A. J. Aitken

Scottish accents and dialects (1984)[1]

Edited by Caroline Macafee, 2015

Editor's Introduction

This paper is one of two chapters that AJA contributed to the first edition of *Language in the British Isles*, hence the references *passim* to his other paper in the volume ('Scots and English in Scotland'). Both papers draw on his 1979 'Scottish speech: a historical view with special reference to the Standard English of Scotland', in which he introduces his 5-column model of speakers' selectional options,[2] makes a distinction between dialect-switching (more usually known as 'code-switching') and style-drifting,[3] and introduces the idea of covert Scotticisms, concepts that have continued to inform discussion of Scottish speech and writing. As it has not been possible to include the 1979 paper in the present edition, additional points and examples from it have been included here in notes (and see also notes to 'Scots and English in Scotland'), covering especially the historical origins of the Scots-Scottish English speech continuum.[4] This topic was taken up by Jones (1995), who brings together a very useful collection of source material, including an eighteenth century text in phonetic spelling, 'The Contrast', which AJA referred to in subsequent work (†2002). However, Jones' reconstruction of phonology should be treated with caution.[5]

The two *Language in the British Isles* chapters are replaced in the second edition (Britain ed., 2007) by a briefer account by Paul Johnston. Johnston retains the 5-column model and the idea of code-switching versus drifting, but does not revisit the concept of covert Scotticisms, and indeed this may be a less significant phenomenon than in the past, as modern connectivity and population mobility means that Scottish speakers have more exposure to other varieties of English.

AJA refines the categories of Scotticism in 'The Extinction of Scotland in Popular Dictionaries of English' (1987, 2015) and in his article 'Scottish English' in *The Oxford Companion to the English Language* (McArthur ed., 1992), where he lists various categories of Scottish lexis, i.e. Scotticism, which can be paraphrased as:

words of Scottish origin assimilated into World English, e.g. *uncanny*;

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[1] Originally published in Peter Trudgill ed., *Language in the British Isles* (Cambridge University Press, 1984), 94–114. Reproduced by permission of Cambridge University Press.

The text has been edited for uniformity of style with other Aitken papers and some bibliographical references have been expanded or added. 'South Scots' has been changed to 'Southern Scots'. The original page, and table numbers are shown in square brackets. All notes are editorial.

A version combining both of AJA's contributions to the Trudgill volume was also translated into Japanese by Y. Matsumura ed. in *English Around the World* (Tokyo: Kenkyusha, 1983). The Japanese version includes a longer section on Highland English. The English original of this is quoted here in Addendum A, from AJA's typescript.

[2] First tested by Lilian MacQueen in a PhD thesis of 1957.

[3] For these topics, see the 1984 companion paper 'Scots and English in Scotland'.

[4] AJA also expands a little on the topic of 19th century attitudes in his 'Address and Toast to the Immortal Memory of Robert Burns' ([1990], 2015).

[5] Without a sound knowledge of Scots, it is difficult to identify the irregular and ephemeral forms that arose through spelling pronunciation, interdialectal blending, and hypercorrection. AJA intended to analyse eighteenth century pronunciation and was assembling the materials at the time of his death.

words widely known and used but still recognised as Scottish, e.g. *kilt*;

words more commonly used in Scotland than elsewhere, including covert Scotticisms, e.g. *bonnie*;

words common to World English but with senses particular to Scottish English, e.g. *tablet* (a kind of sweet);

cultural Scotticisms;

colloquial overt Scotticisms, e.g. *glaikit*;

and recondite overt Scotticisms, e.g. *dominie*.

Subsequent work in this area includes Marina Dossena's extensive research on written Scotticisms and the history of Scottish English, including Dossena (2005); and Fiona Douglas's longitudinal study of the use of Scots words in newspapers (2009). For more recent descriptions of Scottish English speech, as well as Johnston (2007), see McClure (1994), Stuart-Smith (2004), Douglas (2008) and Corbett and Stuart-Smith (2012, 2013). Macafee (2004) considers Scots and (especially) Scottish English, from the point of view of their input into other varieties of English.

AJA's description here of the phonology of Scots dialects was written before the publication of *The Linguistic Atlas of Scotland* vol. III (LAS3), containing the phonological data (though he had examined a selection of the raw data in the course of preparing 'The Scottish Vowel Length-Rule', 1981a, 2015). The most thorough treatment informed by LAS3 is that of Johnston (1997, 2000).

On Highland and Island English, see Bird (1997) and Clement (1997) and references therein. Macafee and Ó Baoill in the same 1997 volume review the literature on Gaelic influence on Scots.

Although present-day Highland and Island English is clearly a variety of Scottish Standard English, there must have been in the past have been what might be called Highland Scots (see Addendum B), both as a second language of Gaelic speakers, and as a Gaelic-influenced dialect in areas along the Highland Line. There are quite late historical traces of this: see R. Millar (1996) for an eighteenth century broadside purporting to be a letter home from Maryland, written in North-Eastern Scots with the marks of a Highland accent; and McInnes (1936) for two nineteenth century Kintyre songs in Scots with a large number of Gaelic loans; one of these, 'Flory Loynachan' is also discussed by MacVicar (1977) and by Henderson (1979: 20–3).

In the present paper, as in 'Scottish speech: a historical view with special reference to the Standard English of Scotland' (1979), AJA attempts a detailed, though necessarily impressionistic, overview of speech behaviour around the country and across classes. Johnston (1997) and Jones (2002: ch. 5) both offer some broad observations on ongoing change. However, since AJA the only other writer who has attempted to give a general overview of the state of Scots is the broadcaster Billy Kay, on the basis of travelling and recording widely. His 1986 account is reprinted with some new observations in the 2006 edition of his *Scots: The Mither Tongue* (ch. 10). Gunnel Melchers has observed Shetland speech closely over many years (see for instance Melchers, 1981, 1985, 1996). R. Millar (2007: ch. 5) gives an account of the linguistic situation in the North-East, Caithness and the Northern Isles, including areas that have experienced large-scale in-migration as a result of the North Sea oil industry. R. Millar *et al.* (2014) is an extensive study of lexical erosion in East Coast fishing communities. The Peterhead results are also presented in R. Millar (2014).

There have been many other specific studies of language attitudes and of dialect decline. Macafee (1997, 2003) surveys the literature on lexical studies, which uniformly show erosion. Macafee (1991/1992) discusses lexical erosion in relation to the dictionary record, while Macafee (1994) investigates lexical erosion in Glasgow under the pressures of modernity. Marshall (2004) reports erosion of traditional Scots forms down the age groups in a rural context, in Huntly. Macafee and McGarrity (1999) and Löw-Wiebach (2005) correlate language use with language attitudes, bringing out a tension between dialect loyalty and pragmatic adoption of Standard English. Unger

(2009 and elsewhere) discusses such tensions in terms of economic pressures. One crucial area that has received little attention, requiring as it does participant observation over a prolonged period of time, is the maintenance of code-switching as opposed to style-drifting. Melchers (1999) suggests that the ability to code-switch is eroding in Shetland, one of the areas (along with the North-East) where dialect maintenance has been strongest.

Work on regional variation also includes sociolinguistic research, usually at a level of linguistic variation that would be described as accent rather than dialect. Jane Stuart-Smith has done extensive research on on-going change in Glasgow speech (see for instance Stuart-Smith 1999, 2003; Stuart-Smith *et al.*, 2007), and Jennifer Smith has researched Buckie speech (including grammatical variables: see for instance Smith, 2005) and has worked more recently with Mercedes Durham on Lerwick speech (see for instance Smith and Durham, 2011). Dominic Watt and Carmen Llamas have investigated sociolinguistic variation along the Border (Watt *et al.*, 2014): for reports of this and other recent sociolinguistic research, see R. Lawson ed. (2014).

The first attempt to enumerate Scots speakers around the country was by Murdoch (1995). His work formed the basis of a campaign for a question on Scots in the Census. Question testing in 1996 suggested that many, especially urban, speakers of Scots identified their own speech as 'slang', while others labelled their Scots in purely local terms ([Máté], 1996; Macafee, 2000). This was clearly an obstacle to obtaining valid results. To address this, when a question on Scots was finally included in the 2011 Census, the Scots Language Centre, in conjunction with the General Registrar's Office, set up a website, 'Aye Can Speak Scots', to encourage people to assess their language abilities in comparison with examples of Scots speech from around the country. At the time of writing, the initial Census results are available ('Table QS212SC - Scots language skills'; '1.5 million Speakers'; '38% understand Scots'; 'Brief Analysis of the 2011 Census Results'). Self-reported competence in Scots is strongest in the North-East and the Northern Isles (over 40% speakers) ('Map shows Scots speakers by region'), but all areas show a decline down the age groups (Macafee, 2014, in progress). For some further comments on the Census results, see the Editor's Introduction to 'The good old Scots tongue: does Scots have an identity?' (1981b, 2015) in this edition.

Note that Table 1 below is not AJA's 'five-column model' of linguistic selection (see 'Scots and English in Scotland', 1984, 2015). He does refer to the five-column model in the discussion of covert and overt Scotticisms below.

[94] **Scottish accents: vowel systems and realisations**

The largely shared system of vowels and an indication of the widely differing selections of individual vowel phonemes by the two extreme contrasting varieties of Scottish speech are shown in Table 1. These two varieties are: vernacular Scots, which archetypically selects according to historical Scots phonology and which is spoken by speakers of group 3 and, especially, group 4 (these groups are described in Aitken, 1984, 2015),[6] and Standard English or rather, its Scottish variant Scottish Standard English, or the 'educated' variety of this, Educated Scottish Standard English, the Scottish variants of World Standard English. There also exists a very large body of Scottish speakers who variously compromise – in system, realisations, selection – between the fully vernacular variety of Scots presented in column 2 of the table and the Scottish Standard English of column 4.[7] By way of comparison, there is given in Column 5 the Anglo-English System (after Abercrombie, 1979: tables 5.1 and 5.2; 1991), here that of RP, of vowels in general and of 'vowel + r'.

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[6] Essentially, Group 3 and Group 4 speakers both prefer Scots rather than Standard English choices of lexis and word-form, but Group 3 speakers are less consistent in their selection and make less extensive use of Scots lexis, while Group 4 speakers are consistently Scots and may even be mono-dialectal.

[7] Abercrombie describes a Basic Scottish Vowel System, as in the 'Scotland' column of his Table 5.1:

	Scotland	England
bead	i	i
bid	ɪ	ɪ
bay	e	eɪ
bed	ɛ	ɛ
(never)	ɛ̈	
bad	a	a
balm		ɑ
not	ɔ	ɒ
nought		ɔ
no	o	oω
pull	u	ω
pool		u
bud	ʌ	ʌ
side	ʌi	aɪ
sighed	ae	
now	ʌu	aω
boy	ɔe	ɒɪ

based on Abercrombie (1979: Table 5:1)

Table 1 [6.1]: Systems and selections of Scottish vowels

1. Vowel Number	2. Vernacular Scots	3. Scots vowel	4. Standard English (including Scottish Standard English)	5. Anglo-English
8a	*ay* (always), *gey* (very), *May, pay, way*	əi		
10	*quoit, avoid, join, point, oil, choice, poison*			
1*s*	*bite, bide, price, wife, tide*		*bite, bide, price, wife, tide*	aɪ
1*l*	*five, size, fry, aye* (yes), *kye* (cow), *fire*	a·e	*five, size, fry, eye, die, lie, tied, fire*	aɪə(ɹ)
2	*meet, need, queen, see, seven, devil, here*	i	*meet, need, queen, see, meat, steal, here*	iː / ɪə(ɹ)
11	*ee* (eye), *dee* (die), *dree* (endure), *lee* (lie, untruth)			
3	*meat, breath, dead, head, steal, pear, mear* (mare, female horse)	(Merges with 2, 4, or 8, in vernacular dialects)		
4	*ake* (oak), *ate* (oat), *bate* (boat), *sape* (soap), *baith* (both), *hame* (home), *stane* (stone), *hale* (whole), *tae* (toe), *gae* (go), *twae* (two, South-Eastern dialects); *late, pale, bathe, day, say, away, mare* (more), *care*	e	*late, pale, bathe, day, say, away, May, pay, way, care, mare* (female horse), *pear*	eɪ
8	*bait, braid, hail, pail, pair*	eː (in many Central Scots dialects merged with 4)	*bait, braid, hail, pail, pair*	ɛə(ɹ)

Table 1: Systems and selections of Scottish vowels, cont.

