

**The Use of the Definite Article in Scots English
and its Relation to Gaelic, Middle English and Old English**

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Tämän pro gradu –tutkielman tarkoituksena on tarkastella määräisen artikkelin käyttöä skottienglannissa sekä keskienglannin ja gaelin vaikutusta tämän käytön muotoutumiseen. Aluksi keskityn määrittelemään keskeiset termit ja luomaan katsauksen kielimuotojen historiaan sekä lingvistiseen olemukseen. Tämän jälkeen luon yleiskatsauksen Skotlannin alueen poliittiseen, kulttuuriseen ja kielelliseen historiaan.

Tutkielmani teoreettisena pohjana käytän kielikontakti-teoriaa. Kun kaksi tai useampi kieli on maantieteellisesti ja kulttuurisesti kosketuksissa toisiinsa, on usein tämän kielikontaktin seurauksena se, että joko yksi tai useampi kieli saa vaikutteita toisiltaan esimerkiksi lainasanojen muodossa. Se, kuinka syväälle kielen rakenteisiin tämä vaikutus ulottuu, riippuu mm. kontaktin pituudesta ja intensiivisyydestä sekä kielten välisistä kulttuurisista, poliittisista ym. suhteista. Äärimmillään intensiivinen kielikontakti, etenkin jos kosketuksissa olevat kieliryhmät ovat kulttuurisesti tai lukumäärältään eriarvoisia, voi johtaa siihen että jonkin kielen (L1) puhujat siirtyvät vähitellen käyttämään toista kieltä joko tietyissä tilanteissa tai kokonaan. Näissä tapauksissa alkuperäisen L1 kielen tietyt lingvistiset piirteet saattavat siirtyä vaihtelevissa määrin tavoiteltuun kohdekieleen (TL), joissakin tapauksissa luoden kokonaan uuden kielimuodon.

Varsinaisen tutkimuskohteeni on, kuinka kielikontakti keskienglannin ja etenkin gaelin kanssa on vaikuttanut määräisen artikkelin käyttöön skottienglannissa. Tutkimuksessani käytän perustana skotin ja skottienglannin sanakirjoja, joiden pohjalta olen jakanut skottienglannin määräisen artikkelin käytön 18 kategoriaan perustuen siihen, missä yhteyksissä artikkelin käyttö poikkeaa standardienglannista. Tämän jälkeen keskityn tutkimaan ja analysoimaan yksityiskohtaisesti jokaisen kategorian vertailemalla sen edustaman käytön eroja ja yhtäläisyyksiä gaelin kieleen ja keskienglantiin.

Määräisen artikkelin käyttö skottienglannissa voidaan jakaa viiteen ryhmään sen perusteella, minkä kielen vaikutuksesta käyttö näyttäisi tulleen skottienglantiin: (1) ne käytöt, jotka ovat tulleet gaelin kielestä, (2) ne käytöt, jotka ovat tulleet keskienglannista, (3) ne käytöt, jotka esiintyvät sekä keskienglannissa että gaelissa, (4) ne käytöt, jotka ovat syntyneet skottienglannin oman sisäisen kehityksen tuloksena ja (5) ne käytöt, jotka ovat tulleet ranskan kielen vaikutuksesta. Vaikkakaan kaikkien käyttöjen alkuperää ei voida aukottomasti todistaa, voidaan kuitenkin todeta, että gaelin vaikutus skottienglannin määräisen artikkelin käyttöön on ollut huomattava.

Avainsanat: Scots, Scots English, the definite article, skottienglanti, määräinen artikkeli

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Map 1. Scotland: relevant regions

1 Introduction

Scotland has always had more than one language within her. The languages have always been in contact with each other, and some have thrived at the expense of others. The country's political, social, and linguistic history has created the unique three-fold linguistic present which consists of Scots, Scottish Standard English, and Gaelic.

In this thesis, I will look at the use of one particular linguistic feature of Scots English, the definite article, and compare its use to that of the languages that are or have been in close contact with it; Gaelic, Old English, and Middle English. The main aim is to investigate whether the unique usage of the article in Scots English has come about through language contact with its Celtic and Anglian historical neighbours, particularly Gaelic. After all, it has been

an established fact of linguistic scholarship that Scots owes relatively little to Gaelic, at least on the lexical level: that of the non-Anglic influences on the distinctive Scots vocabulary, Norse and Plattdeutsch have been the most important, French a rather poor third, and Gaelic not even in the running. (McClure 1986: 85)

I begin by giving the necessary background to the linguistic situation of present-day Scotland by way of defining the terminology, the general concepts, and the linguistic complexity of the speech varieties (chapter 2). Equally, no study of a present-day feature of Scots English can be complete without a discussion of the country's linguistic, but also political and cultural history. An overview of this is given in chapter 3.

When looking at such "unexpected features of extraterritorial varieties of English" (Hickey 1995: 109) as the definite article, it is necessary to analyze the role of language contact and preservation, but also to consider any other developments outside the contact situation. In this thesis, the theoretical framework of contact linguistics, and especially the mechanisms of contact-induced language change, is used (chapter 4). Language contact theory is of particular

relevance in an area such as Scotland, where numerous speech varieties have emerged, dominated, subsided and disappeared throughout recorded history.

The form and history of the definite article in Old English (OE), Middle English (ME), and Gaelic are then briefly introduced (chapter 5.1) before proceeding to the main study of this thesis (chapter 5.2). I firstly establish a comprehensive list of the ways in which the definite article is used in Scots English (where it differs from that of Standard English), and then examine each point in detail by comparing and contrasting them to Gaelic, OE, and ME to establish their origin.

2 Present-day Languages of Scotland: Terminology

There is a great variety of terminology for the language varieties of Scotland; *Scots*, *Scotch*, *Scots English*, *Scotch English*, *Scottish English*, *Scottish Standard English*, *Lowland English*, *Lowland Scots*, *Lowland Scotch* and *Highland and Island English* are a selection of a few names given for Scotland's speech variations.

Similarly, there exists a multiplicity of viewpoints when it comes to defining what is "Scottish English" or "Scots". Each linguist seems to have their own suggestion for the two "opposing terms", as McClure calls them (1994: 24), and where the two terms have been deemed insufficient, linguists have suggested terms of their own¹. The haziness of the terminology is explained by McClure:

An important sociolinguistic fact in non-Gaelic Scotland is that apart from SSE there is no standard model; and the speech forms which do not conform to the prescription of SSE show such wide diversity as to present difficulties not only of description but even of classification. (McClure 1994: 89)

In this thesis, I will use the term Scots English to incorporate all of the standard and localized varieties of the Anglian speech forms, which necessarily excludes Highland and Island English.

Table 1 illustrates the general outline of terminology used in this thesis:

Languages of Scotland				
Gaelic	Highland and Island English	Scots English		Standard English
		Scots	Scottish Standard English	

Table 1. Languages of Scotland

¹ For discussion for the different terms, see for example McClure (1994) and Hagan (2002).

2.1 Scots English

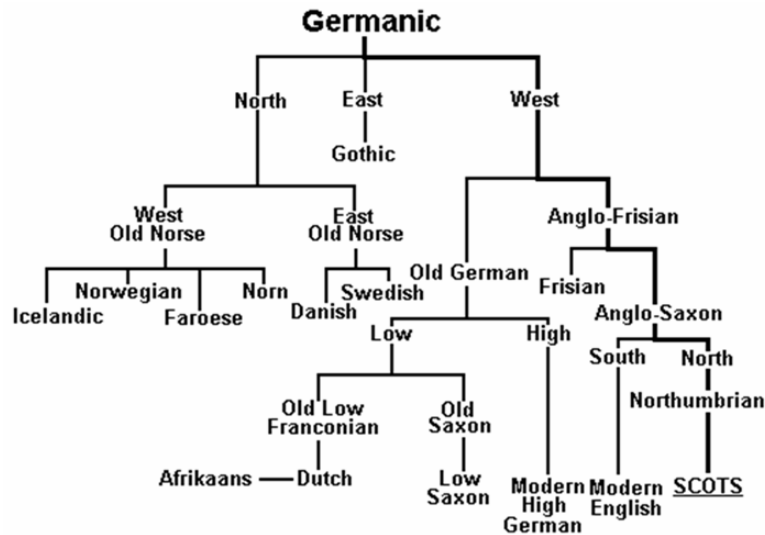
In this thesis, *Scots English* is used as an umbrella term to cover the two Anglo-Saxon varieties of speech unique to Scotland: Scots and Scottish Standard English (SSE). Highland and Island English is necessarily excluded². As a term, ‘Scots English’ is neither neat nor comprehensive. It is perhaps best described as a continuum at one end of which lies ‘Broad Scots’, or ‘Dialect Scots’, and at the other the more Anglicised Scottish Standard English. From a practical point of view, it is not possible in this thesis to analyse every given example or piece of text according to its position along the continuum. Therefore, ‘Scots English’ is used in this thesis quite liberally to refer to any of the speech varieties along the line between the extremes of Scots on one end, and Scottish Standard English on the other.

2.2 Scots

In order to get a full picture of Scots, we have to separate two distinct perspectives; its historical development, and its linguistic status at present.

Historically speaking, it can be argued that Scots certainly was a language in its own right, with its own development history, set of dialects and great literature. Its roots are in Northumbrian Old English, but it developed “independently of the Northern dialect of England” (McClure 1994: 23). It can be said that Scots, as Standard English, is a dialect of Anglo-Saxon, or ‘Anglic’ (McClure 1979: 27). This relationship is illustrated by the language tree in Map 2, which shows the historical position of Scots in the Germanic branch of the Indo European language family:

² See discussion in chapter 2.4



Map 2. The relationship of Scots to other Germanic languages (Eagle: “What is Scots?”: website)

Three main phases can be identified in the historical development of Scots:

Old English ³	to 1100
Older Scots	1100-1700
Pre-literary Scots	to 1375
Early Scots	to 1450
Middle Scots	1450-1700
Early Middle Scots	1450-1550
Late Middle Scots	1550-1700
Modern Scots	1700 onwards

Table 2. Phases of the history of Scots (McClure 1994: 46)

In its heyday, Scots had one of the great literatures of European vernaculars, and was a flourishing literary language with authors such as “one of the British Isle’s greatest poets, Burns” (Gregor 1980: 357) among others. However, as the Scottish academia gradually began to adopt the written, and consequently the spoken, forms “approximating to those of the English metropolis”, the perceived status of Scots diminished (McClure 1994: 23). Whereas during the Older Scots period Scots was seen as a prestigious language suitable for all ranks, during the

³ Namely Northumbrian Old English

Late Middle Scots period it lost its prestige amongst the upper classes and the literati, but still remained the language among the people of Lowlands.

Since the disappearance of the great literature of Middle Scots, there has been no standard form for the Scots language (McClure 1979: 38). In recent years some attempts have been made at reviving a literary standard and a uniform spelling of the Scots tongue⁴.

Today, Scots is spoken in Scotland and in the north of Ireland. Hagan (2002: 29, 87) identifies five main dialect areas of present-day Scots; Insular Scots comprises of the dialects spoken in Orkney and Shetland, Northern Scots the varieties of the North East, Southern Scots the varieties of the Borders, Ulster Scots those spoken in Ulster and the north of Ireland⁵, and Central Scots which further subdivides into its own dialects.

Map 3 shows the areas where Lowland Scots⁶ is spoken:

⁴ See for example Purves (2002)

⁵ Ulster Scots will be excluded from the discussion in this thesis.

⁶ In this thesis, the term *Scots* is used interchangeably with *Lowland Scots*, which is the term often used to distinguish between Lowland Scots and Highland and Island English.



Map 3. Lowland Scots speaking areas (Aitken 1984: 110)

Linguistically, however, the theoretical concept of present-day Scots is not straightforward.

Whether Scots, strictly linguistically speaking, is a language, a (traditional) dialect, or a group of dialects, is, and has been, the subject of “serious, reasoned and at times heated debate, at both popular and scholarly level” (McClure 1994: 23).⁷ On the surface level, Scots is very similar to English, and is in fact “considered as part of ‘English’ in the purely linguistic sense of the term”

⁷ For more on the language/dialect debate, see for example Aitken (1981a), and McClure (1988: 17-31).

(McClure 1994: 23-24). For McClure (1979: 38), the Scots tongue exists not as a language, but as a group of dialects. Wells has defined Scots as a traditional dialect “restricted to a small area of the geographical territory where English is spoken as first language” and on the decline even there (as cited in Trudgill 1984: 3).

As an Anglo-Saxon speech variety, present-day Scots is obviously closely related to English. Historically, at least, Scots “has a claim to be regarded as a distinct language rather than a dialect, or latterly a group of dialects, of English” (McClure 1994: 23) and in any case, Scots can definitely be said to have been a distinct language until the late sixteenth century, after which it began to merge into Standard English (Macafee & Baoill 1997: 246). On a wider view Scots and English appear to be similar, but not from a dialectologist’s point of view, as they “show striking and obvious differences” (McClure 1979: 26-27). The haziness of the boundary between Scots and English is illustrated by the following example (McClure 1979: 27):

I’ll not be going home till eleven o’clock tonight (Eng)
 A’ll no be gaun hame ti aleevin a’cloak the nicht (Sc.)
 I’ll no be going home till eleven o’clock the night (?)
 I’ll no be gaun home ti eleven a’cloak the night (?)

Undeniably, the absence of a written set of rules concerning grammar, orthography, and lexis, the linguistic similarity to English, and the strong linguistic influence of English⁸ especially for the last hundred or so years have resulted in a loss of many of the indigenous features of Scots.

⁸ This process of the increasing influence of StE on Scots is sometimes known as *anglicisation*, a term that is misleading in that it is usually used to apply to the advance of the Anglian language, including Scots, at the expense of Celtic languages. Another, a less ambiguous term suggested by Agutter (1987) is *restandardisation* (as cited in Macafee & Baoill 1997: 246).

Another factor which affects the development and loss of status of Scots,

is the absence of any officially recognised standard or sociolinguistic norm – that place being held by Scottish Standard English. This has led to extensive diversification of the spoken dialects; and on the written level, to a sporadic and unbalanced literary development, and to a variability and inconsistency in its written representation reflecting not only the presence of different dialects but the lack of any agreed spelling conventions even for any individual dialect.” (McClure 1994: 62-3)

However, the Scots dialects have an essential likeness and common forms, and have enjoyed a deliberate promotion to which the development of literary Scots and local and national pride, a sense of “Scottishness”, has contributed, to the extent that they are preserved more than some of the non-standard varieties of England (McClure 1994: 63). Indeed, several of the grammatical features of Older Scots have survived in the Modern Scots of today (McClure 1994: 61).

In conclusion, the term ‘Scots’ is used in this thesis for the Anglian dialects of Lowland Scotland and the Northern Isles (see Map 3 on p. 7). It necessarily excludes Ulster Scots as well as Highland and Island English⁹ (Hagan 2002: 29).

