The Forum for Research on Languages of Scotland and Ulster

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English Language & Linguistics, University of Glasgow

Main theme: *Linguistic migrations*

Abstracts

Plenaries

Thursday 23 August

Roibeard Ó Maolalaigh (with Mark McConville, University of Glasgow)

'Risk-free' corpus planning for Scottish Gaelic? Collaborative development of basic grammatical norms for 21st century speakers

The 2013 'Dlùth is Inneach' project involved a public consultation with Gaelic speakers across Scotland on 'corpus planning' for the language (i.e. standardisation and codification of grammar, vocabulary, pronunciation, etc.). Some of the conclusions from this research were:

a) The dominant language ideology amongst Gaelic speakers is 'retrovernacular', with younger speakers in particular wanting to acquire the rich traditional Gaelic still spoken by the last generation of Gaelic-dominant bilinguals born in the 1940s and 1950s.

b) There is a pressing need for a comprehensive descriptive grammar of this traditional Gaelic, which will also prescribe and codify basic norms for 21st century users of the language.

c) The development of these basic grammatical norms should be undertaken by an official body that has popular, scientific and political legitimacy, i.e. a collaboration between recognised 'model' traditional speakers, linguistic experts, and stakeholders from Gaelic education, broadcasting etc.

In response to these conclusions, Bòrd na Gàidhlig (the national Gaelic development board) established a Comataidh Comhairleachaidh Cànain (Language Advisory Committee) in 2015, consisting of six model traditional speakers each of whom has significant experience in some domain of Gaelic development. In order to support this body through a pilot phase, the Bòrd also funded the LEACAG project (Leasachadh Corpais na Gàidhlig – Gaelic Corpus Development). This project has been led by Glasgow University over the last two years, in collaboration with colleagues at Edinburgh University and Sabhal Mòr Ostaig.

One of the core aims of LEACAG has been to help the CCC codify some initial basic norms for Gaelic grammar. This work has involved four phases:

1) consultation with professional users of Gaelic to identify the dozen or so aspects of usage which professional users think need particular attention

2) consultation with traditional speakers living in strong Gaelic-speaking communities to establish their views and practices with respect to these aspects of usage

3) research using Corpas na Gàidhlig to establish the way writers of Gaelic have approached these aspects of usage since 1950

4) collating and filtering all of this evidence to codify some basic grammatical norms in collaboration with the CCC.

This talk will discuss the progress we have made on the collaborative codification of basic norms for Gaelic grammar. As we move forward into the 'implementation' phase of this corpus planning process, we hope that this collaborative approach, incorporating not just corpus research but also working directly with Gaelic professionals and traditional speakers, will allow us to achieve what Fishman (1991: 'Reversing Language Shift'), termed 'risk-free' corpus planning which actively helps rather than hinders the revitalisation of the language.

Friday 24 August

Karen Corrigan (Newcastle University)

"I Don't Like Feel That I Would Fit In In Lithuania Anymore": The Linguistic Identities of New Speakers in Northern Ireland

2015 will be remembered as the year in which over one million people migrated to Europe, which witnessed a four-fold increase in immigrants. Northern Ireland (NI) – once synonymous with emigration – has not been immune from these seismic population shifts. Indeed, the region has experienced significant demographic and societal changes resulting not just from these unprecedented globalising migratory trends but also from the 1990s Peace Process (Devlin Trew 2013; NISRA 2014). This presentation explores the findings from the first project investigating the sociolinguistics of globalization and migration in NI both synchronically and diachronically (Blommaert 2010; Collins et al. 2009; Slembrouck 2011). The approach thus mirrors Hymes (1974: 77) since it is one that explores "linguistic phenomena from within the social, cultural, political and historical context of which they are part" (see Corrigan, forthcoming). It also describes impact initiatives that have drawn on this research as a means of promoting an appreciation for socio-cultural and linguistic 'super-diversity' (Vertovec 2007, 2014) in a region which back in 2001 had a population that was 99.15% 'White' and in which ethnic divisions were strictly religious (Corrigan 2010; Hainsworth 1998; Irwin and Dunn 1997; Irwin et al. 2014; NISRA 2008; Ruane and Todd 2010).

Blommaert, J. 2010. *The Sociolinguistics of Globalization.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
Collins, J., Slembrouck S. and Baynham, M. (eds.) 2009. *Globalization and Language in Contact: Scale, Migration, and Communicative Practices*. London: Continuum.
Corrigan, K.P. 2010. *Irish English, Volume 1: Northern Ireland.* Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press.
Corrigan, K.P. [Forthcoming] *Linguistic Communities Connected by Migratory Processes.* Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter.
Devlin Trew, J. 2013. *Leaving the North: Migration and Memory, Northern Ireland, 1921-2011.* Liverpool: Liverpool University Press.
Hainsworth, P. (ed.) 1998. *Divided Society: Ethnic Minorities and Racism in Northern Ireland.* London: Pluto Press.
Hymes, D. 1974. *Foundations in Sociolinguistics: An Ethnographic Approach.* Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press.
Irwin, G. and Dunn, S. 1997. *Ethnic Minorities in Northern Ireland.* Coleraine: Centre for the Study of Conflict.
Irwin, J., McAreavey, R. and Murphy, N. 2014. *The Economic and Social Mobility of Ethnic Minority Communities in Northern*

Ireland. http://www.migrationni.org/databasedocs/doc_3631974__economic_and_social_mobi lity_of_ethnic_minorities_ni-full.pdf. Last accessed 20th February 2018.

Northern Ireland Statistics Research Agency (NISRA). 2008. *Population and Migration Estimates Northern Ireland 2007- Statistical Report.* http://www.nisra.gov.uk. Last Accessed 20th February 2018.

Northern Ireland Statistics Research Agency (NISRA) . 2014. *Key Statistics Summary Report.* http://www.nisra.gov.uk/census/2011/results/key-statistics.html. Last Accessed 20th February 2018.

Ruane, J. and Todd, J. (eds.) 2010. *Ethnicity and Religion.* London: Routledge.

Slembrouck, S. 2011. 'The sociolinguistics of globalization and migration', in Johnstone, B., Kerswill, P. and Wodak, R. (eds.) *The Sage Handbook of Sociolinguistics,* 153-164. London: Sage.

Vertovec, S. 2007. 'Super-diversity and its implications.' *Ethnic and Racial Studies* 30(6): 1024-1054.

Vertovec, S. 2014. *Super-Diversity.* London and New York: Routledge.

Saturday 25 August

Robert McColl Millar (University of Aberdeen)

Marginal Scots, past and present

Marginal can be analysed in a number of different ways. Some may feel that *marginal* indicates something or someone unimportant, someone or something who can easily be ignored. This paper analyses varieties of Scots which might be considered geographically or socially marginal, demonstrating how consideration of these varieties may help us to understand better the development and present state of 'mainstream' varieties.

The Northern and Insular Scots dialects will be examined as ongoing entities. A central irony will be considered: in terms of speaker numbers and intergenerational transfer these varieties are probably the 'healthiest' Scots dialects; their phonologies in particular demonstrate histories which are at least unusual in comparison with other varieties (with the exception, perhaps, of Ulster Scots). Some concentration will be given to the Black Isle dialects.

While Scots is not a 'Celtic English', some varieties of Scots exhibit considerable Gaelic influence. Varieties of this type are often produced in fiction, but other, often striking, evidence can be found in other sources. Another substratal influence, by its nature marginal, is considered: the dialects of the Scottish traveller communities. Employing in particular the writings of the late Stanley Robertson, the means by which contact has influenced these dialects, along with the effects a peripatetic life might have on language, will be investigated.

