Standard English in Scotland[1]

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1 The historical context

English in Scotland has developed in parallel and in interaction with English south of the political border. The earliest English-speaking populations in the geographical areas now pertaining to Scotland occupied the Lothian areas around what is now Edinburgh. Macafee (2002) notes the obscurity of the origins of the distinctive Scottish variety, known as Older Scots; however, candidates are the Anglian variety of Old English spoken by tribes in Lothian in the fifth century, and the Scandinavian-English hybrid spoken in Yorkshire half a millennium later. It is possible that the two varieties slowly merged as successive populations of Anglo-Danish speakers moved from the south to the north, initially to escape the depredations of the Norman invaders after 1066. The ousted English royal family were welcomed into the court of the Gaelic speaking Malcolm III of Scotland, the Scottish King marrying the Anglo-Saxon Princess Margaret. Refugees from the subsequent Norman 'Harrying of the North' also fled to lowland Scotland. A more peaceful 'Normanising' of lowland Scotland occurred during the reign of David I, in the early twelfth century. David, who spent his formative years at the English court, enthusiastically adopted the Norman feudal system in Scotland, and encouraged barons and their tenants to settle in lowland Scotland, alongside churchmen who also had state administrative functions. The Higlands and Western Islands remained Gaelic-speaking until the mid-eighteenth century; the Northern Islands spoke Scandinavian language varieties – Orkney Norn, for example, was spoken until the nineteenth century.

The result of this extended and complex series of interactions between populations and languages was a set of English language varieties spoken in lowland Scotland that can be differentiated in vocabulary, grammar, orthography and phonology from those spoken south of the border. In the late fourteenth century, a language shift towards these local varieties meant that English in Scotland began to replace Latin as the written record of state and French as the medium of literary expression. The records of the Parliament of Scotland to 1707 are now available online (Brown et al, eds, 2007-9) and among the earlier pieces of legislation in the language variety that at this point would have been referred to as

'Inglis' is the following General Council record of 1437. It shows some of the grammatical features typical of the written mode, notably the <-is> plural in words such as *barounis, alienatiounis, possessiounis;* the <-is> genitive in words like *fadiris;* the <-ys> present tense in *knawys;* the <-yt> preterite in *avysit, deliveryt, revokyt;* and the <-and> present participle in *beande, belangand* (see further, Macafee 1992/3). Orthographical features include the <ioun> suffix that identifies Latinate terms such as *alienatioun* and *possessioun;* the <quh-> grapheme in *quham;* and the <ai> and <aw> digraphs in *maide* and *knawys* (Kniezsa 1997). Some of these orthographic features correspond to early phonological characteristics; for example, the <i> in digraphs such as <ai>, <ei> and <oi> originally marked vowel length, but changes in pronunciation over time altered both length and quality of the corresponding phonemes (Aitken 2002).

> Item the generale consale, that is to say the clergy, barounis ande commissaris of burowis beande in this generale consale, be ane assent, nane discrepant, and weill avysit, has deliveryt and revokyt all alienatiounis, alsueill of landis and possessiounis as of movabill gudis, that war in his fadiris possessiounis, quham Gode assoilye, the tyme of his decese, gewyn and maide without the awyse and consent of the thre estatis, and has ordanyt that ane inventare be maide of all gudis in to depoise belangand to the king be thame that best knawys the sammyn gudis.

> *Item, the general council, that is to say the clergy, barons and burgh commissioners being in this general council, by one assent, none differing, and well advised, has delivered and revoked all alienations, both of lands and possessions as well as of moveable goods, that were in [the king's] father's possession, whom God forgive, at the time of his death, given and made without the advice and consent of the three estates, and has ordained that an inventory be made of all goods in keeping belonging to the king by those that best know the same goods.*

Given a political focus in Edinburgh, 'Inglis' continued to develop as the spoken and written medium of an independent speech community, to the point when, in the late fifteenth and early sixteenth century a few observers such as Bishop Gavin Douglas, a clergyman, diplomat, poet and translator, began to refer to their variety as 'Scottis' (McClure 1982). However, the sixteenth century also saw increasingly powerful anglicising influences beginning to impact upon Scots. The conflicts leading up to and succeeding the Reformation in Scotland in 1560 generated a substantial body of written texts that were designed to be read by Anglophone communities within and beyond Scotland. Jack (1997: 254) notes how the leading Reformer, John Knox, took advantage of his extended linguistic repertoire, exploiting Anglicised Scots to 'convey religious truths in the high style to as many people as possible' while maintaining a higher proportion of Scots in his unprinted sermons, which were directed at a more local, immediate audience.

With the accelerating influx of printed books from England to Scotland during the sixteenth century, followed by the Union of the Crowns in 1603, the publication of the King James Bible in 1611, and the parliamentary union of Scotland with England in 1707, an increasing number of literate Scottish people had access to a linguistic repertoire that extended from spoken and written forms of Scots to written standard English. Accordingly, the registers associated with Scots and English forms became differentiated, with 'broad' Scots increasingly reserved for

domestic, intimate and spoken situations, and English for public, written registers. The one major exception is the literary domain. From the beginning of the eighteenth century, generations of writers have revisited, revised and updated the conventions of literary Scots of earlier generations. Allan Ramsay (1686-1758) edited and published older poems he found in the Bannatyne manuscript (1568), an anthology of Older Scots poems preserved in the Advocates' Library in Edinburgh, and he also published original work that popularised a set of Modern Scots conventions that later writers and editors drew upon and, in their turn, adapted (Smith and Kay, forthcoming). In 1721, in the preface to a collection of his own poems, Ramsay refers to the Scots and English dialects of the 'British tongue', thus endorsing a view of Scots and standard English as forming a continuum, with the Scots element enriching and extending southern English.

While Ramsay and his contemporaries and successors were reinventing Scots as a written literary medium, many members of the middle classes in Scotland were adapting their own speech and writing in accordance with their perception of Anglocentric norms. Jones (1997b) discusses the orthoepist literature produced in Scotland in the eighteenth century, demonstrating how it illustrates the prevailing language attitudes as well as the phonological developments that were leading to the establishment of a prestige Scottish hybrid variety that is distinct from both broad Scots and southern English. To this prestige variety the label 'Scottish Standard English' can be applied. However, the linguistic behaviour of many Scottish Standard English speakers continues to draw upon traditional Scots linguistic resources, to which are added new features local to areas of Scotland (for example, following legislation banning the use of cigarettes in pubs and restaurants, the areas outside used by smokers were quickly dubbed *smoke-ooteries;* see also Macafee 2003: 56-57).

2 Aitken's Model of Scottish Speech (1979)

In a discussion of the development and characteristics of Standard English as it is found in Scotland, Aitken (1979: 86) offers a diagram that seeks to capture the complexity of linguistic behaviour in Scotland. Figure 1 reproduces this model.

----------------------Scots-------------------			--------------------English------------------	
1	2	3	4	5
bairn	mair	before	more	child
lass	stane		stone	girl
kirk	hame	name	home	church
chaft	dee	see	die	jaw
gowpen	heid	tie	head	double handful
ken	hoose	tide	house	know
bide	loose(n)	young	louse (n)	remain
kenspeckle	louse (adj)	winter	loose (adj)	conspicuous
low	yaize (v)	of	use (v)	flame
cowp	yis (n)	is	use (n)	capsize
shauchle	auld	some	old	shuffle
whae's aucht that?	truith	why	truth	whose is that?
pit the haims on	barra	he	barrow	do in
tummle the		they		turn somersaults

wulkies				
no *(adv)*		*		not *(adv)*
-na *(adv)*		†		-n't *(adv)*

* (Most of the inflectional system, word order, grammar)
† (Pronunciation system and rules of realisation)

Figure 1: A Model of Scottish Speech (Reproduced from Aitken 1979: 86)

The first column consists of distinctively Scots lexical items that correspond to non-cognate English forms, suggested in column 5, e.g. *bairn/child.* Column 2 contains Scots lexical items that have cognate English forms, given in Column 4 e.g. *mair/more.* The middle column contains 'common core' items that historically have been shared by the two varieties, including much of the morpho-syntactic and phonological systems. According to Aitken, 'broad' Scots speakers would opt largely for items from Columns 1-3, while English speakers would select from Columns 3-5. Those who are proficient in Standard Scottish English would move along the continuum, selecting as appropriate from any of Columns 1-5, though, since the time of the Scottish Reformers, successive generations of Scottish speakers have had a gradually reduced repertoire of items from the first two columns, particularly Column 1. Aitken's model (see also 1984a, b) was proposed some 30 years ago; we shall see that it still offers a useful conceptual framework for capturing recent and contemporary linguistic behaviour shown by Scottish English speakers, albeit with some additional notes, particularly at the level of phonology.

3 Resources for investigating Standard Scottish English

We base the discussion that follows on observations drawn from recent corpora of Scottish English speech and language. These collections are of two different kinds, restricted and public, offering complementary resources to researchers.

A number of restricted corpora of Scottish English have been collected since the 1970s, largely consisting of sociolinguistic collections of interviews and personal conversations, in which informants often speak freely with friends and or interviewers, knowing that their recordings will only be directly accessible to scholars with a particular interest in language. For example, those for the Central Belt of Scotland include: Macaulay's Glasgow corpus, and subsequent recordings from Ayr and other towns (Macaulay e.g. 1977; 2005); Johnston and Speitel's Edinburgh corpus (e.g. Johnston 1997); Macafee's Glasgow corpus (Macafee 1994, 1997); Jones' Livingston corpus (e.g. Jones 2002); Stuart-Smith's Glasgow corpora (e.g. Stuart-Smith et al 2007; Stuart-Smith and Timmins 2009; Macaulay 2005; Lyngstad 2007); Lawson, Scobbie and Stuart-Smith's East Coast corpus of teenage speech (e.g. Lawson et al. 2008). Social stratification of these corpora allows focus on particular ranges of the Scottish English continuum. For example Scottish Standard English is usually assumed to be spoken by middle class speakers, who largely select from Aitken's Columns 3-5, though as the model predicts there may be occasional contextually-bound instances of items from 1 and 2, particularly in terms of lexis (see 4 below).

Restricted corpora have the advantage that very casual, relatively unmonitored speech, may be captured. They have the disadvantage that permission to gain access to the data is (necessarily) not open to all.

Public corpora are important because they offer speech and written texts for any user to access, often immediately, allowing independent observation and study of language at potentially any level. A recent public corpus for investigating Scottish speech and writing is the *Scottish Corpus of Texts and Speech* (SCOTS corpus). This resource has already been used in scholarly overviews of Scottish English (e.g. Bergs 2005; Douglas 2009a; Corbett and Stuart-Smith forthcoming). For written material from the period 1700-1945, researchers are also now able to explore the *Corpus of Modern Scottish Writing* (CMSW). Both corpora are freely available online at `www.scottishcorpus.ac.uk`. At the time of writing, the SCOTS corpus contains 810,803 words of speech in a variety of settings, from university lectures to free conversation between adults of different ages and parent-child interactions. The written part of the SCOTS corpus contains 3,234,952 words from a broad range of registers and genres, but with a focus on records of the post-1997 Scottish Parliament. For guidance on conventions used in SCOTS and on how to search the resource, see Anderson and Corbett (2008). The CMSW corpus currently contains over 4,000,000 words of written texts in a range of registers and genres, roughly balanced in 50-year periods from 1700 to 1950. It contains manuscript and printed documents, with digital images and full, searchable transcriptions. Both SCOTS and CMSW contain literary texts in broad Scots, and non-literary texts in Scottish English. While neither corpus can be considered statistically representative of Scottish English, each provides the public with a substantial number of illustrative spoken and written documents of Scottish provenance.

4 Lexis

The SCOTS corpus illustrates how speakers in Scotland continue to draw upon traditional 'broad Scots' lexical items alongside standard items. For example, the use of Column 1 lexical items is illustrated in one of the SCOTS documents, 'Conversation 05: Fife couple on shared memories'. In this conversation between two older speakers and a younger third man, the word *bairn(s)* occurs eight times, for example in a story about a child's death:

> F643: //Aye, mind they// took it up tae Aberdeen and we gave her ten pound tae buy flowers for the bairn; a wreath and that. And the lassie came back and thanked us hersel,
> M608: Aye.
> F643: later on about that.

This brief extract from the conversation also exemplifies a distinctively Scots use of *mind* ('remember') and common deletion of /f/ in the reflexive pronoun *hersel.* However, elsewhere in the conversation the speakers also select items from Column 5. The informal word *kid(s)* is used no fewer than ten times, more frequently than *bairn(s),* and the standard plural *children* is used once:

F643: sh- we used tae take the kids tae her and then I came through here and cleaned aw this place, so I widnae bring the kids, ye see. So, I cleaned aw this place. //Until the kids.//
[…]
F643: //She was feedin the baby in bed and she// must've slept on it, ye see.
M608: mm
F643: So, and eh, she had three other lovely children.

From the SCOTS data, it is clear that most Scottish speakers have access to Standard English items from Column 5 of Aitken's continuum, and indeed a search of both the spoken and written parts of the corpus suggests that speakers use these items more frequently than they do Broad Scots items from Column 1. Raw scores of some lexical items from Columns 1 and 5 of Figure 1 in the spoken data are given in Figure 2:

Column 1 item	No. of instances in SCOTS (spoken)	Column 5 item	No of instances in SCOTS (spoken)
bairn	133	*child*	323
lass	50	*girl*	424
kirk	2	*church*	83
chaft	0	*jaw*	5
gowpen	0	*double handful*	0
ken	717	*know*	5789

Figure 2: Number of occurrences of Column 1 and 5 items in SCOTS (spoken)

The raw figures should be taken with some care: even with 810,803 words, the spoken part of SCOTS is quite small, and some rarer items (e.g. *gowpen*, 'double handful') do not occur. Even the standard English term *handful* only occurs once in this data. The totals given in Figure 2 include plural as well as singular forms, but the total for *kirk* has been reduced to eliminate some obvious personal and place names (e.g. *Auld Kirk, Kirkwall*). However, the totals clearly indicate that Scottish speakers' spoken performance generally favours 'standard' usages, extending less frequently into the distinctively Scots forms of Columns 1 and 2.

Given that the Column 5 or 'standard' items tend to be preferred, the data suggest that many Scots terms are 'marked' and that their use implies a semantic value or contingent pragmatic force beyond their literal meaning. In the conversation illustrated above, the use of *bairn* may suggest a helpless infant (as opposed to the healthy *kids* referred to elsewhere), and it is used when the speaker is indicating sympathy. Douglas and Corbett (2006) and Douglas (2009b) discuss the pragmatic use of the common adjective *wee* to manage interaction in spoken and written contexts.

Aitken (1979: 106-110) suggests that a set of marked, recurrent Scots expressions are used largely by middle-class speakers 'as a kind of stylistic grace and as a way of claiming membership of the in-group of Scotsmen' [sic] (ibid, p. 107). These idiomatic expressions include *to the fore* ('alive and healthy'), *sweetie wife* ('gossip'), *auld claes and parritch* (literally 'old clothes and porridge', i.e.

'humdrum everyday life'); *dram* ('a measure of whisky') *dreich* ('dry, tedious, miserable'); *peelie-wallie* or *peely-wally* ('ill, sickly'), and *wabbit* (exhausted). While the spoken corpus is again too small to pick up a wide range of lexical items, there is an indication of knowledge and a use of some of these expressions, as much in written discourse as spoken (see Figure 3):

Overt Scotticism	Occurrences in SCOTS (spoken)	Occurrences in SCOTS (written)
to the fore	1	12
sweetie wife	1	1
A drop of the cratur	0	0
auld claes	0	0
body o' the kirk	0	1
dram	0	70
dreich	7	71
peelie-wallie	15	25
wabbit	30	28

Figure 3: Occurrences of overt Scotticisms in 810,803 words of speech and 3,234,952 words of writing in the SCOTS corpus

Given that many of the spoken documents in the SCOTS corpus involve participants reflecting on their knowledge and use of language, many of the occurrences of overt Scotticisms in the spoken data testify to awareness of the meaning of these terms rather than to their spontaneous use. Examples include:

> F1018: Aye, I'd still say wabbit, oh God, I'm wabbit.
> M1022: //Yeah.//
> F1054: //That's a great one.//
> M1022: I don't mean the wascally wabbit either. [laugh] Just wabbit.
> M1021: Well we would have said, 'I'm knackered'.
> […]
> F1027: Yeah, same for me, drizzle, and I've put a wee note next to it, if I was describing the day I would probably call it a dreich day, because it's drizzlin. //But.//
> F1054: //Mmhm mmhm.// //Very Scottish mmhm.//
> F1027: //That's a Scottish word.//

The written documents, however, demonstrate that these items can be used in otherwise standard contexts, as in this excerpt from a short story published in a local north-east magazine (Wood 2003):

> The morning was dreich with heavy rain and low cloud which obscured the mountains and swirled the campsite in bleak monochrome.

