

A. J. Aitken: How to pronounce Older Scots (1977)

and

Caroline Macafee and †A. J. Aitken: The phonology of Older Scots (2003)

Editor's Introduction

There are two papers in this section. AJA's seminal 'How to pronounce Older Scots' (1977) is followed by a more recent work, 'The phonology of Older Scots' (Macafee and †Aitken, 2003), which incorporates much of the 1977 paper and updates it in line with AJA's later findings and thinking, especially as presented in *The Older Scots Vowels* (†Aitken, 2002). The text of 'How to pronounce Older Scots' given here is that of the original published article of 1977 with corrections and additions by AJA c. 1994. A note by AJA indicates that it was his intention to further revise this paper in accordance with his later work, and especially to revise the transcriptions. This is essentially what is done in 'The phonology of Older Scots', which follows on here from the 1977 paper.

The transcriptions were the basis for a cassette tape and booklet, 'How to Pronounce Older Scots' (1980). This contains readings by AJA in reconstructed pronunciations, in various models, of the passages transcribed in the paper, and of other passages by Mairi Robinson and J. Derrick McClure. AJA revised and read the text of the paper on a new recording (also entitled 'How to Pronounce Older Scots') commissioned from Scotsoun by the Robert Henryson Society (1996a). This was accompanied by a booklet of tables ('The Pronunciation of Older Scots', 1996b).

When he revised the paper for the 1996 recording, AJA was entitled to take the view that "the excuse advanced by some that we know nothing about how OSc was pronounced is simply not tenable", in view of this 1977 paper, his recorded readings, and his contributions to *The Concise Scots Dictionary*, including a lengthy section on pronunciation in the Introduction, and pronunciation entries (which he supplied) throughout the dictionary. Nevertheless, he did not underestimate the difficulty of preparing reading passages in OSc, or the degree of phonetic competence needed to render a full-scale reconstruction.

AJA's reconstruction of OSc phonology was first developed for teaching purposes at the University of Edinburgh in the 1950s, and appeared in print when it was employed by Cornelis Kuipers (1964). It was an input at an early stage to the Linguistic Survey of Scotland's phonological investigations, and also informs AJA's pronunciation entries for *The Concise Scots Dictionary* (see 'The pronunciation entries for the CSD', 1985, 2015). The independent analyses of Paul Johnston (1979, 1997) and Charles Jones (1991, 1993, 1995, 1997) show that AJA's reconstruction is not self-evident: it is possible to reconstruct alternative sound-change scenarios. AJA's, however, is supported by his extensive study of the contemporary evidence, as he points out in 'Progress in Older Scots philology' (1991), and as Johnston (2006), in his review of *The Older Scots Vowels*, gracefully concedes.

In 'How to pronounce Older Scots', AJA introduces his numbering system for the vowels, a convenient and unambiguous way of referring to any item at any chronological stage, in any dialect, without having to specify a pronunciation. The system has been used (often in combination with the

traditional philological system referenced to Old English) by several scholars, including Catherine van Buuren ed. (1982, 1997) and Jonathan Glenn (1987, forthcoming), as well as by the present writer.

AJA's historical reconstruction tracks the unconditioned developments of the vowels, plus some major conditioned changes such as l-vocalisation and the splits of vowels 1 and 7 according to the following environment. In *The Older Scots Vowels* he adds many further conditioned changes to the 1977 reconstruction, all of which help to address the problem of knowing which vowel is selected in particular words. In *The Older Scots Vowels* he provides the detailed evidence, especially from orthography and rhyme, that supports his reconstruction. A summary of the book also forms the major part of the chapter on 'Phonology' in 'A History of Scots to 1700' in the Preface to *A Dictionary of the Older Scottish Tongue* (Macafee and †Aitken, 2002: ch. 6). *The Older Scots Vowels* was unfinished at the time of AJA's death, and he had evidently not had time to deal in detail with the short vowels. One dialectal development that he does not mention is the rounding of Vowel 17 in the South-East of Scotland (parts of the southern East Central and Southern dialect areas), and its merger there with a shortened vowel 12. A small addition has been made to Figure 5 in the 'The phonology of Older Scots' (below) to reflect this.

Since the actual phonetic realisations of the past are unknowable, the backbone of AJA's analysis remains the rough outline, and this is substantially the same in his later work (his later preference for some different phonetic symbols does not affect the systemic relationships amongst the vowels). In AJA's later writing, vowel 5 is symbolised as a lowered /ɔ:/ or /ɔ:/(the symbols are interchangeable), rather than /o:/, which brings the account for OSc more into line with the standard treatment of the same vowel in accounts of the history of English, though as Smith (2012: 30) points out, AJA's is a rather narrow transcription and might as well be /ɔ:/.

Most of the changes seen in the revised transcriptions are, as it happens, merely phonetic (unsurprisingly, there is a certain congruence between the selected passages and the conditioned changes that AJA chose to treat already in the 1977 paper), apart from the treatment of *oper* (Passage 1), originally with vowel 7. This is later taken to have passed through a vowel 19 stage before being captured by vowel 15 (Modern Scots *ither*) (†Aitken, 2002: §16.1).

A. J. Aitken

How to pronounce Older Scots (1977)¹

(revised c. 1994)

Edited by Caroline Macafee, 2015

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[1] 1 How was Older Scots pronounced?

Reconstructions of earlier English pronunciation, of Anglo-Saxon or of Chaucer's or of Shakespeare's English, have hitherto confined themselves to two aspects only: specifications of the patterns of word-stress; and segmental phonology, the reconstruction of systems of speech-sounds and speculations as to the approximate realisations of individual sounds within the system. In addition, of course, the standard historical phonologies account for the distributions of the individual sounds through the lexicon, that is, which of the sounds are selected for each word in the language at any one time and place.

Such important, if more subtle, aspects of speech, as habitual voice-quality and articulatory setting, average loudness, intonation patterns, habits of rhythm and tempo, and the pitch-changes which mark or reinforce accented stress, as well as variations from the norm in all of these to signal special attitudes and moods, have so far been almost totally ignored in descriptions of earlier speech. It is as if there were a tacit conspiracy to pretend that segmental phonology provides a complete specification of past speech behaviour. One excellent reason exists, certainly, for sweeping these non-segmental aspects of speech under the carpet: there is virtually no organised and comparable information about how these matters operate in present-day non-standard English dialects from which we could extrapolate backwards by the usual methods of comparative philology. This is certainly true of modern Scots, both the vernacular dialects and the Scottish variety of standard English speech. Though it would be possible to speculate about the earlier existence of a few features

¹ [1] A modified version of the paper delivered at the conference, entitled 'Older Scots: How did they pronounce it? How should we?'

Editor's note: the conference was the First International Conference on Scottish Language and Literature, Medieval and Renaissance, held in Edinburgh, 10–16 September 1975. The paper was originally published in A. J. Aitken, M. P. McDiarmid and D. S. Thomson, eds., *Bards and Makars. Scottish Language and Literature, Medieval and Renaissance* (University of Glasgow Press, 1977), 1–21.

The present text incorporates AJA's own marginal corrections (c. 1994), and has been edited for uniformity of style with other Aitken papers. 'South Scots' has been replaced by 'Southern Scots'. The original page and note numbers are shown in square brackets. The change of bibliographical style means that some notes have been dropped. Since digital publication does not suffer the same constraints of space as hard copy, examples are laid out more expansively, though it will sometimes be obvious that they started off as connected text in the original.

of this sort about which a little is known,² I shall in this paper follow the usual practice of tacitly ignoring such matters.

Further, since space is limited, I propose to offer no general remarks on word-stress and vowel selection in polysyllabic words³ (in which the history of Scots differs little from that of other varieties of English) or on the history of consonants and consonant sequences, even those on which the handbooks are unhelpful and the spellings ambiguous, such as the Old English /ŋg/ sequence (simplified in all environments in pre-literary Scots^[2] to /ŋ/), and the precise history of the inflexion spelled <-is> <-ys> and the rather different history of the suffix also spelled <-is> <-ys> or <-ice> (as in *Scottis*, Middle Scots /^lskɔtɪz/ and /^lskɔts/ certainly, /^lskɔtɪs/ possibly, and *nouris* or *norice*⁴). But on the history of the vowels, on which the orthography is much less transparent than on the consonants, some discussion is necessary.

Tables 1 and 3 (which use the standard International Phonetic Alphabet symbols) set out how I believe the vowel-system of Scots, or, more precisely, the dialects of Central Scotland, has developed in outline since the fourteenth century. The column headed ESc (Early Scots) in each case sets out the system of vowel phonemes and the approximate realisations of the principal allophones of each of these as I assume these to have been c. 1375. It will be seen that this represents quite orthodoxly the system and approximate realisations for fourteenth century Northern Middle English as the standard historical grammars give them. This part of my reconstruction, supported as it is by the whole edifice of historical English phonology erected by a long succession of scholars through the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, is accepted as axiomatic. As it happens, there is also a little rhyme evidence in Early Scots which suggests that vowels 1 and 15, and 4 and 17 respectively, had similar realisations in Early Scots (see Buss, 1886: 510), and there is of course rhyme and spelling evidence in the Scottish sources confirming the separate identities of all the items here specified as contrastive.

^[2] If this is accepted, then it may be that the outline presented in Table 1 will be acceptable as a plausible charting of the main systemic rearrangements and approximate directions of the qualitative changes between Early and Modern Scots. It will be seen that, according to this, vowels 1, 2, 3 and 4, for example, were in contrast in c. 1375 as (approximately) [i:], [e:], [ɛ:] and [a] respectively, so that:

bite was then [bi:t],
meet [me:t],
meat [me:t],
late [la:t],

but that by c. 1550–1600 (the date assumed for Middle Scots (MSc) in this Table):

bite was [beit],
meet [mi:t],
late [le:t] and
meat was either [mi:t] or [me:t] according to dialect.

² [2] Such as the widespread Modern Scots ‘terminal stress’ and the epenthetic vowels which accompany it (see Wettstein, 1942: §§59, 60), and vowel harmony (see Dieth, 1932: §§83–92).

³ [3] Most of the monographs on Modern Scots offer short lists of Scots words of this class which are treated differently from their Standard English cognates: e.g. Watson (1923: §81, p. 37).

⁴ Editor’s note: corrected from ‘*notice*’ in the original.

Table 1: Vowel systems of Scots: a rough historical outline

	ESc	MSc	ModSc	OSc spellings
Long Vowels	1	i: → ei	a'e + əi	i-e, y-e, y; yi: y#
	2	e: → i:	i	e-e; ei, ey: e#, ee#
	3	ɛ: → e:	e	e-e; ei, ey
	4	a: → e:	e	a-e; ai, ay, e: a#
	5	o: → o:	o	o-e; oi, oy: o#
	6	u: → u:	u	ou, ow: ow#
	6a	ul → u:		ul, (w)ol: ull#
7	ø: → ø:	ø } i } e: } † I	o-e, o(me), o(ne), (w)o, u-e, w-e; ui, uy, wi, wy: o#	
Diphthongs in -i	8	ai → ei	ɛ: (eə)	ai, ay
	(4)	a: → e:	e	ai, ay; a-e: ay#; a#
	8a	ai# → ei#	əi#	ay#; ey#
	9	oi → oi	oi	oi, oy
	10	ui → ui	əi	oi, oy; ui, uy, wi, wy
	11	ei# → e:# → i:#	i#	ey#, e#, ee#; ie#
Diphthongs in -u	12	au → a:	ɔ:(ɑ:(au, aw: aw#; a#
	12a	al → a:		al: all#
	13	ou → ou	ʌu	ou, ow: ow#
	13a	ol → ou		ol: ol#
	14	eu → iu	iu	eu, ew; ew#
		iu → iu		
Short Vowels	15	ɪ → ɪ	ɪ	i, y
	16	ɛ → ɛ	ɛ	e
	17	a → a	a } ɑ }	a
	18	o → o	o } ɔ }	o
	19	u → u	ʌ	u, o(n), o(m), (w)o

The above are phonetic symbols, representing approximate pronunciation

Table 2: Lexical distribution of the Scottish vowels: (numbering as in Tables 1 and 3)

The chief earlier and Modern English correspondences of these items are:	
1:	mod. Eng. /a/ as in <i>bite, price, fire, cry</i>
2:	mod. Eng. /i/, especially as spelled <ee>, as in <i>meet, deed, queen, here, tree, see</i>
3:	mod. Eng. /i/ or /ɛ/, especially as spelled <ea>, as in <i>seat, breath, dead, steal, ear</i> (but <i>sea</i> had vowel no. 2: only one of these phonemes existed word-finally)
4:	mod. Eng. /o/, as in <i>boat, oath, load, whole, more, go, so</i> , and mod. Eng. /e/ as in <i>late, scathe, fade, ale, care</i>
5:	mod. Eng. /o/, as in <i>throat, coal, before</i> ; in Older Scots varying with 4 in anglicised forms, as in <i>so, more</i>
6:	mod. Eng. /au/, as in <i>about, mouth, loud, foul, hour, cow</i>
6a:	items spelled <(o)ulC> or <ull> in mod. Eng. as <i>coulter, shoulder, bulk, full, pull</i>
7:	mod. Eng. /u/ and /ju/, as in <i>boot, fruit, suit, good, fool, moon, move, moor, do</i> , and <i>cure, duke, pure, refuse, sure, use</i> , also originally in <i>creature, measure, fortune</i>
8:	mod. Eng. /e/, chiefly as spelled <ai> or <ay#>, as in <i>bait, braid, pail, rain, pair, day, say, pray, away, aye</i> (ever), <i>May, pay</i>
9:	mod. Eng. /oi/, as in <i>Boyd, avoid, choice, noise, boy, joy</i>
10:	mod. Eng. /oi/ (from OF /oi/ and /ui/), as in <i>quoit, join, spoil, point, poison</i>
11:	occurred only word- or morpheme-final, ⁶ in <i>ey</i> (the eye), <i>dey</i> (to die), <i>drey</i> (to endure), <i>fey</i> (doomed) (plus a doublet with vowel 8), <i>fley</i> (to flee), <i>hey</i> (high), <i>ley</i> (a lie), <i>swey</i> and <i>wey</i> (a bit)
12:	mod. Eng. /ɔ:/ spelled <au, aw>, as <i>laud, cause, law, saw</i> , and mod. Eng. /o/, spelled <ow>, as <i>low, show, snow</i> , and in <i>old, bold, cold</i>
12a:	mod. Eng. items spelled <aIC> or <all>, as <i>chalk, salt, all, ballad</i>
12b:	vowel 4 in contact with a labial consonant diverges dialectally as shown, as in ESc <i>twa, quha, awa(y), water, wapin</i> , and <i>fader, fadom</i>
13:	no clearly corresponding Eng. item: examples include <i>nout</i> (cattle), <i>gouk</i> (the cuckoo), <i>loup</i> (jump), <i>lown</i> (calm), <i>louse</i> (loose), (all from ON /au/), and <i>bow, grow, four, owre</i> (over) (from various sources), also in <i>chow</i> , corresponding to Eng. <i>chew</i>

⁵ Editor's note to Table 1: a larger variety of spellings is exemplified in the notes accompanying the CD 'How to Pronounce Older Scots' (Aitken, 1996a): these are also included in the version of the table in 'The Phonology of Older Scots' (below).

In his manuscript revision of Tables 1 and 3, AJA made some changes to the ModSc realisation of some vowels, presumably to reflect the predominant realisations found by the Linguistic Survey of Scotland. However, I have left the tables in their original, and familiar, form. AJA's later thinking is reflected in the revised version of the paper which follows this. For completeness, I note here that in Table 1 he proposed to change the ModSc realisations of vowel 8 to [e: (e:ə)], and vowel 15 to [ē], and also, following this, the third realisation of vowel 7 to [e: + e(ē)]. On the interaction between the realisations of Scots vowels 7 and 15 and the Standard English realisation of 15, see Kohler (1966), Gregg (1985), and Macafee (2004).

⁶ Editor's note: in the revision, AJA has deleted, perhaps as too complicated, *hie* (high), which has a cognate form *heich* with vowel 2.

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13a:	mod. Eng. items spelled <olC> or <oll>, as <i>folk, colt, gold, knoll, roll</i>
14:	mod. Eng. items spelled <ew>, as <i>dew, few, steward, Jew</i> , also <i>blue, true, due, duty, rule, adieu, beauty</i> . Does not arise, as in Eng., from OF. /i/, except word- or morpheme-finally, as <i>vertew</i> : cf. vowel 7. But in many dialects arises from original vowel 7 before voiceless velars, as in <i>beuk, neuk, beuch, pleuch</i> , and (by a different route) in plurals like <i>bewis, plewis</i> , and in <i>inew</i> beside <i>ineuch</i> (enough)
	The short vowels generally correspond to the similarly spelled modern English vowels:
15:	as in <i>bit, lid, chin</i> (note that <i>bind, blind, find, wind</i> and other items in <i>-ind</i> had this vowel, but <i>kind, mind, sind</i> (to rinse) and <i>strind</i> (generation, race, inherited character) had vowel 1)
16:	as in <i>get, bed, men</i>
17:	as in <i>cat, lad, man</i>
18:	as in <i>cot, God, on</i>
19:	as in <i>cut, bud, gun</i> ⁷

For further lists, and explanation and comment, see the Introduction to the *Scottish National Dictionary* (Grant, 1934) or, for more exhaustive lists, Dieth (1932) or Zai (1942).

⁷ Editor's note: also, corresponding to RP /ɔ/ from earlier short *u*, *put, full* (if not l-vocalised to *fu*' vowel 6a), *puddin*, etc.

