

Variation in the Older Scots Vowels 4, 5, and 8

Submitted for the degree of Master of Literacy Studies



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Abstract

The present thesis is a study of the Older Scots vowels 4, 5, and 8, as classified in A.J. Aitken's vowel system, in the period 1380-1500. The vowels are studied based on a number of lexical items containing the various vowels: MAKE pt, MORE, NAME, and STONE with Vowel 4; DAUGHTER, GOD, OVER, and WOULD with Vowel 5; and MAY, THEY, and SAY pt with Vowel 8. These items have been extracted from the corpus of the *Linguistic Atlas of Older Scots* (Williamson 2008a), and that of the *Middle English Grammar* project (Stenroos, Mäkinen, Horobin, Smith 2008). These data are geographically mapped and divided into two time-periods in order to study their diatopic variation. Vowels 4, 5, and 8 are reflexes of the Old English vowels \bar{a} , \bar{o} and $\bar{æ}$.

These vowels are known to have developed differently in the north and south of England and it is thus of interest to map their development also in Older Scots. The focus on Older Scots raises the question of Scots' distinctness from Northern Middle English, the variety in use south of the border in the same time-period. It is thus of interest to study the similarities and dissimilarities between these two varieties.

Older Scots has generally received less attention compared to the variety found south of the border. This comparative neglect is being rectified through the compilation of the *Linguistic Atlas of Older Scots* and its related studies. This thesis thus contributes to the study of the vowel development of Older Scots and the sound changes affecting Scots. The thesis also shows spatial and diachronic dialect variation within Scotland based on the three vowels. Finally the thesis contributes the study of more lexical items to the *Linguistic Atlas of Older Scots* and the *Middle English Grammar* project.

The thesis is divided into three parts, 1) the introductory chapter, containing the historical and linguistic background to Older Scots, earlier and related studies and a description of the status of Scots in the period under study; 2) the data chapters, including the methodology used for the study and a presentation of the collected data in the form of geographic maps; and 3) the analysis of the data, which includes remarks on the quality of the data, a discussion of their implications and concluding remarks.

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List of Abbreviations

LAEME	Linguistic Atlas of Early Middle English
LALME	Linguistic Atlas of Late Middle English
LAOS	Linguistic Atlas of Older Scots
ME	Middle English
MEG	Middle English Grammar Project
NME	Northern Middle English
OE	Old English
OF	Old French
ON	Old Norse
OSc	Older Scots

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Part I

1. Introduction

1.1 Research problem

The main aim of this thesis is to study the diatopic variation in the written realisations of the Older Scots Vowels 4, 5 and 8 in the period 1380 to 1500. These vowels are reflexes of the Old English vowels \bar{a} , \bar{o} and $\bar{æ}$.

Relevant to this aim is the distinctiveness of Older Scots as compared to Middle English, and especially Northern Middle English. The question that needs to be addressed in this thesis is thus whether Scots forms a dialectal continuum with the variety found south of the border, or if Scots is distinct.

This question is relevant and needs to be addressed as Scots and Northern Middle English are descendants of the same Old English variety and thus share the same linguistic origin. Both varieties descend from Old English, a Germanic language. This language was spoken in what is now England and the southernmost part of Scotland from approximately the fifth century A.D. Old English developed into Middle English which was spoken from the 11th to the 15th century.

Older Scots developed from the Old English Northumbrian dialect, which spread from the North of England to what is now Scotland; the rest of Scotland was Gaelic, Pictish or Norn speaking. Scots continuously developed, more or less independently from English, and eventually came close to developing a written standard before the 17th century. The shared history between the two varieties on opposite sides of the border does not consequently mean that the two varieties are very similar in the studied period, due to the centuries of independent development of Older Scots.

The data for this study are collected from the Linguistic Atlas of Older Scots (Williamson 2008; henceforth LAOS) corpus and the Middle English Grammar project (Stenroos, Mäkinen, Horobin and Smith 2008; MEG) corpus, which both cover the time-period from 1380 to 1500. The Older Scots period conventionally covers the years 1150 to 1700. The variables chosen as the focus of this thesis, the reflexes of Old English \bar{a} , Old English \bar{o} and Old English $\bar{æ}$, are known to have developed differently in the north and south of England and it is of interest to map the development of these variables also in Older Scots.

1.2 Methodology

In order to answer the research question this study identifies lexical items containing the Older Scots vowels 4, 5 and 8 in the texts that form the LAOS corpus. The spellings of these items will be grouped into types based on the written realisations of the studied vowels, and the geographic distribution of these types will be mapped, and compared to corresponding data collected from the digital corpus of the MEG project. This thesis then aims to find patterns in the written realisations of these vowels and attempts to connect these to the anticipated phonological development of these vowels, as established by previous studies.

1.3 Relevance

It is of interest to examine the level of independence of Scots from Middle English as Scots developed and was used independently from English until the late 16th century when English began to increasingly affect and influence the written variety found in Scotland. The linguistic and political independence of Scots and Scotland at the time is also of importance. Older Scots contains a French element not found in its southern counterpart, and the Scandinavian Belt, roughly described as the area of most Scandinavian influence in Great Britain, geographically separated the speakers of Older Scots from those of the southern varieties of Middle English. Speakers of Older Scots has in the Northumbrian variety a slightly different source from what gave rise to what we would normally call Old English, namely the West Saxon variety. Scots has even been considered to have been close to developing a standard written language. The question of how independent Scots was from Middle English arises and will be researched in this thesis.

Scots has been less thoroughly studied than English; however, this situation is currently being rectified through the compilation of LAOS and the studies based on this corpus. The thesis will thus be currently relevant and contribute to ongoing studies on the phonology of Older Scots and give a clearer picture of the development of the chosen monophthongs and the diphthong. The thesis contributes new items to the questionnaires LAOS and MEG build upon and thus enriches both LAOS and MEG both with the new items and the analysis itself.

The thesis provides an excellent opportunity to study spatial and diachronic dialect variation in Scotland as well as help map out the sound changes of Scots and contribute to the study of them.

1.4 Plan

This thesis consists of three parts: 1) the introductory chapters, 2) a description of the methodology and the presentation of the data, and 3) an analysis of the data and an assessment of their quality as well as concluding remarks.

The introductory chapters present the historical and linguistic background to Older Scots and Northern Middle English. The status of Scots in the period covered by this study, as well as the linguistic development of the variety before, in and immediately after the chosen period are presented. Previous studies and related work are also introduced in these chapters, including a description of the corpora from which the data are collected. The techniques and methods used in relation to these corpora, which are also transferable to this study, are presented. Consequently, the introductory chapters function as background for the discussion and analyses to follow in the third part of the thesis.

The second part of the thesis presents the methodology used in this thesis and gives a thorough description of the collected data. The data are presented in the form of geographic maps showing the distributions of the various types of spellings.

The third and concluding part comments on the quality of the data and assesses the significance of the findings in relation to the research question. A brief summary of the data precedes a discussion of the findings and their implications.

To conclude the thesis a summary of the most important findings are presented, as well as an assessment of the relevance of the study.

2. Historical background

2.1 The history of Scots

This thesis aims to study the variation within Older Scots, and thus also the similarities and dissimilarities the variety shares with the variety spoken south of the border, namely Northern Middle English. In order to do this it is necessary first to look at the history between the two. These two varieties share the same ancestors, thus also much of the history. However, at one point the two varieties separate. They thus receive different external influences, and also receive these influences differently, and continue to develop, more or less, independently, which according to McIntosh (1989:81) would result in pronounced differences.

The varieties are both descendants from the languages spoken Germanic tribes who arrived in Great Britain in about 450 AD. These were Germanic tribes from Germany and the Danish Peninsula. The languages they spoke were varieties of West and North Germanic, which are believed to have been mutually intelligible. These varieties, and what they developed into, are later referred to as Old English, which is the predecessor of both Modern English (ModEng) and Scots.

Old English was different from the English spoken in England today. The grammar, spelling and syntax, among other things, make the variety so different from Modern English that it would have to be acquired in the same way as a foreign language. An example of the language can be seen in the surviving poem ‘The Dream of the Rood’, which is a West-Saxon poem from the late tenth-century. An earlier version survives from Northumbria, which is now south-west Scotland, from the turn of the 7th century. This is carved on a cross in runic script and is deemed to have inspired the current poem.

Hwæt, ic swæfna cyst secgan wylle,
Whæt mē gemætte tō midre nihte
Sipþan reordberend reste wunedon.

(Smith 2008:160-61)

The arrival of the Anglo-Saxons in England is known as the Germanic invasion. The various tribes settled across England and eventually established kingdoms which resulted in what Bough and Cable (2002:50) call the “Anglo Saxon Heptarchy”: the seven kingdoms of Northumbria, Mercia, East Anglia, Kent, Essex, Sussex and Wessex.

Four dialects are usually distinguished in Old English (Baugh and Cable 2002:53): Northumbrian, Mercian, West Saxon and Kentish. It is impossible to say how much the dialects differed as the dialect of the West Saxon kingdom is the only variety with an extensive collection of texts. Due to the extensive collection of surviving West Saxon texts, the uniformity of the language found in these and the small number of texts representing the remaining dialects, the West Saxon dialect is seen as an approximation to an Old English standard. Northumbrian was the dialect spoken north of the Humber, but the scarce number of written sources gives us little knowledge about this dialect. However, this variety is the variety from which both Northern Middle English and Older Scots evolved.

Middle English is the period succeeding the Old English period. Roughly described, the Middle English period is said to begin in 1066, although the year in reality reflects nothing but the Norman Conquest. The time before or after the Norman Conquest saw Anglo-Norman and Latin being increasingly used, and eventually supplant the Anglo-Saxon language, for administrative and official purposes. English, or its predecessor, was still the spoken language of the people. With the domination of the French and Latin languages for official purposes, the West Saxon written variety verging on a standard, was neglected. Instead Middle English came to be used in writing for local purposes, usually not meant for a wide audience, and thus reflected the spoken language of the area. The changes that had affected the language thus became more visible, at the same time as the dialectal variation became more evident. The division of the various period is thus given as:

Old English	To 1100
Middle English	1100 - 1475
- Early Middle English	1100 - 1250
- Late Middle English	1400 - 1475
Early Modern English	1475 - 1650
Modern English	1650 onwards

English found its way into Scotland in the 7th century. What the Concise Scottish Dictionary (2005:ix) calls a “northern offshoot” of Anglian peoples from the kingdom of Bernicia, which was in northern Northumbria, spread to the south of Scotland. The English

language was limited to the south-east and southern areas of Scotland, except for, maybe, the courts of King Malcolm III and Queen Margaret, until the 12th century. The English variety spoken in Scotland descends from the Northumbrian Old English dialect, which is also from where the Northern Middle English dialect descends.

The dialectal variation in Middle English was commented on by contemporaries. John Trevisa's translation of *Polychronicon* from 1385 is often quoted: "Englischmen, þeys hy hadde fram þe bygynnyng þre maner speche, Souperon, Norderon, and Myddel speche" where he also comments on the difficulties in communication: "Al þe longage of the norphumbres, and specialych at zork, ys so scharp, slyttyng, and unschape, þat we Souperon men may þat longage unneþe undurstonde" (Smith 1995:69). There are also a few lines showing the Northern dialect in Chaucer's *Reeve's Tale* "Oure manciple, I hope he wil be deed, Swa wekes ay the wanges in his heed". These few lines include both Northern characteristics such as *swa* for Southern *so*, and present-plural verb inflection in *-es*, and the Northern meaning of *hope*, which means "expect", as opposed to the Southern meaning "hope" (Smith 1995:69) (For further discussion on the lines from Chaucer see Tolkien 1934, Horobin 2001 and Smith 1994b). It is likely that the difference between Older Scots and Northern Middle English was as extensive as those between Northern and Southern Middle English.

The Northern varieties of Old and Middle English were noticeably more affected by Scandinavian than the Southern varieties. Scandinavians settled in large numbers in Northern England. From the tenth century onwards, Norwegians, who had settled in the west, and Danes, who had earlier settled in the east, formed a band of Scandinavian and semi-Scandinavian settlement that stretched from the North Sea to the Irish Sea. This area is known as the Scandinavian Belt and the language spoken in the area was so heavily influenced by Scandinavian that controversialists have gone so far as to call it an English-Norse creole.

During the rule of David I, from 1124 to 1153, what has been called a peaceful "Norman Conquest" took place (Smith 1994:20). Anglo-Normans were installed in many important offices of both church and state. However, these Anglo-Normans brought English-speaking servants, who came from the North of England; the area in and around the Scandinavian Belt.

Scandinavian has had a profound impact on Scots. The impact can be found at all linguistic levels: phonology, grammar and lexicon, where the most noticeable impact is that

on the lexicon. The impact Scandinavian has had on the lexicon is also remarkably different from the impact of other major sources of loanwords into Scots, as Scandinavian has contributed to both open and closed word classes. A few examples of the loanwords are KIRK (church), HOAST (cough) and AIN (to own) (Kay 2006:47) from the open word classes, and there are examples from the closed word classes, such as the prepositions TILL (to) and FRAE (from), and the pronoun THAY (they). Other words of Scandinavian origin are, however, often very similar to, and thus difficult to separate from, words of Old English origin (For more on the Scandinavian influence on Scots and Northern English see Miller 2004 and Samuels 1989).

Gaelic has also had an influence on the English spoken north of the border. The vocabulary of Scots has more Gaelic words than that of English. Many of these loanwords refer to topographic features, such as GLEN (valley), BEN (mountain or hill), LOCH (lake) and STRATH (a river valley) (Kay 2006:48). Gaelic was used throughout Scotland and was the dominant language in the kingdom of Alba, which was centred north of the Forth and Clyde. Gaelic was also spoken in the south and south-east, with pockets of Gaelic speaking communities avoiding the Anglic variety.

The Romance languages were also used in Scotland. Anglo-Norman, and also Flemish, landowners arrived in Scotland at the invitation of King David I and settled in the new royal and baronial burghs of eastern and southern Scotland. The burghs, which are settlements with legally defined commercial rights and privileges, were an Anglo-Norman concept (McClure 1988:11). French thus became the dominant language spoken in the royal court, and Latin and French became the languages used for official purposes. According to McClure (1988:47) French did not acquire the same social importance that it did in England; however, French continued to influence in Scotland for a longer time than in England due to a Scoto-French alliance that lasted throughout the Middle Ages. The impact of French on Scots was different compared to the effect it has had on English. The effect can be seen in the lexicon as high-style loanwords, often connected to the trade, court, law, or to high-style court poetry.

After the 7th century English spread further north in Scotland. David I and his successors were influenced by the Norman and Anglo-French culture of the court in England. These kings installed Anglo-Normans in important offices, and with these came groups of immigrants. These people of lesser rank were often native Northern English speakers. Their arrival resulted in a spread of English place-names, and the English language, from southern

to eastern Scotland north of the Forth, in the late 12th - early 13th centuries. At the same time English came to be used in local government, law and trade, and barons often abandoned French for the colloquial English. By the 14th century, English had become the dominant tongue spoken by Scots of all ranks east and south of the Highland Line. And during the 14th century, English also spread to Caithness and the Northern Isles of Orkney and Shetland, where the inhabitants had earlier spoken a variety of Old Norse called Norn. However, Galloway remained an exception: there Gaelic survived until the 17th century.

The English variety used in Scotland evolved into Scots and became the dominant language in the country. The earliest written text which survives in Scots (or Proto-Scots) is the inscription on the Ruthwell Cross (mentioned earlier), which stands in Ruthwell kirk near Annan in Dumfries and Galloway (Jones 2002:95). However, the next surviving written source of the Anglian variety used in Scotland is from 1376, and is John Barbour's *Brus*. This poem is considered the first literary work in Scots and was followed by continuous written records. Before this time Scots was only used for sporadic words, phrases and names in Latin documents, which gives the period the name Pre-literary Scots. The division of the language periods in Scotland thus looks as follows:

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

As in England, Latin was used as the language of record in Scotland; however, the statutes of the Scottish parliament from 1424 were written in Scots. From the late 15th century Scots was the principal literary and record language in Scotland.

2.2 Scotland during the period 1380-1500

The demographic picture of medieval Scotland was different from that of today, although the kingdom reached its modern borders as early as by the late 13th century. At least 60 percent of the population lived in what is often referred to as Scotland Proper, which is Scotland north of the Firth of Forth. The inhabitants were more evenly spread across the country compared to today, with a larger percentage of rural population.

Communication was relatively easy in Scotland due to the short distances between the centres of power: Edinburgh, St Andrews, Glasgow, Linlithgow, Perth, Falkland and Stirling, are all within a 35-40 mile radius of each other. The only exceptions are Aberdeen and Elgin; still these are situated no more than 100 miles further north. News could thus travel quickly between the different centres (Agutter 1988:5).

The years 1380 to 1500 saw many conflicts between Scotland and England. Throughout the period Scotland had an alliance with France, the Auld Alliance, which stated that an English attack on Scotland or France would result in an invasion of England by the other part. Despite the political tensions between Scotland and England, the influence of English writers on Scots literature is still evident (Horobin 2003:137; see also Scheps 1987).

The first printing press was set up in Edinburgh in 1507-1508 by Walter Chepman and Andrew Millar (Barrell 2000: 187). However, 90 percent of book production in the British Isles was centred in London. Accordingly book production does not seem to have had an extensive impact on literacy in Scotland (Bugaj 2004:27). Book production in Edinburgh increased with the establishment of the University of Edinburgh in 1582 and also had an impact on the involvement of the burghs in book production. In Edinburgh, Glasgow and Aberdeen, the burghs were involved in the book trade and culture (Mann 2000:7). Although the introduction of printing in Scotland was not very extensive to begin with, that does not imply that book production and the written word were any less important in Scotland than in England. Scotland must by no means be perceived as any less developed. The diversity in the use of Scots as a written language will be presented later.

There were local schools, mainly attached to monasteries or cathedrals, in function throughout the time-period covered in this thesis (Barrell 2000:64). In 1413 the first university was established in St. Andrews, Fife. The University of Glasgow was established in 1451, as the fourth University in the English speaking world, and King's College, later the University of Aberdeen, was established in Aberdeen in 1495. By the end of the time-period

covered by this thesis, Scotland had seen the establishment of three universities, while at the same time there were two universities in England: Cambridge and Oxford.

2.3 Language or dialect

This thesis studies the development of Older Scots, as distinguished from and compared to, Northern Middle English. As described above the two varieties share the same history, but had, by the time-period covered in this study, had several centuries of independent development. The term ‘variety’ is used, as the terms ‘dialect’ and ‘language’ require definitions. Although the terms ‘dialect’ and ‘language’ are not used they do require comment. Moreover, the distinctiveness of Older Scots, as well as the similarities it shares with Northern Middle English, are studied, but no attempt is made to answer whether Scots should be defined as a language or a dialect.

There is no answer to whether Older Scots can be defined as a language or a dialect. There is no clear definition of what distinguishes a language from a dialect. Mutual intelligibility cannot be seen as a criterion, neither for separating languages nor for linking dialects under the same language. Haugen (1997:342) says: “‘Language’ as the superordinate term can be used without reference to dialects, but ‘dialect’ is meaningless unless it is implied that there are other dialects and a language to which they can be said to ‘belong’. Hence every dialect is a language, but not every language is a dialect.” The question concerning the status of Scots is surrounded by ambiguity and obscurity, and linguistic criteria cannot define the status. However, in arguing for Scots being more than a dialect, McClure (1988:18) adds the variation within Scots as a solid argument against it being solely a dialect of some other language.

Rather than looking at linguistic criteria for defining Scots, cultural and political aspects must be considered. A language can be defined as a dialect which has an army and a navy, thus eliminating all but the political aspect (Campbell 2004:217). It is also often the political boundary of a nation that is set as a boundary between languages.

Although the status of Scots as a language or dialect will not be investigated further in this study, a related issue, the emerging standard in Older Scots, will be discussed, as it relates much to the status of the variety. In this study the term ‘variety’ is used when talking about the Anglian variety spoken in Scotland from 1380 to 1500, and the written variety used in the data collected for this study from the same time-period.

2.4 Nature of the evidence

Texts written in the Middle English period show a varied language. There was no written standard at the time, which resulted in scribes modelling their written language on their spoken language. Today most scholars look upon scribal variation as a reflection of the natural variation inherent in language but suppressed in standardised writing systems (Stenroos 2008:2). Middle English saw the variation in the language decreased towards the end of the period as a written standard spread and its national acceptance increased. The situation in Scotland is debated, as is discussed at the end of this chapter.

In the absence of a standard there is a consensus among scholars that written language represents the spoken variation in both Scotland and England during the Middle English and Older Scots periods. Studies, like this thesis, on the phonology of the language must thus be based on the written sources available.

This thesis bases its searches on the corpora of the Linguistic Atlas of Older Scots and the Middle English Grammar project. The first corpus contains 971 texts of various genres and the second has 110 documents from the northern counties of Cumbria, Durham, Lancashire, Northumberland, Westmoreland, Yorkshire, and the Isle of Man. The latter documents will serve as a basis for comparison with those north of the border.

The corpora contain literary texts and local documents. Local documents can be divided into four subtypes: 1) record books: council records and court books from the towns, cities and burghs. 2) Ecclesiastical muniments from the various abbeys, cathedrals and convents. Most of these are in Latin but contain charters relating to lands pertaining to the religious house or records of legal decisions affecting the properties of the foundations, in the vernacular. 3) Letters of correspondence. 4) Charters, the most common type of document, which cover a large variety of records and transactions (Williamson 2001:6).

Literary texts and documents contain and give various information. Documents are usually dated and of known provenance. Their linguistic information is often limited as the texts are more often than not short texts, giving a limited amount of material to work with. Literary texts, including reference works, treatises and what is traditionally considered literary texts, have many of the opposite characteristics; the texts are often long with a vast amount of linguistic material and there is a range of styles and registers. However; literary texts are rarely localised nor dated and are also copied, often several times, and thus far removed from the original author.

2.5 Scribal copies versus documents

Literary texts were often copied and a surviving scribal copy is often a copy of a manuscript that no longer exists. These copies are referred to as scribal copies. Scribal copies were for a long time not considered proper objects of study. The manuscripts were copied, obviously by hand, by scribes who often changed the language of the original manuscript to match their own regional variety, although some were also copied letter by letter. The language of these copies is thus often dialectally mixed, which makes them hard to localise. Due to their unknown provenance these texts have for long been considered difficult, or for a long time impossible, to use in dialectal studies. A scribal copy raises many questions: where does the attested version come from? Where did the original come from? What is the history of the transmission from the original to the surviving copy (Milroy 1992:168)? Only through intense study can these questions be answered.

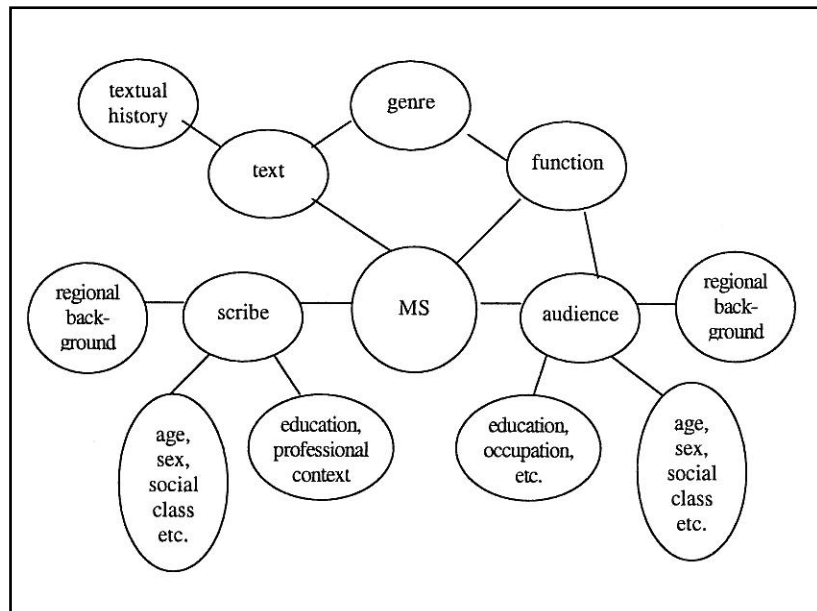
A model has been set up to explain the various types of copied manuscripts. Copies are divided into three different groups: 1) the *litteratim*: a letter-for-letter reproduction of the original with no added changes 2) the *translated*: a translation of the original into the dialect of the scribe. Dialectal words and features have in these texts been translated into the scribe's vernacular, 3) a combination of the two. This type is the most common. The degree of translation varies from manuscript to manuscript. The scribe could translate only a few words that are uncommon in his community, or go as far as to translate every word except, in some cases, rhyming words in a poem (Stenroos 2008: 13) (For further discussions see Benskin and Laing 1981, Samuels 1991, and Laing and Williamson 2004).

For scribal copies to be used as objects of study, confidence must be had in the scribes' ability to spell systematically. Though linguistic variation is the norm in Middle English texts the scribes did not spell words exactly as they pleased. Those who were skilled in writing were trained and obviously knew what they were doing. The many translated manuscripts show scribes who master the skill of writing just as well as the author of the copied text. As a result one must assume that they cannot have produced random mixtures of the forms of their exemplar (Stenroos 2008: 12).

The interactions between these different approaches give rise to layered linguistic complexities of various kinds (Laing 2004:52). The language in a text does consequently show variation not connected to spatial and diachronic diversity. This variation is something the fit-technique, which used to map texts, is not able to take into consideration. The fit-

technique is discussed later in this chapter. Stenroos (2008:21) displays a model showing the factors of linguistic variation relevant to Middle English texts.

Fig. 1. Factors of Linguistic Variation relevant to Middle English texts



Although the date and provenance of documents are often supplied these can also be deceiving. Documents were usually both signed by the scribe and dated. However, the language of the scribe is influenced both by the training the scribe received to master the writing skill and his own dialect. Scribes were often peripatetic, travelling to assist in proceedings that required written records or transactions. The place of origin of a document is thus not certain.

2.6 Dialect mapping

Dialect studies have always been relevant to Middle English studies and there are few fields of study concerning Middle English where dialectology does not play an important part. The variation in the language of the sources and thus the evident lack of a written standard is unique to Great Britain in the Middle Ages. The variation is assumed to have been as evident in Older Scots.