Together, the spoken and written SCOTS data bear out Aitken's assertion that many Scottish speakers and writers are conscious that certain terms are 'marked' as Scottish, and that they use them in otherwise standard contexts as a conscious and explicit signal of Scottish identity (see further, Douglas 2009b; Schmidt 2009).

As well as overt Scotticisms, Aitken identifies a number of 'covert' expressions that are not necessarily recognised by their speakers as being Scottish, and consequently they are not available as explicit markers of Scottish identity. Aitken suggests that the following expressions might be considered 'covert Scotticisms', on the assumption, of course, that their speakers are not aware that they are Scottish in provenance. The SCOTS spoken data contains some incidences of covert Scotticisms in spontaneous speech, such as *I doubt* ('I expect'), and *give a row* ('scold'). In the following examples from the SCOTS corpus, the participants are not reflecting on their language use. In the first of the two examples below, *doubt* is used to mean 'expect' (i.e. 'I expect it must have had a crack…'). In the second example, however, *doubt* has its standard meaning, namely 'I don't expect that it's open in the morning'). Since there is a possibility of confusion when using *doubt* to mean 'expect', this sense seems to be dying out. Every single incidence of *doubt* in the Scottish Parliament documents included in the SCOTS data, for example, carry the sense of 'do not believe', as in the third example below.

> F646: So I gied him a tap wi the thingmibob, but, ach, I doubt it must of had a crack in them, crack in it or someth- for the handle tae come

> M818: Aye it's open till aboot f- at least four anyway so. //It might be it might be twenty-four hour though.//
> M819: //And it it's open when I go back.// Naw! Cause I doubt it's open in the morning.
> M818: I don't, I've not s-
> M819: Wh- who wants to go for a Chinese //noodle bar at nine a.m.?

> This unsung piece of legislation shows the Parliament working at its best, both in committee and in the chamber, on a constructive and cross-party basis. I doubt that the outside world will ever hear about that, but we should commend the work that the Transport and the Environment Committee and the ministerial team have done on the bill.

By contrast, the sense of *row* as a scolding seems to be surviving, as the following examples from the spoken part of the SCOTS corpus show. As the map facility of the corpus shows, they are taken from a geographically distant areas in Scotland:

> M941: [CENSORED: forename] gave me a row for having a bad work ethic. //Because I quit my shitty job because my student loan was comin in.//

> F1133: I'm goin awa to my work. I'll get a row.
> F1134: You winna.
> F1133: I will. The mannie'll gie me a row.
> F1134: Fitt mannie?
> F1133: The boss.

Both examples involve relatively young speakers. The expression does seem to have a wider use in Scotland than elsewhere in the English-speaking world. A search of the British National Corpus for the phrases *gave me a row* and *get a row*

yields a single result for each phrase, both from a Scottish sources, namely the *Scotsman* newspaper and a Scottish educational newsletter.

To sum up, evidence from the SCOTS corpus affirms that while their use may be decreasing, broad Scots lexical items are still present in Scottish speech and writing – particularly in written literature. Most speakers, however, tend to select standard items in their speech and writing, and the instances of use of broader Scots forms (Aitken's Columns 1 and 2) are often consciously marked to affirm local identity. As the attitudes expressed in the SCOTS corpus affirm, this identity may well be conceived of as a local rather than a national affiliation, even when the item in question is geographically widespread, as is the case with *skint,* which SCOTS shows to be used throughout Scotland:

> F1027: //Yes I would say it's very Perth as well to be skint.//
> F1054: Could you say that again, sorry, I'm jist no catchin everything cause [inaudible].
> F1027: It's a, it's a typical Perth expression. You know 'oh I'm skint', mmhm.

As well as using marked, 'overt Scotticisms' to affirm local identity, Scottish English speakers continue to draw on lexical items and idiomatic expressions that are largely restricted to Scotland, the so-called 'covert Scotticisms' that unconsciously betray their Scottish provenance.

5 Phonology

Aitken's model puts the phonological system of Scottish English into Column 3 as a 'common core'. All speakers of Scottish English whether at the Scots or the Standard Scottish English ends of the continuum are assumed to share a similar abstract phoneme inventory of vowels and consonants, and some similar suprasegmental features such as nuclear tone structures (Wells 1982; Johnston 1997; Stuart-Smith 2003). Social and regional Scottish English phonologies are achieved both by particular phoneme selection in specific lexical items and by phonetic realization.

The result is a bipolar continuum of accents, whose intersecting poles are usually called 'Scots' and 'Scottish Standard English'. Any point along the continuum – any speaker's phonology at any time – comprises a variable system selected for the relevant sociolinguistic context. A more Scots phonology (the notions are as gradient as the usage) will show a higher proportion of Scots phoneme selection and Scots realizations. The most Standard Scottish English accents will typically show minimal instances of Scots selection and realization, to the extent that Standard Scottish English can be characterised by the avoidance of such forms (Johnston 1984; Stuart-Smith 1999).

The link between points along the Scottish English phonological continuum and social class is strong both in terms of language use and local language ideologies, especially in the Central Belt. Salient evaluations of working to middle class membership roughly map onto the Scots–Standard Scottish English accent continuum. Such patterns of linguistic behaviour and social evaluation directly

continue the historical incursion of Standard Southern English by socially prestigious groups, such as the aristocracy, and the gradual relegation of Scots to the lower, and then industrial working, classes. This means that features of urban Scots phonology, such as the infamous use of the glottal stop for intervocalic /t/ in e.g. *water, butter,* are stigmatized – along with features from other linguistic levels – as sloppy speech and indicative of an inability to talk properly (Romaine and Reid 1976).[2] It also means that understanding Standard Scottish English phonology entails an appreciation of what is being avoided (Scots selection and realizations) as much as any separate target system.

Phoneme selection largely accounts for the differences between the lexical items in Columns 2 and 4. While these are presented as lexical choices, they are in fact regular lexical-phonological correspondences for small sets of words (Johnston 1997). So, for example, *mair, stane, hoose* alternate with *more, stone, house* as do small numbers of other words (e.g. also *flair/floor, hame/home, oot/out* and so on). There are also a few consonant alternations, such as *a'/all, gie/give, wi'/with.* These alternations are no longer productive, and result from specific historical developments in the history of Scots (e.g. Macafee 2003). Analysis of data from the scholarly corpora from Glasgow over the past 25 years show that Scots forms are more often found in working-class speech, though no speaker ever uses Scots forms exclusively (Stuart-Smith 2003).

As lexical erosion spreads through Scottish English, the distribution of these alternations is now becoming very limited. For example, results for the *hoose/house* alternation showed that only seven distinct lexemes are involved to any degree (*about, our, round, down, out, now, house*). This means that lexical erosion has a serious concomitant effect on Scots phonology: as each item is lost so are all the possible instances for the occurrence of the Scots form. At the same time – there seems to be two counterbalancing effects. The first relates to usage frequency: while the lexical sets for each Scots alternation have only a few words, they also tend to include a few very frequently used items (e.g. *out/oot, a'/all, dae/do*). The second relates to language use in identity construction. Just as lexical choice is linked to overt constructions of 'Scottishness' – middle-class speakers often select Scots forms for this effect – so the Scots lexical-phonological alternations also appear to be key components in constructing local, socially-embedded identities. For example, in Glasgow we find stability of usage of the *hoose/house* and *a'/all* alternations in younger working-class speakers over time (Stuart-Smith 2003; Stuart-Smith et al. 2006). These results fit into an overall pattern of non-standard phonological features in these speakers which sharply distinguish them from middle-class speakers in the city, and which are linked to expressions of class-based language ideologies (Stuart-Smith et al. 2007; similar patterns are found on the East Coast, e.g. Lawson et al. 2008).

Aitken's model suggests that the phonological alternations are between *shared* phonemes, i.e. that a Scottish English speaker selects either /ʌʉ/ in *hoose* or

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[2] Indeed, one of the authors very recently witnessed a discussion between two LMC Scottish women in their early 50s who explained how they felt it necessary to correct (and upbraid) their husbands for failing to speak 'properly' (their own words) when they used Scots forms. When the author tried to explain that these forms were dialectal forms of respectable pedigree and as systematic as any aspect of Standard English, they simply assured her that she was wrong, and that these forms showed that the speakers did not know how to speak correctly.

/ʉ/ in *house.* Fine phonetic analysis suggests that there is more complexity: Glaswegian working-class /ʌʉ/ and /ʉ/ are gradiently but phonetically distinct from the middle-class realisations of the 'same' phonemes (Macaulay 1977; Stuart-Smith 2003). Of course we can argue that this is simply phonetic implementation. But a similar impression is increasingly gained as one inspects the phonetic realization of other 'common' phonemes. Socially-stratified results for eight 'common' consonant phonemes in Glasgow (Stuart-Smith et al. 2007) shows such extensive and systematic phonetic differences between working-class and middle-class speakers that the notion of commonality for these phonemes seems to exist only at a highly abstract level. For example, /x/ as in *loch* is typically [x] or [χ] for middle-class speakers, but [k] for working-class speakers, /ʍ/ as in *white* is [ʍ] or [w̥] as opposed to [w̥] or [w], and so on. Again we see working-class adolescents participating in the UK diffusion of non-local non-standard forms, such as TH-fronting, DH-fronting and L-vocalization (cf. Kerswill 2003), though local non-standard variation is also maintained (e.g. *think* may be [f]*ink* or [h]*ink*). There seems to be rather more resistance to these innovations in younger middle-class speakers.

At its most extreme, Standard Scottish English shows no selection of Scots forms, or only for specific displays of local or national 'Scottishness'. Segmental and suprasegmental realizations are exploited which are distinct from Scots, and sometimes from English English. Abercrombie's (1979) comments about Standard Scottish English in Edinburgh still largely hold today; there is also still a small bastion of affected middle-class speakers in Edinburgh and Glasgow maintaining 'Morningside' and 'Kelvinside' respectively (Johnstone 1984). But the close, continuous, and sometimes uneasy, relationship with Scots remains. Standard Scottish English is as close to a standard accent as one can find (Wells 1982), though its norms have as much to do with avoidance of, as they have to do with correction towards, a particular system. These norms are promulgated through local Scottish institutions, but mainly through the effective workings of the continually close-knit networks of the Scottish middle-class. And as the push away from Scots persists, particular phonetic features of middle-class – Standard Scottish English – continue to emerge, most recently illustrated by the discovery not only of auditorily strong vs weak rhotics in middle-class vs working-class East Coast speakers, but even the use of a different tongue configuration in middle-class speakers (Lawson et al 2010).

6 Morphology and syntax

Macafee (1992/3), King (1997) and Moessner (1997) give a detailed summary of the morphology and syntax of Older Scots up to 1700, based on evidence taken from the *Dictionary of the Older Scottish Tongue,* and a database of Older Scots texts. Meurman-Solin (2003) offers a corpus-based study of Older Scots grammar and lexis. Some of the morphological and syntactic features of present-day English in Scotland described by Beal (1997), Brown and Miller (1982) and Miller (1993, 2003) can be traced back to earlier stages in the language. Macaulay (2005) considers a range of syntactic features in contemporary Scottish English, and generally reports few differences according to social class. A detailed survey of the

morphological and syntactic features of English in Scotland today is beyond the scope of the present chapter; here we restrict ourselves to illustrating some common features, mainly from the spoken sections of the SCOTS corpus.

6.1 The noun phrase

The SCOTS corpus contains a few examples of the irregular –*en* plural forms of the noun, such as *een* 'eyes', and *shoon/sheen* 'shoes'. While instances of *shoon* in SCOTS are now restricted to literary texts, *een* continues to be found in spoken discourse involving younger participants. In the following excerpt from the SCOTS spoken data, for example, a mother attempts to teach her young son words for body parts:

> F1091: //Now,// //you goin to tell me what is this.//
> M1092: //[child noises]// //Nose.//
> F1091: //What's that? Aye.// And fitt's this? It's yer e-? //Come here.//
> M1092: //Eeks.// Eeks.
> F1091: It's yer, is it yer een?
> M1092: My eeks. Eeks, eeks.
> F1091: It's nae, it's yer een.

The role of caregiver and community in the acquisition of variant forms is further explored in Smith, Durham and Fortune (2007). The use of singular forms of the noun with quantifiers is found several times in the conversation with the older Fife couple, mentioned above:

> M642: He says, 'Right, I'll need twa hundred pound for it.'
> […]
> M642: //n- naw! Efter aboot// twa year he says, 'I'm fed up o youse comin up here every week.'
> […]
> M642: Now, I actually built twa hoose.

This usage, however, coexists with quantifiers plus plural noun forms, elsewhere in the conversation, for example:

> M642: But see they prefabs, John, over there? //Ye put they//
> M608: //Aye.//
> M642: prefabs on a flat roof in a run o three inches.
> M608: uh-huh
> M642: And I pit, I says, 'Right, I'll put twa layers o felt on it.'

Macaulay (1991: 110) suggests that uninflected plurals are becoming less common in Scots compared with other English dialects, and that the selection of inflected versus uninflected plural might be lexically determined, with some items such as *minute, day, week, shilling, inch* and *yard* being inflected and *pound, month, year, ton* and *mile* varying between inflected and uninflected. A search of the spoken part

of the SCOTS corpus shows that of 8 instances of *fifteen year(s),* 3 are inflected and 5 were uninflected. Coincidentally, the spoken part of the SCOTS corpus also has 8 instances of *fifteen minute(s),* all of which are inflected, results roughly comparable with Macaulay's.

Of the Scots pronouns, the conservative, familiar second person singular *du* ('thou') is found alternating with more formal and general *you* in the conversation of speakers from the northern isles, as in this excerpt from a recording of three Shetland women discussing gardening:

> F1074: //That's lovely. I mind when we were bairns,// //du must have done it too. We used to poo aff all the thi- and you used to mak what you said was perfume, you used to pit this in a bottle of water, and that was a game, to mak perfume.//

On mainland Scotland, plural second person pronoun *yous(e)* is relatively common in the spoken part of the SCOTS corpus, with 37 instances, such as the following:

> M1163: and we were playing St Columba's Viewpark, in Viewpark.
> M608: Mmhm.
> M1163: And we beat them but all during the game there was er boys behind the goals, 'I'm goin to get you after the game, youse are going to get it', //etcetera, etcetera.//

The more recent possessive pronoun *mines* is also evidenced in the speech of younger Scots, as in this conversation between two students:

> F1049: Uh-huh and her mu- she was like tellin her mum she was stayin at mines and all that, //and like//
> M1048: //[inhale]//
> F1049: goin out and modelling.
> M1048: God! //Oh wow.//

The reflexive pronouns in Scots, evidenced in the spoken and written part of the SCOTS corpus, variously spelled, are *masel, yersel, himsel, hersel, itsel, oursels, yersels, theirsel(s), themsel.* Examples of the last two include:

> Badger reached the gate alangside him an they had juist flung themsels ower it whan the shot gaed aff, no faur ahint them!
> […]
> F1139: This isn't, I dinna like reading that stories wi the pictures on them though. That's for people that can read them theirsels.

The example immediately above also shows that the use of *that* for the demonstrative 'those' is still current in North-East Scotland. Other, more widespread demonstrative uses for 'those' are *thae/they* for 'those' as in the following:

M1021: Er whatever, but er we er in Jimmy's case, I mean we warmed towards thae youngsters of course, cause they were different, you know?
[…]
M642: //But see// they horses in the wuid years ago, John.

Another conservative, Scottish demonstrative usage is *yon/thon* to distance the object or concept referred to, as in:

M642: //But there was nae way ye// could stop the glegs. //That was that was the worst aboot that.//
F643: //n' that. We got thon stuff for it,//
[…]
F1041: "Aye ye mind it was yon wifie that we met at"

While Macaulay (1981) finds that *thon/yon* are becoming less common in Scottish speech, the evidence from the SCOTS corpus suggests that these forms are becoming overt 'markers' of Scottish provenance in that they tend to be used more in literary texts than speech. There are 20 instances of *yon* in the spoken part of the SCOTS corpus against 609 instances in the written part, and 4 occurrences of *thon* in the spoken part of SCOTS, compared with 443 written occurrences.

6.2. The verb phrase

Lexical verb morphology differs between broad Scots and Standard English. In some cases Scots has regular (weak) forms where Standard English has strong forms, stereotypically with the verbs *sellt/sold, tellt/told,* both of which feature in spontaneous speech in the SCOTS corpus. The verb *ken* ('know') also has a weak past form (*ken(n)t*), to be found in the following excerpt from a conversation between two Shetland women, talking about new-built houses being sold on for other folk to do up (*idder fock ta do up*):

F961: Er, a whole block o dem, erm, Ian [CENSORED: surname], //you might mind, he//
F960: //Yes, I kennt him.//
F961: built dem aa fae de Sandsoond estate. //And dan he//
F960: //Oh.//
F961: sellt dem aa, he did up some o dem, and sellt dem, and he sellt aff idder eens for idder fock ta do up.

