



THE INFLUENCE OF FRENCH PRAGMALINGUISTIC PATTERNS ON THE REQUESTIVE STYLE IN 16TH-CENTURY SCOTTISH LETTERS

1 INTRODUCTION

In the 16th century, Early Modern Scots¹ was an incipient standard variety, going through a similar standardisation process as the emerging London-based Southern English Standard. In terms of Haugen's four-step model, the Scots variety of Edinburgh was selected and accepted as a "*potential* standard" from the late 14th century onwards (Bugaj 2004: 23, original emphasis). Scots came to be used in legal texts alongside Latin as early as the second half of the 14th century (Kopaczyk 2020: 487). Particularly during the 15th and early 16th century, the communicative functions of Scots were gradually being expanded (Görlach 2002: 26, Millar 2020: 74–75). On the one hand, a sophisticated literary tradition developed in Scots, showcasing a wide variety of verse styles (Aitken 1983: 19–25, Görlach 2002: 141). On the other, the vernacular is attested in a growing number of prose text types, comprising, among others, administrative, legal, historical, and literary genres as well as both private and non-private correspondence (Bugaj 2004: 24–26).

In order to be fit for these new communicative functions, the emerging Early Modern Scots standard variety was gradually elaborated, developing in a trilingual setting with well-established discourse traditions primarily for Latin and to a lesser degree French (Schaefer 2012: 529–531, Millar 2020: 74). This was, for example, the case for late medieval Scottish legal and administrative records, whose writers operated within multilingual discourse communities (Havinga 2021, Kopaczyk 2021). In legal texts, for instance, which were written in both Latin and Scots, Latin formulaic language represented discourse traditions "accumulated through centuries of legal practice" (Kopaczyk 2021: 59). Latin models were progressively adopted for the vernacular in legal and administrative texts, so that Scots could assume the same functions as Latin (Havinga 2021: 96, Kopaczyk 2021: 71).

For correspondence, the switch to Scots is attested in a similar timeframe. In the 13th and 14th centuries, official letters were written in Latin and French, as examples from the *Douglas Book* (Fraser 1885) demonstrate, such as the letter by Robert Bruce, Earl of

1 In the context of this paper, the period label Early Modern Scots is chosen over other established labels such as Older Scots or Middle Scots (see Aitken 1985: xiii, see also Smith 2012: 6). As Kopaczyk (2013) convincingly argues on both linguistic and extralinguistic grounds, 16th-century Scots should not be perceived as 'middle'. Scots was, for instance, more advanced than Southern English in the reduction of verb morphology from the earliest records and Renaissance culture was flourishing in 16th-century Scotland (Kopaczyk 2013: 246–248).

Carrick, and other addressors from 1297 and the letter by William, First Earl of Douglas and Mar, from 1376 (Fraser 1885: 52–58). At the beginning of the 15th century, the first official letters in Scots are attested, written to King Henry IV of England, who, however, was still being addressed in French in other official letters (Fraser 1885: 61–66, McClure 1994: 31). A comparison of the Scots and English letters shows clear parallels in the formulae used, for instance, at the beginning of the letter and in the closing part, see Examples (1–4).

- (1) *Excellent et trespuissant prince, plaise votre tresnoble haultesse a sauoir*
‘Excellent and most mighty Prince. May it please your most noble Highness to know’²
(Archibald 4th Earl of Douglas to King Henry IV of England, 1401)
- (2) *He, excellent and rycht mychty prince, likit to zour henes to wyte*³
‘High, excellent and right mighty prince, may it please your highness to know’
(James of Douglas, Warden of the Marches to King Henry IV of England, 1405)
- (3) *Sie prie notre seigneur excellent et trespuissant prince qu’il vous ait [en sa] sainte garde.*
‘I pray our Lord, excellent and most mighty prince, that he may have you in his holy keeping.’
(Archibald 4th Earl of Douglas to King Henry IV of England, 1401)
- (4) *Excellent, mychty, and noble prince, the Haly Trinite hafe yhow euermare in kepyng.*
‘Excellent, mighty and noble prince, may the holy trinity have you evermore in keeping’
(James of Douglas, Warden of the Marches to King Henry IV of England, 1405)

These parallels suggest that 15th-century Scottish writers took the French discourse structures and formulae as a model for their vernacular letters. This orientation towards established norms in French, and Latin, is also manifest with respect to pragmatic strategies as I have shown for early modern Scottish letters (Elsweiler 2021). Letter-writers in the early modern period, who mostly belonged to the highest ranks of society,⁴ typically acquired and practised their letter-writing skills through the medium of Latin (Brown 2000: 186–187, Daybell 2012: 54–63). Members of the higher Scottish nobility additionally often received an education in France to prepare them for administrative or diplomatic service or a military career (Brown 2000: 191–192, MacLeod 2011: 243) and were thus used to corresponding in French (see Section 3.1). John Maitland, 1st Lord Maitland of Thirlestane (1543–1595) is a case in point. He wrote official letters in Scots,⁵ but to international correspondents also in French, as is evidenced by his letters included in the *Memorials of the Earls of Haddington* (Fraser 1889: 203–205).

2 The Modern English translations of Examples (1) and (3) are taken from Fraser (1885: 62–63).

3 Translations or glosses are provided for Scots passages and words deemed difficult.

4 See, for instance, the auxiliary databases on male and female informants in the *Helsinki Corpus of Scottish Correspondence, 1540–1750* available at <https://www.kielipankki.fi/corpora/scotscorr/>.

5 See his correspondence in Add MS 23241 containing “Letters of James VI of Scotland, and others” available as digitised images at https://www.bl.uk/manuscripts/FullDisplay.aspx?ref=Add_MS_23241.

The strong links between Scotland and France are a consequence of the *Auld Alliance*, a military and political pact between the two countries first established in 1296 and renewed several times up until 1558. In the earlier 16th century, this connection was moreover furthered by King James V's two French marriages. Following the death of his first wife Madeleine de Valois just months after their wedding, the widowed King James V married Mary of Lorraine in 1538 (Thomas 2004). Although her husband died in 1542, the Queen Dowager decided to stay in Scotland to further the dynastic interests of her infant daughter Mary, Queen of Scots (Ritchie 2002: 13–16). During the phase of the Anglo-Scottish Wars known as the *Rough Wooing*, Mary of Lorraine sought French military assistance. As a consequence of the Treaty of Haddington in 1548, contracting the future marriage of Mary, Queen of Scots, to the French dauphin François, the French king Henri II agreed to defend Scotland like his own realm (Marshall 2004). When Mary of Lorraine became Queen Regent in 1554, she assigned important public offices to Frenchmen. During the Wars of Congregation, the Queen Regent again relied on French military support in her attempt to keep Scotland Catholic (Ritchie 2002: 219–220). Throughout Mary of Lorraine's time in Scotland, the links with France were not only manifest in the political and military domains. The French connection also extended to trade, craft and architecture, among others. She sent, for example, for French masons to implement a French architectural style at Falkland Palace and Stirling Castle and called for miners from Lorraine to extract minerals at Crawfordmuir (Marshall 2004).

The various facets of Mary of Lorraine's French connections are documented in her foreign correspondence edited in two volumes by Marguerite Wood (1923, 1925). Beside correspondence with her family in France, it contains letters written in French by Scottish writers as well as letters written by French correspondents in Scotland, testifying to an epistolary discourse community stretching across the two countries (see Section 3.2). Correspondents writing and receiving letters in both languages were likely to transfer discourse structures and formulae from one language into the other. In a previous study, I could show, based on the analysis of individual examples, that frequent pragmalinguistic patterns in Scottish letters, e.g. performative request strategies such as *I beseech you that...*, which are typically mitigated through a grounder, i.e. a justification in the shape of a purpose clause with *may*, e.g. *that I may escape...*, may well have been modelled on French examples such as *Je vous supplie treshumblement, Madame, y vouldrois aviser et leur donner moyen qu'ilz puissent vivre* 'I most humbly beseech you, Madam, to consider this and to give them the means that they may live' (Monsieur de la Chapelle to Mary of Lorraine, 1547/48) (Elsweiler 2021: 129–130).

The present study aims to explore in more detail to what extent French letter-writing norms and conventions influenced requestive patterns in 16th-century Scottish correspondence. I will therefore systematically compare the range and distribution of request strategies in French and Scottish correspondence. The analysis will be based on a selection of French letters by Scottish writers as well as French people writing in Scotland included in Wood's editions of the foreign correspondence of Mary of Lorraine as well as letters from her Scottish correspondence (Cameron 1927).

