

Aw Ae Oo—Scots in Scotland and Ulster

Introduction

The claim has been made that Scots in Ulster (Ulster Scots or Ullans¹) is a different language from the Scots spoken in Scotland.

Ulster-Scots is treated as a socially stigmatised language with low status [...] The erroneous perception of Ulster-Scots as a 'dialect and not a language' is sometimes used to justify its continuing marginalisation. (Ulster-Scots Language Society and the Ulster-Scots Academy 1996)

Scholars now agree that Ulster-Scots has its own grammar, its own literary tradition and its own vocabulary – these are the features that distinguish a language. The question of whether Ulster-Scots is a language in its own right, or the “Scots language in Ulster” is still being debated.²

The UK Committee of the Bureau [EBLUL] has formally recognised Ullans as the Scots language in Northern Ireland. It is for this reason that speakers of Ulster-Scots argue that Ullans is an independent language. [...] It merely confirms that Ullans is a dialect of Scots, rather than of English. (Nic Craith 2001: 25)

It is widely held that the motivation for such a stance is political.

Language and culture emerged as a political axe to grind in the 1980's from within the Maze prison, where initially, republican inmates took to learning Irish [...] the claim that the Ulster-Scots language and heritage cause has been set rolling only out of a sense of cultural rivalry among some Protestants and unionists, keen to counter-balance the onward march of the Irish language movement [...] some loyalists began thinking and embracing what had, until then, been a tiny, obscure, semi-eccentric cultural persuasion, the study of Ulster-Scots, to infuse their own cause with some cultural legitimacy.³

Why would one want to assert its existence? The answer would seem to be to assert a native version of Ulster Protestant identity, which would mirror that version of Irish identity in which the possession of a distinct language is central. (Brett 1999)

[...] can be attributed to the efforts of a variety of organisations that have emerged from the culturist wing of unionism/loyalism, such as the Ulster-Scots Academy and the Ulster-Scots Heritage Council (*Ulster-Scotch heirskip Cooncil*). (Nic Craith 2001: 22)

Here the phonology and some of the more salient grammar features of the most “traditional” or “broadest” (i.e. least anglicized) varieties⁴ on both sides of the North Channel are compared in order to determine the legitimacy of viewing Ulster Scots as a language in its own right. Whether Scots (as a whole) is a language in its own right or a ‘variety’ of English is itself the subject of debate.

Scholars and other interested persons have difficulty agreeing on the linguistic historical, and social status of Scots. Generally it is seen as one of the ancient dialects of English, yet it has distinct and ancient dialects of its own [...] it has been called a Germanic language in its own right, considered as distinct from its sister in England in the same way that Swedish is distinct from Danish. (Aitken in McArthur 1992: 894)

Some academics (e.g. Adams 1977) clearly referred to it [Ullans] as a variety of English spoken in particular regions. Ian Adamson [...] also set it in the context of English [...] (Nic Craith 2001: 21)

Leaving such considerations aside, here Scots is treated as a language in its own right as it has been recognised by the British Government in its signing of the European Charter for Regional or Minority languages.

¹ Also Ulstèr-Scotch. *Ulster* is usually used as a geographic qualifier and no hyphen inserted between it and *Scots* cf. Ayrshire Scots etc. The use of a hyphen even when not used as an attributive compound adjective is perhaps an attempt to indicate autonomous language status. *Ullans* is a merging of Ulster and Lallans (Lowlands).

² From the Ulster-Scots Language Society leaflet “Quhit wud Ulstèr-Scotch be?/What is Ulster-Scots?” Date unknown. Probably Late 1990s.

³ Ryder, Chris. ‘Ulster-Scots will trip off tongue.’ *The Irish Times* May 13 1999.

⁴ Insular Scots has deliberately not been included. A possible outcome of Norn influence is the breakdown in the predictability of underlying phoneme patterns and grammatical differences.

“Ullans” is to be understood as the variety of the Scots language traditionally found in parts of Northern Ireland and Donegal.⁵

The United Kingdom declares, in accordance with Article 2, paragraph 1 of the Charter that it recognises that Scots and Ulster Scots meet the Charter’s definition of a regional or minority language for the purposes of Part II of the Charter.⁶

In the past Scots in Ulster has generally been treated as part of the same linguistic system known as “Scots” in Scotland.

We speak braid Scots. (Traynor 1953: 36)

It will be seen that the dialect in Uls. has much in common with the Sc. Dialects [...] (Wright 1905: 3)

This dialect is an offshoot of the central Scots dialect as spoken in Galloway, Ayrshire and Renfrewshire, and still preserves the marks of Scottish ancestry in most of the areas in which it is spoken. (Adams 1964: 1)

It must be emphasised that in their strongest rural forms these dialects are Lowland Scots dialects. Those of Antrim and North Derry are barely distinguishable from Ayrshire dialects. (Milroy 1982: 27)

It is necessary to distinguish within Ulster Scots between a conservative variety, spoken mostly in rural areas, and a standardised type [...] Although they share essentially the phoneme system and allophonic realisation rules, the two varieties differ quite widely in the lexical distribution of vowel phonemes. In this respect, conservative Ulster Scots and standardized Ulster Scots are equivalent to Lowland Scots and Scottish English respectively. (Harris 1984: 119)

Across the Irish sea, settlers from Ayrshire, Galloway and the Borders planted Ulster Scots, *south-west Mid*. According to Gregg (1985: 11–14), Ulster Scots once extended over a wide area, including the Ards Peninsula, north and central Antrim and Derry, and parts of Donegal near the mouth of the Boyne, and was once spoken in centres like Coleraine, Ballymena and Derry City, at least by the Protestant population. The modern evidence suggests that there were Western (in Derry and Donegal), Central (in Antrim) and Eastern (in the Ards) subtypes (Mather and Speitel 1986: 192–203; Gregg 1985 11–17) [...] (Johnston 1997: 442)

Ulster Scots is, as Johnston (1977b) points out, clearly a dialect of Central Scots. The bulk of the Scots Planters are known to have come from the west of Scotland (West Central and South-West Scots: both are Central dialects, with the addition of lawless elements expelled from the Borders (Southern Scots). (Macafee 2001:121)

Characteristics of Mid-Ulster English are sometimes mistakenly taken to be Ulster Scots, for example the realisation [bu:rd] for *buid* (‘board’) and lexical items such as *sally* (‘sallow’) and *allus* (‘always’) where Scots would have *sauch* and *aye*.

The mid-Ulster dialect [...] Typical features are [...] the advanced front palatal pronunciations of *k*, *g* before and after *a*-, *e*-, and *i*- sounds whereby a glide develops between these consonants and a following vowel especially *a* (*kyap* for *cap*) [...] (Adams 1964: 2)

Mrs Degges established that the English-type dialect of this area, which was settled mainly from Warwickshire, Worcestershire and Gloucestershire by followers of Conway (later Hertford) estates. One particular feature of this area is the presence of palatalized velars *kj* and *gj* in words like *kjart* for cart and *gjarden* for garden. (Braidwood 1969: 7)

The /ʉ/ alternant in board, door, etc. is now a well-known rural stereotype that is specific to non-US dialects in Ireland. It appears to be exclusively English in origin. There is no mention of this pronunciation in the descriptions of southern and central Scots (Wilson 1926, Wettstein 1942, Zai 1942), since ESc [Early Scots] /o:/ was fronted before /r/ as in other environments, showing up in modern Scots as /e:/, /ø:/ or some similar front vowel. Gregg’s phonological questionnaire, designed to establish the boundaries between US and MUE, includes the items floor, board, door, poor, which regularly appear as /fle:r/ or /flë:r/ in CUS [Conservative Ulster Scots] areas but as /flø:r/ or /flo:r/ in MUE areas (1963: 35; 1972). [...]

