	Scottish
1	**gars**	Bohan	*Scottish History of James IV*	1598	Scottish
1	**garr**	Colby	*Club Law*	1599	Northern
2	**garre (1), garr (1)**	Rumford	*Club Law*	1599	Northern
3	**gar**	Connie	*The Northern Lasse*	1632	Northern
1	**gars**	chorus	*Fuimus Troes*	1633	Northern
1	**garr**	Miles	*The Vow Breaker*	1636	Scottish
1	**gars**	Peggy	*The Valiant Scot*	1637	Scottish
2	**gar**	Maudlin	*The Sad Shepherd*	1641	Northern
1	**gar**	Earine (mocking)	*The Sad Shepherd*	1641	Northern
2	**gar**	Brun	*Hey for Honesty*	1651	Scottish
1	**gars**	Brun	*Hey for Honesty*	1651	Scottish
3	**gar**	Jocky	*Scots Figgaries*	1652	Scottish
1	**gar**	Folly	*Scots Figgaries*	1652	Scottish
1	**gar**	Wareston	*The Rump*	1660	Scottish
1	**gard**	Wareston	*The Rump*	1660	Scottish
2	**garr, gare**	a Scotchman	*A Short Representation...*	1660	Scottish
1	**gard**	Lady Turnup (Scotch Song)	*The Morning Ramble*	1672	Scottish
1	**garr**	Wariston	*The Roundheads*	1682	Scottish
1	**gar**	Hob	*The Benefice*	1689	Scottish
2	**gar**	Sauny	*Sauny the Scot*	1698	Scottish
1	**gar**	Willie Beetlehead	*Courtship A-la-mode*	1700	Scottish
2	**gaur**	Willie Beetlehead	*Courtship A-la-mode*	1700	Scottish

Table 11.4: All instances of *gar*

#	form	character	play	year	dialect
1	**gif**	Bohan	*Scottish History of James IV*	1598	Scottish
1	**gif**	chorus	*Fuimus Troes*	1633	Northern
2	**gif (1), giffe (1)**	Friar	*The Valiant Scot*	1637	Scottish
2	**giff (1), giffe (1)**	Wallace	*The Valiant Scot*	1637	Scottish
1	**gif**	Douce	*The Sad Shepherd*	1641	Northern
3	**gif**	Maudlin	*The Sad Shepherd*	1641	Northern

1	**gif**	Scotch apothecary	*The Distracted State*	1651	Scottish
3	**gif**	Scarefoole	*The Scots Figgaries*	1652	Scottish
8	**gif**	Folly	*The Scots Figgaries*	1652	Scottish
14	**gif**	Billy	*The Scots Figgaries*	1652	Scottish
18	**gif**	Jocky	*The Scots Figgaries*	1652	Scottish
3	**gif**	Wareston	*The Rump*	1660	Scottish
2	**gif**	Betty (Scotch Song)	*A Fond Husband*	1677	Scottish

Table 11.5: All instances of *gif*

#	form	character	play	year	dialect
1	**lig**	Jockie	*Edward IV*	1599	Scottish
1	**ligge**	Captain Jamy	*Henry V*	1623	Scottish
1	**Ligby**	Connie	*The Northern Lasse*	1632	Northern
1	**ligg**	chorus	*Fuimus Troes*	1633	Northern
1	**lig**	Parnell	*The Late Lancashire Witches*	1634	Northern
1	**lig**	Friar	*The Valiant Scot*	1637	Scottish
1	**ligs**	Peggy	*The Valiant Scot*	1637	Scottish
1	**liggand**	Wallace	*The Valiant Scot*	1637	Scottish
1	**lig**	Lady Turnup (Scotch Song)	*The Morning Ramble*	1672	Scottish
2	**ligg**	Letitia (Scotch Song)	*The Virtuous Wife*	1680	Scottish
1	**ligs**	Scotch Song	*The Marriage Hater Match'd*	1692	Scottish
1	**ligby**	Sauny	*Sauny the Scot*	1698	Scottish
1	**ligg**	3 Burg	*Ireland Preserv'd*	1705	Scottish
1	**ligg**	2 Burg	*Ireland Preserv'd*	1705	Scottish

Table 11.6: All instances of *lig*

#	form	character	play	year	dialect
1	**loune**	Jockie	*Edward IV*	1599	Scottish
1	**lowne**	Parnell	*The Late Lancashire Witche*	1634	Northern
2	**lowne, loone**	Peggy	*The Valiant Scot*	1637	Scottish
2	**lowne**	Wallace	*The Valiant Scot*	1637	Scottish
1	**lowne**	Maudlin	*The Sad Shepherd*	1641	Northern
1	**lowne**	Earine	*The Sad Shepherd*	1641	Northern
1	**loone**	Scotch apothecary	*The Distracted State*	1651	Scottish
2	**lowne, loone**	Wareston	*The Rump*	1660	Scottish
6	**Loone (3), Loon (1), Loones (1), Loons (1)**	Wariston	*The Roundheads*	1682	Scottish
1	**loun**	Willie Beetlehead	*Courtship A-la-mode*	1700	Scottish
1	**loones**	Mob	*Ireland Preserv'd*	1705	Scottish

Table 11.7: All instances of *loon*

#	form	character	play	year	dialect
2	**mickle**	Ida, Lady Anderson	*Scottish History of James IV*	1598	Scottish
5	**mickle (3), micke (2)**	Rumford	*Club Law*	1599	Northern
1	**mickle**	3rd soldier	*Thierry and Theodoret*	1621	Scottish

1	**mickle**	Northern Clothier	*Bartholomew Fair*	1631	Northern
3	**mickle**	Connie	*The Northern Lasse*	1632	Northern
1	**mickle**	chorus	*Fuimus Troes*	1633	Northern
1	**over mickle**	Doughty	*The Late Lancashire Witches*	1634	Northern
4	**mickle**	Peggy (2), Friar (2)	*The Valiant Scot*	1637	Scottish
1	**mickle**	Antonio	*The Knave in Graine*	1640	Northern
1	**mickell**	Lorel	*The Sad Shepherd*	1641	Northern
1	**mickell**	Maudlin	*The Sad Shepherd*	1641	Northern
1	**mickle (1), muckle (1)**	Scotch apothecary	*The Distracted State*	1651	Scottish
2	**mickle**	Brun	*Hey for Honesty*	1651	Scottish
34	**mickle**	Jocky (15), Billy (10), Billy and Jocky (1), Folly (6), Scarefoole (1), Fidlers (Scotch Song) (1)	*The Scots Figgaries*	1652	Scottish
2	**Mickle**	Wareston	*The Rump*	1660	Scottish
3	**muckle**	a Scotchman	*A Short Representation...*	1660	Scottish
1	**mickle**	Lady Turnup	*The Morning Ramble*	1672	Scottish
1	**mickle**	Charlot	*The City Heiress*	1682	Scottish
5	**mickle (1), muckle (4)**	Wariston	*The Roundheads*	1682	Scottish
1	**muckle**	Scotch Song	*A Fool's Preferment*	1688	Scottish
4	**muckle (3); muccle (1)**	Sauny	*Sauny the Scot*	1698	Scottish
7	**meekle (1), mickle (2), muckle (4)**	Willie Beetlehead	*Courtship A-la-mode*	1700	Scottish
5	**muckle**	2 Officer (1), Scotch countreyman (1), mob member (1), 6th soldier (1), Forgus (1)	*Ireland Preserv'd*	1705	Scottish
1	**mukle**	1 Officer	*Ireland Preserv'd*	1705	Scottish

Table 11.8: All instances of *mickle*

#	form	character	play	year	dialect
1	**til (1)**	Jockie	*Edward IV*	1599	Scottish
5	**till (4), til (1)**	Jockie	*Edward IV*	1599	Scottish
2	**till**	Connie	*The Northern Lasse*	1632	Northern
2	**intill**	Lawrence (1), Parnell (1)	*The Late Lancashire Witches*	1634	Northern
1	**till**	Lawrence	*The Late Lancashire Witches*	1634	Northern
5	**till**	Friar (1), Peggy (2), Wallace (2)	*The Valiant Scot*	1637	Scottish
1	**till**	Friar	*The Valiant Scot*	1637	Scottish
1	**untill**	Peggy	*The Valiant Scot*	1637	Scottish
2	**toll**	Scotch apothecary	*The Distracted State*	1651	Scottish
1	**toll**	Scotch apothecary	*The Distracted State*	1651	Scottish
5	**intoll (4), intol (1)**	Jocky	*The Scots Figgaries*	1652	Scottish
1	**tol**	Jocky	*The Scots Figgaries*	1652	Scottish
15	**toll**	Jocky (8), Billy (1), Folly (2), Scarefoole (2), Fidlers (2)	*The Scots Figgaries*	1652	Scottish

6	**toll**	Jocky (3), Billy (1), Scarefoole (2)	*The Scots Figgaries*	1652	Scottish
2	**intoll**	Wareston	*The Rump*	1660	Scottish
5	**tol (5)**	Wareston	*The Rump*	1660	Scottish
2	**toll (1), tell (1)**	Wareston	*The Rump*	1660	Scottish
1	**tall**	Betty (Scotch Song)	*A Fond Husband*	1677	Scottish
1	**tal**	Swift	*Sir Barnaby Whigg*	1681	Scottish
1	**tol**	Charlot	*The City Heiress*	1682	Scottish
1	**intol**	Wariston	*The Roundheads*	1682	Scottish
6	**tol**	Wariston	*The Roundheads*	1682	Scottish
2	**tol**	Wariston	*The Roundheads*	1682	Scottish
2	**tol**	Countess	*Dame Dobson*	1684	Northern
1	**tol**	Countess	*Dame Dobson*	1684	Northern
4	**intill, intul, intull, 'tull**	Sauny	*Sauny the Scot*	1698	Scottish
5	**tull (2), tul (2), til (1)**	Sauny	*Sauny the Scot*	1698	Scottish
5	**till**	Willie Beetlehead	*Courtship A-la-mode*	1700	Scottish
1	**into'll**	4 (mob member)	*Ireland Preserv'd*	1705	Scottish
1	**to'l**	2 Gang	*Ireland Preserv'd*	1705	Scottish
4	**tu'l**	beggar	*Ireland Preserv'd*	1705	Scottish
2	**tull**	1 Officer (1), 3 Officer (1)	*Ireland Preserv'd*	1705	Scottish

Table 11.9: All instances of *till* 'to'

It is clear that these highly-frequent lexical items, which appear in representations of northern dialects before the civil war, are seemingly restricted to Scots depictions after that point. This development seems to indicate a change in either the perception of these forms or the attitude towards them and towards their speakers after the war (and possibly a combination of the two). As seen in Table 11.1, *bonny* is used in both datasets, but is only found in the northern dataset before 1641; perhaps it had become more associated with the Scots after this date, possibly because of an upsurge in Scotch Songs and the associations with Scots through the ballad tradition?

All of these forms are well-attested in Scotland. While they are frequently occurring and highly salient markers of the dialect, they do not appear to be inaccurate or non-current.

The only representation of northern English after the civil war to contain any of these above nine forms is Ravenscroft's *Dame Dobson*. In addition, Ravenscroft

provides the only example of a Northern character using *Ise* for 'I', a use found in eight plays containing representations of Scots (as discussed in 5.3). Ravenscroft was notorious for his tendency to copy other playwrights; Sherburne (2005: 770) describes this working strategies in the following way: "For invention, which he lacked, he substituted adaptation, especially from the French, or even plagiarism". Langbaine (1691: 418) attacks Ravenscroft for his literary theft, describing him as a "Leech, that lives upon the Blood of Men". It is possible that Ravenscroft copied elements of his dialect representation from other plays (for example, from Behn's *The Roundheads* or *The City Heiress*, both published two years before *Dame Dobson* and each containing either *Ise* 'I', *gang*, or *tol* spellings of 'till' in their depictions of Scots), thus explaining the appearance of these particular lexical items.

Likewise, Northern Fronting is only depicted twice after 1641 in the northern dataset: once in *Dame Dobson*, and once in the imitation of Innocentia's northern dialect in *Sir Hercules Buffoon*. A complete table of all instances of Northern Fronting (eME /o:/) can be found below:

#	form	gloss	character	play	year
1	**gudlie**	goodly	Bohan	*Scottish History of James IV*	1598
6	**guid**	good	Bohan (4), James IV (1), Sir Bartram (1)	*Scottish History of James IV*	1598
1	**guidwife**	goodwife	Slipper	*Scottish History of James IV*	1598
1	**peur**	poor	Bohan	*Scottish History of James IV*	1598
3	**dea**	do	Rumford	*Club Law*	1599
1	**du**	do	Jockie	*Edward IV*	1599
1	**fude**	food	Jockie	*Edward IV*	1599
8	**gude**	good	Jockie	*Edward IV*	1599
1	**gudely**	goodly	Jockie	*Edward IV*	1599
1	**gudenes**	goodness	Jockie	*Edward IV*	1599
4	**pure**	poor	Jockie	*Edward IV*	1599
1	**de**	do	Captain Jamy	*Henry V*	1623
6	**gud**	good	Captain Jamy	*Henry V*	1623
2	**gude**	good	Connie	*The Northern Lasse*	1632
1	**luk'd**	looked	Connie	*The Northern Lasse*	1632
1	**shuke**	shook	Connie	*The Northern Lasse*	1632
1	**tuke**	took	Connie	*The Northern Lasse*	1632
1	**cewles**	cools	Lawrence	*The Late Lancashire Witches*	1634
1	**deone**	done	Lawrence	*The Late Lancashire Witches*	1634
2	**deow (1), de**	do	Lawrence	*The Late Lancashire Witches*	1634

#	form	gloss	character	play	year
2	**leove**	love	Parnell	*The Late Lancashire Witches*	1634
1	**leoves**	loves, v.	Parnell	*The Late Lancashire Witches*	1634
1	**seun**	soon	Lawrence	*The Late Lancashire Witches*	1634
1	**shoine**	shoes	Parnell	*The Late Lancashire Witches*	1634
1	**pure**	poor	Mortigue	*The Vow Breaker*	1636
1	**bludy**	bloody	Wallace	*The Valiant Scot*	1637
1	**bluide**	blood	Friar	*The Valiant Scot*	1637
1	**buke**	book	Peggy	*The Valiant Scot*	1637
7	**gude**	good	Wallace (5), Peggy (2)	*The Valiant Scot*	1637
1	**gudenes**	goodness	Wallace	*The Valiant Scot*	1637
1	**liuve**	love	Peggy	*The Valiant Scot*	1637
1	**luick'd**	looked	Wallace	*The Valiant Scot*	1637
1	**luife**	love	Wallace	*The Valiant Scot*	1637
6	**luife (4), luifes (1), luif (1)**	love	Peggy	*The Valiant Scot*	1637
1	**luive**	love	Peggy	*The Valiant Scot*	1637
3	**luke**	look	Friar (1), Peggy (1), Wallace (1)	*The Valiant Scot*	1637
3	**pure**	poor	Wallace	*The Valiant Scot*	1637
1	**chimley nuik**	chimney nook	Scathlock	*The Sad Shepherd*	1641
2	**Cuke**	cook	Maudlin	*The Sad Shepherd*	1641
1	**du**	do	Douce	*The Sad Shepherd*	1641
2	**du**	do	Maudlin	*The Sad Shepherd*	1641
1	**Gud**	good	Douce	*The Sad Shepherd*	1641
1	**gud**	good	George	*The Sad Shepherd*	1641
1	**Gud**	Good	Maudlin	*The Sad Shepherd*	1641
1	**gud**	good	Scathlock	*The Sad Shepherd*	1641
1	**Luime**	loom	Maudlin	*The Sad Shepherd*	1641
1	**tu**	to	Maudlin	*The Sad Shepherd*	1641
2	**tu**	too	Maudlin	*The Sad Shepherd*	1641
1	**tuday**	today	Maudlin	*The Sad Shepherd*	1641
1	**undu'**	undo	Maudlin	*The Sad Shepherd*	1641
1	**dew**	do	Scotch apothecary	*The Distracted State*	1651
1	**fules**	fool	Brun	*Hey for Honesty*	1651
1	**gewd**	good	Brun	*Hey for Honesty*	1651
1	**gud**	good	Brun	*Hey for Honesty*	1651
1	**bleod**	blood	Jocky	*The Scots Figgaries*	1652
2	**de (1), dee (1)**	do	Billy	*The Scots Figgaries*	1652
8	**dee**	do	Folly (4), Jocky (3), Scarefoole (1)	*The Scots Figgaries*	1652
1	**feod**	food	Folly	*The Scots Figgaries*	1652
1	**feul**	fool	Billy	*The Scots Figgaries*	1652
6	**feul (2), feule (1), feuls (3)**	fool	Jocky	*The Scots Figgaries*	1652

#	form	gloss	character	play	year
3	**feul (2), feules (1)**	fool	Folly	*The Scots Figgaries*	1652
1	**gead**	good	Folly	*The Scots Figgaries*	1652
63	**geod**	good	Billy (16), Folly (2), Jocky (40), Scarefoole (4), Fidlers (1)	*The Scots Figgaries*	1652
4	**geods**	goods	Billy (2), Folly (1), Jocky (1)	*The Scots Figgaries*	1652
1	**leoke**	look	Folly	*The Scots Figgaries*	1652
6	**leoke (4), leokes (1), leok (1)**	look	Jocky	*The Scots Figgaries*	1652
1	**leov**	love	Scarefoole	*The Scots Figgaries*	1652
3	**leove**	love	Billy (1), Billy and Jocky (1), Scarefoole (1)	*The Scots Figgaries*	1652
28	**geod**	good	Wareston	*The Rump*	1660
4	**geodly**	goodly	Wareston	*The Rump*	1660
3	**gude**	good	a Scotchman	*A Short Representation...*	1660
1	**leoke**	look	Wareston	*The Rump*	1660
3	**gud**	good	Betty (Scotch Song)	*A Fond Husband*	1677
1	**leaked**	looked	Betty (Scotch Song)	*A Fond Husband*	1677
1	**gude**	good	Letitia (Scotch Song)	*The Virtuous Wife*	1680
1	**Gud**	good	Swift	*Sir Barnaby Whigg*	1681
1	**Fule**	fool	Wariston	*The Roundheads*	1682
7	**gued**	good	Charlot	*The City Heiress*	1682
18	**gued**	good	Wariston	*The Roundheads*	1682
3	**Guedly**	goodly	Wariston	*The Roundheads*	1682
4	**te**	too (3), to (1)	Wariston	*The Roundheads*	1682
5	**geud (4), gue**	good	Countess	*Dame Dobson*	1684
1	**tee**	too	Fidelia (imitation)	*Sir Hercules Buffoon*	1684
1	**gud**	good	Scotch Song	*The Marriage Hater Match'd*	1692
1	**cuke**	cook	Sauny	*Sauny the Scot*	1698
9	**dea (5), de (4)**	do	Sauny	*Sauny the Scot*	1698
14	**gued (10), gude (2), gud (1), gu'd (1)**	good	Sauny	*Sauny the Scot*	1698
8	**tea (7), 'tea (1)**	to / too	Sauny	*Sauny the Scot*	1698
1	**dinna**	don't	Willie Beetlehead	*Courtship A-la-mode*	1700
1	**mither**	mother	Willie Beetlehead	*Courtship A-la-mode*	1700
28	**tea**	too (16) to (12)	Willie Beetlehead	*Courtship A-la-mode*	1700
1	**deu**	do	2 Officer	*Ireland Preserv'd*	1705
1	**geud**	good	women	*Ireland Preserv'd*	1705
5	**gued**	good	1 Burg (1), 2 Officer (1), 6th soldier (1), Forgus (1), two women (1)	*Ireland Preserv'd*	1705
4	**peaur**	poor	beggar	*Ireland Preserv'd*	1705

#	form	gloss	character	play	year
1	**peor**	poor	Scotch countreyman	*Ireland Preserv'd*	1705

Table 11.10: All instances of Northern Fronting (eME /oː/)

Neither Shadwell nor Otway mark any potential instances of this northern feature in their texts, though there are possible conditions for it in Shadwell's works[39], as seen in the quotations below:

> Tom Shacklehead.: Nay, nay, haud yee, yeou mun ta't in ***good*** part, I did but forget a bit, ***good*** Sir Timothy.
>
> Mal Spencer: I a Witch! a ***poor*** Innocent young Lass, that's whaint, I am not awd enough for that Mon.
>
> Clod.: Wauns and Flesh, what con Ay ***do*** naw, I am turn'd into a Horse, a Capo, a meer Titt
>
> Lolpoop: would I were a whome in my Frock, dressing of my Geldings; ***poor*** Titts, they wanten me dearly.