These forms are seldom found in the written part of the SCOTS corpus, outside literature in Scots and non-literary prose written in broad Scots. However, these lexical and morphological features are available in formal spoken and written Scots, usually, again, in contexts that are overtly Scottish in content, as in the following excerpt from the proceedings of the Scottish Parliament (16 February 2000):

To borrow a story from the author and broadcaster Billy Kay, in the age of despotism at the end of the eighteenth century, Robert Burns was advised by the anglicised elite at the head of Scottish society not to write in Scots, as it would be dead within a few generations. Thankfully for world literature, Burns kent better, and continued to express in Scots poems and songs that have inspired millions.

Less formal, again, are the verb paradigms that reduce irregular three-part systems such as *go/went/gone* and *bring/brung/brought* to two-part systems, such as *go/went, bring/brung* (cf Millar 1997: 74-75). The latter example is found in the opening of a short story in urban Scots (Donovan 2001: 13):

Thon wee wifey brung them in, the wan that took us for two days when Mrs McDonald wis aff.

And in the following conversation between a mother and child, it is the mother who uses the reduced verb paradigm:

F1114: What's this? What's this Mum?
F1113: Sorry?
F1114: What's this?
F1113: It's Play-Doh went hard. It's went all hard. Got to put it back into its tubby. Or it'll go hard.

In Scottish speech, plural subject nouns can agree with either singular or plural forms of the verb *be.* An example of plural noun with singular subject arises in the following excerpt from a conversation about the meaning of the words *jimmies/coaties* (possibly derived from *gutties,* i.e. gymn shoes with gutta percha soles):

F1043: Well we're speakin aboot jimmies aye bein cried your shoes that you went tae school wi for P.E., no I can remember fan my mother and father caed them coaties. I didnae ken fit coaties wis until I was a bit aulder but that was their language, they were cried coaties.
F1054: Really?
F1043: I don't know how, again that's a north thing, but it was definitely coaties, because there was a lot o north fishers in that part o Torry, doon Victoria Road, up north, they aa come fae north an coaties was quite a common thing but it just drifted oot an the jimmies come in.

Macafee (1983: 50) suggests that *you + was* is a feature of Glasgow speech; the SCOTS data indicates that the combination is much more widespread:

M1020: Aye well, when we said er "seeck", that meant you was vomitin.
(Leith)
[…]
F902: well you was born here, you was born up the glen //at the
stables. (Auchenblae)

[…]
F1129: Aye, fitt was Granny daein when you was painting? (Buckie)

In Scottish English, negation of verbs continues to be expressed by the standard clitic *–n't,* the broad Scots clitic *–nae,* or the more emphatic use of *not* and *no.* Several options are evident in this short extract from a conversation between speakers in Aberdeen:

F1054: An how, I mean how far back did they go or when did that stop? //Has it still no stopped?//
M1042: //Oh I don't know.//
F1041: //I dinnae ken.// I dinnae ken I I think it just stopped.

Lyngstad (2007) shows that non-standard negation in Glasgow is strongly constrained by social class in Glaswegian, with non-standard Scots forms restricted to working-class speakers. Local Scots forms are more likely in older working-class speakers; younger working-class speakers show local and non-local non-standard negative markers, including *innit*, as in: 'Aye, it's alright, innit?'.

An area of considerable but still under-researched difference between Scottish English and other varieties is that of modal auxiliary verbs (Millar 1993; Beal 1997). Earlier studies suggest that Scottish speakers avoid *shall* in favour of *will,* and *may* in favour of *can.* The raw search results for *'ll, shall, will, should, would, may, might, can, could* in the SCOTS data are suggestive; however, since the results include uses of *can, will, might, may* as nouns, they have to be treated with some caution (Figure 4).

Modal auxiliary	Occurrences in 810,803 words of speech
'll	2,922
shall	45
will	1,075
should	367
would	2,744
can	2,895
could	950
may	79
might	350

Figure 4: Occurrences of modal forms in the spoken part of the SCOTS corpus

The results suggest that the contracted *'ll* is the most common modal auxiliary form, closely followed by *can* and *would.* Issues of formality clearly affect modal usage in Scottish English. Future possibility is often expressed in speech using the adverb *maybe* in combination with *'ll /will,* as in

F1095: Mmhm We'll maybe go to the pictures and see that, will we?

The combination **ll+maybe* can be compared to *might* in the spoken part of the SCOTS data and the written records of speech, such as the records of the Scottish

Parliament and the Minutes of the Caledonian Philatelic Society. The written records of speech can be considered a formal register that might still be expected to bear some resemblance to spoken discourse. The amount of text in each part of the SCOTS corpus is of a comparable size, and so the results have not been normalised. Even so, as Figure 5 indicates, the combination *(wi)ll maybe* is avoided in written records of speech, where *might* seems to be preferred to express future possibility. In speech itself, *(wi)ll maybe* is preferred to *might*.

	Occurrences of *ll+maybe*	Occurrences of *might*
Spoken documents in SCOTS (810, 803 words)	812	350
Written records of speech in SCOTS (895,707 words)	0	1060

Figure 5: Comparison of *(wi)ll maybe* and *might in the SCOTS corpus*

A further feature of Scottish speech is the use of 'double modal' auxiliaries. While still attested by observers (Miller 1993: 119-120; Beal 1997: 368-370), they do not figure in the spoken part of the SCOTS data. However, there are various instances in the written part, mainly again in literary texts in broad Scots, but also in a solitary piece of personal correspondence from 1982:

> You'll can enjoy your holiday now, I'm sure.

Scottish English has long allowed a greater range of verbs in the progressive form than was conventionally found in other varieties of standard English. Verbs of cognition, perception and affect, such as *think, believe, see, love, like* were not usually found in the progressive form in standard English outside Scotland; however, *think, believe* and *see* are attested in Scottish English (Beal 1997: 372-373). In recent years, however, these verbs have been increasingly used in the progressive form in spoken English and corpus data provides some evidence for both traditional usage and innovative trends among older and younger speakers. The first example below is from a conversation between English users on the Isle of Skye, whose decade of birth ranges from the 1930s to the 1960s. In this instance another possible cause is transfer from Scottish Gaelic which, like Irish, shows the progressive aspect with this set of verbs:

> M1007: Participate in a game? I'm thinking maybe that's too big a
> M1008: //A bit formal for that.//
> M1055: //Too highfaluting//
> M1007: Too highfaluting, too formal //for Skye.//

While there are no examples of verbs of affect in the progressive form in the SCOTS data, the British National Corpus contains an excerpt from a medical consultation with evidence that the speaker is Scottish:

Aye, oh he loves that doesn't he? Aye. That's it. What about as far round as that high, nothing as far round here? No nothing no. Nothing up there? No, and a wee bit there. I'm liking this, I'm liking this.

Beal (1997: 373) suggests that in English generally the progressive form is being used with an increasing number of verbs; in this respect other varieties of English seem to be following the path taken earlier by Scots.

7 Discourse markers

There are various discourse markers that are identified with broad Scots and, to a lesser extent, standard Scottish English. The use of *see* as a topic marker remains common in Scottish speech, as in the following example:

> M642: //See your// hoose, John. We'll go on tae that. See your hoose? //Your hoose was eh//
> M608: //Aye.//
> F643: The forester's house.

However, as with *(wi)ll maybe,* this feature does not appear so commonly in written records of speech or in prepared speeches such as talks or lectures. There are no records of occurrences in the SCOTS data – which is not to say that the feature does not occur, only that if it does, occurrences are fewer than in spontaneous speech. Another conservative discourse marker in broad Scots speech is *ken,* which can also be used as a topic marker, or, in combination with *you/ye*, to indicate common ground:

> F940: //Ken what I said to them in England right when I went doon, I probably telt ye this a hundred times afore,// but the folk on the tape havenae heard it, so get in! [laugh] When I went doon tae England tae study at Northumbria University [laugh] right, no but we were talkin aboot alarm clocks an ken how in Argos they've got that fitba yin //the football one, [laugh] right, you used to, ye, when it gauns off in the mornin//
> M942: //[laugh]//
> M941: //You throw it at the wall.//
> […]
> F835: Sair leg, ye ken aye? Och aye!

Macaulay (2005) draws together evidence for social differences in discourse styles in Scottish English from a fine-grained analysis of a range of features, including discourse markers such as *you know* and *I mean,* which are more often found in adolescents. Another such feature noted by Macaulay (p. 81f.) is the use of 'nontraditional' *like,* as a discourse marker or as a quotative, which is used most frequently by middle-class girls in the Glasgow 1997 corpus. This feature, which is widespread in varieties of English across the world (Tagliamonte 2005; Buchstaller 2008), is also evident in SCOTS, as can be seen in the following excerpts from conversations between schoolgirls from NE Scotland, and students from Glasgow:

F835: //My one// my, my [laugh] Mrs [CENSORED: surname] was on the French exchange and she came up to me and goes, "I hear you've picked up a lad", and I goes //"Excuse me, that's my//
F833: //Oh yeah!// //[laugh]//
F835: //French exchange partner", and she was a girl [laugh].
[…]
F1155: //So I got in// I got in trouble the next day, he was like he was like "Who were you with last night?" I was like er "[CENSORED: forename]". He was like "Where were you?" I was like "At the pub". //He was like"Oh"//
F1154: //[laugh] [sniff]//
F1155: He was like "One of my friends said you were sitting with a guy", I was like "No, I wasn't". [laugh] //[laugh]//

Interestingly, and consistent with recent results for fine phonetic differences between *like* as a discourse marker and a quotative marker in New Zealand English (Drager 2009), Li Santi (2009) also finds fine phonetic differences in the realisation of discourse marker *like* in Scottish English according to pragmatic function.

8 The future for Standard English in Scotland

The discussion of Scottish English thus far suggests that despite considerable change in material culture and attitudes since the 1970s, there remains considerable truth in Aitken's (1979: 116) observation that 'there is still […] a vast amount of Scots material current in everyday spoken usage, of both middle-class and working-class Scottish speakers, as well as in our literary and oral traditions generally'. Scottish speakers and writers draw on broad Scots and English in a range of ways: the available lexical and grammatical forms are variously distinguished by formality, mode of discourse, meaning and pragmatic force. Scots forms may be overtly dropped into otherwise standard English speech and writing to mark contingent local or stereotypically national forms of identity. Other forms are used in spontaneous speech but avoided, consciously or not, in more formal registers. At the same time, and certainly at the level of phonology, Scots forms seem to act as a foil against which Standard Scottish English is constructed.

We have also seen that Scottish English is participating in national and global language changes. On the one hand, non-local, non-standard variants like TH-fronting and *innit* are appearing, albeit alongside the stable maintenance of local Scots forms. On the other, non-local *like* is proliferating in Standard Scottish English. Both kinds of change continue to keep the continuum distinctive. The mechanisms, both expected, relating to dialect contact, social practices and language attitudes, and unexpected, such as engaging with popular culture, are continuing to be explored (Stuart-Smith and Timmins 2009). Our scope has necessarily been limited in this chapter, but we note that ongoing research on Scottish English, for example, in the Borders (Llamas et al. 2009), and in Aberdeen (Brato 2008) will continue to complement the description provided here.

Finally, more research on Scottish English is needed, especially on morphology and syntax (Beal 1997), and in an integrated fashion across the

linguistic levels to help resolve the tensions between maintenance and innovation which are apparent at present. The advent of searchable digital corpora of Scottish speech and writing, public and private, offer a growing evidence base which is increasingly accessible to scholars who wish to embark on this work.

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Standard English in Scotland[1]

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1 The historical context

English in Scotland has developed in parallel and in interaction with English south of the political border. The earliest English-speaking populations in the geographical areas now pertaining to Scotland occupied the Lothian areas around what is now Edinburgh. Macafee (2002) notes the obscurity of the origins of the distinctive Scottish variety, known as Older Scots; however, candidates are the Anglian variety of Old English spoken by tribes in Lothian in the fifth century, and the Scandinavian-English hybrid spoken in Yorkshire half a millennium later. It is possible that the two varieties slowly merged as successive populations of Anglo-Danish speakers moved from the south to the north, initially to escape the depredations of the Norman invaders after 1066. The ousted English royal family were welcomed into the court of the Gaelic speaking Malcolm III of Scotland, the Scottish King marrying the Anglo-Saxon Princess Margaret. Refugees from the subsequent Norman 'Harrying of the North' also fled to lowland Scotland. A more peaceful 'Normanising' of lowland Scotland occurred during the reign of David I, in the early twelfth century. David, who spent his formative years at the English court, enthusiastically adopted the Norman feudal system in Scotland, and encouraged barons and their tenants to settle in lowland Scotland, alongside churchmen who also had state administrative functions. The Higlands and Western Islands remained Gaelic-speaking until the mid-eighteenth century; the Northern Islands spoke Scandinavian language varieties – Orkney Norn, for example, was spoken until the nineteenth century.

The result of this extended and complex series of interactions between populations and languages was a set of English language varieties spoken in lowland Scotland that can be differentiated in vocabulary, grammar, orthography and phonology from those spoken south of the border. In the late fourteenth century, a language shift towards these local varieties meant that English in Scotland began to replace Latin as the written record of state and French as the medium of literary expression. The records of the Parliament of Scotland to 1707 are now available online (Brown et al, eds, 2007-9) and among the earlier pieces of legislation in the language variety that at this point would have been referred to as

'Inglis' is the following General Council record of 1437. It shows some of the grammatical features typical of the written mode, notably the <-is> plural in words such as *barounis, alienatiounis, possessiounis;* the <-is> genitive in words like *fadiris;* the <-ys> present tense in *knawys;* the <-yt> preterite in *avysit, deliveryt, revokyt;* and the <-and> present participle in *beande, belangand* (see further, Macafee 1992/3). Orthographical features include the <ioun> suffix that identifies Latinate terms such as *alienatioun* and *possessioun;* the <quh-> grapheme in *quham;* and the <ai> and <aw> digraphs in *maide* and *knawys* (Kniezsa 1997). Some of these orthographic features correspond to early phonological characteristics; for example, the <i> in digraphs such as <ai>, <ei> and <oi> originally marked vowel length, but changes in pronunciation over time altered both length and quality of the corresponding phonemes (Aitken 2002).

> Item the generale consale, that is to say the clergy, barounis ande commissaris of burowis beande in this generale consale, be ane assent, nane discrepant, and weill avysit, has deliveryt and revokyt all alienatiounis, alsueill of landis and possessiounis as of movabill gudis, that war in his fadiris possessiounis, quham Gode assoilye, the tyme of his decese, gewyn and maide without the awyse and consent of the thre estatis, and has ordanyt that ane inventare be maide of all gudis in to depoise belangand to the king be thame that best knawys the sammyn gudis.

> *Item, the general council, that is to say the clergy, barons and burgh commissioners being in this general council, by one assent, none differing, and well advised, has delivered and revoked all alienations, both of lands and possessions as well as of moveable goods, that were in [the king's] father's possession, whom God forgive, at the time of his death, given and made without the advice and consent of the three estates, and has ordained that an inventory be made of all goods in keeping belonging to the king by those that best know the same goods.*

Given a political focus in Edinburgh, 'Inglis' continued to develop as the spoken and written medium of an independent speech community, to the point when, in the late fifteenth and early sixteenth century a few observers such as Bishop Gavin Douglas, a clergyman, diplomat, poet and translator, began to refer to their variety as 'Scottis' (McClure 1982). However, the sixteenth century also saw increasingly powerful anglicising influences beginning to impact upon Scots. The conflicts leading up to and succeeding the Reformation in Scotland in 1560 generated a substantial body of written texts that were designed to be read by Anglophone communities within and beyond Scotland. Jack (1997: 254) notes how the leading Reformer, John Knox, took advantage of his extended linguistic repertoire, exploiting Anglicised Scots to 'convey religious truths in the high style to as many people as possible' while maintaining a higher proportion of Scots in his unprinted sermons, which were directed at a more local, immediate audience.

With the accelerating influx of printed books from England to Scotland during the sixteenth century, followed by the Union of the Crowns in 1603, the publication of the King James Bible in 1611, and the parliamentary union of Scotland with England in 1707, an increasing number of literate Scottish people had access to a linguistic repertoire that extended from spoken and written forms of Scots to written standard English. Accordingly, the registers associated with Scots and English forms became differentiated, with 'broad' Scots increasingly reserved for

domestic, intimate and spoken situations, and English for public, written registers. The one major exception is the literary domain. From the beginning of the eighteenth century, generations of writers have revisited, revised and updated the conventions of literary Scots of earlier generations. Allan Ramsay (1686-1758) edited and published older poems he found in the Bannatyne manuscript (1568), an anthology of Older Scots poems preserved in the Advocates' Library in Edinburgh, and he also published original work that popularised a set of Modern Scots conventions that later writers and editors drew upon and, in their turn, adapted (Smith and Kay, forthcoming). In 1721, in the preface to a collection of his own poems, Ramsay refers to the Scots and English dialects of the 'British tongue', thus endorsing a view of Scots and standard English as forming a continuum, with the Scots element enriching and extending southern English.

