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An Overview of Scotland's Linguistic Situation

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► **To cite this version:**

| Maxime Bailly. An Overview of Scotland's Linguistic Situation. Literature. 2012. dumas-00935160

HAL Id: dumas-00935160

<https://dumas.ccsd.cnrs.fr/dumas-00935160v1>

Submitted on 23 Jan 2014

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An Overview of Scotland's Linguistic Situation

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UFR **Etudes Anglophones**

Mémoire de master **1 - 18 crédits**

Sous la direction de **Monsieur Jérôme PUCKICA**

Année universitaire 2011-2012

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Introduction:

"There is no pretending that an attempt to pressure or revive a language in defiance of pressure from a dominant and foreign power can fail to be a political issue. That it is not widely perceived as such in Scotland [...] is a measure of the confusion which has affected our national life for two hundred years".

(John Derrick McClure, *Why Scots Matters?* p.67)

Language in Scotland is a complicated issue. Three languages are spoken within the national boundaries: Gaelic, English and Scots. While the status of the first two is often not questioned, it is with the latter that linguists have argued about. Scots, the national language that emerged around the 15th century, is the object of heated discussions. Some have claimed that Scots is a language in its own right whereas others have considered it as a mere dialect of English. These political considerations have strong implications on the way people react to particular idioms. Indeed, with the myth that Standards are pure forms of languages that have originated first, dialects are sometimes felt to be inferior. The result is that people who speak these dialects, consciously or unconsciously, accommodate to other speakers to erase those features that set them apart from the 'educated Standard'. This process of Standardization have occurred in Scotland and is still going on today. Nevertheless, Scottish speakers have not ended up sounding like their English peers. In many ways, Scotland can still be perceived as a 'linguistic island' with distinctive features characteristic of the way people speak in the country.

To understand the linguistic situation of Scotland today, a short history of its speech communities will be provided. More particularly, this dissertation will focus on the relationship between Scots and English over the centuries that have led to the emergence of a compromise variety, Scottish Standard English. Some major distinctive features of the variety will be analyzed and compared with those of RP (Received Pronunciation). We will see that the important role of English in the development of Scots can explain the wide range of choices available to Scottish speakers. However, in the final part of this dissertation, it will be suggested that the reality is much more

complex. The study of an urban variety will show that other forces are at work in the way people construct their idiolect. More precisely, the role of dialect contacts, social factors and language attitudes will exemplify the fact that variation exists between Scottish speakers and that it is a complex process.

1. The relationship between Scots and English: A Short Linguistic History of Scotland

To understand the complexity and the particularity of the linguistic situation of Scotland, it is interesting to go back in time to look at the history of its speech community. As McClure (1994: 23) explains,

In the course of the linguistic history of Scotland, [...] first one and then two speech forms, both descended from Old English, have been used within the national boundaries. For convenience we will choose to designate the first Scots and the second Scottish English. This situation has no exact parallel in the English-speaking world.

Indeed, it is crucial for our understanding of language in Scotland to know how those two forms developed over the centuries and what is the relationship between them. I will examine these questions by giving a linear analysis of the different events which had an impact on the original form spoken in Scotland around the 5th century A.D. In this description, I will also provide an overview of the attitudes towards Scots from the time people began to be aware of it as a distinct variety to its gradual Anglicisation. As shown by Dossena (2002: 37), the history of Scots is made of two distinct processes, namely one of divergence and one of convergence towards the Southern norm. The two will be examined successively. First, the original form first spoken in the Lowlands, later called Scots, spread and became so important that it could be regarded as a distinct variety at the turn of the 16th century, being “more different from Standard English than Norwegian is [...] from Swedish” (Aitken 1985: 42). Yet, the language of the Scottish nation did not remain unaltered as it confronted great pressure on the part of English in the following centuries. A new variety emerged as a result of it, namely Scottish Standard English.

1.1. From Anglo-Saxon to ‘Scottis’

1.1.1. The early settlers

The history of what is known as ‘Scots’ began around the 5th century A.D when tribes coming from North-West Germany arrived in the British Isles (Murison 1977: 1). Those settlers were called the Angles and the Saxons and spoke different West Germanic dialects. At that stage, the history of Scots was no different from that of English, the two coming from the same source. Yet, as explained by Corbett *et al.* (2003: 5),

What makes Scots different from present-day English is partly that it owes more to the Anglian than the Saxon variety of Old English, and partly that, over the generations, the different kinds of contact that Scots and English have engaged in with other languages (and with each other) have given them distinctive linguistic characteristics.

As there are few written records available of that period, linguists have been analysing place-names to determine the different languages which were spoken in the country at the time. As for the settlement of the Angles and the Saxons, their results are quite telling. Murison (1977: 1) points out that the repartition of the lands between the two tribes can be seen in the place-names given by the arriving settlers. Indeed, as he explains, the Saxons spread mostly to the South and West which is attested thanks to all the areas containing *-sex* in their names as in Sussex and Wessex while the Angles spread to the North through Northumberland and then ultimately crossed the Tweed. Murison (*id.*) notably gives the example of the city of Edinburgh, whose name comes from a translation by the Angles of the fortress called in the British tongue *Din Eidyn* captured in the year 638. It became the core of their settlement in Scotland.

Several languages came to have an influence on the Anglian dialects spoken in Scotland. As explained by the quotation given from Corbett *et al.* above, what proved

crucial for the development of Scots were the contacts between the different communities present in the country. As speakers from different backgrounds and origins came into contact, the ancestor of Scots developed as a distinct and unique variety.

1.1.2. The emergence of 'Anglo-Scandinavian'

One of the major influences was the language brought by the Vikings during their settlement in the 8th century. Indeed, Murison (1977: 2) gives us a crucial fact on their language which can explain to which extent the 'original' variety could have been influenced by it. He explains that

The Scandinavians naturally had a great influence on the language of the territory they occupied, all the more so since they spoke a Norse tongue, a descendant of the Teutonic speech from which Anglo-Saxon was also derived, so that the two languages were cousins so to speak, and without much difficulty intelligible to each other.

The two languages being mutually intelligible, the process of assimilation between the settlers was naturally quick. The Vikings established themselves particularly in the northern and western isles of Scotland which is attested, once again, thanks to place-names. Scott (2003: 24) identifies two processes in their settlement. First, there was a primary settlement in the far North of Scotland, more precisely in the islands of Orkney and Shetland and in some parts of the Hebrides. Thus, we find many place-names in the North containing Old Norse elements such as *vik* 'bay' found in Wick or Lerwick. Moreover, there is evidence of a migration of the Scandinavians to the South East of Scotland where it is possible to find compound place-names known as 'Grimston-hybrids' (*id.*). As she (2003:24) explains, the term has been coined because of place-names containing both the Old English element *tun* and a Scandinavian personal name of which the commonest was *Grim*. Thus, place names like Dolphinston, Ingliston or Ravelston illustrate the extent to which Old Norse came to have an influence on the Anglian dialects spoken in Scotland. Indeed, that was such a powerful source that some

linguists like Maguire (2012:1) have chosen to label the emerging variety 'Anglo-Scandinavian'.

That Anglo-Scandinavian tongue extended its vocabulary thanks to a considerable amount of words borrowed from Old Norse such as *gowk* ('fool', 'trick' < ON *gaukr*), *gype* ('to stare foolishly', 'to play the fool' or 'a foolish person' < ON *geip* 'nonsense' or *geipa* 'to talk nonsense' and *lachter* or *louchter* ('lock of hair', 'tuft of grass' or 'handful of hay' < ON *lagð* 'tuft of wool or hair') (Corbett *et al.* 2003: 6). What must be said though, as suggested by Corbett *et al.* (*id.*) is that Old Norse and Old English being cognate languages, it is sometimes hard to tell if a Scots word comes from one or the other. Still, from all the various sources of Scots vocabulary, Old Norse is considered to be the variety that most distinguished it from southern English (Corbett *et al.* 2003: 6). But Old Norse did not only have an impact on the ancestor of Scots vocabulary. Indeed, as Murison (1979: 4) explains, Old Norse had the velar plosive consonants /k/ and /g/ where Old English had the affricates /tʃ / and /dʒ / hence the following correspondences between Present-Day English and Modern Scots words:

<u>English</u>	<u>Scots</u>
Church	Kirk
Much	Muckle
Breeks	Breeches
Bridge	Brig
Shrill	Skirl
Mask	Mash

This table highlights the phonological change brought up by Old Norse into the Anglian variety of Old English. Notice that in the case of the /tʃ / ~ /k/ alternation, it occurs syllable-initially and syllable-finally as in *kirk* and also in the middle of words as in *breeches*. The words *skirl* and *mash* are quite interesting in that they exemplify that it is a two-way alternation and that it can occur with the phoneme /ʃ / alone. On the whole, these examples show that Old Norse changed the phonology of the Anglian variety. The

distribution of the phonemes discussed are different for Scots and English today because of this phonological change undergone by the ancestor of Scots.

However, despite its growing influence in South-East Scotland, Anglo-Scandinavian was not the only language in the country. In fact, most people at the turn of the 11th century spoke Gaelic, a Celtic language which had survived to the invasions described above. Aitken (1984b: 517-518) claims that

There is [...] evidence, from chronicle record and place names that by the tenth and eleventh centuries the Gaelic language was in use throughout the whole of Scotland, not excluding English-speaking Lothian, though no doubt the longer established northern English continued to be the dominant language there.

The last British people to resist the Anglo-Saxon and the Scandinavian invasions were the Picts (McClure 1994: 26). Yet, because they had been weakened by the great Viking Axis, they were absorbed by another set of invaders coming from Ireland in the 9th century, namely the Scots. Thus, the union of the two kingdoms gave rise to the Pictish-Scottish kingdom of Alba which ruled over much of what is present-day Scotland. Therefore, at the time, the trend was toward the dominance of Gaelic in the country with Anglo-Scandinavian being confined to the South and Old Norse to the North (Murison 1977: 2, Aitken 1984b: 518). Scott (2003: 23) provides evidence of this with a list of many place-names of Gaelic origins including Balbeg, Balnagowan, Balmuir, Balvannich and Balmacnaughton which all contain the Gaelic element *baile* meaning ‘farm’. Also, it is common today in Scotland to find cities with road signs which are both in Scottish English and Gaelic as a sign of cultural identity and heritage (Scott 2003: 22).

It is hard to demonstrate the impact of Gaelic on the Anglo-Scandinavian tongue at that time, the two kingdoms being well established and relatively independent. Still, there is some evidence of interactions between Celtic and Anglo-Scandinavian communities in few loan-words borrowed from Gaelic into Scots such as *gow* (a literary term for blacksmith < Gael. *gobha*), *golach* (‘insect’, ‘ground beetle’ < Gael. *gobhlag* ‘earwig’ or ‘fork-shaped stick’) and *fallachan* (‘concealed store’ < Gael. *falachan* ‘hidden treasure’) (Corbett *et al.* 2003: 7). As Gaelic developed in the following

centuries in what is known as the ‘Highlands’ (see below, p. 18, for a map of the boundary between Highlands and Lowlands), it left a more noticeable trace on Scots in world-famous instances such as *Loch* meaning ‘lake’ as in *Loch Ness*, *Strath* meaning ‘valley’ as in *Strathmore* or *Inver* meaning ‘mouth of the river’ as in *Inveraray* (Dossena 2005: 16). Dossena (*id.*) also quotes Aitken (1992: 896) who demonstrates the impact of Gaelic on some Scots constructions such as what he calls “verbless subordinate clauses that express surprise or indignation”, introduced by and:

She had tae walk the hale lenth o the road and her seeven month pregnant.

I will not go in depth into the question but it suffices to show that Gaelic had an influence on the development of Scots at some point in its history.

1.1.3. The feudal system and the rise of 'Scottis'

The overall domination of the Celtic communities did not last long. Indeed, the Anglo-Scandinavian language that was primarily confined to the South of present-day Scotland spread in the following centuries, becoming the dominant language of the country. Interestingly enough, the reason for that reversal was indirectly due to the Norman conquest of England in 1066. More precisely, two major factors can be identified for the spread of the speech of South East Scotland. One came to be the influence of the royal court especially that of the Queen. Indeed, as explained by Corbett *et al.* (2003: 7), when Norman French rule was established in England, the English princess Margaret fled to Scotland to marry King Malcolm III whose first language was Gaelic. As Malcolm’s Queen knew no Gaelic, the language of the royal family became naturally Anglo-Scandinavian (McClure 1994: 28). In addition, Margaret brought with her an entourage of English-speaking courtiers and exerted an influence on the Celtic Church by Romanising its practices and doctrines (Corbett *et al.* 2003: 7). McClure (1994: 28) points out that she took it as a personal mission and that, to continue on her quest, she invited English bishops and founded a Benedictine priory staffed by monks at Dunfermline. But the major event responsible for the spread of Anglo-Scandinavian was the establishment of burghs after Malcolm’s death by David I,

his youngest son, during his reign in the 12th century. As explained by Corbett *et al.* (2003: 7), those burghs were towns with special trading privileges conferred by royal charter that attracted a lot of immigrants from all over Europe.¹ Naturally, they came to be decisive in the development of the variety spoken in the South of Scotland because there were many language contacts among the speakers. Thus, official documents like attestations to charters show that the signatories had names of different origins such as Welsh, Gaelic, Norse, Anglo-Saxon or French (Murison 1979:5). McClure (1994: 30) writes about a very interesting fact as evidence of this mixing of populations. He claims that,

A formula used more than once by the kings in addressing the people of the realm in the twelfth century is ‘Franci, Angli, Scoti et Gallovidiani’, and the order of precedence is significant: the French-speaking aristocrats of continental or Anglo-Norman origin are mentioned first, next the English-speakers of the south-east and the burghs, only then the native Gaelic speakers [...].

