HISTORY AND PRESENT POSITION OF ENGLISH IN SCOTLAND[*]

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Abstract. The paper deals with a complex situation of English in Scotland. Basically, the English of Scotland is Scottish Standard English (SSE), just as Received Pronunciation might be assumed to be the English of England and General American the English of the USA. However, SSE forms just one end of a continuum at the other end of which lies Broad Scots. There is not a uniform view upon Scots; some claim it to be a separate language, others find it only a dialect of English. The paper seeks to describe the outlines of the situation in Scotland as the discussion has been very limited within English Studies in the Czech Republic. To be able to fully appreciate the problems concerned, a brief historical review is necessary. The present day matters, such as language planning, are discussed in the latter part of the paper.

1. Introduction

The language situation in Scotland is not at all straightforward. There are at least two languages currently spoken in Scotland: One of them is Scottish Gaelic, a language belonging to the Celtic branch of Indo-European languages. This language, which developed from Middle Irish together with Modern Irish and Manx, was once spoken throughout the whole Scottish Highlands and the Western Isles but now only around 50,000 people, living mainly in the Outer Hebrides, have some Gaelic ability, although it should be mentioned that revival efforts of recent decades are not negligible.

The other language belongs to the West Germanic branch of Indo-European languages and it is – of course – English. Scottish Gaelic co-existed with English for a long time in Scotland and bilingualism was common in a certain period of history, however, Gaelic influence upon English was relatively small, which will enable us to deal with the Germanic language in this paper quite separately without references to Celtic languages being necessary.

Quite deliberately, I am not saying just "English" because in fact there is not just one Germanic language spoken in Scotland but rather two; the other being what is usually called Scots. However, the question of English versus Scots is not at all a simple one. As will be explained later on, the difference between English and Scots is a result of a standard situation in which a single language develops differently in two geographical areas. According to Education Scotland, an executive agency of the Scottish Government, there are 1.6 million speakers of Scots in Scotland today, but on the other hand, there are a sig-

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nificant number of people nowadays by whom Scots is perceived as nothing more than a corrupt form of English. It is my view that far fewer inhabitants of Scotland see Scots as an indisputable language proudly used by the Scottish people.

Tom McArthur (McArthur 1998) offers some pros and cons for the decision whether or not Scots should be accepted as a language in its own right. Proponents of the idea of Scots as a dialect of English would generally argue that its grammatical and lexical structure is not different enough to make it a language as such. The problem with such a statement is that there are no rules (official or unofficial) that would allow us to distinguish between languages based on their linguistic structures. In fact, such rules would be rather impossible considering the very nature of languages. On the other hand, the supporters of Scots as a separate language are convinced that Scots has characteristics that should not leave us doubtful about its position as a genuine language. According to their arguments, Scots divides into its own dialects, it has a long and famous literary tradition, it is recognized by the UK government as a regional language under the European Charter for Regional or Minority Languages, and its sound system, grammar and vocabulary indeed are quite different from English.

The debate whether Scots is a dialect of English or a language as such has been long-lasting and probably will not be resolved in the near future (this is not the aim of this paper either), however, it reflects its present-day infirm position. As pointed above, there is no proper definition of a language, which is why the question of Scots is probably next to impossible to resolve. A popular aphorism states that "a language is a dialect with an army and navy"; such a view – if embraced – necessarily condemns Scots to remain a mere dialect for the time being, since the present political conditions in the UK are not really favourable towards acknowledging Scots as a proper language: it is not a language of instruction in schools and despite its above mentioned recognition as a "regional language" under the Charter and even though the Scottish government classified it as a "traditional language" it has no role in the country's administration and in fact has no official status. Comparison with Scottish Gaelic – which is at hand since both Gaelic and Scots are in great danger of language death – reveals that considerable attention has been paid to the former, but only a little to the latter. There is a Gaelic Language Act of 2005 aiming "to [secure] the status of the Gaelic language as an official language of Scotland commanding equal respect to the English language"; there are schools (even a college) providing Gaelic media education; there is BBC Alba offering TV and radio programmes in Gaelic; there are many official publications and information brochures of various organisations that are available in Gaelic translation. But none of that applies to Scots even though the need of its wider promotion is officially acknowledged from time to time. On the other hand, it is necessary to admit that the position of Scots has much changed in the past decades, too. There is the Scottish Government-funded "Scottish Language Dictionaries", a research organisation responsible for compiling the authoritative dictionaries of Scots. There is the Ministry for Learning, Science and Scotland's Languages, created in 2011 and responsible for Gaelic and Scots among others (it is a junior ministerial post reporting to the Cabinet Secretary for Education and Lifelong Learning and as such the Minister does not attend the Scottish Cabinet). There is a Cross-Party Group within the Scottish Parliament, called "Scots Language", the purpose of which is to promote the language and its heritage. There is *Modren Scots Grammar: Wirkin wi Wirds* (published in 2012 and written entirely in