2.3 Scottish Standard English

Scottish Standard English originated as a compromise between Standard English and Scots. Scots was not deemed prestigious enough among the 18th century Scottish scholars as the variety appropriate for the Lowland Scottish social and intellectual élite, but they also did not want to see a total Anglicisation of their language with a total abolition of native features of Scots. The result was “a more or less homogenous range of nationally acceptable norms of spelling, grammar, vocabulary and pronunciation” (McClure 1979: 50), as well as idioms and variations in regional and social use (McClure 1994: 79-80). The phonological characteristics represent

⁹ For discussion on Highland and Island English, see chapter 2.4.

compromises between the Scots and 18th century Standard English systems, and numerous lexical and idiomatic as well as a few grammatical features were added (Macafee & Baoill 1997: 246). Thus, Scottish Standard English can be said to be a compromise “hybrid” between Scots and Standard English (Hagan 2002: 29).

Even though the term ‘SSE’ is commonly only used to refer to the accent, not the dialect (Hagan 2002: 29), it does have characteristic features of grammar, vocabulary and idiom (McClure 1994: 79-80). Moreover, “[i]t is now an autonomous speech form, having the status of one among the many national forms of the international English language, and is recognised as an established national standard” (McClure 1994: 79).

Within Scotland, SSE is widely spoken in all regions, and it is the characteristic speech of the professional class as well as the accepted norm in schools (McClure 1994: 79-80). As opposed to Scots, Scottish Standard English is undisputedly a form of English (McClure 1994: 24).

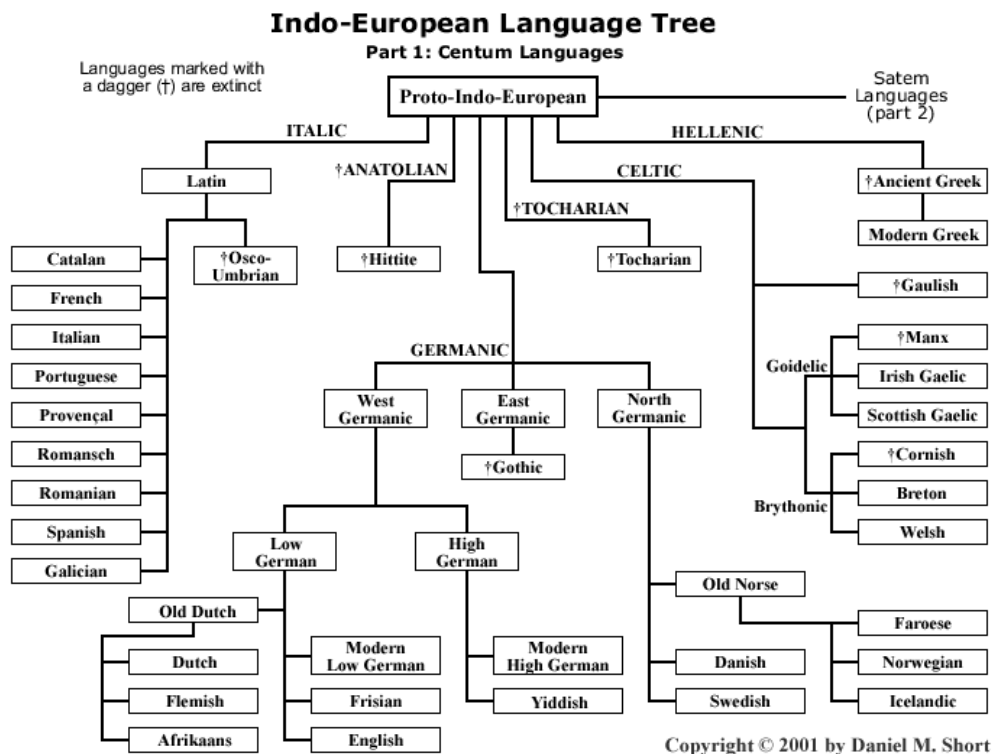
2.4 Highland and Island English

The variety spoken in the Highlands and the Western Islands is commonly referred to as *Highland and Island English*. Compared to Scottish Standard English, Highland and Island English has additional characteristics which are often derived from Gaelic, but sometimes from Scots substratum (Macafee & Baoill 1997: 246). Sabban (1982: 23) differentiates between Island English and Highland English: “Kontaktenglisch”, or Island English, is the English spoken as a second language by people whose mother tongue is still Gaelic. This must be differentiated from Highland English, which is the variety of Scots English spoken in a previously Gaelic-speaking area, but which originated from the discarded Gaelic by a regionally modified Standard English (Sabban 1982: 13).

2.5 Gaelic

Gaelic belongs to the Celtic branch of the Indo-European language tree, and as such is a distant relative of English. The theoretical concept of Gaelic is well-defined (McClure 1979: 26) and it is easily identifiable and distinctive from Scots and English, which belong to a different branch in the language tree, and from its closest relative and ancestor, Irish.

Map 4 illustrates the position of Gaelic in the Indo-European language tree:



Map 4. Indo-European language tree: Centum Languages. (Short: website)

The Celtic languages, which once were spoken all through Europe from Gaul to Northern Italy, the Iberian peninsula and all the way to Asia Minor (Russell 1995: 1-3), are now spoken only on the western coast of the British Isles and in Breton, and only a handful of Celtic languages survive today. The surviving Celtic languages are divided into two groups: the p-Celtic

‘Brittonic’¹⁰, and q-Celtic ‘Goidelic’ (Foster 1996: 23). The Brittonic group includes Welsh, Cornish and Breton, while the Goidelic group includes Irish, Scottish Gaelic and Manx. The languages in the Goidelic group have a common ancestor in Old Irish, from which Scottish Gaelic and Manx eventually separated. Scottish Gaelic remained substantially identical to Irish, in fact arguably the same language, until tenth, and in most respects the 13th century (Russell 1995: 27).

By their native speakers, the languages of the Goidelic, Ireland, Scotland and the Isle of Man, are all called *Gaelic* (or, *Gaeilge*, *Gaidhlig*, *Gailck* or *Gaelg* respectively). In this thesis, I will adopt what Gregor calls “the English usage” and use *Gaelic* for the language of Scotland, *Irish* for the language of Ireland, and *Manx* for the language of Isle of Man (1980: v).

¹⁰ or ‘Brythonic’

3 Overview of the History of Scotland

In order to give an accurate account of the present-day linguistic situation of Scotland and to be able to analyse the language varieties, an overview of the area's political and linguistic history is necessary. In Scotland's history, language and politics have always been intertwined with one another. As the political and social power centres of the society have changed, so too have those of the languages. Languages within Scotland have always been in contact to varying degrees and outcomes, and as Thomason (2001: 18) says, the British Isles as a whole "offer a prime example of language contacts arising through successive immigrations".

3.1 "We are the last people, and the last to be free"¹¹: From Caledonian tribes to unified Scots, 81-1066

At the turn of the millennium, Caledonian¹² tribes were native to the area of Scotland. Romans entered southern Scotland in AD81, and it is from this time that we also find the first mention of Scotland, by Tacitus. The rule of the Roman Empire was to be both brief and superficial; the Romans retreated from Scotland in the fourth century, and by the end of the fourth century had abandoned the last of their 'Caledonian' outposts in Scotland (MacLean 1993: 13). Scotland was left in much the same state it had been before the occupation; Celtic.

¹¹ Calgacus, Leader of Caledonians, according to Latin of Tacitus. Cited in BBC Scottish History website
<http://www.bbc.co.uk/history/scottishhistory/darkages/features_darkages_romans.shtml>

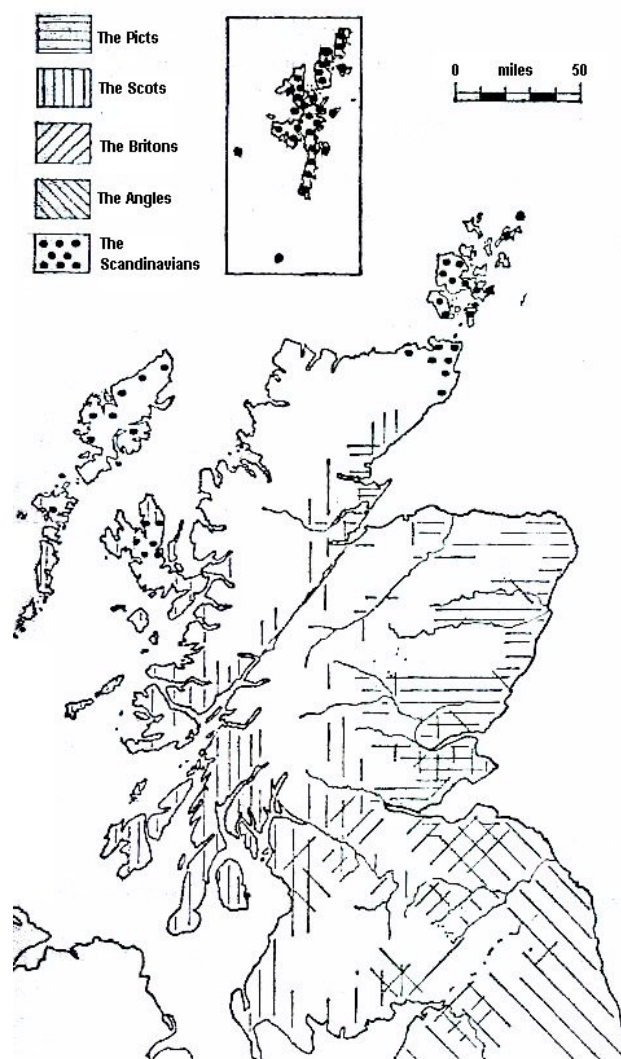
¹² Caledonia is a Roman name for Scotland

In the sixth century, four ethnic groups inhabited Scotland. The native Picts¹³ were in the north. Scots of Dal Riada, who first arrived in Scotland in the fourth century from the north of Ireland, and who spoke a Gaelic language that was still very close, if not identical, to their ancestors, were gradually advancing into the Pictish heartland. Britons (or Brythons) had their kingdom of Strathclyde in the area in the central and western Lowlands (Gregor 1980: 90). They spoke Brythonic or Cumbric, a form of Celtic (McClure 1994: 24), namely “Proto-Welsh” (Hagan 2002: 53). The Germanic Angles and Saxons were in the south-east, but were advancing to the Firth of Forth and its surrounding areas from the south, having formed the Kingdom of Bernicia in the present-day Northumbria and East Scotland. They spoke Insular West Germanic (McClure 1994: 24), namely Northumbrian Old English (Hagan 2002: 53).

¹³ According to Foster, the Picts seem to have been an amalgam of as many as twelve tribes, and as she suggests, they need not have been a ‘nation’ or a uniform tribe, but were the descendans of the native Iron Age tribes of Scotland (1996: 11-13). They “probably spoke a p-Celtic language related to Gaulish, a Continental Celtic variety” (Hagan 2002: 53), but their language had features of both Celtic and non-Celtic languages (McClure 1994: 24-25). The only surviving documents of their language, Ogam stone inscriptions, display a variety of languages, from which at least P-Celtic, Q-Celtic and Latin have been identified. There are also some indecipherable inscriptions (Foster 1996: 24). Only two years before, McClure was of the opinion that it was impossible to identify the inscriptions with any language conclusively, or “even to show that they are linguistic at all” (1994: 25). “Suggestion has been made that they are random jumbles carbed by artisans who knew the *figurae* of the letters but not their *potestates*,” McClure continues. Suggestions have also been made of the relation of the Picts’ language to Basque (e.g. Guiter 1968), but this view has long been discarded. From the evidence available, the language of the Picts was most likely a pre-Celtic but Indo-European language (see e.g. Cox 1999). McClure continues that the fact that these “non-Celtic toponymic elements in Pictland” exist is not sufficient to conclude that the Picts were non-Celtic (1994: 25), but that at one point there was a non-Celtic language spoken in Pictland.

For the next centuries the situation remained much the same. However, the balance was an uneasy one, and conflicts arose. For example in the year 685, the Anglian king, Egfrith, tried to extend his kingdom to integrate Britons, Scots and Picts, but as Gregor concludes, “fortunately” the Pictish king Brude MacBile defeated Egfrith at the Battle of Nechtansmere and “the country was saved to become Scotland” (1980: 93). Through the seventh and eight centuries the power-bases of the groups shifted somewhat, and Viking raids caused more havoc, so that in the ninth century, the Picts inhabited the western seaboard, the western mainland and the Inner Hebrides (Hagan 2002: 53). The Dal Riada Scots had extended their rule south over parts of the former kingdom of Northumbria and north into the Pictland. Due to the Viking conquests of the Western Isles and parts of the Atlantic seaboard, the power base of Dal Riada had shifted eastwards, which resulted in a weakening of contact with their origins in the Irish culture area. The Vikings, speaking Old Norse, had settled in Caithness, the Northern Isles and the Outer Hebrides (Hagan 2002: 53). The Angles and Saxons, mainly Angles, had already earlier established themselves in south east Scotland, and in a few places in the south west and along the north east coast. Their “Anglian speech must have been prevailing in the Lothians and eastern Borders ... and was probably to be heard in some measure even in the South-West” (McClure 1994: 25).

Map 5 illustrates the distribution of the people:



Map 5. Scotland: the land and its people (Mackie 1978: 17)

In the beginning of the ninth century, the Pictish kingdom was more powerful than that of the Scots', but they were gradually weakened by the Viking raids from the north. Under Kenneth MacAlpine, the two kingdoms merged, forming the Scoto-Pictish kingdom in 843, and making MacAlpine "the king of the United Kingdoms of Scot-land and Pict-land" (Gregor 1980: 90). Further Viking raids to Dal Riada forced the Scots to move into the newly gained Pictland. The unification of the two kingdoms was advanced by a common background in the Celtic culture, the advent of Christianity, the rise of Pictland due to its fortunate geographical position, and the

Scandinavian attacks from the north and the pressure from the Angles in the south (Mackie 1978: 23). In the first years of the 10th century King Constantine II beat the Vikings, reformed the church and society to resemble the Scots model, and gave the kingdom its Celtic name, *Alba*¹⁴.

Constantine was also victorious against Angles, taking over vast lands from Northumbria and present-day Scotland. In ca. 945 the Brythonic Sthratclyde, attacked by Angles, Picts and Danes, was united into Alba (Gregor 1980: 91), and “shortly before 1034” ceased to exist as a separate kingdom (*Kings of Scotland: website*). Constantine was thus the first king to rule over an area that roughly approximates the present-day Scotland (*Kings of Scotland: website*), and “[f]or the first time much of the land in modern-day Scotland was either under the direct kingship of the King of Alba or was under his rule as overlord” (*BBC: “King Constantine II”: website*). Thus, gradually, but rather rapidly, the distinct identity of the Picts was lost.

Linguistically, this meant that the q-Celtic Gaelic tongue of Alba superseded the p-Celtic Pictish and Cumbric and became the dominant language north of Worth and in the south-west (McClure 1994: 25-26). Thus, apart from the Anglian south-east, which was to become the “original home of the Scots tongue” (Murison 1979: 2), the whole of Scotland had become Gaelic-speaking. It was only the events in Scotland after and consequent of the Norman Conquest of England that “fundamentally altered the status of the Anglo-Saxon language in the northern kingdom” (McClure 1994: 27).