Middle English dialect studies can be separated into two periods: before and after 1950. After 1950 is dominated by the studies and works based on the *Linguistic Atlas of Late*

Middle English (McIntosh, Samuels and Benskin 1986; LALME). The characteristic approach to Middle English dialectology before 1950 is what Stenroos (2008:1) calls the ‘traditional approach’.

The ‘traditional approach’ builds upon traditional philology and dialectology. The aim of historical dialectology has traditionally been to find so-called ‘pure dialects’, describing and reconstructing their sound systems, as well as mapping their expected and definable boundaries (Stenroos 2008:4). To find these dialects all manuscripts using a combination of regional varieties, or so-called mixed dialects, were excluded from study, resulting in few sources. Studies were only based on texts with good external evidence for provenance. The result was often a collection of texts where most were authorial holographs; no copied manuscripts were admitted. Copies made by scribes or texts containing any signs of mixed dialects were considered worthless and corrupting (Stenroos 2008:12).

Moore, Meech and Whitehall’s (1935) study was an advance in its days and became a foundation for further study. 266 documents with a chronological spread from the 12th to the 15th century were the focus of the project and the aim of the study was to find patterns in the variation in dialects by tracing phonological and morphological characteristics with isoglosses. The result was a dialect map showing ten areas. The study was influenced by its time and traditions, and the approach is characteristic of ‘traditional’ historical dialectology, which the selectiveness and thus small number of texts are evidence of.

Kristensson published his first volume in 1967 (Kristensson 1967), exploring the place-name and by-name spellings in the six northern counties of England and Lincolnshire found in the Lay Subsidy Rolls. He constructed maps showing the diffusion of changes in Middle English in greater detail than ever before. Also for Kristensson the provenance of the sources were crucial. The methodology of his work is conventional according to modern standards, but the phonological interpretation of the written sources is disputed (see Milroy 1992:182).

2.7 LALME

The publication of LALME, and the articles published in advance, proved a radical departure from the traditional approach to Middle English dialectology. The first article on the methodology of the survey was published by McIntosh in 1956. Research occupying three decades followed before the survey was published as a 4-volume work in 1986 (Milroy

1992:184). LALME is known to be the most comprehensive survey on Middle English dialects so far.

One of the greatest changes LALME submitted to the field of study was viewing Middle English as a natural language; in the absence of a written standard Middle English was now seen as behaving like a natural spoken language. The compilers also recognised that real language is variable, and linguistic variation systematic and describable, as long there is enough data (Stenroos 2008:11). Theories of traditional dialectology could then be transferred to the written language of Middle English texts. The compilers of LALME adopted and adapted methods from traditional dialectology and brought ideas central to the current development of sociolinguistics to the development of LALME (Williamson 2001:8).

A questionnaires with items that differed regionally were applied to the texts. The questionnaire used by Moore, Meech and Whitehall (1935) only contained 11 items. The initial questionnaire used for LALME contained 75 items, but the number was later increased to 280, the guiding principle being to include all items that could indicate potentially regional variation.

The survey by Moore, Meech and Whitehall attempted to answer two questions according to Benskin (1981:xxix). The first: ‘What were the regional dialects of Middle English?’, and the second ‘What were their geographical limits?’ The theory of ‘pure’ dialects and detectable dialect boundaries of the traditional approach was, however, abandoned by the compilers of LALME in favour of a theory of a dialect continuum. In a dialect continuum there are only minor differences between neighbouring areas but a gradual increase in differences as distance increases, with no concrete boundaries.

The focus of earlier projects on Middle English dialectology has mostly been on the reconstruction of the language, while the focus of LALME is on the actual written form. The former practice was thus no longer a restriction, which opened for the body of scribal texts that had earlier been ignored, now to become important objects. Adding the scribal texts to the objects of study has dramatically increased the size of the body of primary sources.

LALME contains dot maps showing the regional variation in items. Looking for regionally significant patterns in the written language made for a more detailed comparison of texts and made it possible to compare patterns in more detail, which led to a strategy for more precise localisation of texts. Texts of unknown provenance could be localised using what is called the ‘fit-technique’.

The 'fit-technique' makes it possible to localise texts based on the linguistic variation in texts of known provenance. As Benskin explains:

A dialect, whether broadly or narrowly delimited, can be regarded as an assemblage of linguistic components, Each component - each form - has its own distribution. Some may be confined to the dialect in question, but unless the dialect is defined in very broad terms, most of its forms will be found in some of the neighbouring areas as well. A gap between the survey points in any dialect continuum can be expected to contain a subset of the forms attested at the survey points that surround it. Conversely, for any dialect sample extrapolated into such a gap, the great majority of its forms must be shared with one or more of the surrounding survey points (Benskin 1991:23).

Anchor texts are texts of known provenance and by a known author, usually the same texts used as sources by Middle English dialectologists using the traditional approach. These texts serve as the foundation for the Atlas due to the evidence of local association (Williamson 2001:9). Texts of unknown provenance are interpolated into the matrix formed by the anchor texts. The items that have been mapped from the anchor texts are found in the unlocalised texts and compared to those from the anchor texts. The similarities and dissimilarities of these form the basis for finding an approximate provenance for the unlocalised text.

The LALME project is by no means seen as a conclusive or final project in Middle English dialectology; on the contrary it has made the field of study more dynamic as it opens up for further studies.

LALME has served as a foundation for similar projects. These projects are based on the LALME methodology, but have further developed it, and also brought the study of Middle English dialectology into the digital era. The new projects are based on diplomatically transcribed texts, where every word has been digitally tagged with various information to facilitate searches and comparisons of various linguistic material across texts. All are available online and are continually updated. The Linguistic Atlas of Early Middle English (Laing and Lass 2007; LAEME) focus on the linguistic period preceding that of LALME, A Linguistic Atlas of older Scots (Williamson 2008a; LAOS) covers the period 1380 - 1500 in Scotland, while the Middle English Grammar Project (Stenroos, Mäkinen, Horobin, Smith 2008; MEG) takes the texts in LALME as its starting point and works towards producing a Middle English reference grammar. A digital version of LALME is also in the making.

The new projects have found a way to study the variation through time, as well as that across space. LALME can be criticised for only studying geographical variation while ignoring the diachronic variation in the language. LAOS, which can be called the Scots variant of LALME, though modernised and redeveloped, have digital maps taking the aspect of time into account. While LALME has one map covering the geographical distribution of each linguistic features, LAOS have the same type of maps, though several with each covering a smaller period of time, thus showing the diachronic variation of the same features.

LAOS, like LAEME, is based on a digital corpus of lexico-grammatically tagged texts, the questionnaire used for previous projects having been abandoned. The manuscripts are transcribed diplomatically directly from manuscript or from facsimile and each word and morpheme in the text is tagged with various information (Williamson 2001:9). The corpus of LAOS will be the main source for the searches conducted for this thesis.

LAEME is also based on a corpus of lexico-grammatically tagged texts. The Atlas also include maps showing the geographical distribution of linguistic features, much like the dot maps of LALME, though digitalised. The project aims to present the diatopic variation in spelling forms found in medieval texts from the period 1150 - 1325 (For more on LAEME see Laing 1991).

MEG aims to collect a corpus of one thousand sample texts of different genres and text types in order to study linguistic variation in Middle English. The texts in the corpus are digitally tagged like those in the corpora of LAOS and LAEME. The corpus is in the opening phase of the project, in essence, the LALME corpus. The basis of the work is analysis of individual texts and the main aim is to produce a Middle English reference grammar, in the sense of an up-to-date descriptive account of Middle English. The grammar will consequently present generalisations of the data collected. MEG also records additional information about each text, such as the script type and the genre of the text in order to later relate linguistic variation to other factors than the spatial and diachronic (Stenroos 2004:259).

With the digital corpora follows a digital version of the fit-technique, the compFT2, this software is used for the Linguistic Atlas of Older Scots and has made the fit-technique more precise. The digital version enriches the matrix and offers more possibilities for fitting, as the focal squares for each linguistic profile is more detailed.

The geographic maps on which the fitted texts are presented seem straightforward and two-dimensional. However, in order to explain the complexity of them Williamson (2004)

presents four types of space in which linguistic data can be represented. A linguistic atlas commonly shows linguistic variation within a geographical area and can be perceived to be quite straightforward. However, there is a level of abstraction in these maps, perhaps more so in historical linguistic atlases than in modern linguistic surveys. This must be taken into consideration in order to comprehend what a linguistic atlas represents. These types of space are all relevant in the mapping of linguistic variation, which this study aims to do.

The four types of space are Real Space, Geographical Space, Reticular Space and Linguistic Space. The three first types are concrete types of space. (1) Real Space is the physical world in which the sources for the raw data reside, either in the form of texts or living sources. (2) Geographical Space is the cartographic representation of Real Space. This is presented in various forms such as maps showing the localities of the informants or topographical features of the area investigated. Williamson (2004:119) explains this Space as one where “linguistic witnesses are presented in a spatial relationship that is intended to represent their distribution in Real Space.” The Reticular Space divides the Geographical Space into a matrix of coordinates which is based on measures from Real Space and which is used to produce the Geographical Space.

The Linguistic Space is an abstract type of space in which linguistic features are mapped determined by their relations in terms of similarities or dissimilarities. This space is connected to the concrete spaces, but the map of it must be seen as a speculative and abstract map compared to the concrete types of space.

The data collected for this study are presented as maps showing the distribution of the various types. The relevance of Williamson’s Spaces to the maps produced for this study is discussed in the discussion chapter. The linguistic variation presented in maps in this study are based on the LAOS corpus, which covers all of Scotland. The findings from LAOS are compared to texts from the north of England using the corpus of the Middle English Grammar Project.

2.8 An emerging standard

During the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, Scots has been argued to have developed an emerging standard. Bugaj (2004), who addresses the question of the standardisation of Older Scots, states that “the term ‘standard’ is used to refer to those dialects which at some point in their history were chosen to become the national, supra-regional and multiple-use

varieties in a given territory” (Bugaj 2004:19). Variation in writing is one of the key characteristics of Older Scots, as of Middle English. Agutter (1988) thus argues that the variation is permissible, especially in the orthography, due to the natural variation within the written form. He also argues that standardisation should be judged by a shared number of linguistic characteristics distinct to Scots, and few if any clues to the geographical origin within Scotland (Agutter 1988:1).

Bugaj (2004) refers to the concept of ‘standard’ used by Haugen (1966 [1997]) in his classic paper. Haugen’s describes four interconnected stages, or four criteria, a variety must reach in order for the process of standardisation to be completed. These four stages are *selection*, *acceptance*, *elaboration*, and *codification*, and Bugaj argues for Scots reaching three of these four stages by the sixteenth century.

The stage of *selection*; selecting one dialect to function as a standard. When comparing the early development of Middle Scots to that of English in England, the geographical situation of the power centres of Scotland is different from that south of the border. Due to the short distance between the major power centres in Scotland communication between the centres was considerably easier than between the power centres in England. With as many power centres in such a close geographical area, one can imagine the dialectal differences to be minor, and a written standard easier to achieve.

In order for a high level of *selection* to be visible in the data collected for this study, there must be spellings, with minor variation, that dominate throughout the defined area of modern day Scotland. Agutter (1988:1) points this out by stating that an autonomous standard dialect must show sufficient distinctive linguistic forms that are easily distinguished from southern and even northern English texts.

The stage of *acceptance*; accepting one variety of language as standard. In Scotland the vernacular was used in the Acts of Parliament from 1424, and the earliest extant petition to the Scottish Parliament dates back to 1390. Already by the late fourteenth century Scots was the language that was predominantly used for official purposes, spoken and written at Court, used in literature etc. Acts of parliament were written in Scots from the early fifteenth century and diplomatic letters to e.g. English kings and queens were also written in Scots. It is important to note that here that Scots was considered perfectly acceptable even for such international negotiations and that although the Scots in this period referred to their own language as “Inglis” (McClure 1988:29), they made no attempt to modify Scots in the

direction of southern English (Agutter 1988:5). However, it is debated whether scribes sometimes modelled their language on the most influential Southern English writers, much like the makars, who were a group of Scottish poets and writers, who modelled their language and style on Chaucer (see Horobin 2003:137 and Scheps 1987). By the early 16th century Scots had become the only language of government. Such a situation was unparalleled in England where French (or Latin) was mostly used for official purposes.

Scots was also recognised as a national Scottish language abroad. Scots was treated in Europe as a medium of diplomacy and trade, which confirms “the *de facto* position of Scots as the language of state” (Bugaj 2004:23). Queen Elizabeth I listed Scots as one of the foreign tongues which she could speak and there were Scots interpreters at European courts and trade centres. These people must have been employed not only to translate or prepare documents but also to assist in face-to-face diplomatic or commercial encounters (Bugaj 2004:24).

The acceptance of Scots is evident in all social classes in Scotland, among the higher social classes in Scotland as well as abroad. However, these are political and cultural aspects of the standardisation of Older Scots, and are not possible to trace in the data collected for this study.

The stage of *elaboration*; maximal variation in function. In order to reach the stage of elaboration the functional domains of Older Scots must have been complex. The vernacular must have been used and have met the needs of various communities, classes, occupations, and interest groups (Haugen 1966 [1997]). However, literacy was not at the same level as it is today, and the use of the vernacular must thus be matched to the various genres and situations in which the written language was used.

A vast body of fictional texts were produced in Scots as well as translated into Scots. In the vast number of translations the maturity of the language is evident in the many translated texts; Findlay (2004: 2) gives Virgil’s *Aeneid* translated by Gavin Douglas (1513) as an example. Douglas firmly states in a Prologue that his translation is “Writtin in the langage of the Scottis natioun”, thus giving at least one man’s opinion and feelings on his vernacular. Although this is an example from after the time-period covered in this study, the fact that it only exceeds it by thirteen years still makes it relevant to the covered time-period.

Scots was also used in education. Scots was taught in elementary schools, called 'Inglis' or 'Lectour' schools, as early as before the Reformation in 1560. These schools were organised and run by the church, also outside large urban centres, and served to teach reading

and writing in the vernacular. Of interest here would be the 1616 Education Act, which explicitly promotes the use of Scots in schools instead of Gaelic:

Forsamekle as, the kingis Majestie having a speciell care and regaird that the trew religioun be advanceit and establisheit in all pairtis of this kingdome, and that all his Majesties subjectos, especiellie the youth, be exercised and trayned up in civilitie, godlines, knowledge and learning, that the vulgar Inglishe toung be universallie plantit, and the Irishe language, whilk is one of the chief and principall causis of the continewance of barbaritie and incivilitie amongis the inhabitantis of the Ilis and Heylandis, may be abolisheit and removit [...] (Bugaj 2004:24).

As well as being used in elementary education there is also evidence that the vernacular *was* sometimes employed in scientific treatises, especially when they were supposed to reach a wider audience. The earliest work of scholarly prose is John Ireland's *Meroure of Wyssdome* (1490). Scots was making its way toward undermining Latin in its strong position according to Bugaj (2004:26). The writers still felt a need to comment on why they used their vernacular rather than Latin. However, it is evident that Scots did not compete with Latin as much as English did in England, as many works, such as histories and mythologies were translated from Latin into Scots.

The stage of *codification*; minimal variation in form. This stage was with the presence of spelling variation only partly reached. Many of the secular positions in Scotland were in the hands of Gaelic-speaking families from the north and west who presumably acquired Scots as a second language. Consequently, Agutter (1988:5) argues that the local dialect input into the form of Middle Scots used for official purposes would be minimal. The uniformity of Scots can be debated, as well as how strong the uniformity of a language must be in order for it to reach the stage of *codification*. The question also arises about how strong uniformity could have been in the Older Scots period before the introduction of print. Complete uniformity of a language in most cases follow print. The only printing press of the Renaissance period in Scotland was set up in Edinburgh, and was established about one decade after the end of the period covered in this study.

Benskin (1992) discusses the emerging standard in England in the middle and later fifteenth century. He holds that the extent to which a particular form of the language has become a standard can be judged in two different ways. 1) The degree of internal consistency

the variety shows and how much variation is permissible in spelling and morphology. And 2) to what degree the form has become common property. The latter would depend on how much the written language reflects the language of the writer, or whether it models on a more commonly accepted and general language (Benskin 1992: 75).

Haugen (1966 [1997]) bases his stages mostly on the extralinguistic factors of a standard language, while the criteria set forth by Benskin (1992) consider the linguistic factors. McClure (1988:19) also looks at the linguistic factors when applying the concepts of *abstand* and *ausbau* to Scots, introduced by Heinz Kloss. *Abstand* refers to the degree of mutual resemblance between two speech forms and suggest ‘difference’ or ‘disparity’, while *ausbau* refers to the degree of functional development of a language.

Looking briefly at these concepts, that of *abstand* is evident in Older Scots as the variety has developed independently over time. At the same time *abstand* is difficult to apply to closely related speech-forms such as Older Scots and Northern Middle English. However, McClure (1988:28) gives the example of the Spanish ambassador, at the court of James IV, who ruled from 1488 to 1513. This ambassador reported to his master that the King’s Scots was as different from English as Aragonese (i.e. Catalan) from Castilian. The ambassador thus presented Older Scots as mutually intelligible, yet clearly different, from the variety found in England.

Ausbau refers to the degree of functional development of a language. An *ausbau* language is a language which has been adapted for a wide range of uses. *Ausbau* is thus related to the stage of *variation* in Haugen’s model. Judging by the examples given to show the degree of variation, Scots can well be considered an *ausbau* language, displaying large variation in the use of written Older Scots.

The degree of standardisation Older Scots reached can thus be debated. According to Bugaj (2004) Scots does not meet all requirements for displaying a standard. According to McClure (1988:28) Scots was “incontrovertibly” a language judging by the concepts of *abstand* and *ausbau*. However, McClure’s criteria do not necessarily mean that there was a standard written variety. The criteria set forth by Benskin (1992) are applied to the written variety found south of the border. The data collected for this study might thus give an indication of whether Older Scots fulfilled the criteria set for displaying a standard written variety. Consequently, traces of an emerging standard might be visible in the data collected for this study in the variation, or lack of variation, in spellings distinct to Older Scots.

3. Internal language history

3.1 Introduction

This chapter presents the most important sound changes that have affected Scots and are related to the items that are the focus of this study in and around the period from 1380 to 1500. The vowels and their items are presented and the expected development, both phonological and orthographic, is described. This chapter gives an indication of what the data may be expected to show.

3.2 Aitken's classification of the Older Scots vowels

I refer to the Older Scots vowels using Aitken's classification of them. This classification is based on an analysis of Early Scots and its presumed ancestor, Northumbrian Old English. The succeeding development of Scots is also taken into consideration. Each vowel is accorded a number and the vowels are grouped according to their phonological properties: long vowels, diphthongs, and short vowels. Long vowels are numbered 1-7, diphthongs 8-14 and short vowels 15-19. Aitken numbered the vowels in order to facilitate tracing the diachronic development of the various vowels. To specify what vowel is discussed the number is used, rather than the phonological realisation of that vowel in a chosen time-period, as this realisation is subject to change.

3.3 Northern fronting

One feature distinguishing the Northern varieties and Scots from southern Middle English is the use of /a:/ where the southern varieties would use /ɔ:/. This distribution results in <a> spellings in the north in words such as STONE (*stane*), NONE (*nane*), LONG (*lang*) and HOLY (*hayly*), where more southerly varieties have <o>. These words contain the reflex of OE *ā* /ON *á* which fronted to /a:/ in PreScots and Northern Middle English, but raised and rounded to /ɔ:/ in Southern Middle English.

3.4 Open Syllable Lengthening

In the pre-Literary Scots period, or PreScots, certain short vowels lengthened. This process is called Open Syllable Lengthening (OSL). The vowels that were affected were those found in open stressed syllables when that syllable was followed by an unstressed syllable. The final -e in the open syllables were then in some instances lost. The process is, according to Johnston

(1997:66), more generalised in Scotland than in southern England, both in terms of the number of nuclei to which it applies and the environments in which it applies.

A difference between the effects of OSL in Scotland and England is that the process can affect vowels in Scots even when the next syllable ends in a consonant (is closed), whereas in England OSL depends much on the syllable ending in final -e (is open). This difference results in words such as SADDLE, VISIT, SUMMER, COUSIN and HAMMER having short vowels in Standard English while they had long vowels in Older Scots (Johnston 1997:67).

3.5 The Great Vowel Shift

The process, or processes, that constitute what is commonly known as the Great Vowel Shift is only explained briefly and in an oversimplified way. The discussions of the origins, causes and exact chronology of the Shift are too extensive to be covered in this thesis (See Millar 2007:107, Smith 2004a, Smith 2004b, Smith 1993, Smith 2007:127, Baugh and Cable 2002:238 and Aitken 2002:108).

Vowels came to be pronounced with the tongue in a more elevated position and the mouth more closed. The vowels that were in a position where they could raise, raised, while those that could not without becoming consonantal diphthongised.

The result was as follows in Midland and Southern English:

Front vowels:

i: > iɪ > əi > ModEng ai

e: > i:

ɛ: > e: > merged with neighbouring vowels

a: > ɛ: > e(:)

Back vowels:

u: > ʊu > əu > ModEng ʌu

o: > u:

ɔ: and o: merged and > o:

(Aitken 2002: 108-9; Note: the diacritics used by Aitken for Vowel 5 have been removed as these are deemed overly narrow)

The southern varieties of the language experienced what can be called a full shift, as it affected all long front and back vowels. In the North, by contrast, only the long front vowels were affected. The Shift in the North has traditionally been considered less developed compared to that in the south, as the southern varieties have been considered closer to the point of innovation (Smith 2004b:310). The spread of the Shift has been explained using the image of ripples occurring after a stone has been dropped into water. The point of innovation, where the stone is dropped, will be the centre from which the ripples expand. The further away from the point of innovation, the smaller the ripples, or the effect of a sound change.

A more developed view on the northern shift considers the different inputs the varieties had to the Shift (Smith 2004b:311). In the North fronting occurred due to interaction between Old Norse and Old English. Old English mid and low back vowels fronted and thus could not raise in the same way as in the south. This view concludes that the pressure towards raising was the same in the north and the south; however, in the north fewer vowels were available for raising which resulted in a less extensive shift.

Only a rough outline of the chronology of the Great Vowel Shift can be given as the exact dates are debated. There is a consensus on the beginning of the Shift dating to the 14th or 15th century. Aitken (2002:109) sets the duration of the Shift to the 15th and 16th centuries and the establishment of the Scottish Vowel Length Rule as what brought the Great Vowel Shift to an end.

3.6 The Scottish Vowel Length Rule (Aitken's Law)

The Scottish Vowel-Length Rule (SVLR, henceforth) describes the phenomenon that historically long vowels are realised phonetically long in environments before voiced fricatives, before /r/ and before a boundary separating phonological elements, including a morpheme boundary. Vowel shortening took place, which is evident in most modern dialects, this reducing the length of originally long vowels before consonants other than voiced fricatives and /r/ (Aitken 2002:125). The result is a phonetically short realisation of historically long vowels in words such as LEAF [lif] (voiceless fricative) and BEAT [bit]

(voiceless stop) and long vowels in words such as LEAVE [li:v] (voiced fricative) and SEIZE [si:z] (voiced fricative) (Aitken 1981:135).

The SVLR is dated to sometime around the 16th century and should not visibly affect the items collected for this study. However, the SVLR is considered to have marked the end of the GVS and as the dating of either of these phenomena is debated the effects of the SVLR could be visible in the data.

3.7 The vowels

The vowels that are the focus of this study are Vowels 4, 5 and 8 in Aiken's classification. These are reflexes of Old English \bar{a} , \bar{o} and $\bar{æ}$ respectively.

3.7.1 Vowel 4

Sources for Vowel 4 are Old French \bar{a} , Old English \bar{a} and Old Norse \acute{a} with subsequent fronting, possibly derived from interaction between OE and ON (Smith 2007:148). Another source is Older Scots /a/, Vowel 17, with Open Syllable Lengthening. The development is thus given as Early Scots /a:/ > Middle Scots /e:/. Vowel 4 could be divided into 4a and 4b, as suggested by Smith (2004a), with 4a as the reflex of OE \bar{a} /ON \acute{a} , and 4b as the reflex of OF \bar{a} . These might have had different pronunciations and possibly also different written realisations. To avoid the confusions this possibility might cause, the items chosen for this thesis all have Old English or Old Norse sources and are consequently instances of Vowel 4a.

In the development of Vowel 4 from Early Scots /a:/ to Middle Scots /e:/ Aitken's outline of the development (see Aitken 2002:111) would, according to Smith (2007:148), suggest Vowel 4 leap-frogged Vowel 3 on its path to its current position. Smith considers this unlikely and argues for raising to [e:] or [e:]. Although it became increasingly common for Vowel 2 to supplant Vowel 3, that does not automatically mean that Vowel 4 could raise to the position earlier held by Vowel 3. In a situation where Vowel 3 ceased to hold its position, that would result in an empty phonological space available for a variety of realisations. Raising of Vowel 4 to occupy the space formerly held by Vowel 3 could be a consequence.

There were many etymological doublets in which Vowel 4 occurred concurrently with Vowel 8 which, according to Smith (2007:148) could have played a significant part in the development of Vowel 4. Aitken (2002:147) gives the example of THEY, with doublet

outcomes from ON *þeir* /θai/ which was confusable with OE *þa* /θa:/, the plural demonstrative THOSE. The item MAY also developed doublets with *may* /mai/ from OE *mæg* and the ON *má* /ma:/. These items are chosen as items to represent Vowel 8 in this study.

The four items chosen for Vowel 4 for this thesis are STONE, MORE, NAME and MADE. These are all words where the stressed vowel is a reflex of OE *ā*/ON *á*. As outlined above, if spelling mirrors speech one could expect to see a development where <a> spellings of Vowel 4 are increasingly substituted with <e> spellings. This would give the anticipated development of the item MORE as *mare* > *mere*.

3.7.2 Vowel 5

The sources for Vowel 5 are Old English and Old Norse /ɔ/ affected by OSL, giving /ɔ:/. Vowel 5 is thus considered a ‘new’ vowel in Aitken’s classification. There are also sources of Vowel 5 from Old French. As with the Vowel 4 items, the Vowel 5 items also have OE or ON sources. The development given is thus the PreScots allophone /ɔ/ developing to Early Scots /ɔ:/ and further to Middle Scots /o:/.