Scots) that seeks to be the first authoritative grammar book of Scots. There is also *Cairn*, an academic journal focused on Scots and written in Scots. But in spite of all that, much work still needs to be done if Scots is to become the true national language of Scotland (or one of such languages, since Scottish Gaelic deserves the same status).

Apart from "an army and navy" a genuine and living language needs also – and probably even more importantly – the "mass" of its speakers, i.e. people who identify themselves with the language, who take it for granted that what they speak is a certain language and not a different one. And this is what Scots unfortunately lacks, too. On the one hand it seems that many people claim that what they speak is not the English of England but the Scottish tongue, or Scots. But on the other, whenever this tongue is heard in the public – on the television for example – its speaker is very often deemed to be "uneducated" or "working-class". A proper variety to compare with is then the one that is as close as possible to the standard southern British variety – "BBC English", "Oxford English", "Received Pronunciation", or simply Standard English (SE) as I am going to call it. And finally, traditional Scots with its lexicon, pronunciation and grammatical structures, as it is described in many academic texts, is the language of the past that is not identified with by great numbers of young people, it is "the language of the grandparents".

Janson (2002) argues that a full language requires a codified written form, needs to be promoted thoroughly by the national authorities and must be accepted as such by its speakers who are proud of using it. In contrast to that, Scots orthography is not at all standardized, it is not an official language of any united Scottish nation, and some of its speakers would possibly feel humiliated if identified as not speaking the prestigious and globally accepted English. It is true that many educated Scots speakers are proud of their mother tongue and are prepared to argue for the necessity to revive its famous history, however, their argument would most probably be presented in Standard English. On the other hand, Scots is now used on an everyday basis mostly by working class speakers, who themselves may feel it as a form of "bad English" spoken by those who are not able to master the proper language. This sad fact is exemplified by the author of *Luath Scots Language Learner*, "the first-ever Scots language course", who advises the students not to try to use Scots immediately in Scotland since some Scottish people might think that they are being mocked and made fun of (see Wilson 2002: 15).

Having said that, it is my belief that there is a potential for Scots to become a full language in terms by which languages are generally perceived. It will be explained later in this text that at one time in history it was such a language – or at least it was on the way to becoming one. However, much work has to be done if Scots is to acquire the indisputable status of a language.

2. A Summary of the Historical Development of English in Scotland and Scots

English came to the British Isles during the 5th century AD together with the Germanic tribes (Angles, Saxons, and Jutes) that came primarily from what later became known as Frisia. They occupied the eastern shores of Britain and at roughly the same time another nation came to live in the west. They were the Irish (called *Scotti* by the Romans), who in the middle of the first millennium AD expanded the Ulster kingdom of Dál Riata to in-

clude today's south-western Scotland. During the following centuries there were power struggles between them and the Picts, who lived in the north-east, until in the middle of the 9th century Dál Riata and Pictland were united under the rule of Kenneth MacAlpin. (Both the Irish and the Picts spoke Celtic languages, however, the Goidelic language of the Irish gained the upper hand over the Brythonic language of the Picts and gradually developed into modern Scottish Gaelic.) After that the newly established kingdom of Alba (a Gaelic name for Scotland, both then and now) became one of the powers that influenced the overall political development of Britain.

The Germanic tribes' language of those early days is now known as Old English. However, this name does not denote a single and coherent language, but rather a group of dialects reflecting the original homes of the newcomers. Of those dialects, it was West Saxon, the language of King Alfred the Great, primarily spoken in the kingdom of Wessex, that eventually came to dominate and can be considered the original predecessor of Modern English. On the other hand, it was another dialect of Old English, namely the Anglian dialect spoken throughout the north of England that developed during the centuries into what we now call Scots.

