

Aw Ae Wey—Written Scots in Scotland and Ulster

Introduction

Under the European Charter for Regional or Minority Languages¹ the British Government committed itself to protecting and encouraging autochthonous regional or minority languages, one of them Scots. Among the objectives were:

the facilitation and/or encouragement of the use of regional or minority languages, in speech and writing, in public and private life; (Part II Article 7, 1.d.)

Here in particular, the facilitation of the use of written Scots in public life, especially in transactional texts intended to impart information to the general public, raises the issue of orthography. Historically Scots has never had a standard orthography in the sense that modern Standard English does. Recent written Scots, especially in the 20th century, encompasses some orthographic diversity reflecting historical, regional, circumstantial and idiosyncratic practices. That would seem to reflect a somewhat anarchic situation, however, the literary record, especially in the 18th and 19th centuries, shows that not to be the case.

In this paper the nature of Scots orthography, in particular that of the 18th and 19th centuries, will be examined along with some of the more recent well-known or exhaustive suggestions for a normative orthography. The suitability of various traditional practices and the various suggestions made by others will be discussed as regards the establishing of a ‘standardised’ pan-dialectal normative orthography—although the present author prefers ‘regularised’. There is no intrinsic reason why a normative orthography should prescribe one spelling for each word if a variant pronunciation cannot be predicted from the graphemes used to represent the underlying phonemes.

The abbreviation *SND* refers to the *Scottish National Dictionary* (Grant, William *et al.*, eds. 1931–1975) and *DOST* to *A Dictionary of the Older Scottish Tongue* (Craigie, William *et al.*, eds. 1931–2002).

An Overview of Scots Orthography

The earliest occurrence of Scots words in writing originating in Scotland was in texts written in Latin. These were usually Latinised forms of geographical names or titles.

The principle chronological periods in the history of Scots are usually defined as follows (Robinson 1985: xiii):

Old English:	to 1100
Older Scots:	to 1700
Pre-literary Scots:	to 1375
Early Scots:	to 1450
Middle Scots:	1450 to 1700
Early Middle Scots:	1450 to 1550
Late Middle Scots:	1550 to 1700

¹ <http://conventions.coe.int/Treaty/en/Treaties/Html/148.htm> accessed on 16.09.06.

Modern Scots: 1700 onwards

The fragment of the *Dream of the Rood*, carved in runes on the Ruthwell Cross in Dumfriesshire (? c. 800), might have been carved, as far as linguistic propriety is concerned, at Edinburgh or at York. (Smith 1902: xii)

THE THING WHICH most basically and consistently separates Scots and English is pronunciation. Starting from the same base as Standard English, Scots has developed along a very different phonological path beginning with the separate development of Old Northumbrian in the Old English period. (Tulloch 1980: 182)

As Murray (1873) has pointed out, Scots developed out of the Northumbrian dialect of Old English, and one should presume that it inherited the written traditions of the north as well, language developments and writing traditions which have never been seriously studied. (Kniezsa 1997: 24)

By the second half of the 15th century all the characteristic features of Scots orthography had been developed. Those consisted of graphemes derived from forms carried over from Anglo-Saxon, general features introduced by scribes trained in the 11th- and 12th-century Norman French and Parisian traditions, forms shared with northern English and Scots innovations or archaic forms no longer used in northern English. (Kniezsa 1997)

The analysis in section 2.3 above has made it evident that all the spelling features which count as diagnostic in Scottish orthography were already found in Northern English texts, and earlier than the examples written in Scotland. [...] the Scottish scribes learned their writing tradition from the north, and it formed a spelling continuum in the first appearance of texts written in the vernacular. (Kniezsa 1997: 32)

That this is true, even as late as Late Middle English (1300-c. 1450), is shown by the comparison of the authenticated writings of John Barbour, Archdeacon of Aberdeen (? 1320-1395), and Richard Rolle, the hermit of Hampole near Doncaster, who wrote about 1340. (Smith 1902: xii)

The uniqueness of the orthography therefore lies, not so much in the invention of entirely new notational forms, but in being a special system which Scots scribes developed from shared features and the later developments of major variants out of earlier marginal ones. (Kniezsa 1997: 34)

Despite certain internal differences, which we shall see were less idiosyncracies than the sporadic effects of influences from without, the uniformity in the practice of Middle Scots is one of its most striking features. (Smith 1902: xii)

If variability was the rule in EmodE before conventions became stable around 1700, then the coexistence of two largely unsettled systems in late 16C Scotland allowed for even greater variation. (Görlach 2002: 69)

Older Scots Orthography

Scots orthography had become relatively stable between 1450 and 1700, sharing some of its conventions with those of contemporary Standard English. There was scant evidence of dialect variation in contemporary written Scots, although Müller (1908: 143), commenting on 'dialect spellings' in 16th century Aberdeen documents, mentioned *fat* for *quhat* ('what'), *quintray* for *countrie* ('country') and the occasional marking of the /i/ realisation of Anglo-Saxon /ō/ Older Scots /ø/, which is still current today.

Osc. seems to have had a more or less standardised orthography, in the sense that according to our present understanding, few texts give orthographic clues about the provenance of author or scribe;

but did it have the first, lexicalized orthographic system, or the second grapheme–phoneme kind of system, or a system which was neither of these? The answer to this question is not immediately apparent. (Agutter 1987: 75)

The Lothian dialect had been elevated to the status of the official language of local and national government, and was the basic medium for the brilliant literary tradition of 15th- and 16th-century Scotland. Local dialect features in Middle Scots writings (literary and non-literary) are not common, though some can be found; and if the spelling of Middle Scots was far from standardised, the language was in this respect no different from other national vernaculars of the period preceding and immediately following the advent of printing. (McClure 1995: 22)

First, just as Tudor English is, Scots is in the process of developing a standard by the beginning of the sixteenth century, based on the Mid-Scots dialects spoken in Edinburgh and other important Central Belt centres. Like sixteenth-century English, there is still a large amount of variation within it, especially in the orthography, and there are no Scots grammarians or dictionary-makers to codify what is 'proper' Scots. Indeed, it is not even certain that anyone had a notion of that would be, or even used this dialect in the spoken mode, although it certainly could have served as the sort of koiné that could be used among people of diverse origins who are thrown together, as might happen in the court, the chancery, the universities or religious houses [...] (Johnston 1997a: 50)

More important is the fact that speakers of Scots had developed a separate spelling system and prescriptive norms for the language (Meurmann-Solin 1993, 1997, Kniezsa 1997), associated in the main with a metropolitan variety used in the court at Edinburgh. Other 'dialects' of English also had distinctive spelling patterns; Scots managed to maintain and propagate its system well into the age of print, however. Indeed, the middle to late sixteenth century was when this separate system was most healthy. It was broadcast through the medium of print, and written both by considerable writers, and by some of the most prominent people in the country (Jack 1997). (Millar 2005: 90–91)

Among the particularly Scottish characteristics (Smith 1902; Aitken 1977; 2002, Görlach 2002) were the representation of long vowels by an added <i> or <y> in words such as *streik* ('stretch'), *weil* ('well'), *weit* ('wet'), *foirseing* ('foreseeing'), *opteynit* ('obtained'), *weycht* ('wight'), *meteyr* ('metre'), *gairding* ('garden'), *mair* ('more'), *pairt* ('part'), *waittir* ('water'), *cloik* ('cloak'), *coill* ('coal'), *coird* ('cord'), *bluid* ('blood'), *buik* ('book'), *fluid* ('flood') *fuill* ('fool') and *puir* ('poor'). Depending on adjacent consonants, <y> and <o> were often used instead of <i> and <u> in order to aid legibility, as was a free variation between <u, v> and <w>. Vocalised <l> usually became unsounded after <ā> and <ō>, but the grapheme remained as a marker of vowel length and often occurred in words that historically had no <l>, such as *walkinit* ('wakened'), *chalmir* ('chamber') *waltir* ('water'), *rolkis* ('rocks'), *golkit* ('foolish'), *als* ('as') and *poulder* ('powder').

This is an outstanding characteristic of M.Sc. It is in reality an orthographical device to indicate a long vowel. (Smith 1902: xxiii)

When, by a sound change, the spelling *ai*, which had represented a separate diphthong in Middle English, can to have the same sound as the spelling *a* used for a long vowel, a new way of representing the length of the vowel came into being. In Middle Scots this convention was applied to *e*, *u* and *o* as well so that a following *i* or *y* became a standard indication of a long vowel. (Tulloch 1980: 200)

<oa>, which survives in a great many words in present-day English e.g. *board*, *boat*, *coat*, was introduced to distinguish the more open long vowel /ɔ:/ from /o:/, which was represented by <oo>. (Scragg 1975: 77)

[...] with the possible exception of <oa> which is a late development in southern English and did not appear in Scots earlier than the sixteenth century (Müller 1908). (Kniezsa 1997: 34)

There is a mysterious grapheme which surfaces in the sixteenth century—at least, mention is made of it in connection with texts written in this period. It is the digraph <ae>, an allograph of Scots <a>—<a-e>—<ai/y>: *maer*, *sae* and so on. [...] from the eighteenth century it gained ground and became an important part of the non-anglicised Scots orthography. (Kniezsa 1997: 42)

Among the particularly Scottish consonant graphemes were the longer retention of the characters <þ> (*th*) and <ß>, an elaborately formed <s> and <ʒ> (yogh), often rendered <z> but also used initially for /j/ in, for example, *ʒour* or *zour* for *your*. Among the particularly Scottish consonant clusters were <quh>/xw/, now <wh>, <sch> /ʃ/, now <sh>, and <ch> for /x/, etymological <gh> in Standard English. In written texts a number of abbreviations were commonly used, for example, *w^t* for *with* and *E^t* for *Edinburgh*.

Other common conventions were the use of <k> and <ll> in words such as *crak* ('crack'), *cukis* ('cooks'), *infekkit* ('infected'), *paddok* ('frog'), *sikkerlie* ('surely'), *stamok* ('stomach'), *angell* ('angel'), *hail* ('whole'), *littill* ('little'), *maternal* ('maternal') and *sempill* ('simple'). Further conventions included consonant doubling in words such as *crappe* ('crept'), *doubbis* ('puddles'), *innemy* ('enemy'), *lawchtter* ('laughter'), *myshappis* ('mishaps'), *proffect* ('profit'), *tcheir* ('chair') and *wyffis* ('wives'). Common word ending conventions included <-ir> and <-ioun> in words such as *bettir* ('better'), *bittir* ('bitter'), *maneir* ('manner'), *marineir* ('mariner'), *wattir* ('water'), *commoun* ('common'), *delectatioun* ('delectation'), *inclynatioun* ('inclination') and *occasioun* ('occasion').

Plural nouns were generally formed by adding <-is> or <-ys>, probably realised /ɪs/ and later /s, z/ as in Modern Scots, for example, *Scottis* ('Scottish') and *Inglis* ('English')². The present participle and gerund were generally distinguished as <-and>, <-ant> and <-ing>, <-yng>, <-yn>, <-ene> or <-en> in words such as *scrapand* and *cummyng* ('coming'). The past participle of verbs was usually <-it> or <-yt> in words such as *perysit* ('perished') and *sirculit* ('encircled'). The negative particle was <-na> in, for example, *haue na* ('have not') and *mak na* ('make not').

Anglicisation occurred rapidly during the 16th century, when in Scotland, Scots and Standard English spellings became interchangeable, and by the end of the 17th century Scots was virtually absent in official writing.

Among the conditions favouring this trend were the Scots' failure to produce a translation of the Bible in their own language and Protestant [...] reliance on Bibles in English, so that the Biblical language of Scotland was English. (Aitken 1992: 894)

The history of the relationship between Scotland and England is one of constant political, linguistic and cultural influence of the south upon its northern neighbour. From the sixteenth century onwards, there were some developments in Scottish writing which led away from a distinctive Scottish orthography towards a general, all-English one by the end of the seventeenth century. (Kniezsa 1997: 43)

² The recessive modern form, '*Ingles*' can still be found in surnames and place names as *Ingles* [ɪŋlɪz] and *Ingleston* etc.

In the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries, even those authors who are counted as considerably anglicised restrict the use of southern spellings to individual lexical items rather than mix the two systems [...] (Kniezsa 1997: 44)

Stylistically speaking, the appearance of anglicised spelling depends on the typology of writing; it is generally stated that the most anglicised texts were the religious treatises, while the most conservative Scottish were official papers, such as those of the Privy Council, local authorities and so on. The spelling in private papers seems to depend on the personal history of the authors, and whether and for how long they lived in England [...] and even there their early training wins considerable ground against later English influence. (Kniezsa 1997: 46)

Modern Scots Orthography

Scots of course remained the vernacular of the vast majority of the Scottish population but from here on written Scots survived only in vernacular literature, usually poetry and the centuries-old ballads. By the 18th century a revival of written Scots, based largely on contemporary colloquial Scots, occurred, and although the spellings used were often highly anglicised, some conventions based on 16th century written Scots were also employed. That continued to the end of the 19th century, receiving a further boost through the repeal of the Stamp Act in 1855, which led to increased availability of newspapers and magazines, many of which had some Scots content.

And the Scots tongue has an orthography of its own, lacking neither “authority nor author.” (Stevenson 1905: 152)

[...] Scots remains the one British dialect which may be represented today by a consistent (and traditional orthography). (Scragg 1975: 37)

Instead most use the standard form of the language as developed by Ramsay, Fergusson and Burns in the poetry of the eighteenth century. This was a descendant of the old court Scots, which was basically the Scots of sixteenth-century Edinburgh and, although some of the more distinctive old Scots spellings like *quh* for *wh* and *sch* for *sh* had been dropped, this Standard Scots had in its spelling caught up with all recent changes in Edinburgh Scots. This is evident in poetry in the rhymes. (Tulloch 1980: 249)

They wish to address themselves to all Scotsmen and accordingly follow the general literary convention, but every now and again they use a spelling that indicates a local pronunciation, or employ a word or an idiom that betrays their district origin. (Grant 1931: xv)

We can be quite sure that Scott's Scots is actually thicker than it looks. As one might expect, his spellings are irregular and inconsistent but, if they have any tendency at all, it is in the direction of making it more intelligible to an English reader [...] This indeed was in the tradition of the eighteenth-century Scots writer[s] from Ramsay onwards, but it has the unfortunate effect of obscuring the proper pronunciation and rhythm which enhances the author's effects in using this broken language to its maximum capacity. (Murison 1969: 220)

The mixed spelling he adopted made an Englishman's task of understanding much easier. And, apart from intelligibility, there is probably another reason why Scott wanted to introduce English spellings. He was interested in presenting his Scots-speaking lower-class characters as dignified human beings and not as ignorant, stupid and laughable fools. (Tulloch 1980: 303)

According to the prevailing view of Scottish culture, the nineteenth century after the death of Scott was a period of decline and failure in which Scottish writers, recoiling from the spectre of industrialisation, immersed themselves in rural fantasy following Sir James Barry, 'Ian Maclaren' (Dr John Watson) and other writers of the 'Kailyard School'. The present study seeks to modify this view,

suggesting that Scottish culture was (and is) a popular culture, and that its major vehicle during the period was not the London-dominated booktrade, but the Scottish newspaper press, owned, written, and circulating within the country. It suggests that in the Scottish context fiction published in the press was much more extensive and important than might otherwise be concluded on the evidence of a book-culture produced for an all-UK literary market, and that during this period popular newspapers provided the environment for a vernacular prose revival of unprecedented proportions. (Donaldson: 1986 xii)

There were poems in the vernacular, novels with vernacular dialogue, editorial or near-editorial comment in the vernacular, vernacular advertisements, and quite enormous quantities of antiquarian, historical, folkloristic and musicological feature writing which dealt with every aspect of Scottish life and culture in which the vernacular also, and inevitably, figured largely. There was a growing awareness of the complexity of the language situation in Scotland which showed itself in a tendency to report Scots speakers verbatim without silently translating what they said into standard English. (Donaldson 1986: 60-61)

The book-trade had long been tied into the English market and obliged to conform to the cultural values which prevailed within it. Most of Walter Scott's readers would have been English—he could never have built that Gothic extravaganza at Abbotsford on returns from the Scottish book-trade alone—and he had to write about things they could understand in a way that they would tolerate. And that is true for most Scottish book-novelists during the nineteenth century. But the newspaper press was wholly free from this constraint. It could address a specific audience at national, regional or local level, and this had important consequences when we consider the cultural role it came to perform. [...] Above all, they used vernacular Scots to deal with an unprecedented range of topics [...] (Donaldson 1989: 2-4)

This book presents evidence [...] of a major vernacular revival during the second half of the nineteenth century. Revival. In a sense the word is ill-chosen. How could Scots be revived? It had never declined. Not, at least, its spoken forms which continued to be the language of the people [...] (Donaldson 1989: 1-2)

If the textbooks were right, this volume would contain nothing but empty pages; because the medium in which its authors wrote—i.e. discursive Scots prose—became extinct more than two hundred years before any of them were born. (Donaldson 1989: 10)

After the Union of the Crowns in 1603, and still more after the Union of the Parliaments in 1707, the intercourse between Scotland and England became much closer, with the natural result that the influence of English spelling, then gradually becoming standardized, upon the spelling of Scotch rapidly increased; more especially as Scotch writers found it to be to their interest to secure a wider audience by making their works, even when composed in Scotch dialect, more easily intelligible to English readers unfamiliar with Scotch pronunciations. (Wilson 1926: 194)

The key achievement of Ulster-Scots literature—those works on which its claim to our attention rests—lie in this field. It is possible to extend the cannon by including, for instance, the utilitarian prose of the plantation period or the Kailyard newspaper fiction of the mid-nineteenth century. (McIlvanney 2005: 214)

By the end of the eighteenth century, any written Scots was produced in a melange of orthographical styles which lent themselves to seeing it as a corrupt English. (Millar 2005: 191)

By analysing the orthographic practices of a number of 18th and 19th century revival writers from various parts of Scotland and Ulster it is possible to establish which orthographic tendencies prevailed in literary Scots and also to identify those which may be considered typical or traditional Scots forms. The analysis of the vowels is based on the numbering scheme devised by A. J. Aitken.

I shall not attempt to squeeze Scots phonology into the mould of Wells' (1982) keywords. This is an excellent tool for the description of Standard English and closely related varieties, but it cannot be matched up with Scots (or indeed English dialects north of the Humber) without serious distortion, because of differences of lexical incidence, going back in some cases to late OE. Here, we use instead the system of vowel numbers established for Scots by Aitken (1977), and revised by Aitken and Macafee (2002). (Macafee 2004: 63)

The Scots vowel system (Aitken 1981b: 132–133, 1984: 95–98).

Vowel Number	Vernacular Scots	Scots vowel
8a	ay 'always', gey 'very', May, pay, way	əɪ
10	quoit, avoid, join, point, oil, choice, poison	
1 short	bite, bide, price, wife, tide	
1 long	five, size, fry, aye 'yes', kye 'cows', fire	aːe
2	meet, need, queen, see, seven, devil, here	i
11	ee 'eye', dee 'die', dree 'endure', lee 'untruth'	
3	meat, breath, dead, head, steal, pear, mear 'mare, female horse'	(Merges with 2, 4, or 8)
4	ake 'oak', ate 'oat', bate 'boat', sape 'soap', baith 'both', hame 'home', stane 'stone', hale 'whole', tae 'toe', twae 'two' (South-eastern dialects); late, pale, bathe, day, say, away, mare 'more', care	e
8	bait, braid, hail, pail, pair	eː (in many Central Scots dialects merged with 4)
5	throat, coat, thole 'endure', rose, before	oː (merges with 18 in some e.g. Central and South Scots)
18	cot, God, on, loch, bocht 'bought', horse, Forth	o
6	about, bouk 'bulk', poupit 'pulpit', loud, powder, shouder 'shoulder', room, mouth, house, louse, cow, now, fou 'full', pou 'pull', plow 'plough', oo 'wool', hour, sour	u
7	boot, fruit, good, muin 'moon', use (n.), use (v.), love, do, moor, poor, sure	ø (North Mainland: merged with 2, Central and South Scots: merged or merging with 4 (SVLR long), 15 (SVLR short).)
9	Boyd, choice, noise, boy, joy	oi
12	faut 'fault', saut 'salt', fraud, mawn 'mown', auld 'old', cauld 'cold', hauch 'meadow', cause, law, snaw 'snow', aw 'all', faw 'fall', twaw 'two' (except in the south-east), far, daur 'dare', waur 'worse'	aː/ɔː (in some Northern dialects merged with 17)
13	nowt 'cattle', cowl 'colt', gowf 'golf', sowder 'solder', louse 'loose', chow 'chew', grow, know 'knoll', four, owre 'over', row 'roll'	ʌu
14	duty, feud, rule, heuk 'hook', neuk, beuch 'bough', teuch 'tough', news, dew, few, blue, true, plewis 'ploughs'	iu/ju ³
15	bit, put, lid, hiss, give, gird 'hoop', his, next, whether, yird 'earth', fir	ɪ
16	met, bed, leather, meh 'cry of sheep', serve, Perth, Ker	ɛ
17	sat, lad, man, jazz, vase, warst, mar	a (see vowel 12 above)
19	butt, bud, bus, buff, buzz, word, fur	ʌ

³ Aitken included those spelled <eu> under vowel 14 although separate treatment is justified for many of them by their differing etymology (Anglo-Saxon long \bar{o} , vowel 7 before /k/ and /x/) and resulting phonetic realisations.

Written Scots from Central Scotland

FERGUSSON'S Scots poems are not purely in the Edinburgh or in the Lothian dialect, any more than Burns's are purely 'in the Ayrshire dialect.' Dialect poetry—in the sense of a deliberate effort to record the speech mannerisms of a definite locality—is relatively rare in Scotland. [...] Scots is therefore composed in some sort of a standard language rather than in dialect; or if dialect we must call it, then it is a literary dialect created by men of the pen. This is certainly true of most of the Scots prose of Sir Walter Scott and Robert Louis Stevenson. It is also true of the Scots poetry of Ramsay, Fergusson and Burns [...] (Mackie 1952: 123–124)

These observations are mainly useful as evidence for my contention that the poet, like Scott and Stevenson later and Allan Ramsay before him, is trying to write in traditional Scots rather than record something accurate for the dialect student. (Mackie 1952: 128–129)

By his rhyming in most cases Fergusson makes it clear that while he uses English spelling he intends usually Scottish pronunciations of the words that the two tongues have in common, but that are differently sounded in the sister languages. (Mackie 1952: 131)

[...] as evidently most of the writers (including of Ayrshire, like Kennedy and Nisbet) aimed at writing, not in their own local dialect, but in the then accepted literary Scots. (Wilson 1926: 168)

[...] as we have seen, Scott uses Standard Scots [...] (Tulloch 1980: 182)

Scott's answer was characteristically an inconsistent use of both [English and Scots] conventions. This was also the way most of his eighteenth-century predecessors had settled the question. (Tulloch 1980: 198)

In fact the transcriber does not seem to have made a lot of changes to Scott's spelling and the author always had a chance to approve, or even amend, the results of the transcription. In the circumstances it seems reasonable to talk of the spelling as Scott's own. (Tulloch 1980: 193)

[...] and since Ramsay at times used the spelling of an English word to represent its Scots phonological cognate—a practice current among Scottish writers since the seventeenth or even, arguably, the late sixteenth century [...] (McClure 1987: 262)

[...] His [Allan Ramsay's] glossary is not large (about 750 words); there are perceptive observations on the Scots vowel system [...] but also because the spelling provided a model for Scots poets widely followed in the eighteenth century and far on into the nineteenth. The main object seems to have been to spell identically with or as near as possible to the English spelling, e.g. <gh> rather than <ch> in *bright, night*, <-ed> for <-it> in past participles, <oo> representing /ø:/ as well as /u:/ as in *good, soon, poor*, <ou> and <u> for /u:/, while <ow> is sometimes the simple vowel /u:/ and sometimes the diphthong /ʌ/. The affects of this mixer-maxter of Scots and English in the minds of people accustomed to associate language with its printed form can be heard to this day in the unhappy attempts of performers to sing a Scots song or recite a Scots poem [...] (Murison 1987: 18)

Wilson's⁴ analysis showed that Ramsay, Fergusson, Burns and Scott followed the following orthographic practices.

All generally used <gh> for the older <ch> /x/ but occasionally used <ch>, <wh> for the older <quh> in words such as *whase* ('whose') and *what*, <th> for dental fricatives /θ/ and /ð/, and <sh> /ʃ/ for the older <sch>. Ramsay generally adopted <y> for the older yogh

⁴ Wilson, James (1926) *The Dialects of Central Scotland*, London: Oxford University Press. pp. 194–221.

<3> but occasionally used <z> (used by early printers to replace yogh, which was not extant in contemporary printing sets) in words such as *cunzie* ('coin') and *fenzie* ('feign').

Burns [...] leaves it to be understood that the Scots pronunciation of the *gh* is the rough aspirate [...] (Wilson 1923: 37)

Fergusson would, however, use the guttural [gh], and most of his contemporaries would, including judges and other dignitaries. (Mackie 1952:127)

He [Fergusson] has a marked fondness for the old Scots 'z' which after 'n' or 'l' has the effect of the initial 'y' in 'yes,' making the 'l' into Spanish 'll' and the 'n' into French 'gn.' So we get 'cunzied,' 'fenzying', [...] 'spulzie' (for spoil, dialect 'spile'), 'tulzie,' 'brulzies,' 'ulzie' (oil, dialect 'ile'). (Mackie 1952: 138)

Apart from an archaic passage in *Chronicles of the Canongate* [...] the only survival of *quh* in Scott is, as we might expect, in the legal term *umquhile* '(the) late' [...] and even this is often spelt *umwhile* [...] Scott like Ramsay, preferred the *gh* spelling. (Tulloch 1980: 198)

All generally used an apostrophe to represent perceived 'missing letters' in the likes of *an'* ('and'), *awa'* ('away'), *mak'* ('make') *o'* ('of'), *wi'* ('with') and for root-final <l> vocalisation in words such as *a'* ('all'), *ca'* ('call'), *fa'* ('fall') and the suffix *-fu'* ('full') but in medial positions traditional graphemes were preferred in words such as *fause* ('false'), *faut* ('fault'), *gowd* ('gold'), *gowff* ('golf') and *saut* ('salt'). In older Scots the <l> represented vowel length (Smith 1902: xxiii). Scott did much the same but often used the Standard English spelling or even inserted <l> where it was no longer usual, perhaps as a deliberate archaism, for example *almerly* for *aumry* ('cupboard'), *calsay* for *causey* ('pavement'), *halse* for *hause* ('throat'), *maulkin* for *maukin* ('hare') and *nolt* for *nowt* ('cattle').

In our study of Fergusson's Scots [...] is the Ramsay trick of spelling Scots as if it were English, with occasional apostrophes to show clearly the relationship of a Scots word with its English cognate. (Mackie 1952: 130)

Scott spells relatively few words with apostrophes but his page is nevertheless dotted with them because these words include some very common ones, in particular *a'* 'all', *o'* 'of' and *wi'* 'with'. (in a few rare cases *a'* is replaced by *aw* [...]) (Tulloch 1980: 194)

All used *no* ('not') and generally used <-na> for the negative particle equivalent to <-n't> in words such as *canna*, *dinna* ('don't') and *maunna* ('mustn't').

Ramsay and Fergusson often rendered the elided terminal <d> in <nd> and <ld> as an apostrophe in words such as *an'* ('and'), *en'* ('end'), *han'* ('hand') and *stan'* ('stand'). Burns regularly used an apostrophe indicating the characteristic Ayrshire pronunciation. Scott tended to write the <d>.

Fergusson [...] drops the 'd' when it suits him for rhyming purposes. (Mackie 1952: 136)

Ramsay, Fergusson and Burns used *ae*, *ane* ('one')⁵, although they probably pronounced them [je, jin]. Scott used both *ane* and *yin*.

Curiously enough, although in A[yrshire]. 'one' *num.* is pronounced **yin**, 'once' **yins**, and 'one' *adj.* **yay**, Burns spells them 'ane', 'ance', and 'ae'. (Wilson 1923: 37)

⁵ "*Ane* corresponds in its usage for the most part to St.Eng. *one*, but AE (*q.v.*) is the usual Sc. form for the adj. before a noun." (SND: ane)

Ramsay often rendered past tense of weak verbs /ət/ <-it>, but also used Standard English <-ed> and <-’d>. Fergusson was much more consistent, preferring <-it>. Scott mixed <-it> and <-ed>, along with such forms as *sell’d* (‘sold’) and *tell’d* (‘told’).

As it happens Scott, while using the *-it* ending quite frequently, rarely uses it where it has been elided to *-t*, and this may explain the *-ed* forms here. (Tulloch 1980: 305)

Ramsay often rendered the present participle /ɪn/ <-an>, or <-in’> but also <-ing>. Fergusson was much more consistent preferring <-in>. Burns used all three. Scott preferred <-ing>.

Throughout the M.Sc. period the distinction between the pres. Part. (verbal adj.) and the gerund (verbal noun) is generally kept, the former being in *-and* (or *-ant*), the latter in *-yng* or *-yn*, and *-een* or *-en*. (Smith 1902: xxxvi-xxxvii)

Though he [Burns] often spells the present participle with the termination *an*, he as often spells it *in* or *ing*. In his later editions he drops the distinction, and spells both the present participle and the verbal noun as ending in *in*, or the English *ing* [...] (Wilson 1923: 37)

Both are now pronounced *in* throughout Central Scotland. (Wilson 1926: 197)

[...] Allan Ramsay, not always, represented the ending of the present participle as ‘an’ [and] again not in every case, gives the gerundive ending ‘in.’ [...] Fergusson uses ‘ing’ and ‘in’ indiscriminately for both participle and gerundive. (Mackie 1952: 132-134)

Scott [...] almost invariably uses *ing* and only very rarely *in* or *in’*. (Tulloch 1980: 197)

Vowels 1, 8a and 10 were usually written <i> or <y>, with a mute <e> after a following consonant in words such as *ay* (‘yes’), *aye* (‘always’), *byre* (‘cowshed’), *dyke* (‘wall’), *fire*, *kye* (‘cattle’), *side*, *syne* (‘ago’), *tine* (‘lose’) and *tyke* (‘dog’). Burns held with Standard English spellings ending in <-ay> in words such as *hay*, *pay*, *way* and *oil*. Scott used *gey* (‘very’) and *quey* (‘heifer’) but *pay* and *way*. All used <oi> in most words with /əi/ realisations such as *boil*, *join*, *point* and *toil*.

Vowel 2 and 11 were usually written <ee>, but <ei> and <ie> also occasionally occur in words such as *brier* (‘briar’), *ee* (‘eye’), *flee* (‘fly’), *green*, *neighbour* (‘neighbour’), *slee* (‘sly’), *steek* (‘shut’) and *wee* (‘little’).

Vowel 3 was usually written <ea> in words such as *beast*, *clean*, *dead*, *east*, *head*, *meal* and *meat*, or <ai> as in *daith* (‘death’) but Scott also used *heid* (‘head’).

Vowels 4 and 8 were variously written <ai, a-e> or <ae>, for example initial and medial *ain* (ones ‘own’), *braid* (‘broad’), *laid* (‘load’), *skail* (‘spill’), *taid* (‘toad’), *yaird* (‘yard’), *gane* (‘gone’), *hale* (‘whole’), *lave* (‘rest’) *nane* (‘none’), *wame* (‘belly’), *claes* (‘clothes’) and root-final *brae* (‘hillside’), *flae* (‘flea’), *frae* (‘from’), *gae* (‘go’), *sae* (‘so’), *strae* (‘straw’).

Vowels 5 and 18 were usually written <oa, o-e> and <o> as in Standard English cognates, in words such as *cod* (‘pillow’), *corn*, *flock*, *horse* and *morn* (‘morning’).

Vowel 6 was variously written <ou> or <ow>, and occasionally <oo> or <u-e>, in words such as *doun* ('doun'), *fou* ('full'), *jouk* v. ('duck'), *oor* ('our'), *oot* ('out'), *pou* ('pull'), *roust* ('rust'), *south*, *sow*, *throw* ('through') and *toun* ('town'). Burns was particularly fond of the Standard English spellings. Scott often used <ow> but also <oo>.

He [Burns] generally also follows the E. spelling in the many words which in A[yrshire]. Are pronounced with the sound of *oo*, and in E. with the sound of *ou* or *ow*, and so spelt in E. (Wilson 1923: 43)

Fergusson repeats Ramsay's inconsistency in the spelling of the 'ou' (oo) and 'ow' (diphthong) sounds. He will spell 'cow' for 'cou', 'dowr' for 'dour,' and yet he will use 'loup' for 'lowp.' In one rhyme sequence he gives us 'doup,' 'coup,' 'stoup' and 'sowp' (backside, upset, draught and sup). It is evident that he, like Ramsay before him, relied on his Scottish readers knowing how the words were expected to be pronounced, but a reader not of his day might be excused for getting hopelessly bogged among these 'ou's' and 'ow's.' (Mackie 1952: 132)

The traditional Scots spelling of this sound is *ou* [...] as we shall see in the discussion of Scott's spelling he rarely uses the English alternative *oo*. (Tulloch 1980: 184)

Vowel 7 was variously written <u-e> or <ui>, but also <oo> as in Standard English cognates, in words such as *bluid* ('blood'), *guid* ('good'), *coof* ('fool'), *loof* ('palm') and *clute* ('hoof'). Burns was particularly fond of using <oo>. Scott tended to use <ui>, but also <oo>.

[...] Burns generally follows the E. spelling or spells it with *oo*, but sometimes with *ui* or with *u* followed by a mute *e* after a consonant [...] (Wilson 1923: 42)

The 'ui' vowel of many Scots words, corresponding in sound to the German modified 'o' in 'Goethe' or the French 'œu' in '*hors d' œuvre*,' has become quite unrounded in Edinburgh and the Lothians, but the process had not gone so far in the poet's time. [...] If the unrounding was not so far advanced in Fergusson's time it would excuse his rhyming of such words as 'moon' and 'aboon' (above) with such words as 'toun' and 'doun' [...] (Mackie 1952: 127-128)

The result of vowel 7 before /k/ and /x/ was often written <eu> in words such as *beuk* ('book'), *eneugh* ('enough'), *neuk* ('nook') and *teugh* ('tough').

Me. *eu*, *eu* hat im Schott. genau dieselbe Entwicklung genommen wie in der Schriftsprache: *ĕu* > *iu* > *jū* [...] Jetzt können wir auch die Schreibung *eu* für msch. *ō* vor Guttural (§64) verstehen. Der Laut ergab nämlich in dieser Stellung ein *jū*. Da nun auch *eu* in seiner Entwicklung denselben Lautwert erreichte, vermischte man beide und gebrauchte schließlich die historische Schreibung des Entwicklungsprodukts von *eu* zur Bezeichnung für beide; und zwar *eu* wohl deshalb, weil die Entsprechungen von msch. *eu* häufiger waren und mehr gebraucht wurden, als solche von *ō* + Guttural. (Steiger 1913: 41-42)⁶

[...] in Scott's own dialect but it is not apparent in his spelling which is Standard Scots *u-e* or *ui* inherited from Middle Scots. [...] Before a back consonant [...] the *eu* spelling is used [...] (Tulloch 1980: 184)

Vowel 9 was usually written <oy> or <oi>, as in words such as *boy* and *noise*.

⁶ Middle English *eu*, *eu* developed the same way in Scots as it did in the written language [Standard English]: *ĕu* > *iu* > *jū* [...] We can now understand the spelling *eu* for Middle Scots *ō* before a guttural (§64). In this position the realisation resulted in *jū*. Now that *eu* had developed the same realisation, the two were merged and finally the historical spelling of the historical outcome of written *eu* came to represent both; particularly *eu* because the equivalents of Middle Scots *eu* occurred and were used more frequently than those from *ō* + guttural. [Present author's translation]

Vowel 12 was usually written <au> medially and <aw> initially and finally, and <a'> usually for historic <l> vocalisation (see above) in words such as *auld* ('old'), *bauld* ('bold'), *haud* ('hold'), *hauf* ('half'), *braw* ('fine'), *craw* ('crow') and *snaw* ('snow').

Vowel 13 was variously written <ow> or <ou> in words such as *gowd* ('gold'), *gowk* ('fool'), *howe* ('hollow'), *howk* ('dig'), *knowe* ('knoll'), *rout* ('roar') and *stoup* ('pitcher'). Scott was particularly fond of <ou> in medial positions.

Vowel 14 was usually written <ew> in words such as *brew*, *dew*, *few*, *grew*, *spew* and *new* but <ue> was also used in words such as *blue* and *true*.

Vowel 15 was usually written <i> in words such as *sic* ('such'), *clim* ('climb'), *fit* ('foot'), *ingan* ('onion'), *night*, *rigg* ('ridge'), *rin* ('run') and *simmer* ('summer').

Vowel 16 was usually written <e> in words such as *het* ('hot'), *snell* ('severe') and *yett* ('gate').

Vowel 17 was usually written <a> in words such as *aff* ('off'), *drap* ('drop') *saft* ('soft'), *sang* ('song') and *wast* ('west').

Vowel 19 was usually written <u> in words such as *curd* ('a few'), *lug* ('ear'), *lum* ('chimney') *muckle* ('much') and *wud* ('mad') but <u> was also often used for vowel 15 after /w/ and /m/.

Fergusson's spellings closely followed those of Ramsay. Burns was clearly influenced by both but used anglicised spellings much more often. Scott was influenced by all three but also regularly used anglicised spellings. Like Burns, Scott was inconsistent but often much more idiosyncratic, using for example, six different spellings for the cognate of *dovecote*—*doucot*, *doocot*, *dooket*, *dookot*, *dow-cote* and *dukit*.

Written Scots from North-East Scotland

A selection of writing by north-eastern writers taken from McClure⁷ shows a similar pattern, though a few spellings representing the local pronunciation do occur.

Charles Murray in *Wha draws a Blade* is addressing all Scotsmen, and on a dignified subject — therefore he uses the conventional literary dialect. In *Fae France* he puts the "braidest Buchan" into the mouth of the poacher who becomes a soldier. (Grant 1931: xvi)

In view of Murray's enduring local popularity and well-established reputation as the archetypal poet of the North-East, it is somewhat surprising to observe that the distinctive linguistic features of the "Doric" are much less conspicuous in his poetic language than that of Mary Simon, and often absent altogether. (McClure 2000: 44)

⁷ McClure, J. Derrick (2002). *Doric: The Dialect of North-East Scotland*. Amsterdam: Benjamins. pp.21–152.

Soon after the Vernacular Revival had been initiated in Edinburgh [...] the North-East made the first of its many and distinctive contributions to Scotland's literary culture; and though local dialect features were less conspicuous in poets of the eighteenth century than in the more deliberately regional literature of later times, they were sufficiently in evidence to establish an unmistakable local identity. (McClure 2002: 79)

All these writers draw on existing literary models [...] (McClure 2002: 80)

All generally used either <gh> or <ch> for /x/ but Ross used both. Murray used <ch>, except in *mith* ('might'), which indicates the dialect realisation.

All generally used <wh>. <quh> never occurred but occasional forms showing the local pronunciation /f/ did occur, for example, Ross's *fump'ring* ('whimpering') and *fustle* ('whistle'), Burness's *fan* ('when'), Symon's *fa* ('who'), *faur* ('where'), *fulp* ('whelp') and *futtled* ('whittled'), and Caie's *fan* ('when') and *fat's* ('what's'). Skinner also used *fow* ('how').

All used <th> for /θ/ and /ð/ except in dialect forms with /d/ such as *swidder* ('dither') and <sh> for the fricative /ʃ/.

The older yogh <ȝ> occasionally occurred as <z> in words such as *broolzied* ('brawled') and *gaburlunzie* ('beggar').

All generally used an apostrophe to represent perceived 'missing letters' in words such as *an'* ('and'), *awa'* ('away'), *mak'* ('make') *o'* ('of'), *wi'* ('with') and for root-final <l> vocalisation in words such as *a'* ('all'), *ca'* ('call'), *fa'* ('fall') and the suffix *-fu'* ('full') but in medial positions traditional graphemes were preferred in words such as *hauf* ('half') and *saut* ('salt').