This paper is organised as follows. Section 2 takes a closer look at the influence of discourse traditions on the textualisation and standardisation of Scots and English in the late medieval and early modern periods. Sections 3.1 and 3.2 will then zoom in on the epistolary discourse tradition in Scotland in its multilingual context and the discourse community operating within this tradition. The criteria for the selection of the French corpus material as well as the Scots correspondence corpus will be described in Section 3.3. The analysis applies the categorisation scheme of the *Cross-Cultural Speech Act Realisation Project (CCSARP)* (Blum-Kulka *et al.* 1989), which will be presented in Section 4. Then, in Section 5, the degree of influence of French request patterns on the Scots requestive style will be assessed by comparing the realisation strategies found in the French letters to the Scottish ones. Finally, Section 6 will offer some concluding remarks on the conservational as well as innovative role of epistolary discursive practices.

2 THE INFLUENCE OF DISCOURSE TRADITIONS ON LANGUAGE STANDARDISATION

The standardisation of vernacular varieties across late medieval and early modern Western Europe, and Scotland in particular, may be enlightened if viewed not from the perspective of the individual vernaculars but in the context of the communicative space in which these processes came under way (Schaefer 2006: 13). As was outlined in Section 1, the communicative space in late medieval Scotland was shaped by educated multilingual speakers and writers, who, beside Scots, also competently mastered the high varieties Latin and French (Havinga 2021, Kopaczyk 2021, Smith 2003).⁶ Up to the 14th century, the vernacular was employed for a limited number of communicative functions. Latin and French, by contrast, boasted a longstanding tradition for a wide range of conceptually written genres, or, as Schaefer puts it, “the literate languages Latin and French were firmly tied to specific discourse traditions” (Schaefer 2006: 17). Discourse traditions are textual patterns, schemes and models representing the historically evolved norms and rules underlying the production of discourse, thus constituting the habitualised knowledge of speakers and writers (Oesterreicher 1997: 20, Aschenberg 2003: 7, Lebsanft 2005: 32). Such discourse traditions may be situated at different levels of complexity. They range from overarching classes such as the domains of literature or science, via text genres, such as heroic epics, scientific treatises or letters, to formulaic phrases and speech acts such as greetings, promises or requests as textual building blocks. These traditions and discursive patterns are, however, not static but leave room for variation, which eventually leads to innovations (Wilhelm 2001: 468–471). Importantly, discourse traditions are not linked to the norms and rules of individual languages. Thus, when producing discourse, late medieval and early modern speakers and writers, acting in a multilingual communicative space, would have primarily considered themselves as practitioners of a particular discourse tradition.

6 As in late medieval Scotland “Gaelic had many speakers but was (...) increasingly divorced from the government and central economic system of the country” (Millar 2020: 73), this paper places the focus on Scots in Lowland Scotland.

They would therefore have been guided in their choice of language by its discourse traditional appropriateness and efficacy (Koch 1988: 343). This explains why, up to the 14th century, the high varieties Latin and French were clearly associated with specific discourse traditions in Scotland.

From the late medieval period onwards, though, Scots made inroads into the conceptually written discourse domains. This did not mean that Latin and French were suddenly displaced by the vernacular, but rather this gradual functional, or extensive, elaboration was attained “with the help of those languages that had already achieved a more or less long institutional standing as carriers of literate discursive practices” (Schaefer 2006: 12). The extensive elaboration is thus matched by an intensive elaboration within the vernacular, i.e. an extension of their inventories on various linguistic levels to make them fit for these new communicative functions (Koch/Oesterreicher 1994: 589, Oesterreicher 2015: 114–115).⁷ This is evident, for instance, in lexical borrowings from the high varieties (Smith 2012: 9), but also, for example, in the adoption of high-style French constructions with post-modifying adjectives such as *power infinite* or *ressoun naturall* in 15th-century Scots poetry (Smith 2003: 205–206). In this way, discourse traditions, although they form independent structures from individual languages, further innovations and encourage the diffusion of forms (see Oesterreicher 2015: 117). Extensive and intensive elaboration thus work hand in hand to equip vernaculars with “the structural means that were appropriate for the written medium” (Lange 2012: 1001) and therefore were important steps in their incipient standardisation processes.

This section has considered the role of discourse traditions in general in the emerging standardisation of the Scots vernacular. Section 3 will focus in more detail on the discourse tradition of letter-writing in the early modern period.

3 LETTER-WRITING IN EARLY MODERN SCOTLAND IN A MULTILINGUAL CONTEXT

3.1 The epistolary discourse tradition

The vernacular epistolary norms of the early modern period have their roots in the classical rhetoric of Cicero, Quintilian and Aristotle and are further indebted to the *ars dictaminis*, a set of rigid formal and stylistic guidelines, which had developed in the Middle Ages (Perelman 1991: 98, Nevala 2004: 33–34, Daybell 2012: 63). The *ars dictaminis* offered fixed epistolary structures and formulae, reflecting the protocols of social hierarchies in medieval society. These principles were propagated through dictaminal treatises and formularies including model letters, such as the French and Latin model letters comprised in the teaching materials of Thomas Sampson, a business teacher at Oxford, which date from the later 14th century (Davis 1965: 240–241, Camargo 2007: 68–69).

⁷ Extensive elaboration according to Koch/Oesterreicher (1994) and Oesterreicher (2015) corresponds to Haugen’s functional elaboration of a standardising variety (Haugen 1966: 933). Their concept of intensive elaboration, by which a vernacular is equipped with the formal means to fulfil an extended range of communicative functions, is only implicitly included in Haugen’s four-step model.

From the 15th century onwards, more and more letters were written in the Scots vernacular, while French and Latin nevertheless remained established languages for the epistolary discourse of the elites (Meurman-Solin 1995: 58–62, Brown 2000: 187 and e.g. the example of Sir John Maitland of Thirlestane in Section 1). As Examples (1–4) in Section 1 illustrate, the discourse structures and formulae in French letters will have provided a template for the vernacular letters.

Educated letter-writers became acquainted with the epistolary discourse tradition mainly as part of their classical education. As early modern Scottish grammar schools implemented a curriculum which was familiar across Europe, pupils were instructed in rhetoric, with teachers drawing, for instance, on Cicero as a model. As part of this instruction, they had to write letters in Latin (Ewan 2015: 45–47).⁸ Furthermore, evidence from England shows that pupils acquired phrases, translated Latin letters into the vernacular and were exhorted to imitate Latin letters in their own compositions. The study of humanist letter-writing manuals such as Erasmus of Rotterdam’s *De conscribendis epistolis* was also encouraged. (Mack 2002: 24).⁹ This may well have applied to Scottish early modern grammar schools, too.

Beside Latin humanist texts, a 16th-century list of works deemed useful for Scottish grammar school pupils contains “ane A B C for Scottismen to rede the French toung with an exhortatioun to the nobles of Scotland to favour their ald freindis” (Ewan 2015: 47). Many noble students were moreover educated at French universities, including leading figures such as Cardinal Beaton and Gavin Dunbar (Brown 2000: 190–192, MacLeod 2011: 243–244), where they became acquainted with French letter-writing conventions. Overall, this educational and cultural background exemplifies one way in which the established French and Latin epistolary traditions helped the intensive elaboration of the vernacular letter-writing genre both on a structural and a formulaic level. Writing and receiving official letters in both French and the Scots vernacular would additionally have furthered the transfer of discourse structures and formulae. To explore this in more detail, section 3.2 will zoom in on the multilingual context of the early modern Franco-Scottish epistolary discourse community with Mary of Lorraine at its centre.

3.2 The early modern Franco-Scots epistolary discourse community

The marriage of James V to the French noblewoman Mary of Lorraine reinforced the existing alliance between Scotland and France on various levels. This is evident both from Mary’s French and from her Scottish correspondence, as these letters provide excellent insights into the political, cultural and economic links between Scotland and France, covering various topics ranging from politics and the French military presence in Scotland to trade.¹⁰ A large part of the French correspondence consists of letters from

8 See also Williamson (1982: 54–61) on the role of Latin in early modern Scottish grammar schools.

9 In addition to formal instruction, letter-writers acquired letter-writing skills by consulting formularies, i.e. collections of model letters and formulae, or manuscript miscellanies (Nevala 2004: 34, Daybell 2014).

10 Wine trade with France was for instance a flourishing business. In fact, many Scots entrepreneurs set up business in France, e.g. in Bordeaux or the duchy of Guyenne. Apart from wine, trade with France also extended to finery such as gowns and embroidery.

her family in France. In addition, there is a range of French non-private letters written by Scots or by French people in Scotland. These letters, in particular, testify to the multilingual character of this epistolary discourse community in the largest sense, stretching across Scotland and France. The letters in French are complemented by Mary of Lorraine's Scottish correspondence, which also frequently deals with the transnational links between Scotland and France.

