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Citation for published version:
Maguire, W 2012, English and Scots in Scotland. in R Hickey (ed.), *Areal Features of the Anglophone World.* . Mouton de Gruyter, pp. 53-78. <http://www.degruyter.com/view/product/181459?format=G>

Link:
Link to publication record in Edinburgh Research Explorer

Document Version:
Publisher's PDF, also known as Version of record

Published In:
Areal Features of the Anglophone World.

Publisher Rights Statement:
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English and Scots in Scotland

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1. Introduction

The linguistic situation in Scotland is as complex as anywhere in the anglophone world. Scottish Gaelic was spoken throughout most of Scotland in the medieval period, but by the beginning of the nineteenth century had become restricted to the Highlands and Western Isles (MacAulay 1992). Throughout the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, the geographical and social distribution of Gaelic continued to contract, to the point where it has largely become restricted, amongst native speakers at least, to the Western Isles and isolated pockets in the Highlands. In this long process of language shift and language death, Scots replaced Gaelic in the Lowlands whilst English replaced (and continues to replace) Gaelic in the Highlands.

Both Scots and English derive from the Germanic language, Old English. Scots is derived from Anglian dialects spoken in northern England and southeast Scotland, considerably influenced by Old Norse as a result of the Viking settlement of northern and eastern England (Corbett *et al.* 2003: 6). This 'Anglo-Scandinavian' variety expanded across Lowland Scotland in the medieval period, replacing Gaelic. Up until the sixteenth century Scots was an autonomous variety (albeit one closely related to English and part of the same dialect continuum), but with the considerable political changes in subsequent centuries, Scots became heteronomous with respect to English, which was adopted by the upper classes of Scottish society (Corbett *et al.* 2003: 11-14; see also Chambers and Trudgill 1980: 10-14). This language (or dialect) shift gave rise to a specifically Scottish L2 (or 'D2') variety of English usually termed Scottish Standard English (SSE; Corbett et al. 2003: 13, Johnston 2007: 108-9). To begin with, the relationship between SSE and Scots was a diglossic one, but a situation of diaglossia has developed over much of Lowland Scotland (especially in urban areas) although this is more the case in some areas than others (e.g. the Northern Isles) (Auer 2005; see in particular Johnston 1997b: 438-440). Given that the two varieties are closely related, and given the considerable degree of geographical differentiation within 'basilectal' Scots, it is hardly

possible to identify two varieties in this diaglossic situation – which has been called a 'bipolar Scots-English continuum' (Stuart-Smith 2004). The term 'Scottish English' can be used to refer to a range of varieties in this continuum.

A rather different situation pertains in the Highlands and Western Isles, where Gaelic has been replaced by English, not Scots. This has led to the development of Highland and Hebridean English (HHE) – in origin L2 varieties influenced by Gaelic (Shuken 1984; Bird 1997; Clement 1997). In many areas, HHE is used as a first language, and has been for some time; in other areas, it may still be considered an L2 variety.

Other languages have impacted on the development of varieties in Scotland to varying degrees, including French, Latin, Dutch and Low German (Macafee 1997), and the languages of (relatively) recent immigrants (see, for example, Stuart-Smith et al. 2011 on Glaswasian and Schleef et al. *forthcoming* on the language of Polish immigrants in Edinburgh). In addition to playing a central role in the formation of Anglo-Scandinavian, Old Norse has influenced the development of Gaelic in western Scotland (and, transitively, HHE; Thomson 1994: 104-5) and has, in the form of the extinct language Norn, influenced the varieties of Scots spoken in the Northern Isles (Knooihuizen 2009).

As all of these linguistic strands indicate, Scotland is far from isolated, linguistically or geographically. Language in Scotland has particularly close relations with varieties in two areas which are geographically contiguous – northern England and northern Ireland. Southern Scots and northern English dialects must always have formed something of a dialect continuum, albeit with some bundling of features on or around the Scottish/English Border. A similar situation obtains between Scotland and northern Ireland, which have long been linked linguistically. In particular, the settlement of large numbers of Scottish Planters in northern parts of Ireland in the seventeenth century led to the establishment of varieties of Scots (Ulster Scots) in counties Antrim, Donegal, Down and (London)Derry, and contributed towards the formation of distinctive varieties of English elsewhere in northern Ireland (Montgomery and Gregg 1997).

The history of language in Scotland has been a history of language and dialect contact, which has given rise to a unique range of interconnected varieties. Not surprisingly, many linguistic (areal) features are shared by more than one of these varieties (and some spill beyond the borders of Scotland), and this chapter discusses some of the key patterns which characterise this complex linguistic melting-pot. In Section 2, I examine shared features between Scots and SSE and between Scots

dialects. In Section 3, I consider the importance of urban centres such as Glasgow and Edinburgh in the spread of linguistic feature into and within Scotland. In Section 4, I examine the effects of contact between Gaelic, Scots and Scottish English, and in Section 5, I briefly consider the impact of contact with Norse varieties. In Sections 6 and 7, I examine the relationship between varieties in Scotland and those in neighbouring areas – northern England and northern Ireland respectively.