This quotation shows the shift that had taken place between Gaelic and Anglo-Scandinavian. It also shows the importance of the French-speaking Norman in the development of the newly established feudal system.

Indeed, the *lingua franca* which was developing among the traders of the burghs, the administrators of the feudal law and among the clerics in the Church was the Anglo-Scandinavian speech which was spreading and continuing to change because of increasing contacts among speakers of different origins (Corbett *et al.* 2003: 8). Murison (1977: 3) acknowledges the influence of French on the development of the variety by calling it ‘Anglo-French’ because of “a large and growing accretion of French vocabulary”. It is interesting to note that in spite of this common source in the development of Scots and English, the influence of French on the two languages led to different changes. Thus, Templeton (1973: 5) identifies for example the retention in Scotland of the palatals *l* and *n* as in *uilze* (‘oil’) or *fenze* (‘to dissemble’) where in England, there is no such evidence. Corbett *et al.* (2003: 9) show that Scots words

¹ See appendix 1 for a map showing the burghs in Scotland

coming from French tend to be derived from Norman French while southern English ones are from central French. We find therefore what they call ‘Norman/Parisian doublets’ such as *spulyie/spulzie* ‘spoil’ or *failyie/failzie* ‘fail’. In this important mixing of different communities, other language groups had an influence on the ancestor of Scots like Dutch and Flemish-speaking settlers who came massively into the country thanks to the feudal kings who gave them lands so as to encourage the indigenous weaving industry (Corbett *et al.* 2003: 7). Eventually, Anglo-Norman feudalism pushed Gaelic into the hills in Galloway and deepened the boundary between the Lowlands where the extensive form of Anglo-Scandinavian spread and the Highlands where Gaelic died out in the 17th century (Murison 1977: 3). The variety which was emerging from all those contacts became more and more distinct and people gradually adopted it for the sake of communication. Indeed, it began to spread and to be used into a growing number of functions. At that point, political events came to strengthen that trend. As pointed out by Templeton (1977: 5-6), with the War of Independence in the early 14th century, Scotland became disconnected from England. This fact was crucial because the Lowland vernacular became an independent language in an independent nation. As a natural consequence, a growing sense of nationalism emerged among people in Scotland and led to the development of the language of the Lowlands which became the vehicle for a new Scottish literature (Templeton 1977: 6). One of the most famous pieces of it was John Barbour’s epic about King Robert Bruce in his role in the War of Independence (Aitken 1987: 10). In the 15th century, poets who called themselves the makars² contributed to the development of the language that was increasingly used in literary works. McClure (1994: 31) quotes Aitken (1983) to describe the early Scots of those times:

A peculiar strength of the language as a poetic medium, the extreme contrast in phonæsthetic quality between the polysyllabic Latin- and French-derived vocabulary of learning and the shorter words and more consonantal phonology of the native word-stock, was exploited by the poets with outstanding skills.

² The makars were a group of poets that “marked an extraordinary flowering of Scottish culture and the Scots language in the 15th and early 16th century” (Tasioulas 2008). Some great figures of that literary movement were Henryson, Dunbar and Douglas.

Moreover, the language was increasingly used in administration and came to replace French and Latin for the writing of laws, Acts of Parliament and burgh records (Templeton 1977: 6). Together with that development came the awareness among *literati* that the Scottish tongue was a distinct and independent variety. However, it was a gradual process and people were just starting to think about it. This fact proved to be crucial in what followed but I will come to it in due course. Until the late 15th century, the use of the word *Inglis* had been used to describe both the variety spoken in the South and the one spoken in the North. Even in *Wallace*, the mid-fifteenth century epic poem written by Blind Harry (c. 1440-1492, a.k.a Harry or Henry the Minstrel) which is inherently anti-English in its tone - it tells the story of this national hero during the War of Independence - we find *Inglis* as the name for the poet's language (McClure 1994: 32). Nevertheless, there is evidence that people in Scotland began to be aware that their language was different from that of the South. Templeton (1977: 6) identifies the report of a Spanish diplomat visiting the court of James IV whereby he admitted to have been struck by the distinction between the Scots and English tongues that he compared to Aragonese and Castilian. The most famous instance used as evidence of the growing linguistic awareness in Scotland is the translation by Douglas (c. 1474-1522), one of the most learned makars, of Virgil's *Aeneid* in 1515. The following lines are taken from the introduction of the work where he explains his linguistic choices.

(...)Quhat so it be, this buke I dedicait	(...) Whatever it is, I dedicated myself to this book
Writtin in the langage of the Scottis natioun	Written in the language of the Scottish nation
(...) I set my bissy pane to mak it braid and plane	(...) I took pains to make it broad and plane
Kepand na sudron bot our awyn langage, And spekis as I lernyt quhen I was page.	Using no English but our own language And speak as I learnt when I was a Page.

The distinction between “sudron” and “the langage of the Scottis natioun” is clear in this extract and demonstrates the emergence of Scots, a language in its own right. Yet,

Douglas admits that he had to use “sum bastard Latyn, French or Inglis” so as to make “Scottis” fit to the huge task of translating Virgil’s lines. He compares it to Latin which borrowed a lot of words from Greek. As suggested by McClure (1994: 32), it shows both a clear awareness of *Scottis* as the language of the Scottish nation and an appeal to expand it by borrowings. The necessary boost was given: Scots was used in more and more domains and was the vehicle of a distinctive and powerful literature. At the turn of the 16th century, one could distinguish between “the King of Scotland’s Scots” and “the King of England’s English” (Murison 1977: 4). Yet, the language of Scotland did not retain its autonomy and the emerging *Scottis* tongue was to be gradually Anglicised in the following centuries (Aitken 1984b: 519). The major events responsible for that language shift will be examined in the following part. We will see that the process of Anglicization indirectly gave rise to a new variety, namely Scottish Standard English.

1.2. The encroachment of Southern English on Scots

As suggested above, at the time Scots was emerging as a distinct variety which could have claimed the status of national language, it confronted great pressure on the part of English. We can identify several reasons for that.

1.2.1 The lack of linguistic loyalty

First, as mentioned by Dossena (2005: 40), linguists have often stressed the fact that the lack of linguistic loyalty in the country was crucial in the fate of Scots. Indeed, after Douglas's appeal, the habit of distinguishing between *Inglis* and *Scottis* did not spread. Thus, to refer to the Lowland tongue, both *Inglis* and *Scottis* could be found. Görlach (1990: 126) points out that the reason for it was perhaps that Scots and English, even in the 16th century when they were the most distinct linguistically speaking from

each other, must have shared 80% of their basic vocabulary if phonological differences are neglected. Those similarities that could easily be found between the two languages because of their common origins did not help Scots to be considered an independent language. Moreover, in terms of linguistic distinctiveness, people disagreed. On the one hand, we find testimonies of external observers which point at a clear awareness of Scots as a distinct language from English. Estienne Perlin, a French writer and traveller who visited Scotland between 1551 and 1552, stated in an account published in 1558 that

If you say to an ordinary sort of man in Scotch, *Guede guednit goud maistre prairie gui mi longini*, which is to say in our language, ‘Good night, my master, I pray you to give me a lodging;’ they will answer you haughtily in their tongue, *est est no bet*, which is to say, there is no bed.³

As suggested by Dossena (2005: 44), we should perhaps not rely on this transcription of Scots but still, its specificity is clearly pointed at. On the other hand, we find different attitudes towards Scots in the same period. Joseph J. Scaliger (1540-1609), one of J.C. Scaliger's sons, visited Holyrood between 1566 and 1567 and noted that “Les Escossois et Anglois parlent mesme langage Saxon, vieux Teutonique, ils se servent de mesme Bible, et ne different pas plus que le Parisien d’avec le Piccard” (Dossena 2005: 43)⁴. These comments show that, even at that time, the linguistic distinctiveness of Scots was controversial. The fact that they were written by foreigners is quite interesting because they are possibly more objective since they are not influenced by political considerations. On the whole, this controversy about the distinctiveness of Scots can explain why “[the] sense of distinctive linguistic identity in Lowland Scotland was curiously late and hesitant” (McClure 1994: 32).

It is important to consider that lack of linguistic loyalty so as to understand what followed. Indeed, the process of Anglicization that began in the 16th century faced barely any resistance as people were mostly unconscious of it. The shift towards the southern norm was therefore a rather quick process. Several sociohistorical

³ The text was originally published in French but Hume Brown’s *Early Travellers in Scotland* (1891: 76), from which this extract is taken, used the translation provided in the fourth volume of *The Antiquarian Repertory*.

⁴ Dossena quotes from Mitchell (1901: 462).

developments in the following centuries challenged the status of Scots.

1.2.2. The Reformation and the printing press

One important factor for the Anglicisation of Scots was the Reformation and more generally the introduction of the printing press in the country. Scots was not directly endangered by the ideology advocated by the reformers but rather by the way that ideology came to be communicated (Corbett *et al.* 2003: 11). With the Reformation, the Geneva Bible and the prayer books of the reformers were introduced massively into Scotland. What was decisive was that the texts themselves were not printed in Scots, but in English. Dossena (2005: 50) suggest that “the importance of religious texts, and particularly of the Bible, in language history should not be underestimated”. Indeed, the circulation of the Geneva Bible in Scotland gave access to Southern English to a great number of people. As a matter of fact, English gained in status and became the language of spirituality and abstract thought while Scots became gradually dispossessed from certain domains of its use (Murison 1977: 5). John Knox (c. 1514-1572), one of the leaders of the Scottish Reformation, and his followers are generally blamed for the loss of prestige of Scots and its ensuing Anglicisation. For example, Dossena (2005: 50) quotes the following remark made by John Hamilton⁵ directed at Knox:

Gif King James the fyft war alyue, quha hering ane of his subjectis knap suddrone, declarit him ane trateur: quhidder wald he declaire you triple traitours, quha not only knappis suddrone in your negative confession, but also hes causit it be imprentit at London in contempt of our native language?

[If King James the Fifth were alive, who hearing one of his subjects speak English declared him a traitor, how couldn't he but declare you triple traitors, who not only speak English in your negative confession, but have

⁵ John Hamilton (c. 1511-1571) was Archbishop of St Andrews by the time of the Reformation. He was one of the most prominent figures in Scotland to oppose the growth of Protestantism.

also had it printed in London in contempt of our native language?]

Yet, Knox's role in the Anglicisation of Scots should not be overemphasized (McClure 1994: 33). There is absolutely no evidence whatsoever that he or his followers had a particular linguistic policy. Indeed, the preservation of Scots was not one of the Reformers' issues. McClure (1994: 35) suggests that the Reformation was primarily a spiritual revolution and that linguistic considerations could have been on the whole forgotten for a while. The gradual loss of status of Scots and the encroachment of English on Scots forms were largely unconscious. As mentioned earlier (see above p.12), the lack of linguistic loyalty towards Scots and its common descent with English were important factors in the process. One remark of McClure (1994:33) summarizes this fact.

It is indeed a historical oddity that a movement which in its central issues had no possible relevance to the importance of the Scots tongue should have had such profound effects on it.

The publication of the Bible in English was not the only event to endanger the status of Scots. Before the Reformation, the introduction of the printing press into Scotland in 1508 ironically paved the way for the dilution of Scots as the written language of the Scottish nation (*id.*). At first, the printing press was a way to strengthen the national awareness of people in the country but the linguistic choices made by the publishers were crucial for the fate of Scots. Scots and English having the same origins (see above, p.3), the two languages were very similar to each other in their written form. As publishers were often Englishmen or foreigners, it was very usual for them to assimilate certain Scots forms to English ones, which were by far more conventionalized at the time with the introduction of the printing press earlier in England. With linguistic considerations largely absent from the picture in Scotland, the Anglicisation of Scots went almost unchallenged. Examples of such Anglicisation are provided by Görlach (2002: 209) with an extract of the *Basilicon Doron* written by James VI, King of Scotland, at the turn of the 17th century. The text aimed at giving James' son Prince Henry a set of rules (Görlach 2002: 208). The original manuscript is from 1599 and was reprinted three times, in 1599, 1603 and 1616. It is interesting to compare the original text with one of the printed editions. So as to see to what extent the

language of the King was altered, the original manuscript will be compared with the edition of 1616:

Manuscript of 1599: The next thing that ye haue to take heade to is, youre speiking & langage, quhairunto I ioine youre gesture, sen action is ane of the cheifest qualities that is requyred in ane oratoure, for as the tounge speakis to the eares sa dois the gesture speake to the eyes of the auditoure, in baith youre speiking & youre gesture then use a natural & plaine forme not fairdit uith artifice (...)

