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The pronunciation entries for the CSD (1985)¹

Edited by Caroline Macafee, 2015

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^[134] In the *Concise Scots Dictionary* (CSD) we have given by phonetic transcription a representative set of pronunciations for every entry in the dictionary, with the following exceptions.

The exceptions, entries not accompanied by a phonetic transcription, are:

1. Those whose spelling and pronunciation agree with the same word in Standard English, e.g. *certificate*, or *gallon* in Table 1.
2. Entries whose spellings, according to the ordinary rules of general English orthography, appear unambiguously to imply their pronunciations (with the additional assumption that if there is no statement or implication by normal rule of English stress-position, stress is on the initial syllable): e.g. *cantrip*, and *gallyie* in Table 1.

Apart from these, which, so to speak, do not need a transcription, there is another, smaller, set which strictly does, but is also left untranscribed. These are a very few words of limited currency – uncommon or ephemeral – nearly all obsolete, whose pronunciation seems likely to be difficult or impossible to ascertain. So if there is no transcription, this means either that the reader is expected to apply his knowledge of ordinary English to the spellings or that his guess is as good as mine. But nearly always it is the first of these; there are really very few of the second sort (none in Table 1).

I described above the entries for which no transcriptions have been provided. Transcriptions *are* provided for entries some or all of the spellings of which seem ambiguous or misleading. Except when initial, or in a word such as *coach*, any *ch* spelling will normally trigger a transcription to disambiguate [tʃ] and [ʃ] and [x]. Similarly with *th* (the voiceless or the voiced sound?), *ou* and *ow*, non-initial *s*, and so on. The form *excaise* will get a

¹ A modified and updated version of a paper delivered to the Fourth International Conference on Scottish Language and Literature, Medieval and Renaissance, at the Scottish Studies Centre, Fachbereich Angewandte Sprachwissenschaft der Johannes Gutenberg-Universität Mainz, Gernersheim, Fed. Rep. of Germany, 26–31 July 1984.

Editor's note: originally published in *Dictionaries 7* (1985) 134–50. A slightly different version, closer to the original conference paper, was published in D. Strauss and H. W. Drescher eds., *Scottish Language and Literature, Medieval and Renaissance, Fourth International Conference 1984 Proceedings* (Peter Lang: Frankfurt am Main, 1986), 35–46.

The text has been edited for uniformity of style with other Aitken papers and some bibliographical references have been expanded or added. 'Scots' has been substituted for 'Scottish' with reference to the language, and 'Southern Scots' for 'South Scots'. The original page numbers are shown in square brackets. The change of bibliographic style means that the original notes have been dropped. Since digital publication does not suffer the same constraints of space as hard copy, the lists of examples are laid out more expansively, though it will sometimes be obvious that they started off as connected text in the original. All notes after the first are editorial.

transcription to show that both noun and verb are pronounced [ek'skeɪz] and that there is no noun ^[135] form [**ek'skɪz] as might have been expected, and *ewest* will get a transcription to show that there is only [ˈjuɪst] and no [**i:wɪst].

For those words that do attract transcriptions, all reasonably well evidenced forms are given, except for a few cases where there is a plethora of variant pronunciations like [ˈkɔʃb(ə)l], [ˈswɪʃp(ə)l], [ˈskɔʃb(ə)l], [ˈskɔʃɪbl], [ˈskɔʃɪbl] and others (*coachbell*, the word for an earwig), when only a representative selection of the various forms is given. When possible, too, the different forms are approximately localised: for example, *coachbell*, and *gaiter* in Table 1.

Table 1

CSD: Sample Phonetic Entries

gaiter, gader &c [ˈgeðər, ˈgɛðər; *Sh also* ˈgad-; *NW Kcd Ags also* ˈgɪð-, ˈgɪd-]
gaive (no transcription)
galash, gallash [gəˈlɑʃ]
Galashiels &c [galəˈʃilz]
galat [ˈgalət]
Galatian, Galoshan [gaˈlɑʃən, -ˈlɔʃən, go-]
gall &c [gal, gal] = gale, bog-myrtle
gallant *adj.* [ˈgalənt, *-and]
v. [gaˈlant] gad about, flirt
gallant² [ˈgalənt] *n.* = galloon, ribbon
gallivaster [ˈgalɪˈvɑstər] a gadabout
gallon (no transcription)
gallows [ˈgaləs, -əz]
galluses [ˈgaləsɪz]
gallyie (no transcription)
galore, gillore [gəˈlɔr]
galtags [ˈgaltəgz]
galya [ˈgəˈlɑɪə] a safe-conduct, *e16*
galzeard [ˈgaljɑrd, *-jɑrt]
gam (no transcription)
gamaleerie [gaməˈlɪrɪ, -ˈrɪrɪ]
game, gam, gemm [gɛm, gem, *gam]
^[136] **gamrel** (no transcription)
gan [gɑn, gan; *gen] *vi* = go
gandiegow [ˈgɑndɪˈgɑu, -ˈgɔ] *n* a squall