Table 3 Vowel systems of Scots: a more detailed historical outline⁸

	ESc	early MSc	late MSc	ModSc		
Long vowels	1	i: →	ëi →	æi	a'e + əi	
	2	e: →	i: →	i	i	
	3	ɛ: →	e: →	e	e	
	4	a: →	ɛ: →			
	6	o: →	o: →	o	o	
	6	u: →	u: →	u	u	
	6a	ul →	ul →	öl	Λl	
7	ø: (y:) →	ø: (i:) →	ø (i)	{ ø i e: + ø (ï, ɪ)		
Diphthongs in -i	8	ai →	æi →	ɛ:	ɛ: (ɛ'ə)	
	(4)	a: →	ɛ: →	e	e	
	8a	ai# →	æi# →	ɛi#	əi#	
	9	oi →	oi →	oi	oi	
	10	ui →	ui →	öi	əi	
	11	ei# → e:# →	i:# →	i	i	
Diphthongs in -u	12a	al →	al →	al	al	
	12	au →	ɔ: →	{ ɑ:(:) ɔ:(:)	{ ɑ: ɔ:	
	12b	wa: →	wɛ: →			we
	(4)	13	ou →	ou →	öu	Λu
	13a	ol →	iu →	iu →	{ iu ju	
	14a	eu →				
	14b	iu →				
Short Vowels	15	ɪ →	ɪ →	ɪ	ɪ	
	16	ɛ →	ɛ →	ɛ	ɛ	
	17	a →	a →	a	{ a ɑ	
	18	{ o ɔ	{ o ɔ	{ o ɔ	{ o ɔ	
	19	u →	u →	ö	Λ	

In this Table, 'early Middle Scots' (early MSc) is to be taken as c. 1475; 'late Middle Scots' (late MSc) c. 1600.

⁸ Editor's note: in his revision, AJA proposed to change the realisation of ESc and early MSc vowel 19 to [ü], vowel 1 in late MSc to [ëi + ei], and vowel 15 in late MSc and ModSc to [ë]. In ModSc, the third realisation of vowel 7 was changed to [e: + ø (e, ï, ë)] (as in the revised text), vowel 8 to [ɛ:(ɛ'ə)], and vowel 19 to [ɣ, Λ].

^[2] Table 2 gives, by one of the possible methods, the groups of words in which each of the system's items occurs. An alternative method of doing this, of course, is the 'etymological' one, which would list the Old English, Old Norse, Old French, etc. phonemes (isolatively or in particular combinations) from which the Early Scots word-groups derive.⁹ But the method chosen is no doubt more accessible to the generality of potential users.

In the case of vowels 1 and 7 in Modern Scots (ModSc) (the modern vernacular dialects of Central Lowland Scots), the respective selection of either [a'e] or [əi] (for vowel 1) or of either [e:] or [ø (i, e, ë)] (for vowel 7 in the relevant dialects) is predicted by the Scottish Vowel-length Rule (see below p. 8). Also in this column, items in braces (see 7, 12, 17 and 18) represent major ^[4] diaphonemic alternatives (/ø/ being the regular reflex of 7 in some north Central and Southern Scots dialects, whereas /i/ is its regular representative in the North-East, and /e:/ and /i/, /e/ or /ë/, varying as above, in Central Scots). Round brackets (at 8 and 12) similarly state diaphonemic alternatives.

In the Older Scots Spellings column in Table 1 (which it was thought unnecessary to repeat in Table 3) a semi-colon separates the spellings predominant in Early Scots (prior to c. 1450) from those that became more popular later in the Older Scots period (but note that all the spellings listed continued in optional use into the seventeenth century); a colon separates the regular word- (and sometimes morpheme-) final spellings ^[5] from those occurring non-finally (note that the symbol # specifies word-final position). In certain orthographic environmental conditions and in particular words, some interchange of graphemes took place following the mergers of 6 and 6a, 12 and 12a, 13 and 13a; but there is no room to detail these interchanges here (see, however, Aitken, 1971: 182–7; 2015). (It will be observed that the serial numbers enable items to be designated without reference to presumed realisations at particular dates or in specific dialects.)

If the reconstruction offered in Table 1 may be regarded as vague enough as to the realisations of the phonemes and the dates assigned to the postulated phonemic splits, mergers and sound-shifts, to obtain (no doubt ^[6] qualified) general acceptance, the same may not be true of the narrower representations of Table 3. Even here of course the symbols are to be understood as more or less *approximate* specifications of the principal allophones of the phonemes of the more 'orthodox' (including many Central Scots) dialects. Self-evidently, too, even this 'detailed' outline falls far short of specifying the distributions of allophones or the various regional realisations of particular phonemes (the 'diaphones') or such competing progressive and conservative realisations as co-existed within single communities at any one point in time. Nevertheless it seemed to me a worthwhile exercise to attempt a fairly narrow specification (which some would doubtless call impossibly or incredibly narrow) of the path of development which the system might be supposed to have followed in the light of all the data I am aware of and the theoretic assumptions which a phonologist of my standpoint makes. This standpoint, it will be evident, is that of a structural dialectologist and unrepentant manipulator of 'taxonomic phonemics' who assumes that sound-change can be and most often is 'gradual' (in both the etymological and the contemporary senses of that word). Yet I dare to hope that even those whose theoretic standpoint is very different from mine may find this more detailed outline useful as a summary of data.

The choice of /a:/ as the symbol for vowel 4 in Early Scots is intended to suggest a front rather than a back realisation for this vowel (which was to participate in the Great Vowel Shift in the front vowel series). The diacritic ̄ on vowel 1 (early MSc) and vowels 6a, 10, 13 and 19 (late MSc), is intended to specify a quality slightly central from the cardinal vowel position for these items in accordance with William Labov's claim that whereas in chain

⁹ Editor's note: Section Two 'Sources' in *The Older Scots Vowels* (†Aitken, 2002) provides such a treatment. Index II to that volume, which summarises the sources, is also reproduced in 'The phonology of Older Scots' (below).

shifts vowels being raised tend to follow a peripheral path in the vowel space, vowels undergoing lowering follow a non-peripheral though not necessarily fully central path (Labov *et al.*, 1972: I, 106 ff. *passim*, esp. 106 and 200–5). Vowel 7 is assumed to have had a half-close rather than close realisation in many dialects in view of (a) its earlier ME starting-point (as a half-close (back) vowel) and (b) its modern reflexes, also half-close, in many modern dialects; but for the North-East, in view of the unrounding to /i:/, apparently evidenced by the sixteenth century (see Aitken, 1971, 2015: §4), a fully close diaphone is given. (The sixteenth century English orthoepists' equation of vowel 7 with French *u* could no doubt reflect either [ø] or [y].)¹⁰

Looking at some of the major trends, we see the Great Vowel Shift operating on vowels 1 to 4, and a parallel raising affecting vowel 8, but not, in Scots, the long back vowels (so vowel 6 remains unshifted). By the early fifteenth century l-vocalisation affects vowels 6a, 12a, 13a. It proved convenient to place vowel 12b where it is in Table 3 rather than as 4a where it more strictly belongs: I have elsewhere described the dialectally divergent treatment of this vowel in labial contexts (Aitken, 1971: 187 and 206–7 note 31; 2015).¹¹ The indications for ^[8] the history of vowel 8 partly follow the data and arguments supplied by Kohler (1967: 32–51).¹² I believe, however, that the widespread Central Scots merger of non-final 8 with vowel 4, south and west of the Forth, excluding only the Borders, may be more ancient than his theory allows. (When it has been carried out, I expect a full study of the rhyme evidence to confirm my present cursory impression that whereas earlier poets, including Henryson and Blind Hary, carefully avoid rhyming vowels 8 and 4 (except before /l/, /n/ and /r/), Gavin Douglas and later poets do occasionally rhyme the two items.)¹³

Vowel 3 merged with either 4 or 2 in the course of the sixteenth century, though apparently not simultaneously in all environments (see Heuser, 1897: 334 ff., esp. 339–41; Curtis, 1894: 34 ff.; and Craigie, 1940: lvi ff.).¹⁴ The dialects which have favoured merging with 4 rather than 2 include that of Fife, and sure enough David Lyndsay has many rhymes which show that this merger had occurred in his dialect in some environments (see Heuser,

¹⁰ Editor's note: in *The Older Scots Vowels* (2002) AJA prefers [y:] for Central as well as North-Eastern dialects of Early Scots.

¹¹ Editor's note: also *The Older Scots Vowels* (†Aitken, 2002: §20.9) and 'A history of Scots to 1700' (Macafee and †Aitken, 2002: §6.26).

¹² Editor's note: in *The Older Scots Vowels* (2002: §22.3) AJA identifies numerous etymological doublets in vowels 4 and 8, whose rhymes are therefore not evidential for the merger, including the bulk of the /l, n/ environments. Before /v, ð, z/ there was a merger of vowel 8 with vowel 4 already in Early Scots. The merger before /r/ is not evident in Barbour, Henryson, or the authors of *The Buke of the Sevyne Sagis* or *The Buke of the Chess*, but does appear in the rhymes of *The Book of the Howlat*, *Wallace*, and in the later poets. The more general merger in other non-initial, non-final environments is of uncertain date, but seems to post-date the Scottish Vowel-length Rule shortening of vowel 4 (second half of the 16th century?) in some dialects.

¹³ Editor's note: in his revision, AJA deletes William Dunbar from the list of later poets who rhyme vowels 8 and 4, and he cancels the following:

My present account omits the apparently special development of 4 before /r/, where, as Kohler indicates, the modern dialect reflexes show that 4 has merged with 8 rather than conversely, that is, the outcome of this merger has the quality of the modern vowel 8 not the modern vowel 4 (this manifests itself of course only in those dialects which in other environments maintain the old 8 versus 4 distinction).

AJA grapples with the chronology of these mergers and their interaction with preiotation and with the Scottish Vowel-length Rule in *The Older Scots Vowels* (†Aitken, 2002: §22).

¹⁴ Editor's note: AJA originally continued, "(the latter accords with some modern theories of how sound change spreads)" and referred to Bailey (1973). It is now generally accepted that sound changes spread to some phonetic environments before others.

1897: 406–7). The rhyme evidence seems to indicate that the merger with 4, in the dialects which had this, occurred earlier than with 2, in the dialects which favoured the latter.¹⁵

The tables are of course much too general to account for many localised and environmentally specific mergers, such as the North-Eastern Scots merger of 4 and 3 with 2 before /n/ or /m/.¹⁶ Some of the mergers shown in the Tables, which are reasonably accurate for Central Scots dialects, have failed to occur or failed to occur in all environments in other dialects. North of the Tay there are many dialects in which 2, 3, 4 and 8 have all remained distinct in some environments, and, as we have just seen, in many dialects north of the Forth, 4 is to be seen as merging with 3 or 8, 2 remaining quite distinct, and not as the Tables show. *The Linguistic Atlas of Scotland* vol. III shows many other mergers and failures to merge not here accounted for. But, even though far short of exhaustive, the description given here is plausible enough for Central Scots and usable for my present purposes.

I have assumed the establishment, between early MSc and late MSc of the rule which I am accustomed to designate the ‘Scottish Vowel-length Rule’. According to this, the Early Scots long monophthongs (vowels 1 to 7) have ceased to display phonemic or contrastive vowel-length (as they apparently did in Medieval times) and now have their length predicted by their phonetic and morphemic environments. In brief and in general, these vowels continue to be realised fully long:

in end-stressed syllables before voiced oral continuants except /l/,
in hiatus,
before word or morpheme boundaries
and before /rd/ and /ɔʒ/,

that is, where voicing is continued and no complete oral closure at the median follows in the same morpheme.¹⁷ In all other environments, short or half-long realisations occur for some of the relevant vowels in all dialects.¹⁸ Positions other than end-stressed syllables manifest the rule in more complex fashion. The rule also operates similarly on the former non-high short vowels (16 and 17).¹⁹ Thus we have:

[di:v] ‘to deafen’, [di:] ‘to die’ and [di:d] ‘died’, with fully long realisations (e.g. 0.20 of a second or more in some dialects),

but

[dif] ‘deaf’ and [did] ‘dead’ (e.g. 0.08 to 0.14 of a second).

The rule, which affects Modern Scottish Standard English as well as Scots dialect, also predicts the modern outcome of vowel 1 as [a'e] or [əi]:

¹⁵ Editor’s note: see *The Older Scots Vowels* (†Aitken, 2002: §20.8), where some late 15th century spelling evidence of the merger with vowel 4 is given, and some late 15th century rhymes indicating merger with vowel 2 before /r/. Douglas likewise rhymes vowels 2 and 3 before /r/ and also before /d/.

¹⁶ Editor’s note: e.g. North-East *steen* (stone), etc., and Orkney (not in fact North-East) *heem* (home), etc.

¹⁷ Editor’s note: a simpler formulation is given in AJA’s ‘The Scottish Vowel-length Rule’ (1981: 135; 2015):

The long environments are: a following voiced fricative (/v/, /ð/, /z/, /ʒ/), /r/ or a morpheme-boundary, all of these either final or followed by a consonant constituting a second morpheme. Hiatus is also a long environment.

The environments before /rd/ and /ɔʒ/ are not so regularly length environments as the others.

¹⁸ Editor’s note: AJA originally continued “and for all of the relevant vowels in many Southern and Central Scots dialects”. See ‘The Scottish Vowel-length Rule’ in its revised version in this edition (1981, 2015), or †Aitken (2002: §21), for a later view informed by *The Linguistic Atlas of Scotland* vol. III.

¹⁹ [13] See especially Wettstein (1942: §§27–43 n. 2); also Lass (1974), Taylor (1974) and Aitken (1981, 2015). Since in some dialects other than of South-Eastern and Central Scots, the Rule fails to operate on vowel 5, contrasts such as *cot* /kot/ (vowel 18) versus *coat* /ko:t/ (vowel 5) survive in these dialects.

[a'e] in environments for length, for example in *five* or *cry*,

[əi] in 'short' environments, for example in *Fife* and *bide*,

and produces the contrast between e.g. *tied* with [a'e] and *tide* with [əi]. Equally, it predicts, for the relevant dialects, the outcome of vowel 7 as:

^[9] [e:] in 'long' environments, as [je:z] 'to use'

and [ø], [ī] or [i] in 'short' environments, as [jis] 'use'.

While the rule operates on the vowels already specified (the original long and non-high short monophthongs), it does not similarly affect other items in the vowel system. These show much less marked allophonic variation of length in Modern Scots. So vowels 15 and 19 and, often, 18 remain fully short in all environments, whereas the monophthongised former diphthongs, 8 and 12, in certain dialects are fully long in all environments. Hence certain dialects display phonemic contrast by length in e.g.:

/fat/ (fat) (vowel 17) versus /fa:t/ (fault) (vowel 12)

or

/bet/ (boot) (vowel 7) versus /bet:/ (bait) (vowel 8).

The rule affects original long monophthongs, including one (vowel 1) which became a diphthong by some time in the fifteenth century, but not the original low-to-high diphthongs which became monophthongs, one (vowel 12) pretty certainly about the middle of the fifteenth century, the other (vowel 8) later (or, in word-final environments, never).²⁰

But this full establishment of the rule presumably came only after the Vowel Shift had raised vowel 4 to its present realisation above that of vowel 16. Otherwise we should have expected these items to merge in the 'short' environments – *gate* becoming homophonous with *get* – unless we are prepared to invoke a theory of 'flip-flop' or instantaneous exchange of vowel-heights (of which the present writer remains wholly unconvinced). In fact, no such merger occurs.²¹

On the other hand, a study of the DOST entries for a number of relevant words suggests that whereas vowels 18 and 5 are pretty well differentiated in spelling down to the fourth decade of the sixteenth century at least (the spelling <oCC> (<o> followed by geminate consonant) being peculiar to 18, whereas <oCe>, <oCis>, and <oi> or <oy> are fairly exclusive to 5), this distinction thereafter breaks down.²² Also rhymes on 5 and 18 occur in 17th century and later verse, by, among others, Sir William Alexander, William Drummond,

²⁰ Editor's note: AJA in his revision here deletes some comments about chronology, referring the reader instead to 'The Scottish Vowel-length Rule' (Aitken, 1981, 2015). In the data of *The Linguistic Atlas of Scotland* vol. III, some South-Western dialects have an unmerged vowel 8 which does operate SVLR (see *The Older Scots Vowels* (†Aitken, 2002: §22.3.5)).

²¹ Editor's note: in *The Older Scots Vowels* (2002: §21.2.2) AJA does identify such a merger in a small number of words, e.g. *gemm* (game).

²² ^[14] See e.g. the orthographic histories, as displayed in DOST, of:

(vowel 18) *cosche*, *cod*, *coffer*, *coft*, *cok* n.¹, *cord*, *cordon*, *corn*, *cottane*, *croft*,

and of:

(vowel 5) *cose*, later (from 1609) also <cosse> (see *cos(se)* n.).

But both the orthographic evidence and the evidence of rhyme for this merger remain to be fully assembled and studied.

Editor's note: the 17th century rhyme evidence in the next sentence was added in AJA's revision. AJA comments on the modern dialect evidence in *The Older Scots Vowels* (2002: §21.1).

Sir Robert Ayton, William Lithgow. This might be an indication that the rule was now in operation, producing a merger of vowel 5 with vowel 18. For other evidence that the rule was in operation by, at latest, the mid-16th century, see Aitken (1981, 2015: §7).²³ On this assumption, I have omitted vowel-length indications for the relevant vowels in the late MSc and ModSc columns of Table 3 and for ModSc in Table 1. These vowels are ^[10] no longer ‘inherently’ long but have their length predicted by the rule for each allophonic or morphemic environment.

The dating of the general lowering and ultimately unrounding of vowel 19 (and 6a), which I have assumed to have been accompanied by a movement in the same direction of the first elements of 10 and 13, offers even greater scope for speculation. We may suppose, as I have done, that this had at least begun before the shortening of vowel 6 in Scottish Vowel-length Rule short environments, or 6 and 19 would have merged. The widespread establishment of unround /ʌ/ in Scots dialects today suggests that it is of some antiquity there. Very conjecturally we may attribute to it a similar chronology to that given by the handbooks to the similar South-Eastern English phoneme i.e. establishment by some time in the seventeenth century.