Both Smith (2007:143) and Aitken (2002: 87) see the raising of Vowel 5 as an independent development from the Great Vowel Shift. The smoothing of Vowel 12 and the raising of Vowel 7 left a vacancy which encouraged a raising of Vowel 5.

The items containing Vowel 5 picked for this thesis are DAUGHTER, GOD, OVER and WOULD. Through the period from 1380 to 1500 a raising of the vowel can be expected, but it is unlikely that this is something that will be visible in spelling. However, at least regionally, the item DAUGHTER has a different development from the three remaining items. In some dialects Vowel 18, /ɔ/, developed a glide into the velar fricative /x/ which followed, thus resulting in Vowel 13, the diphthong /ɔu/. This gives the development:

OE *dōhtor* > OSc *douchter* /dɔuxtər/ (beside the more common *dochter* /doxtər/)

Accordingly for the Vowel 5 items, variation in the written realisation due to raising is unlikely to be attested; however, the diphthongisation in DAUGHTER might be visible.

3.7.3 Vowel 8

The main sources for Vowel 8 are Old English and Old Norse $\bar{e}/\bar{e}/\bar{a}/\bar{a}$, and Old French *ai* and *ei*. The development is roughly explained as: ESc /ai/ > MSc /ɛ/. However, a possible merger of Vowels 4 and 8 is widely discussed.

Williamson (2001:258) argues for a merger of Vowels 4 and 8. He places this development in the 14th century, links it to the later use of the <ai> digraph as a length marker, and attributes <ai> spellings for /a:/ (Vowel 4) to orthographic reasons. His arguments are based on the monophthongised outcomes for the item THEY (with Vowel 8) and the stem-vowel homophony of other items whose stem vowels derive from ESc /a:/ in Modern Scots.

Johnston (1997:76-77) places the merger in the 16th century based on rhyme evidence, but is open to an earlier date especially in the environment where Vowel 8 is found in final position as in the items MAY, THEY, SLAY and FLAY. Johnston uses word groups in his discussion of Older Scots phonology, referring to Vowel 4 as the MATE class and to Vowel 8 as the BAIT class. The merger of Vowels 4 and 8 is most typical of the Central Belt area and the Aberdeen area. Johnston explains the merger as the BAIT class monophthongising to something lower than the vowel in the MATE class, perhaps [a:], before it raised in the front series in the wake of Vowel 4. When the MATE class developed into [ɛ:], BAIT had probably already developed into [æ:] and at the close of the Older Scots period this nucleus may have been no higher than [ɛ:].

Aitken (2002:154) argues for a merger of Vowels 4 and 8 in most dialects. But he too restricts the merger to certain environments. The dialects around Angus and around Dumfries stretching along the Borders exhibit a mostly long monophthong distinct from the reflex of Vowel 4 in the modern days (Aitken 2002:146).

Williamson (2001:258) comments on the spelling of the vowel in the nominative third person plural forms of the personal pronouns. He notes a trend through the fifteenth century for <-ai(C)(e)> spellings are to change to <-a(C)(e)> spellings. This observation gives grounds for suggesting that the data obtained for this study will show an increase in the occurrence of <a> spellings relative to <ai> spellings at least for the item THEY, but possibly also for the other items containing Vowel 8.

The items for Vowel 8 are MAY, THEY and SAY past tense.

3.8 Orthography

A note on orthography is required as changes in orthographic form do not necessarily reflect changes in phonology. The data presented in this study do not necessarily show phonological change within the chosen period. They could also reflect spelling habits acquired from other sources than the sources influencing scribes in other parts of Great Britain. This is the issue with the <ai> digraph, which might be a marker of length or it could represent a diphthong. If the digraph functions as a length marker, or if it represents a diphthong, it is given a phonological value. However, it could also be a spelling habit, with no attached phonological value other than representing the monophthong, and thus be an orthographic feature.

The publication of LALME has according to Kniezsa (1997:24) contributed much to placing Scots orthographic features into reliable patterns. There is generally little material to draw on when commenting on Older Scots orthography and Kniezsa consequently goes on to portray the descriptions of the orthography in the northern areas as sketchy, due to the lack of a historical overview (Kniezsa 1997: 33).

The Scots variety is of Northumbrian origin, and one could assume that it should be based on the same written traditions as those found south of the border. Kniezsa claims that the Scottish scribes learned their writing tradition from and in the north, which resulted in a spelling continuum existing already at the first appearance of texts written in the vernacular (Kniezsa 1997: 30).

A spelling feature associated with Older Scots is the <Vi> digraph, which can either be used to represent a diphthong, or it can mark the length of the preceding vowel. The digraph <ai> can in the form *thai* either be read as representing a diphthong similar to the sound in *try* or a long /a:/. Kniezsa connects the <ai> digraph to scribal traditions introduced to Great Britain in the mid-eleventh to mid-twelfth centuries by scribes with Norman French training. This digraph was then used to represent a diphthong which later monophthongised (Kniezsa 1997:30).

Based on spelling data from the Domesday book Kniezsa (1997:31) also gives an origin to the <ai> digraph as a length marker. Words with OE *ā* or ON *á* are written using <a> in words of native English origin but <ai> in words of Scandinavian origin, giving cognate pairs such as <stan> and <stain> for STONE. Later, when Scandinavian ceased to be a spoken language, the digraph which was originally used to represent the Scandinavian pronunciation of certain words continued to be used as a length marker in the northern part of England.

Another length marker is the final <-e>, also known as the ‘discontinued grapheme’ or ‘mute <e>’ used in words containing a historically long vowel. The final -e would mark length in words that in the Old English period were not disyllabic with two short open syllables, i.e. were not subject to OSL and loss of final -e. This length marker is also found in word written using the digraph spelling, such as *houise* and *maire* (Kniezsa 1997:37).

3.9 A taxonomy of Older Scots

Older Scots orthography is a field of study with a wealth of largely unanalysed data, a fact which is, according to Agutter (1987:76), bound to obscure rather than illuminate any issues of interest. To classify these data systematically Agutter (1987) presents a taxonomy of Older Scots orthography divided into four types.

The first type comprises what Agutter calls basic spellings and covers spellings that are found in the first texts in the vernacular and that can be considered native spellings. This type shows no evidence of sound changes ongoing within the language, but can provide information on earlier sound changes that have affected the language prior to the writing down of the first texts. Most spellings are anticipated to be of this type.

The second type contains what Agutter refers to as additional spellings. These are not native spelling, but were borrowed some time during the Older Scots period, and became conventional. The type is further divided into two subtypes: external additions and internal additions. The external additions are what has just been explained as type 2 spellings, while the internal additions cover a grey area and could be considered lexically- or temporally-restricted type 1 spellings. Though these are not obviously imported, they will differ from type 1 spellings in their lexical distribution, frequency or chronology. Agutter argues for a 2b classification of the digraph <ai> spellings for Vowel 4, and relates these to the use of digraph spellings south of the border to indicate length, though those used south of the border were <Ve> or <Va> digraphs.

The third type covers the innovative spellings. These have also been divided into two subtypes: direct and indirect spellings. Direct spellings provide evidence of a sound change specifically occurring in a particular word form. An example is the occurrence of <l> spellings in words which have undergone /l/ vocalisation. The indirect type would include spellings where words that originally did not have /l/ are written with <l> because the word contains a vowel phoneme that could have occurred due to /l/ vocalisation, resulting in

spellings such as *golk* for GOWK, or *awalk* for AWAKE. These spellings are also called reverse, inverse or back spellings.

The fourth type is invasive spellings. These spellings involve lexical redistribution of type 1 or 2 spellings to represent a foreign, often southern English, phonology. They differ from type 3 in that they do not show normal progression for internal sound change but an abrupt switch from native to foreign phonology in particular words.

Part II

4. Methodology

4.1 Introduction

This chapter presents the methodology used in this thesis. The corpora that serve as sources for the data collected for the study are presented first, with some comments on corpus based research. The process of choosing items including the vowels are presented afterwards along with a detailed plan for data collection, process and presentation.

4.2 LAOS

The Linguistic Atlas of Older Scots covers the period from 1380 to 1500. It is based on the research tradition of LALME - though further developed - and provides detailed and accurate transcriptions of 971 Older Scots texts. Each word of every text is digitally tagged, which facilitate detailed searches and comparisons of words and spellings. Locations, given as coordinates, and dates are supplied for all texts where these are possible to determine.

The corpus is available online and is a project in progress which means it is continually updated and edited. The data presented in this thesis has been collected during the first quarter of 2011 through LAOS' own online software.

4.3 MEG

The data from Scotland are compared to the same data from what the Middle English Grammar Project defines as Northern England; the Northern counties of: Cumbria, Durham, Lancashire, Northumberland, Westmoreland, Yorkshire, and the Isle of Man. The variety typical of this area is linguistically closely related to Scots and a comparison of the Scots data to those from the North of England is necessary in order to see how - and whether - Scots has developed independently from its Southern counterpart.

The MEG corpus contains texts from this northern area dating from the same time as the texts from LAOS. At present the MEG corpus covers the period from 1350 to 1500. However, the Northern texts currently available do not stretch all the way back to 1350, and thus do not cover the exact same period as the LAOS texts. The Northern texts totalled 110 at the time the data presented in this thesis were compiled. These transcripts might have been altered in relation to the launch of MEG 2011.1. but any alterations possibly made will have been minor and should not affect the results of this study.

MEG is, like LAOS, a project in progress and in order to include as many texts as possible this thesis has been based on transcriptions not yet published through MEG's website. As a result, every item had to be searched for by form rather than tag as these texts were not digitally tagged. Spellings registered in LALME, for the items covered by their questionnaire, and spellings found through the searches conducted in LAOS were searched for in MEG's texts using the text editor jEdit. Manually searching for spellings, rather than tagged words, can result in irregular spellings not being collected. These spellings are, however, in the minority and would not alter the results.

4.4 Corpus studies and methodological concerns

Digital corpora make it possible to conduct systematic investigations covering large amounts of data. LAOS, MEG and similar projects have revolutionised historical dialectology by making data so easily attainable and opening up for comparison of data that only a few decades ago would require research on a much larger scale.

The orthographic forms that are attested in texts included in the corpora are the primary data for this thesis. There is a concern when using written sources as phonological evidence, as has been mentioned in previous chapters (see page 11 in the present thesis). The concern is that an orthographic analysis can relate to spoken elements only in a very broad resolution.

It is important to note that the word unit and its spelling are the focus of this thesis, where the context of the word has to a large extent been disregarded. A focus solely on the word unit is necessary in this thesis. However, removing the word from its context results in issues that would not appear in more detailed studies. Challenges at the level of transcription are transferred to data collection. An example of this is word final strokes and flourishes which can lead to questions about the intended spelling of a word. This issue will be more extensively commented on later in this chapter.

4.5 The vowels

The vowels chosen as the focus of the research are Vowels 4, 5 and 8 as described by Aitken (1992). The items chosen are words of Old English or Old Norse background. Words deriving from Old French were eliminated due to their recent appearance in Scotland which could be reflected both in spelling and pronunciation.

A number of potential items were listed and searched for in LAOS to establish the number of occurrences in the corpus. Items with less than 100 occurrences were eliminated as these were considered not to supply enough data for an analysable result. The number of occurrences in MEG did not influence the choice of items. Some items with no or very little variation in the stem vowel realisations were also disregarded; examples are BODY for vowel 5, and DAY for vowel 8. BODY exhibits no variation in the spelling of the stem vowel, while DAY shows less than five *da* spellings to over one thousand *day/dai/daye/daie* spellings. The final items are for:

Vowel 4: MORE, MAKE pt, NAME, STONE

Vowel 5: DAUGHTER, GOD, OVER, WOULD

Vowel 8: MAY, THEY, SAY pt

4.5.1 Vowel 4: /a:/

Spellings of words containing vowel 4 consisted mostly of C+a+C(e) (example: *mar(e)*), C+a i/y+C(e) (example: *mai/ayr(e)*, or C+o+C (example: *mor(e)*) and were grouped accordingly. Final -e can be considered a length marker for the stem vowel, or it could be pronounced. Items with the spelling C+a+C and C+a+C+e were thus grouped separately. However, ‘ai’ or ‘ay’ are also considered as representing lengthened vowels, and spellings with ‘ai’ or ‘ay’ were grouped without regard to a final -e. These <ai> and <ay> spellings are henceforth referred to as <ai> digraphs, although they are often spelled with a <y>.

4.5.2 Vowel 5: /o:/

More variation was found in the spelling of items containing vowel 5, and a systematic grouping valid for all items was consequently not considered. Focusing on the vowel resulted in the following grouping of spellings:

WOULD: *w/vald - w/valde - waulde - wold*

OVER: *our/owr/oure - owyr/ouir*

GOD: *god/godd - gode/godde - goode - goide*

DAUGHTER: *dochter/dothter - douchter/dowter - duthter*

4.5.3 Vowel 8: /ai/

For the items containing vowel 8 a monophthongisation from /ai/ to /a/ or /ɑ/ was what had to be distinguished. The grouping thus resulted in:

THEY: *yay/thay/yai/thai - ya/tha - they*

MAY: *may/mai - maye/maie - ma - mae*

SAY pt: *said/sayd - sayde/saide - sad*

4.6 Problems

One challenge in grouping the spelling forms was the occurrence of forms with added strokes, often in word-final position. These are either otiose or implement meaning. According to the MEG manual (Stenroos and Mäkinen 2011:9) such strokes may often be easy to understand when encountered in a text, but in a study such as the present, the data are based on decisions and interpretations already made.

LAOS has classified these strokes into two types: 1) a horizontal stroke; either wavy or straight, and 2) an upward- and backward-turning curved stroke from a letter. The first is transcribed using a “~” the second using “””. The second one is usually found in word-final position (Williamson 2008b).

MEG has also divided these strokes into two categories; squiggles and squigrans. Squiggles are the most common strokes and are made without a pen-lift; they can be rounded or looped. These are transcribed using the same tilde “~” as LAOS. The tildes in MEG are either final -e’s or nasal sounds, or otiose strokes. Squigrans are also made without a pen-lift but involve a change in direction and result in a combination of a squiggle and a macron; a macron standardly indicates a nasal sound and usually has the shape of a horizontal line above a vowel for example “ā” (Stenroos and Mäkinen 2011: 10). Squigrans are transcribed using “@”.

Tildes encountered while collecting data for this research have been ignored and the word has been read as if the tildes are otiose. No squigrans have been encountered. The tildes have usually been found in word-final position, often following a final -e, which would suggest a final double e. An example is the item STONE which was repeatedly transcribed with a word-final strokes. Often these followed the transcription *stane*, resulting in *stane~*. A double final -e is deemed unlikely and the tilde or “”” has been considered otiose. To follow the same guidelines for the entirety of the research all transcribed strokes our flourishes have been ignored.

4.7 Scotland and the Northern Counties

All localised texts in LAOS are given a set of coordinates to represent their geographical origin. The coordinates are based on the Ordnance Survey National Grid. After the texts had been grouped they were mapped and fitted onto a map covering Scotland and the North of England. Unlocalised texts or texts from state sources, such as letters given under the Signer, royal precepts, samples from the Acts of Parliament or diplomatic texts, such as treaties between Scottish and English commissioners, are given 000 000 as their coordinates. These will not show in the presented maps, but will be accounted for in the various groups of spellings and in the final number of attestations. The texts from the MEG corpus are localised as in LALME and keep the coordinates supplied there.

4.8 The time frame

In order to trace a diachronic change in the data, the time-period of 1380-1500 was divided into two subgroups. Due to the low number of attestations of some items shorter time spans were decided against as this would result in very few attestations for each time span. The LAOS texts were thus divided into groups depending on their dates: one for texts from 1380-1339 and a second covering 1440-1500. Not all texts in the LAOS corpus are dated. The total number of texts represented in the diachronic maps is thus slightly smaller than that in the main map.

4.9 Presenting the results

The results are given as maps with the various spellings in the groups accounted for earlier. There are maps covering the complete data obtained from LAOS, as well as the equivalent from the northern counties of England. Two maps of Scotland show the diatopic variation in spelling for the items. Graphs show the total number of texts and spellings, as unlocalised and undated texts are invisible in the maps.

5. Results

This chapter shows the results of the study. The data have been translated into maps to show the geographical distribution of the various groups of spellings. One map shows the data collected from the LAOS corpus together with those from the MEG corpus. This map covers the geographical area from the southern part of Yorkshire in the South to Orkney in the North. Locations are referred to by the modern counties as can be found in the county map which is to be found in Appendix II. A second and third map show the diachronic development in the LAOS data, with one map for data from 1380-1439 and the other those from 1440-1500.

The localisations of the spellings are based on the geographical locations of the associated texts and its given coordinates found in the LAOS and MEG text transcriptions. Some texts are not localised or unlocalisable for various reasons. These texts are given the coordinates 000,000 and will not be visible in the maps. Some text files have been unavailable from the LAOS web-based corpus. These have also been given the coordinates 000,000. As these texts could distort the pattern presented in the maps, a graph showing the exact variation in the groups of spellings has been added for the maps where this is deemed necessary. For some items, tables have been added to show the exact number of occurrences or the percentages of occurrences for the various types. For other items a graph has been preferred over a table, as the variation in spellings is of key interest and the main focus of the data presentation. These graphs or tables also show the variation in the total number of spellings, which the maps fail to do in cases of multiple texts and attestations of spellings connected to the same locations.

A note on terminology is required for this chapter. The items collected are written in capitals; for example, the items for Vowel 8 are THEY, SAY and MAY. For each item multiple spellings are found in the corpora. These have been grouped for comparative reasons, are referred to as types and are surrounded by single quotes. An example is the item MORE whose spellings have been grouped into five types: 'maire', 'mare', 'mar', 'mor' and 'more'. Within each type there are often multiple spellings. These are referred to as forms and are presented in italics, such as the forms *mayre*, *maire* and *mayjre* which are grouped under the type 'maire' under the item MORE. Single letters or groups of letters that do not constitute full forms are presented using <>; for example, DAUGHTER is spelled with or without <ch>.

5.1 Vowel 4

The four items containing Vowel 4, MAKE past tense (henceforth; MAKE pt), MORE, NAME and STONE, are similar in spelling. They are thus easily grouped into three types: ‘aCe’, ‘aC’ or ‘a i/y C(e)’, corresponding to the types ‘mare’, ‘mar’ and ‘mair(e)’ for the item MORE. There is minor variation in spelling within each type; however, the main patterns remain the same. The only exceptions are the <o> spellings from the MEG corpus in the items MORE, STONE and NAME. <o> spellings have been added as additional types for the items in which these spellings occur.

Figs 4.1, 4.1 and 4.3 show the maps for MAKE pt, MORE and NAME respectively. These three maps show similar spelling patterns. Disregarding a few exceptions, <ai/ay> spellings are exclusive to the LAOS texts, while <o> spellings are exclusive to those from MEG, as can be seen in all the three maps. ‘aCe’ spellings seem to dominate, clustering in the areas surrounding the power centres, while <ai/ay> spellings are more evenly spread across the country, often dominating in the most peripheral survey points included in the maps.

Fig. 5.1 MAKE pt: Attestations from LAOS and MEG

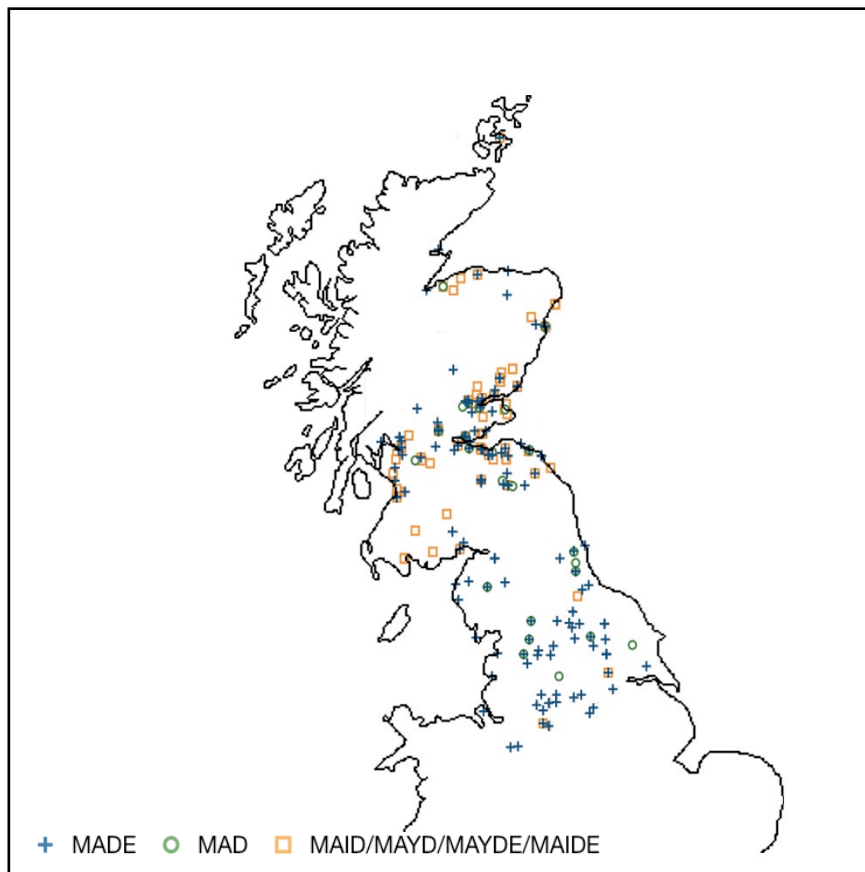


Fig. 5.2 MORE: Attestations from LAOS and MEG

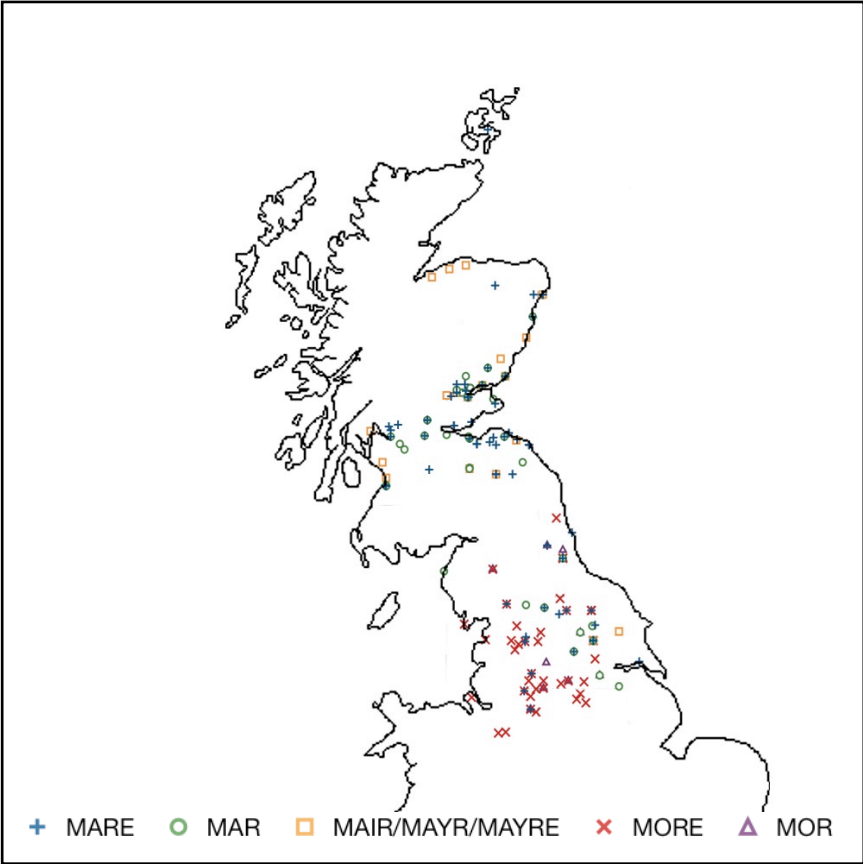
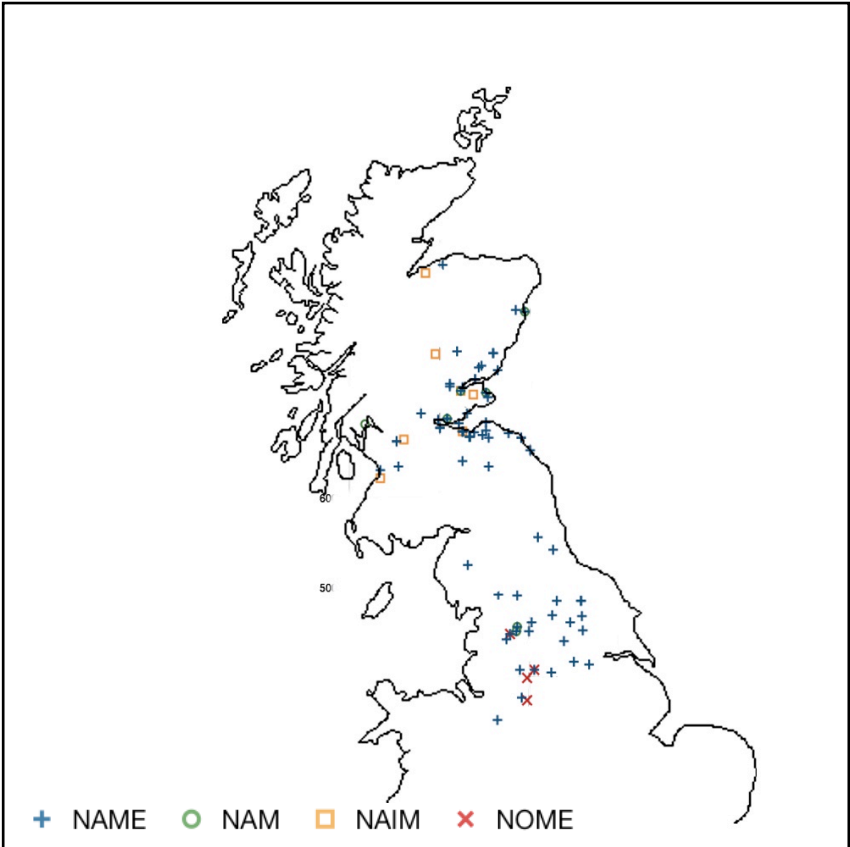


Fig. 5.3 NAME: Attestations from LAOS and MEG



5.1.1 MAKE pt

Looking more closely at the map showing the distribution of MAKE pt attestations, ‘made’ and ‘maide’ spellings seem even in number, with <ai> spellings dominating slightly. However, the <ai> spellings are evenly distributed across the map and are also represented in the most peripheral survey points. ‘made’ spellings are more clustered and seem more concentrated in the areas in and around the power centres of the time. The ‘mad’ spellings cover much the same area as the ‘made’ spellings and do not stand out.