¹⁴ Latin *Scotia*

3.2 “The great event which radically altered the speech of England, and, later, of Scotland”¹⁵: After the Norman Conquest, 1066-1290

As a result of the victory of William the Conqueror in England, the Saxon royal family fled to Scotland. The reigning King of Scotland, Malcolm III, married Margaret of Saxons and gave birth to a dynasty that was to radically change the prevailing political and linguistic situation in Scotland. Malcolm, having been in exile in England during the reign of MacBeth, had learned English, and since Margaret knew no Gaelic the Saxon tongue became “if not yet the medium of government, at least the private language of the royal family” (McClure 1994: 27-28). Three of Malcolm’s and Margaret’s six sons succeeded to the throne respectively, thus strengthening the status of royalty and dynasty, and the gradual linguistic domination of ‘Inglis’¹⁶ over Gaelic. This process is known as “Normanisation of Scotland” (Hagan 2002: 54), or “peaceful Norman conquest” (Dickinson and Duncan 1977: 77).

Malcolm and his sons transformed the Scottish government and society by replacing the existing tribal system with Norman ideas of government and central administration. They also reorganised the church to match the European and English customs, and introduced a new ruling class, the feudal landowners from Normandy. The new ruling class merged with, rather than displaced, the native aristocracy and the two intermarried, thus forming significant families such as the Bruces and the Stewarts. David I invited aristocracy of Norman and Breton origin from northern England to settle, and they brought Northern Middle English to the Anglian-speaking Lothians where they settled.

¹⁵ Murison, 1979, 5

¹⁶ The Anglian language in Scotland, which is referred to as Scots, was at the time known as ‘Inglis’ (Hagan 2002: 55).

The most significant change, however, was the establishment of burghs in the Lothians by David I and his successors. The burghs were social units that gathered together people from different ethnic groups, such as Angles, Normans, Scots, Vikings and Flemings. Refugees from the oppressions of William I and II and the anarchy of Stephen's reign as well as new Norman landowners flocked to the burghs. Scotland was seen as developing new and attractive economic links with Europe, and the English, Flemings and Scandinavians, both directly from those countries and from communities settled in England, came to Scotland to immigrate and to trade, and settled in burghs (Hagan 2002: 55). Speakers of Gaelic from the rural areas came to trade, litigate, and run their errands in the markets (McClure 1994: 28). Under feudalism and in the burghs, these ethnic identities merged and blended together, thus increasing the non-Celtic population of (Lowland) Scotland, which later became vital in the development of a national identity (Hagan 2002: 54-55). An Anglo-Saxon institution, the burghs in Scotland were the first centres of the Inglis language (Hagan 2002: 55).

This mixture of people from different ethnic and linguistic backgrounds created a complex linguistic situation. The Norman nobles retained their French, at least as a second language (Hagan 2002: 55), and alongside English the two continued to emerge as functioning languages of the kingdom (McClure 1994: 29). Gaelic was still used north of the Forth, but the Gaelic speakers found it beneficial to acquire a command of Inglis, resulting in "frequent" individual bilingualism (McClure 1994: 28-29). In addition, Dutch and Flemish were brought to Scotland by craftsmen and artisans from the Low Countries (Hagan 2002: 55). As the linguistic similarity of Middle English, Dutch and Norse was much closer to Inglis than to Gaelic, the new aristocracy, immigrants, traders, and English settlers found it easier to acquire a knowledge of Inglis than of Gaelic as their language of communication. Gradually the Northumbrian variety of

Old English evolved as the *lingua franca*, and all ranks from tradesmen and craftsmen to aristocracy adopted Inglis (Hagan 2002: 55). Hagan (2002: 55-6) explains this “as a process of promotion through prestige” and in sociolinguistic terms, “Inglis was the *lingua franca* used by the socially aspirant, upwardly mobile traders who inhabited the burghs and traded both within Scotland and abroad”. These developments lay the base for the language that was to become ‘Scots’.

In the melting pot of different cultural influences, the social superiority of one group over another was significant to the linguistic development. This is exemplified by the thirteenth century formula which the kings used more than once when addressing the people of the realm: “Franci, Angli, Scoti et Gallovidiani”. The order of precedence is significant: the French-speaking aristocrats of continental or Anglo-Norman origin are mentioned first, the English-speakers of the south-east and the burghs second, the native Gaelic-speakers third and lastly “the men of Galloway”, which was “an area populated by a mixed race of Scandinavian, Brythonic and Gaelic blood (though probably Gaelic-speaking by this time).” (McClure 1994: 30)

The end of the old Gaelic royal house and dynasty came with the last descendant of Malcolm III, Margaret Maid of Norway (1286-1290). Before her, King Alexander III (1249-1286) had left his kingdom “independent, united, and prosperous” (*Kings of Scotland*: website). At the time of Alexander III’s death, none of his children were alive and Margaret was proclaimed Queen of Scotland by the Scottish lords at the age of only three years. A marriage was arranged between Margaret and Edward, later to become Edward II of England, by his father, King Edward I of England. The marriage never took place as Margaret died on the way from Norway to Scotland. Even though the English had promised Scotland independence in accordance with the marriage treaty (Treaty of Birgham, 1290), Edward I proclaimed himself

overlord of Scotland, and for over twenty years Scotland suffered foreign domination and civil war (*Kings of Scotland*: website). With the extinction of the old Gaelic royal family, also the political independence of Scotland from England came to the last of its days. McClure (1994: 30) goes so far as to say:

The steady social, juridical and economic development of the country under the strong and skilful rule of Alexander II and III extended to all areas; and it is permissible to imagine that had this progress continued unchecked, a peaceful and total integration of Gaelic, Saxon and Norman culture might eventually have taken place. Though English at this period was clearly the dominant language of commerce and the law it was not the language of the court (French) nor of the majority of the population (Gaelic); and might ultimately have been displaced by Gaelic as French was by English in the southern kingdom.

The loss of political independence of Scotland also meant an increasing decline of its native language, Gaelic. Until the end of the old Gaelic royal house Scotland was essentially a Gaelic-speaking country with at least half of the population spread over at least half of the land area speaking Gaelic as their first or only language (McClure 1994: 29-30). These developments are, according to McClure (1994: 29-30), “intimately linked to the steady increase in the demographic and cultural importance of English”, a trend which continued to the extent that “by the latter half of the fourteenth century, Inglis had become the dominant spoken language of all ranks of Lowland Scottish society” (Hagan 2002: 56). In fact, McClure (1994: 30) continues, “[t]he advent of Anglo-Norman feudalism . . . in the long run confirmed and deepened the cultural dichotomy, a fundamental and tragic feature of Scottish history in later times, between the English-speakers of the south and east and the Gaelic-speakers of the ventrahinterland and the west . . . [i.e.] Lowlands and Highlands”. However, this, he continues, was not yet obvious in the thirteenth century.

3.3 Anglicisation of Gaelic Scotland: Scots as a national literary language 1290-1560

Following the death of the Gaelic royal family and the pursuits of Edward Longshanks, the Three Hundred Years' war between England and Scotland ensued. The three subsequent Scottish royal families, the Balliols, Bruces, and Stewarts, were all Lowland English-speaking, and eventually the capital was moved from Perth to the heart of Lowland-speaking area, Edinburgh.

The events in the fourteenth century, although tumultuous, laid the foundation for the coming domination of the Scottis tongue at the expense of the original Gaelic (McClure 1994: 31). However, it was the fifteenth century that really saw the “exuberant development” of written Scots, as McClure (1994: 31) says we can now call the speech variety. The return of James I from the captivity from England to Scotland in 1411 saw the change of the language of the Acts of Parliament from Latin to the Lowland tongue.

Gaelic, which was up until this period known as “lingua Scotica”¹⁷, had its name changed to Hibernica¹⁸, and by late 15th century, the national adjective “Scottis” replaced “Inglis” to apply to what had become the national tongue of Scotland, distinct from the English of England (Murison 1979: 8).

The century between 1460 and 1560 saw the height of the Scots language. By then, it was in full bloom as a poetic language, and it also developed distinctive registers for Acts of Parliament, treasurer's accounts, burgh records and letters of various degrees of formality. Prose was always an area where Scots was both late and weak, but it can be said that at its height, Scots was one of the leading poetic vernaculars of Europe (McClure 1994: 32).

¹⁷ language of Scots, not of Scotland

¹⁸ in the lowland tongue Erse or Irish

For Gaelic, this meant a retreat further to the north and to the west. The fall of the rule of the Lordship of the Isles, and the replacement of the traditional clan system replaced by an imported feudal system meant that the Lowland culture and language penetrated the traditionally Gaelic area. This led to an increased contact between the two languages, and Scots words appeared in Gaelic vocabulary, and Gaelic words entered into Scots (Murison 1979: 10).

3.4 Political changes change the status of the national language 1560 - 1700

The sociohistorical and political changes that took over in the course of the next few hundred years proved to be crucial for a tongue, with no “clear sense of linguistic identity and language loyalty” (McClure 1994: 33). This period saw a short-lived recovery, but more notably, a sudden and total decline of Scots as a literary language (McClure 1994: 35-36).

The first political setback for Scots came in 1560 with the Reformation. The separation from papacy meant that Scotland drifted away from the Catholic France and Ireland into a more close connection with the Protestant England. For Gaelic, this meant the rise of local forms and a distinction from Irish (Murison 1979: 9-10).

More significantly, and directly, perhaps than the Reformation, the setting up of printers and the subsequent spread of books in “Tudor English” contributed to the Anglicisation of verse and prose (Murison 1979: 9) during the first half of the seventeenth century. The language was kept alive in the popular culture through ballads, folk-songs, tales, proverbs, and in comic verse (Murison 1979: 11). Linguistically, the introduction of the English Bible introduced literary English to every home, and gradually English took over as the literary, or written, language of Scotland, while the local forms of speech, the dialects, continued as the spoken tongue (Murison 1979: 9). Consequently, English became associated with “solemn, formal, dignified” whereas

Scots was continued to be used in “day-to-day, familiar, homely, emotional or comic” contexts (Murison 1979: 9).

Mutual intelligibility in the written forms of Scots and English and the fact that Scots even as a distinct language was never linguistically or geographically remote from the literary English of London contributed to the assimilation of the two languages in the press, and helped pave the way for the linguistic outcome that was to follow. This was further enhanced by the reforming party’s lack of language policy, and the fact that the Reformists did not recognise the preservation of the Scots tongue as a national language as an issue (McClure 1994: 33-35).

Following the Reformation, the next serious blow to Scotland was the Union of Crowns in 1603. The Scottish court moved to London and adopted English as its language, and thus Scots lost one of its most distinctive registers.

Even though “[t]he sudden and total eclipse of Scots as a literary language, like that of Old English after the Norman Conquest, is one of the most important transitional events in the history of English” (McClure 1994: 36), these events were not as disastrous as they might appear, as the tradition of Scots verse was never fully developed anyway, and that in legal jargon, Scottish terms, although anglicized, were still preserved (McClure 1994: 37). Even though in the higher circles, and as a second language in general, English became common, the primary spoken language of non-Gaelic Scotland remained Scots (McClure 1994: 37-38).

This period saw political pressures on Gaelic as well as Scots. Until the Reformation, the kingdom of Scotland was divided into two culturally very separate parts, where language was one among many differentiating elements (McClure 1994: 43). After the Reformation, as most of the Highlands remained loyal to the Catholic Church, James VI passed the Statutes of Iona in 1609. This meant the forcible establishment of the Protestant church in the Highlands, the

withdrawal of clan chiefs' patronage from the bards¹⁹, and the education of clan leaders' sons in Lowlands. The suppression of the traditional Gaelic culture was further enhanced by the Act of 1616, which saw the establishment of parish schools in the Highlands with the aim to eradicate the Gaelic language (McClure 1994: 48). Whether the variety of the Anglian language inflicted upon them was Scots or English was hardly significant, as the Highlanders had never spoken Scots and hardly recognised any difference between Scots and English (Murison 1979: 10-11). Even though there was strong institutional suppression of Gaelic as a spoken tongue, Murison (1979: 11-12) notes that Gaelic fared better than Scots as a literary language, with a continued and full tradition of prose.

Then, with the Acts of Union, in 1707, in effect, English became the official language of the Kingdom of Great Britain for law administration, education, and Church usage in both spoken and written form (Murison 1979: 9).

Murison concludes that with the Reformation Scots lost its spiritual status, with the Union of Crowns it lost its social status, and with the parliamentary union it lost its political status (1979: 9). In fact, the seventeenth century saw the disappearance of Scots as a full national language, and had a large part of its vocabulary, grammar, and pronunciation replaced by English (Murison 1979: 11).

3.5 From the language of The Makars to a subordinate dialect 1700-

By 1700, the chronic feuding both in church and state had reduced Scotland to an “impoverished wasteland” and the status of both spoken and written Scots was affected by these developments

¹⁹ hereditary guardians of the Gaelic culture (McClure 1994: 44)

(McClure 1994: 38-39). Ironically, it may be, the next two hundred or so years saw a partial retrenchment of written, but a rapid and steep decline of spoken Scots.

The literary recovery took the form of a renewed awareness of the great Scots poetry of The Makars (McClure 1994: 39). As with any nation, the Scottish national identity was represented by its language, and now it was deemed to be “under threat” (McClure 1994: 39). This romanticised ideal of the great Scots poetry was contrasted by the fact that its admirers and advocates were unable to escape the prevailing assumptions regarding the lower status of Scots as compared to standard literary English. On the other hand, others were making determined efforts to purge their language of Scottish features (McClure 1994: 40).

It was the seventeenth century when Scots as a spoken language came to be “subjected to unremitting social pressure” (McClure 1994: 41). The ability to speak English was widespread in all classes, and a stable bilingualism was probably the sociolinguistic norm (McClure 1994: 41), and the perceived status of Scots declined rapidly.

In 1800s, writers such as Burns and Scott gave Scots a newly found literary and academic prestige. A prevailing sentiment amongst academics and antiquarians was an attitude of regret towards the erosion of Scots features from everyday language (McClure 1994: 42). Whilst Scots of the past was held in high academic regard, the “habit of speaking the language was not to be encouraged” (McClure 1994: 42).

As the regard for spoken Scots declined, it was deemed unsatisfactory to be used in schools. The establishment of a uniform state system in 1872 elevated this principle to a national policy, and the Education Act and its consequences certainly speeded up the process (McClure 1994: 42-43).

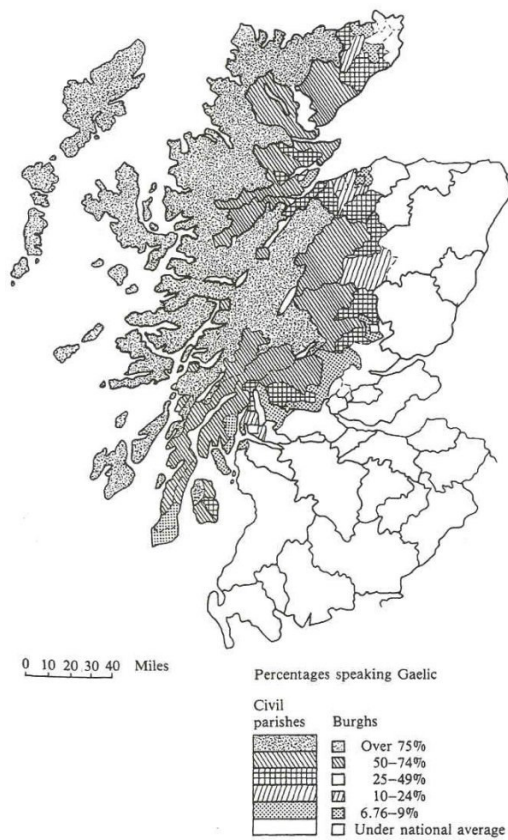
Gaelic fared even worse, and the language and its speakers saw its worst period of suppression with the Montrose Wars and the Jacobite uprisings of 1715 and 1745 (McClure 1994: 44). The forcible suppression of Gaelic in the Highlands and the Isles and the steady and consistent, even “genocidal” (McClure 1994: 44), government policy to destroy the Gaelic culture that began in the seventeenth century, continued into the eighteenth and nineteenth century, and the really catastrophic phase which began in the late nineteenth century continued unchecked until 1970s (McClure 1994: 45), whereby a recovery of Gaelic language and culture began. This is discussed in more detail in the next chapter.