2.   Scots and Scottish (Standard) English

One of the most striking geographical, cultural, and linguistic boundaries in Scotland is the Highland Line (Aitken 1984), the boundary between the Lowlands and the Highlands of Scotland, and between areas where Gaelic was spoken until relatively recently and those where the English-Scots di(a)glossic situation has predominated for centuries. Although the relationship between Scots and SSE in the Lowlands has been characterised as a "bipolar continuum" (Stuart-Smith 2004), it is not, as Stuart-Smith points out, particularly realistic to think that Scottish speakers operate solely on a continuum which defines variants as being more Scots and less standard or more standard and less Scots. Any particular variant might be assigned all sorts of meanings, for example: Scots, SSE, Scotland-but-not-England, working-class, educated, local, Glasgow-and-not-Edinburgh, cool, different, old-fashioned, Catholic. None of these alternative meanings need have any reference to abstract notions of Scots and SSE, and it is more enlightening to think of Scottish speakers, like speakers everywhere else, as operating in a multi-dimensional sociolinguistic variation space. Only some parts of this will equate with traditional notions of Scots and SSE, and neither of these terms may be relevant for many speakers (see Section 3 for further discussion). Lacking as we do a more detailed characterisation of most Scottish varieties (traditional descriptions and analyses concentrate either on traditional Scots dialects or on SSE; but see Section 3), I continue to use the terms 'Scots' and 'SSE' in this chapter, but it must always be remembered that these represent a considerable abstraction from reality.

Table 1. Vowel systems in Scots dialects

OSc	Keyword	Nhb	Scots	SSE	Lexical Set
eː	MEET	iː	i	i	FLEECE
ɛː	BEAT		i, e		
aː	MATE	ĭɛ	e	e	FACE
ai	BAIT	eː	eꞇ		
ɛ	BET	ɛ	ɛ	ɛ	DRESS
a	CAT	a	ä, ɑ, ɒ	ä	TRAP, BATH
au	CAUGHT	æː	ä(˙), ɑ(˙), ɒ(˙)	(ɑ)	PALM
ǫ	COT	œ	ɔ, o	ɔ	LOT, THOUGHT
ǫː	COAT	øː	o, oˈ	o	GOAT
uː	OUT	uː	ʉ, u	ʉ	FOOT, GOOSE
iu	NEW	juː	jʉ, ju	jʉ	GOOSE
yː	BOOT	ĭɵ	ï, ë, e, i, ø	ï	KIT
ɪ	BIT	ɪ	ë, ɛ̈, ɜ	(ɛ̈)	Aitken's Vowel
ṷ	CUT	ʊ~ɵ	ʌ	ʌ	STRUT
ǫi	VOICE	œɪ	ɔe, oɪ	ɔe	CHOICE
ui	LOIN		ɔe, oɪ, ɛi, əi		
ai#	PAY	→eː	ɛi, əi	→e	→FACE
iː	BITE	ɛ̈i~aɪ	ɛi, əi	əi~ae	PRICE
iː	TRY		ae, ɑe		
ǫu	LOUP	œʊ	ʌʉ, ʌu	ʌʉ	MOUTH

Table 1 gives an indication of the range of phonetic and phonological variation in Scots varieties,[1] and between these and SSE and traditional Northumberland English.[2] Note that the table compares phonetic values and lexical incidence, although the SSE values are arranged to match phonetically only. The lexical incidence of vowel phonemes in SSE is very different because of its origins: the lexical incidence of phonemes in Standard English has been imposed (to a large degree at least) on Scots phonetic values.

Although this table obscures many minor details, there is a considerable commonality among Scots varieties. A number of mergers and some phonetic differences aside, Scots varieties basically have the same vowel system (and the same can be said for their consonant systems too). It is particularly striking that some peripheral varieties are very similar indeed, especially in terms of the lexical distribution of phonemes. Less peripheral varieties are also similar, but they are characterised by a greater number of mergers. Northumberland in northeast England is phonetically distinct (see Section 6 for further discussion), but is again similar in terms of its lexical distributions. SSE is phonetically similar, having essentially the same vocalic system as central traditional Scots varieties, but it has a very different lexical distribution of phonemes, one which has more in common with standard English varieties, as a result of its origins as an L2/D2 variety of southern standard British English.

Something which isn't brought out in Table 1 is vowel quantity. In Scottish varieties, historical distinctions in vowel length have largely been lost, resulting in systems where vowel length is a function of phonological environment, for some vowels at least. Other vowels may be either phonemically long or short without necessarily continuing their historical quantities. The conditioned nature of vowel length in Scottish varieties, known as the *Scottish Vowel Length Rule* (SVLR) or *Aitken's Law* (Aitken 1981), is shared by traditional varieties of Scots all over Lowland Scotland. It is also a feature of SSE and, to a lesser extent, HHE. In other words, the SVLR is, in one form or another, a pan-Scottish feature. Outside of Scotland, it is found in Scots and Scots-influenced varieties in northern

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[1] Data for Scots are taken from the *Linguistic Atlas of Scotland*, volume 3 (Mather and Speitel 1986), henceforth LAS3.

[2] SSE values are from Wells (1982: 399), and Stuart-Smith (2003). Traditional Northumberland English (Nhb) data from Rydland (1998). OSc = Older Scots. Keywords are from Johnston (1997a, b), and the SSE Lexical Sets are from Wells (1982).

Ireland (see Section 7), and in Northumberland and Tyneside in northeast England (see Section 6).