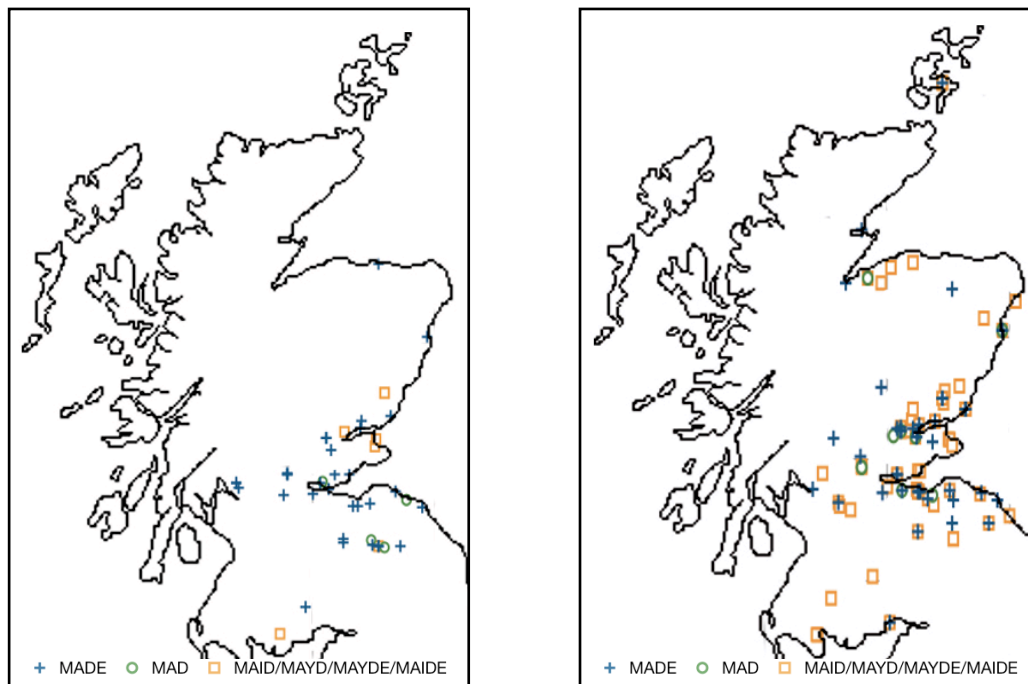
There is a cluster of ‘made’ spellings near Dumfries while ‘maid’ spellings, which are also present in Dumfries, are evenly distributed across Dumfries and Galloway. A cluster of both dominating types, ‘maide’ and ‘made’, stretch from the Firth of Clyde southwards along the coast to Irvine and Ayr. A few ‘maide’ spellings also cluster on the southern coast of the Moray Firth, stretching from Inverness to Elgin, where the westernmost of these attestations also show the presence of ‘made’ spellings. There are clusters of ‘made’ spellings around the Firth of Forth and Firth of Tay, and these types are also present in Aberdeen. These clusters or attestations are surrounded by a number of ‘maide’ spellings covering the peripheral areas around the nearby power centres. However, four single ‘made’ attestations are found along the southern and western edge of the Grampian mountains with one each in the counties of Stirling, Perth and Kinross and two in Moray.

In Scotland there are no attestations in Argyll and Bute or in the Hebrides. The few attestations found in the Highlands are restricted to the area south of the Moray Firth. There are attestations from Orkney of both the ‘maide’ and ‘made’ types.

South of the present-day border, ‘made’ spellings clearly dominate, and the <ai> spellings that are so richly spread north of the border are barely present. As in the North, ‘mad’ spellings overlap with ‘made’ spellings. There is a geographical gap with few, or no, attestations between the texts from LAOS and the texts from MEG. The gap covers the area of the present day counties of Cumbria, Northumberland and Dumfries and Galloway.

Despite the lower number of attestations in the first period, ‘made’ spellings are clearly in the majority compared to <ai> spellings in Fig. 4.11. The few <ai> spellings shown are all attested only in the periphery of the area covered by the survey points. There is none in the area of the major power centres. In the later period <ai> spellings have come to dominate the picture being evenly spread across the map, while the ‘made’ spellings, as in Fig. 4.1, are more clustered.

Fig. 5.1.2 MAKE pt: LAOS 1380-1439 and **Fig. 5.1.3** MAKE pt: LAOS 1440-1500

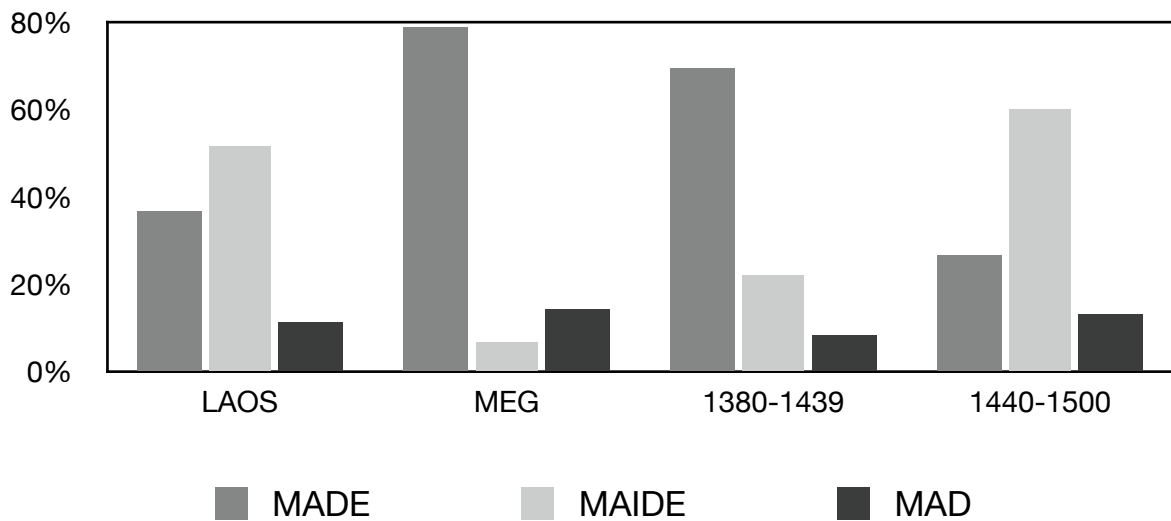


In the first period ‘maid’ spellings are found in Fife, as well as in one survey point in Dumfries and Galloway, one near Perth and Montrose and one near Melrose in the Scottish Borders. One survey point shows attestations of the ‘made’ type in Moray, one near Aberdeen and a single one in Dumfries and Galloway. The remaining ‘made’ type attestations cluster in a stretch from the Firth of Clyde to the Firth of Tay and the Firth of Forth that also covers the Lothians and the Scottish Borders.

There are no attestations in Ayrshire, Argyll and Bute, the Highlands or the Hebrides. The map for the period 1440-1500 shows much of the same pattern as as Fig. 4.1, except for the cluster of attestations stretching from the Firth of Clyde to South Ayrshire.

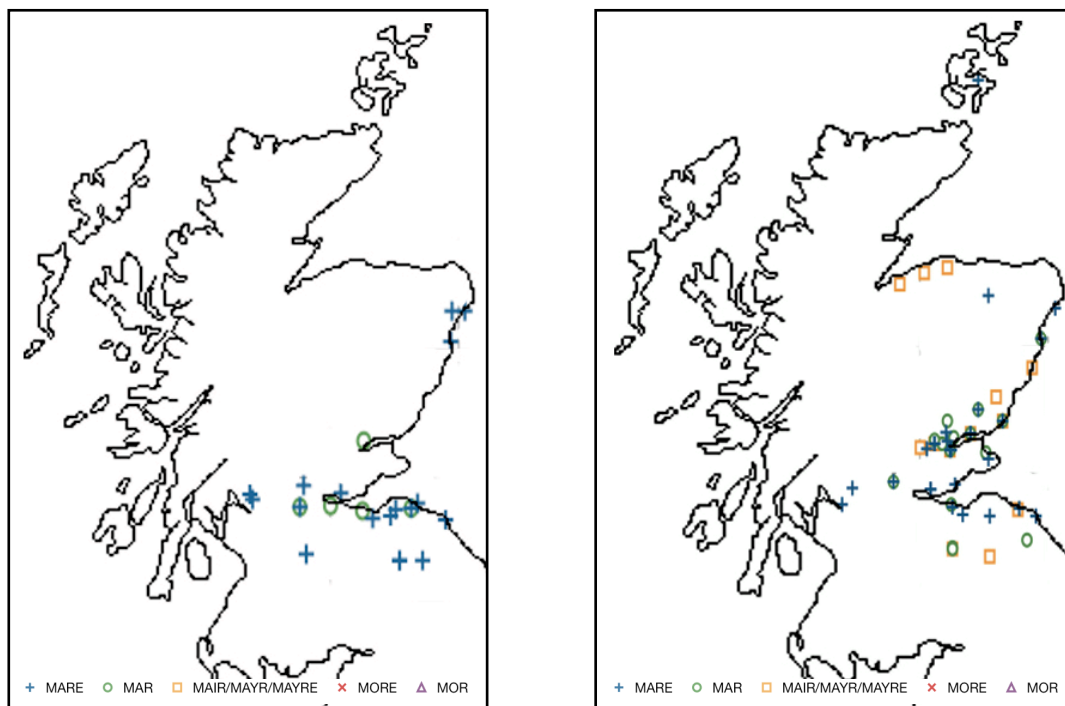
The graph in Fig. 4.1.3 shows all attestations of MAKE pt, also those not visible in the maps. This graph does not alter the image portrayed by the maps but gives a clearer image of the distribution of the various groups of spellings. The <ai> spellings, which account for 22% of all MAKE pt spellings in the first time-period, clearly dominate the second time-period accounting for more than 50% of all MAKE pt spellings in the period 1380-1500. ‘mad’ is stable while ‘made’ shows a decrease corresponding to the increase in <ai> spellings.

Fig. 5.1.3 MAKE pt: Attestations in percentages



5.1.2 MORE

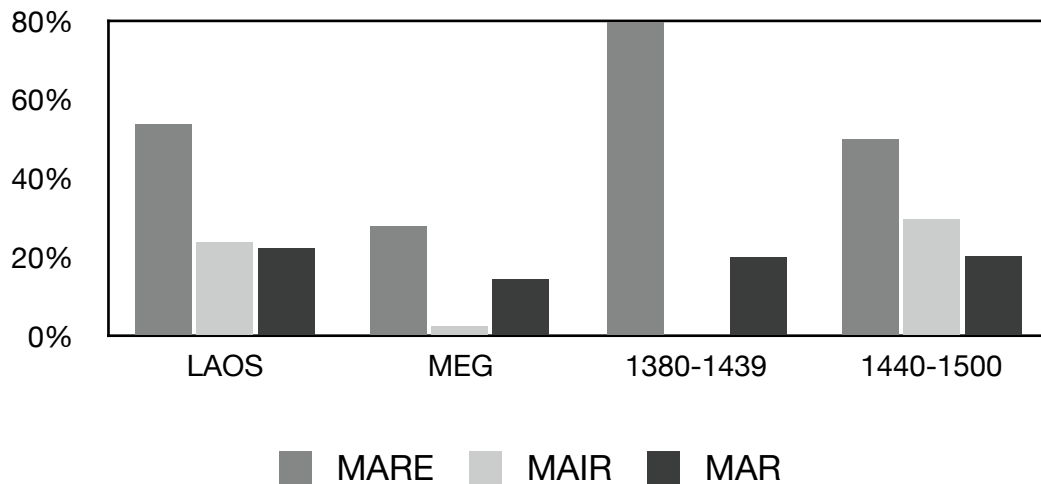
Fig. 5.2.1 MORE: LAOS 1380-1439 and **Fig. 5.2.2 MORE:** LAOS 1440-1500



Shifting to the map for MORE spellings - see Fig. 4.2 - there are similarities to the MAKE pt map. ‘mare’ spellings dominate the map and cluster in stretches from the Firth of Clyde to the East Lothian and to the Firth of Tay with scattered attestations stretching further up to Aberdeen and other scattered attestations in the Scottish Borders. The <ai> spellings are again

attested in the most peripheral locations, such as the cluster of attestations found near the coast from Inverness to Elgin, and the westernmost attestations found near the Forth of Clyde.

Fig. 5.2.3 MORE: Attestations in percentages



In the east of Scotland there are no attestations north of Loch Fyne, except for a small cluster of <ai> spellings stretching from Inverness to Elgin. Except for these few attestations in the Highlands, there are no attestations in Dumfries and Galloway, the Hebrides or the Highlands.

The geographic distribution of attestations shows a distinct gap between LAOS texts and MEG texts, which geographically corresponds to Dumfries and Galloway. There are no attestations in Dumfries and Galloway north of the border, and few attestations in Cumbria and Northumberland south of the border. The difference in spellings found north and south of the border is also noticeable, with ‘more’ dominating the MEG texts and ‘mor’ a lesser variant. Both of these are types that are absent from the LAOS texts.

Looking at the diachronic variation - see Figs. 4.2.1 and 4.2.2 - there are more similarities to the MAKE pt map. The first map shows no attestations of <ai> spellings. These, however, appear in significant numbers in the second time-period. The ‘mare’ spellings are again clustered and centred around the Firth of Forth in the first time-period, where they appear in clusters around the Firth of Tay further north in the second period.

The graph in Fig.4.2.3 gives a clearer image of the distribution of spellings. The graphs shows how much the number of ‘mare’ spellings has decreased in the period 1440-1500 compared to the period from 1380-1440. Despite there being no attestations of

<ai> spellings in the first period, they account for more than 20% in the period from 1380 to 1500. The <o> spellings from MEG are left out of the graph but account for 55% of all attestations in the north of England.

5.1.3 NAME

Fig. 5.3.1 NAME: LAOS 1380-1439 and **Fig. 5.3.2 NAME: LAOS 1440-1500**

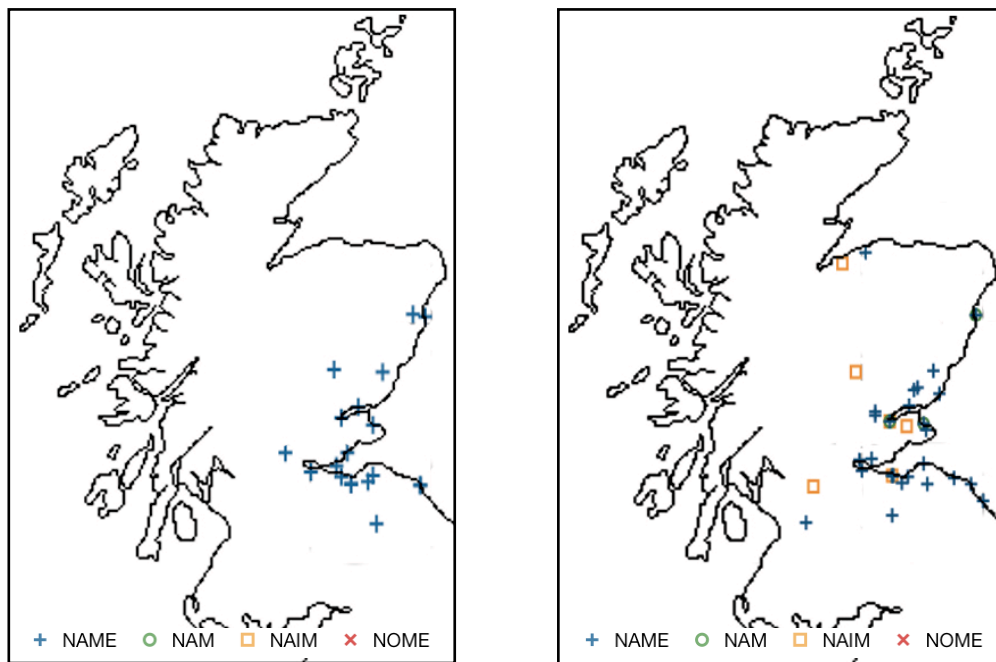
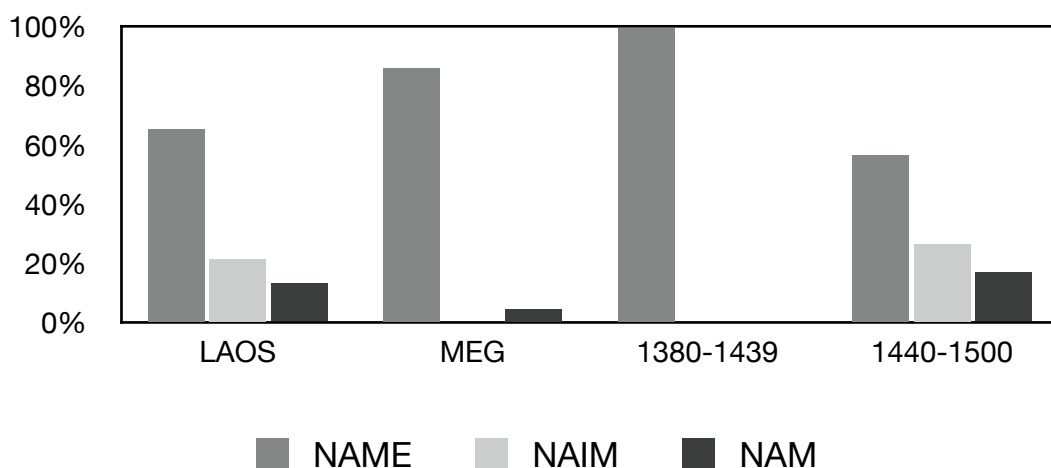


Fig. 5.3.3 NAME: Attestations in percentages



The NAME map displays the same patterns as the previous maps. <ai> spellings are evenly distributed across the country, with no clusters, and are found as often in the peripheral survey

points as in the survey points from in and around the power centres. ‘name’ spellings are clustered around the Firth of Forth and the Firth of Tay.

The map with attestations from both corpora shows ‘name’ as the dominating type, and as with the previous items <ai> spellings are restricted to the northern corpus while <o> spellings are only attested in survey points from MEG. The <o> spellings from the MEG corpus total 9% of the attestations in the survey points found south of the border. These are all found in the southernmost survey points in England.

There are no attestations of NAME in the Highlands, except for a few near Inverness. Nor are there any in the Hebrides or in Dumfries and Galloway. There are also few attestations in Cumbria and Northumberland south of the border, which together with the lack of attestations in Dumfries and Galloway constitute an area with few attestations between the survey points from LAOS and those from MEG. With <ai> spellings being unattested in MEG and <o> spellings not appearing north of the border, the void between the MEG and LAOS survey points constitute both a geographical gap as well as a boundary for certain types.

As both the diachronic maps and the graph show, ‘name’ spellings are the only type attested in the first period. Attestations of the ‘name’ type are found around the Firth of Forth and the Firth of Tay with a few attestations stretching north along the coast to Aberdeen and a few others scattered south of the Firth of Forth. Although the ‘name’ type dominates in the first period, the percentages drop in the second period with the increase in, and also first appearance of, <ai> spellings. <ai> spellings are absent in the first period, but make a prominent appearance in the second period with 27% of the NAME spellings belonging to this group. These do, however, only show in a few survey points in the map, with one attestation near Glasgow, one near Inverness, one north in Perth and Kinross, and a few clustering near Fife.

5.1.4 STONE

Fig. 5.4 STONE: Attestations from LAOS and MEG

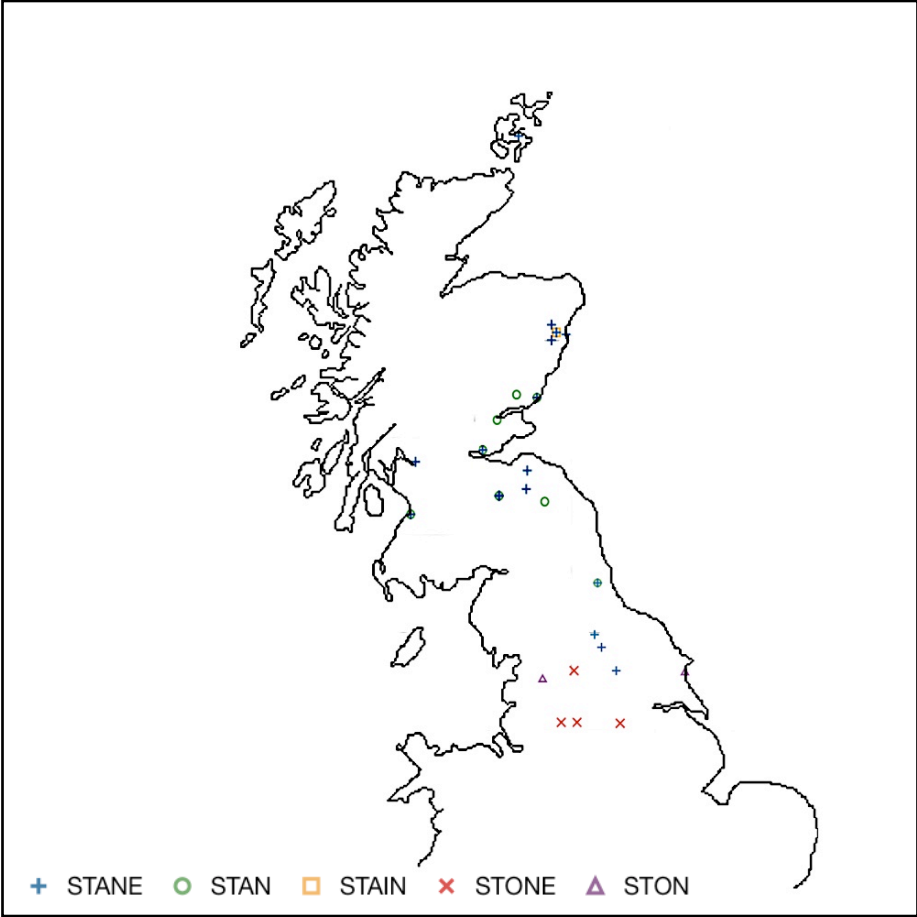
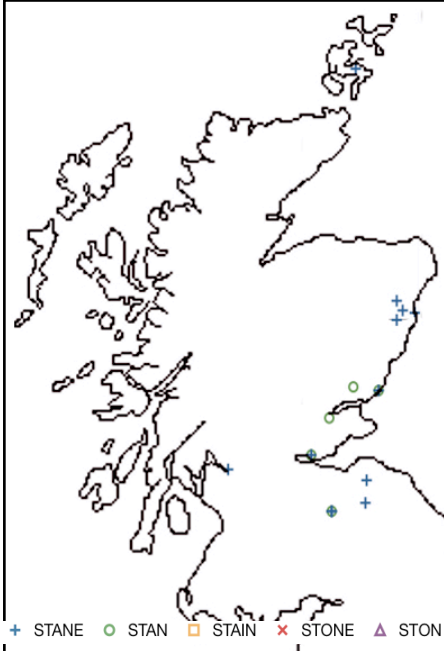
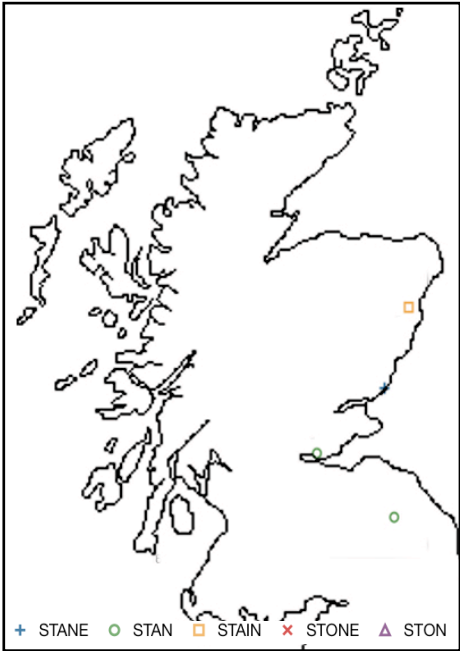


Fig. 5.4.1 STONE: LAOS 1380-1439 and Fig. 5.4.2 STONE: LAOS 1440-1500

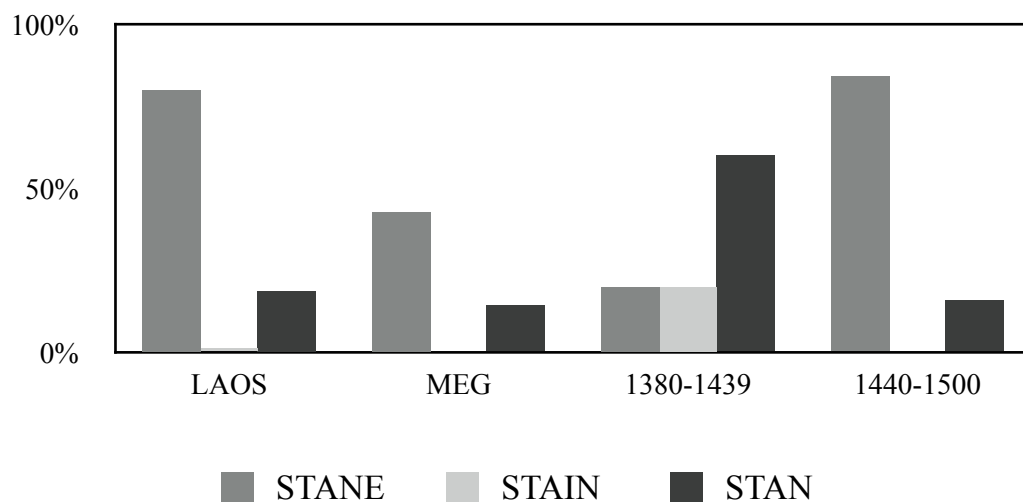


There is little to be said about the STONE data due to the low number of attestations of the item. Most attestations are scattered from the north of the Firth of Tay to the Scottish Borders in the south. There are also a few survey points with STONE attestations near Clydebank, in Orkney and near Aberdeen. The only <ai> spelling is found in a small cluster of spellings of the ‘stane’ type near Aberdeen.