Forms that have been definitely attested within the present century are treated as current forms. In addition, pronunciation transcriptions are given for forms that are apparently no longer current, including forms that occurred in Early and Middle Scots but apparently not subsequently. So, in Table 1, see *gallant*², *gallivaster*, *galya*, *galzeard*, *game* and *gan*. Forms of this sort, whose pronunciation has to be inferred by phonological reconstruction, rather than known by aural observation (as recorded in SND or elsewhere) or by native speaker introspection, – these reconstructed forms are marked with an asterisk. Later, I will explain the principles for representing the sounds of these obsolete forms. The Modern Scots vowel system used in the transcriptions and the corresponding Middle and Early Scots systems are set out here as Table 2.

[137–9] Table 2

The vowel system for phonetic transcriptions

(Note: only the Modern Scots system – the left-hand column – is used in the transcriptions themselves.)

Modern Scots	Examples	Middle Scots (Rough Outline)	Early Scots
i	<i>beast, beat, beal, beenge, dead, dee (die), see, sea</i>	i:	e: (2) e: (3) ei (11)
e	<i>aiss (ashes), gate, bait, bairn, bailie, ain, beal, dead, gae, day</i>	e:	e: (3) a: (4) ai (8)
ɪ	<i>miss, bit, mill, find, fuit, birl, bird, nixt, gird, begotted (bigoted)</i>	ɪ	ɪ (15)
ë	<i>bird, devil, earth, next, seven, yird</i>	ɪ	ɪ (15)
ɛ	<i>gless, get, bedellus, serd (served), Perth, hecht, ken, meh (cry of sheep)</i>	ɛ	ɛ (16)
a	<i>lassie, pat (pot), tram, hand, bar, ball [bal], baa</i>	a	a (17)
ɑ	<i>fause, saut (salt), chaumer, hand, bar, ba' (ball), snaw</i>	a:	au (12) al (12a)
ʌ	<i>buss, butt, bud (bribe), mill, fur, grund, burd</i>	u	u (19)
ə	<i>bannock, bafuff [bə'fʌf], smeddum, stotter, stottin pres. p., brouden</i>	ə	Various vowels
o	<i>boss, cot, loch, thole, afore, brose, proven, horse, jo</i>	o o:	o (18) o: (5)
u	<i>louse, about, south, hour, now, bulk [buk], full [fu]</i>	u:	u: (6) ul (6a)
ø	<i>uise n., uize v., fruit, muin, puir, do (in Northern dialects represented by /i/) (in Central dialects represented by /e/ (SVLR long), /ɪ/ (SVLR short))</i>	ø:	ø: (7)
əi	<i>wice, gyte, bide, bailie, oil, join, poison, gey, May, wey</i>	ei ui ei#	i: (1s) ui (10) ai# (8a)
aɪ	<i>guise, rive, byre, kye, ay (yes), treacle, wey</i>	ei	i: (1l)
oi	<i>noise, doit, Boyd, boy, foy</i>	oi	oi (9)
ʌu	<i>louse (loose), nowt (cattle), owre (over), sowder (solder), know (knoll), chow (chew)</i>	ou	ou (13) ol (13a)
ju	<i>beuch (bough), eneuch (enough), heuk (hook), feu, due, bews (boughs)</i>	iu	eu (14) iu (14)

[140] CSD is thus the only dictionary to specify pronunciations as well as provide spellings for the great majority of both present and past Scots word-forms. In the second of these

respects it is of course all but unique. It is true that SND very occasionally provides transcriptions for words it actually marks as obsolete: examples are *impignorate*, *improbation*, *ingrowth* [ɪnˈgrʌθ] and *intercommune*.² But the number of these is quite small and the selection apparently capricious. Unlike CSD, SND does not of course include pre-1700 Scotticisms, which are only to be found in the *Dictionary of the Older Scottish Tongue* (DOST) and the *Oxford English Dictionary* (OED).