Initial /k/ and /g/ may receive a palatal onglide before /ε, a/ thus [kjε:b, kja:b] cab [...] (Wells 1982: 442)

⁵ Statutory Instrument 1999 No. 859 The North/South Co-operation (Implementation Bodies) (Northern Ireland) Order 1999. This definition was also used in UK’s Second Periodical Report to the Council of Europe regarding its European charter⁶ obligations.

⁶ <http://conventions.coe.int/Treaty/Commun/ListeDeclarations.asp?NT=148&CV=1&NA=&PO=999&CN=999&VL=1&CM=9&CL=ENG>.

Nevertheless there are certain Ulster Anglo-Irish dialect forms incidentally distinct from local-accent Standard forms: examples are [jo:] *ewe*, rhyming with *snow*, as against the [jɛ:] which is the local-accent version of the standard pronunciation (compare Scotch-Irish [jæ]), and [θo:] *thaw* (as against standard [θɔ:] and Scotch-Irish [θæ]). (Wells 1982: 449)

Finally, to emphasise the English origins of this pronunciation, we may note that the Survey of English dialects records /u:/, /ʊə/, or some similar high round nucleus in door, (reference V.1.8) and floor (V.2.7) in parts of the north and southwest of England. (Harris 1985: 158)

Traces of both archaic Elizabethan English and of West Midland dialect are still evident in the English of Ireland today. (Macafee 1997: x)

The second is Mid-Ulster English (sometimes known as Ulster Anglo-Irish) with the Lagan and Clogher valleys as its geographical axis. It is essentially an English-based dialect with varying degrees of discernable Scots influence. (Macafee 1997: xi)

A conspicuous feature of generalised Ulster English is the palatalisation of /g/ and /k/ to /kj/ and /gj/ respectively. This palatalisation is only to be found before low vowels. It would appear to be an English and not a Scots feature and is attested in 18th- century mainland English though it was lost later. (Hickey 2004: 80)

Epenthesis in heavy clusters in syllable codas, *film* [fɪləm] [...] Areal feature of both Irish and English in Ireland. (Hickey 2004: 81)

By accepting Scots as a language in its own right, the written forms of Scots words take what may be called “traditional Scots spellings”.⁷ These are to be found, for example, in the SND and CSD, though the headword is not necessarily used but the variant (or variants thereof) that reflects the underlying phonology most consistently. A few recent innovations have been adopted, such as <aw> (previously <a’>) and <fu> (previously <fu’>), representing historical /l/ vocalisation and the avoidance of other unnecessary apostrophes.

Comparing Varieties of Scots in Ulster and Scotland

The phonetic examples of Ulster Scots words quoted are mostly based on Gregg (1958: 392–406, 1959: 400–424, 1964: 163–192) and Traynor (1953). The Concise Scots Dictionary (CSD) (Robinson 1985), The Scottish National Dictionary (SND) (Grant et al. 1931–1975), The Concise Ulster Dictionary (CUD) (Macafee 1996) and The Linguistic Atlas of Scotland (LAS) (Mather and Speitel 1975, 1977, 1986), among others, have also been consulted.

Consonants

The realisations of consonants in Ulster Scots are on the whole the same as in other varieties of Scots.

One of the most obvious Scots markers is the retention of the back fricative /x/, usually where Standard English has <gh> realised as zero or /f/, in Gaelic loan words, and place names. In many varieties the front fricative /ç/ may occur following a front vowel, and /x/ following a back vowel. Often written <ch> in Scots. The phonetic transcriptions here usually use /x/. Some northern dialects may have /ð/ where others have /xt/. (Grant and Dixon 1921: 22) In common with varieties in Scotland initial /ç/ occurs in words such as *hue* [çɥ], *huge* [çɥdʒ], *human* [ˈçɥmən]. (Gregg 1958: 402)

Varieties in Scotland usually have trilled /r/. In Ulster /r/ (alveolar flap) and /ɹ/ (alveolar frictionless continuant) also occur. Here, /r/ is used in phonetic transcriptions.

Mid-Ulster English also retains historical /r/ in all positions. (Harris 1985: 57)

⁷ See *Aw Ae Wey—Written Scots in Scotland and Ulster* (<http://www.scots-online.org/airticles/AwAeWey.pdf>)

In addition, the highly retroflex approximant [ɹ], which often backs following alveolars to the same place of articulation, has always been the norm where Celtic influence is strong, as in Ulster Scots. (Johnston 1997: 511)

In Ulster Scots /t̪/ /d̪/ /n̪/ and /l̪/ as interdental allaphones of /t/ /d/ /n/ and /l/ may also occur, for example *sindery* ['sɪnəre, 'sɪ̪nəre] ('sundry'). The latter are used in phonetic transcriptions.

The Substitution of Irish *T* for *th* heard in border districts of Ulster is a purely Irish substitution [...] (Braidwood 1964: 73)

The mid-Ulster dialect [...] Typical features are [...] the use of interdental *t*, *d* (almost like *tth*, *dth*) before *r* and *-er* (*dhrum* for *drum*) [...] (Adams 1964: 2)

The main Irish substitutions are, of course, the Irish blade *T*, spelt *th* and blade *D*, spelt *dh*, for the English alveolars *t* and *d*, especially before *r*, e.g. *bitther*, *dhrunk*, *drowned*, giving a thick sound to English ears [...] one cannot tell whether one is dealing with *t* or *th* [(H)/ð]. (Braidwood 1964: 29)

Dental plosives do, however, occur in the North as allophones of /t/ and /d/. They are found not only adjacent to /θ, ð/ [...] but also to some extent in the vicinity of /r/ [...] (Wells 1982: 445)

In the Scots-Irish area palatalized [n̪] and [l̪] are also encountered, generally as realizations of /nj, lj/: ['jʊn,ən] *union*, ['mɪl,ən] *million* (Wells 1982: 446)

There is evidence that phonetically conditioned dentality has its origins in British English. Although this pronunciation never penetrated into SSE [southern Standard English], it is found in some present-day nonstandard regional dialects in England. (Harris 1985: 216)

The distribution of the dentals by phonetic environment in the northern English dialects recorded by Wright and the Survey [of English Dialects] is identical to that in many types of HE, i.e. they are restricted to the context of following /r/ or /ər/ [...] This clearly suggests that dental noncontinuants in HE stem at least in part from nonstandard British English sources. (Harris 1985: 217)

[...] some types of HE have dental reflexes of /t, d, n, l/ in all phonetic environments. Here the case for a background in Irish interference may be stronger, although this pattern is also apparently to be found in some Scots and United States varieties. (Harris 1985: 217)⁸

[...] Mid-Ulster English [...] Words beginning with *dr-* and *tr-* often have considerable aspiration and a rolled or flapped *r* sounding like *dhrum*, *thtractor* (=drum, tractor). (Macafee 1996: xi)

In Ulster varieties a palatised alveolar /t̪/, occurs in words such as *aicht* [ɛ:xt, ext] ('eight'), *dochter* ['dɔ:xtər] ('daughter'), *fecht* [fɛ:xt] ('fight'), *lauchter* ['la:xtər] ('brood of chickens'), *nicht* [nɪxt] ('night') and *troch* [trɔ:x] ('trough').