The innovations which make the Scots and SSE vowel systems so distinctive contrast with a relative conservatism in the consonant system. Scots and SSE are, by and large, rhotic (but see Section 3). Most varieties of Scots and SSE have a distinctive /x/ phoneme; in SSE this is essentially restricted to proper nouns and local lexis (e.g. *Auchtermuchty* and *dreich*); in basilectal Scots varieties, /x/ also occurs (or did so until recently) where it did in earlier forms of English, in words such as *daughter*, *night* and *plough*. As is discussed in Section 3, this phoneme is disappearing from some varieties of Scots/SSE. Additionally, Scots and SSE retain initial /h/ and mostly retain initial /hw/ (or /ʍ/), although this later is currently being lost in Scotland (see Section 3), and became /f/ in Northeast Scots (Johnston 2007: 112). A number of other consonantal patterns which have long since disappeared in the rest of the anglophone world have survived, or have only recently disappeared, in Scotland, including initial /kn/ in words such as *knee* and *knife*, and /wr/ (sometimes /vr/) in words such as *wretch* and *wrong* (Johnston 1997b: 501-2, 508). This is not to say that consonant systems in Scots and SSE are universally conservative. In addition to a range of recent changes which are affecting Scots/SSE, particularly in urban areas (see Section 3), Scots historically vocalised /l/ after short non-front vowels (as in *all* [ɔː], *colt* [kʌʉt] and *shoulder* [ʃʉðər]), and simplified various consonant clusters (e.g. *finger* with [ŋ], *wander* with [n] and *timber* with [m]) (Johnston 1997a: 101-2, 107-8). These features are shared by traditional English varieties, particularly in northern England.

3.   Urban Scotland

As of June 2009, the population of Scotland was estimated to be 5,194,000.[3] Of this, 39% lives in 'Large Urban Areas' with populations of over 125,000, in effect Glasgow, Edinburgh, Aberdeen and Dundee. 30.5% of the population of Scotland lives in 'Other Urban Areas' with populations

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[3] This and the other population statistics in this section are taken from the General Registrar Office for Scotland's *Population Estimates by Urban Rural Classification*. This document can be accessed at http://www.gro-scotland.gov.uk/statistics/theme/population/estimates/special-area/urban-rural.html See also http://www.scotland.gov.uk/Resource/Doc/933/0103172.pdf. (Both retrieved 27 June 2011).

between 10,000 and 125,000. Almost all of these lie in the 'Central Belt' of Scotland, between Ayr and Dundee. In other words, the vast majority of the Scottish population (69.5%) is urban and concentrated in the Central Belt. It is clear that traditional dialect studies in Scotland, with their (understandable) concentration on old-fashioned rural speech varieties, tell us little about the linguistic behaviour of the vast majority of people in Scotland. Not surprisingly, urban speech in Scotland has attracted considerable attention from linguists in a range of studies which not only reveal particular patterns of variation and change but which also force us to confront, head-on, the issue of linguistic relations between 'English' and 'Scots' in a way which traditional dialect data could never do. A number of themes arise from studies of urban Scots: a decline in highly localised features; retention of certain localised features, at least amongst working-class speakers; a sharp disjunction between the linguistic behaviour of working- and middle-class speakers; and significant changes to the consonantal system of urban Scots, many of which have parallels elsewhere in the anglophone world. It is this last aspect that I concentrate on in this section, since it suggests that, despite its undoubted unique linguistic identity, Scotland, especially in its urban heartlands, is not isolated from the trends and currents of change in England and beyond.

A range of consonantal changes have been identified in urban Scottish varieties, especially in Glasgow (see in particular Stuart-Smith 2003; Stuart-Smith et al. 2006; Stuart-Smith et al. 2007): glottal replacement of /t/; the loss of the /x/ phoneme; vocalisation of coda /l/ after all vowels; TH-fronting; loss of the distinction between /ʌ/ and /w/; and weakening and loss of /r/ in coda position, leading to non-rhoticity.

1) Glottal replacement of /t/ in foot-internal and word-final positions is one of the most characteristic (and stigmatised) features of urban Scots. It has been present in Glasgow since at least the second half of the nineteenth century (Wright 1905: 229), but despite this it is difficult not to draw parallels between the occurrence of glottal replacement in urban Scots and the rapid spread of this feature across urban England and Wales. This is especially so since glottal replacement appears to be increasing in Glasgow amongst females, a patterns which echoes the spread and increase of the phenomenon across Britain (Stuart-Smith et al. 2007).

2) The phoneme /x/ is restricted to place-names and localised lexis in SSE, and this restriction appears to be spreading into all Scottish varieties, such that use of this phoneme in words such as *daughter*,

eight and *right* is very much recessive across Scotland and is largely absent from urban Scottish varieties. Furthermore, a change is underway, particularly in the urban Central Belt, whereby /x/ is being replaced by /k/ even in place-names and dialect words, so that /x/ is disappearing as an independent phoneme (Macafee 1983, Chirrey 1999, Stuart-Smith et al. 2007). Stuart Smith et al. (2007: 239) find, for example, that working-class adolescents in Glasgow almost exclusively use /k/ for /x/, even though /x/ is characteristic of middle-class and older speakers. It might be questioned whether the replacement of /x/ with /k/ can be paralleled elsewhere in the anglophone world, since this change really only affects place-names and localised lexis. Nevertheless, the change from /x/ to /k/ is found in Northern Ireland (Adams 1981), and in a recent online minimal-pair and rhyme test survey conducted by the present author,[4] 63% of the 499 English respondents (mostly, but not exclusively, university students) indicated that *loch* and *lock* rhyme for them all the time, indicating that the pronunciation of *loch* with [k] is well established in England, and may be considered to be the default supra-local norm.