While Ramsay and his contemporaries and successors were reinventing Scots as a written literary medium, many members of the middle classes in Scotland were adapting their own speech and writing in accordance with their perception of Anglocentric norms. Jones (1997b) discusses the orthoepist literature produced in Scotland in the eighteenth century, demonstrating how it illustrates the prevailing language attitudes as well as the phonological developments that were leading to the establishment of a prestige Scottish hybrid variety that is distinct from both broad Scots and southern English. To this prestige variety the label 'Scottish Standard English' can be applied. However, the linguistic behaviour of many Scottish Standard English speakers continues to draw upon traditional Scots linguistic resources, to which are added new features local to areas of Scotland (for example, following legislation banning the use of cigarettes in pubs and restaurants, the areas outside used by smokers were quickly dubbed *smoke-ooteries;* see also Macafee 2003: 56-57).

2 Aitken's Model of Scottish Speech (1979)

In a discussion of the development and characteristics of Standard English as it is found in Scotland, Aitken (1979: 86) offers a diagram that seeks to capture the complexity of linguistic behaviour in Scotland. Figure 1 reproduces this model.

----------------------Scots-------------------			--------------------English------------------	
1	2	3	4	5
bairn	mair	before	more	child
lass	stane		stone	girl
kirk	hame	name	home	church
chaft	dee	see	die	jaw
gowpen	heid	tie	head	double handful
ken	hoose	tide	house	know
bide	loose*(n)*	young	louse *(n)*	remain
kenspeckle	louse *(adj)*	winter	loose *(adj)*	conspicuous
low	yaize *(v)*	of	use *(v)*	flame
cowp	yis *(n)*	is	use *(n)*	capsize
shauchle	auld	some	old	shuffle
whae's aucht that?	truith	why	truth	whose is that?
pit the haims on	barra	he	barrow	do in
tummle the		they		turn somersaults

wulkies				
no *(adv)*		*		not *(adv)*
-na *(adv)*		†		-n't *(adv)*

* (Most of the inflectional system, word order, grammar)
† (Pronunciation system and rules of realisation)

Figure 1: A Model of Scottish Speech (Reproduced from Aitken 1979: 86)

The first column consists of distinctively Scots lexical items that correspond to non-cognate English forms, suggested in column 5, e.g. *bairn/child.* Column 2 contains Scots lexical items that have cognate English forms, given in Column 4 e.g. *mair/more.* The middle column contains 'common core' items that historically have been shared by the two varieties, including much of the morpho-syntactic and phonological systems. According to Aitken, 'broad' Scots speakers would opt largely for items from Columns 1-3, while English speakers would select from Columns 3-5. Those who are proficient in Standard Scottish English would move along the continuum, selecting as appropriate from any of Columns 1-5, though, since the time of the Scottish Reformers, successive generations of Scottish speakers have had a gradually reduced repertoire of items from the first two columns, particularly Column 1. Aitken's model (see also 1984a, b) was proposed some 30 years ago; we shall see that it still offers a useful conceptual framework for capturing recent and contemporary linguistic behaviour shown by Scottish English speakers, albeit with some additional notes, particularly at the level of phonology.

3 Resources for investigating Standard Scottish English

We base the discussion that follows on observations drawn from recent corpora of Scottish English speech and language. These collections are of two different kinds, restricted and public, offering complementary resources to researchers.

A number of restricted corpora of Scottish English have been collected since the 1970s, largely consisting of sociolinguistic collections of interviews and personal conversations, in which informants often speak freely with friends and or interviewers, knowing that their recordings will only be directly accessible to scholars with a particular interest in language. For example, those for the Central Belt of Scotland include: Macaulay's Glasgow corpus, and subsequent recordings from Ayr and other towns (Macaulay e.g. 1977; 2005); Johnston and Speitel's Edinburgh corpus (e.g. Johnston 1997); Macafee's Glasgow corpus (Macafee 1994, 1997); Jones' Livingston corpus (e.g. Jones 2002); Stuart-Smith's Glasgow corpora (e.g. Stuart-Smith et al 2007; Stuart-Smith and Timmins 2009; Macaulay 2005; Lyngstad 2007); Lawson, Scobbie and Stuart-Smith's East Coast corpus of teenage speech (e.g. Lawson et al. 2008). Social stratification of these corpora allows focus on particular ranges of the Scottish English continuum. For example Scottish Standard English is usually assumed to be spoken by middle class speakers, who largely select from Aitken's Columns 3-5, though as the model predicts there may be occasional contextually-bound instances of items from 1 and 2, particularly in terms of lexis (see 4 below).

Restricted corpora have the advantage that very casual, relatively unmonitored speech, may be captured. They have the disadvantage that permission to gain access to the data is (necessarily) not open to all.

Public corpora are important because they offer speech and written texts for any user to access, often immediately, allowing independent observation and study of language at potentially any level. A recent public corpus for investigating Scottish speech and writing is the *Scottish Corpus of Texts and Speech* (SCOTS corpus). This resource has already been used in scholarly overviews of Scottish English (e.g. Bergs 2005; Douglas 2009a; Corbett and Stuart-Smith forthcoming). For written material from the period 1700-1945, researchers are also now able to explore the *Corpus of Modern Scottish Writing* (CMSW). Both corpora are freely available online at `www.scottishcorpus.ac.uk`. At the time of writing, the SCOTS corpus contains 810,803 words of speech in a variety of settings, from university lectures to free conversation between adults of different ages and parent-child interactions. The written part of the SCOTS corpus contains 3,234,952 words from a broad range of registers and genres, but with a focus on records of the post-1997 Scottish Parliament. For guidance on conventions used in SCOTS and on how to search the resource, see Anderson and Corbett (2008). The CMSW corpus currently contains over 4,000,000 words of written texts in a range of registers and genres, roughly balanced in 50-year periods from 1700 to 1950. It contains manuscript and printed documents, with digital images and full, searchable transcriptions. Both SCOTS and CMSW contain literary texts in broad Scots, and non-literary texts in Scottish English. While neither corpus can be considered statistically representative of Scottish English, each provides the public with a substantial number of illustrative spoken and written documents of Scottish provenance.

4 Lexis

The SCOTS corpus illustrates how speakers in Scotland continue to draw upon traditional 'broad Scots' lexical items alongside standard items. For example, the use of Column 1 lexical items is illustrated in one of the SCOTS documents, 'Conversation 05: Fife couple on shared memories'. In this conversation between two older speakers and a younger third man, the word *bairn(s)* occurs eight times, for example in a story about a child's death:

> F643: //Aye, mind they// took it up tae Aberdeen and we gave her ten pound tae buy flowers for the bairn; a wreath and that. And the lassie came back and thanked us hersel,
> M608: Aye.
> F643: later on about that.

This brief extract from the conversation also exemplifies a distinctively Scots use of *mind* ('remember') and common deletion of /f/ in the reflexive pronoun *hersel*. However, elsewhere in the conversation the speakers also select items from Column 5. The informal word *kid(s)* is used no fewer than ten times, more frequently than *bairn(s),* and the standard plural *children* is used once:

F643: sh- we used tae take the kids tae her and then I came through here and cleaned aw this place, so I widnae bring the kids, ye see. So, I cleaned aw this place. //Until the kids.//

[…]

F643: //She was feedin the baby in bed and she// must've slept on it, ye see.

M608: mm

F643: So, and eh, she had three other lovely children.

From the SCOTS data, it is clear that most Scottish speakers have access to Standard English items from Column 5 of Aitken's continuum, and indeed a search of both the spoken and written parts of the corpus suggests that speakers use these items more frequently than they do Broad Scots items from Column 1. Raw scores of some lexical items from Columns 1 and 5 of Figure 1 in the spoken data are given in Figure 2:

Column 1 item	No. of instances in SCOTS (spoken)	Column 5 item	No of instances in SCOTS (spoken)
bairn	133	*child*	323
lass	50	*girl*	424
kirk	2	*church*	83
chaft	0	*jaw*	5
gowpen	0	*double handful*	0
ken	717	*know*	5789

Figure 2: Number of occurrences of Column 1 and 5 items in SCOTS (spoken)

The raw figures should be taken with some care: even with 810,803 words, the spoken part of SCOTS is quite small, and some rarer items (e.g. *gowpen*, 'double handful') do not occur. Even the standard English term *handful* only occurs once in this data. The totals given in Figure 2 include plural as well as singular forms, but the total for *kirk* has been reduced to eliminate some obvious personal and place names (e.g. *Auld Kirk, Kirkwall*). However, the totals clearly indicate that Scottish speakers' spoken performance generally favours 'standard' usages, extending less frequently into the distinctively Scots forms of Columns 1 and 2.

Given that the Column 5 or 'standard' items tend to be preferred, the data suggest that many Scots terms are 'marked' and that their use implies a semantic value or contingent pragmatic force beyond their literal meaning. In the conversation illustrated above, the use of *bairn* may suggest a helpless infant (as opposed to the healthy *kids* referred to elsewhere), and it is used when the speaker is indicating sympathy. Douglas and Corbett (2006) and Douglas (2009b) discuss the pragmatic use of the common adjective *wee* to manage interaction in spoken and written contexts.

Aitken (1979: 106-110) suggests that a set of marked, recurrent Scots expressions are used largely by middle-class speakers 'as a kind of stylistic grace and as a way of claiming membership of the in-group of Scotsmen' [sic] (ibid, p. 107). These idiomatic expressions include *to the fore* ('alive and healthy'), *sweetie wife* ('gossip'), *auld claes and parritch* (literally 'old clothes and porridge', i.e.

'humdrum everyday life'); *dram* ('a measure of whisky') *dreich* ('dry, tedious, miserable'); *peelie-wallie* or *peely-wally* ('ill, sickly'), and *wabbit* (exhausted). While the spoken corpus is again too small to pick up a wide range of lexical items, there is an indication of knowledge and a use of some of these expressions, as much in written discourse as spoken (see Figure 3):

Overt Scotticism	Occurrences in SCOTS (spoken)	Occurrences in SCOTS (written)
to the fore	1	12
sweetie wife	1	1
A drop of the cratur	0	0
auld claes	0	0
body o' the kirk	0	1
dram	0	70
dreich	7	71
peelie-wallie	15	25
wabbit	30	28

Figure 3: Occurrences of overt Scotticisms in 810,803 words of speech and 3,234,952 words of writing in the SCOTS corpus

Given that many of the spoken documents in the SCOTS corpus involve participants reflecting on their knowledge and use of language, many of the occurrences of overt Scotticisms in the spoken data testify to awareness of the meaning of these terms rather than to their spontaneous use. Examples include:

> F1018: Aye, I'd still say wabbit, oh God, I'm wabbit.
> M1022: //Yeah.//
> F1054: //That's a great one.//
> M1022: I don't mean the wascally wabbit either. [laugh] Just wabbit.
> M1021: Well we would have said, 'I'm knackered'.
> […]
> F1027: Yeah, same for me, drizzle, and I've put a wee note next to it, if
> I was describing the day I would probably call it a dreich day, because
> it's drizzlin. //But.//
> F1054: //Mmhm mmhm.// //Very Scottish mmhm.//
> F1027: //That's a Scottish word.//

The written documents, however, demonstrate that these items can be used in otherwise standard contexts, as in this excerpt from a short story published in a local north-east magazine (Wood 2003):

> The morning was dreich with heavy rain and low cloud which obscured the
> mountains and swirled the campsite in bleak monochrome.

Together, the spoken and written SCOTS data bear out Aitken's assertion that many Scottish speakers and writers are conscious that certain terms are 'marked' as Scottish, and that they use them in otherwise standard contexts as a conscious and explicit signal of Scottish identity (see further, Douglas 2009b; Schmidt 2009).

As well as overt Scotticisms, Aitken identifies a number of 'covert' expressions that are not necessarily recognised by their speakers as being Scottish, and consequently they are not available as explicit markers of Scottish identity. Aitken suggests that the following expressions might be considered 'covert Scotticisms', on the assumption, of course, that their speakers are not aware that they are Scottish in provenance. The SCOTS spoken data contains some incidences of covert Scotticisms in spontaneous speech, such as *I doubt* ('I expect'), and *give a row* ('scold'). In the following examples from the SCOTS corpus, the participants are not reflecting on their language use. In the first of the two examples below, *doubt* is used to mean 'expect' (i.e. 'I expect it must have had a crack…'). In the second example, however, *doubt* has its standard meaning, namely 'I don't expect that it's open in the morning'). Since there is a possibility of confusion when using *doubt* to mean 'expect', this sense seems to be dying out. Every single incidence of *doubt* in the Scottish Parliament documents included in the SCOTS data, for example, carry the sense of 'do not believe', as in the third example below.

> F646: So I gied him a tap wi the thingmibob, but, ach, I doubt it must of had a crack in them, crack in it or someth- for the handle tae come

> M818: Aye it's open till aboot f- at least four anyway so. //It might be it might be twenty-four hour though.//
> M819: //And it it's open when I go back.// Naw! Cause I doubt it's open in the morning.
> M818: I don't, I've not s-
> M819: Wh- who wants to go for a Chinese //noodle bar at nine a.m.?

> This unsung piece of legislation shows the Parliament working at its best, both in committee and in the chamber, on a constructive and cross-party basis. I doubt that the outside world will ever hear about that, but we should commend the work that the Transport and the Environment Committee and the ministerial team have done on the bill.

By contrast, the sense of *row* as a scolding seems to be surviving, as the following examples from the spoken part of the SCOTS corpus show. As the map facility of the corpus shows, they are taken from a geographically distant areas in Scotland:

> M941: [CENSORED: forename] gave me a row for having a bad work ethic. //Because I quit my shitty job because my student loan was comin in.//

> F1133: I'm goin awa to my work. I'll get a row.
> F1134: You winna.
> F1133: I will. The mannie'll gie me a row.
> F1134: Fitt mannie?
> F1133: The boss.

Both examples involve relatively young speakers. The expression does seem to have a wider use in Scotland than elsewhere in the English-speaking world. A search of the British National Corpus for the phrases *gave me a row* and *get a row*

yields a single result for each phrase, both from a Scottish sources, namely the *Scotsman* newspaper and a Scottish educational newsletter.

To sum up, evidence from the SCOTS corpus affirms that while their use may be decreasing, broad Scots lexical items are still present in Scottish speech and writing – particularly in written literature. Most speakers, however, tend to select standard items in their speech and writing, and the instances of use of broader Scots forms (Aitken's Columns 1 and 2) are often consciously marked to affirm local identity. As the attitudes expressed in the SCOTS corpus affirm, this identity may well be conceived of as a local rather than a national affiliation, even when the item in question is geographically widespread, as is the case with *skint,* which SCOTS shows to be used throughout Scotland:

> F1027: //Yes I would say it's very Perth as well to be skint.//
> F1054: Could you say that again, sorry, I'm jist no catchin everything cause [inaudible].
> F1027: It's a, it's a typical Perth expression. You know 'oh I'm skint', mmhm.

As well as using marked, 'overt Scotticisms' to affirm local identity, Scottish English speakers continue to draw on lexical items and idiomatic expressions that are largely restricted to Scotland, the so-called 'covert Scotticisms' that unconsciously betray their Scottish provenance.

5 Phonology

Aitken's model puts the phonological system of Scottish English into Column 3 as a 'common core'. All speakers of Scottish English whether at the Scots or the Standard Scottish English ends of the continuum are assumed to share a similar abstract phoneme inventory of vowels and consonants, and some similar suprasegmental features such as nuclear tone structures (Wells 1982; Johnston 1997; Stuart-Smith 2003). Social and regional Scottish English phonologies are achieved both by particular phoneme selection in specific lexical items and by phonetic realization.

The result is a bipolar continuum of accents, whose intersecting poles are usually called 'Scots' and 'Scottish Standard English'. Any point along the continuum – any speaker's phonology at any time – comprises a variable system selected for the relevant sociolinguistic context. A more Scots phonology (the notions are as gradient as the usage) will show a higher proportion of Scots phoneme selection and Scots realizations. The most Standard Scottish English accents will typically show minimal instances of Scots selection and realization, to the extent that Standard Scottish English can be characterised by the avoidance of such forms (Johnston 1984; Stuart-Smith 1999).

The link between points along the Scottish English phonological continuum and social class is strong both in terms of language use and local language ideologies, especially in the Central Belt. Salient evaluations of working to middle class membership roughly map onto the Scots–Standard Scottish English accent continuum. Such patterns of linguistic behaviour and social evaluation directly

continue the historical incursion of Standard Southern English by socially prestigious groups, such as the aristocracy, and the gradual relegation of Scots to the lower, and then industrial working, classes. This means that features of urban Scots phonology, such as the infamous use of the glottal stop for intervocalic /t/ in e.g. *water, butter,* are stigmatized – along with features from other linguistic levels – as sloppy speech and indicative of an inability to talk properly (Romaine and Reid 1976).[2] It also means that understanding Standard Scottish English phonology entails an appreciation of what is being avoided (Scots selection and realizations) as much as any separate target system.