The negative *nae* for ('not'), instead of *no*, occurred as is usual in the north-east.

The negative particle was always <-na> in words such as *canna* ('can't'), *didna* ('didn't'), *haena* ('haven't'), *wadna* ('wouldn't') and *winna* ('won't').

Simplification of <nd> to <n> generally did not occur except in *norlans* ('northlands'), though examples of <ld> simplification to <l> did occur, as is typical in the north-east in words such as *aul'* ('old') and *caul'* ('cold').

All used *ane* ('one'), although they probably pronounced it /in/.

The past tense of regular verbs /ət/ <-it>, was usually written <-ed> and <-d> but Murray did use *chappit* ('knocked') and *happit* ('covered').

The realisation /ɪn/ for the gerund was usually written <-in'> ('-ing'), though <-in> and <-ing> did occur.

Vowels 1, 8a and 10 were usually written <i> or <y> with a mute <e> after a following consonant in words such as *bide* ('stay'), *blythe* ('cheerful'), *by*, *cry*, *fire*, *hynd* ('farm labourer') and *tyne* ('loose') but <ay> and <oi> were used in words such as *may*, *pay*, *stays* ('steps') *way* and *doited* ('foolish').

Vowel 2 and 11 were usually written <ee>, but <ei> and <ie> also occasionally occur in words such as *chiel* ('fellow'), *dreep* ('drip'), *green*, *feet*, *free*, *leefu'* ('sorrowful'), *neiper* ('neighbour'), *see*, *speel* ('climb'), *speer* ('enquire') and *weel* adj. ('well').

Vowel 3 was usually written <ea> in words such as *beast*, *clean*, *dead*, *east*, *head*, *meal*, *meat* but Mary Symon also used *deid* ('dead').

Vowels 4 and 8 were variously written <ai, a-e> or <ae>, for example, initially and medially *ain* ('own'), *aith* ('oath'), *bairn* ('child'), *braid* ('broad'), *care*, *claith* ('cloth'), *faith*, *graith* ('equipment'), *hame* ('home'), and root-finally *fae* ('foe'), *frae* ('from'). Murray used *fae*, *hae* ('have'), *sae* ('so') and *strae* ('straw'). Note the cluster <ane>, usually /i/ in this dialect. All used *ane* ('one'), *ance* ('once'), *bane* ('bone'), *gane* ('gone'), *lane* ('lone'), *nane* ('none') and *stane* ('stone') but Symon used *aince* ('once').

Vowels 5 and 18 were usually written <oa, o-e> and <o> as in Standard English cognates, in words such as *bonny* ('beautiful'), *cogue* ('bowl'), *cost*, *mony* ('many'), *on*, *road* and *roast*.

Vowel 6 /u/ was often written <ou> and <ow> as in Standard English cognates but also <oo> or <u-e> in words such as *about*, *broo* ('brow'), *down*, *drouked* ('soaked'), *drouth*, ('thirst'), *drown*, *gown*, *now/noo*, *power*, *shoud* and *sude* ('should'), *shower*, *south*, *stout* and *town/toon*.

Vowel 7, in this dialect, usually /i/ and after /g/ and /k/ rendered /wi/, was often spelled as in Standard English cognates *aboou* ('above'), *do*, *good*, *soon*, *mools* ('mould') *smoor'd* ('smothered') and *sure*. Among the Scots forms used were *fuish* ('fetched'), *guid* ('good'), *muir* ('moor'), *puir* ('poor') and *shuitit* ('shot') but forms indicating the local pronunciation also occurred such as *beets* ('boots'), *bleed* ('blood'), *eesee* v. ('use'), *fleer* ('floor'), *gweed* ('good'), *leems* ('looms'), *queet* (*cuit* = 'ankle'), *reets* ('roots'), *sheen* ('shoes'), *squeel* ('school') and *teem* ('empty').

Before /k/ and /x/ vowel 7 was often written <eu> in words such as *aneugh/eneuch* ('enough'), *beuk* ('book'), *cook*, *feugh* ('puff'), *leugh* ('laugh') *nook* and *pleugh* ('plough').

Vowel 9 usually written <oy> or <oi> was only found in *coy*, James Beattie's *capernoited* ('crazy') and *doited* ('crazed') may represent vowel 10.

Vowel 12 was usually written <au> medially and <aw> initially and finally, and <a'> usually for historic <l> vocalisation (see above) in words such as *aumry* ('pantry') *auld* ('old'), *aw* ('all'), *cauld* ('cold'), *chaumer* ('chamber'), *claught* ('seize'), *fauld* ('fold'), *faw* ('fall'), *flaucht* ('a flash'), *hauf* ('half'), *haul*, *hauld* n. ('hold') *lauchin* ('laughing'), *maun* ('must') *snaw* ('snow') *taunty* and *vaunty*. Burness also used *tald* ('told').

Vowel 13 was variously written <ow> or <ou> in words such as *couped* ('overturned'), *fouk* ('folk'), *hows* (hollows), *knows* ('knolls'), *ower* ('over'), *rows* ('rolls') and *trow* ('believe').

Vowel 14 was usually written <ew> in words such as *new*, *spew* and *clammyhowat* ('a heavy blow')⁸.

Vowel 15⁹ was usually written <i> in words such as *anither*, *ilka* ('every'), *him*, *lingle* ('cord'), *mids* ('middle'), *night*, *sic* ('such'), *stirk* ('bullock'), *swidder* ('dither'), *will* and *wind* n.

Vowel 16 was usually written <e> in words such as *bend*, *ettle* ('endeavour'), *flegs* ('frights'), *geld*, *kent* ('known'), *set*, *sneck* ('latch') and *snell* ('severe').

Vowel 17 was usually written <a> in words such as *alang* ('along'), *back*, *canna* ('can't'), *crack* ('chatter'), *dang* pt. ('beat'), *lat* ('let'), *mak* ('make'), *man*, *sang* ('song'), *shak* ('shake') and *thrang* ('busy').

Vowel 19 was usually written <u> in words such as *bums* ('buzzes'), *burn* ('stream'), *but*, *muckle* ('large'), *smush* ('grime'), *unco* ('strange') and *up*.

As can be seen, 'phonetic' representations of the dialect were the exception rather than the rule, even for such 'marked' features as /f/ for <wh> and /jʌ/ for <ew>. Ellis (1890: 155). Commenting on the [a(:)] realisation of vowel 12, wrote "The sound au' does not occur, but dialect writers have a habit of using 'au, aw' for au'."

Written Scots from Ulster

A selection of Rhyming Weaver¹⁰ poetry taken from Hewitt¹¹ and the dialogue in the novels of W. G. Lyttle¹² paints a similar picture. Poets such as Thomas Beggs, David Herbison, Robert Huddleston, James Orr, Hugh Porter and Samuel Thomson were clearly part of the same tradition as Ferguson and Burns.

[...] it would be fair to suggest that the Ulster vernacular bards were in much the same relationship to Burns as he had been to his predecessors, and were working free-handedly within the same tradition [...]. (Hewitt 1974: 6)

Apart from the occasional word of Gaelic [Irish] origin, there is little evidence in the poems studied. (Connolly 1981: 13)

Unlike those who represented HE [Hiberno-English], Lyttle used orthographic conventions that were well known because they were derived from literary Scots. (Todd 1989: 134)

⁸ McClure's note "[...] The more usual spelling is clamihewit: Skinner's <ow> suggests the NE [jʌ] corresponding to [ju] in other dialects."

⁹ A few spellings showed the merging of this with vowel 19 after /w/ and /m/, /f/ in the NE. e.g. *fumper* ('whimper').

¹⁰ Many of these artisans were often self-employed in the linen weaving industry. These independent thinkers published their poems in newspapers and books which were paid for by subscription. They often wrote in support of the 1798 rising of the United Irishmen and the American Revolution.

¹¹ Hewitt, John (1974) "Rhyming Weavers and Other Country Poets of Antrim and Down", Blackstaff Press, Belfast

¹² Lyttle, W.G, 1890, *Daft Eddy or the Smugglers of Strangford Lough*. Republished with appendix 1979, Newcastle NI, and Lyttle, W.G. 1896, *Betsy Gray or Hearts of Down*. Republished 1970 with other stories and pictures of '98, Newcastle NI.

All follow the practices of the Scots revival in modulating the density of their use of Scotch according to subject-matter, style and form. The Scots vernacular revival also provided the Ulster poets with their characteristic verse forms, such as Standard Habbie and the Holy Fair stanza. As with their use of revival orthography, the verse forms came to acquire a symbolic or semiotic significance, and became a visual representation of revival Scots. (Herbison 2005: 80)

The Ulster poets saw in Burns's achievement a validation for their own linguistic and cultural identity. [...] It drew on a shared cultural inheritance. The rural bards of the 'Rhyming Weaver' tradition saw themselves as co-heirs with Burns of the Scots vernacular revival. (Herbison 2005: 81)

All generally used <gh> /x/ in words such as *bright*, *laigh* ('low'), *night* and *saugh* ('willow') but towards the end of the period Thomas Given, who died in 1917, and W. G. Lyttle did use <ch> in words such as *dicht* ('wipe'), *lauchs* ('laughs'), *nicht* ('night') and *richt* ('right').

All used <wh>, the older Scots <quh> was not used in words such as *wha* ('who'), *whan* ('when'), *whase* ('whose'), *whiles* ('sometimes'), *whin* ('gorse') and *white*. The fricatives /θ/ and /ð/ were spelled <th>, and the possible interdental realisations /t̪/ /d̪/ were never indicated. The fricative /ʃ/ was spelled <sh>. The older <sch> was not used.

Examples of <z> or <y> for the older yogh were not found in the sample.

The negative particle <-na> was used by all, except by W. G. Lyttle, with, for example, *disnae* ('doesn't') and *wudnae* ('wouldn't') but *hae na* ('haven't'), and Francis Boyle, who had an occurrence of *winnae* ('won't'). The negative particle <-na> occurred in words such as *canna* ('can't'), *dinna* ('don't'), *disna* ('doesn't'), *maunna* ('mustn't') and *wadna* ('wouldn't').

All generally used an apostrophe to represent perceived 'missing letters' in words such as *an'* ('and'), *awa'* ('away'), *mak'* ('make') *o'* ('of'), *wi'* ('with') and for root-final <l> vocalisation in words such as *a'* ('all'), *ca'* ('call'), *fa'* ('fall') and the suffix *-fu'* ('full') but in medial positions traditional graphemes were preferred in words such as *fause* ('false'), *faut* ('fault'), *gowd* ('gold') and *saut* ('salt').

All often rendered the elided terminal <d> in <nd> as an apostrophe in words such as *an'* ('and'), *lan'* ('land'), *roun'*/*roon'* ('round') and *stan'* ('stand'). The elided terminal <d> in words such as *auld* ('old'), *bauld* ('bold') and *cauld* ('cold') was not indicated in the spelling.

The realisation /ɪn/ for the gerund was often written <-in'> ('-ing').

The past tense of regular verbs was often written <-ed, -'d> and <-led>, though the Scots forms <-it> /ət/ and <-elt> /əlt/ were shown in spellings such as *crabbit* ('difficult'), *hauntit* ('haunted'), *plantit* ('planted') and *tummelt* ('tumbled').

Vowels 1, 8a and 10 spelled with <i> or <y> with a mute <e> after a following consonant, for example, *ay* ('yes'), *aye* ('always'), *belyve* ('by and by'), *pey* ('pay'), *syne* ('since') and *whyles* ('sometimes').

Standard English spellings ending in *-ay* were usually used, for example, *clay*, *may*, *pay*, *stay*, *way*.

The most interesting example of this accidental re-spelling is Francis Boyle's <Stay Brae>. To the modern reader this place name looks as if the first element was pronounced /ste/. However, there

can be little doubt that Boyle's spelling represents the Scots adjective *stey*, (pronounced /staɪ/ [...]) (Connolly 1981: 19)

All used <oi> in most words with /əi/ such as *join*, *point* and *toil*.

Ulster eighteenth century speech, as reflected in the rhymes, seems not to have made a distinction between ME oi and ui, and the problem of how this distinction, (apparently retained in Scots) came to be lost in Ulster, is as puzzling as the subsequent total abandonment in Antrim of /aɪ/ in /ɔɪ/ words. (Connolly 1981: 368)

Vowel 2 and 11 usually <ee>, but <ei> and <ie> also occasionally occur, for example, *agee* ('awry'), *chiel* ('fellow'), *een* ('eyes'), *freet* ('superstition'), *grief*, *neist* ('next'), *reek* ('smoke'), *speel* ('climb'), *speerits* ('spirits'), *theek* ('thatch'), *wee* ('small') and *weel* adj. ('well').

Vowel 3 was usually spelled <ea>, for example, *bear*, *beasts*, *bread*, *clean*, *dead*, *dreadfu'*, *fear*, *head*, *leal* ('loyal'), *meat* ('food'), *pleasin'*, *sweat* and *tea*. Thomas Given, who died in 1917, and W. G. Lyttle used *heid* ('head').

Vowels 4 and 8 usually /e(:)/, variously spelled <ai, a-e> or <ae>, for example initial and medial *ain* ('own'), *baith* ('both'), *claith* ('cloth'), *kail* ('cabbage'), *laigh* ('low'), *mair* ('more'), *bane* ('bone'), *gane* ('gone'), *hale* ('whole'), *nane* ('none'), *quate* ('quiet'), *stane* ('stone'), *claes* ('clothes') and root-final *blae* ('blue-grey'), *brae* ('hillside'), *frae* ('from'), *sae* ('so') and *strae* ('straw').

Ane, *ance* or *aince* ('one', 'once') were universally used, except for *yins* used by Thomas Given. W. G. Lyttle used both *ane* and *yin*. Many of the other authors who used *ane* would also have probably had a /jɪn/ pronunciation.

It seems likely that Porter wrote <ane> but intended the word to be pronounced /jɪn/. (Connolly 1981: 141)

Vowels 5 and 18 were usually written <oa, o-e> and <o>, usually as in Standard English cognates, in words such as *boast*, *corn*, *cot* ('cottage'), *gloamin* ('twilight'), *groats*, *groset* ('gooseberry'), *mony* ('many'), *ony* ('any'), *thole* ('endure') and *thorn*.

Vowel 6 was often written <ou> and <ow>, as in Standard English cognates, but also <oo> or <u-e> in words such as *broo* ('brow'), *croun/croon* ('crown'), *doun/doon* ('down'), *goun* ('gown'), *loud*, *oor* ('our'), *oot* ('out') and *toun* ('town').

Vowel 7 was often written <oo> as in Standard English cognates in words such as *aboon* ('above') *food*, *loom*, *poor*, *stood*. Among the Scots forms were *bluid* ('blood'), *guid* ('good'), *muir* ('moor') and *puir* ('poor') along with *dae* ('do') and *tae* ('to'). The verb and noun *use* remained so.

Before /k/ and /x/ vowel 7 was often written <eu> in words such as *neuk* ('corner') *sheugh* ('ditch') *pleugh* ('plough') and *teuk* ('took'), though <oo> was common as were various methods of showing the /ʌ/ pronunciation such as *pl'ugh* ('plough'), *luk* ('look') and *tuk* ('took'), and the /u/ pronunciation in examples such as *hook*, *plough* and *shough* ('ditch').

Vowel 9 was usually written <oy> or <oi> in words such as *boy*, *corduroy*, *joy* and *noise*.

Vowel 12 was usually written <au> medially and <aw> initially and finally, and <a'> usually for historic <l> vocalisation (see above). The forms *auld* ('old') *bauld* ('bold') and *cauld* ('cold') were universal, other examples being *daur* ('dare'), *fause* ('false'), *faut* ('fault'), *haud* ('hold'), *maun* ('must'), *sauld* ('sold'), *saut* ('salt'), *tauld* ('told') and *wauk* ('wake'). Interestingly, where that vowel occurred before <nd>, <a> was used in words such as *han'* ('hand'), *land* and *stan'* ('stand') though spellings such as *bald* ('bold') and *sald* ('sold') may indicate that all these words had the same vowel.

Vowel 13 was variously written <ow> or <ou> in words such as *chow* ('chew'), *fowk* ('folk'), *gowk* ('cuckoo'), *ower/oure* ('over') and *stow* ('pack').

Vowel 14 was usually written <ew> in words such as *brew*, *new* and *view* but <ue> also occurred in words such as *blue*.

Vowel 15 was usually written <i> in words such as *ahint* ('behind'), *bit*, *dinlin'* ('tingling'), *hing* ('hang'), *kilt* ('tuck'), *lift* ('sky'), *nit* ('nut'), *rin'* ('run') and *whit* ('what').

Vowel 16 was usually written <e> in words such as *cleg* ('horsefly'), *denty* ('dainty'), *efter* ('after'), *gleg* ('sharp'), *het* ('hot'), *ken* ('know'), *neb* ('nose'), *snell* ('severe') and *yett* ('gate').

Vowel 17 was usually written <a> in words such as *caff* ('chaff'), *canty* ('cheerful'), *drap* ('drop'), *lang* ('long'), *saft* ('soft') and *wat* ('wet').

Vowel 19 was usually written <u> in words such as *burn* ('stream'), *dub* ('puddle'), *duds* ('rags'), *grun'* ('ground'), *lug* ('ear'), *lummer* ('lumber'), *muckle* ('much'), *rung* ('baton') and *turn*.

Written Scots from Southern Scotland

Writers from the Scottish border counties were also operating within the same tradition, as is shown in an analysis of traditional ballads recorded at the time, for example, in poetry by Robert Crawford, Jean Elliot, James Hogg, William Laidlaw and Thomas Pingle among others, found in Veitch¹³.

All generally used <gh> for the older <ch> /x/ but towards the end of the period <ch> was increasingly used. The older <quh> was replaced by <wh> in words such as *wha* ('who'), *whan* ('when') and *what*. The dental fricatives /θ/ and /ð/ were represented by <th> and <sh> /ʃ/ was used in preference over the older <sch>.

No occurrence of <y> for the older yogh <ȝ> was found in the sample. All generally used an apostrophe to represent perceived 'missing letters' in words such as *an'* ('and'), *awa'* ('away'), *mak'* ('make') *o'* ('of'), *wi'* ('with') and for root-final <l> vocalisation in words such as *a'*

¹³ Veitch, John. (1893) *The History and Poetry of The Scottish Border* Vol. II, Edinburgh/London: Wm. Blackwood and Sons. Chapters VII, VIII and IX.

('all'), *ca'* ('call'), *fa'* ('fall') and the suffix *-fu'* ('full') but in medial positions traditional graphemes were preferred in words such as *cowt* ('colt'), *gowd* ('gold'), *rows* ('rolls') and *saut* ('salt').

All used *no* ('not') and generally used <-**na**> for the negative particle equivalent to <-**n't**> in words such as *dinna* ('don't'), *daurna* ('daren't'), *haena* ('haven't'), *maunna* ('mustn't') and *sanna* ('shan't').

Rendition of the elided terminal <**d**> in <**nd**> as an apostrophe occurred occasionally. Most used *ane* ('one') and *ance* ('once'), although they probably pronounced them /jɪn(s)/, but Shairp used both *yn* and *ance*.

Most used <-**ed**> for the past tense of regular verbs /ət/ but <-**it**> and <-**d**> also occurred in words such as *droukit* ('soaked'), *dwined* ('withered'), *ettled* ('endeavoured'), *lookit*, *runkled* ('wrinkled'), *ken'd* ('knew'), *pu'd* ('pulled') and *row'd* ('rolled').

All wrote the present participle /ɪn/ <-**in'**>.

Vowels 1, 8a and 10 were usually written <**i**> or <**y**> with a mute <**e**> after a following consonant in words such as *aye* ('always'), *blythe* ('happy'), *dwine* ('wither'), *fine*, *kye* ('cattle'), *lyart* ('grizzled') and *tryst* ('pledge'). All used <-**ay**> in words such as *hay*, *may*, *way* and <**oy**> and <**oi**> in words such as *joy* and *toil*.

Vowel 2 was usually written <**ee**> but <**ei**> and <**ie**> also occasionally occur in words such as *biel'd* ('shelter'), *briest* ('breast'), *dreich* ('dreary'), *green*, *fleech* ('coax'), *friend*, *grief*, *weel/weil* adj. ('well'), *weep* and *weet* ('wet').

Vowel 11 was usually written <**ee**> or <**e**> and no spellings indicating the local pronunciation /əi/ in words such as *be*, *flee*, *knee*, *me* and *see* were found in the sample.

Vowel 3 was usually written <**ea**> in words such as *beard*, *beast*, *clear*, *head*, *meal*, *shear* and *tear*.

Vowels 4 and 8 were variously written <**ai**>, <**a-e**> or <**ae**>, for example, initial and medial *ain* ('own'), *bairn* ('child'), *baith* ('both'), *fain* ('content'), *mair* ('more'), *alane* ('alone'), *hame* ('home'), *gane* ('gone') and *stane* ('stone'), root-final *brae* ('hillside'), *frae* ('from'), *gae* ('go'), *nae* ('no'), *sae* ('so'), *wae* ('woe') and *claes* ('clothes').

Vowels 5 and 18 were usually written <**oa**, **o-e**> and <**o**> as in Standard English cognates, in words such as *bonny* ('pretty'), *corn*, *gloamin'* ('twilight'), *morn* ('morning'), *mony* ('many'), *ony* ('any') *road* and *moss* ('marsh').

Vowel 6 was variously written <**ou**> or <**ow**>, occasionally <**oo**> or <**u-e**> in words such as *dule* ('sorrow'), *doon* ('doun'), *now*, *our*, *out*, *scoul* ('scowl'), *soom* ('swim') and *south*.

Vowel 7 was variously written <u-e> or <ui> but also <oo> as in Standard English cognates in words such as *aboon* and *abune* ('above'), *dune* ('done'), *gude* ('good'), *muir* ('moor'), *puir* ('poor') and *toom* ('empty').

The result of vowel 7 before /k/ and /x/ was often written <eu> in words such as *eneugh* ('enough') but also *look* and *took*.

Vowel 9 in words like *noise* and *boy* was not found in the sample.

Vowel 12 was usually written <au> medial and <aw> initial and final, and <a'> usually for historic <ɪ> vocalisation (see above) in words such as *auld* ('old'), *bauld* ('bold'), *blaw* ('blow'), *braw* ('fine'), *craw* ('crow'), *maun* ('must'), *shaw* ('grove') and *snaw* ('snow').

Vowel 13 was variously written <ow> or <ou> in words such as *bowe* ('bow'), *douf* ('dull'), *dowie* ('sad'), *gowan* ('daisy'), *grow*, *howe* ('hollow'), *four*, *gowd* ('gold'), *knowe* ('knoll'), *lown* ('calm'), *ower* ('over') and *row* ('roll').

Vowel 14 was usually written <ew> in words such as *dew*, *few* and *slew* but also <ue> in words such as *blue*.

Vowel 15 was usually written <i> in words such as *sic* ('such'), *night*, *rigg* ('ridge'), *rin* ('run'), *fit* ('foot') and *simmer* ('summer').

Vowel 16 was usually written <e> in words such as *den* ('ravine'), *ken* ('know') and *skelp* ('slap').

Vowel 17 was usually written <a> in words such as *aft* ('often'), *amang* ('among'), *crap* ('crop') *saft* ('soft') and *sang* ('song').

Vowel 19 was usually written <u> in words such as *busk* ('dress'), *cushat* ('pigeon') and *muckle* ('much') but was also occasionally used for vowel 15 after /w/ and /m/.

No spelling evidence was found for the characteristic Southern Scots pronunciations of vowel 11 as /əi/ and root-final vowel 6 as /ʌ/, which give rise to the dialect being referred to as the *yow and mey* dialect ('you and me'). Furthermore, no spelling evidence was found for /-e/ in *awa'* ('away'), *twa* ('two') and *wha* ('who'), except for Elliot's *away* rhyming with *day*, or the pronunciations /θre/ for *frae* ('from') and /hjɛm/ for *hame* ('home') etc.

Language Planning

Those writing in the 18th and 19th centuries were well aware that a Scots-speaking readership would never pronounce the likes of *about*, *dead*, *sleight* and *night* as in Standard English but by the 20th century that could no longer be taken for granted and spellings such as *aboot*, *deid*, *slicht* and *nicht* had become more common. From the early 20th century knowledge of Scots literature began to dwindle and in the 1920s Craigie (1924: 14–16) commented that Scots language and literature no longer had any place in Scottish education.

As a result of that the vernacular came to be viewed as the local form of English and subsequently written Scots often diverged from the literary traditions of the 18th and 19th centuries, mostly through writers attempting to indicate local pronunciations based on the perceived sound-to-letter correspondences of the Standard English of the (educational) establishment, whereas previously such differences would have been subsumed in the traditional ‘pan-dialect’ orthography of *Literary Scots*. Of course, there were writers who were well aware of the previous traditions, notably the ‘Lallans’ poets.

Although the ‘Scots Renaissance’ is inseparably associated with the portentous figure of Hugh MacDiarmid, the revivification of the Scottish poetic scene was gathering strength well before the publication of *Sangschaw* [...] (McClure 2003: 213)

That demise fostered a desire among interested parties to demand and initiate awareness- and status-building exercises.

Since this is ‘the national tongue’ (Craigie 1924, pp.16f. *passim*), and ‘has a national value’ (Craigie 1924, p.11) and its effacement will imply ‘a denationalization of the Scottish people’ (Craigie 1924, p.20), and since its use is ‘an assertion of Scottish identity’ (McClure 1980a, p.18) it should be restored to spoken use and given official status. That it can be so restored we may see if we look at the examples of Norwegian, Frisian, Catalan and various other languages which have had reputedly successful revival movements. If this restoration is not carried out, the Scots will end in the humiliating position of being unable to read their national literature without a glossary – a fear that has haunted us for a century and a half now (e.g. 1884 in Cockburn 1874, 2, pp.88-9; *Scottish Rev.* 1907, p.540)—the lexical riches of a ‘rich, euphonious and expressive tongue’ (Craigie 1924, p.25) will have perished, and the Scots will have been still further divorced from their native linguistic and cultural roots. (Aitken 1981a: 87)

Perhaps above all we should not underestimate the vital importance of such a user-friendly dictionary in helping raise the status of Scots and helping to alter the pupils’ and the teachers’ perceptions of their own speech. (Hodgart 1996: 29)

[...] it is surely an essential feature of any self-respecting culture that we teach our children to understand and appreciate their linguistic and literary heritage. If we continue to teach little or nothing about the Scots tongue, many of our finest writers of the past, or even the present, will be closed books to our children. (Hodgart 1996: 29)

Much more to the point: most Scots speakers cannot read (never mind write) Scots with any ease. (Millar 2005: 190)

Many of course were and had been interested in the Scots tongue. The 18th century ‘vernacular revival’ perhaps helped produce Jamieson’s *Etymological Dictionary of the Scottish Language*, published in 1808. That was followed in 1921 by Grant and Dixon’s *Manual of Modern Scots*, a description of 19th century pronunciation, orthography and grammar based on the literature of the time. By 1931 the *Scottish National Dictionary* project was under way. As the 20th century continued, awareness- and status-building exercises began to take on the nature of language-planning exercises.

[...] the activity of preparing a normative orthography, grammar and dictionary for the guidance of writers and speakers in a non-homogenous speech-community. (Haugen 1961: 68)

Devising a normative orthography for Scots has been one of the greatest linguistic hobbies of the past century. (Corbett 2003: 260)

Kloss (1952: 24ff) described the development of a *Mundart* (dialect) to a *Ausbausprache* (standard language) as involving among other things the standardisation of its orthography. Kloss accepted that Scots had gone some way towards achieving some of those but considered it a *Halbsprache* (half-language).

Idiome, die weder in linguistischer noch in soziologischer Hinsicht eindeutig als selbständig gelten können, die jedoch auf Grund soziologischer und z.T. auch linguistischer Sonderentwicklung mit Vorbehalt als Sprachen anerkannt werden können [...] (Kloss 1952: 36)¹⁴

Haugen, again, provides an answer. The growth of a language entails four stages: selection, codification, elaboration and acceptance. First of all, that is, one of the various existing speech forms is chosen to become the basis of the national language; secondly, its orthography and grammar are fixed by a series of formal rules; thirdly, its range of uses is extended and developed until it becomes an adequate vehicle for all the functions of a national language; and finally the mass of the population is persuaded to accept it for everyday use. (McClure 1980a: 19)

Only the first two stages, which deal with the orthographic nature of the written form, are considered of immediate relevance to the advancement of Scots.

After selection, codification. It should be noted what this implies: nothing less than the establishment of an agreed orthography for every word in the language and a set of general spelling rules so that new words can be accommodated; and a formal grammar incorporating rules for all aspects of morphology and syntax. (McClure 1980: 23)

The objective is to establish a standard written form of Scots and this clearly cannot be based on localised dialect forms. (Purves 1979: 62)

The question of standard Scots is a thorny one; to a degree the Central dialect, especially that of Edinburgh, has come to be regarded as some kind of literary standard, particularly in prose. In poetry, a more eclectic form, often referred to as Lallans, is sometimes used, with words from other dialects and other times. But neither of these can really be regarded as a standard for everyday and especially spoken language. (Macleod 1993a: 122)

Scots needs a standard spelling system for eventual use in newspapers and school text books. (Love 1995: 18)

[...] the Scots School Dictionary has been designed to make Scots more accessible from the point of view both of comprehension and of speaking or writing the language. Emphasis is on modern everyday language, including urban colloquialisms and slang (often neglected by earlier dictionaries). (Hodgart 1996: 30)

While dictionaries should not be regarded as the last word in standardization, they act as an important pointer to the way a language is going and provide some kind of yardstick. The Scottish National Dictionary Association accepts that dictionaries are always regarded to some extent as a guide to standard spelling and is well aware of its responsibilities in this area. (Hodgart 1996: 30)

The consensus of the November 1996 Colloquie was at "the definition of a standard spelling for a broad transcription of Scots should be the priority." (Lallans 56, 2004: 77)

Any standard should be based on the dialects of the Central Belt, where most speakers are. That of the Edinburgh area has a special place because of the amount of Scottish literature emanating from it over the centuries. (SLD Ltd. 2002)

¹⁴ Varieties that can neither linguistically or sociologically be clearly identified as independent, but nevertheless on sociological grounds or partly, with reservations, because of particular developments may be considered languages [...] (Present author's translation)

It follows that Scots orthography will only be standardised if Scots were to be used more widely in functions beyond the literary, and if a standard Scots spelling system were to be taught in schools so that writers could perform these functions adequately. (Corbett 2003: 261)

Acceptance of any proposed norm by the community is highly unlikely at present and likely to remain so.

The debate is academic because, first, writing in unreformed Scots continues regardless, second, even if a consensus were to be reached (and neither in principle nor in detail is there any sign of one) there would be no way of enforcing it; third, the whole issue is of little moment to the Scottish populace as a whole, who evince a deplorable ignorance and indifference towards questions of language, as to other aspects of the national culture. (McClure 1985: 206–7)

Enthusiastic teachers, still alas a minority, report the need for English–Scots materials to help children write in Scots, especially in areas, in fact most places, where the language has already receded to a great extent. (Macleod 1993a: 120)

It might be thought that the school pupil requires a much simpler treatment than the more sophisticated user, but in many ways both need guidance as to the right choice of word and how to use it. (Macleod 1993a: 121)

[...] every writer who wishes to use it must learn it anew, and by his own efforts. Certainly, successive poets in the present century have built on each other's achievements [...] (McClure 1995: 23)

In the absence of a distinct orthography for Scots, those wishing to write in the language have, since the 17th century, generally adopted the conventions of English spelling, modified to a greater or lesser extent according to the preferences of the individual writer. (McClure 1995: 37)

If spoken Scots is a group of dialects, it is not much of an exaggeration to say that written Scots is a group of idiolects. (McClure 1995: 24)

[...] that given a sufficiency of talented writers a language does not require a standard form to be the vehicle of major literature [...] (McClure 1995: 24)

It has been argued that an attempt to establish a standard Scots is unnecessary, as the language can be effectively written without it: this is unquestionably true. (McClure 1995: 25)

Teachers also seek help over the issue of orthography. Without a standard form they find it difficult to correct spelling [...] In my experience, pupils want to have rules of some kind, and many cannot 'see' how to spell a word they can say, even when they speak broad Scots. One pupil told me that he could not imagine how to spell a word because he 'didnae hae the picter'. Until the sight of Scots becomes more common, writing it will remain a struggle. (Niven 1998: 68)

[...] the lack of a standard for written Scots seems to be a deterrent rather than an opportunity for Scots writers—a claim which remains unsupported by evidence and which, moreover, can be contradicted by citing the writings of Tom Leonard, Alex Hamilton, James Kelman and others. Their representation of their variety of Scots has certainly thrived despite (or perhaps because of) the non-existence of a standard system of representation. (Hagen 2002: 148)

Some utilitarian Scots prose has recently been published, for example on the Scottish Parliament website¹⁵ and by the Northern Ireland Department of Culture, Arts and Leisure¹⁶,

¹⁵ www.scottish.parliament.uk/vli/language/scots/index.htm accessed on 16.09.06.

¹⁶ www.dcalni.gov.uk/home/default.asp?lang=ulsterscots accessed on 16.09.06.

though their transactional value has been questioned. As is shown by reactions to “Makkin yer voice heard in the Scottish Pairlament”:

“Scottish” itself is questionable. [...] The better form here would be “Scots” or “Scottis”. But I have the impression that whoever wrote this booklet knows very little about the history of the language. [...] Sometimes the poor author more or less gives up, being unable to find, or concoct, any Scots equivalent for the English he or she would naturally use. The result is a hotch-potch. [...] It does nothing for the Scots language, other than expose it to ridicule and bring it into contempt. It is frankly embarrassing. (Massie: *The Scotsman* 31.01.2004)

[...] poorly-written documents in some ill-thought-out linguistic mixer-maxter offered as “Scots”, far from doing any service to the language, merely expose it to ridicule, and undercut both the real case for developing Scots and the efforts of those who have been engaged for years in credible attempts at doing so. Language development is not a task for amateurs; nor can it be achieved by slapdash, undirected efforts, however well intentioned. Why, then, is it being left to them? (McClure: *The Scotsman* 07.02.2004)

Comments on Scots documents published in Ulster are no less disparaging.

The net effect of an amalgam of traditional, surviving, revived, changed, and invented features is artificial dialect. It is certainly not a written version of the vestigial spoken dialect of rural county Antrim, as its activists frequently urge, perpetrating the fallacy that it's *wor ain leid*. (Besides, the dialect revivalists claim *not* to be native speakers of the dialect themselves!). The colloquialness of this new dialect is deceptive for it is neither spoken nor innate. Traditional dialect speakers find it counter-intuitive and false [...] (Kirk 2000: 130)

REGARDING a notice published in the Belfast Telegraph on September 5 relating to the intention of the Department of Culture, Arts and Leisure to promote the formation of an Ulster-Scots Academy, we suggest that if the Department's concern for the welfare of Ulster-Scots is meant the living, every-day language of native speakers, that version is a travesty. [...] Those of us who have or had Ulster-Scots as our first language have a deep and abiding affection for it. We find the Department's absurd version as offensive as it is bogus. (Cross: *The Belfast Telegraph* 24.09.2003)

Whatever feeling the translator may have for such pre-revival Ulster-Scots writers as Orr, Porter and Thomson, it is clear that he or she rejects them absolutely as literary models. One also suspects that the person responsible views his or her role as that of one empowered to undertake major structural reform rather than as a synthesiser or mediator of attested practice. [...] From the above we can conclude that the orthographic practices in question not only differ considerably from any attested form of literary Scots, of whatever provenance, but contain diacritics borrowed from phonetic notation for the specific purpose of giving minor articulatory differences at the level of accent a presence in the written form of the idiom, [...] they have no place in a communicative text aimed at native speakers, whom they are likely merely to confuse. [...] their communicative value for native users of the Ulster variety is also severely diminished [...] the readiness of Northern Ireland officialdom to consign taxpayers' money to a black hole of translations incomprehensible to ordinary users is worrying. (Falconer 2005: 55-56)

Proposals and Practices

Since the middle of the last century a number of proposals for a codified normative orthography have emerged alongside the publication of various dictionaries by the (*Scottish National Dictionary Association*) SNDA—now *Scots Language Dictionaries Limited* (SLD Ltd.). The influence of the codifiers has been at best marginal, being confined to those who take

an active interest in such matters. Examples of the proposed orthographies can be found in the Appendix¹⁷.

The Scots Style Sheet (1947)

That set of proposals was presented by a group of ‘Lallans’ poets known as the ‘Makkar’s Club’. That was a modest two pages suggesting dropping the ‘parochial’ or ‘apologetic apostrophe’ and establishing conventions for representing vowel sounds. Those suggestions were clearly based on a more regularised application of 18th and 19th century conventions but also suggested <ch> for /x/, previously <gh>, <ei> for vowel 3, and a new grapheme <aa> (vowel 12) was introduced for word-final <l> vocalisation. (Mackie 1955: 30–31)

These proposals closely followed the spelling ideas of Douglas Young and A.D. Mackie [...] (Purves 1979: 62)

A further innovation in [Douglas] Young’s poetry, and one which at first sight makes his Scots *appear* to be more unlike that of his predecessors than it actually is, is his spelling practices. Several of the orthographic features which shortly afterwards were enshrined in the Scots Style Sheet, such as the digraph *aa* (previously unknown in Scots of any period), the consistent use of *ou* instead of the anglicism *oo* for the sound of [u] and *ow* for [ʌ], and the abandonment of the apostrophe where Scots has lost (or never had) a sound which English retains, are a conspicuous feature of Young’s writing. (McClure 2000: 121)

David Purves (1975)

Purves, a writer and editor, presented his proposals in *Lallans* issue 4, followed up in the *Scottish Literary Journal* Supplement issue 9, 1979. His aim was to “reconcile traditional spelling practices with the requirement that spelling should be consistent and should have a reasonably phonetic basis” (p.63), often citing precedents in the *Scottish National Dictionary* in order to justify some of his suggestions. Those were to some extent influenced by the conventions of older Scots. The representation of vowels often followed a more regularised application of 18th and 19th century conventions but also “rational spellings used by the mediaeval Makkars” such as *thai* (‘they’), *thair* (‘their’), *cum* (‘come’), *sum* (‘some’) (1997: 61) and *wes* (‘was’) (1997: 50). The ‘apologetic apostrophe’ was eschewed, and <ch> was suggested for /x/, previously <gh>. The traditional grapheme <aw> (vowel 12) was suggested for <l> vocalisation in words such as *aw* (‘all’), *caw* (‘call’) and *faw* (‘fall’).

The objective is to establish a standard written form of Scots and this clearly cannot be based on localised dialect forms. How it is pronounced in practice will vary according to the dialect with which the reader is familiar. (Purves 1979: 62)

Other spelling ideas [...] have been taken from ‘Mang Howes and Knowes’ by Elliot Cowan Smith, 1926, and from 15th and 16th century writings in Scots. (Purves 1979: 62)

In the courtly poems of the Makkars of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, the rather loose system of spelling used was far superior phonetically to the practices of later writers in Scots, [...] (Purves 1997: 57)

¹⁷ Available at <https://www.scots-online.org/articles/contents/AwAeWeyApp.pdf>

Derrick McClure (1980)

McClure presented the basis of a phoneme-based system in the *Scottish Literary Journal* no. 12. McClure's suggestions were seemingly more of a *Gedankenspiel* illustrating the application of the phonemic principle rather than proposals that were expected to gain any support. McClure's suggestions were based on Catford's (1958) phonemic analysis of Scots dialects. McClure's, somewhat unconventional, choice of graphemes was often justified by their use in other European languages, not necessarily their current or previous use in Scots.