3) /l/ vocalised in Scots after the short vowels /a/, /o/ and /u/ in the early fifteenth century (Aitken and Macafee 2002: 101-5), and the results of this change are still apparent, even in the speech of young working-class urban speakers (Stuart-Smith et al. 2006), although this feature does not occur in SSE. In addition, vocalisation of /l/ in all coda positions (including after front vowels, as in *feel*, *milk*) is rapidly becoming established as a feature of working-class speech in Glasgow and Edinburgh (Stuart-Smith et al. 2006, Chirrey 1999). This vocalisation of /l/ closely resembles the vocalisation of /l/ which is a well known feature of vernacular London English and, increasingly, of other English varieties (Stuart-Smith et al. 2006, 2007) – the fact that this feature has developed in Glasgow around the same time as it is spreading into varieties throughout England strongly suggests that these changes are connected.

4) Kerswill (2003) charts the spread of TH-fronting (the merger of historical /f/ and /θ/ under /f/) across Britain in the second half of the twentieth century from the southeast of England. Kerswill identifies 1980 as the earliest date of birth of the cohort of those who consistently have TH-fronting in Glasgow, based on the work of Stuart-Smith et al. 2007), who find that although TH-fronting is absent from the speech of

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[4] For details, see http://www.lel.ed.ac.uk/~wmaguire/survey/survey.html.

middle-class speakers in Glasgow, it occurs in the speech of working-class adolescents (at a rate of around 30%). TH-fronting is also found beyond the big urban centres in Scotland – see Clark and Trousdale (2009) for a discussion of the phenomenon amongst young speakers in west Fife.

5) The loss of the distinction between /ʍ/ and /w/ in English has a long history (see Minkova 2004), and is at an advanced stage even in North America (Labov et al. 2006: 49) and (Northern) Ireland (Harris 1984; Corrigan 2010: 46). The loss of the distinction is also becoming increasingly typical of young and urban speech in Scotland, especially amongst working-class speakers (Macafee 1983, Chirrey 1999, Lawson and Stuart-Smith 1999, and Stuart-Smith et al. 2007).

6) Although Scottish varieties are traditionally rhotic, weakening of post-vocalic /r/ (typically to a uvular or pharyngeal approximant) and loss of rhoticity have become features of working-class urban speech in Scotland, particularly in the Central Belt (see Johnston 1997b: 511). Romaine (1978) found evidence for non-rhoticity amongst Edinburgh school children, and Stuart-Smith (2003: 128-129) recorded levels of non-rhoticity in read speech of over 50% for young working-class speakers in Glasgow, and in spontaneous speech of over 60% for young working-class males.

The further development and spread of these consonantal changes in Scotland remains to be seen, but it would be surprising to discover that they were not becoming more widespread beyond the major urban centres in the speech of young speakers across the country, given the extreme demographic skewing of the population in Scotland towards urban areas. When all of these changes are considered together, it is difficult to avoid the conclusion that they are connected with a wider diffusion of supra-local changes throughout Britain and beyond. However, their social and linguistic patterning, and the ways in which they interact with local identities and linguistic constraints, means that the results of these changes may be rather different than those found in other parts of the anglophone World (see Stuart-Smith et al. 2007).

4. The results of contact with Gaelic

The different phases in the contraction of Scottish Gaelic (see MacAulay 1992: 140) have had rather different consequences for the non-Gaelic varieties which developed in Scotland. Up until the end of the sixteenth century, Scots was the prestige language in Scotland, and the diglossic situation with English as the acrolect had not yet developed. When Scots became heteronomous with respect to English in the seventeenth century, it lost its prestige, and a diglossic situation, ultimately leading to diaglossia, arose in the Lowlands. Since Gaelic only contracted in the Highlands from the late sixteenth century, it was replaced in subsequent centuries not by Scots but by the prestige variety – (Scottish Standard) English (Shuken 1984). The language shift from Gaelic to English in the Highlands was assisted by concurrent efforts to bring education (through an English medium) to the Highlands (Shuken 1984).

Evidence for Gaelic influence on Scots (in the Lowland zone) is sparse, which is not surprising given that Scots has its origins in northern England and Gaelic disappeared from most of Lowland Scotland well before the middle of the sixteenth century. Macafee and Ó Baoill (1997: 256) state that influence of Gaelic on Scots is minimal, and that "It is considerably less than the influence of Old Norse, or even French, and certainly does not constitute a distinguishing characteristic of Scots in contrast to other varieties of English". For example, Gaelic and Scots-SSE are rather different at the phonological level, with Gaelic having phonemic vowel length, and a phonemic opposition between palatal and non-palatal consonants (MacAulay 1992).

However, Macafee and Ó Baoill (1997: 261) suggest that Gaelic may have 'reinforced' or helped to maintain a number of phonological features in Scots, including the phoneme /x/ and the palatal consonants /ɲ/ and /ʎ/.