Thus, we have seen that the period from 1700 to present day saw the beginning of the end of Scots as a national language. During this period many Scottish writers began to cast their thoughts in an English mould, and fewer and fewer of the educated classes used Scots on a regular basis. The notion came forth that the Scots language was no more than a debased form of proper English, and it was not until the 20th century that attempts at reviving Scots as a language came about.

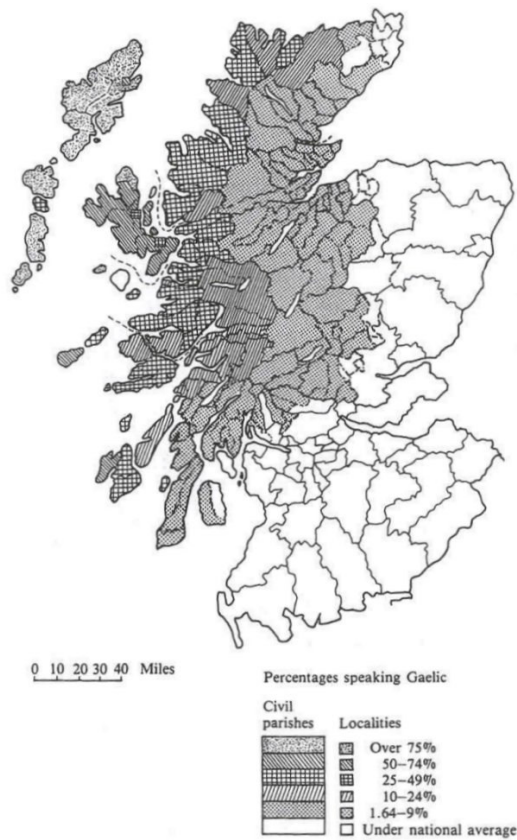
The Anglian language south of the border has always been a major force in Scotland, but English’s increased position as a lingua franca of education, communication, higher education, internet and so forth in the twentieth century has meant even more exposure to the language in Scotland, and a deviation from the Scots.

3.6 The presence of Gaelic and Scots in Scotland today

Today, most of the Gaelic speakers are bilingual. In 1981, there were only some 300 monolingual Gaelic speakers in Scotland. The Gaelic speakers are mainly found in Highlands and Islands, but there are also speakers of Gaelic in the towns and cities in the Lowlands. The Maps 6 and 7 demonstrate the rapid decline of Gaelic speakers in Scotland between 1891 and 1981 (Bell 1993: 497-498):



Map 6. Percentage of Gaelic speakers 1891



Map 7. Percentage of Gaelic speakers 1981

Table 3 looks at the number of Gaelic speakers in Scotland from 1891 to 2001 and demonstrates further this shift in Gaelic speakers in Scotland.²⁰

Year	Number of bilingual speakers	Percentage of total population
1891	210,677	5.2
1901	202,700	4.5
1911	183,998	3.9
1921	148,950	3.1
1931	129,419	2.7
1951	93,269	1.8
1961	80,004	1.5
1971	88,415	1.7 ²¹
1981	~80,000	N/A
2001	58969	1.2

Table 3. Gaelic speakers in Scotland 1891 - 2001

The preservation of distinctive characteristics in indigenized varieties is linked with their speakers' national and ethnic identity (Winford 2002: 254). Ironically, after centuries of neglect and even hostility towards Gaelic, during the last twenty years the government has demonstrated a firm commitment to Gaelic, offering support in education, cultural organisations and broadcasting (Fenton & MacDonald 1994: 176). Government provides direct financial support for the Scots language by grants to bodies such as the Scottish National Dictionary and Association and Friends of the Dictionary of the older Scottish Tongue (Fenton & MacDonald 1994: 179). Gaelic has also gained formal political support; for example, the British Nationality Act 1981 declared that knowledge of Scottish Gaelic as an alternative to English or Welsh will

²⁰ The figures from 1891 to 1971 are from Sabban (1982: 3), the figure for 1981 census is from Bell (1993), and the figure for 2001 is from Scotland's Census Results Online (2007: website).

²¹ The "trivial" rise in the figure for 1971 is hardly marking a new trend, according to Sabban (1982: 3).

satisfy one of the conditions for naturalisation as a British citizen (Fenton and MacDonald, 1994: 175).

As well as Gaelic, also Scots is enjoying political support. In 2001, UK ratified the European Charter for Regional or Minority Languages²², whose purpose according to the Council of Europe's website is "to protect and promote regional and minority languages as a threatened aspect of Europe's cultural heritage". It offers 8 fundamental principles and objectives and 68 concrete undertakings "to facilitate and encourage the use of specific regional or minority languages in public life" (Council of Europe: website).

Still today, the Scots dialects are predominantly discouraged by the education system (McClure 1979: 39). However, there have been several campaigns to promote the position of Scots language in schools and children's interest in their own linguistic heritage (Fenton & MacDonald 1994: 175).

The increased perceived status of Gaelic and Scots as part of the Scottish heritage is further highlighted in this year's Scottish Parliament elections. Four MSPs took their oaths in Scots (three in the Doric dialect), and four oaths were taken in Gaelic. Of these, two were taken in both Scots and Gaelic (The Scots Language Centre: website). The first time an oath was taken in Scots was by MSP Maureen Watt in April 2006 (BBC News 19 April 2006: website).

²² The Charter defines regional or minority languages as "languages traditionally used within a given territory of a state by nationals of that state who form a group numerically smaller than the rest of the state's population; they are different from the official language(s) of that state, and they include neither dialects of the official language(s) of the state nor the languages of migrants." (Council of Europe: website)

4 Language contact and Scotland

Tir gun teanga, tir gun anam

A country without a language is a country without a soul²³

On the whole, very little research has been done on language contacts in Scotland, and when it is done (e.g. Kirk 1991) it tends to concentrate on Scots and (Scottish) English. The common thought, as McClure (1986: 85) points out, has been that apart from a few loanwords, Celtic languages have brought little influence into English. Kastovsky and Mettinger (2003: 10) mark this too, claiming that little attention has been paid to the study of possible Celtic influence on English, especially during the earlier stages of English. Generally it is assumed that, apart from remarks as to how few loan-words made it into English in the OE period and maybe that the rise of the progressive is due to Celtic influence, the Celtic influence was, at least in OE and ME periods, negligible. Irish, or Hiberno-English, has been further studied from language contact point of view, and some linguists (e.g. Hickey 2003) have raised issues of language contact between Irish and Irish English.²⁴

It is well documented that Scotland offers an interesting case study for contact linguists. However, it seems that not much research has been done into how the contact situations through time have influenced the language spoken in Scotland.

²³ cited in Gregor, 1980, v

²⁴ See also Bliss 1979 and Filppula 1999.

4.1 Language contact theory

Very generally speaking, language contact occurs when there is use of more than one language in the same place at the same time, and when the speakers of the different languages have some form of contact with each other (Thomason 2001: 1). A slightly less trivial definition is offered by Winford (2002: 2), who says that whenever people speaking different languages come into contact, there is a natural tendency for them to seek ways of bypassing the communicative barriers facing them by seeking compromise between their forms of speech.

Often it can be difficult to pinpoint exactly how particular contact situations came about in the distant past (Thomason 2001: 15). However, how and why the contact situations arose in Scotland from the Pictish times onwards is fairly well documented.

In general, there are six identifiable ways in which languages may come in contact (Thomason 2001: 17-20). Firstly, a contact situation arises when two groups move into previously unoccupied territory and meet there. Here, neither of the groups are indigenous. A more conflict-prone situation arises when one group moves into another group's territory. The movement can be peaceful, but more often than not the arriving group conquers the indigenous group. Often there are successive immigrations, as is the case in Scotland. Another type of contact situation arises when small groups, or scattered individuals, join a pre-existing population. This type of immigration and the resulting language contact happens with migratory workers, traders, or, notoriously, the slave trade. This type of immigration happened in Scotland at the time of the burghs, and thus helped the Scots tongue to prevail as the *lingua franca* of the burghs instead of Gaelic. A more rare contact situation arises when the two groups meet in a no man's land, or when they come together for specific purposes on neutral ground. This type of contact is not of direct interest to us, since from the recorded history of Scotland its land has

been more or less habited by one group or another. A more relevant contact situation occurs between long-time neighbours who share a close cultural connection. Even though this type of contact does not involve looking at the establishment of contact, new types of contact situations can develop at any time as a result of factors such as intermarriage or increase in trade. Finally, languages can come into contact even when they do not share geographical proximity, through education or learned contacts. The best-known example of language contact of this type is perhaps Latin, which was the language of international diplomacy in Europe throughout the Middle Ages and the Renaissance. In Scotland, the rise of Standard English as *lingua franca* and the promotion of English through the media of education, media, internet and so forth have brought about a weakening in the indigenous forms of the Scots tongue.

We have now established the general types of contact situations, and can turn our focus to the possible outcomes of contact situations. Thomason (2001: 10) identifies three broad types of results: contact-induced language change, extreme language mixture, and language death. Contact-induced language change can result in changes in some or all of the languages in contact. The most common example is the borrowing of words (Thomason 2001: 10), which can range from a light borrowing of a few words to a heavy borrowing of lexical items (Winford 2002: 12). However, given the right circumstances even the more complex and substantial aspects of language structure can be transferred from one language to another (Thomason 2001: 11). Sometimes one of the languages disappears altogether, as the native speakers shift to another language (Thomason 2001: 12), or, in extreme cases, if all of its speakers die.

According to Winford (2002, 2), these outcomes can be further divided into two main categories; internal (linguistic) and external (social and psychological).

The degree of (typological) similarity between the languages is a defining constraint in the linguistic contact. There are also other constraints, some of which are specific to a particular area of linguistic structure, others of which are of a more general and perhaps even universal nature. According to Thomason (2001: 21), linguistic factors seem to be totally irrelevant.

The social factors include the length and intensity of contact, size, power and prestige of the groups, and patterns of interaction. Also of significance is the function which the intergroup communication serves. The sociopolitical constraints have to do with speakers' attitudes toward the languages, and their motivations to use one or the other (Winford 2002: 2). Thomason (2001: 22) outlines the following general triggers: process of urbanization and industrialization, language loyalty, and language as a symbol of ethnicity. Ultimately, Thomason (2001: 22) concludes, this concerns people's attitudes, and therefore cannot be predicted with confidence.

A stable contact situation occurs when the languages are maintained without dramatic change from generation to generation (Thomason 2001: 23). A typical example of this type of situation is found in long-term trade, and it normally does not involve a very intense contact. Winford (2002: 11) calls this 'language maintenance', whereby the language changes only in small degrees, often due to internal developments, but also as a result of language contact (Winford 2002: 11-12). Di- and polyglossia, and bi- and multilingualism are common in this type of situation. This type of situation lasted in the case of Gaelic for around a millennium, from the arrival of Scots of Dal Riada up until the Reformation in the sixteenth century. Scots was never really in a position of stable language maintenance.

Structural convergence occurs when languages are spoken in close geographical proximity, typically in border areas or in communities with a significant degree of bi- or multilingualism. According to Winford (2002: 13), sometimes long-term pressure on the

language of a minority group surrounded by a larger dominant group can lead to significant structural and lexical diffusion. Both Gaelic and Scots were under immense pressure; Scots from the dominant English, and Gaelic from the Anglian languages in general (whether English or Scots). It can be argued that neither saw a “significant” alteration of the existing structure, but certainly the indigenous forms of Scots got “diluted” by the academic, political and cultural pressure from English.

Next, I will outline factors helping to predict types and levels of contact change, effects of contact change on linguistic structure, and the mechanisms of change.

Thomason (2001: 62) defines contact-induced language change to be “any linguistic change that would have been less likely to occur outside a particular contact situation”. The effects can be direct importations from the source language, such as a morpheme, a morpheme and structure, or structure alone (Thomason 2001: 62). The indirect effects of language contact do not include such interference features, and they do not make the receiving language more similar to the source language. Changes in the attrition processes that would have been less likely to happen if it were not for the contact situation happen in the receiving language but are not in themselves directly influenced by the dominant language. It is often the case of a “snow-ball effect”: an earlier direct importation triggers later changes which, although motivated by internal rather than external pressures, would have been less likely to happen if the initial change had not happened. The initial importation is an interference feature, but even the later changes are contact-induced (Thomason 2001: 62).

Often linguistic changes have more than one cause due to both external and internal reasons (Thomason 2001: 62). The more intense the contact, i.e. the stronger the cultural pressure on one group, the more kinds of interference features can be introduced. There are some

relevant social factors that can be identified. The longer the languages are in contact, the more time there is for speakers of one or both groups to become bilingual, and the more extensive the structural interference can be. Similarly, the size of the groups is significant. The smaller the group is, the more likely they are to acquire features from the larger group's language. This is, however, not always the case. Accordingly, the more (socioeconomically) dominant one group is, the more likely the subordinate group is to acquire even extensive interference features. The absence or presence of imperfect learning also plays a role in predicting an outcome based on intensity of contact. According to Thomason (2001: 66), a major sociolinguistic distinction separates changes that occur depending on whether or not imperfect learning takes place. For example, borrowing does not involve any effects of imperfect learning (Thomason 2001: 68), as the interference features are introduced into the receiving language by fluent speakers. The feature which involves no imperfect learning is introduced, not because the speaker does not master some part of the grammar, but for other reasons.

A step further from contact-induced language change is language shift, which involves a partial or total abandonment of a group's native language in favour of another. Sometimes the shifting speakers achieve the target language (TL) with no influence from their native language (L1), but in many cases this shift is accompanied by varying degrees of influence from the L1. For example, sometimes immigrant or minority groups carry over features of their L1 into their version of the TL, but this does not affect the TL as a whole. This is the case with "indigenized" Englishes (Winford 2002: 17) such as Scots English. The changes carried over from the L1 to TL are referred to by "interference through shift", "transfer", "substratum influence," and "imposition". Here, I will use Winford's terms "L1 influence" or "substratum influence.

Substratum or L1 influence can be found in all levels of linguistic structure, but whereas borrowing begins with vocabulary, substratum influence begins with sounds and syntactic patterns and sometimes also morphology. It is characterized by more structural than lexical influence from the L1 on the TL (Winford 2002: 17).

The outcome of language shift by a group of speakers to a TL is a contact language significantly different from the original TL. The linguistic features in these cases are due in part to influence from ancestral languages, and in part due to the processes of simplification. In the case of the definite article in Scots English, the language shift was caused by substratum influence, rather than simplification.