To 68 ‘stane’ spellings there is only one attested ‘stain’ spelling, which belongs to the first time-period, rather than the second period. This distribution gives the item STONE a difference in the pattern of spellings compared to the three previous items. In the three previous items <ai> spellings have either first occurred or increased significantly in the second period.

However, there are still similarities between the item STONE and the previous Vowel 4 items as there are no <o> spellings north of the border, and no <ai> spellings in the south. There is also the same gap between the survey points from MEG and those from LAOS due to the few attestations found in Cumbria, Northumberland and Dumfries and Galloway. There are generally few texts, and consequently attestations, from this area

Fig. 5.4.3 STONE: Attestations in percentages



5.1.5 Summarising Vowel 4

The three items MAKE, MORE and NAME share the same spelling patterns. In all three items ‘aCe’ spellings dominate, especially in the first period, and are often clustered around the Forth of Firth and the Forth of Tay. <ai> spellings are more evenly spread and are often to

be found in the more peripheral survey points. Attestations of <ai> spellings either first occur, or increase significantly, after 1440.

There is a geographical gap between attestations from the MEG corpus and those from the LAOS corpus. This area with few or no attestations covers the area of the modern-day counties of Cumbria, Northumberland and Dumfries and Galloway. This gap serves as a border for certain types, as <o> spellings are only found in survey points from the MEG corpus, while <ai> spellings are rarely found in the same corpus.

The item STONE does not follow the same pattern as the three other items containing Vowel 4. Only one <ai> spelling is attested and is found in the first period, rather than the second period, in which <ai> spellings occur more frequently for the other items.

5.2 Vowel 5

The items DAUGHTER, GOD, OVER and WOULD are presented separately under Vowel 5. These are words of different word classes with no etymological connections, and there are no similarities in the spellings of these words, except for the presence of Vowel 5.

DAUGHTER

Fig. 5.5 DAUGHTER: Attestations from LAOS and MEG

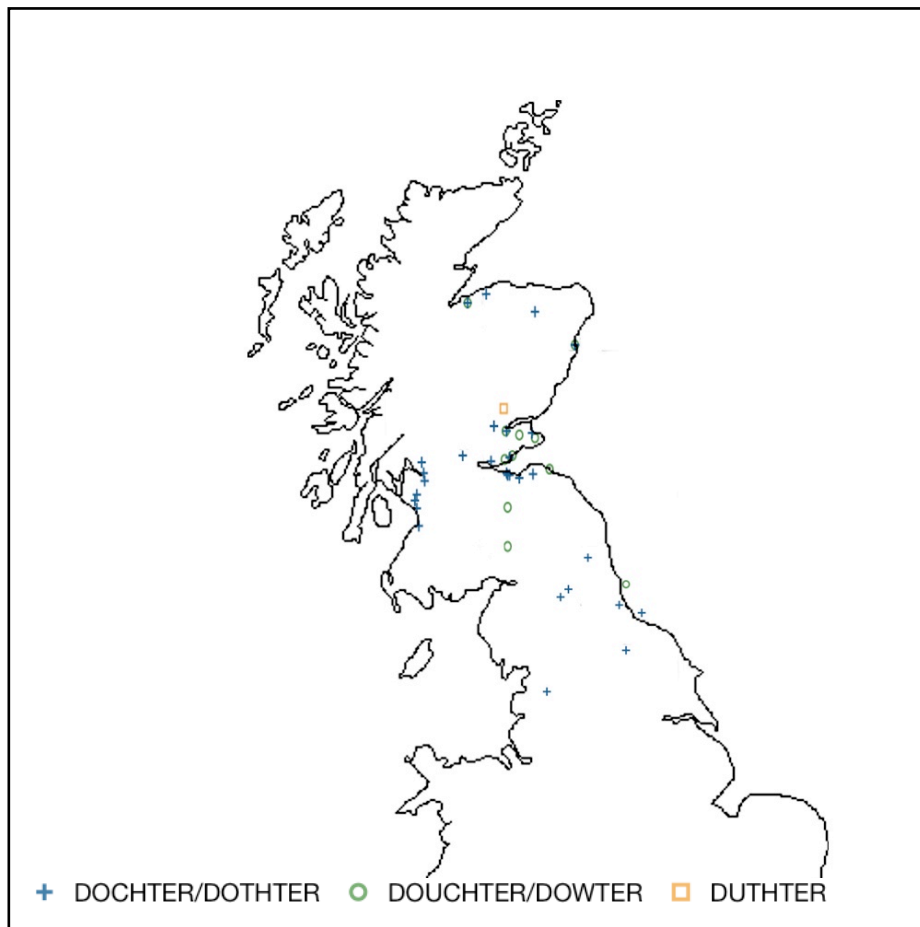
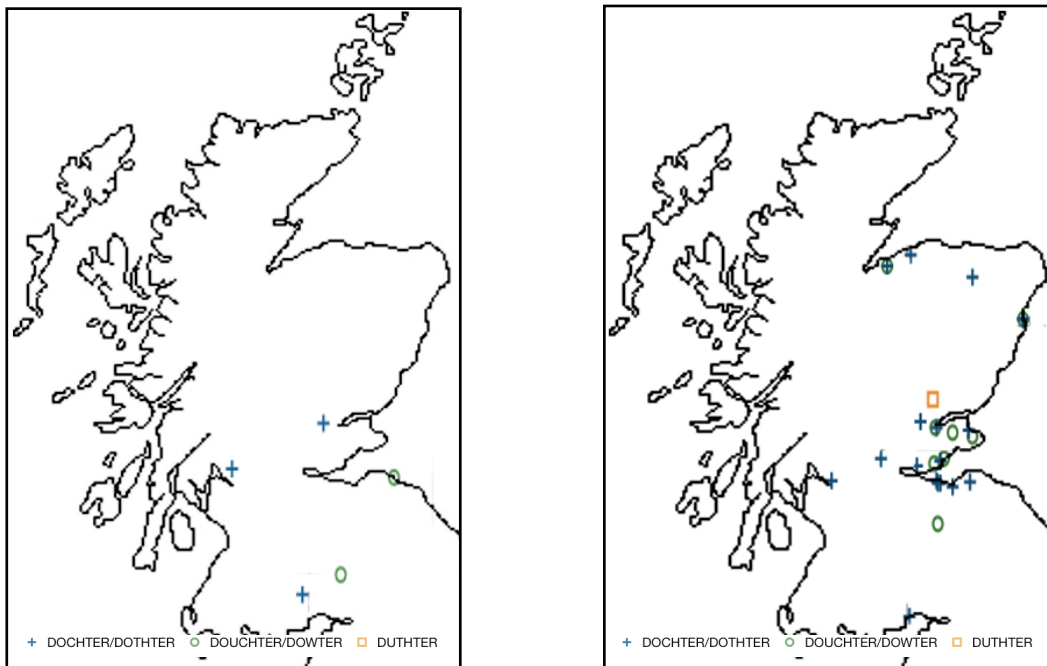


Fig. 5.5.1 DAUGHTER: Attestation in complete numbers

	LAOS	MEG	1380-1439	1440-1500
‘dochter’	48	9	3	34
‘dowter’	13	2	2	11
‘duthter’	1	0	0	1
TOTAL	62	11	5	46

Fig. 5.5.2 DAUGHTER: LAOS 1380-1439 and **Fig. 5.5.3 DAUGHTER: LAOS 1440-1500**



The spellings found for the item DAUGHTER have been grouped into three types according to the representation of the first vowel in the word. These are ‘dochter/dohter’, ‘doucher/dowter’ and ‘duther’. There are few attestations of the item DAUGHTER and the majority of attestations are <o> spellings. These are found in clusters from Clydebank to Ayr and south along the Firth of Forth.

There is a cluster of <ou/ow> spellings in and south of Fife, with a few further attestations scattered in the Scottish Borders. <ou/ow> spellings are also found in Aberdeen and in Inverness.

The attestations from the MEG corpus are more scattered and do not appear as clustered as those from the LAOS corpus. Among the few attestations in Northern England, <o> spellings dominate. Although the texts from MEG show the same spellings as those from LAOS, the number of attestations is small and thus gives inconsequential results in terms of geographic patterning.

As can be seen from comparing the maps in Figs 4.5.2 and 4.5.3 to the table in Fig 4.5.1 the small number of attestations in the first period trivialises the even numbers of attestations from the same period.

5.2.2 GOD

Fig. 5.6 GOD: Attestations from LAOS and MEG

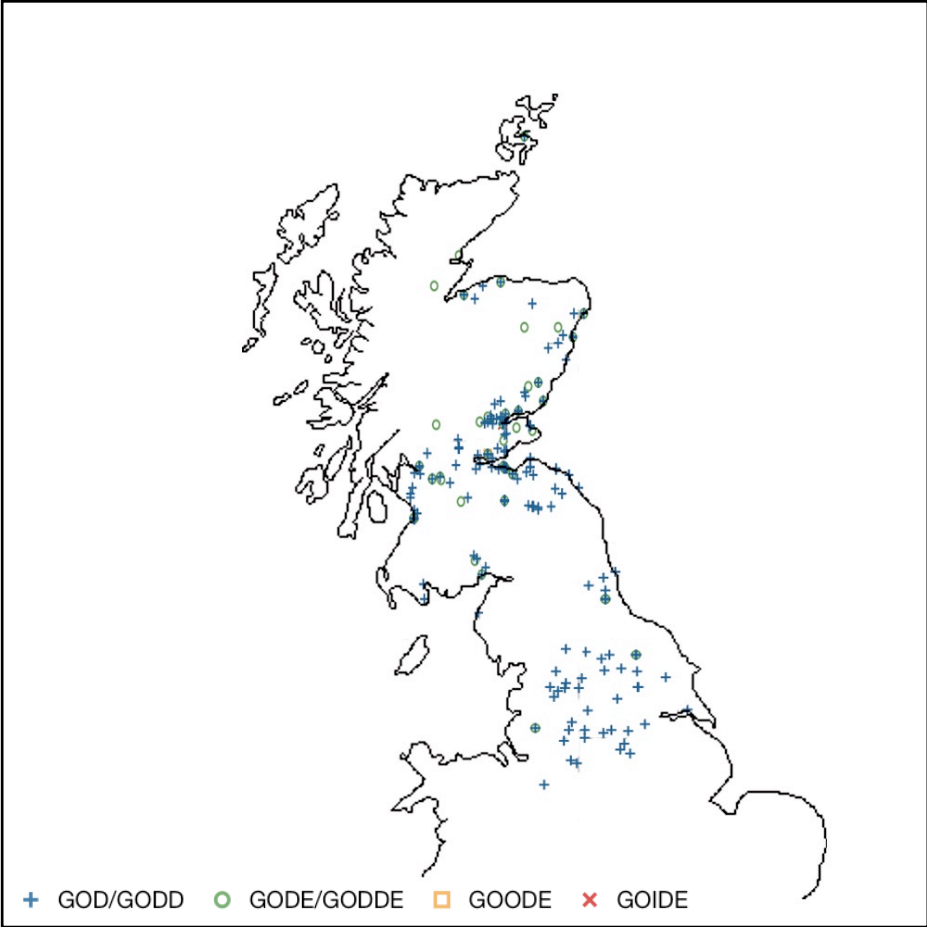
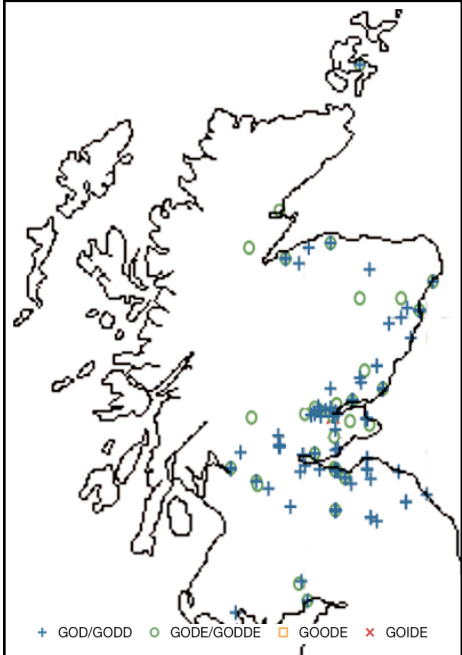
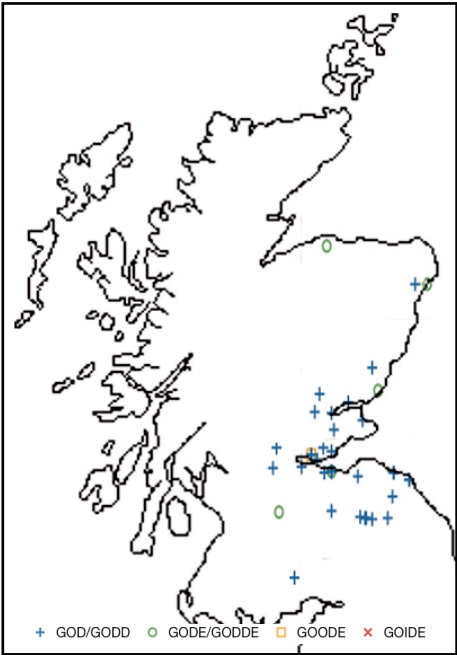


Fig. 5.6.1 GOD: LAOS 1380-1439 and Fig. 5.6.2 GOD: Attestations LAOS 1440-1500



The item GOD is divided into four groups of spellings: 1) spellings with <o>, such as *god* and *godd*; 2) spellings with <o> and final <-e>, such as *gode*; 3) spellings with <oo>; and 4) spellings with <oi>.

There are many attestations for the item GOD. Still, the geographical gap between the survey points from the MEG corpus and the LAOS corpus is still visible with few attestations in Dumfries and Galloway, Cumbria and Northumberland. ‘god’ spellings dominate both south and north of the border. ‘gode’ spellings are more frequently found in Scotland than in England, where no survey points have only attestations of ‘gode’ spellings; these attestations are always found together with attestations of the ‘god’ type.

There are no attestations in the Hebrides, and few attestations are found in Orkney and in the Highlands. Few attestations are found north of Inverness in the Highlands, which is an area where none of the other items is attested.

‘god’ spellings cluster in the Central Lowlands. While ‘gode’ spellings cover the same area as ‘god’ spellings the number of attestations is lower. However, ‘gode’ spellings are often found in the periphery of the area covered by the ‘god’ type. Spellings of the ‘gode’ type increase in the second period; however, the ‘god’ type still dominates.

Though GOD has many attestations there is little variation in spelling, both across the two corpora and in the maps showing the diachronic results. However, the increase in ‘gode’ spellings against ‘god’ spellings in the second period, in Figs 4.6.1 and 4.6.2, is worth mentioning.

5.2.3 OVER

Fig. 5.7 OVER: Attestations from LAOS and MEG

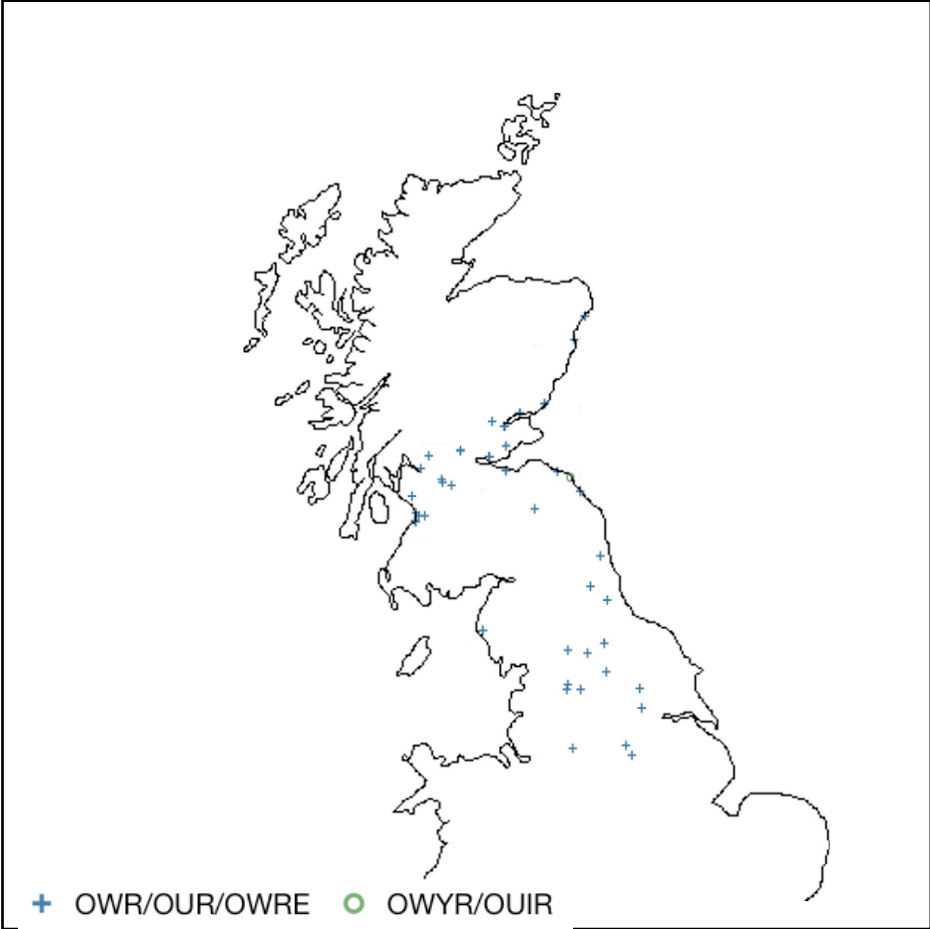
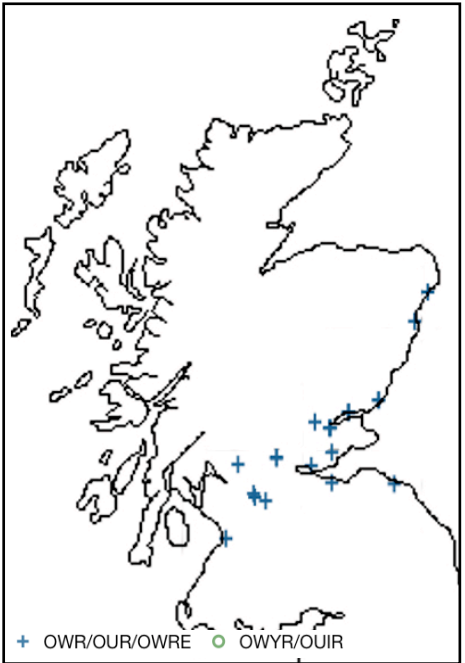
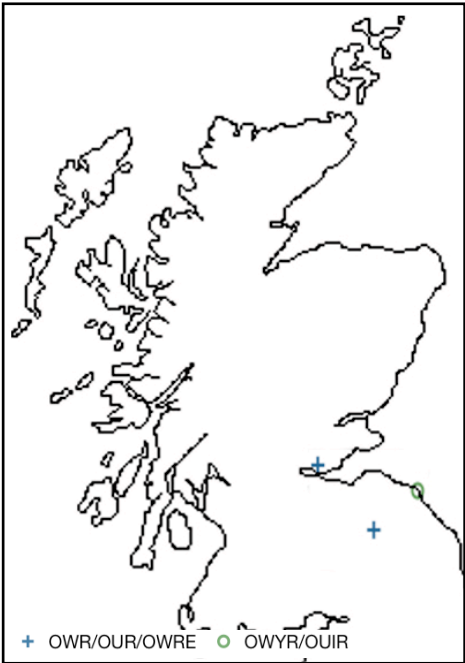


Fig. 5.7.1 OVER: LAOS 1380-1439 and Fig. 5.7.2 OVER: LAOS 1440-1500

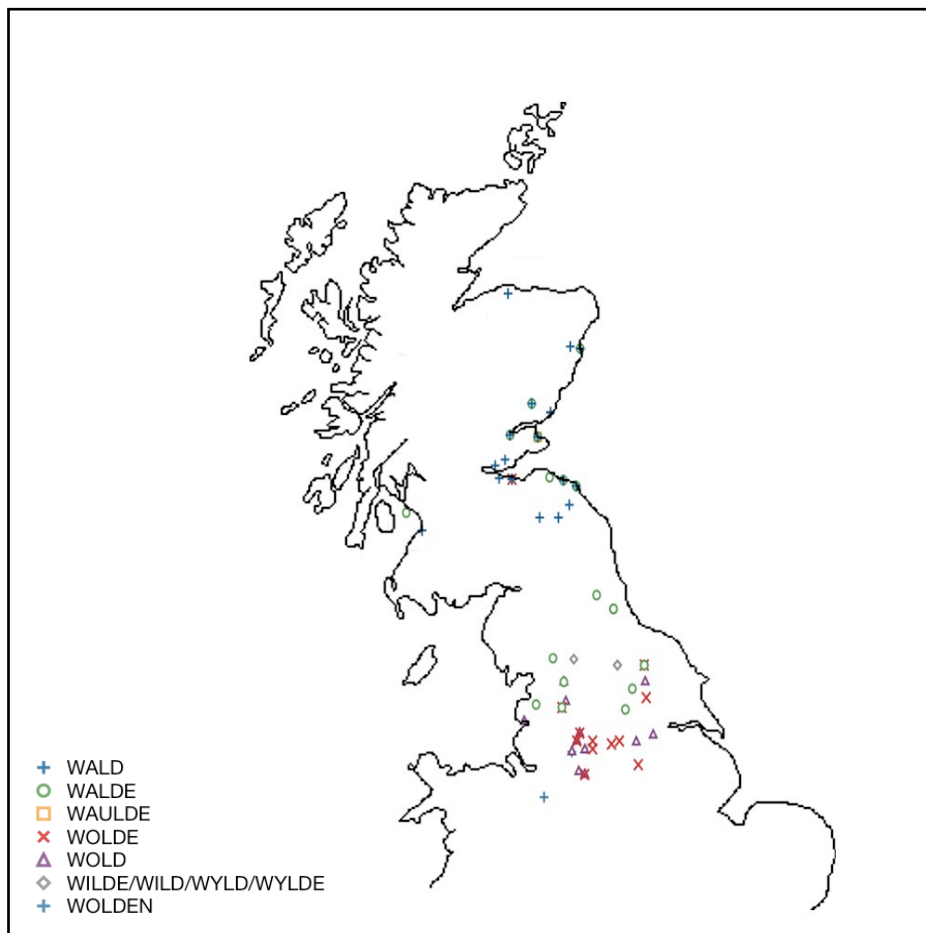


There are two types for the item OVER : ‘owr’ and ‘owir’, with forms such as *our*, *owre*, *owr*, *ouer*, and *ower* for the first type and *owir* and *ouir* for the second type.

The attestations spread from the Central Lowlands, where most of the attestations are found, with a few further attestations stretching up along the coast to Aberdeen and a few stretching down towards Berwick-upon-Tweed. The majority of spellings are of the ‘owr’ type and outnumber the other type 66 to 3. The attestations from the MEG corpus all fall into the ‘owr’ category.

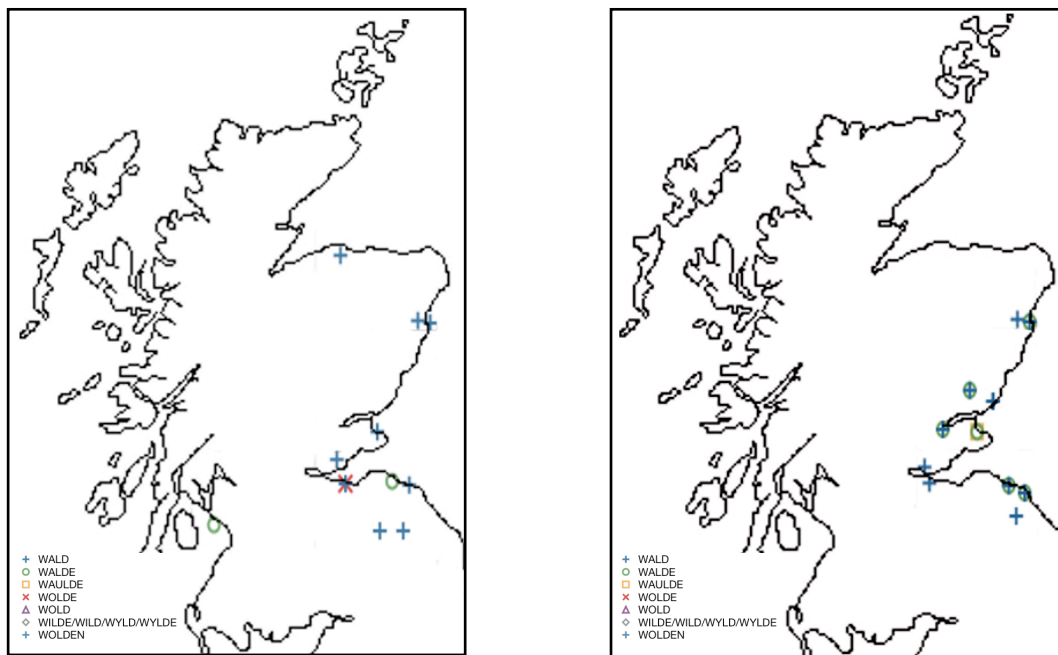
5.2.4 WOULD

Fig. 5.8 WOULD: Attestations from LAOS and MEG



The item WOULD has been divided into seven types: ‘wald’, ‘walde’, ‘waulde’, ‘wold’, ‘wolde’, ‘wolden’ and ‘wild’. Among these only four are attested in the LAOS corpus: ‘wald’, ‘walde’, ‘waulde’ and ‘wolde’, while ‘wold’, ‘wolden’ and ‘wild’ are only found in the MEG corpus.

Fig. 5.8.1 WOULD: LAOS 1380-1439 and Fig. 5.8.2 WOULD: LAOS 1440-1500



The ‘wald’ spellings in Scotland cluster around the Firth of Forth, although some further examples are found in the Scottish Borders. There are also attestations around the Firth of Tay, in Aberdeen and in Elgin.

As can be seen in Fig. 4.8, <a> spellings dominate the LAOS attestations, while <o> spellings dominate in Northern England. Of all 72 attestations from LAOS only two are not spelled with an <a>: one is spelled <au> and the other <o>. This distribution can be compared to that within the Northern English texts where 62% of all spellings are <o> spellings.