They also suggest (p. 262) that /f/ for /ʍ/ in north-eastern Scots may be the result of contact with Gaelic, and that a number of other phonological properties of Scots may be the result of "shared tendencies" (p. 265) between the two languages, including loss of medial and final /v/, and epenthetic schwa in words such as *arm*, *corn* and *girl*. However, epenthesis in Scots is typically restricted to the sequences /lm/, /rm/, /rn/ and /rl/, which is not the case in Gaelic, and it is also found in northeast England, and in other parts of England (see Section 6), so a connection with Gaelic is not certain.

Johnston (1997b: 447, 500-511) suggests that a number of consonantal features in peripheral varieties of Scots are the result of contact with Gaelic or have, at least, been reinforced by similar patterns in Gaelic. These features include devoicing of /dʒ/ and frication of /tʃ/, initial /kr/ for

/kn/, clear /l/ and palatalisation of clusters /kl/ and /gl/, palatalisation of /k/ and /g/ generally, voicing of /t/ and /k/ in the coda of unstressed syllables, general dental pronunciation of /t/, /d/ and /n/, bilabial pronunciations of /f/ and /v/, and retroflex approximant pronunciations of /r/, with retraction of following alveolars (as in *horse* [hɔɻʂ]). Macafee and Ó Baoill (1997: 269-273) also identify a number of syntactic constructions in Scots which may be the result of Gaelic influence, including extended use of progressive aspect, subordinating *and*, emphatic use of reflexive pronouns, and inversion of indirect questions. The evidence for Gaelic influence on Scots varieties generally (rather than on peripheral varieties where Gaelic was spoken more recently) is, however, hardly overwhelming.

The situation is quite different in the Highlands and Hebrides, since there we are dealing with a relatively recent and rapid language shift from Gaelic to English. This shift has left many obvious traces in Highland English and, especially, Hebridean English. Gaelic influence, particularly on the phonetics and syntax of these varieties, is obvious. Features with obvious parallels in Gaelic (Shuken 1984; Bird 1997; Clement 1997) include:

1) retroflex pronunciation of /r/, with concomitant retraction of following alveolar consonants;

2) pre-aspiration of voiceless stops (as in *week* [wihkʲ], *happen* [hah:pən]) with associated devoicing of /r/ and /l/ before voiceless stops (as in *milk* [mɪl̥k]), a feature of Gaelic which may ultimately have its origin in Norse (Thomson 1994: 104-5);

3) devoicing of voiced obstruents (especially fricatives) in all positions;

4) a vowel system which is a compromise between those of Scottish English and Gaelic, with a considerable amount of variation as a result of phonemic mismatches and the differing status of vowel length (phonemic in Gaelic, allophonic in Scottish English) in the input varieties.

Sabban (1982, 1984) provides substantial evidence for Gaelic influence in the syntax of Hebridean English. These features include extended use of non-perfective verb forms (a feature of both Gaelic and Scottish English, perhaps reinforcing each other), the *after* perfect (found also in Highland English), extended use of modal *will* (reinforced by Scottish English), and extended use of progressive aspect (paralleling the Gaelic periphrastic

construction 'BE+preposition+verbal noun'). Additionally, Shuken (1984) identifies clefting, patterning of the definite article, and use of the verb 'to have' for speaking a language as further evidence of Gaelic influence on the syntax of Hebridean English.

5.   Contact with Norse varieties

Scots varieties share a number of characteristic features which originated in contact with Old Norse, including velar /k/ and /g/ for /tʃ/ and /ʤ/ (as in *kirk* and *brigg* for 'church' and 'bridge') and a range of lexical items such as *gowk* 'fool', *lug* 'ear' and *stithy* 'anvil' (Corbett et al. 2003: 6). Many of these features are shared with traditional northern English varieties, but contact with Norse varieties has also occurred in Scotland on a much more local basis. This is particularly true of Orkney and Shetland (the Northern Isles), which were politically part of the Scandinavian world from the first Norse settlements until the middle of the fifteenth century (McColl Millar 2007: 124-125). In this time, a variety of Norse was spoken in the Northern Isles, developing into a distinct Scandinavian language, Norn (Barnes 1998). After the Northern Isles became part of Scotland, Scots became the prestige language, carried there by settlers from Angus, Fife and Lothian in particular (Knooihuizen 2009: 489). However, Norn survived at least until the eighteenth century, so that there was contact between Norn and Insular Scots in the Northern Isles for up to 300 years. As a result, various features of the divergent Insular Scots dialects have been attributed to Norn influence, including:

1) *th*-stopping ([t] and [d] for historical /θ/ and /ð/), assumed to be the result of Norn lacking dental fricatives (Knooihuizen 2009: 484, 491). However, *th*-stopping appears to post-date the SVLR in Shetland Scots, since words such as *blide < blithe* have a long vowel (Van Leyden 2004: 38), leading Knooihuizen (2009: 491) to suggest that *th*-stopping may be "a later, post-language shift and post-focusing, development".

2) /kw/-/hw/ confusion: merger of historical /kw/ and /hw/, also found in Scandinavian varieties, with both [kw] and [hw] as possible allophones of the merged class (see Knooihuizen 2009: 491-2 for a summary).