<u>Presentations and posters</u> (in alphabetical order)

Rachel Berlingeri (Texas Tech University)

Adventures in the Origins of *The Awntyrs off Arthure at the Terne Wathelyn*: a Critical Analysis of the History of *Awntyrs* Scholarship

While conducting research for a previous study on ownership and identity in the *Awntyrs off Arthure* and *Golagros and Gawane*, I was struck by the many informal references to how it is "now known" that the provenance of *Awntyrs* is northern England, not Scotland. This suggests that a) at some point it was "known" that *Awntyrs* was a Scottish poem, and b) there was some discovery that corrected this misconception. While the so-called 'Huchown controversy' could explain away the problem of offhandedly crediting *Awntyrs* to an English poet, offhandedly giving credit is what led to the controversy in the first place.

Save a handful of essays published within the last few years, scholarship since the nineteenth century has claimed that although *Awntyrs* features Scots vocabulary and uses the alliterative thirteen-line stanza associated with contemporary Scottish makars, it is undoubtedly the work of a northern English poet. When the authorship of Huchown was taken away, so was the *Awntyrs'* Scottish identity -- the poem became northern English almost by default. Could it really be the case that in an effort to get past Huchown, *Awntyrs* scholars neglected to address the poem's provenance entirely?

I propose a study of the history of the scholarship of the poem in the post Huchown-controversy era, based on analyses of various editions of *Awntyrs* published since the nineteenth century. Each edition will be analyzed through the editor's general notes, their evaluation and classification of linguistic features, and on their discussion of the poem's meter. I anticipate I will find that there is not enough evidence to support the standard recapitulation of the poem's northern English provenance, and I will show that it is time to once again consider a possible Scottish origin.

Thomas Black (University of Nottingham)

A Scots "Ennius" amongst the Gaels: Translating Experiences of the Other in the First Jacobite Rising

This paper shall discuss some of the literary and linguistic questions arising out of the use of neo-classical Latin in James Philp's poem the *Grameid* (1691-1700?). James Philp, a Scottish participant on the Jacobite side in the 1689 rising, described his experiences of that campaign in a grandiose neo-Latin epic composed soon after the eventual Jacobite defeat. A key context for reading his poem is the encounter of an east coast Scot with west coast Gaeldom, and his poetic responses to the ethnic and historiographical quandaries of the Scottish nation. In his poem Philp

foregrounds the difficulties of housing Scots and Gaelic names and experiences in Latin, and indeed reflects on the awkward aural enjambment of Gaelic, Scots, and Latin in his verse. His use of Latin, though obviously he was a highly skilled Latinist, necessarily involved a process of self-translation in his composition, and this provides another layer of difficulty in interpreting his responses to his material. Philp's fanciful Latinising of the Gael can be productively compared to parallel passages in Gaelic poetry of the same moment in which Scots people and the English language are housed within Gaelic. The salience of both the politics of language and the language of politics are reflected in Philp's choice to use an international literary language over one of Scotland's vernaculars. This paper shall assess his poetic response to the Scots Gaels and his attempts to articulate a broader Scottish identity at a key moment of political, religious and cultural stress with particular focus on the role his Latinity played in how he understood and described the people and scenes he encountered.

Dauvit Broun (University of Glasgow)

Representing Gaelic Names in Non-Gaelic Contexts: the Example of the Genealogy of the King of Scots

The genealogy of the king of Scots consists of more than a hundred names, mainly Gaelic. This survives in the impressive genealogical collections included in the great codices compiled in medieval Ireland. The language of these MSS is Gaelic/Irish. The texts originated in Scotland mainly in the late 10th and early 11th centuries. A 12th-century Latin text from Scotland written using Gaelic orthographical practices also survives in a 14th-century MS. The genealogy, however, also survives extensively in a Latin matrix using a new orthography for the names. The earliest extant witness of this version is Lambeth Palace MS 8, datable to the 1180s: this was the MS kept by Ralph of Diss, dean of St Paul's, London, as his own master copy of his historical works. It also survives in late-medieval Scottish MSS as part of general accounts of Scottish history. This paper will discuss how much and what can be said about the original pioneering attempt to render the genealogy of the king of Scots in a way which would have allowed the names to be read by those who lacked proficiency in Gaelic orthography.

Megan Bushnell (University of Oxford)

Navigating Voice in the Eneados: Is Douglas Aware of Sociolinguistic Factors?

Gavin Douglas' *Eneados* (1513) is the first full translation of the *Aeneid* in a form of English, and is also one of the first instances where the use of Scots is explicitly labelled. Many scholars have described Douglas as a nationalist poet, and his work to be of special significance for Scots (cf. Canitz 1990, Corbett 1999). However, these studies tend to draw more on Douglas' statements in his Prologues rather than his translation practice. This paper will focus on the latter, specifically examining Douglas' portrayal of the *Aeneid*'s many characters. These characters 'do not have

an independent *a priori* existence', but 'are conjured up by' Virgil and so 'serve to characterise him' (Laird 1997: 287). Ergo, Douglas' interpretation of these characters might similarly characterise him too.

This paper is a philological study combining literary analysis with descriptive translation theory, corpus linguistics, and sociolinguistics. Using corpus files of the *Eneados* that have been annotated for speech and speaker, tagged for part-of-speech and semantic category, and aligned with the Latin source, this study will consider how Douglas interprets characters within in the *Aeneid*. In particular, it examines whether he differentiates between his voice and other characters', and whether he assigns certain extralinguistic factors (such as gender, status, or nationality) special linguistic markers. In short—is Douglas as linguistically conscious as many have theorised?

Such a study will reflect on Douglas' attitudes towards gender, paganism, and national identity, helping us to better understand what he means when he says that he is writing in Scots. Preliminary results include a distinction between narrative and speech that grows over the course of the *Eneados*, and a difference in translation practice between mortal and divine speakers, that is not similarly evident between speakers of different genders and nationalities.

Canitz, Amy. 1996. '"In our awyn langage": The Nationalist Agenda of Gavin
    Douglas' *Eneados*', *Vergilius*, 42: 25-37.
Laird, Andrew. 1997. 'Approaching characterisation in Virgil', in *The Cambridge Companion to Virgil*,
    ed. By Charles Martindale (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press), pp. 282-93.
Corbett, John. 1999. *Written in the language of the Scottish nation: a history of literary translation into
    Scots* (Clevedon: Multilingual Matters).

Zuzana Elliott (University of Edinburgh)

Slovak Immigrants' Perceptions of Monophthongal FACE and GOAT vowels [poster]

The present study adds to existing literature on urban migratory experiences (Block, 2008; Howley, 2015), comparing cross-cultural variation of immigrants' perceptions with their local peers (Drummond, 2010; Newlin-Łukowicz, 2016) by exploring linguistic and social constraints on language attitudes among highly fluent Slovak-English bilingual immigrants in Edinburgh, Scotland. The data were obtained from 28women of similar ages: 20 Slovak immigrants and 8 Edinburgh Scottish participants. In this paper, I ask not just whether and to what extent do local language communities shape immigrants' identities, but also how immigrants' identities affect their language attitudes and pronunciation. The paper pays particular attention to how implicit and explicit attitudes combine to establish what Block (2008) called a "multidimensional" identity in immigrants.

Implicit language attitudes were collected via a Verbal Guise Task during which participants evaluated speakers of foreign and native English varieties (McKenzie, 2015) using spliced FACE and GOAT vowels (Campbell-Kibler, 2006, 2009). Explicit attitudes were collected via a casual questionnaire (Dörnyei and Csizér, 2012), and

identity measurements via Llamas et al.'s (2009) attitudinal analogue scale method. The combination of methodologies revealed that immigrant participants in the study held multifaceted attitudes and motivations in relation to their host country.

The results for language attitudes suggest that long-term Slovak immigrants experienced shifts to their identity while residing in Scotland, with most adopting trans-national identities that made them amenable to local language communities while maintaining connections with their home country. Results suggest that despite a degree of integration with Scottish communities, trans-national immigrants often feel separate from both home and host countries. Drawing on work that explores variation in language attitudes (Clark and Schleef, 2010) in migratory settings, I argue that there is a tendency for immigrants to shape their multi-cultural identities in response to linguistic and social contexts.