Among the details which I have not contrived to include in either outline are: the early shortening (earlier than that of the Vowel-length Rule) of vowel 7 to yield vowel 15 in *fit* (foot), *sit* (soot), *nit* (nut), *pit* (put), *wid* (wood), *ither* (other), *brither* and *mither* and other words;²⁴ the capturing by vowel 19 of a (presumably over-rounded) allophone of vowel 18, so that *broche*, *loge*, *sojourn* and *motioun* /motju:n/ appear in the fifteenth century as *bruche* /brutʃ/, *luge* /luɟ/, *sudgeorn* /sudʒɔrn/, *mudgin* /muɟən/;²⁵ the capturing in the fifteenth century by vowel 17 of certain items which had previously contained vowel 18, so that *crop*, *croft*, *loft*, *off*, *bonnet* now appear as *crap*, *craft*, etc. (presumably because the lip-rounded allophone of 17 approximated 18);²⁶ and the later merger in some dialects of 12 and 17 (as /ɑ/ or /a/).²⁷ Some dialects have lowering of 15 to [ɛ], causing 16 to become [ɛ:].

2 Some Specimen Transcriptions²⁸

If the preceding assumptions are well-founded the following transcriptions possess some reality value and represent approximately the pronunciations, at the segmental level, of many speakers of the dialects in question at the dates specified.

²³ Editor’s note: as AJA is now able to adduce earlier evidence, his revision deletes mention of the existence of later spelling and rhyme evidence (not specified) for the merger of vowel 7 with 4 or 15, and a reference to Kohler (1966) for the 18th century observations of Sylvester Douglas.

²⁴ Editor’s note: in the list of examples, *nut* and *put* are misplaced, being vowel 19 rather than vowel 7 items. In his later work, AJA finds it likelier that vowel 7 shortened to 19, with later capture by 15, rather than a direct unrounding and shortening to 15. See *The Older Scots Vowels* (†Aitken, 2002: §16.1), or ‘A history of Scots to 1700’ (Macafee and †Aitken, 2002: §6.18).

²⁵ Editor’s note: see *The Older Scots Vowels* (†Aitken, 2002: §16.2), or ‘A history of Scots to 1700’ (Macafee and †Aitken, 2002: §6.19).

²⁶ Editor’s note: see *The Older Scots Vowels* (†Aitken, 2002: §16.3), or ‘A history of Scots to 1700’ (Macafee and †Aitken, 2002: §6.20).

²⁷ Editor’s note: see *The Older Scots Vowels* (†Aitken, 2002: note 38), and for further references, AJA’s ‘The Scottish Vowel-length Rule’ in the present edition (1981, 2015: editor’s note 25).

²⁸ Editor’s note: some minor corrections have been made, e.g. where <i> and <e> were written for <ɪ> and <ɛ> (cf. Table 3). Variation within the transcriptions is assumed to be deliberate where it is plausible – cf. AJA’s specific mention (at Passage 3) that he has shown *of* as variable between the full and reduced (*o*) forms. Long vowels are frequently shown as shortened in unstressed function words, if not replaced by an unstressed vowel.

1. c. 1375. North-Eastern Scots. (John Barbour, *Brus*, XX. 299 f., Edinb. MS.)

,xwen ðat ði 'gy:d 'kiŋ 'berri:t ,was
 ði 'erl ɔf 'muref 'ʃir 'tɔ,mas, 300
 ty:k 'al ði 'land in 'guver,niŋ,
 al ɔ'bairt tɪl his 'bɪ,dɪŋ.
 and ði 'gy:d 'lo:rd ɔf 'du:glas 'si:m
 gert 'mak a 'ka:s ɔf 'silvɪr 'fi:n,
 ɛ'nami:lɪt θru: 'sutɪl'te: 305
 θa:rɪn ði 'kiŋis 'hart dɪd 'he:
 and 'ai a'bu:t his 'hals it 'ba:r
^[11] and 'fast him 'bu:nɪt fɔr ty 'fa:r.
 his 'tɛstə'ment dɪ'vi:zɪt 'he:
 and ɔr'dainɪt 'hu: his 'land suld 'be: 310
 'guvernɪt xwɪl his 'gain 'ku,mɪŋ
 ɔf 'frɛndɪs and 'al 'y:ðɪr 'θɪŋ
 ðat tɪl him pɛr'te:nɪt 'ɔni: 'wi:s,
 wɪθ 'sɪk 'fɔ:r,sɪxt and 'sa: 'wi:s,
 ɔr his 'furθ 'pasɪŋ ɔr'dainɪt 'he: 315
 ðat 'na: ,θɪŋ 'mɪxt a'mendɪt 'be:.
 and ,xwen ðat ,he: his 'lɛ:v had 'tə:n
 ty 'ʃɪp ty 'berwɪk ,ɪs he: 'gə:n
 and wɪθ a 'no:bl 'kumpə'ni:
 ɔf 'knɪxtɪs and ɔf 'skwi:ɛ'ri: 320
 he 'put him 'θa:r ty ði 'se:
 a 'lɑŋ ,wai 'furθ,wart 'sailɪt 'he:
 fɔr bɪ'twɪks 'kɔrŋ,wail and brɛ'ta:ŋ
 he: 'sailɪt and 'lɛft ði 'gry:ŋ ɔf 'spɑ:ŋ
 ɔn 'nɔrθ ,half ,him. 325

This is simply the system represented in the ESc column of both Outlines (Tables 1 and 3).²⁹

2. c. 1450. North-Eastern Scots. (Richard Holland, *Howlat*, 469 f., Asloan MS.)

ði 'hert 'kɔstli hɛ: 'ku:θ 'klo:z in ə 'klɛ:r 'kæ:s
 and 'hɛld ə ɔ 'hæ:l ði bɪ'hɛst hɪ 'hɛxt ty ði 'kiŋ, 470
 'kum ty ði 'hæ:lii 'græ:v θru 'gɔdɪz 'grɛt 'græ:s,
 wɪθ ɔfranz ənd ɔrɪzu:nz ənd 'al 'y:ðɪr 'θɪŋ,
 u:r 'salvə,tur:z 'sɛpʊl'ty:r and ði 'sæ:mɪn 'plæ:s
 xwɔ:r hɛ: 'ræ:z əz wɛ: 'rɛ:d 'rɪxtwɪs ty 'rɪŋ,
 wɪθ ə ɔ ði 'rɛliks 'ræ:θ ðat in ðat 'ru:m ,was 475
 hɛ: gart 'halou ði 'hart and 'si:n ku:θ it 'hɪŋ
 ɔ'bu:t hɪz 'haɔs ful 'hɛ:nd ənd ɔn hɪz 'aɔn 'hart.
 ɔft wəɔd hɛ: 'kɪs it ənd 'krii
 o 'flur əv ə ɔ 'ʃɛvəl,rɪi,
 xwɪi 'lɛ:v ɪi a'las, 'hwɪi, 480
 ənd 'ðu: 'dɛ:d ,art?

²⁹ Editor's note: in the present reconstruction and also in Aitken (1996), vowel 7 is given as /ø:/ in ESc, with /y:/ only as a regional (i.e. North-East) variant. In his later thinking (2002), AJA prefers /y:/ as the general reconstruction of vowel 7. In any case, it is no longer thought that Barbour was a native of the North-East of Scotland.

mri 'dɛ:r kwɔd 'du:glas art ðu: 'dɛ:d 'dɪxt,
 mri 'sɪŋjɪr 'suvi,ræin əv 'saksɔnz ði 'wand,
 nu: but iɪ 'seml̩ fər ði 'saɔl wɪθ 'sarazenz 'mɪxt
 sal iɪ 'nevɪr 'sɛ:n bɛ: mty 'skɔt,land. 485

It will be seen that this assumes a stage, early in the Vowel Shift process, intermediate between ESc and early MSc and that vowels 1, 2, 3 and 4 ^[12] are represented accordingly. Given the arguments and assumptions presented above, this seems legitimate.

[Editor's note: the capture of vowel 4 after labials by vowel 12 is seen in *quhare*.]

3. c. 1500. South-East Scots. (William Dunbar, *Poems*, ed. W. M. Mackenzie (Edinburgh, 1932), p.104, 'Dunbar at Oxinfurde').

tø 'spe:k of 'sɛiɛns, 'kraft ər 'sɛ:pɪ,ɛns,
 o 'vertiu 'moral 'kuniŋ ər dok'trɛin,
 of 'ɕø:r, o 'wɪsdø:m ər m'teli,ɕɛns,
 of 'evrɛi 'studɛi, 'lɛ:r ər 'dɪskɪp,lɛin
 'al ɪz but 'tɪnt ər 'rɛdɛi fər tø 'tɛin, 5
 'noxt 'ø:zɪn ɪt əz ɪt su:d 'ø:zɪt 'bi:
 ði 'kraft ɛk'sɛrsɪn, kon'sɪdɛrɪn not ði 'fɛin,
 ə 'pɑrɪlus 'si:knes ɪz 'vein pro'spɛrɪ,tɪ:

ði 'kø:rɪus pro'bɛ:siu:n 'loɕɪ,kal
 ði 'ɛlo,kwɛns of 'ornat 'rɛto,rɛi 10
 ði 'nɛ:tɔral 'sɛiɛns 'filo'sofi,kal,
 ði 'dɪrk a'pɪ:rɛns of a'strono,mɛi,
 ði 'θi:ɔ,lo:gz 'sɛrmu:n ði 'fɛ:bɪlz of 'pø:ɛt,rɛi
 wɪ'θu:t 'gø:d 'lɛif 'al ɪn ði 'self dø:z 'di:
 əz 'mɛi 'flur:z dø:z ɪn sɛp'tɛmbɪr 'drɛi 15
 ə 'pɑrɪlus 'si:knes ɪz 'vein pros'pɛrɪ,tɪ:

'xwɛ:rfor ji: 'klarks ɛnd 'grɪtɪst of kon'stans,
 'fulɪst o 'sɛiɛns and o 'knɔ:lɛɕɪ,m,
 tø 'uz bi: 'mɪru:rz ɪn ju:r 'guvɛr,nans
 and ɪn 'u:r 'darknes bi: 'lɑmpɪz ɪn 'fɛin,m 20
 or 'ðɑn ɪn 'frustrɑr ɪz ju:r 'lɑŋ 'lɛrɪn,
 gif tø ju:r 'sɔ:z ju:r 'di:dɪz 'kontrɑr bi:
 ju:r 'mɛɪst ə'kø:zɪr səl 'bi: ju:r 'bɔ:n 'kʊnɪm,
 ə 'pɑrɪlus 'si:knes ɪz 'vein pros'pɛrɪ,tɪ:

Since this is South-Eastern Scots I have assumed the closer realisation for vowel 18 as /o/. I have assumed doublets for the preposition *of*, namely /of/ (with the voiceless consonant as often in Modern Scots) and the reduced /o/ (presumably by /of/ → /ov/ → /o/), which is evidenced from the fourteenth century (see DOST s.v.).

Note the treatment of vowel 12b in /xwɛ:rfor/ l. 17, following the regular vowel 4 development, as in this South-Eastern dialect 12b in fact did.

4. c. 1545. East Central Scots (Dundee). (From *The Complaynt of Scotlande*, ed. J. A. H. Murray (Early English Text Society, Extra Series 17, 18), p. 106.)

fɔr 'evri 'ne:sju:n rɪ'pɔ:tɪz 'iðɪrz 'ne:sju:nz tɔ bi: bɑr'be:rɪɛnz xwen ðe:r 'twɔ:
'ne:tɔ:rz ənd kɔm'pleksju:nz ^[13] ɚ 'kɔntrɚ tɪl 'iðɪrz, and ðe:r ɪz 'nɔxt 'twɔ:
'ne:sju:nz undɪr ðɪ 'fɪrməmənt ðæt ɚ 'mɛ:r 'kɔntrɚ ənd 'dɪfɪrɛnt frɛ: 'iðɪrz nɔr ɪz
'ɪŋlɪz,mɛn ənd 'skɔtɪz,mɛn hu:'bɪ:ɪt ðæt ðeɪ 'bi: wɪθɪn 'e:n 'eɪl ənd 'nɪxbu:rz ənd əf
'e:n 'lɑŋe:ɟ.

I have assumed a conservative dialect without the Scottish Vowel-length Rule, and also that in this dialect vowel 4 + /r/ merged with 8 and not conversely, and that the pronoun *they* retained vowel 8a and not the vowel 4 it has acquired in all dialects since the fifteenth century. The opener realisation of 18 seemed plausible for this dialect and the merging of 12b with 12 (as in /twɔ:/) is certainly correct (cf. the different history of 12b postulated in passage 3 above). This text seems rather consistent in spelling the inflexion *-(i)s* as <s>, also sometimes <is>, after unstressed syllables, but only <is> after stressed, which suggests that the form with unreduced vowel after a stressed syllable persisted in the idiolect of the writer who produced the printer's copy. Hence my /rɪ'pɔ:tɪz/, /'ɪŋlɪz/, /'skɔtɪz/ but e.g. /'ne:sju:nz/. No doubt such forms as /'ɪŋlɪz/, /skɔts/ also existed.

5. c. 1560. East Central Scots (Crail). (From *The Register of the Ministers, Elders and Deacons of St. Andrews* (Scottish Historical Society 4, 1889), pp. 106–7.)

mɛi 'brɔðɪr ɪz ən 'sɑl 'bi: 'vɪkər ə 'krɛl xwen 'ðu: səl 'θɪg ðeɪ 'mɛt 'fɔ:s 'smɛ:k. eɪ səl
'pɔl ðɪ ut ə ðɪ 'pʊpət bɪ ðɪ 'lɔgz ənd 'tʃɛs ðɪ 'ut ə ðɪs 'tʊn.

For this somewhat later passage in a dialect not too different from that of passage 4 I have assumed a much more progressive speaker. Among other differences, I have assumed the full establishment of the Scottish Vowel-length Rule. Though strictly it is now unnecessary to specify vowel-lengths for vowels 1 to 7, since these can all now be predicted by the environmental rule, I have preferred to enter these in the transcription. Note that in /mɛt/ I show vowel 3 merged with vowel 4 as it normally did in this dialect.

[Editor's note: a vowel 7 form of *brother*, obsolete in ModSc, is shown. *Smaik* has vowel 8.]

6. c. 1610–20. Central Scots. (From a transcript of an undated document on a single sheet, early seventeenth century, bound in with the 1590–1615 volume of the manuscript Lanark Town Council Records: see *Extracts from the Records and Charters of the Royal Burgh of Lanark* (Glasgow, 1893), pp. 121–2.)³⁰

'ɟɔn 'kɑmpbɛl kɔm'plɪnz ənd rɪ'pɔrts tɔ jɔr 'wɔzdɔmz ðæt 'æ:i 'bi:m ɔpɔn
'mɔnənde: wəz ɔn 'ɔxt 'de:z ɔkɔ'pæ:ɪt ^[14] wɪθ mæ:i 'krɑft ən 'kɑlɪn 'kɔmɪn 'hɛm
tɔ 'gɛt ət 'ɪn sɪk 'pɔrʃɔn əz 'gɔd 'sɛndɪt 'ɪn 'kɔm ə 'mɑn ðæt æ:i 'nevɪr 'knju:
ɔbɪ'fɔɪr ənd ɪn'kɔntɪnɛnt 'ðe:r'ɛftɪr 'ɪn 'kɔmz 'tɔməs 'moət ənd 'se:z 'gɔ: 'peɪ jɔr
'lɔ:ɪn ənd 'hi 'se:z ɪ wəd 'nɔ: fər 'hɪm. ənd 'swe: ɔr æ:i 'wɪst ðe: wɪr ɪn 'iðɪrz 'lɔgz.
and 'ɪn 'kɔmz 'ɟɔn 'moət ənd 'se: ðe: wɪr 'rɛd wɪ'θʊt 'skeθ.

³⁰ Editor's note: the text from which this is an extract is discussed in AJA's 'Oral narrative style in Middle Scots' (1978, 2015) under the title 'John Campbell's Complaint'.

As in passage 5, I have included vowel lengths of vowels 1 to 7 in the transcription. Note that here and in most or all of the other passages, the principal realisation of vowel 15 was probably considerably lower and to the centre of the /ɪ/ in ‘educated’ varieties of Modern Standard English (as is the case in the great majority of modern Scots dialects).

[Editor’s note: a distinction is shown between the vowels of *-in(g)* and *-an(d)*.]³¹

3 How should we pronounce Older Scots?

That indicates perhaps something of the way in which the Older Scots may have pronounced their language. For us today this amounts to no more than a rather speculative and certainly only approximate knowledge of how all these phonemes were realised in some of their environments (and an all but invincible ignorance of many aspects of non-segmental phonology). But even ‘silent’ readers of Older Scots texts must use some sort of more or less approximate phonetic imitation. And many of us also have occasion to read Older Scots out loud. How should we?

Of the pronunciation models which most of us might adopt, we can probably dismiss, except for occasional philological demonstration purposes, what we might call the Full-scale Reconstruction Model. This is the model we have in effect so far been considering, that which attempts or presumes to reconstruct the earlier speech, more or less ‘as they did it themselves’. For general use we may dismiss this model on the practical grounds that the demands it makes on *ad hoc* reconstructors and performers are quite exorbitant. Some considerable expertise is called for to produce transcripts such as those offered above, speculative and crudely approximate as these are. And something approaching a phonetician’s *tour de force* is called for to perform most of them in utterance. Strictly, the accuracy of performance required for faithful adherence to this model should include care in the treatment of those consonants of whose realisations we have some information as well as of the vowels: in earlier Scots, /r/ was no doubt a strong front trill (imitating which would doubtless be as difficult for many present-day Scots as for other native English-speakers of today); corresponding to the present-day alveolar consonants most dialects perhaps had dental consonants; and *quh-* ought probably to be pronounced with strong initial friction as [xw].