There is a clear difference between the LAOS attestations and those from MEG with a geographical gap with few attestations serving as a boundary between the two. There is more variation in spelling among the survey points from the MEG corpus as compared to those from LAOS. The only type found in Scotland which is not also found in Northern England is ‘waulde’. Although <a> spellings are well attested in the MEG texts, accounting for just above 30% of all attestations, only one is found south of the Humber, and only three <o> spellings are found north of the Humber.

According to Figs 4.8.1 and 4.8.2 ‘wald’ spellings seem to dominate in the first period in the LAOS texts while ‘walde’ spellings increase in the second period. However, looking at the table in Fig. 4.8.3 it becomes obvious that there is only a 6% difference in the number of ‘wald’ spellings in the two periods.

Fig. 5.8.3 WOULD: Attestations in percentages

	LAOS	MEG	1380-1439	1440-1500
‘wald’	76%	-	79%	73%
‘walde’	21%	31%	14%	24%
‘waulde’	1%	-	-	2%
‘wolde’	1%	25%	7%	-
‘wold’	-	33%	-	-
‘wolden’	-	4%	-	-
‘wild’	-	8%	-	-
Total number of attestations	72	52	14	49

5.2.5 Summarising Vowel 5

The types found in Scotland and those found in Northern England are often the same for the items containing Vowel 5, except for the item WOULD. <o> spellings dominate in the southern survey points, while the same type is not found at all in the LAOS survey points. There is also a slight difference between the two corpora concerning the item GOD, as this item is spelled without the final <-e> more often in the MEG corpus than it is in the LAOS corpus.

The item DAUGHTER shows clusters of <o> spellings in the west of the area of attestations, while there is a cluster of <ou> spellings in the east, centering on Fife.

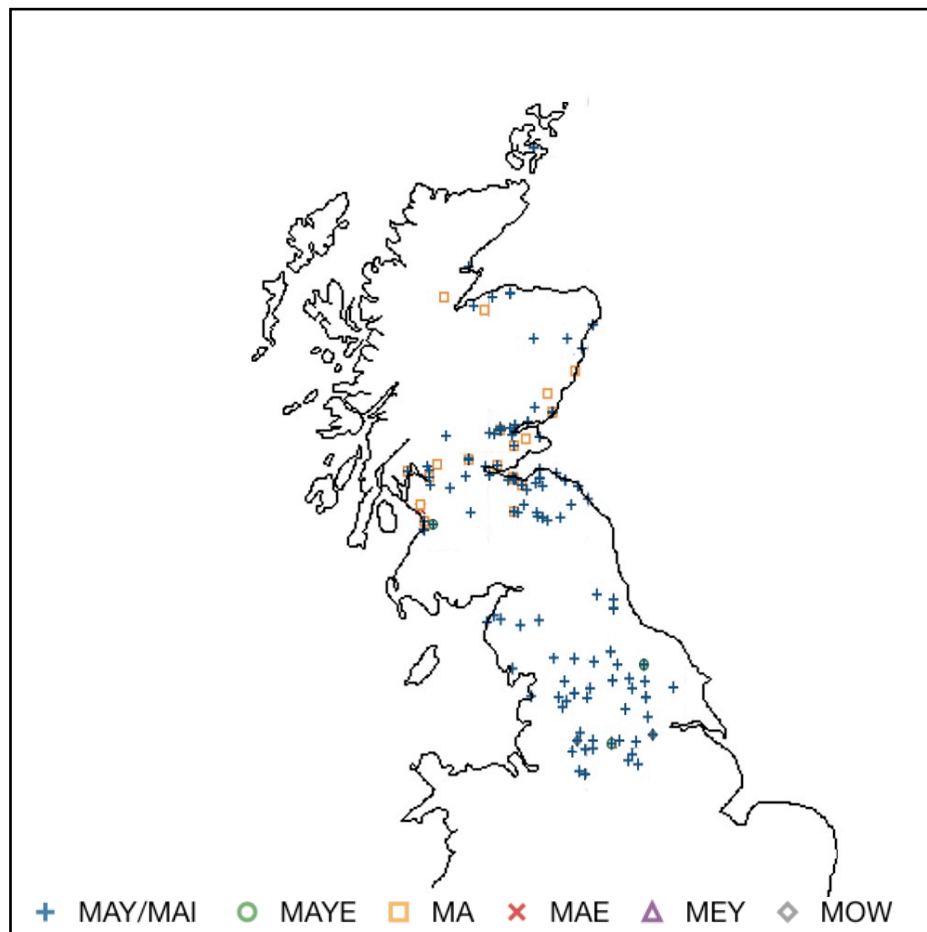
There is an increase in types spelled with a final <-e> in the items WOULD and GOD in the period from 1440 to 1500.

5.3 Vowel 8

The items for Vowel 8 are DAY, MAY, and past tense of SAY (henceforth SAY pt). These words are similar in spelling, giving ‘C(ai/ay)’, ‘C(ay/ai)e’ and ‘Ca’ as the most common spelling groups for THEY and MAY. The additional medial or final <d> for spellings of SAY pt, gives the types ‘sa i/y d’, ‘sa i/y de’ and ‘sad’.

5.3.1 MAY

Fig. 5.9 MAY: Attestations from LAOS and MEG



The map with the attestations of MAY spellings from LAOS and MEG show a clear dominance of ‘may’ spellings both from the Northern English texts and the Scots texts. According to the table in Fig. 4.9.1 82% of all attestations from LAOS are of the ‘may’ type, while 17% are ‘ma’ spellings. The ‘ma’ spellings, though scarce, are evenly distributed and cover much of the same geographical area as the ‘may’ spellings. Most attestations are found in the Central Lowlands, stretching up and down the east coast, and a few are found in the

area around Inverness. Clusters of spellings are visible around the southern banks of the Firth of Forth, as well as around the Firth of Tay and the Firth of Clyde.

Fig. 5.9.1 MAY: LAOS 1380-1439 and **Fig. 5.9.2 MAY: LAOS 1440-1500**

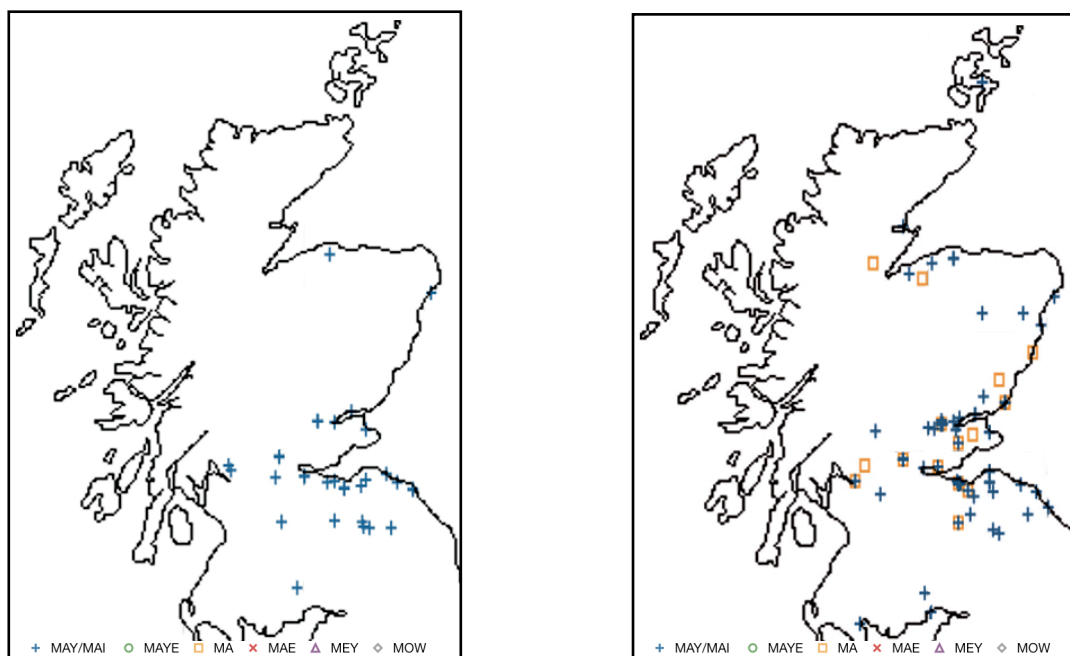


Fig. 5.9.1 MAY: Attestations in percentages

	LAOS	MEG	1380-1439	1440-1500
'may'	82%	91%	93%	79%
'maye'	<1%	6%	-	-
'ma'	17%	-	7%	21%
'mae'	<1%	-	-	-
'mey'	-	1%	-	-
'mow'	-	2%	-	-
Total number of attestations	255	87	44	177

While no 'ma' spellings are found in the North of England, the MEG texts still show more variation in the realisation of Vowel 8 with spelling groups such as 'mey' and 'mow'. However, these spellings are very limited in number.

The map in Fig. 4.9.2 shows the attestations of MAY spellings in the LAOS corpus from 1380 to 1439, while Fig. 4.9.3 shows those from 1440 to 1500. According to the maps there are no attestations of 'ma' spellings before 1440, and 'may' spellings clearly dominate. Nonetheless, the table in Fig. 4.9.1 shows that 'ma' spellings account for 7% of all MAY

attestations from this period. The increase in the occurrence of ‘ma’ spellings in the second period is visible in the map and these are now tripled from the first period.

The attestations from the first period cover the Central Lowlands as well as Elgin and Aberdeen. In the second period, as the ‘ma’ spellings become apparent, they cover the same geographical area as the ‘may’ spellings. However, they do not cluster and are more evenly spread.

5.3.2 SAY

Fig. 5.10 SAY: Attestations from LAOS and MEG

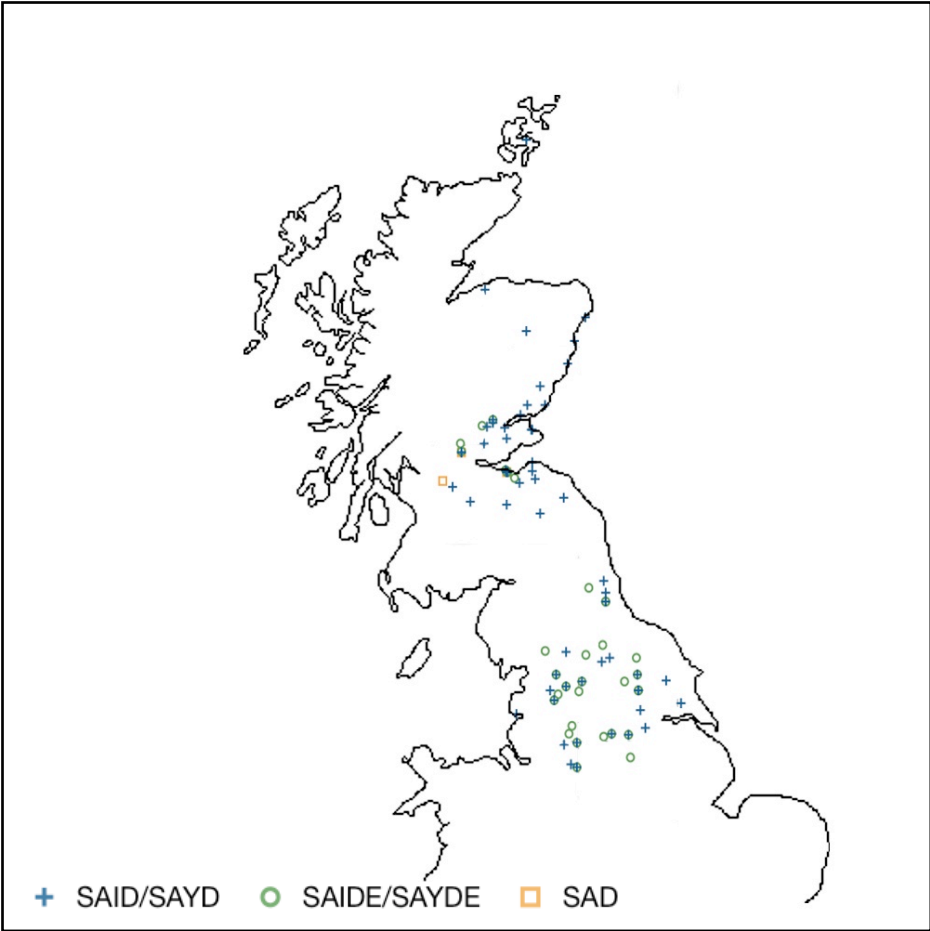


Fig. 5.10.1 SAY: LAOS 1380-1439 and **Fig. 5.10.11 SAY: LAOS 1440-1500**



The ‘said’ type clearly dominates in the attestations from the LAOS corpus. These spellings are centered around the Firth of Forth with clusters along the southern banks and also around the Firth of Tay. The westernmost survey points show ‘sad’ and ‘said’ spellings. These are also found around the Firths of Tay and Forth, but none is attested north of the Tay.

The attestations of the item SAY pt have been divided into three types: ‘said’, ‘saide’, and ‘sad’. ‘said’ spellings clearly dominate in the LAOS texts while ‘said’ and ‘saide’ spellings are quite evenly distributed in the MEG texts. In Northern England ‘said’ and ‘saide’ spellings cover the same area. The survey points from the two corpora are divided by a geographical gap with no attestations covering most of Cumbria, Northumberland and Dumfries and Galloway.

Only four attestations are visible in figure 4.11.1. Of these, three are of the ‘saide’ type and are found south of the Firth of Forth, while the fourth is of the ‘said’ type and is found in Fife. In the second period there is an increase in attestations and the ‘said’ spellings clearly dominate. The rarer types ‘saide’ and ‘sad’ are equal in number, both counting 12 against the 66 attestations of the ‘said’ type.

5.3.3 THEY

Fig. 5.11 THEY: Attestations from LAOS and MEG

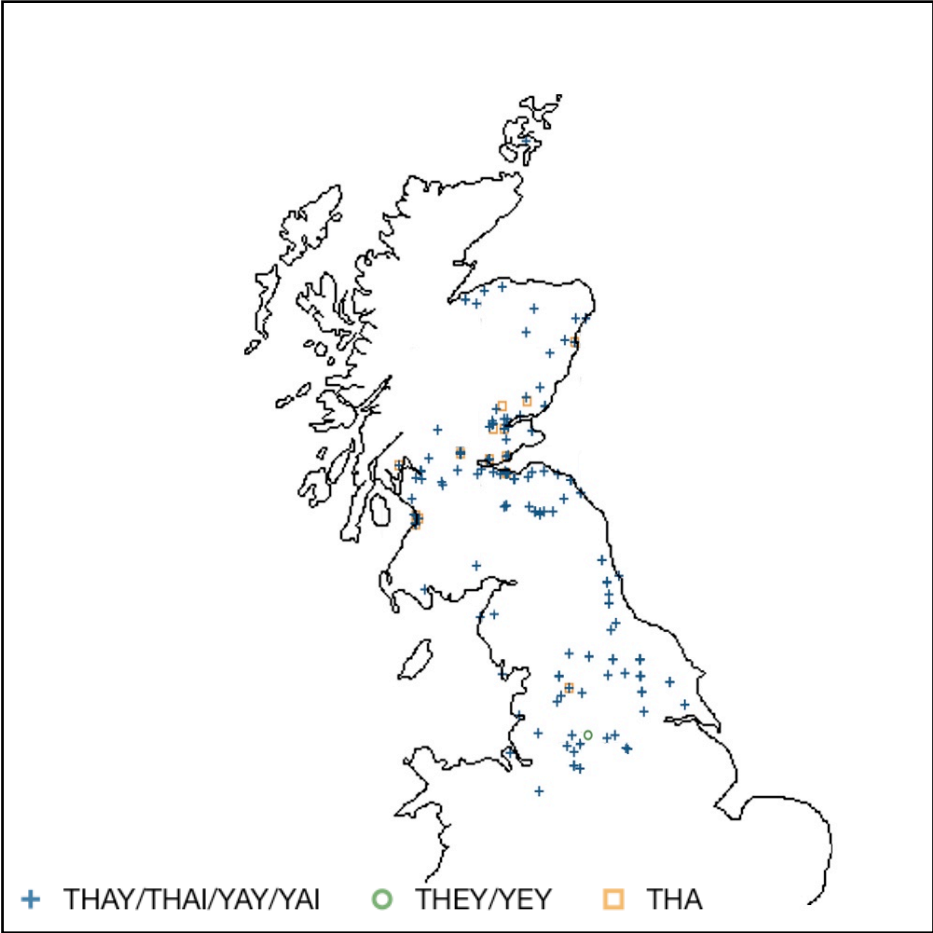
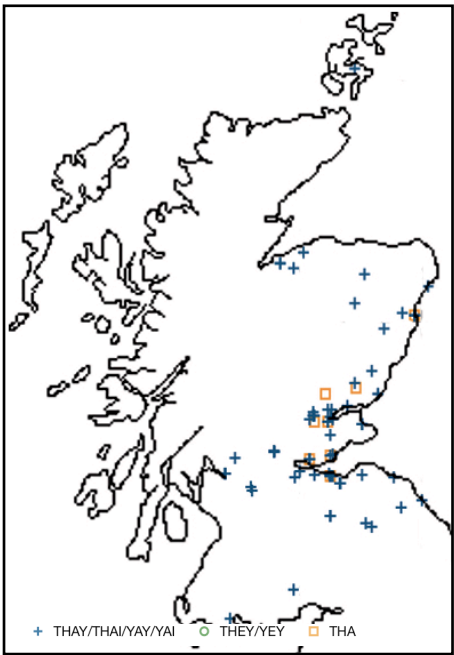
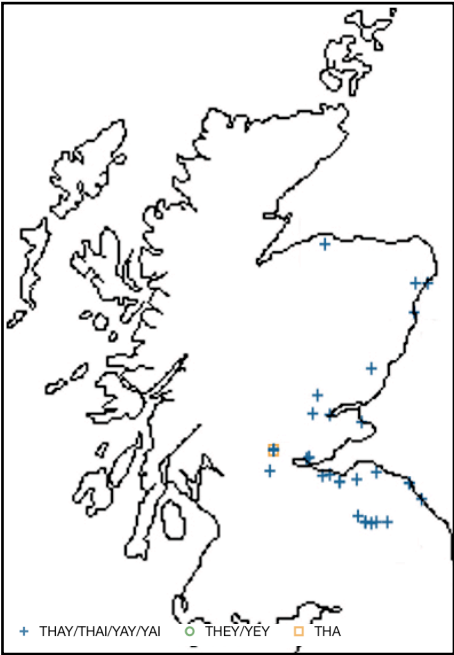


Fig. 5.11.1 THEY: LAOS 1380-1439 and Fig. 5.11.2 THEY: LAOS 1440-1500



The spelling types for THEY are ‘thay’, ‘they’ and ‘tha’ with ‘thay’ clearly dominating both north and south of the border. The attestations found in Scotland appear in clusters in the Central Lowlands, especially around the Firth of Forth and the Firth of Tay, and are otherwise evenly spread along the south, down to the Scottish Borders, and east and north of the Grampian Mountains, avoiding the mountains themselves.

‘tha’ spellings are found just north of the Firth of Tay, in Aberdeen, around the Firth of Forth and, on the west coast, in Ayr and near the inner Firth of Clyde. In Northern England the attestations are evenly distributed rather than clustering like those in Scotland. There is only one ‘tha’ spelling, but this is at a survey point which also has a ‘thay’ attestation. There is a gap in attestations covering most of Cumbria.

Looking at figure 4.10.1 and the LAOS based map for the first half of the time-period, attestations are found mainly in the Central Lowland clustering around Edinburgh and stretching north along the east coast to Aberdeen and Elgin, and south on the same side to the Scottish Borders. One ‘tha’ spelling is visible near Stirling, while the remaining attestations are of the ‘thay’ type.

In the second period, as seen in Fig. 4.10.2, the overall number of attestations has increased as well as the number of ‘tha’ spellings. The latter, however, only account for 6% of the total number of attestations from this period and are found in clusters around the Tay, the Forth and in Aberdeen. ‘thay’ spellings cover the same area as in the first period except that there are additionally a few attestations in Dumfries and Galloway and a small cluster near Inverness.

5.3.4 Summarising Vowel 8

There is a common pattern for the three items containing Vowel 8. The pattern is the increase of <a> spellings in the period from 1440 to 1500. These spellings are confined to survey points from LAOS and are rarely, if ever, found in the MEG corpus.

The ‘said’ type dominates throughout, in both time-periods in the LAOS data and in the Northern English survey points. The ‘saide’ type is more common in the MEG corpus than in the LAOS corpus, giving ‘said’ and ‘saide’ an even distribution in Northern England whereas the ‘said’ type clearly dominates in Scotland.

Part III

6. Discussion

This chapter discusses the quality of the data collected in this study and the patterns apparent from the maps. The quality of the data together with the challenges in interpreting them are presented first. Next comes a summary of the most important data, leading to a discussion of what they mean.

6.1 Data quality and challenges relating to data interpretation

This section of the chapter presents and discusses the quality of the data collected for this thesis. There are also challenges related to the interpretation of these data that must be considered before a proper discussion of the implications of the data can be presented.

6.1.1 Dated, localised and fitted texts

Most texts in LAOS and MEG are given dates and locations. These locations are what the geographic maps of attestations in this study have been based on, and the dates give the study a dimension of time as well, where the time-depth of the geographic variation is also demonstrated. Both the aspect of time and that of geography seem straightforward, but there are issues that need to be considered when looking at the maps.

The dates applied to the texts are usually given in the texts themselves. Most of the texts found in LAOS are record books, letters and charters, which are usually dated. The date of the texts are thus given. The date when the text was composed and when it was signed or sealed might differ, but the difference between the two, or several actual dates, would be short, and too short to make a difference in a study with as large a time-span as the present study.

The locations of the texts, on the other hand, might be misleading. A location might be given in the text, but this could refer to where the text was created, written, sealed or signed (Williamson 2001: 7). The location given usually gives a general idea of the area from which the text originates. There are, however, other aspects to the locality of the text. The writer might be a travelling scribe who is located and has the dialect of a different region, and his language might be watered down to facilitate communication. Where the scribe has received his training will also affect his written language, as it is likely to affect his spelling practices and linguistic habits.

The location given consequently does not provide an exact location of the language variety found in the text, but is at the same given as an exact set of coordinates. This coordinate refers to an area in what Williamson (2004) calls Real Space and Geographical Space. The Types of Space introduced by Williamson are presented in the introductory chapters (see p.26). Texts that do not supply a location are localised based on linguistic features that are compared to the same linguistic features in localised texts. Based on these comparisons the texts are given a location in Linguistic Space which connects to Geographical Space through the set of coordinates the texts are given in the Reticular Space.

The set of coordinates given for a localised text is thus not exact, as it cannot be guaranteed that the language of the text represents the language found in that area. The set of coordinates given for a localised text is given in an abstract space which does not directly transfer to Geographical Space, and is not exact either as it is placed in an artificial continuum based on calculations of similarities and dissimilarities of linguistic features. The location assigned to an attestation or survey point in the maps presented in this study must consequently not be seen as explicit locations, but as representative of a larger area.

6.1.2 Dialect continuum

The linguistic continuum traceable in the maps presented in the current study can be called both abstract and artificial. This statement will be explained and be discussed using the Types of Space introduced by Williamson (2004).

The attestations visible in the maps presented in this study are, as mentioned, referred to the coordinates given for the survey points constituting the corpora they have been collected from. However, there are challenges related to the localisation of these texts as have just been covered. The localised texts often serve as anchor texts in the matrix of texts into which the localisable texts are fitted.

Texts that do not supply information about their provenance are localised by means of the fit-technique, either the computerised version used for LAOS, or the manual version used for LALME. The fitting is based on the linguistic similarities and dissimilarities between the text and the anchor texts forming the matrix the text is fitted into. These similarities are compared based on questionnaires: a list of items that tend to show regional variation. The texts are then fitted based on the degree of similarity or dissimilarity to the already localised texts by calculations using various statistical methods. A fitted text enriches the matrix of

anchor texts and provides more information and detail which adds to the precision when fitting a new text; a fitted text is in essence considered a new anchor text.

The data presented in this study in the forms of maps refer to anchor texts or to texts localised based on the fit technique and should be viewed in light of the Types of Space presented by Williamson (2004). These Types of Space are essential to historical dialect mapping and must be considered in order to comprehend what the maps in this study represent.

The fitted texts constitute the Linguistic Space, as these have been mapped onto an abstract linguistic continuum based on the localised texts. The localised texts are what connects the Linguistic Space to the Real Space and the Geographical Space, as every text is given a provenance in the Geographical Space, to represent its origin in Real Space. All texts that are given a set of coordinates, either through extralinguistic evidence for a given location or after having been fitted, are placed in the Reticular Space. Linguistic Space is thus connected through the localised texts to the Geographical Space, which again connects to Real Space, and to the Reticular Space, which is connected to both Real Space and Geographical Space.

The linguistic features represented in these maps belong to the Linguistic Space. It is important always to keep in mind that this is an abstract Space, which can also be called diffuse compared to the three remaining types of Space. It is also important to remember that the model of linguistic variation, such as the concept of transition areas and the unbroken dialect continuum, are simplifications (Stenroos 2008a:15). The Linguistic Space presents an artificial and, at least partly, created linguistic continuum. The continuum which is presented in and by the Linguistic Space shows a gradual development within an evenly distributed continuum where geographic variation is of key interest, and also the only variation considered.

The Linguistic Space, in which the data of this study are presented, fails to take account of variation due to factors such as genres and scribal practices, and also variation due to the conditions and people connected to text production. Topographic features such as rivers, mountains and political borders are also ignored, although these can constitute boundaries of dialectal variation.

When looking at the maps presented in this study it is thus important to note that the texts that are fitted within the matrix created by the anchor texts are created based on a

continuum that does not necessarily exist. A steady and gradual transition between dialects is created between the anchor texts and it is this continuum that constitutes the Linguistic Space, while the locations of the anchor texts connects this Space to the concrete Spaces. It is thus important to note that the data presented in this study are presented within an abstract Space that does not transfer directly to the Real Space, Geographical Space or Reticular Space. The dialectal variation shown in this study constitutes an abstract layer that is only partially connected to the geographical map depicting it.