Block, D. (2008). *Multilingual identities in a global city: London stories*. Houndmills, Basingstoke, Hamshire: Palgrave Macmillan.
Campbell-Kibler, C. (2006). Listener perception of sociolinguistic variables: The case of (ing). Unpublished PhD Thesis, Stanford University.
Campbell-Kibler, C. (2009). The nature of sociolinguistic perception. *Language Variation and Change*, 21, 135-156.
Clark, L. and Schleef, E. (2010). The acquisition of sociolinguistic evaluations among Polish-born adolescents learning English: Evidence from perception. *Language Awareness* 19(4), 299-322.
Dörnyei, Z. and Csizér, K. (2012). How to design and analyze surveys in SLA research? In A. Mackey and S. Gass (Eds.), *Research methods in second language acquisition: A practical guide* (pp. 74-94). Malden, MA: Wiley-Blackwell.

Christine Elsweiler (Ludwig-Maximilians University Munich)

The Ausbau of Older Scots and Early Modern English Viewed from a Socio-Pragmatic Perspective: Evidence from Commissive and Directive Speech Acts in Official Correspondence

Research on standardisation processes in the history of Scots and English has so far mainly focused on spelling, morphology and syntax (e.g. Devitt 1989, Meurman-Solin 1997, Samuels 1989), with some notable exceptions such as Kopaczyk's (2013) study of standardising patterns in Middle Scots legal language. This paper offers a socio-pragmatic perspective on the Ausbau of Older Scots (OSc) and Early Modern English (EModE) in the discourse tradition of official correspondence, which has been ascribed a key role for the setting of written language norms (Nevalainen 2004: 182) in the orthographic domain. Moreover, as Bergs (2004) suggests, EModE letters did not only follow letter-writing conventions but their underlying socio-pragmatic subtypes (e.g. report or request) also influenced their structure and the use of linguistic means. This study of OSc and EModE official letters (1500–1700), drawn from *HC*, *CEEC*, *HCOS* and *ScotsCorr*, aims to compare the linguistic patterns of commissive and directive speech acts with a view to the Ausbau of polite language use. A special focus will be placed on the use of the modal auxiliaries *shall* and *may*.

In the sixteenth century, in both varieties *shall* is commonly employed to express polite commitments and *may* frequently occurs in directives, e.g. *I pray your grace now in my neid to support me* (...) *that I may ordour me tweching my passage*. Sixteenth-century directives are typically direct, being realised by a performative verb such as *pray*. *May*, along with verbal routines like *hwmillye*, often mitigates the requestive force of the directive. The preliminary findings suggest that in seventeenth-century commissives and directives *shall* and *may* are still a regular feature in Scots, whereas in the English letters different patterns emerge. This divergence in polite language use will be discussed in the context of the continued Ausbau of English and its decline in Scots.

Bergs, Alexander. 2004. "Letters: A New Approach to Text Typology". *Journal of Historical Pragmatics* 5 (2): 207–227.
CEEC = Nevalainen, Terttu et al. 1998. *The Corpus of Early English Correspondence.* Helsinki: Department of Modern Languages, University of Helsinki.
ScotsCorr = Meurman, Solin, Anneli. 2017. *The Helsinki Corpus of Scottish Correspondence (1540-1750).* Kielipankki. Research Unit for the Study of Variation, Contacts and Change in English (VARIENG), Department of Modern Languages, University of Helsinki. Available at http://urn.fi/urn:nbn:fi:lb-2016121607
Devitt, Amy. 1989. *Standardizing Written English: Diffusion in the Case of Scotland 1520–1659.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
HC = Rissanen, Matti, et al. 1991. *The Helsinki Corpus of English Texts.* Helsinki: Department of Modern Languages, University of Helsinki.
HCOS = Meurman-Solin, Anneli. 1995. *The Helsinki Corpus of Older Scots.* Helsinki: Department of Modern Languages, University of Helsinki.
Kopaczyk, Joanna. 2013. *The Legal Language of Scottish Burghs: Standardization and Lexical Bundles (1380-1560).* Oxford: Oxford University Press.
Meurman-Solin, Anneli. 1997. "Differentiation and Standardisation in Early Scots". *The Edinburgh History of the Scots Language*, ed. by Charles Jones. Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 3– 23.
Nevalainen,Terttu. 2004. "Letter Writing: Introduction". *Journal of Historical Pragmatics* 5 (2): 181–191.
Samuels, Michael. 1989. "Some Applications of Middle English Dialectology". *Middle English Dialectology. Essays on Some Principles and Problems*, ed. by Angus McIntosh, Michael Samuels, and Margaret Laing. Aberdeen: Aberdeen University Press, 64–80.

Bruce Eunson (Education Scotland) and Laura Green (Scots Language Centre)

Scots Language in Curriculum for Excellence: an Update fae the Hidmaest 3 Year

This paper will provide an update on the 3 years that have passed since Bruce Eunson previously presented *23 Months, 4 Coordinators, 1 Aim: a discussion on attempts to develop the place of Scots Language in education across Scotland* at the 2015 FRLSU conference.

A key change from 2015 is that Bruce is no longer part of a team of 4 coordinators at Education Scotland, instead he is the only member of the team still in post, with none of his 3 colleagues thus far having been replaced. Due to this there has been a greater need to work in partnership with other organisations, in particular, Scots Language Dictionaries and the Scots Language Centre.

Laura Green, until recently an English teacher in West Lothian, is now in post at the Centre in charge of their Education materials. Laura is also the author of the Education Scotland report *Scots Language in CfE* published in August 2017. Laura will present alongside Bruce, discussing the findings of her report and the observations she made when visiting 7 schools across Scotland who are using Scots language in their classrooms.

The presentation will also cover many other aspects of using Scots language in education where Laura and Bruce will provide first hand evidence from their experiences of travel across the country promoting the use of Scots in schools.

Margie Ferguson (Lancaster University)

"Mind yer language and haud yer tongue": a Sociolinguistic Study Galloway Irish, a Lasting Dialect of a Small Area of South West Scotland

This study examines phonological variation in the speech of a small rural area of Galloway in south west Scotland, firstly to present a systematic description of two of the most distinctive features of the dialect and secondly to investigate the processes and mechanisms involved in language change. The local dialect includes a pronounced bladed /l/ and a prolonged, low backer /a/. 24 speakers across three age groups and matched for gender were recorded in the production of careful (word list and text) and casual (interview) speech types. The casual speech was transcribed, and tokens identified. All tokens were coded and frequency and distribution data were examined to identify patterns across the social features (age groups, gender and speech type) and linguistic features in the phonetic environment. After examining patterns in the data, a binary logistic regression was then carried out to determine significant main and interaction effects of the social predictor variables on the data. Although the clear /l/ and low, backer /a/ are showing signs of change towards more standard forms, they are still much in evidence in this "relic" dialect and in the case of /l/, the hint of a trend towards innovative forms of dark /l/ is slight. Females tend to lead the change in /l/, but gender does not influence lowering of occurrence of the /a/ variants. The complex patterning of the /a/ variable in younger speakers suggests that change is being driven from below, but that some features of the sound persist. In this paper, I suggest that the geographical and historical features of the area have served to ensure the survival of the 'relic' linguistic variants of the population but more investigation is required to firmly establish processes involved and the extent to which "immunity" from change can persist.

Johnnie Gallacher (University of Edinburgh / Guard Archaeology)

An Archaeological View of the Genesis of Celtic and of the Indo-Europeanisation of Europe

This paper is based upon my undergraduate dissertation. Whilst firmly rooted in archaeology, it holds an eclectic, multi-disciplinary theoretical framework as this

allows for optimal insight into the past. It presents and evaluates the two main competing hypotheses for the spread of Indo-European languages into Europe; the Anatolian hypothesis which attaches Indo-European language onto the spread of agriculture into Europe from Anatolia starting around 6000 BC (Renfrew, 1987) and the Steppe hypothesis which holds that Indo-European language spread outwards from the Pontic-Caspian steppes around 3000 BC with the migrations of nomadic pastoralists (Anthony, 2007). Special attention is given on how either hypothesis deals with the origins of the Celtic subfamily. Both hypotheses subscribe to the 'Celtic from the West' hypothesis (Koch & Cunliffe, 2013), though they do so in different ways. Evaluation is conducted on the bases of archaeology, genetics and linguistics (historical linguistics, computational linguistics and sociolinguistics). Migration and mobility are key themes both in the analysis of Indo-European and of Celtic.