Discourse communities may be defined as "sociorhetorical networks that form in order to work towards sets of common goals" (Swales 1990: 9). In the case of the Franco-Scottish discourse community, most of the writers belong to the social and political elites in Scotland and France, including, for instance, members of the queen's household, military leaders, high-ranking politicians and diplomats. They broadly share the goal of ensuring the "common welth" of Scotland (Sir George Douglas, 26 May 1544) and furthering the links between Scotland and France – on a political, military and economic level. Many letters indeed revolve around the joint defense against the English attack on Scotland during the *Rough Wooing* (see Section 1). The members of this discourse community have "mechanisms of intercommunication" (Swales 1990: 25, 2016: 8) as they exchange letters with Mary of Lorraine and with other participants. While only one letter by the queen is in fact included in the selection, receipt of her letters is frequently mentioned by the correspondents. The letters are used to share information and to suggest or request action to be taken, but oral communication is preferred to convey more sensitive information, as the frequent reference to messages to be passed on by *berars* ('letter-bearers, messengers') indicates. The letters moreover mention some of the other correspondents, for instance John Campbell, the queen's steward, or George Douglas, thus testifying to the intercommunication between the members of the discourse community (Swales 1990: 26, 2016: 8–9). These moreover used specific lexis (Swales 1990: 26–27, 2016: 9) – an example of which is the vocabulary related to the *berars* who orally convey information – and in fact employed specific discourse patterns developed within the discourse tradition of formal official correspondence (see Section 3.1).

In the following, some more information will be given on the members of the Franco-Scottish discourse community. Mary of Lorraine surrounded herself with some Frenchmen in her household in Scotland, for instance her controller Astier. However, she also employed Scotsmen, for instance, a certain "Jehan Campbell", probably Sir John Campbell of Lundie, Lord High Treasurer under James V (Warden 1884: 268), who refers to himself as "maistre d'hostel Campel" in his letter to the queen about her garrisons at Dunbar (Wood 1925: 292). A further correspondent is the French ambassador to Scotland, Henri Cleutin, Seigneur d'Oisel. His wider role in Scottish politics is evident from his mention as *ambassadour of France* by some correspondents represented in Mary of Lorraine's Scottish correspondence, for instance, in Example (5) from Sir Adam Otterburn's letter to the queen.¹¹

11 Further writers mentioning d'Oisel are Marion, Lady Gray, Patrick Hepburn, 3rd Earl Bothwell and Alexander Gordon, Bishop of Caithness.

- (5) *Madame, plesit ('may it please') your grace that efter the closin of my letter the **ambassadour of France** send ther ('these') letteris quharby ('whereby') your grace may persaiiff ('perceive') that I did deligence, as I have done at all tymes.*

(Sir Adam Otterburn to Mary of Lorraine, 1547)

Otterburn was a high-ranking diplomat sent on a mission to England to negotiate a treaty with Henry VIII. Although no French letters by him are included in Mary of Lorraine's French correspondence, the opening passage from his letter in (5) suggests that he could read the French ambassador's letters. This is further supported by the fact that he was called upon to write a welcome speech in French to mark the arrival of Mary of Lorraine in Edinburgh (Finlay 2004). It therefore seems justified to assume that he was familiar with French correspondence. This will also have applied to other Scottish correspondents who wrote to the queen in Scots. Alexander Gordon, bishop of Caithness, for instance, studied at the University of Paris from 1537 to 1538. He was moreover sent on a diplomatic mission to France in 1541, as is evident from a list of incoming and outgoing missions compiled at the University of St Andrews (Morgan 2008). Another Scottish correspondent, Robert Maxwell, 5th Lord Maxwell, vice-regent of the Scottish realm, was sent to France to act as proxy for King James V in his marriage to Mary of Lorraine (MacGladdery 2004). In addition to the aforementioned writers, there is one correspondent for whom it is in fact known that he wrote both letters in Scots and in French: David Panter was a leading political agent during the reign of James V as well as during the regency of Mary of Lorraine, who was sent on four diplomatic missions to France between 1544 and 1554 (Gould 2004, Morgan 2008). The queen's French correspondence includes three letters written by him as well as eight addressed to him, among others by the French ambassador Seigneur d'Oisel, and her Scottish correspondence contains one letter by him to George Forrester, baillie of Leith. David Panter is thus a true practitioner of a formal epistolary discourse tradition that transcends individual languages (see Section 2) and a key member of the Franco-Scottish epistolary discourse community. Although for other Scottish writers either only letters in French or in Scots are included in the two collections, based on their education at French universities, their active involvement in Franco-Scottish politics and, for instance, reference to correspondence with high-ranking Frenchmen, it may be assumed that they were also immersed in this multilingual epistolary discourse tradition.

The letters contained in Mary of Lorraine's French and Scottish correspondence generally have an informative function, but moreover regularly contain pleas and requests, which makes them an ideal resource for a study of the impact of French request patterns on requestive practices in Scots non-private letters. Speech acts like requests as well as formulaic phrases have been categorised as manifestations of a discourse tradition on a low level of complexity (Wilhelm 2001: 469–470, see Section 2). They lend themselves to a cross-linguistic comparison and will therefore be in the focus of this study.

3.3 Corpus material

For the study of the influence of request patterns in 16th-century French correspondence on the Scots requestive style, a corpus of French letters drawn from the two-volume *Foreign Correspondence with Marie de Lorraine Queen of Scotland* (Wood 1923, 1925) was put together, representing the Franco-Scottish epistolary discourse community described in Section 3.2. All the letters in the custom-designed corpus are of a non-private nature, i.e., relate to official, political and military matters, as well as trade, and have the common broader goal of furthering the links between Scotland and France. They are, moreover, representative of writers operating in a multilingual space. This material was compared to a selection of letters in the *Helsinki Corpus of Older Scots (HCOS)* drawn from the *Scottish Correspondence of Mary of Lorraine* (Cameron 1927). The French corpus assembled for the purposes of this study comprises 32 letters, totalling 7,998 words. It covers the period between 1538 and 1557, with the bulk of the correspondence being dated to the 1550s. The letters included in the custom-designed corpus were selected according to the following criteria: they had to be (a) written by Scottish letter-writers, (b) by French correspondents in Scotland or (c) they had to be composed by or addressed to leaders in Scottish politics and military affairs. The corpus thus includes letters from merchants, military leaders, members of the queen's household and key political figures such as the French ambassador Henri Cleutin, Seigneur d'Oisel and David Panter (see Section 3.2). The latter's correspondence comprises a substantial part of the corpus, running to a total of 3,042 words. While the majority of letters are addressed to Mary of Lorraine, some are addressed to other recipients.

The requestive patterns retrieved from the French corpus will be compared to those found in a selection of Mary of Lorraine's Scottish correspondence included in the *Helsinki Corpus of Older Scots (HCOS)*, which forms part of the 'Official Correspondence' sub-component (1500–1570). The sub-corpus used for this study contains letters written by Scottish magnates and leading political figures, and, additionally, the petitionary letters by Marion Haliburton, Lady Home and Lady Gray, which also deal with Franco-Scottish relations.¹² This material was supplemented by the only Scots letter by David Panter in Mary of Lorraine's Scottish correspondence, which was taken from the *Helsinki Corpus of Scottish Correspondence, 1540–1750*. The combined Scots correspondence data comprise 28,770 words in total and cover the time period between 1542 and 1551.¹³ They are thus directly comparable to the French letters in terms of the participant relationship between the correspondents, with most of the letters being addressed to Mary of Lorraine or other recipients by social inferiors, and in terms of their general subject matter, with many letters containing petitions.

12 The petitionary letters addressed to Mary of Lorraine by other women, which also form part of the 'Official Correspondence' sub-section in *HCOS*, are not concerned with aspects of the Franco-Scottish relations and are therefore not included in corpus for this study.

13 Eight letters included in *HCOS*, totalling 3,703 words, which are taken from the *Douglas Book* (William Fraser (ed.) 1885) have been excluded from this study. Since they date from the early sixteenth century and partly manifest different participant relationships between the correspondents, they do not form as good a match with the French correspondence as the letters drawn from the *Scottish Correspondence of Mary of Lorraine*.

4 CATEGORISATION OF REQUESTS

For the analysis of the distribution of request strategies in the French and Scots letters, the classification scheme for requests developed by the *Cross-cultural Speech Act Realisation Project (CCSARP)* (Blum-Kulka *et al.* 1989) was applied, as in my previous studies (see Elswailer 2021, 2023). This scheme was designed in the 1980s to allow for present-day cross-linguistic comparative analyses of requests and contains request strategies found across different languages. The scheme has already been successfully applied to historical data, with slight adaptations (e.g. Culpeper/Archer 2008, Moessner 2010, Elswailer 2023). In the following, I will describe the *CCSARP* scheme using Scots examples.