1. Vowel Number	2. Vernacular Scots	3. Scots vowel	4. Standard English (including Scottish Standard English)	5. Anglo-English
5	*throat, coat, thole* (endure), *rose, before*	oː (merges with 18 in some, e.g. Central and Southern Scots, vernacular dialects)	*throat, coat, rose, before, oak, oat, boat, soap, both, home, stone, whole, toe, go, shoulder, old, cold, mow, snow, grow, over, solder, colt, roll, more, Forth*	oʊ / ɔə(ɹ)
18	*cot, God, on, loch, bocht* /bɔxt/ (bought), *horse, Forth*	o		
6	*about, bouk* (bulk), *poupit* (pulpit), *loud, powder, shouder* (shoulder), *room, mouth, house, louse, cow, now, fou* (full), *pou* (pull), *plow* (plough), *oo* /u/ (wool), *hour, sour*	u	*boot, fruit, moon, pool, rule, loose, poor, do, chew, blue, true, two, moor, sure*	uː / ʊə(ɹ)
			put, good, hook, room, full, pull, wool, pulpit	ʊ
7	*boot, fruit, good, muin* (moon), *use* n., *use* v., *love, do, moor, poor, sure*	ø (North Mainland: merged with 2, Central and Southern Scots: merged or merging with 4 (SVLR long), 15 (SVLR short).)		
9	*Boyd, choice, noise, boy, joy*	oi		
9a		ɔe	*Boyd, noise, boy, joy, quoit, avoid, join, point, oil, choice, poison*	ɒɪ

Table 1: Systems and selections of Scottish vowels, cont.

1. Vowel Number	2. Vernacular Scots	3. Scots vowel	4. Standard English (including Scottish Standard English)	5. Anglo-English
12	*faut* (fault), *saut* (salt), *fraud, mawn* (mown), *auld* (old), *cauld* (cold), *hauch* (meadow), *cause, law, snaw* (snow), *aw* (all), *faw* (fall), *twaw* (two, except in the South-East), far, *daur* (dare), *waur* (worse)	aː (in some Northern dialects merged with 17) / ɔː		
12a		ɔ	*bought, fault, salt, fraud, cause, law, all, fall, war*	ɔː / ɔə(ɹ)
18a			*cot, God, on, loch, golf, knoll, horse*	ɒ
13	*nowt* (cattle), *cowt* /kʌut/ (colt), *gowf* (golf), *sowder* /ˈsʌudɪr/ (solder), *louse* (loose), *chow* (chew), *grow, know* /knʌu/[8] (knoll), *four, owre* (over), *row* (roll)	ʌu	*about, loud, powder, mouth, house, louse, cow, now, plough, bough, hour, sour*	aω / aωə(ɹ)
14	*duty, feud, rule, heuk* (hook),[9] *neuk, beuch* (bough), *teuch* (tough), *news, dew, few, blue, true, plewis* (ploughs)	iu ju	*duty, feud, news, dew, few, use* n., *use* v., *cure*	juː / jωə(ɹ)

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[8] Only the most conservative dialects would pronounce the /k/ of /kn/.
[9] In some Central dialects, words like *heuk* and *teuch* (earlier vowel 7 before a voiceless velar consonant) have /jʌ/.

Table 1: Systems and selections of Scottish vowels, cont.

1. Vowel Number	2. Vernacular Scots	3. Scots vowel	4. Standard English (including Scottish Standard English)	5. Anglo-English
15	*bit, put, lid, hiss, give, gird* (hoop), *his, next, whether, yird* (earth), *fir*	ɪ†	*bit, lid, hiss, five, his fir*	ɪ
16a		ɛ̈	*seven, devil, next, whether, earth*	ɜː(ɹ)
16	*met, bed, leather, meh* (cry of sheep), *serve, Perth, Ker*	ɛ	*met, bed, leather, breath, dead, head, leaven, revel, vex, serve, Perth, defer, Ker*	ɛ
17	*sat, lad, man, jazz, vase, warst* (worst), *mar*	a (see vowel 12 above)	*sat, lad, man, jazz*	æ
			vase, far, mar	ɑː ɑː(ɹ)
18	See vowel 5 above	o		
18a		ɔ	See vowel 12 above	ɒ
19	*butt, bud, bus, buff, buzz, word, fur*	ʌ†	*butt, bud, bus, buff, buzz, love, bulk, tough, word, worse, worst, fur*	ʌ ɜː(ɹ)

The continuance or non-continuance of horizontal ruled lines from either column 2 or column 4 across column 3 or column 5 signifies the presence or absence of phonemic distinction. Where a compartment is left vacant there is no selection of the phoneme in question, or the phoneme does not occur in the specified variety.
† not subject to SVLR

[94] A sketch of the underlying history of the Scottish system in given in Aitken (1977, 2015),[10] where (also in Aitken, 1981a, 2015) the rationale for the choice of numbers for the various Scots vowel phonemes (see column 1 of the table) is suggested. How it was that Scottish Standard English speakers came to speak the Standard English DIALECT with the Scottish ACCENT presented here is explained briefly in Aitken (1979: 99 f).[11] Those accents

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[10] Aitken (1977, 2015) 'How to pronounce Older Scots', is revised in Macafee and †Aitken (2003, 2015) (they are reproduced together in the present edition) to take account of changes to AJA's reconstruction of the history of the vowels in his comprehensive treatment, †Aitken (2002), summarised in Macafee and †Aitken (2002).
[11] "... practically all the *special* features of this variety belong to the older native part of our speech tradition and were originally associated with native *Scots* speech. They result from the prolonged contact of the two sides of Scottish speech-tradition, often in the speech-practice of single individuals, who dialect-switch from Scots to English or style-drift across the range of Scottish speech. The presence of speakers like this has always been part

which are in effect hybrids or compromises between the Scottish Standard English system of column 3 and the RP system of column 5 are described and discussed in Abercrombie (1979: 75–81; 1991) and Aitken (1979: 110–4; 1984: 256; 2015).[12]

The Scottish Vowel-length Rule

As well as sharing the system of vowels of column 3 of Table 1 to the extent shown, all varieties of Scottish speech, from the fullest vernacular to Educated Scottish Standard English, operate in some measure the Scottish Vowel-length Rule (SVLR),[13] of which a fairly detailed account is now available in [98] Aitken (1981a, 2015). [What Aitken modestly refers to as the SVLR is now very widely labelled by other writers on Scots – see, for example,

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of the Scottish linguistic scene: noteworthy instances were Robert Burns and no doubt many of the eighteenth-century literati, as well as Scots of a later generation like Scott, Hogg and Cockburn, and so on down to many of us today" (1979: 99).

However, although anglicising Scots from the 17th century on were able to replace distinctive provincial items at the level of dialect ("word-form, vocabulary and idiom and the more obtrusively native Scots rules of grammar", p. 99), they could derive little guidance from written sources about features of accent, apart from modifying the stress of a few words like *Apríle*, *committée*, *Júly* (p. 100). Acquiring an English accent called for a long stay in England. AJA (p. 100, n. 8) cites Craig (1961: 318–19) for examples of families who sent their sons to England for their education, specifically to "be freed from the disadvantages of a provincial dialect to a public speaker" (Craig quoting Francis Horner, *Memoirs*: I, 5–6).

Macafee (2004) discusses in more detail how the basic Scottish Standard English vowel system redistributes English vocabulary in approximation to the RP lexical distribution. Macafee (2002) suggests that some phonological developments in Scots may have been precipitated by contact with Standard English.

[12] Hybrid accents add the /a, ɑ/, /ɔ, ɒ/ and /u, ɵ/ distinctions, in that order. Abercrombie is of the opinion that these accents are long-established and institutionalised (i.e. they are acquired natively; they are not individual imitations of RP), not least because there are consistent differences of phonemic distribution, e.g. /ɑ/ in *gather*, *salmon* in modified Scottish English. A recent study of speakers who have changed their accents in the course of their adult lives finds that the vowel contrast that is easiest to acquire is /ɔ, ɒ/ (Carr and Brulard, 2006), possibly because it is often signalled by spelling.

Other adjustments of modified Scottish Standard English accents towards RP, described by Abercrombie (1979, 1991) and summarised by AJA (1979) are:

• the reduction of the sub-system of four vowels, /ɪ, ë, ɛ, ʌ/, before /r/ (as in [bɪrθ], [ërθ], [pɛrθ], and [wʌrθ]) to a single central vowel /ɜ/, followed, in contrast to RP, by a frictionless continuant realisation of /r/ or by r-colouring;
• diphthongal realisations of vowels 4 (as [ei]) and 5 (as [oɵ]) [Aitken's vowel numbering, not Abercrombie's: see Table 1];
• failure to realise /r/ pre-consonantally, e.g. in *farm* [faːm] or *form* [fɔːm] or even finally, e.g. in *far* [faː] or *before* [biˈfɔː];
• merger of vowel 1 long and vowel 1 short, e.g. *sighed* and *side*, as [aɪ] [Aitken's vowel numbering, not Abercrombie's: see Table 1].

These further adjustments are not criterial for an Educated Scottish Standard English accent, and AJA suggests that they are probably of later origin (as late as the 19th or even the 20th century) than the criterial features – the presence of an /ɔ/ vowel, a closer [ɪ] realisation of /ɪ/, avoidance of epenthetic vowels in words like *arm*. He is aware of only one of the non-criterial features being mentioned before "the last few years" (as of 1979), i.e. the reduction of /ɪr/, /ër/, /ɛr/ and /ʌr/ (Grant, 1913: 62; 1925: 105–6). McAllister (1963: 177) regards the acquisition of [ɜɪ] as a substitute for /ɪr/, /ɛr/ and /ʌr/ as specially desirable for "those Scots who are concerned with acquiring a good Scottish pronunciation free from the more marked provincialisms" (quoted in Aitken, 1979: n. 18).

[13] Scobbie *et al.* (1999) find that only the vowels /i, u, aɪ/ are affected in Scottish English (i.e. vowels 2, 6 and 1 in Aitken's numbering system).

chapter 7 of this volume – 'Aitken's Law'. – Ed.][14] SVLR potentially affects most Scots vowels except 15 and 19, and in many dialects, 8 and 12. The vowels affected display a two-way variation between long duration in 'long' environments and short duration in 'short' environments, the regular long environments being: a following voiced fricative, /r/ or a morpheme boundary, all of these either final or followed by a consonant constituting a second morpheme. Thus we find, e.g. [lif] *leaf*, [bit] *beat*, [bid] *bead*, [fil] *feel*, [fild] *field* and [grid] *greed*, in [99] the short environments, and, on the other hand, [liːv] *leave*, [diːr] *dear*, [ʌˈgriː] *agree*, etc. and [ʌˈgriːd] *agreed* (i.e. /ʌˈgri#d/), in the long environments. Other curiosities thrown up by the Rule are [ˈfiːləin] *feline* beside [ˈfilɪŋ] *feeling* and [ˈlaˑedo] *lido* beside [ˈsəidl̩] *sidle*; but hiatus invariably realises longs, as [ˈhiːetʌs] *hiatus*.

In some dialects the Rule has brought about phonemic splits. In a wide area of Central Scotland vowel 7 no longer exists as a separate phoneme. Its lexical inventory has divided between vowel 4 [eː] in precisely the SVLR long environments, and vowel 15 [ɪ] in precisely the SVLR short environments. So in these dialects *moor* (originally vowel 7) and *mare* (more) (vowel 4) are homophones, as also are *too* (vowel 7) and *tae* (toe) (vowel 4), *ruize* (praise) (vowel 7) and *raise* (vowel 8 or vowel 4), in the long environments, all with /e/ (i.e. [eː]); similarly for *boot* (vowel 7) and *bit* (vowel 15), *suit* and *sit*, *spoon* and *spin*, *fool* and *fill*, *school* and *skill* in the short environments, all with /ɪ/. In virtually all dialects, too, the long and short variants of vowel 1 can only be regarded as now displaying two distinct phonemes. One phoneme is realised as a slow diphthong [aˑe] or the like, mostly in the long environments, 1*l* in Table 1, as in *five*, *rise*, *fire*, *dry*, *tied*, etc. but also displays such irregularities as [saˑeθ] *scithe* and [kʌnˈsaˑes] *concise*. The other phoneme is realised as a fast diphthong, [əi] or the like, mostly in the short environments, 1*s* in Table 1, as in *Fife*, *rice*, *bite*, *tide*, etc. but also displays irregularities in [wəivz] *wives*, [ləivz] *lives* etc., and optionally [səiθ] *scithe* and [kʌnˈsəis] *concise*.