Anthony, D. W. (2007) *The horse, the wheel and language: how bronze-age riders from the Eurasian steppes shaped the modern world*. Princeton: Princeton University Press.
Koch, J. & Cunliffe, B. (2013) *Celtic from the West 3: Atlantic Europe in the Metal Ages — questions of shared language*. Oxford: Oxbow books.
Renfrew, C. (1987) *Archaeology and language: the puzzle of Indo-European origins*. London: Penguin.
(Further list of relevant reading material available on request).

Laura Green (Scots Language Centre) and Bruce Eunson (Education Scotland)

In April 2017, Education Scotland commissioned Laura Green to visit three primary and three secondary schools to observe good practice in Scots as part of Curriculum for Excellence (CfE). The visits included lesson observations and discussions with teachers, children and young people. There was a particular emphasis on the role Scots can play in helping learners to develop their literacy skills. In addition, we wanted to look at how Scots can help some children and young people become more engaged in learning, and increase their confidence and self-esteem. This report sets out our findings.

Anna Havinga (University of Bristol)

Dutch Elements in the Aberdeen Council Registers (1398-1501)

Contacts between Scotland and the Low Countries have existed since at least the 12th century, with Flemings being part of the army of David I in 1138 (Murison 1971: 160). Morgan (2013) lists some ethnonyms in Scottish place names derived from the Germanic root *Flam*; they are first recorded between the 12th and 19th centuries, which further testify the long-lasting links between the Scots and Flemish. Immigrants from the Low Countries can also be found in Aberdeenshire, where Flemish names can be traced in the Aberdeen Council Registers. These legal documents, which are Scotland's oldest and most complete run of civic records, also testify to the stable trade connections between Aberdeen and the Low Countries, with frequent references to specific towns. Based on these close links, it is hardly

surprising that Dutch elements can be found in Scots. Indeed, Murison (1971) provides nine semantically categorized lists of Dutch words in Scots (trade, cloth, weights and measures etc.) from the 14th to 18th century to point out specific influences of Dutch on Scots.

In this paper, I will investigate the occurrence of words from Murison's lists, restricted to the 14th and 15th century to find out how frequently these words were used and in which contexts they appeared in volumes 1 to 8 of the Aberdeen Council Registers (1398–1511). In these records, I will also trace references to towns in the Low Countries and Flemish inhabitants in Aberdeen to identify any particular trade links and immigration waves in the 15th century. I will combine a quantitative and qualitative approach to assess the influence of Dutch-speaking people in Aberdeen and address the following questions:

- Which trade connections between Aberdeen and towns in the Low Countries were particularly salient?
- When did Dutch-speaking people come to Aberdeen and which roles did they take up in the Royal burgh?
- To what extent and in which contexts can Dutch elements be found in the Aberdeen Council Registers?

Morgan, Ailig Peadar. 2013. *Ethnonyms in the place-names of Scotland and the border counties of England*. PhD thesis. University of St Andrews.
Murison, David. 1971. 'The Dutch element in the vocabulary of Scots.' In: A. J. Aitken, A. McIntosh, and H. Palsson (eds), *Edinburgh Studies in English and Scot*s. London: Longman, 159–176.

Carole Hough (University of Glasgow)

The Migration of Old English to Scotland

The Scots language originated through the migration of speakers of English – first to the south-east, which formed part of the Anglo-Saxon kingdom of Northumbria from the seventh to eleventh centuries, and later to the burghs, where further groups of incomers arrived from the twelfth century onwards. The initial stage of migration is poorly documented, as is the Northumbrian variety of Old English spoken by the Anglo-Saxon incomers. The origins of Scots can therefore only be pieced together from fragmentary evidence.

This paper investigates evidence provided by the place-names created by seventh-century and subsequent settlers, with a particular focus on south-east Scotland. The importance of this evidence has long been recognised, but in the absence of systematic place-name survey, it has been largely inaccessible. A project currently underway at the University of Glasgow is undertaking place-name survey of the historical county of Berwickshire in order to investigate the Northumbrian dialect of Old English and its development into Older Scots. The project, *Recovering the Earliest English Language in Scotland: evidence from place-names* (REELS), is funded from 2016 to 2018 by The Leverhulme Trust. The paper outlines key aspects

of methodology, and evaluates the strengths and limitations of the place-name contribution to our knowledge of the transition from Old Northumbrian to Older Scots. Using examples from the REELS study area, it considers the three linguistic levels of lexis, morphology and phonology.

The final part of the paper turns to north-east Scotland, where a small cluster of apparently Old English place-names problematises current models of linguistic migration. Some of these names have been noticed before, while others have come to light through work on the REELS project. Individually, they might represent transferred names or analogous formations. Collectively, and in light of parallels with the REELS study area, such explanations now seem less likely.

Pavel Iosad (University of Edinburgh)

The Influence of Norse on Scottish Gaelic, 85 Years on

In this paper I propose (yet another) reappraisal of the arguments regarding the relationship between Norse and Gaelic in the North Atlantic world, focusing on the development of preaspiration. There is significant controversy in the literature as to whether this feature, along with others such as tonal accent, represents Norse influence on Gaelic (e.g. Marstrander 1932; Borgstrøm 1974; Gunnar Ólafur Hansson 2001), an independent development in Gaelic (e.g. Ó Baoill 1980; Ó Murchú 1985; Ó Maolalaigh 2010), or even Gaelic influence on Norse (McKenna 2013). With recent advances in our understanding of how the social context of contact influences its linguistic outcomes (e.g. Thomason & Kaufman 1988; Trudgill 2011; Millar 2016), the debate around the role of language contact in the development of Gaelic varieties has begun to acquire a more solid theoretical underpinning; see in particular Stewart (2004); Lindqvist (2015) and most recently Lewin (2017).

I offer an account of the development of preaspiration combining these sociolinguistic insights with the theory of the life cycle of phonological processes (e.g. Bermúdez-Otero 2007; 2015; Bermúdez-Otero & Trousdale 2012). I argue that this theory offers a useful diagnostic for historical language contact, since discontinuities in the life cycle can only be contact-induced. I propose a model of the development of Gaelic preaspiration consistent with the life cycle model, starting with variable preaspiration, arguing that variable preaspiration is a pan-Gaelic phenomenon under-reported in traditional sources. Under this analysis, the rise of categorical preaspiration is a Northern Gaelic innovation (cf. Clayton 2010), centred on Argyll. With this linguistic argument in hand, I argue that a Norse origin for this feature is unlikely to be compatible with what we know about the sociolinguistic context of the (re-)Gaelicization of Argyll (Jennings & Kruse 2009a,b; Clancy 2011; Whyte 2017, *pace* Macniven 2015).

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E. Jamieson (University of Edinburgh)

Understanding "dis" Demonstratives: Adnominal and Pronominal Demonstratives in Shetland Dialect

In Shetland dialect, adnominal demonstratives (AdDems) do not inflect for number (Robertson & Graham 1952, Melchers 2004) (1).

1. I read dis/dat/yun book$_{SG}$/books$_{PL}$.

However, the literature does not mention that while the singular AdDem form is the same as the singular pronominal demonstrative (ProDem) form, this form cannot be a plural ProDem (2). Instead, speakers must use a construction with a 'singular' AdDem form and *eens/wans* ('ones') (3).