In some varieties a /tʃ/ or /tj/ pronunciation occurs, for example *teug* [tʃʌg] ('tug'), and *teuch* [tʌx, tjʌx, tʃʌx] ('tough'), etc.

The cluster /tr/ (/t̪r/) may be realised /t̪r/ in Ulster varieties, especially in initial /st̪r/. The phonetic transcriptions here use /tr/. /t̪r/ is not universal across the Scots-speaking areas of Ulster, for example *strae* [stre:] ('straw'), *strang* [strɔ:ŋ] ('strong'), *traivel* [trɛ:vl, tre:vl] ('travel/walk'), *trimmle* ['trɪml, 'trɪml] ('tremble').

A /t/ after medial /x/ and in medial /st/, before final /ən/ and /ə/ is often elided in colloquial speech in such words as *afen* ('often'), *castle*, *durstna* ('dared not'), *frichten* ('frighten'), *lichtnin* ('lightning'), *listen*, *saften* ('soften'), *tichten* ('tighten'), *thistle* ('thistle') and *whistle* etc. Note *beasts* [bis:, biss]⁹ (see Grant and Dixon 1921: 7–8).

The /t/ in word final /kt/ and /pt/¹⁰ is often silent in colloquial speech (see Grant and Dixon 1921: 7) although the /t/ is often pronounced in derived forms, for example *act*,

⁸ A footnote cites evidence of this from the west of Scotland and Aberdeen, and consequently Gaelic influence is not ruled out.

⁹ An outcome of simplification of the cluster /sts/.

¹⁰ These are often written <ck> and <p>

attempt, contact, corrupt, fact, and tempt etc. Only /t/ and /p/ occur in the following 'cep ('except'), *crap* ('crept'), *empy* ('empty'), and *perfit* ('perfect').

The cluster /st/ may be reduced to /s/ in words such as *beast, best, feast, maist* ('most') and *nest* etc. Glottalisation may occur in some areas, rendering the final /t/ in /st/ as /ʔ/.

The word final deletion of stops, which is characteristic of many nonstandard English dialects [...] is also a feature of HE [Hiberno-English]. Deletion of the stop in final fricative-plus-stop combinations is frequent, e.g. BV [Belfast Vernacular] [bɛ:s] *best*, [lɛ:f] *left*, [ɑ:s] (alongside [æks] *ask*). (Harris 1985: 58–59)

In Ulster varieties /d/ may be replaced by /t/ or /t/ replaced by /d/ in some words, for example *husband* ['hʌsbənt], *cupbuid* ['kʌbɔɪt], *carpenter* ['kɛ:rɒndər], *Protestant* ['prɔ:dəsən].

[...] most northern varieties other than US share with southern HE the lenition of intervocallic /t/, which is realised as a voiceless tap (e.g. SUE ['pɪtɪ] *pity*) or in some types of MUE [Mid Ulster English] (including BV) as a voiced tap, in which case it merges with tapped medial /d/ (e.g. r ['lɑrə] *latter*, *ladder*). (Harris 1985: 58)

[...] Mid-Ulster English [...] Words with -pp-, -tt- and -ck- such as *pepper, butter* and *packet* are often pronounced as *pebber, budder* and *pagget*. (Macafee 1996: xi)

In some varieties a /dj/ pronunciation occurs in certain environments, for example *deuk* ('duck')¹¹.

In Ulster initial /dʒr/ may occur for the /dr/ (/dɹ/) of most varieties. The phonetic transcriptions here use /dʒr/. /dʒr/ is not universal across the Scots-speaking areas of Ulster in for example *drap* [dra:p] ('drop'), and *draw* [dra:ɹ, dra:] and *dreich* [driχ] ('dreary'), etc. Some northern dialects have /d/ for medial /ð/ before /ər/. (Grant and Dixon 1921: 10)

In many dialects the terminal /d/ in the clusters /nd/ and /ld/ is elided¹², especially the Ulster varieties. (Johnston 1997: 502) But is often pronounced in derived forms (especially past tenses) of many words. That often occurs with medial /nd/.¹³ That is also common to Mid Ulster English varieties.

In conservative speech, the loss of stops is often categorical in final stop-stop and sonorant-stop sequences, e.g. [kɛp] *kept*, [hɑ:n] *hand*, [əʊ] *old*. (Harris 1985: 59)

Both Scots and English dialects have a tendency to drop *d* after *n* and *l*. This frequently leads in Ulster to its erroneous "replacement" in words which never had it [...] *scunder* (see SCUNNER). (Macafee 1996: xxix)

The palato-alveolar fricative /ʃ/ may be realised as palatalised alveolar in Ulster varieties /ɕ/, for example *greeshoch* ['grɪʃəχ, -ʃɑ:χ] ('embers'), *sheuch* [ʃʌχ, ʃjʌχ] ('ditch'). /ʃ/ is used in phonetic transcriptions. /s/ may be realised /ʃ/ in many words in some dialects (Grant and Dixon 1921: 26), for example *suit, suin* ('soon') etc.

[...] while the offishers tuk [...] (Lyttle 1896: 119)

The palato-alveolar affricate /tʃ/ also occurs as /tɕ/ in Ulster, usually written <ch>, for example *chiel* ('fellow'), *cheat* or where it follows <r>, for example *airch* ('arch'). Otherwise <tch> is usually used, for example *catch* and *pootch* ('pocket/pouch') etc. (Grant and Dixon 1921: 27)

The phonetic transcriptions here use /tʃ/. In some peripheral dialects /ʃ/ replaces initial /tʃ/. (Grant and Dixon 1921: 27)

The cluster /ntʃ/ in English is realised /nʃ/ in Scots, /nɕ/ also occurs in Ulster varieties. The usual spelling <nch> is generally adhered to, for example *brainch* [brɛ:nʃ] ('branch'), *hainch* [hɛ:nʃ] ('haunch'), *stainchel* ['stɛ:nʃəl] or *staincher* ['stɛ:nʃər] ('stanchion').

¹¹ Semantic differentiation seems to have occurred in many varieties e.g. *deuk* n. [dʒuk, dʒʌk, dɔk] ('the bird') *jouk* v.n. [dʒuk] ('dodge, bow') and *douk* v.n. [duk] ('dip, bathe') cf. SND.

¹² Entries in dictionaries often have the <d> in brackets e.g. *haun(d)*, *soon(d)*, *sen(d)*.

¹³ Many words no longer have the <d> pronounced and are often spelt with medial <n> or <nn>.

The palato-alveolar fricative /ʒ/ may be realised as /ʒ̥/ in Ulster varieties, for example *fusionless* ['fʰʊ:ʒənləs] (tasteless). Here, /ʒ/ is used in phonetic transcriptions.

The palato-alveolar affricate /dʒ/ may be realized /dʒ̥/ in Ulster. Usually written <j>, <dg>, <g> (Grant and Dixon 1921: 28), for example *jalouse* ('guess'), *gauger* ('excise man'), *breinge* ('rush') and *cadge* ('beg').

Ulster /ʃ, ʒ, tʃ, dʒ/ have a stronger palatal component in their realisation [...] tending towards [ç, ʒ̥, tç, dç̥]. This may be attributable to Irish Gaelic influence, [ç] being the phonetic quality of the 'slender' /s, / of Ulster Irish. (Wells 1982: 446)

Bilabialisation of /f/ and /v/, usually written <f> and <v>, may occur in Celtic-influenced varieties.