The scheme distinguishes between three global levels of directness for requests: direct requests, conventionally indirect requests and non-conventionally indirect requests. Within these three global directness levels, requesters have the choice between different request realisation strategies, which are listed in descending order of directness and explicitness in the original scheme. While all strategies in the direct category, viz. imperatives, performative requests, obligation statements and want statements, are also attested in the 16th-century Scots data (see the examples in Table 1), the conventionally indirect category necessitated some modifications. The common present-day English indirect request strategies, viz. questions of the type *Could you...?* and *Would you...?*, orienting towards the preparatory conditions of ability and willingness, are not attested in 16th-century Scots. In fact, they only emerged in English from the late 18th century onwards (Culpeper/Demmen 2011). Moreover, suggestory formulae of the type *How about...?*, which are typical of present-day spoken informal interactions, are not evidenced in the historical Scots data, either, since these represent a formal epistolary style. Instead, other strategies orienting towards conditions for requests, e.g. possibility statements such as *thairfoir your graice may labour with your honour ther-intill* ('in that affair') (Patrick Hepburn, 3rd Earl of Bothwell, to Mary of Lorraine, 1547), orienting towards the preparatory condition of possibility, and prediction statements such as *I dout nocht bot* ('doubt not that') *your grace well* ('will') *caus all to be payit* ('payed') (Marion Haliburton, Lady Home, to Mary of Lorraine, 1549), orienting towards the propositional content condition "future act of the addressee" (Searle 1969: 66) are attested. An overview of the request strategies in the respective global directness categories is presented in Table 1.

Table 1. Request strategies by global directness level, illustrated by examples from the ‘Official Correspondence’ section of *HCOS*

<p>Direct realisation strategies</p>	<p>Imperatives, e.g. <i>Avice</i> (‘advise’) <i>herupon</i></p> <p>Performatives, e.g. <i>Quairfore</i> (‘therefore’) <i>humilie</i> (‘humbly’) <i>I beseke</i> (‘beseech’) <i>youre grace to consult with thir</i> (‘these’) <i>said gentilmen in all thir caiss</i> (‘cases’)</p> <p>Obligation statements, e.g. <i>Thairfoir your grace man</i> (‘must’) <i>tak the mair</i> (‘more’) <i>labour to gif</i> (‘give’) <i>gude counsale.</i></p> <p>Want statements, e.g. <i>I wald</i> (‘would’) <i>your grace caussit</i> (‘caused’) <i>the Franch men to cum to this plas</i> (‘place’).</p>
<p>Conventionally indirect realisation strategies</p>	<p>(Hedged) prediction statements, e.g. <i>I dout nocht bot</i> (‘doubt not that’) <i>your grace well</i> (‘will’) <i>caus all to be payit</i> (‘payed’).</p> <p>Possibility statements, e.g. <i>thairfoir your graice may labour with your honour therintill</i> (‘in that affair’)</p> <p>Conditional clauses, e.g. <i>And gyf</i> (‘if’) <i>yowr grace pleis</i> (‘please’) <i>lat me know</i> (‘know’) <i>yowr will and mynd</i></p> <p>Impersonal constructions, e.g. <i>quhairto it will pleis</i> (‘please’) <i>your grace gif</i> (‘give’) <i>credence and ane answer</i></p>
<p>Non-conventionally indirect requests</p>	<p>Hints, e.g. <i>the clarke off the register can make it veille</i> (‘well’) <i>and he ville</i> (‘will’) <i>at commendement off the qwein</i> (‘queen’) <i>gar</i> (‘cause’) <i>vrayt</i> (‘write’) <i>it.</i></p>

In the present study, the requests, which were manually retrieved from both the French and the Scots corpus material, were classified according to this scheme. The French data were checked using Frank’s diachronic study of requests in French (Frank 2011) and French historical grammars to make sure that they were identified and classified correctly.

5 REQUEST STRATEGIES IN 16TH-CENTURY FRENCH AND EARLY MODERN SCOTS LETTERS

To be able to assess the degree of influence of French requestive patterns on the realisation of requests in Scots non-private correspondence, the analysis will first delineate the pragmalinguistic patterns found in the French correspondence (Section 5.1) and then the Scottish patterns (Section 5.2). In a last step, a comparison of the two will establish the likely degree of influence (Section 5.3).

5.1 Request strategies in French letters

The French letter-writers evince a slight predilection for direct strategies over conventionally indirect strategies (see Figure 1). The letters did not contain any non-conventionally indirect requests.

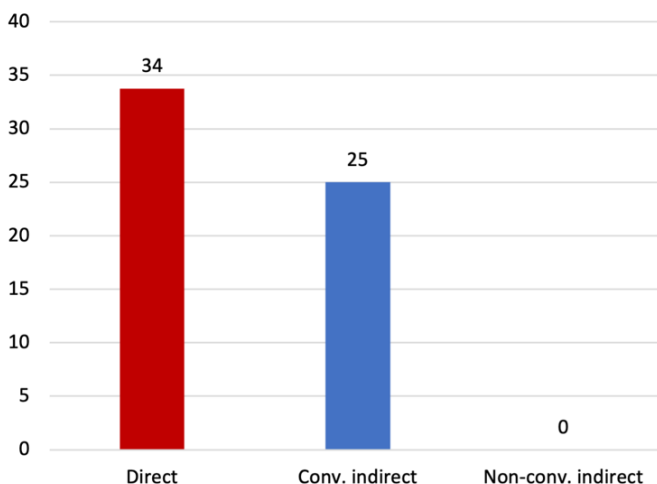


Figure 1. Distribution of requests by directness, French correspondence (1538–1557), (normalised frequencies per 10,000 words)

Direct requests

The distribution of direct request strategies shows a clear picture. Imperatives are rare with only two instances,¹⁴ e.g. (6).

- (6) *n'ey vullu failhir vous escripre l'arryyvee d'ung navyre charge de la plus belle canelle et plus avantaigeuse que vous veites james, et si aves envye que je vous en face provision **mandes moy** le calibre que vous volles car il y a a choisir.*

¹⁴ For the discussion of the results in the text, raw frequencies are given.

‘I did not want to fail writing to you about the arrival of a ship charged with the most beautiful and most exquisite cinnamon that you have ever seen. And if you want that I provide you with it, tell me the size you would like because there is a choice.’¹⁵
(Captain Faucher to Lady Livingston, 1554?)

The remaining 25 direct instances are performatives, accounting for 92.6 per cent of all direct requests. They are almost invariably realised with the performative verb *supplier* ‘to beseech, to implore’ (N=21), as in (7), which is mostly complemented by infinitives.

- (7) *Vous suppliant, Monseigneur, me commander au surplus vos bons plaisirs esquelz me congnoistrez apte a vous faire service*
‘Beseeching you, your lordship, to moreover command me your pleasure in which you will find me ready to serve you’
(Rasseteau to the Bishop of Ross, 1552)

The other performative requests are realised with *prier* (N=4), see (8), which, according to Frank, was a frequently employed performative verb from the 14th to the 16th century (Frank 2011: 263).

- (8) *et vous pryé y vouloir si bien besongner que je puisse estre en esquipaige tel qu’il m’est deue pour de meilleure volente faire service a mon maistre.*
‘and I pray you to labour in such a way towards this that I can be equipped as I need it to serve my master with better determination.’
(James, Earl of Arran,¹⁶ to David Panter, Bishop of Ross, 1552)

Apart from the limited number of requests with *prier*, the vast majority of performatives follow a formulaic pattern that became established in the course of the medieval period for correspondence and witnessed increasing popularity also in other text types during the early modern period (Frank 2011: 438). Performatives with *supplier*, a speech act verb with addressee-oriented semantics, signal deference towards a superior. This deferential attitude was regularly heightened through the use of mitigating devices such as the adverb *humblement* ‘humbly’ and the use of honorifics such as *Monseigneur* as address titles (Frank 2011: 439). This deferential toolkit is also in evidence in the French correspondence corpus. 13 out of the 21 performatives with *supplier* evince the use of honorific address titles and 16 manifest adverbial mitigation with *humblement*, see e.g. (9) and (10).

15 All translations from French are mine.

16 The writer of this letter is the son of James Hamilton, 2nd Earl of Arran and Duke of Châtelherault, former governor of Scotland. He was promised a French bride and educated at the court of the French king Henri II after his father had agreed to a French royal marriage for Mary, Queen of Scots. This may explain why this letter sent from Compiègne to his fellow countryman David Panter was written in French.

- (9) *Je vous supplie treshumblement, Madame, y voulloir aviser et leur donner moyen qu'ilz puissent vivre.*
 'I very humbly beseech you, Madam, to advise thereupon and to give them the means that they can live.'
 (Monsieur de la Chapelle to Mary of Lorraine, 1547/48)
- (10) *je vous supplieray, Madame, tant et si tres humblement qu'il m'est possible qu'il vous plaise me faire ceste grace de croire que, a jamais, je me tiendray vostre tenu, oblige et fidelle serviteur.*
 'I would beseech you, Madam, in the most humble manner possible to me that it will please you to do me the favour of believing that I will forever count as your most devoted, obliged and loyal servant.'
 (General Apestegny to Mary of Lorraine, 1550?)