But perhaps a rather lesser degree of phonetic virtuosity would suffice ^[15] for an acceptable performance of passage 1 as transcribed above in the vowel-system of ESc, certainly for those of us who are accustomed to reading Chaucer ‘in the original pronunciation’ and who have learned one or two foreign languages. The vowel realisations prescribed for this are the cardinal vowels, and for these most of us can manage an approximate substitute. This, in effect, is the model which we are taught by our teachers English philology to use for reading any sort of Middle English, including the works of Chaucer, in which the vowels of the original spellings are given their ‘Continental’ values and longs and shorts are carefully distinguished: as in:

/hwan ðat 'a:pri:l wið hiz 'ʃu:rəz 'so:tə ði 'druxt əv martʃ haθ 'pɛ:rɪsəd to: ði 'ro:tə/.

When applied to Barbour or Barbour’s near contemporaries this version agrees with what the Full-scale Reconstruction Model prescribes for Early Scots. But this is no longer the case when the same set of realisations is used, as it is by some, for sixteenth and even seventeenth

³¹ Editor’s note: there are some instances of [æ:i] instead of [æ:i], which could perhaps be interpreted as forms shortened in the absence of stress, though, if so, the shortening shown is minimal; possibly these are just typographical errors.

century Middle Scots texts. Used in this way it is of course anachronistic, as if (to exaggerate a little) we were to read Shakespeare with the set of realisations which the philologists prescribe for reading Chaucer. Yet it does have the important advantages that it is fairly easy to operate, even at sight from a text in the original spelling, and that it is actually taught in some university departments of English philology (for reading Middle English). Let us call this the Chaucerian or Middle English Model.

In a similar way non-Icelandic students of the medieval Icelandic classics have been known to read these thirteenth or fourteenth century works in a model of pronunciation applicable to tenth or eleventh century Icelandic. In contrast to this, the Icelanders of the present day (and of course others) read the old texts in their own present-day Icelandic pronunciation. Similarly, most Scottish students and reciters of Medieval Scots read their old language in essentially the same model of pronunciation as they use for reading eighteenth, nineteenth or twentieth century Scots writings. In other words, the vowel-system used is that of the ModSc columns in Tables 1 and 3. In this respect at least Hugh MacDiarmid and William Dunbar are given the same language!³² We might call this the Modern Recitation Scots model. (There are of course subtle differences at the realisational as well as at the distributional or selectional level between the register of Modern Scots used for recitation purposes and the register, in its various regional and social varieties, used by Scots in conversation.)

This model needs only some minor adjustments to make it an acceptable and not too unlike substitute for late MSc. One of these adjustments involves words such as those appearing in rhyme in lines 10, 12, 13 and 15 of ‘Dunbar at Oxinfurde’ (passage 3), *rethorie*, *astronomie*, *poetrie* and *dry*, the final syllables of all of which have to be given the pronunciation assigned to vowel 1. In order to preserve the scansion, words like *patience* and *natioun* and *special*^[16] and *deidis* have to be given the additional syllable they had in Older Scots verse. In addition, performers in this Model sometimes make additional concessions to the Reconstruction ideal, for example by rendering *knicht* with initial /kn/ rather than /n/ or by rendering vowel 7 in its Medieval realisation as /ø:/.

For the Scottish performer who has grown up with Modern Recitation Scots as part of his linguistic competence, it seems sensible to use this Model for reading Older Scots. (If he wishes, he might, as a further approach to ‘realism’ use the Middle English Model for reading *Early Scots* texts, such as Barbour and Wyntoun.)

In the preceding discussion I have tacitly assumed that whatever phonemic systems are selected for the performance of Older Scots and however these are realised (as shown either in the ESc or ModSc columns or in one of the intermediate systems), the *selection* of phonemes in each word of the text will be historically accurate. So a word which appears in the text with a post-vocalic <ch> spelling will be pronounced with either /tʃ/ or /x/ according to its history: *fleche* ‘to flatter’ will appear as /flitʃ/ and not, as is sometimes heard, the erroneous */flix/. So also for vowels: the digraph <ou> is one frequent source of difficulty, since this is wholly ambiguous between vowel 6 and vowel 13, but <loun> should appear as /lu:n/ or /lun/ (vowel 6) when it means ‘rogue’ but /loun/ or /lʌun/ (vowel 13) when it means ‘calm’, and <our> as /u:r/ (vowel 6) when it is the possessive pronoun and /our/ or /ʌur/ (vowel 13) when it is the preposition, and not conversely. By definition the models of pronunciation already described must display some degree of accuracy in this respect, albeit impeccable performances in any model are rarely heard (see further p. 18 below).

I have not made it my business in this paper to address directly this problem of selecting correctly the phonemes represented in the spellings of the text being read. The column of

³² Editor’s note: AJA is no doubt alluding here to MacDiarmid’s well-known rallying cry: “Not Burns – Dunbar!”

Older Scots spellings in Table 1 and the correspondences set out in Table 2 will, it is hoped, help. But there will remain problems, like the orthographic ambiguities just instanced, which only considerable philological expertise in Older Scots can cope with. Still, easily avoidable errors at least might be avoided, and others will yield to research in the *Dictionary of the Older Scottish Tongue* and the *Scottish National Dictionary* (especially the entries in this on individual alphabetical letters) and its Introduction (Grant, 1934) (though for this and other purposes only the as yet uncompiled full-scale phonology of Older Scots will provide the complete answer).³³

One prerequisite of reasonably accurate performance in any of the foregoing models is preparation. It is doubtful if there is or has been in modern times any person who even approaches a native speaker competence in Older Scots, as some do in, say, classical Latin. The present ^[17] writer for one would disavow any such claim. This means that no-one can expect to pick up an edition of an Older Scots text, or an original manuscript, and produce a selectionally perfect ‘unseen’ reading of it in any model, though clearly some of us would come out better than others from a test like this. All of us need time to prepare our text – to work out whether a set of rhymes is in vowel 1 or vowel 2, whether a particular word more probably contained vowel 2 or vowel 3, whether vowel 6 or vowel 13. The plethora of doublets and phonemic variants in Older Scots (see Aitken, 1971: 188 ff.; 2015) means that we must often decide for ourselves which option to prefer among, say, the seven(?) or more possible alternative forms of the word ‘great’ or the four(?) of *futher* (a cartload). Even trickier, when the rhyme offers no help, and the scribe has opted for the anglicised spelling, is the choice between the anglicised and the native pronunciations of such words as *mare* (with vowel 4) and *more* (with vowel 5): cf. *go* in passage 6. Did the scribe really ‘hear’ these as containing vowel 5 or was he merely following orthographic fashion? Our text will have to be punctuated correctly if we are to get right our phrasing and intonation (albeit these of course obey our own present-day rules, in our ignorance of what the Older Scots ones were).³⁴

It is of course possible to read Older Scots after a fashion without all this hassle, as many non-Scottish and not a few Scottish performers of Older Scots do. Let us call this trouble-free method the Modern Standard English Model. To benefit from it one proceeds as follows. For each Older Scottish word as one meets it in the text one identifies at sight, on the basis of spelling similarity, a modern English cognate and simply reads out the latter. By this method Older Scots *knicht* will appear as /nɪt/ or /naɪt/, *sune* as /sun/, *twa* as /tu:/, *hie* as /haɪ/, *knowledge* as /ˈnɔːlɪdʒ/, *nature* as /ˈnetʃuːr/, *presume* as /ˈprɪzˈjuːm/, and the items listed below on p. 18 will similarly replace the corresponding Older Scots words.

When an Older Scots word turns up which has no obvious corresponding Modern English word, a pronunciation is invented for it which interprets the original Older Scots spelling according to Modern English rules of spelling-sound correspondences (that is, as if it were a queer new Modern English word in an odd spelling). One can imagine what might happen (and indeed does happen) when forms like the following are interpreted in utterance on such principles:

- <schow> ‘shove’ (actually vowel 6),
- <jowk> ‘dodge’ (vowel 6),
- <lour> ‘skulk’ (vowel 6),
- <nolt> ‘cattle’ (vowel 13),

³³ Editor’s note: this now exists, of course, in the form of *The Older Scots Vowels* (†Aitken, 2002). This includes an index (Index III) of selected Scots words, with the stressed vowel indicated by vowel number.

³⁴ Editor’s note: the original continued: “but even in certain ‘standard’ editions, erroneous punctuation is rife”. New editions have become available since AJA made this comment.

- <loup> ‘jump’ (vowel 13),
- <loif> ‘praise’ (vowel 5),
- <oist> ‘army’ (vowel 5),
- <kith> ‘make known’ (vowel 1).

No doubt arguments could be advanced to counter puristic objections against the spurious pronunciations (as they could be argued to be) which might result from the application of these principles in such cases: arguments which stressed ease of performance, more ready comprehension by a modern audience, absence of exotic ^[18] overtones, absence of association with modern socially-stigmatised speech varieties such as the more Scots-sounding models might be liable to. Yet it cannot be claimed that in reading in this manner one is really reading in Older Scots at all. One is simply delivering a rough and ready sight translation in Modern English. For such purposes as conveying the ‘texture’ of Older Scots verse, this model must be all but useless. And the now well established tradition of performance in the Modern Scots Model has removed any undesirable overtones the more Scots-sounding rendering might have.

In practice of course few performers of Older Scots adhere consistently to any one of these Models. Performers in what is in the main the Modern English Model will sporadically oblige us with a well-known Scots pronunciation or two – /^hhulit/ *howlat* or /hem/ *hame* or /did/ *deid* – as a concession to the native Scottishness of the text. Performers whose main target seems to be the Modern Scots Model not infrequently fluctuate between it and the Middle English Model, so that *mare* will come out now as /mer/, again as /ma:r/ (and on occasion also of course, when the spelling suggests this, as /mo:r/). All performers in the Modern Scots Model to whom I have attended grant themselves a more or less liberal allowance of errors in the selection of vowels, selecting Modern English rather than Scots vowels in many rather common words. In these words their pronunciations will coincide with those of performers in the Modern English Model. Among the items endemically mispronounced in this way are:

- again*, realised as /^hgen/,
- all* as /^ol/,
- does* and *done* as /d^hz/ and /d^hn/,
- full* as /ful/,
- good* as /gud/,
- thou* as /^ðlu/;

properly:

- /^hgen/ (vowel 4),
- /^o/ or /al/ (vowel 12a),
- /d^oz/ or /diz/ and /d^on/ or /din/ (vowel 7),
- /fu:/ or /f^hl/ (vowel 6a),
- /g^od/ or /gid/ (vowel 7),
- and /^ðu:/ (vowel 6),

and, by mistaking Middle Scots spelling practice, the indefinite article commonly appears as /en/ (for /^h/ or /^o/) and the feminine pronoun and the noun *scho* as the wholly spurious /^ʃo:/, which has no reality value either for Older Scots or Modern English, properly (vowel 7) /^ʃo:/ or /^ʃe:/.

There will be differing views on how far this sort of thing matters. It could be argued that few hearers – who have not read this paper – are likely to detect such lapses as errors. Yet in those scholars who profess special interest in Older Scots language or literature and in those actors and professional reciters who partly live by performing Older Scots, slipshodness in this respect seems to reveal a failure of an entirely serious and professional concern with, a

dilettante if not a meretricious attitude to, the literature they are professedly interpreting to others. It is a difficult question whether or not this criticism is wholly disarmed by those who disclaim from the outset any attempt at selectional accuracy and any pretence to competence in this area of their study by frankly and avowedly adhering to the Modern English Model.

[19] I have commended the Modern Scots Model for those who have grown up in a Recitation Scots tradition – in effect, the Scots themselves. But there are many others who have occasion to read Older Scots professionally or for fun and who wish to do so as consistently and in as realistic a fashion as possible, either to please themselves or because they feel they owe it to their audience to do so. To them and to any Scots who find this easier than the Modern Scots Model I should like to suggest what we may call the Rough Outline Model; to read Early Scots texts (such as Barbour and Wyntoun) according to the ESc column in Table 1 and any texts dating from the time of Holland’s *Howlat* onwards according to the MSc column in the same Table. It would be at the performer’s own option to modify the realisations of particular items to bring these more closely in line with the sounds he has in his own competence. For example, many readers might prefer to realise vowel 1 in MSc as [aɪ] rather than [ei] as in the reconstruction. Some might prefer to realise vowel 7 as [y:] and vowel 14 as [ju:]. For the sake of completeness a piece in this less precise version of MSc is given – perhaps, however, not too unlike how David Lyndsay might have read it.

7. Middle Scots (see Table 1). (William Dunbar *Poems*, ed. James Kinsley, Oxford, 1958), 1.89 f. From ‘The Tretis of the Tua Mariit Wemen and the Wedo’.

ei he:v ə 'walɪ'drag, ə 'wurm, ən 'a:ld 'wu:bit 'karl,	
ə 'we:stɪt 'wulru:n 'ne: 'wurθ but 'wurdɪz tə 'klatɪr,	90
ə 'bumbart, ə 'drɔ:n 'bi:, ə 'bag ful əv 'flium,	
ə 'skabit 'skarθ, ə 'skorpiun, ə 'skutard bɪ'hɪnd;	
tə 'si: hɪm 'skart hɪz 'a:n 'skɪn grɪt 'skunɪr ei 'θɪŋk ...	
wɪθ 'gɔ:rɪz hɪz 'twe: 'grɪm 'i:n ə'r 'gladɪrɪt al ə'bu:t,	98
ænd 'gɔrdʒɪt leɪk 'twe: 'gutɪrz ðət wər wɪθ 'glɑ:r 'stɒpɪt.	
'but xwən ðat 'glourən 'ge:st 'grɪpɪz mi: ə'bu:t,	100
ðan 'θɪŋk ei 'hɪdu:s mə'hɪu:n hɪz 'mi: ɪn 'e:rɪmz.	
ðər mei 'ne: 'seɪnɪn mi: 'se:v frɛ: ðat 'a:ld 'se:θən,	
fɔr ðox ei 'kros mi: 'a: 'kli:n frɛ: ðɪ 'kru:n 'du:n	
hɪ wɪl mei 'kors a: bɪ'klɪp ən 'klap mi tə hɪz 'brɪ:st.	
xwən 'ʃe:vɪn ɪz ðat 'a:ld 'ʃɑ:k wɪθ ə 'ʃɑ:p 're:zur	105
hɪ 'ʃu:z ɒn mi hɪz 'ʃɛvɪ 'mu:θ ən 'ʃɛdɪz mei 'lɪps	
ænd wɪθ hɪz 'hɑ:d 'hɜ:ʃən 'skɪn 'se: 'hɛklɪz hɪ: mei 'tʃi:kɪz	
ðət əz ə 'gli:mən 'gli:d 'glouz mei 'tʃaftɪz.	
ei 'ʃrɛnk fər ðɪ 'ʃɑ:p 'stɪ:nd bət ʃu:t 'dɑr ei noxt	
fɔr 'ʃɔ:r əv ðat 'a:ld 'ʃri:u ʃe:m hɪm bɪ'teɪd	110
ðɪ 'lɔ:f 'blɛŋkɪz əv ðat 'bo:gl frɛ: hɪz 'blɪ:rd 'i:n	
əz 'bɛlzɪbub hɛd ɒn mi 'blɛnt ə'bɛɪzɪt mei 'sprɪ:t.	

[20] Of course when the non-Scottish performer reads this, he will do so in his own non-Scottish accent. It is no doubt *a priori* likely that the modern Scottish performer’s accent will be closer to that which prevailed among his late Medieval Scottish ancestors than will a modern Englishman’s or American’s: in such ways, perhaps, as his realising initial voiceless stops (as in *pay*) with little or no aspiration, and in operating the Scottish Vowel-length Rule, as well as in his prosodic and intonational habits (see the second paragraph of this paper). But doubtless even a modern Scot’s accent would sound somewhat strange to an inhabitant of late Medieval Scotland, if there were any of these still with us to notice. And it is of course

unreasonable, even if it could be proved to be desirable, to expect any non-native speaker of a language to do so in the accent of a native speaker. At most we are entitled to ask of our performers of Older Scots only that they display a fairly high degree of selectional accuracy (see p. 16) and employ a model which is as realistic as possible, given their own personal linguistic competences.

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[138] This chapter is based on the writings of A. J. Aitken on the pronunciation of Older Scots (Aitken, 1977, 2015; 1996a; 1996b; †Aitken, 2002), with additional background material from Macafee and †Aitken (2002).³⁶ It is intended as a general account of Older Scots phonology, and should enable the reader to pronounce Older Scots with reasonable accuracy, depending on the level of detail aimed at. It concludes with some sample transcriptions as examples. The emphasis is mainly on the vowels, as these have changed more between OE and OSc and between OSc and Modern Scots than have the consonants.