While it is not necessary for a playwright to mark every aspect of a northern dialect, this omission of a highly salient dialectal marker seems odd. One can reasonably expect Northern Fronting at this time across the north, including in Lancashire, where *The Lancashire Witches* is set and where Scapin pretends to come from. The feature was regularly depicted in the Scottish dataset, and is found elsewhere in the northern dataset. Perhaps Shadwell and Otway are

[39] It is clear that the dialect representations in Shadwell's two plays (*The Lancashire Witches* and *The Squire of Alsatia*) are related, with similar (if not identical) forms and features being employed. At times even the phrasing of lines of dialogue by dialect speakers is similar, as seen below:

> Clod (*The Lancashire Witches*): Stand off by'r Lady, an I lift kibbo once, Ist raddle thy bones: thou art a fow Wheane, I tell o that, thou art a fow Witch.
>
> Lolpoop (*The Squire of Alsatia*): Hawd you, hawd you: And I tak kibbo, I'st raddle the Bones o' thee; Ise tell a that: for aw th'art a Captain mun.

Otway and Shadwell were friends, Shadwell likely helped Otway with his dialect representation, after spending time in Lancashire (Roemer 1998: 42). The dialect representation in these three plays is similar, with the use of less-frequently-occuring forms (e.g. *capo*, *kibbo*) indicating the shared heritage.

reflecting variation within Northern English by not marking this trait, or they may have chosen not to depict it overtly, leaving the possible interpretation of it to the actors.

11.1.2 Northern features

There are also a number of forms and features that seem to characterise representations of Northern English, but not Scots. Included in this subset (which can be found in Appendix A.1) are the use of the *-en* suffix on a variety of verbal forms; the lexical items *belive*, *losel, whaw* 'wow'; *ma'* 'make' and *ta'* 'take'[40]; the monophthongal reflexes of ME /eː/, and the development of [a] to [ɔ]/[ɒ] before nasals. In addition, the use of <aw> or <au> digraphs for the reflexes of ME /uː/ indicates a diphthongal realisation, as opposed to the monophthongal one indicated by <oo> in most of the examples in the Scottish dataset.

Shadwell's plays show the northern lexis *helo* 'bashful', *tit* 'horse', and *whoo* 'she', and Shadwell and Otway's plays feature *kibbo* 'club' and *loan* 'lane'. Brome also uses the term *lessen* 'unless' in both of his plays featuring northern dialect representation. These are the only instances of these lexical items in my dataset. While these lexical items could be classified as 'exclusively Northern', because of the lack of data I have separated them from that category.

Overall, the northern plays feature fewer non-dialectal markers of regionality than their Scottish counterparts, with only a few references to places in the north (e.g. York, Rochdale).

11.1.3 Features common to both Northern English and Scots

There are lexical items, phonological features, and morphosyntactic forms that are common to representations of both Northern English and Scots; these forms

[40] *Ma* 'make' and *ta* 'take' were also current in Early Scots.

and features are listed in a table in Appendix A.1, with a full list of the types and tokens provided in Appendices A.2, A.3, and A.4.

The following features are common to representations of Northern English and Scots in seventeenth-century drama: *bairn; deft*; *gin* 'if'; *mun* 'must'; *sic*/ *sike* 'such'; *sin* 'since'; *wood* 'crazy'; v-deletion; l-vocalisation; the reflexes of NME /a:/; the reflexes of OE /ɑ:w/; the reflexes of ME /i:/; *weel* 'well'*; Ise* 'I shall'; and *Ise* 'I am'. These are commonly occurring features and forms, but, as is apparent in looking at the information in Appendices A.2, A.3, and A.4, the method of depicting them varies both over time and between the northern and Scots representations. For example, this variation can be seen in the different spellings of 'no', showing the reflex of NME /a:/, a frequently depicted element of the dialogue of these dialect-speaking characters.

In other cases, the choice of spelling is limited by standard English orthography, as in those forms that show a diphthongal reflex of ME /i:/ or EModE /i:/, where the intuitive spelling which show the diphthongal realisation most clearly is <ay> (or, less frequently, <ai>).

11.2 Accuracy and homogeneity

From the point of view of a language historian, the quality of the dialect representation in these 47 plays covers a broad spectrum of linguistic accuracy, and there are problematic forms. For example, as discussed in 6.8.5, Behn makes questionable decisions about the treatment of l-vocalisation, as seen in *aud* 'all' and *faud* 'foul' spellings. Section 5.3 documents and analyses the persistent use of *Ise* 'I' and *Wees* 'we', neither of which is attested outside of my dataset. The <oo> spellings in Tatham's plays, discussed in 6.14.1, may be indicating a slow manner of delivery instead of any regional variation. The use of both the -*en* verbal suffix (9.7) and the -*and* present participial suffix (5.5 and 9.5) is flawed and difficult to justify. Yet, even with the presence of these problematic or otherwise unattested forms, the majority of phonological,

morphosyntactic, and lexical forms and features used in these representations of dialect are attested in reference works. This evidence can help to provide information about the development of these forms and features during the EMod period, and for this reason the plays are valuable sources to linguists and dialectologists

There is variation, both across time and between the northern and Scottish datasets, in terms of the spelling of lexical items and also of morphosyntactic and phonological features. This variation throws into question the commonly held view that the evidence of the plays merely reflects stage dialect and suggests that playwrights were (usually) not copying from one another or from other texts in order to create their dialect representations. For example, across both datasets the word 'more' appears with seven variant spellings, all showing the development of the reflex of NME /a:/: *maer*, *mair*, *maire*, *meare*, *meer*, *meere*, and *mere*. In *Sauny the Scot*, 'more' appears in the Sauny's speech six times; one spelling is unmarked, and the other five each have a different spelling:

> I bring you here vera gued Men, an she be nea Dead Sir, for a Croon **more** they'll bury her quick.
>
> Tak her up, tak her up, we'll mak her Dead Billy, ye'st a twa Croon **mear**, tak her up Man.
>
> An yea Caw your sel Jamy eance **meare**, l'se bang ye tea Clootes, breed a Gud will I Sir
>
> And what to anger wou'd ye ha **meer** Sir.
>
> **meere** than Hunger and Cawd. Sir
>
> Gude an yeed give Sawndy ea bang ar twa **mere** e that place, for I can ne're come at it to Scrat it my sel Sir

These different spellings probably do not all suggest six different pronunciations in this play; in general, variation in spelling may not simply reflect variable pronunciations, given the lack of a standard spelling system in

the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, especially away from London. All these dialectal spellings seem to suggest either a diphthongal or long realisation: /ia/ or /i:/; Aitken (2002: 116-117) notes that, in earlier dramatic dialect representations, the <e> (and <ea> and <ei>) spellings for NME /a:/ seem to suggest a mid to high front vowel. The *mair* and *maire* spellings, attested in Scots writings (as attested by DOST and SND) are only found in *Bartholomew Fair*, *The Assembly*, and *Courtship A-la-mode*; presumably here the authors were influenced by the Scots literary tradition for their choice of spelling, particularly as two of the authors (Pitcairne and Craufurd) were Scottish and the other (Jonson) was probably familiar with Scots writing (see 3.3.1, 3.9.1). The inclusion of other forms, like the *quh-* spelling found in Jonson's *The Sad Shepherd*, must indicate an exposure to written Scots. Yet, it is clear that in the Scottish dataset the spellings do not always coincide with those in Scots writing, showing that playwrights were not merely relying on (or copying particular forms from) Scots texts when writing their dialect representation. There is also enough variation in the spelling of forms (particularly those which suggest phonological features) and in the choice of dialect lexis to suggest that playwrights, on the whole, did not use each other's play-texts as their chief source for any linguistic information.[41]

11.2.1 The playwrights

In most cases, the playwrights seem to have spent time and effort in crafting these dialect representations. The suspect cases include Tatham and the playwrights of *Sir John Oldcastle Part I*. Tatham's depictions of Scots, particularly in *The Scots Figgaries*, seems to cross the line from being representative and reflective of genuine speech to being superfluous and prejudiced. *Sir John Oldcastle Part I* contains a small set of general dialect markers, employed to create a general sense of rusticity and buffoonery with regard to the dialect-speaking characters and their imitator. Even in these cases,

[41] See 11.1.1.2 n for a discussion of Otway and Shadwell, and Bliss's discussion of playwrights's practices in 1.2.2 for further discussion.

the dialect representations are not without value, but an appropriate level of care should be applied in their assessment.

Most playwrights possibly were helped in creating their depictions by interacting with people from the north and from Scotland. While the playwrights came from across England and Scotland, most were based in or near London when these plays were first written or performed. Exceptions include Pitcairne, with *The Assembly* written in and for Edinburgh; Michelburne, who continued to live in Northern Ireland when he wrote *Ireland Preserv'd*; Sampson, who probably wrote his Nottinghamshire-focused *The Vow Breaker* while in Derbyshire; and Randolph and Ruggle, who wrote their plays for a Cantabrigian audience. While in London, these playwrights probably had contact with people from across Britain, as discussed in chapter 2. Those working in London during the reign of James VI/I may have had contact with members of his court and may have had the opportunity to hear the king's voice and the voices of his courtiers. The king's Scottish dialect was well-known enough to provoke the depiction of it in *Eastward Ho,* and the outcry over that probably had a dampening effect on the depictions of Scots on stage for the rest of James's reign.

Some of the playwrights also seem to have helped each other with their depictions, with Lacy providing Jonson with a list of northern forms and features (likely used in the creation of *The Sad Shepherd*) and with Shadwell assisting Otway with his dialogue.

11.2.2 Characters

The dialect-speaking characters do not form a homogenous set. They come from all kinds of backgrounds and have a variety of occupations. Seven plays (five Scottish and two northern) have servants whose speech is marked with dialect representation: *Edward IV*, *The Witch*, *The Benefice*, *Sauny the Scot*, *Courtship A-la-mode*, *The Late Lancashire Witches,* and *The Squire of Alsatia*. In the Scottish

dataset there are five plays featuring dialect-speaking soldiers. Other characters either are or imitate members of clergy (Anglican, Catholic, and Presbyterian), politicians, beggars, shepherds, witches, and general country people. Ten plays feature women in dialect roles (not counting the Scotch Songs, which are normally sung by women). While dialect-speaking characters sometimes appear in comedies or for comic effect (e.g. Club and Kate in *Sir John Oldcastle Part I*), they are far from being perpetually limited to serving only as the butt of jokes. One conclusion we can draw from this diversity of character-types is that, during the seventeenth century, the stereotyping of regional characters was not pervasive: as the backgrounds and occupations of these characters differ, so their language does as well.

One can also see the influence of literary tradition in the representation of dialect, particularly in that of shepherds or 'rustics', which follow in the vein of Spenser's *The Shepheardes Calender*. This Spenserian influence, discussed in 7.6.2 in 9.5, can help explain why shepherds in *The Knave in Graine New Vampt* and *The Sad Shepherd* sound archaic, and why the druids in *Fuimus Troes* sing a song in archaic Northern English.

Cultural elements can also influence the dialect representation and the dialect-speaking characters. A Clothier in *Bartholomew Fair* comes from the northern, a choice which draws attention to the strong associations between the north and textile-production. Some playwrights appear to be distinguishing between different counties in the north – particularly, Lancashire, with the notoriety of the Pendle witch trials directly inspiring two plays (*The Late Lancashire Witches* and *The Lancashire Witches*) and one playwright (Shadwell) spending time in Lancashire. The thriving ballad tradition of the north and Scotland expands into a craze for 'Scotch Songs' during the Restoration, with such songs appearing in fifteen plays.

11.2.3 Perception of accuracy

A related issue is the perception of the accuracy of the dialect representation by the other characters in the play or by the audience (or reader). In all cases, the other characters must, presumably, perceive the dialect spoken to be accurate, as there are no examples of any characters questioning the origin or background of any of the dialect-speaking characters. In fact, no one questions the origin of those characters who are, for a variety of reasons, using dialect only as a part of a disguise. Thirteen plays (six Scottish, seven northern) feature characters who disguise themselves as dialect speakers[42]. The disguises of these characters are never disputed; even a group of Frenchmen convince Englishmen that they are actually Scotswomen in *The Vow Breaker*. This unquestioning acceptance of the credibility of the dialect speakers is interesting. One could argue that it might actually hinder the argument for the representations of dialect being 'genuine', as both the fellow characters in the play and the audience do not seem to notice or care when forms and features are used incorrectly. However, I think that that argument overlooks the role of the actor in the interpretation of dialectal roles, an aspect on which I did not focus much in this work. As I point out in 1.2.2, it would be impossible to mark every instance of dialect usage; marking every non-standard feature would make the text difficult to read, thus possibly harder to interpret and understand. In these dialect representations, the playwrights provide a dialectal skeleton, doing so in a way that makes it easy for the actor and the audience to flesh it out correctly.

Wales (2006: 79) suggests that the audience of *The Northern Lasse* may have been familiar with the basics of Northern culture, and thus "willing to be receptive to the play's Northernness". Since ballads and songs from the north and Scotland were popular at this time, and often contained dialect lexis and representations of phonological and morphosyntactic features, it can be reasonably assumed that the audience would have been familiar with certain regional shibboleths, which frequently appear in all of these texts. In addition,

[42] This figure includes *The Benefice*, where the Scotsman Hob pretends to be a northerner (from Cumberland) when imitating a clergyman; the quality and quantity of the dialect representation does not appear to change while he is in disguise.

there is the likely familiarity of London audience with people from Scotland and northern England, as London drew people from across Britain and across the world. As noted in 2.1, Bliss (1979: 181) argues that the average EMod Englishman would have had to have been somewhat familiar with Irishmen and with their dialect for them to find impersonations of Irishmen on stage (by non-Irish characters) plausible. Presumably, this familiarity would extend to other parts of the British Isles, to Scotland and to the north, in particular.

11.3 Critical reception

This thesis follows in the path of Bliss (1979) and García-Bermejo Giner (1997, 1998, 1999), in terms of its methodology, time period, and motivations. In his work on Hiberno-English, Bliss shows that most of the features one would expect to find are, indeed, present in these texts, and, further, that the number of features that are both unpredicted and inexplicable is "very small indeed"; much the same conclusions can be draw about the data on Scots and Northern English. My study has addressed García-Bermejo Giner's idea for a wider study of regional variation in EMod literature, and, as she hypothesized, dialect representation in dramatic works and other fictional texts has proven to be valuable and illuminating linguistically. In addition, this study has also shed light on perceptions of Scots and Northerners at this time.

Blake's (1981: 74) simplistic argument concerning dialect representation (where dialect representation are unrealistic and are primarily intended to show the audience "how to respond to a given character") is punctured by the detailed analysis of the forms and features of the dialect representation of Northern English and Scots in seventeenth-century drama. These depictions are more complex than his theory allows. While the dialect representation *can* index a variety of qualities, such as stupidity or purity, it does *not* solely function on that level. In fact, these qualities and ideas interact with *how* the author has chosen to represent the dialect, and what forms and features he or she has chosen.

Hulme (1937) correctly asserts that dialect representations in Tudor drama are not artificial stage dialects but that they genuinely attempt to represent the dialect of the time, though at times they are necessarily limited in scope. She also (1937: 131) recognises the limits of her study for the field of dialectology, asserting that the evidence from the plays cannot usually point to a specific place, but instead may be indicative of some generalised more extensive region. However, in my dataset there are instances of specific dialects being intended, such as Lancashire (in *The Late Lancashire Witches*, *The Lancashire Witches*, *The Cheats of Scapin*, and *The Squire of Alsatia*, for example) and Aberdeenshire (in *The Assembly*). In these cases, the playwrights are specifically indicating something other than a 'general kind' of northern or Scots dialect.

Bartley's focus was the development of stock characters and national stereotypes in the depictions of Scots, Welsh, and Irish in the EMod drama. As a result, while he provides excellent analysis of some aspects of the representation of Scottish characters, he is incorrect about the conventionality or stereotype of the dialect representation in such plays as *Courtship A-la-mode* and *Sauny the Scot*. As seen by the detailed study in my thesis, which shows the clear differences in the forms and features of these plays' dialect representation, these two plays may share a stereotypical Scots character – the fiery, rude, Scottish servant who refuses to speak English – but the actual representation of dialect are very different, and cannot thus be classified as a 'stage dialect'.

I disagree with Hickey's (2010: 9) conclusion that 'outsider' writers cannot be reliable or be anything other than satirical when writing in non-standard varieties. This conclusion negates the work of playwrights like Shadwell, who clearly spent time and effort on their depictions of dialect, as well as playwrights like Shakespeare, who created a character speaking in dialect who is far from the butt of jokes. In fact, the one clear example of satire in my dataset occurs in the text written by an insider, not an outsider, with the depictions of Scots in Pitcairne's *The Assembly*.

11.4 Further research

Though my study has provided significant information about regional variation in dramatic texts, there remains room for further research. Because of constraints on both space and time, I have focused here only on major phonological features within the selected plays; this aspect could undoubtedly be investigated in greater detail. The type of study I have undertaken could be replicated for plays featuring representations of Northern English or Scots from the eighteenth century, which would then allow for diachronic comparison with my study. My strategies could also be employed for the analysis of representations of other varieties of English, including Welsh English, Hiberno-English, and dialects of Southern or Southwestern English.

While I have focused on many of the features of dialect representation in the plays, other aspects remain to be studied, particularly in terms of discourse markers or stylistic markers. A study of this sort could both be informed by and complement my work.

11.5 Summary

In this substantial study of the representation of Northern English and Scots in seventeenth century drama, I have demonstrated that literary evidence can be used, with rigorous research methods, for credible linguistic investigations. It appears that dialect representations in EMod drama are, for the most part, generally reflective of the actual dialect of the time, and generally are not exempla of a 'stage dialect'. These data both illuminate and reinforce our knowledge about the development of the dialects of northern England and Scotland in the seventeenth century, and about the attitudes towards northerners and Scots at the time.

Bibliography

Plays from both datasets[43]

Anon. 1637. *The King and Queenes Entertainment at Richmond. After Their Departure from Oxford*: In a Masque, presented by the most illustrious Prince, Prince Charles, Sept 12 1636. Oxford. Printed by Leonard Lichfield. [EEBO]

Anon. 1660. *A Short Representation Performed before The Lord Generall Monck.* At Goldsmiths-Hall, Tuesday, Aprill 11th By three persons, An English-man, a Welsh-man, and a Scotch-man. London: Printed for Thomas Morgan, and are to be sold at the Royal Exchange in Cornhill. [EEBO]

Behn, Aphra. 1682a. *The City Heiress: or, Sir Timothy Treat-all. A Comedy*. As it is Acted at his Royal Highness his Theatre. London: Printed for D. Brown, at the Black Swan and Bible without Temple-bar; and T Benskin in St. Brides Church-yard; and H. Rhodes next door to the Bear-Tavern neer Bride-lane in Fleet Street. [NLS]

1682b. *The Roundheads, or, The Good Old Cause, a Comedy* as it is Acted at His Royal Highness the Dukes Theatre. London: Printed for D. Brown at the Black Sawn and Bible without Temple bar, and Benskin in St Brides Church Yard, and H. Rhodes next door to the Bear Tavern neer Bride Lane in Fleetstreet. [NLS; BL; EEBO]

1698. *The Roundheads, or, The Good Old Cause, a Comedy*, As it is Acted at the Duke's Theatre. London: Printed for Richard Wellington, at the Lute in St Paul's Church-Yard, and sold by Percival Gilborne at the Harrow, at the corner of Chancery-Lane, and Bernard Lintott, at the Cross-Keys in St. Martins-Lane, near Long-Acre. [BL; EEBO]

[Beaumont, Francis][44] and Fletcher, John. 1615. *Cupids Revenge*. As it hath beene divers times Acted by the Children of her Maiesties Revels. By John Fletcher. London: Printed by Thomas Creede for Josias Harison, and are to bee solde at the Golden Anker in Pater-Noster-Row. [EEBO]

1630. *Cupids Revenge*. As it was often Acted (with great applause) by the Children of the Revells. Written by Francis Beaumont and John Fletcher, Gentlemen. The Second Edition. London: Printed for Thomas Jones, and are to be sold at his Shop in Saint Dunstanes Churchyard in Fleet-Street. [EEBO]

1635. *Cupids Revenge*. As it was often Acted (with great aplause) by the Children of the Revels. Written by Francis Beaumont and John Fletcher, Gentlemen. The third Edition. London: Printed by A.M. [EEBO]

[Beaumont, Francis], John Fletcher, [Philip Massinger][45]. 1621. *The tragedy of Thierry King of France, and his brother Theodoret.* As it was diverse times acted at the Blacke-Friers by the Kings Majesties Servants. London, Printed for Thomas Walkley, and are to bee sold at his shop in Britaines Burse, at the signe of the Eagle and Child. [EEBO]

Brome, Richard. 1632. *The Northern Lasse, a Comoedie*. As it hath beene often Acted with good Applause, at the Globe, and Black-Fryers, by his Majesties Servants. London: Printed by

[43] For each play in my dataset, I list the locations of the editions I consulted: British Library (BL), National Library of Scotland (NLS), EEBO, or ECCO. I include the specific call number if I focused on a particular BL copy.

[44] Beaumont is not listed as an author in the 1615 edition, though he is listed in the subsequent editions. For these three editions, I include the authors' names as written on the title-page.