6.1.3 Diatopic variation

“Historical dialectology is [...] concerned with past stages of a language and with linguistic variation observable in those stages” (Williamson 2004:100). This quote sums up the main aims of historical dialectology and consciously refers to stages. The variation present in a language constitutes a continuum. However, due to the limited sources available to scholars of historical dialectology, the gradual development of the continuum is not subject to detailed study. Thus the stages within a continuum are what needs to be the base from which the continuum can be studied.

Spoken language changes constantly and diatopically, and the variation is gradual. The continuity of the process is obvious both in regional differences and changes through time. However, due to the limited sources available to scholars of historical dialectology the changes cannot be mapped and studied in the same amount of detail as are available for studies in modern sociolinguistics. Studies in historical dialectology are confined to the available data and every detail of a continuum is consequently not available for analysis. One approach to tracing linguistic change is to pursue studies within a certain limited time-period and limited geographic regions, which is what the present study has done. The results from each period can then be compared in order to trace variation through time and space.

The results of such studies and what one such stage shows can be compared to taking a photo using a long shutter speed, an example used by Williamson (2001: 256). All solid motionless objects will be clear and detailed in the photo, while all moving objects will only leave shadows or blurs in their paths. This is easily applied to the maps presented in this study; however, it is crucial to note that the photo the maps present is deceiving. Moving objects can move within the frames, but due to the long shutter speed, only a faint trace will be left. Also, motionless objects might have suddenly appeared and stayed in the same

position only long enough to be captured in detail. The various objects in the image can consequently not be given too much relevance, as it is not until they are compared to adjacent stages that anything but a description of the image can be given.

This study looks at the period from 1380 to 1500. The diatopic variation is mapped by tracing the linguistic variation in Linguistic Space and connecting this, through Reticular Space, to Geographic Space. In order to map diachronic variation the time-period has been divided into two smaller periods, from 1380 to 1439 and from 1440 to 1500 and the findings have again been mapped. Due to the small number of attestations for some items further divisions of the time-period would result in maps with very few attestations and a reduced foundation for comparison. The time-depth in the data is thus rather shallow as the time-period has only been divided into two smaller time-periods, which both have a time-span of 60 years.

The image provided by the maps produced for this study has no documented immediately preceding stage to show where the developments originate. There are no written sources from the same geographic location preceding those considered in this study. There are, however, sources from the adjacent area, the North of England, although considering them leaves a gap both in time and space to the origin of these data. The adjacent stage following this stage contains more data, but these require further studies and more attention in order to function as an accepted foundation for comparison.

The diatopic continuum of linguistic variation cannot be mapped in detail for the texts found in Scotland from 1380 to 1500. This is due to the nature of the sources available. However, the variation within and between stages can be analysed and a general image of what might have happened can be presented.

6.1.4 Historical dialectology

Studies in historical dialectology, including the present study, are confined to written sources. The sources are limited, as is the information connected to the sources. Compared to modern dialectology, where the informants are alive and surrounding information can be obtained simply by asking, historical dialectology must base its related studies on the surviving written sources.

Historical dialectology does, however, aim to study dialectal variation in spoken language. Regional variation is present in the written material from the chosen period and

most scholars consider orthographic variation as a reflection of the natural variation inherent in language, but suppressed in standardised writing systems (Stenroos 2008a: 2). Although Middle English has been studied more thoroughly, there is nothing to suggest that variation in Older Scots is any less prominent. However, there are differences between spoken and written language that need to be assessed.

Written language is considered to be more conservative and constant compared to spoken language. Spoken language can be said to change continually and without the speaker's conscious awareness. Written language, on the other hand, requires a more conscious effort. A writer who does not have a standard written language to follow is constantly making decisions when producing a text, and there are various aspects affecting these decisions: 1) The language of a text is likely to be affected by its genre, where there could be spelling conventions and jargons connected to the genre. 2) The training of the scribe, with both linguistic and literary habits affecting the text. 3) The aspect of text translations is relevant especially for literary texts. A literatim copy of a text will give a completely different result from if the text was translated. 4) The written variety of the scribe's language is likely to differ depending on the reader. If the scribe produces a text to be read in an area where the dialect is different from his own, his language is likely to change in order to facilitate communication.

Considering the vast variety and information connected to texts produced in the period from 1380 to 1500, the situation is further complicated when looking at the sparse surviving sources from the same period. Only a small percentage of the texts produced have survived, and there is no guarantee that this percentage is representative of the initial body of texts.

These are all aspects that cause variation in the written language; moreover, they are aspects that should be considered in the creation of a dialect continuum. However, these aspects require qualitative analyses of each text and a collection of data that would be too extensive to be covered by this study. Although the current study is based on the sources available and draws its conclusions from the data collected, it is important to note what these data represent.

6.1.5 Orthography versus phonology

This study has mapped the development of Vowels 4, 5 and 8 in Scotland in the period 1380-1500. The language is seen to have undergone considerable changes during this period.

The only sources from the period are written sources and it is the interpretation of the spellings in these sources that must form the basis for a study of the spoken mode. Lass (2004:152) states that “texts should be taken as written utterances, virtually equivalent to utterances collected in linguistic fieldwork [...] so variant spelling for instance should not be viewed as merely a matter of orthography”. However, spelling does not transfer directly to speech, the results thus need to be conjectures rather than hard evidence, and the data will not allow for great phonological precision.

The variation present in Older Scots spelling could be mapped in an orthographic study. However, if this study was to be based solely on orthography it would result in no more than a synchronic description of the spelling habits visible in Scots throughout the period. The data collected for this study must consequently be seen in comparison to other varieties in order to relate the changes in the representation of forms to changes in phonology.

One cannot guarantee that writing represents speech. As mentioned earlier, there are numerous challenges connected to dialectal studies based on written sources. The variation and patterns of spellings relating to orthography are a study in itself, where the aspects and reasons for variation in spellings for the data obtained in this study would result in another study of the same, or even greater, proportions than the present study. Such a study would have to consider the external influences and orthographic changes and would add detail and more information to the present study.

Within the field of sociolinguistics and modern dialect studies, changes occurring today can be observed and mapped. In the case of a modern vowel development, utterances can be recorded and analysed. The use of computers and modern sound-recording techniques open up for measuring of both length and the exact articulatory position of the vowels (see for example Labov 2007:373). This results in very detailed descriptions of sounds, and compared to each other these give detailed and accurate patterns and maps. However, there are constant changes in spoken language while written language is more conservative, and though an increase in the frequency of a certain pronunciation in spoken language will give valuable information, the adoption of a certain spelling is open for evaluation. The orthographic aspect needs to be considered when confronted with a new spelling, and the adoption of a spelling should not automatically conclude in the adoption of a new pronunciation. An example is the <ai> digraph found more frequently in Vowel 4 spellings in the later time-period covered by this study, which could be given the value of a phonological diphthong, or the digraph could

be seen as a length marker. A discussion of the increased use of the <ai> digraph is found later in this chapter.

The aim of this study is to study and discuss the phonological development of three Older Scots vowels, which an orthographic study would not cover. The orthographic aspect can still not be ignored, and must be present and considered throughout the present study.

6.1.6 Corpus study

This study is based on two different corpora. The searches have been conducted in two corpora of already analysed and transcribed data. Little information has been collected from each text: the set of coordinates indicating the localisation of the text, the time-period to which it belongs and the spellings of the items have been the only information obtained for this study.

More information could have been collected from each text to clarify certain issues. However, the time delimitation set for the study has refrained me from including qualitative factors. The data presented in this study are thus based on the work of the scholars who have transcribed, tagged and analysed the data collected in the corpora. Spellings as well as strokes are accepted as presented in the transcriptions based on the interpretations made by the transcribers of the texts. Coordinates and the time-period connected to each text is information supplied by previous work and analyses.

Human errors cannot be excluded, and these might have reduced the quality of the data. In the collection of data, misspellings or mistypings can have distorted certain results. The data from MEG were obtained by searching for spellings, rather than searching for items, as was done in LAOS, and certain irregular spellings might have been overlooked. However, there is reason to believe that these types of human errors are few and would not have made much of a difference to the final result.

6.2 Summary

What follows is a summary of the most significant findings from the data chapter. The findings presented here will serve as the foundation for the discussion in the next section of this chapter.

6.2.1 Geographical gap and dialect continuum

There is a geographical area around the modern border between Scotland and England which, for all items, has fewer attestations than the adjacent areas. The area consists of the modern counties of Cumbria and Northumberland in England, and the Scottish Borders and Dumfries and Galloway in Scotland. The number of attestations found in each county varies depending on both the vowel and the item, but generally the attestations amount to only a few, or they are absent.

The types found north and south of this geographical gap are for some items the same. However, when there is a difference between the types found in the LAOS corpus and those from the MEG corpus, this gap seems to function as a barrier between certain types. Although one type is often the dominating one on both sides, there are other types, which account for a significant proportion of the total, that are found only south of the gap, or north of it.

The maps for Vowel 4 show generally few attestations in Cumbria, Northumberland, the Scottish Borders and Dumfries and Galloway. The number of attestations varies, but compared to the neighbouring counties there is a geographical gap with few attestations. Both south and north of the border ‘aCe’ spellings dominate in most of the vowel 4 items. However, <o> spellings are restricted to England, with a few exceptions, while <ai> spellings are restricted to Scotland.

Vowel 5 shows less variation in spelling across the border, except for the item WOULD which is dominated by <a> spellings in Scotland and <o> spellings in England. The geographical gap is apparent also in the vowel 5 maps. Looking at the items for vowel 8, the geographical gap is evident, and it also functions as a boundary for <a> spellings, such as ‘tha’ for THEY and ‘ma’ for MAY, as these are only found in Scotland.

To sum up: there is in all maps, disregarding the number of attestations, a geographic gap in which there are few attestations. This gap serves as a boundary for certain types of the various items, where attestations of these types are, excluding a few exceptions, only found either north or south of the gap.

6.2.2 Appearance or increase of types in the second period

During the second period new types for Vowel 4 and for Vowel 8 appear or increase significantly. For Vowel 4 there is the appearance or increase of <ai> spellings in place of <a> spellings and for Vowel 8 there is the appearance or increase of <a> spellings, relative to the dominating <ai> spellings. These types are more evenly distributed than the former attested spelling groups, they do not cluster as much around the power centres and they are more frequently found in the peripheral area of attestations.

In the case of vowel 4 there is a major increase of the ‘maid’ type for MAKE pt in the period after 1440. ‘maire’ spellings for MORE and ‘naim’ spellings for NAME first appear in the second period, but then constitute a third of all attestations. The pattern is thus the same for these three items. The item STONE does not follow the pattern the other Vowel 4 items follow. There is only one attestations of the ‘stain’ type for the item STONE and this is attested in the first period, which covers the time-period 1380 to 1439. The remaining attestations are of the ‘stan’ or ‘stane’ type.

Vowel 8 shows an increase in <a> spellings against the dominating type of <ai> spellings, thus showing a similar development to that of vowel 4, though in the opposite direction. The ‘ma’ type for MAY triples its percentage in the second period, the increase of ‘tha’ spelling for THEY is minor, while ‘sad’ spellings for SAY pt first appear in the second period constituting 13% of all attestations. As with the <ai> spellings of vowel 4, the <a> spellings of vowel 8 are also evenly distributed among all attestations, although the <a> spellings are not as regularly found in the peripheral areas as the <ai> spellings of vowel 4 are.

To summarise: there is an increase in <ai> spellings for Vowel 4 and <a> spellings for Vowel 8 in the second period. These spellings are rarely, if ever, found south of the border, but constitute a significant percentage of spellings in the second period and consequently in the entire time-period in Scotland. The spellings are found across the area of attestations, rarely clustering in and around the power centres which the other types commonly do.

6.2.3 Clusters of spellings - Vowel 5 diphthongisation in Fife?

Vowel 5 in the item DAUGHTER is either represented by the grapheme <o> or a digraph consisting of either <ou> or <ow>. Spellings containing the digraph are found in Aberdeen and Inverness, although these have attestations of <o> spellings connected to the same survey

points. There are also a few digraph spellings in the Scottish Borders. The remaining attestations of the ‘douchter’ type are clustered in an area corresponding to the modern county of Fife. In this area the <ou> spellings clearly outnumber the <o> spellings, which dominate in number and in the remaining area of attestations.

6.2.4 Increase in spellings with final -e in Vowel 5 items WOULD and GOD

In the Vowel 5 items WOULD and GOD there is an increase in final <-e> spellings in the second time-period. There is one attestation of the ‘wold’ type in the period from 1380 to 1439, but none in the later period. There is also one attestation of a ‘waulde’ spelling in the later period. While ‘wald’ dominates both periods, there is an increase in ‘walde’ spellings in the second period. The type ‘god’ dominates the GOD attestations, but also for this item there is a significant increase in ‘gode’ spellings, with the final <-e>, as there is for the ‘walde’ type in WOULD.

6.3 Discussion of the implications

This section of the chapter consists of a discussion of the implications of the data collected for this study.

6.3.1 Older Scots as a distinct variety

One of the issues addressed in the introductory chapters was the distinctiveness of Scots compared to Middle English, and especially Northern Middle English. The data collected for this study were not handpicked for the purpose of identifying spelling forms unique to Older Scots. The vowels were rather selected for their standard association with Scots in order that the validity of this association could be tested. After all, a particular realisation of a vowel cannot be said to characterise Older Scots uniquely if it is identically realised in Northern Middle English. The limited amount of data collected for this study means, however, that only tentative conclusions can be drawn.

Both Older Scots and Northern Middle English derive from the same branch of Northumbrian Old English, Older Scots has developed more or less independently from the southern variety from the 7th century, which opens up the possibility of great difference between the two varieties. However, Scots has received input from Dutch and Gaelic to a degree which is unparalleled in English. The influence French and Scandinavian have had on Scots is also different from the influence they have had on the variety south of the border.

After the Anglian variety was introduced into Scotland there have been waves of immigration from south of the modern border over the years. The influence of Northern Middle English on Scots could thus be considered to have been constant and the differences to have been kept to a minimum. However, the area around the modern border is of difficult terrain which would have impeded communication in medieval times, or at least the amount of regular communication. It is this area that is shown as the geographical gap with few or no attestations which is visible in all the maps presented in this study. North of this gap, in the Central Lowlands, is where all Scottish power centres are to be found, except Aberdeen and Elgin. The confined area of these power centres ease communication, which again argues for an increased chance of distinct spellings being found in Older Scots.

In the maps presented in Chapter 4 in the present thesis there is a geographical gap with few or no attestations. This gap always covers the modern border as well as the surrounding area. There are also other areas with few or no attestations, such as the Highlands

and the Hebrides, but what makes the gap around the border interesting is that certain spellings are restricted to the area south or north of the gap. Consequently the gap can be seen to function as a border for certain types.

All vowels have spellings and types restricted to the area north or south of the border. The number of <ai> spellings for Vowel 4 found south of the border is so insignificant they can be classified as accidental spellings. Still, the same spelling is richly attested in Scotland, 'maide' is even the dominant type for the item MAKE pt. A similar picture is found for Vowel 8 with the <Ca(C)> spelling. Although the type is not as well attested as the <ai> spelling for Vowel 4, the type is still unattested in the MEG corpus except for a single 'tha' spelling for THEY. The picture is reversed when looking at <o> spellings for the items MORE, NAME and STONE. These are all attested in the MEG corpus, while none of these is found in Scotland. Even the northernmost attestation in northern England of the item MORE is of the 'more' type. The item WOULD containing Vowel 5 shows great variation across the border. While <a> spellings clearly dominate in Scotland, these are in the minority in England, where <o> spellings dominate.

The distinct spellings increase significantly from the first period, 1380-1439, to the later period, 1440-1500. Consequently, there does not seem to have been any remarkable differences in spellings between Northern England and Scotland at the beginning of the investigated period. As Scots developed independently from English from the 7th century until the first written sources, which date from the late 14th century, the opposite picture would be expected, with greater difference between the two in the first period. As the difference increased in the later half of the period, these changes could thus be explained by the cultural and political situation between the two nations.

The period from 1380 to 1439 is the period with least attestations, which raises the question of the representativeness of the surviving documents. As has been mentioned earlier, the distinct Scottish spellings are often found peripherally within the areas where the given item is attested, and are also more sparsely attested throughout this area. The attestations from the first period are more often than not found in and around the Central Lowlands. This could suggest the survival rate for these distinct spellings is lower for the first period, and that their existence already in that period should not be denied.

This argues for a distinctiveness in the Scots variety in the items studied for this thesis. Some items have the same dominating types both south and north of the border, but,

similarities are to be expected for the two varieties. The types that are restricted to either of the corpora occur in such significant numbers that they do reveal contrasting spelling patterns, and distinct Older Scots spellings.

6.3.2 Dialect continuum

The previous section has discussed the distinctiveness of Older Scots. Many of the arguments there made for distinct spellings for Older Scots argue for differences between the two varieties. Although Scots can be said to be distinct, there are, naturally, many similarities between the types found in LAOS and those found in MEG. This is as expected as both are Anglian-derived varieties and share many of the same linguistic characteristics: sharing the same linguistic background, undergoing many of the same sound-changes and sharing many of the same sources of influence, such as the Scandinavian influence from the Great Scandinavian Belt.

The data collected nonetheless still show what can be seen as a dialect continuum across the border, despite the differences between the two varieties. The continuum across the border, which should be there as the language has ‘travelled’ more or less gradually further north, could well be visible, despite the development of distinct spellings within the two nations. The data should, then, show a gradual transition from one type to another.

Kniezsa (1997:25-26) suggest Scots inherited the written traditions of the north, an argument for similarity between the two varieties. The similarities between the two varieties are evident in the data collected. Some items have the same types dominating on both sides of the border, and these are items from all three different vowels. The types ‘made’ for MAKE pt, ‘name’ for NAME and ‘stane’ for STONE containing Vowel 4; ‘dochter/dothter’ for DAUGHTER and ‘god’ for GOD, containing Vowel 5; and ‘mai/may’ for MAY and ‘thay’ for THEY, containing Vowel 8, are all types that dominate both north and south of the border.

The data collected do show what can be seen as a dialect continuum. Many of the items are similar with little variation across the border, and some show much variation in the dominating types. However, two maps show a continuum stretching from the southernmost survey points in England to the northernmost survey points in Scotland. The item STONE (Fig. 4.4), though sparsely attested, shows the ‘stone’ type dominating in the attestations from the southern part of MEG’s area of coverage. Further north in the area around Lancashire and North Yorkshire, there is an overlap of ‘stone’ spellings and ‘stane’ spellings. However, there

is an east/west division between these two, with ‘stone’ spellings in the west, and ‘stane’ spellings in the east. North of this area ‘stane’ dominates. There is a geographical gap around the modern border. The northernmost spellings from MEG are both of the ‘stane’ and ‘stan’ type. Across the border in Scotland there occur both ‘stane’ and ‘stan’ spellings south of the Firth of Forth, while the ‘stan’ type dominates north of the Forth. However, the northernmost STONE attestations are found in an area around Aberdeen. This area is represented by a cluster of ‘stane’ spellings, surrounding a single attestation of ‘stain’. This distribution shows a gradual development from <o> spellings in the south of England to ‘stan’ spellings further north, and the dominating ‘stane’ type in Scotland, and can be interpreted as a dialect continuum.

The item WOULD has ‘wold’ and ‘wolde’ spellings in the southernmost area of coverage in England. Further north there is an area of ‘walde’ spellings amid a few attestations of ‘wylde’ spellings. The ‘walde’ type dominates north of the border, while the northernmost survey points in Scotland are of the ‘wald’ type. A gradual development is again visible, and can be interpreted as a dialect continuum.

The item MORE shows a clear dominance of <a> spellings with and without final <-e> in Scotland, and a number of <ai> spellings, while <o> spellings are absent but dominate in England. However, in England the dominance of <o> spellings is challenged in Yorkshire, where <a> spellings dominate and even a few <ai> spellings are found, creating an east/west division of the spellings similar to that found in the STONE map. North of Yorkshire the attestations represent both <a> spellings and <o> spellings. The traces of a dialect continuum can thus be distinguished though with an east/west division in England, an area with a combination of both <a> and <o> spellings south of the Scottish border, and <a> spellings dominating the Scottish texts.

The data thus show what can be interpreted as a dialect continuum for the items WOULD, STONE and MORE. There is a continuum developing south from England and North towards Scotland, or an east/west division in England which blends together south of the border leaving the eastern or northern type to dominate in Scotland. For the remaining items the spellings are very similar on both sides of the border, except for the <ai> digraph, as this is restricted to the LAOS corpus.

6.3.3 Diachronic increase in Vowel 4 <ai> spellings and Vowel 8 <a> spellings

The <ai> spellings for Vowel 4 and <a> spellings for Vowel 8 are what makes the Older Scots spellings distinct from Northern Middle English spellings. These spellings increase in the later part of the studied time-period, which is from 1439 to 1500.

The origin and phonological representation of these spellings are debated. Kniezsa (1997:30) proposes an origin for the digraph spelling <ai>, to represent a diphthong, in new scribal traditions introduced in the mid-eleventh to mid-twelfth century by scribes with Norman French training. This again spread all over the speech area and did not carry a regional stamp. However, data from the Domesday book show words with native English sources for Old English *ā* represented by <a> spellings, while words with Scandinavian sources for *à* are represented by the <ai> digraph, giving pairs such as *stan* and *stain*. The digraph which thus used to represent a Scandinavian pronunciation became, in a later period where Scandinavian had ceased to be a spoken language, a general northern vowel-length marker (Kniezsa 1997:31). Johnston (1997:48) also presents both possibilities: the <ai> digraph either signals a diphthong similar to the diphthong in the word TRY or it is a length-marker, the latter especially if it is found post 1440.

Vowel 4 is expected to front and rise during the studied time-period. However, during the period <ai> spellings for Vowel 4 increase in frequency by an average of about 30% for the items MAKE pt, MORE and NAME in the later part of the period. Vowel 8, which is generally held to be a diphthong in the beginning of the period, is believed to merge with Vowel 4, though the exact time for this merger is debated. The <a> spellings for Vowel 8 increase by about 10% in the later part of the period.

The <ai> spellings for Vowel 4 and the <a> spellings for Vowel 8 are sparsely distributed across the entire area of attestations, thus covering, so to speak, every geographical area that is covered by the dominating type. However, these new spellings fail to cluster in the central areas, which the dominating types do. The new spellings are also more likely to be found in the more peripheral survey points.

The few <ai> spellings found in England are all restricted to Yorkshire with no attestations found north towards the border with Scotland. These are, however, rare, and the dates have not been collected for this study, which makes them difficult to compare to the LAOS attestations.

A marker for vowel length in use in Scotland is the final <-e>, ‘discontinued grapheme’ or ‘mute <e>’ (Kniezsa 1997), whose weakening and eventual loss went hand in hand with Open Syllable Lengthening (see p.31). This lengthener is often found alongside the <ai> digraph for Vowel 4. The <VCe> spellings with final <-e> are classified by Agutter (1987) as Type 1 spellings in his taxonomy of Older Scots orthography (see p.38), and are thus characterised as native spellings.

Agutter (1987: 78) classifies the <ai> digraph as Type 2: Additional Spellings in his taxonomy of Older Scots orthography. He thus characterises these spellings as graphemes borrowed during the Older Scots period and considers them to be orthographically motivated rather than phonologically motivated. He argues for this motivation by looking at the situation in England, where long vowels were frequently spelled <Ve> or <Va>. The situation in Scotland he then considers to be parallel, though in Scots the digraphs used were <Vi> or <Vy>. However, if the <ai> digraph is an orthographic feature adopted from the variety south of the border, <ae> spellings should be present in Scotland. For this study, however, no <ae> spellings have been found in either corpus.

The <Vi> digraph is also found with other vowels than <a> as the vowel. Kniezsa (1989:447) discussed four digraphs, <ai, ay>, <ei, ey>, <oi,oy> and <ui, uy>, and their origin. The <ei, ey> digraph originates from Anglo-Norman scribal traditions based on the monophthongisation of OF /ei/. The origin of <ai, ay> is Middle English /a:/ and Scandinavian /ei/ > /ai/ which alternated between <a> and <ai, ay> in writing. The origin of <oi, oy> and <ui, uy> is a West Riding local diphthongisation. While <oi> spread, it still remained in Yorkshire, while <ui> found its way into Scottish texts in the fifteenth century. This suggests that the <i> in a digraph digraph functions as a length marker, and is adopted from three different spelling traditions. However, if the <Vi> digraph is used for three different long vowels, a likely development would be that it would spread to the remaining long vowels, but there is only one such spelling found in the present data: the spelling <goide> for GOD, representing Vowel 5.

The <a> spellings for Vowel 8 could be classified as Type 2 spellings in Agutter’s (1987) taxonomy, and consequently a grapheme borrowed within the Older Scots period. However, as a monophthongisation of Vowel 8 and a later merger with Vowel 4 is expected, <a> should rather be seen as a Type 3 spelling and the merger as an ongoing change in the Older Scots phonological system.

What must be noted in this situation is that the increase in the frequency of <ai> spellings for Vowel 4, occur at the same time as the <a> spellings for Vowel 8 increase. As <ai> spellings seem to replace <a> and <aCe> spellings for Vowel 4, at the time the exact opposite is happening for Vowel 8, and Vowel 8 is said eventually to merge with Vowel 4. These incidents seem likely to be connected. At the same time, Macafee (2002: 242) argues that the <ai> spellings are not caused by Vowel 8's merger with Vowel 4, as the monophthongisation of Vowel 8 is too late for the 'new' Vowel 4 spellings.

One explanation for the changes could be that as the <ai> digraph becomes more prominent, Vowel 8 adopts <a> spellings to distinguish between Vowel 8 and Vowel 4. One must for this explanation assume that the initial <ai> spelling of Vowel 8 relates to the digraph spellings of diphthongs introduced in the 11th or 12th century, and that it must be a diphthong. Accordingly the <ai> spelling for Vowel 4 would have to relate to the length marker originating from the spellings of Scandinavian sources for Old English ā.

A different explanation could be that the expected fronting and raising (see p.34) of Vowel 4 is represented by the <ai> digraph. This is bold suggestion as the implication is that the new digraph represents a sound change, rather than it functioning solely as a length marker, and as it is based only on the limited information supplied by the data compiled for this study. The <a> spellings for Vowel 8 thus increase in frequency to distinguish between the two, as Vowel 8 is monophthongising in the direction of Vowel 4, but has not yet merged with it. This can be seen as a possible, but still unlikely explanation, as it ignores the <Vi, Vy> digraph spellings for other vowels.