Phoneme selection largely accounts for the differences between the lexical items in Columns 2 and 4. While these are presented as lexical choices, they are in fact regular lexical-phonological correspondences for small sets of words (Johnston 1997). So, for example, *mair, stane, hoose* alternate with *more, stone, house* as do small numbers of other words (e.g. also *flair/floor, hame/home, oot/out* and so on). There are also a few consonant alternations, such as *a'/all, gie/give, wi'/with.* These alternations are no longer productive, and result from specific historical developments in the history of Scots (e.g. Macafee 2003). Analysis of data from the scholarly corpora from Glasgow over the past 25 years show that Scots forms are more often found in working-class speech, though no speaker ever uses Scots forms exclusively (Stuart-Smith 2003).

As lexical erosion spreads through Scottish English, the distribution of these alternations is now becoming very limited. For example, results for the *hoose/house* alternation showed that only seven distinct lexemes are involved to any degree (*about, our, round, down, out, now, house*). This means that lexical erosion has a serious concomitant effect on Scots phonology: as each item is lost so are all the possible instances for the occurrence of the Scots form. At the same time – there seems to be two counterbalancing effects. The first relates to usage frequency: while the lexical sets for each Scots alternation have only a few words, they also tend to include a few very frequently used items (e.g. *out/oot, a'/all, dae/do*). The second relates to language use in identity construction. Just as lexical choice is linked to overt constructions of 'Scottishness' – middle-class speakers often select Scots forms for this effect – so the Scots lexical-phonological alternations also appear to be key components in constructing local, socially-embedded identities. For example, in Glasgow we find stability of usage of the *hoose/house* and *a'/all* alternations in younger working-class speakers over time (Stuart-Smith 2003; Stuart-Smith et al. 2006). These results fit into an overall pattern of non-standard phonological features in these speakers which sharply distinguish them from middle-class speakers in the city, and which are linked to expressions of class-based language ideologies (Stuart-Smith et al. 2007; similar patterns are found on the East Coast, e.g. Lawson et al. 2008).

Aitken's model suggests that the phonological alternations are between *shared* phonemes, i.e. that a Scottish English speaker selects either /ʌʉ/ in *hoose* or

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2 Indeed, one of the authors very recently witnessed a discussion between two LMC Scottish women in their early 50s who explained how they felt it necessary to correct (and upbraid) their husbands for failing to speak 'properly' (their own words) when they used Scots forms. When the author tried to explain that these forms were dialectal forms of respectable pedigree and as systematic as any aspect of Standard English, they simply assured her that she was wrong, and that these forms showed that the speakers did not know how to speak correctly.

/ʉ/ in *house.* Fine phonetic analysis suggests that there is more complexity: Glaswegian working-class /ʌʉ/ and /ʉ/ are gradiently but phonetically distinct from the middle-class realisations of the 'same' phonemes (Macaulay 1977; Stuart-Smith 2003). Of course we can argue that this is simply phonetic implementation. But a similar impression is increasingly gained as one inspects the phonetic realization of other 'common' phonemes. Socially-stratified results for eight 'common' consonant phonemes in Glasgow (Stuart-Smith et al. 2007) shows such extensive and systematic phonetic differences between working-class and middle-class speakers that the notion of commonality for these phonemes seems to exist only at a highly abstract level. For example, /x/ as in *loch* is typically [x] or [χ] for middle-class speakers, but [k] for working-class speakers, /ʍ/ as in *white* is [ʍ] or [w̥] as opposed to [w̥] or [w], and so on. Again we see working-class adolescents participating in the UK diffusion of non-local non-standard forms, such as TH-fronting, DH-fronting and L-vocalization (cf. Kerswill 2003), though local non-standard variation is also maintained (e.g. *think* may be [f]*ink* or [h]*ink*). There seems to be rather more resistance to these innovations in younger middle-class speakers.

At its most extreme, Standard Scottish English shows no selection of Scots forms, or only for specific displays of local or national 'Scottishness'. Segmental and suprasegmental realizations are exploited which are distinct from Scots, and sometimes from English English. Abercrombie's (1979) comments about Standard Scottish English in Edinburgh still largely hold today; there is also still a small bastion of affected middle-class speakers in Edinburgh and Glasgow maintaining 'Morningside' and 'Kelvinside' respectively (Johnstone 1984). But the close, continuous, and sometimes uneasy, relationship with Scots remains. Standard Scottish English is as close to a standard accent as one can find (Wells 1982), though its norms have as much to do with avoidance of, as they have to do with correction towards, a particular system. These norms are promulgated through local Scottish institutions, but mainly through the effective workings of the continually close-knit networks of the Scottish middle-class. And as the push away from Scots persists, particular phonetic features of middle-class – Standard Scottish English – continue to emerge, most recently illustrated by the discovery not only of auditorily strong vs weak rhotics in middle-class vs working-class East Coast speakers, but even the use of a different tongue configuration in middle-class speakers (Lawson et al 2010).

6 Morphology and syntax

Macafee (1992/3), King (1997) and Moessner (1997) give a detailed summary of the morphology and syntax of Older Scots up to 1700, based on evidence taken from the *Dictionary of the Older Scottish Tongue,* and a database of Older Scots texts. Meurman-Solin (2003) offers a corpus-based study of Older Scots grammar and lexis. Some of the morphological and syntactic features of present-day English in Scotland described by Beal (1997), Brown and Miller (1982) and Miller (1993, 2003) can be traced back to earlier stages in the language. Macaulay (2005) considers a range of syntactic features in contemporary Scottish English, and generally reports few differences according to social class. A detailed survey of the

morphological and syntactic features of English in Scotland today is beyond the scope of the present chapter; here we restrict ourselves to illustrating some common features, mainly from the spoken sections of the SCOTS corpus.

6.1 The noun phrase

The SCOTS corpus contains a few examples of the irregular –*en* plural forms of the noun, such as *een* 'eyes', and *shoon/sheen* 'shoes'. While instances of *shoon* in SCOTS are now restricted to literary texts, *een* continues to be found in spoken discourse involving younger participants. In the following excerpt from the SCOTS spoken data, for example, a mother attempts to teach her young son words for body parts:

> F1091: //Now,// //you goin to tell me what is this.//
> M1092: //[child noises]// //Nose.//
> F1091: //What's that? Aye.// And fitt's this? It's yer e-? //Come here.//
> M1092: //Eeks.// Eeks.
> F1091: It's yer, is it yer een?
> M1092: My eeks. Eeks, eeks.
> F1091: It's nae, it's yer een.

The role of caregiver and community in the acquisition of variant forms is further explored in Smith, Durham and Fortune (2007). The use of singular forms of the noun with quantifiers is found several times in the conversation with the older Fife couple, mentioned above:

> M642: He says, 'Right, I'll need twa hundred pound for it.'
> […]
> M642: //n- naw! Efter aboot// twa year he says, 'I'm fed up o youse comin
> up here every week.'
> […]
> M642: Now, I actually built twa hoose.

This usage, however, coexists with quantifiers plus plural noun forms, elsewhere in the conversation, for example:

> M642: But see they prefabs, John, over there? //Ye put they//
> M608: //Aye.//
> M642: prefabs on a flat roof in a run o three inches.
> M608: uh-huh
> M642: And I pit, I says, 'Right, I'll put twa layers o felt on it.'

Macaulay (1991: 110) suggests that uninflected plurals are becoming less common in Scots compared with other English dialects, and that the selection of inflected versus uninflected plural might be lexically determined, with some items such as *minute, day, week, shilling, inch* and *yard* being inflected and *pound, month, year, ton* and *mile* varying between inflected and uninflected. A search of the spoken part

of the SCOTS corpus shows that of 8 instances of *fifteen year(s),* 3 are inflected and 5 were uninflected. Coincidentally, the spoken part of the SCOTS corpus also has 8 instances of *fifteen minute(s),* all of which are inflected, results roughly comparable with Macaulay's.

Of the Scots pronouns, the conservative, familiar second person singular *du* ('thou') is found alternating with more formal and general *you* in the conversation of speakers from the northern isles, as in this excerpt from a recording of three Shetland women discussing gardening:

> F1074: //That's lovely. I mind when we were bairns,// //du must have done it too. We used to poo aff all the thi- and you used to mak what you said was perfume, you used to pit this in a bottle of water, and that was a game, to mak perfume.//

On mainland Scotland, plural second person pronoun *yous(e)* is relatively common in the spoken part of the SCOTS corpus, with 37 instances, such as the following:

> M1163: and we were playing St Columba's Viewpark, in Viewpark.
> M608: Mmhm.
> M1163: And we beat them but all during the game there was er boys behind the goals, 'I'm goin to get you after the game, youse are going to get it', //etcetera, etcetera.//

The more recent possessive pronoun *mines* is also evidenced in the speech of younger Scots, as in this conversation between two students:

> F1049: Uh-huh and her mu- she was like tellin her mum she was stayin at mines and all that, //and like//
> M1048: //[inhale]//
> F1049: goin out and modelling.
> M1048: God! //Oh wow.//

The reflexive pronouns in Scots, evidenced in the spoken and written part of the SCOTS corpus, variously spelled, are *masel, yersel, himsel, hersel, itsel, oursels, yersels, theirsel(s), themsel.* Examples of the last two include:

> Badger reached the gate alangside him an they had juist flung themsels ower it whan the shot gaed aff, no faur ahint them!
> […]
> F1139: This isn't, I dinna like reading that stories wi the pictures on them though. That's for people that can read them theirsels.

The example immediately above also shows that the use of *that* for the demonstrative 'those' is still current in North-East Scotland. Other, more widespread demonstrative uses for 'those' are *thae/they* for 'those' as in the following:

M1021: Er whatever, but er we er in Jimmy's case, I mean we warmed towards thae youngsters of course, cause they were different, you know?

[…]

M642: //But see// they horses in the wuid years ago, John.

Another conservative, Scottish demonstrative usage is *yon/thon* to distance the object or concept referred to, as in:

M642: //But there was nae way ye// could stop the glegs. //That was that was the worst aboot that.//

F643: //n' that. We got thon stuff for it,//

[…]

F1041: "Aye ye mind it was yon wifie that we met at"

While Macaulay (1981) finds that *thon/yon* are becoming less common in Scottish speech, the evidence from the SCOTS corpus suggests that these forms are becoming overt 'markers' of Scottish provenance in that they tend to be used more in literary texts than speech. There are 20 instances of *yon* in the spoken part of the SCOTS corpus against 609 instances in the written part, and 4 occurrences of *thon* in the spoken part of SCOTS, compared with 443 written occurrences.

6.2. The verb phrase

Lexical verb morphology differs between broad Scots and Standard English. In some cases Scots has regular (weak) forms where Standard English has strong forms, stereotypically with the verbs *sellt/sold, tellt/told,* both of which feature in spontaneous speech in the SCOTS corpus. The verb *ken* ('know') also has a weak past form (*ken(n)t*), to be found in the following excerpt from a conversation between two Shetland women, talking about new-built houses being sold on for other folk to do up (*idder fock ta do up*):

F961: Er, a whole block o dem, erm, Ian [CENSORED: surname], //you might mind, he//

F960: //Yes, I kennt him.//

F961: built dem aa fae de Sandsoond estate. //And dan he//

F960: //Oh.//

F961: sellt dem aa, he did up some o dem, and sellt dem, and he sellt aff idder eens for idder fock ta do up.

These forms are seldom found in the written part of the SCOTS corpus, outside literature in Scots and non-literary prose written in broad Scots. However, these lexical and morphological features are available in formal spoken and written Scots, usually, again, in contexts that are overtly Scottish in content, as in the following excerpt from the proceedings of the Scottish Parliament (16 February 2000):

To borrow a story from the author and broadcaster Billy Kay, in the age of despotism at the end of the eighteenth century, Robert Burns was advised by the anglicised elite at the head of Scottish society not to write in Scots, as it would be dead within a few generations. Thankfully for world literature, Burns kent better, and continued to express in Scots poems and songs that have inspired millions.

Less formal, again, are the verb paradigms that reduce irregular three-part systems such as *go/went/gone* and *bring/brung/brought* to two-part systems, such as *go/went, bring/brung* (cf Millar 1997: 74-75). The latter example is found in the opening of a short story in urban Scots (Donovan 2001: 13):

Thon wee wifey brung them in, the wan that took us for two days when Mrs McDonald wis aff.

And in the following conversation between a mother and child, it is the mother who uses the reduced verb paradigm:

F1114: What's this? What's this Mum?
F1113: Sorry?
F1114: What's this?
F1113: It's Play-Doh went hard. It's went all hard. Got to put it back into its tubby. Or it'll go hard.

In Scottish speech, plural subject nouns can agree with either singular or plural forms of the verb *be*. An example of plural noun with singular subject arises in the following excerpt from a conversation about the meaning of the words *jimmies/coaties* (possibly derived from *gutties*, i.e. gymn shoes with gutta percha soles):

F1043: Well we're speakin aboot jimmies aye bein cried your shoes that you went tae school wi for P.E., no I can remember fan my mother and father caed them coaties. I didnae ken fit coaties wis until I was a bit aulder but that was their language, they were cried coaties.
F1054: Really?
F1043: I don't know how, again that's a north thing, but it was definitely coaties, because there was a lot o north fishers in that part o Torry, doon Victoria Road, up north, they aa come fae north an coaties was quite a common thing but it just drifted oot an the jimmies come in.

Macafee (1983: 50) suggests that *you + was* is a feature of Glasgow speech; the SCOTS data indicates that the combination is much more widespread:

M1020: Aye well, when we said er "seeck", that meant you was vomitin. (Leith)
[…]
F902: well you was born here, you was born up the glen //at the stables. (Auchenblae)

[…]
F1129: Aye, fitt was Granny daein when you was painting? (Buckie)

In Scottish English, negation of verbs continues to be expressed by the standard clitic –*n't,* the broad Scots clitic –*nae,* or the more emphatic use of *not* and *no.* Several options are evident in this short extract from a conversation between speakers in Aberdeen:

F1054: An how, I mean how far back did they go or when did that stop? //Has it still no stopped?//
M1042: //Oh I don't know.//
F1041: //I dinnae ken.// I dinnae ken I I think it just stopped.

Lyngstad (2007) shows that non-standard negation in Glasgow is strongly constrained by social class in Glaswegian, with non-standard Scots forms restricted to working-class speakers. Local Scots forms are more likely in older working-class speakers; younger working-class speakers show local and non-local non-standard negative markers, including *innit*, as in: 'Aye, it's alright, innit?'.

An area of considerable but still under-researched difference between Scottish English and other varieties is that of modal auxiliary verbs (Millar 1993; Beal 1997). Earlier studies suggest that Scottish speakers avoid *shall* in favour of *will,* and *may* in favour of *can*. The raw search results for *'ll, shall, will, should, would, may, might, can, could* in the SCOTS data are suggestive; however, since the results include uses of *can, will, might, may* as nouns, they have to be treated with some caution (Figure 4).

Modal auxiliary	Occurrences in 810,803 words of speech
'll	2,922
shall	45
will	1,075
should	367
would	2,744
can	2,895
could	950
may	79
might	350

Figure 4: Occurrences of modal forms in the spoken part of the SCOTS corpus

The results suggest that the contracted *'ll* is the most common modal auxiliary form, closely followed by *can* and *would.* Issues of formality clearly affect modal usage in Scottish English. Future possibility is often expressed in speech using the adverb *maybe* in combination with *'ll /will,* as in

F1095: Mmhm We'll maybe go to the pictures and see that, will we?

The combination **ll+maybe* can be compared to *might* in the spoken part of the SCOTS data and the written records of speech, such as the records of the Scottish

Parliament and the Minutes of the Caledonian Philatelic Society. The written records of speech can be considered a formal register that might still be expected to bear some resemblance to spoken discourse. The amount of text in each part of the SCOTS corpus is of a comparable size, and so the results have not been normalised. Even so, as Figure 5 indicates, the combination *(wi)ll maybe* is avoided in written records of speech, where *might* seems to be preferred to express future possibility. In speech itself, *(wi)ll maybe* is preferred to *might*.

	Occurrences of *ll+maybe*	Occurrences of *might*
Spoken documents in SCOTS (810, 803 words)	812	350
Written records of speech in SCOTS (895,707 words)	0	1060

Figure 5: Comparison of *(wi)ll maybe* and *might in the SCOTS corpus*

A further feature of Scottish speech is the use of 'double modal' auxiliaries. While still attested by observers (Miller 1993: 119-120; Beal 1997: 368-370), they do not figure in the spoken part of the SCOTS data. However, there are various instances in the written part, mainly again in literary texts in broad Scots, but also in a solitary piece of personal correspondence from 1982:

> You'll can enjoy your holiday now, I'm sure.