Edition of 1616: The next thing that yee haue to take heed to, is your speaking and language; whereunto I ioyne your gesture, since action is one of the chiefest qualities, that is required in an oratour: for as the tongue speaketh to the eares, so doeth the gesture speake to the eyes of the auditour. In both your speaking and your gesture, vse a naturall and plaine forme, not fairded with artifice (...)

The Scots spellings originally employed by the King have been considerably Anglicised in the printed editions. The ‘qu-’ spelling characteristic of Scots was replaced by ‘wh-’ as in *quhairunto* becoming *whereunto*; the final ‘-e’ was dropped in several words like *oratoure* becoming *oratour*, *youre* changing into *your* and *auditoure* into *auditour*. In brief, many Scottish forms were to change during that period, becoming more regular but also considerably influenced by the norm advocated by Standard English. In addition to that process of assimilation, the proliferation of books printed in English instead of Scots led to further Anglicisation of the language. As evidence of this, Görlach (2002: 9) gave the following graph representing the number of books printed in Scots and English in Edinburgh before the early 17th century.

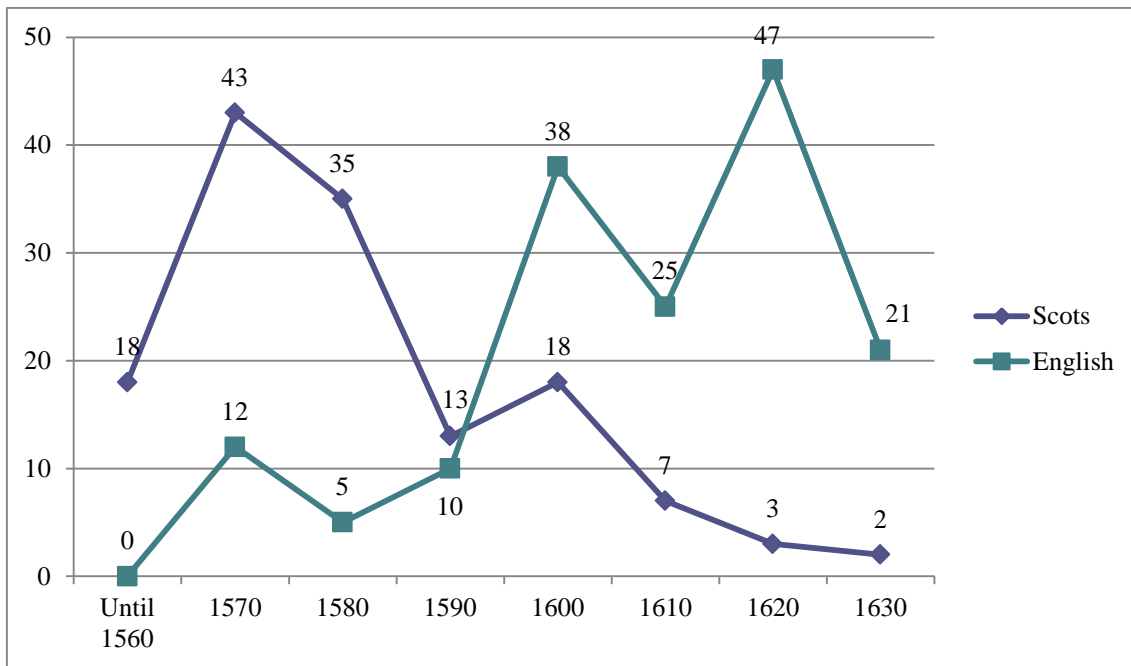


Fig.1. - Number of books printed in Scots and English in Edinburgh before 1630
(Görlach 2002: 9)

The results are quite telling, showing a neat reversal at the turn of the 17th century. They are very much in accordance with an important political event which is generally considered to be the point of no return for Scots: the crowning of James I in 1603.

1.2.3. Some decisive political events

The language shift went on with the Union of the English and Scottish Crowns in 1603, when James VI, already King of Scotland, became James I, King of Scotland, England and Ireland. Scots never regained a dominant position afterwards. The Court of James VI, together with a number of literary men and politicians acquainted with it moved to London and adopted the speech of their English counterparts (Murison 1977: 5). That event had several unfortunate consequences as far as Scots is concerned. First, the departure of the cultural elite from Scotland ultimately led to the disappearance of the tradition of poetry in Scots (McClure 1994: 36). Once again, the result was that English gained in social prestige in Scotland, becoming the language associated with

culture. Also, contacts between upper class members of the two countries increased and intermarriage between the Scottish and English aristocracies was becoming common (Aitken 1987: 11). As a consequence, English was also increasingly associated with power. Under such circumstances, it is not surprising that the Scottish upper classes were increasingly willing to give up their native Scots speech (*id.*). Contrary to the form of Anglicisation discussed above that was concerned with spelling, English was gradually working its way in the Scots pronunciation. That trend intensified in the following century.

Moreover, James VI's ascension to the throne of England had not only a strong impact on the language of the Lowlands but also on the language of the Highlands. Linguistically speaking, Scotland was divided into two parts (see above, p.9): the Lowlands in which Scots was spoken and the Highlands where people spoke in majority Gaelic. An imaginary line called the Highland Line is often stated by linguists to highlight the cultural and linguistic differences between the two areas (Görlach 2002: 175, Murison 1977: 3).

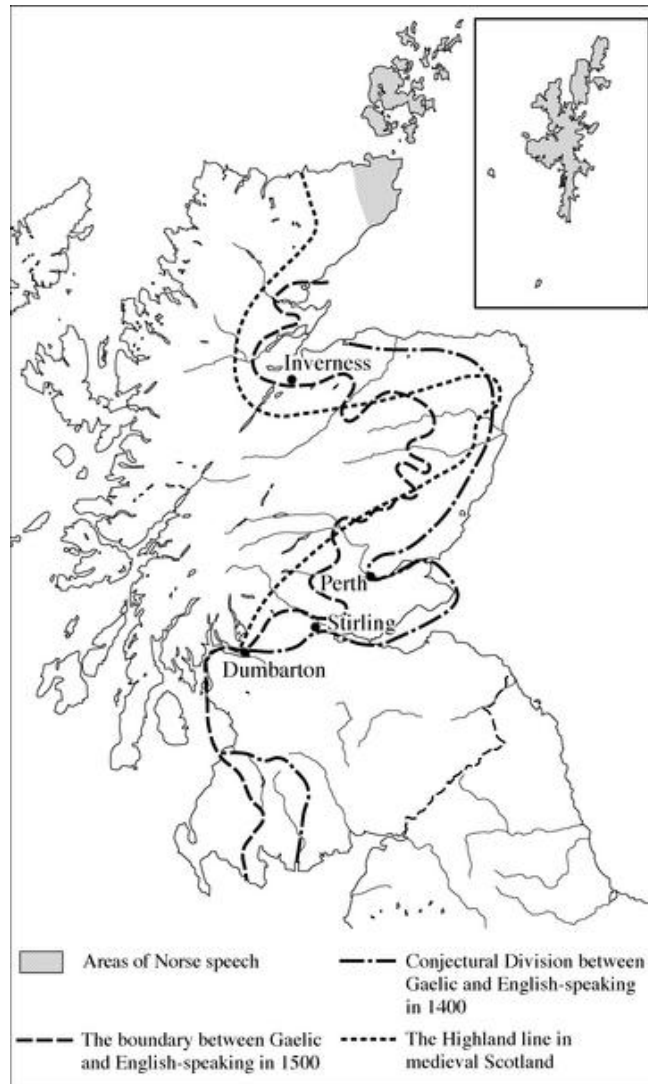


Fig. 2. - The Highland line: the boundary between Gaelic and Scots c. 1400-1500.⁶

The map shows the evolution of the Highland Line from medieval Scotland to 1500. Interestingly, the boundary in 1500 follows the establishment of the burghs quite accurately (see appendix 1), highlighting the importance of those centres in the development of Scots. While the language of the Lowlands was gradually changing in the direction of the Southern norm, Gaelic went almost unaltered as there were very few contacts between the two communities (Görlach 2002: 175). However, the situation changed in the 17th century. During his reign, James I made it a personal mission to erase the cultural and linguistic divergences of his country. A series of acts were voted

⁶ The map is taken from the *Atlas of Scottish History to 1707* (1996: 427).

in Parliament to suppress the Highlanders' culture and language. In 1609, the Statutes of Iona were passed in Scotland which advocated a series of measures to achieve James' aim. One of those measures was for example the obligation for Clan chiefs⁷ to send their eldest sons to be educated in schools in the Lowlands where they would learn English instead of Gaelic.⁸ An extract of the Act given by Dossena (2005: 45) shows the determination of the government to erase the Gaelic tongue:

Forasmekle as, the Kingis Majestie haveing a speciall care and regard that
(...) the vulgar Inglishie toung be universallie plantit, and the Irishe
language, whilk is one of the chief and principall causis of the continewance
of barbaritie and incivilitie amongis the inhabitantis of the Ilis and
Heylandis, may be abolisheit and removit.

Notice that this extract is also interesting in the way it is written. There are still Scots forms but the whole looks very much like Early Modern English. In the years following the Statutes of Iona, other measures were passed like the creation of the Society for the Propagation of Christian Knowledge. Its aim was to bring education and religious teaching to the Highlands. Underlyingly however, the principal goal to achieve was to “wear out Gaelic” by banning its use in the newly implanted schools throughout the Highlands.⁹ The policy of James I and his successors had a tremendous impact on Gaelic which eventually died out in the course of the 17th century. The shift towards Standard English in the Highlands led to a variety called *Highland English*. Because of few contacts between the two communities, it was influenced by Scots only to a very slight extent. This fact is exemplified by Görlach (2002: 175) as he quotes an observation made by Samuel Johnson¹⁰ and James Boswell¹¹ in the journals of their tour of Scotland in 1773. They observe that,

⁷ At the time, the Highlands were divided into several areas which were all controlled by a Clan. The most famous ones include the MacDonalDs or the Cambells.

⁸ Quoted from <http://www.ltscotland.org.uk>

⁹ Information taken from <http://www.scottishhistory.com>

¹⁰ Samuel Johnson (c. 1709-1784) was an English author and lexicographer. He is particularly famous for his *Dictionary of the English Language* (1755) that was very influential and taken as a model for the next decades.

¹¹ James Boswell (c. 1740-1795) was an author and diarist born in Edinburgh. He is best known for the biography he wrote of Samuel Johnson, *Life of Samuel Johnson*, published in 1791.

Those Highlanders that can speak English, commonly speak it well, with few of the words, and little of the tone by which a Scotchman is distinguished [...]. By their Lowland neighbours they would not willingly be taught.

English was spreading more and more in the country, gaining social prestige throughout Scotland.

In the Lowlands, that trend went on in the 18th and the 19th centuries increasing the contrast between the traditional language, Scots, and the prestige language, Standard English. According to Murison (1977: 6),

the last and conclusive blow to Scots was the Union of the Parliaments in 1707 when the legislature was transferred to London, and hence forward the official written language of the whole country was that of the legislative capital. The King's English had displaced the King's Scots and added political prestige to itself.

The Union of the Parliaments considerably increased the status of English in comparison to that of Scots and therefore, Scotland found itself far from the concept of 'good society' having lost both its court and its political centre (Dossena 2005: 56). Yet, part of the cultural prestige of Scotland was to be recovered in the 18th century with the Scottish Enlightenment. Dossena (*id.*) describes it as "an outstanding period of intellectual activity and achievement". A great number of works was published in every domain including philosophy and history with David Hume (c. 1711-1776), economy with Adam Smith (1723-1790) or scientific studies with Francis Home (c. 1719-1813). Moreover, a renewed awareness of the poetic tradition of the past led to a series of publications in Scots. Many collections of poems were printed during the period as a sign of loyalty towards the makars and other important literary figures of the past. Thus, in 1710, Thomas Ruddiman (c. 1674-1757) published editions of Gavin Douglas' *Eneados*, in 1722, Blind Harry's *Wallace* was published by William Hamilton (c. 1665-1751) and in 1724, Allan Ramsay¹² published his anthology *The Ever Green*. Those

¹² Allan Ramsay (1686-1758) was an eminent 18th century poet. Around 1720, he also became bookseller and his shop became the first circulating library in Britain. He was by then fully engaged in

publications renewed the interest of Scots as a vehicle for poetry and led to a ‘vernacular revival’ which did a lot to reassign some of its earlier prestige to Scots (Dossena 2005: 84). Some important figures of this revival include Allan Ramsay, Robert Fergusson¹³ or the world-famous poet Robert Burns¹⁴. Eventually, all those achievements gave Edinburgh the nickname of the ‘Athens of the North’, the centre of that cultural flourishing (*id.*).