Some might say that SND is being only prudent when it says nothing about the pronunciation of obsolete forms. I am afraid it also quite often overlooks quite necessary pronunciation indications for current words, without which it is certain that some of its consulters will be at a loss. E.g.:

is *bedellus* [ˈbɪdəlʌs] or [ˈbɛdəlʌs] or [bəˈdɛlʌs]?

Is *ephor* (a prefect in Edinburgh Academy) [ˈɪfɔr] or [ˈɛfɔr] or what?

Is *galore*, *gilore* [ˈgɛlɔr] or [ˈgəɪlɔr] or what?³

How do you pronounce *foustica(i)t*? [fu?] [fʌu?] [s?] [z?] [stress-pattern?]?

Is *habile* [həˈbəl] or [ˈhebəl]?

What is the stress-pattern of *covenanter*?

In all these cases, and many others, SND fails to say. SND gives pronunciations for only a selection of its legal words and phrases. It has *caution* and *legitim* and *litis* [ˈlɪtɪs] *contestation*, but it omits *meliorate* [ˈmɪl-] and *ex capite lecti* [-aɪ]. It omits most place-names which enter into compounds or idioms, like *Balmoral*, *Corstorphine*, *Dunlop*, *Galashiels*, *Sanquhar* [ˈsɒŋxər], and it does from its place-name Appendix, but some non-Scots will hesitate to pronounce these names without guidance. CSD certainly is not intended solely for native Scots, nor, I presume, was SND. And SND is unhelpful about initial, final and level-stress compounds (it often gives initial- where it ought to give level-stress).

CSD attempts to make good all of these deficiencies. So CSD's coverage of Scottish pronunciation throughout the vocabulary, both current and obsolete, is, I suppose, quite unrivalled, even by SND.

^[141] But this is not to say that CSD does not itself fall some way short of exhaustive. We could of course only supply information that was readily accessible when the work was done. There are no doubt deviant local forms which have escaped all of our sources, like e.g. the local variant [lɒp] of *lip* in some dialects: I happen to have recorded this, but it is not elsewhere on record. To pick up all forms of all words we would have had at the very least to employ a team of fieldworkers going round the country in camper-vans, as was done for the *Dictionary of American Regional English*. For several obvious reasons this was not even conceivable for SND, and David Murison's system of local sub-editors and sheet questionnaires was at best only a partial substitute. But even if they had the data to do better, CSD at least could hardly afford the space.

It is for the same reason, lack of adequate unambiguous data, that we decided not to enter those forms in certain dialects which contain one or other of the following four additional vowel and diphthong phonemes (Table 3).

² In the conference paper version (see n. 1) AJA notes: "SND [-ˈkɒmən], but my informant [-ˈkɒmjən]".

³ In the conference paper version (see n. 1) AJA adds: "(of course it is [gəˈlɔr])".

[142] Table 3

Additional vowel phonemes, not as a rule treated by CSD

Modern Scots	Examples	Middle Scots (Rough Outline)	Early Scots
e: <i>or</i> e:ə (Angus, East Fife, and elsewhere)	<i>bait, wait, hail, tail, pain</i>	ɛi	ai (8)
o: (Perthshire, Angus and elsewhere)	<i>boat, coat, note, thole</i>	o:	o: (5)
ei (also realised in some places as a rising diphthong [ei̯] (Caithness, Black Isle, ?Buchan north coast))	<i>aince, bread, claes, ease, sweat, wait</i>	ʔɛi	Early Scots
			ɛ: (3)
			ai (8)
			a: (4)
iu (Conservative Southern Scots, corresponding to /ju/ elsewhere)	<i>heuch, rule, brew, new</i>	iu	eu (14)
			iu (14)

[143] In general, SND fails to make clear in which words these phonemes occur and it so happens that none of the reliable dialect monographs takes in the regions where most of them exist. This does not of course mean that the words in question will not be transcribed. But, with the exception of only a few items containing the phonemes /ei/ or /iu/, the transcriptions cover only well-attested forms from dialects other than those which make use of these additional phonemes.

There are, however, two extra Scottish Standard English phonemes that *do* appear in the transcriptions, especially for legal expressions as pronounced by Scottish lawyers, who in general of course are Scottish Standard English, not vernacular Scots, speakers. These are given in Table 4.