[45] Fletcher is the only author listed on the title-page of the 1621 edition.

Aug. Mathewes, and are to be sold by Nicholas Vavasour, dwelling at the little South dore of St Pauls Church. [EEBO; BL]

Chapman, George, Jonson, Ben, and Marston, John. 1605. *Eastward Hoe.* As It was playd in the Black-friers. By The Children of her Majesties Revels. London: Printed for William Aspley. [EEBO]

Craufurd, David. 1700. *Courtship A-la-mode. A Comedy.* As it is Acted at the Theatre Royal in Drury Lane. By His Majestys Servants. London, Printed for J Barnes at the Crown in the Pall-mall, and E. Rumbal at the Post-house in Russel-street, in Covent-Garden. [EEBO, BL]

J.D. 1640. *The Knave in Graine, New Vampt*. A witty comedy, acted at at the Fortune many dayes together with great applause. London: Printed by J.O. and are to be sold by John Nicholson at his Shop under St. Martins Church neare Ludgate. [EEBO]

D'Urfey, Thomas. 1677. *A Fond Husband: Or, The Plotting Sisters. A Comedy*: As it is Acted at His Royal Highness The Duke's Theatre. London: Printed by T. N. for James Magnes and Rich. Bentley, in Russelstreet in Covent-Garden, near the Piazza's. [EEBO]

1678. *Trick for trick, or, The debauch'd hypocrite. A comedy, as it is acted at the Theatre-Royal by His Majestie's servants.* London: Printed for Langley Curtiss, in Goat-Court upon Ludgate-Hill [EEBO]

1680. *The Virtuous Wife; Or, Good Luck at last*. A Comedy. As it is Acted at the Dukes Theater, By His Royal Highness His Servants. In the Savoy: Printed by T.N. for R. Bentley, and M. Magg, in Russel-Street, near the Piazza, at the Post-house. [EEBO]

1681. *Sir Barnaby Whigg: Or, No Wit like a Womans.* A Comedy. As it is Acted by their Majesties Servants at the Theatre-Royal. London: Printed by A.G. and J.P. for Joseph Hindmarsh, at the Black Bull in Cornhil. [EEBO]

1682. *The Royalist. A Comedy*; As it is Acted at The Duke's Theatre. London, Printed for Jos. Hindmarsh at the Sign of the Black Bull near the Royal-Exchange in Cornhil, Anno Dom. 1682. [BL: 644.h.15; EEBO]

1688. *A Fool's Preferment, or, The Three Dukes of Dunstable. A Comedy.* As it was Acted at the Queen's Theatre in Dorset-Garden, by Their Majesties Servants. Written by Mr. D'urfey. Together, with all the the Songs and Notes to 'em, Excellently Compos'd by Mr. Henry Purcell. [London]: Printed for Jos. Knight, and Fra. Saunders at the Blue Anchor in the Lower Walk of the New Exchange in the Strand. [BL; EEBO]

1692. *The Marriage-Hater Match'd: A Comedy*. Acted at the Theatre Royal by Their Majesties Servants. London, Printed for Richard Bentley, at the Post-House in Russel-Street in Covent Garden. [EEBO]

1698. *The Campaigners: Or The Pleasant Adventures at Brussels.* A Comedy with a Familiar Preface Upon a Late Reformer of the Stage. Ending with a Satyrical Fable of the Dog and Ottor. London, Printed for A. Baldwin, near the Oxford Arms Inn in Warwick lane. [EEBO]

Fisher, Jasper. 1633. *Fuimus Troes*. *AEneid. 2. The true Troianes, being a story of the Britaines valour at the Romanes first invasion*: Publikely represented by the gentlemen students of Magdalen Colledge in Oxford. London: Printed by J L for Robert Allot, and are to be sold at the signe of the Beare in Pauls-Churchyard. [EEBO; BL]

2007. *Fuimus Troes (Aeneid 2): The True Trojans*. C. Butler (ed.). Online. [extra.shu.ac.uk/emls/iemls/renplays/fuimustroes.htm]

Greene, Robert. 1592. *The Scottish Historie of James the fourhth* [sic.]*, slaine at Flodden. Entermixed with a pleasant Comedie, presented by Oboram King of Fayeries:* As it hath bene sundrie times publickely plaide. London, Printed by Thomas Creede. [EEBO, BL]

Heywood, Thomas. 1599. *The first and second partes of King Edward the Fourth*. Containing his mery pastime with the tanner of Tamwoorth, as also his love to fayre Mistresse Shoare, her great promotion, fall and misery, and lastly the lamentable death of both her and her husband. Likewise the besiedging of London, by the bastard Falconbridge, and the valiant defence of the same by the Lord Maior and the cittizens. As it hath divers times beene publiquely played by the Right Honorable the Earle of Derby his servants. Imprinted at London by J.W. for John Oxenbridge, dwelling in Paules Churchyard at the signe of the Parrat. [EEBO]

1600. *The first and second partes of King Edward the Fourth* Containing his mery pastime with the tanner of Tamworth, as also his love to faire Mistrisse Shoare, her great

promotion, fall and miserie, and lastly the lamentable death of both her and her husband. Likewise the besieging of London, by the bastard Falconbridge, and the valiant defence of the same by the Lord Maior and the citizens. As it hath divers times beene publikely played by the Right Honorable the Earle of Derbie his servants. Imprinted at London by F K for Humfrey Lownes and John Oxenbridge. [BL: C71.d.4; EEBO]

Heywood, Thomas, and Richard Brome. 1634. *The Late Lancashire Witches*. A well received comedy, lately acted at the Globe on the Banke-side, by the Kings Majesties Actors. London: Printed by Thomas Harper for Benjamin Fisher, and are to be sold at his Shop at the Signe of the Talbot, without Aldersgate. [EEBO]

Jonson, Ben. 1631. *Bartholmew Fayre*: A Comedie, Acted in the Yeare, 1614. By the Lady Elizabeths Servants. And then dedicated to King James, of most Blessed Memorie. London, Printed by J.B. for Robert Allot, and are to be sold at the signe of the Beare, in Pauls Church-yard. [EEBO]

1641. *The Sad Shepherd: or, a Tale of Robin-Hood*. London: Printed in *The Workes of Benjamin Jonson*, 1640 and 1641. [EEBO]

Lacy, John. 1684. *Sir Hercules Buffoon, or the Poetical Squire*. A Comedy, As it was Acted at The Duke's Theatre. Written by John Lacy, Com. London: Printed for Jo. Hindmarsh, Bookseller to His Royal Highness, at the Black Bull in Cornhill. 1684. [BL: 1344.c.31]

1698. *Sauny the Scott; Or, the Taming of the Shrew*: A Comedy. As it is now Acted at the Theatre-Royal. Written by J. Lacey, Servant to His Majesty. And Never before Printed. London: Printed and Sold for E. Whitlock, near Stationers-Hall, 1698. [BL]

1708. *Sauny the Scot; Or, the Taming of the Shrew*: A Comedy, As it is now Acted at the Theatre Royal in Drury Lane, by Her Majesty's Company of Comedians. Written by John Lacy, Esq. London: Printed for B. Bragge, in Pater-noster-row, 1708. [BL]

1714. *Sauny the Scot: or, the Taming of the Shrew. A Comedy*. As it is Acted at the Theatre-Royal in Drury Lane. Written Originally by Mr. Shakespear, Alter'd and Improv'd by Mr. Lacey, Servant to His Majesty. London: Printed for E Curll at the Dial and Bible against St Dunstan's Church in Fleetstreet; A. Bettesworth at the Red-Lyon on London-Bridge; and J. Richardson at the King's Head the Corner of Swithing's-Alley in Cornhill. [BL]

1731. *Sauny the Scot: or, the Taming of the Shrew. A Comedy*. As it is Acted at the Theatre-Royal in Drury-Lane. Written Originally by Mr Shakespear. Alter'd and Improv'd by Mr Lacey, Servant to His Majesty. London. [ECCO; BL]

1736. *Sauny the Scot: or, the Taming of the Shrew. A Comedy.* As it is Acted at the Theatre-Royal in Drury-Lane. Written Originally by Shakespear. Alter'd and Improv'd by Mr. Lacey, Servant to His Majesty. London: Printed for W. Feales, at Rowe's-Head, over against St. Clement's Church in the Strand. [BL]

Michelburne, John. 1705. *Ireland Preserv'd: Or the Siege of London-Derry. Together with the Troubles of the North*. Written by the then Governour. Parts 1 and 2. London. [BL: G.5820]

Middleton, Thomas. 1778. *A Tragi-coomedie, called the witch*; long since acted by His Maties servants at the Black-Friers. London. [ECCO]

[Munday, Anthony; Drayton, Michael; Wilson, Robert; and Chettle, Henry]. 1600. *The First Part of the Life of Sir John Oldcastle, the good Lord Cobham,* As it hath been lately acted by the right honorable the Earle of Notingham Lord high Admirall of England his servants. London, Printed by V.S. for Thomas Pavier, and are to be solde at his shop at the signe of the Catte and Parrots, neere the Exchange. [BL: C.34.L.2]

Otway, Thomas. 1677. *Titus and Berenice, A Tragedy, Acted at the Duke's Theatre. With a Farce called the Cheats of Scapin.* London: Printed for Richard Tonson at his Shop under Grays-Inn-Gate, next Grays-Inn-Lane. [BL: 1346.c.7]

1681. *The Souldiers Fortune*: A Comedy. Acted by their Royal Highnesses Servants at the Duke's Theatre. London: Printed for R. Bentley and M. Magnes, at the Post-House in Russel-Street in Covent-Garden. [EEBO]

Payne, Henry Nevil. 1673. *The Morning Ramble, or the Town-Humours*: A Comedy. Acted at the Duke's Theatre. London: Printed for Thomas Dring, at the White Lyon, next Chancery-Lane end in Fleet-street. [EEBO]

[Pitcairne, Archibald]. 1691. *The Assembly, or, Scotch Reformation. A Comedie: The third Edition, Corrected and Enlarged by the Authors.* MS. [BL Add. 11503]

[Pitcairne, Archibald]. 1722. *The Assembly, a Comedy*. By a Scots Gentleman. London. [BL; EEBO]

Randolph, Thomas. 1651. *A pleasant comedie, entituled Hey for honesty*, *down with knavery* translated out of Aristophanes his Plutus by Tho. Randolph, augmented and published by F.J. [EEBO]

Ravenscroft, Edward. 1684. *Dame Dobson, or The Cunning Woman*. A comedy as it is acted at the Duke's Theatre. London: Printed for Joseph Hindmarsh, Bookseller to His Royal Highness, at the Black Bull in Cornhil. [BL; EEBO]

[Ruggle, George]. [1599] 1907. *Club Law, A Comedy*. Acted in Clare Hall, Cambridge, about 1599-1600. Now printed for the first time from a MS in the Library of St. John's College with an Introduction and Notes. G.C. Moore Smith (ed.). Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Sampson, William. 1636. *The vow breaker. Or, The faire maide of Clifton In Notinghamshire.* As it hath beene divers times acted by severall companies with great applause. London: Printed by John Norton and are to be sold by Roger Ball at the signe of the Golden Anchor in the Strand, neere Temple-Barre. [EEBO]

Scott, Thomas. 1696. *The Mock-Marriage. A Comedy*, acted at the Theatre in Dorset Garden, by his Majesty's Servants. Written by Mr. Scott. London, Printed for H. Rhodes, in Fleet-Street; J. Harris, in the Poultry; and S. Briscoe, in Russel-Street, the Corner of Charles-Street, Covent-Garden. [BL: 644.h.90]

Shadwell, Thomas. 1682a. *The Lancashire Witches, and Tegue o Divelly The Irish-Priest: A Comedy*. Acted at the Duke's Theater. London: Printed for John Starkey at the Miter in Fleetstreet near Temple-Barr. [BL; EEBO]

1682b. *The Lancashire Witches and Tegue o Divelly The Irish Priest*. A Comedy Acted at the Duke's Theater. London: Printed for John Starkey at the Miter in Fleetstreet near Temple-Barr. [2nd edition]. [BL 11778.g.41]

1688. *The Squire of Alsatia*. A Comedy, As it is Acted by Their Majesty's Servants. London, Printed for James Knapton, at the Queens-Head in St. Pauls Church-yard. [BL: 644.c.36; EEBO]

1991. *Thomas Shadwell's 'The Lancashire Witches and Tegue o Divelly the Irish Priest".* S. Slagle (ed.). New York: Garland.

Shakespeare, William. 1600. *The cronicle history of Henry the fift with his battell fought at Agin Court in France. Togither with Auntient Pistoll.* As it hath bene sundry times playd by the Right honorable the Lord Chamberlaine his seruants. London: Printed by Thomas Creede, for Tho. Millington, and Iohn Busby. And are to be sold at his house in Carter Lane, next the Powle head. [EEBO]

1623. *Mr William Shakespeares Comedies, Histories, and Tragedies*. Published according to the True Original Copies. London: Printed by Isaac Jaggard and Ed. Blount. [EEBO]

1685. *Mr. William Shakespear's Comedies, Histories, and Tragedies*. Published according to the true Original Copies. Unto which is added, Seven Plays Never before Printed in Folio. 4th Edition. London: Printed for H. Herringman, and are to be sold by Joseph Knight and Francis Saunders, at the Anchor in the Lower Walk of the New Exchange. [EEBO]

Tatham, John. 1651. *The Distracted State, A Tragedy.* Written in the Yeer, 1641, by J.T. Gent. London: Printed by W.H. for John Tey, and are to be sold at his shop at the sign of the White Lion in the Strand, neer the New Exchange. [BL: 644.c.73]

1652. *The Scots Figgaries: Or, A Knot of Knaves. A Comedy*. London, Printed by W.H. for John Tey, at the White-Lion in the Strand, near the New Exchange. [BL: 644.c.74]

1660. *The Rump: Or, The Mirrour of The late Times*. A New Comedy, written by J. Tatham, Gent. Acted Many Times with Great Applause, At the Private House in Dorset-Court. London, Printed by W. Godbid for R. Bloome. [BL]

1661. *The Rump: Or, The Mirrour of The late Times*. A New Comedy, Written by J. Tatham, Gent. Acted many times with Great Applause, At the Private House in Dorset Court. The Second Impression, Newly Corrected, with Additions. London: Printed by W. Godbid for R. Bloome. [BL: 1077.i.13]

1735. *The Scots Figgaries: or, A Knot of Knaves. A Comedy.* London, Printed 1652. Reprinted and sold by W. Mears, at the Lamb, and T. Boreman, at the Cock, on Ludgate-Hill. [BL: 1344.c.31]

1879. *The Dramatic Works of John Tatham*. J. Maidment and W.H. Logan (eds.). Edinburgh: William Paterson. London: H. Sotheran and Co.
J.W. 1637. *The Valiant Scot.* London: Printed by Thomas Harper for John Waterson, and are to be sold at his shop in Pauls Church-yard, at the signe of the Crown. [BL: 633.c.44]
[Wild, Robert]. 1689. *The Benefice*. *A Comedy*. By R.W. D.D. Author of Iter Boreale. Written in his Younger Days: Now made Publick for promoting Innocent Mirth. London: Printed, to be Sold by R. Janeway in Queens-Head Court in Pater-Noster-Row. [EEBO]
Wilson, John. 1665. *The Projectors*. *A Comedy*. London: Printed for John Playsere, at the White Lyon, in the Upper Walk of the New Exchange; and William Crook, at the Three Bibles on Fleet-Bridge. [EEBO]

Dictionaries, Linguistic Atlases, Databases, and other Reference Works

Butler, Anthony W., with the assistance of Tracey Caulfield, Felicity Henderson, and Harold Love. 2005. *The Restoration Theatre Song Archive*. Online. [arts.monash.edu.au/english/resources/restoration-theatre-song-archive]
[DOST] *Dictionary of the Older Scottish Tongue*. In *The Dictionary of the Scots Language/ Dictionar o the Scots Leid*. Online. [www.dsl.ac.uk]
[ECCO] *Eighteenth Century Collections Online*. Gale Group. [galenet.galegroup.com/servlet/ECCO]
[EDD] Wright, Joseph. 1905. *The English Dialect Dictionary*. 6 Vols. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
[EDG] Wright, Joseph. 1905. *The English Dialect Grammar.* In EDD, Vol VI.
[EEBO] *Early English Books Online*. Online. [eebo.chadwyck.com].
[LAE] Orton, Harold, et al. 1978. *Linguistic Atlas of England*. London: Croon Helm.
[LAEME]. Laing, Margaret, and Lass, Roger. 2007. *A Linguistic Atlas of Early Middle English, 1150-1325*. Edinburgh: The University of Edinburgh. [www.lel.ed.ac.uk/ihd/laeme1/laeme1.html]
[LALME] McIntosh, Angus, M.L. Samuels, M. Benskin, with assistance of M. Laing and K. Williamson. 1986. *A Linguistic Atlas of Late Mediaeval English*. 4 vols. Aberdeen: Aberdeen University Press.
[LAOS] 2008. *A Linguistic Atlas of Older Scots, Phase 1: 1380-1500*. Edinburgh: The University of Edinburgh. [www.lel.ed.ac.uk/ihd/laos1/laos1.html]
[LAS] Mather, J.Y and Speitel, H.H. (eds.). *The Linguistic Atlas of Scotland*. 3 vols. London, Sydney, and Dover: Croom Helm.
[OED] *Oxford English Dictionary.* Online. [www.oed.com].
[SED] Orton, Harold, et al. 1962-71. *Survey of English Dialects*. 4 vols. Leeds: University of Leeds.
[SND] *Scottish National Dictionary*. In *The Dictionary of the Scots Language/ Dictionar o the Scots Leid*. Online. [www.dsl.ac.uk].
Upton, Clive, et al. 1994. *Survey of English Dialects: The Dictionary and Grammar.* London: Routledge.
Warrack, Alexander. 1911. *A Scot's Dialect Dictionary, comprising the words in use from the latter part of the seventeenth century to the present day*. London: Chambers.
Williams, Gordon. 1994. *A Dictionary of Sexual Language and Imagery in Shakespearean and Stuart Literature*. London: The Athlone Press.

Secondary sources

Aitken, A.J. 1983. "The Language of Older Scots Poetry", in J. Derrick McClure (ed.), *Scotland and the Lowland Tongue: Studies in the Language and Literature of Lowland Scotland, in honour of David D. Murison.* Aberdeen: Aberdeen University Press. 18-49.

2002. *The Older Scots Vowels: A History of the Stressed Vowels of Older Scots from the Beginnings to the Eighteenth Century*. C. Macafee (ed.). The Scottish Text Society. Guildford: Biddles Ltd.

Albright, Evelyn May. 1928. "The Folio Version of Henry V in Relation to Shakespeare's Times", *PMLA* 43 (3): 722-756.

Allan, David. 2004. "Crawford, David. 1665–1726", *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*. Oxford: Oxford University Press. Online. [www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/6638].

Anon. 1620. "A merry Ballad of a rich Maid that had 18. severall Suitors of severall Countries". London: for Henry Gosson. [EEBO]

Anon. *c*. 1672-1695. "The Mother and daughter, or, A dialogue betwixt them composed in verse, if you will attend, I will rehearse". [London]: Printed for P. Brooksby, at the Golden-Ball, near the Hospital-gate, in West-smithfield. [EEBO]

Anon. 1679. "A New Scotch Ballad: Call'd Bothwel-Bridge: or, Hamilton's Hero". London: Printed for T. B. [EEBO]

Anon. 1682. "The Loyal Scot; An Excellent New Song". London: Printed for Alexander Banks. [EEBO]

Anon. 1684. "A New ballad, to the tune of I'll tell thee, Dick, &c". [EEBO]

Anon. 1684-85. "The loves of Jockey and Jenny: or, The Scotch wedding." A most pleasant new song. [London]: Printed for P. Brooksby, at the Golden-Ball, in West-smithfield. [EEBO]

Anon. 1685. "Monmouth's downfal, or, The Royal Victory". London: Printed for Nicholas Woolfe, at the Leopard in Newgate-Street. [EEBO]

Anon. 1685. "The Rebel Captive. An Excellent New Song, on the taking of Argile in Scotland by three Young Men, who met him as he was flying away in Disguise, after his Men had deserted hin [sic]". London: Printed by N. Thompson at the Entrance into the Spring-Garden near Charing Cross. [EEBO]

Anon. 1685-88. "The unfortunate Welch-man; or, The untimely death of Scotch Jockey". [London]: Printed for J. Deacon, at the Angel in Guiltspur-street.[EEBO]

Anon. 1693. "A New Scotch Whim". Edinburgh. [EEBO]

Anon. 1700. "The pretended Prince of Wales's New Exercise of the Scotch Lang Goon". [EEBO]

Anon. 1708. "Epitaph on the much lamented death of Mr. David Crawfurd of Drumsuy, Her Majesty's historiographer, who died the 16th of January 1708. Edinburgh". [ECCO]

Anon. [1701] 1810. "Scotland Characterized", in *The Harleian Miscellany.* Vol. 10. London: Robert Dutton.