However, at the same time, a completely different trend was going on. Indeed, the 18th century was also marked by a strong linguistic prescriptivism with more and more people advocating the use of ‘proper English’. Although Scots was clearly recognized as a valid and powerful vehicle for literature, the use of English was systematically fostered. Throughout the 18th century, efforts were made on the part of Scottish *literati* to achieve a standardized form of English. The Select Society for Promoting the Reading and Speaking of the English Language in Scotland was established in Edinburgh by prominent figures such as Hugh Blair (c. 1718-1800), Adam Ferguson (c. 1723-1816) and William Robertson (c. 1721-1793) (*id.*). The motivations of the society are found in their Regulations published in 1761. The following extract is given by Dossena (*id.*).

As the intercourse between this part of Great Britain and the Capital daily increases, ... gentlemen educated in Scotland have long been sensible of the disadvantages under which they labour, from their imperfect knowledge of the English Tongue, and the impropriety with which they speak it.

This quotation exemplifies the loss of prestige of Scots to the benefit of English and the negative view about the Scottish vernacular which consequently arose. More and more, Scots was not perceived as a proper language anymore but rather as an imperfect form of English that was to be corrected to restore Scotland’s image. Prescriptivism was to be

collecting and editing older Scots literature. *The Ever Green* is a collection of works of the medieval makars (from bbc.co.uk/scotland/arts/writingscotland).

¹³ Robert Fergusson (c. 1750-1774) was a young and talented Scottish poet. In his short life, he achieved so much success that Robert Burns called him ‘his elder brother in the muse’ (www.scottishpoetrylibrary.org)

¹⁴ Robert Burns (c. 1759-1796) is perhaps the most famous Scottish poet of all time. A bibliography given by the National Library of Scotland says that “[in his short life] he had taken the Scottish literary world by storm, and had secured a place for himself in history and in legend”. Some of his well-known poems include ‘Holy Willie’s Prayer’, ‘To a Mouse’ and ‘The Jolly Beggars’.

found on both the written and spoken levels. A great number of works on orthography and spelling arose in the 18th century such as James Dun’s *Best Method of Teaching to Read and Spell English Demonstrated in Eight Parts* published in 1766 or John Burn’s *Pronouncing Dictionary of the English Language* published in 1777. Also, in Edinburgh the elocution lessons of Thomas Sheridan (c. 1719-1788) became increasingly popular and in 1780 he compiled a *General Dictionary of the English Language, One Main Object of Which is to Establish a Plain and Permanent Standard of Pronunciation*. The title is quite explicit on the aim of such a work. With that flow of publications advocating the use of Standard English, people in the country naturally began thinking that they did not speak well ('properly') and that 'Scotticisms' were to be avoided at all costs. Thus, during the heyday of Prescriptivism, a “witch-hunt against Scotticisms” (Dossena 2005: 74) – a strongly connoted word at the time – was led by *literati* such as David Hume. In the 1752 edition of his *Political Discourses*, we can find an appendix including a list of 100 Scotticisms which were listed together with their Standard English counterparts (Dossena 2005: 65). Some examples are given in the following table:

<u>Category</u>	<u>Hume’s Scotticisms</u>	<u>English Equivalents</u>
Verb	cry him	call him
Noun	a wright	a carpenter
Preposition	Alongst	along
Adjectival phrase	to be diffculted	to be puzzled
Adverb	Alwise	always

Such a list was not used as a comparative tool but as a kind of prescriptive grammar whose aim was to eradicate the use of Scottish features. The result was that it increased even more the contrast between Scots, the language of the heart and English, the language of the head. McClure (1994: 40) acknowledges the existence of this ‘cultural

split' when he states,

It is something of a paradox that the outstanding literary and intellectual achievements of eighteenth-century Scotland should so clearly manifest an almost pathological confusion, which has never been resolved, in the matter of language, arising from a still deeper confusion regarding the national identity.

Yet, those two opposite trends gave rise to a sense, first among upper-class members and then among middle-class ones, that the abandonment of all Scottish features was not a desirable aim. Quite ironically, the increasing number of lists on Scotticisms eventually gave rise to the growing linguistic awareness which was lacking in the past. It gave the necessary boost to the analysis of Scots and, consequently, people started to look at their variety in a rather different way. Scots was not seen as a bad copy of English anymore but as a part of the cultural heritage of Scotland. The following quotation from Boswell (1772) exemplifies the idea that Scottish people were increasingly willing to incorporate some Scottish features in their speech:

Let me give my countrymen of North-Britain an advice not to aim at absolute perfection in this respect; not to speak *High English*, as we are apt to call what is far removed from the *Scotch*, but which is by no means *good English*, and makes 'the fools who use it', truly ridiculous [...]. A small intermixture of provincial peculiarities may, perhaps, have an agreeable effect, as the notes of different birds concur in the harmony of the grove, and please more than if they were exactly alike.¹⁵

Thus, at the turn of the 19th century, a new variety emerged from a compromise between Scots and Standard English: Scottish Standard English. As a matter of fact, this variety, although close to Standard English, shows the desire to preserve part of the distinctiveness of Scots which was present in the past. The 'witch-hunt' against Scotticisms indirectly led to a renewed interest for the *auld leed*. In the second part of this paper, distinctive features of Scottish Standard English will be analyzed.

¹⁵ Quoted from Rogers (1991 : 65).

2. A Synchronic Description of Distinctive Scottish Features

So far, we have examined the linguistic history of Scotland as a means to understand the linguistic situation of the country. The complex relationship between Scots and English over the centuries has led to the emergence and the development of a Standard of pronunciation which have been called Scottish Standard English. In this part, I will examine the distinctive elements which set it apart from the best-known manifestation of Southern British English, namely the one referred to as Received Pronunciation or RP (Giegerich 1992: 44). The distinctiveness of Scottish Standard English will be analyzed by looking at part of its phonology, syntax and lexis. It will illustrate what constitutes a typical Scottish speech.

Before I go on my description of Scottish Standard English, some methodological issues are to be considered.

First, the following description is not aimed at being by any means complete as it would go well beyond the scope of this dissertation. Instead, only the major linguistic elements of Scottish Standard English will be examined to point at the particularity of the variety.

Moreover, what we have to bear in mind is that ‘Scottish Standard English’ is a label and that therefore it is largely instrumental in the sense that it has been created to account for regular patterns in the speech of some Scottish people. Thus, the groups that are created with such labels are artificial and idealized, at least to some extent. As Maguire (2012:3) claims, “neither of [the] terms [‘Scots’ and ‘Scottish Standard English’] may be relevant for many speakers”. Nevertheless, it is important to stress that labels are crucial in linguistic generalizations and therefore I will use them as such keeping in mind that they are not completely accurate. To complete the picture, some cases of variation will be analyzed in the third part.

Finally, when talking about a variety, it is important to define what the term used to describe it encompasses. As already mentioned, labels are abstract notions and therefore they may mean different things to different people. In the case of Scots and Scottish Standard English, it is even more crucial as there is no accent in Scotland which has the sociolinguistic status of a ‘standard’ (Giegerich 2002: 46). As a matter of fact, Giegerich (*id.*) describes the Scottish Standard English accent as “an analysts’ artifact”. The question ‘what is Scottish Standard English?’ has therefore no straightforward answer. Nevertheless, it can roughly be localised to a certain extent in

the speech of middle-class speakers of Central Scotland, particularly in Edinburgh and Glasgow (*id.*). Aitken's model will be referred to so as to give it a definition.

2.1. Aitken's Model of Modern Scottish Speech

The relationship between Scots and English over the centuries has led to a situation which has no parallel in the world. In many respects, it is, for linguists, accurate to describe Scotland as a dialectologist's or a sociolectologist's paradise (Görlach 1985: 3). Indeed, the particularity of a Scottish speech stands in the various linguistic choices that a native speaker can make. Görlach (1990: 128) summarizes this fact when saying that “[f]rom the 18th century, survival in Scots can mean existence in three different subsystems: in ScE¹⁶ (few Scotticisms, thanks to the purifying efforts of the Enlightenment); in spoken Scots dialect; and in literary uses”. As a matter of fact, native speakers in Scotland have got a large range of options available to them. Aitken (1984b: 520) modeled people's language use in the country with his ‘model of modern Scottish speech’ that we are going to analyze to set out what is Scottish Standard English. Aitken represents the different linguistic choices accessible to native speakers in the following table¹⁷.

¹⁶ Stands for ‘Scottish Standard English’.

¹⁷ Truncated form of the original.

<u>‘Scots’</u>			<u>‘English’</u>	
<i>1</i>	<i>2</i>	<i>3</i>	<i>4</i>	<i>5</i>
Bairn	hame	Name	Home	child
Brae	hale	Hole	Whole	slope
Kirk	mare	Before	More	church
Ken	puir	Soup	Poor	know
Een	deed	Feed	Dead	eyes
Gaed	twaw, twae	Agree	Two	went

Words of columns 1 and 2 are marked as ‘Scots’ with columns 4 and 5 representing their English counterparts. Column 3 contains words which are neither marked as ‘Scots’ nor ‘English’ and therefore exemplifies that there is a “common core of invariants” shared by the two systems (Aitken 1984b: 519). This table also shows that variation is to be found on different levels. There are phonological contrasts with minimal pairs such as *deed/dead* or *hame/home* which highlight differences in the distribution of vowel phonemes. Also, Scots has got a distinctive lexis with words such as *een*, *bairn* or *brae*. Finally, morphological differences can be found in the formation of the past tense, for example, with *gaed* instead of *went*. Here, the suppletive form of the verb go is replaced by a more regular one with the dental suffix *-ed*. There are also syntactic differences between the two systems which cannot be summarized in a table. Speakers in Scotland then drift along a bipolar stylistic continuum with Broad Scots at one end and Scottish Standard English at the other (Stuart-Smith 2004: 47). As explained by Aitken (1984b: 521),

[Scottish Standard English speakers] 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 with one of the Scottish accents.

What he means by “obligatory covert” and “stylistic overt” Scotticisms has to do with the degree of awareness of a speaker about his idiolect. A covert Scotticism is realized when a speaker is unaware that he is using a linguistic feature which is

typically marked as ‘Scots’. In Aitken’s words (1984a: 105), in doing so he is “‘giving [himself] away’ as Scots”. Conversely, an overt Scotticism describes a feature which is deliberately produced on purpose to create a particular stylistic effect. Aitken (1984a: 107) takes as an example Scottish Standard English speakers who can use Scots forms at a Burns Society meeting to assert their ‘Scottishness’ and by doing so claim membership to the group. The following description of Scottish Standard English illustrates speakers who act at the end of the continuum. Nevertheless, as seen earlier, it should be kept in mind that variation does exist and that it is a complex process involving people’s choices and attitudes. This question will be examined in more details in the third part of this dissertation.

2.2. Phonology

Although Scottish Standard English shares a number of features with Standard English, the variety is quite distinctive in terms of its phonology. Thus, Scottish Standard English is sometimes referred to as ‘Standard English with a Scottish accent’ (Wells 1982b: 394). Although it is certainly an important generalization to make, we will see that it is not completely accurate to describe it as such. It is interesting to use RP as a comparison tool since its vowel system is a near-universal Southern British one (Giegerich 2002: 45). Plus, the two accents seem to enjoy a certain prestige in their respective countries by being favoured by middle and upper-middle class speakers. It makes sense, sociolinguistically speaking, to compare accents which are typically chosen by the same class of population. Let us look at parts of their phonology to see how they differ.

2.2.1. RP and SSE vowel systems

First, the respective vowel inventories of RP and SSE will be compared. The consonant system of English being relatively uniform throughout the English-speaking world, differences between accents are mainly to be seen through their vowel systems (Giegerich 1992: 43). To stress the distinctiveness of SSE, Giegerich (1992: 54) gives the following table.

<u>SSE</u>	<u>RP</u>	<u>Examples</u>
/i/	/i/	beat
/ɪ /	/ɪ /	bit
/e/	/e/	bait
/ɛ /	/ɛ /	bet
/a/	/ɑ /	psalm
	/a/	Sam
/u/	/u/	pool
	/ʊ /	pull
/o/	/o/	boat
/ʌ /	/ʌ /	butt
/ɔ /	/ɔ /	caught
	/ɒ /	cot
/aɪ /	/aɪ /	bite
/aʊ /	/aʊ /	bout
/ɔɪ /	/ɔɪ /	boy

It may be surprising to notice that /e/ and /o/ are not underlyingly represented as diphthongs in this inventory of vowel phonemes. The reason for that is practical. Indeed, as Giegerich (1992: 50) notices, “the realisations of /e/ and /o/ are not invariably diphthongal in all accents of English: in SSE they are monophthongs – [e] and [o].” We have to distinguish them from the true diphthongs /aɪ /, /aʊ / and /ɔ ɪ / which are invariably of a diphthongal quality in the two reference accents. In the same way that /i/ and /u/ can have diphthongal realizations such as [ɪ i] or [ʊ u], /e/ and /o/ can both be realized with a diphthong in RP (*id.*). Therefore, it makes sense to treat the diphthongal quality of these vowels as phonetic rather than phonemic.