3) Existence of front rounded /ø/ in words in the BOOT group (Johnston 1997a: 64). As Knooihuizen (2009: 494-5) notes, this vowel in Insular Scots has generally been ascribed to Norn influence, but a source in early forms of Scots is just as likely (this vowel also survived in the

other varieties of Scots in the mid twentieth century – see Johnston, 1997b: 467, for example).

4) Scandinavian-style complementary vowel and consonant length (van Leyden 2002, 2004: 23-40), whereby short vowels are followed by long consonants and long vowels are followed by short consonants.

Things are less certain when it comes to morphosyntax. A number of features which have been suggested to be the result of Norn influence either fail to pattern in the same way as in Scandinavian varieties or have parallels in earlier or different forms of Scots. These features include: generalised auxiliary *be* in perfects (Robertson and Graham 1991: 11; Melchers 1991: 473-5); a T-V pronoun distinction (Robertson and Graham 1991: 4); *dis* and *dat* with plural nouns (Robertson and Graham 1991: 7); and use of *he* and *she* instead of *it* for pronominal reference (e.g. *He's a cold day*), (Melchers 2004: 43; Wales 1996: 138).

6. Scotland and northern England

Given their common origin, it is not surprising that Scots and northern English dialects share many features. The major bundle of traditional (phonological) isoglosses which ran from the Ribble to the Humber (see Wakelin 1984: 73) divided Scots and the English dialects of the far northern counties from dialects further south in England. Thus northern English and Scots dialects traditionally retain a monophthong for Middle English (ME) /uː/, merge Old English (OE) /ɑː/ with open syllable lengthened /a/, have reflexes of a fronted vowel for ME /oː/, and retain short vowels in the ME sequences /ɪnd/ and /ʊnd/. This close relationship between far northern English dialects and Scots can be seen in the comparison with traditional Northumberland English in Table 1.

Nevertheless, significant differences have developed between northern English dialects and Scots, and many of these differences coincide (roughly at least) with the Scottish/English Border. Isolated survivals in Lancashire and Yorkshire aside, /x/ is not found in traditional northern English dialects, and there is/was a fairly sharp transition, coinciding with the border, between the uvular [ʁ] of Northumberland and the apical [r] or [ɾ] of traditional Scots dialects (Påhlsson 1972: 22). Traditional vowel systems north and south of the Border were distinguished not only by

differences in lexical incidence (e.g. /ɛi/ in words such as *pay* in Scotland vs. /eː/ in northern England, Scottish /ë/ vs. northern English /ʊ/ in *foot*, *put*), but also in extensive changes in realisation. Thus traditional Southern Scots varieties are characterised by a short vowel shift whereby the high short KIT and STRUT vowels have lowered and centralised to [ë] and [ʌ̈] and the low short DRESS, TRAP and LOT vowels have shifted in an anticlockwise direction to [æ], [ɑ] and [o] (Johnston 1997a: 70). South of the Border, these changes are almost entirely absent, and other wide-ranging changes, such as the lengthening, fronting, raising and breaking of vowels in Northumberland are in evidence (Rydland 1998). Furthermore, the SVLR affects monophthongs in Scotland, but outside of the far north of Northumberland only affects the PRICE lexical set in northern England (Glauser 1988).

Although several of these features are/were really only characteristic of traditional dialects, the modern accents of Scotland and England are also distinguished by a range of phonological features. In Scottish varieties, we find the SVLR affecting monophthongs, the FOOT-GOOSE merger, the LOT-THOUGHT merger, and the TRAP-PALM merger (Wells 1982: 400). These are not found in modern northern English varieties (with some exceptions discussed below), which are also largely non-rhotic, have mostly lost the distinction between /w/ and /ʍ/, and do not distinguish between the various historical subsets of the NURSE lexical set.

Differences of the sort outlined above have led Aitken (1992: 895) to comment that "What appears to be the most numerous bundle of dialect isoglosses in the English-speaking world runs along this border, effectively turning Scotland into a 'dialect island'". This may be so, but it is equally clear that this 'dialect island' is not completely isolated from changes in the wider anglophone world. In addition to the changes characteristic of Scotland's urban centres discussed in Section 3, many innovations which are characteristic of English varieties have spread into traditional Scots, including the simplification of the initial consonant clusters /wr/ (as in *wrong*) and /kn/ (as in *knee*) to /r/ and /n/. Many traditional Scots and English varieties share the MEET-MEAT merger (Johnston 1997b: 456; Anderson 1987: 83) and the MATE-BAIT merger (Johnston 1997b: 463; Anderson 1987: 69). It is not clear how these innovations spread into Scotland, however – it could be that they originated in SSE or in urban varieties rather than in a geographically gradual spread across the Border from England.

That the Scottish/English linguistic border is not an absolute barrier to locally diffusing innovations is also evidenced by the extension of a number of Scottish innovations into northern England (especially north Northumberland), on the one hand, and the extension of several English innovations into southern Scotland, on the other.