Table 4

Additional Scottish Standard English phonemes

Scots vowel	Modern Scottish Standard English	Anglo-English Vowel
ɔ	<i>clare constat</i> [ˈkɔnstət], <i>homologate</i> [hɔˈmɒləɡət], <i>interlocutor</i> [intərˈlɒkətər]	ɒ
ɔɪ	<i>joint, conjoin, soil, royal</i>	ɔɪ

I have already mentioned several ways in which I think CSD's pronunciation entries improve on SND's. Another one is this. Table 5 gives examples of the very complex pronunciation entries that are typical of the first three volumes of SND (the volumes edited by William Grant), along with the corresponding entries in CSD.

[144] Table 5

SND early volumes: some pronunciation entries

ass, aise, ase [as Ork., Edb. + es, Lnk., sm.Sc., S.Sc.; es Sh., Cai., ne.Sc., e.Per., Fif., Edb. + as; e's Ags.; es Sh. +es + e:z; ɔs Lth., +e,⁴ Rnf.; ɔ:z, as, es Ayr]

CSD [as, es]

ba' [ba: +a: I.Sc., n.Sc.; bɔ: em.Sc., wm.Sc. but Arg. ba:; bɒ: sm.Sc., s.Sc.]

CSD [bɑ]

bed [bɛd, bèd Sc.; bæd s. Sc.]

CSD (no transcription)

One difference between SND and CSD here is that SND pretends to what I suspect is an illusory or spurious precision in its account of the local distribution of fairly minutely differentiated forms.⁵ But the more important difference of course is that CSD's transcription system employs the theory of structural dialectology, which was only beginning to develop when Grant was compiling his volumes, though it is now I daresay generally accepted and used by dialectologists (Petyt, 1980: especially ch. 5 'Structural dialectology').

According to this theory, in the version of it used by CSD, the Scots dialects share a common system of phonemes – a diasystem – but each individual dialect has its own local realisations of each common phoneme. So the phoneme we symbolise as /a/ is realised as an open unrounded sound, nearly always long, in all of its phonetic environments, in most Southern and Northern dialects as [a:] or [ɑ:], but in most Central Scots dialects as an open to half-open lip-rounded sound [ɔ:],⁶ e.g. in the word for *fall*, Northern [fa:] or [fɑ:], Central

⁴ Sic in SND; read [es].

⁵ In the conference paper version (see n. 1) AJA adds: "in fact, I believe *The Linguistic Atlas of Scotland* vol. III will often clash with this in its detailed local forms". This was written before the publication of vol. III, but AJA had examined some of the raw data in the course of preparing 'The Scottish Vowel-length Rule' (1981, 2015).

⁶ In the original, AJA uses the symbol [ɔ:]. This is rather a narrow transcription (perhaps he was thinking of the traditional philological representation of this vowel as \bar{o} , a lowered *o*) and implies a distinction, which does not exist, between this vowel of Central Scots and Scottish Standard English /ɔ/.

[fɔː]. Similarly, the phoneme /ɛ/ is realised as (more or less) [e] in some Northern dialects, [ɛ] or [ɛː] in some Central dialects,⁷ [æ] in South-Eastern and Southern dialects: e.g. in the word for *bed*, [bed], [bɛd], [bæd], and so on. Thus, once the common phoneme is stated, it is possible for the speaker of any particular local dialect to ^[145] interpret that according to his own local rules of realisation. CSD's Introduction (§5.4.1) attempts to explain this principle, using these examples.

We tried to choose the symbols for the common phonemes so that they offered a reasonable compromise between the various regional realisations, and also so that anyone who does not speak a local dialect can nevertheless achieve a plausible imitation of Scots if he simply gives the symbols their usual I.P.A. values. That was one aim guiding the choice of symbols – that of achieving an acceptable compromise representation covering the principal variant local realisations. Another aim has been to minimise the number of special letters and diacritics so as to make the transcriptions as plain and simple as possible.

From what I have been saying it follows also that when CSD gives more than one transcribed form for a single word, e.g. for *gaither* or *gan* in Table 1, the different transcribed forms specify *selectionally* (or, as some would say, phonemically or distributionally) different forms, and are *not* merely specifying different *realisations* – the different forms shown contain quite distinct sounds, not merely local variants of the same sound.

The simplification of presentation I have just described represents an improvement, as I think it, mainly over the presentations supplied by SND's first editor, William Grant. His successor, David Murison, operates with a much broader sweep of his brush, and his results are intentionally more general and more like CSD's. Even so, he too often gives two or more transcriptions where only one is really necessary, for /ɑ/ and for /ø/ for example – as for *gaun* (s.v. *gae*) and for *guid-*, and he occasionally interprets the Southern Scots realisation of /ɛ/ as if it were an example of /a/, e.g. for *herrin* and the Southern Scots realisation of /ɪ/ as if it were an example of /ɛ/, e.g. for *gliff* and *yaird* n².