This table exemplifies that the inventory of vowel phonemes of SSE is quite similar to that of RP. Nevertheless, there are cases in which the two differ. The vowels of RP can all easily be grouped into pairs while those of SSE lack such a systematic patterning. The grouping of vowels into pairs in the two systems gives the following result¹⁸:

<u>RP</u>	<u>SSE</u>
beat /i/-ɪ / bit	beat /i/-ɪ / bit
bait /e/-ɛ / bet	bait /e/-ɛ / bet
psalm /ɑ /-a/ Sam	psalm, Sam /a/
pool /u/-ʊ / pull	pool, pull /u/
boat /o/-ʌ / butt	boat /o/-ʌ / butt
caught /ɔ /-ɒ / cot	caught, cot /ɔ /

Compared to RP, SSE lacks a pair opposition in three instances. Thus, *psalm* and *Sam* are typically pronounced the same, as well as *pool* and *pull* or *caught* and *cot*. In fact, quite a lot of homophones arise from these gaps in the system of SSE. Wells (1982b: 402) notes that among these cases of phonemic mergers where two phonemes are replaced by a single one, the one traditionally referred to as the ‘FOOT-GOOSE’ merger is the most salient feature of Scottish accents. Indeed, it is “characteristic of all Scottish accents of all regional and social types” (*id.*). The other cases of merger can be optional even if they are present in the speech of a large number of SSE speakers. Certain speakers distinguish between words of the LOT and the THOUGHT lexical sets

¹⁸ Taken from Giegerich (1992: 51, 54).

but the opposition is not as systematic as that of RP speakers and thus, they may use /ɔ / instead of /ɒ / in certain LOT words like *yacht*, *wash*, *watch* or *squad* (Wells 1982b: 403). Similarly, some speakers of SSE may not necessarily exemplify the TRAP-PALM merger exemplified in *psalm* and *Sam*, but, once again, it is restricted to certain words.

It is interesting to notice that the absence of a pair opposition in SSE always follow the same pattern. The pairs of vowels given above are organized according to the environments in which they occur. The vowel phoneme on the left appears in open and closed syllables whereas the one on the right is restricted to closed environments. When an opposition is lacking in SSE, the vowel on the left is always the one which is kept. In other words, the vowel with the more restricted environment is never retained (Giegerich 1992: 54). In SSE, /a/ is no exception to the rule. The notation can be misleading since it corresponds actually to RP /ɑ / in terms of the environment in which it occurs, that is, in a close or an open syllable. Yet, as explained by Giegerich (1992: 55) the notation is maintained because the vowel in SSE is usually produced further front than its RP counterpart is. Therefore, in terms of its quality, the SSE vowel is closer to RP /a/ than /ɑ /.

2.2.2. The Scottish Vowel-Length Rule¹⁹

One of the best-known realisational differences between Scottish varieties and other varieties of English is the Scottish Vowel-Length Rule²⁰. The rule is present in SSE and concerns the length of vowels.

In the pairs given above, RP has generally one vowel considered as ‘short’ and one as ‘long’. Giegerich (1992: 234) exemplifies this fact by giving the following chart representing the duration in centiseconds of /i/ and /ɪ / in similar environments.

¹⁹ Also widely labelled ‘Aitken’s Law’ due to the name of the linguist who first analysed it.

²⁰ From now on, it will be abbreviated to ‘SVLR’.

Before	/v/	/b/	pause	/n/	/f/	/p/
/i/	36.0	28.5	28.0	19.5	13.0	12.3
/ɪ /	18.6	14.7	-	11.0	8.3	7.3

Vowel-length in RP is phonemic. In similar environments, /i/ and /ɪ / systemically differ in terms of their duration with /ɪ / being the shortest one. In RP, this length distinction gives rise to minimal pairs with *beat* being longer than *bit* or *pool* longer than *pull*. In addition, vowels are different in terms of their quality in such a way that even if the ‘long’ vowel in *leap* is, according to the chart, shorter than the ‘short’ vowel in *live*, the two can still be perceived as different.

In SSE, the situation is quite different. Indeed, vowel-length is not phonemic but largely allophonic and therefore depends on the environment in which the vowels occur. Aitken states (1984a: 98),

The vowels affected [by the SVLR] 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.

As implied by this quotation, not all vowel phonemes are affected by the rule. Only SSE tense vowels²¹ /i e a u o ɔ /, are affected and therefore can be either long or short. SSE lax vowels (nontense) /ɪ ε ʌ / remain unaffected and are short in all contexts.

Giegerich (1992: 229-231) provides some examples to exemplify the rule:

²¹ The definition of the binary feature [Tense] is given by Giegerich (1992: 98):
 [Tense]: Tense sounds are produced with a deliberate, accurate, maximally distinct gesture that involves considerable muscular effort; non tense sounds are produced rapidly and somewhat indistinctly.

Tense vowels

Long vowel

/i/	breathe, leave, ease, ear, see, kneed
/e/	wave, maze, bear, day, stayed
/a/	halve, vase, par, spa
/u/	smooth, groove, sure, shoe, brewed
/o/	loathe, grove, pose, shore, go
/ɔ /	pause, paw

Short vowel

Leith, leaf, leash, leap, feel, need
pace, waif, fake, fade, fail, staid
half, pass, path, mad, cap, calm
youth, hoof, use, loot, fool, brood
loaf, close, loath, coat, foal, foam
cough, loss, bought, cot, call, done

Lax vowels

Short vowel

/ɪ /	give, fizz, pith, dish, fill, lip, fin
/ɛ /	rev, Des, her, mess, pet, tell, ten
/ʌ /	love, does, duff, lush, cup, pun

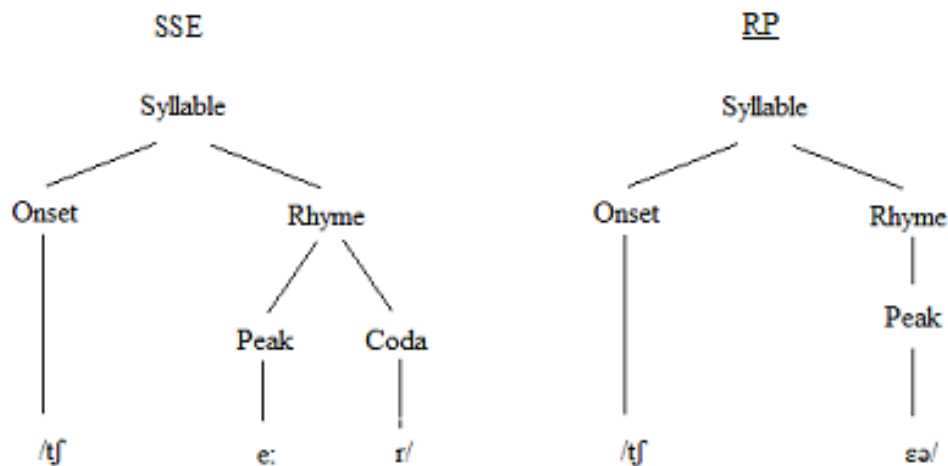
These examples illustrate the environments described by Aitken. Tense vowels are long in ‘long’ environment that is to say before a voiced fricative as in *breathe* [bri:ð], before /r/ as in *bear* [be:r] or before a ‘morpheme boundary’ which can mean either a word boundary as in *see* [si:] or a morphological boundary as in *brewed* [bru:d]. Elsewhere, tense vowels are short e.g. *Leith* [liθ], *fake* [fek], *fool* [ful].

The particularity of the SVLR stands in the fact that it is not a ‘proper’ allophonic rule. It makes reference to non-phonological information such as morphological boundaries contrary to traditional allophonic rules. In a ‘pure’ phonemicist theory where phonology is completely autonomous, one would have to treat *brewed* and *brood* as minimal pairs. That would be unfortunate since it would miss an important generalization about the phonology of SSE (Giegerich 1992: 231). Moreover, allophonic rules supposedly have no lexical exceptions, yet, some SSE speakers have instances of autonomous length contrasts such as *leek* [lik] vs. *leak* [li:k]

vane [ven] vs. *vain* [ve:n] or *creek* [krik] vs. *creak* [kri:k] (Wells 1982b: 401). Finally, Aitken (1984a: 99) also identifies the fact that the diphthong /aɪ / seems to be subject to the rule for some speakers. In the ‘long’ environments described above, /aɪ / can be realized as a “slow diphthong” [a·e] as in *five*, *rise*, *fire* or *dry*. Conversely, for speakers exhibiting this opposition, in ‘short’ environments it is realized as a “fast diphthong” [əi] exemplified in pronunciation of some words like *Fife*, *rice*, *bite* or *tide*. Given that a ‘proper’ allophonic rule occurs within a natural class of phonemes, the SVLR should be ruled out since /aɪ / does not belong to the natural class of tense vowels. Still, even if the status of the rule is difficult to determine, it makes important generalizations about the phonology of varieties found in Scotland which are crucial to understand if we want to account for the behaviour of vowels in the speech of Scottish speakers.

2.2.3. Rhoticity

Another major difference between the two is that SSE is rhotic whereas RP is not. Giegerich (1992: 63) defines rhoticity in terms of syllable structure dividing a syllable into an onset and a rhyme. The rhyme can be further divided into the peak, corresponding to the syllabic segment of a syllable, and the coda which includes the consonant(s) following the peak. Thus, syllables are associated with peaks in sonority: the onset representing an upward slope in sonority and the rhyme a downward one. In terms of syllable structure, rhotic accents are those accents which allow /r/ to occur in the rhyme. Conversely, nonrhotic accents do not have /r/ in this context. Wells (1982a: 1982) illustrates this fact by saying that “in a Scottish accent the words *beer*, *chair*, *more* and *sure* are pronounced [bi:r, tʃ e:r, mo:r, ʃ u:r] (...). The corresponding forms in RP are [bi ə, tʃ ε ə, mɔ :, ʃ u ə □ ʃ ɔ :]”. The syllable structure of the word *chair* in RP and SSE illustrates their difference on the question of rhoticity.



The absence of /r/ in the rhyme of the monosyllabic word *chair* in RP, illustrates the fact that RP is nonrhotic.

Wells (1982a: 213) explains this phonological difference by claiming that SSE has not undergone a series of changes, namely Pre-R Breaking, Pre-Schwa Laxing and R Dropping, and that therefore it is more conservative than RP in this respect. The first development, Pre-R Breaking involves the epenthesis of a schwa between the vowels /i:, e:, o:, u:/ and the following /r/ (Wells 1982a: 214). The words *beer*, *chair*, *more* and *sure* discussed above therefore became pronounced [bi:əɾ, tʃ e:əɾ, mo:əɾ, ʃ u:əɾ] in RP while in SSE they did not undergo any change. The following stage, Pre-Schwa Laxing, is concerned with the transition of the vowels involved in Pre-R Breaking from tense to lax (*id.*). Thus, /i:, e:, o:, u:/ became /ɪ , ε , ɔ , ʊ /. In the 18th century, RP underwent a final change, R Dropping, in which /r/ disappeared before a consonant or in absolute final position (Wells 1982a: 218). For words like *more*, Wells (1982a: 216) acknowledges another process called Monophthonging where the central diphthong [ɔ ə] became [ɔ :] giving the actual pronunciation [mɔ :] in RP. This series of developments is quite interesting in that, historically, southern varieties tend to be more conservative than northern ones. These examples illustrate the fact that the reverse is also possible.

2.3. Syntax

SSE is sometimes referred to as ‘Standard English with a Scottish accent’ (see above, p. 28). Even if the label is not completely accurate, it is true that a lot of features are shared between the grammars of Scottish varieties and English Standard English ones. Nevertheless, there are still differences which are worth mentioning. It is difficult to put these syntactic features under a particular label because of the degree of variation found between Scottish speakers. Although it is accurate to recognise a standard of pronunciation in SSE, it is much more complicated when it comes to define Scottish speakers’ grammar. In this respect, the term ‘Scottish Standard English’ is unfortunate. Miller (2003: 100) comments on the question of labelling in Scottish varieties. He says that,

Scottish speakers draw on Broad Scots and standard written English to varying degrees, depending on degree of formality (topic, location of conversation, participants in the conversation) but also on the inclinations of the individual speaker. (...) [T]he terms ‘Scots’, ‘Broad Scots’ and ‘Scottish English’ [are used] fairly freely in reference to our data.

This illustrates the fact that linguists are forced to be flexible in their terminology. As mentioned earlier, speakers drift along the Scots/SSE continuum. The lower the number of distinctive Scottish elements in a speaker’s utterance, the closer it is to SSE. Because of the absence of a uniform grammar among speakers of the variety, we shall refer to the following features as ‘Scottish’ rather than putting them under a particular heading. Examples will be provided to illustrate them²².

²² The examples are taken from a number of different sources. The most important one is the Edinburgh Corpus of Spoken Scottish English (ECOSSE) which is a 220,000 word digitised body of conversations collected in Edinburgh and East Lothian.

2.3.1. Modality

One of the major features that sets Scottish varieties apart from English varieties is modality. As Dossena (2005: 29) claims, these varieties often lack some modal verbs like *shall*, *may* and *ought* and consequently, they are commonly substituted with other forms. The future is expressed by *will*, permission by *can*, *get to* and *get + gerund* as in,

- (1) The pupils get to come inside in rainy weather.
- (2) They got going to the match.