Epenthesis, a feature which Scots shares, in a form at least, with Gaelic (see Section 4) is also found in England. Epenthetic schwa in the historical clusters /rm/ and /lm/ was recorded, in the traditional dialects, across much of northern and eastern England and in parts of the southwest – see the responses to the *Survey of English Dialects* (SED) questions IV.9.1 *worms* and IV.10.04 *elm* (Orton *et al.* 1962-71) and the forms recorded for *elm*, *film* and *helm* in Wright (1905). *film* with epenthetic schwa is a well known local pronunciation in northeast England to this day. In what is more clearly an extension of the Scottish pattern, epenthesis in the historical clusters /rd/, /rn/, /rl/ (and occasionally /rk/, /rz/ and /rst/) is (or was) a feature of the traditional dialects of northern and coastal Northumberland (as far south as Tyneside) – see the entries for *bairn*, *bird*, *curl*, *first*, *learn*, *Thursday*, *word*, *work* and *world* in Rydland (1998) for example.

Another predominantly Scottish feature which extends south of the Border is the SVLR. Watt and Ingham (2000) examine vowel length in Berwick-on-Tweed, and find a robust SVLR-conditioned vowel length distinction for high monophthongs and the PRICE diphthong, although this pattern appears to be breaking down for younger female speakers. Although SVLR conditioning of monophthongs is not reported outside of the far north of Northumberland, SVLR-conditioned alternation in the PRICE diphthong is found as far south as Tyneside and north Durham. Glauser (1988) demonstrates that alternation between an [ɛɪ]-type diphthong in SVLR short environments and an [aɪ]-type diphthong in SVLR long environments is characteristic of north Cumberland, all of Northumberland, and northern locations in Durham in the SED. Milroy (1995) provides evidence for the continued existence of this pattern in Tyneside English. Other predominantly Scottish features which are found in parts of the far north(east) of England include the FOOT-GOOSE merger (in Berwick; Watt and Ingham 2000), a low-mid unrounded STRUT vowel [ʌ] (see Anderson 1987: 35), a distinction between /w/ and /ʍ/ (Anderson 1987: 145), *hand*-Darkening (Johnston 1997: 484; see Berger 1980 for instances in Holy Island), and negative *-na* and *no* with modal and auxiliary verbs (Pichler 2009).

Conversely, there is evidence in LAS3 that loss of the voiceless velar fricative /x/ (which phoneme is characteristic of nearly all traditional Scots varieties) has spread northwards across the border from England. Several locations in Berwickshire (23.1, 23.3, 23.4, 23.7) and Roxburghshire (24.1, 24.6) have lost it in most words (especially before /t/), although it is usually retained in specifically Scots lexical items (e.g. *dreich*, *pegh*).

Recent research involving comparison of varieties on both sides of the Border casts further light on the relationships between features in Scotland and England. Maguire et al. (2010) and McMahon and Maguire (forthcoming) demonstrate that border Northumberland varieties such as Cornhill, Berwick and Holy Island are phonetically very close to Scottish varieties, but are separated from them by being (mostly) non-rhotic. When rhoticity is factored out of the equation, these English varieties essentially group with Scottish ones rather than with other northeast English varieties such as Newcastle. Additionally, Maguire et al. (2010) and McMahon and Maguire (forthcoming) demonstrate that although there has been a (not unexpected) degree of convergence between all English and Scottish varieties in the change from traditional dialects to modern accents of English, a sharp distinction between English varieties and Scottish varieties (Cornhill, Berwick and Holy Island notwithstanding) remains.

Watt et al. (2010), comparing two border Scottish varieties (Eyemouth and Gretna) with two border English varieties (Berwick and Carlisle), also find that rhoticity is an important distinguishing feature. They find that there is next to no rhoticity in the English locations, whilst there is substantial, if not complete, rhoticity in the Scottish locations. Interestingly, non-rhotic pronunciations in Scotland are most common in Gretna, just across the border from non-rhotic Cumbria, suggesting that this feature has also diffused from England into Scotland at the local level. Nevertheless, Watt et al. suggest that this situation is not changing a great deal in apparent time, even though the realisation of coda /r/ in Scotland is changing from a tap to an approximant. On the other hand, Watt et al. find that there are considerable similarities with respect to the SVLR across the border, with Eyemouth (Scottish), Gretna (Scottish) and Berwick (English) all losing it, and Carlisle not acquiring it. This suggests that there is a degree of cross-border convergence in apparent time.

7.   Scotland and northern Ireland

The close geographical proximity of southwest Scotland and northeast Ireland means that the two areas have been closely linked linguistically for

at least the last two millennia. Of considerable importance to our understanding of areal features in the anglophone world was the settlement of large numbers of Scottish planters who spoke dialects of Scots in Ireland in the seventeenth century (see Montgomery and Gregg 1997). In those areas of highest Scottish settlement, the result was the establishment of an extraterritorial variety of Scots, Ulster Scots, which, in its most traditional forms, contains the whole gamut of Scots features, from /ʉ/ in words such as *mouth* and /e/ in words such as *stone*, to negative forms of modal verbs such as *cannae* and *dinnae* (Gregg 1972). Although the sharp distinction between varieties of Ulster Scots and other varieties of Irish English identified in Gregg (1972, 1985) may no longer exist as a result of the obsolescence of many traditional features, it could be argued that the linguistic varieties, traditional and modern, found in these parts of Ireland still have more in common with Scottish varieties than with Irish Englishes.