This is an analysis only of the stressed vowel system in syllables of a certain structure: it says nothing about the vowels of unstressed syllables or stressed syllables of other types [...] it is probably an over-simplification even on its own terms. However, it provides a useful and viable basis for a spelling system for Scots which accommodates some of the major dialect variations. (McClure 1980: 25)

Spelling conventions unique to English, such as the use of *ee* and *oo* for the sounds [i] and [u], should be avoided wherever possible: this is not from mere Anglophobia but for the much more serious and valid reason that the whole purpose of establishing a spelling system for Scots is to underwrite its status as a language distinct from English, resulting from independent historical developments, and therefore not bound to adhere to conventions devised for English. The extent to which the orthographic conventions of other languages should guide the choice of symbols for Scots is an issue in which each case must be debated on its own merits: if the symbol chosen to represent a particular phoneme in Scots is the same as that used for the corresponding phoneme in another language, this may be a point in its favour; but a proposed spelling rule need not be rejected solely because such parallels are lacking. (McClure 1980: 25)

The Scots Language Society (1985)

The SLD published its 'Recommendations for Writers in Scots' (and the accompanying word lists¹⁸) agreed at a meeting of Scots 'makkars' in the School of Scottish Studies in Edinburgh. It is clear that Purves had substantial influence on that, especially some recommendations echoing Middle Scots. The desirability of employing spellings with traditional precedents was commented on. Here the 'apologetic apostrophe' was eschewed, and <ch> was suggested for /x/, previously <gh>. The traditional grapheme <aw> (vowel 12) was also used for <ɪ> vocalisation in words such as *aw* ('all'), *caw* ('call') and *faw* ('fall'). Interestingly, it was also suggested "[...] that words used in Scots in common with English which have the same pronunciation [...] should [not] be altered if the English spelling leaves no doubt as to the pronunciation." That itself leads to spelling contradictions between 'Scots' and 'shared' vocabulary.

Dis a leid that haes ae (reformed, simple, 'medieval') seistem for spellin the tae hauf o'ts wurds, an awthegither deiferent (onreformed, thrawart, 'English') seistem for spellin the tither, hae onie chance o bein acceptit bi oniebodye outby the Lallans coterie? The norie at sic a fankle cuid be teatched as an aerlie or prymarie medium o leiteracie i scuils mairches on madness. (Allan 1995: 70)

Angus Stirling (1994)

Stirling came to the conclusion that "For Scots to function as a national language, it requires a fully regulated spelling system [...]" (p.89). In order to achieve that, Stirling suggested it

¹⁸ Lallans 39, 40, 41 and 43.

would be wise to “Design a new spelling system which is phonologically accurate and consistent, and can be applied to older texts for the purpose of making them more accessible.” (p.90). Stirling failed to identify some underlying phonemes such as vowel 3 and the development of vowel 7 before /k/ and /x/, which he allocated vowel 14. He also failed to differentiate the vowels 1 long and 8a, 1 short and 10, 2 and 11, and 4 and 8. He then went on to suggest a system, apparently based on East Central Scots, using a hotchpotch of conventions from various sources such as Scandinavia, traditional Scots and Dutch. Stirling suggested introducing <ä> and innovative consonant clusters. It was often unclear where and how his vowel graphemes were to be applied.

[...] the spelling system involved is not normally Anglocentric; it may however seem Martian. Perhaps the most striking example of this is the spelling system of Stirling (1994), which is so enamoured of Scandinavian orthography that it does not recognize either the manifest differences in phonemic systems between these languages and Scots or the willingness of a Scottish writing and reading public to embrace what to them would be an utterly foreign system [...] (Millar 2005: 191)

The Aiberdeen Univairsitie Scots Leid Quorum (1995)

The AUSLQ published its recommendations in its *Innin ti the Scots Leid* (Lovie 1995) based on Allan (1995). Allan was aware that any orthography substantially different from Standard English would have little chance of acceptance, but was working towards a two-stage ‘reform’. Allan established the underlying consonants and vowel phonemes and allocated graphemes, sometimes misallocating the underlying vowel phonemes. Here the apologetic apostrophe was also eschewed, <ch> was suggested for /x/, previously <gh>. The traditional grapheme <aw> (vowel 12) was also used for <I> vocalisation in words such as *aw* (‘all’), *faw* (‘fall’) and *waw* (‘wall’). Traditional consonant practice was generally followed but such forms as *houss* (‘house’), *louss* (‘louse’) did occur.

The SNDA (Now SLD Ltd.)

The SNDA undertook an essentially descriptive approach (i.e. recording usage) and as such included many “historical, regional, accidental and idiosyncratic” variants (MacLeod and Cairns 1993: vi). The choice of headwords in the dictionaries seems to be based on selection “from the numerous variants for which there is evidence in the parent dictionaries (SND and DOST)” or predictable spelling variants (Robinson 1985: xx, xviii, 1986: 23). Material shared with Standard English was not included. (Robinson 1986: 22)

Since there is no standard spelling for Scots the lay person will find the dictionary fykie to consult. For the most part the headwords (provided by the parent dictionaries) are in fairly predictable spellings for Modern Scots, but the vagaries of the original corpora are evident; for instance, *lawnd* appears (and is referred to *land*), but *laund* does not, while *haund* does. Some words are entered under *ui* spellings, e.g. *muir*, others under *uCe*, e.g. *mune*. (Macafee 1985: 338)

Thus for example the article house is also provided with the common modern variant hoose although this is completely predictable. Because the principal English and Scots spellings coincide (as <house>), though their pronunciations differ (as [haus] and [hus] respectively) [...] (Robinson 1986: 21)

Finally we provide guidance on acceptable spellings. Of course in no sense are we being prescriptive; but SND and DOST have already selected the mainstream spelling preferences of their respective

periods by their choice of headwords; we confirm their choice and add other representative possibilities from the range found. (Robinson 1986: 27)

The role of the lexicographer is to record language, i.e. to be descriptive rather than prescriptive. One of the aims of the SNDA however is to promote and encourage Scots and it is also well aware that, no matter how even-handedly its data are presented, the dictionaries will in some ways be regarded as a standard. Editors have to be aware of users' need for guidance, even if they do not always base decisions on it. Methodologically the first task in dictionary compiling is one of selection and this could in itself be seen as a prescriptive role. The problem of keeping a balance is particularly difficult with a language such as Scots where the use of English as the language of authority over a long period has to some extent masked the need for standardization. (Macleod 1993a: 115–116)

It was only with the advent of the *Concise English~Scots Dictionary* (Macleod and Cairns 1993) and the *Scots Schools Dictionary* (Macleod 1996) that decisions about 'recommended spellings' had to be made in the English–Scots section. Many of these were themselves contradictory but generally reflected traditional practice.

[...] usually only one spelling is given, or in some cases two or more, especially where there are regional variants [...] Sometimes additional variants are given at the word's main appearance in the dictionary [...] (Macleod and Cairns 1993: vi)

The choice of headwords is therefore a difficult one, and the main criteria applied in the Scots School Dictionary have been: will the spelling be a guide to the modern Scots pronunciation? Thus *moose* rather than *mouse*; does it conform to modern usage? Thus *souch* and *roup* (though *sooch* and *rowp* might have fulfilled the first criterion better). There is no easy answer to these problems and the solutions arrived at in this Dictionary are not meant to last forever. In some cases alternatives have been given, especially for regional forms, but the first head word is the one regarded as having the most general currency. (Hodgart 1996: 30)

As a general guide: if *SSD* includes more than one variant spelling used in general Scots (ie not identified with a particular region), the recommended form to use is the first of those listed. Note that some Scots words have settled on a single spelling, eg *heid* (never **heed*) 'head'. (SNDA 1996)

The situation is similar in Rennie (1999), which essentially dealt with grammar but spelling was often mentioned, based on traditional practice "and those [spellings] which have been in most general use this century" adding that "to impose a single spelling for every word at this stage in the history of the language would be an exercise in arbitrariness". On the SLD Ltd. website¹⁹ the apologetic apostrophe was also eschewed but an apostrophe could be used to indicate that two consecutive vowels were to be pronounced separately, e.g. *fa'in* ('falling') or to indicate a glottal realisation of /t/, for example, *wa'er* ('water'); <ch> was suggested for /x/, previously <gh>. Both the traditional grapheme <aw> (vowel 12) and the innovation <aa>, along with <a>, were suggested for <l> vocalisation in words such as *a aa aw* ('all'), *ca caa caw* ('call') and *fa faa faw* ('fall'). The modernism <oa> in *goat* ('got') and *oan* ('on') was presented as an option. The traditional negative particle <-na> was ignored and instead the modernism <-nae> suggested. The *Concise English~Scots Dictionary* (Macleod and Cairns 1993: vi–viii) stated that the "first headword from the *Scottish National Dictionary* (and therefore usually the *Concise Scots Dictionary* [...]) is used" followed by a number of exceptions and the justification for choosing otherwise. *The Scots School Dictionary* (Macleod 1996: v), which was aimed at nine- to 14-year-olds, comments that "Scots has a very wide variety of different spellings [...] In this little dictionary there has of course been no

¹⁹ See <http://www.scotsdictionaries.org.uk/> Scots Spelling and Grammar accessed 16.09.06.

space for more than a very few different spellings". On pages vii–viii there is a superficial description of spelling conventions and their pronunciation. In the dictionary both *-na* and *-nae* are given for the negative particle. The SNDA *Recommendations for writing and transcribing Scots* (1999) were intended as an ongoing project and comments and suggestions were invited from interested parties for future versions. That commented that "Scots has (and has always had) a variant spelling system" and that "for everyday, modern Scots, the most *frequent* and *widespread* spellings of a word can be found in the *SSD*", also adding that "spurious spellings, created to distinguish a word from its English equivalent, but for which there is no evidence in Historical Scots" should be avoided. A similar approach was explained on the web-page *The Headword List A–C*²⁰ including a small sample of the headword list based upon the contents of the *Essential Scots Dictionary*.

As every writer and reader of Scots is aware, Scots spelling is not fixed. It reflects regional differences and even differences in the formality level of the text. For practical reasons, it is desirable to have a 'headword' under which variants can be embraced and this list is an attempt to provide a list of such headwords.

This list is NOT intended as a list of 'correct' or even 'recommended' spellings. It is simply a list of the most common spellings in our word collection. As these are the spellings that seem to be most common, it follows that these are the spellings which dictionary users are most likely to look up. This makes them the sensible choice for headwords in ordinary, everyday dictionaries.

Based upon the contents of the *Essential Scots Dictionary*, it is far from being an exhaustive list, but we hope it will be sufficiently comprehensive for practical purposes. However, contrary to our usual practice to date, some entries have been included that are shared with English. The reason for this is that we have found occasional variant spellings for these with little or no etymological or any other justification and the vast majority of Scots writers use a similar spelling to English and this is the one we have listed.

George Philp (1997)

Philp presented comments on his choice of spellings in his introduction to *Scorn, My Inheritance* (Graham 1997). There, among other recommendations was the consistent applications of <ui> for vowel 7, including the realisation after /k/ and /x/, although Philp wrongly allocated this underlying phoneme to the Scots cognates of 'foot', 'put' and 'wood', which generally have vowel 15 in all dialects. Philp justified his spelling of the preposition formed by combining *for* and *by*, *forbye* on the grounds that *the learner* [present author's italics] may pronounce it to rhyme with the town of *Corby* in Northamptonshire though a *learner* might as easily pronounce his spelling *forbye* /forbji/. Another innovative aid to the *learner* was the insertion of a hyphen in constructions such as *dae-in* ('doing') and *hae-in* ('having').

Philp later reiterated in *Lallans* issue 71, calling his system *Scotscreive*, adding that it is founded on the sound of the *leid*. His seven "Pillars o Wisdom", which later became six, were that; (1) <ou> is used consistently for vowel 6. (2) Consistent use of <ow> for vowel 13, mentioning *growe* ('grow'), *howe* ('hollow') and *lowe* ('flame') with word final <owe>. (3) Lorimer's (1985) use of an acute accent for vowel 2 was followed for the Scots realisation of <i> in Latinate words such as *addítion*, *consíder*, *mínister* etc., arguing that accents are found in Standard English blessed and certainly in Gaelic. (4) Philp mentioned the Older

²⁰ <http://www.scotsdictionaries.org.uk/HeadWordList/About.html> accessed 16.09.06

Scots orthographic practice of using an <i> to lengthen the vowel it follows, so that <ei> = <ee> being used for vowels 2, 3 and 11, himself using exceptions with <ee> so presumably not applying it ‘across the board’ but omitting to explain where <ee> is preferable to <ei>. (5) Terminal <ie> was recommended for diminutives but mentioned that <y> need not necessarily be abandoned altogether in other words. Terminal <ie> was also to be used, with added acute to “preserve the written Scots form”, in *gíe* (‘give’), *híe* (‘high’), *príe* (‘taste’) and *thíe* (‘thigh’) and in *companie* and *countrie* “to rhyme with *bee*”. (6) Consistent use of <ey> for vowel 8a. The seventh pillar, reserving <ee> for Northern realisations of vowel 7 and vowel 4 before /n/, was dropped because <ee> “is widely used throughout Scotland”, presumably for vowels 2 and 11. Philp hoped that *Scotscreive* would be eye-friendly, consistent and uncontrived.

Philip Robinson (1997)

Robinson presented suggestions for the Ulster dialect in his *Ulster-Scots A Grammar of the Traditional Written and Spoken Language*. Robinson himself was of the opinion that ‘Ulster-Scots’ constituted a language in its own right. Those are the most esoteric of proposals which have had any influence so far. The motivation seemed to be less an interest in developing the established tradition and more a desire to invent a new one emphasising a political and ethnic distinctiveness.

Anyone with half an ear knows that some Ulster speech contains usage and constructions which seem consistently different from Scots or northern English or Irish usage of English.

Why would one want to assert its existence the answer would seem to be to assert a native version of Ulster Protestant identity, which would mirror that version of Irish identity in which the possession of a distinct language is central. [...] Language and culture emerged as a political axe to grind in the 1980’s from within the maze prison, where initially, republican inmates took to learning Irish [...] the claim that the Ulster-Scots language and heritage cause has been set rolling only out of a sense of cultural rivalry among some Protestants and unionists, keen to counter-balance the onward march of the Irish language movement [...] (Brett: 1999)

While most argue that Ulster-Scots is a dialect or variant of Scots, some have argued or implied that Ulster-Scots is a separate language from Scots. The case for Ulster-Scots being a distinct language, made at a time when the status of Scots itself was insecure, is so bizarre that it is unlikely to have been a linguistic argument. It may reflect, in emblematic cultural terms, an ideological division within unionism between a British political identity (within the UK) and an ‘Ulster’ political identity, the latter finding its most extreme form in a movement for an independent Northern Ireland, or, as its advocates put it, an independent Ulster. (Mac Poilin 1999: 116)

Robinson’s specious justification for language status begins “Ulster-Scots or ‘Ullans’ is a close relative of the language called Scots” (1997: 1) and implies that the academic credence of such a stance with “Ulster-Scots has been described as a ‘variant’ of Scots [...]. However, many Scots language academics have observed that Ulster-Scots differs from its sister tongue: Ulster-Scots has its own range of dialects, along with its own distinctive literary tradition, vocabulary and grammar; all of which differ in some respects from Lallans. In simple terms, the relationship between Ulster-Scots and Lallans could be compared to the relative positions of Irish and Scottish Gaelic.” (1997: 1) Robinson failed to name those

'language academics' and the present author is only aware of 'language academics' describing its similarity or 'sameness'.²¹

It must be emphasised that in their strongest rural forms these dialects are Lowland Scots dialects. Those of Antrim and North Derry are barely distinguishable from Ayrshire dialects. (Milroy 1982: 27)

Ulster Scots is, as Johnston (1977b) points out, clearly a dialect of Central Scots. The bulk of the Scots Planters are known to have come from the west of Scotland (West Central and South-West Scots: both are Central dialects, with the addition of lawless elements expelled from the Borders (Southern Scots). (Macafee 2001: 121)

Robinson does mention that native speakers referred to their variety as broad Scotch or Scots and quotes numerous sources describing the language (1997: 19). None of them refer to it as 'Ulster-Scots' but simply as Scotch or Scots. After unilaterally declaring 'Ulster-Scots' a language Robinson then provides it with an ancient pedigree, perhaps to emphasise its autochthonous status:

For 1000 years, almost since the watershed between the prehistoric and historic eras, Germanic, Celtic and Romance languages have interfaced around the land fringe of the Irish Sea Basin. Ulster Scots is one of the direct descendents of the west Germanic elements as far as north-east Ireland is concerned. (1997: 3)

So it is that Ulster-Scots in east Ulster may trace some of its earliest Germanic linguistic precedents to Old Norse in the 8th to 10th centuries rather than to Old English or Anglian of the 6th to 7th centuries, as is the case with Lallans in Scotland. (1997: 4)

In order to accommodate such fanciful claims within the linguistic reality on the ground it is pointed out that "[...] Ulster-Scots as spoken today is dominated by the Scots forms introduced during this plantation period. [...] Consequently, a considerable body of Ulster-Scots documentary material survives from the early decades of the 1600s." (1997: 4) Of course much of that 'Ulster-Scots' material would have been written by people who were born and educated in Scotland, but apparently after stepping off the boat their language spontaneously changed from Scots (or *Lallans* as Robinson prefers to term it) into 'Ulster-Scots'. Any self-respecting *language*, of course needs its literary tradition and "Ulster-Scots literature, as a tradition in its own right had survived some 400 years [...]" (1997: 10) but Robinson seems to contradict that stance by mentioning that the "Scots literary tradition of Scotland was integral to the Ulster-Scots literary tradition, while Ulster-Scots writers contributed significantly to this broader Scots renaissance in their own right." (1997: 9). That is of course undeniably true, and the "rhyming weavers" saw themselves as part of the same Scots tradition as their contemporaries in Scotland (Herbison 2005: 81). Robinson claims to have indulged in a "detailed exploration of 18th and 19th century Ulster-Scots literature." (1997: 7) but seems not to have compared what was found with contemporary sources from Scotland.

Without a systematic treatment of the contrast between Ulster Scots and Scottish varieties, it is impossible for the reader to gauge the degree to which Ulster Scots can be understood as a fully-developed language in Robinson's sense, or to the degree to which it is best described as a variety of Scots. (Kallen 1999: 160)

²¹ See *Aw Ae Oo - Scots in Scotland and Ulster*, Eagle 2005. Available at www.scots-online.org/airticles/awaeoo.pdf

Robinson sensibly provided a disclaimer that “It has been written by an Ulster-Scots, not by a linguist.” (1997: 11) Robinson took a ‘reinvent the wheel’ approach to orthography, no doubt motivated by a desire to emphasise the distinctive and independent nature of the *language* ‘Ulster-Scots’. Traditional consonant practice was generally followed but older conventions such as <quh> (<wh>) and <sch> (<sh>) were suggested along with <ch> for /x/, previously <gh>. Diacritics such as <à, á, è, ò> and <ó> were used to indicate either a particular realisation of the preceding consonant, vowel quality or duration and <ä> apparently for a possible /ɪ/ (/æ/) (Gregg 1972: 121) realisations of vowel 15. The apologetic apostrophe was eschewed and the innovation <aa> (vowel 12) was suggested for <l> vocalisation in words such as *aa* (‘all’), *caa* (‘call’) and *faa* (‘fall’). The modernism <oa> was used in *boadie* (‘body’), *loast* (‘lost’) and *moarn* (‘morning’) etc. Robinson provided a long explanation of vowel spellings based on often random and confusing correspondences with the vowels in Standard English words. The traditional negative particle <-na> was ignored and instead the modernism <-nae> was suggested.

Robinson leaves the reader to work out a series of correspondences between Ulster Scots and something referred to simply as “English”, a term which can mean many things to many people. (Kallen 1999: 158)

The Scots Spelling Comatee (2000)

That *committee* was established after a public meeting hosted by the *Scots Language Society* and the *Scots Language Resource Centre* in the A. K. Bell Library Perth on 10 November 1996. The committee published its *Report an Recommends o the Scots Spellin Comatee* in *Lallans* issue 56.²² That is the most freely available comprehensive exposition on the subject to date. The recommendations were based on a series of principles used to serve as a test for assessing particular spelling proposals and a series of rules based on an analysis of forms used in the *Scots School Dictionary* and traditional precedents. Those generally followed traditional vowel and consonant practice but suggested <ch> for /x/, previously <gh> and the innovation <aa> (vowel 12) for <l> vocalisation in words such as *aa* (‘all’), *caa* (‘call’) and *faa* (‘fall’).

Analysis of Proposals

Assuming that the aim of establishing a normative orthography is to facilitate language ‘elaboration and acceptance’ by the wider community, how well have the proposals presented above achieved that? Haugen (1974: 109) assumes the necessity of choosing one of the various existing speech forms to become the basis of the national language, thus imposing a new norm on those who do not speak the chosen variety and by implication defining their speech as ‘sub-standard’. Another possibility is, of course, a pan-dialectal orthography which is phonologically accurate (as against phonetically), thus being able to represent differing dialect pronunciation (diaphonemic) based on a consistent correspondence of graphemes to underlying phonemes. Such an orthography does not prescribe a standard pronunciation, but enables the reader to pronounce the written word

²² Also available at <http://www.zyworld.com/tallini/tribalisation/ScotsSpellinCom.doc> accessed on 16.09.06.

according to their own dialect. The pan-dialectal approach will be discussed in this paper, including considerations of etymology and the regular spelling of morphemic elements.

A rational approach to spelling reform must recognize the various phonological, morphological and syntactical patterns in the current orthography, and must increase either the regularity of the existing patterns or the range of one group of patterns at the expense of others. To base spelling reform on the argument that orthography should by nature be phonemic, morphemic or anything else is both unrealistic and unsupportable. There is no valid basis, either diachronic or synchronic, for claiming that the current orthography should be anything in particular than what it is. Some people may desire that it be phonemic or morphemic, but this is somewhat different from the claim that the orthography, by nature, should be that way.

To argue that the existing orthography is irregular and then to propose a phonemic alphabet for English as a cure is to present a *non-sequitur*. The existing irregularities are in syntactic and morphological patterns as much as the phonological ones, so a phonemic alphabet, while presumably correcting the phonological deviations, creates even greater irregularities in the other patterning systems. (Venezky 1970: 122–123)

The phonetic differences which are really significant for the alphabet-maker are those which affect the number of phonemic *distinctions* a speaker makes or which relate to the actual *words* in which he uses each of his phonemes. The precise phonetic value he gives his phonemes (or, better, their allophones) in each of the various phonetic contexts in which they occur is only of minor importance. (Allerton 1982: 59)

In the case of a phonemic difference between dialects, the extra distinction possessed by the one dialect may be an original one that has been preserved or a new one that it alone has developed. In either case it should be possible to represent in the orthography the maximal number of distinctions, even though no one dialect has all of them. (Allerton 1982: 63)

A phonemic system is one in which each phoneme of the language is consistently represented by one orthographic symbol. A 'symbol' in this sense need not be a single letter [...] (McClure 1980: 25)

Regardless of the method by which they have been taught, or have taught themselves, to read, many literate people attribute sounds to the letters of the alphabet. This is to put the cart before the horse, for, as should be perfectly clear by now, letters do not "have" sounds, but merely symbolize them [...] (Pyles and Algeo 1982: 60)

The nature of the Scots tongue in its diverse forms and of the Roman alphabet are such that a perfect representation of actual speech (or what is presented in fiction as such) is simply impossible, and even a tolerably accurate one is extremely difficult to achieve. (McClure 1997: 183)

[...] we see that there is no such thing as a pure phonemic writing system. Indeed, there is considerable variation within phonemic writing systems as to the amount of morphological information required. (Rogers 2005: 14)

The reactions to some of the transactional Scots published so far indicate that it would be sensible to ensure the co-operation of native speakers and linguists, or at least detailed use of linguistic research, when developing a 'standard'.

Linguists who disclaim normative interests seem, in fact, to be less concerned to evade the practical consequences of their work than anxious to shun the company of people whose interest in linguistic prescription is suspect—people who like to set themselves up as an elite to take charge of programmes of linguistic standardisation and reform. By withdrawing, however, linguists only ensure that every enterprise of linguistic planning will be dominated by ignorant enthusiasts and incompetent pedants. (Haas 1982: 2–3)

The suggestions above for 'standardising' Scots orthography can be seen to fall into what may be considered two camps – the maximalist and minimalist.

The maximalist position [...] is that the existing conventions of Scots spelling require not to be improved in detail, but to be fundamentally reformed. (McClure 1995: 28)

Here it is often argued that Scots needs an orthography geared for and adapted to the Scots sound system, and that this itself has to be systematic and consistent whereby each phoneme has one symbol in order to make it easy to learn. Depending on the choice of symbols, this will also give Scots the appearance of being a distinct language and thus increase its prestige. Commenting on written Scots as it usually appears today, McClure (1995: 29) writes:

The fact is certainly that in its written form it does not *look* like a language, but like a distortion of another language. To most people who are not linguists, this is sufficient to set the seal on its inferior status—the status of 'a form of a language', or a 'dialect' in the popular sense of the word.

No great leap of imagination is required to realise that an orthography substantially different to that of Standard English is simply a ploy to achieve the 'look' of a language and can readily be dismissed as such. The resulting increase in prestige is likely to occur only among those who hold the language in high esteem anyway, rendering such an exercise pointless.

[...] preoccupation with the appearance rather than the substance of written Scots, and with its prestige rather than its actual qualities, is symptomatic of the effort to procure an independent status for Scots not because it is in fact independent, but because it should be considered to be so. (Hagen 2002: 146)

Furthermore, it is argued that the conventions of Middle Scots have to be re-employed to avoid modern inconsistencies borrowed from Standard English in order to give the orthography an historical Scottish identity, although that itself defies historical reality.

[...] since the Union of the Crowns, Scots has been spelled increasingly with the English conventions of its (including our) time. (Stirling 1994: 90)

It fails to take account of the fact that Scots spelling did not develop independently of English spelling and that Scots too has borrowed on a large scale from Latin and French without assimilating foreign spellings. Scots was also subject to the effects of the Great Vowel Shift, but did not revise its own spelling conventions accordingly. (Hagen 2002: 143)

The minimalist approach tends to reflect the linguistic reality on the ground, where Scots and Standard English forms are frequently mixed, and the education system ever teaching Scots as an autonomous alternative to Standard English is highly unlikely. By building on what is familiar, native speakers may be more likely to accept and adopt the proposed conventions. An orthography with conventions broadly compatible with those of Standard English will enable the inevitable mixing of Scots and Standard English forms, which, for example, are often used in poetry to form a rhyme, to mell together as a homogenous language.

The minimalist approach focuses on the fact that English is and will remain an established language of Scotland (that it can or should be entirely superseded by Scots is not seriously proposed). [...] The traditional English-based orthography for Scots should in general be retained, though obvious anomalies in individual words should be removed. (McClure 1995: 28)

However, since they [Scots speakers] presumably are already literate in Standard English and familiar with its spelling rules, they are unlikely to appreciate having to learn a new system [...] (Hagen 2002: 152)

For the layman any deviation from the traditional standard spelling he has learned in school is disturbing and unwelcome. He may commit errors himself or be insecure in his production, but he is sensitive in reception because his speed of perception is reduced by unfamiliar word images. From receiving a message he may entirely fail to recognise it or he may misread it. Even if it corresponds exactly to his own pronunciation, he may find it confusing. Writers who make use of what has been called 'eye-dialect' are clearly calling attention to a pronunciation but not necessarily one that is stigmatized. (Haugen 1977: 275)

Here the intention is, as Stirling suggested, to "select aspects from the spelling of modern Scots and refine them" (1994: 90) (which Stirling himself rejected, preferring instead to 'reinvent the wheel') and discuss them. The spelling of modern Scots here is the practices of the 18th and 19th century revival described above. The practices will be analysed in order establish how far they were phonemically and morphologically based, "phonemically" being here understood as capable of representing various dialect realisation using the same graphemes but not necessarily one grapheme per phoneme.

Attempts to write Scots 'phonetically' often entail writing perceived details that are orthographically redundant resulting in obsessive application of the perceived sound-to-letter correspondences of Standard English. That is especially true when writing 'dialects', where the resulting orthographic barriers make the written 'dialects' appear much more different from each other than they sound, implying less mutual comprehension in the spoken language than actually exists. If written Scots is seen to be independent and not beholden to and created for non-speakers, much redundant orthographic detail can be avoided. The idea is that an abstract phonemic (and morphemic) spelling system is less phonologically prescriptive, thus being far more unifying in written representation than a pseudo-phonetic one, consequently avoiding homogenisation of pronunciation.

It is assumed that the suggested graphemes will be taught or learnt as an autonomous system and it made clear that spellings being shared with Standard English does not necessary imply that they are pronounced the same. For example, it is usually accepted that the same letters or letter combinations are pronounced differently in different languages, for example, in Standard English <oo> is pronounced [u:] or [ʊ] rather than as [o:] or [ou] as in Dutch, and in German <eu> is pronounced [ɔɪ] and not [ø:] as in Dutch and French. On the other hand, different graphemes may be pronounced the same in different languages. French <ch>, Italian <sci> and Standard English <sh> are all pronounced /ʃ/. Why should it be any different with regards to Scots and English or dialects thereof?

The guiding principle in any transcription must be that it should convey the information which its reader needs, no more and no less. Conveying more information than needed is to overwrite the dialect, and less than is needed is to under-write it. The writer must gauge his prospective audience's previous experience and temper his transcription accordingly. He must be able to judge which rules of reading his audience knows and can therefore assume without entering them in the transcription. Whatever decision he makes, it will therefore reflect a judgement concerning his readers. If the dialect is badly underwritten, it will reflect a negative judgement concerning the dialect and its speakers: this is an unimportant variety of the language. If it is greatly overwritten, it is a

compliment to his readers, but it will probably be felt as pedantic and possibly even as snobbish. (Haugen 1977: 275–6)

Speech, after all, is regularly non-fluent, with numerous breakdowns and minor repairs, as any genuine transcription reveals: by contrast, literary representations are invariably polished and idealized, reflecting only a selection of salient markers. Literary dialect is thus never unplanned spontaneous speech. Of all oral genres, perhaps oral narrative is the most sustained in literature. (Kirk 1997: 199)

Since political union Scots orthography has become highly influenced by the conventions of Standard English. Therefore, in order to understand and appreciate the phonemic and graphemic conventions, of traditional ('traditional' from here on meaning the more widespread practices of the 18th and 19th century revival) Scots orthography it is necessary to understand those of Standard English.

English is, and has long been, of a mixed character, made up of words derived from different sources; and to a great extent this difference of origin is reflected in the spelling. Several classes of words retain more or less exactly a type of spelling which is distinctive of the language from which they are derived; and while they are consistent with each other, they are at variance with those which have similar sounds, but come from a different source. (Craigie: 1927: 1)

For practical purposes, it is sufficient to recognise three main types of spelling, the first of which includes the native types, and those which are most closely related to them, while the second covers the large contribution from the classical and Romanic tongues in which different principles can be clearly observed, and the third comprises the medley of exotic forms which either in sound or spelling are most remote from the natural English standard. (Craigie 1927: 4–5)

As it is, this feature of English spelling that presents the greatest number of anomalies [...] The impression of irregularity conveyed by these exceptions is naturally increased by the frequent occurrence of a limited number of common words in which spelling and sound are obviously at variance. (Craigie 1942: 2–3)

[...] the simple fact is that the present orthography is not merely a letter-to-sound system riddled with imperfections, but instead, a more complex and more regular relationship wherein phoneme and morpheme share leading roles. (Venezky 1970: 11)

The nature of the base form of a word tends to be phonemic—not in the one-letter one-sound system that has become the Holy Grail of many educators and linguists, but in a more graphemically economical fashion whereby position, environment, and overt markers allow the same symbol to perform several distinct functions, and whereby several symbols represent the same sound. (That *homo sapiens* is somehow most at ease with a one-letter one-sound system has often been assumed, but no evidence has ever been produced to substantiate this limitation on man's mental capacities). (Venezky 1970: 120)

More irregular spellings in English are due to borrowings than to any other cause. Yet such borrowings cannot be classed as entirely irregular, since their spelling often marks their foreign identities. (Venezky 1970: 121)

In the absence of a distinct orthography for Scots, those wishing to write in the language have, since the seventeenth century, generally adopted the conventions of English spelling, modified to a greater or lesser extent according to the preferences of the individual writer: the theoretical unsoundness of this procedure has been obscured by a widespread failure to realise the true nature of the relationship between the two tongues (actually cognate dialects, but taken to be the 'correct' and 'vulgar' form of the same language). (McClure 1985: 203)

This chaotic mingling of conventions characterised Scots spelling until the present century. Written Scots looked very much like English, but the written form bore little resemblance to the spoken—even by the standards of conventions governing phoneme-to-grapheme relationships in English!—and suggested a somewhat modified version of English rather than a distinct speech form with a phonological system which had been developing independently of the southern dialect for many centuries. (McClure 1985: 204)

It is perfectly possible to devise a spelling system for Scots, or several feasible systems, which would be far more regular, consistent, and etymologically sound than those in current use (or, for that matter, than English orthography); but those very qualities would result in a written language radically unlike the Scots to which readers are now accustomed. (McClure 1985: 208)

It has been pointed out that attempts to regularise the hybrid nature of English orthography, and by inference that of Scots, may often cause more problems than they solve. (Craigie 1944).

Consonants

The consonant graphemes of 18th and 19th century revival were those known from Standard English.

The Consonant System of Scots:

	Bilabial	Labio-dental	Dental	Alveolar	Post-alveolar	Palatal	Velar	Glottal	Labial-velar
Plosive	p b		d t		t d		k g	ʔ	
Nasal	m		n	n			ŋ		
Flap				r					
Fricative	ɸ β	f v	θ ð	s z	ʃ ʒ	ç	x	h	
Affricate				ʃ ʒ	tʃ dʒ				
Approximant				ɹ		j			ɹ w
Lateral approximant			l	l ɹ					

Another inherent feature in the orthography is the distinction between functionally simple and functionally compound consonant units. One of the most general, although not entirely regular, spelling-to-sound rules is that the vowel spellings *a, e, i, o, u* are mapped into one form before a single consonant unit which is followed by a vowel and into another form in all other environments. In the vocabulary of the direct letter-to-sound school, these forms are the LONG and SHORT pronunciations of the vowels [...] What is important is first that, the rule mentioned above, and, as will be shown soon, almost all spelling-to-sound rules, be based not upon letters or graphemes as such, but rather upon functional spelling units, and second, that functionally simple and functionally compound units be distinguished. (Venezky 1970: 35-36)

A knowledge of phoneme arrangements which are not allowed in English words is a necessary prerequisite for analyzing many spelling-to-sound correspondences. [...] The elision of sounds in consonant clusters can be predicted, not only across morpheme boundaries, but also in initial and final positions. (Venezky 1970: 44-45)

Even more significant was the Anglo-Norman influence on English consonant doubling. The convention of repeating a consonant to indicate a preceding short vowel, which is so widespread in current English, has a long and complicated history. In part it grew out of a sound simplification of

geminate consonants in late Old English, where the double symbol was retained in the traditional spelling system. Similarly, Latin geminate consonants which were simplified in Old French were often represented by medieval scribes with the double symbol which they were familiar with in Classical Latin orthography. Thus in both English and French the convention of using a double symbol to represent a single consonant was well known. The association with preceding short vowels is in origin English, beginning in the late Old English period when long vowels were shortened before a combination of two following consonants. (Scragg 1975: 49–50)

Traditionally single consonant graphemes are usually written after single and double vowel graphemes and where the root word has a final silent <e> in words such as *beast*, *heid* ('head'), *toun* ('town'), *sooth*²³ ('south'), *ane* ('one'), *byre* ('cowshed') and *syne* ('ago')²⁴. Consonant graphemes are usually doubled following a single vowel grapheme in the first stressed syllable in disyllabic words such as *blatter* ('beat'), *fremmit* ('strange'), *biggit* ('built'), *dizzen* ('dozen'), *donnert* ('stunned') and *butte*²⁵. Purves (1979: 64) and the SLS (1985) also mentioned that. Allan (1995: 83) accepted Standard English doubling conventions except following a digraph or <y> giving the example *maitter* ('matter'). Allan (p.84) also mentions doubling of word-final <f>, <k> becoming <ck>, <l> and <s>. SLD Ltd. (2002) also generally follow Standard English conventions but then ignores them when changing an 'English' spelling to indicate the Scots vowel in words such as *bul* ('bull'), *jaicket* ('jacket'), *maitter* ('matter') and *seeck* ('sick') (Macleod and Cairns 1993, Macleod 1996). That was apparently followed for the headword list based upon the contents of the *Essential Scots Dictionary*²⁶ in the example *aiapple* ('apple'). Robinson (1997: 48) only made certain recommendations for particular consonants but did write "[...] the author has attempted to minimize spelling variations between equivalent words in the two languages [English and 'Ulster-Scots']." Those variations were often more than 'minimal'. The *Scots Spelling Comatee* (2000) recommended following Standard English consonant rules, also mentioning the doubling of <k> to <ck>, <f>, <l>, <s> and <z> after a single-letter vowel.

In some monosyllabic words such as *ebb* ('shallow') the following consonant is doubled following an initial single vowel. Traditionally the following graphemes are not usually doubled: <c, h, j, k, q, v, w, x> and <y>.

The traditional mappings of most of the consonant phonemes are as expected from Standard English influence.

The plosives /p/ and /b/ to <p> and , /t/ and /d/ to <t> and <d>.

Für früheres *d* findet sich *th*: *mither* (msch. moder, muddir) [...] *pouther* 'powder' [...] *shouthers* 'shoulders' [...] *souther* 'löten' [...] Intervokalisches *d* vor *r* wurde in Mundarten zu *ð* [...] auch wenn ein dem *d* vorher gehendes *l* ausgefallen oder vokalisiert wurde (*souther*, *shouther*) gilt dieses Gesetz. (Steiger 1913: 48–49)²⁷

²³ Some clustered consonant graphemes of course represent single consonant phonemes e.g. <ch> /tʃ/ and /x/ or /ç/, <ng> /ŋ/, <sh> /ʃ/, <th> /θ/ and /ð/, <wh> /w/, <dg(e)> and <tch> for /dʒ/ and /tʃ/.

²⁴ All headword forms in the SND.

²⁵ All headword forms or derivatives thereof in the SND.

²⁶ <http://www.scotsdictionaries.org.uk/HeadWordList/A.html> accessed 16.09.06.

²⁷ Early *d* is replaced by *th*: *mither* (Middle Scots. moder, muddir) [...] *pouther* 'powder' [...] *shouthers* 'shoulders' [...] *souther* 'solder' [...] In dialects intervocalic *d* before *r* became *ð* [...] This rule holds even where an elided or vocalised *l* preceded the *d* (*souther*, *shouther*). [Present author's translation]

Conversely *d* becomes *th* [ð] in s. and m.Sc., e.g. *lether*, *poother*, *shouther*, *sowther*, Eng. ladder, powder, shoulder, solder. (SND: D)

It may be argued that the intervocalic grapheme <**d**> before /r/ might easily be interpreted /ð/ in words such as *ledder* ('ladder'), *pouder* ('powder'), *shouder* ('shoulder') and *sowder* ('solder')²⁸ by those with such a realisation.

The dental realisations /d̪/ and /t̪/, which may occur, especially before /(\ə)r/ in Irish- and Gaelic-influenced dialects of Ulster and Scotland were never indicated in the sample of traditional Scots writing analysed above or any of the recommendations or suggestions above – except Robinson (1997), who suggested <**dh**> and <**th**>²⁹ for /d̪/ and /t̪/ as in *dhrap* ('drop'), *shoodher* ('shoulder'), *butther* ('butter') and *sthrae* ('straw'). Robinson further conflated that by also suggesting representing the dental realisations by <**è**> as in *dannèr* ('wander') *eftèr* ('other') *shooldèr* ('shoulder'), *watèr* ('water') and *Ulstèr* ('Ulster'), thus applying a diacritic to a vowel, not in order to indicate modification of its sound but to indicate modification of a previous consonant.