The phonemes /f v/ may be realised as bilabial [ɸ β] in Ulster Scots, particularly around back sounds, where 'broad', plain Irish /f v/ would be realised this way in that language [...] also uncovered a case of this [...] near the Highland Line, so that (South?) Gaelic influence can probably be invoked. (Johnston 1997: 509–510)

Here, /f/ and /v/ are used in phonetic transcriptions.

The cluster /gn/ still persists in some peripheral dialects, although it is usually rendered /n/. The etymological spelling <gn> is usually adhered to. (Grant and Dixon 1921: 13)

The cluster /kn/ still persists as /kn/ or /tn/ north of the Tay. In Avoch /kr/ may occur. It is now /n/ in other areas. The etymological spelling <kn> is usually adhered to, for example *knee*, *knife*, *knock* and *knowe* ('knoll'). (Grant and Dixon 1921: 8, 12, 20)

The velar nasal /ŋ/ occurs in all Scots varieties, and is usually written <ng>, for example *hunger* ['hʌŋə], *finger* [fɪŋə, fɪŋə]. The sound /ŋ/ also occurs in the cluster /ŋk/, for example *bank*, *sank* and *think*, etc.

There is no natural way of spelling such a Scots pronunciation so that it is distinguished from the Standard English one [ŋg] ... (Macafee:1996: xxii)¹⁴

The palatal nasal /ɲ/ still occurs in peripheral dialects. That is now usually realised /ŋ/, /ɲj/ and /ɲ/. In older Scots that was written using <ɹ> (yogh). After the introduction of printing <z> was used. (Grant and Dixon 1921: 16–17) That has led to a number of variants using the spellings <z>, <y>, <n> and <ng>, for example *brulzie*/ *brulyie*, *gaberlunzie*/ *gaberlunye*, *Cockenzie*/ *Cockinnie* and *Menzies*/ *Mingis* etc.

Lenition and deletion of /ð/ and /θ/ are normally written <th>.

[...] intervocallic /ð/ generally does not delete [...] but may do quite frequently in Ulster Scots [...] The equivalent of /ð/ deletion for the voiceless sound is /θ/ > /h/. This can be found in initial and intervocallic positions, including before /r/ (that is, in *thing*, *nothing*, *three*) in many Scots dialects [...] (Johnston 1997: 507)

The voiceless labial-velar fricative /ɱ/ occurs in both Scots and Hiberno-English. In northern Scots dialects /f/ or /ɸ/ and occasionally /w/ may occur. It is usually written <wh>¹⁵.

[...] ph [bilabial f] and f (aspirated or followed by a voiceless glide) are commonly heard instead of hw [...] esp. in Gaeltacht areas. (Traynor 1953: xxiii)

It is phonetically an unvoiced version of [w] rather than a sequence [hw] [...] (Gregg 1958: 402)

The point to be made is simply that the pronunciation which distinguishes what from Watt could in the days of the plantation be equally English or Scots. (Braidwood 1964: 75)

¹⁴ Attempts have included *fiŋ'ər* and *fiŋir* but those are no clearer to the uninitiated than *finger*. Native speakers of Scots would unconsciously produce /ŋ/ anyway.

¹⁵ This was spelled <quh> in older Scots, but was being replaced by <wh> before political union. (See: Devitt 1989)

Certain consonantal characteristics are common to most types of HE, both northern and southern. [...] preservation of the /hw/ (= [m]) vs /w/ (orthographic wh vs w) contrast so that which ≠ witch. (Harris 1985: 57)

In northern dialects /vr/ occurs in words such as *wrang* ('wrong'), *wrist* and *wrocht* ('worked'), etc. The usual realisation is /r/. (Grant and Dixon 1921: 22,31)

Word final /z/ or /s/, usually written <(e)s>, is the outcome of a phonological rule. The pronunciation /s/ usually occurs after /f/, /k/, /p/, /t/, /θ/ and /x/, for example *houses* ('houses'), *leafs* ('leaves'), *wifes* ('wives'), *lochs*¹⁶ and *threaps* ('argues'), etc. The pronunciation /z/ usually occurs in plural endings and after a vowel sound or /b/, /d/, /g/, /l/, /m/, /n/, /r, ɹ/, /v/, /ð/ and /ŋ/, for example *dous* ('doves'), *haunds* ('hands'), *steams*, *gie's* ('give us/me'), *his*, *hers*, *thairs* ('theirs') etc. (see Grant and Dixon 1921: 25)

The glottal /ʔ/ occurs in Ulster, though not universally. It is also common in Scotland. Glottal stops are not usually represented in writing. /ʔ/ often, though not universally, occurs for /t/ between vowels and word final, and occasionally for /k/ and /p/.

In the speech of many [...] individuals, unvoiced plosives pronounced with a simultaneous glottal stop [...] With some speakers [t] loses its alveolar closure and only the glottal stop remains [...] this feature is not universal [...] (Gregg 1958: 401)

The change of *t* to a glottal stop in words like *letter*, *butter*, occurs in some places but isn't universal. (Adams 1964: 1)

Most have glottal stops for /t/ in medial and final positions (as in *water*, *what*) [...] (Milroy 1982: 27)

This usage seems particularly characteristic of the central lowlands of Scotland, less so of the southern regions (Borders; Dumfries and Galloway). In the Grampian region, Wölck (1965) characterizes it to be observed in coastal communities. (Wells 1982: 409)

Preglottalization of /p/ and /t/ is common in Ulster [...] Straight intervocallic T Glottalling (/t/ realized as simple [ʔ]) is associated with County Antrim, where it alternates with [ʔt]. (Wells 1982: 445)

The central Scots version is similar to the well-known, widespread rule in most British dialects, especially urban ones (Wells 1982: 322–6). This type of glottalling affects /k/ less often than /t/, and /p/ even less often, and usually results in a complete replacement of the stop. (Johnston 1997: 501)

Vowels

The vowel numbers used are taken from Aitken (1981). For a historical treatment of Scots vowels see Aitken (2002).

The Scottish Vowel Length Rule (see Aitken 1981: 131–157)

All vowels are short before a following /p, t, tʃ, k/ [...] All vowels except /ɪ/ and /ʌ/ are long before a following final /v, ð, z, r/ or # [...] But a peculiar Ulster development has then resulted in [...] the use of long allophones of /e, ε, a, ɔ/ in any monosyllable closed by a consonant **other** than /p, t, tʃ, k/. We might refer to this extra development as Ulster Lengthening [...] (Wells 1982: 439)

Ulster Scots, [...] is a recognizable dialect of Lowland Scots [...] by among other things, its typically Scots pattern of conditioned vowel length [...] (Harris 1984: 116)

In Ulster /ɪ/, /ɪ/ and /ʌ/ remain short in all environments. /o/ and /ɔe/ are long in all environments. /ε, a, ɔ/ may be long in all environments. /əʃ/ is short before a voiceless consonant, or before a sonorant followed by a voiceless consonant, and long elsewhere. /i/ and /ɪ/, and to the most part /əi/ and /ae/ follow the Scottish Vowel Length Rule whereby /əi/ is short and /ai/ is long. A short /ɪ/ may be realized /ü/.

¹⁶ Lakes, the spelling *loughs* occurs in Hiberno-English.

Schwa /ə/ occurs in unstressed positions and may be represented by <a, e, i, o, u>, for example *the* [ðə], *loanin* ['lɔ:nən] ('lane').

A schwa glide [ə] may appear between [æ] and [r],[ɹ]. *fire* [fæər].