In the 8th century another Germanic tribe came to conquer the shores of Britain. These were the Vikings, who occupied the northern and western isles of Scotland and the central part of present-day England. The Vikings' language left indelible traces upon English as spoken both in England and in Scotland. We call the language Old Norse and it developed during the following centuries into the modern North Germanic languages. The Vikings in Britain occupied a territory now known as the Danelaw comprising modern northern and eastern England. Old Norse and Old English were related and it is possible that they were at least to some extent mutually intelligible. The speech communities of the Anglo-Saxons and the Vikings influenced each other and as a result a mixed language developed, sometimes called "Anglo-Scandinavian", the impact of which extended across the borders of the Danelaw. The cross-border trade required unambiguous formulations, which might have been a cause of the great grammar shift, when the complex system of declinations of Old English was gradually lost and English became an uninflected language.

In Scotland the influence of Old Norse was even greater. Traditional Scots includes a great many Scandinavian loanwords (though a far smaller number would be known to current speakers), such as *bairn* (child), *skelp* (hit), *flit* (move house), *nieve* (fist), etc. Apart from vocabulary, Scottish pronunciation was influenced, too. Murison (1979) mentions the absence of palatalization of velar consonants before front vowels in Old Norse, which happened in Old English, resulting in speakers of Scots pronouncing /k/ and /g/ where English has /tʃ/ (or /ʃ/) and /dʒ/, respectively. Examples include pairs such as *kirk – church, breeks – breeches, skirl – shrill, brig – bridge, rig – ridge*, etc. Also, Germanic /-au-/ was retained in Scots, as in *loup* (leap), *coup* (buy and sell, etymologically derived from Old English *cēap* – bargain – just as modern English *cheap*), or *nowt* (cattle, cf. archaic English *neat*).

The linguistic result of the existence of the Danelaw together with changes brought after the Norman Conquest of 1066 by people speaking French (or, strictly speaking, Old Norman, a northern variety of Old French) is now referred to as Middle English when speaking of the language of England, or Older Scots when discussing the language variety of Scotland. The traditional division of Scots into historical periods is thus as follows:

Old English	from the arrival of the Germanic tribes to 1066
Older Scots	from 1066 to 1700
Pre-literary Scots	1066–1375
Early Scots	1375–1450
Middle Scots	1450–1700
Modern Scots	from 1700 to present

Before the coming of the Normans the Gaelic Kingdom of Scotland was already a well-established political power; in 1018 Malcolm II won the decisive Battle of Carham against the Angles and extended the area of the Kingdom southwards to the river Tweed. However, after the establishment of Norman French rule in England in 1066 the Scottish and English aristocracies and political authorities gradually became more and more interconnected and as a result the English language spread northwards and northeastwards further into Scotland. The Germanic language thus expanded at the expense of the Celtic one, while – owing to geographical distance and the original differences within Old English – the development of English in Scotland was somewhat different from that in England.

It is to be realized that until the end of the 13th century, Scotland was predominantly a Gaelic-speaking country. Nevertheless, in the 11th and 12th centuries there was large scale immigration to Scotland from England, which of course brought English speakers, and also those from Scandinavia, the Netherlands and Flanders. This meant bringing speakers of Germanic languages for whom it was naturally easier to adopt English than Gaelic. English thus served as *lingua franca* (having been used by Gaelic-speakers for trading purposes, too), which helped its expansion. Speaking about English having been brought to Scotland, we should still probably prefer the term "Anglo-Scandinavian", however, at that time the name *Inglis* was used to refer to it, as opposed to *Erse*, that is "Irish", or "Gaelic".

When speaking about English influence in Scotland, it is important to realize that its extent hardly exceeded the Highland boundary. The Hebrides went under Norse control already before the 9th century and remained thus until 1266 when the Treaty of Perth was signed and the islands, including the Isle of Man, were seized by the Kingdom of Scotland (and fell under Gaelic influence, not English). Orkney and Shetland were colonized by Norway (that became dominated by Denmark at the end of the 14th century). There was a gradually growing Scottish influence on the islands but they were officially joined to Scotland only in 1472.