It will be seen that the vowel system of Scots and Scottish Standard English possesses items, viz. the items comprising 1*s*, 10 and 8a, and vowel 16a, absent in other varieties of English: for further discussion of 16a see Abercrombie (1979: 74–5; 1991) and Aitken (1979: 103, and 118 n.13).[15] Conversely, 18a is shared with other non-Scots varieties but NOT with the most conservative varieties of vernacular Scots, whose speakers adhere to 18, in some dialects merged with 5.[16] For other ways in which Scots and Scottish Standard English differ from

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[14] Trudgill's original editorial note. The reference is to Harris (1984).

[15] The Modern Scots realisation of the phoneme /ɪ/ (vowel 15 as in *sit*) is [ɛ] or [ë], and it seems likely that this was also its realisation by the 18th century, so that the the closer [ɪ] of middle-class speakers, as in RP, would be "an achievement of the eighteenth-century accent anglicisers". However, the Scots realisation remains as a relic in middle-class Scottish speech as vowel 16a, in e.g. *ever*, *devil*, *whether*, *together*, *next* (Aitken, 1979: 103, referring to Kohler, 1966: 48–9, and Samuels, 1972: 98–9). Kohler suggested that the quality of Scottish Standard English vowel 15 came from Scots vowel 7 short rather than from Scots vowel 15.

[16] Central Scots has a vowel realised as [ɔː], namely vowel 12 as in *law*, but other areas, including the North-East, have an unrounded vowel ([aː] or similar) for vowel 12, so /ɔ/, which AJA in the present paper numbers 18a, had to be introduced into the system to arrive at Scottish Standard English. For all areas the vocabulary had to be correctly distributed. Many Scots dialects have only one vowel in words like *cot* and *coat* (vowels 18 and 5), realised as [o], so 18th century anglicising speakers had to avoid traps like saying *cotchboax* instead of *coachbox* (p. 102). AJA (n. 11) refers to an 18th century anecdote recorded by Sylvester Douglas, and quoted by Kohler (1966: 52). It is quoted here from Douglas ([1779], 1991: 185):

> Not long ago, a Scotch Gentleman, in a debate in the House of Commons upon the Affairs of America, began a speech, in which he proposed to examine whether it would be more advisable to adopt compulsive, or soothing measures towards the colonies. Unfortunately instead of *soothe*,

non-Scottish accents, in possessing fewer vowel phonemes at vowel 6 and vowel 17, but in maintaining pre-*r* vowel oppositions lost by non-rhotic accents of English, see Abercrombie (1979: 72–81; 1991) and Aitken (1979: 100–101). [17]

On the vernacular side of the system, in the North Mainland and North-Eastern vernacular dialects (and in that of a small South-Eastern pocket: see Mather, 1980: 34–5),[18] vowel 7 has been disposed of, but quite differently from Central Scots as described above. In these Northern dialects vowel 7 has long since (before the sixteenth century) merged with vowel 2, in *beet* (boot), *bleed* (blood), *meen* (moon), *eese* n. /is/ (use), *eeze* v. /iz/ (i.e. [iːz]) (use), *seer* /sir/ (sure), *dee* (do), *geed* or *gweed* (good), *keet* or *kweet* /kit/ or /kwit/ (ankle) (elsewhere *cuit* /køt/ or /kɪt/), *skeel* or *squeel* (school). So in these dialects *boot* and *beet* (the plant) are homophones, as [bit], as are *blood* and *bleed*, and *poor* (vowel 7), *pier* (vowel 2), *peer* (vowel 2), *pear* (vowel 3), as [piːr].[19] Some other mergers which have taken place in some vernacular dialects are shown in Table 2, [100] which illustrates also the principal distinctions maintained by the more conservative dialects. More detailed displays of system variety over a larger part of the system, with more precisely specified realisations, can be seen in Catford (1957a: 113), Mather (1964: 41–4) and additional instances in Aitken (1981a, 2015, especially §6).[20]

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coax was the word that had presented itself to his mind. And he pronounced it as if written *cox*. This, added to several other peculiarities of manner and dialect, tickled the House extremely, and produced a general laugh. The Gentleman was unconscious of the false pronunciation into which he had fallen. His speech had been premeditated, and *coax* was, it seems, a sort of cue, or catch word. Every time therefore that the silence of his hearers permitted him to resume his harangue, he began by repeating this unlucky word. But every fresh repetition of it occasioning a louder burst of laughter, he was obliged at last fairly to give the matter up. And break off his oration in the middle.

In the same note AJA quotes Elphinston (1787: 265): "*Pollish and Polish, modest and modish, morral and oral, primmer and primer … will no more claim respectively won strong vowel.*"

Before /r/, spelling gives no assistance in deciding between the two vowels, and AJA suggests that this may be why there is still variation in Scottish Standard English, with a minority of speakers having /ɔ/ in e.g. *afford, pork, important, port, mourn*, and conversely /o/ in e.g. *ford* (p. 103). Variability in the distribution of /o/ and /ɔ/ before /rC/ is also found in the Scots dialects that maintain a distinction between these vowels (see †Aitken, 2002: §14.5(3)), and this may also help to explain the variability in Scottish Standard English.

[17] "The continuing rhoticism of Scottish English is also a conservative feature. Here again Scots failed to follow middle-class South-Eastern English of the late seventeenth century, in vocalising its non-pre-vocalic /r/ and compensating for this with new diphthongs (as in RP *fear* [fɪə], *there* [ðɛə], *soar* [sɔə], *poor* [pʊə]). On the other hand the fact that Scots keeps its /r/ also enables it to maintain certain contrasts which other kinds of English have lost: for example, between *soared* [soːrd], *sword* [sɔːrd] and *sawed* [sɔːd], or between *porn* [pɔrn] and *pawn* [pɔn], and between *birth* [bɪrθ], *earth* [ɛ̈rθ], *Perth* [pɛrθ] and *worth* [wʌrθ]" (Aitken, 1979: 101).

[18] The third volume of *The Linguistic Atlas of Scotland* and Gregg (1985) provide further data for the South-West and Ulster, discussed in Macafee (2001, 2006).

[19] AJA is here alluding to the well-known anecdote recounted by Dieth (1932: §26):

A rather fantastic story ... is told of an Aberdeen woman who made a verbal will bequeathing her money to "*the peer o' Aiberdeen*". ... The possible claimants were (I) the town authorities for the relief of the poor, (II) the Earl of Aberdeen, (III) Aberdeen Harbour authorities, then constructing a pier. It was wittily suggested that there was a fourth possibility, that she meant the money to be spent in encouraging the cultivation of a new kind of pear-tree to be called the "*peer o' Aiberdeen*". The four words, *poor, peer, pier, pear* are all pronounced alike.

[20] Also now vol. III of *The Linguistic Atlas of Scotland*, and Johnston (1997, 2000).

Table 2 [6.2]: Variety of system in Scottish dialects

	Vowel Number	ESSE	Central Scots vernacular	Some Angus vernacular	Some North-Eastern and Northern vernacular
meet	2	i	i	i	i
boot, soot	7	u (6)	ɪ	ø	
bit, sit	15	ɪ		ɪ	ɪ
gate	4	e	e	e	e
bait, wait	8			eː	
coat	5		o	oː	o
cot, lot	18 18a	ɔ		o	
caught, saut (salt), salt	12		ɔ	aː	a
cat, sat	17	a	a	a	
about	6	ʌu (13)	u	u	u

Realisations

Pace the detailed exceptions which the *Linguistic Atlas of Scotland* vol. III (LAS3) will doubtless display when it appears,[21] there are some realisational characteristics of vowels which do seem regionally and socially widespread in Scotland, taking in both the vernacular dialects and the more conservative or 'fully Scottish' forms of Educated Scottish Standard English. These are the characteristic Scottish close realisation (near to Cardinal Vowel 1) of /i/ (vowel 2); and monophthongal (and near to Cardinal vowels 2 and 7, respectively) realisations of /e/ (vowel 4) and /o/ (vowel 5 or 18) (except when a sonorant consonant follows).

Most dialects in the central Scotland area have half-open peripheral [101] realisations (near to Cardinal vowel 3) of /ɛ/ (vowel 16). In the North-East, however, a noticeably closer realisation of this is found, [ẹ]. Conversely, the dialects of the South-East and South (the Border region) favour an opener diaphone of vowel 16, commonly symbolised as [æ]. Indeed, these dialects commonly have open realisations of all the low vowels, 16 (/ɛ/), 17 (/a/) and 12 (/aː/): vowel 16, with [æ], in *met, bed, penny, leather, heifer*; vowel 17, maintaining its distance with [ɑ] or [ɒ] in *cat, lad, man, lather, gaffer*; vowel 12 with [ɑː] or [ɒː] (or, often, merged with vowel 17: see e.g. Wettstein, 1942 and Catford, 1957a)[22] in *saut* (salt), *maun* (must), *hauf* (half). In some at least of the same dialects vowel 19 /ʌ/ is realised as [Ä] or [ɐ]. Like many other (? especially East) Scots dialects, Border Scots realises vowel 15 /ɪ/ as (more or less) [ɛ]. Thus is manifested the wide-mouthed or 'big-moo'ed' articulatory set of this dialect, of which some of its speakers are consciously aware (Mather, 1974: 50). It will be observed that vowel 16 in particular presents more and more open realisations as one moves south from Aberdeenshire.

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[21] Published in 1986, but AJA had already examined some of the raw data in the course of preparing 'The Scottish Vowel Length-Rule' (1981a, 2015).

[22] See also *The Linguistic Atlas of Scotland* vol. III and Macafee (2001, 2006).

Most Scottish accents appear to favour realisations of vowel 15 /ɪ/ as half-open and/or centralised front vowels such as [ɛ], [ë], [ɜ], so that vernacular speakers with local accents differ audibly in this respect from their middle-class Educated Scottish Standard English-speaking neighbours with closer, RP-like [ɪ]. In Caithness and in Central Scotland, including Glasgow and Edinburgh, vernacular speakers commonly realise vowel 6 fronter than elsewhere (or than local Educated Scottish Standard English speakers) as [ü] or [ÿ].[23] This may be selected not only for vernacular items such as *aboot* (about) /ʌˈbut/, *hoose* (house) /hus/, but also for Standard English forms such as *boot, good, poor* /but/, etc. These realisations [hÿs], [bÿt], etc., are nevertheless realisations of vowel 6, not, as some have supposed, vowel 7, which in Central Scots dialects, for instance, appears as [ɪ] or [eː]: [bɪt] *buit* (boot), [peːr] *puir* (poor). These features are referred to as 'vulgarisms' on p. 108 below.[24]

Unstressed syllables and weak forms

Space is lacking to deal with phenomena affecting 'unstressed' syllables, such as 'vowel harmony' (Dieth, 1932: §83–91; Hill, 1963: 452–5) and 'terminal stress' (Wettstein, 1942: §60; Aitken, 1981a: 149; 2015), or with 'weak forms', for which I can only refer to dialect monographs, for example those of Murray (1873: 134 f.), Grant and Dixon (1921: 63–5), Watson (1923: 31 f.), Dieth (1932: §§95–9), Zai (1942: §230–40), and, especially, Wettstein (1942: §72); see also Mather (1964, 1978, 1980) and, for Scottish Standard English only, Abercrombie (1979: 83; 1991).

Scottish accents: consonant systems and realisations

I merely recall here the following well-known Scottish features:[25]

/ʍ ~ w/ in *while ~ wile*;

non-initial /x/ in *braw bricht moonlicht nicht*[26] and in *Brechin, Buchan, technical, patriarch*,[27] *Bach, loch* – as a prominent Scottish shibboleth [102] is not likely to disappear as it almost has in Northern England (Wakelin, 1972: 101);

and rhoticism;

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[23] See Scobbie *et al.* (2012).

[24] AJA observes in the 1979 paper that "the refusal, one might say, of middle-class Scottish speakers to follow their working-class compatriots in certain recent innovations", such as fronted vowel 6 and the glottal stop, is a source of class differences in Scottish speech; but in other respects it is working-class accents that are conservative, in having avoided anglicisation (p. 102).

[25] Variable replacement of /ʍ/ by /w/ in the urban speech of Central Scotland has been well documented (Chirrey, 1995; Lawson and Stuart-Smith, 1999); in Aberdeen, initial /f/ is increasingly being replaced by /ʍ/ in the relevant words, and, amongst younger speakers, even by /w/ (Brato, 2014). Likewise variable replacement of /x/ by /k/ is reported in Central and Southern Scotland (Johnston, 1997: 505-6; Lawson and Stuart-Smith, 1999).