G.B. Adams regards the glide vowel which appears in Ulster between *r* and a following non-dental consonant, e.g. [hərəm], harm, [fɹək], fork as a survival of Irish practice, but it is also native English and widespread in British dialects. (Braidwood 1964: 67)

Schwa also occurs in the unstressed suffix [tər], often written <ter> and <tur>. The /t/ may be realised /t̚/ in Ulster¹⁷. *Craitur* ['kre:tər] ('creature'), *dochter* ['dɔ:xtər], ('daughter'), *Easter* [e:stər], *efter* [eftər] ('after'), *lauchter* ['laxtər, 'laxtər] ('lauchter'), *maister* ['mɛ:stər] ('master'), *Seturday* ['sɛ:tərde] ('Saturday'), *winter* [wɪntər].

Vowel 17, /a/ has merged with /ɑ/ (vowel 12) in some dialects. /ɔ/ may occur for /a/ in some varieties, especially before /n, ŋ/.

[...] Scots, the opposition between /ɛ/ and /ɑ/ is neutralised in some velar environments, namely after /k/ or before /k, g, ŋ/. For example, *peck* and *pack* are both [pɛ:k]. (Harris 1984: 123)

In broad MUE vernacular /ɛ/ is also the usual development of ME /a/ before velars e.g. in *sack*, *bag*, *bang*. (Harris 1985: 44)

A following /ŋ/ [...] may retract the CAT realisation or raise it, depending on whether the assimilation is to the backness or height of the following velar [...] (Johnston 1997: 484)

Mid Scots varieties are split between Front-CAT varieties with isolative [a(:)-ä(:)] like [...] and Antrim South-west Mid, and back-CAT ones like [...] which have [a(:)-ä(:)-ɒ(:)] [...] mergers with CAUGHT [...] is generally confined to those varieties adjoining the linguistic north or south [...] Northern-style near-mergers, with the environment before /t, k/ excepted, prevail in County Down [...] (Johnston 1997: 486)

Southwest Mid varies a great deal, but generally Antrim dialects have isolative [a], and Down ones [ɑ]. There is a tendency to back and lengthen the CAT vowel before voiced sounds, nasals, /l r/ and, in Down, voiceless fricatives [...] Some very front reflexes of the [æ-ɛ] type can occur before velars, and in *bag* they are lengthened to [ɛ:] in Down and South Antrim (Milroy 1994:139). Diphthongs of the [æi-ai] type can occur in BAG also. (Johnston 1997: 487)

[...] *half* is transferred to CAT. Roughly the same forms are extant in Ulster Scots, with the most common forms being Down [ö] and Antrim [ɑ(:)] [...] (Johnston 1997: 490)

Examples are: *aff* [ɑ:f] ('off'), *alang* [ə'lɑ:ŋ] ('along'), *can*¹⁸ [kɑ:n], *chap* v. [tʃɑ:p] ('chop/knock'), *hab* [hɑ:b] ('hob'), *hap* [hɑ:p] ('hop'), *knab* [nɑ:b] ('knob'), *laft* [lɑ:ft] ('loft'), *appen* [ʼɑ:pən, 'ɑ:pən] ('open'), *parritch* ['pɑ:rɪtʃ] ('porridge'), *shap* [ʃɑ:p] ('shop'), and *stap* [stɑ:p] ('stop'), *swall* [swɑ:l] ('swell'), *strang* [strɔ:ŋ] ('strong'), *Tam* [tɑ:m] ('Tom'), *tangs* [tɑ:ŋz] ('tongs'), *tap* [tɑ:p] ('top'), [ʼhɑ:bl] ('hobble'), *wab* [wɑ:b] ('web'), *wall* [wɑ:l] ('well') and *wather* [ʼwɑ:ðər] ('weather').

Note: *wash* [wɛ:ʃ], *blad* [blɛ:d] ('blade, leaf/page'). The <a> in <an(d)> is pronounced /ɑ(:)/ in some dialects, for example *laund* ('land') and *man*.¹⁹

Vowel 12, /ɑ/ or /ɔ/ in Central Scots dialects, /ɑ:/ in Northern dialects. Now usually spelled <au> initially and medially, <aw> final²⁰. In Ulster /ɔ:/, /ɑ:/ or /ɑ^w/ in Antrim and Down, and usually /ɑ:/ in Donegal. Examples are *caunle* ('candle'), *draucht* ('draught'), *haund* ('hand'), *saund* ('sand') and *wauken* ('awake') etc.

¹⁷ Except where the /t/ is glottalised.

¹⁸ Unstressed *A'll no can ...* [əl 'no: kən] ('I'll not be able to...')

¹⁹ The spelling *mon* represents a [mən] or [mɔn] pronunciation as in '*hoots mon the nou*'.

²⁰ Well established by the end of the nineteenth century and used by Aberdeenshire writers for [ɑ(:)] where further south [ɑ:] or [ɔ:] prevailed: "The sound au· does not occur, but dialect writers have a habit of using 'au, aw' for au·." (Ellis 1890: 155). That would indicate that the writers in question were aware of traditional pan-dialectal spelling conventions.

Further examples are: *bauk* [ba:k, ba:k] (balk), *behauden* [be'ha:dn] ('beholden'), *dwaum* [dwa:m, dw:am] ('sick turn'), *saut* [sa:t, sa:t] ('salt'), *scaud* [ska:d] ('scald'), *lauchter* ['la:xtər] ('brood of chickens'), *sprauchle* ['sprɑ:xəl] ('sprawl').

Note: *maun* ('must') [ma:n, ma:n, ma:n], *whaur* ('where') [ma:r, ma:r, ma^wr] in Co. Antrim and Down, [ma:r] in Donegal.

Note: <alk> /a:k, a:k, a:k/ in *stalk*²¹, *talk* and *walk* etc.

Also:

	Co. Antrim & Down	Co. Donegal	
<i>awa</i>	[ə'wa, ə'wa, ə'wa ^w]	[ə'wa:]	('away')
<i>twa</i>	[twa:, twa:, twa ^w]	[twa:]	('two')
<i>wha</i>	[wa:, ma:, ma ^w]	[ma:]	('who')

Antrim and Down follow the West Central and South–West Central Scots patterns (Macafee 2001:127). South–East Central Scots has /e/ only in the above, and Donegal is similar to Northern Scots.

Examples are:

	Co. Antrim & Down	Co. Donegal	
<i>aw</i>	[a:, a:, a ^w]	[a:]	('all')
<i>baw</i>	[ba:, ba:, ba ^w]	[ba:]	('ball')
<i>blaw</i>	[bla:, bla:, bla ^w]	[bla:]	('blow')
<i>caw</i>	[ka:, ka:, ka ^w]	[ka:]	('call, drive')
<i>craw</i>	[kra:, kra:, kra ^w]	[kra:]	('crow')
<i>faw</i>	[fa:, fa:, fa ^w]	[fa:]	('fall')
<i>haw</i>	[ha:, ha:, ha ^w]	[ha:]	('hall')
<i>law</i>	[la:, la:, la ^w]	[la:]	('law')
<i>maw</i>	[ma:, ma:, ma ^w]	[ma:]	('mow')
<i>raw</i>	[ra:, ra:, ra ^w]	[ra:]	('row, a series')
<i>saw</i>	[sa:, sa:, sa ^w]	[sa:]	('saw')
<i>smaw</i>	[sma:, sma:, sma ^w]	[sma:]	('small')
<i>snaw</i>	[sna:, sna:, sna ^w]	[sna:]	('snow')
<i>waw</i>	[wa:, wa:, wa ^w]	[wa:]	('wall')

Others are: *braw*²² ('handsome'), *tawse* ('leather strap'), *thrown* ('thrown, twisted'), *claw*, *draw*, *law*, *saw* n., etc.