Scottish English has long allowed a greater range of verbs in the progressive form than was conventionally found in other varieties of standard English. Verbs of cognition, perception and affect, such as *think, believe, see, love, like* were not usually found in the progressive form in standard English outside Scotland; however, *think, believe* and *see* are attested in Scottish English (Beal 1997: 372-373). In recent years, however, these verbs have been increasingly used in the progressive form in spoken English and corpus data provides some evidence for both traditional usage and innovative trends among older and younger speakers. The first example below is from a conversation between English users on the Isle of Skye, whose decade of birth ranges from the 1930s to the 1960s. In this instance another possible cause is transfer from Scottish Gaelic which, like Irish, shows the progressive aspect with this set of verbs:

> M1007: Participate in a game? I'm thinking maybe that's too big a
> M1008: //A bit formal for that.//
> M1055: //Too highfaluting//
> M1007: Too highfaluting, too formal //for Skye.//

While there are no examples of verbs of affect in the progressive form in the SCOTS data, the British National Corpus contains an excerpt from a medical consultation with evidence that the speaker is Scottish:

Aye, oh he loves that doesn't he? Aye. That's it. What about as far round as that high, nothing as far round here? No nothing no. Nothing up there? No, and a wee bit there. I'm liking this, I'm liking this.

Beal (1997: 373) suggests that in English generally the progressive form is being used with an increasing number of verbs; in this respect other varieties of English seem to be following the path taken earlier by Scots.

7 Discourse markers

There are various discourse markers that are identified with broad Scots and, to a lesser extent, standard Scottish English. The use of *see* as a topic marker remains common in Scottish speech, as in the following example:

> M642: //See your// hoose, John. We'll go on tae that. See your hoose? //Your hoose was eh//
> M608: //Aye.//
> F643: The forester's house.

However, as with *(wi)ll maybe,* this feature does not appear so commonly in written records of speech or in prepared speeches such as talks or lectures. There are no records of occurrences in the SCOTS data – which is not to say that the feature does not occur, only that if it does, occurrences are fewer than in spontaneous speech. Another conservative discourse marker in broad Scots speech is *ken,* which can also be used as a topic marker, or, in combination with *you/ye*, to indicate common ground:

> F940: //Ken what I said to them in England right when I went doon, I probably telt ye this a hundred times afore,// but the folk on the tape havenae heard it, so get in! [laugh] When I went doon tae England tae study at Northumbria University [laugh] right, no but we were talkin aboot alarm clocks an ken how in Argos they've got that fitba yin //the football one, [laugh] right, you used to, ye, when it gauns off in the mornin//
> M942: //[laugh]//
> M941: //You throw it at the wall.//
> […]
> F835: Sair leg, ye ken aye? Och aye!

Macaulay (2005) draws together evidence for social differences in discourse styles in Scottish English from a fine-grained analysis of a range of features, including discourse markers such as *you know* and *I mean,* which are more often found in adolescents. Another such feature noted by Macaulay (p. 81f.) is the use of 'nontraditional' *like,* as a discourse marker or as a quotative, which is used most frequently by middle-class girls in the Glasgow 1997 corpus. This feature, which is widespread in varieties of English across the world (Tagliamonte 2005; Buchstaller 2008), is also evident in SCOTS, as can be seen in the following excerpts from conversations between schoolgirls from NE Scotland, and students from Glasgow:

F835: //My one// my, my [laugh] Mrs [CENSORED: surname] was on the French exchange and she came up to me and goes, "I hear you've picked up a lad", and I goes //"Excuse me, that's my//
F833: //Oh yeah!// //[laugh]//
F835: //French exchange partner", and she was a girl [laugh].
[…]
F1155: //So I got in// I got in trouble the next day, he was like he was like "Who were you with last night?" I was like er "[CENSORED: forename]". He was like "Where were you?" I was like "At the pub". //He was like"Oh"//
F1154: //[laugh] [sniff]//
F1155: He was like "One of my friends said you were sitting with a guy", I was like "No, I wasn't". [laugh] //[laugh]//

Interestingly, and consistent with recent results for fine phonetic differences between *like* as a discourse marker and a quotative marker in New Zealand English (Drager 2009), Li Santi (2009) also finds fine phonetic differences in the realisation of discourse marker *like* in Scottish English according to pragmatic function.

8 The future for Standard English in Scotland

The discussion of Scottish English thus far suggests that despite considerable change in material culture and attitudes since the 1970s, there remains considerable truth in Aitken's (1979: 116) observation that 'there is still […] a vast amount of Scots material current in everyday spoken usage, of both middle-class and working-class Scottish speakers, as well as in our literary and oral traditions generally'. Scottish speakers and writers draw on broad Scots and English in a range of ways: the available lexical and grammatical forms are variously distinguished by formality, mode of discourse, meaning and pragmatic force. Scots forms may be overtly dropped into otherwise standard English speech and writing to mark contingent local or stereotypically national forms of identity. Other forms are used in spontaneous speech but avoided, consciously or not, in more formal registers. At the same time, and certainly at the level of phonology, Scots forms seem to act as a foil against which Standard Scottish English is constructed.

We have also seen that Scottish English is participating in national and global language changes. On the one hand, non-local, non-standard variants like TH-fronting and *innit* are appearing, albeit alongside the stable maintenance of local Scots forms. On the other, non-local *like* is proliferating in Standard Scottish English. Both kinds of change continue to keep the continuum distinctive. The mechanisms, both expected, relating to dialect contact, social practices and language attitudes, and unexpected, such as engaging with popular culture, are continuing to be explored (Stuart-Smith and Timmins 2009). Our scope has necessarily been limited in this chapter, but we note that ongoing research on Scottish English, for example, in the Borders (Llamas et al. 2009), and in Aberdeen (Brato 2008) will continue to complement the description provided here.

Finally, more research on Scottish English is needed, especially on morphology and syntax (Beal 1997), and in an integrated fashion across the

linguistic levels to help resolve the tensions between maintenance and innovation which are apparent at present. The advent of searchable digital corpora of Scottish speech and writing, public and private, offer a growing evidence base which is increasingly accessible to scholars who wish to embark on this work.

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Standard English in Scotland[1]

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1 The historical context

English in Scotland has developed in parallel and in interaction with English south of the political border. The earliest English-speaking populations in the geographical areas now pertaining to Scotland occupied the Lothian areas around what is now Edinburgh. Macafee (2002) notes the obscurity of the origins of the distinctive Scottish variety, known as Older Scots; however, candidates are the Anglian variety of Old English spoken by tribes in Lothian in the fifth century, and the Scandinavian-English hybrid spoken in Yorkshire half a millennium later. It is possible that the two varieties slowly merged as successive populations of Anglo-Danish speakers moved from the south to the north, initially to escape the depredations of the Norman invaders after 1066. The ousted English royal family were welcomed into the court of the Gaelic speaking Malcolm III of Scotland, the Scottish King marrying the Anglo-Saxon Princess Margaret. Refugees from the subsequent Norman 'Harrying of the North' also fled to lowland Scotland. A more peaceful 'Normanising' of lowland Scotland occurred during the reign of David I, in the early twelfth century. David, who spent his formative years at the English court, enthusiastically adopted the Norman feudal system in Scotland, and encouraged barons and their tenants to settle in lowland Scotland, alongside churchmen who also had state administrative functions. The Higlands and Western Islands remained Gaelic-speaking until the mid-eighteenth century; the Northern Islands spoke Scandinavian language varieties – Orkney Norn, for example, was spoken until the nineteenth century.

The result of this extended and complex series of interactions between populations and languages was a set of English language varieties spoken in lowland Scotland that can be differentiated in vocabulary, grammar, orthography and phonology from those spoken south of the border. In the late fourteenth century, a language shift towards these local varieties meant that English in Scotland began to replace Latin as the written record of state and French as the medium of literary expression. The records of the Parliament of Scotland to 1707 are now available online (Brown et al, eds, 2007-9) and among the earlier pieces of legislation in the language variety that at this point would have been referred to as

'Inglis' is the following General Council record of 1437. It shows some of the grammatical features typical of the written mode, notably the <-is> plural in words such as *barounis, alienatiounis, possessiounis;* the <-is> genitive in words like *fadiris;* the <-ys> present tense in *knawys;* the <-yt> preterite in *avysit, deliveryt, revokyt;* and the <-and> present participle in *beande, belangand* (see further, Macafee 1992/3). Orthographical features include the <ioun> suffix that identifies Latinate terms such as *alienatioun* and *possessioun;* the <quh-> grapheme in *quham;* and the <ai> and <aw> digraphs in *maide* and *knawys* (Kniezsa 1997). Some of these orthographic features correspond to early phonological characteristics; for example, the <i> in digraphs such as <ai>, <ei> and <oi> originally marked vowel length, but changes in pronunciation over time altered both length and quality of the corresponding phonemes (Aitken 2002).

> Item the generale consale, that is to say the clergy, barounis ande commissaris of burowis beande in this generale consale, be ane assent, nane discrepant, and weill avysit, has deliveryt and revokyt all alienatiounis, alsueill of landis and possessiounis as of movabill gudis, that war in his fadiris possessiounis, quham Gode assoilye, the tyme of his decese, gewyn and maide without the awyse and consent of the thre estatis, and has ordanyt that ane inventare be maide of all gudis in to depoise belangand to the king be thame that best knawys the sammyn gudis.

> *Item, the general council, that is to say the clergy, barons and burgh commissioners being in this general council, by one assent, none differing, and well advised, has delivered and revoked all alienations, both of lands and possessions as well as of moveable goods, that were in [the king's] father's possession, whom God forgive, at the time of his death, given and made without the advice and consent of the three estates, and has ordained that an inventory be made of all goods in keeping belonging to the king by those that best know the same goods.*

Given a political focus in Edinburgh, 'Inglis' continued to develop as the spoken and written medium of an independent speech community, to the point when, in the late fifteenth and early sixteenth century a few observers such as Bishop Gavin Douglas, a clergyman, diplomat, poet and translator, began to refer to their variety as 'Scottis' (McClure 1982). However, the sixteenth century also saw increasingly powerful anglicising influences beginning to impact upon Scots. The conflicts leading up to and succeeding the Reformation in Scotland in 1560 generated a substantial body of written texts that were designed to be read by Anglophone communities within and beyond Scotland. Jack (1997: 254) notes how the leading Reformer, John Knox, took advantage of his extended linguistic repertoire, exploiting Anglicised Scots to 'convey religious truths in the high style to as many people as possible' while maintaining a higher proportion of Scots in his unprinted sermons, which were directed at a more local, immediate audience.

With the accelerating influx of printed books from England to Scotland during the sixteenth century, followed by the Union of the Crowns in 1603, the publication of the King James Bible in 1611, and the parliamentary union of Scotland with England in 1707, an increasing number of literate Scottish people had access to a linguistic repertoire that extended from spoken and written forms of Scots to written standard English. Accordingly, the registers associated with Scots and English forms became differentiated, with 'broad' Scots increasingly reserved for

domestic, intimate and spoken situations, and English for public, written registers. The one major exception is the literary domain. From the beginning of the eighteenth century, generations of writers have revisited, revised and updated the conventions of literary Scots of earlier generations. Allan Ramsay (1686-1758) edited and published older poems he found in the Bannatyne manuscript (1568), an anthology of Older Scots poems preserved in the Advocates' Library in Edinburgh, and he also published original work that popularised a set of Modern Scots conventions that later writers and editors drew upon and, in their turn, adapted (Smith and Kay, forthcoming). In 1721, in the preface to a collection of his own poems, Ramsay refers to the Scots and English dialects of the 'British tongue', thus endorsing a view of Scots and standard English as forming a continuum, with the Scots element enriching and extending southern English.

While Ramsay and his contemporaries and successors were reinventing Scots as a written literary medium, many members of the middle classes in Scotland were adapting their own speech and writing in accordance with their perception of Anglocentric norms. Jones (1997b) discusses the orthoepist literature produced in Scotland in the eighteenth century, demonstrating how it illustrates the prevailing language attitudes as well as the phonological developments that were leading to the establishment of a prestige Scottish hybrid variety that is distinct from both broad Scots and southern English. To this prestige variety the label 'Scottish Standard English' can be applied. However, the linguistic behaviour of many Scottish Standard English speakers continues to draw upon traditional Scots linguistic resources, to which are added new features local to areas of Scotland (for example, following legislation banning the use of cigarettes in pubs and restaurants, the areas outside used by smokers were quickly dubbed *smoke-ooteries;* see also Macafee 2003: 56-57).

2 Aitken's Model of Scottish Speech (1979)

In a discussion of the development and characteristics of Standard English as it is found in Scotland, Aitken (1979: 86) offers a diagram that seeks to capture the complexity of linguistic behaviour in Scotland. Figure 1 reproduces this model.

----------------------Scots-------------------			--------------------English------------------	
1	2	3	4	5
bairn	mair	before	more	child
lass	stane		stone	girl
kirk	hame	name	home	church
chaft	dee	see	die	jaw
gowpen	heid	tie	head	double handful
ken	hoose	tide	house	know
bide	loose*(n)*	young	louse *(n)*	remain
kenspeckle	louse *(adj)*	winter	loose *(adj)*	conspicuous
low	yaize *(v)*	of	use *(v)*	flame
cowp	yis *(n)*	is	use *(n)*	capsize
shauchle	auld	some	old	shuffle
whae's aucht that?	truith	why	truth	whose is that?
pit the haims on	barra	he	barrow	do in
tummle the		they		turn somersaults

wulkies				
no *(adv)*		*		not *(adv)*
-na *(adv)*		†		-n't *(adv)*

* (Most of the inflectional system, word order, grammar)
† (Pronunciation system and rules of realisation)

Figure 1: A Model of Scottish Speech (Reproduced from Aitken 1979: 86)

The first column consists of distinctively Scots lexical items that correspond to non-cognate English forms, suggested in column 5, e.g. *bairn/child.* Column 2 contains Scots lexical items that have cognate English forms, given in Column 4 e.g. *mair/more.* The middle column contains 'common core' items that historically have been shared by the two varieties, including much of the morpho-syntactic and phonological systems. According to Aitken, 'broad' Scots speakers would opt largely for items from Columns 1-3, while English speakers would select from Columns 3-5. Those who are proficient in Standard Scottish English would move along the continuum, selecting as appropriate from any of Columns 1-5, though, since the time of the Scottish Reformers, successive generations of Scottish speakers have had a gradually reduced repertoire of items from the first two columns, particularly Column 1. Aitken's model (see also 1984a, b) was proposed some 30 years ago; we shall see that it still offers a useful conceptual framework for capturing recent and contemporary linguistic behaviour shown by Scottish English speakers, albeit with some additional notes, particularly at the level of phonology.

3 Resources for investigating Standard Scottish English

We base the discussion that follows on observations drawn from recent corpora of Scottish English speech and language. These collections are of two different kinds, restricted and public, offering complementary resources to researchers.

A number of restricted corpora of Scottish English have been collected since the 1970s, largely consisting of sociolinguistic collections of interviews and personal conversations, in which informants often speak freely with friends and or interviewers, knowing that their recordings will only be directly accessible to scholars with a particular interest in language. For example, those for the Central Belt of Scotland include: Macaulay's Glasgow corpus, and subsequent recordings from Ayr and other towns (Macaulay e.g. 1977; 2005); Johnston and Speitel's Edinburgh corpus (e.g. Johnston 1997); Macafee's Glasgow corpus (Macafee 1994, 1997); Jones' Livingston corpus (e.g. Jones 2002); Stuart-Smith's Glasgow corpora (e.g. Stuart-Smith et al 2007; Stuart-Smith and Timmins 2009; Macaulay 2005; Lyngstad 2007); Lawson, Scobbie and Stuart-Smith's East Coast corpus of teenage speech (e.g. Lawson et al. 2008). Social stratification of these corpora allows focus on particular ranges of the Scottish English continuum. For example Scottish Standard English is usually assumed to be spoken by middle class speakers, who largely select from Aitken's Columns 3-5, though as the model predicts there may be occasional contextually-bound instances of items from 1 and 2, particularly in terms of lexis (see 4 below).

Restricted corpora have the advantage that very casual, relatively unmonitored speech, may be captured. They have the disadvantage that permission to gain access to the data is (necessarily) not open to all.

Public corpora are important because they offer speech and written texts for any user to access, often immediately, allowing independent observation and study of language at potentially any level. A recent public corpus for investigating Scottish speech and writing is the *Scottish Corpus of Texts and Speech* (SCOTS corpus). This resource has already been used in scholarly overviews of Scottish English (e.g. Bergs 2005; Douglas 2009a; Corbett and Stuart-Smith forthcoming). For written material from the period 1700-1945, researchers are also now able to explore the *Corpus of Modern Scottish Writing* (CMSW). Both corpora are freely available online at `www.scottishcorpus.ac.uk`. At the time of writing, the SCOTS corpus contains 810,803 words of speech in a variety of settings, from university lectures to free conversation between adults of different ages and parent-child interactions. The written part of the SCOTS corpus contains 3,234,952 words from a broad range of registers and genres, but with a focus on records of the post-1997 Scottish Parliament. For guidance on conventions used in SCOTS and on how to search the resource, see Anderson and Corbett (2008). The CMSW corpus currently contains over 4,000,000 words of written texts in a range of registers and genres, roughly balanced in 50-year periods from 1700 to 1950. It contains manuscript and printed documents, with digital images and full, searchable transcriptions. Both SCOTS and CMSW contain literary texts in broad Scots, and non-literary texts in Scottish English. While neither corpus can be considered statistically representative of Scottish English, each provides the public with a substantial number of illustrative spoken and written documents of Scottish provenance.