Ashley, W.J. 1887. "The Early History of the English Woollen Industry", *Publications of the American Economic Association* 2 (4): 13-85.

Backscheider, Paula R. 2004. "Bullock, William. *b.* in or before 1667, *d.* 1742", *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*. Oxford: Oxford University Press. Online. [www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/3922].

Bald, R.C. 1945. "The Foul Papers of a Revision", *The Library* 26: 37-50.

Barber, Charles. [1976] 1997. *Early Modern English*. Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press.

Barnes, Barnabe. 1593. *Parthenophil and Parthenophe Sonnettes, madrigals, elegies and odes. To the right noble and vertuous gentleman, M. William Percy Esquier, his deerest friend.* [London: [J. Wolfe, 1593]] [EEBO]

Barry, Lording. 1611. *Ram-Alley: or merrie-trickes*. A comedy divers times here-to-fore acted by the Children of the Kings Revels. London: Printed by G. Eld, for Robert Wilson, and are to be sold at his shop in Holborne, at the new gate of Grayes Inne. [EEBO]

Bartley, J.O. 1943. "The Development of a Stock Character: II. The Stage Scotsman; III. The Stage Welshman. To 1800", *The Modern Language Review* 38 (4): 279-288.

1954. *Teague. Shenkin and Sawney: Being an historical study of the earliest Irish, Welsh and Scottish characters in English plays*. Cork, Ireland: Cork University Press.

Beal, Joan. 1997. "Syntax and morphology", in C. Jones (ed.), *The Edinburgh History of the Scots Language*. Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press. 335-377.

Beaumont, Francis, and Fletcher, John. 1616. *The scornful ladie A comedie*. As it was acted. with great applause by the Children of Her Maiesties Reuels in the Blacke Fryers. [EEBO]

1811. *Thierry and Theodoret.* In *The Modern British Drama in Five Volumes. Volume First: Tragedies*. London: Printed for William Miller, Albemarle Street, by James Ballantyne and Co. Edinburgh.

1840. *The Works of Beaumont and Fletcher, with an introduction by George Darley*, 2 vols. London: Edward Moxon.

Bedford, Arthur. 1719. *A Serious Remonstrance in Behalf of the Christian Religion, against the Horrid Blasphemies and Impieties which are still used in the English Play-House, to the Great Dishonour of Almighty God, and in Contempt of the Statutes of this Realm*. London: Printed by John Darby.

Beers, Henry A. 1904. "Dialect on the Old Stage". *Points at Issue, and Some Other Points*. London: MacMillan and Co., Ltd. 215-242.

Bennett, Kate. 2004. "Shadwell, Thomas (*c.*1640–1692)", *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*. Oxford: Oxford University Press. Online. [www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/25195]

Bergeron, David M. 2003. *English Civic Pageantry, 1558-1642*. Revised Edition. Tempe, AZ: Arizona State University.

2004. "Munday, Anthony (*bap.* 1560, *d.* 1633)", *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*. Oxford: Oxford University Press. Online. [www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/19531]

Blake, Norman. 1981. *Non-standard Language in English Literature*. London: Andre Deutsch Limited.

Blank, Paula. 1996. *Broken English: Dialects and the Politics of Language in Renaissance Writings*. London and New York: Routledge.

Bliss, Alan. 1979. *Spoken English in Ireland, 1600-1740: Twenty-seven Representative Texts Assembled and Analysed by Alan Bliss.* Dublin: The Dolmen Press.

Bradley, E.T. 2004. "Fisher, Jasper (1590/91–1643)", rev. David Kathman. *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*. Oxford: Oxford University Press. Online. [www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/9497]

Brady, Robert. 1685. *A Complete History of England, From The First Entrance of the Romans Under The Conduct of Julius Caesar, Unto the End of The Reign of King Henry III.* [London]: In the Savoy, Printed by Tho. Newcomb for Samuel Lowndes over against Exeter-Exchange in the Strand. [EEBO]

Brown, Thomas. 1691. *Wit for Money, or Poet Stutter: A dialogue between Smith, Johnson, and Poet Stutter: containg reflections on some late plays and particularly, on* 'Love for Money, or The Boarding School'. London: Printed for S. Burgis. [EEBO]

Brewer, Anthony. 1655. *The Love-Sick King*, an English tragical history with the life and death of Cartesmunda, the fair nun of Winchester. London: Printed for Rob. Pollard. [EEBO]

Britain, David. 2002. "Phoenix from the ashes?: The death, contact and birth of dialects in England", *Essex Research Reports in Linguistics* 41: 42-73.

Brome, Alexander. 1662. *Rump, or An exact collection of the choycest poems and songs relating to the late times by the most eminent wits from anno 1639 to anno 1661*. London: Printed for Henry Brome and Henry Marsh. [EEBO]

Brome, Richard. 1652. *A joviall crew, or, The merry beggars.* Presented in a comedie at Drury-Lane, in the yeer 1641. London: Printed by J.Y. for E.D. and N.E. [EEBO]

1653. *Five new playes,. viz. The madd couple well matcht. Novella. Court begger. City witt. Damoiselle*. London: printed for Humphrey Moseley, Richard Marriot, and Thomas Dring, and are to be sold at their shops, [EEBO]

1657. *The queenes exchange a comedy.* Acted with generall applause at the Black-friers by His Majesties servants. London: Printed by Henry Brome.[EEBO]

1659. *Five new playes, viz. The English moor, or the mock-marriage. The love-sick court, or the ambitious politique: Covent Garden weeded. The nevw academy, or the new exchange. The queen and concubine.* [London]: Printed for A. Crook at the Green Dragon in Saint Pauls Church-yard, and for H. Brome at the Gunn in Ivy-Lane. [EEBO]

2010. *The Northern Lass*. J. Sanders (ed.). *Richard Brome Online*. [www.hrionline.ac.uk/brome].

2010. *The Sparagus Garden.* J. Sanders (ed.). *Richard Brome Online*. [www.hrionline.ac.uk/brome].

Buchanan, George. 1571. *Ane detectioun of the duinges of Marie Quene of Scottes, touchand the murder of hir husband, and hir conspiracie, adulterie, and pretensed mariage with the Erle Bothwell. And ane defence of the trew Lordis, mainteineris of the Kingis graces actioun and authoritie.* [EEBO]

Bucholz, R.O. and Key, Newton. 2009. *Early Modern England 1485-1714: A Narrative History*. Chichester: John Wiley and Sons.

Burel, John. 1596. [To the richt high, Lodwik Duke of Lenox .. J. Burel, wisheth lang life] [Edinburgh: R. Waldegrave]. [EEBO]

Burridge, Richard. 1700. *The shoemaker beyond his last, or, A satyr upon scurrilous poets especially Ned W----d, author of a poem intituled A journey to hell, or, A visit paid to the Devil.* [EEBO]

Burton, Robert. 1679. *Versatile ingenium, The Wittie companion, or Jests of all sorts. From citie and countrie, court and universitie. With an account of the life of the laughing philosopher Democritus of Abdera.* By Democritus Junior. [EEBO]

Butler, Martin. 2004. "Brome, Richard. (*c.*1590–1652)", *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*. Oxford: Oxford University Press. Online. [www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/3503]

Butterworth, Philip. 2005. *Magic on the Early English Stage*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Cameron, Alasdair. 1993. "Theatre in Scotland: 1214 to the present", in P.H. Scott (ed.), *Scotland: A Concise Cultural History*. Edinburgh and London: Mainstream Publishing. 145-158.

Canfield, J. Douglas. 1997. *Tricksters and Estates: On the Ideology of Restoration Comedy*. Lexington, KY: The University Press of Kentucky.

Carpenter, Richard. *c*. 1670. *A New Play call'd The Pragmatical Jesuit new-leven'd*. A Comedy. London: Printed for N.R. and are to be sold at Westminster-Hall and the New-Exchange, &c. [EEBO]

Cartwright, William. 1651. *The Ordinary*. Printed by Humphrey Moseley, and are to be sold at his shop. [EEBO]

Carver, John Linton. 1917. "The Valiant Scot, 'by J.W'", in A. Gaw (ed.), *Studies in English Drama*. Baltimore: The Waverly Press. 75-104.

[Chapman, George]. 1619. *Two Wise Men and All the Rest Fooles*. [EEBO]

Chaucer, Geoffrey. 1988. *The Riverside Chaucer.* 3rd edition. L.D. Benson (ed.). Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Coles, Elisha. 1677. *An English dictionary explaining the difficult terms that are used in divinity, husbandry, physick, phylosophy, law, navigation, mathematicks, and other arts and sciences , containing many thousands of hard words, and proper names of places, more than are in any other English dictionary or expositor.* London: Printed for Peter Parker, at the Leg and Star over against the Royal Exchange in Cornhill, 1677. [EEBO]

Cook, Ann Jennalie. 1981. *The Privileged Playgoers of Shakespeare's London: 1576-1642*. Princeton, New Jersey: Princeton University Press.

1997. "Audiences: Investigation, Interpretation, Invention", in J.D. Cox and D.S. Kastan (eds.), *A New History of Early English Drama*. New York: Columbia University Press. 305-320.

Corbett, John, J. Derrick McClure, and Jane Stuart-Smith (eds.). 2003. *The Edinburgh Companion to Scots*. Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press.

Coote, Edmund. 1630. *The English schoole-master teaching all his schollers, of what age soever, the most easie, short, and perfect order of distinct reading, and true writing our English-tongue, that hath euer yet beene knowne or published by any*. [EEBO]

Craig, Alexander. 1631. *The Pilgrime and Heremite*. In forme of a Dialogue. Imprinted in Aberdene by Edward Raban for David Melvill. [EEBO]

Daines, Simon. 1640. *Orthoepia Anglicana: or, the first principall part of the English grammar teaching the art of right speaking and pronouncing English, with certaine exact rules of orthography, and rules of spelling or combining of syllables, and directions for keeping of*

stops or points between sentence and sentence. A work in it selfe absolute, and never knowne to be accomplished by any before. [EEBO]
Davis, Alex. 2003. *Chivalry and Romance in the English Renaissance*. Cambridge: D.S. Brewer.
Davis, B.E.C. 1969. "The Earlier Sixteenth Century", *The Year's Work in English Studies*. 50 (1): 132-154.
Day, Cyrus L. 1926. "Thomas Randolph's Part in the Authorship of *Hey for Honesty*", *PMLA* 41 (2): 325-334.
Dekker, Thomas. 1603. *The wonderfull yeare. 1603 Wherein is shewed the picture of London, lying sicke of the plague. At the ende of all. like a mery epilogue to a dull play. certaine tales are cut out in sundry fashions, of purpose to shorten the lives of long winters nights, that lye watching in the darke for us.* London: Printed by Thomas Creede, and are to be solde in Saint Donstones Church-yarde in Fleet-streete. [EEBO]
Dibdin, James C. 1888. *The annals of the Edinburgh stage with an account of the rise and progress of dramatic writing in Scotland.* Edinburgh: Richard Cameron.
Dobson, E.J. [1957] 1968. *English Pronunciation: 1501-1700*. 2nd edition. 2 vols. Oxford: Clarendon Press.
Dodsley, R. and J. 1756. *Theatrical Records: Or, An Account of English Dramatic Authors and Their Works.* London: Printed for R. and J. Dodsley, at Tully's-Head in Pall-mall.
Donaldson, Ian. 2004. "Jonson, Benjamin. 1572–1637", *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*. Oxford: Oxford University Press. Online. [www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/15116]
Dryden, John. 1674. *The Mall*, or the Modish Lovers. London: Printed for William Cademan, at the Popes-head in the lower Walk of the New Exchange in the Strand. [EEBO]
Eckhardt, Eduard. 1910-11. *Die Dialekt-und Auslandertypen des alteren englischen Dramas*. 2 vols. Louvain: A. Uystpruyst.
Esche, Edward (ed.). 1993. *A Critical Edition of Thomas Middleton's 'The Witch*'. New York and London: Garland.
Estabrook, C.B. 1998. *Urbane and Rustic England: Cultural Ties and Social Spheres in the Provinces 1660-1780*. Manchester: Manchester University Press.
Fairholt, Frederick W. 1845. *The Civic Garland: A Collection of Songs from London Pageants.* London: Printed for the Percy Society, by T. Richards.
Fletcher, John. 1640. *The night-walker, or The little theife A comedy*, as it was presented by her Majesties Servants, at the Private House in Drury Lane. [EEBO]
Findlay, Bill (ed.). 1998. *A History of Scottish Theatre*. Edinburgh: Polygon.
Finkelpearl, P. J. 2004. "Beaumont, Francis. 1584/5–1616", *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*. Oxford: Oxford University Press. Online. [www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/1871]
Fisk, Deborah Payne (ed.). 2005. *Four Restoration Libertine Plays, edited with an Introduction and Notes by Deborah Payne Fisk. Shadwell's The Libertine, Etherege's The Man of Mode, Durfey's A Fond Husband, and Otway's Friendship in Fashion*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
Fletcher, John. 1700. *The pilgrim a comedy* as it is acted at the Theatre-Royal in Drury-Lane. Written originally by Mr. Fletcher and now very much alter'd with several additions; likewise a prologue, epilogue, dialogue and masque written by the late great poet Mr. Dryden just before his death, being the last of his works. [EEBO]
Forsythe, Robert Stanley. 1916. "A Study of the Plays of Thomas D'Urfey, with a Reprint of 'A Fool's Preferment'. Part I". *Western Reserve University Bulletins*, *Literary Section Supplement*. 1 (2). Cleveland, Ohio: Western Reserve University Press.
Fowler, William. 1581. "An answer to the calumnious letter and erroneous propositions of an apostat named M. Io. Hammiltoun." Composed by M. William Fouler. [EEBO]
García-Bermejo Giner, María Fuencisla. 1997. "Some Dialect Features in Deloney's *Thomas of Reading*", *Sederi* 8: 5-18.
1998. "The Northern/ Scottish Dialect in Nathaniel Woodes' *A Conflict of Conscience* (1581)", *Sederi* 9. 9-21.
1999. "Methods for the Linguistic Analysis of Early Modern English Literary Dialects", in P. Alonso et al. (eds.), *Teaching and research in English language and linguistics*. Salamanca: Universidad de Salamanca. 257-274.

Gil, Alexander [1619] 1972. *Logonomia Anglica. Parts 1 and 2.* B. Danielsson and A. Gabrielson (eds.). Stockholm: Almquist and Wiksell.

Görlach, Manfred. 1999. "Regional and Social Variation", in R. Lass (ed.), *The Cambridge History of the English Language. Volume 3: 1476-1776*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. 459-538.

Greaves, Richard L. 2004. "Wild, Robert. 1615/16–1679", *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*. Oxford: Oxford University Press. Online. [www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/29395]

Greg, W.W. (ed.). 1905. *Ben Jonson's Sad Shepherd, with Waldron's Continuation*. Series: Materialen zur Kunde des älteren Englischen Dramas: Band XI. Louvain: A Uystpruyst,

Greene, Robert. 1599. *A pleasant conceyted comedie of George a Greene, the pinner of Wakefield.* As it was sundry times acted by the servants of the right Honourable the Earle of Sussex. London: Printed by Simon Stafford, for Cuthbert Burby: and are to be sold at his shop neere the Royall Exchange. [EEBO]

1608. *Greenes carde of fancie*. London: Printed by H.L. for Mathewe Lownes, and are to be solde at his shop in Paules-churchyard. [EEBO]

Guerrini, Anita. 2004. "Pitcairne, Archibald. 1652–1713", *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*. Oxford: Oxford University Press. Online. [www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/22320]

Gurr, Andrew. 1987. *Playgoing in Shakespeare's London*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Hadfield, Andrew. 2003. "Timon of Athens and Jacobean Politics", in P. Holland (ed.), *Shakespeare Survey Volume 56: Shakespeare and Comedy*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. 215-226.

Henry, the Minstrel. 1611. *The Life and acts of the most famous and valiant champion, Sir William Wallace Knicht of Ellerslie: maintainer of the libertie of Scotland*. Edinburgh: Printed by Andro Hart and are to be sauld at his buith on the north syde of the gait a litle beneath the crosse.

1618. *The Life and acts of the most famous and valiant champion Syr William Wallace, knight of Ellerslie: maintainer of the libertie of Scotland*. Printed at Edinburgh: By Andro Hart.

1620. *The Lyfe and acts of the most famous and valiant champion, Sir William Wallace, Knight of Ellerslie: maintainer of the liberty of Scotland.* Printed at Edinburgh: By Andro Hart.

Herford, C.H., and Percy and Evelyn Simpson (eds.). 1950. *Ben Jonson. Volume X: Play Commentary, Masque Commentary.* Oxford: Clarendon Press.

Heywood, Thomas. 1641. *The life of Merlin, sirnamed Ambrosius his prophesies and predictions interpreted, and their truth made good by our English Annalls : being a chronographicall history of all the kings, and memorable passages of this kingdome, from Brute to the reigne of our royall soveraigne King Charles*. London: Printed by J. Okes, and are to be sold by Jasper Emery in Pauls Church-yard, at the signe of the Eagle and Child, neare St. Austins Gate. [EEBO]

Heywood, Thomas (ed.). 1849. *The Diary of the Rev. Henry Newcome, From September 30, 1661, to September 29, 1663.* Manchester: T Sowler. Printed for the Chetham Society.

Hickey, Raymond (2010). "Linguistic evaluation of earlier texts", in R. Hickey (ed.), *Varieties of English in Writing: The Written Words as Linguistic Evidence*. Amsterdam: John Benjamins. 1-14.

Highley, Christopher. 2004. "The place of Scots in the Scottish play: Macbeth and the politics of language", in W. Maley and A. Murphy (eds.), *Shakespeare and Scotland*. Manchester: Manchester University Press. 53-66.

Holland, Peter. 2004. "Shakespeare, William. 1564–1616", *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*. Oxford: Oxford University Press. Online.[www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/25200]

Honeybone, Patrick. 2007. "New-Dialect Formation in Nineteenth Century Liverpool: A Brief History of Scouse", in A. Grant and C. Grey (eds.), *The Mersey Sound: Liverpool's Language, People and Places*. Liverpool: Open House Press. 106-140.

Hopkins, Paul. 2004. "Payne, Henry. *d.* 1705?", *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*. Oxford: Oxford University Press. Online.[www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/21643]

Horace. 1666. *The Poems of Horace, Consisting of Odes, Satyres, and Epistles, Rendred in English Verse by Several Persons.* London: Printed by E. Cotes for Henry Brome at the Gun in Ivy-Lane.

Houston, Robert Allan, and Whyte. Ian D. 2005. *Scottish Society, 1500-1800*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Hulme, Hilda. 1937. *Dialect in Tudor Drama.* MA thesis. University College London.

Hume, Sir Patrick. 1629. *The Flytting Betwixt Montgomerie and Polwart.* Newlie corrected and ammended. Edinburgh: Printed by the heirs of Thomas Finlason, for John Wood, and are to be sold in his Shop on the South side of the high Street, a little above the Croce. [EEBO]

Ihalainen, Ossi. 1994. "The dialects of English since 1776", in R.W. Burchfield (ed.), *The Cambridge History of the English Language: English in Britain and Overseas.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. 197–274.

Johnson, Charles. 1726. *The Female Fortune-Teller*. A Comedy. As it is acted at the Theatre in Lincoln's-Inn Fields. London. [ECCO]

Johnson, Wyn, and Britain, David. 2007. "L-vocalisation as a Natural Phenomenon: Explorations in Sociophonology", *Language Sciences* 29: 294-315.

Johnston, Paul. 1997a. "Older Scots Phonology and its Regional Variation", in C. Jones (ed.), *The Edinburgh History of the Scots Language*. Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press. 47-111.

1997b. "Regional Variation", in C. Jones (ed.), *The Edinburgh History of the Scots Language*. Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press. 433-513.

Jonson, Ben. 1616. *The workes of Benjamin Jonson*. London: printed by W. Stansby, and are to be sould by Richard Meighen. [EEBO]

Kathman, David. 2004a. "Heywood, Thomas. *c.*1573–1641", *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*. Oxford: Oxford University Press. Online. [www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/13190]

2004b. "Sampson, William. *b.* 1599/1600, *d.* in or after 1655". *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*. Oxford: Oxford University Press. Online. [www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/24596]

2004c. "Wilson, Robert. *d.* 1600", *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*. Oxford: Oxford University Press. Online. [www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/29682]

Kelliher, W. H. 2004. "Randolph, Thomas. *bap.* 1605, *d.* 1635)", *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*. Oxford: Oxford University Press. Online. [www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/23123]

Kerrigan, John. 2008. *Archipelagic English: Literature, History, and Politics, 1603-1707*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Kewes, Paulina. 2003. "The Elizabethan History Play: A True Genre?", in R. Dutton and J.E. Howard (eds.), *A Companion to Shakespeare's Works: The histories*. Vol. 2. 170-193.

Kilbourne, Frederick W. 1906. *Alterations and Adaptations of Shakespeare*. Boston: The Poet Lore Company and The Gorham Press.