The vowel numbering system

The vowels are referred to below by the numbers that Aitken gives them. This numbering system, he claims, is a convenient and unambiguous way of referring to any item at any chronological stage, in any dialect, without having to specify a particular realisation. It therefore avoids the ambiguity of traditional labels such as *i*, which is the OE value of *time* (Vowel 1), but by OSc is the value of *meet* (Vowel 2); or the clumsiness of unambiguous labels such as 'the sixteenth-century Scots reflex of OE *i*'. This system is more easily grasped than anything before: it is less complex, and the user is not presented with a confused plethora of data relating to a plethora of categories, but with a limited set of categories for reference. It is directly focused on Scots, and is not a by-product of the history of Standard English. This enables us to see the development of Scots as a separate whole, not as occasional footnotes to RP. Likewise, it is of direct relevance to events in the later phonological history of Scots. Use of the Aitken system does not, of course, exclude the use of other reference points, e.g. the OE or ME system, when necessary to make a particular point. The system has been used by several scholars, including Kuipers (1964), van Buuren (1982, 1997) and [139] Jonathan Glenn (1987) (some of whom combine it with the traditional system), as well as the present writer, and is, of course, employed in Aitken's definitive treatment of the subject (†Aitken, 2002). The only reasonable alternative is a system of keywords. Wells' (1982) system is widely used for Standard English and its varieties, but it is

³⁵ Originally published in John Corbett, J. Derrick McClure and Jane Stuart-Smith, eds., *The Edinburgh Companion to Scots* (Edinburgh University Press, 2003), 138–69. Reproduced by permission of Edinburgh University Press. The footnotes below are by Macafee unless otherwise indicated.

The text has been edited for uniformity of style with other Aitken papers. The original page and table numbers are shown in square brackets. Some minor corrections and additions have been made.

³⁶ †Aitken (2002) is summarised in Macafee and †Aitken (2002).

unsuitable for Scots (and for many dialects of England) because of the time depth and complexity of the differences from the Standard English model. Johnston (1997a, 1997b) has adapted Wells' approach for Scots.³⁷ Keywords have the advantage over numbers of being more transparent. There is, however, a danger that the reader will give them Standard English rather than Scots values, e.g. taking OUR to refer to a diphthong (as in Standard English) rather than a monophthong (as in Scots). When keywords are used also for sub-categories, e.g. HAND as a sub-category (before /nd/) of CAT, the reference of the superordinate term becomes ambiguous: it can be unclear whether it is to be taken as including the subordinate category (HAND) or not, in particular contexts. In what follows, we shall accordingly use the established numbering system, as set out in Figure 1, which gives a rough historical outline of the vowel systems, with the main OSc spellings. The reader will no doubt find it necessary to make frequent reference to this. Figure 2 lists the modern Scottish Standard English correspondences of the OSc vowels.

It is possible to reconstruct with some confidence the segmental phonology of OSc: the systems of speech sounds (phonemes) and the distribution of each sound in the lexicon (also referred to as selection or lexical incidence), and the patterns of stressed and unstressed syllables in words. Aitken uses the standard approaches to reconstruction: the contemporary evidence of spelling, rhyme, and metre together with comparison of the reflexes (outcomes) in modern dialects and extrapolation backwards to a common ancestor, within the framework of the accepted reconstructions of OE and early ME, and of languages contributing loanwords, particularly ON and OF. The borrowing of words into other languages, notably Gaelic, can also be informative. Contemporary comment, unfortunately, is much less copious than for English, but there are, for instance, representations by Elizabethan dramatists (see †Aitken, 2002: §§20.2, 20.7).

We can also arrive at reasonable estimates of the phonetic realisation of the phonemes, but this is necessarily more speculative.³⁸ Other aspects of pronunciation are little known, even for the modern dialects. Their systematic investigation often requires not only tape-recordings but laboratory equipment. These are the suprasegmental features: habits of voice quality and articulatory setting (harshness, nasality and so on), loudness, intonation patterns, rhythm and tempo; and the pitch changes that are characteristic of accentuation, as well as variations from the norm in all of these to signal special attitudes and moods.

[143] **The sounds of Older Scots**

Sound change

Sound changes are classified as being either conditional, where the change depends on the phonetic environment (usually the immediately preceding or following sound), and unconditional, where the change takes place regardless of phonetic environment. In this outline treatment, we cannot deal with the many conditional changes (some of which apply only in particular dialects, sometimes only to a very small group of words). For a full treatment, see †Aitken (2002).

³⁷ Johnston's (1997b) analysis of the Modern Scots dialects is excellent (though the phonemic outline is sometimes obscured by the phonetic detail), but his historical reconstructions (1997a) are not based on the same extensive knowledge of OSc orthography and rhyme as Aitken's.

³⁸ Johnston (1997a) often attempts more detailed reconstructions of phonetic realisation than Aitken has done.

Figure 1 ^[7.1]: Vowel systems of Scots: a rough historical outline

Vowel number	Early Scots (to 1450)	Middle Scots (to 1700)	Modern Scots	Principal Older Scots graphemes
1	i:	ei	ae əi	iCe, yCe, y; yi, ay: y#
2	e:	i:	i	e, eCe, eC-; ei, ey, ea: e(e)#, ey#, ie#
3	ɛ:	or		
4	a:	e:	e	a, aCe, aC-; ai, ay, e, ea: a#, ay#, ae#
5	o:	o:	o	oCe, oC-, o; oi, oy: o#, oo#
6	u:	u:	u	ou, ow: (ul): ow#
6a	ul			ul(l), (w)ol: ull#
7	y:	ø:	ø	oCe, oC-, oi, oy, o(me), o(ne), (w)o, uCe, uC-, wCe, wC-; ui, uy, wi, wy, ou, ow, oo: o#, oe#, oo#, ou#, ow#, u(e)#, w#
		or	i	
		or	e	
		or	e	
		or	ɪ	
8	ai	ɛi	e:ə e	ai, ay, aCe, aC-, ae, ei, ey; e, ea
		or	e	
8a	ai#	ɛi#	əi#	ay#; ey#
9	oi	oi	oe	oi, oy
10	ui	ui	əi	oi, oy; ui, uy, wi, wy, i, y, iy
11	ei#	e:#	i:#	ey#, e#, ee#; ie#
12	au	ɑ:	ɑ ɔ	au, aw; (al): aw#, a#
		or	ɔ	
12a	al			al, all, aul; au, aw, a: aw#, a#
13	ou	ou	ʌu	ou, ow; (ol): ow#
13a	ol			ol, oul: oll#
14a, 14b(i)	iu	iu	iu	eu, ew, uCe; ew#, ue#
		or	(j)u	
14b(ii)	ɛou	iʌu	(j)ʌu	eu, ew; ou, ow: ew#, ow#
15	ɪ	ɪ	ɪ	i, y
16	ɛ	ɛ	ɛ	e
17	a	a	a	a
18	o	o	o	o
		or	ɔ	
19	u	u	ʌ	u, o(m), o(n), (w)o; ou

Note: the word ‘or’ is used to indicate divergencies between and amongst dialects. In the lists of graphemes, capital C stands for any consonant, and the semi-colons divide spellings dominant in ESc from those which become common only in MSc; the colon precedes word-final spellings. Vowel 14b(ii) is an alternative dialect development, probably more widespread than in Modern Scots. †Aitken (2002) uses more phonetically specific symbols (as in Figure 5 below) when referring to the values of phonemes 5, 18 and 19, and diphthongs/triphthongs including them. Here we simplify and use broader symbols.

Figure 2: Modern English correspondences to the Scots vowels (adapted from Aitken, 1996b: Table 3)

Vowel number	ModSc	Corresponding English items, as pronounced in Scottish Standard English
1 long	ae	/æ/ as in <i>rise, byre, buy, cry, ay</i> (yes)
1 short	əi	/əi/ as in <i>bit, price, mind</i>
2	i	/i/, especially as spelled <ee> as in <i>meet, deed, queen, here, tree, see</i>
3	i	/i/ as in <i>seat, steal, ear</i> ; /ɛ/ as in <i>breath, deaf, dead</i>
4	e	/o/ as in <i>boat, oath, both, load, whole, more, go, so</i> ; /e/ as in <i>gate, late, scathe, fade, ale, care</i>
5	o	/o/ as in <i>coat, coal, close, before</i>
6	u	/ʌu/, spelled <ou, ow> as in <i>about, mouth, loud, foul, down, hour, cow</i>
6a	u	/ul/, spelled <(o)ulC> or <ull> as in <i>coulter, shoulder, multure, bulk, bull, full, pull</i>
7	ø etc.	/(j)u/ as in <i>boot, good, fool, moon, moor, move, do, fruit, suit, and duke, sure, pure, sure, use, refuse, fortune, measure</i>
8	e	/e/, chiefly as spelled <ai> or <ay#>, as in <i>bait, braid, pail, rain, pair, day, say, pray, away</i>
8a	əi	/e/ as in <i>May, pay, aye</i> (ever, always)
9	oe	/œ/ (chiefly from Old French /oi/) as in <i>Boyd, avoid, noise, boy, joy</i>
10	əi	/œ/ (chiefly from Anglo-Norman /ui/) as in <i>oil, spoil, join, point, poison, quoit</i>
11	i	/æ/ as in <i>eye, die, fly, high, lie</i> (a falsehood, to tell falsehoods)
12	ɔ	/ɔ/ spelled <au, aw> as in <i>laud</i> ; /o/ spelled <ow> as in <i>low, show, snow</i> ; /ol/ as in <i>old, bold, cold</i>
12a	ɔ	/ɔ(l)/ as in <i>chalk, salt, all, ball</i>
13	ʌu	no clearly corresponding English item: Scots examples include <i>nout</i> (cattle), <i>gowk</i> (cuckoo), <i>louse</i> (loose) (all from Old Norse /au/), and <i>bow</i> (the weapon), <i>chow</i> (chew), <i>grow, four, owre</i> (over) (from various sources)
13a	ʌu	/o(l)/ as in <i>folk, colt, gold, solder, knoll, roll</i>
14	(j)u	/(j)u/ as in <i>dew, few, new, Jew, steward, blue, due, true, virtue, duty, rule, adieu, beauty</i>
15	ɪ	/ɪ/ as in <i>bit, sit, lid, chin, mill</i> . Note that <i>bind, blind, find, wind</i> had this vowel in Older Scots, but <i>kind, mind, sind</i> (to rinse) and <i>strind</i> (generation) had vowel 1 (as a result of HOCL, see below)
16	ɛ	/ɛ/ as in <i>get, bed, men</i>
17	a	/a/ as in <i>cat, lad, man, pass, dance</i>
18	o	/ɔ/ as in <i>cot, God, on</i>
19	ʌ	/ʌ/ as in <i>cut</i> ; /u/ as in <i>put, push, bush, pudding, bullet</i>

Consonants

Consonants change less over time than vowels, and consequently also show less regional variation. We shall therefore pay most attention below to the vowel systems. The main points to note are:

the consonant clusters /kn, gn, wr, wl/ were pronounced as spelled;³⁹

³⁹ This point was mistakenly omitted from the original 2003 paper.

/ŋg/ was simplified to /ŋ/ in all positions, thus /fɪŋər/ *finger* rhyming with *singer* (as in Modern Scots)

ESc had the additional palatal consonants /ʎ, ɲ/, known as l-mouillé and n-mouillé, in words of French and Gaelic origin, e.g. *bulʒe* (boil), *cunʒe* (coin), and the proper names *Culzean*, *Menzies*. These consonants are still separate in Barbour's rhyming practice. At an unknown period, /ʎ/ became /lj/; and /ɲ/ became /nj, ŋj/, or in some cases /ŋ/, e.g. *ring* (reign). There was a wide range of spellings: <nʒe, ngʒe, nʒhe, nyhe, ny(i)e> etc., and similarly <lʒe, lʒhe, lyhe, ly(i)e> etc.⁴⁰

Some other points would be taken into consideration in a full-scale reconstruction:

/ʌ/, written <quh>, was pronounced [xʌ],⁴¹

/r/ was most probably a strong trill;

most dialects probably had dental rather than alveolar /n, r, l, t, d/.

Number of syllables

In ESc, the inflectional ending *-is* /ɪs/ (later /ɪz/) was still pronounced as a syllable in some contexts, but in others was beginning to be reduced to a mere consonant. Poetic licence allowed ESc and early MSc poets to follow speech in these contexts (and reduce the inflection) or tradition (and retain it as a syllable), a convenient way of adjusting the metre.

^[144] The inflection is always reduced after an unstressed syllable or one with only secondary stress, such as *dowcot*, *labour*, *profit*, *questioun*.⁴² After vowels, the inflectional vowel had likewise been absorbed before ESc: cf. rhymes such as *rais* p.t. (rose) : *gais* (goes) (Barbour's *Bruce* 7, 349–50), and the metrics of lines such as:

Yai bar all oyer-wayis on hand (ibid 1, 62).⁴³

⁴⁰ ^[4] The spellings in <ʒ> were subject to confusion with <z> in print.

⁴¹ ^[5] Cf. the much quoted comments of Alexander Hume (c. 1617):

... a labiel symbol can not serve a dental nor a guttural sound; nor a guttural symbol a dental nor a labiel sound.

To clere this point, and alsoe to reform an error bred in the south, and now usurped be our ignorant printeres, I wil tel quhat befel my-self quhen I was in the south with a special gud frende of myne. Ther rease, upon sum accident, quhither quho, quhen, quhat, *etc.*, should be symbolized with q or w, a hoat disputation betuene him and me. After manie conflictes (for we oft encountered), we met be chance, in the citie of baeth, with a doctour of divinitie of both our acquaintance. He invited us to denner. At table my antagonist, to bring the question on foot amangs his awn condisciples, began that I denyed quho to be spelled with a w, but with qu. Be quhat reason ? quod the *Doctour*. Here, I beginning to lay my grundes of labial, dental, and guttural soundes and symboles, he snapped me on this hand and he on that, that the *doctour* had mikle a doe to win me room for a syllogisme. Then (said I) a labial letter can not symboliz a guttural syllab. But w is a labial letter, quho a guttural sound. And therfoer w can not symboliz quho, nor noe syllab of that nature. Here the *doctour* staying them again (for al barked at ones), the proposition, said he, I understand; the assumption is Scottish, and the conclusion false. Quherat al laughed, as if I had bene dryven from al replie, and I fretted to see a frivolouse jest goe for a solid ansuer.

(Hume, 1865: 18)

⁴² ^[6] But when the preceding syllable consists of a fully unstressed vowel + a liquid or nasal, it seems that optionally the unstressed stem syllable rather than the inflection might undergo syncope: e.g. *eldris* (elders), *noblis*, *watrys*, *lipnis* (pres. t. of *lippin* v. , trust); this is exemplified from the earliest ESc texts onwards – AJA.

⁴³ ^[7] References are to McDiarmid and Stevenson's (1980–85) edition.

After stressed syllables ending in fricatives there was never reduction: e.g. *facis*, *raisis*, *fechis*, *jugis* (judges) (as in Modern English).

After other consonants, it seems that, by the time of Barbour, retention of the vowel in this ending was optional, though down to the sixteenth century unreduced syllabic forms seem to predominate.

Similarly, the inflection *-it* could be reduced to a consonant if the root ended in a vowel, e.g. *cryit*. This was probably already the spoken form in early MSc. The ending was also optionally reduced after nasals and liquids, e.g. *answerit*. After the fricative consonants, metrical licence already allowed the inflection *-it* to be reduced in the second half of the fifteenth century (cf. van Buuren, 1982: 112), but it generally remains syllabic even into the modern period after the plosive consonants, e.g. *stoppit*, *biggit*.

The loss of /v/ in words like *deil* (devil) and *our* (over) reduces the number of syllables by one. This may be concealed by spelling. Although used with restraint (and apparently regarded as colloquial), such ‘cuttit short’ word-forms were available for occasional metrical licences in certain genres (see Aitken, 1971, 2015; 1983, 2015; Macafee and †Aitken, 2002).

Unstressed vowels

OE had a number of different vowels in inflections, which were later replaced by a single vowel, written <e>, conventionally interpreted as /ə/. Final *-e* was lost in the ME period,⁴⁴ earliest north of the Humber. Chaucer uses *-e* optionally to fit the metre, but Barbour does not.⁴⁵ In Pre-literary Scots (and Northern ME), <e> changed to <i>, conventionally interpreted as /ɪ/, starting in the thirteenth century.

The promotion of unstressed syllables to rhyme with stressed ones is a poetic licence available to OSc poets, though in MSc mainly with suffixes of Romance origin. Many suffixes, such as *-ure* (e.g. *scripture*) and *-ude* (e.g. *plenitude*) may still have taken full vowels in speech (in these examples, Vowel 7). Aitken observed that in Modern Scots there is less contrast between stressed and unstressed syllables than in most dialects of English, which suggests that the ongoing process of unstressed vowel reduction may have proceeded more slowly in Scots than in English.⁴⁶ In the transcriptions below, unstressed vowels are shown as /ɪ, ə, /ø/ shortened in the absence of stress, and (in no. 6) /i/. (In the *Concise Scots Dictionary*, the unstressed vowels are shown without distinction as /ə/.)

⁴⁴ [8] Subsequent to Open Syllable Lengthening (see below).

⁴⁵ [9] A curious exception is the word *jugement*, which is generally counted as three syllables in ESc verse. However, this anomaly was corrected in MSc by changing the word to *jugisment*.

⁴⁶ [10] Two related phenomena of Modern Scots unstressed vowels may go back to the OSc period: terminal stress and vowel harmony. Terminal stress, most fully described by Wettstein, is:

an increased rhythmic or emphatic stress on final unaccented syllables ... [which] is most apparent at the end of breathgroups, where it may easily amount to a full stress or more and be coupled with a considerable reduction of a preceding accented syllable. (1942: 16-17)

e.g. [ˈhɛdz ˈbroʔkɛn]. It is a noticeable marker of modern Central Scots working-class speech. Vowel harmony (Dieth, 1932; Hill, 1963) is a predictable variation in the realisation of unstressed /ɪ/ according to the stressed vowel in the syllable preceding, e.g. in Buchan [ˈspidi, ˈdmnr, ˈdoθɛr].

Although it is now characteristic only of some non-Central dialects, vowel harmony was perhaps once more general – AJA.