Scottish settlement in Ireland also affected the development of varieties well beyond these Ulster Scots enclaves, with phonological features such as the SVLR, the TRAP-PALM and LOT-THOUGHT mergers, and lexical items such as *dwalm*, *hirple*, *pegh* and *thole* being found in Mid-Ulster English, for example. The question of whether features which originated in Ireland have spread in the opposite direction is more difficult to answer. As Beal (1997: 345) states, there has been "a long history of migration back and forth between the north of Ireland and the western central areas of Scotland" such that "it is sometimes hard to tell where features found in the dialects of these two areas originated" (see also Milroy 1982). The south-westerly distribution of the following Scottish features is suggestive, although an Irish origin for some of them is not unproblematic since they are also found elsewhere in Scotland:

1) *one* pronounced as [wan] (or similar) rather than [jën] or [en], found in, for example, Ayrshire and Lanarkshire in LAS3; however, this feature is also found in other areas, particularly in Insular Scots (Macafee 2006);

2) *old* and *cold* pronounced as [ʌʉl] and [kʌʉl], recorded in Bute, Ayrshire, Renfrewshire, Lanarkshire, Kirkcudbrightshire and Wigtonshire in LAS3; however, this feature is also found in Northern and Insular Scots (Macafee 2006);

3) Non-identity of the vowels in the MEAT and MEET lexical sets, found in locations in Kirkcudbrightshire and Wigtonshire in LAS3;

however, since this is a survival of a historical distinction, shared retention of an archaic feature is a possibility;

4)   *yous* for the 2nd person plural pronoun, particularly associated with Glasgow and west central Scots (Beal 1997: 344-6).

The existence of some of these patterns elsewhere in Scotland may suggest that they are not importations from Ireland, but it is possible that they have multiple origins, including reinforcement or introduction from Irish English. Second person plural *yous*, is probably the most secure candidate for a feature in Scotland of Irish English origin (Hickey 2003), and shows a clear south-westerly bias in its distribution (see Figure 1), but it is interesting to note that this well known feature of Irish English has penetrated traditional Scots varieties far beyond Glasgow and the south-western fringe.

Figure 1. The distribution of *yous* in traditional Scots varieties, as recorded in the *Linguistic Survey of Scotland*.[5]
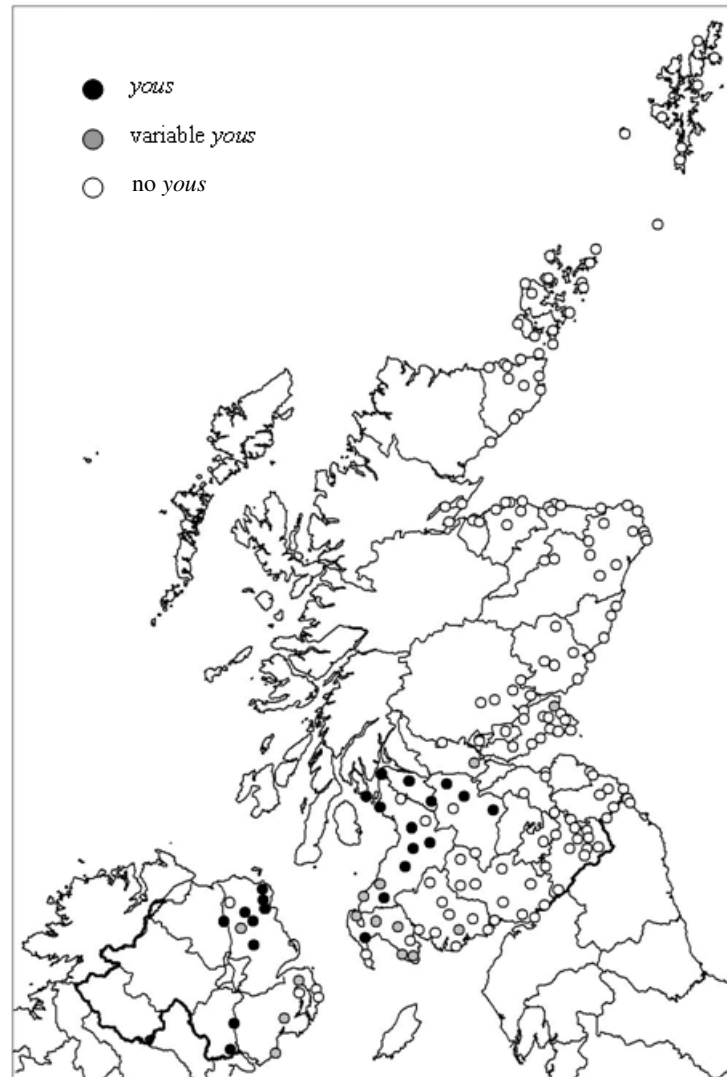
8.   Conclusions

Scottish varieties are the most divergent in the anglophone world (see Maguire et al. 2010), as they are characterised by a suite of innovations and retentions rarely found in varieties of English elsewhere. Nevertheless, Scotland is not a linguistic island, and its diverse varieties share many features with those beyond its borders, especially in the far north of England and in northern parts of Ireland. The varieties which have developed in Scotland have been shaped by contact with many languages, particularly Gaelic, Norse, and Standard English, and it seems likely that the most important factor in the continued development of Scottish varieties is the dominance of its urban centres and the complex linguistic milieus which have developed there. At the same time, it may be the case that traditional linguistic boundaries and differences, as the result of contact with Gaelic and Norse for example, will become less important. The extent to which Scottish varieties will converge with or diverge from English, Irish, and other international varieties in the twenty-first century remains to be seen.

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