Kindrick, Robert L. (ed.). 1997. *The Morall Fabillis*. Originally Published in The Poems of Robert Henryson. Kalamazoo, Michigan: Medieval Institute Publications. Online. [www.lib.rochester.edu/camelot/teams/morfab.htm#]

King, Anne. 1997. "The Inflectional Morphology of Older Scots", in C. Jones (ed.), *The Edinburgh History of the Scots Language*. Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press. 156-181.

Knafla, Louis A. 2004. "Ravenscroft, Edward. *fl.* 1659–1697", *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*. Oxford: Oxford University Press. Online. [www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/23171]

Knowles, James. 2004. "Marston, John. *bap.* 1576, *d.* 1634", *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*. Oxford: Oxford University Press. Online. [www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/18164]

Labov, William. 1972. *Sociolinguistic Patterns*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press.

Langbaine, Gerard. 1691. *An Account of the English Dramatick Poets*. Oxford.

1699. *The lives and characters of the English dramatick poets. First begun by Mr. Langbain, improv'd and continued down to this time, by a careful hand.* London: printed for Nich. Cox, and William Turner, and are to be sold at the White Horse without Temple-Bar. [EEBO]

Leech, Clifford 1935. “The Plays of Edward Sharpham: Alterations Accomplished and Projected”, *The Review of English Studies* 11 (41): 69-74.
Lesko, Kathleen Menzie. 2004. “Wilson, John. *bap.* 1626, *d.* 1695?”, *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*. Oxford: Oxford University Press. Online. [www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/29663]
Logan, Terence P. and Smith, Denzell S. (eds.). 1978. *The Later Jacobean and Caroline Dramatists: A Survey and Bibliography of Recent Studies in English Renaissance Drama.* Lincoln, Nebraska, USA: University of Nebraska Press.
Lyndsay, David. 1602. *Ane Satyre of the Thrie Estaits, in commendation of vertew and vituperation of vyce.* Maid be Sir David Lindesay of the Mont, alias, Lyon King of Armes. Edinburgh: Printed Be Robert Charteris. [EEBO]
Macafee, Caroline, (incorporating material by the late A.J. Aitken). 2003. “The Phonology of Older Scots”, in J. Corbett, J.D. McClure, and J. Stuart-Smith (eds.), *The Edinburgh Companion to Scots*. Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press. 138-169.
Macafee, Caroline, (incorporating material by the late A.J. Aitken). 2002. “A History of Scots to 1700”, in *Dictionary of the Scots Language.* Online. www.dsl.ac.uk/SCOTSHIST/index.html.
Macaree, David. 1967. “Crawfurd: a forgotten man of Scottish Letters”, *Studies in Scottish Literature* 5: 28-45.
Maidment, James and Logan, W.H (eds.). 1875. *The Dramatic Works of John Lacy, Comedian: With Prefatory Memoir and Notes*. Edinburgh: William Paterson; London: H. Sotheran and Co.
1879. *The Dramatic Works of John Tatham: With Introductions and Notes.* Edinburgh: William Paterson; London: H. Sotheran and Co.
Mair, Christian. 1992. “A Methodological Framework for Research on the Use of Nonstandard Language in Fiction”, *Arbeiten aus Anglistik und Amerikanistik* 17 (1): 103-123.
Maley, Willy and Murphy, Andrew (eds.). 2004. “Introduction: then with Scotland first begin”, in *Shakespeare and Scotland*. Manchester: Manchester University Press. 1-19.
McGavin, John J. and Mills, David. 1987. “Middle English: Chaucer”, *The Year’s Work in English Studies,* 68 (1). 176-200.
McGrath, C. I.. 2004. “Mitchelburne , John. 1648–1721”, *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*. Oxford: Oxford University Press. Online. [www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/18652]
McMullan, Gordon. 2004. “Fletcher, John. 1579–1625”, *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*. Oxford: Oxford University Press. Online. [www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/9730]
McRae, Andrew. 2009. *Literature and Domestic Travel in Early Modern England*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
McVeagh, John. 2000. *Thomas Durfey and Restoration Drama: The Work of a Forgotten Writer*. Studies in Early Modern English Literature. Aldershot: Ashgate.
Melville, James. 1598. *A Spirituall propine of a pastour to his people*. Edinburgh: Printed by Robert Walde-grave printer to the Kings Majestie. [EEBO]
Meyer, Edward. 1897. *Machiavelli and the Elizabethan Drama.* Weimar: Emil Felber.
Middleton, Thomas. 1653. The changeling as it was acted. with great applause) at the Privat house in Drury-Lane, and Salisbury Court. Written by Thomas Midleton, and William Rowley, Gent. [EEBO]
Millar, John Hepburn. 1903. *A Literary History of Scotland*. London: T. Fisher Unwin.
Millar, Robert McColl. 2007. *Northern and Insular Scots*. Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press.
Money, D. K.. 2004. “Ruggle, George. *bap.* 1575, *d.* 1621/2”, *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*. Oxford: Oxford University Press. Online. [www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/24262]
Montgomerie, Alexander. 1597. *The Cherrie and the Slaye*. Composed into Scottis Meeter, by Alexander Montgomerie. Edinburgh: Printed be Robert Walde-grave Printer to the Kings Majestie.
Moore Smith, G.C. 1925. “The Canon of Randolph’s Dramatic Works”, *Review of English Studies* 1 (3): 309-323.
Munday, Anthony. 1601. *The Downfall of Robert, Earle of Huntington, afterward called Robin Hood of merrie Sherwodde*: with his love to chaste Matilda, the Lord Fitzwaters daughter, afterwardes his faire Maide Marian. Acted by the Right Honourable, the Earle of

Notingham, Lord high Admirall of England, his servants. London: Printed for William Leake. [EEBO]
Munns, Jessica. 2004. “Otway, Thomas. 1652–1685”, *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*. Oxford: Oxford University Press. Online. [www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/20944]
Munro, Ian. 2000. “The City and Its Double: Plague Time in Early Modern London”, *English Literary Renaissance* 30 (2): 241-261.
Neumann, Joshua H. 1939. “Notes on Ben Jonson’s English”. PMLA. 54 (3): 736-763.
Nevalainen, Terttu and Raumolin-Brunberg, Helena. 2003. *Historical Sociolinguistics: Language Change in Tudor and Stuart England*. Harlow, England: Pearson Education Ltd.
Nevalainen, Terttu. 2006. *An Introduction to Early Modern English*. Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press.
Newcomb, L. H. 2004. “Greene, Robert. *bap.* 1558, *d.* 1592”, *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*. Oxford: Oxford University Press. Online. [www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/11418]
Nicoll, Allardyce. 1921. “Political Plays of the Restoration”, *The Modern Language Review*. 16 (3-4): 224-242.
O’Connor, Marion. 2007. “The Witch: Mid-1616”, in G. Taylor and J. Lavagnino (eds.), *The Collected Works of Thomas Middleton*. Oxford: Oxford University Press. 382-383.
Orton, Harold. 1933. *The Phonology of a South Durham Dialect*. London: Kegan, Paul, Trench, Trubner and Co., Ltd.
Peele, George. 1593. *The famous chronicle of king Edward the first, sirnamed Edward Longshankes with his returne from the holy land. Also the life of Lleuellen rebell in Wales. Lastly, the sinking of Queene Elinor, who sunck at Charingcrosse, and rose againe at Pottershith, now named Queenehith*. London: Printed by Abell Ieffes, and are to be solde by William Barley, at his shop in Gratious streete. [EEBO]
Phelps, John Delafield. 1842. *Collectanea Glocestrensia: or, a Catalogue of Books, Tracts, Prints, Coins, etc., relating to the County of Gloucester in the possession of J. D. Phelps, Esq., Chavenage House.* London.
Powell, George. 1693. *A Very Good Wife*. A comedy, as it is acted by Their Majesties servants at the Theatre-Royal. London: Printed for William Briscoe, over against Will’s Coffee-house, in Russel-Street, in Covent-Garden.
Prescott, Anne Lake. 2004. “Drayton, Michael. 1563–1631”, *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*. Oxford: Oxford University Press. Online. [www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/8042]
Pritchard, Jonathan. 2004. “D’Urfey, Thomas. 1653?–1723”, *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*. Oxford: Oxford University Press. Online. [www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/8313]
Randall, Dale B.J. 1995. *Winter Fruit: English Drama, 1642-1660.* Lexington, Kentucky: The University Press of Kentucky.
Randolph, Thomas. 1632. *The jealous lovers A comedie* presented to their gracious Majesties at Cambridge, by the students of Trinity-Colledge. Written by Thomas Randolph, Master of Arts, and fellow of the house. [EEBO]
Ray, John. 1674. *A collection of English words not generally used, with their significations and original in two alphabetical catalogues, the one of such as are proper to the northern, the other to the southern counties : with catalogues of English birds and fishes : and an account of the preparing and refining such metals and minerals as are gotten in England*. London: Printed by H. Bruges for Tho. Barrell. [EEBO]
1691. *A Collection of English Words Not Generally used, with their Significations and Original, in two Alphabetical Catalogues, the One of such as are proper to the Northern, the other to the Southern counties. With an Account of the preparing and refining such Metals and Minerals as are gotten in England.* The Second Edition, augmented with many hundreds of Words, Observations, Letters, etc. London: Printed for Christopher Wilkinson, at the Black Boy over against S. Dunstan’s Church in Fleetstreet. [EEBO]
Reed, Michael. 1987. *The Age of Exuberance: 1550-1700*. London: Paladin.
Rittenhouse, Jonathan (ed.). 1984. *A Critical Edition of I Sir John Oldcastle*. New York and London: Garland Publishing, Inc.

Robertson, Joseph (ed.). 1843. *Collections for a History of the Shires or Aberdeen and Banff*. Aberdeen: Printed for the Spalding Club.
Roemer, Katrin. 1998. *The Representation of Dialect in Literature 1500-1750: The County of Lancashire*. M.Litt thesis. The University of Edinburgh.
Ruano García, Javier. 2008. "North-East Yorkshire speech in the late seventeenth century: a phonological and orthographical evaluation of an anonymous printed broadside", *Sederi* 18: 97-119.
2010. *Early Modern Northern English Lexis: A Literary Corpus-based Study*. Frankfurt am Main: Peter Lang.
Rutherford, Samuel. 1660. *Christs napkin: or, A sermon preached in Kirkcubright at the Communion, May 12. 1633*. By that flower of the Church; famous, famous, Mr. Samuel Rutherfurd. Never before printed. [EEBO]
Salmon, Eric. 2004. "Tatham, John (fl. 1632–1664)", *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*. Oxford: Oxford University Press. Online [www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/26992]
Sanders, Julie. 1999. "Jonson, *The Sad Shepherd* and the North Midlands", *The Ben Jonson Journal: Literary Contexts in the Age of Elizabeth, James, and Charles* 6: 49-68.
2004. "Lacy, John. *c.*1615–1681", *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*. Oxford: Oxford University Press. Online. [www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/15856]
Saunders, Robert (ed.). 1970. *The Scottish History of James the Fourth*. London: Methuen and Co Ltd.
Scullion, Adrienne. 1997. " 'Forget Scotland': Plays by Scots on the London Stage, 1667-1715", *Comparative Drama* 31 (1): 105-128.
Sedley, Sir Charles. 1722. *The works of the Honourable Sir Charles Sedley, bart in prose and verse. In two volumes. Containing the translations of Virgil's pastorals, the battle and government of bees, &c. With his speeches, political pieces, poems, songs and plays the greatest part never printed before, viz. The happy pair. Antony and Cleopatra, a tragedy. The Mulberry garden, a comedy. Venus and Adonis, Bellamira, or, The mistress, a comedy. The grumbler, a comedy. The tyrant King of Crete, a tragedy. With memoirs of the author's life, writ by an eminent hand.* Volume 2. London. [ECCO]
Shakespeare, William. 1598. *A Pleasant Conceited Comedie Called Loves Labors lost*. As it was presented before her Highnes this last Christmas. Newly corrected and augmented by W. Shakespere. Imprinted at London by W.W. for Cutbert Burby. [EEBO]
1600. *Much adoe about nothing* As it hath been sundrie times publikely acted by the right honourable, the Lord Chamberlaine his servants. [EEBO]
1608. *Mr. William Shak-speare: his true chronicle historie of the life and death of King Lear and his three daughters With the unfortunate life of Edgar, sonne and heire to the Earle of Gloster, and his sullen and assumed humor of Tom of Bedlam*: as it was played before the Kings Maiestie at Whitehall upon S. Stephans night in Christmas hollidayes. By his Maiesties seruants playing usually at the Gloabe on the Bancke-side. London: Printed for Nathaniel Butter, and are to be sold at his shop in Pauls Church-yard at the signe of the Pide Bull neere St. Austins Gate. [EEBO]
2002. *King Lear.* S. Orgel (ed.). The Pelican Shakespeare. New York: Penguin.
2002. *Love's Labour's Lost.* Peter Holland (ed.). The Pelican Shakespeare. New York: Penguin.
Sharpham, Edward. 1607. *Cupid's Whirligig*. As it hath bene sundry times acted by the Children of the Kings Majesties Revels. London: Imprinted by E. Allde, and are to bee solde by Arthur Iohnson, at the signe of the white Horse, nere the great north doore of Saint Paules Church. [EEBO]
Sherburne, George, and Bond, Donald F. 2005 [1948]. *The Literary History of England: Volume 3, The Restoration and the Eighteenth Century*. Albert C. Baugh (ed.). London: Routledge.
Skelton, John. 1568. *Pithy pleasaunt and profitable workes of maister Skelton, Poete Laureate. Nowe collected and newly published.* Imprinted at London: In Fletestreate, neare unto saint Dunstones churche by Thomas Marshe. [EEBO]
Smith, Emma. 2004. "Chettle, Henry. *d.* 1603x7", *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*. Oxford: Oxford University Press. Online [www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/5245].

Spalding, Ruth. 2004. "Whitelocke, Bulstrode, appointed Lord Whitelocke under the protectorate. 1605–1675", *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*. Oxford: Oxford University Press. Online [www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/29297]

[Spenser, Edmund.] 1579. *The Shepheardes Calender, conteyning twelve AEglogues proportionable to the twelve monethes*. London: printed by Hugh Singleton, dwelling in Crede Lane neere unto Ludgate at the signe of the gylden Tunne, and are there to be solde. [EEBO]

Spencer, Hazelton. 1927. *Shakespeare Improved*. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press.

Spring, Joseph Edward. 1952. *Two Restoration Adaptations of Shakespeare's Plays – "Sauny The Scot; or, The Taming of the Shrew" by John Lacy and "The History and Fall of Caius Marius", Thomas Otway's Appropriation of Romeo and Juliet*. PhD thesis. The University of Denver.

Stern, Tiffany. 2009. *Documents of Performance in Early Modern England*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Stewart, Lauren. 2006. *Southern Rustic Speech in Tudor and Jacobean Drama.* MSc dissertation. The University of Edinburgh.

Stuart-Smith, Jane; Timmins, Claire; and Tweedie, Fiona. 2007. " 'Talkin' Jockney'? Variation and Change in Glaswegian accent", *Journal of Sociolinguistics* 11 (2): 221-260.

Taylor, Gary. 2004. "Middleton, Thomas. *bap.* 1580, *d.* 1627". *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*. Oxford: Oxford University Press. Online. [www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/18682]

Thomas, David (ed.), with David Hare. 1989. *Restoration and Georgian England, 1660-1788.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Thornton Burnett, Mark. 2004. "Chapman, George. 1559/60–1634", *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*. Oxford: Oxford University Press. Online [www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/5118]

Tobin, Terence (ed.). 1972. *The Assembly: A Critical Edition with Introduction and Notes by Terence Tobin.* Lafayette, Indiana, USA: Purdue University Studies.

1974. *Plays by Scots, 1660-1800*. Iowa City, Iowa, USA: University of Iowa Press.

Todd, Janet. 2004. "Behn, Aphra. 1640?–1689", *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*. Oxford: Oxford University Press. Online [www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/1961]

Trussler, Simon. 2000. *The Cambridge Illustrated History of British Theatre*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Van Fossen, R.W. (ed.). 1979. *Eastward Ho, by George Chapman, Ben Jonson, and John Marston.* Manchester: Manchester University Press.

Verstegan, Richard. [1605] 1979. *A Restitution of Decayed Intelligence: In antiquities. Concerning the most noble and renowmed* [sic] *English nation*. ITS Record in Early Printed Books. Amsterdam: Theatrum Orbis Terrarum, Ltd.

Wakelin, Martyn. 1984. "Rural dialects in England", in P. Trudgill (ed.), *Language in the British Isles*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. 70-93.

Wales, Katie. 2006. *Northern English*: *A Social and Cultural History*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

2010. "Northern English in writing", in R. Hickey (ed.), *Varieties of English in Writing: The Written Words as Linguistic Evidence*. Amsterdam: John Benjamins. 61-80.

Ward, Adolphus William. 1875. *A History of English Dramatic Literature to the Death of Queen Anne.* London: Macmillan and Co.

1899. *A History Of English Dramatic Literature to the death of Queen Anne*. New and Revised Edition. London: Macmillan and Co.

Wells, J.C. 1992. *Accents of English: 2: The British Isles*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Weiss. Adolf. 1924. *Die Mundart im Englischen Drama von 1642-1800*. Giessen: Im selbstverlag des Englischen seminars der Universität Giessen.

Wharton, George. 1661. *Select and Choice Poems Collected out of the Labours of Captain George Wharton*. London: Printed for Joseph Blaiklock, at the signe of the Turks Head in Ivy-Lane.

Williamson, Keith. 2002. "The Dialectology of 'English' north of the Humber, c. 1380-1500", in T. Fanego, B. Méndez-Naya, and E. Seoane (eds.), *Sounds, Words, Texts, and Change: Selected Papers from 11 ICEHL, Santiago de Compostela, 7-11 September 2000.* Amsterdam: John Benjamins. 253-286.

2008. [email]. Personal communication. 10 November 2008.
Wiseman, Susan. 1998. *Drama and Politics in the English Civil War*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
Wright, Louis B. 1934. "The Reading of Plays during the Puritan Revolution", *The Huntington Library Bulletin* 6: 73-108.

Common features in representations of Northern English and Scots in the seventeenth century

Appendix A: Lists of forms and frequencies

exclusively SCOTS
blithe
braw
crag
jo
ken
kirk
lug
sark
whilk
whinyard
Alveolar Cluster Simplification
/f/ for /ʍ/
/s/ and /ʃ/ interchange
/v/ -> /f/
monophthongal realisations of ME/u:/
X'*s* 'X *shall*'
Ise 'I'
sall forms of 'shall'
sud forms of 'should'

predominantly SCOTS after 1641
bonny
carl
gang
gar
gif 'if'
lig
loon
mickle
till 'to'
Northern Fronting (eME /o:/)

exclusively NORTHERN
belive
losel
wha 'wow'
-*en* suffix on verbs
Definite Article Reduction
X'*st* for 'X *shall*'
k-deletion
reflexes of ME /e:/
[a] to [ɔ]/[ɒ] before nasals
diphthongal realisations of ME /u:/

only in Shadwell
helo
tit
whoo 'she'

only in Shadwell and Otway
kibbo
loan

only in Brome
lessen

common to BOTH Northern English and Scots
bairn
deft
gin 'if'
mun 'must'
sic/ sike 'such'
sin 'since'
wood 'crazy'
v-deletion
l-vocalisation
OE /ɑ:/ > NME /a:/
reflexes of OE /ɑ:w/
reflexes of ME /i:/
weel 'well'
Ise 'I shall'
Ise 'I am'

Appendix A.1: Common forms and features in representations of Northern English and Scots

Appendix A.1 lists common forms and features in these seventeenth-century dramatic dialect representations. For the forms and features marked as either exclusively Scots or exclusively Northern, I have not replicated the charts found within the thesis. I have classified several words as ‘exclusively Scots’ though they do appear once or twice in northern depictions; I have discussed these uses and their possible motivations in 11.2.1.2.

I discuss the forms and features classified as predominantly Scots after 1641 within the conclusion (11.2.1.3), and provide tables displaying this information.

I include the items common to both Northern English and Scots in Appendices A.2, A.3, and A.4, organised by form chronologically. First, I display the lexical items (Appendix A.2), followed by the morphosyntactic forms (Appendix A.3) and then the phonological features (Appendix A.4). As in Chapter 11, I have shaded the rows containing features from northern dialect representations.