Before original /ld/ /a:/ is often diphthongised to /æ/ in Ulster Scots though /a:/ is usual in and towards Donegal (Traynor 1953: 9, McIntyre 1990: 11) and the occurrence of /a:/ further east is indicated in popular literature. The /d/ in the cluster /ld/ is often silent but is often pronounced in derived forms.

[...] it shows interesting variations which appear to represent older Scots sounds now lost or driven back to the outer edges of the Scots dialect area in their native land. A good example is provided by words of the type *old*, *cold*, *hold* which appear in parts of Antrim with a diphthong like that in standard English *owl*, *cowl*, *howl*, where one might expect *auld*, *cauld*, *hauld* as in Scots. At first sight this might appear to be a borrowing from mid–Ulster dialect which has a similar though not identical sound, but the feature turns up in south Kintyre and in Avoch on the Moray Firth which were settled by Lowlanders at the same time as Antrim [...] so a momentary phase in the development of the modern Scots sound seems to have been preserved in these outlying parts. (Adams 1964: 2)

The normal Scots dialect development is to *aul(d)*, *caul(d)*, *tau(d)* with the sound [ɔ:], but there was a Scots development which contributed to the Antrim dialect forms in [aul], which Wright distinguishes from general Ulster [eul], [əul]. Whatever the detailed development, its primary cause is the dark / which Scots (like American) generally has in all positions, and which must be more widespread in English than it is now. The immediate origin of the [aul] forms in Antrim seems to have been the speech of Lowlanders of Kintyre. (Braidwood 1964: 66)

²¹ In this set of words the silent <l> in <lk> there is a phonemic difference between *stalk* [sta:k] and *stack* [sta:k] etc. having plain /k/ against palatalized /k/. A regularized orthography would expect <au> in such words.

²² Also *brave* in Ulster.

[...] nevertheless some distinctively English dialect features have survived, like the West Midland *ow* for *o* before *l* plus a consonant in *owld*, *cowld*, *bowl* for *old*, *cold*, *owl*. Curiously enough, this sound also occurs before *ld* in Ulster Scots, as in the case of certain areas of Scotland itself, such as Easter Ross and South Kintyre which were settled by Scots Lowlanders at the same time as Ulster, whereas Scots in general has *auld* and *cauld*. (Adams 1977: 63–64)

In most modern Scots dialects these items show up with /a:/ or /ɔ:/ (hence spellings such as auld, cauld) reflecting a development from Esc /a/ [...] Some modern Scots dialects show a development of the vowel in the COLD class that is similar to that in southern types. In Galloway and parts of northeast Scotland, for instance, we find /əʌ/ or /ʌu/ in this set, which indicates a merger of Esc /ald/ with /ould/ (Milroy 1982b: 25). This is also the pattern found in CUS [Conservative Ulster Scots] (Gregg 1959: 418) [...] (Harris 1985: 159)

It seems likely that where *ould* forms of words like OLD and are found in Scotland, these have come via Ulster from English dialects, although this is disputed. Their occurrence in Scotland is limited to coastal areas, including Kintyre, which has close links with Ulster (but also including Caithness, which does not). The *ould* forms coexist with the *auld* ones in Ulster Scots. (Macafee 1996: xxx)

[...] (the OLD subclass: *old*, *cold*, *hold*, *fold*, *bold*), which may take LOUP reflexes, either through Hiberno–English influence, where this is the usual outcome due to the North Midland input in the formation of this colonial dialect (Gregg 1985), or as part of a diphthongisation process related to those affecting *log*, *thought*, or *loch*. (Johnston 1997: 489) ²³

[...] and come out as [əʌ]. (Johnston 1997: 490)

[...] there is no convincing contemporary evidence for *ould* in earlier periods when it is supposed to have been more widespread in Lowland Scots, nor is it a necessary stage in the development of the regular Modern Scots forms. Rather it is supposed that it was an alternative development, later replaced. I tend to agree with Johnston (1997b:489) that there must be *some* influence from dialects of England, via Hiberno–English, even if only reinforcement, and that we may even have to see the eastern and western developments as separate phenomena in Scotland, with occurrences in Kintyre, South–West Scotland and Glasgow coming from, or at least reinforced by contact with, Ulster. (Macafee 2001:125)

Consider the reflex of velarised [ɫ] before [d] in Irish English: this led to the diphthong [au] as in the words *old* [aul] and *bold* [baul] with the common post–sonorant stop deletion. (Hickey 2004: 72)

Examples are: *auld* [əʌl(d)] ('old'), *bauld* [bəʌl(d)] ('bold'), *cauld* [kəʌl(d)] ('cold'), *fauld* [fəʌl(d)] ('fold'), *hauld*²⁴ [hɑ:d] ('hold'), *sauld*²⁵ [səʌl(d)] ('sold'), *scauld* [skəʌl(d)] ('scold') and *tauld*²⁶ [təʌl(d)] ('told').

Vowels 4 and 8, often varying between /e(:)/ and /ɛ/, with /ɛ/ especially before /r/ (/ɹ/) in Scotland. In Ulster it is usually /ɛ:/.

The sequence /er/ from this or any other source undergoes Pre–Rhotic Vowel Lowering to /ɛr/ in Ulster Scots and Glaswegian, and sporadically elsewhere; the /r/ is /ɹ/ in the Irish case and a pharyngealised vowel in the Scottish one, either one of which could conceivably foster lowering. (Johnston 1997: 458)

[...] *Wame* undergoes Post–Velar Dissimilation quite regularly, with little lexical conditioning, resulting in transfer to BITE. In Mid–Northern dialects, and especially in Mid–Northern A, other consonants besides a preceding /w/ can trigger the change, including a dark /l/, so that *clothes* is [klɛɪz ~ klɪz]. (Johnston 1997: 458)

[...] *bairn* has [ɛ:ə], which matches MATE + /r/, while *start* varies with the same vowel in Down, but /ɜɹ/ in Antrim [...] (Johnston 1997: 487)

[...] [e] in Antrim [...] in Down [e(:)] is found everywhere but before /r/ and finally where [...] /ɛ:/ appears [...] this, of course, is also an extended Pre–Rhotic Lowering Rule [...] (Johnston 1997: 462)

Vowel 4 is generally spelled <a–e> and <ae> final but the merger with vowel 8 has led to the initial and medial vowel 8 spelling <ai> also being used to represent vowel 4. A final vowel 8 is usually spelled <ay>. Examples with /ɛ/ are: *aicht* [ɛ:xt, ext] ('eight'), *aipl* ['ɛ:pl] ('apple'), *airm* [ɛ:rm] ('arm'), *brainch* [brɛ:nʃ] ('branch'), *haimer* ['hɛ:mər] ('hammer'),

²³ (LOUP = LOWP)

²⁴ Also *hauld* [həʌl(d)] in Ulster.

²⁵ Also *selt* [sɛ:lt].

²⁶ also *telt* [tɛ:lt].

nairae ['nɛ:ɪrə] ('narrow'), *stainchel* ['stɛ:ɪnfəl] and *staincher* ['stɛ:ɪnfər] ('stanchion'), and *traivel* [trɛ:vɪ] ('travel)/walk').