Gradual language shift is the primary but not the only cause of language death (Winford 2002: 256). The cultural, political and socioeconomic superiority of the dominant group, the colonization of a smaller ethnical group by a larger one, and the formation of larger national (language) policies are among the social factors that compel the minority group to assimilate to the dominant language and culture, sometimes relegating it to subordinate status (Winford 2002: 257). In addition, increasing modernization, urbanization and economic changes make it difficult for small ethnic groups to retain their autonomy. Availability of modern transportation and the largely English-speaking media have made it difficult for previously isolated groups to avoid the pressure of the dominant language (Winford 2002: 258).

Language death occurs when all of the speakers of a language shift to another language (Thomason 2001: 12). Winford identifies stages in the process of language death (2002: 258). First, the speakers are monolingual in their ancestral language (AL), which is followed by growing bilingualism with varying degrees of diglossia and code-switching. Gradually, more and more speakers adopt the L2 as their primary language, resulting in the speakers displaying an

increasingly limited knowledge and production of the AL. The final result is a complete replacement of AL by L2, but traces of AL often survive in L2 as substratum features.

4.2 Language contact in Scotland

Let us now look at the levels of language contact in Scotland. Table 4 represents my view of the three layers in which the languages are affected by the contact that they have had with each other through history:

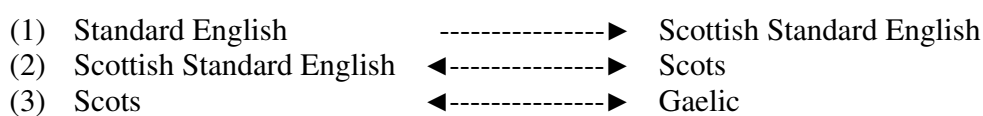


Table 4. Language contact points of Scotland's languages

Whereas English had a tremendous impact in the creation of Scottish Standard English, it can be argued the direct influence of Standard English to either Scots or Gaelic is relatively small. Most of its influence on the two latter-mentioned languages comes through Scottish Standard English. Even though imposed upon Gaelic and Scots speakers, the variety of English taught at schools and kindergartens in Scotland is Scottish Standard English rather than StE.

On level (2), Scottish English has had an influence on Scots and vice versa. The variety of Scots English an individual speaks is stigmatized by education – the higher the education, the less likely the person is to speak ‘broad Scots’. However, as the case is with so many other dialects of British Isles, Scotsmen do seem to be happy speaking their own language, and it does carry with it a status not many dialects in the Isles hold.

Level (3) illustrates the contact point between Scots and Gaelic. The Gaelic influence of Scots is often undermined, and is often attributed only to affect vocabulary, but even though

Scots English is based on English and Scots, many of the features of Scots are due to influence from Gaelic²⁵.

²⁵ As is the case of the relationship between Irish English and Irish, see Winford 2002: 239

5 The definite article in Scots, Middle English and Gaelic

5.1 The form of the definite article in Scots, Middle English and Gaelic

The definite article in Scots, like in Standard English, is *the*. It developed from Old English and Middle English, and a range of various archaic and historical forms can be found throughout the history of Scots: *thee*, *thei*, *tha*, *thy*, *th*; *ʒhe*, and *yhe* (*DOST* 2001: 473). *Yhe* and *ʒhe* are variants of *ye*, the original OE *þe*, whereas *th'* occurs mostly before a vowel (*DOST*: 2001: 475).

In Old English, there was no definite article as such (Mitchell & Robinson 1992: 106). Instead, the demonstrative pronouns *sē*, *þæt*, and *siō* (*seō*) were used to express both the definite article (*the*) and the demonstrative (*that*) (Wright & Wright 1928: 166). The demonstrative was inflected according to gender and number. The following table presents a general look at how the demonstrative was inflected in OE:

SING	MASC.	NEUT.	FEM.
NOM.	Sē	Þæt	siō, seō
ACC.	Þone	Þæt	þā
GEN.	þæs	Þæs	þāre
DAT.	þāem, þām	þāem þām	þāre
INSTR.		þȳ, þon	
PLUR. ALL GENDERS			
NOM. ACC.	þā		
GEN.	þāra, þāra		
DAT.	þāem, þām		

Table 5. Declination of the OE demonstrative (Wright & Wright 1928: 166)

Mustanoja (1960: 232) discusses some of the possible ways in which this demonstrative pronoun developed in OE. According to one view, the decay of OE inflections made it necessary to find

new means of expression to indicate various relations of the noun in the sentence, and the dependent demonstrative pronoun was found to be convenient for certain purposes of this kind. Another, less criticised, view of the development reflects the rise of the definite article into connection with the weak form of the adjective. The Germanic demonstrative suffix served as a kind of definite article, which then underwent considerable weakening. From this arose a need to reinforce the deictic element which was done by placing another demonstrative pronoun (*se, seo, þæt*) before the adjective. Thereafter, the use of the definite article (demonstrative) was extended from the substantivised adjective to the noun.

The inflected forms began to disappear in the twelfth century, much earlier in the northern and Midland than in the southern and Kentish dialects. In the northern and east Midland dialects the uninflected nominative masculine and feminine form *þē* had come to be simply *the* by ca. 1150, and almost everywhere else by ca. 1300 (Wright & Wright 1928: 167). Besides some inflected forms (such as the plural), the uninflected form *þē* had come to be used by early ME as the definite article for all cases and genders of the singular except in a few isolated phrases. By the side of the usual *the*, the form *that* appears all through ME before *one* and *other* (Mustanoja 1960: 233).

Even though the OE demonstrative pronoun is not strictly speaking a 'definite article' I will refer to it as such for simplicity in cases where it functions as a definite article.

Gaelic does not differentiate between indefinite and definite articles, but uses one article for both. The base form of the article is *an*, but it varies according to gender, case, number, and the initial letter of the accompanying noun (Mark 2004: 650), more specifically before vowels and the various classes of consonants (Calder 1972: 101). There are also morphophonemic

consequences, involving both lenition and nasalization, but these do not concern us greatly in this discussion. A detailed discussion of these different forms of the definite article in Gaelic is, however, of little relevance for our purpose. Table 6 presents an overview of the inflectional patterns of the Gaelic definite article:²⁶

	Before vowels			Before consonants		
	Masculine Singular	Feminine singular	Plural	Masculine singular	Feminine singular	Plural
Nominative	An t-	An	na h-	an ⁿ	An*	Na
Genitive	An	Na h-	Nan	an*	Na	nan ⁿ
Dative	An	An	na h-	an*	an*	Na

Table 6. The definite article in Gaelic (Gillies 2002, 177)

5.2 The use of the definite article in Scots, Middle English and Gaelic

The use of the definite article in Scots, ME and Gaelic varies in some respects greatly from that of StE. The aim of this chapter is to have a look at the ways in which the definite article is used in Scots and in (OE), ME and Gaelic respectively, and by comparing and contrasting the uses to try and establish the origins of the Scots use – whether Germanic or Celtic influence on the Scots tongue has taken place, and whether any conclusions can be drawn on the origin of the use of the definite article in Scots in general.

I will first present an overview list of the ways in which the Scots use of the definite article differs from that of StE and then progress to analyse each point further, presenting the equivalent uses in ME, OE and/or Gaelic where applicable, and analysing any similarities and differences found. I will provide several examples of the use from a variety of sources. These examples will first be translated literally, and then into StE. This is especially significant with

²⁶ For a full treatment, see Mark (2004: 651-653).

Gaelic, the syntax of which differs greatly from the Germanic languages presented here and therefore a more in-depth syntactical translation is needed to illustrate the examples. The translations of the Gaelic examples in square brackets are mine.

Unfortunately, it is nearly impossible to state with certainty the origin of all of the uses, and presumably many of the points will remain in need of further analysis, perhaps with reference to Latin, French, Low German, and High German uses of the definite article. This cannot be attempted in the present thesis, but hopefully this will provide a basis for a further study. Therefore, many of the conclusions I will present here will most likely be somewhat debatable, and the possible origins of the uses represent only the conclusions I have come to from the study of the languages in question.

There has been some linguistic debate as to whether or not the Scots and Scottish Standard English use of the definite article is a “grammatical rule”. For McClure (1994: 88), the different uses of the definite article in Scottish Standard English are “not always possible to discuss as examples of general grammatical rules”. As an example, he gives the following: “*He’s away to the school* (similarly *the church, the hospital* and *to his bed*)” (1994: 88). Miller (1993: 128) describes the definite article as “a well-known characteristic of Scottish English ... [used] with nouns denoting institutions, certain illnesses, certain periods of time and with quantifiers such as *both* and *all*.”

The categorisation of the uses of the definite article in Scots is based on the information found in *SND* (1974), *The Scots Dialect Dictionary* (2000), Eagle (website), Miller (1993), *DOST* (2001), and *SCOTS corpus* (website). None of the above-mentioned sources have included all aspects of the use, which has resulted in the need to create further categories of my own. The order presented in the sources has been rearranged, some categories have been merged together,

and some new ones have been created, either based on the sources, or my own findings. The new categorisation is introduced in an attempt to give a clear, coherent, and thorough picture on how the definite article is used in Scots. The treatment of the use of the demonstrative pronoun denoting the definite article in OE is based on March (1877: 175-6). It is the only grammar of OE, or Anglo-Saxon, I found that has a proper treatment of the use of the definite article and as such all the examples are his unless otherwise stated. The discussion on the use of the definite article in Middle English is based on the only authoritative and thorough presentation on the subject, namely Mustanoja (1960). The definite article has been discussed briefly by others (for example, see Burrow and Turville-Petre 1996: 45) and Jones (1972: 108-109), but they do not concentrate on the uses of the article. The representation here is not intended to be a full discussion of the ME definite article, and only the instances where the use of the article coincides with that of Scots are taken into account. For a complete treatment of the ME definite article, see Mustanoja (1960: 232-259). The discussion of the Gaelic definite article is mainly based on Calder (1972) and Mark (2004).

The following list represents the categories of uses of the definite article in Scots I have found and forms the base for my research.

The definite article in Scots is used

- (a) with nouns denoting public institutions
- (b) with nouns and prepositional constructions denoting aspects of domestic life and such
- (c) with nouns denoting commodities, material nouns, tools, and articles
- (d) with names of diseases and vices
- (e) with names of languages and branches of learning
- (f) with names of various general activities and pursuits, trades and crafts
- (g) with sports and athletic pursuits, actions and pastimes
- (h) with a name of a title or rank
- (i) to denote a class or species
- (j) with non-count nouns denoting abstract concepts
- (k) in phrases of time
- (l) as a corrupt form of other prefixes and particles
- (m) with measures, quantities and periods of time
- (n) instead of the possessive pronoun
- (o) with an adjective to denote eulogy or admiration
- (p) with proper nouns
- (q) before *baith*, *maist*, *ne(v)er*, *hale*
- (r) before *which* the *quhilk*, the *quhich*

- (a) with nouns denoting public institutions

The definite article in Scots is used with nouns denoting public institutions, in phrases such as *at the school* and *in the hospital* (Miller 1993: 129), as a general reference indefinitely (Warrack

2000: 586) where English would omit the definite article: *in school, in hospital* (Miller 1993: 129). Nouns denoting public institutions include *kirk, school, jail, hospital, college, town, court, harbour*, and *market*. I found one example of *hame* used in this similar way in the *SCOTS* corpus. Also the names of schools and colleges take the article where StE omits it (*SND* 1974):

- (1) They are at the kirk (Miller 1993: 129)
- (2) Awa til the kirk (Eagle: website)
- (3) at the school/schuil (at/in school) (Miller 1993: 129)
- (4) in the jail (in jail) (Miller 1993: 129)
- (5) in the hospital (in hospital) (Miller 1993: 129)
- (6) at the college (at college) (Miller 1993: 129)
- (7) doun the town (In town.) (Eagle: website)
- (8) As a true Scottish man, and educated at the Mareschal-Cottage of Aberdeen. (*SND* 1974)
- (9) Mr Lang was educated at the Edinburgh Academy and at the College Hall, St Andrews, and this year has been at the Glasgow University. (*SND* 1974)
- (10) Bit o luck wis it nae, the skweel veesitin the Hame last wick (*SCOTS* corpus)

I found no instances of a use of the article with nouns indicating or names of public institutions in either OE or ME. However, the definite article is similarly used in Gaelic. Mark (2004: 655) says that in Gaelic the definite article is used with some nouns denoting public institutions when used with various prepositions, where English does not take the definite article. He lists *baile* (town), *eaglais* (church), *sgoil* (school), and *taigh* (home) as examples, and continues that this is also extended to other places, e.g. *bhank* (bank), *mhuilinn* (mill), etc. (2004: 521). *Baile* always takes the definite form when not speaking about a town. In the phrase *at church* Gaelic uses *anns* ('in') rather than *aig* ('at'), to form 'in the church', 'in the school' (Mark 2004: 256). Mark (2004) gives us the following examples among others:

- (11) *anns an eaglais* (at church)
[in the church]
- (12) An robh e *anns an eaglais* an-diugh? (Was he at church today?)
[INTERR. was he in the church the-day?]

- (13) *tha e anns an sgoil* (he is at school)
 (14) *Cha robh e anns an sgoil an-dè.* (He wasn't at (in?) school yesterday)
 [Not was he in the school yesterday]
 (15) *An robh e aig an taigh?* (was he at home?)
 [INTERR. was he at the home?]
 (16) *tha i ag obair anns a' bhank* (she works at the bank)
 (17) *anns a' mhuilinn* (she works at the mill)
 (18) *anns a' phrìosan* (in prison, jail) [in the prison]
 (19) *bha mi anns a' bhaile an-dè* (I was in the town yesterday)
 (20) *Bha mi anns a' bhaile an-raoir* (I was in town last night)
 (21) *...nuair a nochd e ann an cùirt an t-siorraim ann am Peairt*
 [... when to appear he in the courth the sheriff-GEN in the Perth]
 (when he appeared in Perth Sheriff Court)

As we can see here, the use of the articles in Scots and in Gaelic are very similar. The use of the Scots definite article in phrasal constructions consisting of PREP.+DEF.ART.+ NOUN DENOTING PUBLIC INSTITUTION is due to Gaelic substratum. In the case of *church, school, court* etc. the substratum feature has been carried over in a straightforward manner, whereas in the case of *town*, the Gaelic *anns a' bhaile* correlates to the Scots *doun the toun*. The preposition is different, but the grammatical rule still applies (cf. StE downtown). This suggests English influence on the choice of preposition, but Gaelic influence on the use of the article.

(b) with nouns and prepositional constructions denoting aspects of domestic life and such

The definite article in Scots is used with aspects of domestic life and establishment, such as stair(s) and names of meals, and with *bed, grace, and table* (SND 1974):

- (22) *As seen's we get the brakfast.* (SND 1974)
 (23) *Fish tae the tea* (Fish for dinner) (Eagle: website)
 (24) *in the house* (at home) (Miller 1993: 129)
 (25) *Ah cannae even / Climb the stair.* (SCOTS corpus)

In ME, the definite article is sometimes used with names of meals, but usually the article is omitted, except when a particular meal is referred to (Mustanoja 1960: 252):

- (26) *to mete* into the kenges halle Thei come
- (27) she com *to dyner*
- (28) he asked why sche came not *to soper*
- (29) and *to the soper* sette he us anon

Neither Mark nor Calder have any mention of the definite article being used in Gaelic in this way. A search in *The Gaelic-English Dictionary* found the following examples:

- (30) anns *an* leabaidh (in bed)
[in the bed]
- (31) An dèidh *na suipearach* (after supper)
[after the supper]

Of the evidence here, it is difficult to make any conclusions as to where the Scots use takes after. It certainly does not seem to be ME, since the use of the article with names of meals is sporadic at best and non-existent at worst. In Gaelic, the use of the article with *bed* in (30) would seem to indicate that this could be the possible origin of the use in Scots, but the lack of further examples means that we cannot say this for certain.