#	form	character	play	year
1	**barnes**	Rumford	*Club Law*	1599
2	**barne**	Holdup	*The Northern Lasse*	1632
1	**barnes**	Connie	*The Northern Lasse*	1632
2	**barne (1), barns (1)**	Friar	*The Valiant Scot*	1637
2	**barnes**	Wallace	*The Valiant Scot*	1637
1	**barns**	Brun	*Hey for Honesty*	1651
1	**bearn**	Dorothy	*Trick for Trick*	1673
1	**barn**	Countess	*Dame Dobson*	1684
4	**barn (2), bearn (2)**	Fidelia	*Sir Hercules Buffoon*	1684
1	**bearns**	Sauny	*Sauny the Scot*	1698
2	**bairns**	Willie	*Courtship A-la-mode*	1700
1	**bearne**	Scotch countreyman	*Ireland Preserv’d*	1705
2	**Berns, Bearnes**	Forgus	*Ireland Preserv’d*	1705
1	**deft**	Jockie	*Edward IV*	1599
2	**deftly**	Jockie	*Edward IV*	1599
1	**deaft**	Connie	*The Northern Lasse*	1632
1	**deft**	Joan, in a song	*The Late Lancashire Witches*	1634
1	**deft**	Antonio	*The Knave in Graine*	1640
1	**Deft**	Lorel	*The Sad Shepherd*	1641
1	**deft**	Marian/ Maudlin	*The Sad Shepherd*	1641
3	**deft**	Innocentia	*Sir Hercules Buffoon*	1684
1	**daft**	Sauny	*Sauny the Scot*	1698
2	**gin, ginne**	Jockie	*Edward IV*	1599
2	**gin**	Connie	*The Northern Lasse*	1632

1	**gin**	Scotch apothecary	*The Distracted State*	1651
2	**Gin**	Jocky	*The Scots Figgaries*	1652
1	**gan**	Sir Jolly	*The Souldiers Fortune*	1681
2	**gen**	Charlot	*The City Heiress*	1682
4	**gen**	Wariston	*The Roundheads*	1682
2	**gin**	Fidelia	*Sir Hercules Buffoon*	1684
1	**gin**	Innocentia	*Sir Hercules Buffoon*	1684
1	**gin**	Jockey/ Jenny	*A Fool's Preferment*	1688
10	**gin**	Sauny	*Sauny the Scot*	1698
10	**gin**	Willie	*Courtship A-la-mode*	1700
1	**mun**	Urania	*Cupid's Revenge*	1615
1	**mun**	Holdup	*The Northern Lasse*	1632
4	**mun**	Connie	*The Northern Lasse*	1632
1	**mun**	Parnell	*The Late Lancashire Witches*	1634
4	**mun**	Lawrence	*The Late Lancashire Witches*	1634
4	**mun**	Peggy	*The Valiant Scot*	1637
7	**mon**	Folly (2), Jocky (5)	*The Scots Figgaries*	1652
1	**mun**	Lady Turnup	*The Morning Ramble*	1672
4	**mun**	Scapin	*The Cheats of Scapin*	1677
1	**mon**	Wariston	*The Roundheads*	1682
4	**mun**	Tom	*The Lancashire Witches*	1682
5	**mun**	Clod	*The Lancashire Witches*	1682
2	**mun**	Countess	*Dame Dobson*	1684
8	**mun**	Fidelia	*Sir Hercules Buffoon*	1684
1	**mun**	Lolpoop	*The Squire of Alsatia*	1688
2	**mun**	Sauny	*Sauny the Scot*	1698
1	**mun**	Willie	*Courtship A-la-mode*	1700
1	**sike**	Bohan	*Scottish History of James IV*	1598
5	**sicke (3), sick (1), silke (1)**	Rumford	*Club Law*	1599
2	**sike**	Jockie	*Edward IV*	1599
1	**sike**	Connie	*The Northern Lasse*	1632
1	**sick**	Lawrence	*The Late Lancashire Witches*	1634
1	**sick an (a)**	Lawrence	*The Late Lancashire Witches*	1634
1	**sickerly**	Parnell	*The Late Lancashire Witches*	1634
1	**sicky**	Parnell	*The Late Lancashire Witches*	1634
2	**sike**	Peggy	*The Valiant Scot*	1637
2	**sike**	Wallace	*The Valiant Scot*	1637
1	**sike**	Antonio	*The Knave in Graine*	1640
2	**sike (1), syke (1)**	Maudlin	*The Sad Shepherd*	1641
1	**sick**	Folly	*Scots Figgaries*	1652
4	**sike**	Jocky	*Scots Figgaries*	1652
3	**sike (2), sick (1)**	Billy	*Scots Figgaries*	1652
2	**sike**	Betty	*A Fond Husband*	1677
1	**sick-like**	Charlot	*The City Heiress*	1682
1	**sike**	Wariston	*The Roundheads*	1682
1	**sike**	Innocentia	*Sir Hercules Buffoon*	1684
2	**sike ana**	Innocentia	*Sir Hercules Buffoon*	1684
1	**sick**	Willie	*Courtship A-la-mode*	1700
3	**sine**	Connie	*The Northern Lasse*	1632
2	**sin (1), sine (1)**	Parnell	*The Late Lancashire Witches*	1634

1	**sin**	Jocky	*The Scots Figgaries*	1652
2	**sen (1), sin (1)**	Wareston	*The Rump*	1660
1	**sine**	Betty	*A Fond Husband*	1677
1	**sin**	Clod	*The Lancashire Witches*	1682
1	**sin**	Wariston	*The Roundheads*	1682
1	**saun**	Willie	*Courtship A-la-mode*	1700
1	**seen**	Willie	*Courtship A-la-mode*	1700
1	**sein**	Willie	*Courtship A-la-mode*	1700
1	**sin**	Willie	*Courtship A-la-mode*	1700
1	**wood**	Holdup	*The Northern Lasse*	1632
1	**wud**	Folly	*The Scots Figgaries*	1652
1	**wud**	Jocky	*The Scots Figgaries*	1652
1	**wudnes**	Jocky	*The Scots Figgaries*	1652
3	**wood**	Tom	*The Lancashire Witches*	1682
2	**wood**	Lolpoop	*The Squire of Alsatia*	1688
4	**wood**	Willie	*Courtship A-la-mode*	1700
1	**weele**	Ida	*Scottish History of James IV*	1598
2	**weele**	Bohan	*Scottish History of James IV*	1598
1	**weele**	Sir Bartram	*Scottish History of James IV*	1598
3	**weele**	Rumford	*Club Law*	1599
1	**weel**	1st Gent	*Eastward Ho*	1605
3	**weel (1), weele (1), weell (1)**	Urania	*Cupid's Revenge*	1615
10	**weel (2); weell (8)**	Connie	*The Northern Lasse*	1632
1	**weell**	Holdup	*The Northern Lasse*	1632
1	**weell a neare**	Connie	*The Northern Lasse*	1632
2	**weel**	Parnell	*The Late Lancashire Witches*	1634
2	**weell**	Lawrence	*The Late Lancashire Witches*	1634
1	**weel**	Peggy	*The Valiant Scot*	1637
3	**weel (2), weele (1)**	Wallace	*The Valiant Scot*	1637
1	**weel**	Scotch apothecary	*The Distracted State*	1651
25	**Weele**	Billy (5), Billy and Jocky (1), Folly (2), Jocky (17)	*The Scots Figgaries*	1652
2	**weel (1), weele (1)**	Wareston	*The Rump*	1660
1	**weele**	Lady Turnup	*The Morning Ramble*	1672
1	**weel**	Dorothy	*Trick for Trick*	1673
1	**weel**	Betty	*A Fond Husband*	1677
1	**weel**	Scapin	*The Cheats of Scapin*	1677
1	**weel**	Swift	*Sir Barnaby Whigg*	1681
1	**weel**	Charlot	*The City Heiress*	1682
1	**weel**	Clod	*The Lancashire Witches*	1682
6	**weel (3), weele (2), wele (1)**	Wariston	*The Roundheads*	1682
1	**Weladay**	Countess	*Dame Dobson*	1684
1	**weel**	Madam la Marquise	*The Campaigners*	1698
1	**weell**	Scotch countreyman	*Ireland Preserv'd*	1705

Appendix A.2: All instances of the lexical items common in representations of both Northern English and Scots

#	form	gloss	character	play	year
2	**Ise**	I am	Rumford	*Club Law*	1599
1	**Ise**	I am	Club	*Sir John Oldcastle*	1600
1	**Ise**	I am	Kate	*Sir John Oldcastle*	1600
1	**I'is**	I am	Northern Clothier	*Bartholomew Fair*	1631
1	**I is**	I am	Holdup	*The Northern Lasse*	1632
3	**I is**	I am	Connie	*The Northern Lasse*	1632
1	**Ay's**	I am	Lawrence	*The Late Lancashire Witches*	1634
2	**ise**	I am	Doysells (1), Mortigue (1)	*The Vow Breaker*	1636
1	**Ize**	I am	Peggy	*The Valiant Scot*	1637
4	**I'ze (3), Ize (1)**	I am	Wallace	*The Valiant Scot*	1637
1	**Aies**	I am	Brun	*Hey for Honesty*	1651
22	**Ise**	I am	Jocky (11), Billy (6), Scarefoole (3), Folly (2)	*The Scots Figgaries*	1652
10	**Ise**	I am	Wareston	*The Rump*	1660
1	**I's**	I am	Charlot	*The City Heiress*	1682
5	**I's (4), Is (1)**	I am	Wariston	*The Roundheads*	1682
2	**I's (1), I is (1)**	I am	Fidelia	*Sir Hercules Buffoon*	1684
8	**Ise (7), I is (1)**	I am	Innocentia	*Sir Hercules Buffoon*	1684
4	**I'se**	I am	Hob	*The Benefice*	1689
3	**I'se (1), Is'e (1), Ise (1)**	I am	Sauny	*Sauny the Scot*	1698
2	**Ise**	I am	Forgus	*Ireland Preserv'd*	1705
2	**ais (1), ayse (1)**	I shall	Bohan	*Scottish History of James IV*	1598
4	**ise (3), ayse (1)**	I shall	Jockie	*Edward IV*	1599
13	**Ise**	I shall	Rumford	*Club Law*	1599
3	**Ise**	I shall	Kate	*Sir John Oldcastle*	1600
2	**ay's**	I shall	Parnell	*The Late Lancashire Witches*	1634
6	**Ise (3), Ize (1), I'ze (2)**	I shall	Wallace	*The Valiant Scot*	1637
1	**Ise**	I shall	Friar	*The Valiant Scot*	1637
2	**I'is**	I shall	Maudlin	*The Sad Shepherd*	1641
10	**Aies (9), I'se (1)**	I shall	Brun	*Hey for Honesty*	1651
21	**Ise**	I shall	Jocky (9), Folly (6), Scarefoole (3), Billy (2), Scotch Song (1)	*The Scots Figgaries*	1652
3	**Ise**	I shall	Wareston	*The Rump*	1660
4	**ay's (2), Ays (1), I's (1)**	I shall	Scapin	*The Cheats of Scapin*	1677
15	**I's (12), Is (3)**	I shall	Wariston	*The Roundheads*	1682
3	**I's**	I shall	Charlot	*The City Heiress*	1682
1	**Ayst**	I shall	Young Harfort	*The Lancashire Witches*	1682
5	**Ayst (3), I'st (2)**	I shall	Tom	*The Lancashire Witches*	1682
7	**Ayst (3), Ay'st (1), I'st (1), Ist (1), Ise (1)**	I shall	Clod	*The Lancashire Witches*	1682
3	**Ise**	I shall	Countess	*Dame Dobson*	1684

3	**Iste**	I shall	Innocentia	*Sir Hercules Buffoon*	1684
5	**Ise (2), I's (2), I'st (1)**	I shall	Lolpoop	*The Squire of Alsatia*	1688
9	**I'se**	I shall	Hob	*The Benefice*	1689
27	**I'se (21); Ise (3); Is'e (3)**	I shall	Sauny	*Sauny the Scot*	1698
4	**Ise (2), I'se (2)**	I shall	Willie Beetlehead	*Courtship A-la-mode*	1700
4	**Ise**	I shall	Forgus (2), Scotch countreyman (1), two women (1)	*Ireland Preserv'd*	1705
1	**I's**	I shall	David Hewston	*Ireland Preserv'd*	1705

Appendix A.3: All instances of morphosyntactic features common in representations of both Northern English and Scots

process	#	form	gloss	character	play	year
v-deletion	6	**deele**	devil	Bohan	*Scottish History of James IV*	1598
v-deletion	13	**deale (4), dele (3), deele (5), de'ele (1)**	devil	Rumford	*Club Law*	1599
v-deletion	1	**diell**	devil	Jockie	*Edward IV*	1599
v-deletion	1	**deell**	devil	Parnell	*The Late Lancashire Witches*	1634
v-deletion	1	**dele**	devil	Doysells	*The Vow Breaker*	1636
v-deletion	2	**Deill**	devil	Brun	*Hey for Honesty*	1651
v-deletion	1	**Deel**	devil	apothecary	*The Distracted State*	1651
v-deletion	3	**Deel (1), Deele (1), Deeles (1)**	devil	Scarefoole	*The Scots Figgaries*	1652
v-deletion	7	**Deele (5), Deel (1), Deeles (1)**	devil	Jocky	*The Scots Figgaries*	1652
v-deletion	8	**Deele (8), Deeles (1)**	devil	Folly	*The Scots Figgaries*	1652
v-deletion	5	**Deel**	Devil	Wareston	*The Rump*	1660
v-deletion	2	**Dee'l (1), Deel (1)**	devil	Tom	*The Lancashire Witches*	1682
v-deletion	7	**Dee'l (5), Deel (2)**	devil	Clod	*The Lancashire Witches*	1682
v-deletion	12	**Diel**	devil	Wariston	*The Roundheads*	1682
v-deletion	3	**Deal (1), Deil (2)**	devil	Countess	*Dame Dobson*	1684
v-deletion	1	**Deel**	devil	Lolpoop	*The Squire of Alsatia*	1688
v-deletion	4	**dule**	devil	Hob	*The Benefice*	1689
v-deletion	1	**Dil**	devil	3rd boatman	*The Assembly*	1691
v-deletion	1	**Di'le**	devil	1st boatman	*The Assembly*	1691
v-deletion	2	**D'il (1), D'ill (1)**	devil	3rd hirer	*The Assembly*	1691

v-deletion	30	**deel (18); Dee'l (11); De'll (1)**	devil	Sauny	*Sauny the Scot*	1698
v-deletion	17	**deel**	devil	Willie	*Courtship A-la-mode*	1700
v-deletion	2	**deel**	devil	Scotch countreyman	*Ireland Preserv'd*	1705
v-deletion	1	**Deels**	devil	mob member	*Ireland Preserv'd*	1705
v-deletion	2	**Dee'l**	devil	1 Gang	*Ireland Preserv'd*	1705
v-deletion	1	**Dee'l**	devil	2 Gang	*Ireland Preserv'd*	1705
v-deletion	1	**Dee'll**	devil	mob member	*Ireland Preserv'd*	1705
v-deletion	1	**Deeles**	devils	Billy	*The Scots Figgaries*	1652
v-deletion	1	**gi**	give	apothecary	*The Distracted State*	1651
v-deletion	1	**ga**	give	Billy	*The Scots Figgaries*	1652
v-deletion	3	**ge**	give	Folly	*The Scots Figgaries*	1652
v-deletion	1	**ge**	give	Jocky	*The Scots Figgaries*	1652
v-deletion	3	**gi (2), gee (1)**	give	Wareston	*The Rump*	1660
v-deletion	2	**gi**	give	Moderator	*The Assembly*	1691
v-deletion	8	**gi (6), gea (2)**	give	Sauny	*Sauny the Scot*	1698
v-deletion	5	**gee (4), gea (1)**	give	Willie	*Courtship A-la-mode*	1700
v-deletion	1	**gynne**	given	Jockie	*Edward IV*	1599
v-deletion	1	**geen**	given	Wareston	*The Rump*	1660
v-deletion	1	**gin**	given	Sauny	*Sauny the Scot*	1698
v-deletion	1	**geen**	given	Willie	*Courtship A-la-mode*	1700
v-deletion	1	**heane**	heaven	Parnell	*The Late Lancashire Witches*	1634
v-deletion	1	**Hea'n**	heaven	Lolpoop	*The Squire of Alsatia*	1688
v-deletion	2	**siller**	silver	Jockie	*Edward IV*	1599
v-deletion	1	**siller**	silver	Peggy	*The Valiant Scot*	1637
v-deletion	4	**siller**	silver	Billy	*The Scots Figgaries*	1652
v-deletion	1	**siller**	silver	Folly	*The Scots Figgaries*	1652
v-deletion	4	**siller**	silver	Jocky	*The Scots Figgaries*	1652
v-deletion	1	**siller**	silver	Wareston	*The Rump*	1660
v-deletion	3	**Siller**	silver	Sauny	*Sauny the Scot*	1698
v-deletion	5	**siller**	silver	Willie	*Courtship A-la-mode*	1700
v-deletion	1	**Siller**	silver	Scotch countreyman	*Ireland Preserv'd*	1705
l-vocalisation	8	**aw**	all	Lawrence (2), Parnell (6)	*The Late Lancashire Witches*	1634
l-vocalisation	1	**awe**	all	Peggy	*The Valiant Scot*	1637
l-vocalisation	1	**aw**	all	Friar	*The Valiant Scot*	1637
l-vocalisation	12	**aw**	all	Billy	*The Scots Figgaries*	1652
l-vocalisation	6	**aw**	all	Folly	*The Scots Figgaries*	1652
l-vocalisation	20	**aw**	all	Jocky	*The Scots Figgaries*	1652
l-vocalisation	8	**aw**	all	Scarefoole	*The Scots Figgaries*	1652
l-vocalisation	5	**aw**	all	a Scotchman	*A Short Representation...*	1660

l-vocalisation	9	**aw**	all	Wareston	*The Rump*	1660
l-vocalisation	2	**aw**	all	Scapin	*The Cheats of Scapin*	1677
l-vocalisation	2	**aw**	all	Thomas o Georges	*The Lancashire Witches*	1682
l-vocalisation	2	**aw**	all	Tom	*The Lancashire Witches*	1682
l-vocalisation	6	**aw**	all	Clod	*The Lancashire Witches*	1682
l-vocalisation	1	**ad**	all	Charlot	*The City Heiress*	1682
l-vocalisation	12	**aud (8), ad (4)**	all	Wariston	*The Roundheads*	1682
l-vocalisation	10	**aw**	all	Lolpoop	*The Squire of Alsatia*	1688
l-vocalisation	1	**a**	all	3rd boatman	*The Assembly*	1691
l-vocalisation	1	**a**	all	4th boatman	*The Assembly*	1691
l-vocalisation	2	**a**	all	Ruling Elder	*The Assembly*	1691
l-vocalisation	4	**aw**	all	Scotch Song	*The Marriage Hater Match'd*	1692
l-vocalisation	11	**aw (10) awe (1)**	all	Sauny	*Sauny the Scot*	1698
l-vocalisation	10	**au**	all	Willie	*Courtship A-la-mode*	1700
l-vocalisation	1	**au**	all	Forgus	*Ireland Preserv'd*	1705
l-vocalisation	1	**aw**	all	1 Man	*Ireland Preserv'd*	1705
l-vocalisation	1	**aw**	all	Forgus	*Ireland Preserv'd*	1705
l-vocalisation	1	**awe**	all	1 Burg	*Ireland Preserv'd*	1705
l-vocalisation	2	**awe**	all	1st Drag	*Ireland Preserv'd*	1705
l-vocalisation	1	**awe**	all	2 Burg	*Ireland Preserv'd*	1705
l-vocalisation	1	**awe**	all	2 Officer	*Ireland Preserv'd*	1705
l-vocalisation	2	**aw reight**	all right	Scarefoole	*The Scots Figgaries*	1652
l-vocalisation	1	**auready**	already	Northern Clothier	*Bartholomew Fair*	1631
l-vocalisation	1	**auready**	already	Willie	*Courtship A-la-mode*	1700
l-vocalisation	1	**awter'd**	altered	Jocky	*The Scots Figgaries*	1652
l-vocalisation	1	**awas**	always	Parnell	*The Late Lancashire Witches*	1634
l-vocalisation	3	**awway's, awways, aw wayes**	always	Sauny	*Sauny the Scot*	1698
l-vocalisation	2	**aw faw**	awful	Sauny	*Sauny the Scot*	1698
l-vocalisation	1	**Baudrick**	Baldrick	Marian (Maudlin in disguise)	*The Sad Shepherd*	1641
l-vocalisation	1	**bawk**	balk	Sauny	*Sauny the Scot*	1698
l-vocalisation	1	**becaw'd**	becall	Thomas o Georges	*The Lancashire Witches*	1682
l-vocalisation	1	**baudly**	boldly	Maudlin	*The Sad Shepherd*	1641
l-vocalisation	1	**Boyes**	bowels	Sauny	*Sauny the Scot*	1698
l-vocalisation	1	**caw**	call	Folly/Jocky	*Scots Figgaries*	1652
l-vocalisation	3	**Caw**	call	Sauny	*Sauny the Scot*	1698