The reasons for the increased occurrence of <ai> spellings for Vowel 4 and <a> spellings for Vowel 8 are thus left unanswered, though a few possible explanations have been suggested. What can be said is that the presence of these spellings is what makes Scots unique, and the explanation for their prominent existence might be given after looking at extralinguistic aspects of text production in Scotland, such as the political or cultural situation.

6.3.4 Peripheral areas different from central areas

The distinct Older Scots spellings are in the later part of the studied period spread across the area of attestations in Scotland. The dominating types, or the types dominating in the first time-period, never fail to cover the central belt, spreading from the Firth of Clyde eastwards

to the areas around the Firth of Forth and the Firth of Tay. Ayrshire, the Scottish Borders, the area surrounding Aberdeen, Elgin and Inverness also show attestations of spellings for the well attested items. These types cluster in the area around the Firth of Forth and the Firth of Tay. The distinct types tend to cover the same geographic area as the dominating types, but are more sparsely distributed. The distinct types are also found in the survey points furthest away from the central area and the power centres. These types, in contrast to the dominating types, fail to cluster.

The distinct types, the <ai> spellings for Vowel 4 and the <a> spellings for Vowel 8, appear in the later period of the studied period, and appear in a pattern different from that of the dominating types. One could expect the distinct Older Scots types to cluster around the Firth of Forth and the Firth of Tay, like the dominating types, but instead they appear evenly distributed across the entire area of attestations.

Older Scots is considered to standardise, to some degree, in the century following the time-period covered in this study. This is a process in which the distinct Scots spellings play an important part, as these are what would distinguish an emerging Older Scots standard from one south of the border. Had the data from this study been divided into smaller time-periods one might have been able to see a more accurate geographical spread of the distinct types but, due to the delimitations owing to the time-schedule of this thesis, this has not been done. The presented maps thus show a sudden increase in distinct spellings that cover the entire area of attestations but fail to cluster in the same manner as the dominant spellings do.

If an emerging Older Scots standard arose due to political and cultural reasons, one would assume the distinct spellings to evolve from the political and cultural centres, rather than the surrounding and peripheral areas. If the distinct spellings are related to phonological changes within Older Scots, a more even distribution would be more likely, although that would constitute a nationwide change happening at approximately the same time. Also an orthographic external influence would possibly spread from the various institutions connected with text production, where the largest institutions would most likely be connected to the power centres, which would again result in clusterings in and around the Central Lowlands.

There does not seem to be an obvious explanation for the development and appearance of the distinct Older Scots spellings in the later part of the studied period. As mentioned earlier a further delimitation of the time-period could give a more detailed picture, but greater detail does not necessarily mean a clearer pattern, or an obvious explanation for the

phenomenon. However, by questioning the representativeness of the spellings from the first part of the studied time-period, the explanation could be that the distinct spellings were present in the first period, but with few surviving attestations. Classifying them as Type 1 spellings in Agutter's (1987) taxonomy and suggesting their distinctiveness from English and the connected cultural and political reasons, is what caused the increase in usage. Still, the sparse distribution of the distinct spellings is puzzling.

6.3.5 Signs of an emerging standard

The increase of the distinct Scots spellings, which sometimes even supplant the earlier dominating type, is what can be seen as evidence of *abstand*, the term which was presented in (see p.30). Though there are visible similarities between Northern Middle English and Older Scots spellings does not exclude *abstand* between the two. As this type increases as much as it does, and spreads across the country to cover all of the attested area, one can also talk of *acceptance* from Haugen's model (see p.27). Due to the evidently widely accepted new spelling, an emerging standard can be seen as becoming accepted among scribes writing in Older Scots.

These distinct spellings are, as commented on, found as often in the peripheral area as in the Central Lowlands. According to Benskin (1992:82) a similar situation occurred south of the border: "In many areas, a decidedly neutral, non-local usage had developed a decade or two before government English had any opportunity to influence the written language." The spellings can thus be seen as being accepted as *common property*, which a variety must be to some extent in order to be considered a standard.

Considering the *codification* stage of Haugen's model or *internal consistency* as Benskin's equivalent, which has minimal variation in form as the criterion, the data are ambiguous. Although Older Scots types count fewer than the Northern Middle English types, the number of spellings grouped within in each type have not been documented in enough detail for the data to be of any relevance. However, the number of types are fewer for Older Scots than for Northern Middle English, resulting in the variation present necessarily being of less detail than the variation south of the border. Whether variation is less permissible in Older Scots is consequently still up for debate.

The data can also say something about the stage of *selection* in Haugen's model. Throughout the data there is little regional variation in the data collected. There is variation in

the spellings collected, but this variation is not regionally defined. The only map in which regional variation is evident is the map showing the attestations of the item DAUGHTER, where there is a clustering of digraph spellings for Vowel 5 in the area around Fife. However, one cannot based on these finding exclude regional variation in Older Scots, but in the written language, based on the data collected for this thesis, regional variation is not evident.

The data collected thus show *some* signs of what can be seen as an emerging standard. Benskin requires an extent of *internal consistency* as well as the variety being *common property* to some extent. Both criteria are met, to some extent, in the spellings in these data, but to what extent these criteria must be present can still be debated.

The *abstand* between Northern Middle English and Older Scots is evident. However, whether Older Scots can be considered an *ausbau* language is impossible to say based on these data. Thus it is also impossible, based on these data, to say if the stage of *elaboration* has been reached.

Applying Haugen's model to the data collected the data can be said to show that Older Scots has reached the various stages to some degree. The stage of *selection*, as there is little variation regional variation between the collected types; *acceptance*, as the distinct spellings seem to be accepted all across the area of attestations; and *codification*, as there is little variation in the spellings collected.

6.3.6 Regional diphthongisation of Vowel 5

According to Aitken (2002:23) Early PreScots \bar{o} developed a glide into the velar fricative /x/ in some dialects. This development would result in a diphthongisation of Vowel 5, giving the diphthong / $\bar{o}u$ /, or Vowel 13, in place of Vowel 5. The item DAUGHTER developed the velar fricative and consequently the diphthong in certain dialects. Aitken (2002:24) does not limit the area more than by saying that it is now only found in the South.

This would result in the following development for the item DAUGHTER:

OE 'dōhtor' > Older Scots 'dochter' /doxtər/ and regional variant OSc 'douchter' /douxər/

The data collected for this study distinguish between unigraph and digraph representations of Vowel 5: the first thus spelled with <o>, the second with <ou> or <ow>. The map showing the

results from the item DAUGHTER shows one digraph attestation in Aberdeen and one in Inverness. However, a cluster of digraph spellings dominate the Fife area. There is also one survey point in East Lothian as well as two in the Scottish Borders. However, ignoring those in Aberdeen and Inverness, the digraph spelling is clearly restricted to the south-east area in Scotland.

These data could thus be interpreted as showing the regional diphthong variety of the item DAUGHTER which was predicted by Aitken (2002:24).

6.4 Development of the three vowels

6.4.1 Vowel 4

The sources cited in Chapter 3 (see p.34) indicate a development for Vowel 4 from Early Scots /a:/ to Middle Scots /e:/, which would date to the exact period covered by this study. A development from /a:/ to /e:/ should in theory be visible in the data collected. However, it is important to note that written sources, though based on pronunciation, are considered to be more conservative in appearance (Kniezsa 1997:25). Although a change in pronunciation is anticipated in the period, this is not necessarily evident from the written sources.

The maps showing the collected data for Vowel 4 show a development going from <a> spellings to <ai> spellings, which for certain items seem to supplant the former dominating spelling. The <ai> digraph is considered to be a length marker. However, taking the anticipated development of Vowel 4 into consideration, one could argue that the digraph spelling represents a raising of Vowel 4. This suggestion does not consider the digraph spelling of other vowels.

There are no <e> spellings, which would be an obvious spelling for an /e:/ phoneme, found in the data collected from the LAOS corpus. If the development anticipated, from the sources quoted in chapter 3, is to be found in the collected data, these changes would have to be attributed to the appearance and increase of the <ai> digraph. Another argument for this suggestion is the continued use of the final <-e> as a marker of length, as this would be superfluous if the <ai> digraph also marks length. This would, however, be a bold conclusion. An alternative conclusion would be that the development of Vowel 4 going from /a:/ to /e:/ is not visible in the collected data.

6.4.2 Vowel 5

According to the sources cited in chapter 3 (see p.35) the PreScots allophone /ɔ/ developed to Early Scots /ɔ:/ and further to Middle Scots /o:/. The anticipated results for this study should thus show a rounding or closing of Vowel 5. And while <a, æ, e> could all be used for an open front vowel, <o> is the only unigraph available for the corresponding area of phonological space in the back vowels.

The variation found for Vowel 5 restricts itself to the digraph spelling of the item DAUGHTER which can be interpreted as a regional diphthongisation. The item WOULD shows an increase in final <-e> in the later part of the period, giving an increase in the

‘walde’ type and consequently a decrease in the ‘wald’ type. This item is, however, mostly spelled with an <a>; this <a> seems to represent a more open vowel than the one expected for Vowel 5. The item GOD is increasingly spelled with a final <-e>, going in the direction from the ‘god/godd’ type to the ‘gode’ type, which could indicate a lengthening of the vowel. However, to say that it might represent a rounding would be a little far-fetched.

6.4.3 Vowel 8

The anticipated development of Vowel 8, according to the sources cited in chapter 3 (see p. 36), is a monophthongisation from the diphthong /ai/ in Early Scots to the monophthong /ɛ/ in Middle Scots. The beginning of the Middle Scots period is set as the mid 15th century, which is about halfway into the studied time-period.

The data collected show a development in Vowel 8 going from <ai> spellings to <a> spellings. The <ai> spellings, at least in the beginning of the period, are regarded as representing the diphthong as pronounced in the word TRY in present-day English. However, as Vowel 8 is considered to monophthongise, and Vowel 4 increasingly substitutes its earlier <a> spellings for <ai> spellings the phonological value of Vowel 8 is up for debate.

The increase of <a> spellings in the latter half of the studied time-period argues for a monophthongisation of Vowel 8. As the dominating <ai> spelling is increasingly used to represent the monophthong which is Vowel 4, the value of the <ai> digraph is also undefined, as it can be considered as representing both a diphthong or a monophthong.

The development of Vowel 8 is thus easily defined orthographically, as it develops from <ai> spellings to <a> spellings, while <ai> spellings remain the dominant type throughout. Phonologically one can argue for a monophthongisation, as otherwise there would be no reason for a single grapheme to represent Vowel 8. One could also argue that Vowel 8 is merging with Vowel 4, as the two vowels are represented by the same graphemes and digraphs, or, rather, are increasingly so in the latter part of the period. However, the <ai> spellings for Vowel 4 constitutes a larger percentage in Vowel 4, than the <a> spellings do for Vowel 8. This does not necessarily carry any relevance.

The suggestion that the <ai> digraph, though ignoring <i> digraph spellings for other vowels, represents a raising and fronting of /a:/ can be argued also for Vowel 8. Vowel 8 is not considered to have merged with Vowel 4 at the level of /a:/ but with Vowel 4 in a more elevated position. This would suggest that as Vowel 8 monophthongised it did so in the

vicinity of the phonemic level of [ɛ:]. The <a> spellings of Vowel 8 would thus mirror the conventional spelling of Vowel 4, which saw until 1440 <a> as the most common spelling. However, as <ai> became the conventional spelling for Vowel 4, Vowel 8 would retain its established digraph spelling which would then correlate with the shared pronunciation of the two vowels.

Consequently the interpretation of the phonological development of Vowel 8 is ambiguous and sketchy.

7. Conclusion

7.1 Summary of the main findings

Older Scots can be considered a distinct variety. The data collected for the present study reveal a large amount of distinct spelling types to be restricted to the geographic area corresponding to present-day Scotland. The border between England and Scotland functions in the maps for many items as a border for certain spelling types. They are in their distribution restricted to south or north of the border. The types restricted to Scotland often constitute a large percentage, or sometimes even the largest percentage, of the types attested in that area. The prominence of these distinct types, as well as their geographic restriction argue in favour of the distinctiveness of Scots.

There are in some maps a continuum stretching from the southernmost attestations collected in England to the Central Lowlands in Scotland. Despite the distinctiveness of Scots, certain items show little or no geographic restriction in the written realisations of the vowels. The dominating type in Scotland is also present in the north of England. Where there is no continuity between Northern England and Scotland, the dominating type is usually the same in both areas. The shared linguistic origin of the two varieties is thus evident in the collected data.

There is an increase in <ai> spellings for Vowel 4 and <a> spellings for Vowel 8 over time. These first appear, or increase significantly in occurrence, in the later time-period and constitute the distinct spellings distinguishing the two linguistic varieties. These spellings are generally sparsely attested and their geographic distribution covers the same area of attestations as that covered by all other types for the various items. They fail to cluster in the central areas, and are often found in the more peripheral survey points.

7.2 Answer to research question

The distinctiveness of Older Scots has already been established, as has the presence of a dialect continuum and evidence of linguistic similarities between the two written varieties.

The main aim, however, was to study the diatopic variation in the realisations of the three vowels. The orthographic variation is easily described: Vowel 4 sees an increase in the occurrence of <ai> spellings in the later period, where <a> spellings dominated in the earlier period. Vowel 8 sees an increase in the number of <a> spellings, although <ai> spellings dominate throughout both periods. There is no such distinct pattern for Vowel 5 spellings.

However, as the expected development of Vowel 5 is toward a more rounded pronunciation it is unlikely that this would be visible as an alteration of the written realisation of the vowel. There is, however, an increase in spellings with final <-e> for the items WOULD and GOD. And there is regional variation in the spelling of DAUGHTER, with digraph <ou> spellings restricted to and dominating in Fife, against the unigraph <o> spellings found throughout the area of attestations of the item.

The phonological development cannot be explained as accurately, as the evidence is ambiguous and open to interpretation. With this proviso, suggestions for what phonological value the written realisations might indicate are as follows:

Vowel 5 shows regional diphthongisation restricted to the area around Fife. In this area the digraph spelling type for Vowel 5 clusters and dominates. An increase in the occurrence of final <-e> in the later period in the spellings of WOULD and GOD could indicate a lengthening of the vowel or, though a little far-fetched, could be seen as an attempt to represent a rounding of the vowel.

Vowel 4 sees an increase in the number of <ai> spellings in the later period, where this digraph in some items even supplants the dominating spelling. One could argue that the presence of the <i> in the <ai> digraph indicates a raising of Vowel 4, which would be the anticipated development of the vowel. If the <i> is not seen as indicating a raising, but merely as an indicator of length, the final <-e>, which is often found alongside the <ai> digraph and it is known from OSL is able to function as a marker of length, would be superfluous. However, the digraph could also indicate both a raising and lengthening of the vowel.

Vowel 8, which sees an increase in the occurrence of the unigraph spelling <a> where the digraph spelling <ai> dominates, could be said to show signs of monophthongisation. Vowel 8 is believed to merge with Vowel 4 sometime during, or soon after, the studied period, which requires a monophthongisation. This merger could explain the moderately increased occurrence of <a> spellings. As Vowel 8 monophthongises it adopts the unigraph spelling <a>; however, as the vowel starts to merge with Vowel 4, which is then adopting the digraph spelling <ai>, Vowel 8 retains its digraph spelling which then holds the same phonological value as the digraph spelling of Vowel 4.

7.3 Critical evaluation of the study

The scope of the project has made it manageable with the time-limit set for the work. Consequently there have been few changes in the initial plans; however, issues concerning the practicalities of conducting the searches and around mapping the results have occurred, but have been solved along the way.

There are certain challenges relating to the experience, or lack thereof, of the present author. While the searches conducted in the LAOS corpus were carried out by searching for an item using the search engine available on the LAOS website, which gave all the various spellings for each item, the MEG corpus was searched by spelling. Every occurrence of a spelling then had to be identified in the given text as being a spelling of the right item. Consequently occurrences might have been overlooked or the wrong word might have been identified as the wanted item. However, when in doubt, these occurrences have been run by the supervisor of this thesis, Dr Thaisen, and lists of possible spellings have been checked both with the supervisor and spelling lists in LALME. Any overlooked occurrences or misclassified items should thus be in the minority and should not affect the overall results.

The items showing the development of the three vowels are few and consequently only function as representatives of the vowels. The items were chosen based on the number of attestations that could be found in LAOS as good coverage was important. One could increase the number of attestations by treating all items containing the same vowel as one to achieve better coverage in the maps, but this would only result in more problems. This is because each item can have its own distinct development which results in separate representations and developments of the vowel in the various items. An example from the current study is the item STONE, which has a different development and different patterns compared to the remaining items containing Vowel 4. The results are based on a few representative items, and the results are generalised to represent the development of the vowels.

Adding a digital element to the presentation of the data could have given a clearer image of the diatopic variation in the various vowels. Had the data been presented as animated maps showing their gradual development in the same geographic area, one could have moved away from the time-periods and stages that these findings are based on. This increased precision would have given a clearer and more accurate image of when the various spellings appear and better shown their development and geographic dissemination.

7.4 Relevance of this study

This study can function as a first step precursor to more detailed studies. For qualitative studies the results from this study can function as a comparison, or a foundation, on which to base further research.

The vowels of Older Scots could all be studied using the same approach as that used in this thesis, and would give valuable information about the development of the language in the time-period. Qualitative studies now have more information on which to base their comparisons, and detailed studies of various Older Scots texts would add more information to the present study. A study of the same vowels in the time-period immediately following that of this study would also give an indication of the further development of the vowels, especially the development of the <ai> digraph spellings would be especially interesting to follow.

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Appendix I

All attestations for the Vowel 4 items in numbers and percentages.

<u>MAKE</u>	LAOS	MEG	1380-1439	1440-1500		LAOS	MEG	1380-1439	1440-1500
MADE	155	82	50	73	MADE	37%	79%	69%	27%
MAIDE	217	7	16	165	MAIDE	52%	7%	22%	60%
MAD	48	15	6	36	MAD	11%	14%	8%	13%
TOTAL	420	104	72	274					
<u>MORE</u>									
MARE	77	33	24	49	MARE	54%	28%	80%	50%
MAIR	34	3	0	29	MAIR	24%	3%	0%	30%
MAR	32	17	6	20	MAR	22%	14%	20%	20%
MORE		51			MORE		43%		
MOR		14			MOR		12%		
TOTAL	143	118	30	98					
<u>NAME</u>									
NAME	79	37	25	47	NAME	65%	86%	100%	57%
NAIM	26	0	0	22	NAIM	21%	0%	0%	27%
NAM	16	2	0	14	NAM	13%	5%	0%	17%
NOME		4			NOME		9%		
TOTAL	121	43	25	83					
<u>STONE</u>									
STANE	64	9	1	53	STANE	80%	43%	20%	84%
STAIN	1	0	1	0	STAIN	1%	0%	20%	0%
STAN	15	3	3	10	STAN	19%	14%	60%	16%
STONE		6			STONE		29%		
STON		3			STON		14%		
TOTAL	80	21	5	63					

All attestations for the Vowel 5 items in numbers and percentages.

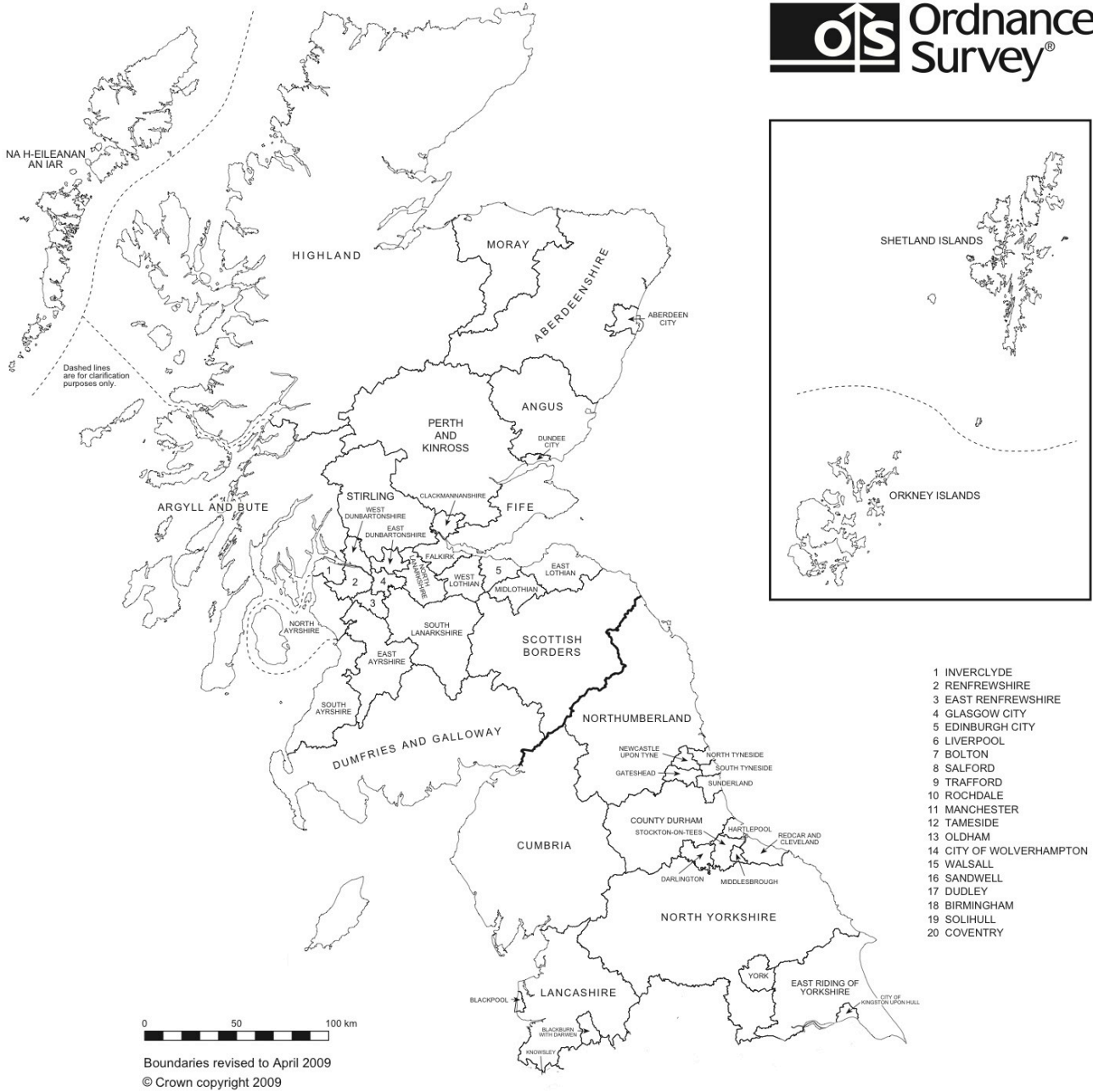
DAUGHTER	LAOS	MEG	1380-1439	1440-1500	DAUGHTER	LAOS	MEG	1380-1439	1440-1500
DOCHTER	48	9	3	34	DOCHTER	77%	82%	60%	74%
DOWTER	13	2	2	11	DOWTER	21%	18%	40%	24%
DUTHTER	1	0	0	1	DUTHTER	2%	0%	0%	2%
TOTAL	62	11	5	46					
GOD					GOD				
GOD/	391	67	51	298	GOD/	82%	83%	88%	82%
GODDE					GODDE				
GODE	84	13	6	65	GODE	18%	16%	10%	18%
GOODE	1	1	1	0	GOODE	0%	1%	2%	0%
GOIDE	1	0	0	1	GOIDE	0%	0%	0%	0%
TOTAL	477	81	58	364					
OVER					OVER				
OWR	66	5	3	50	OWR	96%	100%	60%	100%
OWIR	3	0	2	0	OWIR	4%	0%	40%	0%
TOTAL	69	5	5	50					
WOULD					WOULD				
WALD	55	0	11	36	WALD	76%	0%	79%	73%
WALDE	15	16	2	12	WALDE	21%	31%	14%	24%
WAULDE	1	0	0	1	WAULDE	1%	0%	0%	2%
WOLDE	1	13	1	0	WOLDE	1%	25%	7%	0%
WOLD		17			WOLD		33%		
WOLDEN		2			WOLDEN		4%		
WILD		4			WILD		8%		
TOTAL	72	52	14	49					

All attestations for the Vowel 8 items in numbers and percentages.

	MAY	LAOS	MEG	1380-1439	1440-1500	MAY	LAOS	MEG	1380-1439	1440-1500
MAY	210	79	41	140		MAY	82%	91%	93%	79%
MAYE	1	5	0	0		MAYE	0%	6%	0%	0%
MA	43	0	3	37		MA	17%	0%	7%	21%
MAE	1	0	0	0		MAE	0%	0%	0%	0%
MEY		1				MEY		1%		
MOW		2				MOW		2%		
TOTAL	255	87	44	177						
THEY						THEY				
THAI	330	84	54	214		THAI	93%	97%	95%	94%
THA	22	1	2	14		THA	6%	1%	4%	6%
THEY	1	2	1	0		THEY	0%	2%	2%	0%
TOTAL	353	87	57	228						
SAID						SAID				
SAID	77	40	1	66		SAID	72%	56%	25%	73%
SAIDE	17	32	3	12		SAIDE	16%	44%	75%	13%
SAD	13	0	0	12		SAD	12%	0%	0%	13%
TOTAL	107	72	4	90						

Appendix II

County map of Great Britain. ⁱ



- 1 INVERCLYDE
- 2 RENFREWSHIRE
- 3 EAST RENFREWSHIRE
- 4 GLASGOW CITY
- 5 EDINBURGH CITY
- 6 LIVERPOOL
- 7 BOLTON
- 8 SALFORD
- 9 TRAFFORD
- 10 ROCHDALE
- 11 MANCHESTER
- 12 TAMESIDE
- 13 OLDHAM
- 14 CITY OF WOLVERHAMPTON
- 15 WALSALL
- 16 SANDWELL
- 17 DUDLEY
- 18 BIRMINGHAM
- 19 SOLIHULL
- 20 COVENTRY

ⁱ The map has been modified by the present author to reveal only relevant counties. The original is found at <http://www.ordnancesurvey.co.uk/oswebsite/freefun/outlinemaps/>