This category shares similarity with category (a) above. This would seem support the argument that the use comes from Gaelic, perhaps due to the similarity of words in category (a), possibly through imperfect learning.

(c) with nouns denoting commodities, material nouns, tools, and articles

The definite article in Scots is used with nouns denoting commodities (SND 1974). Eagle is more vague, listing commodities and material articles under ‘miscellaneous nouns’.

- (32) The sugar is cheaper but the rum is as dear as ever. (SND 1974)
- (33) I hope it’ll no put up the price o’ the mulk. (SND 1974)

- (34) The price o the milk an the butter's aye gaun up. (Eagle: website)

In OE and ME, material nouns and the like usually do not take the article. However, Mustanoja (1960: 256) notes that a number of writers, for example Gowen in the late 14th and early 15th century, include the definite article in front of material nouns. However, he continues, usually after prepositions, especially *of*, the article is left out, as in example (38) below.

- (35) he was brigt so *þe glas*
 (36) as bare as þou come from *þe harde ston*
 (37) *the gold* is titled to the sonne, *The mone of selver* hath his part, And *iren* thath stant upon Mart, *The led* after Satorne groweth, And Jupiter *the bras* bestoweth, *The coper* set is to Venus, And to his part Mercurius Hath *the quikselver*
 (38) his hed with al the necke also Thei were *of fin gold* bothe tuo; His brest, his schuldres, and his armes Were al *of selver*, both the tharmes, The wombe, and al doun to the kne, Of bras thei were upon to se; The legges were al mad *of stiel*

In Gaelic, the definite article is used with names of tools and articles in common use (Calder 1972: 105). Also, a search in Mark (2004) provided examples of the use with some commodities, as in examples (42) and (43):

- (39) Cho geur ris *an ealtainn* (as sharp as a razor) (Calder 1972: 105)
 (40) ‘S tric a dh’ fhaobhaich *na sporain* / Fhir nach d’ fhòghlum *an onoir* (Thou who hast often despoiled purses, / And has learnt no honour) (Calder 1972: 105)
 (41) Bu maith *na h-airm na bodchrannan* (Cruppers were good weapons) (Calder 1972: 105)
 (42) tha cion *an uisge* agus *a’ bhidhe* ann (there is a lack of [the] water and [the] food) (Mark 2004: 78)
 (43) Bha fàileadh an uisge-bheatha air (a) anail (there was the smell of whisky on his breath) (Mark 2004: 617)

From the few examples of the use of the article with commodities and material nouns, it is again difficult to make conclusive analysis as to the origin of the use in Scots. However, it seems that the Gaelic use is very similar to that of the Scots, as is the case for Gaelic *water*, *food*, *whisky*, and *malt* as compared to Scots *milk* and *butter*. The ME examples are only of materials, and no terms for commodities or items of food are found. A search in *Corpus of Middle English Prose*

and Verse does seem to indicate that the definite article was not commonly used with nouns of commodities. The use of the article in front of material nouns, as Mustanoja (1960: 256) says, is assumed to be of French influence.

It is unlikely that ME would have taken the use from Gaelic, since Gaelic was not a language of the upper classes, and therefore would not be likely to be the target for loanwords or constructions for this particular category. Therefore, French influence to ME and then its influence to Gaelic and Scots is concluded.

(d) with names of diseases and vices

The definite article is nowadays regularly omitted in Standard English with names of diseases and illnesses. In Scots, this usage is still prevailing. It is also used with names of vices, such as *the drink*, *drunkenness*, and *the dry rot*, and with nouns denoting fit of annoyance or sulk, such as *bung*, *huff*, *pet*, *strunt* (*SND* 1974):

- (44) She has the hiccoughs. (Miller 1993: 128)
- (45) the shivers / the 'flu / the cauld (cold) (Miller 1993: 128, Eagle: website)
- (46) the haingles (influenza) (Eagle: website)
- (47) the measles (Miller 1993: 128)
- (48) the chickenpox (Miller 1993: 128)
- (49) the brounkaities (bronchitis) (Eagle: website)
- (50) the rheumatis (rheumatism) (Eagle: website)
- (51) I was taken ill of the gowt (*SND* 1974)
- (52) The sma' pox, the nirls, the blabs, the scaw (*SND* 1974)
- (53) The venome .. castis a man in to the agw (*DOST* 2001: 475)
- (54) Is that ye'r Jo has ta'en the Strunt? (*SND* 1974)

The definite article is used in a similar manner in Gaelic with names of diseases, and vices (Calder 1972: 105):

- (55) *a' chaitheamh* (consumption)

- (56) *a' bhreac* (smallpox)
- (57) *iadsan air an robh an tuiteamach* (those who had epilepsy)
- (58) *neach air an robh am pairilis* (one who had paralysis)
- (59) *Nach fan thu as an eucoir* (Will you not stay from wrong?)
- (60) *trom air an òl* (heavy on drink)
- (61) *tha an dèideadh orm* (I have toothache) (Mark 2004: 221)
[is the toothache on me]

No such usage of the definite article in accordance with names of diseases, ailments or vices were found in OE or ME. This points to Gaelic influence on the use of the definite article in Scots with names of diseases and vices, also considering the status of Gaelic at the time of the possible transition.

(e) with names of languages and branches of learning

According to *SND* (1974) the definite article precedes nouns denoting “branches of learning, (certain) foreign languages, philosophy, and the like”. *SND* goes on to say that this usage is somewhat obsolete, but still commonly used in the phrase *the Gaelic*. They suggest that this comes from the Gaelic use of the definite article in the same phrase: *A' Ghàidhlig*. Neither *SND* nor *The Scots Dialect Dictionary* (2000: 586), which both introduce this usage, further specify which names of languages take the definite article.

- (62) There is none in the College who can allow so much time for teaching the Hebrew. (*SND* 1974)
- (63) My sister was never good at the writing. (*SND* 1974)
- (64) The sound does not accur long in the Standard English. (*SND* 1974)
- (65) The Highland marches of our shire where the folk speak both the Gaelic and the Braid Scots. ... He lectures upo fat 'ey caa the Mathematicks. (*SND* 1974)
- (66) He kens the chemistry gey guid. (He knows chemistry very well.) (Eagle: website)
- (67) She's guid at the Laitin. (She is good at Latin.) (Eagle: website)
- (68) He canna speak the French. (He can't speak French.) (Eagle: website)

In Gaelic the definite article is used with names of languages (Calder 1972: 105). However, Mark (2004) does not note this usage, and in fact examples found in his dictionary under the governing noun would suggest that this in fact is not the case:

- (69) Tha Laideann... thràilleil / Do'n Ghàidhlig choir, / 'San Athen mhòira / Bha Ghreugais còrr na tìm (Latin is subservient / To honest Gaelic; In great Athens / Was Greek sometime.) (Calder 1972: 105)
[is Latin ... slavish / to their Gaelic ... / in the Athens great (used with definite article to mean the great, the mighty), was Greek more her time] (Calder 1972: 105)
- (70) Am faigh a' Ghàidhlig bàs? (Will Gaelic die?) (Calder 1972: 105)
- (71) Anns a' Bheurla chruaidh (in hard English) (Calder 1972: 105)
- (72) Is *ann am* Beurla a bha e a' bruidhinn (he was speaking in English) (Calder 1972: 105)
[It is in the English that was he a-speaking]
- (73) Tha Gàidhlig aige (he can speak Gaelic) (Mark 2004: 322)
[is Gaelic at-him]

I found no evidence of the use of the article with branches of learning.

(f) with names of various general activities and pursuits, trades and crafts

The definite article is used in verbal noun constructions with reference to general pursuits and activities and with names of various trades and crafts as a verbal noun (*SND* 1974). *SND* has a separate entry for “names of various general activities and pursuits” and “trades and crafts”, but they are grouped together here for convenience. It is perhaps more accurate to group them under verbal nouns, than for their semantic meaning.

- (74) E've been at the smoking, man. (*SND* 1974)
- (75) Ma son's learnin the carpenterin. (My son is learning carpentry.) (Eagle: website)
- (76) Of a' the trades that ever was, / The begging is the best. (*SND* 1974)
- (77) A hard life it is for those who follow the fishing. (*SND* 1974)
- (78) I could wish you would settle to the farming. (*SND* 1974)
- (79) He begoud the dealin.(He began trading.) (Eagle: website)
- (80) I could have ta'en to the greeting (*SND* 1974)

In Gaelic, *A'* or *ag* is used with verbal nouns (Mark 2004: 1):

- (81) bha e *a' suirghe* air nighinn anns an ath shràid (he was wooing a lass in the next street) (Mark 2004: 558)
- (82) tha e *a' coiseachd* (he is walking) (Mark 2004: 1)
[is he a-walking]
- (83) dè tha e *ag ràdh* (what is he saying) (Mark 2004: 1)

Mackay notes that “[s]uch vernacular English phrases as ‘I am a going’ or ‘a doing,’ or ‘a walking,’ are of Gaelic origin” (1877: xxix).

In Gaelic, both the article and the pronoun ‘at’ take the form *a'*, and this could account for the Scots usage of the definite article with verbal nouns. It is plausible that the construction of the Gaelic usage is brought into Scots through imperfect learning, and *a'* is taken to mean ‘the’ instead of the vocal form of ‘aig’ when it is used in constructions of AIG+VERBAL NOUN.

(g) with sports and athletic pursuits, actions and pastimes

The definite article is used with names of sports and games, as well as with athletic pursuits and some terms of the above-mentioned fields (*SND* 1974). It is also used with a noun denoting an action or pastime (or the right to it) (*DOST* 2001: 474).

- (84) The exercise and Diversion of the Golff. (*SND* 1974)
- (85) They had been playing at the chess. (*SND* 1974)
- (86) A gemme at the bouls (A game of bowls) (Eagle: website)
- (87) Walter is working at the Riding. (*SND* 1974)
- (88) There’s naething in their heid nooadays but the fitba. (*SND* 1974)
- (89) Sent til the jyle (Sent to goal) (Eagle: website)

It is debatable whether *Walter is working at the Riding* should be in this category, or whether it would be better fitting in category (f), where it is used as a verbal noun. *SND* have most likely positioned it here because of the semantic meaning of the word, rather than its form.

I could not find any instance of the definite article being used in this context in Gaelic in either MacLennan (2001) or Mark (2004). The Corpus of Middle English Prose and Verse found one instance of a usage of this type:

- (90) the whiche on a day pleyed at the chess

This is far from extensive enough to draw any definite conclusions, but from the evidence here (or, perhaps, the lack thereof) it can be said that the more likely route for this usage is via Middle English, not Gaelic.

(h) with a name of a title or rank

The definite article in Older Scots is used with names denoting a title or rank (*DOST* 2001: 473):

- (91) With the consail of qyse men & lele ... in the firste the Duc of Albany
 (92) The King Clarus is wyse in were
 (93) The lord of the Ilis
 (94) The Quene of Inglandis dirigee
 (95) The Prince of Scotland Henricus Fridericus is titillit Duk of Rothesay ... and Steward of Scotland
 (96) The right honorabll the Earell of Weims

In ME, this use varies a great deal (Mustanoja 1960: 237). With *king* and *queen*, the usage varies, although according to Mustanoja, the tendency is to drop the article. Both constructions can even be present in one sentence. With the construction *KING + PERSONAL NAME + OF-CONSTRUCTION*, there is strong tendency to omit the article:

- (97) in th'olde dayes of the kyng Arthour
 (98) the king Allee
 (99) þe queen Alianore
 (100) wyf to kyng Cappaneus
 (101) qween Ysabelle
 (102) þe storie of Alexander seiþ þat what þe kyng Alexandre asked of hem tribute, þe quene of Amazones wroot to kyng Alexandre in þis maner.

- (103) to king Petir of Spayn
- (104) the kyng Pandras of Greek

With other nouns denoting rank, such as *prince*, *duke*, *earl*, *knight*, *pope*, *bishop*, *abbot*, *parson*, and *apostle* Mustanoja notes that the tendency varies a lot. Towards the late ME, however, the usage starts resembling the present one. *Lord* and *lady* usually take the definite article.

Common nouns used in polite address without any particular reference to the person's rank, such as *master*, *sir*, *daun*, *frere*, *mistress*, *dame*, and *maid*, have always been without article:

- (105) to maister Thomas
- (106) thenne said sire Launcelot
- (107) daun Arcite
- (108) dawn Thomas Hevyngham
- (109) dame Custance
- (110) which made Rosemounde hihte
- (111) maid Mary

The definite article is used with names denoting rank and office (Calder 1972: 105) and in titles of rank, such as captain, commander etc. when accompanied by a name (Mark 2004: 654):

- (112) Aon duine a bhiodh am freasdal ris *an léigh* (Whoever would be attending a doctor) (Calder 1972: 105)
- (113) *an t-ollamh MacIain* (Dr. Johnson) (Calder 1972: 105)
- (114) *An Rìgh Seumas a sia* (King James the sixth) (Mark 2004: 654)
- (115) *An t-Easbaig Dòmhall MacDhòmhnail* (Bishop Donald McDonald) (Mark 2004: 654)
- (116) Mhìnick *an Commandair Seagha an suidheachadh* (Commander Shaw explained the situation.) (Mark 2004: 654)
- (117) Nochd iad air beulaibh *an t-Siorraim Chaimbell* (They appaerd before Sheriff Campbell) (Mark 2004: 654)

Mark (2004: 654) notes that this applies to *Mrs* and *Miss*, but not to *Mr*:

- (118) Thàinig Maighstir MacLeòid, *a' Bhean-phòsta Nic a' Phearsain* agus *A' Mhaighdeann NicNèill a-steach* (Mr MacLeod, Mrs MacPherson and Miss MacNeill entered.)

Here we can see that both Middle English and Gaelic use the definite article in this way. The evidence is inconclusive as to which has most influenced Scots English in this regard, but with some certainty it can be said that this feature of Scots is due to substratum influence, whether it was from ME or Gaelic.

(i) to denote a class or species

In Older Scots, the definite article is used “with the name of something used generically or as the type of its class” (*DOST* 2001: 475):

- (119) The comwnis of England/// rais aganis thare wikkit king
- (120) The hairt, they hynd, the dae, the rae, The fulmarte, and the fox
- (121) My ... heart must weepe to see ... th’ ould, poore, blind, leame

In ME, when a common noun is used generically to indicate a class or species, three constructions are possible: the article can be omitted, or either the indefinite or the definite article can be used (Mustanoja 1960: 253, 262). Mustanoja does not specify how common each of the uses is, so we have to assume that they are varied in usage.