In the rest of today's Scotland we witnessed an increasing use of the *Inglis* language for communicative purposes that were previously reserved for French or Latin only – the crucial year is 1390 when the Acts of the Scottish Parliament began to be recorded in the vernacular. The development of the Germanic language in Scotland at that time is characterized by a continuous divergence from England's dialects, especially in its vocabulary (the phonology and grammar remaining rather similar to those of northern England). During both the early and Middle Scots period there was a relatively greater impact of borrowings from French in Scots comparing with English (the explanation may be looked for in the "Auld Alliance" between the kingdoms of Scotland and France which lasted from 1295 to 1560). Also, many French loanwords in Scots tended to be of Norman origin, while the cognates in English have their origin in the Parisian variety of French. The "doublets" (see Murison 1979: 7) include *spulyie* ['spuli] */ spoil, ulyie* ['uli] */ oil, cunyie* ['kunji] */ coin, campioun* [ˈkampɪən] */ champion, kinch* [kɪnʃ] */ chance.*

As the language further diverged from English we are entering a period when Scots became a genuine language with its heyday in the Middle Scots phase. It was also at the end of the 15th and the beginning of the 16th century that the name *Scottis* began to be used for the Germanic language of Scotland). After 1450 it was firmly established at all levels of communication having characteristics of a full national language. If the historical development had taken a different direction at that time and Scotland had remained an independent country with its own politics, its people would most probably speak a language distinct from English just as Dutch is distinct from German or Afrikaans from Dutch. However, there was no obstacle for English to continue its expansion and while still in the Middle Scots period, Scots began to decline as a national language. But not only politics is to blame; there are other reasons. The invention and spread of printing, for example, resulted in extensive anglicization of Scottish written texts. The simple fact that English printers were more productive than Scottish ones is important. Moreover, many printers based in Scotland (who might have been Englishmen or foreigners familiarized with English texts), in order to make their books more marketable, opted to use English spelling and grammar norms and thus made the two languages mutually intelligible in not only their spoken but also written forms. Many spelling forms typical of Middle Scots were being replaced by those used in England. For example, before 1520 Scottish printers always used *quh-/qu-/qw-* in words that had (and have) *wh-* in their English counterparts (e.g. *quhare*, *quhome* and *quhirill* for *where*, *whom* and *whirl*, respectively), but after 1580 the English usage increased dramatically becoming almost the only form used after 1650 (research made by Amy J. Devitt, cited by Crystal 1995: 330). Similar findings apply to the past tense ending that changed from *-it* to *-ed*, the present participle (*-and* becoming *-ing*), or to the negative particles *na* and *nocht* which became *no* and *not*, respectively.

Of course, the process of anglicization was complete after the Union of Crowns in 1603 and finally the Union of Parliaments in 1707. Subsequently it was English that was the only official language of the newly established Great Britain. Lectures on proper elocution became common (not only in Scotland but throughout Britain) enthusiastically attended by all those who wanted to speak "good" English. On the other hand, many advised not to get rid of the traces of Scottish pronunciation completely, which would make one's speech ridiculous, but rather attempt plain and unaffected English that would retain some of the characteristic regional features. The result is what we now call "Scottish Standard English", a variety of English that is to be heard in media, at schools, in parliament etc. No proper description of SSE is possible as the speaker's age region of origin almost always plays some role. It is basically Standard English with its grammatical rules as taught in classrooms, the pronunciation of which is (more or less) distinctively Scottish, and which contains a few typically Scottish lexical items. It would be a mistake to perceive SSE as today's form of Scots, the "national language" of Scotland in the 16th century. SSE is a regional variety of English that – unlike many other English accents – is not deemed socially inferior and undesirable. The original Scots language now survives (of course in a form that has changed during the centuries) only in traditional rural areas where it is used predominantly by old people, and partly among the urban working class where it has acquired a new form as only certain characteristics of Scots remain, while many new slang expressions appear and general British and/or American forms are adopted.

3. Some Examples of Aspects of Scots and Scottish Usage of English

The traditional Scots language is characterized by its own phonology, morphology, syntax and lexicon, all of which are different from Standard English. However, the grammatical differences are not extensive, and most of the forms can be heard in other dialects of English, too. What follows is a very brief introduction to this field.