2. I read dis/dat/yun.   [singular, *plural]
3. I read dis eens.   [plural]

This is a challenge to the assumption in the syntactic literature that AdDems and ProDems are the same head (e.g. Abney 1987, van Volin and LaPolla 1997, Blake 2001, Déchaine & Wiltschko 2002), instead supporting Diessel's (1999) typological claim that AdDems and ProDems require separate analyses despite sharing morphosyntactic forms in the majority of languages in his sample.

I build on Roberts (2017), who argues (all) demonstratives originate in SpecnP, raising to SpecDP due to EPP. Roberts gives the same SpecnP analysis to weak pronouns (Cardinaletti and Starke 1999). However, there is evidence ProDems are strong pronouns (Holmberg 1999). I therefore follow Roberts' analysis for AdDems, but argue ProDems are generated in N.

In Shetland dialect, I argue the Number feature on AdDems is uninterpretable and can check either [singular] or [plural] on the head N. The morphosyntactically identical ProDem forms, however, are strong pronouns in N with interpretable singular features. Diessel (1999:33) claims that 'in languages where nouns are inflected for gender, number and/or case, [ProDems] are always marked for the same features'. I presume this is for purposes of correct anaphoric reference. There is thus an accidental gap in the paradigm for plural ProDems in Shetland. To get the required plural reference, the plural proform *eens/wans* 'ones' is used; deictic information must then be contributed by an AdDem.

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John Kirk (University of Vienna)

Discourse Markers in Scots

Discourse markers have attracted considerable attention in recent years, greatly facilitated by the abundance of examples provided by spoken corpora. For much of this research, the empirical basis has been spoken standardised English, although Irish English has attracted attention (e.g. Kallen 2013, Schweinberger 2014 and Amador-Moreno et al. 2015) and there is growing attention to discourse markers in post-colonial Englishes (e.g. Lange 2012).

What of Scottish English and Scots? Although overview descriptions mention them (e.g. Macafee 1980; Corbett & Stuart-Smith 2012), detailed functional and pragmatic treatment has largely been limited to Macaulay (1991, 2005) and Pichler (2013) in her study of Berwick-upon-Tweed.

The present study is based on a *Corpus of Dramatic Texts in Scots* (now some 20 texts, totaling 333,000 words, and growing), the language of which may be taken to be plausibly realistic for spoken Scots (cf . Kirk 1986, Aitken 1993).

Using that corpus data as realistic of Scottish speech, the paper will present an overview of discourse markers before zoning in on several in more detail. The research questions will be concerned with the pragmatic function discourse markers as an interpersonal or intersubjective involvement marker, and as a textual or coherence marker in ongoing discourse. Attention will be paid to instances which may carry a conspicuously stylistic function within the drama or are striking as an idiosyncratic marker of a particular character-speaker. The final research question will be concerned with a quantitative comparison of the results with those for standardized English English and for Irish English (as available in the research literature) to discover and interpret similarities as well as differences, and to ascertain both Scottish usages and any Scotticisms. The paper will thus extend and develop a preliminary paper given in 2013: 'Speech Realism on the Stage'.

Karen Lowing and Inge Birnie (Strathclyde University)

Scots and Gaelic, National Identity, Brexit and a Second Scottish Referendum: a Study of Germanic and Celtic Languages in Scotland

In this paper the authors ask pertinent questions with regard the support for and positioning of Scots and Gaelic *within* pre and post-Brexit Scotland, where the migration of Scots and Gaelic *throughout* Scotland presents a complex picture. Problematic, disparate and contentious national plans for the implementation of Scots and Gaelic in schools remain and the potential of a second Scottish referendum in this outward-facing European nation, poses further questions with regard the potential migration for Scots and Gaelic *beyond* Scotland.

Both languages are recognised by the European Union Charter for Regional and Minority Languages and have received at least some EU funding, with continued

monitoring by European 'experts', to support their implementation in educational contexts throughout Scotland. However, the languages of Scots and Gaelic in Scotland continue to face marginalisation and / or decline, notwithstanding their function as regional and national signifiers of identity and belonging.

Drawing on content and thematic analysis of focus group and interview data and linguistic 'soundscape' observations and language diary data (Lowing, 2017, 2018; Birnie, 2018), the authors raise questions with regard the manner in which Scots and Gaelic is positioned within the tensions of British and Scottish national sentiment, where the languages of many Scottish 'superdiverse' people, exist in an uncomfortable union with the language of Crown and Kingdom? The authors enquire whether further support for Scots and Gaelic in Scotland and its schools will increase or whether the languages and identities of a Scottish people will be further subsumed within a 'New Britain' of 'British Values' and further Anglicisation. They also enquire as to whether Scots and Gaelic has the potential to migrate *beyond* Scotland, thus securing, in some form, a place in Europe? This is an important study in uncertain times.

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J. Derrick McClure (Aberdeen University)

The Scots Column in The National

The *National*, the only daily newspaper which supports Scottish independence, has (among other creditable features confirming its status as an organ of Scottish culture, such as regular articles on Scottish literature and history and a weekly full-page feature in Gaelic) a weekly essay in Scots. The principal author is the well-known poet and language activist Rab Wilson, but several other writers make frequent contributions. On examination, however, "Scots" as applied to these columns proves to be a highly flexible term. This is in principle neither unexpected nor undesirable: since at least the late nineteenth century, writers in "Scots" have regarded themselves as entirely free to use any of the traditional rural dialects and urban basilects to be heard throughout non-Gaelic Scotland, written forms modelled on the language of the Vernacular Revival or that of the Stewart period, or individual experimentations often involving the use of recondite or even invented words; and the result of this freedom of choice has been a splendidly varied literary output. But the columns in the *National* turn out on inspection to rely extensively on eye-dialect (i.e. mis-spellings), to abound in random juxtapositions of classical vocabulary and contemporary slang, to use English words when familiar Scots equivalents are readily available, and in general to give a slapdash and improvisatory impression.

The stock answer is that since written Scots is not standardised (and spoken Scots much less so), an airy disregard for anything like rules is simply true to linguistic facts; but the question arises whether the status and prestige of Scots is likely to be enhanced by writing of this kind, particularly in a newspaper which in other respects shows full recognition of the Scottish cultural traditions which its aim is to promote.

This paper will examine the language of the columns over some weeks, seek to discern any rules and principles followed by the columnists, and discuss the value of the features as a means of promoting the Scots tongue.

Warren Maguire (University of Edinburgh)

The Unpublished Scots Phonological Material from the Linguistic Survey of Scotland

In the 1950s, the University of Edinburgh conducted the *Linguistic Survey of Scotland* (LSS), documenting traditional dialects of Scots in a survey which consisted of separate lexical and phonological strands. The results of these were published as *The Linguistic Atlas of Scotland* (LAS; Mather & Speitel 1975, 1977, 1986). The data gathered in the phonological survey were subject to considerable systematisation and condensing before publication, so that the 3rd volume of the LAS presents only a partial (and often obscure) picture of the phonetics and phonology of these dialects. For example, almost no information was provided on the pronunciation of consonants or unstressed vowels, and the transcriptions presented for stressed vowels are quasi-phonemic rather than phonetic. In addition, the maps in the volume are based on this rather severe systematisation of the data. So although this volume is an important resource, it leaves many questions about these Scots dialects unanswered (and unanswerable).

Thankfully, the original fieldworkers' transcriptions still survive. In addition to the notebooks containing unsystematised phonetic transcriptions of an extended wordlist (only part of which was included in the LAS), transcriptions also exist for many locations which did not make it into the published volume. Thus these unpublished notebooks provide a much fuller picture of the phonology of mid-20th century traditional Scots dialects than what is currently available. This paper describes an ongoing project to digitise and analyse these notebooks with a view to creating an online database and atlas, opening up the substantial unpublished content to a wider audience. The unpublished LSS data is a unique record of the traditional Scots dialects of the mid 20th century, analysis of which will dramatically improve our understanding of the phonetics and phonology of Scots, the history of the language, and its relations with the languages which surround it.