4 Lexis

The SCOTS corpus illustrates how speakers in Scotland continue to draw upon traditional 'broad Scots' lexical items alongside standard items. For example, the use of Column 1 lexical items is illustrated in one of the SCOTS documents, 'Conversation 05: Fife couple on shared memories'. In this conversation between two older speakers and a younger third man, the word *bairn(s)* occurs eight times, for example in a story about a child's death:

> F643: //Aye, mind they// took it up tae Aberdeen and we gave her ten pound tae buy flowers for the bairn; a wreath and that. And the lassie came back and thanked us hersel,
> M608: Aye.
> F643: later on about that.

This brief extract from the conversation also exemplifies a distinctively Scots use of *mind* ('remember') and common deletion of /f/ in the reflexive pronoun *hersel.* However, elsewhere in the conversation the speakers also select items from Column 5. The informal word *kid(s)* is used no fewer than ten times, more frequently than *bairn(s),* and the standard plural *children* is used once:

F643: sh- we used tae take the kids tae her and then I came through here and cleaned aw this place, so I widnae bring the kids, ye see. So, I cleaned aw this place. //Until the kids.//

[…]

F643: //She was feedin the baby in bed and she// must've slept on it, ye see.

M608: mm

F643: So, and eh, she had three other lovely children.

From the SCOTS data, it is clear that most Scottish speakers have access to Standard English items from Column 5 of Aitken's continuum, and indeed a search of both the spoken and written parts of the corpus suggests that speakers use these items more frequently than they do Broad Scots items from Column 1. Raw scores of some lexical items from Columns 1 and 5 of Figure 1 in the spoken data are given in Figure 2:

Column 1 item	No. of instances in SCOTS (spoken)	Column 5 item	No of instances in SCOTS (spoken)
bairn	133	*child*	323
lass	50	*girl*	424
kirk	2	*church*	83
chaft	0	*jaw*	5
gowpen	0	*double handful*	0
ken	717	*know*	5789

Figure 2: Number of occurrences of Column 1 and 5 items in SCOTS (spoken)

The raw figures should be taken with some care: even with 810,803 words, the spoken part of SCOTS is quite small, and some rarer items (e.g. *gowpen*, 'double handful') do not occur. Even the standard English term *handful* only occurs once in this data. The totals given in Figure 2 include plural as well as singular forms, but the total for *kirk* has been reduced to eliminate some obvious personal and place names (e.g. *Auld Kirk, Kirkwall*). However, the totals clearly indicate that Scottish speakers' spoken performance generally favours 'standard' usages, extending less frequently into the distinctively Scots forms of Columns 1 and 2.

Given that the Column 5 or 'standard' items tend to be preferred, the data suggest that many Scots terms are 'marked' and that their use implies a semantic value or contingent pragmatic force beyond their literal meaning. In the conversation illustrated above, the use of *bairn* may suggest a helpless infant (as opposed to the healthy *kids* referred to elsewhere), and it is used when the speaker is indicating sympathy. Douglas and Corbett (2006) and Douglas (2009b) discuss the pragmatic use of the common adjective *wee* to manage interaction in spoken and written contexts.

Aitken (1979: 106-110) suggests that a set of marked, recurrent Scots expressions are used largely by middle-class speakers 'as a kind of stylistic grace and as a way of claiming membership of the in-group of Scotsmen' [sic] (ibid, p. 107). These idiomatic expressions include *to the fore* ('alive and healthy'), *sweetie wife* ('gossip'), *auld claes and parritch* (literally 'old clothes and porridge', i.e.

'humdrum everyday life'); *dram* ('a measure of whisky') *dreich* ('dry, tedious, miserable'); *peelie-wallie* or *peely-wally* ('ill, sickly'), and *wabbit* (exhausted). While the spoken corpus is again too small to pick up a wide range of lexical items, there is an indication of knowledge and a use of some of these expressions, as much in written discourse as spoken (see Figure 3):

Overt Scotticism	Occurrences in SCOTS (spoken)	Occurrences in SCOTS (written)
to the fore	1	12
sweetie wife	1	1
A drop of the cratur	0	0
auld claes	0	0
body o' the kirk	0	1
dram	0	70
dreich	7	71
peelie-wallie	15	25
wabbit	30	28

Figure 3: Occurrences of overt Scotticisms in 810,803 words of speech and 3,234,952 words of writing in the SCOTS corpus

Given that many of the spoken documents in the SCOTS corpus involve participants reflecting on their knowledge and use of language, many of the occurrences of overt Scotticisms in the spoken data testify to awareness of the meaning of these terms rather than to their spontaneous use. Examples include:

> F1018: Aye, I'd still say wabbit, oh God, I'm wabbit.
> M1022: //Yeah.//
> F1054: //That's a great one.//
> M1022: I don't mean the wascally wabbit either. [laugh] Just wabbit.
> M1021: Well we would have said, 'I'm knackered'.
> […]
> F1027: Yeah, same for me, drizzle, and I've put a wee note next to it, if I was describing the day I would probably call it a dreich day, because it's drizzlin. //But.//
> F1054: //Mmhm mmhm.// //Very Scottish mmhm.//
> F1027: //That's a Scottish word.//

The written documents, however, demonstrate that these items can be used in otherwise standard contexts, as in this excerpt from a short story published in a local north-east magazine (Wood 2003):

> The morning was dreich with heavy rain and low cloud which obscured the mountains and swirled the campsite in bleak monochrome.

Together, the spoken and written SCOTS data bear out Aitken's assertion that many Scottish speakers and writers are conscious that certain terms are 'marked' as Scottish, and that they use them in otherwise standard contexts as a conscious and explicit signal of Scottish identity (see further, Douglas 2009b; Schmidt 2009).

As well as overt Scotticisms, Aitken identifies a number of 'covert' expressions that are not necessarily recognised by their speakers as being Scottish, and consequently they are not available as explicit markers of Scottish identity. Aitken suggests that the following expressions might be considered 'covert Scotticisms', on the assumption, of course, that their speakers are not aware that they are Scottish in provenance. The SCOTS spoken data contains some incidences of covert Scotticisms in spontaneous speech, such as *I doubt* ('I expect'), and *give a row* ('scold'). In the following examples from the SCOTS corpus, the participants are not reflecting on their language use. In the first of the two examples below, *doubt* is used to mean 'expect' (i.e. 'I expect it must have had a crack…'). In the second example, however, *doubt* has its standard meaning, namely 'I don't expect that it's open in the morning'). Since there is a possibility of confusion when using *doubt* to mean 'expect', this sense seems to be dying out. Every single incidence of *doubt* in the Scottish Parliament documents included in the SCOTS data, for example, carry the sense of 'do not believe', as in the third example below.

> F646: So I gied him a tap wi the thingmibob, but, ach, I doubt it must of had a crack in them, crack in it or someth- for the handle tae come

> M818: Aye it's open till aboot f- at least four anyway so. //It might be it might be twenty-four hour though.//
> M819: //And it it's open when I go back.// Naw! Cause I doubt it's open in the morning.
> M818: I don't, I've not s-
> M819: Wh- who wants to go for a Chinese //noodle bar at nine a.m.?

> This unsung piece of legislation shows the Parliament working at its best, both in committee and in the chamber, on a constructive and cross-party basis. I doubt that the outside world will ever hear about that, but we should commend the work that the Transport and the Environment Committee and the ministerial team have done on the bill.

By contrast, the sense of *row* as a scolding seems to be surviving, as the following examples from the spoken part of the SCOTS corpus show. As the map facility of the corpus shows, they are taken from a geographically distant areas in Scotland:

> M941: [CENSORED: forename] gave me a row for having a bad work ethic. //Because I quit my shitty job because my student loan was comin in.//

> F1133: I'm goin awa to my work. I'll get a row.
> F1134: You winna.
> F1133: I will. The mannie'll gie me a row.
> F1134: Fitt mannie?
> F1133: The boss.

Both examples involve relatively young speakers. The expression does seem to have a wider use in Scotland than elsewhere in the English-speaking world. A search of the British National Corpus for the phrases *gave me a row* and *get a row*

yields a single result for each phrase, both from a Scottish sources, namely the *Scotsman* newspaper and a Scottish educational newsletter.

To sum up, evidence from the SCOTS corpus affirms that while their use may be decreasing, broad Scots lexical items are still present in Scottish speech and writing – particularly in written literature. Most speakers, however, tend to select standard items in their speech and writing, and the instances of use of broader Scots forms (Aitken's Columns 1 and 2) are often consciously marked to affirm local identity. As the attitudes expressed in the SCOTS corpus affirm, this identity may well be conceived of as a local rather than a national affiliation, even when the item in question is geographically widespread, as is the case with *skint,* which SCOTS shows to be used throughout Scotland:

> F1027: //Yes I would say it's very Perth as well to be skint.//
> F1054: Could you say that again, sorry, I'm jist no catchin everything cause [inaudible].
> F1027: It's a, it's a typical Perth expression. You know 'oh I'm skint', mmhm.

As well as using marked, 'overt Scotticisms' to affirm local identity, Scottish English speakers continue to draw on lexical items and idiomatic expressions that are largely restricted to Scotland, the so-called 'covert Scotticisms' that unconsciously betray their Scottish provenance.

5 Phonology

Aitken's model puts the phonological system of Scottish English into Column 3 as a 'common core'. All speakers of Scottish English whether at the Scots or the Standard Scottish English ends of the continuum are assumed to share a similar abstract phoneme inventory of vowels and consonants, and some similar suprasegmental features such as nuclear tone structures (Wells 1982; Johnston 1997; Stuart-Smith 2003). Social and regional Scottish English phonologies are achieved both by particular phoneme selection in specific lexical items and by phonetic realization.

The result is a bipolar continuum of accents, whose intersecting poles are usually called 'Scots' and 'Scottish Standard English'. Any point along the continuum – any speaker's phonology at any time – comprises a variable system selected for the relevant sociolinguistic context. A more Scots phonology (the notions are as gradient as the usage) will show a higher proportion of Scots phoneme selection and Scots realizations. The most Standard Scottish English accents will typically show minimal instances of Scots selection and realization, to the extent that Standard Scottish English can be characterised by the avoidance of such forms (Johnston 1984; Stuart-Smith 1999).

The link between points along the Scottish English phonological continuum and social class is strong both in terms of language use and local language ideologies, especially in the Central Belt. Salient evaluations of working to middle class membership roughly map onto the Scots–Standard Scottish English accent continuum. Such patterns of linguistic behaviour and social evaluation directly

continue the historical incursion of Standard Southern English by socially prestigious groups, such as the aristocracy, and the gradual relegation of Scots to the lower, and then industrial working, classes. This means that features of urban Scots phonology, such as the infamous use of the glottal stop for intervocalic /t/ in e.g. *water, butter,* are stigmatized – along with features from other linguistic levels – as sloppy speech and indicative of an inability to talk properly (Romaine and Reid 1976).[2] It also means that understanding Standard Scottish English phonology entails an appreciation of what is being avoided (Scots selection and realizations) as much as any separate target system.

Phoneme selection largely accounts for the differences between the lexical items in Columns 2 and 4. While these are presented as lexical choices, they are in fact regular lexical-phonological correspondences for small sets of words (Johnston 1997). So, for example, *mair, stane, hoose* alternate with *more, stone, house* as do small numbers of other words (e.g. also *flair/floor, hame/home, oot/out* and so on). There are also a few consonant alternations, such as *a'/all, gie/give, wi'/with.* These alternations are no longer productive, and result from specific historical developments in the history of Scots (e.g. Macafee 2003). Analysis of data from the scholarly corpora from Glasgow over the past 25 years show that Scots forms are more often found in working-class speech, though no speaker ever uses Scots forms exclusively (Stuart-Smith 2003).

As lexical erosion spreads through Scottish English, the distribution of these alternations is now becoming very limited. For example, results for the *hoose/house* alternation showed that only seven distinct lexemes are involved to any degree (*about, our, round, down, out, now, house*). This means that lexical erosion has a serious concomitant effect on Scots phonology: as each item is lost so are all the possible instances for the occurrence of the Scots form. At the same time – there seems to be two counterbalancing effects. The first relates to usage frequency: while the lexical sets for each Scots alternation have only a few words, they also tend to include a few very frequently used items (e.g. *out/oot, a'/all, dae/do*). The second relates to language use in identity construction. Just as lexical choice is linked to overt constructions of 'Scottishness' – middle-class speakers often select Scots forms for this effect – so the Scots lexical-phonological alternations also appear to be key components in constructing local, socially-embedded identities. For example, in Glasgow we find stability of usage of the *hoose/house* and *a'/all* alternations in younger working-class speakers over time (Stuart-Smith 2003; Stuart-Smith et al. 2006). These results fit into an overall pattern of non-standard phonological features in these speakers which sharply distinguish them from middle-class speakers in the city, and which are linked to expressions of class-based language ideologies (Stuart-Smith et al. 2007; similar patterns are found on the East Coast, e.g. Lawson et al. 2008).

Aitken's model suggests that the phonological alternations are between *shared* phonemes, i.e. that a Scottish English speaker selects either /ʌʉ/ in *hoose* or

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[2] Indeed, one of the authors very recently witnessed a discussion between two LMC Scottish women in their early 50s who explained how they felt it necessary to correct (and upbraid) their husbands for failing to speak 'properly' (their own words) when they used Scots forms. When the author tried to explain that these forms were dialectal forms of respectable pedigree and as systematic as any aspect of Standard English, they simply assured her that she was wrong, and that these forms showed that the speakers did not know how to speak correctly.

/ʉ/ in *house*. Fine phonetic analysis suggests that there is more complexity: Glaswegian working-class /ʌʉ/ and /ʉ/ are gradiently but phonetically distinct from the middle-class realisations of the 'same' phonemes (Macaulay 1977; Stuart-Smith 2003). Of course we can argue that this is simply phonetic implementation. But a similar impression is increasingly gained as one inspects the phonetic realization of other 'common' phonemes. Socially-stratified results for eight 'common' consonant phonemes in Glasgow (Stuart-Smith et al. 2007) shows such extensive and systematic phonetic differences between working-class and middle-class speakers that the notion of commonality for these phonemes seems to exist only at a highly abstract level. For example, /x/ as in *loch* is typically [x] or [χ] for middle-class speakers, but [k] for working-class speakers, /ʍ/ as in *white* is [ʍ] or [w̥] as opposed to [w̥] or [w], and so on. Again we see working-class adolescents participating in the UK diffusion of non-local non-standard forms, such as TH-fronting, DH-fronting and L-vocalization (cf. Kerswill 2003), though local non-standard variation is also maintained (e.g. *think* may be [f]*ink* or [h]*ink*). There seems to be rather more resistance to these innovations in younger middle-class speakers.

At its most extreme, Standard Scottish English shows no selection of Scots forms, or only for specific displays of local or national 'Scottishness'. Segmental and suprasegmental realizations are exploited which are distinct from Scots, and sometimes from English English. Abercrombie's (1979) comments about Standard Scottish English in Edinburgh still largely hold today; there is also still a small bastion of affected middle-class speakers in Edinburgh and Glasgow maintaining 'Morningside' and 'Kelvinside' respectively (Johnstone 1984). But the close, continuous, and sometimes uneasy, relationship with Scots remains. Standard Scottish English is as close to a standard accent as one can find (Wells 1982), though its norms have as much to do with avoidance of, as they have to do with correction towards, a particular system. These norms are promulgated through local Scottish institutions, but mainly through the effective workings of the continually close-knit networks of the Scottish middle-class. And as the push away from Scots persists, particular phonetic features of middle-class – Standard Scottish English – continue to emerge, most recently illustrated by the discovery not only of auditorily strong vs weak rhotics in middle-class vs working-class East Coast speakers, but even the use of a different tongue configuration in middle-class speakers (Lawson et al 2010).

6 Morphology and syntax

Macafee (1992/3), King (1997) and Moessner (1997) give a detailed summary of the morphology and syntax of Older Scots up to 1700, based on evidence taken from the *Dictionary of the Older Scottish Tongue,* and a database of Older Scots texts. Meurman-Solin (2003) offers a corpus-based study of Older Scots grammar and lexis. Some of the morphological and syntactic features of present-day English in Scotland described by Beal (1997), Brown and Miller (1982) and Miller (1993, 2003) can be traced back to earlier stages in the language. Macaulay (2005) considers a range of syntactic features in contemporary Scottish English, and generally reports few differences according to social class. A detailed survey of the

morphological and syntactic features of English in Scotland today is beyond the scope of the present chapter; here we restrict ourselves to illustrating some common features, mainly from the spoken sections of the SCOTS corpus.