The main Irish substitutions are, of course, the Irish blade *T*, spelt *th* and blade *D*, spelt *dh*, for the English alveolars *t* and *d*, especially before *r*, e.g. *bitther*, *dhrunck*, *dhrowned*, giving a thick sound to English ears [...] one cannot tell whether one is dealing with *t* or *th* [(h)/ð]. (Braidwood 1964: 29)

Dental plosives do, however, occur in the North as allophones of /t/ and /d/. They are found not only adjacent to /θ, ð/ [...] but also to some extent in the vicinity of /r/ [...] (Wells 1982: 445)

Since those dental realisations only occur before /(\ə)r/, the clusters <**dr**>, <**der**> and <**tr**>, <**ter**> would act as sufficient markers in a normative orthography. Assumedly, the only reason for marking that in any other way is simply to exaggerate the difference to Standard English. Robinson suggests the spellings *butther* ('butter') and *watèr* ('water') but some speakers realise a /t/ between vowels as /ʔ/, which Robinson suggests should be written <**tt**>. That would imply the spellings *butter* and *watter*. Robinson also suggested *tràictèr* ('tractor') the <**à**> representing a consonant quality two letters previously. The traditional spellings *butter* and *watter* accommodate both realisations equally well without the need for confusing diacritics. Those forms also indicate the vowel quality, and the <**a**> in *watèr* may be interpreted as /e/, whereas the <**tt**> in *watter* clearly indicates /a/. Native speakers with such realisations will produce them unconsciously in words such as *attercap* ('spider'), *bedral* ('bedridden'), *better*, *bowster* ('bolster'), *craitur* ('creature'), *draucht* ('draught'), *straiik* ('strike') and *traivel* ('travel')³⁰.

A number of clusters ending /t d/ lose their second element when they appear at the end of a syllable. Such a development in a natural one throughout English when a consonant begins the next word; Scots carries it further into citation forms, so that the coda consists of the consonant that preceded the alveolar. The effect seems to appear first in clusters of /kt/ and, to a lesser extent, /xt/ and /st/ [...] The clusters /pt/ and /ft/ join the list of permissible inputs for this rule [...] Towards the end of the period, a tendency to restore the /t/ in /st xt ft/ starts to work [...] leading to forms with 'exrescent /t/' as well as restored forms [...] (Johnston 1997a: 101)

²⁸ All headword forms in the SND.

²⁹ That has been used in Hiberno-English dialect writing, for example, *thruè* ('true'), *thrick* ('trick') (Connolly 1981: 378, 388) *scondher* ('undercooked') and *dhrum* ('drum'). (Todd 1989: 130, 132).

³⁰ All headword forms in the SND.

It is worth noting that an accurate spelling–pronunciation of many words of this class would be difficult to achieve in English. For instance, *debt* and *doubt*, on the analogy of *apt* or *clubbed*, might have /pt/ or /bd/ but it is not likely that they could be pronounced /bt/. (Scragg 1975: 55)

The clusters /ld/ and /nd/ are often simplified to /l/ and /d/. In derived forms such as past tenses simplification may not occur.

The tendency is particularly strong in the whole Mid–Northern group, where /nd, ld/ are simplified both finally and intervocally, whether a morpheme boundary is present or not (Dieth 1932: 124). In North Northern, West and South–west Mid, western Border dialects and variably in the Lothians, a more restricted rule applies, where /nd/ simplifies to /n/ in all positions, but /ld/ becomes /l/ only finally, especially when a consonant begins the next word (Wilson 1923: 15–16). This form of simplification is variable in Edinburgh and Angus, and is becoming increasingly common over the rest of the Mid–Scots region. (Johnston 1997b: 502)

Both Scots and English dialects have a tendency to drop *d* after *n* and *l*. This frequently leads in Ulster to its erroneous “replacement” in words which never had it [...] *scunder* (see SCUNNER). (Macafee 1996: xxix)

Purves’ (1979: 70) approach was:

The ‘d’ is not usually pronounced and there is no reason why it should be represented in the spelling of many words. [...] It may be necessary to retain ‘d’ in [certain words] since the ‘d’ may be pronounced in derived forms [...]

That was also reiterated by the *Scots Language Society* (1985). Allan (1995: 77) also suggests elision on the basis that it was so widespread. SLD Ltd. (2002) suggested both <nd> and <ld> as well as elision. Robinson (1997) suggested word–final elision for <nd>, modifying it to <-nn> after a single vowel grapheme as in *hann* (‘hand’), *blinn* (‘blind’) and *mynn* (‘mind’) but also mentioned that some speakers may ‘reinstate’ the <d> in past tense forms (Robinson 1997: 124). Robinson suggested <nn> for medial /nd/ simplification but also <nnèr> to indicate a possible dental realisation /n̥/ before /r/ thus applying a diacritic to a vowel in order to indicate a modification of the previous consonant. Only Robinson suggested orthographically indicating simplification of <ld>. The *Scots Spelling Comatee* (2000) recommended <nd> on the basis that it is easier to ignore a letter that is there than to pronounce one that is not present, and included forms such as *finnd* (‘find’), apparently to emphasise the Scots vowel realisation.

[...] remove obvious anomalies (such as the prescribed retention of *d*’s which for centuries have corresponded to nothing in the pronunciation in words like *fin*, *en* and *lan*, [...]) (McClure 1980: 26)

McClure’s claim is incorrect (Johnston 1997b: 502), some dialects not simplifying and others often only when unemphatic, the SND confirming the existence of “*d*’s” in *find*, *hinderend* and *land*. As such simplification varies across dialects. The often internally contradictory conventions of some suggestions are a recipe for chaos in a normative orthography. As simplification is a realisation of the underlying /nd/ and /ld/, it would be sensible to include the full form in a normative orthography. Those who simplify will do so unconsciously anyway. For a reader it is easier to ‘ignore’ a letter that is written than to pronounce one that is not. Furthermore, it is even more difficult not to write a consonant which, for some, is pronounced.

In some dialects clusters including /t/ are simplified (Grant and Dixon 1921: 7–8). In the clusters; /kt/ and /pt/ are simplified to /k/ and /p/.

In conservative speech, the loss of stops is often categorical in final stop–stop and sonorant–stop sequences, e.g. [kɛp] kept, [hɑ:n] hand, [əʊl] old. (Harris 1985: 59)

The combination /st/ in codas may be simplified to /s/ as a sporadic chance in Caithnessian, Angus and Perthshire dialects [...] This change is probably an extension of the general Scots simplification of stop + /t/ (in *act*, *accept*), which is attested from Older Scots times onwards [...] (Johnston 1997b: 509)

That has been sporadically indicated in traditional writing as *ac'* or *ack* ('act'), *fac'* or *fack* ('fact') and *temp'* or *temp* ('tempt') etc. Purves (1979) and the SLS (1985) suggested spelling the /kt/ simplification with <k> as in *expek*, *objek* and *respek*. Allan (1995) seemed to suggest much the same, including simplification of /pt/ to <p>. Robinson (1997) suggested simplification of /pt/ to <pp> e.g. *app* ('apt'), *slepp* ('slept'), *tempp* ('tempt') etc. but never mentioned simplification of /kt/ to /k/. In the headword list based upon the contents of the *Essential Scots Dictionary*³¹ examples such as *act*, as against *abstrack* ('abstract') and *affeck* ('affect'), occurred. The only example where possible simplification of /pt/ may occur was *accept*.

In some dialects the /t/ in the word final cluster /st/ is simplified to /s/, most probably an outcome of the simplification of consonant clusters in connected speech, much as in Standard English 'just now' /dʒʌs naʊ/. Pronounced individually and emphatically, the /t/ would remain in such words. The SND includes the following as headword forms: *beast*, *best*, *feast*, *interest*, *lest* v. ('last') and *nest*. Loss in the plural forms like *beasts* is probably the result of assimilation caused by the difficult-to-pronounce cluster /sts/. Assimilation also occurs in the medial clusters /xt/ and /st/ before final /(ə)n/ and /(ə)l/. The SND includes the following as headword forms: *frichten* ('frighten'), *saften* ('soften'), *tichten* ('tighten'), *thristle* ('thistle') and *whistle*. Assimilation also occurs in *afTEN* ('often'). Only Robinson (1997) suggested indicating that orthographically, for example, *affen*, *beess*, *bess*, *feess*, *intèress*, *less* and *ness*, also *whussles*, but *whustlin* (from 'whistle'). Since native speakers assimilate unconsciously, its representation is arguably unnecessary in a normative orthography, perhaps even in words such as *afTEN* ('often'), *listen* and *whistle* where the /t/ never occurs but is etymological.

The plosive /g/ traditionally maps to <g> but may also be <gh> in a few words such as *ghaist* ('ghost') (SND). Allan (1995: 78) suggests using <g> for that. The etymological spelling of the cluster <gn> is usually adhered to (Grant and Dixon 1921: 13). That has been simplified to /n/ in most dialects but /gn/ still persists in some peripheral ones. Regularising the <gh> in words such as *ghaist* to <g> may have some merits but that is clearly not the case with the cluster <gn>, the realisation, /gn/, by some speakers, would necessitate its retention in a pan-dialectal normative orthography.

³¹ <http://www.scotsdictionaries.org.uk/HeadWordList/A.html> accessed on 16.09.06.

The plosive /k/ traditionally maps to both <c> and <k>. A double <k> grapheme is traditionally represented by <ck>. Only Purves (1979) and the *Scots Language Society* (1985) suggested <kk> for that, Purves (2000: 52), apparently, justifying that on the basis of such traditional exceptions as *makkin* ('making') and *takkin* ('taking')³², though his original inspiration was probably the Older Scots practice. The *Scots Language Society* also suggested that "It is not suggested that words used in Scots in common with English which have the same pronunciation [...] should be altered if the English spelling leaves no doubt as to the pronunciation." That implied the use of <ck> in shared words, resulting in confusing and contradictory spelling conventions where some words in the language are spelled according to revived Older Scots practice and others following those of modern Standard English (Allan 1995: 70). Purves and the *Scots language Society* also suggested <k> after initial <s>. Purves (2000: 52), suggested that specifically Scots words should be spelled <sk->, justifying such a stance on English exceptions such as *skulk*, *skull* and *skunk*. Macleod (1996) was not particularly consistent with the use of initial <sc> or <sk>. Robinson suggested spellings such as *bak* ('back'), *blak* ('black'), *brick*, *clack* ('clock'), *quäck* ('quick'), *muckle* ('much') and *pickle* ('a few').

Although <c> could still unambiguously represent /k/ before back vowels and consonants (as it still does in *cat*, *cot*, *cut*, *climb*, *crumb*), there was no agreed way of distinguishing the sound graphically before front vowels. The use of <k> appeared sporadically from the ninth century but it was not until the thirteenth that it was fully established in words like *king* and *keen* [...] (Scragg 1975: 45)

The representation of /sk/ in Middle English varied between <sc> and <sk>, modern usage being etymological, e.g. words in <sk> are generally of Norse or Dutch origin (from Norse *skin*, *sky*, *skate* (fish), *skull* (noun); from Dutch: *skate* (verb), *sketch*, skipper) and those in <sc> are French (*scarce*, *scorn*, *scullery*) or Greek (*sceptic*, *scope*).³³ (Scragg 1975: 46)

In Sc. orthography C [k] is used: (1) at the beginning of a syllable before the vowels *a*, *o*, *u*, e.g. *ca'*, *caur*, *collie*, *coom*, *couk*, *cutti*, (2) before the consonants *l*, *r*, *w*, e.g. *clyte* [klait], *crine* [krain], *cweel* [kwil]. Note also *scr* as in *scrieve* [skri:v] and *scl* as in *sclate* [sklet]. [...] *Ck* at the end of a syllable after a short vowel is a digraph = [k], e.g. *vrack*, *geck*, *bick*, *bock*, *ruck*. (SND: C)

In origin and orthographic representation it is, gen. speaking, the same as in Eng., i.e., it usu. appears as *c* before back vowels, *l* and *r*, as *k* before front vowels and *n*; as *ck* when intervocalic after a short vowel, and final. (SND: K)

An analysis of spelling tendencies indicated that initial <c> and <sc> are usually used before the vowels /a, ɑ:, ɔ: o: ʌ: and /u/, the allophones of vowel 7 /ø, ɪ, e, i/, root-final /ʌu/, /l/ and /r/. The SND includes the following as headword forms: *caw* ('call'), *caddie* ('messenger boy'), *carle* ('fellow'), *caird* ('card'), *cairt* ('cart'), *cleid* ('clothe'), *creash* ('grease'), *cloot* ('cloth'), *croun* ('crown'), *coff* ('buy'), *cowp* ('overturn'), *cowt* ('colt'), *scant* ('scarce'), *sclaff* ('slap'), *sclate* ('slate'), *scaud* ('scald'), *scaur* ('scar'), *scone*, *scoor* ('scour'), *scowth* ('scope'), *scunner* ('disgust'), *scowder* ('scorch'), *scrieve* ('scribble') *scruif* ('scruff') and *scuip* ('scoop').

³² The <kk> in those examples is simply the outcome of Scots spellings resulting from *mak'* and *tak'*, later *mak* and *tak* which eschew the apologetic apostrophe, where the only 'logical' way of indicating the vowel /a/ would be to double the <k>; *makin* and *takin* could indicate /e/. The root forms *mack* and *tack* never gained any currency.

³³ Departures from the etymological principle have <sc> before back vowels (French *skew*, *skin*, Greek *skeleton*). Loanwords from other languages which retain the spelling of the parent language have produced more anomalies, e.g. *school* (educational) and *science* from Latin, *schooner* and *school* (of fish) from Dutch.

An analysis of spelling tendencies indicated that initial <k> and <sk> are usually used before the vowels /ε, e, i, ɪ/, the diphthongs /əi, ai/ and /n/. A few exceptions before /e/ occur. The SND includes the following as headword forms: *keek* ('peep'), *kebbock* ('a cheese'), *kelter* ('tumble'), *ken* ('know'), *kye* ('cows'), *kyte* ('stomach'), *kythe* ('appear'), *kail* ('cabbage'), *knife*, *skail* ('spill'), *skaith* ('damage'), *skelf* ('splinter'), *skelp* ('slap'), *skeel* ('skill'), *skirl*, *skive* ('prowl'), *skime* ('gleam') and *skite* ('slip').

Regularisation to <k> and <sk> would certainly produce a large number of unfamiliar, non-traditional spellings. A less radical option would be to regularise based on the tendencies described above, especially where such forms have widespread currency in the literary record. Of course exceptions will exist, but judicious analysis of the literary tradition could identify those that were never commonly written according to the tendencies described above.

The etymological spelling of the cluster <kn> is usually adhered to. (Grant and Dixon 1921: 8, 12, 20). That has been simplified to /n/ in most dialects but /kn/ or /tn/ still persist north of the Tay. In Avoch /kr/ may occur. The SND includes the following as headword forms: *knee*, *knife*, *knock* ('hill') and *knowe* ('knoll'). (Grant and Dixon 1921: 8, 12, 20)

The glottal stop /ʔ/ is often the realisation of /t/ between two vowels and word final in many dialects, sometimes also for /k/ and /p/ in words such as *butter*, *maiter* ('matter'), *whit* ('what').

The central Scots version is similar to the well-known, widespread rule in most British dialects, especially urban ones (Wells 1982: 322–6). This type of glottalling affects /k/ less often than /t/, and /p/ even less often, and usually results in a complete replacement of the stop. (Johnston 1997b: 501)

Most have glottal stops for /t/ in medial and final positions (as in *water*, *what*) [...] (Milroy 1982: 27)

In the speech of many [...] individuals, unvoiced plosives pronounced with a simultaneous glottal stop [...] With some speakers [tʰ] loses its alveolar closure and only the glottal stop remains [...] this feature is not universal [...] (Gregg 1958: 401)

In the sample of traditional writing analysed above the glottal stop was never indicated.

Glottalling as a Scottish phenomenon was first noticed in Glasgow in 1892 (Macafee 1994a: 27), though it is unclear whether it was an independent native development or an importation from England, or even whether the London development is of Scottish origin. (Johnston 1997b: 501)

Robinson (1997) suggested using <tt> where /ʔ/ is a possible realisation of /t/, but overlooked the inherent contradiction in that and proposed <tèr>, where <è> indicates a dental realisation of /t/, suggesting the spelling *watèr* ('water'). On that basis *mettle* ('metal') is suggested. SLD Ltd. (2002)³⁴ suggested using an apostrophe *wa'er* ('water') but that could cause no end of confusion when word-final, as in *fi'* ('foot'), *ca'* ('cat'), since /ʔ/ is an actual realisation that is neither silent nor 'missing', and traditional spellings such as *watter*, *fit* and *cat* would be adequate, since native speakers who realise /t/ between two

³⁴ Also available at <http://www.scotsdictionaries.org.uk/> Scots Spelling and Grammar accessed 19.06.09.

vowels or word-final as /ʔ/ would do so unconsciously anyway, which would imply following established practices in a normative orthography.

The nasals /m/ and /n/ traditionally map to <m> and <n>. An interdental allophone /ɲ/ may occur before /(ə)r/ in Ulster. That was not indicated in the sample of writing from Ulster analysed above. Robinson (1997) suggested representing interdental /ɲ/ by <è> in words like *unnèr* ('under'), *thunnèr* ('thunder') and *wunnèr* ('wonder'). Interdental realisations are produced unconsciously by native speakers, the following /-(ə)r/ being a sufficient marker of their occurrence, arguably rendering their representation in a normative orthography unnecessary.

The velar nasal /ŋ/ traditionally maps to <ng> but it also occurs in the grapheme cluster traditionally written <nk> /ŋk/ in words such as *bank*. Because Scots has /ŋ/ where Standard English would usually have /ŋg/, attempts to indicate that have included *fiŋg'er* (Robinson 1997) and *fiŋgir* (Purves 2000: 52) but those are no clearer to the uninitiated than *finger*. Native speakers of Scots would unconsciously produce /ŋ/ anyway, rendering <ng> the obvious, unambiguous choice for a normative orthography.

(1) ng in Scots [...] is pronounced as in English 'sing', not as in English 'single'. (MacLeod and Cairns 1993: x)

There is no natural way of spelling such a Scots pronunciation so that it is distinguished from the Standard English one [ŋg] ... (Macafee 1996: xxii)

Alveolar /r/ and /ɹ/ traditionally map to <r>, the obvious, unambiguous choice for a normative orthography.

The fricatives /f/ and /v/ traditionally map to <f> and <v> but also <ph> /f/ in words of Greek origin. The bilabial realisations /ɸ/ and /β/ of /f/ and /v/ which may occur in the Irish influenced dialects of Ulster were not indicated in the sample of traditional Scots writing analysed above and orthographic indications of such realisations have never been suggested.

The phonemes /f v/ may be realised as bilabial [ɸ β] in Ulster Scots, particularly around back sounds, where 'broad', plain Irish /f v/ would be realised this way in that language [...] also uncovered a case of this [...] near the Highland Line, so that (South?) Gaelic influence can probably be invoked. (Johnston 1997b: 509–510)

[...] p is occas. aspirated to ph, f, finally after m as in BUMPH, CLOMPH, *gamph* (GAMP), HUMPH, n.¹, SUMPH, TRUMPH. (SND: P)

For word-final /f/ Purves (1979) suggested <f> in all words, including monosyllabic words following a single vowel such as *af* ('off'), *caf* ('chaff'), *glif* ('fright'), *nyaf* ('dwarf') and *sklif* ('scrape'). The SND includes the following as headword forms: *aff*, *caff*, *gliff*, *nyaff* and *skliff*. Both <f> and <v> are unambiguous choices for a normative orthography, bilabial realisations will be produced unconsciously by native speakers, rendering their representation unnecessary. It would also seem sensible to follow the established use of word-final <ff> where it occurs. Likewise, <ph> in words of Greek origin and for the aspirated forms of *bump*, *gamp* ('gape'), *hump*, *sump* and *trump* etc.

The dental fricatives /θ/ and /ð/ both traditionally map to <th>, word final /ð/ usually being mapped to <-the>. The SND includes the following as headword forms: *blythe* ('cheerful'), *kythe* ('appear') *loithe* ('loathe'), *teethe*. Noun and verb forms are often distinguished by using <th> /θ/ and <the> /ð/ in, for example, *laith* n. ('loath')—*loithe* v. ('loathe'), *skaith* n.—*skaithe* v. ('damage') and *teeth* n. ('teeth')—*teethe* v. (SND). Robinson (1997) suggested indicating the widespread initial realisation /h/ in a few words by placing an accent over the following vowel giving *thàns*, *thìng* and *thìnk*. Robinson (1997) suggested spelling the elided colloquial form of the relative pronoun that as *at*³⁵, the as *thà* but *tha*³⁶ when /ð/ is retained, similarly *thàim* and *thaim* ('them'). Robinson explained that as follows:

[...] the behaviour of these three words is not consistent in Ulster-Scots. *That*, *tha*, and *thaim* lose 'th' and become *at*, *thà* and *thàim* only when the preceding word ends with a consonant rather than a vowel sound. The loss of 'th' does not occur at the beginning of a sentence, or of [sic] the preceding word in a sentence ends with a vowel sound. (1997: 37)

Perhaps the most distinctive marker of "Ullans" writing to the casual reader, and one which has become remarkably common in revivalist Scots writing in Northern Ireland, is the respelling of the definite article as *tha*. While such strategies are often adopted in eye dialect and are equally valid in Scots and English, the use of the spelling in revived Ulster Scots has the idiom-specific rationale of distinguishing it from *the*, used for unstressed 'they' in some dialect writing. Such use of *the* is open to criticism, since confusion in English writing between *you're* and *your*, *there*, *their* and *they're*, or *'ve* and *of* can be associated with illiteracy. Conversely, the semantic differentiation of homophones through spelling can be associated with an idiom's historicity, intellectual standing and *Ausbau*. [...] While the *schwa* in the unstressed form of the definite article [ðə] or [ə] could be spelt with any vowel, the specific spelling choice of *tha* is at odds with the history of the language, since it was used in Middle Scots for both 'they' and *thae* ('those'), and by no means all writers of Ulster Scots respell 'they' as *the*. Based on statistical frequency, it would be more economic to retain the traditional spelling of the definite article, instead changing 'they' to *tha*. If spelt with an apostrophe, such an approach would also have the advantage of being pandialectal, since 'they' is often rendered *thai* or *thay* in mainstream Scots. If the apostrophe were used with the English spelling, the difference between third person plural pronoun and definite article would be adequately marked, and there would be no need for any further reforms. (Eagle and Falconer 2004: 100)

intervocallic /ð/ generally does not delete [...] but may do quite frequently in Ulster Scots [...] The equivalent of /ð/ deletion for the voiceless sound is /T/ > /h/. This can be found in initial and intervocallic positions, including before /r/ (that is, in *thing*, *nothing*, *three*) in many Scots dialects [...] (Johnston 1997b: 507)

Even the Ulster Scots dentalisation of /t/ and /d/, which Robinson's orthography highlights is a feature which overlaps with many southern Irish English varieties (See Ó Baoill 1990; Ó hÚrdail 1997). (Kallen 1999: 161)

Such characteristics of colloquial speech are never usually represented in writing except in descriptive dialogue. Since such elisions are mastered by native-speakers unconsciously,

³⁵ This may also represent an alternative form borrowed from Norse.

³⁶ The emphatic realisation [ðə] is usual in all Scots dialects and the traditional spelling the has always been *the*. Although /ə/ can be represented by any vowel letter Robinson's use of <a> in *tha* could be interpreted as indicating *[ða], an unattested pronunciation, but is more likely a respelling for the sake of being different. Robinson's examples on pp. 64–65 indicated that the form *thà* occurred only after a consonant. Strangely *the* is recommended in such adverbial phrases as *theday* ('today'), *thenicht* ('tonight') and *themorra* ('tomorrow') although their elements would usually be interpreted and written separately as *the day* etc.

their representation in writing may cause more confusion than clarification. The full forms of the words would be transparent enough in a normative orthography.

Umgekehrt finden wir ein *d* statt *th*; *fader* [...] Ein intervokalisches *d* aus ae. *d* fiel mit ursprünglichem ae. *ð* zusammen und nahm dieselbe Entwicklung wie dieses: es wurde in den meisten Teilen Schottlands und den Nordlands zu *d* [...] (Steiger 1913: 49)³⁷

The process that underlies /T ð/-Stopping, the difference between Northern *idder* and Mid Scots *ither*, and perhaps even the Glaswegian /ð/-Rhotacisation rule, has its roots deep in the Older Scots period, and in part it may even go back into Old Northumbrian. (Johnston 1997a: 102)

Traditionally in Aberdeenshire, /d/ appeared for /ð/ intervocally in words like *mother*, *father*, *bother*, particularly in coastal localities, though this is sharply recessive now (Dieth 1932: 109). There seems to be a general interchange between stops and fricatives in all English to some extent where an /r/ follows immediately or in the next syllable; *father*, after all, goes back to Old English *fæder*. The tendency towards generalising one type or the other one, usually the fricative at the expense of the stop, is furthest advanced in localities in North Britain, however (Zai 1942: 195, Wilson 1926: 29). Dialects which face the Solway Firth or Irish Sea have a tendency to have dental stops in this position from either original stop or fricative. (Johnston 1997b: 506)

Since the Northern realisation /d/ is environmentally predictable in words such as *brither* ('brother'), *ither* ('other'), *mither* ('mother')³⁸, the intervocalic grapheme <th> before /r/ could easily be interpreted as /d/ by those with such a realisation. For the Southern and Central Scots realisation of /d/ as /ð/, see <d> above.

The fricatives /s/ and /z/ traditionally tend to map to <s> or <se> when not a plural marker. In words of Romance origin <c> generally occurred before <e> and <i>, for example *ensor*, *cevil* ('civil'), *cedent* and *ceil* ('ceiling') (SND: C).

As in E., *s* is generally written initially with *s*, sometimes with *c* in *romance* words before *e*—medially by *ss* and *s* (especially in derivatives), finally by *ss*, *se* and *ce*. *se* and *ce* are used as in corresponding E. words, but less regularly. (Grant and Dixon 1921: 24)

[...] as the breathed fore-blade fricative [s], gen. written *s*, *-ss-* medially, or *-ss*, *-se* finally, or when in contact with an unvoiced consonant; (2) as the voiced equivalent [z] when orig. *s* is final after a vowel or voiced consonant or medially between voiced sounds but in Sc. final [s] is retained when it becomes medial before an inflection, as in *houses* ['husɪz], *gallowses* ['galəsɪz], and in WISE [wəɪs], esp. when used in peculiarly Sc. senses; *dose* is pronounced [doːz] in Sc. on the analogy of other Fr. borrowings *close*, *rose*, etc. (SND: S)

Medially it [/z/] is generally written *s*, but *z* and *zz* are used by writers who wish to indicate the exact pronunciation. Finally *z* is written *s* (1) in words like *is*, *his*, *was*, *has*, which originally had an *s* sound: (2) in the plural terminations *s* and *es* after voiced sounds: in other cases *se* and *ze* are used. (Grant and Dixon 1921: 25)

In traditional writing <z> for /z/ seldom occurred, but it often represented the older yogh, a palatal nasal /ɲ/ which still occurs in peripheral dialects, now usually /ŋ/, /ɲj/ and /nj/. In Older Scots that was written using <ɣ>. With the introduction of printing <z> was used. (Grant and Dixon 1921: 16–17) That has led to a number of variants using the spellings <z>

³⁷ Conversely we find a *d* instead of *th*; *fader* [...] An intervocalic *d* from Old English. *d* fell together with the original Old English *ð* and developed the same way: In most parts of Scotland and the Northlands It became *d* [...] [Present author's translation]

³⁸ All headword forms in the SND.

y, n> and **<ng>** such as *brulzie/brulyie* ('brawl'), *gaberlunzie/gaberlunye* ('beggar'), *Cockenzie/Cockinnie* and *Menzies/Mingis*. Robinson (1997: 42–44) confused the historical yogh /ŋ/ with initial /j/, often written **<ȝ>** in older Scots, referring to it as a 'yogh sound'.

Like care must be shown in the interpretation of the later use of *y* (consonant) and *z* for the scribal *ȝ*, the representative of O.E. *ȝ*. (Smith 1902: xxix)

Old Scots had a sound – the so called *l mouillé* – which was unknown to English though found in French. According to Murray this sound, represented by the digraph *lz*, survived in to the nineteenth century [...] but has now become a simple [l] or an [l] followed by a [j] sound [...] (Tulloch 1980: 189)

Scots also had the sound of French *gn* in *digne* [ɲ] spelt *nȝ*, *nz* or *ny*. [...] The [ɲ] sound developed into [ŋ] giving for example the older pronunciation of *Menzies* as *Mingies*. (Tulloch 1980: 190)

Whether the traditional terminal spelling **<(e)s>** for the plural, present inflections and in many other words is rendered /s/ or /z/ is the outcome of a phonological rule. The pronunciation /s/ usually occurs after /f/, /k/, /p/, /t/, /θ/ and /x/, e.g. *hooses* ('houses'), *leafs* ('leaves'), *wifes* ('wives'), *lochs* and *threaps* ('argues'), etc. The pronunciation /z/ usually occurs in plural endings and after a vowel sound or /b/, /d/, /g/, /l/, /m/, /n/, /r, ɹ/, /v/, /ð/ and /ŋ/, for example, *dous* ('doves'), *haunds* ('hands'), *steams*, *gie's* ('give us/me'), *his*, *hers*, *thairs* ('theirs') etc. (Grant 1921: 25). Only Robinson (1997) made suggestions that indicated either a /s/ or /z/ realisations in some words. The suggestion that **<z>** be used where **<s>** traditionally occurred being a characteristic 'eye dialect' representation.

The use of *z* instead of *s* in the spellings of *is*, *was* etc., [...] are fairly frequent illustrations of this. (McClure 1997: 176)

Sometimes Robinson uses spellings which appear to be straight-forward phoneticisations, e.g. the use of **<z>** "corresponding to 's' and 'ys' in words like *iz* ('us') and *sez* ('says')" (21.) Phonetic spellings of this kind are equally plausible for most dialects of English and understandable to outsiders simply because there is nothing particularly Scots about them. (Kallen 1999: 158)

Purves (1997) and the *Scots Language Society* (1985) suggested terminal **<-ss>** for /s/ except following a consonant where **<-se>** is suggested, giving examples such as *kiss*, *horse*, *mense*, *fauss*, *houss*, *crouss*, *uiss*, *poliss*, *promiss*, *gress*. Purves also suggested **<-se>** for /z/ giving examples such as *surpryse*, *ryse*, *brose*, *rouse*, and *lowse* v.

Allan (1995) suggested there was a good case for **<z>** in *aixerceize* ('exercise') and *bapteize* ('baptise') etc.

As the realisation /s/ or /z/, in for example plural markers, is conditioned by phonetic environment and realised unconsciously by native speakers, traditional practice would best be followed in a normative orthography. As would the use of **<se>** and **<ss>** exemplified in the SND headword forms *brose* [bro:z], *crouse* [krus] ('cheerful'), *dose* [do:z], *fause* [fa:z, fɔ:z, fa:z] ('false'), *groose* [grus] ('grouse'), *horse* [hɔrs, hors], *lowse* [lɔuz] ('loosen') [lus] ('loose'), *mense* [mens] ('courtesy'), *rise* [raiz], *rose* [ro:z], *rouse* [ru:z] ('provoke'), *gress* [grɛs] and *kiss* [kɪs]. The grapheme **<ȝ>**, for practical reasons, does not readily offer itself, therefore the use of **<y>** in words such as *brulyie* ('brawl') may be sensible. A case may be

made for the retention of <z> where it is well established in words such as *gaberlunzie* ('beggar'), and the name *Menzies*.

The fricative /ʃ/ traditionally maps to <sh>. Only Robinson (1997) suggested <sch> instead of <sh> for /ʃ/, apparently using <sch> where <sh> was traditionally used, reserving <sh> for words where the underlying /s/ was realised /ʃ/, a feature of many Scots dialects but not universal. Robinson also applied that <sh> to words such as *harnish* ('harness'), *shoo* ('sew') and *veshel* ('vessel') where /ʃ/ was usual in Scots but not in the Standard English cognates. The alveolar realisation /ç/ for /ʃ/ that may occur in the Irish influenced dialects of Ulster was not indicated in the sample of traditional Scots writing analysed above.

The Old Scots spellings *sch* for English *sh* and *quh* for English *wh* survived in documents into the eighteenth century but were then replaced by their English equivalents. (Tulloch 1980: 198)

[...] the digraph *sh*, also written *sch*, which survived as a spelling into the early 18th c. and is occas. still used *arch.*, representing the unvoiced afterblade fricative [ʃ], rarely the voiced equivalent [ʒ] in FUSHION, PUSHION [...] (SND: S)

The unambiguous choice for a normative orthography would arguably be <sh>.

The fricative /ʒ/ traditionally maps to <s>, <sh> and <-sian> as described above, in words such as *ephesian* ('pheasant'), *fushion* ('vigour'), *pushion* ('poison') and *veesion* ('vision'). By analogy with words such as *craitur* ('creature'), *lectur* ('tecture') and *pictur* ('picture') also <s> in *leisur* ('leisure'), *meisur* ('measure') and *pleisur* ('pleasure') (see the section on morphemes below).

The alveolar realisation /ʒ/ for /ʃ/ and /ʒ/ that may occur in the Irish influenced dialects of Ulster was not indicated in the sample of traditional Scots writing analysed above. Once again, in order to maintain familiarity, the unambiguous choice for a normative orthography would arguably be to follow established practice.

The fricative /ʃ/ also occurs in the cluster traditionally written <nch> /nʃ/. The SND includes the following as headword forms: *dunch* ('bump'), *hainch* ('haunch'), *inch* ('small island'), *kinch* ('a kink'), *lench* ('launch'), *painch* ('paunch'), *stainchel* ('a bar') and *stench* ('staunch'). Since the representation <nch> is so well established, innovations such as <nsh> would seem unnecessary in a normative orthography.

The fricatives /ç/ and /x/ were often written <gh> but <ch> was also used. The latter inherited from Middle Scots (Aitken 2002: Vol. XII, liv) as in the following examples from DOST: *dochter* ('daughter'), *laich* ('low'), *micht* ('might') and *nicht* ('night').

[...] commonly written *ch* [...] (Grant 1931: xxiii)

The Scots realisations is unambiguously indicated by <ch> and because it never occurs initially cannot be confused with <ch> for /tʃ/ (below). Where most dialects have /xt/, /θ/ may occur in Northern dialects in words such as *dochter* ('daughter') and *micht* ('might') (SND).

The fricative /ç/ usually occurs word-initially or following a front vowel. The fricative /x/ usually occurs following a back vowel (Grant 1931: xxiii) in words such as *laich* ('low'), *lauchter* ('laughter'), *loch, nicht* ('night') and *pech* ('pant'). Initial /ç/ occurs in words such as *hue, huge, heuk* ('hook') and *human*, and attempts to represent that orthographically are likely to produce unrecognisable forms. Since the Initial /ç/ is conditioned by environment, the traditional spellings are arguably a sufficient marker. All suggested <ch> for medial or final /ç/ and /x/. The *Scots Language Society* (1985), Allan (1995: 80) and the *Scots Spelling Comatee* (2000) suggested dropping the silent <gh> in *through* and *though*. The grapheme <ch> certainly offers itself as an unambiguous choice for a normative orthography. The case for omission in words such as *throu* ('through') and *tho* ('though'), which no longer have the fricative, has its merits but in words such as *burgh*, for want of an unambiguous alternative, would probably have to remain <gh>.

The fricative /h/ traditionally maps to <h>, except in Southern Scots before /o/, where it is realised /m/ (Tulloch 1980: 252). Omission of initial /h/ does not occur in Scots except, in the unemphatic reduced form of *hae* /ə/ ('have'), as in constructions such as *haed hae haen* [hədə'hɪn] ('had have had') (Gregg 1972: 130) and in the unstressed forms of pronouns such as *he, him* and *her*. That may also occur in many words of Romance origin spelt with initial <h> such as *honest* and *honour*, but older speakers may still omit it in words such as *herbs* and *hospital*. Robinson (1997) suggested <è> and <ò>, as in *hè* ('he'), *hònest, hòor* ('hour') and *hòspittle*³⁹ ('hospital'), to indicate the silent <h>.

[...] the stressed form is [...] **hez?** [...] [hus] the unstressed forms are **əs, əz**. (Wright 1905: 273)

[...] *h* appears and is pronounced [h] initially before all vowels except (1) in the pronouns *he, him, his, her(s)*, and in parts of the verb *hae, q.v.*, when these are in unstressed position [...] (2) in many words of Romance orig., where the usage now gen. follows that of Eng. Older speakers are still heard to say '*erbs, 'ospital*, [...] (SND: Aitch)

[...] the omission of *h* [in spelling] from those third-person pronouns (particularly pointless in that the loss of [h] in these words when unemphatic is universal in all "Englishes") are fairly frequent illustrations of this [eye dialect]. (McClure 1997: 176)

The use of <h> as a diacritic in <ch> and <sh>, indicating that <c> and <s> have a pronunciation different from that normally expected of those consonants⁴⁰, was not new to English when <ch> was introduced from French, for <th> had earlier been used alongside <p> [...] Both <ch> in French and <th> in English derive from Latin orthography, use of <h> as a diacritic in Latin being made possible by the disappearance of the sounds represented by <h> from the language in the late classical period. As a result of the establishment in English of diacritic <h> in <ch> and <th>, other consonant groups were formed on the same pattern. The grapheme <gh> [...] <wh> has a rather different history, for it began in Old English as an initial consonantal combination <hw> corresponding to /xw/. Assimilation of the group to a single voiceless consonant /m/ had taken place by the Late Old English period, and Middle English scribes, associating the sequence <hw> for the single phoneme with the use of <h> as a fricative marker in other graphemes, reversed the graphs to <wh>. (Scragg 1975: 46–47)

The grapheme <h> is arguably the obvious choice for a normative orthography, even for the realisation /m/ before /o/, which is environmentally conditioned and unconsciously

³⁹ Presumably the <tt> in *hòspittle* is to represent /ʔ/, which could equally be /t/ in Ulster.

⁴⁰ i.e. <h> as a fricative marker, allowing for the fact that <sh> is historically a simplification of <sch>. [original footnote]

mastered by native speakers. Since its elision generally only occurs in unemphatic forms, the full forms of such words would be sensible in a normative orthography.

The affricate /tʃ/ traditionally maps to <ch> when word-initial or after /r/ and <(t)ch> when word-medial and -final. The realisations /tʃ/ for /tʃ/ that may occur in the Irish-influenced dialects of Ulster were not indicated in the sample of traditional Scots writing analysed above. The SND includes the following as headword forms: *airch* ('arch'), *catch* and *eetch* ('an adze'). In some Scots dialects /tʃ/ occurs when a <t> is followed by /j/ sound, for example, *tyauve*⁴¹ ('toil') (SND). Purves (1979: 69) was also aware of that "[ch] is a velar fricative, except when used at the start of a word [...] or when it follows 'n', 'r' or 't' [...]", as was the SLS (1985). Allan (1995: 82) suggested always using <tch>, except after a consonant. SLD Ltd. (2002) suggested <ch> word-initially and either <tch> or <ch> word-finally, offering no reason for choosing one or the other, although (Macleod and Cairns 1993: x, Macleod 1996: vii) preferred <ch> word-initially and <tch> word-medially and finally. The *Scots Spelling Comatee* recommended initial <ch>, otherwise <tch>, except after /r/.

The grapheme <ch> is, arguably, an unambiguous choice word-initially, and since the realisation /tʃ/ after /r/⁴² is predictable, no further innovation would seem necessary. The grapheme <tch> certainly offers itself in other positions, especially where simple <ch> may be confused with the fricative /x/, though even here the fricative /x/ is arguably being marked, for example, by a preceding <ei>, preceding <ea>⁴³ marking /tʃ/ and <ee> occurring for both.

The affricate /dʒ/ traditionally maps to <(d)g(e), j, g->.

The letter [g] [...] when assibilated, that of the consonant diphthong [dʒ], occasionally [ʒ], sometimes also written *dge, ge, j*. The distinctions correspond in the main to those of Eng. [...] (SND: G)

The realisations /dʒ/ for /dʒ/ that may occur in the Irish influenced dialects of Ulster were not indicated in the sample of traditional Scots writing analysed above. The SND includes the following as headword forms: *breenge* ('rush'), *cadge* ('beg'), *gauge*, *gentie* ('graceful') and *jalouse* ('surmise'). Attempts to regularise to any particular grapheme may produce unfamiliar forms, so it may well be best simply to judiciously study the literary record and adopt the most widespread form of a particular word⁴⁴.

The approximant /j/ traditionally maps to <y>.