[26] Properly *muinlicht*.

[27] But see note 48 below.

and the well-known North-Eastern /f/ for *wh-* as in *fa fuppit the fite fulpie?* (who whipped the white dog(gy)?).[28]

In most varieties of Scots speech initial voiceless plosives have little or no aspiration, whereas final voiceless plosives do: so [pitʰ] *peat*, [tikʰ] *teak*; this does not happen, however, in Caithness (see Mather, 1973: 58). Except in Caithness, Orkney, Shetland and Galloway, where clear or palatalised *l* and *n* appear to be the rule, other parts of Scotland favour dark realisations of *l*, which may be alveolar pre-vocalic, dental post-vocalic, so [ɫu̪ɫu̪] *Lulu*, [ɫip] *leap*, [mi̪ɫ] *meal*. There is wide variation, both allophonic (and perhaps 'free') and also diaphonic, in realisations of *r*,[29] including 'one tap', fricative and frictionless alveolars (and in some environments dentals), and, in a sizeable minority of speakers, not apparently local to any one area, uvular realisations also; the North Mainland, and middle-class Edinburgh speakers, especially female, use a retroflex frictionless [ɻ] with or without lip-rounding (Mather, 1978: 8–9, 12–13); some middle-class speakers realise /r/ as a voiceless frictionless velar before alveolars, e.g. in *fort*, *ford*, *forth*. True, some rural speakers and others still retain in all environments the voiced alveolar trill popularly supposed to be characteristically Scottish.

Sporadic realisation of the voiceless plosives /p/, /t/, /k/, when non-initial, with accompanying glottal closure or simply as the glottal stop [ʔ], formerly (c. 1900) believed to be a peculiarity of Glasgow speech (see e.g. Aitken, 1982: 32, 34; 2015),[30] is now widespread, at least as far north as Wick,[31] and is perhaps absent in most regions only in speakers who are both elderly and conservative. This, especially when in the intervocalic position, is the most strongly and overtly stigmatised feature of 'gutter Scots': see further below and Aitken (1984: 529; 2015).[32]

A number of other local consonant system and realisation features are mentioned and illustrated in Mather (1964, 1973, 1974, 1978, 1980), also in Catford (1957b), Nicolson (1907: 61–3), Grant (1934), Dieth (1932), Wettstein (1942) and Zai (1942).[33]

Suprasegmental features

Abercrombie (1979, 1991) has some remarks on intonation ("in Scotland, almost certainly more varied than in England", p.81), syllable division ("Scottish speakers make as many syllables *open* syllables as possible", p.82), and rhythm (pp.81–2); a description of one type of Scottish intonation is provided in McClure (1980). Apart from one investigation of voice

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[28] *Fulp = whelp*.

[29] See Lawson *et al.* (2011), Watt *et al.* (2014).

[30] AJA refers there to Trotter (1901), who lists the glottal stop (not by that term) as one of the features of 'Glasgow-Irish'. Trotter's observations are discussed also in AJA's 'Scottish speech: a historical view with special reference to the Standard English of Scotland' (1979: 98) – see note 62 below. A slightly earlier note of the glottal stop in Glasgow is found in a letter of 1892: "Strangers hurl at us as a sort of Shibboleth such sentences as 'Pass the wa'er bo''le, Mr Pa'erson'" (transcribed by R. D. Lyall from the original, Oslo Universitetsbibliotek, MS 8⁰, 2402 F6/IV, ff. 20 ff., and quoted in Macafee, 1994: 26–7, nn. 18, 20).

[31] Melchers (1996: 45) notes "the increasing use of glottal stops in Lerwick".

[32] This reference is to a discussion of 'vulgarisms', not the glottal stop as such.

[33] See also Chirrey (1995) for an instrumental analysis of a number of consonants, including /r/, /l/ and /ʍ/, in Glasgow, Edinburgh and Aberdeen. She finds (with reservations about sample size) that the Aberdeen speakers have a narrower range of variation, closer to earlier descriptions of Scottish English, while the Edinburgh and especially Glasgow speakers show more evidence of variation and change.

quality in Edinburgh males (Esling, 1978), virtually nothing has been published on articulatory set and voice quality in any form of Scottish speech.[34]

Selectional phonology

Column 2 of Table 1 exemplifies some of the most characteristic of the vowel selections of vernacular Scots – those which differentiate vernacular Scots [103] dialects generally (and in most instances Northern dialects of England also: see below) from Standard English. To these characteristic vowel selections fall to be added large numbers of consonant selections similarly affecting all Scottish dialects and in most cases Northern dialects of England as well, for example:

Scots /ŋ/, Standard English /ŋg/ in *single*, *English*, *longer* (Scots *langer*); *rummle* (rumble), *chaumer* (chamber);

stoppit, *jaggit*, *jaggt*, *ahint* (behind), *heelant* (highland);

fowrt /fʌurt/ (fourth), *fift* (Standard English *fifth*, but Scottish Standard English *fift*);

lenth, *strenth*;

fin (find), *ahin* (behind), *blin* (blind), *han* (hand), *gran* (grand), *cannle* (candle), *thunner* (thunder);

birk (birch), *kirk* (church), *caff* (chaff), *sic* (such);

brig (bridge), *seg* (sedge);

doo /du/ (dove), *hae* (have), *gie* (give), *deil* (also *deevil*) (devil), *ein* (even);

mou /mu/ (mouth).

At a more local level, the interlacing and tangled bunches of isoglosses encompassing the several individual members of phonologically related word-sets within Scotland result similarly from earlier sound-changes, failures to sound-change and borrowings of cognates, especially from Old Scandinavian and Middle Flemish, events similar to those which produced the more widely distributed selectional northernisms just instanced. These more localised selectional differences include the dialectally divergent treatments of vowel 7 (see above), and of vowel 3 which, in all but the North Mainland dialects, had its lexical inventory variously re-distributed to vowels 2 and 4 in different regions (see Aitken, 1977: 8; 2015).[35] Among the results of more combinative sound-changes are the differing selections of the Scots vernacular equivalents of *two, who, where* as *twaw, whaw* or *fa, whaur* or *far* with vowel 12, in all dialects except the South-Eastern, and, in the South-East, *twae, whae, whare* with (regular) vowel 4 (see further Aitken, 1971: 187 and n. 31; 2015).[36] (Other combinative sound-changes are mentioned in Aitken, 1977: 10; 2015; Dieth, 1932: §23, §69.)[37] For

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[34] For intonation, see also Currie (1979b) and G. Brown *et al.* (1980) on Edinburgh, and Currie (1979a) on Glasgow. More recent work includes van Leijden (2004) on Shetland, and Ortega (2010) on Glasgow. For Glasgow voice quality, see Stuart-Smith (1999).
[35] See †Aitken (2002) and other references listed in note 10 above.
[36] See †Aitken (2002: §20.9), Macafee and †Aitken (2002: §6.26).
[37] And see Index II to †Aitken (2002), where they are termed 'conditioned' changes.

comprehensive lists of such features see Grant (1934: xvi–xli) and, on a more modest scale, Murison (1977: 32–6); see also the dialect monographs of Murray (1873), J. Wilson (1915, 1923, 1926), Watson (1923), Dieth (1932), Wettstein (1942) and Zai (1942), who detail those affecting their own regions.[38]

Vocabulary

Like many of the selectional northernisms discussed above many 'Scots words' which Scots imagine to be peculiarly their own are still or until recently have been (see below and Glauser, 1974 *passim*) current in other non-standard dialects of English, especially of course those of Northern England. They include many well-known Scandinavianisms – *bairn*, *brae*, *gate* (road), *kirk*, *lass*, *big* (build), etc. and many items of other origins, for example *cleugh* (ravine), *haugh*, *heugh* (steep slope), *canny*, *bonny*, *fozie* (soft, spongy, flabby), *greet* (weep), *loun* (boy), *jag* (prick), the idiom *let on* (to admit to knowing), etc. Yet there is also a considerable, but, one guesses, rather smaller number which have always had their southern limit of distribution [104] close to or within the Scottish Border: Gaelicisms such as *airt* (direction), *ingle* (household fire), *oe* (grandchild); Gallicisms like *deval* (stop), *douce* (gentle), *vennel* (lane in a town); words from the Netherlands, Anglo-Saxonisms such as *beadle* (sexton) and *but and ben*; and others. For a brief account of some of the principal etymological layers of both of these sorts of vocabulary see Murison (1977: 48–55).[39]

As well as these more or less country-wide expressions, there exist also, as *The Linguistic Atlas of Scotland* vols. 1 and 2, Glauser (1974), and several local dialect descriptions evidence, fairly numerous localised items of vocabulary. Some, but far from all, of these can be seen to result from the favouring by certain areas of particular etymological layers of influence, as a consequence of the special history of the locality.[40] We therefore have Scandinavian items in Shetland, Orkney and Caithness (see Barnes, 1984; Aitken, 1984, 2015; see also especially Nicolson, 1907; Jakobsen, 1928, 1932; Marwick, 1929; Murison, 1977: 36). There are Dutch items in Shetland (Murison, 1971: 175–6); Anglo-Irish in Galloway (Riach, 1979, 1980, 1982); Gaelic in some Northern (see Nicolson, 1907) and North-Eastern areas and in Kintyre; Romani and cant items in the Borders (Watson, 1923: 344; Mather, 1980: 41; Hancock, 1984a, 1984b).[41]

Grammar

Until recently, 'grammars' of Scots have dealt almost exclusively in distinctive Scottish features of morphology and in lists of closed class items and of idioms. The fullest of these treatments are Murray (1873: 150–230) and Grant and Dixon (1921: 75–196), the latter including a section on word-formation; there are more selective sketches in J. Wilson (1915,

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[38] See note 20 above.

[39] For a detailed treatment of sources of the vocabulary, see Macafee (1997a), Macafee and Anderson (1997), Macafee and †Aitken (2002: ch. 4). AJA's own early observations are found in 'Sources of the Vocabulary of Older Scots' ([1954], 2015).

[40] Macafee (1991/1992) discusses lexical erosion as a mechanism by which words come to have a localised distribution.

[41] The two papers by Hancock (1984a, 1984b) give detailed descriptions of Romani and Travellers' cant, but do not specifically cover loans into Scots, for which see Cairns Speitel (2013).

1923, 1926), Robertson and J. Graham (1952), Murison (1977: 38–47) and W. Graham (1977: 14–18).[42]

Not a few of the features itemised in these accounts, like some of the selectional forms and vocabulary items in the same descriptions prescribed as 'good Scots' or, really, 'Ideal Scots' (see Aitken, 1984: 522, 529; 2015[43]), are now quite recessive and seldom heard outside conservative rural fastnesses and/or by group 4 speakers,[44] though all are of course to be found in earlier and some modern vernacular literature. Some other grammatical features are discussed with the 'Covert Scotticisms' and 'Vulgarisms' described below. Some of the remainder which are still in fairly widespread and general use by groups 3 and 4 speakers, or as stylistic overt Scotticisms (see below) are the following:

the irregular noun plurals *een* (eyes), *shuin* (shoes), *kye* (cows) (and there are others more recessive);

a three-term deictic system *this*, pl. *thir*, *that* pl. *thae*, *yon* (or *thon*) unchanged in the plural (Northern dialects also have unchanged plurals *this* and *that*);

the numeral 'one' opposing its attributive *ae*, *yae* (e.g. *ae man*) to its absolute form *ane, yin, een, wan* (e.g. *that ane*).

The forms of the negative differ from Standard English: clitic *–na, -nae* (*-ny*); isolate *no* (North-Eastern *nae*).

The syntax of verbs differs from Standard English:

[105] Indicative:	They say he's feart /firt/ (scared)
	Thae laddies says he's feart
	Them that says he's feart
	They were feart
	Twaw weemen that wes there tellt me
Habitual:	Every time I sees him I aye thinks that
Narrative:	'Heh! Wullie!' they shouts and belts aff efter him.

The auxiliary *have* may ellipse after a modal or the infinitive marker *to*, e.g. *I soud never gaen awaw*.

In Ideal Scots and some vernacular (group 3 and group 4) Scots, the forms of past tense and past participles differ in numerous verbs from Standard English: lists are to be found in all of the 'grammars' mentioned above.

More localised items include the use in Shetland of gender-marked 3rd person personal pronouns (especially the masculine) for inanimates, as in:

He (the tub) *was half-filled with water*;
Pit her (the kettle) *on da fire*;
He (the weather) *was blaain half a gale*.