Examples with /e/ are: *ain* adj. [ɛ:n] (as in 'my own'), *baith* [be:θ] ('both'), *braid* [bre:d] ('broad'), *claiht* [kle:ð] ('cloth'), *craitur* ['kre:ɪtər] ('creature'), *gaither* ['ge:ðər] ('gather'), *hale* [he:l] ('whole'), *kail* [ke:l] ('cole, cabbage'), *kaim* [ke:m] ('comb'), *laid* [le:d] ('load'), *maist* [me:st] ('most'), *raip* [re:p] ('rope').

Note *shed* has /e/ in Ulster.

Examples now usually spelled <a-e> are: *alane* [ə'le:n] ('alone'), *bane* [be:n] ('bone'), *blate* [ble:t] ('shy'), *hame* [he:m] ('home'), *nane* [ne:n] ('none'), *quate* [kwe:t] ('quiet') and *stane* [ste:n] ('stone').

In Northern Scots the cluster <ane> is pronounced /ɪn/ (Grant and Dixon 1921: 44) but /e/ in all other dialects.

Note: *wale* ('choose') [we:l, wɛ:l, wa:l²⁷], *wade* [wa:d]. *ane*²⁸ [en, jɪn, jɪn] ('one').

Similarly, final and occasional medial /e/, occurring in all Scots dialects, is usually spelled <ae>, for example *blae* [ble:] ('blue-grey'), *brae* [bre:, bra:] ('slope'), *claes* [kle:z] ('clothes'), *flae* [fle:] ('flea'), *frae/fae* [fre:, fe:] ('from'), *hae*²⁹ [he:] ('have'), *nae* adj. [ne:] ('no'), *sae* [se:] ('so'), *slae* [sle:] ('sloe'), *spae* [spe:] ('foretell'), *strae* [stre:] ('straw') and *tae* [te:] ('toe').

In colloquial speech Ulster /ɛ:/ often shortens to /ɪ/, for example *hae tae* ['hɪte], *hae it* [hɪt], *fae it* [fɪt] and *nae* in *naething* [nɪθɪŋ]³⁰. (Gregg 1958: 397)

Pronunciation of the final reduced vowel varies according to area and stress, [ə, ɛ, e] in Ulster. Scotland also has [ɪ, i]. Usually spelled <ae>, for example *barrae* ['bɔ:re, 'bɔ:rə, 'bara] ('barrow'), *borrae* ['bɔ:re, 'bɔ:rə] ('borrow'), *elbae* ['ɛ:lbe] ('elbow'), *meidae* ['mɪde] ('meadow'), *windae* ['wɪnde, 'wɪndə] ('window'), *weedaie* ['widə] ('widow'), *nairae* [nɛ:ɪɛ] ('narrow') etc.

[...] Wright shows this reduction of -ow to [ɪ] or [ə] for most Scottish and many English counties, including most of the counties from which the bulk of the settlers came. (Braidwood 1964: 68)

Vowel 16, /ɛ/, often /ɛ:/ in Ulster Scots. The pronunciation in Scotland is similar. Examples of that are *denner* ['dɛ:nər] ('dinner'), *etter* ['ɛ:ftər, eftər] ('after'), *fecht* [fɛ:xt] ('fight'), *ferm* [fɛ:ɪm] ('farm'), *hesp* [hɛ:sp] ('hasp'), *lether* ['le:ðər] ('ladder'), *seck* [sɛ:k] ('sack'), *Seturday* ['sɛ:tərde] ('Saturday'), *sheft* [ʃɛ:ft] ('shaft').

[...] Ulster Scots, koinéised as it is, has a split development, with [æ] before voiceless sounds or clusters containing them, and long [ɛ:(ə)], reminiscent of Gallovidian [...] (Johnston 1997: 472-473)

Vowel 3 remained distinct as /eɪ/ in Caithness but varies between /i/ and /e/ in other Scots dialects (see Harris 1985: 249ff). In Ulster /e/ is common (Braidwood 1964: 58-60) and in some conservative areas /i:/ occurs in what would normally be short environments³¹. The traditional digraph <ei> has been used to indicate the /i/ or /e/ pronunciation, especially where English cognates are spelled <ea> as in English 'head'.

²⁷ Shared with South-West Scots (Macafee 2001:122)

²⁸ The older [en] also occurs in Donegal (Hart 1899: 91). Northern [ɪn], North East Central [en], otherwise [jɪn] in Scotland. "Wan, of course, is common also around Glasgow, but the Glasgow Irish must be reckoned with; Shaw, G. B. writes *wanse* and *wanst* as Irishisms in *John Bull's Other Island* ... Though the Irish influence is possible in Ireland, as has been suggested to explain *Al wan*, in view of the fact that it occurs in the dialects of the counties of England which contributed greatly to Ulster and other settlements, it could also be a settler importation." (Braidwood 1964: 65)

²⁹ *Haes* [hɪz, hɛ:z], *Haed hae haen* [hədə'hɪn] ('had have had').

³⁰ The spelling *naething* is an etymological spelling. The <ing> in *thing* is not a gerund or past participle. The word *thing* is cognate with German *Ding* and Scandinavian *Ting*.

³¹ This has been found in Scotland as well.

Examples usually always pronounced with /i(:)/ in Ulster varieties are *breid* [brid] ('bread'), *breir* ['bri:ər] ('briar'), *deid* [did] ('dead'), *deif* [dif] ('deaf'), *gie*³² [gi:] ('give'), *heid* [hid, hɪd] ('head'), *leid* n. [lid] ('lead'), *meidae* ['midə] ('meadow'), *meir* [mi:r] ('mare'), *peir* [pi:r] ('pear') and *threid* [θrid] ('thread'), etc. North East Central Scots often has /e/.

Examples with /e:/ are: *beak* [be:k], *beast* [be:st], *daith* [de:θ] ('death'), *Easter* ['e:stər], *eleiven* [ə'le:vən] (eleven)³³, *neat* [ne:t], *seiven* ['se:vən] (seven), and *speicial* ['spe:ʃəl] ('special').

In some words /i/ occasionally occurs in Ulster, for example *deave* [di:v, div] ('deafen').

Note /ε:/ in *read* pt., *tread* and *screich* [skre:x, skrɛ:x, skrix] (screech).

With regards to Scots the evidence of the present day Scots dialects, which vary between [e:] and [i:], strongly suggests that Scots was going through the same transition as English at about the same time. In the mid Scots area, the eastern branch north of the Forth has the older [e:] against [i:] south of the Forth. West mid Scots (whence most of the Ulster settlers) has [i:] in all but a few words. Kintyre, where many of the Lowland Scots were settled immediately prior to crossing to Antrim, balances between [e:] and [i:], according to *SND*, but it cites only *chaip*, *daith* for the [e:] pronunciation against *deif*, *heid* etc., and this in fact is the position in the west mid Scots of today [...] (Braidwood 1964: 60)

A third, larger subset of words in this list with orthographic *ea* proved unhelpful in separating the dialects, as UAI tended to have the archaic [e:] in the same items as SI and perhaps in even a wider range, many of these occurring in the popular speech of Belfast. Thus [...] tend to crop up in all Ulster dialects whether of English or Scottish background (Gregg 1972: 126–127)

[...] J. Wilson, *Lowland Scotch* (London, 1915), has drawn up such a list (p. 39) of items with /e/ for the Stratherne dialect of Perthshire which he later contrasts with the list for the central Ayrshire dialect in his book *The Dialect of Robert Burns as Spoken in Central Ayrshire* (London, 1923). The latter list is almost identical with the comparable items for the SI dialect of G. which again underlines the kinship of SI with south-western Scots, specifically Ayrshire and hinterland. (Gregg 1972: 127)

This class of words is often spelled with *ea*, e.g. *meat*. The older *mate* pronunciation is very characteristic of Hiberno-English, and also occurs in some dialects of Scots. (Macafee 1996: xxxiii)

In most Scots dialects the pronunciation /ε:/ may occur before <r> /ɹ, r/ in words such as *early*, *earn*, *hearth* and *pearl* etc.