Also, *should* substitutes *ought* (Dossena 2005: *id.*). Jones (2002: 17) acknowledges the existence of a negative form of *must* in Scottish varieties where Standard English would prefer *cannot*. Hence the following sentence,

- (3) The fact are clearly wrong, so the report's conclusions mustn't be true.

He also evidences the use of double modal constructions which are clearly impossible in Standard English. He illustrates this idea with the following sentences (Jones 2002: 19).

- (4) She might could have done it.
- (5) The teacher will can tell you when the class is over.

Finally, Jones (2002: *id.*) identifies the use of to-infinitive with modal verbs which, in his words, "is grossly ungrammatical in almost every other English language variety. Therefore, it is possible to find sentences such as (6) and (7).

- (6) You have to can write well to be a journalist.
- (7) I'd like to could do that.

As shown by these examples, to-infinitive seems not only to attach to modal verbs but to do it even with a finite form like *could*. The result is unexpected and confined to Scottish utterances.

2.3.2. *Negation*

Another distinctive element of Scottish varieties has to do with negative sentences. Miller (2004: 50) notices that verbs are negated either by the independent words *not* and *no* or the dependent forms *n't* and *nae*. While *not* and *n't* are also found in Standard English, *no* and *nae* are typical of Scottish varieties. The following sentences are given by Miller (id.) to illustrate his point

- (8) She's no leaving.
- (9) She isnae leaving.

Nae is not confined to the auxiliary *be* and can also attach to all modal verbs and to do as in (10) and (11)

- (10) He doesnae help in the house (Miller 2004: 51).
- (11) John willnae do that (Jones 2002: 20).

Finally, Jones (2002: 20) identifies a process of grammaticalisation undergone by *never* which seems to have lost its lexical meaning and tends to replace what he calls “normal negative construction[s]”. He takes as an example the two following sentences which have basically the same meaning in Scottish varieties.

- (12) John didn't get married.
- (13) John never got married.

Here, the meaning of never defined by Jones (2002: id.) as ‘not at any time’ or ‘at no time’ has disappeared. Instead, never functions as a ‘pure’ grammatical word used to mark negation. It is, in this respect, similar to the dummy-do exemplified in (12).

2.3.3. Tense and aspect

Some Scottish speakers use tenses and aspects in a non-standard fashion. Miller (2002: 92) claims that stative verbs such as *know*, *like*, *see* and *hear* occur regularly in the progressive in Scottish varieties while in Standard English it is ungrammatical. To illustrate his point, he takes the following examples.

- (14) We werenae really wanting to go last year but they sent us a lot of letters to come.
- (15) He’s not understanding a single thing you say.

Miller (2003: 92-93) also provides evidence of a ‘double *-ing*’ construction considered to be unacceptable in Standard English but frequently used in Scotland:

- (16) They’re not intending opening the bottle tonight surely.

This kind of construction with two verbs ending in *-ing* is typically avoided in Standard English.

Moreover, as shown by Bergs (2001: 30), the perfect aspect is not used in the same way in Scottish varieties. Indeed, in Standard English, no definite time reference items like *yesterday*, *last year*, *four months ago* is used with a verb in the perfect aspect because the two are mutually exclusive (*id.*). The following examples show that it is not always the case in Scottish varieties.

- (17) I’ve seen him last year.
- (18) I’ve been to the exhibition last year.

Also, while in Standard English the adverb *just* requires the present perfect, in

Scottish varieties there is usually no such constraint as illustrated by (19) (*id.*):

(19) John just phoned.

Finally, Miller (2003: 95-96) identifies different combinations of tenses and aspects in conditional clauses. The following clauses are given with their Standard English counterparts to stress the particularity of Scottish varieties:

<u>Scottish English</u>	<u>English Standard English</u>
If she would come to see things for herself	If she came to see things or herself
If she would have come to see things for herself	If she had come to see things for herself

This table illustrates the fact that Scottish speakers typically use the modal *would* in this kind of clauses to indicate that the event is hypothetical. The corresponding Standard English construction replaces it with a verb in the preterit.

2.4. Lexis

2.4.1. Problems

As discussed earlier, Scottish speakers drift along a continuum ranging from broad Scots to SSE (see p.27). Speakers exhibiting a large number of distinctive Scottish features are thought to be Scots speakers. Yet, variation is found between them and therefore, although SSE is generally defined by a small number of distinctive Scots features, speakers of the variety can use them depending on the situation. Consequently,

a quick examination at the lexis of SSE would lead to the conclusion that lexical items are chosen between two different systems: Scots and English. To point at the particularity of SSE, only lexical items of the Scots system should be analysed. However, there are a number of problems arising from such a task which need to be acknowledged in order to have a better understanding of the linguistic situation of Scotland.

First, studying the entire lexis of Scots would be a huge task, even in a work entirely devoted to it. The ten-volume *Scottish National Dictionary* presents the vocabulary of Scots since 1700 and reminds us how large the topic is (Tulloch 1997: 378). That means that SSE speakers have potentially tens of thousands of lexical items at their disposal.

Plus, it is hard to keep complete autonomy of the system. As seen in the first part of this dissertation, Scots originally developed from Anglian dialects of Old English found in Northumberland (see p.3). It is therefore no surprise if a large number of lexical items are shared between Scots and northern English dialects. Tulloch (1997: 379) claims that contributors to dictionaries of Scots like the *Scottish National Dictionary* or *The Concise Scots Dictionary* are forced to include those items in order to represent the ‘Scots tongue’. Scots items are also found in Ireland in varieties such as Ulster Scots. Once again, it can be understood by looking at the history of speech communities. Montgomery and Gregg (1997: 569), who describe in their article the Scots language in Ulster, provide an explanation for the strong influence of Scots in Northern Ireland:

[Ulster Scots] has now been spoken in the historical province of Ulster for more than 400 years and has had a stable community of speakers there since the early seventeenth century; through plantation schemes official and unofficial and a variety of less formal migrations, tens of thousands of Lowland Scots arrived in the first half of the century, establishing a rural heartland which further movement of people from Scotland and the internal migration of earlier settlers expanded as the century proceeded.

Moreover, Scots is not confined to the United Kingdom. It has crossed the Atlantic to be found in North America and is also represented in Australia (Montgomery 2003: 240-

246). In short, although it has originated in Scotland, to some extent, Scots does not belong to anyone. The different contacts between speakers may have blurred even more the distinction between Scots and English.

Finally, the fact that the two languages have a common ancestor makes it difficult to assert with certainty the origin of many words. Gortlach (2002: 112) expresses this idea when he claims that

[a] particular problem with Scots lexis is, of course, that so many items are shared with English and have been from the very beginning (so that it is impossible to define them as either English or Scots), and so many others have been taken over in the course of Anglicisation from the 15C onwards.

Aitken's 'model of modern Scottish speech' presents two distinct systems from which people pick up their linguistic features. Considering the problems suggested above, the reality appears to be not as neat as implied. In fact, there is considerable overlap between the two systems. This reality has led people to consider Scots a dialect of English rather than a language in its own right.

2.4.2. Studying Scots Lexis: Lexical Survival in Scots

However, it can be possible to find 'good representatives' of Scots. In one of his studies, Gortlach (1990: 130) have made a classification of 100 Scots words which "had an obvious Old English etymon and were apparently not current in Modern English". The reason behind that is to analyse to what extent the Scots language is "a repository of Old English and Middle English words which do not survive into Modern English" (Gortlach 1990: 125). His aim was to see if those items had survived in contemporary usage or if they tended to disappear. He presented his list to a competent speaker of Scots, Derrick McClure, who judged on the status of the 100 words thanks to the following usage test:

- Ø unknown
- 1 known as (probably) obsolete
- 2 known exclusively from literature
- 3 not common in speech, but regular in literature
- 4 common in Scots
- 5 also part of Scottish English

I would use it:

- A NOT unless forced to by the context (e.g. for a rhyme)
- B only in writing
- C in speech as a conscious Scotticism
- D regularly in speech

Gorlach's results are summarized in the following table.

		A	B	C	D	
Ø	15					15
1		13	1			14
2		2	18	2		22
3			8	4		12
4		2	3	13		18
5		3	1	4	11	19
	15	20	31	23	11	100

As he (1990: 139-140) comments, there are words which are avoided except for very specific literary uses like *blin* 'to cease' or *eem* 'uncle'. Others like *attercap* 'spider' or *baxter* 'baker', only used in writing and, since writing in Scots is not common, are likely to be infrequent. There are, however, words which are used in speech, either

unconsciously like *bannock* ‘flat cake’ or *ken* ‘to know’ or on purpose like *ben* ‘inwards’ and *leed* ‘language’. He notes that words of the latter category are increasingly considered as stereotypes and are avoided on many occasions.

It can be said that, even if Scots appears to be a conservative language in its vocabulary, most of its lexical items are confined to literary usage or avoided because of stereotypes. Gorlach (1990: 140) claims that the status of a word is decisive for its survival. The *Scottish National Dictionary*, while presenting an in-depth classification of Scots words, does not reflect the status of Scots nowadays. Gorlach (1990: 143) concludes by saying that “as the lexical divergence of American English and British English is likely to decrease, so is the difference between Scottish English and English English”. This trend has been going on from the 16th century and is likely to continue even if the distinctiveness of Scottish speakers can still be perceived.

3. Language Variation in Scotland: The Study of an Urban Variety

It has become clear by now that the situation of Scotland with respect to language is unique. The close relationship between Scots and English over the centuries has led to the emergence of a compromise form, Scottish Standard English. Because of the coexistence of two different languages in the country, Scots and English, people are thought to act on a continuum ranging from Broad Scots to Scottish Standard English (Aitken 1984b: 520). Scottish speakers drift on this continuum according to the situation, exhibiting more or less distinctive Scots features. However, as useful as it may be, this model does not account for every pattern of variation and change. In this part, such cases of variation will be studied to give a more accurate picture to the linguistic situation of Scotland.

Being essentially binary, Aitken's model is limited. The study of Urban Scots sheds some light on ongoing patterns of variation and change which cannot be modeled only with reference to the Scots/SSE continuum. Glasgow has often been the target of studies focusing on urban varieties of Scots (Hagen: 2002, Macaulay: 1997, Macafee: 1983, etc.). Their results have contributed to give a broader picture to the question of language in Scotland. Some of them will be considered in the following sections.

3.1. Dialect contacts

To begin with, Aitken's bipolar model does not account for the fact that people's speech is influenced in many more ways than by the two extreme poles of a continuum. If one takes a look at the development of an urban variety such as Glaswegian, which is Scots as it is spoken in Glasgow, it will become clear that dialect contact is an important aspect to consider. It is useful to look at the history of speech communities in the city to see how Glaswegian developed. This form of Scots may be labelled 'hybrid' because, as suggested by Hagen (2002: 87), "although it has retained features of West Central Scots, [it] is characterised by the varied influences exerted on it by other varieties and indeed languages". Hagen (*id.*) continues as she claims that these influences are the product of what happened during the Industrial Revolution, especially the increasing urbanisation of Scotland that followed. Indeed, Glasgow, together with major cities in

Great Britain, attracted a lot of people during the Industrial Revolution who were of different backgrounds and origins. Macafee (1983: 11) claims that

The population of Glasgow and of the West of Scotland generally, grew rapidly in the nineteenth century through migration from the Highlands and from rural districts into the towns. By 1870, 80 per cent of this growing population was urban.

In addition to that movement from rural to urban areas within Scotland, Slaven (1975: 234) stresses the importance of a process of migration coming from Ireland. He gives a brief summary of the situation:

In 1871 nearly 30 per cent of all persons in the west of Scotland were immigrants... the Irish represented 43 per cent of all immigrants in 1871, and a third in 1901. The Highlanders added another fifth.

With such a tremendous flow of population arriving into the city, it is easy to imagine that contacts between people must have led to alternations on the way they spoke. Thus, Hagen (2002: 89) identifies two ways in which the West Central dialect originally spoken in Glasgow was affected. First, she acknowledges a process of lexical expansion with an ensuing erosion of traditional dialect vocabulary which was no longer needed. Those new lexical items were not only used to refer to new inventions but also to the urban environment in which the majority of the population was moving to. She (2002: *id.*) also claims that “the native varieties of the great numbers of immigrants into the city came to have a levelling influence”. Levelling is a very common phenomenon whereby the more complex phonological features such as diphthongs are gradually replaced by simple ones (Trask 2000: 191). It is not surprising that speakers tend to accommodate their idiolect for the sake of communication or to fit in the emerging society. The result is that the most distinctive features of traditional dialects gradually disappear and speakers ultimately sound more alike. Thus, a kind of *lingua franca* emerged among speakers in the city. In Glasgow, there were very negative reactions to this ‘new hybrid’ because of the image usually associated to it. Glaswegian was the direct reflection of the Industrial Revolution with people living in very bad housing

conditions because of the massive immigration. Hagen (2002: 90) gives a typical comment of the estimation of Glaswegian speech at the turn of the 20th century:

We are certain that, if He had liked, the Creator could have devised a worse accent; but we are equally certain that He never did. There is not a single redeeming feature in it. It is coarse, unmusical, slobbery, slipshod; it simply takes every one of our finer instincts by the throat. There is nothing in nature with which it can be compared, save, perhaps, the barking of an ill conditioned dog with a cold in its head²³.