The system of common phonemes used in CSD is essentially that of my earlier writings on the phonology of Scots (Aitken, 1971, 2015; 1977, 2015; 1981, 2015; 1984, 2015);⁸ I believe also that it can readily be aligned with both ^[146] the basic and the expanded systems presented in the forthcoming *Linguistic Atlas of Scotland* vol. III.⁹

Another innovation to be seen in CSD's transcription methods is that it makes almost no use of the vowel-length mark. This is of course because, as is now I suppose well-known, vowel-length in Scots is for each vowel in each dialect predictable by rule: some vowels maintain approximately constant vowel-length, others vary allophonically with their environment according to the local variant of the Scottish Vowel-length Rule (see further CSD 'Introduction' §5.4.2). So it seemed necessary to mark vowel-length only when there is a contrast with the length expected by the Rule. Examples are *-mou'd* [muːd]¹⁰ to contrast with the regular short vowel in *loud* [lud]; or *eelist* (a fault or flaw) with long [iː-]; or the Shetland form of *meith* (a landmark) [miːd], compare *need* [nid]; or the discussion of the vowel-lengths of the various forms of the word *Gaelic* in the entry for that word.

I have still to describe how we handled reconstructed pronunciations, the asterisked transcriptions of obsolete earlier Scots words. One option, I suppose, would have been to transcribe the reconstructed forms in terms of either or both the Middle Scots and the Early

⁷ More accurately, [ɛː] in some East Coast dialects.

⁸ For a detailed account of the vowel phonology, see †Aitken (2002), summarised in Macafee and †Aitken (2002). Aitken (1977, 2015) is brought up-to-date, in line with AJA's later thinking, in Macafee and †Aitken (2003, 2015).

⁹ AJA is referring to an interpretation of Scots vowel systems by Catford (1957); in the event, this was not employed in *The Linguistic Atlas of Scotland*.

¹⁰ The length of the vowel in 'mou'd' is in fact regular, as it is followed by a morpheme boundary (*mou#ed*).

Scots columns in Table 2. These derive from the systems I reconstructed for these stages of the language, which I set out in my paper ‘How to pronounce Older Scots’ (1977, 2015) and elsewhere (see references above). To transcribe in terms of these putative earlier systems would not have been impossible. But one objection to it would seem to be that it would be confusing to the reader if he was constantly having to switch between different phonemic systems and sets of symbolisations for the various different stages in the history of the language.

Since we are mainly interested in stating each form’s phoneme selections and not the precise realisations of the various phonemes, we decided to confine ourselves to identifying the phoneme in every case by its symbol from the *Modern Scots* (not Early or Middle Scots) column of ^[147] Table 2; on the other hand, we specified the earlier stress-patterns as we believe them to have been at the time. So we have specified the phoneme selections for earlier Scots in terms of Modern Scots common phonemes, and both the current forms and the reconstructed obsolete forms are transcribed with the same Modern Scots phoneme symbols. In effect, we have transcribed in what I called in ‘How to pronounce Older Scots’ the Modern Recitation Scots Model, representing the obsolete forms with the pronunciations that we believe they would have if they had survived to the present day. Those who want suggested approximations to the putative realisations of these phonemes in earlier times I would refer either to ‘How to pronounce Older Scots’ or to the Middle Scots and Early Scots columns in Table 2. The numbers given in the Early Scots column in Table 2 are the vowel numbers used in ‘How to pronounce Older Scots’ and in my other writings on Scots phonology. With the exception of the /əi/ phoneme, converting from the Modern Scots transcriptions to the Middle Scots Rough Outline realisations is simple; the /əi/ phoneme needs a little guidance or study, but it is not too hard to work out; converting from Modern Scots to *Early Scots* is obviously much less straightforward, but ‘How to pronounce Older Scots’ gives some guidelines.¹¹

That is as much as I have time to say about what we have tried to do. How, one might wish to ask, do we do it? in other words, what were the Discovery Procedures?

I daresay these depend less heavily on introspection than do modern pronunciation dictionaries of English such as Jones (1917). Even so, introspection did certainly play quite a large part, as I drew on my own and occasionally on my colleagues’ internalised knowledge of Modern Scots pronunciations.