As the voiced front fricative consonant [j] representing (1) an earlier palatal guttural, as O.E. **ȝ**-, as in YAIRD, YELD, YESTREEN, YETT, FORYETT, YON, though in n. and s.Sc. it tends to be dropped before [i] [...] (SND: Y)

Note that <y> also often represents the diphthongs /əi, ai/ (Vowels 1, 8a and 10) and is used word-finally in adverbs and adjectives. It is not usually indicated in writing where it

⁴¹ Northern form of taw [ta:, tɔ:].

⁴² For <nch> see above.

⁴³ See vowels 2 and 3 below.

⁴⁴ This does not necessarily include the vowel conventions in any particular word.

occurs as part of other vowel clusters. Traditional practice, once again, offers the best solution.

The labial velar approximant /ɱ/ traditionally maps to <wh>.

w also occurs in the consonant digraph *wh* [...] (SND: W)

The Old Scots spelling [...] *quh* for English *wh* survived in documents into the eighteenth century but were then replaced by their English equivalents. (Tulloch 1980: 198)

That is often realised /f/ or /ϕ/ in Northern dialects, in Angus /m/ before interrogatives otherwise /f/. In Northern dialects it may be /w/ in recent loan words. In the sample of traditional Scots writing analysed above <wh> was usually used, even the Northern writers seldom resorted to <f> in order to indicate the realisation /f/. Examples: *wha* ('who'), *whippit* ('whipped'), *white*, *whalp* ('whelp'). Some options, spelt <f>, representing the northern /f/ realisation were offered in Macleod and Cairns (1993) and Macleod (1996), only Robinson (1997) suggested using the older <quh>, but only for pronouns and adverbs; in other words <wh> was suggested. The grapheme <wh> is, arguably, the unambiguous choice, the realisation /f/ is predictable and need not be represented in a normative orthography.

The labial velar approximant /w/ traditionally maps to <w> The cluster /wr/, traditionally written <wr>, has been simplified to /r/ in many dialects. In some Northern dialects it may be realised /vr/. The SND includes the following as headword forms: *wrack* ('wreck'), *wrang* ('wrong'), *write* and *wricht* ('wright'). Some options spelt <vr>, representing the northern /vr/ realisation, were offered in Macleod and Cairns (1993) and Macleod (1996). The grapheme <w> is the unambiguous, obvious choice, the realisation /vr/ is predictable and need not be represented in a normative orthography.

[...] the retention of [w] before [r] in words like *write* [...] (Tulloch 1980: 186)

The lateral approximants /l/ and /ɫ/ both map to <l>. The usual realisation is a dark /ɫ/ but in areas where Gaelic was relatively recently spoken, including Dumfries and Galloway, it may be a clear /l/. Differentiation between clear and dark / has never been indicated in writing. In Ulster an interdental allophone /ɬ/ may occur. For the word-ending traditionally written <-le> Purves (1979) and the *Scots Language Society* (1985) suggested <-il>, Purves was perhaps influenced by Middle Scots practice and also doubled <l> after doubled vowels in *weill* ('well') but not in *sail*. The *Scots Spelling Comatee* (2000) recommended <-le> but pointed out that <-el> often occurred after <nn> or <v>. The grapheme <l> is the unambiguous, obvious choice for a normative orthography, as is word-final <le> or <el> in words such as *guddle* ('grope'), *muckle* ('much'), *traivel* ('travel') and *vennel* ('alley')⁴⁵, though here a judicious study of the literary record may be necessary in order to establish the most widespread form in a particular word.

Vowels

⁴⁵ All headword forms in the SND.

The underlying phonemes of stressed vowels based on Aitken (1981b: 132–133). S=short, l=long. For a historical treatment of Scots vowels, see Aitken (2002).

Aitken's number	8a, 10, 1s.		11.	2	11	3	4	8	5	18	6
Underlying phoneme	əi		a·e	i	i	i, e(:)	e	e:	o:	ɔ	u
Aitken's number	7	7 -k, -x	9	12	13	14	15	16	17	19	
Underlying phoneme	ø	(j)u, (j)ʌ ⁴⁶	oi	a:, ɔ:	ʌu	iu, ju	ɪ	ɛ	a	ʌ	

[...] many spelling-to-sound patterns which can be described only clumsily in direct spelling-to-sound terms are more adequately described in phonological terms. (Venezky 1970: 45)

Vowel length in Scots is usually conditioned by the *Scottish Vowel Length Rule*, also known as *Aitken's Law* (Aitken 1981b: 131–157)

All vowels are short before a following /p, t, tʃ, k/ [...] All vowels except /ɪ/ and /ʌ/ are long before a following final /v, ð, z, r/ or # [...] But a peculiar Ulster development has then resulted in [...] the use of long allophones of /e, ɛ, a, ɔ/ in any monosyllable closed by a consonant **other** than /p, t, tʃ, k/. We might refer to this extra development as Ulster Lengthening [...] (Wells 1982: 439)

Ulster Scots, [...] is a recognizable dialect of Lowland Scots [...] by, among other things, its typically Scots pattern of conditioned vowel length [...] (Harris 1984: 116)

The conditioning of vowel length by phonological environment negates its representation in a normative orthography. The phonological environment itself acting as the vowel length marker, which native speakers would instinctively recognise.

Schwa /ə/ usually occurs in unaccented syllables as a substitute for any vowel.

[...] but it may be heard also in Sc. Before r in accented position, instead of ɪ or ʌ and is then tense as a rule. Examples: *third, bird*; θərd, bərd. (Grant and Dixon 1921: 54)

In some of the Northern dialects another flat vowel may be heard [...] it takes the place of ɪ in words like *put, foot, hit, him* [...] (Grant and Dixon 1921: 55)

Since none of the traditionally available vowel letters is capable of representing /ə/ any better than any other, arguably the best solution would be to retain the traditional spelling, or identify a prevalent one through judicious study of the literary record.

Some varieties retain the Irish and Scottish Gaelic epenthetic /ə/ between liquid consonants such as /l, r/ or /n/ and nasals in words such as *girl* and *film*.

[...] in Glaswegian words like *warm* are often pronounced with an epenthetic vowel between [r] and the syllabic consonant [m]. The intrusion of a helping vowel makes the word disyllabic so that it is pronounced [war(ə)m]. (Hagen 2002: 265–266)

⁴⁶ Aitken included those spelled <eu> under vowel 14 although separate treatment is justified for many of them by their differing etymology (Anglo-Saxon long ð, vowel 7 before /k/ and /x/) and resulting phonetic realisations.

Since the insertion of an epenthetic schwa in mastered unconsciously by those who have it, representation in a normative orthography is not necessary.

Similar to the above are words with a varying phonetic structure usually depending on emphasis.

Characteristically the words in this class include auxiliary verbs, personal and relative pronouns, coordinating and subordinating conjunctions, some adverbs, and a few individual lexemes [...] The list of members of this class is variable, within Scots as within the entire range of dialects, creoles and pidgins collectively referred to as “English” (or “Englishes”); but the class itself is always present. [...] The far-reaching implication of this well known fact is that a completely phoneme-based spelling [...] would be impractical, if not impossible: many words would have two or more distinct written forms, of which the distribution could not be predicted with accuracy. (McClure 1997: 174)

Furthermore, some historical Scots spellings could be as liable as modern English ones to suggest pronunciations other than those in actual use: *thair* and *thaim* can readily be associated with [ðer] and [ðem]; but on the other hand *wes* is the commonest MSc spelling for the preterite of *be*, and the invariably contemporary pronunciation (emphatic or not) is [wɪz], never with [ɛ] or [i]. Nonce spellings may present difficulties of interpretations to readers who cannot easily “auditorise” the dialect which the writer is mentally hearing as he writes; and a more serious objection is that they are liable to merge into mere eye-dialect, departures from standard spelling (or simple mis-spellings) which may suggest that the dialect represented is in general non-standard but convey no clear indication of **how** the pronunciation of an abnormally-spelt word differs from the standard. (McClure 1997: 175–6)

Weak forms have been characteristic of Scots as of all dialects derived from Old English throughout its history, and neither Scots, standard literary English, nor any other dialect has found it necessary to devise special spellings for them. To make this a regular device in written Scots, besides, could convey a suggestion that weak forms as a linguistic feature are unique to Scots, which is absurd; or could arouse suspicions that the authors **imagine** that they are unique to Scots, or even a particularly interesting or distinctive feature of it [...] which would reflect no credit on their understanding of linguistic facts. (McClure 1997: 181)

[...] since weak forms by their nature contain an obscure vowel, for which no letter of the Roman alphabet is self-evidently more appropriate than any other, it cannot be possible in all cases to produce an unambiguous spelling on the sound-to-symbol principle: the conventional spelling may be just as suitable, or as unsuitable, as any alternative, thus removing any warrant for the change. (McClure 1997: 181–2)

That was often overlooked but the following suggestions and practices arose.

[...] some current writers employ the spellings, *fer*, *fir*, *fur* for the word *for*, which is used in common with English. Since the vowel here is unstressed and hardly differentiated, such spellings serve no useful purpose. (The *Scots Language Society* 1985)

The *Aiberdeen Univairsitie Scots Leid Quorum* and Allan (1995) recommended retaining “established spellings”. SLD Ltd. did not mention that but (Macleod 1996) included some emphatic and unemphatic variants. Robinson (1997) suggested unemphatic forms for some words and emphatic forms for others. The *Scots Spellin Comattee* recommended using the “familiar vowel letters”. Arguably, the emphatic forms may seem less ambiguous in a normative orthography.

Diacritics have not traditionally occurred in Scots although R. L. Stevenson in *Underwoods* tentatively used diacritic <ü> for vowel 7 but generally preferred <ui>, commenting tongue-in-cheek:

[...] and just to prove that I belong to my age and have in me the stuff of a reformer, I have used modification marks throughout. Thus I can tell myself, not without pride, that I have added a fresh stumbling-block for English readers, and to a page of print in my native tongue, have lent a new uncouthness. *Sed non nobis*. (Stevenson 1905: 152–153)

Lorimer's (1985: 467) unintrusive use of accents was clearly intended as a guide to pronunciation for those unfamiliar with spoken Scots and not necessarily intended as an orthographic innovation. Those either indicated syllable stress or vowel 2 /i/⁴⁷ written <í> or <ý> in Latinate words such as *hýpocríte*, *mínister* and *peredítion*, as in words such as *kíng*, *síck*, *stír*, *wísdóm* and in words in which an accent-less spelling would represent /i/ to those familiar with Scots anyway, for example, *bíeld* ('shelter'), *fíeld*, *gíe* ('give') and *saitisfíe* ('satisfy') etc. The word-final use in words such as *gíe* [gi:] is presumably to avoid confusing the pronunciation with the likes of *pie* [pɪɪ]. Philp used <í> for vowel 2 as Lorimer did, commenting on its value as an aid to the learner (Graham 1997: xi). Robinson (1997) seems to have adopted the concept but got carried away.

This orthographic double-take is opaque, counter-intuitive, and confusing. In attempting to replace conventional symbolism with something, in intention, mimetically realistic, it ends up offering only more and worse symbolism. (Kirk 1998: 127)

[...] the use of the grave accent on a vowel to indicate the quality of a preceding dental runs counter to the reader's intuition, since analogy with other languages would encourage one to assume that it affected either the quality of the vowel or the general stress of the word. The present writers have encountered no neophyte readers capable of working out for themselves, for example, that the grave on the letter <a> in a word such as *tràictèr* ('tractor') refers to a linguistic phenomenon two letters before, though that is of course not to say that such people do not exist. In the "Ullans" system, the grave can also refer to the pronunciation of <th> as [h] or Ø. Kallen (1999: 159) refers to "the awkwardness of these proposals". Since the grave is always placed on the first vowel after the letter that it modifies, there is no way in which the interdental quality of the final <t> in the word *get* in a phrase such as "get real" can be marked. There are many such examples. (Eagle and Falconer 2004: 105)

Robinson most often used diacritics above vowels to represent the quality of the preceding consonant as described above, but also included the umlaut <ä>, perhaps inspired by Gregg's use of /æ/ in phonetic transcriptions, for what may be an Ulster Scots realisation /ɪ̃/ of vowel 15, though /ë/ also occurs, especially in Donegal (Gregg 1972: 121). Robinson, never applies that systematically, for example *bäg* ('big') but *biggin* (building') and *pän* ('pin') but *yin* ('one'), the assumption perhaps being that the second in each pair is not recognisably English, so no modification of the vowel is deemed necessary. Robinson was perhaps unaware of the history of the *umlaut* in, for example, German and the potential necessity of an alternative rendering owing to its unavailability on British keyboards.

German has one diacritic, the **umlaut**, as in <ä ö ü>. The umlaut derives from a small <e> written over the main symbol; although the umlauted forms are normal and required in all types of German, if the writer is unable to write an umlaut (perhaps using an English typewriter), writing <ae oe ue> is a recognized alternative. (Rogers 2005: 176)

Further diacritics were <á> in words such as *awá* ('away') and *twá* ('two') to indicate long vowels but in *roád* and *boát* it represents a possible disyllabic pronunciation [rɔ:əd, bɔ:ət].

⁴⁷ <â> was also used to indicate vowel 12 in *congregâtion* and *creâtor* etc.

Robinson also used <á, í> and <ý> to indicate syllable stress but he may also have intended that <í> represent vowel 2.

Vowels 1, 8a and 10, variously /əi, ɛi, æe/ and /aːe, aɪ/.

The PRICE words are distributed in two distinct phonemic categories in the Scotch-Irish area (as in Scotland), with [əi(:)] in some words and [a(:)e] in others. The choice between these two diphthong types is partly conditioned by phonetic environment, e.g. [əi] before voiceless consonants, [æe] before vowels, thus [læik] *like*, [ˈraeət] *riot*, but in many environments both are possible. (Wells 1982: 443)

The distribution of the diphthongs [æe] and [əi] generally follow the conditions of Aitken's Law:⁴⁸ [æe], in which both morae are long, occurs only in 'long' environments, and [əi], in which both morae are short, usually only occurs in 'short' environments. (Harris 1984: 121)

Most dialects have either [ɛi~ ɛ̃i] [...] or [əi] [...], usually distinct from all other diphthongs, but, in some Caithnessian, merging in some environments with [ɛi] [...] Forms with [...] such as [ɫi] or even [ɔi] [...] are not unknown in Scotland, but are most often found in specific environments favourable to backing, such as post-labially [...] or after /r/ [...] (Johnston 1997b: 493)

An uncentralised [ɛi] is common in parts of Fife, Wigtownshire and Ulster [...] (Johnston 1997b: 494)

Following /w/ and /m/, the diphthong /əi/ is used to the exclusion of /æe/ regardless of what follows [...] (Montgomery and Gregg 1997: 620)

The *Scots Style Sheet* only suggested <y> for the diphthong in words such as *wynd* ('wind' v.), *mynd* ('mind') and *hyst* ('hoist') in order to differentiate it from vowel 15 in words such as *wind* n., *bind* v. and *find*, and the traditional practices were presumably adhered to in others. Purves (1979) also commented on a similar distinction between vowels 1 short, 8a and 10 and vowel 1 long, suggesting that <y> and <y-e> can be used to represent both, but only <ey> for the short diphthong. Purves also reiterated that distinction (2000: 51-2), claiming that the distinction need not be indicated in English but is important in Scots in words such as *fire* and *alive* and *tyme* ('time'), *wyfe* ('wife') and *wynd* ('narrow lane').

McClure (1980) suggested <iy> in words traditionally written *bite*, *bide* ('remain') and *fire* etc. citing a near-precedent in Middle Scots and a near-parallel in Dutch. McClure was aware that <y> might do. McClure suggested <ey> in words traditionally written *May*, *Tay* and *hay* etc. commenting, that that is in some dialects, a distinct phoneme from the previous one but that etymological consideration should prevail over phonetic ones and "ey should be reserved for the diphthong derived from former /ai/ in open syllables, and iy for both the open and the close diphthongs derived from /iɪ/." (p.28)

The *Scots Language Society* suggested <y> and <y-e> medially in words such as *tryst*, *wynd*, *wyfe* ('wife'), *dyke*, *syne* ('ago'), *clype* ('tell tales') etc. and <ey> initially or finally in words such as *eydent* ('diligent'), *cley* ('clay'), *stey* ('steep') and *wey* ('way').

The *Aberdeen University Scots Leid Quorum* and Allan (1995) suggested <y> and <i-e> in *ay* ('yes') *ky*, ('cows'), *dry* and *five* differing from the diphthong spelt <y> and <y-e> in *gyte* ('mad'), *mynd* ('mind'), *nyne* ('nine') and *wyfe* ('wife'). Word-initial and -final <ey> was also

⁴⁸ The Scottish vowel length rule (present author's footnote).

suggested in words such as *eyle* ('oil'), *eydent* ('diligent'), *cley* ('clay'), *pey* ('pay') and *wey* ('way'). SLD Ltd. differentiated the diphthongs 8a, 10, 1 short /əi/ and 1long /aɪ/⁴⁹, suggesting spellings such as *gyte* ('mad'), *byke* ('wasp's nest'), *jine* ('join'), *wife*, *pint* ('point') and *gey* ('very') for the short diphthong and *kye* ('cows'), *guise* and *rise* for the long diphthong. In the headword list based upon the contents of the *Essential Scots Dictionary*⁵⁰ the same tendency was indicated in words such as *agley* ('squint'), *aside* ('beside'), *aways*⁵¹ ('everywhere') along with *ay(e)* ('yes') and *aye* ('always'), the former perhaps indicating a preferred differentiation of the two as *ay* ('yes') and *aye* ('always').

Robinson's (1997) proposals were based on correspondences with Standard English, suggesting <y> in words such as *mynn* ('mind') and provided spellings such as *syne* ('ago'), *gye* ('very'), *tryst* but also *dive*, *drive*, *ride* and *side* and also in words such as *bine*/*bynn* ('bind' v.) where vowel 15 would be usual in Scots (c.f. Gregg 1958). Interestingly, no occurrences of that diphthongisation was indicated where Standard English cognates usually have <oi>⁵², though Gregg (1958) gives [bɔi] ('boil' n.) and Braidwood (1964: 62–63) adds [dʒəin] ('join') and [spəil] ('spoil').

Another possible alteration in linguistic habits may have been brought about by a conscious or unconscious rejection of certain pronunciations which had both been typical of northern and southern Hiberno-English. Industrialisation increased the North's prosperity and its links with England and resulting political events began to polarize what had at one time been a relatively homogenous country. This brought into being what may be described as a "Northern Consciousness", probably in the last quarter of the nineteenth century. This may have well led to a repudiation of forms such as /aɪ/ in *join*, [...] (Connolly 1981: 405)

The *Scots Spelling Comatee* recommended internal <y> in words peculiar to or with a connotation peculiar to Scots such as *wynd*, *syne* ('ago'), *tyne* ('lose'), *tyke* ('dog'), *wyfe* ('wife'), *byde* ('remain'), *fyle* ('defile'), in those words where Standard English cognates have <oi> such as *jyne* ('join') and *pynt* ('point') and to indicate the diphthong in *mynd* ('mind'), *kynd* ('kind') and *rynd* ('rind') etc. along with *eydent* ('diligent'), *gey* ('very') and *kye* ('cows').

Traditionally vowel 1 (long and short) was usually represented by either <i-e> or <y-e>, the latter in words which were apparently 'particularly' Scots such as *blythe* ('cheerful'), *byre* ('cow shed'), *kye* ('cows'), *dyke* ('wall'), *hynd* ('farm labourer') and *syne* ('ago')⁵³, arguably making any other innovations redundant.

2. *e* appears in combination with another vowel to indicate a diphthong: (1) *ei*, *ey* [ei, əi], e.g. *fey*, *gey*, *pey*, *eydent*, *gleid*, and, in s.Sc., *key*, *mei* (me); (2) *ie*, *ye* [æe], usually in words common to Sc. and Eng., e.g. *lie*, *pie*, *cried*; also *fye* (ne.Sc. form of *whey*), *kye*. (SND: E)

3. as the diphthong developed mostly from O.E. *i*, *y*, O.N. *i*, *y*, O.Fr. *i*, viz. [əi, s.Sc. ěi], written *i-e*, *y-e*, †*ay*, †*ey*, but finally, and in n.Sc. before voiced fricatives, [æe] as in *buy*, *dry*, *KYE*, and among old speakers in n.Sc. in a rounded form [li] as in *bide*, *hojne* s.v. *HYNE*, *mine*, *five*, *pipe* [blid, mlin, etc.] (SND: I)

⁴⁹ See <http://www.scotsdictionaries.org.uk/> Scots Spelling and Grammar accessed 16.09.06.

⁵⁰ <http://www.scotsdictionaries.org.uk/HeadWordList/A.html> accessed 16.09.06.

⁵¹ This is an 'eye dialect' running together of two words, *aw* and *weys* ('all ways').

⁵² See Johnston (1997: 495–6).

⁵³ All headword forms in the SND and frequent spellings in DOST.

in stressed syllables as a diphthong developed chiefly from O.E. *i*, *y*, O.N. *í*, *ý*, O.Fr. *i*, sounded [əi, s.Sc. eɪ], but finally in monosyllables and, esp. in m.Sc., before *r* and voiced fricatives as [æe], in such words as *By*, *dry*, *KYE*, *my*, *BYRE*, *FLYTE*, *FYKE*, *HYTHE*, *KYLE*, *SYBOW*, *TYNE*, *WYTE*, etc. This coincides in most cases with *i* in similar positions (see I, letter, 3.) and alternates arbitrarily with it and occas. with *ei*– in spelling, *y* being thought of as gen. more archaic, e.g. *byde*, *BIDE*, *pyne*, *PINE*, *tyke*, *TIKE*, *quhyte*, *WHITE*, *ydent*, *EIDENT*, *ingyne*, *INGINE*. *y* also develops from Mid.Eng. *oi*, *ui*, unrounded as in *jyner*, *joiner*, *dytt*, *DOIT*, *n.¹*, *myen*, *MOYEN*. (SND: Y)

The choice between <i-e> or <y-e>, perhaps being dependent on a judicious decision as to whether a word is considered ‘particularly’ Scots or not.

Traditionally vowel 8a was usually represented by <-ay> word–finally, still indicated in the usual pronunciation of the name MacKAY, which to a modern reader could be interpreted as /e/, though here an alternative grapheme <-ey>, offers itself in words such as *gey* ‘very’ and *quey* (‘heifer’), which in a regularised orthography could also be applied to words such as *Mey* (‘May’), *pey* (‘pay’) and *wey* (‘way’) etc.⁵⁴ making any other innovations redundant.

Vowel 10 was traditionally represented by <oi>, which to a modern reader could be interpreted as /oi, ɔɪ, oe/.

As in Eng. this diphthong came to be pronounced [əi] in the 16th c. and this has remained in Sc. when the sound returned to [ɔi] in Eng. in the 18th c. (SND: O)

However, the traditional graphemes <i-e> and <y-e> offer themselves as alternatives. The form <i-e> when applied in words such as *bile* (‘boil’) and *jine* (‘join’) might pose morphemic problems when forming the past tense in <-t>, resulting in clumsy *bilet* or *bilt* and *jinet* or *jint* (the latter indicating vowel 15), unless <-d> /t/ were used giving *biled* and *jined*. The alternative <y-e> avoids the clumsy past-tense forms, giving either *bylt*⁵⁵ or *byled* and *jynt* or *jyned*. Other innovations are arguably redundant but a judicious choice may be necessary word–initially in, for example, *y/e* or *i/e* (‘oil’), though even *ey/* suggests itself, although the form *i/e* is given as the headword form in the SND.

The grapheme <ey> would offer itself as a less ambiguous choice word–initially in words such as *eydent/ident* (‘diligent’). Some suggested differentiating *ay* (‘yes’) and *aye* (‘always’), and that seems to be fairly well established in traditional literature.

The spelling of this and the preceding word in Sc. is irregular, but *ay* = yes, and *aye* = always, seem to predominate. Both words in Sc. are markedly diphthongal but not identical in pronunciation. *N.E.D.* and *Un. Eng. Dict.* prefer *ay* = always, and *aye* = yes, the first of which rhymes with the *ay* series of Eng. words like *say*, *day*, etc., while the second does not. The *Concise Eng. Dict.* spells *ay* = yes, and *aye* = ever, always.] (SND: aye)

Vowels 2 and 11 are identical in all dialects except Southern Scots and Ulster dialects influenced by it, where word–finally it is usually diphthongised to /əi/. In Ulster, when final, /e/ may also occur.

⁵⁴ The spellings cited may also be found in DOST.

⁵⁵ Elision of final <e> is common practice when adding word final morphemes, cf. *come* > *coming*.

[...] **ei** is heard in Sth. Sc. in final position, where **i** is the rule in Mid. Sc. [...] (Grant and Dixon 1921: 57)

[...] for Old English *ea* before [ç] or [x] Scots has [i:]. Thus Scots has *Hieland* [...] where English has *Highland*. Before [g] Old English *ēo* gives [i:] in Scots, producing *fleeing* [...] as the Scottish equivalent of *flying* and also *dree* 'endure' [...] from Old English *drēogan* [...] (Tulloch 1980: 185)

Its most common spelling in [Older] Scots is <eCe> medially and <e> finally, though <eeC> and the Norman influenced <eiC> are nearly as common from the earliest manuscripts, and even <ie> may appear this early in words that have this spelling now in standard English, such as *thief*, *priest*, *field*, *shield*, *siege* [...] (Johnston 1997a: 71)

The diphthongisation [...] after /w m/, so that *when* becomes *fyne*, is the most restricted of the various Post-Velar Diphthongisation rules affecting front vowel classes in the north-east. (Johnston 1997b: 456)

The bulk of the Scots Planters are known to have come from the west of Scotland (West Central and South-West Scots: both are Central dialects, with the addition of lawless elements expelled from the Borders (Southern Scots). (Macafee 2001: 121)

Scots also retained vowel 2 in many words of Latinate origin where that became diphthongised in Standard English.

Words of Romance origin retain this vowel [i] in Sc. (Grant and Dixon 1921: 41)

[...] which, with lengthening, produces *ceevil*, as in Scots and Ulster dialect [...] (Braidwood 1964: 53)

The *Scots Style Sheet* suggested <e-e, ee, ei, ie> and <i> "according to old usage" but were clearly also assuming many words with vowel 3 also belonged to this class. Examples given were *heed*, *deed*⁵⁶, *ee* ('eye'), *yestreen* ('yesterday evening') *die*, *hie* ('high'), *ambition*, *king* and *tradition*.

Purves (1979) suggested <ei, ei> and <ee> where it "is the established usage in common with English" (p.66) although his intention was to minimise the use of that digraph "borrowed from English" (p.64), examples of such included *leek* and *been* but also *ee* ('eye'), *leeve* ('live' v.) and *wee* ('small'). Purves also assumed many words with vowel 3 belonged here, suggesting internal <ei> in those and words such as *reik* ('smoke'), *seik* ('sick'), *steik* ('stitch') and *theik* ('thatch'), and that this was also employed in Latinate words such as *releigion* ('religion') and *poseition* ('position') etc. Word-final <ie> was suggested in words such as *die*, *drie* ('endure'), *flie* ('fly'), *hie* ('high'), Purves also suggesting it for "words with identical pronunciations and different meanings" (p.67) such as *bien* ('comfortable'), *spier* ('enquire') and *fier* ('companion')⁵⁷.

McClure (1980) suggested <ei> on the grounds of its being well established from Middle Scots but that applied equally to this and vowel 3 at the time (Aitken 2002: 57, 76, 100).

The *Scots Language Society* (1985) suggested <ee, ei> and <ie>, retaining <ee> where it is firmly established in, for example, *ee* ('eye'), with <ei> word-internally, also allocating this to many words with vowel 3 and words of Latinate origin which retained this vowel and <ie>

⁵⁶ The examples given *deed* and *heed*, with vowel 2, contrast with *deid* ('dead') and *heid* ('head') with vowel 3, though no explanation was given as to why.

⁵⁷ Contrasting the last two with words with vowel 3 *speir* ('spear') and *feir* ('fear').

word-finally in monosyllabic words such as *brie* ('liquid'), *die*, *gie* ('give') and *grie* ('agree') etc.

The *Aiberdeen Univairsitie Scots Leid Quorum* (1995) suggested <ei> internally and <ee> word-finally including some words with vowel 3.⁵⁸

SLD Ltd. suggested <ei, ie> and <ee>, giving the examples *dreich* ('dreary'), *scrieve* ('scribble') and *flee* ('fly')⁵⁹. Those were also applied to many words with vowel 3, for example, *heid* ('head') and *deef* ('deaf') in Macleod and Cairns 1993 p.vii. In some words of Latinate origin which retained this vowel <ee> was suggested. The headword list based upon the contents of the *Essential Scots Dictionary*⁶⁰ provided forms such as *abreed* ('apart'), *abreist*⁶¹ ('abreast'), *ajee* ('to one side'), *atweel* ('certainly'), *atween* ('between') and in Latinate words both *airtificial* and *artifeecial* ('artificial') along with *ambeetious* ('ambitious'), *anxeeitie* ('anxiety') and *appeteet* ('appetite').

Robinson (1997) did not make specific recommendations but tended to use <ee> or <ae>, perhaps, to represent the /e/ realisation which Robinson claims may occur in some dialects⁶². Robinson also used <ei> in words such as *bein* ('been'), *eild* ('age') and *heich* ('high'), <ie> being used in words such as *biel'd* ('shelter'), *gie* ('give') and *nieve* ('fist'), while <ee> also occasionally occurred in words with vowel 3. Robinson (p.33) assumed that traditional spellings in Latinate words such as *meenister* ('minister') as used by Ulster writers were the result of their simply following 'Scots' convention and probably assumed the current Mid Ulster English realisation to be 'Ulster Scots'.⁶³

The *Scots Spelling Comatee* (2000) recommended <ei> in words traditionally pronounced "ee" in Scots but "i" in Standard English, giving examples such as *eimage* ('image'), *tradeition* ('tradition'), *seik* ('sick'), *steik* ('stitch') and *weik* ('wick'), and <ee> in identical and close cognates and word-finally⁶⁴, while <ie> was recommended in identical Standard English cognates. Many words with vowel 3 were included here but the recommended spelling was usually <ea> or <ei>. None of the recommendations clearly identified the underlying phonemes of vowels 2 and 11, and none, except Allan, (1995: 88) mention the Southern Scots diphthongisation of word-final vowel 11⁶⁵.

None clearly identify the underlying vowel 3 in many words with /i/, although Allan (1995: 88) commented on the Fife realisation [de:d] for *deid* ('dead').

⁵⁸ Although here <ea> was often recommended.

⁵⁹ <http://www.scotsdictionaries.org.uk> Scots spelling and Grammar accessed on 16.09.06.

⁶⁰ <http://www.scotsdictionaries.org.uk/HeadWordList/A.html> accessed on 16.09.06.

⁶¹ This may indicate vowel 3 but the SND only lists [brist Sc., but ne. + brift] under *breist* from Anglo-Saxon *brēost*.

⁶² The present author found no evidence for this in the material that he consulted, except for *been* [ben] and *seen* [sen] in Ballymoney and *ee*/[e] and *heel*/[he] in Newtownards in the LAS Vol. 3 (Mather 1986).

⁶³ Fenton (2000) provides examples such as *artyfeecial*, *conteenyal*, *obleege*, *poseetion* etc. Fenton also provides examples with <i> where /i/ would be expected, for example, *minister* and Gregg (1958) usually has /æ/ in such words, although this may simply be a result of a shift towards Standard (Ulster) English.

⁶⁴ With familiar exceptions such as *gie* ('give') and *hie* ('high').

⁶⁵ Giving as an example *tea*. This is a late introduction to the language, the <ea> having no etymological relevance. Originally [te:], and still so in many dialects, then [ti:] and hence [təi] in Southern Scots.

For vowel 2 various traditional graphemes offer themselves: <ee>, <e-e>, <ie> and <ei>, though closer analysis shows that their application was not completely random. Certainly <ee> predominated,⁶⁶ in words shared with Standard English, but also in many cognates where Standard English has <e> such as *freet* ('fret'), *weel* ('well') and *weet* ('wet') and in Latinate words such as *bapteese* ('baptise'), *ceevil* ('civil'), *leeberal* ('liberal'). *Leeshence* ('licence'), *obleege* ('oblige'), *peety* ('pity') and *speerit* ('spirit'). The familiar <e-e> also occurred in words shared with Standard English but also in words such as *ferē* ('comrade'). The grapheme <ie> seemed to prevail in words shared with Standard English such as *brier*, *chief*, *grief* and *field* but also before /f/, /l/ and /v/ in words such as *biel* ('shelter'), *bonspiel* ('curling match'), *chield* ('fellow'), *lief* ('beloved'), *nieve* ('fist'), *scrieve* ('scribble'), *shiel* ('a hut') and *stieve* ('rigid'). The grapheme <ei> seemed to prevail before /x/, /r/ and /st/ in words such as *dreich* ('dreary'), *heich* ('high'), *neist* ('next'), *skreich* ('shriek'), *skeich* ('frisky'), *sneist* ('supercilious'), *speir* ('inquire'), *sweir* ('reluctant') and *weich* ('liquor'). The <ei> in *deil* ('devil') perhaps deriving from an apostrophe-less *de'il*.

(2) (a) In an accented open syllable followed by a mute *e*, *e* has the sound [i:] as in Eng., e.g. *bene*, *bere*, *dede*, *eme*, *ferē*, *tene*, but is frequently shortened with change of quality, esp. in em.Sc.(a). (SND: E)

(3) *ee* [i:], often as a variant spelling for [ei] or [ie] below [...] and in Gen.Sc. for Romance [i], e.g. *eemage*, *feenish*, *leeshance*, *obteen*, *peety*. (SND: E)

Since the 18th c. the spelling *ee* or, less commonly, *ie* has been largely adopted for this sound; (SND: l)

Many suggested a more rigorous application of the grapheme <ei> on the grounds of its 'pedigree' in older Scots, albeit along with the more prevalent <e-e> among others.⁶⁷ Since the 18th and 19th centuries the grapheme <ei> has become associated with vowel 3 in words such as *beir* ('bear'), *deid* ('dead'), *deif* ('deaf'), *heid* ('head') and *breid* ('bread')⁶⁸. Wider use of that grapheme for vowel 2 may, for a modern reader, produce somewhat unfamiliar and 'complicated' forms such as *heiliegoleirie*, where *heiligoleery* might be easier on the eye and easier to 'analyse'. A decision to use either <ee>, <e-e>, <ie> or <ei> may depend on a judicious study of prevailing forms and application of the tendencies described above. The SND certainly provides a guide here, and if a form exists which has been regularly used and conforms to the chosen 'rules', its acceptance as the 'norm' cannot be dismissed lightly. It cannot be argued that coping with various graphemes for the same sound is beyond the scope of human ingenuity.

Most adult English-speakers certainly have no problem with *dead* and *bead* or *bough* and *rough* etc. As vowel 11 only occurs word-finally it poses less of a problem, the traditional form being <ee>, arguably rendering any innovation redundant.

Vowel 3, remained distinct as /ɛi/ in Caithness, but has merged with either vowel 2 or 4, pronounced variously /i/ or /e(ɪ)/ in other dialects, the choice varying across both dialect

⁶⁶ An anglicised spelling that appeared late in the Middle Scots Period. (Aitken 2002: lvi)

⁶⁷ Both <ei> and <e-e>, along with <ey>, were used in Older Scots. (Aitken 2002: lvi)

⁶⁸ All the cited examples are given as headword forms in the SND.

and individual words. In Ulster /e/ is common (Braidwood 1964: 58–60) and in some conservative areas /i:/ occurs in what would normally be short environments⁶⁹. In most Scots dialects the pronunciation /ɛ:/ may occur before <r>.

With regards to Scots the evidence of the present day Scots dialects, which vary between [e:] and [i:], strongly suggests that Scots was going through the same transition as English at about the same time. In the mid Scots area, the eastern branch north of the Forth has the older [e:] against [i:] south of the Forth. West mid Scots (whence most of the Ulster settlers) has [i:] in all but a few words. Kintyre, where many of the Lowland Scots were settled immediately prior to crossing to Antrim, balances between [e:] and [i:], according to *SND*, but it cites only *chaip*, *daith* for the [e:] pronunciation against *deif*, *heid* etc., and this in fact is the position in the west mid Scots of today [...] (Braidwood 1964: 60)

[...] J. Wilson, *Lowland Scotch* (London, 1915), has drawn up such a list (p. 39) of items with /e/ for the Stratherne dialect of Perthshire which he later contrasts with the list for the central Ayrshire dialect in his book *The Dialect of Robert Burns as Spoken in Central Ayrshire* (London, 1923). The latter list is almost identical with the comparable items for the SI [Scotch–Irish] dialect of G. [Glenoe] which again underlines the kinship of SI with south–western Scots, specifically Ayrshire and hinterland. (Gregg 1972: 127)

[...] the use of <i> as a diacritic of vowel length in breid and leid. (Scragg 1975: 37)⁷⁰

There are several dialect areas in Scotland [...] where the MEAT – MEET merger has either not taken place or not been completed. (Harris 1985: 249)

[...] although the predominant spelling, <eCe> medially, <e> finally, matches that of MEET, <ei> is not so common so early on, becoming so only in the course of the fifteenth century, while <eeC> is very rare. Instead, one finds English–like <ea> spellings, especially before /r/ and labials from the beginning, and <a–e>, <aiC> occasionally, starting in the mid– to late fifteenth century. It seems that <ee/ei> spellings are therefore associated with the /e:/ value traditionally held by MEET, if not /i:/ itself; [...] (Johnston 1997a: 73)

[...] from standard like [i(:)] [...] to [e-(:)-ɪ(:)], [e(:)] or [ɛ(:)] [...] diphthongs like [ɛɪ] or [eɪ] [...] usually resulting from Northern Diphthongisation, and even [e-ə~eə] [...] common in North Mid A and sporadically elsewhere. (Johnston 1997b: 456)

The sequence /er/ from this or any other source undergoes Pre-Rhotic Vowel Lowering to /ɛr/ in Ulster Scots [...] the /r/ is /ɹ/ in the Irish case [...] (Johnston 1997b: 458)

The *Scots Style Sheet*, Purves (1979), McClure (1980), the *Scots Language Society*, the *Aberdeen University Scots Leid Quorum* (1995) and the *Scots Spelling Comatee* failed to identify this vowel as an underlying phoneme.

The *Scots Style Sheet* allocated individual items to vowels 2 or 4, suggesting spellings such as <ei> in *deid* ('dead') and *heid* ('head') and perhaps <ai>, although no specific examples were given.

Purves (1979) allocated individual items to vowels 2 or 4 suggesting spellings such as <ei> *breid* ('bread'), *deif* ('deaf'), *dreid* ('dread'), *heid* ('head') and *threid* ('thread'), <ai> in *daith* ('death') and <ae> in *rael* ('real'), *baet* ('beat'), *claen* ('clean'), *chaep* ('cheap'), *dael* ('deal') and initially before <r> in *aerlie* ('early') and *aern* ('earn') etc., Purves commenting that the

⁶⁹ This has been found in Scotland as well.

⁷⁰ Commenting on the orthography in a circa 1520 version of the Lord's Prayer. *Breid* ('bread'), *leid* v. ('lead').

“infiltration” of <ea> “into Scots has been particularly damaging to Scots orthography” (p.63), citing precedents in the SND for his alternatives.

No examples of words with this phoneme were cited by McClure (1980).

The *Scots Language Society* cited only *deid* (‘dead’) and it is assumed such words were allocated to either vowel 2, 4 or 8, suggesting <ei> and <ai>. Allan (1995: 88) commented on the Fife realisation [de:ɪd] for *deid* (‘dead’), suggesting <ei> in *heid* (‘head’) and <ae> in *baet* (‘beat’), *saet* (‘seat’) and *aet* (‘eat’) in words with Standard English cognates in <ea> but <ea> in *plea*, *plead* and *spear*.

SLD Ltd. apparently allocated words with this underlying phoneme to vowels 2 or 4, giving such examples as *breid* (‘bread’), *deid* (‘dead’), *eat*, *heid* (‘head’), *leaf* and *seat*⁷¹. Macleod (1996) also includes forms such as *deef* (‘deaf’) and *mait* (‘meat’).