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[42] Now also Beal (1997), Purves (2002), Miller (1993, 2003), Bergs (2005), Robinson (2007), L. C. Wilson (2008), and various online sources, including Scottish Language Dictionaries' page 'The Scots Language has its own Grammar' (n.d.).

[43] AJA describes Ideal Scots as a variety in which Scots options are selected consistently and there is no dilution with English alternatives. It exists only as a few literary *tours de force*.

[44] See note 8 above.

The 2nd person singular personal pronoun *thou* /ðu/ (Shetland /du/), *thee* /ði/ (Shetland /di/), formerly in general use as an intimate, or disparaging (and liturgical) pronoun of address, has been receding before the original plural forms *ye*, *you*, since the sixteenth century; it now survives in Shetland, Orkney and parts of North Mainland Scotland (including the Black Isle). The recession of the formerly general distinction between the present participle *-an* (/-an/ or /-ɪn/) and verbal noun *-in* (/-ɪn/ or /-in/), as in Grant's (1934: §158) example, *He wis aye gutteran aboot*, *He's fond o' gutterin aboot* (both of these with vowel harmony in some dialects), has proceeded less far in the South; the distinction continues to be operated in Shetland, Orkney and North Mainland Scots and in Roxburghshire and east Dumfriesshire.

Covert Scotticisms

Most Scottish people are aware that the characteristic Northern or exclusively Scottish locutions we have instanced above are either 'Scots' or 'slang' (see Aitken, 1984: 529; 2015[45]). Yet it appears that there is also a substantial class of undoubtedly Scottish, or, in some cases, Northern English and Scottish, expressions which seldom evokes either of these responses from native Scottish speakers.[46] The extensiveness and actual membership of this class most probably varies from speaker to speaker and most probably in a way generally related to the usual social groupings. The following accounts for what appears to be in the main a common core of such expressions, used by a very wide social range of speakers, including middle-class Educated Scottish Standard English speakers. Expressions of this sort, which Scottish speakers use unself-consciously, wholly or largely unaware that in so doing they are behaving peculiarly Scottishly or 'giving themselves away' as Scots, might be called 'unaware' or 'unmarked' Scotticisms: I have preferred 'covert Scotticism'. [106] Conversely, when a speaker is aware of an item's Scottishness, I have called it an 'overt Scotticism'.

Some, perhaps now a majority, of covert Scotticisms are optional alternatives to their 'English' equivalents: so the notion of the Scotticism *to mind* can alternatively be expressed by its standard equivalent *to remember*, *to sort* by *to mend*, the absolute pronoun *mines* equally be realised by *mine*, and *I'll better* (e.g. *I'll better attend to it*) by *I'd better*. These,

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[45] AJA observes (1984: 529) that many working-class speakers lack an awareness of the distinctive tradition of Scots and see the linguistic situation in terms of a binary opposition between 'proper English' and 'slang'.

[46] AJA does not deal here with cultural Scotticisms, "those which refer to peculiarly Scottish aspects of life in Scotland and so naturally possess native Scots labels, like *laird* or *kirk-session* or *first-foot* or *ceilidh*" (1979: 107). Some further examples are (either as distinctive Scottish lexical items or as Scottish senses of shared lexical items): *the Forty-Five*, *pibroch*, *strathspey*, *phillibeg*, *plaid*, *the Clearances*, *crofting*, *curling*, *links*, *policies*, *tenement*, *model lodging house*, *tossing the caber*, *kailyard*, *makar*, *the Mod*, *haaf*, *brownie*, *kelpie*; in education: *academy*, *Dean of Faculty*; in law: *defamation* (no distinction is made in Scots law between libel and slander), *depute* (deputy), *factor*, *interdict* (injunction), *breaking into a lockfast place*, *panel* (the accused), *production* (exhibit), *roup*; in religion: *stipend*, *manse*, *moderator*, *be upstanding* (a direction to a congregation to rise). Some terms associated with the Scottish Parliament include: *Barnett formula*, *First Minister*, *reserved matters*, *West Lothian question*.

In the last forty years there has been a great deal of constitutional change, legislative innovation and discarding of tradition, which means that much of the institutional vocabulary has become merely historical, for instance the legal provision for certain documents to be *probative* without witnesses when *adopted as holograph*, the terminology of holding land in *feu*, and *Natural Philosophy* as a university subject. However, the resurgence of the Gaelic language and culture has brought words such as *clarsach* (Celtic harp), *canntaireachd* (chanting of pipe music) and *Gàidhealtachd* (Gaelic-speaking area) into wider currency.

For further examples, see AJA's 'The extinction of Scotland in popular dictionaries of English' (1987, 2015).

therefore, take their appropriate places in columns 1 and 5 of the five-column model (see Aitken 1984, 2015). But there are others of this group which lack in speech available 'English' alternatives at all: the only modal of permission, for most Scots in informal speech (including many habitual Scottish Standard English speakers) is the verb *can*; *may* is not an option for them. Their only means of referring to a brook is by the noun *burn* or to the little finger as one's *pinkie*. As well as being covert Scotticisms, then, the latter are 'obligatory' Scotticisms. They are, however, obligatory only in un-bookish or informal speech. Indeed, in formal written English the category 'covert Scotticism' ceases to exist and virtually all its members are disallowed; in other words, as a rule Scots WRITE (and speak formally) standard literary English, with at most only a very occasional inadvertent 'covert Scotticism' and a few 'overt Scotticisms'.

Covert Scotticisms of selectional phonology are not very numerous. An apparent condition of entry to the set is that the phonological contrast with the corresponding non-Scottish Standard English form be slight and unobtrusive, i.e. that the differentiated segment should share most of its distinctive features with the non-Scottish Standard English segment it replaces. Instances are:

lenth /lɛnθ/ and *strenth* /strɛnθ/ (Anglo-English *length* /lɛŋθ/, *strength* /strɛŋθ/),[47]

fift etc. for *fifth* etc.,

trisyllabic *Wednesday*,

'equal-stressed' pronunciations of *porpoise* and *tortoise*

(for a more extensive list see Aitken, 1979: 104–105).[48] Some items – including the three last – are obligatory for all speakers, others for some speakers only. Among lexical Scotticisms, it is doubtful if alternative renderings for the following would readily occur to most Scots:[49]

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[47] Already Scots by the fourteenth century (see *A Dictionary of the Older Scottish Tongue*, s.vv.) (Aitken 1979: 104).

[48] Others mentioned there are:

• [lʌʤ] and [ˈlʌʤɪr] *ludge* and *ludger*, rather than [lɔʤ] and [ˈlɔʤɪr] *lodge* and *lodger*. These are reflexes of a fifteenth-century Scots sound-change whereby vowel 18 merged with vowel 19 before /tʃ/ or /ʤ/ (see †Aitken, 2002: §16.2);

• *thare* [ðɛːr] and *whare* [ʍɛːr] rather than *there* [ðɛːr] and *where* [ʍɛːr];

• [ˈrasbɛrɪ] not [ˈrɑzbrɪ] *raspberry*;

• [ˈlʌgʒurɪ] not [ˈlʌkʒurɪ] *luxury*;

• "and some other escapees of the general anglicising of older French word-stress patterns, like [riʌˈlaez] not [ˈriəlaɪz] *realise*" (p. 105).

Further examples from Abercrombie in the same volume (1979: 70–71; 1991):

• *housing*, *houses* with intervocalic /s/ rather than /z/;

• *December* with /z/ rather than /s/;

• *sandwich* with medial /ŋ/ rather than /n/.

In general, words that end with a voiceless fricative retain this in the plural in Scots, e.g. *wives* /wʌifs/, *paths* /paθs/, as well as *houses* /ˈhʌusɪz/, and these pronunciations are also heard in Scottish Standard English. Older generations of Scottish Standard English speakers used /x/ in a few words where *ch* derives from Greek χ, e.g. *lichen*, *technical*, *patriarch*, but these pronunciations are not so much heard now.

ashet (large serving plate), *bramble*,[50] *haar* (sea-mist), *rone* (horizontal gutter on a house), *rowan* (mountain ash), *to jag* (prick), *to swither* (hesitate) and, as we have seen, *burn* and *pinkie*;

and numerous special constructions, applications and idioms, such as:

I'm away to my bed, *How's he keeping* (how is his health?), *to miss oneself* (to miss a treat) and other examples listed at Aitken (1979: 106).[51]

A morphological covert Scotticism is the absolute pronoun *mines*. The other morphological Scotticisms mentioned or alluded to above mostly wear their Scottishness on their sleeve and so remain 'overt' and largely, exclusively vernacular in their distribution. But there are many peculiarities of Scots syntax which differ rather strikingly from Anglo-English usage yet operate as covert, and mostly obligatory, Scotticisms.

In negative constructions Scots often reduces the operator rather than the negative and prefers to do so with *will* and, especially, *be*:[52]

A larger number of grammatical words, such as prepositions and pronouns, have weak forms in Scottish English than in RP, even when final in a sentence, e.g. *to, from, at, for,* and in speech that is not particularly rapid, e.g. *I, my, your, by, on, or, nor, so*. The use of weak forms depends on the formality of the speech style (Abercrombie, 1979: 83; 1991; cf. Gimson, 1962, 1980: 263).

[49] For further examples, see AJA's 'The extinction of Scotland in popular dictionaries of English' (1987, 2015).

[50] I.e. the fruit as well as the bush.

[51] These are:

• I *doubt* he's not coming; I *doubt* he's got lost;

• what would you like for *your* Christmas;

• to take *the* flu, go to *the* church or *the* school;

• *and him* an elder of the kirk too; *and you* pregnant;

• a week *on* Sunday;

• to be up *through* the night;

• are you *never* out your bed yet?; you're *never* going out in that state!;

• to *stay* in a (*housing-*) *scheme* (local authority housing estate);

• to *shed* (part) one's hair;

• the whole *jingbang* or *bangshoot* (caboodle);

• *I put her gas at a peep* (I quashed her);

• *to give someone a row* /rʌu/ (a scolding);

• *I can see Christmas far enough* (i.e. I've had enough of it); *I could see him far enough*;

• the walls were *living* (alive) with bugs;

• he has a good *conceit* of himself;

• *if it comes up my back* (i.e. comes to hand, if it occurs to me to undertake something);

• I'll see you *the length of* (as far as) the bus-stop;

• *the back of* (not long after) nine;

• *don't let on* (reveal by your actions) you've seen him (p. 106).

AJA also comments (p. 106) on the time depth of some of the examples he gives: "Some are recent innovations – *to put somebody's gas at a peep*, obviously, or *to miss oneself,* apparently (the latter first recorded in *The Scottish National Dictionary* for the 1960s). Others, like most of the characteristics of pronunciation specified above, return to medieval or early Modern Scots: including the avoidance of *wh-* relatives, the ellipsis in *I'll away out* (albeit this is also in earlier Southern English, where, however, it is now obsolete), the form *mines*, *to let on* (originally *to let on oneself*), and *the length of* (the last three all from the seventeenth century) and all of the one-word items listed."

[52] See further Tagliamonte and Smith (2003).

He's no/not going
He'll no/not go
Is he no/not going?

are preferred to:

He isnae/isn't going
He [107] *willnae/won't go*
*Isnae/isn't he going? rarely, if ever, occurs;

similarly with:

Will (also *can*) *he no/not come?*

rather than:

Won't/can't he come?

(while **Willnae/cannae he come?* are scarcely possible, at least in Central Scots). *Shall*, *may* and *ought* hardly occur. As we noted above the permissive sense of *may* is expressed by *can*:

Can I come as well?

the possibility sense by means of the adverb *maybe*:

He'll maybe come later.

Yet *should*, *might* and *must* do occur, though in a more limited range of uses than in other varieties of English, e.g.:

You should go and see that play;
You might let me have it;
He must have forgotten to come.

Obligation is expressed by *have to* or *have got to*:

You'll have to find the money;
You've got to do it.

I'll better may replace *I'd better*:

I'll better do it.

Be to (be intended to) has a more complete paradigm than in other kinds of English:

He was to have been to do it.