3.1 Morphology

As far as morphology is concerned, some examples are definitely worth mentioning. In traditional Scots, plural of some nouns can be formed irregularly – sometimes an -*n* sound is added, which was a common means in earlier phases of English (and still is present in a tiny remnant of exceptions: *ox – oxen, brother – brethren, and child – children*). Thus, the plural of *ee* ("eye") is *een*, *tree* changes into *treen*, *shae* ("shoe") has *shuin*, and *kyne* is the plural of *cou* ("cow"). It is to be noted that these forms are virtually non-existent among the majority of current speakers.

It is a common feature of Scots (and many other English dialects) to tend towards regularity or certain generalization where SE is irregular. For example the reflexive pronouns *hisself* and *theirselves* follow the regular pattern of *myself* and *yourself*. The stand-alone possessive pronoun *mines* is just as regular as other forms such as *yours* or *theirs*.

Some verbs whose past tense forms are irregular in SE are regular in Scots: *tell – tellt – tellt, sell – sellt – sellt, keep – keepit – keepit* (regular English suffix -*(e)d* is used, being realized as -*t* in Scottish pronunciation). There are other verbs where generalization takes place: past participle forms are used to indicate past tense (*see/seen/seen, do/done/done*), or the preterite form is used in place of the past participle (*break/broke/broke, go/went/went*).

A frequent form is the personal pronoun *yous* used as a plural of *you*. Quite often it has a form of *yous yins* ("you ones").

3.1 Syntax

There are many syntactical features that differ from SE usage, however, as mentioned above, most of them are found not only in Scotland but in other regions of Great Britain, too. A construction that is attested only in Scotland (and some northern English dialects) is the usage of double modals. (In fact, double modal constructions are found also in Southern American English where it is believed that they were introduced by Scottish immigrants.) This usage enables constructions such as: *He might can go / He might should do it / Will he can come on Friday? / I'll can do it*. A non-standard characteristic of some Scottish modal verbs (basically just *can* and *could*) is its usage after the indicator *to*, which results in, e.g.: *You have to can drive a car to get that job / I'd like to could do that*. However, such constructions are limited to a small number of traditional and rural dialects and most Scottish people today would find them not only grammatically incorrect but also quite odd.

Typically Scottish are the negative forms with the enclitic -*nae* (most usually pronounced [nə] but appearing also as [ne], [nɪ] or [nɛ] in various dialects). Thus, sentences such as *He isn't coming*, *I can't go* and *It didn't help* are realized in Scots as *He isnae com-*

ing, *I cannae go* and *It didnae help*, respectively. The adverb *not* usually has the form of *no*, realized as [no(:)] or *nae* [ne(:)] in northern dialects. It is pronounced thus in all positions and is not a result of fast or "lazy" speech. Its usage is similar to SE: *He's no coming / He's no come yet / Na, he's no* (the pronunciation of the negative response in the last example – SE *no* – will be closest to [nɐ] in Scots). The Scottish adverb *no* is used in its independent form also in interrogative senses where SE would favour rather the enclitic *n't*, as in: *Are you no coming with us?* (cf. SE "Aren't you coming with us?"). This preference is quite common also in tag questions, as in: *You're coming with us, are you no?* (cf. SE "You're coming with us, aren't you?)

Scots and Scottish English both tend to use progressive verb forms more often than SE, namely with verbs of perception and verbs of mental activity that in SE are used almost exclusively in a simple form: *I was hearing you were late for school this morning / I'm wanting a drink / I'm not liking it / I'm thinking he won't make it*.

Quite typical of colloquial speech are forms used to denote measurements in the case of which SE requires plural noun whereas Scots employs singular (as do other Germanic languages): *he weighs fifteen stone*, *five year ago*, *(it's) two meter long* (cf. German "zwei Meter lang").

As compared with SE, Scottish English (Scots) has a different usage of definite articles, especially in case of various public institutions: *in the hospital* (SE "in hospital"), *at the school* (SE "at school"), *at the kirk* (SE "in church"), *in the jail* (SE "in jail"). There are also other expressions, typically Scottish, that make use of "the", such as: *the day* (= "today"), *the morn* (= "tomorrow"), *the now* (= "now"), *in the house* (= "at home"), *over the phone* (= "by phone"), *up the stair* (= "upstairs"), *the both of [them]* (= "both of [them]").