Robinson (1997) described that on the basis of Standard English <ea>, suggesting <ei> in words such as *breid* (‘bread’), *deid* (‘dead’), *leiven* (‘eleven’), *heid* (‘head’) and *seiven* (‘seven’), <ee> in *deef* (‘deaf’), <ai> in *baird* (‘beard’), *clain* (‘clean’), *daith* (‘death’), *mait* (‘meat’) and <a-e> in *sate* (‘seat’).

The *Scots Spelling Comatee* apparently recommended <ea> in Standard English cognates pronounced the same as in Scots giving the example *lean* and apparently <ei> in others. The use of <ae> was suggested for regional variants of words with <ea> in Standard English in words such as *aet* (‘eat’) and *maet* (‘meat’).

The merger of Vowel 3 with either vowel 2 or 4 occurred in the early Scots period⁷² and was subsequently written using the graphemes for those vowels. In the 18th and 19th centuries the vowel was traditionally represented by <ea> though occasional forms with <ei> such as *deid* (‘dead’) and *heid* (‘head’) occurred, those having gained in popularity by the 20th century.

(2) *ea* [now mostly [i:]] but, in Sh., mn.Sc. (b) and em.Sc. (a) and prob. Gen.Sc. in 18th cent., [e:], and in Ags., in certain words, often in association with a front consonant, [e:], e.g. *beat*, *deaf*, *death*. [...]. This spelling, alternating with the less frequent *ai*, represents mostly, as in Eng., O.E. *æ*, *ēa*, *ē*, *e* in open syllables, e.g. *ream*, *quean*, *swear*, *tear*, *threap*; (SND: E)

(4) *ei* [i:], from O.E. *æ* (Anglian *ē*, *ēa*, *ēo*, *ē* in open syllables; Gen.Sc. except for conditions under 3 (2), e.g. *breid*, *deid*, *deil*, *dreich*, *eik*, *eild*, *ein* (eyes), *heid*, *reid*; (SND:E)

The merger of vowel 3 with vowels 2 or 4 makes it difficult for most speakers to identify vowel 3 as an underlying phoneme. The traditional grapheme <ea> theoretically suffices as a marker of the Caithness /ɛi/ and the /i/ or /e/ realisation of other dialects, though arguably the influence of Standard English literacy may interfere with such an interpretation, especially where /ɛ/ occurs in such words as *dead*, *deaf*, *head* and *thread* etc. Here <ei> certainly offers itself as a less ambiguous alternative, although it is also used in some words

⁷¹ <http://www.scotsdictionaries.org.uk> Scots Spelling and Grammar accessed on 16.09.06.

⁷² The usual spelling was <e-e>, the mergers with vowel 4 were rarely reflected in spelling. (Aitken 2002: lvi)

with vowel 2. That could certainly also be applied for all occurrences of vowel 3 but may seem unfamiliar to many where the traditional <ea> for /i/ is also familiar from Standard English. Certainly the traditional <ea> could be employed here. The *Scots Spelling Comatee* suggested that those wishing to indicate an /e/ realisation could use <ae>, as did Philp (Graham 1997: xi), although an unconventional use of that grapheme in an initial or medial position, the grapheme would leave most words, in which it was applied, recognisable. As <ee> is traditionally applied to vowel 2 and 11, its use here would be misleading, and arguably that also applies to <ai>, which is usually associated with vowel 8 and to some extent vowel 4. A consistent regularisation would imply the use of <ei> for all occurrences of vowel 3, a less radical approach accepting various application of <ei> and <ea>, perhaps with the addition of <ai> (or <ae>) depending on the writer's dialect. Certainly the latter would leave the written form familiar to those acquainted with traditional written Scots.

Vowels 4 and 8 have merged in many dialects but were historically /e/ and /e:/, with /ɛ/ also occurring, especially before <r> in Scotland. In Ulster it is usually /ɛ:/. Consequently the distinction between the vowels in spelling had broken down where <a-e> and <ae> final were common for vowel 4 and <ai>, <ay> final, for vowel 8, the latter increasingly used to represent the former, though before the nasals /m/ and /n/ the traditional <a-e> spelling survived in words such as *ane, ance, bane, hame, lame, nane*, and *stane* etc. (Murison 1977: 28–29), also occurring in words such as *face, gate, hale* and *Pace* etc. In Northern Scots vowel 4 before /n/ is realised /i/, traditionally represented by the cluster <ane> (Grant and Dixon 1921: 44).

O.E. ā, which becomes [e] in the other dialects, is diphthongised in this [Southern Scots]. Murray writes the diphthong 'i' representing [ɪə]. The first element is h.fr. half tense and slightly lowered, the second being very weak and often elided in rapid speech—e.g. *blate (modest), baith, braid, claes, drove* (v), *grope, load* (n.) in *leead treis (shelmonts or frame laid on a cart), loaf, rope, soap*¹. These words might be written *beeath, breead, cleez*, etc. [...]

O.E. ǣ in open position also developed into this diphthong—e.g. *made, spade, sale, tale, bake, cake, rake* (n.), *make, shake, lamiter (lame man), name, shame, tame*.² This sound was common in Teviotdale c.1870 (see D.S.C.S., pp. 105, 144), and can still be heard from middle-aged and old people in Langholm and Canobie and e.Dmf., but in other districts it is obsolescent or obsolete, as in Jedburgh, where it has been replaced by [ê]. (Grant 1931: xxix)

[In Southern Scots] When the word began with a vowel or *h* the stress fell on the second element of the diphthong and a *y* [j] sound was produced instead of *i* [ɪ], as in *yae, yin, †yick, †yicker, yill, yince, yits, hyim, hyirsch, hyil*,⁷³ for *one* (adj.), *one* (pron.), *oak, acre, ale, once, oats, home, hoarse, whole*. Teviotdale has *yen, yek*, etc., in the above. (Grant 1931: xxix)

In the central dialects at the present day there is a clear distinction between the vowels of *sale, tale, stane, late* &c., and *sail, tail, stain, wait*. The former is a close *e*-sound, tending towards *ee* (as in Eng. *See*), which I have not been able to find in any other language. The latter is an open vowel similar to that in Eng. *fair*. Although dialect speakers unconsciously make the distinction, it is not audible to every observer. The late Sir James Wilson, who made a special study of several Scottish dialects, once asked me, 'Do you make any difference between the vowel of the demonstrative *thae* (those) and the pronoun *they*?' 'Certainly', I said, 'they are quite distinct.' 'So my brother says,' he replied, 'but I can't hear the difference'; nor did he attempt to distinguish them in his various books. The distinction is also ignored in Grant and Main Dixon's 'Manual of Modern Scots'. In Wright's 'English Dialect Grammar' it is recognized (§9), but the close vowel is incorrectly equated with the French *é* in *été*, and in the pronouncing index there is much confusion between the two sounds.

⁷³ je:, jɛn, jɪk, jɪkər, jɪl, jɪns, jɪts, hjɪm, hjɪrf, hjɪl.

The distinction also holds in such forms as *sae* (so) and *say*, *gae* (go) and *gay*, *strae* (straw) and *stray*. Before *k*, however, the open vowel appears where the close sound would be normal, as in *bake*, *cake*, &c., and in the past tense of strong verbs of the *ride* class e.g. *rade*, *drave*, *rase*, while other words of similar form, as *lade* (mill-stream), *lave* (remainder) have the close vowel. The interchangeable spelling in older Scottish makes it impossible to trace the exact history of the two sounds in the various dialects. (Craigie 1969b: 4)⁷⁴

The sequence /er/ from this or any other source undergoes Pre-Rhotic Vowel Lowering to /ɛr/ in Ulster Scots and Glaswegian, and sporadically elsewhere; the /r/ is /ɹ/ in the Irish case and a pharyngealised vowel in the Scottish one, either one of which could conceivably foster lowering. (Johnston 1997b: 458)

[...] *Wame* undergoes Post-Velar Dissimilation quite regularly, with little lexical conditioning, resulting in transfer to BITE. In Mid-Northern dialects, and especially in Mid-Northern A, other consonants besides a preceding /w/ can trigger the change, including a dark /l/, so that *clothes* is [kl̥ɛɪz ~ kl̥ɪz]. (Johnston 1997b: 458)

[...] *bairn* has [ɛ:ɹ], which matches MATE + /r/, while *start* varies with the same vowel in Down, but /ɜɹ/ in Antrim [...] (Johnston 1997b: 487)

[...] [e] in Antrim [...] in Down [e(:)] is found everywhere but before /r/ and finally where [...] /ɛ:ɹ/ appears [...] this, of course, is also an extended Pre-Rhotic Lowering Rule [...] (Johnston 1997b: 462)

The *Scots Style Sheet* does not distinguish the vowels, suggesting <ae> and <ay>, apparently word-finally otherwise <ai> and <a-e>, apparently following traditional practice, giving examples such as *ae*, *ane* ('one'), *ay* ('yes'), *aye* ('always'), *blae* ('blue-grey'), *fray*, *frae* ('from'), *hain* ('store'), *cairt* ('cart'), *maister* ('master'), *bane* ('bone') and *hame* ('home').

Purves (1979) does not distinguish the vowels suggesting <ae, ay>, <ai> and <a-e> mentioning that <ai> is not used terminally⁷⁵, giving examples such as *ay* ('yes') and *aye* ('always'), *fray*, *say*, *blae*, *brae* ('hillside'), *wae* ('woe'), *graen* ('groan'), *maen* ('moan'), *braid* ('broad'), *hail* ('whole'), *nairrae* ('narrow'), *alane* ('alone'), *bane* ('bone') *hame* ('home'), *stane* ('stone') and *wame* ('belly'). Purves also suggested <e> for the realisation /ɛ(:)/ in some dialects in words such as *gether* ('gather'), *herm* ('harm'), *hert* ('heart'), *Merch* ('March') and *trekkil* ('treacle').

McClure (1980) distinguished vowels 4 and 8, suggesting <ae> and <ai> respectively, commenting that vowel 8 may merge with vowel 4.

The *Scots Language Society* suggested <ae, ai> or <a-e> giving examples such as *maen* ('moan'), *baith* ('both'), *dwaible* ('pliant'), *hain* ('store'), *sair* ('sore'), *bane* ('bane'), *hame* ('home'), *vase* and *ay* ('yes'), *aye* ('always') and *brae* ('hillside').

The *Aiberdeen Univairstie Scots Leid Quorum* did not distinguish the vowels, suggesting following the traditional spellings <ai, a-e> initially and internally and <ae, ay> finally giving such examples as *faither* ('father') *sair* ('sore'), *sklate* ('slate') and *say* and *sae* ('so')

⁷⁴ The forms *lade* and *lave* may be forms of *lead* ('to conduct, guide, etc.') and *leave* merged from vowel 3. The form *drave* may be merged from vowel 7.

⁷⁵ Except in *thai* ('they') apparently culled from Middle Scots.

etc. Allan (1995) commented on the ‘disagreement’ of the vowel value in Central dialects, citing the examples *hairt* (‘heart’) and *aiss* (‘ash(es)'), using <ai> as the default.⁷⁶

SLD Ltd. did not distinguish the vowels, suggesting <ae> word-finally, and otherwise <ai> or <a-e> in examples such as *brae* (‘hillside’), *thae* (‘those’), *sair* (‘sore’) and *hame* (‘home’). Macleod (1996) included such forms as *been* (‘bone’) and *steen* (‘stone’) for the North-eastern realisations in the cluster traditionally written <ane>, something apparently justified on the basis that -a- would not do for both sounds in Central *stane* and North-eastern *steen* (Macleod 2000: 66), although such a realisation is predicable, only occurring in the cluster <ane>. Such predictable North-eastern realisations were also added as variants in the headword list based upon the contents of the *Essential Scots Dictionary*⁷⁷ providing examples such as *aince/eence*⁷⁸ (‘once’) but *ane/een*⁷⁹ (‘one’), *alane/aleen* (‘alone’), *anely*⁸⁰ (‘only’) but not *eenly*, *anerly* (‘only’) but no *eenerly*. Interestingly the ‘eye dialect’ *agane*⁸¹ (‘again’) [ə'gen, ə'gɛn, ə'gɪn Sc.; ə'gɪən s.Sc.] (SND: again) was provided.

Robinson’s (1997) suggestions were based on correspondences to Standard English suggesting <ai>, <ae> and <a-e> in words such as *airm* (‘arm’), *cairt* (‘cart’), *pairt* (‘part’), *shairp* (‘sharp’), *fae* (‘foe’), *sae* (‘so’), *tae* (‘toe’), *ane* (‘one’)⁸², *bane* (‘bane’), *hame* (‘hame’), and *stane* (‘stone’).

The *Scots Spelling Comatee* did not distinguish the vowels, recommending <ai> initially and medially and mainly <ae> finally, giving examples such as *ain* (ones ‘own’), *airt* (‘direction’), *hain* (‘store’), *pairt* (‘part’), *brae* (‘hillside’), *strae* (‘straw’) and *thae* (‘those’).

Traditionally <a-e>, <ai>, <ae> and <ay> were variously used for those vowels.

3. [e] Same sound as in the Scottish educated pronunciation of *fate*, Fr. *fé*. This sound occurs when *a* is followed by a consonant + a vowel, generally *e*. Ex. *bane* (bone), *pape* (pip), *sape* (soap), *gane* (gone), *rade* (rode), *rape* (rope), *wale* (choose). (SND: A)

2. It is joined with *i* or *y*, the latter being used generally in final position, to denote [e], [e:], [è]. Ex. *rair* (roar), *airmy*, *lairs* (morals), *gait* (a goat), *quait* (quiet), *flay* (frighten). (SND: A)

5. It is joined with *e* to indicate [e], [e:], [è] and [ɛ], long or short. Ex. *tae* (toe), *maet* (meet), *blae*, *brae*, *haet* (whit). (SND: A)

3. *e* is found in various vowel digraphs: (1) *ae*: (i) [e: Gen.Sc., but eɪ: em.Sc.(a)], representing usually O.E. and O.N. *ā* in final syllables, e.g. *blae*, *frae*, *strae*, *faem*; (SND: E)

Traditional writing did not seem to use <a-e> and <ai> medially to distinguish between vowels 4 and 8 as systematically as the examples given in Aitken (1984: 95) imply: *ake*

⁷⁶ SND has headword *hert* [hɛrt, hert] and *ass* with, among others, possible [es, ɛs].

⁷⁷ <http://www.scotsdictionaries.org.uk/HeadWordList/A.html> accessed on 16.09.06.

⁷⁸ *Aince* was the headword along with other phonetic spellings such as *yince* and *wance*.

⁷⁹ *Ane* was the headword form, along with other phonetic spellings such as *yin* and *wan*.

⁸⁰ This may simply be a modern writer’s calque on English ‘only’. The only occurrences in the SND are in the 2005 supplement, the traditional form being *anerly*.

⁸¹ The spelling *agane* may suggest a Northern realisation *[ə'gin] cf. *ane*, *bane* and *stane* etc.

⁸² Robinson also suggested *yin*.

(‘oak’), *ate* (‘oat’), *bate* (‘boat’), *hale* (‘whole’), *hame* (‘home’), *late*, *mare* (‘more’), *pale*, *sape* (‘soap’), *stane* (‘stone’) and *bait*, *braid* (‘broad’), *hail*, *pail*, *pair*. Although *ake* and *ate* appeared as headword forms in the SND,⁸³ the most common in citations were forms with <ai>. The other’s headword forms reflected Aitken, except *bait* (‘boat’), *mair* (‘more’) and *saip* (‘soap’), with <ai> and both *hale* or *hail* (‘whole’) apparently equally common. It is likely that the prevalent traditional forms simply reflected the Middle Scots convention rather than a modification of standard English along the lines of replacing <o-e> with <a-e> in words such as *ane* (‘one’), *bane* (‘bone’), *hale* (whole), *hame* (‘home’), *lane* (‘lone’), *stane* (‘stone’)⁸⁴ or <ai> in words such as *braid*, *mair* and *saip*.⁸⁵ One or the other of those vowels has also been allocated by some in Latinate words such as *aixercise* (‘exercise’), *maimber* (‘member’), *maimorie* (‘memory’) and *praiciuss* (‘precious’), although that is in fact vowel 16. Both <ae> and <ay> usually occurred finally in words such as *brae* (‘hillside’), *flae* (‘flea’), *frae* (‘from’), *gae* (‘go’), *sae* (‘so’), *day* and *say*, with the established exception of *claes* (‘clothes’)⁸⁶, their application, apparently <ae> for an underlying vowel 4 and <ay> for vowel 8.

As that is unambiguous, it would seem to negate the need for further innovation. The grapheme <ai> offers itself as a regular form word-initially and -medially, although a case for <a-e> can be made, especially in the cluster <ane>⁸⁷, which can then unambiguously also represent the Northern realisation /i/ for vowel 4. The initial /jɪ/ in Southern dialects, being environmentally conditioned, is predictably mastered by native speakers who have it. Using both <ai> or <a-e> initially and medially would be in keeping with traditional practice, though the choice of grapheme may depend on a judicious study of prevailing forms and application of the tendencies suggested above. The SND certainly provides a guide here, and if a form exists which has been regularly used and conforms to the chosen ‘rules’, its acceptance as the ‘norm’ cannot be dismissed lightly.

Vowels 5 and 18, usually /o:/ and /o~ɔ/, although vowel 5 often merges with vowel 18 in Central and Southern dialects and vowel 18 often merges with vowel 5 in other dialects.

In Scots, especially mid and south Scots (whence most of the Ulster Scots) *ǒ* is normally tense *o* and can be written *oa* [...] G.B. Adams records the Scots tense *o* for Antrim, but (from the point of view of Scots usage) inconsistently. Thus he gives *froth* [fro:θ], *lost* [lo:st] but *frost* [frɔst]. If the [ɔ] forms are not intrusions from a non-Scots dialect then they illustrate the type of variable quantity discussed above. (Braidwood 1964: 64)

Scots *oa* in words such as *froath* (= froth). This was not traditionally shown in any special way in Scots, and only appears sporadically in writing. (Macafee 1996: xxi)

The North Mid group goes further and turns long mid vowels to diphthongs after /w/ [...] (Johnston 1997a: 59)

Merger with COT is more or less complete in vernacular Scots, except in Argyll, Bute and adjacent parts of north Ayrshire, extreme south Ayrshire, Wigtownshire and Ulster on one side, and central Perthshire, north central Fife and parts of Berwickshire on the other. (Johnston 1997b: 480)

⁸³ Along with *y/k* and *yit*, representing Southern Scots realisations.

⁸⁴ All of which are headwords in DOST for vowel 4. (See Aitken 2002: lvi)

⁸⁵ Both <ai> and <a-e> forms occur in DOST. The latter reflecting the merger of vowel 8 with vowel 4.

⁸⁶ All examples occurring as headword forms in the SND.

⁸⁷ This may take precedence over morphemic spellings in, for example, *gae* (‘go’) < *gane* (‘gone’), which in central and southern dialects is [ge:n] and in northern dialects [gi:n].

In the south-west, in Galloway and Ulster, there is a trend towards lower and lower isolative forms as one moves away from the Central Belt, and thus, a decreased likelihood of the COT/COAT merger [...] In the rest of Gallovidian, and in most Antrim dialects, Mid [ɔ(:)] is the rule, without merger except before /x/ and final /r/, as in Caithness. In County Down, [ɒ(:)] is the majority form except pre-rotically, and unrounded low [ä(:)-ǎ(:)] becomes regular, not somewhat lexically conditioned as in the rest of Scotland, around labials. The forms approach the usual Hiberno-English [ɑ(:)] as one goes southwards. There is something of a tendency to have raising to /o/ before /g n ŋ/, and for [ɔ:] to appear as the reflex for both COT and COAT before /k x/ in Gallovidian and Ulster Scots. (Johnston 1997b: 483)

The *Scots Style Sheet* did not mention those vowels, the assumption being that traditional practice should be followed, usually <oa> or <o-e> for vowel 5 and <o> for vowel 18.

Purves (1979) seemed to assume that the two vowels were the same, suggesting <o> and <o-e> but commented; “the digraph, ‘oa’ is sometimes used to represent this sound, but it is seldom found in specifically Scottish words” (p.68), adding that it should be kept in words shared with English. Purves gave examples such as *ablo* (‘below’), *corbie* (‘raven’), *thon* (‘that’), *bole* (‘hatch’), *brose* (‘gruel’), *poke* (‘bag’) and *troke* (‘trade’) and *boat*, *foal* and *loanin* (‘lane’).

McClure (1980) differentiated the vowels, suggesting <oa> for vowel 5, and commented that “this is a decidedly un-Scots spelling; but there is no obvious alternative” and <o> for vowel 18, commenting on its merger with vowel 5 in some dialects.

The *Scots Language Society* did not mention these vowels, the assumption being that traditional practice should be followed, usually <oa> or <o-e> for vowel 5 and <o> for vowel 18.

The *Aiberdeen Univairsitie Scots Leid Quorum* was seemingly aware of mergers, suggesting the traditional practice, using <o> for vowel 5 and <o-e>, and, less often, <oa>, for vowel 18.

SLD Ltd. did not differentiate those vowels, simply suggesting <o>, <oa> and <o-e> in words such as *oan* (‘on’), *goat* (‘got’) and *thole* (‘endure’)⁸⁸. (Macleod 2000: 66) admitted the possibility of <o> being capable of representing both /ɔ/ and /o/ in *on* or *holiday*⁸⁹. In the headword list based upon the contents of the *Essential Scots Dictionary*⁹⁰ forms such as *ablow* and *alow* (‘below’), *afore* (‘before’), *athort* (‘across’) and *awbody* (‘everybody’) occurred.

Robinson (1997) simply suggested <oa> where Standard English has <o> but also used <o> and <o-e>.

The *Scots Spelling Comatee* seemed to recommend following traditional practice and were aware of mergers, recommended against <oa> spellings in words such as *on* and *stop*.

⁸⁸ The form *boak* (‘retch’) was included, representing a vocalisation of vowel 13 before /k/.

⁸⁹ SND gives the Scots form *haliday* [‘helɪde], /o/ or /ɔ/ simply being the Scottish English realisations.

⁹⁰ <http://www.scotsdictionaries.org.uk/HeadWordList/A.html> accessed on 16.09.06.

The traditional graphemes seemed to be <oa, o-e>⁹¹ for vowel 5 and <o>⁹² for vowel 18. As the merger of those vowels is not universal, treating them as separate vowels in a normative orthography would be advisable. The traditional graphemes are certainly unambiguous, though the choice of grapheme may depend on a judicious study of prevailing forms and application of the tendencies suggested above. The SND certainly provides a guide here, and if a form exists which has been regularly used and conforms to the chosen ‘rules’, its acceptance as the ‘norm’ cannot be dismissed lightly.

3. *o* appears also in various digraphs: (1) *oa*, [for vowel 18 realised /o/] e.g. in the phonetic spellings *boax, coarn, Goad, joab, noat* [...] (SND: O)

The modernism <oa> used to represent an /o/ realisation of vowel 18 is arguably eye dialect, and the traditional graphemes would be realised as /o/ or /ɔ/ unconsciously by native speakers. If the intention is to elicit a Scots-sounding pronunciation from a non-Scots-speaking reader, it is likely to fail, RP *goat* [gəʊt] being somewhat different from Scots *got* [got]. The use of final <-ow> for /o:/ may indicate an /ʌ/ realisation, forms such as *ablo* and *alo* (‘below’) being less ambiguous.

Vowel 6 is generally /u(:)/. In Southern Scots and Ulster dialects influenced by it, where word-final, it is usually diphthongised to /ʌ/.

In the dialect of the Sth. counties, u in final position has been diphthongized, producing ʌ. (Grant and Dixon 1921: 49)

The *Scots Style Sheet* suggested mainly <ou> in words such as *doun* (‘down’), *dour*, *drouth* (‘thirst’), *hou* (‘how’), *mouth*, *nou* (‘now’), *out*, *sou* (‘sow’), *south* and *toun* (‘town’) but also suggested <oo> in *smool* (‘slink’) and for historic vowel 7 in *smooth* and *snoove* (‘twist’).

Purves (1979) suggested <ou>, rejecting <oo>⁹³, which he considered borrowed from English, giving examples such as *allou* (‘allow’), *cou* (‘cow’), *douce* (‘gentle’), *goun* (‘gown’), *mou* (‘mouth’), *nou* (‘now’), *ploum* (‘plum’), *shouther* (‘shoulder’), *sou* (‘sow’), *soum* (‘swim’) and *toun* (‘town’). Purves also suggests that in *smouthe* (‘smooth’) and <u-e> in *dule* (‘grief’), *bure* (‘bore’), *hure* (‘whore’) and *swure* (‘swore’), all from historic vowel 7.

McClure (1980) suggested <ou>, rejecting the Anglicism <oo> as unetymological, being used in English to represent the modern realisation of Anglo-Saxon /o:/ (vowel 7).

The *Scots Language Society* suggested <ou> in words such as *cou* (‘cow’), *fou* (‘full’), *soum* (‘swim’), *doun* (‘down’), *stour* (‘dust’) and *flouer* (‘flower’) but commented that there may be a case for <oo> in *about*, *out* and *out* in order “to avoid confusion with the English pronunciation”, the <ss> rendering that unnecessary in words such as *crouss* (‘cheerful’),

⁹¹ In older Scots the usual spelling was <o> with length indicated by <e> after a consonant e.g. *cole* (‘coal’). (Aitken 2002: lvi)

⁹² Older Scots <o>. (Aitken 2002: lviii)

⁹³ But considering it necessary in *woo* (‘wool’), usually [u:], and to differentiate the homophones *croon* (‘sing’) and *crown* (‘crown’).

houss ('house') and *mouss* ('mouse'). In a few words such as *dule* ('grief'), *bure* ('bore'), *hure* ('whore') and *wure* ('wore') <u-e> was suggested, all from historic vowel 7.

Aiberdeen Univairsitie Scots Leid Quorum suggested <ou> in preference to <oo> which it suggested be abandoned. Examples given were *cou* ('cow'), *dou* ('dove'), *doun* ('down'), *dour*, *fou* ('full'), *founer* ('founder'), *houss* ('house'), *our*, *out*, *stoun* ('stun'), *toun* ('town'). A few exceptions were words such as *true*, *grue* ('shudder') and *awfu* ('awful'). In a few "classical" words such as *depute* ('deputy') and *chuse*⁹⁴ ('choose') but also *hure* ('whore'), *muve* ('move'), *pruve* ('prove') and *wure* ('wore') <u-e> was suggested, the latter from from historic vowel 7. Allan (1995) reiterated those suggestions, adding exceptions such as *cruel*, *fuel*, *jewel* and *room*, also mentioning the Southern Scots word-final diphthongisation in words such as *you*.

SLD Ltd. suggested <ou> and <oo>, giving the examples *coo* ('cow'), *drouth* ('thirst') and *toun* ('town'), recommending <oo> in words such as *hoose* ('house') and *moose* ('mouse') where <ou> could "suggest an English pronunciation"⁹⁵. Macleod and Cairns (1993: vii) suggested <oo> in examples such as *about* ('about'), *doon* ('down'), *droon* ('drown'), *hoose* ('house'), *oot* ('out'), *coo* ('cow') and *floer* ('flower') giving exceptions in <ou> where a pronunciation with vowel 13 also occurs, in for example *roup* ('cry'), and where "one spelling is established", in for example *souch* ('sigh') and *roup*⁹⁶ ('auction'). Macleod (1996) did not apply <ou> or <oo> consistently, having, for example, *doon* ('down') and *toon* ('town') but *tousle* ('rumple'), *dour* and *coor* ('cower'), though she later commented that there would be no harm in a more systematic use of <ou> in words such as *broun* ('brown'), *doun* ('down') and *toun* ('town') where it is unlikely to be given a Standard English pronunciation, preferring <oo> in *cooncil* ('council'), *hoose* and *moose* (Macleod 2000: 66).

Robinson (1997) suggested <oo>, corresponding to Standard English <ou> an <ow>, in words such as *coo* ('cow'), *cooncil* ('council'), *doot* ('doubt'), *hoose* ('house'), *moose* ('mouse'), *noo* ('now'), *oor* ('our'), *oot* ('out') and *toon* ('toun').

The *Scots Spellin Comatee* suggested <ou> in Standard English cognates with <ow> and <ou> elsewhere.

The traditional grapheme was undoubtedly <ou>,⁹⁷ a point clearly emphasized by R.L. Stevenson:

Yet the temptation is great to lend a little guidance to the bewildered Englishman. Some simple phonetic artifice might defend your verses from barbarous mishandling, and yet not injure any vested interest. So it seems at first; but there are rocks ahead. Thus, if I wish the diphthong *ou* to have its proper value, I may write *oor* instead of *our*; many have done so and lived, and the pillars of the universe remained unshaken. But if I did so, and came presently to *doun*, which is the classical Scots spelling of the English *down*, I should begin to feel uneasy; and if I went on a little farther, and came to a classical Scots word, like *stour* or *dour* or *clour*, I should know precisely where I was—that is to say, that I was out of sight of land on those high seas of spelling reform in which so many strong

⁹⁴ Occurs variously as [tʃɔɪs, tʃɔɪz, tʃiːz, tʃaɪz].

⁹⁵ <http://www.scotsdictionaries.org.uk> Scots Spelling and Grammar accessed on 16.09.06.

⁹⁶ [rʌp; Sh., Ork. rup; Rnf., †Ayr., Wgt., Dmf. ro:p] (SND: roup)

⁹⁷ In older Scots usually <ou>, with the alternatives <ov, ow> the latter usually word final and shared with vowel 13. (Aitken 2002: lvii)

swimmers have toiled vainly. To some the situation is exhilarating; as for me, I give one bubbling cry and sink. The compromise at which I have arrived is indefensible, and I have no thought of trying to defend it. (Stevenson 1905: 152)

The spelling *ow* also appears in such words as *bow, brown, drown, how, now*, etc., esp. in the 18th c., though [u] is intended, partly through influence of St. Eng., partly phs. as a survival from Mid.Sc. where *u* and *w* were not clearly distinguished in MSS. In the course of the 19th c. *oo* came to be used chiefly for this sound, as a borrowing from St. Eng. orthography, though found as early as the 17th c. in Sc. (SND: O)

This spelling [<ou>] is gen. preferred in this dictionary, hence HOUR, HOUSE, LOUD, MOUSE, MOUTH, POUCH, SOUR [ur, hus, lud, mus, muθ, putʃ, sur], etc. (SND: O)

Nevertheless, the the 18th and 19th century writers clearly had no problem associating <ow> with that vowel, though modern readers are likely to associate that with vowel 13. Arguably, the use of <ou> in words such as *about, house* and *out* might prove equally ambiguous. Spellings such as *houss* ('house') and *mouss* ('mouse') may not have the desired result, being equally likely to be interpreted /ʌ/ by the uninitiated. Furthermore, their advocates never suggested *outt* ('out') by analogy. McClure's (1980: 28) argument that <oo> is an unetymological imported Anglicism which traditionally represented the modern Standard English outcome of Anglo-Saxon <ō>⁹⁸ is undeniable but, to a modern reader, is unquestionably unambiguous in words such as *aboot, hoose* and *oot*. Arguably <ou> would be the preferred grapheme in a regularised orthography, but the case for <oo> where Standard English cognates have <ou> is a strong one. The case for <oo> where Standard English cognates have <ow> is not so strong, though traditional practice would seem to be a random mixture of both <ou> and <oo>, as the following headword forms in the SND suggest *broun* ('brown'), *croun* ('crown'), *flour* ('flower'), *goun* ('gown') *pouther* ('powder'), *shour* ('shower'), *toul* ('towel'), *tour* ('tower'), *toun* ('town') and *coor* ('cower'), *doon* ('down'), *droun* ('drown') and *pooer* ('power'), all which could unambiguously be regularised using <ou> to give *broun* ('brown'), *croun* ('crown'), *flouer* ('flower'), *goun* ('gown') *pouther* ('powder'), *shouer* ('shower'), *touel* ('towel'), *tour* ('tower'), *toun* ('town') and *cour* ('cower'), *doun* ('down'), *droun* ('drown') and *pouer* ('power'). The grapheme <u-e> traditionally used in words such as *dule* ('sorrow') and *hure* ('whore') might arguably be kept where the realisation is now generally /u/, although strictly speaking the underlying phoneme is vowel 7.

Vowel 7 has its origin in Anglo-Saxon /o:/, which became /ø/ and later also /y/. Old French <u(i)> also merged with the realisations of this vowel (Steiger 1913: 38). Forms such as /i/⁹⁹ and /e/¹⁰⁰ appeared around the 17th century and were brought to Ulster by incoming Scots from south-west Scotland. That was partially replaced by a subsequent development originating in Lothian which spread westwards, whereby the original long vowel became /e:/ before /v, ð, r, z, ʒ/, zero and /#/, otherwise short /ɪ/-/i/ in Ulster. That has also been spreading south towards the Borders and northwards through Fife and into Angus. In Central dialects, initially that may be preceded by /j/, for example, 'use' [jɪs] n. and [je:z] v. Before

⁹⁸ This of course was also often used in traditional Scots writing for vowel 7, no doubt by analogy with English cognates.

⁹⁹ This form still exists in Northern Scots. A further development, with the notable exception of Caithness, occurred whereby /wi/ occurs after /g/ and /k/. e.g. *cuil* [kwit] ('ankle'), *guid* [gwid] ('good'), *schuil* [skwil] ('school') etc.

¹⁰⁰ Such forms are also found in Fife, East Perthshire and Dundee.

/k/ and /x/ that developed to /j(u)/ or /j(ʌ)/ although if an /r/ precedes the vowel, the realisation is generally /u/ or /ʌ/.

[...] **y** is an **ɪ** pronounced with lip-rounding [...] and is generally heard short and occurs before all consonants except **r** and *voiced fricatives*. In a few dialects this vowel is tense and very nearly equivalent to Fr. *u* in *mur*. (Grant and Dixon 1921: 45)

[...] **ø** occurs in final position and before *voiced fricatives*, such as **z**, **v**, **ð** and **r**, and is normally long. (Grant and Dixon 1921: 46)

The original vowel in most of the words containing **y** or **ø** appears to have been a long *o* in O.E. and Scan. And *u* in Fr. [...] This *o* (or *u*) became fronted and became **ø**. **ø** remained before *voiced fricatives* and **r** and in final position, but in other cases it was generally raised and shortened to **y**. In many districts of the Mid. Area, recent unrounding has taken place so that **y** becomes **ɪ** and **ø** becomes **e**. (Grant and Dixon 1921: 46)

The word ABUNE illustrates the outcome of the Scots vowel traditionally spelled *ui* or *u*+consonant+*e*. the form *abin* is now usual in Scotland south of the River Tay, and is found in Ulster in south Antrim and east Down. The form *abane*, found in Scotland in the area between Stonehaven and the River Tay, is found in north Antrim and over into Co. Londonderry. The form *abeen*, which occurs in Ulster in Co. Donegal, west Down and the southern part of the Ards peninsula, is found in Scotland from Stonehaven northwards to Caithness, but also, and more relevantly, there are traces of this vowel in such words in Dumfriesshire, Kirkcudbrightshire, and Wigtownshire. These south-western counties contributed many families to the population of Ulster. (Macafee 1996: xxx)

The mn.Sc.(a) dialect agrees with sn.Sc. in having [i] in words like [...] *moon*, *spoon*, *shoe*, *moor* become *meen*, *speen*, *shee*, *meer*; *good*, *cool* become *gweed*, *cweel*, this is the case generally when a back stop consonant preceded the vowel [...] (Grant 1931: xxxiv)

[...] the mn.Sc.(b) area, including U.Bnff., Mry. and Nairn. It differs from Abd. Speech [...] *ford*, *moor*, *poor*, which have *oo* and *yoo* [u:, ju:] instead of *ee* [...] (Grant 1931: xxxvi)

When a back consonant (g or k) precedes the vowel, in Crm. and Avoch, no *w* is developed as in the N.E., hence for *good*, *school*, *cool*, *cuits* (*ankles*) we get *geed*, *skeel*, *keel*, *keets*, as we find also in Cai. See § 35.2. When the vowel comes before **r**, or a guttural, the development is the same as in Mry. and Cai.—e.g. *fyoord*, *myoor*, *pyoor*, [...] for St.Eng. *ford*, *moor*, *poor* [...] (Grant 1931: xxxvi)

When followed by a back consonant [x] or [k], a diphthong [iu, ju or jʌ] is most common, though some dialects have simple [u] or [ø]. (Grant 1931: xix)

[...] but in Scots it generally becomes [y] or [i], except that before a back vowel it becomes [ju:] and before *r* [ø]. The first two sounds are spelt *ui* or *u-e*, the last *eu*. (Tulloch 1980: 292)

The *Scots Style Sheet* suggested <ui> or <u-e> giving examples such as *puir* ('poor'), *muir* ('moor'), *fluir* ('floor'), *guid* ('good'), *tuim* ('empty'), *spune* ('spoon'), *shune* ('shoes'), *sune* ('soon'), *tune*, *use*, *mune* ('moon') and *abune* ('above') but included *wuid* ('wood'), which has vowel 15. The *Style Sheet* clearly distinguished between that and the realisation after /x/ and /k/, giving examples such as *beuk* ('book') *leugh*¹⁰¹ ('laughed'), *leuk* ('look') and *neuk* ('nook').

¹⁰¹ One assumes the <gh> is a typographical error, as it would contradict the *Style Sheet's* recommendation for <ch>.

Purves (1979) suggested <ui>¹⁰² in words such as *bluid* ('blood'), *guid* ('good'), *uise* ('use' v.) and *uiss* ('use' n.) but also included examples such as *buik* ('book'), *huik* ('hook'), *luik* ('leuk'), *tuik* ('took') but also *neuk* ('nook') and *teuch* ('tough'), indicating that he did not systematically distinguish between the former and realisations before /k/ and /x/.

McClure (1980) suggested <ui> in words such as *guid* ('good'), *muin* ('moon'), *spuin* ('spoon') and <eu> in the "reflex of historical /o: + (velar)/" (p.28), giving examples such as *heuk* ('hook'), *teuch* ('tough') and *eneuch* ('enough').

The *Scots Language Society* suggested <ui> in words such as *guid* ('good') *ruif* ('roof'), *uise* ('use' v.) and *uiss* ('use' n.) but also included the example *buik* ('book') and suggested <eu> in *neuk* ('nook'), indicating no systematic distinguishing between the former and realisations before /k/ and /x/.

The *Aiberdeen Univairsitie Scots Leid Quorum* suggested <ui> in words such as *guid* ('good'), *puir* ('poor'), *truith* ('truth') and *fluir* ('floor') but also included *cuid* ('could'), *shuid* ('should'), *fuith* ('foot') and *wuid* ('wood'), which clearly do not belong here¹⁰³, and <u-e> was suggested in words such as *muve* ('move'), *pruve* ('prove') and *chuse* ('choose'). Those were distinguished from the realisations after /k/ and /x/, suggesting <eu>, with examples such as *heuk* ('hook'), *leuk* ('look'), *neuk* ('nook') and *teuch* ('tough'). Allan (1995) described the same in more detail.

SLD Ltd. suggested <ui> and <u-e>, giving examples such as *spuin* ('spoon') and *guse* ('goose') but also *buik* ('book') and *teuch* ('tough'), not distinguishing between the former and realisations before /k/ and /x/. The form *shae* ('shoe')¹⁰⁴ was also suggested¹⁰⁵. Macleod and Cairns (1993: x) and Macleod (1996: viii), commenting on vowel 7 that "in the Northern mainland dialects this sound does not occur; -ee- is used instead, as in **beet** for 'boot'." The author(s) apparently failed to realise that /i/ is the north-eastern realisation of this phoneme. It could be equally argued that "this sound does not occur" in central dialects either since it has merged with vowels 4 or 15. Consequently spellings such as *yiss*, *eese* ('use' n.), *yaise*, *yuisse*, *eese* ('use' v.), *uisless* ('useless'), *yuisfae* ('useful') and *usual* were also included. In the headword list based upon the contents of the *Essential Scots Dictionary*¹⁰⁶, predictable north-eastern realisations were also provided as a variant in words such as *abuin/abeen* ('above'), *abuse/abeese* ('abuse' v.), *adae/adee* ('ado'), *nuin/noon* ('noon'), and, *affoord* ('afford'), which also traditionally has vowel 7.