Both (9) and (10) show that the adverb *humblement* may be intensified, often by *tres* 'very' but sometimes even by superlative constructions such as *tant et si tres humblement qu'il m'est possible* 'in the most humble manner possible to me'. The request in (10) in fact evinces further syntactic mitigation. Through the use of the future in *je vous supplieray* the request is presented as less immediate and therefore less imposing. Moreover, by interposing *qu'il vous plaise me faire ceste grace de croire* in front of the actual request, the focus is placed on the addressee's will rather than on the requested action (Frank 2011: 353). This is an example of a submissive request showing the full panoply of deferential devices.

Conventionally indirect requests

The analysis of conventionally indirect requests shows that the writers also exhibit a clear preference for one pragmatolinguistic pattern, *viz.* impersonal constructions with *plaire* in the *future simple*, as e.g. in (11) and (12), which account for 11 out of 20 conventionally indirect requests.

- (11) *Il vous plaira, Madame, me faire ce bien de me mander la reception de tout ce par ce present porteur.*
 'It will please you, Madame, to be so good as to confirm the receipt of all of this by this bearer'
 (Timothee Cagnoli to Mary of Lorraine, 1552)
- (12) *il vous plaira me faire envoyer l'autre qui fut dernièrement depesche,*
 'It will please you to have the other one sent to me, which was recently dispatched.'
 (François du Feu to Mary of Lorraine, 1543?)

Such impersonal requests make a prediction statement about the requestee's consent to the requested action. So, formally, they request the addressee's will to carry out an action in the future, rather than the performance of the action itself (Frank 2011:

353), which makes them less imposing. By means of this indirect strategy the requester can avoid a direct and more face-threatening request, for example, by employing an imperative.

Moreover, impersonal constructions with *plaire* are also attested, for instance, in conditional clauses or in the subjunctive form, as is illustrated in Example (13) (see Buridant 2000: 333–334).

- (13) *Laquelle lettre vous plaise resevoir et de m'en mander vostre voloir*
'It may please you to receive this letter and to let me know your pleasure in this'
(Jehan (=John) Campbell to Mary of Lorraine, no year)

In addition to impersonal constructions, there are two prediction statements in the *future simple*, see (14).

- (14) *me semble, Monsieur, qu'il sera bon le gratiffier de quelques belles acque-
nees ou autre chose a vostre discretion.*
'It seems to me, Sir, that it will be good to reward him with some beautiful hackneys or something else at your discretion.'
(Jehan Chesnyn to David Panter, 1550)

Although in French, according to Frank, the requestive force of predictions is often equivalent to imperatives (Frank 2011: 239–240), this prediction statement is hedged by the matrix clause *me semble que* 'it seems to me that', which softens its force so that it reads like a mere suggestion.

To sum up, the requests in the French correspondence corpus are overwhelmingly realised by two pragmalinguistic patterns: (a) performative requests, mostly with the addressee-oriented verb *supplier*, which are frequently mitigated by further softening devices such as the adverb *humblement* and honorific address titles, and (b) impersonal constructions with *plaire*, mostly in the *future simple*. Both pragmalinguistic patterns attest to the deferential nature of the requests and the letters in general, which is further confirmed, for instance, by the frequent addition of variations of the so-called health formula *je prieray le creatuer vous donner en parfaite sancte tres bonne et longue vie* 'I will pray the Creator to grant you a very good and long life in perfect health' and the almost mandatory use of the commissive letter-closing formula *votre tres humble et tres obeissant serviteur/servante* 'your very humble and very obedient servant'.

5.2 Request strategies in Early Modern Scots letters

The Scots correspondence of Mary of Lorraine is also characterised by a preference for direct over indirect requests. As Figure 2 illustrates, 53 per cent of the requests are realised using direct strategies, while conventionally indirect strategies are chosen in 43 per cent of instances and 4 per cent are non-conventionally indirect.

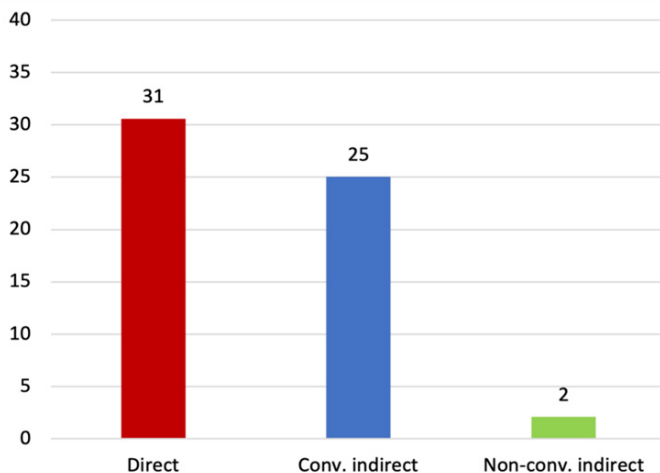


Figure 2. Distribution of requests by directness, Scots correspondence (1542–1551), (normalised frequencies per 10,000 words)

Direct requests

As regards the distribution of direct request strategies, like in the French correspondence, performatives are the dominant realisation strategy, accounting for 62.5 per cent (see Figure 3).

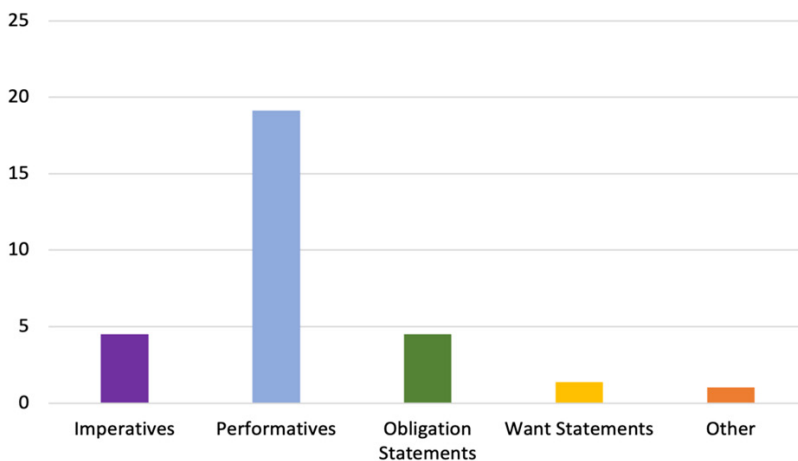


Figure 3. Distribution of direct request strategies, Scots correspondence (1542–1551), (normalised frequencies per 10,000 words)

The most common pragmalinguistic pattern in the Scots letters seems to be modelled on the French deferential performative template with the humiliative verb *supplier*. In the Scots data, *beseik* ‘beseech’ (N=24), which has the same semantics as *supplier*, is employed in 43.6 per cent of performatives. These are regularly further mitigated by other deferential and distancing devices such as adverb phrases with *humilie* ‘humbly’ as head and the use of honorific address titles such as *your grace*, see (15).

- (15) *most humbly beseking your grace to give ferme credence to (firmly believe) this berar (‘messenger’) as to my self and I war present (‘as if I were present’)*
 (George Douglas to Mary of Lorraine, 1544)

Syntactically, the performatives generally also follow the same complementation patterns as the French performatives, since most of them are complemented by an infinitive. In a few cases, they are complemented by content clauses in which generally modal auxiliaries such as *will* are employed, as in (16).

- (16) *I wald (‘would’) besik your grace as I haif (‘have’) done afore that ye will stand my maist gracious lady in the helpin of me to my releif...*
 (Lord Maxwell to Mary of Lorraine, 1543)

Unlike in the French corpus, *pray* (N=23), a performative verb of French origin (< OF. *prier*), is also widespread and is used in 41.8 per cent of the performative requests. Interestingly, in the French corpus, performatives with *prier*, whose semantics are more speaker-oriented and less submissive than *supplier*, are not only much rarer but do not evince the same deferential character as performatives with *supplier*, either. In the Scots data, by contrast, performatives with *pray* manifest the same formulaic deferential patterns as those with *beseik*, as is exemplified in (17).

- (17) *quhairfor hwmillye (‘humbly’) I pray your grace now in my neid (‘need’) to support me with this said money quilk (‘which’) my servand suld (‘should’) have ressavit (‘received’) in Frans (‘France’),*
 (Patrick Bothwell to Mary of Lorraine, 1548–1549)

The same is true of *desire* (N=6), a French-derived verb (< OF. *desirer*) with speaker- rather than addressee-oriented semantics.

While performatives, though generally exhibiting the same deferential pattern as the French performative requests, are the dominant realisation strategy in the Scots data, they are not quite as pervasive as in the French corpus. Imperatives (14.8 per cent), see (18), and obligation statements (14.8 per cent), frequently realised by means of the Scots modal auxiliary of obligation *man* ‘must’, see (19), represent alternative options for the Scottish writers.