There are also differences between SE and Scottish English in the system of prepositions. Examples are abundant, the following being just a few of them: *angry at s.b.* (SE has *with*), *not to be for any use* (*of* in SE), *to be married on to s.b.* (SE has just *to*) etc. Passive voice that takes the preposition *by* in SE can be expressed using *from* or *with* in Scottish English (*frightened from s.t. / impressed with s.t.*). SE *from* used to express source is frequently replaced by *off* in Scottish English, as in: *I got the book off him*.

Some differences relate to the usage of relative clauses. In both SE and Scottish English, a relative pronoun may be omitted if it is not the subject of the relative clause: *The man (who) we met yesterday was my brother)*. If the pronoun is also the subject of the clause its omission in SE is generally impermissible, however, such constructions do occur in Scottish English: *Who was the man went to the cinema with you?* Oftentimes, the relative pronoun *whose* is replaced by one of three constructions used in the following examples: (1) *The man that's son lives in Glasgow.* (2) *The man that his son lives in Glasgow.* (3) *The man that his son lives in Glasgow of.*

3.3 Phonology

Possibly, it is phonology that forms the basis of the difference between SE and Scots. A speaker can be easily identified as a Scot after a few words because their pronunciation is unmistakably Scottish. However, as was the case before, it is rather impossible to define a distinct Scottish accent as there are many dialects within the area of Scotland that differ considerably. In the following paragraphs I will mention the most important features.

First of all, Scottish English (Scots) is rhotic. On the other hand, it is becoming evident that there has been an overall decrease of rhoticity in Scotland. As for the phonetics of the consonant <r>, it is quite often not realized as an alveolar approximant [ɹ] of SE but rather as a tap [ɾ] or even trill [r].

Modern SE is characterized by what is usually referred to as the "nurse merger", which is illustrated by the spelling of some words. Middle English had different vowels before non-prevocalic /r/ in words as *work* [ʌ], *kirk* [ɪ] and *herd* [ɛ], while in modern SE they all merged into open-mid central [ɜ]. This merger did not occur in Scotland.

Very typical of Scottish accents is the pronunciation of a monophthong in words such as *say* or *day* [-eː] and *go* or *low* [-oː] where SE has diphthongs: [-eɪ] and [-əʊ]/[-oʊ], respectively.

Also quite common is the epenthetic vowel [ə] inserted into some clusters containing /r/ or /l/, e.g. *girl* [gʌrəl], *film* [filəm], *umbrella* [ʌmbəˈrɛlə], Burns [bʌrənz]. This feature is very frequent in Scottish Gaelic and it is possible that from Gaelic it spread into Scots and Scottish English.

In Scots there are to be found many other vocalic changes if compared with SE; examples include (it is to be noted that the patterns are not exclusive and there are many exceptions):

- SE [ɑ] changes into [ɛ] before /r/ and fricatives: *arm, card, heart, father, path, after, Africa, glass*, etc. This feature is similar to the "trap-bath split" which distinguishes American from British English, but not quite the same. American English never has the "flat a" (which is not [ɛ] in this variety but [æ]) before /r/, on the other hand the distinction is present in certain consonantal clusters (namely /ns, nt, mpl/) where Scots has the same vowel as SE (*chance, plant, sample*).
- SE [ɔː] changes into [eː]: *floor, more, sore, broad*, etc.
- SE [ɛ] changes into [i]: *bread, dead, deaf, head, well*, etc.

Some differences are related to the Great Vowel Shift, the development of which was different in the North (including Northern England, too) and in the South of the British Isle:

- The change from [-u-] into [-aʊ-] did not happen in the North resulting in the typical pronunciation of such words as *house, town* and *brown*.
- Middle English [oː] changed into [uː] in the South, but it developed into [iː] in the North: *boot, fool, tool*, etc. There are exceptions in SE (*blood, flood*) which nevertheless followed the northern pattern in Scotland (just as they did follow the southern pattern in some dialects of England).
- Middle English [iː] changed into [ʌɪ] in southern English as opposed to [ɛi]/[əi] in Scots: *bite, ride, time*, etc.