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Benjamin Molineaux, Vasilios Karaiskos, Rhona Alcorn, Warren Maguire (University of Edinburgh) and Joanna Kopaczyk (University of Glasgow)

The FITS Corpus: Tracing the Origins of Fifteenth-century Scots Sounds and Spellings

In this paper, we report on the construction and functionality of the *From Inglis To Scots* (FITS) corpus (Alcorn et al. forthcoming) which maps individual 15c Scots spellings onto their presumed sound values and links these sounds to their etymological source — via a series of proposed changes where necessary. This database of grapho-phonological corresponddences allows for a fine-grained examination of the phonotactic distribution of individual segments as well as variation in their values over time, space and text. It was compiled using the Germanic vocabulary from the texts in the *Linguistic Atlas of Older Scots* (LAOS – Williamson, 2008) which, in turn, brings together c. 1,250 local Scots documents dating from 1380 to 1500.
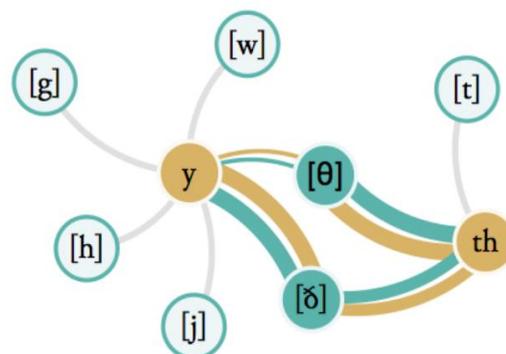

Figure 1: Overlapping sound-substitution sets for morpheme-initial consonantal graphemes <th> and <y> in FITS (line thickness = frequency)

We assume that our source materials were set down by scribes "capable of sophisticated and subtle linguistic analysis" (Laing and Lass 2003: 258), so we expect there to be a systematic connection – albeit not necessarily a one-to-one match – between orthographic choices and underlying sound systems. As a result, we are able to reconstruct the array of spellings for individual sounds, and conversely, the array of sounds that can be represented by individual graphemes (see Fig.1) and can retrieve the spatial and temporal distribution of individual sound-spelling pairings.

In addition, linking each root morpheme to its etymological source (Old Northumbrian, Norse, or other) allows us to propose plausible sound values in the Older Scots material, as well as a path for their development. The result is a corpus of detailed form histories, supported by a Corpus of Changes. This paper will discuss the technical and theoretical challenges of such procedures and exemplify the types of questions that this quantitative and dynamic approach affords researchers interested in the history of Scots sounds and spellings.

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Michael Montgomery (University of South Carolina)

The Ulster-Scots Language Society and Recent Developments in the Study of Ulster Scots

That the proximity of southwest Scotland to the north of Ireland has long formed a sea-bridge for culture and language is a commonplace. Major scholarly efforts in Scotland have seen the inclusion of Ulster as a given, and so it was that the Scottish National Dictionary and the Linguistic Survey of Scotland extended their fieldwork and documentation to Ireland. The comings and goings of both Gaelic and Scots is of course enshrined in the name of our organization. However, that documentation in Ulster has had a life of its own (as well as a literature of its own) has been largely unknown on the Scottish mainland. This presentation will re-connect them by focusing on and appraising the work of two natives of County Antrim, Robert J Gregg and James Fenton. The efforts of the Ulster-Scots Language Society, a volunteer-based charity comprised mainly of native speakers, has been almost single-handedly responsible for making their research available for the present day.

Such an appraisal is especially timely in recognition of two anniversaries: the 'U' in FRLSU was added nearly twenty five years ago, and the USLS recently turned twenty-six. The latter has been the primary agent documenting Ulster Scots through its publications, which include Fenton's *The Hamely Tongue: A Personal Record of Ulster-Scots in County Antrim* (1995, 2014), a 300-page dictionary based on forty years of indefatigable fieldwork. Fenton's ear for the vernacular in tandem with his precision as a schoolmaster gave rise to what is arguably the most suitable orthographic system yet devised for Ulster-Scots. Fenton opted for internal consistency over historical precedent as his guide, but he does provide frequent cross-referencing to the Scottish National Dictionary as well as words borrowed from Irish Gaelic and other languages. Such scholarship belies the label of "popular" given it in some quarters, but the volume has been a sales success and captivated thousands of readers through its extensive, often wry, illustrative collocations.

Robert Gregg of Larne completed an M.A. at Queen's University Belfast, then migrating to British Columbia in the 1950s and completing a doctorate at Edinburgh University. His scholarship, extending more than thirty years into the 1980s, focused on the phonetics and historical phonology of traditional Ulster Scots, which he called "Scotch-Irish" in his writing. While his early fieldwork exploring the Ulster-Scots sound system by concentrated on nearby Glenoe, he later conducted fieldwork across four counties (including Donegal in the Republic of Ireland). He used a checklist of 14 crucial features (all but two of them vowels) to pin down where Scots speech shifted into English and proposed the first empirical mapping of Ulster Scots speech. It is his map that has so often been reproduced in later general publications. Known often as the father of Ulster-Scots studies, Gregg donated his collections to the Ulster Folk and Transport Museum, where was spawned the idea to reproduce all his writings in a volume that came to be titled *The Academic Study of Ulster-Scots: Essays for and by Robert J Gregg* (2006). In the hope that the work of these two men will live on, it is a pleasure to say that both volumes are available online!

Claire Needler (University of Aberdeen)

Public Engagement and Contemporary Scots Use in Northern Aberdeenshire [poster]

This poster presentation will show findings from the early stages of my PhD research into 'Unconscious Bilingualism: Acknowledging Language in the Heartland of Scots'. I am investigating contemporary Scots language use in the North-East of Scotland, drawing on the disciplines of Ethnology, Sociolinguistics and Linguistic Ethnography to examine the relationship between language and culture. By linking with community projects and using methodologies including Oral History and Participatory Action Research (PAR) I am researching language, culture, and education, and how they interweave to build a sense of community identity.

My field site is the Banff and Buchan area of the North-East of Scotland, where Scots is spoken by approximately half of the population, according to the last census[i]. The backdrop of an encouraging policy and educational framework for Scots language use, and the launch of the North East Scots Language Board, have created a space for Scots to flourish. Innovative educational projects using archive material from the Kist o Riches enable school pupils and the wider community to engage with Scots in creative ways, and encourage positive attitudinal change towards the use of Scots in everyday settings.

I will showcase some of the creative outputs from these Scots Language workshops, and discuss how my previous Participatory Action Research with the Eastern European community in Peterhead running a Language Café[ii] to promote community integration, has influenced my methodological approach. In the course of my research I hope to create similar Scots Language Cafes where native Scots speakers can share aspects of their language and cultural heritage with groups of non-native Scots speakers, including migrants. As part of this process I am learning Scots, so am experiencing situated, embodied co-production of knowledge.

Scottish Census data, [accessed 19 November 2017], <http://www.scotlandscensus.gov.uk/ods-web/datavis.jsp?theme=Language_September_2013>.

Claire Needler, 'Language Cafes as a Site of Cultural Integration', *Europe Now*, 1 February 2017, <http://www.europenowjournal.org/2017/01/31/language-cafes-as-a-site-of-wider-cultural-integration>, [accessed 29 October 2017].

John-Mark Philo (University of East Anglia)

John Bellenden's Livy and Pierre Bersuire: the French in Bellenden's Scots

The earliest extant translation of the Roman historian Livy into any dialect of English is John Bellenden's (c.1495–1545x8) rendering of the first five books into Scots. Commissioned by James V (1512–1542), Bellenden completed his translation of the *Ab Urbe Condita* in 1533, receiving a total of thirty-six pounds for his efforts. This paper explores Bellenden's recourse to Pierre Bersuire's (*d*.1362) French translation of Livy's history when preparing his own version in Scots. Completed in 1356,

Beruire's *Décades de Tytus Livius* played a fundamental role in shaping Bellenden's prose, offering him a rich store of lexical possibilities from which to draw as he grappled with Livy's Latin. But beyond loan-words, Bersuire's translation, complete with its richly detailed commentary, also provided Bellenden with a template for glossing the technical lexis to be found in the Latin original. It was Bersuire's example, as this paper explores, that Bellenden followed when he prepared a series of annotations in Latin and Scots on specific words of religious, political, and cultural significance in Livy's original. Drawing on manuscript evidence from the National Library of Scotland and the Bibliothèque nationale de France, this paper considers the cross-continental migration not only of individual lexis but also of a way of approaching and analysing classical history, one which sought to approach antiquity, as far as was possible, on its own cultural and linguistic terms.