Other Scotticisms of modal and other verb usage,[53] and of the forms of the relative pronouns,[54] are instanced in Aitken (1979: 105) and, more fully, in M. Millar and K. Brown

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[53] • *Need*, *use to* and *dare* are constructed as lexical verbs not as modals – so *do you dare* to *do it?* not *dare you do it?*;
• but *need* and *want* and some other verbs of related meaning have distinctively Scottish constructions – *the car needs/wants washed, the cat needs/wants out* ...
• the favouring of progressive forms for these and other verbs, such as *hope – I am hoping to be present*;
• double auxiliary constructions of *can* and *could – they'll can see to it* or *I'd could have done it*;
• *I'll better* for *I'd better*;
• quasi-elliptical constructions such as *that's me away home* or *I'll away out* (Aitken, 1979: 105).

(1979), K. Brown and M. Millar (1980), Miller (1980a, 1980b, 1980c, 1980d, 1980e, 1980f) and Miller and K. Brown (1982), from which reports the foregoing is largely drawn.[55]

Overt Scotticisms

There exists a second type of Scotticism which resembles the covert Scotticism in not being restricted to the more vernacular and more working-class varieties of Scots speech and to vernacular literature: this we might dub the 'stylistic overt Scotticism'. Stylistic overt Scotticisms are used for special stylistic effect – as a deliberate deviation from normal style – by those whose regular or expected speech is Scottish Standard English (columns 3 to 5 in the five-column model: see Aitken, 1984, 2015), that is by group 1 or group 2 Scottish Standard English speakers (the groups are described in 1984, 2015)[56] and also by other Scots on formal occasions when an 'English' style is expected, for example, in a public speech or a piece of discursive writing. Frequently, though variably – by males perhaps more often than females, and especially, though not only, on occasions when it seems desirable to claim membership of the in-group of Scots, at a Burns Society meeting, let us say – Scottish Standard English speakers will intentionally depart from their regular 'English' by selecting Scottish-marked expressions. This includes a large number of traditional vernacular Scots words and word-forms, e.g. *aye* /ɑˑe/ (yes), *dinna* (don't), *hame* and *hoose* and *ben the hoose*;[57] not, however, those stigmatised localisms which are regarded as 'vulgarisms'. In addition there exist for this purpose a substantial number[58] of expressions which seem to occur most frequently, or only, under 'stylistic overt Scotticism' conditions. Paradoxically, that is, these are expressions of traditional Scottish origin, and overtly marked as of Scottish provenance, which are employed for special stylistic purposes only by Scots whose habitual speech otherwise disfavours vernacular Scottish elements, or by any Scot in an English-using register (such as public speaking); they are largely confined to use by 'English-speaking' not 'Scots-speaking' Scots. From the much [108] larger list of instances in Aitken (1979: 107–8)[59] we may mention:

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[54] "... the tendency to avoid *wh-* forms of the relative in favour of *that*, giving *the folk that fell* rather than *the men who fell*, or the *people that's houses were demolished* (or *that the houses were demolished of*) rather than *whose*, or *our Bill that's always complaining* rather than *who's*" (Aitken, 1979: 105).

[55] See also Miller (2003).

[56] "At one extreme there are those numerous speakers who operate fairly exclusively from columns 3 to 5, except that they employ both 'obligatory covert' and sporadic 'stylistic overt' Scotticisms ... and they do this in one of the Scottish accents. ... ... This is our group 1 variety.

"A second group of middle-class speakers (our group 2), perhaps with the men outnumbering the women, along with many or most of the lower middle-class and some of those whom sociologists have dubbed 'respectable working-class', operate much less exclusively, though still preponderantly, from columns 3 to 5. Such speakers make moderately frequent, though inconsistent, recourse to column 2, though more often for function words including 'weak forms', such as [ʌ] for *I*, *-na* or *-nae* for *-n't*, *no* for *not*, *-in* rather than *-ing* (pres. part.), than for content words. Speakers of this group have recourse to column 1 much less frequently than to column 2, except in 'stylistic overt Scotticism' function" (Aitken, 1984: 521). The reference is to the 5-column model (see Aitken, 1984, 2015).

[57] "For this purpose any traditional Scots word or expression will serve, like ... *bairns* (children) and *birl* (to spin) and *coup* (to capsize) and *ken* (to know) and *stot* (to bounce) and *gey* (very) and many other comparatively commonplace native Scots words (in short, material from column 1 ...)" (Aitken, 1979: 107). The reference is to the 5-column model (see Aitken, 1984, 2015).

[58] "several hundred?" (Aitken, 1979: 107)

[59] Additionally:

• Is he still *to the fore* (alive)?

to keep a calm sough (not to get excited),
it's back to the auld claes and parritch tomorrow (or *the morn*),
darg (job of work),
kenspeckle (conspicuous),
thrang (busy),
and *stravaig* (to wander aimlessly).

It is not too difficult to understand how this comes about. It is, after all, the 'educated' (and therefore Educated Scottish Standard English using) Scot who is also concerned for and

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• He's a right old *sweetiewife* (literally, woman who sells sweetmeats, i.e. gossip, chatterbox),

• a bit of a *feardie* (a coward),

• *a drop o the auld kirk* or *o the craitur* (a small amount of whisky),

• *that'll not set the heather on fire* (cause any stir),

• *let that flee stick to the wa* (say no more about that matter),

• *come into the body of the kirk* (come and join the main company – said e.g. to one sitting apart),

• *slàinte-mhath* (Gaelic for 'Good health!');

"and certain *couthy* (homely) Scots words" such as:

clamjamfry (a confused mixture)
chuckiestanes (pebbles)
dram (a drink of whisky)
orra (odd)
dreich (dry, tedious)
wersh (bitter or insipid)
peelie-wallie (somewhat ill, sickly)
wabbit (exhausted)
shoogly (shaky, unsteady).

AJA also mentions (p. 108) some expressions that may be covert Scotticisms, but whose acceptability in middle-class speech he is less certain about:

• *what a laugh if* (something were so) or *what a pant if*

• *that's a laugh*

• *to phone up*

• *to go the messages* (go shopping)

• to take something *off of the top*

• *to go one's dinger* (to act in a very energetic or extravagant way)

• or *to be up to high doh* (greatly perturbed) *about something*,

• *puggled* or *pugglet* [ˈpʌɡl̩t] (exhausted),

• *to humph* (to 'hump', carry laboriously),

• *to chum* (to accompany),

• *that's me* or *that's him* etc. (doing or having to do something), as in *that's me humphing,* or *having to humph, it away out to Blackhall* or *having to chum her right down to the station*;

• the exclamation *here!* (see! look!)

• the interrogative tag *ai*, realised as [e] or [ɪʔ], e.g. *you'll be wantin your tea, ai?* (with falling intonation).

AJA speculates that *ai* (which others spell *e*) may be a reduction of *in't it?*, i.e. [ɯʔɪʔ]) but this is not very convincing, as *ai* occurs with any type of subject. Also, *int* (ain't) itself appears to be a recent adoption in urban Scots. M. Millar and Brown (1979) give a grammatical description of the tag, based on a corpus of Edinburgh speech. They make no suggestion about its origin, but observe that it appears to be especially associated with speech by or to children. Miller (2003: 97) does not find it so restricted; he observes that it has mitigating force.

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informed about such esoteric subjects as the native literary tradition and the more or less archaic forms of Scots which are part of this.[60]

The range of both obligatory covert and stylistic overt Scotticisms is not homogeneous throughout Scotland, but displays local variation with the local dialects. In particular, stylistic overt Scotticisms often display specifically local as well as simply Scottish allusion, such as the ritual use by middle-class Orkney or Shetland or Caithness speakers of local shibboleths such as *peerie* or *peedie* (little) or Caithness *cown* /kʌun/ (weep) or the middle-class North-Easterner's ritual greeting in North-Eastern 'Scots' to a friend from the same region: *Foo are ee, min?* with its equally ritual response: *Jist chaavin*.[61]

Vulgarisms

As is suggested in Aitken (1984: 529–30; 2015) virtually any identifiably vernacular Scots feature, except as described in the two preceding sections, is liable to latent disapproval or open condemnation by some Scots under any circumstances of spoken use, and by many, perhaps most, Scots under some quite common circumstances of interlocution (e.g. in a school classroom or on a grand social occasion). There exists also a more circumscribed set of specific features of Scots speech whose explicit condemnation even by enthusiasts for 'Good Scots' is an entrenched part of the linguistic mythology of Scotland (Aitken, 1979: 102–4, 108–10, 118; also Aitken, 1981b: 84–6; 2015; and Aitken, 1982, 2015).[62] These are

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[60] "These stereotyped 'marked Scotticisms' and some traditional Scots 'dialect' words feature as occasional embellishments of middle-class Scottish Standard English speech on appropriate informal and formal occasions (for example, in speechmaking to provide a more or less jocular reminder that the speaker is a good Scot). Knowledge of some of these items is reinforced by reading in the vernacular Scots classics (such as the novels of Scott). Accordingly, some, at any rate, appear to be employed more often by 'educated' Scots speakers than by their less erudite working-class fellow-countrymen, and appear almost to constitute a kind of middle-class folklore of what identifies the true Scot in speech" (Aitken, 1979: 108).

This was a finding of Macaulay (1977), later confirmed by Pollner (1985).

[61] Or "Chaavin awa."

[62] It is around the middle of the 19th century that a distinction begins to be made between different types of Scots (Aitken, 1979: 98): "About 1840 Andrew Crawfurd avers that the influx of 'a clanjamfray of Irish, Highlanders and other dyvours' into the village of Lochwinnoch, Renfrewshire, has brought in 'a Babylonish dialect, both in idioms and in accent'. He adds, however, that 'this corruption is alone in the village … The country part of the parish exhibits a pattern approaching to the Doric and chaste dialect' (Crawfurd, n.d.)."

In addition to the glottal stop (see n. 30 above), Trotter's 'Glasgow-Irish' is also characterised by, amongst other familiar shibboleths, the syncretism of past tense and past participle forms of certain strong verbs (*if he hadnae went,… he wad hae fell*) (1979: 98, citing Trotter, 1901: 23–4). AJA also cites McNaught (1901: 27) who mentions "the 'Keelveensoide' patois of the West-end of Glasgow". All three of these writers agree that these are merely 'corruptions' of Scots or English, but an acceptable form of Scots survives in "the smaller villages and rural districts" (Trotter, 1901: 23), though in McNaught's view, "It has long been dying; it is now practically dead" (1901: 27).

"In somewhat more recent times the approvable forms of Scottish speech are held to include (I quote from a Scottish Education Department report of 1952) on the one hand 'an exemplar of English generally acceptable to educated Scots' and on the other 'words and phrases of genuine dialect, whether of the Borders or of Buchan' which, says the document, 'should find a place in the classroom'. Conversely, however, the report expresses the hope that 'slovenly perversions of dialect will ... be excluded' (*English in Secondary Schools*, 1952: 6). This view of Scottish speech, with its threefold classification into 'educated' Scottish Standard English (approvable), 'genuine dialect' (approvable) and 'corruptions of dialect' or 'slovenly perversions of dialect' (not approvable), has held sway among those Scots who concerned themselves at all with such matters until quite recently. The challenge which it is now meeting from linguists and some other writers is still resisted by many, both among

the features commonly specified as markers of 'Bad Scots' (see e.g. Murison, 1977: 56–7; also Aitken, 1984: 529; 2015) and commonly (and correctly) localised to working-class speech of the larger cities, though they are by no means confined to these areas (see especially Aitken, 1982: 34; 2015). These explicitly stigmatised Scotticisms I label 'vulgarisms'.

A number of realisational features already mentioned figure prominently among them: the glottal stop realisation (the most notorious of all Scottish 'vulgarisms' and constantly condemned from 1895 till today), lowered and centralised realisations of vowel 15, fronted realisations of vowel 6; another such feature is the epenthetic vowel described by Dieth (1932: §82), Wettstein (1942: §59) and Aitken (1979: 103–4, 118).[63] Some selectional word-forms which are sometimes openly commented on and are clearly similarly disfavoured are [ˈsʌmhɪn] or [ˈsʌmhm̩] *something*, [ˈnʌhɪn] or [ˈnʌhn̩] *nothing* and the realisation of *thr-* as [ʂr-], [çr-] or [r̥], as in [çriː] *three*, [ˈçrʌʔm̩s] *threepence*, [ˈçroʔl̩] *throttle*. A number of lexical, idiomatic and grammatical 'vulgarisms' are cited in Aitken (1979: 108–10) in a list which is, however, by no means exhaustive.[64]

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the establishment and at other levels of Scottish society" (1979: 98–9). AJA elaborates on this three-way distinction in 'Bad Scots: some superstitions about Scots speech' (1982).