The system of Scottish consonants differs, too. Scots is characterized by the presence of velar fricative [x] (along with the broad vowels /a, o, u/) and the palatal fricative [ç] (along with the slender vowels /e, i/). An archetypal example is the Scottish word *loch*, while otherwise these fricatives are used only in certain proper names and in traditional (possibly historical) rural dialects (brought [brɔxt], daughter [ˈdɔxtər], night [nɪçt]).

These fricatives represent the preservation of consonants that were present in older forms of English but have disappeared in its modern form. This is also the case of labial-velar fricative [ʍ], which is a realization of the initial consonantal cluster *wh-*. It means that pairs of words such as *whale – wale, where – wear, which – witch, what – watt* are not homonyms for Scottish speakers.

3.4 Lexicon

The Scottish lexicon is immense. The *Scottish National Dictionary*, that was compiled between 1931 and 1976 and that covers vocabulary from the 18th century to the 1970s, has ten volumes. However, it is important to say that vast majority of the specifically Scottish entries would be most probably unknown to today's inhabitants of Scotland since many of the genuine Scottish words are to a great extent outdated and not used any more. Also, this dictionary contains entries from all Scottish dialects, each of which made use of only a portion of them.

An important reason for the obsolescence of a lot of Scottish words is that they were connected to the traditional way of life and traditional occupations that only have little reflection in today's life style.

I believe it is useful to divide the Scottish vocabulary into the following groups:

- Cognates with English, which form a great portion of lexical entries. In this case it is oftentimes difficult to decide whether a specific word is a genuine Scottish word or just a different pronunciation of a single word shared with English. Many times the Scottish equivalent may be spelled differently (while there is no general agreement on orthography) but otherwise would represent the same word: Scottish *toun* [tun] has a different vowel than English *town* [taʊn] just as English *privacy* [ˈprɪvəsi] and American *privacy* [ˈprʌɪvəsi] differ in a pronunciation of a single vowel.
- Loanwords from Scandinavian languages. The Scandinavian presence in Scotland was long-lasting and many words were borrowed. As Scandinavian languages are Germanic just as English, some Scottish words have close cognates in SE; for example the above mentioned *kirk – church*. Some words are quite widespread in Scotland while no similar word is to be found in English, such as the archetypal Scottish word *bairn* ("child") which is *barn* in Swedish, Danish and Norwegian. (There was a word *bearn* in Old English meaning "child" but it did not survive into Modern English.) And there are a great many other words found in dictionaries, however, most of them are forgotten now because of the reasons mentioned above. As the Scandinavian presence was much longer in the Northern Isles – Orkney and especially Shetland – their traditional dialects abound with Scandinavian loanwords, but only a tiny portion of them are still used by current speakers
- Loanwords from French. The influence that French had on English was immense and the reasons are well-known. The long-lasting "Auld Alliance" between the kingdoms of Scotland and France in its broadest sense is responsible for the fact that French loanwords in Scots are even more abundant than in the case of Eng-

lish. Words like *asheet* ("dish"), *douce* ("sedate") or *fash* ("to feel worried") are still in current use.

- Loanwords from Scottish Gaelic. Scots and Gaelic have coexisted in Scotland for many centuries. Given this, it is fairly surprising that only a relatively small number of Gaelic words made it into Scots and Scottish English. Most of them are geographical terms describing features of the Scottish landscape (and as such they are not unknown to speakers of southern English either): *loch, glen, crag, bog,* etc. The same applies to terms connected with the genuine culture of the Gaels: *sporran* (a leather pouch worn around the waist in front of the kilt as part of the Highland dress), *skean* (a ceremonial knife worn with a kilt), *quaich* (a shallow drinking cup with two handles). There are not many words of Gaelic origin that are part of modern everyday Scots/Scottish English/SE vocabulary. A few words made it to general English wordstock, such as *slogan* (from *sluagh-ghairm*, "people's call"), *galore* (from *gu leòr*, "enough"), *gob* (from *gob*, "beak") and *bard*, the last of which is generally Celtic rather than just Gaelic word. Other words are included in the Scottish lexicon, but their usage definitely depends on regional, social, educational and age characteristics; examples include: *Sassenach* (derogatory term for "Englishman", from *Sasannach* meaning the same, but without the disparaging connotations), *bodach* ("old man", from *bodach* with the same meaning), *clachan* (village, from *clachan* with the same meaning), *caurie-haundit* ("left-handed"/"awkward", from *cearr* meaning "wrong"/"left"), *keelie* ("rough male urban person", from *gille*, "boy"), *capercaillie* ("wood grouse", from *capall coille*, literally "horse of the wood").