John Rice-Whetton (University of Melbourne)

Get-Passives in SCOTS and DECTE [poster]

The *get*-passive (e.g. *I got told off*) is a relatively recent phenomenon in English, first occurring in the 17th century, with a more rapid rise beginning from the 19th century (Fleisher, 2006). While there has been some work comparing between British, American, Australian and New Zealand, and other varieties of English (Bruckmaier, 2016; Collins, 1996; Coto-Villalibre, 2014; Hundt, Hay, & Gordon, 2004; Peters & Burridge, 2012), variation in the use of *get*-passives within Britain and Ireland is at present underresearched.

Hickey (2004) suggests that use of get-passives is more frequent in Scottish and Irish English. Macauley (1991) working in Ayr, and Romaine (p.c., cited in Miller, 2011), both report seemingly high use of *get*-passives in Scotland, but no systematic comparison with other areas has been carried out. In this paper, I will attempt to address the question of whether usage of *get*-passives is indeed more frequent in a Scottish corpus as compared to a corpus from England, and also whether an apparent time approach to these data supports the idea that usage in these varieties in increasing. I present data from a subset of the SCOTS corpus (2007) consisting of 43 conversations, and the 44 conversations that comprise the NECTE2 subcorpus of DECTE (Corrigan et al. 2012) representing English spoken in the North East of England.

Initial results seem to confirm that the use of *get*-passives is increasing with time in both corpora. However it appears that the frequency of *get*-passives in NECTE2 is at least as high as what is present in the conversational data in SCOTS, seemingly challenging the idea that *get*-passives are more frequent in Scotland. However, both corpora demonstrate frequencies significantly higher than what has been observed for British English as a whole. This leads to the conclusion that, rather than there being a specifically Scottish preference for the *get*-passive, perhaps it is a feature of northern Britain more generally.

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Sadie Ryan (University of Glasgow)

Language, Migration and Identity at School: a Sociolinguistic Study with Polish Adolescents in Glasgow

I examine the L2 (second language) speech of young people who were born in Poland, and who now attend a high school in the East End of Glasgow. They are acquiring English as a second language, but they are also acquiring the local linguistic forms of their new community. They are learning how to use the word *what*, but they are also learning that *what* can be realised as /wɔt/ (*what*) or /wɪt/ (*whit*).

Using multivariate analysis, I investigate how the acquisition of local linguistic forms differs across the 14 individuals in my study. I find that acquisition does not correlate with how long they have spent in Glasgow (those who have been in Glasgow for one year often use local forms as much as those who have been in Glasgow for 10 years), and it does not correlate with the age at which they arrived (those who arrived at age 11 often use local forms as much as those who arrived at age three).

Turning to the use of ethnographic methods, I explore individual identity. Previous research on language learning has suggested that learners who have a stronger feeling of identification with the L2 group are more likely to pick up local linguistic forms and become native-like in the L2 (e.g. Drummond 2010; Diskin 2012; Howley 2015). I find that this is not the case for my participants; those who identify as Glaswegian do not necessarily use the local forms to a greater extent than those who don't. This leads me to question what it means to sound 'native-like' in a Glasgow high school. I suggest that in entering their new community, these learners

are entering a complex landscape of local linguistic identity, with many possible ways to position themselves beyond the very broad category of 'Glaswegian'.

Diskin, C. 2012. Integration and identity: Acquisition of Irish English by Polish and Chinese migrants living in Dublin. *Newcastle University Working Papers in Linguistics* 19(1). 67-89.

Drummond, R. 2010. *Sociolinguistic variation in a second language: The influence of local accent on the pronunciation of non-native English speakers living in Manchester*. PhD thesis: University of Manchester. https://www.escholar.manchester.ac.uk/uk-ac-man-scw:95944 (23 February 2015).

Howley, G. 2015. *The acquisition of Manchester dialect variants by adolescent Roma migrants*. PhD thesis, University of Salford. http://usir.salford.ac.uk/37766 (12 January 2015).

Craig Sailor (University of Tromsö) and Gary Thoms (University of Glasgow)

Exhortative and Jussive Particles in Scots

In addition to the imperatives seen in standard English, varieties of Scots can also express exhortations or pleas by means of special particles such as *gonnae* and *wantae*.

1) a. Don't be late.
    b. Wantae leave me alane right now.
    c. Gonnae drop it right now.

While the origin of these particles seems relatively straightforward – both appear to be derived from their infinitival clause-embedding counterparts (*going to* / *want to*) in questions – their present-day syntactic properties suggest that they have undergone grammaticalization. Weir (2013) offers a unified analysis of *gonnae*, *wantae* and *don't* as Jussive particles (building on Zanuttini 2008) and proposes a syntactic analysis where they are all generated in the complementizer domain. However we show that the Scots-specific particles show behaviour which distinguishes them from *don't*. For example when the implied subject (which is always 2nd person, akin to imperatives) is made explicit, it obligatorily follows the Scots particles, but can precede or follow *don't*:

2) a. (You) don't (you) be late.
    b. (*You) wantae (you) leave me alane right now.
    c. (*You) gonnae (you) drop it right now.

This suggests that these particles do not exhibit standard verbal syntax. Our goals in this talk are to (i) lay out their behaviour in detail, with evidence that they are imperatives and not questions, (ii) offer a syntactic analysis that relates these elements to other attested syntactic phenomena in both Scots and Standard English, and (iii) propose a tentative pathway for their grammaticalization into exhortative/jussive particles.

Weir, Andrew. 2013. The syntax of imperatives in Scots. In Cruickshank, Janet & Millar, Robert M. (eds.), *After the Storm: Papers from the Forum for Research on the Languages of Scotland and Ulster triennial meeting*, Aberdeen. 261–85.

Zanuttini, Raffaella. 2008. Encoding the addressee in the syntax: Evidence from English imperative subjects. *Natural Language & Linguistic Theory* 26: 185-218.

David Selfe (University of Glasgow)

An Apostrophe to Scots

The *apologetic apostrophe*, the unit of punctuation in Scots indicating where a word-medial or word-final consonant would be present in its English cognate, first emerged in the early eighteenth century amidst a complex environment of anglicisation and romanticisation: a Long Century which officially eschewed Scots even as it yearned for its most idealised state. Of course, like any language, there existed no unilateral perception of Scots, and as social aspirations were carried on a southern wind, the gulf between those for whom Scots was salient and those for whom it was not was increasingly reflected in, and characterised by, literature. Like any linguistic variant, the functions of the apologetic apostrophe were subject to change over time: recuperated and redeployed, its role in works such as *Thomas the Rhymer* (Scott, 1803) and *The Private Memoirs and Confessions of a Justified Sinner* (1824), as an instrument for characterisation, was radically different from its early appearance in works such as Ramsay's *Poems* (1720), where it functioned as a device for negotiating two competing language systems.

Traditional understanding of the apologetic apostrophe's function in Scots can be delineated into two camps: the first focusses solely on the apologetic apostrophe's form, divorced completely from its sociolinguistic context (Todd 2001, Truss 2003, Piton & Pignot 2010); and the second, recognising the apologetic apostrophe as a primarily social modifier, presents it as a historically-situated reflexion on the stigmatisation of Scots (Corbett, McClure et al 2003, Pittock 2007, Bann & Corbett 2015). This paper, however, posits a third school of thought: that to describe the apologetic apostrophe as damaging to Scots is an anachronistic imposition by modern scholarship – instead, it was a subtly innovative response to a composite environment of language flux.