- (122) speruwe haveþ zet one kunde þet is swuþe biheve to ancre
- (123) þarbi men segget a vorbisne
- (124) he was brigt so þe glas, He was whit so þe flur

In OE, the generic plural takes the definite article. In ME, steadily the article is dropped out. It still occurs side by side with the article, but is receding and increasingly rare, leading up to what is modern English (Mustanoja 1960: 253):

- (125) OE: þa wæs he swa feor norþ swa þa hwælhntan firrest faraþ
- (126) eME: þa kingess well itt sæzhenn
- (127) eME: þatt preostess unnderrfanngenn
- (128) IME: who had worthyed kinges in the felde? who hath honoured ladyes in boure?

In Gaelic, the definite article is used with common nouns to express a genus or species (Calder 1972: 105), or class or type (Mark 2004: 654):

- (129) Fhuair iad a mach le cràdh ‘us deòir / Gu’n deach *an* duine bhreith gu bròn (They found out with anguish and tears / That man was born to sorrow) (Calder 1972: 105)
- (130) Fhir du chiùine *na* mhaighdeann / ‘S bu ghairge na ‘*n* lasair (O thou who wert milder than maiden / And fiercer than flame) (Calder 1972: 105)
- (131) Is e *an* t-òr agus *an* t-airgead a bha iad ag iarraidh (It was gold and silver that they were after) (Mark 2004: 654)
- (132) Bha iad *an* tòir air na liughanan (they were after lythe) (Mark 2004: 654)
- (133) Bha iad *a’* goid nan ùbhlan air (they were stealing apples from him) (Mark 2004: 654)
- (134) Bha cion *an* uisge agus *a’* bhidhe ann (there was lack of water and food) (Mark 2004: 654)
- (135) Tha *a’* bhiarach dèidheil air *an* rionnach (The dogfish is fond of mackerel) (Mark 2004: 654)

This is particularly common in similes (Mark 2004: 654):

- (136) Bha a h-aodann cho geal ris *an* t-sneachda (Her face was as white as snow)

Following *tha* construed with *ann*, the article may indicate an individual of a species (Calder 1972: 105):

- (137) Cha n’eil annad ach *an* dearg shlaoightire (You are but an arrant knave.)

Scots retained its use of the article when ME gradually dropped it. It can be said that this is due to internal developments, and most likely is not a contact-induced feature.

(j) with non-count nouns denoting abstract concepts

The definite article was used in Older Scots with non-count nouns to denote abstract concepts

(*DOST* 2001: 474):

- (138) Vneis in him the lyfe thay fand
- (139) The Ynglis men had the victory
- (140) If e can but transmit to the posterity

In ME, as in Standard English, the definite article is left out before abstract nouns. However, in ME it is sometimes used with *truth, law, doom, war, peace, life, death* (Mustanoja 1960: 256):

(141) contemnyd to þe dep

In contrast, the definite article in Gaelic is used with abstract nouns (Calder 1972: 14; Mark 2004: 654):

(142) Ciod i *an* fhìrinn? (What is truth?)

(143) Agus is i so *a'* bheatha mhaireannach (And this is eternal life)

(144) B'e 'n t-aighear 's *an* sulas / Bhi sìnte (It were joy and gladness / to be stretched out)

(145) Ciod I *a'* ghairm éifeachdach? (What is effectual calling?)

(146) Chan e dìth *na* cèille a-mhàin a tha ga chumail air ais (It isn't only lack of sense that's holding him back) (Mark 2004: 654)

(147) Cha dean *an* gràdh ràiteachs (Love does not boast) (Mark 2004: 654)

(148) Dh'fhàs e dall leis *an* aois (He became blind with age) (Mark 2004: 654)

The use of the article with count nouns in Middle Scots seems to take after the developments of OE into ME, and this was further enhanced by a similar usage in Gaelic. Therefore, this feature can be said to show substratum influence.

(k) in phrases of time

The definite article in Scots is used with nouns denoting certain periods of time, the names of the seasons and the days of the week (e.g. *Eagle website*, Miller 1993). *SND* explains that Scots uses the definite article before the names of festival days, and times associated, now or formerly, with religious observance, like *the Sabbath*. The definite article in Scots is used with the numerals that express a certain year, those for the century being frequently omitted (*SND*, 1974). This usage is now obsolete except in the phrases *the Fifteen* and *the Forty-five*, which are historical references to the Jacobite risings of 1715 and 174.

- (149) the day (today) (Eagle: website)
- (150) the nicht (tonight) (Eagle: website)
- (151) the morn (tomorrow) (Eagle: website)
- (152) the now/the nou ([just]now) (Eagle: website)
- (153) the morn come aicht day (tomorrow week) (Eagle: website)
- (154) the morn's morn(in) (tomorrow morning) (Eagle: website)
- (155) Last nicht there was four Maries / The nicht there'l be but three.(*SND* 1974)
- (156) the ware (spring), the simmer (summer), the hairst (autumn), the winter (winter) (Eagle: website)
- (157) Hit's cauld in the winter. (It's cold in winter.) (Eagle: website)
- (158) the Monanday (Monday), the Tysday (Tuesday), the Wadensday (Wednesday), the Fuirsdai (Thursday) etc. (Eagle: website)
- (159) We were engaged, and it is the Saturday night. (*SND* 1974)
- (160) It fell about the Martinmass. (*SND* 1974)
- (161) The Government of the Established Church is the very same as it was in the Nintie Two. (*SND* 1974)
- (162) Any of the old editions before the 1500. (*SND* 1974)
- (163) In the saxteen and seventeen, the scourge fell on our flocks and our herds. (*SND* 1974)
- (164) We gied the English a fleg at the 'Forty-five.' (*SND* 1974)
- (165) I didn't mind you were a veteran of the '45. (*SND* 1974)

In Older Scots, the definite article was used to “particularise a (time of) day or year” (*DOST*

2001: 473). It was also used to denote years:

- (166) The yheire of grace athousand four hundrez and the fyfft
- (167) Thretty pund ... at the Martynmes next thar eftyr folowand and fowrti mark at the Qwissonday
- (168) The unnaturall and treacherous attempt of the 93

In ME, the names of seasons do not normally take the article, but exceptions can be found

(Mustanoja 1960: 250). However, when an adjective precedes the name of a season, it takes the article.

- (169) o summer annd onn herrfesetid
- (170) the somer passeth
- (171) þe wynter
- (172) the hoote somer hadde maad his hewe al broun

In ME, there is no article in front of a name of a day of week unless it is in a generalising sense, has reference to a day of a particular week, is preceded by an attributive adjective, or is followed by a temporal phrase. If the name of the week is followed by an adjective, the article is either used or left out (Mustanoja 1960: 250-1):

- (173) lo, your Sondag ginneth at the first hour after noon on the Saturday
- (174) þe þorsdai þe Witesone wouke to Londone Lowis com
- (175) the ferst Wednesday of Marche
- (176) uppon þe holy Soneday
- (177) on þe sunnen dæi beforen midwinter dæi
- (178) on the Fryday nest folowende
- (179) uppon Thursday nexte folowyng

With parts of the day, usage varies a great deal. In prepositional phrases, the article is usually absent, as well as with *night* and *day*, but still the usage varies a great deal (Mustanoja 1960: 251-252):

- (180) to morwe
- (181) to day
- (182) amorwe, whan that day bigan to spryng
- (183) til it was passed undren of the day
- (184) upon the morwe
- (185) hot is þe day
- (186) sche ... lay be him al nyte

Mustanoja (1960: 253) says that “[i]n the North the expressions *the day*, *the morn*, and the like are occasionally used in the sense of ‘today’ and ‘tomorrow’”:

- (187) þe sun was past þat time ... Seven sith brighter þen þe dai
- (188) thai thynk, the morn, quhen it is day, To seik zow

In Gaelic, the article is not used for the days of the week or with festivals:

- (189) Is e Disathairne a bha ann (It was (a) Saturday) (Mark 2004: 701)
- (190) Chan fhaca mi e Diathairne (I didn’t see him on Saturday). (Mark 2004: 703)

The exceptions are:

- (191) *An t-Sàbaid* (The Sabbath) (Mark 2004: 703)
- (192) *Fèill an Taisbeanaidh* (Epiphany) (Mark 2004: 703)

The article is used with names of the months. However, Mark notes that the calendar months are a “comparatively modern” invention (2004: 701), and therefore need to be excluded from the conclusions drawn in this thesis. Similarly, the article is used with names of seasons, and for special days (Mark 2004: 702):

- (193) *Is e an Dùlchadh a bh’ann* (It was December)
- (194) *Anns an Òg-mhios* (In June)
- (195) *Anns a’ gheamhradh* (in winter)
- (196) *Aig àm na Nollaige* (at Christmas time)

The article is also used with some other expressions of time (Mark 2004: 703):

- (197) *A’ mhadainn an-diugh* (This morning)
- (198) *An ath-oidhche* (tomorrow night)
- (199) *An t-seachdain seo tighinn* (this coming week)

In Gaelic, the definite article is used similarly to Scots with divisions of time (Calder 1972: 105):

- (200) *Am fear nach cuir ‘sa’ Mhart cha bhuaib e a’s’ t-Fhoghar* (He that does not sow in March will not reap in Autumn)
- (201) *‘N uair thig a’ Bhealltainn, / ‘S an Samhradh lusanach* (When Beltane comes, / and luxuriant Summer)
- (202) *O bheul na h-oidhche / Gu soills’ na maidne* (From the mouth of night / to the light of morning)
- (203) *seach bruthainn a’ Mhaigh* (past the sultriness of May)
- (204) *aon uair ‘sa’ bhliadhna* (once a year)

It would seem that the use of the definite article in various definitions of time in Scots is due in part to substratum influence from Gaelic, in part from ME, and in part it is due to internal developments that might have introduced this feature even without the presence of the feature in neighbouring languages.

(l) as a corrupt form of other prefixes and particles

The definite article in Scots is used as a “corrupt form of other prefixes or particles” (*SND*, 1974), such as *to-*, *ye-* and *this*. Some of the examples given in this category also apply to the category of time phrases.

SND (1974) says that the definite article is used instead of *to-*, *ye-* and *even-* in *the noo*, *thenu* and *thi(v) noo*, meaning ‘now’, ‘at this very moment’, instead of *there-* in *the ben* and *but(t)* meaning ‘in an inner (outer) apartment’, in phrases *the furth* and *the oot* meaning ‘outside’, and instead of *this* as in the phrase *the year*, meaning ‘this year’:

- (205) the day (today) (Eagle: website)
- (206) the nicht (tonight) (Eagle: website)
- (207) the morn (tomorrow) (Eagle: website)
- (208) Ask what he’d have for brakefast the day. (*SND* 1974)
- (209) Last nicht there was four Maries / The nicht there’l be but three. (*SND* 1974)
- (210) We will maybe see better into it the morn’s morning. (*SND* 1974)
- (211) thegither (together) (Eagle: website)
- (212) the streen / yestreen (yesterday [evening]) (Eagle: website)
- (213) I canna attend till’t jist i’ the noo. (*SND* 1974)
- (214) I expect him in the-noo. (*SND* 1974)
- (215) How are you selling it the now? (*SND* 1974)
- (216) Ma maister o’ ceremonies is oot thiv noo amun’ the tatties. (*SND* 1974)
- (217) Nearly three a cloke thinoo. (*SND* 1974)
- (218) In case the Judge will not permit That you come ben, bide still the butt.lxxiii
- (219) Your beds be made the ben / Lasses twa / That had gane will, an’ been the-forth a’ night. (*SND* 1974)
- (220) It’s far the furth ye face the fremt. (*SND* 1974)
- (221) She’s busy the but as a hen amon’ corn. (*SND* 1974)
- (222) I winna be married the year. (*SND* 1974)
- (223) It’s the first steady frost the ‘eer. (*SND* 1974)
- (224) The corn’s guid the year. (The corn is good this year.) (Eagle: website)

I found no evidence of this usage in Middle English. In Gaelic, *an-* is used similarly as a first element of many adverbs, usually representing the definite article (Mark 2004: 35):

- (225) *an-dè* (yesterday)
- (226) *an-diugh* (today, nowadays)
- (227) nam b'e *an-dè an-diugh* (if yesterday were today)
- (228) na mhadainn an diugh (this morning)
- (229) *an-drasta* (now, just now, at the moment)
- (230) *an-dràsta fhèin* (right now)
- (231) *an-earar* (the day after tomorrow)
- (232) *an-uiridh* (last year)

Therefore, it can be concluded that usage shows substratum influence from Gaelic.

(m) with measures, quantities and periods of time

The definite article is used in Scots with measures, quantities and periods of time:

- They gained five shillings the piece. (*SND* 1974)
- A shillin the piece (a shilling each) (Eagle: website)
- Thay haed a stoot walkin-stick the piece. (They each had a stout walking stick.) (*SND* 1974)
- He wis feelin hungert an ett the bit breid. (He was feeling hungry and ate a piece of bread.) (Eagle 1974)

In Older Scots, the definite article was used with measures, quantities, and to indicate the rate or price per quantity, to mean per, each, every (*DOST* 2001: 475):

- (233) Qwhen the chalder is sauld for xl s. the galloun salbe at ij penijs
- (234) Scarlett claith the elne x lib.

The definite article is used with units of measurement since early ME (Mustanoja 1960: 254):

- (235) þær shollde cumenn o þe 3er Ann siþe
- (236) four siþen i þe 3ere
- (237) a serteyn ['a certain sum'] by þe weke
- (238) to have iiij d. of the pound

In Gaelic, *Anns an* is used to mean per, each (Mark 2004: 499):

- (239) Mu thri croinn san oidhche (about three cran per night)

Due to the nature of this category, from the evidence available it would seem that the definite article with measurements is from ME substratum, and the use of the article meaning ‘each’ and ‘per’ is of Gaelic influence.

(n) instead of the possessive pronoun

The definite article in Scots is used instead of (or as) a possessive pronoun when speaking about relatives, especially with *wife*, but also with other members of the family, parts of the body, (SND 1974) items of clothing, as I discovered from an example by Eagle, and in the phrase *the – o’ –*, where the definite article is used as an alternative to *my, your, his* etc. (SND 1974). *The Scots Dialect Dictionary* (2000: 586) disagrees slightly, stating that the definite article is used “indefinitely with some words, as *wife*.” However, the definite article in this case is not indefinite, but rather acts as a possessive pronoun.

(240) The guidman. (My [your or her] husband.) (SND 1974)

(241) What shall I say to the wife? (SND 1974)

(242) To keep or lose the heid (SND 1974)

(243) The sodger wis wantin the helm. (Eagle: website)

According to *The Scots dialect dictionary* (2000, 586), the definite article is used as a prefix to form personal pronouns:

(244) Theself (itself)

SND (1965: 456) says that the construction of *the – o’ –* is used periphrastically with a personal pronoun in place of the more usual possessive pronoun, and generally conveying a diminutive effect, as of affectionate tenderness or of scorn. It can also be used as a reflexive pronoun for *myself, yourself* etc:

(245) the sell o’ m

- (246) Wap and row, wap and row / Wap and row the feetie o't
 (247) I ken nae friend he has in the world tha's been sae like a father to him as the sell
 o' ye. (yourself)
 (248) The rape about the neck o' them
 (249) I never was a gweed gar me trew a' the days o' me.
 (250) Jist haud the kyard tongue of ye.

From the OE period, the definite article occurs where modern English would use a possessive.