l-vocalisation	2	**cau**	call	Willie	*Courtship A-la-mode*	1700
l-vocalisation	1	**cawd**	called	Thomas o Georges	*The Lancashire Witches*	1682
l-vocalisation	1	**caum**	calm	Willie	*Courtship A-la-mode*	1700
l-vocalisation	1	**capo**	caple [horse]	Clod	*The Lancashire Witches*	1682
l-vocalisation	1	**caw'd**	cold	Lawrence	*The Late Lancashire Witches*	1634
l-vocalisation	1	**cawd**	cold	Peggy	*The Valiant Scot*	1637
l-vocalisation	2	**caud (1), cawd (1)**	cold	Sauny	*Sauny the Scot*	1698
l-vocalisation	1	**dismawe**	dismal	Peggy	*The Valiant Scot*	1637
l-vocalisation	1	**faw**	fall	Lawrence	*The Late Lancashire Witches*	1634
l-vocalisation	1	**faw**	fall	Parnell	*The Late Lancashire Witches*	1634
l-vocalisation	1	**faw**	fall	Peggy	*The Valiant Scot*	1637
l-vocalisation	2	**faw**	fall	Jocky	*The Scots Figgaries*	1652
l-vocalisation	1	**fa**	fall	Willie	*Courtship A-la-mode*	1700
l-vocalisation	2	**fau**	fall	Willie	*Courtship A-la-mode*	1700
l-vocalisation	1	**fawing**	falling	Parnell	*The Late Lancashire Witches*	1634
l-vocalisation	1	**fause**	false	Jockie	*Edward IV*	1599
l-vocalisation	2	**fawse**	false	Wallace	*The Valiant Scot*	1637
l-vocalisation	1	**fow**	fool	Lolpoop	*The Squire of Alsatia*	1688
l-vocalisation	1	**fawe**	foul	Peggy	*The Valiant Scot*	1637
l-vocalisation	1	**fawe**	foul	Wallace	*The Valiant Scot*	1637
l-vocalisation	1	**faw**	foul	Folly	*The Scots Figgaries*	1652
l-vocalisation	1	**faw**	foul	Scarefoole	*The Scots Figgaries*	1652
l-vocalisation	1	**fow**	foul	Folly	*The Scots Figgaries*	1652
l-vocalisation	6	**faw**	foul	Wareston	*The Rump*	1660
l-vocalisation	6	**faud**	foul	Wariston	*The Roundheads*	1682
l-vocalisation	6	**faw**	foul	Sauny	*Sauny the Scot*	1698
l-vocalisation	1	**fou**	foul	Sauny	*Sauny the Scot*	1698
l-vocalisation	1	**faudest**	foulest	Wariston	*The Roundheads*	1682
l-vocalisation	1	**foo**	full	Sauny	*Sauny the Scot*	1698
l-vocalisation	3	**fow**	full	Sauny	*Sauny the Scot*	1698
l-vocalisation	1	**fou**	full	Willie	*Courtship A-la-mode*	1700
l-vocalisation	1	**hauf**	half	apothecary	*The Distracted State*	1651
l-vocalisation	1	**hauf**	half	Willie	*Courtship A-la-mode*	1700
l-vocalisation	2	**Haupeny**	halfpenny	beggar	*Ireland Preserv'd*	1705
l-vocalisation	1	**hawter**	halter	Billy	*The Scots Figgaries*	1652
l-vocalisation	1	**haud**	hold	Bohan	*Scottish History of James IV*	1598
l-vocalisation	2	**hawd**	hold	Jockie	*Edward IV*	1599
l-vocalisation	2	**hawd**	hold	Peggy	*The Valiant Scot*	1637

l-vocalisation	2	**hawd**	hold	Wallace	*The Valiant Scot*	1637
l-vocalisation	3	**hawd**	hold	Scarefoole	*The Scots Figgaries*	1652
l-vocalisation	1	**hawd**	hold	Wareston	*The Rump*	1660
l-vocalisation	1	**haud**	hold	Tom	*The Lancashire Witches*	1682
l-vocalisation	1	**hawd**	hold	Clod	*The Lancashire Witches*	1682
l-vocalisation	1	**hade**	hold	Wariston	*The Roundheads*	1682
l-vocalisation	3	**Haud**	hold	Wariston	*The Roundheads*	1682
l-vocalisation	2	**hawd**	hold	Lolpoop	*The Squire of Alsatia*	1688
l-vocalisation	1	**Had**	hold	Moderator	*The Assembly*	1691
l-vocalisation	2	**haud (1) hau'd (1)**	hold	Sauny	*Sauny the Scot*	1698
l-vocalisation	2	**haud**	hold	Willie	*Courtship A-la-mode*	1700
l-vocalisation	3	**haud**	hold	Forgus	*Ireland Preserv'd*	1705
l-vocalisation	1	**haw**	hold	1 Burg	*Ireland Preserv'd*	1705
l-vocalisation	2	**haw**	hold	1 Gang	*Ireland Preserv'd*	1705
l-vocalisation	1	**haw**	hold	2 Gang	*Ireland Preserv'd*	1705
l-vocalisation	1	**hauds**	holds	Jockie	*Edward IV*	1599
l-vocalisation	1	**Kibbo**	kibble [club]	Scapin	*The Cheats of Scapin*	1677
l-vocalisation	1	**kibbo**	kibble [club]	Clod	*The Lancashire Witches*	1682
l-vocalisation	1	**kibbo**	kibble [club]	Lolpoop	*The Squire of Alsatia*	1688
l-vocalisation	1	**knough**	knoll	Betty	*A Fond Husband*	1677
l-vocalisation	1	**awd**	old	Lawrence	*The Late Lancashire Witches*	1634
l-vocalisation	3	**awd (2), owd (1)**	old	Parnell	*The Late Lancashire Witches*	1634
l-vocalisation	1	**awd**	old	Peggy	*The Valiant Scot*	1637
l-vocalisation	1	**awde**	old	Wallace	*The Valiant Scot*	1637
l-vocalisation	1	**awd**	old	Scapin	*The Cheats of Scapin*	1677
l-vocalisation	1	**awd**	old	Mal Spencer	*The Lancashire Witches*	1682
l-vocalisation	1	**awd**	old	Tom	*The Lancashire Witches*	1682
l-vocalisation	1	**awd**	old	Young Harfort	*The Lancashire Witches*	1682
l-vocalisation	3	**aud**	old	Wariston	*The Roundheads*	1682
l-vocalisation	4	**awd**	old	Lolpoop	*The Squire of Alsatia*	1688
l-vocalisation	7	**awd (4), aw'd (1), aud (2)**	old	Sauny	*Sauny the Scot*	1698
l-vocalisation	4	**awd (3), aw'd (1)**	old	beggar	*Ireland Preserv'd*	1705
l-vocalisation	1	**pu'**	pull	Maudlin	*The Sad Shepherd*	1641
l-vocalisation	1	**pood**	pulled	Lolpoop	*The Squire of Alsatia*	1688

l-vocalisation	1	**smaw**	small	Wallace	*The Valiant Scot*	1637
l-vocalisation	1	**smaw**	small	Billy	*The Scots Figgaries*	1652
l-vocalisation	4	**saw**	soul	apothecary	*The Distracted State*	1651
l-vocalisation	12	**saw**	soul	Billy (1), Folly (1), Jocky (8), Scarefoole (2)	*The Scots Figgaries*	1652
l-vocalisation	2	**saw**	soul	Wareston	*The Rump*	1660
l-vocalisation	1	**sau**	soul	Forgus	*Ireland Preserv'd*	1705
l-vocalisation	1	**saws**	souls	Billy	*Scots Figgaries*	1652
l-vocalisation	1	**stabo**	stable	Clod	*The Lancashire Witches*	1682
l-vocalisation	1	**steepo**	steeple	Clod	*The Lancashire Witches*	1682
l-vocalisation	1	**tawke**	talk	Jocky	*The Scots Figgaries*	1652
l-vocalisation	1	**wau**	well	Willie	*Courtship A-la-mode*	1700
ME and EModE /i:/	1	**aleife**	alive	Jocky	*Scots Figgaries*	1652
ME and EModE /i:/	1	**besaid**	beside	Clod	*The Lancashire Witches*	1682
ME and EModE /i:/	1	**Brayd**	bride	Parnell	*The Late Lancashire Witches*	1634
ME and EModE /i:/	2	**bay**	buy	Jockie	*Edward IV*	1599
ME and EModE /i:/	1	**cray**	cry	Connie	*The Northern Lasse*	1632
ME and EModE /i:/	1	**devaise**	devise	Connie	*The Northern Lasse*	1632
ME and EModE /i:/	1	**devaise**	devise	Parnell	*The Late Lancashire Witches*	1634
ME and EModE /i:/	1	**daying**	dying	Peggy	*The Valiant Scot*	1637
ME and EModE /i:/	6	**faire**	fire	Parnell	*The Late Lancashire Witches*	1634
ME and EModE /i:/	2	**fiev**	five	Jocky	*Scots Figgaries*	1652
ME and EModE /i:/	1	**flee**	fly	Folly	*Scots Figgaries*	1652
ME and EModE /i:/	1	**flay**	fly (v.)	Peggy	*The Valiant Scot*	1637
ME and EModE /i:/	1	**flee-flaps**	fly-flaps	Peggy	*The Valiant Scot*	1637
ME and EModE /i:/	1	**Graip**	Gripe [proper name]	Scapin	*The Cheats of Scapin*	1677
ME and EModE /i:/	1	**hayd**	hide	Peggy	*The Valiant Scot*	1637
ME and EModE /i:/	1	**hee**	high	Jockie	*Edward IV*	1599
ME and EModE /i:/	10	**Ay**	I	Bohan	*Scottish History of James IV*	1598
ME and EModE /i:/	4	**aies**	I	Brun	*Hey for Honesty*	1651
ME and EModE /i:/	3	**ay**	I	Scapin	*The Cheats of Scapin*	1677
ME and EModE /i:/	5	**ay**	I	Thomas o Georges	*The Lancashire Witches*	1682
ME and EModE /i:/	8	**Ay**	I	Clod	*The Lancashire Witches*	1682
ME and EModE /i:/	1	**Ay**	I	Tom	*The Lancashire Witches*	1682

ME and EModE /i:/	2	**ay-doll (1), aydoll (1)**	idol	Parnell	*The Late Lancashire Witches*	1634
ME and EModE /i:/	1	**ayle**	Ile	Captain Jamy	*Henry V*	1623
ME and EModE /i:/	1	**Ay's**	Ise --> I is	Lawrence	*The Late Lancashire Witches*	1634
ME and EModE /i:/	2	**ay's**	Ise --> I shall	Parnell	*The Late Lancashire Witches*	1634
ME and EModE /i:/	4	**ay's (2), Ays (1), I's (1)**	Ise --> I shall	Scapin	*The Cheats of Scapin*	1677
ME and EModE /i:/	1	**Ayst**	Ist --> I shall	Young Harfort	*The Lancashire Witches*	1682
ME and EModE /i:/	3	**Ayst**	Ist --> I shall	Tom	*The Lancashire Witches*	1682
ME and EModE /i:/	4	**Ayst (3), Ay'st (1)**	Ist --> I shall	Clod	*The Lancashire Witches*	1682
ME and EModE /i:/	1	**Aid**	I'd	Peggy	*The Valiant Scot*	1637
ME and EModE /i:/	1	**ayl**	I'll	Bohan	*Scottish History of James IV*	1598
ME and EModE /i:/	1	**aile**	I'll	Urania	*Cupid's Revenge*	1615
ME and EModE /i:/	3	**lee (1), lee'd (1), leed (1)**	lie	Wariston	*The Roundheads*	1682
ME and EModE /i:/	2	**laife**	life	Parnell	*The Late Lancashire Witches*	1634
ME and EModE /i:/	1	**laife**	life	Peggy	*The Valiant Scot*	1637
ME and EModE /i:/	1	**leife**	life	Jocky	*Scots Figgaries*	1652
ME and EModE /i:/	1	**Leife**	life	Forgus	*Ireland Preserv'd*	1705
ME and EModE /i:/	3	**laik (1), laike (2)**	like	Parnell	*The Late Lancashire Witches*	1634
ME and EModE /i:/	1	**laive**	live, adj.	Parnell	*The Late Lancashire Witches*	1634
ME and EModE /i:/	1	**layves**	lives, n.	Parnell	*The Late Lancashire Witches*	1634
ME and EModE /i:/	1	**mail**	mile	Clod	*The Lancashire Witches*	1682
ME and EModE /i:/	2	**mein**	mind	Willie	*Courtship A-la-mode*	1700
ME and EModE /i:/	1	**maine**	mine	Lawrence	*The Late Lancashire Witches*	1634
ME and EModE /i:/	2	**may**	my	Bohan	*Scottish History of James IV*	1598
ME and EModE /i:/	1	**may**	my	Sir Bartram	*Scottish History of James IV*	1598
ME and EModE /i:/	2	**may**	my	Jockie	*Edward IV*	1599
ME and EModE /i:/	1	**maye**	my	Jockie	*Edward IV*	1599
ME and EModE /i:/	4	**may**	my	Lawrence	*The Late Lancashire Witches*	1634
ME and EModE /i:/	1	**may**	my	Peggy	*The Valiant Scot*	1637
ME and EModE /i:/	1	**Paipers**	piper's	Northern Clothier	*Bartholomew Fair*	1631
ME and EModE /i:/	1	**rayds**	rides	Jockie	*Edward IV*	1599

ME and EModE /i:/	2	**seir**	sire	Willie	*Courtship A-la-mode*	1700
ME and EModE /i:/	2	**smait**	smite	Young Harfort	*The Lancashire Witches*	1682
ME and EModE /i:/	1	**thaine**	thine	Lawrence	*The Late Lancashire Witches*	1634
ME and EModE /i:/	2	**thay**	thy	Bohan	*Scottish History of James IV*	1598
ME and EModE /i:/	1	**taime**	time	Urania	*Cupid's Revenge*	1615
ME and EModE /i:/	1	**Tayrant**	tyrant	Urania	*Cupid's Revenge*	1615
ME and EModE /i:/	1	**unkaind**	unkind	Connie	*The Northern Lasse*	1632
ME and EModE /i:/	1	**whayle**	while	Connie	*The Northern Lasse*	1632
ME and EModE /i:/	1	**whayte**	white	Peggy	*The Valiant Scot*	1637
ME and EModE /i:/	6	**whay**	why	Bohan	*Scottish History of James IV*	1598
ME and EModE /i:/	2	**whay**	why	Parnell	*The Late Lancashire Witches*	1634
ME and EModE /i:/	1	**whay**	why	Peggy	*The Valiant Scot*	1637
ME and EModE /i:/	1	**waife**	wife	Lawrence	*The Late Lancashire Witches*	1634
ME and EModE /i:/	5	**waife (4), waif (1)**	wife	Peggy	*The Valiant Scot*	1637
ME and EModE /i:/	1	**waife**	wife	Clod	*The Lancashire Witches*	1682
ME and EModE /i:/	1	**waild**	wild	Parnell	*The Late Lancashire Witches*	1634
OE /a:/ > NME /a:/	1	**alane**	alone	Fidelia	*Sir Hercules Buffoon*	1684
OE /a:/ > NME /a:/	1	**beanes**	bones	Mortigue	*The Vow Breaker*	1636
OE /a:/ > NME /a:/	1	**bath**	both	Captain Jamy	*Henry V*	1623
OE /a:/ > NME /a:/	1	**beth**	both	Parnell	*The Late Lancashire Witches*	1634
OE /a:/ > NME /a:/	1	**beoth**	both	Folly	*The Scots Figgaries*	1652
OE /a:/ > NME /a:/	2	**brawd**	broad	Tom	*The Lancashire Witches*	1682
OE /a:/ > NME /a:/	1	**claithed**	clothed	Maudlin	*The Sad Shepherd*	1641
OE /a:/ > NME /a:/	1	**claithes**	clothes	Earine (mocking)	*The Sad Shepherd*	1641
OE /a:/ > NME /a:/	1	**claithes**	clothes	Maudlin	*The Sad Shepherd*	1641
OE /a:/ > NME /a:/	1	**Cleathes**	clothes	Scotch countrywoman	*Ireland Preserv'd*	1705
OE /a:/ > NME /a:/	1	**ga**	go	Billy	*The Scots Figgaries*	1652
OE /a:/ > NME /a:/	1	**gee**	go	Jocky	*The Scots Figgaries*	1652
OE /a:/ > NME /a:/	2	**gea**	go	Innocentia	*Sir Hercules Buffoon*	1684
OE /a:/ > NME /a:/	12	**gea (9) gee (2), ge (1)**	go	Sauny	*Sauny the Scot*	1698
OE /a:/ > NME /a:/	3	**geane**	gone	Connie	*The Northern Lasse*	1632
OE /a:/ > NME /a:/	1	**gan**	gone	Holdup	*The Northern Lasse*	1632
OE /a:/ > NME /a:/	1	**heame**	home	Lawrence	*The Late Lancashire Witches*	1634

OE /a:/ > NME /a:/	26	**heom**	home	Fidlers	*The Scots Figgaries*	1652
OE /a:/ > NME /a:/	1	**heom**	home	Scarefoole	*The Scots Figgaries*	1652
OE /a:/ > NME /a:/	1	**heam**	home	Letitia	*The Virtuous Wife*	1680
OE /a:/ > NME /a:/	1	**whoame**	home	Tom	*The Lancashire Witches*	1682
OE /a:/ > NME /a:/	1	**hame**	home	Fidelia	*Sir Hercules Buffoon*	1684
OE /a:/ > NME /a:/	4	**whome (3), whom (1)**	home	Lolpoop	*The Squire of Alsatia*	1688
OE /a:/ > NME /a:/	2	**heam**	home	Sauny	*Sauny the Scot*	1698
OE /a:/ > NME /a:/	1	**heame**	home	Granade	*Ireland Preserv'd*	1705
OE /a:/ > NME /a:/	1	**lath**	loath	Sauny	*Sauny the Scot*	1698
OE /a:/ > NME /a:/	1	**leath**	loathe	Betty	*A Fond Husband*	1677
OE /a:/ > NME /a:/	1	**Leords**	Lord	Wareston	*The Rump*	1660
OE /a:/ > NME /a:/	2	**Lerd**	Lord	Wariston	*The Roundheads*	1682
OE /a:/ > NME /a:/	1	**Leards**	Lords	Jocky	*The Scots Figgaries*	1652
OE /a:/ > NME /a:/	1	**mere**	more	Bohan	*Scottish History of James IV*	1598
OE /a:/ > NME /a:/	4	**mare (3); maire (1)**	more	Northern Clothier	*Bartholomew Fair*	1631
OE /a:/ > NME /a:/	1	**maer**	more	Connie	*The Northern Lasse*	1632
OE /a:/ > NME /a:/	1	**mare**	more	Parnell	*The Late Lancashire Witches*	1634
OE /a:/ > NME /a:/	3	**mare (2), meare (1)**	more	Friar	*The Valiant Scot*	1637
OE /a:/ > NME /a:/	3	**mare (2), meare (1)**	more	Friar	*The Valiant Scot*	1637
OE /a:/ > NME /a:/	1	**mare**	more	Peggy	*The Valiant Scot*	1637
OE /a:/ > NME /a:/	1	**mare**	more	Peggy	*The Valiant Scot*	1637
OE /a:/ > NME /a:/	1	**mare**	more	Maudlin	*The Sad Shepherd*	1641
OE /a:/ > NME /a:/	1	**mare**	more	Scotch apothecary	*The Distracted State*	1651
OE /a:/ > NME /a:/	1	**mere**	more	Billy	*The Scots Figgaries*	1652
OE /a:/ > NME /a:/	3	**mere**	more	Folly	*The Scots Figgaries*	1652
OE /a:/ > NME /a:/	4	**mere**	more	Jocky	*The Scots Figgaries*	1652
OE /a:/ > NME /a:/	2	**mere**	more	a Scotchman	*A Short Representation...*	1660
OE /a:/ > NME /a:/	3	**meere**	more	Wareston	*The Rump*	1660
OE /a:/ > NME /a:/	1	**mere**	more	Lady Turnup	*The Morning Ramble*	1672
OE /a:/ > NME /a:/	2	**mere**	more	Wariston	*The Roundheads*	1682
OE /a:/ > NME /a:/	1	**mear**	more	Countess	*Dame Dobson*	1684
OE /a:/ > NME /a:/	2	**mair**	more	Covenant	*The Assembly*	1691
OE /a:/ > NME /a:/	5	**mear (1), meare (1), meer (1), meere (1), mere (1)**	more	Sauny	*Sauny the Scot*	1698