Robinson (1997) essentially described this as equivalent to English <oo>, suggesting <ui> and <u>, but recognised that it covered a "great variety of pronunciations" (p.29), even mentioning *beuk* ('book') as a literary spelling, but was seemingly unaware as to the causes,

¹⁰² This was also suggested in *fuisionless*, although a realisation with /ø/ occurs, it is usually /u:/. *guislin* ('gosling') was also suggested but that has vowel 4 or 8.

¹⁰³ The realisations [kud, kʌd + ne.Sc. kwɪd] result from Anglo-Saxon long <ū> and the usual modern realisations of 'should' are [ʃud or ʃɪd]. Vowel 15 occurs in 'foot' and 'wood'.

¹⁰⁴ This is a well established spelling in traditional writing.

¹⁰⁵ <http://www.scotsdictionaries.org.uk> Scots Spelling and Grammar accessed on 16.09.06.

¹⁰⁶ <http://www.scotsdictionaries.org.uk/HeadWordList/A.html> accessed on 16.09.06.

failing to recognise the nature of many realisations, especially those before /k/ and /x/. Among spellings that Robinson suggested were *bluid* ('blood'), *guid* ('good'), *puir* ('poor') *buik* ('book'), *luk* ('look'), *stud* ('stood') and *tuk* ('took'), but also *jist* ('just') and *boord* ('board'), the latter representing a Mid Ulster English realisation.

The /u/ in *board*, *door*, etc. is now a well-known rural stereotype that is specific to non-US [Ulster Scots] dialects in Ireland. It appears to be exclusively English in origin. There is no mention of this pronunciation in the descriptions of southern and central Scots (Wilson 1926, Wettstein 1942, Zai 1942), since ESc [Early Scots] /o:/ was fronted before /r/ as in other environments, showing up in modern Scots as /e:/, /ø:/ or some similar front vowel. Gregg's phonological questionnaire, designed to establish the boundaries between US and MUE [Mid Ulster English], includes the items *floor*, *board*, *door*, *poor*, which regularly appear as /fle:r/ or /flē:r/ in CUS [Conservative Ulster Scots] areas but as /flū:r/ or /flo:r/ in MUE areas (1963: 35; 1972). [...] (Harris 1985: 158–9)¹⁰⁷

The *Scots Spellin Comatee* described this vowel in some detail, clearly recognising the various dialect realisations, including those before /k/ and /x/, and also pointing out that *fit* ('foot') and *wid* ('wood') had vowel 15. For the former <ui> was recommended and for the latter <eu>, <u-e> being recommended in words such as *muve* ('move') and *pruve* ('prove'). Both *cuid* ('could') and *shuid* ('should') were included, although it was admitted that they did not strictly belong here¹⁰⁸, apparently for want of a satisfactory solution.

[...] y is commonly written (1) *ui*, (2) *u-e*, (3) *oo*. (Grant and Dixon 1921: 45)

[...] ø is commonly written (1) *ui*, (2) *u+e*, (3) *oe*, (4) *o*, (5) *oo*. (Grant and Dixon 1921: 45)

[...] *ui*, (i) for [ø, y, later unrounded to ɪ], alternating with the earlier *u-e*, which is now usu. retained only before nasals, as in BRUME, *dune* (DAE), LUME, MUNE, SPUNE, TUME. TUNE, etc., also BLUDE, SCHULE, and representing O.E. *ō*, O.N. *ó*, O.Fr. *u* [...], as in BUIT, *n.*¹, CUIL, FUIL, GUID, HUILIE, MUIR, PUIR, SHUIR, TUIL, WUID. (SND: U)

[...] This spelling [ui] has become a literary standard also in n.Sc. where the actual pronunciation is [i]. (SND: U)

[...] *eu*, (i) for [ju], as in FEU; alternating with [(j)ʌ] according to dialect, in words orig. with O. and Mid.Eng. *ō* before *ch* [x] or *k*, as BEUK, DEUK, ENEUCH, HEUCH, *leuch* (LAUCH), LEUK, PLEUCH, TEUCH. (SND: U)

[...] *e* is found in various vowel digraphs: (1) *ae*: [...] (ii) [e] representing an unrounding of [ø] from O.E. *ō* in final syllables, now prevalent in m.Sc., e.g. *dae*, *shae* [...] (SND: E)

This [<oo>] is a 16th c. adaptation of the Eng. spelling for the equivalent Eng. sound [u] developed from the same sources and given currency in the 18th c. esp. by Ramsay. (SND: O)

As the various realisations of that vowel are predictable across dialects and by phonological environment, two unambiguous traditional graphemes readily offer themselves, <ui> and <eu>, both used in Middle Scots as alternatives to <u-e>.¹⁰⁹ The <eu> for the realisations before the back consonant /x/ or /k/, although strictly speaking <ui> is historically

¹⁰⁷ The Survey of English dialects records /u:/, /ʊə/, or some similar high round nucleus in *door*, (reference V.1.8) and *floor* (V.2.7) in parts of the north and southwest of England.

¹⁰⁸ "In the sixteenth century, loss of the sound /l/ in *should* and *would* (due probably to their occurrence in positions of weak sentence stress) led to analogical extension of the retained symbol <l> to another modal verb *could*, earlier *coude*. All three verbs are inherited from Old English but whereas <l> is historically correct in the first two (OE *sceolde*, *wolde*) it is inorganic in the last (OE *cuðe*)." (Scragg 1975: 58)

¹⁰⁹ DOST records *bluid*, *guid*, *puir*, *beuk*, *leuch*, *leuk*, *neuk* and *teuch*.

accurate, the differing realisations of vowel 7 before /x/ or /k/ are a strong justification for <eu>. Word-final occurrence of that vowel poses a problem because <ui> was never traditionally used in that position.¹¹⁰ When not using Standard English spellings, <ae>, apparently representing a Central Scots realisation, was employed, even by Northern writers. The use of <ui> in words such as *adui* ('ado'), *dui* ('do'), *shui* ('shoe') and *tui* ('to') would be likely to prove so unfamiliar that adhering to the traditional *dae*, *dae*, *shae* and *tae* is arguably the better option. Those few exceptions are arguably not beyond the scope of human ingenuity. The other graphemes <u-e>, which occurred in Older Scots, and the 18th and 19th century use of <oo> are arguably ambiguous because the modern reader might associate those with vowel 6.

Vowel 9 is /oi, ɔɪ/ or /oe/ in most Scots dialects. This vowel was not mentioned by the *Scots Style Sheet*, Purves (1979), the *Scots Language Society*, the *Aiberdeen Univairsitie Scots Leid Quorum*, SLD Ltd. and Robinson (1997), although McClure (1980) recommended <oy> in words such as *boy*, *joy* and *toy*, and Allan (1995) suggested <oi> medially and <oy> finally, otherwise, the assumption being that traditional practice was to be followed.

o is conjoined: (1) with / or /y to form the diphthong [ɔɪ, oe] though this is rare in Sc. [...] (SND: O)

That vowel, not being common in Scots, poses little problem, the traditional <oi>, initially and medially, and <oy> finally perhaps negate the need for further innovation.

Vowel 12 is /aː, aː/ or /ɔ(ː)/ in most Scots dialects, in Ulster /ɔ(ː)/, /aː/ or /a^w/ in Antrim and Down, and usually /aː/ in Donegal. In *awa* ('away'), *wha* ('who') and *twa* ('two'), final /e/ may occur in Southern varieties.

[...] It [ɔ] is common in Mid Sc. In the North, in Galloway and in the Southern Counties it is of rare occurrence, being replaced by a broad **a** sound. It varies over the country from ɔ to ɔ and ɔ on the one hand and to **a** and **a** (in Celtic areas) on the other. (Grant 1921: 51)

[...] **a** is generally fully long when final, and before a voiced fricative and **r**. It is also long when it represents an older diphthong, arising generally from a lost consonant (**l, g, w**) [...] (Grant 1921: 52)

When preceded by a back vowel, [ɪ] is not lost but vocalised. (Tulloch 1980: 187)

[...] indicating the variation from the cognate English by including apostrophes. This is a bad method because it has bad side-effects. Though an English reader may find this helpful, it supports the prejudice that Scots is a corrupt dialect, a perversion of the true English caused by the vulgar habit of dropping consonants. (Tulloch 1980: 193)

[...] has a wide range of realisation within Scotland, ranging from high-mid [o(ː)], through low-mid [ɔ(ː)] [...], [a(ː)] [...] and [ɒ(ː)] [...] to [aː~æː] [...] This vowel may merge with CAT or COT (and COAT), or contrast with one of these nuclei in terms of length alone, as it does not always obey Aitken's Law. (Johnston 1997b: 488)

[...] *half* is transferred to CAT. Roughly the same forms are extant in Ulster Scots, with the most common forms being Down [ɒ] and Antrim [a(ː)] [...] (Johnston 1997b: 490)

In most modern Scots dialects these items show up with /aː/ or /ɔ(ː)/ (hence spellings such as auld, cauld) reflecting a development from Esc /a/ [...] Some modern Scots dialects show a development of

¹¹⁰ Word final <o> was the usual spelling in Middle Scots. (Aitken 2002: lviii)

the vowel in the COLD class that is similar to that in southern types. In Galloway and parts of northeast Scotland, for instance, we find /əʊ/ or /ʌʊ/ in this set, which indicates a merger of Esc /ald/ with /ould/ (Milroy 1982b: 25). This is also the pattern found in CUS [Conservative Ulster Scots] (Gregg 1959: 418) [...] (Harris 1985: 159)

[...] there is no convincing contemporary evidence for *ould* in earlier periods when it is supposed to have been more widespread in Lowland Scots, nor is it a necessary stage in the development of the regular Modern Scots forms. Rather it is supposed that it was an alternative development, later replaced. I tend to agree with Johnston (1997b:489) that there must be *some* influence from dialects of England, via Hiberno-English, even if only reinforcement, and that we may even have to see the eastern and western developments as separate phenomena in Scotland, with occurrences in Kintyre, South-West Scotland and Glasgow coming from, or at least reinforced by contact with, Ulster. (Macafee 2001: 125)

Consider the reflex of velarised [ɫ] before [d] in Irish English: this led to the diphthong [au], as in the words *old* [aul] and *bold* [baul] with the common post-sonorant stop deletion. (Hickey 2004: 72)

Vowel 4 in final position after /w, hw/, e.g. *twa* ‘two’, *wha* ‘who’, has been captured by Vowel 12 except in Southern and southern East Central, where it develops normally to /e/ [...] (Macafee 2004: 67)

The *Scots Style Sheet* only mentioned replacing the eschewed apostrophe that represented historic /l/ vocalisation with <aa>, giving such examples as *caa* (‘call’), *baa* (‘ball’), *faa* (‘fall’) and *staa* (‘stall’) etc., the assumption being otherwise to follow traditional practice, giving examples with word-final <a> and <aw> such as *ava* (‘at all’), *awa* (‘away’), *wha* (‘who’), *blaw* (‘blow’), *braw* (‘splendid’) and *snaw* (‘snow’).

Purves (1979) suggested <a>, <au> and <aw>, normally word-final, giving such examples as *awa* (‘away’), *wha* (‘who’), *dad* (‘lump’), *dwam* (‘daze’), *whar* (‘where’), *auld* (‘old’), *bauld* (‘bold’), *fauss* (‘false’), *maun* (‘must’), *saut* (‘salt’), *whaup* (‘curlew’), *braw* (‘splendid’), *raw* (‘row’), *snaw* (‘snow’) and *thraw* (‘throw’). Purves suggested that <aw> should be used where <a’> traditionally represented word-final historical /l/ vocalisation in words such as *baw* (‘ball’), *caw* (‘call’) and *waw* (‘wall’) etc., commenting that the use of <aa> for historic /l/ vocalisation “amounts to [...] a disguised apostrophe and is therefore undesirable in principle.” (p.63), although <aa> was proposed for a few words such as *aa* (‘owning’) and *haar* (‘mist’)¹¹¹.

McClure (1980) suggested <aa>, admitting its unhistorical pedigree but claiming that it is now widely accepted, arguing that <aw> was associated with English [ɔ], and that its not always being the North-East realisation and <aa>’s lack of association with any particular sound ([ɔ, ɒ:, a:]), rendered it more appropriate for a pan-dialectal spelling.

The *Scots Language Society* suggested <a>, <au> and <aw>, normally word-final, giving examples such as *awa* (‘away’), *wha* (‘who’), *auld* (‘old’), *glaur* (‘mud’), *waur* (‘worse’), *saut* (‘salt’), *aw* (‘all’) *braw* (‘splendid’), *faw* (‘fall’) and *snaw* (‘snow’). It was also suggested that *caa* (‘call’) be distinguished from *caw* (‘drive’)¹¹².

¹¹¹ The traditional spelling *awe*, related to *aucht*, would conform better to Purves’s suggestions. The only word systematically spelled <aa> in traditional writing known to the present author is *haar*.

¹¹² The two are in fact the same word, the meaning ‘drive’ originating in the ‘call’ to working animals to get them to do something.

The *Aiberdeen Univairsitie Scots Leid Quorum* suggested <au> medially and <aw> finally, giving examples such as *auld* ('old'), *caur* ('car'), *daur* ('dare'), *saut* ('salt'), *aw* ('all'), *craw* ('crow'), *daw* ('dawn'), *faw* ('fall'), *law* and *waw* ('wall') and the 'exceptions' *twa* ('two'), *awa* ('away') and *na* ('no'). Allan (1995) expanded on that, mentioning that it included the Northern and Southern realisation /aɪ/ and that <au> is usually medial and <aw> word-final, though it was also suggested that *caa* ('call') be distinguished from *caw* ('drive'). Added to the exceptions above were *haar* ('mist'), *talk* and *walk*.

SLD Ltd. suggested <au>, <aw> and <aa> giving the examples *glaur* ('mud'), *braw* ('splendid') and *faap*, assumed to be a Northern form of *whaup* ('curlew')¹¹³. Macleod and Cairns (1993: vii) suggested -a(u) in examples such as *spra(u)chle* ('sprawl') and *tra(u)chle* ('to draw') in order "to cover regional variation in this vowel [...]", adding that in "some North-Eastern words however, -aa- is used", citing the example *aager* ('auger'). For historical /l/ vocalisation, SLD Ltd. suggested three forms, giving the examples *aw/aa* ('all'), *ca/caa/caw* ('call'), and *fa/faw/faa* ('fall')¹¹⁴. Macleod and Cairns (1993: vii) eschewed an apostrophe where "they represent 'missing' English letters" suggesting -a(w), in for example, *ba(w)* ('ball') and *ca(w)* ('call'). Macleod (1996: v) suggested: "some words are given with more than one spelling [...] **ca, caw, call** v 1 call [...]"¹¹⁵. In the headword list based upon the contents of the *Essential Scots Dictionary*¹¹⁶ for historical /l/ vocalisation *a* and *aw* ('all') were given but also *amaist* ('almost'), *awbody/abody* ('everybody'), *awreddy/areadies* ('already'), *awricht/aricht* ('alright'), *awthegither/athegither* ('altogether'), *aways*¹¹⁷ ('everywhere') and *awthing* ('everything'). A variant for the predictable North-eastern realisation in words such as *auld/aald* ('old') was also provided.

Robinson (1997) suggested <aa>, corresponding to English <-all> and <al>, as in 'walk', <au>, corresponding to English <e>, in 'where', suggesting *quhaur*¹¹⁸, and English <a> in words such as *baun* ('band'), *haun* ('hand'), *laun* ('land'), *staun* ('stand'), *saut* ('salt'), also adding that the forms *bann*, *hann*, *lann*, *stann* and *satt* are also 'found' for those examples. Added to that was <aw> and <(a)a>, 'corresponding to English <ow>', in such words as *snaw/snaa* ('snow'), *blaw/bla* ('blow'), and <á> representing the long 'a' in words such as *awá* ('away') and *twá* ('two'), though he suggested that a 'suitable convention' already existed, giving examples such as *aa/aw* ('all'), *anaw/anaa*¹¹⁹, *caa/caw* ('call'). Robinson also suggested <ou> for the possible Ulster realisations in words such as *oul* ('old'), *boul* ('bold'), *foul* ('fold'), *houl/howl* ('hold') and *toul* ('told').

The *Scots Spellin Comatee* recommended <aw> and apparently <au> medially in words such as *faut* ('fault') and *haud* ('hold'), giving examples such as *craw* ('crow'), *draw*, and *shaw* ('copse') for the former, <aa> being reserved for historic /l/ vocalisation in words such

¹¹³ <http://www.scotsdictionaries.org.uk> Scots Spelling and Grammar accessed on 16.09.06.

¹¹⁴ <http://www.scotsdictionaries.org.uk> Scots Spelling and Grammar accessed on 16.09.06.

¹¹⁵ Including the conspicuously Standard English form *call*.

¹¹⁶ <http://www.scotsdictionaries.org.uk/HeadWordList/A.html> accessed on 16.09.06.

¹¹⁷ This is an 'eye dialect' running together of two words *aw* and *ways* ('all ways').

¹¹⁸ Robinson also suggested 'Ulster-Scots' <u> and <au>, corresponding to English <e>, giving the examples *whur* and *whaur*.

¹¹⁹ Since they are two distinct words, one would assume that they would be written separately as *an aw* ('and all').

as *aa* ('all'), *caa*¹²⁰ ('call'), *faa* ('fall') and *haa* ('hall'), arguing that <aa> was a useful key to historic /l/ vocalisation for those 'bound' to English.

The traditional graphemes for vowel 12 were generally <au> and <aw> both inherited from Middle Scots.¹²¹

§ 34. When O.E. *ā* was followed by *w*, *ā* becomes in Mod. Sc. either [a:] or [ɔ:]. The spelling for either is *au* or, when final, *aw*, but for [a:] *aa* is found in some of the dialects. (SND: xix)

2. *u* appears in various digraphs: (1) *au*, representing the sound [o:], in em. and wm. Sc. and gen. adopted as the standard spelling in other dialects also, where the vowel remains unrounded, exc. Sh. where the spelling *aa* is preferred. Hence CAULD, DRAUCHT, HAUCH, HAUD, LAUCH, MAUN, SAUT, WAUR. (SND: U)

2. [a:] Ex. (1) *twa*, *wha*; (2) *ba* (ball), *bla* (blow), *ca* (call), *wa* (wall). In (2) the consonant *l* or *w* has been vocalised and then absorbed by the preceding *a*, resulting in a long vowel sound the same as *a* in English *father*. The loss of *l* or *w* in these words is often marked by an apostrophe — e.g. *ba'*. (SND: A)

§ 48 [...] (3) before Middle Sc. ll or l + cons. where ll and l were vocalised and absorbed by a — e.g. *ca'*, *caa* or *caw* from call [a:, ɔ:]. (SND: xxi)

4. It is joined with *w* to represent (1) [a:] (see ll. 1) and (2) [ɔ] (See ll. 3) generally in final position. Ex. *blaw*, *caw*, *maw*, *raw* (row of houses, etc.). (SND: A)

Using an apostrophe for a sound which the language lost hundreds of years ago seems pointless. Attempts to avoid the apostrophe for word-final /l/ vocalisation by simply using *a* as in *ca* ('call') and *fa* ('fall') prove troublesome, with suffixed forms such as *caed* ('called'), *cain* ('calling'), *caer* ('caller') and *fain* ('falling') indicating an /e/ realisation, usually forcing recourse to an apostrophe as in *ca'in* and *fa'in*. Similarly, "disguising" the apostrophe with a further *a* as in *caa* and *faa* produces unfamiliar suffixed forms such as *caain* and *faain* containing three consecutive vowels. The traditional grapheme <aw> avoids that, suggesting regularising words such as *aw* ('all'), *caw* ('call'), *cawed* ('called'), *cawin* ('calling'), *cawer* ('caller'), *faw* ('fall'), *fawen* ('fallen'), *fawin* ('falling') and *haw* ('hall') etc. along the lines of *blaw* ('blow'), *braw* ('splendid'), *draw*, *gnaw*, *slaw* ('slow') and *snaw* ('snow') etc. rendering other innovations redundant.

The traditional grapheme <au> offers itself for word-internal /l/ vocalisation in words such as *fause* ('false'), *haud* ('hold') and *saut* ('salt'),¹²² as well as other initial and medial realisations of that vowel in words such as *auld* ('old'), *bauld* ('bold'), *cauld* ('cold'), *daur* ('dare'), *maun* ('must') and *wauk* ('wake'). Robinson's (1997) suggested use of <a> simply reflects a merger of vowel 17 with vowel 12, the realisation in words like *hand* and *man* being the same in some Ulster varieties and Ulster English, although the Ulster writers cited above usually differentiated <au> (vowel 12) and <a> (vowel 17). In a few words such as *ava* ('at all'), *awa* ('away'), *twa* ('two') and *wha* ('who'), final <a> traditionally occurred,¹²³ often

¹²⁰ It was also suggested differentiating *caa* ('call') from *caw* ('drive'), although the two are in fact the same word, the meaning 'drive' originating in the 'call' to working animals to get them to do something.

¹²¹ The usual Middle Scots spellings were <au, av, aw> with <aw> preferred word-finally. (Aitken 2002: lviii)

¹²² The l-vocalisation of Older Scots vowel 17 resulted in rverse spellings with silent /l/ in other vowel 12 words e.g. *chalmer* ('chamber') and *Falkirk* (Aitken 2002: lviii).

¹²³ DOST records *awa*, *twa*, *wha* (and *quha*).

with an apostrophe. Adhering to such familiar forms poses no problems to those familiar with traditional Scots and neither does the /e/ realisation of the last three in Southern dialects. The possible Ulster realisation /æɪ/ before <ld> is predictable by its phonetic environment, rendering forms such as *oul* ('old'), *boul* ('bold'), *foul* ('fold'), *houl/howl* ('hold') and *toul* ('told') redundant. Furthermore, the <ou> might be confused with vowel 6. Such realisations may simply indicate a shift towards Ulster English. The <oul> forms were not used by the Ulster writers analysed above, forms in <au> being universal. Even the Northern writers analysed above generally differentiated between <au> (vowel) 12 and <a> (vowel) 17), although, for some of them at least, vowel 12 would be merged with vowel 17. The SND, for the letter A, commented that "for *a* in open syllables, in words of Latin or otherwise learned (e.g. Biblical) origin" were often spelt "*aa, au, aw*", citing 19th century examples such as *adjawcent, awtheist, inspiraution, paurent, saavor, Awbraham, Bawbel, Dauvit* and *Sawtan*. Regularisation based on <au> initially and medially¹²⁴, and <aw> finally, along with the few exceptions mentioned with final <a>, would be in keeping with traditional practice, though the choice of grapheme might depend on a judicious study of prevailing forms and application of the tendencies suggested above.

Vowel 13 is usually /ʌ/ but vocalisation to/o:/ may occur, especially before /k/.

[...] with forms of the type [ʌ] being the most common [...] with the intermediate [ɔ̃] found occasionally. (Johnston 1997b: 497)

Most *howk* items are transferred to COAT, with the number of transfers greatest in the South–West [Central] and South Mid B [South–East Central] as well as in Argyll [...] The number of items tails off as one goes north and east [...] (Johnston 1997b: 498)

The Scots Style Sheet simply suggested <ow> and <owe>, giving examples such as *gowpit* ('gawped'), *growe* ('grow'), *knowe* ('knoll'), *powe* ('poll'), *rowe* ('roll'), *thow* ('thaw') and *yowl* ('howl'). Purves (1979) had much the same, giving examples such as *bowk* ('retch'), *bowl*, *chowe* ('chew'), *cowp* ('overturn'), *dowp* ('end'), *fowk* ('folk'), *howf* ('den'), *lowe* ('glow'), *lowp* ('leap'), *thowe* ('thaw') and *yowe* ('ewe'), with McClure (1980) adding *gowd* ('gold') and *gowf* ('golf') as further examples. The Scots Language Society and the *Aiberdeen Univairsitie Scots Leid Quorum* followed suit, the latter commented that <ow> be used word-initially and <owe> word-finally.

SLD Ltd. suggested <ow> and <owe> word-finally giving, examples such as *gowd* ('gold'), *growe* ('grow'), *lowe* ('glow') and *thowe* ('thaw') but also suggesting that <ou> be possible in *coup/cowp* ('overturn'), *doup/dowp* ('end'), *loup/lowp* ('leap') and *smout/smowt* ('smolt')¹²⁵ but recommending <ow> "for pronunciation".

Robinson (1997) suggested <ow>, corresponding to English , in words such as *fowk* ('folk'), *gowf* ('golf') and *knowe* ('knoll'), but also had *alow* ('ablaze'), *fowertie* ('fourty'), *glowe* ('glow'), *growe* ('grow'), *lown* ('calm'), *owre* ('over'), *tow* ('rope') and *trow* ('believe').

¹²⁴ A few exceptions with medial <aw> such as *bawbee* ('a coin') and *bawsant* ('streaked') exist but are easily found in the SND.

¹²⁵ <http://www.scotsdictionaries.org.uk> Scots Spelling and Grammar. The examples *coup*, *dowp* and *loup* have possible /u/ realisations (SND: [s.Arg.; kup, dup l.Sc l.Sc., (sm.Sc. +) lup]) though /ʌ/ is by far the most prevalent, accessed on 16.09.06.

The *Scots Spelling Comatee* recommended <ow> word-internally and <owe> word-finally, giving examples such as *bowe* ('bow'), *cowe* ('crop'), *howe* ('hollow'), *ower* ('over') and *nowt* ('cattle'), and suggesting the possible exception *dow* ('be able').

The *ow* spelling is preferred in this dictionary to distinguish from [u] [...] This phonetic value for *ow* became rare before 1750. (SND: O)

Traditional practice would tend towards regularisation, using <ow> and <owe> finally,¹²⁶ including historical /l/ vocalisation in words such as *fowk* ('folk'), *gowd* ('gold'), *gowf* ('golf'), *howe* ('hollow'), *knowe* ('knoll'), *powe* ('poll'), *rowe* ('roll') and *smowt* ('smolt').¹²⁷ The use of <ou> may be ambiguous owing to its association with vowel 12 but a case for its use as a variant form for words which have a /u/ realisation may be made. Since vocalisation to /o/ is predictable, usually conditioned by phonetic environment, such realisations will be produced unconsciously by native-speakers, who have them in words such as *bowk* ('retch') and *howk* ('dig').

Vowel 14 is usually /ju/. In Northern dialects /jɫu/ may occur, especially word-finally.

O.E. *ēaw* has [ɫu] in mn.Sc.—e.g. *dyow*, *fyow*, *hyow*, *nyow*, for *dew*, *few*, *hew*, *new*; so for the Rom. words *beauty*, *duty*, *mew*, *pewter* we find *byowty*, *dyowty*, *myow*, *pyowter*. (Grant 1931: xxxiv)

The *Scots Style Sheet*, with Purves (1979), McClure (1980) and the *Scots Language Society* made no mention of vowel 14, the assumption being to follow traditional practice.

The *Aiberdeen Univairsitie Scots Leid Quorum* did not mention vowel 14 either but Allan (1995) mentions it under /u/ (vowel 6), suggesting limiting <ew> to a few familiar words where the sound is 'really' /ju/, giving the example *drew*. Allan also mentions <ue> in words such as *fuel*.

SLD Ltd. suggests <eu> for /ju/, giving the example *teuch* ('tough')¹²⁸, which would indicate that the realisation of vowel 7 before /k/ and /x/ is intended. Macleod (1996) includes *few*/*fyow* and *new*, indicating adherence to traditional practice.

Robinson (1997) did not mention vowel 14 either, the assumption being to follow traditional practice, as with the *Scots Spelling Comatee*.

The traditional spellings are unambiguous and the realisation /jɫu/ in Northern dialects predictable, rendering further innovation redundant.¹²⁹

Vowel 15 varies between /ɪ/ and /ʌ/ in Scotland, although /ɛ/ may also occur and after /w/ and /m/, the realisation may be /ʌ/. In Ulster /ɪ̄/ (/ǣ/) or /ɛ̄/ also occur. The latter especially in Donegal. (Gregg 1972: 121)

¹²⁶ The usual Older Scots spellings were <ow, ov, ou> with <ow> preferred word-finally. (Aitken 2002: lviii)

¹²⁷ DOST records *gowf*, *howe*, *knowe*, *pow* and *rowe*.

¹²⁸ <http://www.scotsdictionaries.org.uk> Scots Spelling and Grammar accessed on 16.09.06.

¹²⁹ The usual Older Scots spellings were <ew, ev> and <eu>. (Aitken 2002: lviii).

This appears to be the popular Anglo-Irish sound in *bull*, *foot*, (*fu*t), *full*, *put* (between low-back advanced and low-mixed retracted [...]) It is fronted in certain words: *pit* for *put* (esp. when emphatic), *fit* for *foot* (*fu*t). (Traynor 1953: xxi)

In acoustic effect it is midway between *pit* and *pet*. (Traynor 1953: xx)

[...] the late Latin practice of using <o> for earlier <u> caused some falling together of the two graphemes in French and later in English. Thus <o> replaced <u> in a large number of words [...]. The use of <o> was valuable in distinguishing the vowel from a neighbouring consonant, particularly <v> (identical with <u> at this time [...]) and <w> written <uu>, as the name of the letter suggests). The fact that the convention survives also in the neighbourhood of <n> and <m> has led many commentators to suggest that <o> was preferred to <u> to make reading easier, since the characters <u n m> all consisted in bookhand of a series of minims (or straight down-strokes), the series in <un ini iui uu iw im> etc. being in danger of being misdivided and causing confusion. (Scragg 1975: 43-44)¹³⁰

[...] before a nasal consonant Scots replaces [ʌ] with [i] giving *rin* 'run' [...] and *hinny* 'honey' [...] The same variation occurs before other consonants like [z] in *hizzy* 'hussy' [...] and *dizzen* 'dozen' [...] (Tulloch 1980: 185)

The Survey of English Dialects records *foot*, [...] and *look* [...] with /ʌ/ in parts of the south east Midlands and the West Country [...] (Harris 1985: 154)

The most common reflex overall, and one that is increasing in frequency, is [ē] [...], although [...] [ē~i] [...] are far from rare. Less commonly, and more localisedly, even [...] [æ~ä] [...] may occur, as may [...] [ə~ɜ] [...], [ʌ] [...] or [ɜ~ɝ] [...] (Johnston 1997b: 468)

[...] while Ulster Scots has [ɜ] = girl, as in other districts with [ɹ] [...] (Johnston 1997b: 472-473)

The *Scots Style Sheet* did not mention that, the assumption being that traditional usage should be followed.

Purves (1979) suggested <i> in words such as *blind*, *birl* ('rotate'), *bliss* ('bless'), *brig* ('bridge'), *dirl* ('vibrate'), *git* ('get'), *glif* ('fright'), *ilk* ('each'), *ither* ('other'), *kist* ('chest'), *mither* ('mother'), *rid* ('red'), *sic* ('such'), *skirl* ('scream'), *whilk* ('which'), and *yit* ('yet'), preferring <u> in words such as *wul* ('will'), *wurm* ('worm'), *wurship* ('worship') and *wush* ('wish').

McClure (1980) also suggested <i>, following traditional usage.

The *Scots Language Society* suggested <i> in words such as *brig* ('brig'), *finnd* ('find'), *kist* ('chest') and *shilpit* ('puny') but did suggest <u> in *wul* ('will').

The *Aiberdeen Univairsitie Scots Leid Quorum* suggested <i>, following established usage, and giving the example *hill*, but <u> after <w> and <wh>, giving the examples *wund* ('wind') and *whustle* ('whistle'). Allan (1995) expanded on that, commenting that the vowel might also be realised /y/ and /ʌ/, but gave *wull* ('will'), *whurl* ('whirl') and *wurd* ('word'). SLD Ltd. did not mention that but suggested *will* or *wull* as options¹³¹.

¹³⁰ For example *come*, *love*, *monk*, *some*, *son*, *tongue*, *worry* etc.

¹³¹ <http://www.scotsdictionaries.org.uk> Scots Spelling and Grammar accessed on 16.09.06.

Robinson (1997) suggested <i> for various correspondences with English <e> or <u>, giving examples such as *iver* ('ever'), *niver* ('never'), *rin* ('run'), *sic* ('such') and *simmer* ('summer'), but also suggested <u>, especially after <w> and <wh>, in words such as *furst* ('first'), *twust* ('twist'), *whun* ('gorse') and *wutch* ('witch') and <ä>, for what is apparently the realisation /ɪ/ (/æ/) described by Gregg (1972: 121), in words such as *bäg* ('big') and *pän* ('pin') but not in *biggin* ('building') or *yin* ('one'), which would indicate that his use of <ä> is generally (and inconsistently) limited to vocabulary shared with Standard English.

The *Scots Spelling Comatee* suggested <i> but did comment on possible realisations with /ʌ/ or /ĕ/.

The traditional grapheme <i>¹³² clearly offers itself here. As the environments where /ʌ/ may occur are phonologically predictable i.e. after /w/ and /m/, those native speakers who have such a realisation will produce it unconsciously, as will those who have a realisation other than /ɪ/. Robinson's (1997) suggested use of <ä> is both confusing and unnecessary, his own failure to apply it consistently proving the point. That is also conditioned by phonological environment and will be unconsciously realised /ɪ/ (/æ/) or /ĕ/ by native-speakers. Further innovation would be unnecessary in an orthography designed for native-speakers.

Vowel 16 is usually /ɛ/ but also /ɛɪ/, especially in Ulster.

[...] is most commonly [ɛɪ] [...] Realisations range from [...] [æɪ] [...] to [eɪ]. Both Inghliding [ɛə~eə] and Uppgliding [ɛɪ~eɪ] are occasionally attested [...] (Johnston 1997b: 470)

[...] Ulster Scots, koinéised as it is, has a split development, with [æ] before voiceless sounds or clusters containing them, and long [ɛɪ(ə)], reminiscent of Gallovidian, elsewhere [...] (Johnston 1997b: 472-473)

When the vowel is short, and the syllable is closed, it usually has the sound [ɛ], e.g. *fecht*, *seck*, with variants [æ], esp. in s.Sc., e.g. *bed*, *leg*, [ɛ], in em.Sc.(a), e.g. *ken*, *gless*, *fell* [...], except before *r*, where it tends to [e] [...] (SND: E)

The *Scots Style Sheet*, the *Aiberdeen Univairsitie Scots Leid Quorum* and SLD Ltd. did not mention it, although Allan (1995) gave the examples *fell* ('fierce') and *gless* ('glass') and Robinson (1997) suggested <e> for correspondences to English <a> in words such as *eftèr* ('after'). The assumption otherwise being that traditional usage should be followed.

Purves (1979) suggested <e> in such words as *ken* ('know'), *neb* ('nose'), *pech* ('pant'), *gled* ('glad') etc. but also included some words which have an underlying vowel 4 or 8, such as *gether* ('gather'), *herm* ('harm'), *Merch* ('March'), *perk* ('park') and *trekkil* ('treacle').

McClure (1980) suggested <e>, as did the *Scots Language Society*, in words such as *ken* ('know'), *gled* ('glad'), *sneck* ('notch') and *yett* ('gate'), but also included some words which have an underlying vowel 4 or 8, such as *ferm* ('farm'), *herm* ('harm') and *hert* ('heart').

¹³² Also usual in Middle Scots, although the lower Scots (as compared to English accents) realisation was occasionally shown by the use of <e>. (Aitken 2002: lviii)

The *Scots Spelling Comatee* suggested <e> but pointed out those words with underlying vowel 4 or 8 such as *cairie/kerrie* ('carry'), *gaither/gether* ('gather') and *pairt/pert* ('part') but not *exercise, leg* or *term*.

The traditional grapheme <e>¹³³ clearly offers itself here, but should arguably not be used in those words which also have an underlying /e(:)/ realisation. It arguably easier to render <ai> or <a-e> /ɛ(:)/ (as is the case with vowels 4 and 8 anyway) than <e> /e(:)/. This is also the underlying phoneme in Latinate words such as *exercise, member, memory* and *precious*, often mistaken for vowel 4 or 8 and written <ai> in an over-enthusiastic attempt to differentiate the language from Standard English. Those native-speakers who have a realisation tending towards /e(:)/ will produce that unconsciously.

Vowel 17 has merged with /a:, a:/ (vowel 12) in some dialects. /ɔ/ may occur for /a/ in some varieties, especially before /n/ and /ŋ/.

The same *a/o* relationship between Scots and English occurs before [m], [p], [b] and [f] but for a quite different reason. Here Scots has unrounded to [a] producing *aff* 'off' [...], *drap* 'drop' [...], *tap* 'top' [...] and *Tammy Norie* 'a puffin' [...] The [a] sound further appears where English has [ei] in *tak* 'take' [...] and *mak* 'make' [...] (Tulloch 1980: 185)

In broad MUE vernacular /ɛ/ is also the usual development of ME /a/ before velars e.g. in *sack, bag, bang*. (Harris 1985: 44)

A following /ŋ/ [...] may retract the CAT realisation or raise it, depending on whether the assimilation is to the backness or height of the following velar [...] (Johnston 1997b: 484)

Mid Scots varieties are split between Front-CAT varieties with isolative [a(:)-ä(:)] like [...] and Antrim South-west Mid, and back-CAT ones like [...] which have [a(:)-ä(:)-ɒ(:)] [...] mergers with CAUGHT [...] is generally confined to those varieties adjoining the linguistic north or south [...] Northern-style near-mergers, with the environment before /t, k/ excepted, prevail in County Down [...] (Johnston 1997b: 486)

Southwest Mid varies a great deal, but generally Antrim dialects have isolative [a], and Down ones [a]. There is a tendency to back and lengthen the CAT vowel before voiced sounds, nasals, /l r/ and, in Down, voiceless fricatives [...] Some very front reflexes of the [æ-ɛ] type can occur before velars, and in *bag* they are lengthened to [ɛ:] in Down and South Antrim (Milroy 1994:139). Diphthongs of the [æi-ai] type can occur in BAG also. (Johnston 1997b: 487)

[...] *half* is transferred to CAT. Roughly the same forms are extant in Ulster Scots, with the most common forms being Down [ɔ] and Antrim [a(:)] [...] (Johnston 1997b: 490)

The Scots Style Sheet did not mention it, the assumption being that traditional usage <a> should be followed. Purves (1979) followed suit but included suggestions such as *drak* ('absorb')¹³⁴, *dad* ('lump'), and *whar* ('where')¹³⁵ under vowel 12, although there is also *waddin* ('wedding').

McClure (1980) suggested following traditional usage.

¹³³ Also usual in Middle Scots. (Aitken 2002: lviii)

¹³⁴ Also vowel 4 or 8 [drek, dra(:)k] (SND: *draik*).

¹³⁵ Also vowel 4 or 8 [ma:r, mo:r; em.Sc. (b) and s.Sc. have now usu. me:r] (SND).

The *Scots Language Society* did not mention it, the assumption being that traditional usage should be followed.

The *Aiberdeen Univairsitie Scots Leid Quorum* also suggested following traditional usage, giving the examples *cat* and *wash*. Allan (1995) expanded on that mentioning that /a/ prevails in West Central dialects but that the /a/ realisation is both etymologically and phonemically distinct from vowel 12.

SLD Ltd. did not mention vowel 12, the assumption being that traditional usage <a> should be followed, indicated by suggestions such as *cantie* ('cheerful'), *cannae* ('can't') and *cannie* ('careful')¹³⁶. Similarly with Robinson (1997), indicated by suggestions such as *alang* ('along'), *bak* ('back'), *bad*, *fashed* ('bothered'), *pad* ('path'), *sab* ('sob'), *tak* ('take') and *wast* ('west').

The *Scots Spellin Comatee* followed suit, indicated by suggestions such as *cat*, *drap* ('drop'), *habber* ('stammer'), *knap* ('knock'), *mak* ('make'), *sclatch* ('bedaub'), *shak* ('shake') and *tak* ('take').

The traditional grapheme <a>¹³⁷ clearly offers itself here. Since the environments where /ɔ/ may occur are phonologically predictable (before /n/ and /ŋ/), and those native-speakers who have such a realisation will produce it unconsciously. For mergers see vowel 12.