[63] "The occurrence in certain syntactic conditions of an epenthetic vowel between certain vowels and a following sonorant consonant (as in *sair* [ˈseːɪr], *sore* [ˈsoːɪr]) or between sonorant consonants (as in *airm* [ˈerʌm] or *arm* [ˈarʌm]) ... is a widespread feature of modern vernacular Scots speech ... There are slight indications in some Older Scots spellings that this is an ancient Scots phenomenon, a supposition that its wide regional prevalence today would support" (Aitken, 1979: 103–4 and n. 15, citing Murray, 1873: 125; Dieth, 1932: 70–72, 96–7; Wettstein, 1942: 16; Zai, 1942: §229).

"This feature, which appears to occur most regularly at the tone-group nucleus, is not realised in certain other morphological and syntactic conditions: see Dieth (1932: 70–72, 96–7) for examples of some of these and contrast [ɪ ˈhʌd ʌ ˈseːr ˈerʌm] *he had a sair airum*, and [ɪz ˈerm̩z n̩ ˈlɛgz wɪz ˈɔfɪ ˈseːɪr] *his airms an legs wis awfy sai-er*" (*ibid.* n. 15).

This feature carries almost as much social stigma as the glottal stop, and is a frequent subject of overt comment by middle-class Scottish speakers. Grant deprecates it as "very objectionable" (1913: 55–6, 1925: 97) and recommends syllabic consonants, e.g. [ˈarm̩], [ˈbarn̩] (ibid, p. 104 and n. 16).

[64] AJA lists (some occurring also in non-standard grammar furth of Scotland):

• the intensifier *awfie*;

• the disparaging term *teenie-bash* (for a woman whom one dislikes);

• the expression *to loss the heid* (to lose one's senses, run amock);

• the asseverative tag *ken ...* (the unreduced *ye ken* seems to carry less stigma);

• the interrogative tag *ai-no* [eˈno];

• in West Central Scotland, the attention-focussing idiom with imperative *see* as in *See our Mary, she's awfie shy*;

• the asseverative tag *so he*, *it* etc. *is*, *was*, *does* etc, as *he's awfie tired, so he is*;

• as well as such stock music-hall stereotypes as the exclamations *crivvens! jings! help ma bob!*;

• the rather new plural-marked pronoun *youse* (you) or *youse-yins*;

• the use of *us*, or *'s*, with singular reference (*give us it* or *gie's it* or *see's it*);

• the sentence-final adverbial tag use of *but* (*you meant it, but*);

• the tag *an' that* (and so on);

• multiple negation, as *I never saw none*;

• the well-known syncretisms of past tense and past participle forms as in *I never seen him*, or *ye'd have saw him if ye'd a came* (see note 62 above);

[109] Morningside English

The markers by which the middle-class, so-called 'Morningside' or 'Kelvinside' accent (see Aitken, 1979; 1984: 526; 2015)[65] is identified appear to be the following:

> realisations (either sporadic or consistent) or vowel 1*l* and 1*s* (both) as a narrower diphthong of the [eɪ] variety;[66]
>
> of vowel 17 as a half-open vowel of the [ɛ̞], [ɛ] or [ɛ̞] variety (these two are the well-known stereotypes);[67]
>
> realisations of vowel 16 as a fully mid rather than half-open vowel, viz. [ẹ];
>
> sometimes over-rounded or diphthongal realisations of /o/ vowel 5;
>
> lengthened realisations of vowels 2 /i/ and 6 /u/ in SVLR short environments;
>
> and r-less realisations of vowel + *r* sequences, [faːm] or [fɑːm] for [farm] and the like.

The latter two of these are adjustments and the first four hyper-adjustments from regular Scots towards RP-like realisations.[68]

'Dying Scots'

Notwithstanding the claims made in Aitken (1984, 2015) anent the Scots' 'dialect loyalty', it is also true that many of the words and usages mentioned or alluded to above have restricted regional and/or social distributions, chiefly to vernacular (group 3 and group 4) speakers. Yet none of them is obsolete.[69] Furthermore, the stock of Scotticisms is being continually enlarged by new creation, albeit many of the new creations begin life as (more or less) 'vulgarisms'. None of the following seems likely to be more than a hundred years old:

> *multy* (multi-storey tenement),
> *scheme* (local authority housing estate),
> *high-heid-yin* (boss),
> *henner* (gymnastic feat),
> *(the whole) jingbang* or *bangshoot* ((the whole) caboodle),
> *fantoosh* adj. (fancy),
> *to miss oneself* (to miss a treat),
> *to put* (another's) *gas at a peep* (to deflate (him)),
> *to be up to high doh* (to be over-excited about something).

• the usage with the reduced form of infinitive *have* (as *a* [ʌ]) after *had*, as in the conditional clause of the following example: *If ye had a said, we wid a kent and we could a went*.

[65] The labels 'Kelvinside' and 'Morningside' for this stereotype go back only to the beginning of the 20th century (Aitken, 1979: 113).

[66] E.g. *naise* (nice), *faine* (fine) (Aitken, 1979: 113).

[67] E.g. *ectually*, *Egnes* (Aitken, 1979: 113).

[68] Johnston (1985) argues that this speech variety has its roots in a hyper-RP accent promulgated in England as well as Scotland through the teaching of elocution.

[69] Macafee (1997b) reviews the literature on lexical erosion up to that point in time.

Even so, it hardly seems disputable that both the type and the token frequencies of the Scottish elements of form, vocabulary and grammar in Scottish usage is shrinking – fewer Scotticisms are being used less often by fewer people. One evidence of this is the fact that many words for common and permanent notions, such as *gowk* (cuckoo), *graith* (equipment) or *lift* (sky), in most of their areas of survival, no longer display their former full semantic range, and that other words or forms now survive only patchily across the dialect map – words such as *cuit* (ankle), *nowt* (cattle), *bate* (boat), *lafe* (loaf), *sape* (soap), *leem* or *luim* (tool, loom), *teel* or *tuil* (tool), *shö* or *shae* (shoe), *shoo* (shove), *gnyauve* (gnaw), etc.[70]

'Good' or Ideal Scots may thus indeed by 'dying' (see Aitken: 1981b: 80–83; 2015), as is indeed to be expected from its socio-linguistic history and circumstances (see Aitken, 1984 *passim*, especially 529–30; 2015). Clearly, though, despite its generally low prestige, in the styles and registers to which it is appropriated, 'Scots', and more particularly 'Bad Scots', is far from dead, as much of the present chapter (along with Murison, 1976; Ross, 1972; Agutter and Cowan, [111] 1981; Wickens, 1980, 1981; and several other works already mentioned) illustrates.[71]

The Highland Line and dialect districts (Map 1 [6.1])

For a brief history of the several successive attempts to establish the Scots versus Gaelic or Scots versus Highland English linguistic frontier (the so-called linguistic Highland Line) see Speitel (1981). The pioneer linguistic investigation of the Highland Line was that of Murray (1873: 231–7 and map). It was also Murray who, jointly with Ellis (Murray, 1973: 77–86; Ellis, 1889: 681–820),[72] on the basis mainly of 'phonetic' (i.e. systemic, selectional and realisational) distinctions, established the division of the Lowland Scots-speaking area into four major areas, with a number of sub-divisions for three of these, an arrangement later refined by Grant (1934: xxiv–xli, xlvii–xlviii);[73] Grant's (and Murison's, 1977: 32–7) lists of distinguishing features (chiefly phonological), appropriated to his different divisions, have been mentioned above. In this essay I have employed my own, somewhat *ad hoc* but I hope transparent, set of labels for different broad regions, rather than follow one or other of the earlier labelling systems and the unrealistically precise delimitations of dialect division accompanying some of them (notably Ellis's).

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[70] The long separate histories of Scots and Standard English produced large lexical sets where Scots has different phonemes, especially vowels, from Standard English, as exemplified for instance in Dieth (1932), Wettstein (1942) and Zai (1942). One form that decline takes is the reduction in size of these sets, with Standard English forms increasingly replacing the Scots ones. The remaining residue tends to be the more commonly used words (Macafee, 1994: Figure 5.1; Stuart-Smith, 2003: 121–23).

[71] Much of the innovation in colloquial language is slang, and though some items may become established in more general use, much will be ephemeral, if not inherently register-restricted because of their dysphemistic character. As pointed out in Macafee and †Aitken (2002: ch. 4), Scots was losing its status as a national language just at the point when the vocabulary of English was expanding under the influence of geographical exploration and scientific discoveries. From then on, neologisms were overwhelmingly recruited into the common core area of the vocabulary (column 3 in the 5-column model: see Aitken, 1984, 2015).

[72] For an online image of Ellis's map of the dialect areas, and ongoing work to map his data, see Maguire (n.d.).

[73] Adopted also in *The Concise Scots Dictionary*, with modified terminology. Johnston (1997) attempts a finer sub-division.

The Border

As well as possessing a number of roughly distinct major regional dialects, Scotland is very certainly a dialect island within the English-speaking world and very probably far the most copious bunch of isoglosses in English is that running along the historical Border. Admittedly this is, as usual, a pretty tangled bunch, with a tendency to splaying, especially at the eastern end: see especially Glauser (1974: 283, fig. 88), and Speitel (1978). For a sketch of the earlier investigations of the linguistic Border, see Glauser (1974: 49–55).[74]

It is true that there are many 'general Northern' features whose southern limits lie far south of the Border – some front vowel or diphthong (i.e. some realisation of vowel 4) representing Old English *ā* in *home*, *stone* etc., i.e. as *hame*, *hyem* or the like; vowel 6 undiphthongised e.g. in (North of England) /huːs/ *house*, and so on; many lexical features including some already mentioned; and some grammatical features such as the *yae ~ yin* distinction, and [112] the word-orders *give me it*, *put the light on*. There are a number of other isoglosses which cut across the Border at an angle, including the *twaa ~ twae* opposition and others in phonology, and a large number of lexical features shown in Speitel (1978), Glauser (1974) and *The Linguistic Atlas of Scotland* vols. 1 and 2.[75] Yet when all of these are discounted the number of (more or less) important Scotticisms which extend only to or just over the Border is remarkably high, including:

SVLR as a whole;

Scots *nicht* ~ English [nɛit] and other examples;

innumerable realisational phenomena (a striking one is the realisations of vowel 19: universally unrounded in Scots as [ʌ], regularly rounded [ɷ] in Northern England; another is the different treatment of of the r-phoneme on either side of the Border);

some selectional forms and innumerable lexical items attested, especially, in Speitel (1978).