[145] Stressed vowels*Vowel length*

For most vowels in Scots (and partly also in Scottish Standard English), vowel length is governed by the phonetic environment following the vowel, rather than being intrinsic to the vowel. For example, in Modern Scots the originally long vowel /u/ (Vowel 6) is still long in *doo* (dove), but short in *dout* (doubt). The rule for vowel length, known as the Scottish Vowel-length Rule (SVLR) or Aitken's Law, has been described in Stuart-Smith's chapter (this volume).⁴⁷ Here it is only necessary to note that the vowel systems of OE and OSc had long and short vowels, in pairs that were originally close enough to each other in quality to capture words from each other in processes of lengthening and shortening, and to permit occasional near-rhymes of long with short vowels in ESc. A number of sound changes, culminating in the Great Vowel Shift (below), disrupted this parallelism by altering the qualities of the vowels. It then became possible for new 'shorts' to be created by the SVLR in the second half of the sixteenth century. Thus the SVLR shortening of *dout* results not in **dut* (Vowel 19, as with OE shortenings) but in *dout*, still with Vowel 6, though shortened in realisation. It is probably this disruption of the traditional quantity system that we see reflected in MSc spelling habits (cf. Meurman-Solin, 1999), where long vowel spellings (final <e> and digraphs) are used for traditionally short vowels, e.g. <cate, cait> (cat), and short vowel spellings (double consonants) are used for long vowels, e.g. <fatte, faitt> (fate). Double long spellings partly solve this problem, that is, both final <e> and a digraph, e.g. <fate> but these are not always reserved for long vowels either, so <caite, caitte> (cat) is not impossible.

Lengthenings and shortenings in the OE period

There were a number of length adjustments in the OE period. (For examples, see Figure 6.) Short vowels were lengthened in a process known as Homorganic Cluster Lengthening (HOCL). Homorganic clusters of consonants are clusters pronounced at the same place of articulation, e.g. /nd/ (dental/alveolar) and /mb/ (labial). There were some lengthenings in Scots by this change, but also many failures to lengthen.

Long vowels were shortened before double consonants (hence the use of double consonants as an orthographic marker of short vowels), non-organic consonant clusters, and when two unstressed syllables followed.

Open Syllable Lengthening

In the Pre-literary Scots period, Open Syllable Lengthening (OSL) lengthened short vowels (by this time including loans from OF) in stressed syllables followed by an unstressed syllable, where the stressed syllable was 'open', i.e. when it ended in a vowel. These conditions were met in many words with inflectional ^[146] endings that were later lost, e.g. *name*. The retention in spelling of a lost final vowel gives us the characteristic orthographic convention of Scots and English whereby a silent final <e> modifies the vowel in the preceding syllable. By the time of OSL, the short vowels had apparently lowered (apart from the already low Vowel 17), so the lengthenings do not match up with the long vowels in the same way as the earlier HOCL (see Figure 3):

⁴⁷ I.e. Stuart-Smith (2003). See also Aitken's 'The Scottish Vowel-length Rule' (1981, 2015).

Vowel 15 > 2, e.g. ON *gifa* > *geve* (give), *stice* > *steiche* (stitch); also (unusually) before two unstressed syllables in MF loans, e.g. *ministre* > *menister* (minister);

Vowel 16 > 3, e.g. *breacan* > *breke* (break), *stelan* > *stele* (steal);

Vowel 17 > 4 (as HOCL), e.g. *nama* > *name*, *gaderian* > *gaither* (gather), *labour*;

Vowel 18 > 5, e.g. *prote* > *throte* (throat), *col-* > *cole* (coal);

Vowel 19 > 7, e.g. *lufu* > *lufe* (love), *duce* > *duik* (duck) (for the later development of Vowel 7 before voiceless velars, see below).

OSL often left doublets without lengthening, e.g. *gif* (give), *brek* (break), *gadder* (gather), *throt* (throat), *mak* alongside *make*.⁴⁸ A following syllabic consonant could also provide an environment for OSL, e.g. *heofone* > *hevin* (heaven), *sadol* > *saiddle* (saddle).

Figure 3^[3.1]: Open Syllable Lengthening

1	i:					u:	6		
2	e:	←—————	ɪ	15	19	u	—————→	o:	7
3	ɛ:	←—————	ɛ	16	18	o	—————→	ɔ:	5
4	a:	←—————	a	17					

The Great Vowel Shift

The most important sound shift in the history of Scots, as in that of English, is the Great Vowel Shift (GVS), which was completed in Scots by about the middle of the sixteenth century. Crudely, the effect of this was to raise long vowels. As one consequence, Scots and English spelling is out of line with continental sound values for historically long vowels: compare the vowels of the loanwords *estate*, *noble*, *complete* with their Modern French equivalents *état*, *noble*, *complet*. Since the GVS affected only long vowels, the shortening and lengthening sound changes that preceded it take on added significance: they determine whether^[147] groups of words are part of the input to the GVS or not. For example, in Scots (and Northern English) *blind* was not lengthened by HOCL, and consequently not affected by the GVS, thus Modern Scots /blɪn(d)/.

Two other important changes preceded the GVS, one north of the Humber, affecting Scots and Northern English dialects, the other south of the Humber. The northern change results, by the late thirteenth century, in front vowels in words such as *mune* (moon) < OE *mōna* (Vowel 7);⁴⁹ the southern change results in a back vowel in words such as *home* < OE *hām* (= Scots *hame*, Vowel 4). Scots and English therefore differ in the input to the GVS. There are also differences in the details of the sound shift. In particular, Scots does not shift Vowel 6, e.g. *doon*, *hoose*, preserving it as a monophthong /u:/.

In some late loans from French, MF *ī* is equated with Vowel 2, by then raised to [i:], e.g. *baptese*, *oblege*. There are generally doublets borrowed earlier as Vowel 1 (when it had the [i:] value, prior to its diphthongisation), e.g. *baptise*, *oblige*.

Figure 4 shows the two main alternative forms of the GVS in Scots, with Vowel 3 merging either with Vowel 2 or Vowel 4 (the latter characteristic, for instance, of David Lyndsay,

⁴⁸ [11] In some, but not all, cases, the unlengthened forms correspond to uninflected forms (see †Aitken, 2002: §4.1).

⁴⁹ [12] There is thus no *ō* /o:/ in Scots to raise to /u:/ by the GVS (as in Modern English *moon*).

Some further sound changes

Other conditioned sound changes include:

OF *a* before nasal combinations has a variety of outcomes, but is most usually Vowel 12, e.g. *aunt*, *ensaumpill* (example), *chaumer* (chamber). However, between /tʃ/ or /r/ and /nɔʒ/, there are variants with Vowel 3, e.g. Modern Scots *cheenge* (change), *reenge* (range). The vowel 3 forms of *change* etc. produce further variants in Vowel 1, thus *chyng* etc.;

some time in the Pre-literary Scots period, Vowel 17 was lengthened to Vowel 4 before /r/ followed by any consonant. In most cases the outcome seems to have been doublet unlengthened and lengthened forms, and also sometimes Vowel 16 forms, presumably by the shortening of Vowel 4 at the GVS [ɛ:] stage, e.g. *sharn*, *shairn*, *shern* (dung); *cart*, *cairt*, *kert*. OSc spelling does not usually reflect the Vowel 16 forms, however;

conversely, Vowel 16 was lowered to Vowel 17 in the fourteenth century before /r/, again producing doublets, e.g. *serk* and *sark* (shirt), *stern* and *starn* (star), *ger* and *gar* (to cause);

Vowel 7 diphthongises before the voiceless velars /k, x/ to merge in some dialects with Vowel 14a, in others with /j/ + Vowel 19, e.g. Modern Scots /ən(j)ux, ən(j)ʌx/ (enough) and /hjuk, hjʌk/ (hook). In OSc there were apparently also undiphthongised Vowel 7 doublets;

^[149] there is an early shortening of Vowel 7, before its fronting, to Vowel 19 in certain words, with a subsequent development to Vowel 15 (see next), e.g. *fit* (foot), *sit* (soot), *wid* (wood), *ither* (other), *brither* (brother) and *mither* (mother). A few Vowel 19 doublets remain in Modern Scots dialects, e.g. *fut* (foot);⁵⁴

from the fifteenth century onwards, an allophone of Vowel 19 is captured by Vowel 15, e.g. *disson* (dozen), *hinnie* (honey), *kimmer* (godmother), *nit* (nut), *simmer* (summer);

an allophone of Vowel 18 is captured by Vowel 19, so that *broche*, *loge*, *sojourn* and *motioun* /motju:n/ appear in the fifteenth century as *bruche* /brutʃ/, *luge* /luɔʒ/, *sudgeorn* /sɔʒərn/, *mudgin* /muɔʒən/;

an allophone of Vowel 18 in labial environments is captured by Vowel 17, so that *crop*, *croft*, *loft*, *off*, *bonnet* appear in the fifteenth century as *crap*, *craft*, etc.;

certain words with Vowel 8 finally, which would otherwise have continued as a diphthong (Vowel 8a), have a separate development (Vowel 8b, see Figure 5), and are captured by Vowel 4, e.g. *day*, *may*;

Vowel 4 after /w, ʌ/ rounds to merge with Vowel 12 in all dialects except West Central and southern East Central, e.g. *twa* (two), *quhar* (where), *awa* (away);

in late MSc, initial Vowel 4, as in *ane* (one) and *ale*, develops to /jɪ/ in most of Scotland south of the Forth-Clyde line, thus *yin*, *yill*, etc.⁵⁵

⁵⁴ ^[16] This interpretation follows †Aitken (2002), in contrast to Aitken (1977, 2015), which in turn followed Luick (1903), who posited a direct change from Vowel 7 to Vowel 15 (paralleling the later change in most of Central Scots), subsequent to fronting.

⁵⁵ ^[17] However, /j/ in /je/ *ae* adj. (one) appears to be a rare survival of an earlier change, which left the vowel unaffected. Possibly the link with *ane* helped to preserve this form.

Pronouncing Older Scots

In his 1977 paper, Aitken listed and discussed a number of models for the pronunciation of Older Scots, some of which represented existing (sometimes bad) practice and some of which were his own recommendations. He accepted that different models were suited to different purposes, and did not try to gloss over the difficulty of achieving a full-scale reconstruction. It remains true that virtuosity is required to read such a reconstruction aloud both consistently and fluently. However, Aitken's work since 1977, and the completion of DOST, have brought what was then possible only for a tiny group of specialists within the grasp of any scholar in the field.

Models

Before setting out Aitken's general recommendations for reading OSc aloud, we shall look briefly at the models he outlined.

The Chaucerian or Middle English Model.

It was formerly the practice for university students of English to be taught a pronunciation of ME which ^[150] enabled them to read the writings of Geoffrey Chaucer, for example, in a plausible reconstruction. Since ESc writers, notably John Barbour, were contemporaries of Chaucer, and ESc shared many features with Chaucer's English, this has been used for ESc, although there are, as we have seen, important differences between the South-East Midland dialect of ME and ESc.

The Early Scots Model

The spelling system of ESc was more regular than it later became, and the spellings of vowels had their continental values with realisations close to the values assigned to the cardinal vowels in the International Phonetic Alphabet. That is, ESc orthography is simpler and more 'phonetic' (actually phonemic) than that of MSc, and consequently a reconstruction suitable to this period is fairly easy to learn, especially for anyone with a knowledge of another European language. But it is not suitable for reading sixteenth century Scots (any more than the Chaucerian model is suitable for reading Shakespeare). Still, as Aitken said, if it is done with consistency, it is preferable to an unprepared rendition.

The Modern Recitation Scots Model

The Modern Recitation Scots Model is probably the most accessible for those who have grown up in the tradition of reading, reciting and singing in Modern Scots. The recitation register is somewhat different from spoken varieties of Modern Scots in daily use.⁵⁶ This well-established tradition of performance allows speakers to avoid the unintentional nuances that might be imported by using, for instance, a broad Glaswegian accent.

To make this model acceptable as a substitute for MSc pronunciation, especially in poetry, certain restorations of earlier forms need to be made. In order to preserve the scansion, words such as *patience*, *nation*, *special* and many noun plurals, e.g. *deidis* (deeds), need to be given the additional syllable that they had in the early sixteenth century and before. The inflexional

⁵⁶ [18] For instance, Vowel 18 realised *anglice* as [ɔ] rather than [o].

ending *-is* is variably syllabic in many phonetic contexts, according to the requirements of scansion (see ‘Number of syllables’ above).⁵⁷ The main adjustment that needs to be made to ensure that poems rhyme as intended is to pronounce the ending *-ie* or *-y* in some words such as *rethorie* and *poetrie* with the same final vowel as words like *dry* and *cry* (Vowel 1). A careful reader in the Modern Recitation Scots Model will also pronounce the /k/ in the consonant cluster /kn/, e.g. *knicht*; the /g/ in the cluster /gn/, e.g. *gnaw* and the /w/ in the clusters /wr/, e.g. *wrang*, and the rare /wl/, e.g. *wlonk* (lady).

Apart from these differences, the pronunciation of Scots by the end of the sixteenth century was similar enough to that of the early twentieth century to make the Modern Recitation Scots Model acceptable as a representation of MSc. This was Aitken’s recommendation for the reading of MSc, for most purposes, by native Scots speakers. It demands much less preparation and very much less ^[15f] phonetic virtuosity than the Full-scale Reconstruction Model, resulting in a more fluent as well as an easier performance. He was considerably less happy with it as a model for reading ESc, which is so much more distant from Modern Scots.

The performer in the Modern Recitation Scots Model will aim to reproduce the words of the OSc text not with the exact phonetic realisations they had in OSc, but with the present-day Scots reflexes of the OSc phonemes. In the case of words now obsolete, or replaced by their English cognates (e.g. *door* or *tool*, both Vowel 7), the word is given the pronunciation it would have had if it had survived.

The Rough Approximation Model

An alternative which is perhaps more accessible than Modern Recitation Scots to the many non-Scots who have occasion to read OSc aloud, and wish to do so as realistically and consistently as possible, is the Rough Approximation Model, which can be achieved by reading off the values from Figure 1, using OSc spellings and the spellings of cognate words in Modern English (see Figure 2) as a rough guide to the selection of phonemes.⁵⁸

The Full-scale Reconstruction Model

This model differs from the Rough Approximation Model both in the level of phonetic detail (see Figure 5) and in the pains taken to ascertain the phoneme selection in individual words (see Figure 6 and refer to CSD, DOST and the index to †Aitken, 2002). Of these, phoneme selection is the more important. The realisations in the ESc column are conventionally reconstructed as being closer to the values of the spellings; the values in the MSc column are interpolations between these values and the observed modern ones. The earlier values cannot be known precisely, and readers may therefore be excused for modifying their renderings towards the sounds of their own accents. There is, however, no point in attempting a narrow phonetic transcription if the phonemic selections are only approximate.

General considerations

Aitken’s discussion of the performance models includes some of the following general points.

⁵⁷ [19] By the end of the sixteenth century the modern syllabifications of all of these words were established – AJA.

⁵⁸ [20] Aitken (1996b) gives additional tables with the Modern Scots vowels arranged in quasi-alphabetical order, and the Modern English correspondences to the Scots vowels listed, by Modern English spelling.

A prerequisite for a reasonably correct performance is preparation. Nobody can expect to pick up an edition of an OSc text and produce a spontaneously accurate reading in any model, though philologists would do better than most. All of us need time to prepare our reading, to work out whether a set of rhymes, for instance, is of Vowel 3 with Vowel 2, or of Vowel 3 with Vowel 4; whether a particular word contained Vowel 4 or Vowel 8; to remind ourselves that <oi> more often than not represented Vowel 5 rather than Vowel 9 or Vowel 10. A large number of OSc words have several alternative pronunciations (and spellings): e.g. the word *great*, spelled <grete, greit; gret(t); grite, gryte; girt; gert; gart> had all of the following ^[152] pronunciations in MSc: /grɛ:t; gret; greit; girt; gert; gart/.⁵⁹ This may or may not matter in a particular context, but a decision has to be made. Sometimes a scribal copyist or an early printer has preferred a spelling that reproduces his own favoured pronunciation rather than that of the author, resulting in an apparently false rhyme, which we may be able to correct by restoring an alternative form. MSc poets also used occasional anglicised forms, such as <go> for <ga(y)> (go) or <more, moir, moyr> for <mare, mair, mayr> (more). In some cases, the rhyme will confirm that this is the author's own anglicisation; in other cases, it has been introduced by a later hand in contradiction to the rhyme. In these cases we may need to rehearse in advance our own decision as to which is the correct pronunciation.

Some common errors include:

fleche (to cajole) should be pronounced /flitʃ/, not /*flix/;

our (over) should be pronounced /ʌr/, not /*u:r/;

conversely, the possessive pronoun *our* is correctly rendered /u:r/;

by mistaking Scots spelling practice, the indefinite article is wrongly read as /*en/, rather than /ə(n)/, the /n/ being pronounced only before vowels, as in modern speech;⁶⁰

the feminine pronoun *scho* is often mistakenly read as the wholly spurious /*ʃo:/, rather than OSc /ʃø:/ or Modern Scots /ʃe/ (Vowel 7).

Some thought must be given to phrasing and intonation, which will, of course, be influenced by the punctuation of the copy. Many OSc texts are devoid of punctuation in the originals, and the punctuation of modern editions is supplied by the editors.

The need to pay attention to the number of syllables has already been mentioned. Another aspect requiring consideration is stress placement. There was still some variation in the stressing of loanwords from OF. Most disyllables from this source must have been borrowed as iambs, but this conflicted with the native language, and gradually most of them have been made trochaic. For a long period, certainly in poetic usage, such loans remained variable, so, for instance, a MSc poet could stress *nature* or *river* on different syllables on different occasions.⁶¹

Aitken emphasised that there are no short cuts to the reading of OSc with authenticity, that is with the correct selections of sounds and the correct phrasing. Nevertheless, by taking sufficient pains, it is perfectly possible to achieve an acceptable performance – though he

⁵⁹ [21] I.e. Vowels 3, 16, 1, 15, 16, 17.