Vowel 19 is usually /ʌ/, but /æ~ä/ and /ĕ/ are also attested. (Johnston 1997b: 476)

The *Scots Style Sheet* did not mention it, the assumption being that traditional usage <u> should be followed. Purves (1979) suggested <u>, giving examples such as *bull*, *dubs* ('puddles'), *grund* ('ground'), *hurl* ('ride'), *hunder* ('hundred'), *lug* ('ear'), *puddok* ('toad'), *pull* and *push*.

McClure (1980) suggested <u>. The *Scots Language Society* also did so, giving examples such as *bul* ('bull'), *drumlie* ('turbid'), *dubs* ('puddles') *ful* ('full'), *hunder* ('hundred') and *lug* ('ear').

The *Aiberdeen Univairsitie Scots Leid Quorum* indicated following traditional usage but preferred <u> for vowel 15 after <w> and <wh>, while Allan (1995) simply added detail. SLD Ltd. did not mention it, the assumption being that traditional usage <u> should be followed, as indicated in examples such as *grutten* ('weeped'), *hurlie* (a 'hand-cart'), *pund* ('pound') and *scunnersome* ('objectionable')¹³⁸.

Robinson (1997) did not mention it, the assumption being that traditional usage <u> should be followed, but often used it for vowel 15 after <w> and <wh>.

The *Scots Spellin Comatee* suggested following traditional usage.

¹³⁶ <http://www.scotsdictionaries.org.uk> Scots Spelling and Grammar accessed on 16.09.06.

¹³⁷ Also usual in Middle Scots. (Aitken 2002: lviii)

¹³⁸ <http://www.scotsdictionaries.org.uk> Scots Spelling and Grammar accessed on 16.09.06.

The traditional grapheme <u>¹³⁹ clearly offers itself here. For mergers see vowel 15.

Morphemes

If the investigation of morphemic features is begun with the assumption of a direct relationship between spelling and sound, then problems appear immediately. (Venezky 1970: 41)

The traditional negative particle <-na> was suggested by all except SLD Ltd. (2002), which suggested the modernism <-nae>, although Macleod (1996) and SNDA (1999: 4.7.2) included both <-nae> and <-na>. SNDA (1999: 4.7.4) suggested the form *mauna* ('mustn't'), with a single <n>, as against *maunna* presumably in order to conform to double-consonant rules, but contradicted that with forms such as *aiapple* ('apple') and *cairrie* ('carry') (3.2, 4.2.2). In the headword list based upon the contents of the *Essential Scots Dictionary*¹⁴⁰ apparently only <-nae> was chosen, as shown in examples such as *amnae* ('amn't') and *arnae* ('aren't'). Robinson (1997) also suggested <-nae>.

The unstressed, gen. enclitic form of No, not, chiefly used with aux. verbs, as *canna, dinna, haena, winna*, etc., (SND: na)

The obvious choice for a normative orthography would be the traditional <-na> inherited from Middles Scots,¹⁴¹ the modernism <-nae> over-emphasising an /e/ realisation.

All suggested <-in> for the present participle and verbal noun except the *Scots Style Sheet* (1947) and Purves (1979), which suggested differentiating the present participle <-an> from the verbal noun <-in>. Although differentiation of the present participle and verbal noun may still occur in some peripheral dialects, it has generally not been indicated in writing since the Middle Scots period.

Final *d* from the Sc. *pr.p.* ending *-and* is regularly dropped in all dialects, e.g. *eatin, gaun, hingin, stannin*. (SND: D)

in the unaccented termination *-ing*, as in vbl.ns. and adjs. *comin, fleein, makin, rinnin*, etc.; *mornin, herrin, shillin*, [...] (SND: G)

Many would find it difficult to differentiate the present participle and verbal noun in practice and since those who have differentiated realisations would produce them unconsciously, its representation in writing is not necessary, leaving <-in> as the obvious choice in a normative orthography.

The past participles <-it, -t> or <ed> in weak verbs.

The *Scots Style Sheet* (1947) suggested "Past tense and past participles of weak verbs in -it, -t and -ed according to euphony [...]", which was expanded slightly by Purves and the *Scots language Society*.

¹³⁹ Also usual in Middle Scots. In the vicinity of letters written with minimum strokes <o> was used for clarity rather than <u>. (Aitken 2002: lviii) e.g. come, some and the prefix on- ('un-').

¹⁴⁰ <http://www.scotsdictionaries.org.uk/HeadWordList/A.html> accessed on 16.09.06.

¹⁴¹ The enclitic negative particle [...] is *na* [...] as in ModSc. (Aitken 2002: cxviii)

It is now normal to also use ‘-t’, ‘-d’ and ‘-ed’, according to euphony. Verbs ending in ‘-b’, ‘-d’, ‘-g’, ‘-k’, ‘-p’ and ‘-t’ add on ‘-it’ [...] Verbs ending in ‘-il’, ‘-en’, ‘-er’, ‘-ch’, ‘-sh’, ‘-ss’ and ‘f’, usually add on ‘-t’ [...] Otherwise the tendency is to employ ‘-ed’ or ‘-d’, the latter being often added when the infinitive already ends in silent ‘-e’ [...] (Purves 1979: 64)

Past tense and past participles of weak verbs ending in ‘-b’, ‘-d’, ‘-g’, ‘-k’, ‘-p’ and ‘-t’ add on ‘-it’ [...] Verbs ending in ‘-il’, ‘-en’, ‘-er’, ‘-ch’, ‘-sh’, ‘-ss’ and ‘f’, usually add on ‘-t’ [...] Otherwise ‘-ed’ may be used [...] or ‘-d’ when the infinitive already ends in silent ‘-e’ [...] (SLS 1985)

The *Aiberdeen Universitie Scots Leid Quorum* (Lovie 1995) suggested the inflection <-it> after <b, d, g, k, p> and <t>. The inflection <-t> was suggested after <f, s, n, l, th, ch, sh, ce>, <s> /s/ and sometimes <r>, and after silent <e>, <-’t>, and that final <-le> change to <-ilt>. The inflection <-ed> was suggested after <m, ve, w, we, x, y, z, ou>, <se> /z/, all verbs ending <e>, except those previously mentioned and sometimes after <r>, adding that after <ee>, <’d> and that <-ed> displace a final <e>.

SLD Ltd. was not so clear:

Past tenses and past participles end with *-it* or *-t*, eg *leukit, gaithert*. Sometimes the English ending *-ed* or *-d*, is used, eg *leuked, gaithered*.

For verbs ending with *-le*, eg *ettle, fankle, pauchle*, the past tense and participle often ends with *-elt*. *Yon cassette tape’s no workin – the tape’s aw fankelt*.

Some verbs ending with *-ll*, eg *tell* and *dwall*, drop one of the ‘l’s to become *-elt*: *Ah telt ye*.

For strong and irregular verbs, see list at end of GB [Grammar Broonie], eg *tint* (from *tyne*), *grat, grutten* (from *greet*) see Verb List¹⁴².

Some irregular English verbs, like *keep* and *tell*, are *regular* in Scots: *Ah telt ye* (English ‘told’); *Ah’ve keptit a seat for ye* (English ‘kept’). (SLD Ltd.¹⁴³)

Past tenses and past participles end with *-it* or *-t* [...] sometimes the English form, ending with *-ed* or *-d* is used [...] For verbs ending with *-le* [...] the past tense & participle often ends with *-elt* [...] Some verbs ending with *-ll* [...] drop one of the ‘l’s to become *-elt* [...] (SNDA 1999: 4.3.1, 4.3.2, 4.3.3)

For many of the verbs you can also use the English form, if it fits your sentence better [...] Most Scots verbs however form the past tense and past participle by adding *-(i)t* [...] or *-(e)d* as in English [...]. (Macleod 1996: 369)

Rennie (1999: 21) mentioned an apostrophe in *dee’d* the past tense of *dee* (‘die’).

A more precise description was offered in Macleod and Cairns (1993: viii):

For past tense, past participle:

-it after -b, -d, -g, -k, -p, -t, as in *biggit, howkit*

-t after -il, -en, -er, -ch, -tch, -sh, -ss, -f as in *laucht, fasht, fleetcht*

-(e)d, as in *kaimed, hained, breenged, chowed*

-elt for verbs ending in -le, as in *sprauchelt, trauchelt*.

Robinson (1997) suggested that verbs which end with a stressed vowel take a <-d> ending, verbs which end in a consonant take <-it>, and verbs which end in a liquid or nasal consonant take <-t>.

¹⁴² <http://www.scotsdictionaries.org.uk/VerbList.htm> This included the advice given in Macleod 1996 p.369. Accessed 03.10.06

¹⁴³ <http://www.scotsdictionaries.org.uk/ScotsSpellingGrammar.htm> accessed 03.10.06

The *Scots Spellin Comatee* (2000) recommended <-it> after <b, d, g, k, p> and <-t>, <-t> after <f, ss, en, l, sh, tch, ch>, sometimes <r> and after an unstressed “ee” sound, <le> changes to <-elt>, <-ed> after others including <se> /z/ and <-’d> after <ee>. Unchanged past participles of Latinate verbs were also mentioned.

Clearly the phonetic nature of the past tense morpheme is conditioned by phonetic environment:

The verbal or adjectival termination *ed* becomes *ət* after p, t, k, b, d, g, except in Caithness dialect where it is *əd*. (Grant 1921: 8)

The connecting vowel is dropped when the verb ends in any consonant except p, t, k, d, b, g. After an accented vowel d (instead of t) is more common in the Mid and Sth. dialects as also after a liquid or nasal. (Grant and Dixon 1921: 113)

The dental termination of the past participle, borrowed from French or Latin, does not take on final “-d” or “-ed” in Scottish. (Grant 1921: 182)

In unaccented syllables, the sound of *e* is reduced and can be represented in a broad transcription by [ə] but there is a tendency in Sc. to retain a slight trace of the original quality of the vowel somewhere in the range between [ɛ] and [ɪ] [...] As a result, *e* is occasionally written for the historical *i* in the ending *-it* of the *pa.t.* and *pa.p.* of weak verbs, e.g. *cracket*. (SND: E)

With dialect differences, the resulting preferences are therefore:

[-ɪt] after stops [...] [-t] after non-stop consonants (voiceless fricatives in particular) and unstressed vowels [...] [-d] after voiced non-stop consonants and stressed vowels [...] and a few other Latin participles used without a Scots inflection [...] there are irregular weak verbs, mostly shared with English [...] but also some independent items [...] Several verbs that are declined irregularly in English may be treated as regular verbs in Scots [...] A small number of verbs in the St E weak irregular paradigm may be strong verbs in Scots. (Görlach 2002: 96–97)

Those phonetic descriptions suggest <-t>, <-it> and <-(e)d> or <’d>.

[...] *d* was unvoiced to *t* in the *pa.p.* of weak verbs, *-ed* becoming *-it*, early in the Mid.Sc. period and has remained so, e.g. *crabbit*, *happit*, *wannert*, *feart*, *dozent*, but prevails in nn.Sc., e.g. *chapped*, *cropped* (both dissyllables), *mashed*, *stuffed*. (SND: D)

Since the realisation of the past-tense morpheme is conditioned by phonetic environment, an orthography-based description depends on the chosen graphemic representations of those environments. That would give <-it>, inherited from Middle Scots,¹⁴⁴ after the stop consonants /b, d, g, k, p/ and /t/ usually represented by <b, d, g, ck, k, p> and <t>, a final ‘silent’ <e> may follow—this is dropped when forming the past tense, in words such as *rub*>*rubbit*, *gaird*>*gairdit* (‘guard’), *rag*>*raggit*, *swick*>*swickit* (‘deceive’), *keek*>*keekit* (‘peep’), *like*>*likit*, *drap*>*drappit* (‘drop’), *keep*>*keepit*, *hurt*>*hurtit* and *licht*>*lichtit* (‘light’). The same may apply after the fully voiced nasal stops /m, n/ and /ŋ/, usually represented by <m, n, and <ng>, in words such as *hing*>*hingit* (‘hang’), *sing*>*singit*, though <-t> or <ed> is more likely.

After /tʃ, f, l, s, θ, ʃ, r, x/ and stressed vowels usually represented by <ch, f, l, le, s, se, th, sh> and <r>, the past tense of weak verbs is formed with <-t>, and a final ‘silent’ <e> may

¹⁴⁴ Middle Scots employed both <-it> and <-yt>, and <-d> after vowels. (Aitken 2002: cxiii)

follow—this is dropped when forming the past tense¹⁴⁵ except if <le> follows a consonant, where it is changed to <elt>, in words such as *pech>pecht* ('pant'), *byle>bylt* ('boil'), *fill>filt*, *kill>kilt*, *sell>selt*, *spyle>spylt* ('spoil'), *taigle>taigelt* ('hinder'), *miss>misst*, *fear>feart* ('scared'), *mairy>mairit* ('marry'). The same may apply after the fully voiced nasal stops /m, n/ and /ŋ/, usually represented by <m, n, and <ng>, in words such as *droun>drount* ('drown'), *ken>kent* ('know'), *mean>meant*, *stang>stangt* ('sting'), and *tuim>tuimt* ('empty'). After /dʒ, ð, ʒ, v, z/ and unstressed vowels usually represented by <dg, g, th, s, v> and <s, s, z> where a final 'silent' <e> may follow, the past tense of weak verbs is formed with <(e)d>, where an apostrophe may be inserted to avoid homonyms or to represent an elided <e> in <-ed>, in words such as *bou>boud* ('bow'), *caw>cawed* ('call'), *cairy>cairit* ('carry'), *dee>dee'd* ('die'), *gae>gaed* ('go'), *lee>lee'd* ('fib'), *lowse>lowsed* ('loosen'), *pey>peyed* ('pay'), *rowe>rowed* ('roll'), *saw>sawed* ('saw wood'), *scrieve>scrieved* ('scribble'), *sing>singit* ('singed'), *snaw>snawed* ('snow'), *uise>uised* ('use'), *wale>waled* ('select') and *wirth>wort* ('to befall'). The same may apply after the fully voiced nasal stops /m, n/ and /ŋ/, usually represented by <m, n, and <ng>, in words such as *soum>soumed* ('swim').

Difficult as it is to explain the above in an easily digestible manner, native speakers should manage that instinctively "according to euphony" as the Scots Style Sheet (1947) suggested. Adding <-it> to all verbs, a practice often seen in contemporary writing, misrepresents the underlying phonology and may simply be the result of those unacquainted with spoken Scots lacking the necessary *phonemic awareness*. Such persons would clearly benefit from a regularised dictionary which included the past-tense inflections.

Only Purves (1979) commented on the adjectival suffix <-ous>, suggesting <-uss>, as in *byuss* ('extra-ordinary'), *cantankeruss* ('quarrelsome'), *mischieviuss*, *contermaciuss* ('obstinate'), *prai-ciuss* ('precious') and *sairiuss* ('serious').

For the suffix <-fu> ('-ful'), Purves (1979) suggested <-fu>. SNDA (1999: 2.3) suggests <-fae> but in the headword list based upon the contents of the *Essential Scots Dictionary*¹⁴⁶ *awfy* ('awful') was given, along with the variants *affa* (Northern) and *aafil* (Orkney)¹⁴⁷, the etymological form *awfu* not being mentioned. Certainly the realisations of the vowel across dialects seem to mirror those of the negative particle <-na>, perhaps by analogy. The forms <-fa, -fae, -fy> over-emphasise local realisations. The form <-fu> would be an etymologically sound choice for a normative orthography.

A number of traditional etymological spellings now include a reduced vowel /ə/ before final /r/. Those include both <-ar> and <-er> for the agent suffix, <-our> in words such as *colour*, *honour* and *odour*, <-ure> in words such as *pleasure*, *leisure*, *future* and *picture*, and final <-er> in comparatives and words such as *beaver*, *faither* ('father'), *maister* ('master') and *mutter*.

¹⁴⁵ Where, for example, <le> follows a vowel the final <e> is dropped and <-t> added.

¹⁴⁶ <http://www.scotsdictionaries.org.uk/HeadWordList/A.html> accessed on 16.09.06.

¹⁴⁷ This form may well be an Orkney realisation of Standard English, the form *aafu* is also given in the Orkney Dictionary (1996: 1).

In unaccented syllables, the sound of *e* is reduced and can be represented in a broad transcription by [ə] but there is a tendency in Sc. to retain a slight trace of the original quality of the vowel somewhere in the range between [ɛ] and [ɪ] [...] (SND: E)

Few made any specific suggestion for dealing with those, the assumption being that traditional practice should be followed. For the agent suffix Purves (1979) seemed to prefer <-ar> but also used *customer* and *percentor* ('precentor'). Rennie (1999) mentions <-ar> as a Scots form in *makar* ('poet'), *cottar* ('cottager'), *soutar* ('shoemaker') but does not implicitly state that <-er> forms should not be used in others. The <ar> form was certainly used in Older Scots but may, in many words, seem unfamiliar to contemporary Scots speakers. Purves's (1979) use of <-ir> in words such as *beavir* ('beaver'), *eftir* ('after'), *evir* ('ever') and *nevir* ('never') may be influenced by the vowel quality ranging between [ɛ] and [ɪ], perhaps suggesting an /ɪr/ realisation. It may equally be influenced by Middle Scots practice, the forms *bevir/bavir*, *eftir*, *evir/ewir* and *nevir/nifir/nawir* all being cited in DOST¹⁴⁸. Interestingly in the headword list based upon the contents of the *Essential Scots Dictionary*¹⁴⁹ the form *eftir* ('after') was apparently the choice; otherwise <er> was used in words such as *aither* ('either'), *anither* ('another') and *awthegither* ('altogether'). A normative orthography would, perhaps, best be served by using the familiar <er>, a judicious study of the literary record establishing where <-ar>, <-er> and Latinate <-or> forms prevailed as an agent suffix. Only Purves (1979) suggested using <-or> where <-our> was traditionally used, in examples such as *honor* and *odor*. A native speaker is unlikely to realise <-our> as /u:r/, rendering it as unambiguous choice for a normative orthography. The case for an alternative to <-ure> can be made, since the Standard English realisations of words such as *creature* ['kri:tʃə(r)], *lecture* ['lɛktʃə(r)] and *picture* ['pɪkʃə(r)] have /tʃə(r)/ or /ʃə(r)/ where Scots has /tər/ as in ['kretər], ['lɛktər] and ['pɪktər]. Regularisation to *craitur*, *lectur* and *pictur* would, arguably, better indicate the Scots realisation. In a normative orthography that same regularisation could then be applied to words such as *leisur* ['li:zər] and *pleisur* ('pleasure') ['pli:zər, 'plezər, 'pli:zər], avoiding, for example, Purves's (1979) ad hoc *cræter* ('creature'), *future*, *lectur* ('lecture'), *leisure*, *pictur* ('picture'), and *pleisure* ('pleasure').

Although not analysed in the sample the SND¹⁵⁰ provides an interesting insight in to the traditional treatment of many French- or Latin-derived words with endings derived from the Anglo-French form *-arie* and *-orie* which take the form *-ary* and *-ory* in Standard English. In Scots the Continental French *-aire* and *-oire* were the source and those were regularised to *-ar* and *-or*. The SND giving examples such as *dictionar* ('dictionary'), *missionar* ('missionary'), *necessar* ('necessary'), *notar* ('notary'), *ordinar* ('ordinary'), *secretar* ('secretary'), *summar* ('summary'), *interrogator* ('interrogatory') and *inventor*¹⁵¹ ('inventory') etc.

The final syllable in Romance words or those formed by analogy such as *argiffee* ('argue'), *gloriffee* ('glorify'), *peciffee* ('pacify'), *qualiffee* ('qualify'), *saitisfee* ('satisfy'), *sauntiffee* ('sanctify') and *terriffee* ('terrify')¹⁵². The traditional realisation was clearly /fi/, though the literary record also includes spellings such as <-fie> and <-fy>. The <y> in the spelling <-

¹⁴⁸ *Dictionary of the Older Scottish Tongue* available at <http://www.dsl.ac.uk>

¹⁴⁹ <http://www.scotsdictionaries.org.uk/HeadWordList/A.html> accessed on 16.09.06.

¹⁵⁰ SNDS under the letter 'Y' (<http://www.dsl.ac.uk/dsl/>).

¹⁵¹ *Inventar* in the SND.

¹⁵² All headword forms in the SND.

fy> may perhaps have been interpreted as an /i/ realisation of the word-final <y> described below. The continued influence of the southern standard also affected the realisation in speech which often became /fəɪ/.

[...] in the pronunciation of older people (fi, fɪ), but with the more modernized (fei) or (fɛi); *terrify*, older (tæɹ' əfi), newer (tæɹ' fɛi). (Murray 1873: 136)

Murray's description of the pronunciation with a diphthong may simply represent the usual Southern Scots realisation of vowel 11, though the influence of the southern standard is equally likely for all dialects. In a normative orthography the spelling <-fee> would be less ambiguous, especially if the intention is to reinforce the traditional Scots realisation.

The adjectival and adverbial suffix was variously realised as <-y> or <-ie>, whereby <-ie> prevailed in words which appeared to be particularly Scots. The diminutive was usually always formed with <-ie>.

Final *ie* or *y* has in most parts of m.Sc. [e], elsewhere some variation of *i* [ɪ, ɪ̃ or i]. In n.Sc. and e.Per. final *ie* or *y* varies (1) according to the character of the preceding vowel, (2) according to the preceding consonant. In the first case if the stem vowel is *ee* [i] or *ey* [əi, ei] final *ie* or *y* tends to become *ee* [i] — e.g. *wheelie*, *weety* (wet), *wily*.¹ Secondly if the preceding consonant is a voiced plosive or fricative — e.g. *d* or *z* — the suffix is [i] as *body*, *bosie* (*bosom*).¹⁵³ (Grant 1931: xvii)

The *Scots Style Sheet* (1947) and McClure (1980) made no mention of that but both Purves (1979) and The *Scots Language Society* suggested <-ie> across the board. The *Aiberdeen Universitie Scots Leid Quorum* (Lovie 1995) made no mention of it but Alan (1995: 94) followed Purves and the *Scots Language Society*. SLD Ltd. simply mentions the following “The *-ie* ending (as opposed to *-y*) is commonly used at the end of diminutives, eg *lassie*, *bairnie*, and adjectives, eg *bonnie*, *cantie*. But note that *-y* is more common for adverbial endings, eg *bonnily*, *cantily*.”¹⁵⁴ Macleod and Cairns (1993: vii) suggested using <-ie> rather than <-y> at the end of a word citing *bonnie* (‘pretty’) and *canny* (‘careful’). In Rennie (1999: 7, 13) it is suggested when forming the present participle of verbs that <-ie> be changed to <-y>, the author giving the examples *coorie*>*cooryin* (‘crouch’) and *cairrie*>*cairryin* (‘carry’), and when forming adverbs from adjectives to add <-lie> or <-ly> but to drop the <e> where it ends an adjective, the author giving the examples *bonnie*>*bonnily* (‘pretty’) and *braw*>*brawlie* (‘splendid’). The *Scots Spelling Comatee* (2000) suggested using <-ie> for words unique to or characteristic of Scots, including diminutives, and <y> for shared vocabulary, including Latinate and Greek suffixes such as <-ity>, <-logy> and <-graphy>. Robinson (1997) also suggested <-ie> and <-lie> for diminutives, adjectives and adverbs.

The grapheme <-ie> presents an unambiguous traditional choice for diminutives in a normative orthography. In order to homogenise the appearance of adverbs and adjectives, but also many other words, the choice has to be either <-(l)ie> or <-(l)y>. Mixing forms is clearly inconsistent and renders it difficult to explain where to apply one form or the other. Following Standard English practice by using <-(l)y> enables both Scots and shared vocabulary to mesh together as a homogenous language, giving regular patterns such as *cairy*>*cairyin* (‘carry’), *bonny*>*bonnily* (‘pretty’), *braw*>*brawly* (‘splendid’) and *stour*>*stoury*

¹⁵³ [Original footnote] 'bɔdi, 'bo:zi.

¹⁵⁴ <http://www.scotsdictionaries.org.uk/> Scots Spelling and Grammar accessed on 16.09.06.

(‘dust’) which blend in well with forms such as *body*, *funny*, *happy* and *ony* (‘any’), incidentally avoiding unfamiliar forms such as *funnie* (‘funny’) and *happie* (‘happy’).

Although not a morpheme, the pronunciations of the final unstressed vowel, usually written <-ow> in Standard English cognates, has a range of realisations similar to that of the negative particle traditionally written <-na>.

The ending *ow* tends to have a short *ay* [e] sound in most of the central dialects and in other districts an [ə] vowel as in *barrow*, *marrow*, etc., [‘bare] as against [‘barə]. (Grant 1931: xvii)

The various realisations, depending on word, stress and dialect /ə, e, ɪ, i/, occasionally /o/ and /u/ in a few words, have had various representations in the traditional literature, for example the numerous forms used in the Scots cognate of ‘window’: <-a, -ae, -aw, -ey, -ie, -o, -ow, -y> (SND: window). Similarly in the Scots cognates of words such as arrow, barrow, fellow, marrow, meadow, narrow, shadow, sorrow, swallow, wallow, widow, winnow and yellow. Where <-ow>¹⁵⁵ was not used, the most frequent written representations seemed to be <-a> or <-ae> where <-a> probably represented /ə/ and <-ae> /e, ɪ/ or /i/. For a normative orthography <-ow> would likely indicate the diphthong /ʌu/ or simply be interpreted /oː/ as in Standard English, both unlikely realisations in Scots. The parallels with the negative particle offer both <-a> and <-ae> the latter perhaps better able to subsume the realisations /ə, e, ɪ/ and /i/ giving such spellings as *arrae*, *barrae*, *fallae*, *marrae*, *meidae*, *nairae*, *shaidae*, *sorrae*, *swallae*, *wallae*, *weedae*, *windae*, *winnae* and *yellae* for the Standard English cognates above.

Grammar

Most 18th and 19th century writing in Scots usually followed the grammatical conventions of Standard English of its time. For example, the use of the Northern Subject Rule was conspicuous by its absence and the use of *wha* (‘who’), as a relative pronoun, conspicuous by its presence. One aspect of language planning mentioned by Haugen (1961: 68) was, besides a normative orthography, a codified grammar. With regards to Scots, the question arises as to whether the grammar of the spoken dialects is to be its foundation or that of Standard English, the written variety, or ‘language of the book’, with which most Scots-speakers are familiar.

I think there is nothing to complain of or apologise for, unless it be that the editors of the Scottish newspapers have not always been careful to discern between the vernacular and the vulgar, and have frequently allowed a thin veneer of Scottish spelling to pass muster as a genuine representation of the popular speech. (Craigie 1924: 9)

Even prose writing, though more hopeful [than metrical writing], does not go very far, either, along pure dialect lines. Most Scottish writing in what is variously called Braid Scots, Lowland Scotch, Lallans or just Scots is therefore composed in some sort of a standard language rather than in dialect; or if a dialect we must call it, then it is a literary dialect created by men of the pen. (Mackie 1952: 123–4)

¹⁵⁵ This was often used in Scots words with a similar phonology such as [‘səibə, ‘səibi] ‘sybow’ where *sybae* would perhaps be a better orthographic representation of its realisation.

The use of 'wha' as a relative pronoun, non-existent in natural speech (in which it is simply an interrogative), is also recognised by all Scots speakers as 'Scots of the book'. It is a hallmark of literary Scots—a mark of the literary devil catching out the writer who pretends to be giving us 'dialect.' (Mackie 1952: 129)

Scots is rich in idiom. [...] It is this richness of the language our poets and prose-writers ought to seek to recapture and convey. So much Scottish writing seems to have been written in English and converted into Scots, a pointless procedure. (Mackie 1961: 30)

Where the subject was *not* a personal pronoun or the pronoun was separated by intervening words from the verb, the rule was that all persons ended in *-s* in the singular and plural alike. So when the Ettrick Shepherd sings how nice it is to meet a bonnie lassie 'when the kye come hame', his Scots is as unexceptional as his sentiments [...] (Murison 1977: 44)

As usual Scott does not maintain consistency. [...] The Scottish use, in certain circumstances, of *-s* inflections of the verb [...] mostly gives way to the Standard English restriction of *-s* to the third person singular. (Tulloch 1980: 267)

In addition, the present century has seen the conscious creation of a 'mainstream' variety of Scots—a standard literary variety, [...] referred to as 'synthetic Scots', now generally goes under the name Lallans (= 'Lowlands'). [...] In its grammar and spelling, it shows the marked influence of Standard English, more so than other Scots dialects. (Crystal 1995: 333)

The influence of St E is therefore likely to be stronger on written texts than on speech. Consequently, writing in Scots is a conscious process, influenced (to varying degrees) by St E [...] (Görlach 2002: 38)

It is striking that a policy document *about* Scots should be written *in* Scots (even if some of the grammatical elements in the 'Scots' represented suggest a translation from English). (Millar 2006: 76)

Conclusion

If written Scots is to have a more prominent place in public life, especially in the realms of 'official', expository or transactional writing, communicative efficiency will, arguably, be greatly facilitated by the use of a 'standard' or perhaps less pedantically—a regularised orthography, although, in the words of Halliday (1985: 29), "we tend to take it for granted that spelling should be totally uniform; but there is no compelling reason why it should be, provided the principles are clear". A standard certainly need not imply an across-the-board application of the principle of a single spelling for each word. Where a particular dialect form or pronunciation cannot be relatively instinctively or easily predicted from the application of the graphemic representation chosen, a few dialect variants can easily be accommodated. Most well-read persons will soon become familiar with such forms, much as is the case with such variation in, for example, British and American English. Such forms will simply indicate the provenance of the writer and not readily hinder intelligibility.

On the other hand, such an endeavour may be questioned, since a 'standard' already exists.

It is important to stress too that Scots should be seen not as a single entity, but one which ranges from a very 'broad' regional and social type (like, say, the rural speech of Aberdeenshire or the Working Class usage of Glasgow) to a form which has similarities to Standard English. In other words, the linguistic manifestations of Scots should be seen as a type of scale or cline, encompassing a very broad range of usage and formal characteristics. (Jones 2002: 5)

Even at the level of casual observation it is clear that, while there indeed seems to be a ‘posh’, prestigious form of Modern Scots, it is in several important ways different from its Standard English, Received Pronunciation counterpart. [...] This formal, upper-class version of Scots is often referred to as **Scottish Standard English**. (Jones 2002: 24)

The historical reality is of course that Scottish Standard English is not Scots, although to varying degrees influenced by it, but the result of previous and current generations of Scots adopting southern Standard English.

However, the situation is similar linguistically to one of dialect contact (Trudgill 1986) in that the indigenous language of the Lowlands (Scots) was a closely related variety. The resulting shift produced complex structural compromises, especially in phonology, which have not always been well understood. In particular the apparent ‘mergers’ of LOT/THOUGHT and FOOT/GOOSE (Wells 1982: §5.2.3) are not processes of sound change at all, but lexical transfers (see Macafee 2002). Many of the characteristic outcomes of dialect contact described by Trudgill (1986, 1999) and by Britain and Trudgill (1999) are or were present. There are copious examples in Jones (1995) and elsewhere of interdialectal forms, hypercorrections and spelling pronunciations, but unfortunately, he systematically misinterprets them as sound changes in eighteenth-century Scots. (Macafee 2004: 60–61)

Similarly, Standard English can be seen as providing the means for official, expository or transactional writing where a situation of diglossia is assumed to be the norm.

Diglossia is a sociolinguistic situation in which two very different varieties of a language are both used in a society, but in different situations. Typically, one is used in more formal or literary situations such as formal writing, university lectures, and news broadcasts, and is learned and encouraged in school. The other is used in conversation, informal television situations, folk literature, etc., and is preferred at home. (Rogers 2005: 17)

That is to a large extent characteristic of the position of the ‘establishment’, even among those apparently well-disposed towards Scots¹⁵⁶. Learning and Teaching Scotland does not see any necessity for a ‘standard Scots’ and is quite content to approach the issue by simply expecting pupils to, for example, “Write a poem in Scots. (It is important not to be worried about spelling in this—write as you hear the sounds in your head.)” Of course the phonetic “write as you hear the sounds in your head” presupposes some knowledge of sound-to-letter correspondences, which are of course provided by Standard English, a language that the same organisation intends children to be “writing fluently and legibly with accurate spelling and punctuation”.¹⁵⁷

A first word of warning – ignore matters of spelling in the early stages of writing Scots. [...] At least initially, accept any form of phonetic spelling that pupils arrive at as long as you (and they!) can understand it. (Robertson 1996: 21)

The great majority of teachers with whom I spoke were interested in teaching about the local vernacular and encouraging its use in certain spheres. The only sour note was when I introduced the idea of a spelling norm for Scots: many of the teachers felt that this would be an authoritarian imposition upon a creative act (which tells us something of how they viewed the vernacular’s position in communication). Many also believed strongly that the teaching of another system to children who

¹⁵⁶ For further discussion see *Lounge Linguists and Literati* (Tait 2002) available at <http://myweb.tiscali.co.uk/wirhoose/but/wan/girn.htm> accessed on 16.09.06.

¹⁵⁷ Learning and Teaching Scotland from www.ltscotland.org.uk/5to14/specialfocus/scots/ideas/index.asp and www.ltscotland.org.uk/5to14/htmlunrevisedguidelines/Pages/englang/main/elng1003.htm accessed on 16.09.06.

struggled with English spelling would be counter-productive for the teaching of English. (Millar 2005: 196)

With creative artists, this tendency shows itself in what literary critics term 'phonetic spelling'. [...] Its main failing is that its supposedly phonetic status is based upon an adherence to the conventions (or at least tendencies) of English spelling [...] (Millar 2005: 191)

Such a position clearly sees Scots writing as reserved for the informal, obviating the necessity of a regularised norm. Ultimately such an approach treats the dialects of Scots as dialects of English, where the standard from which they deviate is Standard English. Such a position would exclude Scots from inclusion in European Charter for Regional or Minority Languages as that "does not include [...] dialects of the official language(s) of the State [...]".¹⁵⁸ That, dialects of English approach, perhaps offers an explanation for the reluctance of SLD Ltd. to regularize the headword forms in the likes of the *Scots School Dictionary*. Here numerous spellings for the same underlying phonemes are variably applied along with numerous spellings for predictable dialect realisations. One explanation for the choices made was that the most common form was selected as the headword. The most common form, would of course, vary according to the corpus consulted, depending on where and when individual items in it were written—rendering the outcome potentially arbitrary and contradictory. For example, in the list based upon the contents of the *Essential Scots Dictionary*¹⁵⁹, *aucht* ('eight') is given as the headword form, but the most common form is now in fact *aicht* or *echt*.

[...] [eçt, eçt, e'çt] [...] O.Sc. has *eght*, from 1516. This form, from Mid.Eng. *e* forms, has supplanted the native *Aucht*, which is now *obso.* [...] (SND: *echt*)

The decisions behind the SNDA's choice of phonetic transcriptions for the *Concise Scots Dictionary* were of a more systematic nature.

One difference between *SND* and *CSD* is here that *SND* pretends to what I suspect is an illusory or spurious precision in its account of the local distribution of fairly minutely differentiated forms. But the more important difference of course is that the *CSD*'s transcription system employs the theory of structural dialectology, which was only beginning to develop when Grant was compiling his volumes, though it is now, I daresay, generally accepted and used by dialectologists.¹⁶⁰

According to this theory, in the version of it used by *CSD*, the Scottish dialects share a common system of phonemes—a diasystem—but each individual dialect has its own local realizations of each common phoneme. So the phoneme we symbolize as /a/ is realised as an open unrounded sound, nearly always long, in all of its phonetic environments, in most Southern and Northern dialects as [a:] or [ɑ:], but in most Central Scots dialects as an open to half-open lip-rounded sound /ɔ:/, e.g. in the word for *fall*, Northern and Southern [fa:] or [fɑ:], Central [fɔ:]. Similarly, the phoneme /ɛ/ is realized as (more or less) [e] in some Northern dialects, [ɛ] or [ɛ:] in some Central dialects, [æ] in South-eastern and Southern dialects: e.g., in the word for *bed*, [bed], [bɛd], [bæd], and so on. Thus, once the common phoneme is stated, it is possible for the speaker of any particular local dialect to interpret it according to his own local rules of realization. (Aitken 1985: 144–145)

One assumes that the lexicographers at SLD Ltd. were aware of the possibility that once such phonemes had been identified, the most common and regular graphemic representations of

¹⁵⁸ Part I – General provisions Article 1 – Definitions a

¹⁵⁹ <http://www.scotsdictionaries.org.uk/HeadWordList/A.html> accessed on 16.09.06.

¹⁶⁰ K.M. Petyt, *The Study of Dialect: AN Introduction to Dialectology* (London 1980), especially chap. 5, "Structural Dialectology." [original footnote]

them could be taken as a basis for the spelling headword form—whereby “it is possible for the speaker of any particular local dialect to interpret it according to his own local rules of realization”—especially if it occurred reasonably often in the literary record, much as many of the examples quoted in the analysis above. That being particularly pertinent when one objective is to help those learning Scots.

There is one category of user for whom this may be particularly helpful, and that is the growing number, mostly of Scots Standard English speakers who try to write or speak Scots. (Robinson 1986: 27)

If Scots is to be taken out of the playground, pub and *kailyaird*, and if it is generally accepted that a regularised orthography is a prerequisite, an essential assumption is that its application would be learnt or taught systematically as a linguistic system, i.e. language, in which the orthography is Scots and the graphemes have Scots realisations, and not, what is often the case, assumed Standard English sound-to-letter realisations.

The existence of an orthography for non-standard dialects can often make matters more complex for their ‘survival’, since speakers very often do not recognise the proposed spelling system as a type of the dialect they themselves speak on a daily basis. (Jones 2002: 6)

Without a foundation of strong public support, it is unreasonable to expect that any artificially codified variety of Scots can have a significant role in schooling. (Bailey 1987: 138)

It is certainly true to say that Scots orthography had never been completely independent or uninfluenced by practices further south. Written Scots has and had always been influenced by contemporary written Standard English, and there never was a ‘golden age’ where Scots had a totally autonomous orthography with fully standardised spellings.

DOST illustrates again and again that every conceivable spelling of a given word will turn up somewhere. (Macafee 1987: 4)

Of course the above quote implies a more chaotic situation than actually existed. Contemporary practice is often fairly regular, varying less than across time, perhaps owing to the ongoing adoption of southern practices.

Scots already has already been partially standardised, at different periods in its history. (McClure 1980a: 20)

The closer inspection above clearly shows that many, if not all, well-read 18th and 19th century writers were aware of the concept of a ‘standard’ or ‘pan-dialectal’ Scots and the orthographic practices of which it was comprised. As shown above, many of those graphemes were inherited from the Middle Scots period, and as such predate the introduction of southern Standard English to Scotland. They are not, as is often assumed, Standard English that has been altered to show how the perceived Standard English letter-to-sound correspondences match a particular Scots dialect. Those graphemes are traditional and independent Scots ones that give Scots some of its ‘languagesness’. Nevertheless, since the ‘official’ adoption of the southern written norm after the Union, 18th and 19th century Scots orthographic practices were influenced by those of written Standard English. The examples 18th and 19th century Scots written scots consulted employed particular graphemes, if not always consistently, representing particular phonemes—even across dialects where the

realisations were often substantially, but predictably, different. Those can be identified by their continued recurrence in the literary record.

The analysis above clearly shows that the widely used and identifiable traditional Scots graphemes employed in the 18th and 19th, were used to represent varying dialect realisations. When applied consistently, or at least as consistently as possible, the graphemes identified and chosen, arguably provide the basis for a regularised Scots orthography—stemming from tradition and not the idiosyncrasies of individual ‘language planners’ or those harking after the apparent ‘golden age’ before political union with England. The, increasing widespread practice of writing particular dialects of Scots using Standard English letter-to-sound correspondences phonetically is, in effect, dialect writing, as the frame of reference is Standard English, not Scots itself. The choice is between writing Scots as an *Ausbausprache*, i.e. as a language that can be used for formal transactional communication—or as a local dialect of English. Both approaches are equally valid. However, one cannot claim that Scots is a language in its own right, and at the same time write Scots phonetically to show how a particular dialect deviates from Standard English.

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