6.1 The noun phrase

The SCOTS corpus contains a few examples of the irregular –*en* plural forms of the noun, such as *een* 'eyes', and *shoon/sheen* 'shoes'. While instances of *shoon* in SCOTS are now restricted to literary texts, *een* continues to be found in spoken discourse involving younger participants. In the following excerpt from the SCOTS spoken data, for example, a mother attempts to teach her young son words for body parts:

> F1091: //Now,// //you goin to tell me what is this.//
> M1092: //[child noises]// //Nose.//
> F1091: //What's that? Aye.// And fitt's this? It's yer e-? //Come here.//
> M1092: //Eeks.// Eeks.
> F1091: It's yer, is it yer een?
> M1092: My eeks. Eeks, eeks.
> F1091: It's nae, it's yer een.

The role of caregiver and community in the acquisition of variant forms is further explored in Smith, Durham and Fortune (2007). The use of singular forms of the noun with quantifiers is found several times in the conversation with the older Fife couple, mentioned above:

> M642: He says, 'Right, I'll need twa hundred pound for it.'
> […]
> M642: //n- naw! Efter aboot// twa year he says, 'I'm fed up o youse comin up here every week.'
> […]
> M642: Now, I actually built twa hoose.

This usage, however, coexists with quantifiers plus plural noun forms, elsewhere in the conversation, for example:

> M642: But see they prefabs, John, over there? //Ye put they//
> M608: //Aye.//
> M642: prefabs on a flat roof in a run o three inches.
> M608: uh-huh
> M642: And I pit, I says, 'Right, I'll put twa layers o felt on it.'

Macaulay (1991: 110) suggests that uninflected plurals are becoming less common in Scots compared with other English dialects, and that the selection of inflected versus uninflected plural might be lexically determined, with some items such as *minute, day, week, shilling, inch* and *yard* being inflected and *pound, month, year, ton* and *mile* varying between inflected and uninflected. A search of the spoken part

of the SCOTS corpus shows that of 8 instances of *fifteen year(s),* 3 are inflected and 5 were uninflected. Coincidentally, the spoken part of the SCOTS corpus also has 8 instances of *fifteen minute(s),* all of which are inflected, results roughly comparable with Macaulay's.

Of the Scots pronouns, the conservative, familiar second person singular *du* ('thou') is found alternating with more formal and general *you* in the conversation of speakers from the northern isles, as in this excerpt from a recording of three Shetland women discussing gardening:

> F1074: //That's lovely. I mind when we were bairns,// //du must have done it too. We used to poo aff all the thi- and you used to mak what you said was perfume, you used to pit this in a bottle of water, and that was a game, to mak perfume.//

On mainland Scotland, plural second person pronoun *yous(e)* is relatively common in the spoken part of the SCOTS corpus, with 37 instances, such as the following:

> M1163: and we were playing St Columba's Viewpark, in Viewpark.
> M608: Mmhm.
> M1163: And we beat them but all during the game there was er boys behind the goals, 'I'm goin to get you after the game, youse are going to get it', //etcetera, etcetera.//

The more recent possessive pronoun *mines* is also evidenced in the speech of younger Scots, as in this conversation between two students:

> F1049: Uh-huh and her mu- she was like tellin her mum she was stayin at mines and all that, //and like//
> M1048: //[inhale]//
> F1049: goin out and modelling.
> M1048: God! //Oh wow.//

The reflexive pronouns in Scots, evidenced in the spoken and written part of the SCOTS corpus, variously spelled, are *masel, yersel, himsel, hersel, itsel, oursels, yersels, theirsel(s), themsel.* Examples of the last two include:

> Badger reached the gate alangside him an they had juist flung themsels ower it whan the shot gaed aff, no faur ahint them!
> […]
> F1139: This isn't, I dinna like reading that stories wi the pictures on them though. That's for people that can read them theirsels.

The example immediately above also shows that the use of *that* for the demonstrative 'those' is still current in North-East Scotland. Other, more widespread demonstrative uses for 'those' are *thae/they* for 'those' as in the following:

M1021: Er whatever, but er we er in Jimmy's case, I mean we warmed towards thae youngsters of course, cause they were different, you know?
[…]
M642: //But see// they horses in the wuid years ago, John.

Another conservative, Scottish demonstrative usage is *yon/thon* to distance the object or concept referred to, as in:

M642: //But there was nae way ye// could stop the glegs. //That was that was the worst aboot that.//
F643: //n' that. We got thon stuff for it,//
[…]
F1041: "Aye ye mind it was yon wifie that we met at"

While Macaulay (1981) finds that *thon/yon* are becoming less common in Scottish speech, the evidence from the SCOTS corpus suggests that these forms are becoming overt 'markers' of Scottish provenance in that they tend to be used more in literary texts than speech. There are 20 instances of *yon* in the spoken part of the SCOTS corpus against 609 instances in the written part, and 4 occurrences of *thon* in the spoken part of SCOTS, compared with 443 written occurrences.

6.2. The verb phrase

Lexical verb morphology differs between broad Scots and Standard English. In some cases Scots has regular (weak) forms where Standard English has strong forms, stereotypically with the verbs *sellt/sold, tellt/told,* both of which feature in spontaneous speech in the SCOTS corpus. The verb *ken* ('know') also has a weak past form (*ken(n)t*), to be found in the following excerpt from a conversation between two Shetland women, talking about new-built houses being sold on for other folk to do up (*idder fock ta do up*):

F961: Er, a whole block o dem, erm, Ian [CENSORED: surname], //you might mind, he//
F960: //Yes, I kennt him.//
F961: built dem aa fae de Sandsoond estate. //And dan he//
F960: //Oh.//
F961: sellt dem aa, he did up some o dem, and sellt dem, and he sellt aff idder eens for idder fock ta do up.

These forms are seldom found in the written part of the SCOTS corpus, outside literature in Scots and non-literary prose written in broad Scots. However, these lexical and morphological features are available in formal spoken and written Scots, usually, again, in contexts that are overtly Scottish in content, as in the following excerpt from the proceedings of the Scottish Parliament (16 February 2000):

To borrow a story from the author and broadcaster Billy Kay, in the age of despotism at the end of the eighteenth century, Robert Burns was advised by the anglicised elite at the head of Scottish society not to write in Scots, as it would be dead within a few generations. Thankfully for world literature, Burns kent better, and continued to express in Scots poems and songs that have inspired millions.

Less formal, again, are the verb paradigms that reduce irregular three-part systems such as *go/went/gone* and *bring/brung/brought* to two-part systems, such as *go/went, bring/brung* (cf Millar 1997: 74-75). The latter example is found in the opening of a short story in urban Scots (Donovan 2001: 13):

Thon wee wifey brung them in, the wan that took us for two days when Mrs McDonald wis aff.

And in the following conversation between a mother and child, it is the mother who uses the reduced verb paradigm:

F1114: What's this? What's this Mum?
F1113: Sorry?
F1114: What's this?
F1113: It's Play-Doh went hard. It's went all hard. Got to put it back into its tubby. Or it'll go hard.

In Scottish speech, plural subject nouns can agree with either singular or plural forms of the verb *be.* An example of plural noun with singular subject arises in the following excerpt from a conversation about the meaning of the words *jimmies/coaties* (possibly derived from *gutties,* i.e. gymn shoes with gutta percha soles):

F1043: Well we're speakin aboot jimmies aye bein cried your shoes that you went tae school wi for P.E., no I can remember fan my mother and father caed them coaties. I didnae ken fit coaties wis until I was a bit aulder but that was their language, they were cried coaties.
F1054: Really?
F1043: I don't know how, again that's a north thing, but it was definitely coaties, because there was a lot o north fishers in that part o Torry, doon Victoria Road, up north, they aa come fae north an coaties was quite a common thing but it just drifted oot an the jimmies come in.

Macafee (1983: 50) suggests that *you + was* is a feature of Glasgow speech; the SCOTS data indicates that the combination is much more widespread:

M1020: Aye well, when we said er "seeck", that meant you was vomitin.
(Leith)
[…]
F902: well you was born here, you was born up the glen //at the
stables. (Auchenblae)

[…]
F1129: Aye, fitt was Granny daein when you was painting? (Buckie)

In Scottish English, negation of verbs continues to be expressed by the standard clitic *–n't,* the broad Scots clitic *–nae,* or the more emphatic use of *not* and *no.* Several options are evident in this short extract from a conversation between speakers in Aberdeen:

F1054: An how, I mean how far back did they go or when did that stop? //Has it still no stopped?//
M1042: //Oh I don't know.//
F1041: //I dinnae ken.// I dinnae ken I I think it just stopped.

Lyngstad (2007) shows that non-standard negation in Glasgow is strongly constrained by social class in Glaswegian, with non-standard Scots forms restricted to working-class speakers. Local Scots forms are more likely in older working-class speakers; younger working-class speakers show local and non-local non-standard negative markers, including *innit*, as in: 'Aye, it's alright, innit?'.

An area of considerable but still under-researched difference between Scottish English and other varieties is that of modal auxiliary verbs (Millar 1993; Beal 1997). Earlier studies suggest that Scottish speakers avoid *shall* in favour of *will,* and *may* in favour of *can*. The raw search results for *'ll, shall, will, should, would, may, might, can, could* in the SCOTS data are suggestive; however, since the results include uses of *can, will, might, may* as nouns, they have to be treated with some caution (Figure 4).

Modal auxiliary	Occurrences in 810,803 words of speech
'll	2,922
shall	45
will	1,075
should	367
would	2,744
can	2,895
could	950
may	79
might	350

Figure 4: Occurrences of modal forms in the spoken part of the SCOTS corpus

The results suggest that the contracted *'ll* is the most common modal auxiliary form, closely followed by *can* and *would.* Issues of formality clearly affect modal usage in Scottish English. Future possibility is often expressed in speech using the adverb *maybe* in combination with *'ll /will,* as in

F1095: Mmhm We'll maybe go to the pictures and see that, will we?

The combination **ll+maybe* can be compared to *might* in the spoken part of the SCOTS data and the written records of speech, such as the records of the Scottish

Parliament and the Minutes of the Caledonian Philatelic Society. The written records of speech can be considered a formal register that might still be expected to bear some resemblance to spoken discourse. The amount of text in each part of the SCOTS corpus is of a comparable size, and so the results have not been normalised. Even so, as Figure 5 indicates, the combination *(wi)ll maybe* is avoided in written records of speech, where *might* seems to be preferred to express future possibility. In speech itself, *(wi)ll maybe* is preferred to *might*.

	Occurrences of *ll+maybe*	Occurrences of *might*
Spoken documents in SCOTS (810, 803 words)	812	350
Written records of speech in SCOTS (895,707 words)	0	1060

Figure 5: Comparison of *(wi)ll maybe* and *might in the SCOTS corpus*

A further feature of Scottish speech is the use of 'double modal' auxiliaries. While still attested by observers (Miller 1993: 119-120; Beal 1997: 368-370), they do not figure in the spoken part of the SCOTS data. However, there are various instances in the written part, mainly again in literary texts in broad Scots, but also in a solitary piece of personal correspondence from 1982:

> You'll can enjoy your holiday now, I'm sure.

Scottish English has long allowed a greater range of verbs in the progressive form than was conventionally found in other varieties of standard English. Verbs of cognition, perception and affect, such as *think, believe, see, love, like* were not usually found in the progressive form in standard English outside Scotland; however, *think, believe* and *see* are attested in Scottish English (Beal 1997: 372-373). In recent years, however, these verbs have been increasingly used in the progressive form in spoken English and corpus data provides some evidence for both traditional usage and innovative trends among older and younger speakers. The first example below is from a conversation between English users on the Isle of Skye, whose decade of birth ranges from the 1930s to the 1960s. In this instance another possible cause is transfer from Scottish Gaelic which, like Irish, shows the progressive aspect with this set of verbs:

> M1007: Participate in a game? I'm thinking maybe that's too big a
> M1008: //A bit formal for that.//
> M1055: //Too highfaluting//
> M1007: Too highfaluting, too formal //for Skye.//

While there are no examples of verbs of affect in the progressive form in the SCOTS data, the British National Corpus contains an excerpt from a medical consultation with evidence that the speaker is Scottish:

Aye, oh he loves that doesn't he? Aye. That's it. What about as far round as that high, nothing as far round here? No nothing no. Nothing up there? No, and a wee bit there. I'm liking this, I'm liking this.

Beal (1997: 373) suggests that in English generally the progressive form is being used with an increasing number of verbs; in this respect other varieties of English seem to be following the path taken earlier by Scots.

7 Discourse markers

There are various discourse markers that are identified with broad Scots and, to a lesser extent, standard Scottish English. The use of *see* as a topic marker remains common in Scottish speech, as in the following example:

> M642: //See your// hoose, John. We'll go on tae that. See your hoose? //Your hoose was eh//
> M608: //Aye.//
> F643: The forester's house.

However, as with *(wi)ll maybe,* this feature does not appear so commonly in written records of speech or in prepared speeches such as talks or lectures. There are no records of occurrences in the SCOTS data – which is not to say that the feature does not occur, only that if it does, occurrences are fewer than in spontaneous speech. Another conservative discourse marker in broad Scots speech is *ken,* which can also be used as a topic marker, or, in combination with *you/ye*, to indicate common ground:

> F940: //Ken what I said to them in England right when I went doon, I probably telt ye this a hundred times afore,// but the folk on the tape havenae heard it, so get in! [laugh] When I went doon tae England tae study at Northumbria University [laugh] right, no but we were talkin aboot alarm clocks an ken how in Argos they've got that fitba yin //the football one, [laugh] right, you used to, ye, when it gauns off in the mornin//
> M942: //[laugh]//
> M941: //You throw it at the wall.//
> […]
> F835: Sair leg, ye ken aye? Och aye!

Macaulay (2005) draws together evidence for social differences in discourse styles in Scottish English from a fine-grained analysis of a range of features, including discourse markers such as *you know* and *I mean,* which are more often found in adolescents. Another such feature noted by Macaulay (p. 81f.) is the use of 'nontraditional' *like,* as a discourse marker or as a quotative, which is used most frequently by middle-class girls in the Glasgow 1997 corpus. This feature, which is widespread in varieties of English across the world (Tagliamonte 2005; Buchstaller 2008), is also evident in SCOTS, as can be seen in the following excerpts from conversations between schoolgirls from NE Scotland, and students from Glasgow:

F835: //My one// my, my [laugh] Mrs [CENSORED: surname] was on the French exchange and she came up to me and goes, "I hear you've picked up a lad", and I goes //"Excuse me, that's my//
F833: //Oh yeah!// //[laugh]//
F835: //French exchange partner", and she was a girl [laugh].
[…]
F1155: //So I got in// I got in trouble the next day, he was like he was like "Who were you with last night?" I was like er "[CENSORED: forename]". He was like "Where were you?" I was like "At the pub". //He was like"Oh"//
F1154: //[laugh] [sniff]//
F1155: He was like "One of my friends said you were sitting with a guy", I was like "No, I wasn't". [laugh] //[laugh]//

Interestingly, and consistent with recent results for fine phonetic differences between *like* as a discourse marker and a quotative marker in New Zealand English (Drager 2009), Li Santi (2009) also finds fine phonetic differences in the realisation of discourse marker *like* in Scottish English according to pragmatic function.

8 The future for Standard English in Scotland

The discussion of Scottish English thus far suggests that despite considerable change in material culture and attitudes since the 1970s, there remains considerable truth in Aitken's (1979: 116) observation that 'there is still […] a vast amount of Scots material current in everyday spoken usage, of both middle-class and working-class Scottish speakers, as well as in our literary and oral traditions generally'. Scottish speakers and writers draw on broad Scots and English in a range of ways: the available lexical and grammatical forms are variously distinguished by formality, mode of discourse, meaning and pragmatic force. Scots forms may be overtly dropped into otherwise standard English speech and writing to mark contingent local or stereotypically national forms of identity. Other forms are used in spontaneous speech but avoided, consciously or not, in more formal registers. At the same time, and certainly at the level of phonology, Scots forms seem to act as a foil against which Standard Scottish English is constructed.

We have also seen that Scottish English is participating in national and global language changes. On the one hand, non-local, non-standard variants like TH-fronting and *innit* are appearing, albeit alongside the stable maintenance of local Scots forms. On the other, non-local *like* is proliferating in Standard Scottish English. Both kinds of change continue to keep the continuum distinctive. The mechanisms, both expected, relating to dialect contact, social practices and language attitudes, and unexpected, such as engaging with popular culture, are continuing to be explored (Stuart-Smith and Timmins 2009). Our scope has necessarily been limited in this chapter, but we note that ongoing research on Scottish English, for example, in the Borders (Llamas et al. 2009), and in Aberdeen (Brato 2008) will continue to complement the description provided here.

Finally, more research on Scottish English is needed, especially on morphology and syntax (Beal 1997), and in an integrated fashion across the

linguistic levels to help resolve the tensions between maintenance and innovation which are apparent at present. The advent of searchable digital corpora of Scottish speech and writing, public and private, offer a growing evidence base which is increasingly accessible to scholars who wish to embark on this work.

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