⁶⁰ [22] Aitken (1996a) suggests that “it is possible that the indefinite article <ane> was sometimes read or recited during the MSc period by some readers as /e:n/ as a spelling pronunciation ...”, which “was at best a minority affectation in MSc times”. Unfortunately, he does not cite the evidence for this suggestion. There is no trace of the pronunciation in any form of colloquial Modern Scots. Aitken had earlier pointed out that reverse spellings like *ane-levin* (eleven, see DOST s.v.), *ane mendis* (see DOST s.v. *mendis* n.2) and *ane mis* (amiss, see DOST s.v. *mis* n.6) suggest that this was a merely conventional practice (1971: n. 53; 2015: n. 69).

⁶¹ [23] When Barbour treats Anglo-Norman loans as end-stressed, it is not unlikely that these were living pronunciations, since he is still fairly close in time to the period of borrowing.

added with regret that very few modern performers of OSc, including (with further regret) many professional scholars of OSc, even attempt this.

Does it matter?

Aitken's 1977 paper was originally given at an international conference. Kinsley, in a review of the conference proceedings, recalled the effect that the paper had on the audience:

^[153] His original *tour de force* ... had consequences immediate and devastating. Native scholars, accustomed to read the 'makars' aloud in some brand of Modern Scots, were disconcerted; non-Scots were in disarray. The bars and lounges were for a time thinly peopled, as those with papers still to read struggled in decent privacy to relearn their lines; and the results were sometimes more hilarious than comprehensible. However, we 'ken noo'. (1980: 356–57)

When he revised the paper in 1996, Aitken was entitled to take the view that “the excuse advanced by some that we know nothing about how OSc was pronounced is simply not tenable” (1996b), in view of his 1977 paper, and his contributions to CSD, including a lengthy section on pronunciation in the Introduction, and pronunciation entries throughout the dictionary (for obsolete as well as current Scots lexis).⁶² Nevertheless, he saw no reason in 1996 to withdraw the strongly worded criticisms that he had made twenty years earlier: in those scholars who professed special interest in OSc language and literature, slipshodness in these respects seems, he said, to betray a dilettante, even a meretricious, attitude to the literature they are professedly interpreting to others. He did not believe that this criticism was disarmed by disclaiming from the outset any pretence to competence in this area of their study, by openly adhering to what he generously called the Modern English Model – though he also said that by performing in this manner one is not reading OSc at all, but simply delivering a rough and ready sight translation into Modern English. OSc, he reiterated, deserves a degree of professional commitment by those who claim to profess it.

Specimen transcriptions⁶³

The transcriptions below are in the Full-scale Reconstruction Model, following the values given in Figure 5. A full-scale reconstruction demands that the pronunciation of each word be ascertained, as far as possible, rather than hypothesised on the basis of familiar (Standard English and/or Modern Scots) forms and the notoriously *laissez-faire* spellings of OSc. The pronunciation entries in the CSD and the index to †Aitken (2002) have already been mentioned as sources for the pronunciation of individual words. Otherwise, the procedure is

⁶² ^[24] Both the *Pocket Scots Dictionary* and the much more comprehensive *Concise Scots Dictionary* give directly, or by implication from the spelling, when this is unambiguous, pronunciations for every word entered, which in the case of CSD, comprises almost all of the distinctive vocabulary of Scots. It is true that a very few words with distinctively Scots pronunciations did not qualify for inclusion in CSD: examples are *juice* /tʃɪs/, *habit* OSc /hə'bit/, *position* /pə'zi:ʃən/, *puncture* /'pʌŋktɪr/. But it is surprising just how many words which one might have expected to have escaped entry in CSD because of not apparently being distinctively Scots are in fact, for one reason or another, included, so that their pronunciation is in fact given. A fully exhaustive dictionary of Scots pronunciation has yet to be compiled. Until it is, CSD is a very useful resource indeed – AJA. The index to †Aitken (2002) also contains pronunciation information, including some for words not found in CSD.

⁶³ ^[25] The transcriptions have been revised to make them consistent with Aitken's latest thoughts on the subject (†Aitken, 2002). A few typographical corrections have also been made, and a more recent edition of Dunbar preferred.

a 'lan ,wai 'fʊrθ,wart 'sailt 'he:
 fɔr bi'twɪks 'kɔrn,wail and br'e'ta:n
 he: 'sailt and 'lɛft ði 'gry:n qf 'spa:n
 qn 'nɔrθ ,half ,him. 325

(John Barbour, *Bruce*, XX, 299 f., Edinb. MS.)

^[165] 2. Holland's *Howlat* c. 1450 (early MSc)

For the Orcadian Holland, writing in Morayshire c. 1450, Aitken assumed a stage early in the GVS. Taking the dialect as North-Eastern, we still have [y:] for Vowel 7 (shortly to unround to [i:]). The capture of Vowel 4 after labials by Vowel 12 is seen in *quhare*.

ðɪ 'hɛrt 'kɔstlɪ:ri hɛ: 'ku:θ 'klɔ:z ɪn ə 'klɛ:r 'kæ:s
 and 'hɛld a:w 'hæ:l ðɪ bi'hɛst hɪ 'hɛxt ty ðɪ 'kɪŋ, 470
 'kʊm ty ðɪ 'hæ:lɪ:ri 'græ:v θru 'gɔdɪz 'grɛt 'græ:s,
 wɪθ 'ɔfranz ənd 'ɔrɪzu:nz ənd 'al 'ʊðɪr 'θɪŋ,
 u:r 'salvə,tu:rz 'sɛpʊl,tɪ:r and ðɪ 'sæ:mɪn 'plæ:s
 xwa:wɪr hɛ: 'ræ:z əz wɛ: 'rɛ:d 'rɪxtwɪs ty 'rɪŋ,
 wɪθ a:w ðɪ 'rɛlɪks 'ræ:θ ðat ɪn ðat 'ru:m ,was 475
 hɛ: gart 'halɔ ðɪ 'hart and 'sɪ:ɪn ku:θ ɪt 'hɪŋ
 ə'bu:t hɪz 'ha:wz fʊl 'hɛ:nd ənd qn hɪz 'a:wɪn 'hart.
 qft wa:wɪd hɛ: 'kɪs ɪt ənd 'krɪ:ri

ɔ: 'flur əv a:w 'ʃɛvəl,rɪ:ri,
 xwɪ:ri 'lɛ:v rɪ a'las, 'xwɪ:ri, 480
 ənd 'ðu: 'dɛ:d ,art?

mɪ:ri 'dɛ:r kwɔd 'du:glas art ðu: 'dɛ:d 'dɪxt,
 mɪ:ri 'sɪŋylɪr 'sʊvɪ,ræɪn əv 'saksɔnz ðɪ 'wand,
 nu: bʊt rɪ 'sɛmbl fɛr ðɪ:ri 'sa:wɪ wɪθ 'sarazenz 'mɪxt
 sal rɪ 'nɛvɪr 'sɛ:n bɛ: ɪnty 'skɔt,land. 485

(Richard Holland, *The Buke of the Howlat*, 469 f., Asloan MS.)

3. Dunbar c. 1500 (early MSc)

This is assumed to be an advanced form of southern East Central Scots, as spoken at court. The language of serious verse was conservative, however, in avoiding l-vocalised forms. For *of*, doublet /of/ and /o/ forms are shown, the latter evidenced from the fourteenth century (see DOST s.v.). The pronunciation /ɪn/ for the verbal ending *-ing* is likewise attested from ESc on.⁶⁵ In this dialect, Vowel 4 remains after labials (e.g. *quhairfoir*). The realisation of Vowel 18 is shown as closer than in the next example, from further north.

tø 'spe:k of 'se:iens, 'kraft ər 'sɛ:pɪ,ens,
 o 'vertiu 'moral 'kʊnɪŋ ər dok'tre:ɪn,
 of 'dʒɔ:r, o 'wɪsdɔ:m ər ɪn'tɛlɪ,dʒens,
 of 'ɛvrɛ:i 'stʊdɛ:i, 'lɛ:r ər 'dɪskɪp,lɛ:ɪn
 'al ɪz bʊt 'tɪnt ər 'rɛdɛ:i fɛr tø 'tɛ:ɪn, 5
^[166] 'noxt 'ø:zɪn ɪt əz ɪt su:d 'ø:zɪt 'bi:,

⁶⁵ ^[27] The subsequent loss of distinction between *-ing* and *-and* (the ending of the present participle) though no doubt influenced by anglicisation, was also at least facilitated by this and by the reduction of *-and* to *-an*.

ðɪ 'kraɪt ek'sɛrsɪn, kon'sɪdərɪn not ðɪ 'feɪn,
 ə 'pɑrɪlʊs 'si:knes ɪz 'veɪn prɒ'spɛrɪ,tɪ:
 ðɪ 'kø:riʊs prɒ'be:siu:n 'lɒʒɪ,kal
 ðɪ 'elo,kwens of 'ornat 'rɛtɔ,rɛɪ 10
 ðɪ 'nɛ:tərəl 'se:iens 'filɒ'sɒfɪ,kal,
 ðɪ 'dɪrk a'pi:rɛns of a'strɒnɒ,mɛɪ,
 ðɪ 'θi:ɔ,lɔ:gz 'sɛrmu:n ðɪ 'fɛ:bɪlz of 'pɔ:ɛt,rɛɪ
 wɪθu:t 'gø:d 'leɪf 'al ɪn ðɪ 'self dɔ:z 'di:,
 əz 'mɛɪ 'flur:z dɔ:z ɪn sɛp'tɛmbɪr 'dri: 15
 ə 'pɑrɪlʊs 'si:knes ɪz 'veɪn prɒs'pɛrɪ,tɪ:
 'xwɛ:rfor ʝi: 'klarks ənd 'grɪtɪst of kon'stans,
 'fʊlɪst o 'se:iens and o 'knɔ:lɛʒɪn,
 tɔ 'ʊz bi: 'mɪru:rz ɪn ju:r 'gʊvɛr,nans
 and ɪn 'u:r 'dɑrknes bi: 'lɑmpɪz ɪn 'ʃɛɪn,ɪn 20
 or 'ðɑn ɪn 'frʊstrɑr ɪz ju:r 'lɑŋ 'lɛrn,ɪn,
 gɪf tɔ ju:r 'sɑ:z ju:r 'di:dɪz 'kɒntrɑr bi:,
 ju:r 'mɛ:st ə'kø:zɪr səl 'bi: ju:r 'ɑ:n 'kʊn,ɪn,
 ə 'pɑrɪlʊs 'si:knes ɪz 'veɪn prɒs'pɛrɪ,tɪ:

(From *The Poems of William Dunbar*, ed. Priscilla Bawcutt, Glasgow: ASLS, 1998, no. 82.)

4. *The Complaynt of Scotlande* c. 1545 (transcribed as late MSc)

This text, from Dundee, represents northern East Central Scots. An opener realisation is assumed for Vowel 18 than in the previous transcription. *Thai* (they) is shown as retaining the original Vowel 8a, rather than Vowel 4 (which it has acquired in all dialects since the fifteenth century). In the environment before /r/, Vowel 4 merges in this dialect with Vowel 8, rather than vice versa, thus *thare* (there) merges with *thair* (their). The writer who produced the printer's copy was rather consistent in writing the inflection *-(i)s* as <is> after stressed syllables, in contrast to mostly <s> after unstressed syllables, suggesting that the unreduced vowel persisted in his idiolect in, e.g., /rɪ'pø:tɪz, 'ɪŋlɪz, 'skɔ:tɪz/, though not in, e.g., /'ne:sju:nz/.

fɔr 'ɛvri 'ne:sju:n rɪ'pø:tɪz 'ɪðɪrz 'ne:sju:nz tɔ bi: bɑr'be:rɪɛnz xwɑn ðɛɪr 'twa:
 'nɛ:tɔ:rz ənd kɒm'pleksju:nz ər 'kɒntrɛr tɪl 'ɪðɪrz. and ðɛɪr ɪz 'nɔxt 'twa: 'ne:sju:nz
 ʊndɪr ðɪ 'fɪrmənt ðɑt ər 'mɛ:r 'kɒntrɛr ənd 'dɪfɪrɛnt frɛ: 'ɪðɪrz nɔr ɪz 'ɪŋlɪz,mɛn
 ənd 'skɔ:tɪz,mɛn hu:'bi:t ðɑt ðɛɪ 'bi: wɪθɪn 'e:n 'eɪl ənd 'nɪxbur:z ənd əf 'e:n
 'lɑŋe:ʒ.

(From *The Complaynt of Scotlande*, ed. J. A. H. Murray (Early English Text Society, Extra Series 17, 18), p. 106.)

^[167] 5. Reported speech, Fife, c. 1560 (late MSc)

For this somewhat later passage in a dialect not very different from that of the previous passage, a much more progressive speech form is assumed. The SVLR is taken to be fully established. (Vowel lengths are shown, though strictly this is now unnecessary, as they are predicted by the environmental rule.) Vowel 3, as in *meat*, merges in this dialect with Vowel

4, not Vowel 2. A Vowel 7 form of *brother*, obsolete in Modern Scots, is shown. *Smaik* has Vowel 8.

mæ:i 'brøðɪr ɪz ən 'sal 'bi: 'vɪkər ə 'krel xwen 'ðu: səl 'θɪg ðe:i 'met 'fa:s 'smeik. ɛ:i
səl 'pöl ði ut ə ði 'pupət bɪ ði 'lögz ənd 'ʃes ði 'ut ə ðɪs 'tun.

(From *The Register of the Ministers, Elders and Deacons of St. Andrews* (Scottish Historical Society 4, 1889), pp. 106–107.)

6. Record of an oral deposition, Lanark, c. 1610–20 (late MSc)

As in the previous passage, vowel lengths are included, but the SVLR is assumed. A distinction is shown between the vowels of *-in(g)* and *-an(d)*.

'dʒon 'kambɛl kom'plɪnz ənd rɪ'pɔrts tə jör 'wözdömz ðət 'æ:i 'bi:m öpon
'mönənde: wəz on 'ɔxt 'de:z okə'pæ:iɪt wɪθ mæ:i 'kraft ən 'kalin 'kömɪn 'hem tə
'get ət 'in sɪk 'pɔrʃön əz 'gɔd 'sendɪt 'ɪn 'köm ə 'man ðət æ:i 'nevɪr 'knju: o bɪ'fɔ:r
ənd ɪn'kontɪnənt 'ðe:r'eftɪr 'ɪn 'kömz 'toməs 'moət ənd 'se:z 'go: 'peɪ jör 'lɔ:ɪn ənd
'hi 'se:z ɪ wəd 'no: fər 'hɪm. ənd 'swe: ɔr æ:i 'wɪst ðe: wɪr ɪn 'ɪðɪrz 'lögz. and 'ɪn
'kömz 'dʒon 'moət ənd 'se: ðe: wɪr 'rɛd wɪ'θut 'skeθ.

(From a transcript of an undated document on a single sheet, early seventeenth century, bound in with the 1590–1615 volume of the manuscript Lanark Town Council Records: see *Extracts from the Records and Charters of the Royal Burgh of Lanark* (Glasgow, 1893), pp. 121–22.)

Figure 5 ^[7.5]: Vowel systems of Scots in more detail

vowel number	ESc c.1375	early MSc c.1500	late MSc c.1600	modSc	notes	examples
1	i:	ɪi	eɪ	ɛ(:)i	a'e (a: ɪ)	<i>rise, fire</i>
2	e:	e	i:	i:	SVLR-short	<i>bite, mine</i>
3	ɛ:	ɛ:	e:	ɛi	in a few N dialects	<i>year, lean</i> adj.
4	a:	æ:	ɛ:	e(:)	(i) after labials merges in some dialects with Vowel 12	<i>mare</i> (more), <i>stane</i> (stone) <i>away, twa</i> (two)
5	o:	o:	o:	o: (o:) o (o)	SVLR-short, merges with Vowel 18	<i>store, loan</i> (lane)
6	u:	u:	u(:)	u(:)		<i>hour, down</i> (down)
6a	ɥl# ɥlC	ɥl	öl	Δl	LV	<i>full, multure</i>
7	y:	ø:	ø(:)	ø: e: (ë:, ɛ:)	SVLR-long, merges in some dialects with Vowels 4/3/8	<i>use</i> v., <i>muir</i> (moor)
			ø	ø ɪ (ë)	SVLR-short, merges in some dialects with Vowel 15	<i>use</i> n., <i>muin</i> (moon)
					(ii) in N, merges with Vowel 2	
					(iii) before /x, k/, merges in most dialects with 14	<i>teuch</i> (tough), <i>heuk</i> (hook)

Figure 5: Vowel systems of Scots in more detail, cont.

vowel number	ESc c.1375	early MSc c.1500	late MSc c.1600	modSc	notes	examples
8a	ai#	æi#	ɛi#	ɛi#	merges with SVLR-short Vowel 1 /e:/ merges in most dialects with Vowel 4	<i>hay</i>
8	ai	æi	ɛi	ɛi		ɛ:ə (e:)
8b	? ä:	? a:	a:	ɛ:	undergoes GVS	<i>day</i>
9	ɔi		ɔi	ɛ:		oe
10	ui		ɯi	öi	merges with SVLR-short Vowel 1	<i>point, join, doit</i> (the coin)
11	ei					ɛi (ɛi, ɛi)
12	au	a: ^w	ɑ: (ɑ:)	ɑ: (ɑ:)	shortens and merges in some dialects with vowel 17 ⁶⁶	<i>hawk, faut</i> (fault)
						ɔ: ɔ (ɒ)
12a	al# alC		al	al	LV remains in some dialects	<i>balk</i> (beam), <i>salt</i> , <i>call</i>
13	ɔu		ɔu	ɔu		<i>gowk</i> (cuckoo), <i>lown</i> (calm)
13a	ol# olC		ol	ol	LV	<i>folk, bolt, knoll</i>

⁶⁶ This point and the rounded realisation in parts of the South of Scotland of Vowel 17 were not covered in the original 2003 paper. The evidence, from *The Linguistic Atlas of Scotland* vol. III, is discussed in Johnston (1997b) and Macafee (2002).