The intention of this paper, therefore, is to explore, from a sociolinguistic and pragmaphilological perspective, the changing historical functions of the apologetic apostrophe in Scots, and demonstrate how, using diachronic, qualitative analysis of those paradigmatic exemplars mentioned above, the evolution of that function can be mapped onto the developing sociocultural fortunes of the Scots language.

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Corbett, J. & McClure, J. & Stuart-Smith, J. (2003), 'A Brief History of Scots', *The Edinburgh Companion to Scots*, ed. Corbett, J. & McClure, J. & Stuart-Smith, J. (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press).

Piton, O; Pignot, H (2010), *Mind your p's and q's: or the peregrinations of an apostrophe in 17th Century English*, Cornell University Library. Retrieved from https://arxiv.org/abs/1002.0479v1.

Pittock, M. (2007). Allan Ramsay and the Decolonisation of Genre. *The Review of English Studies, 58* (235), new series, 316-337. Retrieved from http://www.jstor.org/stable/4501599.

Todd, L (2001), *Cassel's Guide to Punctuation* (London: Cassel & Co.).
Truss, L (2003), *Eats, Shoots and Leaves* (London: Profile Books Ltd).

Jennifer Smith (University of Glasgow) and Sophie Holmes-Elliot (University of Southampton)

Shifting and Drifting across the Scots Linguistic Continuum

Scots is said to exist on a continuum from Broad Scots at one end to Standard Scottish English at the other (Aitken 1979). While some speakers are noted to 'drift' within a fairly constrained area along this continuum, others may 'shift' more dramatically (ibid.), as in (1):

1) *Shona*: I na ken far the quines is.
   Jennifer: Sorry?
   Shona: I said I don't know where the girls are.

Although such linguistic dexterity is much commented on in the context of Scots, little is known about the complex social and linguistic details of these shifts. Do all speakers shift? Do all linguistic forms? And what can this tell us more broadly about the speaker of Scots in the 21st century? In this paper we address these questions by investigating speakers from a small community in northeast Scotland noted to use extreme ends of the Scots continuum, as demonstrated in (1). In order to tap speech patterns both within and beyond vernacular norms, we recorded 49 speakers in conversation first with a community insider and second with a community outsider, and targeted a number of lexical, phonological and morphosyntactic forms for quantitative analysis. The results show that there is shifting from Broad Scots to Scottish Standard English with lexical and phonological forms across the different interlocutor recordings, but not with morphosyntactic forms. Moreover, some speakers shift a lot, while others hardly shift at all in these different contexts of use. We discuss how this complex interplay between social and linguistic constraints can contribute to our understanding of the Scots linguistic continuum and the sociolinguistic repertoires of speakers that exist therein.

Gary Thoms (University of Glasgow), David Adger (Queen Mary University of London), Caroline Heycock (University of Edinburgh) and Jennifer Smith (University of Glasgow)

Viewing Change in The Scots Syntax Atlas

In this paper we introduce *The Scots Syntax Atlas*, a project to create an online atlas which maps the syntactic features of varieties of Scots. The atlas is based on questionnaire data and sociolinguistic interview data gathered from 130+ locations across Scotland, with data from younger (18-25) and older speakers (65+) allowing us to observe change across time and space. The project seeks to use this picture of contemporary dialectal variation to understand the nature of grammatical variation.

The analysis concentrates on a number of forms tested through grammaticality judgments in the questionnaire data, including (1-6).

(1) That car needs washed.
(2) I'm going to my bed.
(3) Get that film watched.　　　　　'You should watch that.'
(4) Gonnae you leave me alone!　　'Please leave me alone.'
(5) I'll away up the road.　　　　　'I'll go up the road.'
(6) I'm just after speaking to John.　'I've just spoken to John.'

While some forms (1-2) are used throughout Scotland with all ages, others are circumscribed by both geography and age. The *get*-autocausative (3) and the *gonnae*-imperative (4) show change in apparent time. While (3) is on the rise across the country, (4) is spreading from Glasgow to other locations in the west central belt. The *away* X in (5) and the *after* perfect in (6) are both accepted by significantly fewer younger participants than older participants. (5) is widespread across the country in these older generations, but (6) shows the same kind of geographical specificity as the change with *gonnae*-imperatives: it is retained most strongly in Highlands and the west central belt, where it has its highest acceptance rates overall. We conclude by discussing how internal and external factors may play a role in conditioning the changes observed in the 21st century.

Graham Turner (Heriot-Watt University) and Mark Sebba (Lancaster University)

Sign Language and the Census: Is (Some) Seeing (Some) Believing?

The 2011 census in the UK was the first to ask questions about use of languages other than the indigenous Celtic languages, Welsh, Irish and Scottish Gaelic. As part of this broadened inquiry into language use, a question was asked about British Sign Language (BSL), the preferred language of the Deaf signing community in Britain. Official and public attitudes surrounding signing – its relationship with spoken/written language; its linguistic 'validity'; its territoriality or universality; its association with ideologies of disability – are rarely placed on display as they are via the census process. The formulation of questions, their linguistic expression, and the responses elicited may all be seen as indexical of societal positioning.

The census is conducted in different parts of the British Isles (England, Wales, Scotland and Northern Ireland) by different agencies using their own questionnaires, so the question about sign language was differently phrased in each jurisdiction, and placed alongside a different set of questions about other languages. In each questionnaire, the sign language question was contextualised differently, and was open to comparison by respondents with the questions about other, more prominent languages including English.

In this paper, we outline some of the understandings and misunderstandings about sign language (and indeed language more generally) which underlie the questions asked in these censuses. In an era of rising awareness of 'translanguaging' practices, signing migrants' adaptation to BSL and use of 'International Signing' is

also cast into the spotlight by the census questions. We discuss how census results might be interpreted in the light of public understandings – and misunderstandings – of what sign language actually is. In doing so, we aim to initiate a critical discussion about the census methodology, as well as to highlight the status of BSL as a named and documented, but as yet often misconstrued mode of linguistic expression.

Viveka Velupillai (Justus Liebig University Giessen)

Gendered Inanimates in Spoken Shetland Dialect

This study focusses on the use of gendered pronouns with inanimate antecedents in Shetland dialect, such as referring to *lamp* as 'she' and *shop* as 'he'. The feature has been mentioned (eg. Robertson & Graham. 1991 [1952], Melchers 2010) but has not been systematically investigated (although see Ljosland 2012). The study forms part of a larger project, which has the dual aim of providing a comprehensive grammar of pre-oil Shetland speech and assessing the rate of the ongoing shift to Standard English (Velupillai *forthcoming*). The project is motivated by the recent discussions on this shift as a result of the sociodemographic changes brought on by the oil industry (cf. van Leyden 2004, Sundkvist 2007, Smith 2009, Smith & Durham 2011, Durham 2014). It combines an apparent time approach, using a database of ca 40,000 words (37h33m) of Shetland Archive oral history material to represent pre-oil speech, with a pilot sample of 12 contemporary speakers, representing a mesolectal range of the Shetland regional varieties, two age groups, and both genders. Using Conditional Inference Trees, gendered pronouns with inanimate antecedents were statistically tested for the effect of the following variables: syntactic, semantic and pragmatic roles of the pronoun and antecedent; semantic characteristics of the antecedent; distance between pronoun and antecedent; age group, gender and region of the contemporary speakers. Furthermore, the data was compared to the genders of the Old English and Old Norse cognates, in order to assess possible patterns of inheritance. The results show that the choice of gender correlates with a number of linguistic and sociolinguistic variables. Moreover, the gender of the antecedents pattern significantly with the Old Norse genders. The study also shows that the grammatical feature of gendered pronouns with inanimate antecedents is robust and stable in contemporary Shetland speech.

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van Leyden, Klaske. 2004. *Prosodic Characteristics of Orkney and Shetland Dialects: An Experimental Approach.* PhD Dissertation, Leiden University. Utrecht: LOT.

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