According to Glauser (1974: 284), "the dividing effect of the geographical Border can be expected to increase" as 'dialect words' – examples are *aye* (always), *poke* (bag), *redd* v. (comb), *ingan* (onion), *pooch* (pocket), *steek* v. (stitch), *soop* v. (sweep), *gaed* past tense (went), *kye* (cows), *shuin* (shoes), *een* (eyes) and *nicht* (night) (Glauser, 1974: *passim* and 276) – recede to the Border in Northern England, but are continued in daily use in Scotland, thanks, we assume, to the more persistent dialect loyalty of the Scots.[76]
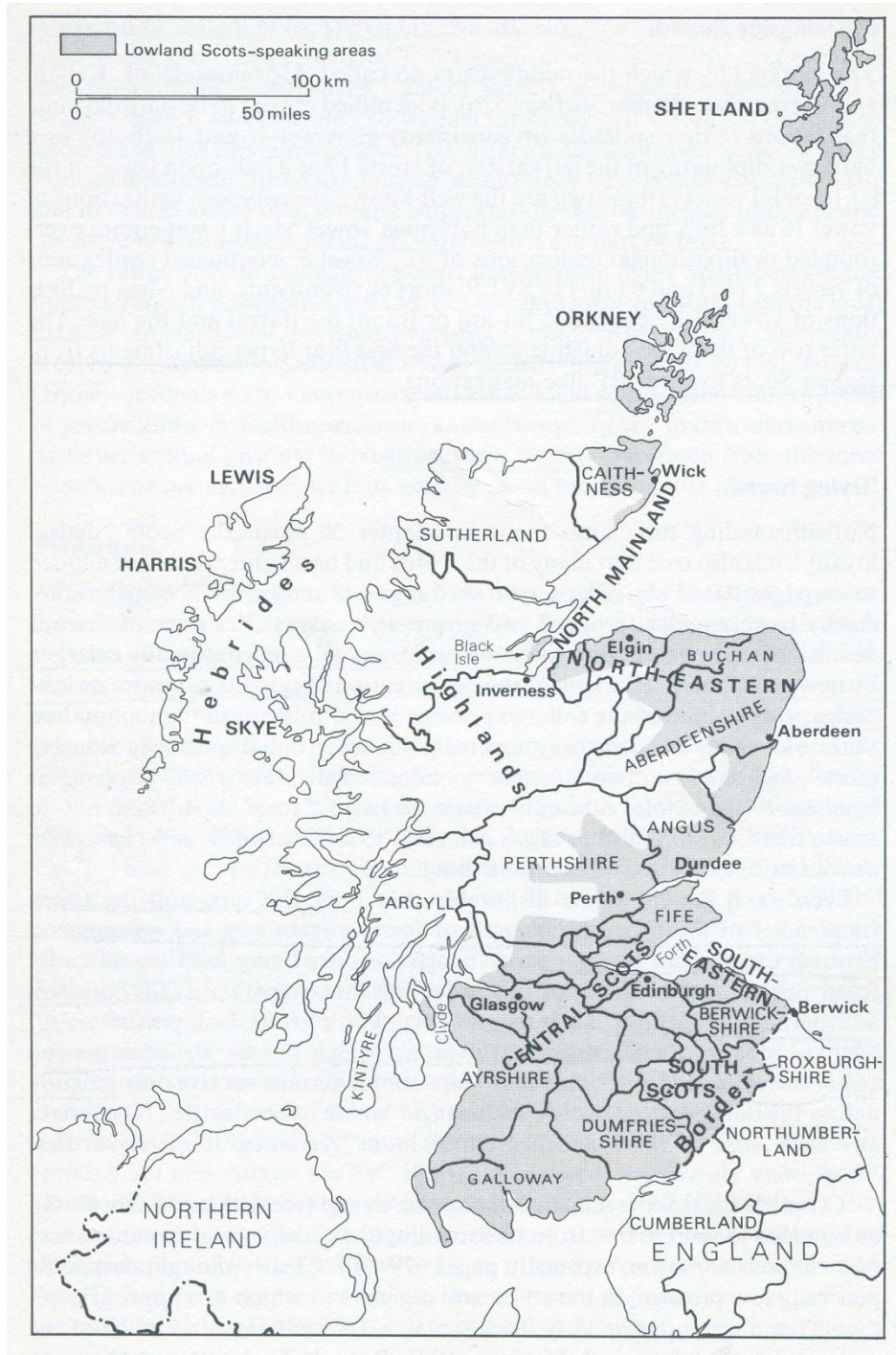
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[74] For more recent references, see Watt *et al.* (2014).

[75] Murray drew the linguistic border to the north of the political Border in the west, finding the dialect of Canobie and Liddesdale more like that of Cumberland (1873: 25 n. 1). Woolley, reporting preliminary findings of the Linguistic Survey of Scotland, observed that "whereas in the East the linguistic boundary is often well down in Central or South Northumberland, in the West the reverse situation is more common, with a Cumbrian (or sometimes a general Northern English) word spreading up into Dumfriesshire and sometimes even round into Galloway" (1955: 11). This tilting of the linguistic Border was likewise found by Glauser (1975: 251).

[76] This differential survival is more evident in the east, where a larger number of isoglosses run or formerly ran south of the Border (see previous note). Glauser (2000) revisited this topic, drawing on a wide range of data from various other studies. He introduced the term 'regional /r/' to cover a range of /r/ realisations in broad accents on both sides of the Border, in contrast to the alveolar approximant. The first results of a new sociolinguistic study of the Border are reported in Watt *et al.* (2014). These relate to regional /r/ and the presence or absence of post-vocalic /r/. The results show that for these variables the linguistic Border bears a close relationship to the political Border both in the west and in the east, but the picture is complicated by ongoing changes, especially amongst the young, some evidently below the level of consciousness.

Map 1 [6.1]

Key on map: Lowland Scots-speaking areas; 0–100 km; 0–50 miles

SHETLAND

ORKNEY

LEWIS

HARRIS

Hebrides

SKYE

CAITH-NESS · Wick

SUTHERLAND

NORTH MAINLAND

Black Isle

Highlands

Elgin · NORTH-EASTERN · BUCHAN

Inverness

ABERDEENSHIRE · Aberdeen

ANGUS

PERTHSHIRE · Dundee

Perth

ARGYLL

FIFE

SCOTS · Forth · SOUTH-EASTERN

Glasgow · Edinburgh · Berwick

Clyde · CENTRAL · BERWICK-SHIRE

KINTYRE · AYRSHIRE · SOUTH SCOTS · ROXBURGH-SHIRE

Border

DUMFRIES-SHIRE · NORTHUMBER-LAND

GALLOWAY

NORTHERN IRELAND

CUMBERLAND

ENGLAND

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Addendum A: Highland English

Editor's note: in his typescript for Matsumura ed. (1983) (see note 1), AJA has a longer section on Gaelic and Highland English, which is quoted below. Comments on the demographic status of Gaelic are omitted, as being out of date.

... ... A stereotype of the Gaelic speaker's (Lowland) Scots or Gaelic speaker's English has existed since the 15th century in Lowland Scottish literature. Among its features, recognised in some of these literary representations, are an anomalous treatment of the English or Scots vowel-quantities – tonic vowels may be of distinctly longer duration than the corresponding Lowland Scots vowels – and voiceless realisations of voiced plosives and affricates, and of other voiced consonants (*very good* appearing as 'ferry goot'). (Gaelic itself operates phonemic vowel-length, and realises the voiced-voiceless contrast in plosives as one between voiceless unaspirated and voiceless aspirated. In addition, it differs in many other notable ways from English and Scots in its phonology, its word-order – it has a VSO normal word-order – and its grammar, as well as, of course, in vocabulary. As a language it is very unlike English and Scots.)

Until quite recently a large area of mainland Scotland, the eastern as well as the western Highlands, lay within the Gaidhealtachd. ...

As readers of Samuel Johnson's (1775) and James Boswell's (1786) accounts of their Highland and Island tour of 1773 will recall, two centuries ago the peasant population of the mainland as well as the island Highlanders was largely monoglot Gaelic-speaking. As recently as 1873 Murray ('Present limits of the Celtic in Scotland', Appendix to Murray, 1873) found that the area in which Gaelic was "still spoken by any natives" virtually covered the entire mainland Highlands: the linguistic and the geographical 'Highland Line' were one and the same. In 1901 there were about 230,000 Gaelic speakers in Scotland of whom about 23,000 (or 10%) were monoglots, out of a total of 5 million Scots. Gaelic speakers then comprised 5.5% of the total population, and formed a majority of the population in more than one-third of the area of Scotland, including most of the Central and Northern Highlands and the Western Isles.

The conversion of this, albeit thinly populated, mountainous and poorly productive part of Scotland, yet comprising more than a third of the country's total land-mass, from Gaelic to English-speaking has, then, been recent and rapid. The Highland English which has succeeded Gaelic as the native language of the mainland part of this region shares, as might be expected, some of the features of Gaelicised English mentioned above, but lacks its most striking rhythmical and lexical anomalies. This Highland English is a variety of (Standard) *English* and not of Lowland Scots. It is evidently based on school English, learned from books and realised with a Gaelic accent, and not on the native vernacular of the Lowlands, and so lacks most of the characteristic Lowland Scots features of vocabulary, idiom, phonology and phonetics ...

One manifestation of Highland English is the English speech of the town of Inverness. Since the eighteenth century (Johnson, 1775, 2005) and still commonly today (e.g. *Radio Times (Scotland)* 13–19 January 1979, p. 21), the English of Inverness has been reputed the 'best' or 'purest' of all forms of English. This myth was no doubt sustained by the striking phonetic and lexical contrast between this school English and the broad Lowland Scots vernacular of Morayshire and Banffshire some twenty odd miles to the east, which in the eighteenth and eighteenth centuries was fairly strongly stigmatised (see the remarks on the speech of Peterhead and Banff cited in Aitken, 1979: 97–8).[77] Johnson himself believed that what he called the peculiar elegance of the English of Inverness[78] resulted from the influence of a garrison of English soldiers settled there under Cromwell, but the real explanation is more probably that given above.

Addendum B: Highland Scots

Editor's note: AJA had assembled a folder of material labelled 'Our Highland Neighbours' with notes towards a talk or paper on Lowlanders' representation and stereotyping of the Highlander from the 15th century onwards. I must leave it to some other hand to take up this topic, but it may be useful to provide an outline of AJA's materials.[79]

The talk or paper was to include Lowland comments on the Highland way of life, character and language, and representations of Highland Scots/English. In a similar way to many of the papers in Kay and Mackay (2005), it demonstrates the usefulness of DOST as an index to the body of surviving works in Older Scots: many relevant sources are quoted in DOST s.vv. *bard*, *bardrie*, *Ersch(e)* (and related entries), *Heland*, *Heland-man*, *Lawland*, *Lawland-man*, *Red(e)s(c)hank(e)*; and also in SND s.v. *Hieland*, *Hielandman*, *Lallan*.

AJA observes that the Highlander's "broken Scots" is the "oldest established" of the "popular stereotypes of particular varieties of Scots", the next being North-Eastern Scots in 1692.[80]

The file includes a handout and some photocopied pages, with a selection of texts in which Highlanders are represented as speaking Scots, or broken Scots or English, sometimes mixed with words and phrases in (mangled) Gaelic; or in which comments are made on language. There are examples of the persistent stereotype of Highland Scots/English using the third person singular feminine pronouns for the first person, which has never been confirmed by reliable modern witnesses; as well as the polite use of the reflexive pronouns (which has also influenced Lowland speech), and the reflexive *nainsel* (by redivision of *mine/thine ain sel*), which is stereotypically associated with Highland speakers (especially in combination with *her* as above), though *nainsel* itself is also attested in Scots generally (see *The Scottish National Dictionary* s.v. *nain* adj.).

1.   Richard Holland 'The Buke of the Houlat' (c. 1450):

        Raike her a rug of the rost, or scho sall ryme the.
        Mich McMory ach mach mometir mochloch,
        etc.;

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[77] See 'Scots and English in Scotland' in the present edition (n. 10) for the Peterhead and Banff references.
[78] "... the language of this town has been long considered as peculiarly elegant" (Johnson, 1775, 2005).
[79] See also Addendum to 'Variation and variety in written Middle Scots' (1971, 2015) in the present edition.
[80] A character in Archibald Pitcairne's play *The Assembly*. See the quoted passage in Görlach (2002: 215–7).

2., 3.   William Dunbar and Walter Kennedy 'The Flyting' (c. 1500)

where Dunbar heaps abuse on Kennedy as an Ersch (Irish, i.e. Gaelic) cateran, and Kennedy maintains that Irish should be the language of true Scotsmen;

4.   William Dunbar 'Dance of the Seven Deadly Sins' (c. 1500–1510)

where the Devil is deafened by the yelling of the Erschemen;

5.   Two pieces from the Bannatyne MS (c. 1568):

(i)   'Ane anser to ane helandmanis Invectiue maid be alex[r] montgomry':

> Callin feane aggis endoy
> ffirry braldich ilk ane
> etc.;

(ii)   'How the first Helandman of god was maid of Ane horse turd in argylle as is said'

in which the Highlandman is stereotyped as an inveterate thief; his speech is simply in Scots;

6.   'John Highlandman's Remarks', a broadside (c. 1700), from *Fugitive Scotish Poetry of the XVII Century* (Second Series, Edinburgh 1853). A long poem purportedly describing city sights from a Highlander's point of view:

> and teir prougs [brogues] hat high clogs bene a' teir heel,
> Shust like the upper muckle end
> Of her nain shell's snuff-mill
> etc.

7.   from *The Historie and Cronicles of Scotland* by Robert Lindesay of Pitscottie, ed. Æ. J. G. Mackay (Scottish Text Society, 1899: I, 196–8) (late 16th century):

an anecdote about a Highlandman who was with the Bishop of Dunkeld before the Battle of Bosworth and is stereotyped as a habitual thief; his speech is simply in Scots;

8.   from William Cleland *The Highland Host* (1678), a poem disparaging Highlanders:

> If any ask her of her thrift,
> Forsooth her nainsell lives by thift
> etc.;

9.   from *Journals of John Lauder, Lord Fountainhall*, 'Amboise':

an anecdote about a Highlander forgetting the name by which his child was to be christened: "shame fall it, ay hir oune selfe hes forgotten it ..."

AJA had also noted:

10.   'Union tracts', *The Scottish Antiquary* XII (July 1897), for 'Te Address far te Fishers on te Highland Coasts ...' (pp. 105-8).