This example is a good illustration of the linguistic discrimination which was going on at the time in Glasgow. It is worth noticing that even renowned scholars such as William Grant²⁴ or A.J Aitken have considered Glaswegian to be a corrupt variety. In the preface of the *Scottish National Dictionary* (vol. 1: xxvii) Grant defined it as ‘hopelessly corrupt’. Aitken (1984b: 529), in his model, makes a distinction between “genuine Scots” or “Good Scots” which is “said to be approvable” and “slovenly corruptions of Scots” or “Bad Scots” labelled “not approvable”. It is fascinating to see that, even as late as the 1980s, some traces of the romantic idea of traditional dialects representing some kind of ‘pure forms’ being ‘corrupted’ were still visible.

What must be said though, is that it seems difficult to assert the extent to which each dialect in the city had an influence on the original West Central dialect because the dialects formed by processes of assimilation are never completely similar to the dialects that have originated it. Indeed, McClure (1984: 11) has argued that the contribution of both Gaelic and Highland English to Glaswegian was perhaps not so significant considering that in such a mixed linguistic situation, the language of the incomer who is economically and culturally disadvantaged is very often disapproved. Yet, Macafee (1983: 11) identifies similarities between Northern Hibernian English which is spoken in Ireland and the localised English of Glasgow. She considers the realisations of /u/ and /ɪ / which are basically the same for the two varieties. She also identifies similar tendencies of merging certain consonants together in the working class speech of Glasgow and Belfast such as /w/ with /m / and /x/ with /k/. Such evidence may prove

²³ The comment is given by an anonymous contributor to the journal *St. Mungo* (2.11.1905).

²⁴ He is the original editor of the *Scottish National Dictionary*.

that the speech of the Irish immigrants in the 19th century had actually had an influence on the development of the variety originally spoken in Glasgow. On the whole, what it shows is that the picture of speakers being influenced only by ‘Scots’ and ‘Scottish Standard English’ at the two extreme poles of a continuum is not completely accurate. Processes of dialect contact have to explain cases of variation between speakers in Scotland.

3.2. Social Factors

Moreover, what studies of Urban Scots insist on is that there are differences in the speech of individuals which cannot be understood without reference to certain social factors. As pointed out by Chambers and Trudgill (1980: 60), there is no such thing as free variation. In other words, variation is always constrained by social and/or linguistic factors. Processes of dialect contact that have just been discussed can be a possible linguistic explanation for variation exemplified in people’s speech. What about social factors?

Let us look at some examples of recent studies carried out in urban areas to see how crucial social factors are in our understanding of language use in Scotland. Some explanation about their methodology is needed to see how they proceed and how we can analyse their findings. As Macaulay (1997: 85) explains, they examine what they call ‘variables’ which are the linguistic features that are expected to vary in the speech of people they choose, not randomly but equally divided into groups according to different social criteria such as their social-class category, their age and their sex. People have different realisations for these variables, called ‘variants’, which are given numerical values in such a way that maximum values are given to the ‘broadest’ features. The scores obtained by people are then analysed to see to what extent social factors are responsible for variation and change.

Thus, some of the results of Macaulay’s 1977 study of Glasgow are quite telling. Indeed, he (1997: 86) divided his sample into four social-class groups such as what is given below:

Class I: Professional and managerial

Class IIa: White collar, intermediate non manual

Class IIb: Skilled manual

Class III: Semiskilled and unskilled manual

He (1997: 86) decided to analyse five different variables: (u) as in *school*, (i) as in *hit*, (a) as in *cap*, (au) as in *now* and (gs) which is the use of a glottal stop instead of [t] as in *butter*. Let us quickly look at some of his findings.

As far as the variable (gs) is concerned, Macaulay (1997: 89) analysed the occurrence of a glottal stop before a vowel or before a pause. A score of 100 indicates a consistent use of glottal stops and 0 indicates an absence of glottal stops in these contexts. His results are given in the table below:

	I	IIa	IIb	III
<u>All adults</u>	10.3	27.1	77.3	90.2
<u>Men</u>	11.3	41.6	89.1	92.3
<u>Women</u>	9.3	12.5	66.4	88.0

Macaulay (1997: 88) examines another variable, (au), which corresponds to the pronunciation of the diphthong in *house*, *out*, etc. The coding for this variable ranges from 100 for speakers who consistently use the open diphthong [au] to 400 for those who consistently use a high-back rounded vowel [<u]. His results are organised in the following table:

	I	IIa	IIb	III
<u>All adults</u>	152	247	334	362
<u>Men</u>	186	271	338	358
<u>Women</u>	117	222	330	365

The two sets of results show that variation is closely related to two social factors: the social-class category and the sex of the speakers (Macaulay 1997: 89). Indeed, we can see that there are clear differences between each class and that the scores of speakers increase gradually from class I to class III. Plus, women have always the lowest scores, no matter what social class category they belong to. The fact that similar results are found for the three other variables seems to prove the consistency of these two factors.

As far as age in variation is concerned, some of the results found by Stuart-Smith *et al.* (2007) are interesting. They recorded the speech of 32 individuals divided equally into the category of male/female, younger (13-14 years) and older (40-60 years), and working- and middle-class (Stuart-Smith *et al.* 2007: 229). Informants were to read a wordlist and participate in a spontaneous conversation of up to 45 minutes (Stuart-Smith *et al.* 2007: 229). They looked at some variables which were present in Macaulay's study, which is why it is interesting to look at the variable (t) in their work corresponding to Macaulay's (gs). What they found is consistent with Macaulay's earlier results that is to say the fact that working-class speakers tend to use far more glottal stops than their middle-class counterparts (Stuart-Smith *et al.* 2007: 237). But what is striking in their results is that there is a really clear division between working-class adults and working-class adolescents, especially in read speech. Indeed, working-class adolescents use glottal stop in 76.32% of the time whereas working-class adults use it only 6.91% of the time. Young people seem therefore to retain this feature that seems to disappear in the speech of older people. We will see in the next part how we can account for this fact but by now, it suffices to conclude that age is relevant in variation. As a matter of fact, it is crucial to take all these social factors together if we want to understand how linguistic variation works. In this sense, studies of Urban Scots are needed to understand language in Scotland.

3.3. Language attitudes and variation

Although social class factors are important to consider to account for certain patterns of variation and change, they do not explain everything. Indeed, language attitudes seem to play an important role in variation. As briefly mentioned in the second

part of this dissertation, to claim membership to a particular group, people can modify the way they speak. SSE speakers can therefore incorporate more or less Scots features in their speech according to the situation. Without considering this conscious process, it may appear quite surprising for speakers to exhibit some features that are not normally expected. Indeed, as pointed out by Stuart-Smith *et al.* (2007: 222), some of the results they found were not common because they may appear contradictory from what is normally predicted from the social criteria. They claim that

middle-class speakers with more opportunities for contact with English English speakers and weaker social networks are maintaining Scottish features, while less mobile, strongly-tied working-class people are losing some Scottish features and using innovative features the most.

As they (2007: 248) comment on what they found, “simple predictions of mobility/network/class on language change do not seem to work in either direction”. In fact, what is crucial to understand these changes is that we have to consider the existence of contrasting class-based ideologies that differentiate working-class people from middle-class ones (Stuart-Smith *et al.* 2007: 249). Indeed, variation found in people’s speech may be indicative of a particular ideology that speakers want to conform to and to assert. Thus, as shown by Stuart-Smith *et al.* (2007: 251-253) certain working-class adolescents may use some linguistic features and don’t use others, that they associate with another group, because they want to differentiate them through their speech. Stuart-Smith *et al.* (2007: 252) use the following interview from the BBC4 series *Blimey* broadcast in February 2002. The interviewer abbreviated as 'CT' asked three boys and two girls to read some words from cards so as to illustrate features of interest:

CT: (shows card with *loch*)
all: *loch* [k]
CT: You know how it's really meant to sound?
all: *loch* [x]
CT: And so why don't you say it that way?
all at once: that's pure gay

you need to be poofs (slang = gay)
cos we're not poofs
pure Bearsden
pure daft
[and other similar comments for several seconds]

They don't use the velar fricative [x] in words like *loch* because they find it "gay" or "daft". In fact, they associate this feature with the speech of middle-class people (Bearsden is the closest middle-class area). In another extract of the interview, two girls speak about the accent of middle-class speakers:

- Girl 1: Posh people are pure poofs.
CT: Do you like a posh Glasgow accent?
Both girls No.
Girl 2: They talk like that 'my name is (pause) Samantha'.
 [high pitched voice, stands to full height, pats chest with a flourish]
 (laughter)
Girl 2: They think we're junkies, heavy junkies.

These two extracts show that the reasons for the retention of one particular feature to the detriment of others are extra-linguistic. What is going on seems to be similar to the fact of making a judgment on a variety like Glaswegian (see above p. 47). In both cases, linguistic features are associated with the speakers that produce them. As a matter of fact, the value judgment on certain linguistic items is subjective. There are no obvious reasons according to which some features should be characterised as 'posh' and others as 'non-posh'.

This process involving the selection of some features and the abandonment of others is complex and not restricted to local features. In another work, Stuart-Smith *et al.* (2006: 73) study a process of L-vocalization that is supposedly spreading in the

speech of Glaswegian youngsters and that has originated in Southern England in the first place. Because the feature is particularly present in Cockney, the medias have labelled the 'new' dialect 'Jockney' ('Jock' = Scot + 'Cockney'). What they found is that two processes of L-vocalization are present in the speech of working-class adolescents. The first form of L-vocalization is a traditional feature of Scots that affected Older Scots /l/ after the short vowels /a, o, u/ so that /al, ol, ul/ became /ɔ, u, ʌ u/ (Macafee 1984: 38). Stuart-Smith *et al.* (2006: 74) acknowledge this change in a small set of lexically determined alternations of /l □ V/ where V stands for a vowel in e.g. *a/all, shooder/shoulder, gowd/gold*. The following graph represents the percentage of Scots L-vocalization exhibited by working-class speakers.

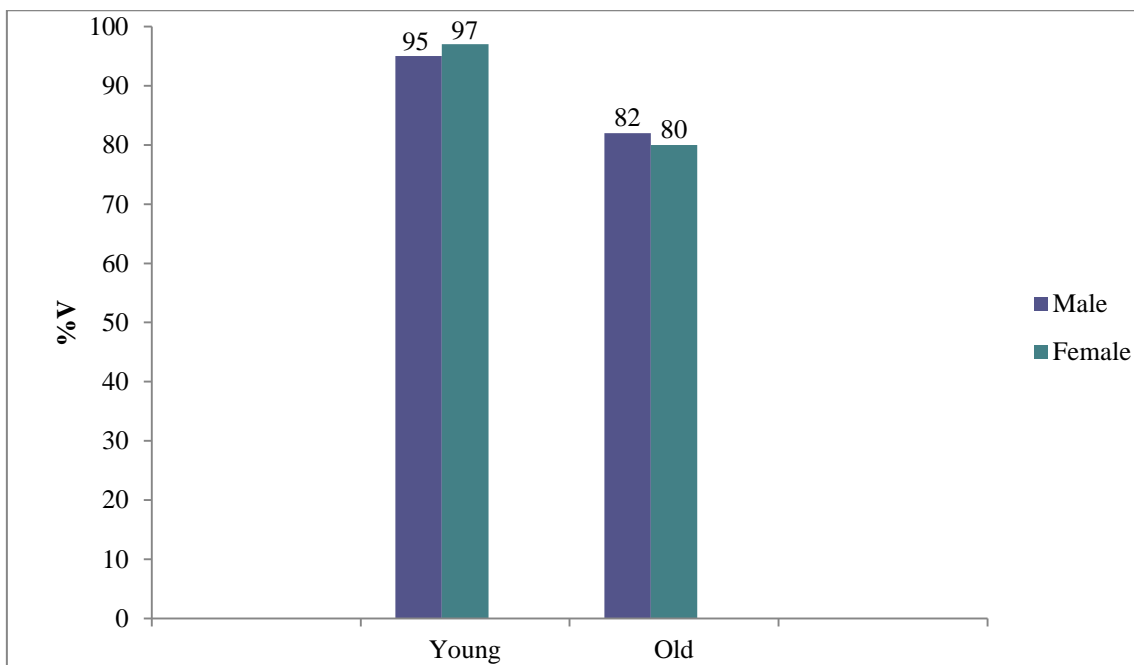


Fig. 3. - Percentage of Scots L-vocalization in Glaswegian vernacular according to age and gender in 1997.