Figure 5: Vowel systems of Scots in more detail, cont.

vowel number	ESc c.1375	early MSc c.1500	late MSc c.1600	modSc	notes	examples
14a	iu eu	iu	iu	iu (iu)		<i>knew, stewart, duty</i>
14b	εu εou ? εau					
15	ɪ	ɪ (ë)	ɪ (ë)			<i>sin, sit</i>
16	ε	ε	ε			<i>men, met</i>
17	a	a	a	a (ɑ, ɒ)		<i>man, cat crap (crop)</i>
18	ɔ	o	o	o (ɔ)	in labial environments before /tʃ, dʒ/	<i>cot, loch broche, loge (lodge)</i>
19	u	u	u	ö		<i>gun, put, fur</i>

LV = l-vocalisation

SVLR = Scottish Vowel-Length Rule

GVS = Great Vowel Shift

Brackets enclose variant realisations.

Figure 6 ^[7.6]: Stressed vowels in OE, ON and OF (AN), and their reflexes in ESc. Note that unconditioned developments (“otherwise”) follow conditioned ones.

Source	Developments with examples	ESc vowel
OE <i>ī, ŷ</i>	OE shortenings, e.g. <i>fifte</i> > <i>fift</i> , <i>cicen-</i> > <i>chikkin</i>	15
	before <i>w</i> , <i>spīwan</i> > <i>spew</i>	14a
	irregularly, e.g. <i>wīr</i> > <i>were</i> (wire)	3
	otherwise, e.g. <i>bite</i> , <i>fire</i> , <i>drȳge</i> > <i>dry</i>	1
OE <i>ē</i> , including Anglian <i>ē</i> = WS <i>ēa</i> and WS <i>ā</i> ¹ (but see below)	OE shortenings, e.g. <i>grētra</i> > <i>gretter</i> (greater), <i>hēhþu</i> > <i>hecht</i> (height), <i>cēpte</i> > <i>kept</i> p.t. hence <i>kep</i> (keep), <i>blētsian</i> > <i>bles</i>	16
	irregularly, e.g. <i>gēotan</i> > <i>ʒett</i> (pour) var. of <i>ʒete</i>	16
	before final <i>g/j/</i> , e.g. <i>hēg</i> > <i>hay</i> , <i>cāg</i> > <i>kay</i> (key)	8
	before <i>g/j/</i> + V, e.g. <i>drēogan</i> > <i>dre</i> (endure), <i>ēage</i> > <i>e</i> (eye), <i>cāg-</i> > <i>key</i> ; including <i>g</i> for <i>h</i> in inflected forms, e.g. <i>hēag-</i> > <i>he</i> (high)	11
	otherwise, e.g. <i>hēr</i> > <i>here</i> (here), <i>hēran</i> > <i>here</i> (hear), <i>scēp</i> > <i>schepe</i> (sheep)	2
OE <i>ēo</i>	var. rising diphthong <i>eō</i> - see <i>ō</i>	
	before <i>w</i> , e.g. <i>trēowþ</i> > <i>treuth</i> (truth), <i>nēowe</i> > <i>new</i>	14a
	otherwise as <i>ē</i> , e.g. <i>dēop</i> > <i>depe</i> (deep), <i>sēoc</i> > <i>seik</i> (sick), <i>cēosan</i> > <i>chese</i> (choose)	2
OE <i>ā</i> ¹	normally as Anglian <i>ē</i> - see OE <i>ē</i>	
	exceptionally, e.g. <i>brāþ</i> > <i>brethe</i> (breath)	3
OE <i>ā</i> ²	OE shortenings, e.g. <i>brāmbblas</i> > * <i>brammill</i> (bramble)	17
	word-final, e.g. <i>sā</i> > <i>se</i> (sea)	2
OE <i>ēa</i>	var. rising diphthong <i>eā</i> - see <i>ā</i>	
	exceptionally, e.g. <i>lēaf</i> > <i>leve</i> (permission)	2
	<i>grēat</i> > <i>grete</i> (great, alongside metathesised forms with shortened vowel)	3
	before <i>w</i> , e.g. <i>dēaw</i> > <i>dew</i> , <i>scēawian</i> > <i>schew</i> (show)	14b(i)/ 14b(ii)
	otherwise, e.g. <i>dēad</i> > <i>dede</i> (dead)	3
OE <i>ā</i>	OE shortenings, e.g. <i>hālfmāsse</i> > <i>lammes</i> (Lammas)	17
	before <i>w</i> , e.g. <i>cnāwan</i> > <i>knaw</i> (know), <i>sceāwian</i> > <i>schaw</i> (show); includes <i>g/j/</i> > <i>/w/</i> , e.g. <i>āgen</i> > <i>awn</i> (own v.)	12
	before <i>h/x/</i> , including <i>h</i> for final <i>g/j/</i> , e.g. <i>daich</i> (dough) dial. <i>deuch</i>	4, 14b(i)
	otherwise, e.g. <i>stān</i> > <i>stane</i> (stone)	4
OE <i>ū</i>	OE shortenings, e.g. <i>hūsbonda</i> > <i>husband</i> , <i>sūðerne</i> > <i>sutheron</i>	19
	irregularly, e.g. <i>clūd</i> > <i>clud</i> var. of <i>cloud</i>	19
	before <i>h/x/</i> , var. shortening, e.g. <i>ruch</i> var. of <i>rouch</i> (rough)	19
	with vocalisation of <i>v</i> , e.g. <i>dūfā</i> > <i>dow</i> (dove)	6
OE <i>ō</i>	OE shortenings, e.g. <i>ōhsta</i> > <i>oxter</i> (armpit), <i>þōht</i> > <i>thocht</i>	18
	before <i>w</i> , e.g. <i>grōwan</i> > <i>grow</i> , <i>treowþ</i> > <i>trowth</i> (truth)	13
	before <i>g/j/</i> + V, e.g. <i>bōgas</i> > <i>bewis</i> (boughs pl.); including <i>g</i> for <i>h</i> in inflected forms, e.g. <i>clōg-</i> > <i>clewis</i> (ravines pl.)	14a
	otherwise, e.g. <i>gōd</i> > <i>gude</i> (good), <i>ceōsan</i> > <i>chuse</i> (choose), <i>hōh</i> > <i>heuch</i> (hough), <i>bōg</i> > <i>beuch</i> (bough)	7

Paper 10, Part 2: The phonology of Older Scots

OE <i>i, y</i>	HOCL, e.g. <i>wilde</i> > <i>wild</i> , <i>cynde</i> > <i>kind</i>	1
	<i>ic</i> > <i>I</i>	1
	before <i>w</i> , e.g. <i>siwan</i> > <i>sew</i>	14a
	before <i>g/j/</i> , e.g. <i>stigel</i> > <i>stile</i> , <i>-ig</i> > <i>-y</i> as in <i>haly</i> (holy)	1
	belated HOCL, e.g. <i>cild</i> > <i>chelde</i> (child, fellow)	2
	inconsistently before <i>l, n, d, sc /ʃ/</i> , e.g. <i>glida</i> > <i>gled</i> (kite, the bird)	16
	otherwise, e.g. <i>biddan</i> > <i>bid</i> , <i>hyll</i> > <i>hill</i> ; including failure of HOCL, e.g. <i>blind</i>	15
OE <i>e, eo</i>	HOCL, e.g. <i>eldu</i> > <i>eild</i> (old age)	2
	final in monosyllables, e.g. <i>he</i>	2
	<i>wel</i> > <i>wele</i> (well adv.)	2
	var. before <i>h/x/</i> + <i>t</i> , e.g. <i>feohtan</i> > <i>ficht</i> var. of <i>fecht</i> (fight)	15
	before final <i>g/j/</i> , e.g. <i>weg</i> > <i>way</i> ; before <i>g/j/</i> + C, e.g. <i>regn</i> > <i>rain</i>	8
	before <i>g/j/</i> + V, e.g. <i>swegan</i> > <i>swey</i> var. <i>swe</i> (sway)	8, 11
	otherwise, e.g. <i>bedd</i> > <i>bed</i> ; including failure of HOCL, e.g. <i>mend</i>	16
OE <i>æ</i>	var. before alveolars, e.g. <i>glæs</i> > <i>gles</i> var. of <i>glas</i>	16
	before <i>h/x/</i> , e.g. <i>hlæhhan</i> > <i>lauch</i> (laugh)	12
	before <i>g/j/</i> , e.g. <i>dæg</i> > <i>day</i> , <i>hægl</i> > <i>hail</i>	8
	otherwise, e.g. <i>græf</i> > <i>graf</i> (grave n.)	17
OE <i>ea</i>	<i>beard</i> > <i>berde</i>	3
	before <i>h/x/</i> , e.g. <i>eahta</i> > <i>aucht</i> (eight)	12
	before alveolars, e.g. <i>ears</i> > <i>erse</i> (backside)	16
	otherwise, e.g. <i>eall</i> > <i>all</i>	17
OE <i>a</i> , including Anglian <i>ald</i> = WS <i>eald</i>	HOCL, e.g. <i>camb</i> > <i>kame</i> (comb), <i>-ald</i> as in <i>cald</i> (cold), etc.	4
	before <i>w</i> , e.g. <i>clawu</i> > <i>claw</i> ; including failure of HOCL, e.g. <i>band</i>	17
OE <i>o</i>	HOCL, e.g. <i>bord</i> > <i>buird</i> (board)	7
	dial. before <i>h/x/</i> , e.g. <i>dohtor</i> > <i>douchter</i> (daughter)	13
	before <i>g/ɣ/</i> > <i>/w/</i> + V or syllabic C, e.g. <i>boga</i> > <i>bow</i> (the weapon), <i>logn</i> (calm)	13
	after <i>w</i> in <i>geswogen</i> > <i>swoun</i> (swoon)	6
	otherwise, e.g. <i>dohtor</i> > <i>dochter</i> (daughter), <i>loc</i> > <i>lok</i> ; including failure of HOCL, e.g. <i>gold</i>	18
OE <i>u</i>	HOCL, e.g. <i>bunden</i> > <i>bound</i> p.p.	6
	before <i>w</i> , including <i>g/ɣ/</i> > <i>/w/</i> , e.g. <i>fugol</i> > <i>fowl</i> (bird)	6
	after <i>w</i> , e.g. <i>wucu</i> > <i>(w)ouk</i> (week)	6
	otherwise, e.g. <i>cuman</i> > <i>cum</i> (come); including var. failure of HOCL, e.g. <i>bunden</i> > <i>bund</i>	19
ON <i>í, ý</i>	as OE <i>ī, ŷ</i> , e.g. <i>knífr</i> > <i>knife</i>	1
ON <i>é</i>	as OE <i>ē</i> , e.g. <i>sēr</i> > <i>sere</i> (separate)	2
ON <i>ǣ</i>	e.g. <i>sǣma</i> > <i>seme</i> (seem)	2
ON <i>æ</i>	as OE <i>ǣ</i> , e.g. <i>sæti</i> > <i>sete</i> (seat)	3
ON <i>á</i>	as OE <i>ā</i> , e.g. <i>báðir</i> > <i>bathe</i> (both)	4
ON <i>ú</i>	as OE <i>ū</i> , e.g. <i>drūpa</i> > <i>droup</i> (droop)	6
ON <i>ó</i>	as OE <i>ō</i> , e.g. <i>lōfe</i> > <i>lufe</i> (palm of the hand)	7
	Norn <i>ōðal</i> > <i>outhall</i> (udal, allodial)	6
ON <i>i, y</i>	as OE, e.g. <i>kirkja</i> > <i>kirk</i> , <i>byggja</i> > <i>big</i> (build)	15
ON <i>e</i>	as OE, e.g. <i>klegge</i> > <i>cleg</i> (horsefly)	16

ON <i>a</i>	as OE, e.g. <i>kasta</i> > <i>cast</i>	17
	<i>mav-</i> > <i>maw</i> (gull), <i>maðkr</i> > <i>mauch</i> (maggot)	12
ON <i>o</i>	as OE, e.g. <i>toft</i> (homestead)	18
ON <i>u</i>	as OE, e.g. <i>buski</i> > <i>bus</i> (bush)	19
ON <i>ei, ey</i>	e.g. <i>þeir</i> > <i>thai</i> (they), <i>leyna</i> > <i>lain</i> (conceal)	8
ON <i>au</i>	e.g. <i>gaukr</i> > <i>gowk</i> (cuckoo)	13
	<i>haukr</i> > <i>hawk</i>	12
OF <i>ī</i>	e.g. <i>pris</i> > <i>prise</i> (price)	1
OF <i>-y</i>	e.g. <i>mercy</i>	1
AN <i>ō</i> = OF <i>ue</i>	<i>boef</i> > <i>befe</i> ; root-stressed forms of <i>mover</i> , <i>prover</i> > <i>meve</i> (move), <i>preve</i> (prove)	2
AN <i>ē</i> , including = OF <i>ie</i>	e.g. <i>pece</i> (piece), <i>frere</i> (friar)	2
OF <i>-é</i>	e.g. <i>cite</i> (city)	2
OF <i>-ée</i>	e.g. <i>cuntre</i> , var. <i>cuntray</i>	2, 8
Latin <i>ē</i>	e.g. <i>redeme</i>	2
OF <i>ē</i> from Latin <i>ē</i>	e.g. <i>remede</i> (remedy)	3
AN <i>ē</i> = OF <i>ai</i> and counter- tonic <i>ei</i>	e.g. <i>pese</i> (peace), <i>fede</i> (feud)	3
	exceptionally, e.g. <i>praise</i> , <i>laisere</i> (leisure)	8
OF <i>ā</i>	e.g. <i>estate</i>	4
AN <i>ā</i>	e.g. <i>aunt</i> , <i>branche</i> (branch), <i>change</i> , <i>danger</i>	17/12/?4
OF <i>ō</i>	e.g. <i>estore</i> > <i>store</i> , <i>glore</i> (glory)	5
OF <i>ū</i>	e.g. <i>flour</i> (flower), <i>prisoun</i> (prison)	6
OF <i>ō</i>	e.g. <i>povre</i> > <i>pure</i> (poor), <i>mover</i> > <i>muve</i> (move), <i>prover</i> > <i>pruve</i> (prove)	7
OF <i>ū</i> including AN <i>ū</i> = OF <i>üi</i>	final, e.g. <i>valew</i> (value); var. (? sociolectal) <i>valow</i>	14a, 6
	in hiatus, e.g. <i>cruel</i>	14a
	<i>dur</i> > <i>dour</i>	6
	var. in <i>juge</i> (judge), <i>justice</i>	19
	otherwise, e.g. <i>use</i> , <i>fruit</i> , <i>duc</i> > <i>duke</i>	7
OF <i>i</i>	before /k/ borrowed as /l/, /p/ borrowed as /n/, e.g. <i>famyle</i> (family), <i>desyne</i> (design)	1
	otherwise, e.g. <i>riche</i> (rich), <i>ligne</i> (lineage)	15
OF <i>e</i>	before /k/ borrowed as /l/, /p/ borrowed as /n/, e.g. <i>feign</i>	8
	<i>breme</i> (bream), <i>preche</i> (preach)	3
	before <i>r</i> + C, e.g. <i>perce</i> (pierce)	2
OF <i>a</i>	otherwise, e.g. <i>serve</i> , <i>det</i> (debt), <i>menʒee</i>	16
	before /k/ borrowed as /l/, /p/ borrowed as /n/, e.g. <i>fail</i>	8
OF <i>-al</i>	otherwise, e.g. <i>fāsch</i> (vex), <i>fālʒe</i> (fail)	17
	e.g. <i>bestiale</i>	17/4
OF <i>o</i>	before final C, e.g. <i>los</i> (praise n.)	5
	before <i>st</i> , e.g. <i>host</i> (army)	5
	otherwise, e.g. <i>joly</i>	18
OF <i>u</i>	before /k/ borrowed as /l/, /p/ borrowed as /n/, e.g. <i>boil</i> , <i>oyll</i> (oil)	10
	tonic in closed syllables, e.g. <i>trubill</i> (trouble), <i>numir</i> (number), varr. <i>trouble</i> , <i>noumer</i>	19, 6
	otherwise, e.g. <i>buket</i> (bucket), <i>cunʒe</i> (coin), <i>ulʒe</i> (oil)	19
AN <i>ai</i> including = OF <i>ei</i>	e.g. <i>faith</i> , <i>verray</i> (true, very)	8

OF <i>ōi</i>	e.g. <i>joy, noise, voice</i> ; varr. e.g. <i>voice</i>	9, 10
AN <i>ui</i> = OF <i>oi</i>	e.g. <i>point</i>	10
OF <i>au</i>	e.g. <i>faut</i> (fault), <i>sauf</i> (safe)	12
	<i>Lowrence</i> (Lawrence)	13
OF <i>ou</i>	e.g. <i>couper</i> > <i>cowp</i> (overturn), <i>poulenet</i> > <i>powny</i> (pony)	13
OF <i>eu, iu</i> , AN <i>iw</i>	e.g. <i>bleu</i> > <i>blew</i> (blue), <i>griu</i> > <i>grew</i> (Greek), <i>pursiwer</i> > <i>persew</i> (pursue)	14a
OF <i>eau</i>	e.g. <i>lewtee</i> (loyalty); var. (? sociolectal) <i>laute</i>	14b(i)/14b(ii), 14b(iii)

V = any vowel

C = any consonant

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