- (18) now **reconsaill** ('reconcile') *this caus*
 (Henry Methven to Mary of Lorraine, 1549?)
- (19) *Thairfoir your grace* **man tak** ('must take') *the mair ('more') labour to gif*
('give') gude ('good') counsale.
 (Adam Otterburn to Mary of Lorraine, 1546–47)

Indirect requests

The French conventionally indirect requestive pattern involving impersonal constructions with *plaire*, mostly in the *future simple*, is reflected in the Scots correspondence, too. Impersonal constructions with *pleis* (N=28) (< AN/MF *plais-/plaire*) are the most frequently utilised indirect strategy, representing a share of 38.9 per cent of indirect requests (see Figure 4). However, most of them can be attributed to two letter-writers, who show a particular predilection for them, Patrick Hepburn, 3rd Earl of Bothwell, with a total of 14 instances and Henry Stewart, 1st Lord Methven, with nine instances.

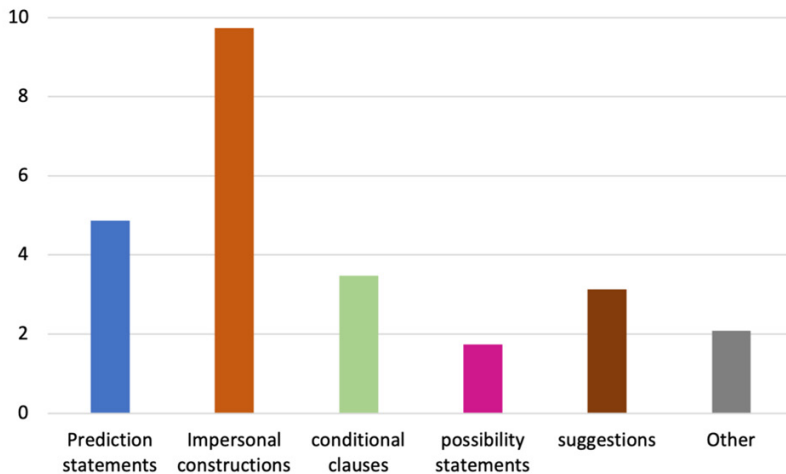


Figure 4. Distribution of conventionally indirect request strategies, Scots correspondence (1542–1551), (normalised frequencies per 10,000 words)

These impersonal constructions, which orientate towards the addressee's consent to the requested action, invariably combine with honorific address terms, thus fitting into the same deferential mould as performatives. The impersonal verb *pleis* is either used in the subjunctive (see 20) or with the predictive modal *will*, patterned on the French future form *plaira* (see 21).

- (20) **plesit** ('it may please') *your grace to remember to heste ... off yowwriss ('yours')*
away vith the fyrst schipe in France
 (George Douglas to Mary of Lorraine, 1544)

(21) *And it will pleis your graice deliver tham to the berar.*
(Countess of Montrose to Mary of Lorraine, 1547 or earlier)

Beside impersonal constructions, Scots letter-writers further made use of a range of other conventionally indirect strategies (see Figure 4) not attested in the French corpus. Among these, prediction statements, which present the requested action as a future prediction, are the most common one, accounting for 19.4 per cent of the conventionally indirect requests. When the addressee is the subject of the verb, *will* moreover transports a volitional meaning so that the addressee's willingness to perform the action is also implied. Most prediction statements are preceded by subjectivisers, most commonly *I dout nocht bot* ('I doubt not that'), see (22), and *I traist* ('I trust').

(22) *I dout nocht bot your grace well caus all to be payit ('payed').*
(Marion Haliburton, Lady Home, to Mary of Lorraine, 1549)

5.3 The influence of French requestive patterns on the requestive style of 16th-century Scots correspondence

The corpus of French letters written by Scottish writers and by French writers in Scotland is clearly dominated by two request strategies: deferential performatives with *supplier* and impersonal constructions with *plaire*. The Scots letters exhibit the same deferential tone as the French letters and submissive performative requests and impersonal constructions with *pleis* are also dominant, however, not to the same degree.

When zooming in on the Scots performative requests, some variations in the pattern come to light. While in the French letters, only the performatives with *supplier* combine with other submissive downtoners such as *humblement* and honorific address terms, in the Scots data, all the requestive verbs, irrespective of their semantics, fit into the deferential mould and combine with submissive and distancing downtoners.

Moreover, for French, Frank noticed a conventionalisation or semantic bleaching of *supplier* from the 16th century onwards, so that this performative verb became available for requests addressed to social superiors but also for requests addressed to equals, thus being used in the same contexts as performatives with *prier* (Frank 2011: 264). My own previous analysis of Scottish non-private correspondence written between 1570 and 1700 indicates, though, that this is not the case with *beseik* in Scots (Elsweiler 2023: 22–23). Performatives with *beseik* or the anglicised variant *beseech* are few and far between after 1570. In fact, my analysis detected a decline in the use of performatives with addressee-oriented semantics such as *beseik/beseech* and a marked increase of performative verbs with speaker-oriented semantics, particularly with *desire* in the 17th century (Elsweiler 2023: 26–27). To further check on the quantitative development of performatives with *beseik/beseech*, *pray* and *desire*, I consulted the entire database of the *Helsinki Corpus of Scottish Correspondence, 1540–1750*, which includes not only non-private letters, but also private ones exchanged between family members and friends. This check confirms that the frequency of *beseik/beseech* declines over time, whereas *pray* and *desire* prove far more

popular. In the first half of the 17th century, for instance, performative requests with *beseik/beseech* (N=30) are of moderate frequency. Performatives with *pray* and *desire*, however, are each nearly four times as frequent.¹⁷ The letters addressed to King James VI, by contrast, show the inverse ratio: *beseik* (N=11) is twice as frequent as *pray* (N=5) and nearly three times as frequent as *desire* (N=4). This corroborates that *beseik/beseech* generally remained restricted to requests addressed to social superiors, i.e. to contexts of power imbalance.

Impersonal constructions with *pleis/please* also see a considerable decline in the 17th century. In fact, as *please* was reanalysed as a personal verb, modally modified passive constructions such as *you may/would be pleased* came to be employed as syntactic downgraders for performative requests, as in (23).

- (23) *Sir I desire you may be pleased to lett me know if you have gott notice of that - money which was to be hade against the Tearm;*
(Marie Douglas to Patrick Home, later 1st earl of Marchmont, 1684)

Both the example of performative requests and of indirect requests with *pleis* thus indicate the influence of the French epistolary discourse tradition on requestive practices in Scots non-private correspondence by elite writers connected to Mary of Lorraine. However, their development from the later 16th century onwards in a broader set of correspondence also shows that this discourse tradition evolved in the Scots context. This is further corroborated by the fact that these two established pragmalinguistic patterns were joined by other requestive patterns in the Scots correspondence. Although performatives remain popular with Scottish letter-writers after 1570, not just in non-private letters but also in private ones, my previous studies have shown that imperatives and prediction statements are also prevalent in the 17th century (Elsweiler 2022). This happens as part of a general simplification of the requestive style during the early modern period, which relies less on lengthy formulaic downgraders (see Elsweiler 2023: 34).

6 CONCLUSION

This contribution sought to explore to what extent Scots requestive practices as evident from 16th-century Scots non-private correspondence in the circle of Scotland's French queen Mary of Lorraine evince influence from the French epistolary discourse tradition. In the 16th century, Early Modern Scots was an emerging standard whose communicative functions had gradually been expanding to include a range of genres with established discourse traditions in Latin and French. As has been argued, to begin with the external elaboration of the vernacular did not happen at the expense of the high varieties Latin and French, but rather with their support (see Section 1). Letter-writing is a case in point, as many 16th-century elite letter-writers in Scotland operated in a multilingual communicative space. The French correspondence of Mary of Lorraine, which, among others, includes French letters by Scottish writers and letters by French people written in Scotland, testifies to this. A comparison of the requestive patterns found in the French corpus with

17 These counts exclude letters addressed to King James VI.

those attested in the Scots correspondence of Mary of Lorraine, representing the communication of a Franco-Scottish epistolary discourse community, showed that the two prevalent French requestive patterns are also the dominant ones in the Scots letters. The deferential and humiliative requestive style evidenced in both the French and the Scots letters was, in fact, common across early modern Europe as part of a shared epistolary tradition (Ebert 1990: 226, Burke 2000: 44). Scots, as other vernaculars, thus adopted this established discourse tradition, which led to the internal elaboration of its pragmalinguistic repertoire. However, discourse traditional conventions as well as the norms of the individual languages are not static but leave room for variation. Thus, discursive practices may evolve after being adopted in the vernaculars (Wilhelm 2001: 471). This is also true of the Scots requestive patterns, as is evident from later Scots letters, both non-private and private ones, which reflect a broader range of correspondents from the nobility and the gentry. In particular, the use of performatives evolved from a humiliative style in correspondence with social superiors, still in evidence after 1570 in letters addressed to King James VI, to a default request strategy which relied less on lengthy formulaic downgraders. The existence of common epistolary discursive practices across Western Europe, attested in Latin and French as well as in the developing vernacular standard varieties, thus testifies at the same time to the conservative and to the innovative role of discourse traditions in the early modern period.