Fig shows that this type of L-vocalization occurs very frequently both in the speech of young and old people of the working-class. Stuart-Smith *et al.* (2006: 77) claim that *a/all* emerges as most frequent with 91% of all the data. The retention of this traditional Scots feature is verified. However, a second form of L-vocalization exists in the speech of working-class adolescents whereby /l/ is vocalised in other environments than /a, o, u/. It occurs also following front vowels, e.g. *well, will, still, fell*, in postconsonantal

position, e.g. *bottle*, *people* and in preconsonantal position e.g. *shelf*, *milk* (Stuart-Smith *et al.* 2006: 84). The result is that /l/ is vocalized to a high back rounded vowel as in [wɛ o] *well*, [pipo] *people* and [mɪ ok] *milk*. The use of the old and new variants together enables young people from Glasgow to construct a particular identity, distinct from that of the acceptable educated standard (Stuart-Smith *et al.* 2006: 85). Although the second form of L-vocalization is originally typical of Cockney, Glaswegians use it as a means to assert their own ideology. An ideology that is anti-middle-class in its orientation.

Language attitudes are not restricted to teenagers and young adults. Macafee (1994: 189) gives some of the conversations that she have had with her informants that are quite interesting for the analysis of variations. One of her informants talks about her language when speaking to her grand children:

66F3PC²⁵: [on using *gitter*²⁶] Well again, Ah wouldnae use it now. See, ma daughter bein educated, Ah watch what Ah'm sayin, ye know. Well, ye don't want tae say things in front i the kids, ye know.

CIM²⁷: Was that a policy that you followed when they were young?

66F3PC: Ah think Ah did. Well, Ah'd talk just the way Ah'm talkin tae you, Ah mean - don't try an put on airs an graces. Ah remember Ah sayed tae ma

²⁵ Macafee (1994: 54) describes the code given to interviewees as follows. She says that The first pair of numbers indicates the age group, thus:

10	-	10-15	'children'
16	-	16-25	'teenagers / young adults'
26	-	26-45	'young / middle-aged adults'
46	-	46-65	'middle-aged adults'
66	-	66+	'elderly'

The next letter is M or F, indicating 'male' or 'female', then there is a number uniquely identifying the interviewee within the age/sex group, and the final two letters give further information: C (Catholic) or P (Protestant) where known (...). [The final letter] indicates where the interview took place, thus:

C	The Calton
B	Bridgeton
D	Dennistoun
F	Barrowfield
S	surrounding area

²⁶ A talkative person

²⁷ Stands for Caroline Macafee

wee granddaughter, 'Come oan, hen.' 'I'm not a hen.' Ah says, 'Ah better watch what Ah'm sayin here!'

In the case of this informant, the fact of using Scots words like *gitter* deliberately appears to be inappropriate. This old woman is aware that Scots should not be expected in the language of an educated person almost as if it was perceived as an insult. The sentence 'ye don't want tae say things in front i the kids' confirms the idea that old people want to 'protect' their children and grand children from the consequences of speaking Scots. They are conscious that, if not inferior, their language is not the one favoured in school and that, consequently, it can be disadvantaging. This point is also expressed by another interviewee. He says (Macafee 1994: 189),

46M7PS: But the whole point is, see, Caroline, Ah get - Ah cannae get sayin - see ma wee grankiddies? They [i.e. the parents]'re: 'Don't - [listen to] yer granda, that's no how ye say the thing, that's-' Ah'm gettin knocked back. Ah'm gettin knocked back wi sayin Scotch words. Ah'm - Ah'm feart tae - Ah'm feart tae say to wee Graham, 'Dae-' - 'Get -' Ah try tae sometimes - Ah - an then Ah'll say, 'Oh Christ, Ah better no say that, cos is faither disnae waant me.' He's - he's got tae get broat up wi - is Eng[lish] - is diction's goat tae be -

Once again, adults do not want to hear any Scots word in the speech of their children. As for this interviewee, he seems to be rejected because of the way he speaks. There appears to be a real pressure on the part of older people to speak 'proper' English and to give up their Scots idioms. The old contrast between English, the language of the head and Scots, the language of the heart appears to have survived. These attitudes towards the language are very important to explain the status of Scots today. As we have seen, prescriptivism can be led on a large scale through publications advocating the use of certain forms to the detriment of others. This is what happened in the 18th century during the 'witch-hunt' against Scotticisms. Nevertheless, it seems clear through these conversations that prescriptivism also exists in more private spheres. The use of some forms and the abandonment of others can be explained with language attitudes through

which people give a value judgment to some features. These judgments, positive or negative, can have a strong impact on the way people speak and can lead to language change.

Conclusion:

The unique nature of Scotland's linguistic situation stands in the complex relationship between Scots and English over the centuries. What is known as Scots derived from Anglian dialects of Old English and spread across the Lowlands to replace Gaelic. At the turn of the 16th century, the variety was given a name, 'Scottis' and was so important that people started to look at it as a distinct language. However, those attitudes towards the emerging 'language of the Scottish nation' were not shared by everyone. The common descent between English and Scots was largely responsible for the lack of linguistic loyalty in Scotland that predominated at the time Douglas published his translation of Virgil's *Aeneid*. In the following centuries, English encroached more and more in domains that had been the property of Scots. English became the language associated with power and education and Scots was relegated to more colloquial usage. That trend towards Anglicisation went on in the following centuries and led to an absolute witch-hunt against stylistically marked Scottish features that were labelled Scotticisms. Ironically, the lists of those linguistic items renewed the interest for Scots and people started to think that the abandonment of Scottish features in their speech was not a desirable aim. Scottish Standard English emerged from that ambivalent situation. As a matter of fact, the variety, although distinct in terms of its phonology, is close to Standard English when looking at its grammar.

It is in this context that the linguistic situation of Scotland has to be understood. The influence of English on the development of Scots has left an indelible trace on the way people speak in the country. In this dissertation, Scots and Scottish Standard English have been described with reference to Aitken's model of modern Scottish speech whereby speakers act along a bipolar stylistic continuum. This model implies that speakers have got two distinct systems at their disposal from which they construct their idiolect depending on the situation. Scottish speakers have therefore a wide range of linguistic options at their disposal.

However, as Scots and English constantly overlap, the question of labelling in Scotland has to be taken with a pinch of salt. In many ways, it is accurate to say that

there are no such things as 'Scots' and 'Scottish Standard English' even if such labels are useful to make important generalizations on the way people speak in Scotland. The case of Glaswegian shows that people's speech cannot be modelled so easily. The history of speech communities in Glasgow highlights the importance of dialect contacts in the development of the variety of Scots spoken in the city. Scottish centres are not an exception in the British Isles. The rise of Liverpool English in the 19th century is a case in point. When people from different backgrounds and origins came massively into contact with each other, a wide range of features were available to speakers of the next generations. Natural processes of levelling shaped the emerging urban varieties in such a way that it could never have been achieved endogenously. Similarly, Scottish speakers are not only influenced by the two poles of a continuum but by various other sources. Moreover, Aitken's model do not take into account the role of social factors in variation. Studies have shown that social class, age and gender are decisive pieces of information to consider so as to explain patterns of variation and change. However, variation in the speech of an individual is not always predictable from such factors. Language attitudes, through which people give value judgments to linguistic features, are crucial to account for the retention of some features and the abandonment of others.

This dissertation has suggested that language change can sometimes be predictable when looking at the history of speech communities. Socio-political events can considerably affect the way people speak. In the case of Scotland, it is interesting to think about how Scots would be like if Anglicisation had not taken place. It is perhaps accurate to say that exogenous changes can block endogenous developments to occur. Nevertheless, the situation in Scotland has shown that people's speech cannot always be predictable. As for the fate of Scots, language attitudes seem to prove that some traditional features will probably disappear while others will be retained. Although, the Scots of the makars is unlikely to reappear, it seems that the distinctiveness of Scottish speakers will certainly continue to be felt across the English speaking world.

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Appendix:

Appendix 1

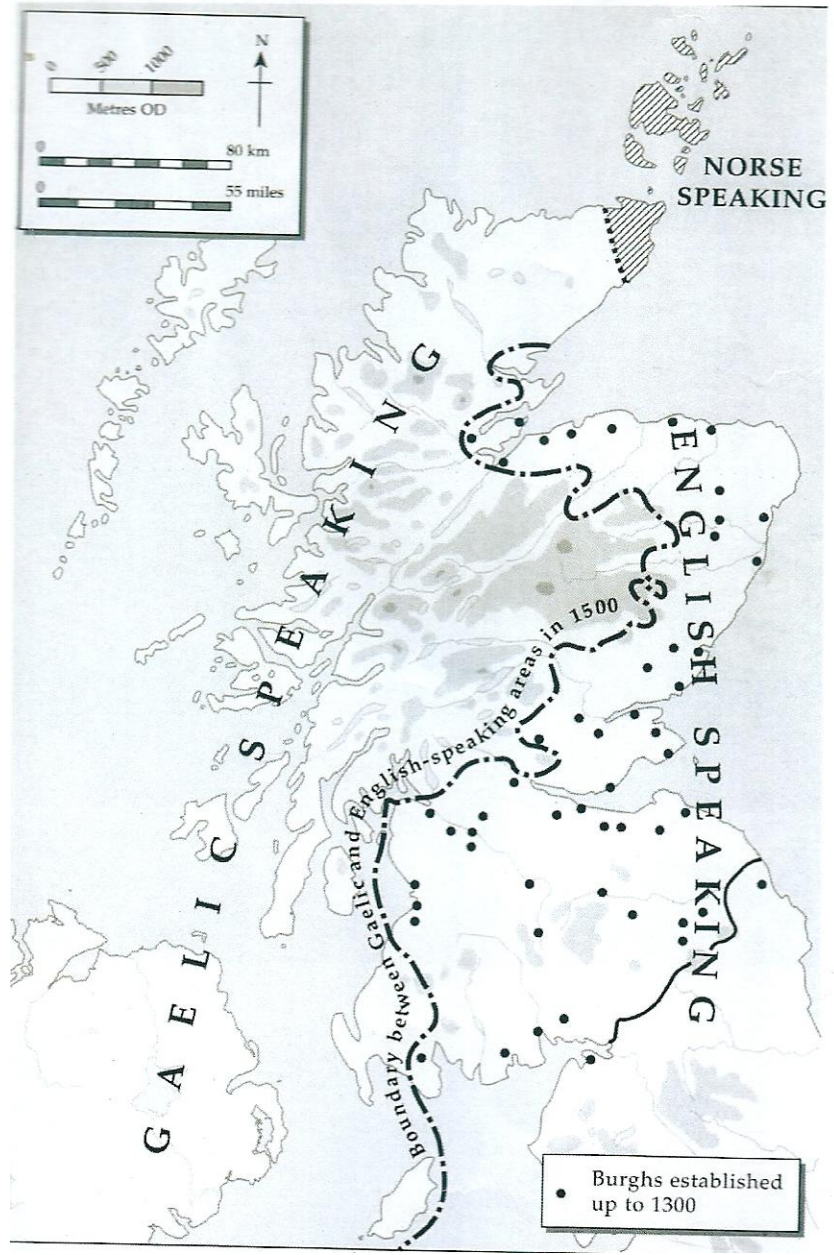


Map representing the different ethnic groups in Scotland around the 9th century A.D.,

(Department of Celtic and Scottish Studies, Edinburgh. Source:

<http://www.arts.ed.ac.uk/celtic/poileasaidh/hicksseminar.html>)

Appendix 2



Map representing the burghs established in Scotland up to 1300, *Atlas of Scottish History to 1707*.

Résumé :

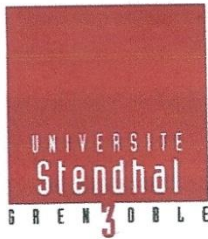
Grâce à une approche pluridisciplinaire, ce mémoire résume la situation linguistique de l'Ecosse. La coexistence de deux langues nationales (*Scots and English*) a donné naissance à une situation qui n'a pas d'égale dans les autres pays anglophones du monde. Un bref historique des grands enjeux sociopolitiques du pays est donné pour comprendre les raisons de cette particularité. Dans une deuxième partie, une étude synchronique et comparative permet de montrer les différences entre une des principales variétés linguistiques du pays (*Scottish Standard English*) et l'Anglais dit 'RP' (*Received Pronunciation*). Cette étude montre qu'il existe des différences importantes de prononciation ainsi que des divergences sur le plan grammatical. Cependant, la situation unique de l'Ecosse ne peut s'expliquer sans parler des questions centrales liées à l'identité des locuteurs. Une approche sociolinguistique est ainsi prise pour expliquer les divergences qu'il peut exister entre les différents locuteurs du pays.

Mots-clés : Ecossais, Anglais, Histoire de la Linguistique, Synchronie, Sociolinguistique.

Abstract:

Based on a multidisciplinary approach, this dissertation aims at giving a coherent introduction to the question of language in Scotland. The relationship between Scots and English, the two national languages, has led to a situation which has no exact parallel in the English-speaking world. To begin with, a short linguistic history of Scotland presents major sociopolitical events which had an impact on language use in the country. In the second part of this work, a synchronic and comparative approach highlights the differences between one variety of the country, Scottish Standard English, and the best-known manifestation of Southern British English, namely RP (or Received Pronunciation). The comparison between the two varieties shows that there are differences both in terms of pronunciation and grammar. However, Scotland's unique situation cannot be understood without looking at the crucial question of identity. Thus, a number of variationist works are used to account for the main differences found between Scottish speakers.

Key-words: Scots, English, History of Linguistics, Synchrony, Sociolinguistics.




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