My external resources began with SND, but SND treated critically and cautiously and corrected where there is contrary evidence. SND only sporadically makes clear what its authority is for a particular pronunciation. In the first three volumes especially these often depend on the editor’s interpretation of single occasional spellings and these I generally ignored. E.g. ^[148] the form [**kʌm¹sturi], which Grant alleges as a variant of *camstair*, appears to depend on a single spelling *cumsturie*, which could easily be a misprint, in an obscure work of 1902, A. Wardrop’s *Hamely Sketches*. The alleged variants of [kriʃ] or [kris] as [**kreʃ] and [**krəiʃ] for *creesh* both depend on single spellings. After the letter C, Murison had the advantage of his voluntary sub-editors and his circulated sheet questionnaires so he has far fewer dubieties of this sort. But he does have some. For the word *jowgs* he gives only the erroneous modern antiquary’s spelling-pronunciation [ɕʊgz]: CSD reconstructs the several attested and phonologically plausible forms [ɕʌgz], [ɕogz], [ɕoks], [ɕʌgz].

In addition to SND’s statements and my own knowledge, I consulted a battery of other resources: to wit, spellings and rhymes, especially as reported by SND, and occasionally in other works; for stress-patterns, behaviour in verse; my preconceptions as to phonological

¹¹ The indices to †Aitken (2002) give further assistance.

plausibility; and, especially, statements by other observers I consider reliable, namely, Wilson (1916, 1925, 1926, 1927), Watson (1923), Dieth (1932), Wettstein (1942), Zai (1942), Jakobsen (1928–32), Marwick (1929), *The Linguistic Atlas of Scotland* vols. I and II¹² and *The English Dialect Dictionary* (including *The English Dialect Grammar*); and one small piece of field-work, namely, a collection of Scottish lawyers' pronunciations from a professor of Scots law. Occasionally, too, I had to make other casual enquiries, for example to ascertain that the Edinburgh Academy word *ephor* ['ɛfɔr] is indeed so pronounced.

As for the reconstructed forms, I brought to bear on the visible evidence of spelling and rhyme in DOST, OED and the earlier texts themselves my notions about the development of the Scots sound-system from Old English to the present, which are set out in my writings listed above; complemented of course with my interpretations of the theories and data set out in the various text-books of the history of English sounds.

In many cases the reconstructions achieved by these methods seem quite dependable. But in some they are not. The obsolete word *cappell* ['kapl], a horse, is confirmed in that ^[149] pronunciation by only two spellings – one in Older Scots in Dunbar's text, one in 1884. The other spellings and the word's history would allow of a possible [*'kepl] pronunciation. SND gives only ['kapl], no doubt by inference from the one spelling I mentioned. For want of positive evidence to the contrary I have followed that. The word *stathel* (the foundation of a stack) might *a priori* have had the pronunciations [**'steðl] and [**'staðl]; the only real indications are the forms ['steθl] and ['staθl] given by SND, so perforce one accepts them.

Another problem that will occur to persons adept in dialect phonology is that of those phoneme mergers of qualitatively similar phonemes which leave it a moot question to which of the two merged phonemes to assign a given merged form. For example, in parts of North-East Scotland the phonemes /e/ and /ɛ/ merge under [e]: so to which of these should one assign ['ɛdər] (a straw-rope used in thatching a stack), which appears to occur only in this area? The etymology suggests that this originated as vowel 16 (Early Scots /ɛ/), not vowel 4 (Early Scots /a:/), so CSD transcribes it with [ɛ], though SND plays safe by giving both [e] and [ɛ]. Other cases of this sort involve vowel 17 /a/ and vowel 12 /ɑ/ in some areas, and vowel 15 /ɪ/ and vowel 16 /ɛ/ in some areas and/or some phonetic environments. There is of course a range of other types of problem. For example, how do we conclude that *eelist* (a fault or flaw) had a long not a short initial ['i:-]?¹³ But to deal properly with this sort of problem would call for a separate paper on its own. As you see, however, some *ad-hocery* has been employed: this I cannot deny.

Even after this, there remain a number of specially intractable individual problems, which simply leave one guessing. Some of these have been left without transcription; for others the query symbol has been called into use, placed before the conjectured transcription.

On this uncharacteristic note of dubiety and fallibility I conclude.

¹² Expanded from the original, which lists only the names of the authorities and refers to "the Linguistic Atlases". Possibly *The Linguistic Atlas of England* should also be listed. *The English Dialect Grammar* (Wright, 1905) was published separately as well as forming part of vol. VI of *The English Dialect Dictionary*.

¹³ The reader will find a clue in the fact that the word is composed of two morphemes: see CSD s.v. *ee*.

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