OE /a:/ > NME /a:/	2	**mair**	more	Willie	*Courtship A-la-mode*	1700
OE /a:/ > NME /a:/	1	**mest**	most	Folly	*Scots Figgaries*	1652
OE /a:/ > NME /a:/	1	**ne**	no	Bohan	*Scottish History of James IV*	1598
OE /a:/ > NME /a:/	4	**ne**	no	Northern Clothier	*Bartholomew Fair*	1631
OE /a:/ > NME /a:/	1	**ne**	no	Connie	*The Northern Lasse*	1632
OE /a:/ > NME /a:/	3	**na**	no	Parnell	*The Late Lancashire Witches*	1634
OE /a:/ > NME /a:/	1	**nea**	no	Friar	*The Valiant Scot*	1637
OE /a:/ > NME /a:/	2	**na**	no	Peggy	*The Valiant Scot*	1637
OE /a:/ > NME /a:/	4	**na (3), ne (1)**	no	Wallace	*The Valiant Scot*	1637
OE /a:/ > NME /a:/	1	**na'**	no	Lorel	*The Sad Shepherd*	1641
OE /a:/ > NME /a:/	1	**na**	no	Scotch apothecary	*The Distracted State*	1651
OE /a:/ > NME /a:/	11	**ne**	no	Billy	*The Scots Figgaries*	1652
OE /a:/ > NME /a:/	6	**ne**	no	Folly	*The Scots Figgaries*	1652
OE /a:/ > NME /a:/	17	**ne (15), nee (2)**	no	Jocky	*The Scots Figgaries*	1652
OE /a:/ > NME /a:/	2	**ne**	no	a Scotchman	*A Short Representation...*	1660
OE /a:/ > NME /a:/	3	**ne**	no	Wareston	*The Rump*	1660
OE /a:/ > NME /a:/	1	**Nea**	no	Lady Turnup	*The Morning Ramble*	1672
OE /a:/ > NME /a:/	1	**nea**	no	Betty	*A Fond Husband*	1677
OE /a:/ > NME /a:/	1	**ne**	no	Wariston	*The Roundheads*	1682
OE /a:/ > NME /a:/	1	**ne**	no	Countess	*Dame Dobson*	1684
OE /a:/ > NME /a:/	9	**Nea**	no	Countess	*Dame Dobson*	1684
OE /a:/ > NME /a:/	3	**na (2), nae (1)**	no	Covenant	*The Assembly*	1691
OE /a:/ > NME /a:/	4	**nae (3), na (1)**	no	Ruling Elder	*The Assembly*	1691
OE /a:/ > NME /a:/	32	**nea (28) ne (3), nee (1)**	no	Sauny	*Sauny the Scot*	1698
OE /a:/ > NME /a:/	4	**nau**	no	Willie	*Courtship A-la-mode*	1700
OE /a:/ > NME /a:/	1	**nea**	no	2 Officer	*Ireland Preserv'd*	1705
OE /a:/ > NME /a:/	1	**ne**	no	mob member	*Ireland Preserv'd*	1705
OE /a:/ > NME /a:/	3	**ne**	no	Forgus	*Ireland Preserv'd*	1705
OE /a:/ > NME /a:/	2	**nea**	no	Scotch countreyman	*Ireland Preserv'd*	1705
OE /a:/ > NME /a:/	1	**nea**	no	women	*Ireland Preserv'd*	1705
OE /a:/ > NME /a:/	3	**nea**	no/ not	Willie	*Courtship A-la-mode*	1700
OE /a:/ > NME /a:/	15	**na**	no/ not	Willie	*Courtship A-la-mode*	1700
OE /a:/ > NME /a:/	1	**nene**	none	Bohan	*Scottish History of James IV*	1598
OE /a:/ > NME /a:/	1	**nen**	none	Billy	*The Scots Figgaries*	1652
OE /a:/ > NME /a:/	1	**nen**	none	Folly	*The Scots Figgaries*	1652
OE /a:/ > NME /a:/	5	**nen**	none	Jocky	*The Scots Figgaries*	1652

OE /a:/ > NME /a:/	1	**Nene**	none	Lady Turnup	*The Morning Ramble*	1672
OE /a:/ > NME /a:/	1	**nean**	none	Betty	*A Fond Husband*	1677
OE /a:/ > NME /a:/	1	**Nene**	none	Wariston	*The Roundheads*	1682
OE /a:/ > NME /a:/	1	**nean**	none	Jockey/ Jenny	*A Fool's Preferment*	1688
OE /a:/ > NME /a:/	2	**nean**	none	Sauny	*Sauny the Scot*	1698
OE /a:/ > NME /a:/	1	**na**	not	Jockie	*Edward IV*	1599
OE /a:/ > NME /a:/	2	**ne**	not	chorus	*Fuimus Troes*	1633
OE /a:/ > NME /a:/	1	**ne**	not	mob member	*Ireland Preserv'd*	1705
OE /a:/ > NME /a:/	1	**nea**	not	prisoners	*Ireland Preserv'd*	1705
OE /a:/ > NME /a:/	1	**nething**	nothing	a Scotchman	*A Short Representation...*	1660
OE /a:/ > NME /a:/	2	**neathing**	nothing	Willie	*Courtship A-la-mode*	1700
OE /a:/ > NME /a:/	1	**neene**	nown [own]	Wareston	*The Rump*	1660
OE /a:/ > NME /a:/	1	**ean**	on[ly]	Sauny	*Sauny the Scot*	1698
OE /a:/ > NME /a:/	2	**eance**	once	Connie	*The Northern Lasse*	1632
OE /a:/ > NME /a:/	2	**eance**	once	Lawrence	*The Late Lancashire Witches*	1634
OE /a:/ > NME /a:/	2	**ence**	once	Charlot	*The City Heiress*	1682
OE /a:/ > NME /a:/	1	**ence**	once	Wariston	*The Roundheads*	1682
OE /a:/ > NME /a:/	1	**eance**	once	Countess	*Dame Dobson*	1684
OE /a:/ > NME /a:/	1	**ens**	once	Ruling Elder	*The Assembly*	1691
OE /a:/ > NME /a:/	1	**eance**	once	Sauny	*Sauny the Scot*	1698
OE /a:/ > NME /a:/	1	**eans**	once	Willie	*Courtship A-la-mode*	1700
OE /a:/ > NME /a:/	2	**ene**	one	Bohan	*Scottish History of James IV*	1598
OE /a:/ > NME /a:/	2	**eane (1), ane (1)**	one	Connie	*The Northern Lasse*	1632
OE /a:/ > NME /a:/	1	**ea**	one	Lawrence	*The Late Lancashire Witches*	1634
OE /a:/ > NME /a:/	1	**eane**	one	Lawrence	*The Late Lancashire Witches*	1634
OE /a:/ > NME /a:/	1	**eane**	one	Parnell	*The Late Lancashire Witches*	1634
OE /a:/ > NME /a:/	1	**ane**	one	Peggy	*The Valiant Scot*	1637
OE /a:/ > NME /a:/	2	**ane**	one	Wallace	*The Valiant Scot*	1637
OE /a:/ > NME /a:/	1	**een**	one	Scotch apothecary	*The Distracted State*	1651
OE /a:/ > NME /a:/	1	**ean**	one	Lady Turnup	*The Morning Ramble*	1672
OE /a:/ > NME /a:/	2	**ene**	one	Charlot	*The City Heiress*	1682
OE /a:/ > NME /a:/	2	**ene**	one	Wariston	*The Roundheads*	1682
OE /a:/ > NME /a:/	2	**one**	one	Letitia	*The Virtuous Wife*	1683
OE /a:/ > NME /a:/	1	**ean**	one	Countess	*Dame Dobson*	1684
OE /a:/ > NME /a:/	5	**ean**	one	Innocentia	*Sir Hercules Buffoon*	1684
OE /a:/ > NME /a:/	1	**ane**	one	Hirer	*The Assembly*	1691

OE /a:/ > NME /a:/	1	**ane**	one	Ruling Elder	*The Assembly*	1691
OE /a:/ > NME /a:/	3	**ean**	one	Sauny	*Sauny the Scot*	1698
OE /a:/ > NME /a:/	1	**an**	one	Willie	*Courtship A-la-mode*	1700
OE /a:/ > NME /a:/	2	**ean**	one	Willie	*Courtship A-la-mode*	1700
OE /a:/ > NME /a:/	4	**ean**	one	beggar (2), David Hewston (1), spy (1)	*Ireland Preserv'd*	1705
OE /a:/ > NME /a:/	1	**ean**	one	David Hewston	*Ireland Preserv'd*	1705
OE /a:/ > NME /a:/	1	**eane**	one	Forgus	*Ireland Preserv'd*	1705
OE /a:/ > NME /a:/	1	**ens**	one's	Charlot	*The City Heiress*	1682
OE /a:/ > NME /a:/	1	**eaght**	ought	Betty	*A Fond Husband*	1677
OE /a:/ > NME /a:/	1	**ene**	own	Bohan	*Scottish History of James IV*	1598
OE /a:/ > NME /a:/	1	**awne**	own	Friar	*The Valiant Scot*	1637
OE /a:/ > NME /a:/	1	**awne**	own	Friar	*The Valiant Scot*	1637
OE /a:/ > NME /a:/	1	**awn**	own	Letitia	*The Virtuous Wife*	1680
OE /a:/ > NME /a:/	1	**awn**	own	Letitia	*The Virtuous Wife*	1680
OE /a:/ > NME /a:/	1	**ene**	own	Wariston	*The Roundheads*	1682
OE /a:/ > NME /a:/	1	**ene**	own	Wariston	*The Roundheads*	1682
OE /a:/ > NME /a:/	1	**ean**	own	Sauny	*Sauny the Scot*	1698
OE /a:/ > NME /a:/	1	**aun**	own	Sauny	*Sauny the Scot*	1698
OE /a:/ > NME /a:/	1	**ean**	own	Sauny	*Sauny the Scot*	1698
OE /a:/ > NME /a:/	3	**ain**	own	Willie	*Courtship A-la-mode*	1700
OE /a:/ > NME /a:/	1	**reore**	roar	Folly	*The Scots Figgaries*	1652
OE /a:/ > NME /a:/	1	**sa**	so	Connie	*The Northern Lasse*	1632
OE /a:/ > NME /a:/	3	**sa**	so	chorus	*Fuimus Troes*	1633
OE /a:/ > NME /a:/	2	**sea**	so	Peggy	*The Valiant Scot*	1637
OE /a:/ > NME /a:/	1	**sa**	so	Peggy	*The Valiant Scot*	1637
OE /a:/ > NME /a:/	5	**sa (4), sae (1)**	so	Wallace	*The Valiant Scot*	1637
OE /a:/ > NME /a:/	6	**sa**	so	Billy	*The Scots Figgaries*	1652
OE /a:/ > NME /a:/	1	**sa**	so	Fidlers	*The Scots Figgaries*	1652
OE /a:/ > NME /a:/	6	**sa**	so	Folly	*The Scots Figgaries*	1652
OE /a:/ > NME /a:/	1	**see**	so	Folly	*The Scots Figgaries*	1652
OE /a:/ > NME /a:/	14	**sa**	so	Jocky	*The Scots Figgaries*	1652
OE /a:/ > NME /a:/	1	**sa**	so	Scarefoole	*The Scots Figgaries*	1652
OE /a:/ > NME /a:/	3	**sa (2), se (1)**	so	Wareston	*The Rump*	1660
OE /a:/ > NME /a:/	1	**sa**	so	Charlot	*The City Heiress*	1682
OE /a:/ > NME /a:/	1	**see**	so	Charlot	*The City Heiress*	1682
OE /a:/ > NME /a:/	3	**sa (2), se (1)**	so	Wariston	*The Roundheads*	1682
OE /a:/ > NME /a:/	2	**sa (1), sea (1)**	so	Innocentia	*Sir Hercules Buffoon*	1684
OE /a:/ > NME /a:/	12	**sea**	so	Sauny	*Sauny the Scot*	1698
OE /a:/ > NME /a:/	11	**sua**	so	Willie	*Courtship A-la-mode*	1700
OE /a:/ > NME /a:/	2	**sear**	sore	Lady Turnup	*The Morning Ramble*	1672
OE /a:/ > NME /a:/	1	**sear**	sore	Sauny	*Sauny the Scot*	1698

OE /a:/ > NME /a:/	1	**steane**	stone	Lawrence	*The Late Lancashire Witches*	1634
OE /a:/ > NME /a:/	1	**stean**	stone	Lady Turnup	*The Morning Ramble*	1672
OE /a:/ > NME /a:/	1	**streake**	stroke	Sauny	*Sauny the Scot*	1698
OE /a:/ > NME /a:/	1	**steake**	stroke [misprint)]	Sauny	*Sauny the Scot*	1698
OE /a:/ > NME /a:/	2	**teaken**	token	Sauny	*Sauny the Scot*	1698
OE /a:/ > NME /a:/	1	**twea**	two	Jockie	*Edward IV*	1599
OE /a:/ > NME /a:/	1	**twa**	two	Rumford	*Club Law*	1599
OE /a:/ > NME /a:/	1	**tway**	two	Lawrence	*The Late Lancashire Witches*	1634
OE /a:/ > NME /a:/	1	**twa**	two	Friar	*The Valiant Scot*	1637
OE /a:/ > NME /a:/	1	**twa**	two	Wallace	*The Valiant Scot*	1637
OE /a:/ > NME /a:/	2	**twa**	two	Lorel	*The Sad Shepherd*	1641
OE /a:/ > NME /a:/	2	**twa (1), twâ (1)**	two	Maudlin	*The Sad Shepherd*	1641
OE /a:/ > NME /a:/	3	**twa**	two	Billy	*The Scots Figgaries*	1652
OE /a:/ > NME /a:/	3	**twa**	two	Jocky	*The Scots Figgaries*	1652
OE /a:/ > NME /a:/	1	**twa**	two	Scarefoole	*The Scots Figgaries*	1652
OE /a:/ > NME /a:/	2	**twa**	two	Betty	*A Fond Husband*	1677
OE /a:/ > NME /a:/	1	**twa**	two	Chloe	*The Royalist*	1682
OE /a:/ > NME /a:/	1	**twa**	two	Wariston	*The Roundheads*	1682
OE /a:/ > NME /a:/	1	**twea**	two	Innocentia	*Sir Hercules Buffoon*	1684
OE /a:/ > NME /a:/	1	**tway**	two	Hob	*The Benefice*	1689
OE /a:/ > NME /a:/	14	**twa**	two	Sauny	*Sauny the Scot*	1698
OE /a:/ > NME /a:/	3	**twa**	two	Willie	*Courtship A-la-mode*	1700
OE /a:/ > NME /a:/	1	**tway**	two	Captain Jamy	*Henry V*	1623
OE /a:/ > NME /a:/	1	**twa**	two	Wareston	*The Rump*	1660
OE /a:/ > NME /a:/	2	**tua**	two	Ruling Elder	*The Assembly*	1691
OE /a:/ > NME /a:/	4	**wha (3), whae (1)**	who	Peggy	*The Valiant Scot*	1637
OE /a:/ > NME /a:/	1	**wha**	who	Wallace	*The Valiant Scot*	1637
OE /a:/ > NME /a:/	14	**wha**	who	Folly	*The Scots Figgaries*	1652
OE /a:/ > NME /a:/	4	**wha**	who	Jocky	*The Scots Figgaries*	1652
OE /a:/ > NME /a:/	2	**wha**	who	Scarefoole	*The Scots Figgaries*	1652
OE /a:/ > NME /a:/	1	**wha**	who	Wareston	*The Rump*	1660
OE /a:/ > NME /a:/	1	**wha**	who	Moderator	*The Assembly*	1691
OE /a:/ > NME /a:/	3	**whau**	who	Willie	*Courtship A-la-mode*	1700
OE /a:/ > NME /a:/	1	**whau**	who	Scotch countrywoman	*Ireland Preserv'd*	1705
OE /a:/ > NME /a:/	1	**haell**	whole	Lawrence	*The Late Lancashire Witches*	1634
OE /a:/ > NME /a:/	1	**heal**	whole	Willie	*Courtship A-la-mode*	1700
OE /a:/ > NME /a:/	1	**wham**	whom	Peggy	*The Valiant Scot*	1637
OE /a:/ > NME /a:/	1	**whame**	whom	Maudlin	*The Sad Shepherd*	1641
OE /a:/ > NME /a:/	1	**wea**	woe	Connie	*The Northern Lasse*	1632

OE /a:/ > NME /a:/	2	**wa (1), wea (1)**	woe	Parnell	*The Late Lancashire Witches*	1634
OE /a:/ > NME /a:/	1	**Wa**	woe	Peggy	*The Valiant Scot*	1637
OE /a:/ > NME /a:/	1	**wae**	woe	Peggy	*The Valiant Scot*	1637
OE /a:/ > NME /a:/	1	**wea**	woe	Lady Turnup	*The Morning Ramble*	1672
OE /a:/ > NME /a:/	2	**way**	woe	Charlot	*The City Heiress*	1682
OE /a:/ > NME /a:/	1	**wa**	woe	Countess	*Dame Dobson*	1684
OE /a:/ > NME /a:/	1	**wea**	woe	Sauny	*Sauny the Scot*	1698
OE /a:/ > NME /a:/	1	**wa**	woe	Willie	*Courtship A-la-mode*	1700
OE /a:/ > NME /a:/	1	**Wey**	woe	two women	*Ireland Preserv'd*	1705
OE /a:/ > NME /a:/	1	**wayes me**	woe (is me)	Rumford	*Club Law*	1599
OE /a:/ > NME /a:/	7	**weas me (1) , waise me (1), waes me (5)**	woe (is me)	Innocentia	*Sir Hercules Buffoon*	1684
OE /a:/ > NME /a:/	1	**weas**	woe's	Jockie	*Edward IV*	1599
reflexes of OE /a:w/	1	**blaw**	blow	Jockie	*Edward IV*	1599
reflexes of OE /a:w/	2	**blaw**	blow	3rd boatman; Ruling Elder	*The Assembly*	1691
reflexes of OE /a:w/	1	**blaw**	blow	Sauny	*Sauny the Scot*	1698
reflexes of OE /a:w/	1	**blea**	blow	Sauny	*Sauny the Scot*	1698
reflexes of OE /a:w/	1	**crawe**	crow	Peggy	*The Valiant Scot*	1637
reflexes of OE /a:w/	1	**knawest**	know	Rumford	*Club Law*	1599
reflexes of OE /a:w/	1	**knaw**	know	Parnell	*The Late Lancashire Witches*	1634
reflexes of OE /a:w/	1	**knaw**	know	Maudlin	*The Sad Shepherd*	1641
reflexes of OE /a:w/	1	**knee**	know	Folly	*The Scots Figgaries*	1652
reflexes of OE /a:w/	1	**knee**	know	Jocky	*The Scots Figgaries*	1652
reflexes of OE /a:w/	1	**knaw**	know	Betty	*A Fond Husband*	1677
reflexes of OE /a:w/	2	**knaw (1), knawn (1)**	know	Scapin	*The Cheats of Scapin*	1677
reflexes of OE /a:w/	1	**knaw**	know	Fidelia	*Sir Hercules Buffoon*	1684
reflexes of OE /a:w/	1	**lew**	low	Betty	*A Fond Husband*	1677
reflexes of OE /a:w/	1	**sale**	soul	Sir Bartram	*Scottish History of James IV*	1598
reflexes of OE /a:w/	2	**saule**	soul	Rumford	*Club Law*	1599
reflexes of OE /a:w/	1	**saule**	soul	Holdup	*The Northern Lasse*	1632
reflexes of OE /a:w/	1	**sawle**	soul	Friar	*The Valiant Scot*	1637
reflexes of OE /a:w/	4	**sawle**	soul	Wallace	*The Valiant Scot*	1637
reflexes of OE /a:w/	4	**saw**	soul	Scotch apothecary	*The Distracted State*	1651
reflexes of OE /a:w/	1	**saw**	soul	Folly	*The Scots Figgaries*	1652
reflexes of OE /a:w/	8	**saw**	soul	Jocky	*The Scots Figgaries*	1652
reflexes of OE /a:w/	2	**saw**	soul	Scarefoole	*The Scots Figgaries*	1652
reflexes of OE /a:w/	2	**saw**	soul	Wareston	*The Rump*	1660

reflexes of OE /a:w/	1	**saule**	soul	Letitia	*The Virtuous Wife*	1680
reflexes of OE /a:w/	5	**Sol**	Soul	Wariston	*The Roundheads*	1682
reflexes of OE /a:w/	1	**soul**	soul	Letitia	*The Virtuous Wife*	1683
reflexes of OE /a:w/	3	**saul**	soul	Fidelia	*Sir Hercules Buffoon*	1684
reflexes of OE /a:w/	8	**Saul**	soul	Innocentia	*Sir Hercules Buffoon*	1684
reflexes of OE /a:w/	1	**saul**	soul	3rd boatman	*The Assembly*	1691
reflexes of OE /a:w/	12	**saul**	soul	Sauny	*Sauny the Scot*	1698
reflexes of OE /a:w/	19	**saul**	soul	Willie	*Courtship A-la-mode*	1700
reflexes of OE /a:w/	1	**sau**	soul	Forgus	*Ireland Preserv'd*	1705
reflexes of OE /a:w/	1	**sawles**	souls	Peggy	*The Valiant Scot*	1637
reflexes of OE /a:w/	1	**solls**	souls	Jocky	*The Scots Figgaries*	1652

Appendix A.4: All instances of phonological features common in representations of both Northern English and Scots