3.5 Scottish Standard English

It has been mentioned before that SSE is basically SE with Scottish pronunciation. Therefore nothing that was said above about morphology and syntax applies to SSE. It is pronunciation that distinguishes SSE from SE, just as is – more or less – the case of General American. Rhoticity, the epenthetic vowel [ə], the fricatives [x]/[ç] (in Scottish words like *loch* but never in shared words like "night") and [ʍ], pronunciation of final [-eɪ] and [-oʊ] as [-e:] and [-o:], the opposition of Scottish [əi] and English [ʌɪ] – these are the features that can be heard from teachers, politicians etc. As for the vocabulary, a typical Scottish word may be used in order to express one's Scottish affiliation, the Scottish attitude. Thus, a TV news reader may sum up the weather forecast as a *dreich* day ([dri:ç], "bleak") or a university professor may invite his colleague for a *wee dram* ("small drink") of whisky. On the other hand, many other expressions and differences in pronunciation would be deemed to be improper, slang, uneducated, dialectal, etc.

3.6 Highland English

In order that the account of English in Scotland is complete, the variety that is usually referred to as "Highland (and Island) English" should be mentioned. Basically it is English used by people living in the Highlands and the Western Isles of Scotland, whose first language is Scottish Gaelic and who therefore use Gaelic grammatical and phonological fea-

tures. However, it would not be a great exaggeration to say that nowadays there are no such people. An absolute majority of Gaelic speakers are fully bi-lingual and equally comfortable in English as they are in Gaelic. Possibly only some rather old people would still say *He's after going* (He has gone) or *I doesn't know*. Also Gaelic pronunciation is not at all common, as everybody is now exposed to English from birth. Examples would include e.g. pre-aspiration (very common in Gaelic) of voiceless stops ("water" pronounced as [ˈwɔʰtə], "happen" as [ˈhaʰpən]), lack of voice-voiceless opposition of stops (also standard in Gaelic) resulting in realizations such as "bring" [prɪŋ] or "feed" [fiːt], or lack of alveolar and post-alveolar fricatives [z] and [ʒ], giving "pleasure" [ˈplɛʃər] or "scissor" [ˈsɪsər], the latter showing yet another feature, namely the use of singular for normally plural nouns.

4. Conclusion

In the above paragraphs the complicated position of English (or English and Scots) in Scotland was described. Once in history lowland Scotland had its own language, known as Scots, distinct from the language of England (which is a claim that is disputed by some, though). Historically the languages were closely related to each other: they both descended from Old English and both were very much affected by Scandinavian languages and later by French. They were thus probably always mutually understandable to a great extent (at least with some effort) and therefore the distinction between two separate languages has always been a reflection of social perception rather than a contrast in linguistic categories such as lexis and grammar. Due to historical developments the social situation of Scots deteriorated and in the 19th century it began to be viewed as nothing but an inferior and bad form of English. It was only in the second half of the 20th century that Scots began to be discussed as a language in its own right capable of becoming a language of legislation, instruction in schools and general use at all levels of social interaction.

The revival is part of the generally improved attitudes of modern society towards minority and traditional cultures. Supporting an original culture of a nation is by all means an important and correct decision but in Scotland the situation is not at all straightforward. The connection to England has been too long and too close. Any language planning in Scotland has to conform to that fact. It seems appropriate to try to improve the status of Scots which is still stigmatised as being the speech of uneducated, socially marginal classes. Levelling the position of Scots with that of Scottish Standard English would definitely benefit the social situation of its speakers as seen both by others and by themselves. On the other hand, being a native speaker of English is nowadays an indisputable advantage that should not be taken away from people in Scotland for example by failing to teach English to pupils in schools. However, this concern seems to be quite irrelevant considering the present circumstances in Scotland, since English is firmly established there.

It is important to bear in mind that the distinction between languages is sometimes only a matter of abstract conceptualization. Czech and Slovak, for example, are almost 100 per cent mutually understandable, yet no one denies that they are two separate languages. What matters is that they are accepted by their speakers separate. This is far more important than differences in vocabulary, morphology and syntax.

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