References

Primary Sources

- CAMERON, Annie (ed.) (1927) *Scottish Correspondence of Mary of Lorraine: 1543–1560*. Edinburgh: Scottish History Society.
- FRASER, William (ed.) (1885) *The Douglas Book. Vol. 4: correspondence*. Edinburgh: T. and A. Constable.
- FRASER, William (ed.) (1889) *Memorials of the Earls of Haddington. Vol. 2: correspondence and charters*. Edinburgh: Printed by T. and A. Constable.
- MEURMAN-SOLIN, Anneli (comp.) (1995) *The Helsinki Corpus of Older Scots*. Helsinki: Department of Modern Languages, University of Helsinki.
- MEURMAN-SOLIN, Anneli (comp.) (2017) *The Helsinki Corpus of Scottish Correspondence, 1540–1750*. Helsinki: Research Unit for the Study of Variation, Contacts and Change in English (VARIENG), Department of Modern Languages, University of Helsinki. <http://urn.fi/urn:nbn:fi:lb-201411071>.
- WOOD, Marguerite (ed.) (1923) *Foreign Correspondence with Marie de Lorraine Queen of Scotland: from the originals in the Balcarres Papers. 1537–1548*. Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press.
- WOOD, Marguerite (ed.) (1925) *Foreign Correspondence with Marie de Lorraine Queen of Scotland: from the originals in the Balcarres Papers. 1548–1557*. Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press.

Secondary Sources

- AITKEN, A.J (1983) “The languages of Older Scots Poetry.” In: D. McClure (ed.), 18–49.
- AITKEN, A.J (1985) “A history of Scots.” In: M. Robinson (ed.), ix–xvi.
- ANDERSON, Robert/Mark FREEMAN/Lindsay PATERSON (eds) (2015) *The Edinburgh History of Education in Scotland*. Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press.
- ARMSTRONG, Jackson/Edda FRANKOT (eds) (2021) *Cultures of Law in Urban Northern Europe. Scotland and its Neighbours c.1350–c.1650*. London and New York: Routledge.
- ASCHENBERG, Heidi (2003) “Diskurstraditionen – Orientierungen und Fragestellungen.” In: H. Aschenberg/R. Wilhelm (eds), 1–35.
- ASCHENBERG, Heidi/Raymund WILHELM (eds) (2003) *Romanische Sprachgeschichte und Diskurstraditionen. Akten der gleichnamigen Sektion des XXVII. Deutschen Romanistentags*. Tübingen: Gunter Narr.
- BAZERMAN, Charles (1991) *Textual Dynamics of the Professions: historical and contemporary studies of writing in professional communities*. Madison, Wis.: University of Wisconsin Press.
- BERGS, Alexander/Laurel BRINTON (eds) (2012) *English Historical Linguistics: an international handbook*. Berlin/Boston: De Gruyter Mouton.
- BETTEN, Anne (ed.) (1990) *Neuere Forschungen zur historischen Syntax des Deutschen: Referate der Internationalen Fachkonferenz Eichstätt 1989*. Tübingen: Niemeyer.
- BLUM-KULKA, Shoshana/Juliane HOUSE/Gabriele KASPER (1989) “The CCSARP Coding Manual.” In: *Ead.* (eds), *Cross-cultural Pragmatics: requests and apologies*. Norwood, NJ: Ablex Publishing Corporation. 273–294.
- BROWN, Keith (2000) *Noble Society in Scotland: wealth, family and culture, from reformation to revolution*. Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press.
- BUGAJ, Joanna (2004) “Middle Scots as an emerging standard and why it did not make it.” *Scottish Language* 23, 19–34.
- BURIDANT, Claude (2000) *Grammaire nouvelle de l’ancien français*. Paris: Sedes.
- BURKE, Peter (2000) “A civil tongue: language and politeness in early modern Europe.” In: P. Burke/B. Harrison/P. Slack (eds), 31–48.
- BURKE, Peter/Brian HARRISON/Paul SLACK (eds) (2000) *Civil Histories: essays presented to Sir Keith Thomas*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- CAMARGO, Martin (2007) “If you can’t join them, beat them: or, when grammar met business writing (in fifteenth-century Oxford).” In: C. Poster (ed.), 67–87.
- CANNADINE, David (ed.) (2004) *The Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- CORBETT, John/J. Derrick McCLURE/Jane STUART-SMITH (eds) (2003) *The Edinburgh Companion to Scots*. Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press.
- CRUICKSHANK, Janet/Robert McCOLL MILLAR (eds) (2013) *After the Storm: papers from the Forum for Research on the Languages of Scotland and Ulster triennial meeting, Aberdeen 2012*. Aberdeen: Forum for Research on the Languages of Scotland and Ireland.
- CULPEPER, Jonathan/Dawn ARCHER (2008) “Requests and directness in early modern English trial proceedings and play texts, 1640–1760.” In: A. Jucker/I. Taavitsainen (eds), 45–84.

- CULPEPER, Jonathan/Jane DEMMEN (2011) “Nineteenth-century English politeness: negative politeness, conventional indirect requests and the rise of the individual self.” *Journal of Historical Pragmatics* 12/1–2, 49–81.
- DAVIS, Norman (1965) “The *litera Troili* and English letters.” *The Review of English Studies* 16/63, 233–244.
- DAYBELL, James (2012) *The Material Letter in Early Modern England: manuscript letters and the culture and practices of letter-writing, 1512–1635*. Houndmills: Palgrave Macmillan.
- DAYBELL, James (2014) “Early modern letter-books, miscellanies, and the reading and reception of scribally copied letters.” In: J. Eckhardt/D. Starza Smith (eds), 57–72.
- DURKIN, Philip (2014) *Borrowed Words: a history of loanwords in English*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- EBERT, Helmut (1990) “Bemerkungen zur Syntax frühneuhochdeutscher Bittbriefe.” In: A. Betten (ed.), 224–238.
- ECKHARDT, Joshua/Daniel STARZA SMITH (eds) (2014) *Manuscript Miscellanies in Early Modern England*. Farnham: Ashgate.
- ELSWEILER, Christine (2021) “Divergence in two historical varieties: the use of modal auxiliaries in commissive and directive speech acts in Older Scots and Early Modern English letters.” *Anglistik* 32/1, 109–132.
- ELSWEILER, Christine (2023) “Modal *may* in requests: a comparison of regional pragmatic variation in early modern Scottish and English correspondence.” *Journal of Historical Pragmatics*. Online First, 1–37.
- EWAN, Elizabeth (2015) “Schooling in towns, c.1400–c.1560.” In: R. Anderson/M. Freeman/L. Paterson (eds), 39–56.
- FINLAY, John (2004) “Otterburn, Sir Adam (d. 1548), Lawyer and Diplomat.” In: D. Cannadine (ed.), <https://www.oxforddnb.com> [accessed on 27 July 2023].
- FRANK, Barbara/Thomas HAYE/Doris TOPHINKE (eds) (1997) *Gattungen mittelalterlicher Schriftlichkeit*. Tübingen: Gunter Narr.
- FRANK, Birgit (2011) *Aufforderung im Französischen: ein Beitrag zur Geschichte sprachlicher Höflichkeit*. Berlin: De Gruyter.
- GÖRLACH, Manfred (2002) *A Textual History of Scots*. Heidelberg: Winter.
- GOULD, J.A. (2004) “Panter, David (d. 1558).” In: D. Cannadine (ed.), <https://www.oxforddnb.com> [accessed on 27 April 2022].
- GÜNTHER, Hartmut/Otto LUDWIG (eds) (1994) *Schrift und Schriftlichkeit/Writing and its Use: Ein interdisziplinäres Handbuch internationaler Forschung/an interdisciplinary handbook of international research*. Berlin/New York: Mouton de Gruyter.
- HASPELMATH, Martin/Ekkehard KÖNIG/Wulf OESTERREICHER/Wolfgang RAIBLE (eds) (2001) *Language Typology and Language Universals/Sprachtypologie und sprachliche Universalien/La typologie des langues et les universaux linguistiques: an international handbook/ein internationales Handbuch/manuel international*. Berlin/New York: De Gruyter.
- HAVINGA, Anna (2021) “The vernacularisation of the Aberdeen Council Registers (1398–1511)” In: J. Armstrong/E. Frankot (eds), 80–101.