Often in ME within the same text both the article and the possessive pronoun is used (Mustanoja 1960: 163):

- (251) Mit þe þreo vingres
 (252) And fouhtenm si þei woren wode, þat þe swot ran from þe crune
 (253) He speketh thurgh the nose

The definite article is occasionally used before an independent possessive pronoun. This, Mustanoja (1960: 258) says, is an imitation of the corresponding French construction:

- (254) to approve better the his than that other

In ME, the definite article is used with possessive pronouns from the 14th to the 17th century (Mustanoja 1960: 164):

- (255) als it may be with þe awen body

At the same time, *the self* was used instead of *itself*. Mustanoja (1960: 147) takes this to be a consequence of the development of *self* into a noun:

- þei love not holynes for þe self

An identical structure to the DEF ART + NOUN + of + POSS PRON does not seem to exist in Gaelic.

The definite article is used with *aig* and its prepositional pronouns to express possession (Mark 2004: 654):

- a' bhò agamsa* (my cow) [the cow at me]
a' bhò aig Seumas (James' cow) [the cow at James]

It can be concluded that the usage of the definite article was introduced to Scots by ME, and it was retained in Scots when ME gradually replaced it.

The construction *the – o’ –* does not correspond to either Middle English or Gaelic. From the evidence available the findings must therefore be inconclusive, but it can be argued that the unique usage is through internal developments, and therefore is not a contact-induced feature.

(o) with an adjective to denote eulogy or admiration

The definite article is also preferred instead of the Standard English \emptyset in expressions implying eulogy or admiration. *The Scottish National Dictionary* (1974) suggests that this probably comes from Gaelic, where the definite article is similarly used.

(256) You are the droll woman, Bell. (Eagle: website)

(257) They tell me you’re to be the great surgeon. (*SND* 1974)

(258) “I’m all right, thank you. I’m resting.” / ... “That’s the man!” and she went away. (*SND* 1974)

I found no evidence of usage of this type in either Middle English or Gaelic. Therefore, the findings are inconclusive, but it can be argued that the usage is due to internal developments of Scots, and not due to contact-induced language change.

(p) with proper nouns

The usage of the definite article with proper nouns is in some cases very different from the Standard English one. *SND* (1974) is the only source to point out how the definite article is used with proper names. They suggest a few different usages, which are presented below.

Surnames as an epithet

In Scots, the definite article is added before a surname to indicate that the person in question is the chief or leading member of a family. In Older Scots, this was used as a translation from the French *Le* or as an alteration of *de*. It is found for example in the following names: *Robert the Bruce, Reginald the Cheyne, the Douglas*. It still survives today thanks to its historical usage, when the heads of families bearing Lowland surnames were distinguished by preceding the surname with the definite article (*Sc. Hist. Review* X. 1913: 46 as quoted by *SND*). Later, this use was extended to the names of Highland Chiefs, “not at all improbably misled by Scott’s use of ‘the MacGregor’ in *Rob Roy* (*Sc. Hist. Review* X. 1913: 46 as quoted by *SND*). Nowadays, *the* is prefixed to the surname to denote the chief of a Highland clan, at least popularly (*SND* 1974). *SND* (1974) go on to say that in Gaelic, this use is only found in *An t-Siosalach*, The Chisholm, originally a Lowland family chief (*SND* 1974).

(259) But still the Douglas is the theme ... / Pur forth the glory of the Graeme! (*SND* 1974)

(260) What fellow are you, that dare to claim kindred with the MacGregor? (*SND* 1974)

(261) Oh there I met Sir James the Rose, / Wi him Sir John the Gryme. (*SND* 1974)

In contrast to the view of *SND*, Calder (1972: 105) says that the definite article in Gaelic is used with adjectival patronymics to signify one member of a clan or native of a district:

(262) ‘S co neònach leams’ *am* Frisealach / ‘S *am* Bàideanach bhi deanamh réit (It is amazing to me that Fraser / And the Badenoch man are reconciled.)

(263) Gé beag orts’ *an* Caimbeulach dubh (Though you despise black Campbell)

(264) ‘S ged bu ghuineach na Duibhnich (And though the Campbell’s were keen)

In ME, the French preposition *de* is also occasionally rendered by *the* before surnames

(Mustanoja 1960: 234):

(265) Sir Roger þe Mortimer

(266) Sir Philip þe Valayse

- (267) Robert the Brwys, Erle of Carrk
 (268) two lordes þe Mortymer ('duo magnates de Mortuo Mari)

According to *DOST* (2001: 473), the definite article was used in OSc as a translation of the French *De* also to indicate the status of an important individual, and without a preceding Christian name passing into use with a surname:

- (269) Sum wald haiff the Balleoll king
 (270) I have nocht thi precius feit to kis As had the Magdalyn

With certain place-names

The use of the definite article with certain place-names originates partly from cases where the name represents a Gaelic common noun with the article prefixed (*SND* 1974). They list *the Skateraw, the Doonies, the Newburgh, the Crail, the Methil, the Twechar, the Kirn, the Row, the Cove, the Whifflet, the Largs, the Troon, the Howwood, the Nitshill, the Langholm* together with:

- (271) Lost betwixt the Newburgh and Kinghorn.
 (272) His hose, of force to hold an anchor, / And manufactur'd at the Sanquhar.
 (273) The hum of life in the Elie is so calm to-night.
 (274) He comes from the Gatehouse, from the Durham (Kirkpatrick Durham).

The names of continents, countries, provinces, counties, towns, and villages do not take an article in ME, occasionally even when such a name is preceded by an attributive adjective (*Mustanoja* 1960: 239). Occasionally, with the comparative degree, the article is used when a difference or a contrast is emphasized.

- (275) to Tuskan
 (276) her schip was drevyn into Norway coost
 (277) of West Lumbardye
 (278) litel Britaigne
 (279) to þe lasse Brutaine
 (280) which men the noble Rome calle
 (281) þe gret Troye

With some place-names consisting of a common noun preceded by an adjective, the definite article is occasionally used to suggest “that the original appellative character is still felt”, as well as in the names of minor localities in Britain (Mustanoja 1960: 239-240):

- (282) at þe Holy Hede
- (283) at þe Newe Castell oppon Tyne
- (284) they dystryde the Rye
- (285) they conquered manye regnes grete In the Orient
- (286) oute of Oryent

The names of French provinces and other localities often take the definite article, as in *at the Rochele*. Town quarters, streets, gates and bridges do not take the definite article, the exception being *the Tower street* (Mustanoja 1960: 240).

In Gaelic, seas, countries, towns, counties, etc. sometimes include and sometimes omit the article (Mark 2004: 722-725). The definite article is also used with names of cities, countries, districts and continents (Calder 1972: 104-5).

Most countries are in variation, notable exceptions are England and Britain (Sasainn, Breatann) for which Mark does not give the alternative form with the definite article. Based on lists provided by Mark (2004: 725-35), mountains, lochs, or islands in Scotland do not seem to take the article. The article is used in names of districts.

- (287) An Fhraing France
- (288) anns an Fraing
- (289) anns an Òban in Oban
- (290) Aetiòp, An Aetiop Ethiopia
- (291) Àisia, An Àisia Asia
- (292) rìhrean na h-Albann (the kings of Scotland [kings the Scotland-GEN])
- (293) ann an Albainn in Scotland [in the Scotland-DAT]
- (294) ged a thogadh mi ann an Sasainn, rugadh mi ann an Alba (even though I was brought up in England, I was born in Scotland)

- (295) bha a shaothair air sgàna h-Albann mìorbhaileach (his labour on Scotland's behalf was marvellous)
- (296) Banca na h-Alba (Bank of Scotland)
[bank the Scotland- GEN]
- (297) Thachair so 'san Ros ri linn Bhonaparte (This happened in Ross (of Mull) in the time of Buonaparte.)
- (298) Coltas Hector Mòr na Tròidhe / 'S nan gaisgeach bha 'm feachd na Ròimhe (Like great Hector of Troy / And the heroes that were in the army of Rome)
- (299) Tha 'n Albainn gu léir, 's an Lunnainn (That are in all Scotland and in London)
- (300) Air astar do'n Ghearmailt (On the way to Germany)
- (301) Ag òl air fion na Spàinnt' (Quaffing the wine of Spain)
- (302) Rìgh na Fràinge (The King of France)
- (303) Gliocas eagnuidh na Gréige (A fine knowledge of Greece.)
- (304) Tha suaicheantas na h-Alb' agaibh (Ye have the badge of Scotland)
- (305) Thachair so 'san Ros ri linn Bhonaparte (This happened in Ross (of Mull) in the time of Buonaparte.)
- (306) Stòras na h-Eòrpa (the wealth of Europe)
- (307) ainnir na Roinn-Eòrpa (the maiden of Europe)

Calder (1972: 105) notes that exceptions are frequent: *Dun-éidann* still preserves a sense of the founder's name, and hence does not take the article.

It would seem that Scots only uses the article in local place-names, which have been translated directly from the original Gaelic place-name, therefore keeping the article in those names. However, the use of the article in Gaelic in this way does not seem to be wide-spread.

Rivers and bridges

The definite article used to be omitted in Scots before the names of rivers and bridges, but this is nowadays obsolete, except in place-names, as in *Bridge of -* (SND 1974). SND attributes this possibly to the original Gaelic usage.

- (308) The river Levin, which, next to Spey, is reckon'd the most rapid river in Scotland. (SND 1974)
- (309) The French etc. wading Don, attacked; the greatest body from Dridge of Don, hearing the firing, waded Urie. (SND 1974)
- (310) The teen was killed in Lourin Fair, and the tither drowned in Dee. (SND 1974)

(q) before *baith*, *maist*, *ne(v)er*, *hale*

The definite article is used in Scots before *baith*, *maist* and *ne(v)er*, where Standard English omits the article (*SND* 1974). Miller also adds *hale* in the list (1993: 129).

- (311) the *baith* o ye (both of you) (Eagle: website)
- (312) The bouncer throws the both of them out. (Miller 1993: 128)
- (313) Cathy helps Trisha ... and the both of them get on really good. (Miller 1993: 128)
- (314) God rest the *baith* o' them. (*SND* 1974)
- (315) We want to see you doing well, the both of you. (*SND* 1974)
- (316) Come in, the *baith* o' ye. (*SND* 1974)
- (317) the *maist* o ye (most of you) (Eagle: website)
- (318) You have the most of my cavalry. (*SND* 1974)
- (319) The most of them answered. (*SND* 1974)
- (320) At the moment France required the most of her supplies for herself. (*SND* 1974)
- (321) The *neer* a word had Dickie to say. (*SND* 1974)
- (322) The *ne'er* a supper crost my craig, / The *ne'er* a sleep hae clos'd my een. (*SND* 1974)
- (323) The *ne'er* a thing they gae the brute. (*SND* 1974)
- (324) The *hale* three of them's back on it. (the whole three, all three) (Miller 1993: 128)

I found no evidence of this usage in Middle English or Gaelic, and therefore it must be presumed that this usage in Scots developed language-internally.

(r) before *which* the *quhilk*, the *quhich*

The definite article is used before *which* as a relative pronoun (*SND*, 1974). This is now obsolete except in legal phraseology, and before *fa* as an interrogative, meaning 'who'.

- The *quihlk* day, the said Judge ... the *whilk* day, the Judge said... (*SND* 1974)
- Edinburgh 3d June 1776. The *which* day the General Assembly... (*SND* 1974)
- The *fa* said ye, wis't? (*SND* 1974)

The relative *the which* appears first in early Middle English texts in the north. It gradually appears even in the southern texts. Mustanoja (1960: 198) says that the origin of this is not completely agreed on. Some scholars say that it derives from the French *liquels*, whereas some

authorities say that it is a native development, the position of which is strengthened by the correlation to French.

(325) to serve him in þat hali ture þat suld be of a number hale, And mani thusand have
in tale; The quilk tale nangat suld be mare And nede behoved it fulfild ware
(Mustanoja 1960: 198)

(326) Crystes tresore, þe which is mannes soule to save (Mustanoja 1960: 198)

In ME, the interrogative *which* is on rare occasions preceded by the definite article. This, Mustanoja (1960: 185) says, may be only a reflection of the use of the article before relative ‘which’:

(327) ful wel I wat þe quilk o yow Þe tresun has purvaid (interr.)

I found no evidence of the use of the article in this way in Gaelic. Therefore, it can be said that this type of usage was introduced to Scots through ME, after which they developed independently; Scots retaining the use and ME dropping the definite article.

6 Conclusion

In this thesis I have looked at the use of the definite article in Scots English, and compared it to Old English, Middle English and Gaelic. From this study, some conclusions can be made as to the origins of the different uses of the article. The findings can be grouped into five: (1) features which only have a Gaelic source, (2) features with influences from both Gaelic and Middle English, (3) features from Middle English influence, (4) features which do not come from either Gaelic or Middle English but are language-internal developments, and (5) features that have come from French. The findings can be placed in one of these categories with varying degree of certainty; it can be argued that some features occur due to substratum influence from either Gaelic or Middle English, or both, whereas the origin of some of the features is impossible to pinpoint for certain from a study of this length.

The uses of the definite article in Scots come from Gaelic in those instances where the article is used before nouns denoting public institutions, before names of diseases and vices, before names of languages, before names of various general activities and pursuits, trades and crafts, with names of rivers and bridges, with some place-names, in some phrases and periods of time, and as a corrupt form of some prefixes and particles.

The uses of the definite article which come from Middle English, and for the most part continue to be used in Scots where ME replaced or dropped the article, include the cases where the article is used before nouns denoting commodities, before material nouns, tools and articles, before nouns denoting sports and athletic pursuits, before 'which', with measures and quantities, instead of the possessive pronoun, and in some phrases of time.

Influence from both Gaelic and Middle English can be seen where the article is used with names of title and rank, with non-count nouns denoting abstract concepts, and in some phrases of time.

The uses of the article which do not seem to be due to substratum influence but which represent language-internal developments irrespective of contact languages occur with branches of learning, with an adjective to denote eulogy or admiration, before ‘baith’, ‘maist’ ‘ne(v)er’ and ‘hale’, in some place-names, in some phrases of time, and when the article is used to denote a class or species.

The French influence can be seen in the use of the article with nouns of commodities, material nouns, tools, and articles (although perhaps indirectly via Middle English), and with surnames used as epithet.

It would appear that the introduction of the Gaelic forms into Scots English occurred due to a shift of the original speakers of Gaelic into Scots. The speakers retained some of the L1 features, which then got shifted into the TL. This development must have started around the time of the establishment of the burghs, at which time, “it was socially and economically rewarding to learn English, and local varieties of the language became prestigious second languages for the more educated and elite sections of the community” (Winford 2002: 242). In the course of time, the new vernacular (Scots) was increasingly adopted for use in inter-, and later in-group, communication. In fact, as McClure says, “the influence of Gaelic on Scots has been much underrated ... [t]he debt of Scots to Gaelic is not small, but very great” (1986: 85, 97).

In this thesis, I have set out to examine how, if at all, the Gaelic use of the definite article may have affected the use in Scots English. Even though my findings leave room for further study, it can be concluded that even when not all of the uses of the article in Scots can be attributed for certain to one influence or another, it is plainly clear that Gaelic has played a major

part in forming the distinctive use of the definite article in Scots in the past, a tradition which continues to varying degree in all Scots English varieties today.

7 Bibliography

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