- HOLTUS, Günter/Michele METZELTIN/Christian SCHMITT (eds) (1988) *Lexikon der Romanistischen Linguistik*. Tübingen: M. Niemeyer.
- JUCKER, Andreas/Irma TAAVITSAINEN (eds) (2008) *Speech Acts in the History of English*. Amsterdam: John Benjamins.
- KOCH, Peter (1988) “Externe Sprachgeschichte I/Storia della lingua I.” In: G. Holtus/M. Metzeltin/C. Schmitt (eds), 343–360.
- KOCH, Peter/Wulf OESTERREICHER (1994) “Schriftlichkeit und Sprache.” In: H. Günther/O. Ludwig (eds), 587–604.
- KOPACZYK, Joanna (2013) “Rethinking the traditional periodisation of the Scots language.” In: J. Cruickshank/R. Millar (eds), 233–260.
- KOPACZYK, Joanna (2020) “Textual standardisation of legal Scots *vis a vis* Latin.” In: L. Wright (ed.), 487–513.
- KOPACZYK, Joanna (2021) “The language of medieval legal record as a complex multilingual code.” In: J. Armstrong/E. Frankot (eds), 58–79.
- LANGE, Claudia (2012) “Standardization: standards in the history of English.” In: A. Bergs/L. Brinton (eds), 994–1006.
- LEBSANFT, Franz (2005) “Kommunikationsprinzipien, Texttraditionen, Geschichte.” In: A. Schrott/H. Völker (eds), 25–43.
- LYNCH, Michael (ed.) (2011) *The Oxford Companion to Scottish History*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- MACK, Peter (2002) *Elizabethan Rhetoric: theory and practice*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- MCGLADDERY, C. A. (2004) “Maxwell, Robert, Fifth Lord Maxwell (c. 1494–1546), Magnate.” In: D. Cannadine (ed.), <https://www.oxforddnb.com> [accessed on 27 July 2023].
- MACLEOD, Morag (2011) “France: ‘the Auld Alliance’.” In: M. Lynch (ed.), 243–245.
- MARSHALL, Rosalind K. (2004) “Mary [Mary of Guise] (1515–1560), Queen of Scots, Consort of James V, and Regent of Scotland.” In: D. Cannadine (ed.), <https://www.oxforddnb.com> [accessed on 27 April 2022].
- McCLURE, Derrick (ed.) (1983) *Scotland and the Lowland Tongue: studies in the language and literature of Lowland Scotland*. Aberdeen: Aberdeen University Press.
- MEURMAN-SOLIN, Anneli (1995) “A new tool: The Helsinki Corpus of Older Scots (1450–1700).” *ICAME Journal* 19, 49–62.
- MILLAR, Robert McColl (2020) *A Sociolinguistic History of Scotland*. Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press.
- MOESSNER, Lilo (2010) “Directive speech acts: a cross-generic diachronic study.” *Journal of Historical Pragmatics* 11/2, 219–249.
- MORGAN, Hiram (2008) “Scotland in Renaissance Diplomacy, 1473–1603: Scotland to France.” <http://xml.ucc.ie/chronicon/scottishdiplomats/France.pdf> [accessed on 2 August 2023].
- NEVALA, Minna (2004) *Address in Early English Correspondence: its forms and socio-pragmatic functions*. Helsinki: Société Néophilologique.

- OESTERREICHER, Wulf (1997) “Zur Fundierung von Diskurstraditionen.” In: B. Frank/T. Hays/D. Tophinke (eds), 19–41.
- OESTERREICHER, Wulf (2015) “Le concept de ‘formalisation discursive’ – dynamiques des innovations, options stylistiques et transformation dans l’espace variationnel d’une langue historique.” In: E. Winter-Froemel/A. López Serena/Á. Octavio de Toledo y Huerta/B. Frank-Job (eds), 113–136.
- PERELMAN, Les (1991) “The medieval art of letter writing: rhetoric as institutional expression.” In: C. Bazerman (ed.), 97–119.
- POSTER, Carol (ed.) (2007) *Letter-Writing Manuals and Instruction from Antiquity to the Present*. Columbia, South Carolina: University of South Carolina Press.
- RITCHIE, Pamela (2002) *Mary of Guise in Scotland, 1548–1560: a political career*. East Linton: Tuckwell Press.
- ROBINSON, Mairi (1985) *The Concise Scots Dictionary*. Aberdeen: Aberdeen University Press.
- SCHAEFER, Ursula (2006) “The beginnings of standardization: the communicative space in fourteenth-century England.” In: *Ead.* (ed.), 3–24.
- SCHAEFER, Ursula (2006) (ed.) *The Beginnings of Standardization: language and culture in fourteenth-century England*. Frankfurt am Main: P. Lang.
- SCHAEFER, Ursula (2012) “Middle English: standardization.” In: A. Bergs/L. Brinton, 519–533.
- SCHROTT, Angela/Harald VÖLKER (eds) (2005) *Historische Pragmatik und historische Varietätenlinguistik in den romanischen Sprachen*. Göttingen: Universitätsverlag Göttingen.
- SEARLE, John (1969) *Speech Acts: an essay in the philosophy of language*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- SMITH, Jeremy (2003) In: J. Corbett/J.D. McClure/J. Stuart-Smith, 197–209.
- SMITH, Jeremy (2012) *Older Scots: a linguistic reader*. Edinburgh: The Scottish Text Society.
- SWALES, John (1990) *Genre Analysis: English in academic and research settings*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- SWALES, John (2016) “Reflections on the concept of discourse community” *ASp* [Online] 69, 1–12. <http://journals.openedition.org/asp/4774> [accessed on 3 August 2023].
- THOMAS, Andrea (2004) “James V (1512–1542), King of Scots.” In: D. Cannadine (ed.), 27 July 2023. <https://www.oxforddnb.com> [accessed on 3 August 2023].
- WILHELM, Raymund (2001) “Diskurstraditionen.” In: M. Haspelmath/E. König/W. Oesterreicher/W. Raible (eds), 467–477.
- WARDEN, Alex. J. (1884) *Angus or Forfarshire, the Land and People, Descriptive and Historical*. Vol. IV. Dundee: Charles Alexander and Co.
- WILLIAMSON, Keith (1982) “Lowland Scots in education: an historical survey – part I.” *Scottish Language* 1, 54–77.
- WRIGHT, Laura (ed.) (2020) *The Multilingual Origins of Standard English*. Berlin: de Gruyter Mouton.

Abstract

THE INFLUENCE OF FRENCH PRAGMALINGUISTIC PATTERNS ON THE REQUESTIVE STYLE IN 16TH-CENTURY SCOTTISH LETTERS

16th-century Scots was a developing standard variety that was being elaborated to assume new communicative functions hitherto fulfilled by Latin and French – both languages with well-established discourse traditions. The elaboration of Scots happened by adopting these discursive practices into the vernacular, thus innovating new structures and patterns. This study, which focuses on the epistolary discourse tradition, aims to explore to what extent requestive patterns in 16th-century Scots letters were influenced by French pragmalinguistic models. A comparative analysis of French letters in the foreign correspondence of Mary of Lorraine with letters from her Scots correspondence shows that the French requestive models had a clear impact on the Scots requestive repertoire. It further indicates that the discursive practices did not remain static but evolved in the Scots context.

Keywords: Epistolary discourse tradition, French correspondence, Early Modern Scots, requests, 16th-century Scottish correspondence

Povzetek

VPLIV FRANCOOSKIH PRAGMALINGVISTIČNIH VZORCEV NA SLOG PROŠENJ V ŠKOTSKIH PISMIH 16. STOLETJA

V 16. stoletju je bila škotščina razvijajoča se standardna različica, ki so jo dodelovali z namenom, da prevzame nove komunikacijske funkcije, kakršne sta dotlej opravljali latinščina in francoščina – jezika s trdno uveljavljenimi diskurzivnimi tradicijami. Škotščina kot vernakularni jezik se je razvijala s prevzemanjem teh diskurzivnih praks, s čimer je pridobivala nove strukture in vzorce. Namen te razprave, ki se osredotoča na pisemsko diskurzivno tradicijo, je proučiti, do kakšne mere so na vzorce prošenj v škotskih pismih 16. stoletja vplivali francoski pragmalingvistični modeli. Primerjalna analiza francoskih pisem znotraj tuje korespondence Marije Guiške s pismi iz njene škotske korespondence kaže, da so imeli francoski modeli prošenj očiten vpliv na nabor sredstev za izražanje prošenj v škotščini. Razvidno je tudi, da diskurzivne prakse niso bile statične, temveč so se v škotskem kontekstu spreminjale.

Ključne besede: pisemska diskurzivna tradicija, francoska korespondenca, zgodnja moderna škotščina, prošnje, škotska korespondenca v 16. stoletju