The sequence /er/ from this or any other source undergoes Pre-Rhotic Vowel Lowering to /εr/ in Ulster Scots [...] the /r/ is /ɹ/ in the Irish case [...] (Johnston 1997: 458)

Vowel 2 and vowel 11 word final, are usually /i/ in all Scots dialects, except vowel 11 which in Southern Scots is diphthongised to /ei/ (Grant and Dixon 1921: 57). Usually spelled <ee>. In Ulster, when final, /e/ may occur. Examples are *breest* [brɪst] ('breast'), *creepie* ['kri:pe] ('three-legged stool'), *dee*³⁴ [di:] ('die'), *dee'd* [di:d] ('died'), *dreep* [dri:p] ('drip'), *ee* [i:] ('eye'), *flee* n. & v. [fli:] ('fly'), *freend* [frɪn(d)] ('friend'), *keek* [kɪk, kɪk] ('peek'), *lee* n. [li:] ('fib'), *lee* v. [li:] ('lay'), *leeve* v. [li:v] ('live'), *sweem*³⁵ [swɪm] ('swim'), *wee'dae* [widə] ('widow'), *weel* adv. [wi:l] ('well') and *weet* v. [wi:t] ('wet').

Also /i(:)/ in *here*, *ferē* ('companion') and *glebe*, etc.

A single final <e> in words such as *be* and *we* etc. usually follows the same pattern.

Words of Romance origin retain this vowel [i] in Sc. (Grant and Dixon 1921: 41)

[...] which, with lengthening, produces *ceevil*, as in Scots and Ulster dialect [...] (Braidwood 1964: 53)

That also occurs in Ulster, for example *peety* [pite] (pity). Fenton (2000) provides examples such as 'artyfeecial', 'conteenyal', 'obleege', 'poseetion' etc. Fenton also provides examples where this vowel would be expected but occur with <i>, for example 'minister'

³² *gien* [gin] ('given').

³³ See Numbers.

³⁴ In Donegal the English loan [dæi] is also used in order to differentiate from *dae* [di:].

³⁵ Scots usually has *soum* [sum], also found in Donegal.

and Gregg usually has /ɪ/ (/æ/) in such words, though that may simply be a result of a shift towards Mid Ulster English.

[...] an a niver likit ony meinister [...] (Lyttle 1896: 7)
Is it at the deveesion o' the land [...] (Lyttle 1896: 43)
[...] tak a drap o' this tae rise yer speerits. (Lyttle 1890: 41)

In Ulster final /ae/ may also occur in words such as *magnifée* ['mæ:gnɛfae] where varieties in Scotland often have /i/.

The digraph <ei> before <ch> /x/ is usually pronounced /i/ in all dialects, for example *heich* [hix] ('high') and *dreich* [drix] ('dreary'). A few words have 'established' <ei> and <ie> spellings (single entry in CSD etc.). <ei> usually occurring initially and medially, except medially before <v> and <ld>, and <ie> in 'shared' words, for example *deil* ('devil'), *neist* ('next'), *nieve* ('fist'), *scrieve* ('scribble') and *speir* ('enquire') etc.

Vowel 15, /ɪ/ in words such as *bird*, *brig* ('bridge'), *find*, *kist* ('chest'), *shilpit* ('shrunken'), *whisper*, *will*, *wir* ('our'), *wird* ('word'), *wirm* ('worm'), *wirthy* ('worthy') and *wittins* ('information') etc.

In Scotland the pronunciation often varies between /ɪ/ and /ʌ/. /ɛ/ also occurs. /ʌ/ often occurs after /w/ and /m/. Ulster Scots tends to have /ɪ/ (/æ/) or /ɛ/. The latter especially in Donegal.

This appears to be the popular Anglo-Irish sound in *bull*, *foot*, (*fu*), *full*, *put* (between low-back advanced and low-mixed retracted [...]) It is fronted in certain words: *pit* for *put* (esp. when emphatic), *fit* for *foot* (*fu*). (Traynor 1953: xxi)

In acoustic effect it is midway between *pit* and *pet*. (Traynor 1953: xx)

The Survey of English Dialects records *foot*, [...] and *look* [...] with /ʌ/ in parts of the south east Midlands and the West Country [...] (Harris 1985: 154)

[...] while Ulster Scots has [ɜ] = girl, as in other districts with [ɹ] [...] (Johnston 1997: 472-473)

Examples are: *ahint* [ə'hɪnt] ('behind'), *sic* [sɪk] ('such'), *big* [bɪg] ('build'), *bit* [bɪt] ('bit'), *blind* [blɪn(d)], *brig* [brɪg] ('bridge'), *clim* [klɪm] ('climb'), *dizzen* ['dɪzən] ('dozen'), *find* [fɪn(d)], *kist* [kɪst] ('chest'), *nicht* [nɪxt] ('night'), *nit* [nɪt] ('nut'), *niver* ['nɪvər] ('never'), *rig* [rɪg] ('ridge'), *rin* [rɪn] ('run'), *summer* ['sɪmər] ('summer'), *son* [sɪn], *sun* [sɪn], *sinder* ['sɪnər] ('sunder'), *stibble* ['stɪbl] ('stubble'), *stiddy* ['stɪde] ('steady'), *thegither* [ðə'gɪðər] ('together'), *tiles* [tɪlz], *trig* [trɪg] ('neat'), *trimmle* ['trɪml] ('tremble'), *trinnle* ['trɪnl] ('trundle') and *fitch* [vɪtʃ] ('vetch').

Vowel 15 is often realised /ʌ/ after /w/ and /m/ in many Scots dialects.

In the dialect generally the tendency is to substitute ɪ for i [...] i preceded by w has become u, e.g. *whin*, *whisk*, *whistle*, *will*, *window*, *wind*. (Traynor 1953: xx)

Examples are: *quilt* [kwɒlt], *shinders* ['ʃɪn(d)ərz] ('cinders'), *stiddie* ['stɪde] ('stithy'), *switch* [swɪtʃ], *whip* [wɪp], *whisk(e)y* [wɪske], *whitrat* ['wɪtrət] ('stoat')³⁶, *will* [wɪl], *wind* n. [wɪn(d)], *winter* [wɪntər], *whistle*³⁷ [wɪsl], *witch* [wɪtʃ] and *wrist* [rɪst].

Note: *kinnlin* ['kɪnlən, 'kɛ:n(ə)lən] ('kindling'), *quit* [kwɪt, kwɑ:t, kwɛ:t], *stiddy* ['stɪde] ('stithy'), *wi* [wɪ, wɛ:] ('with').

Wi [wɪ, wɛ, wæ] ('with') is regularly shortened in compounded forms, for example *wi me* ['wɪme] and *wi it* [wɪt]. *Wi it* etc. may occur as [wɪd] etc. in the eastern dialects of Scotland.

Vowel 19, /ʌ/.

³⁶ This usually refers to the weasel or stoat in Scotland. Weasels do not occur in Ireland (Braidwood 1969: 25).

³⁷ Often written *whussle*.

[...] Ulster Scots generally has [λ-λ̃] [...] (Johnston 1997: 478)

Examples are: *dug*³⁸ [dʌg] ('dog'), *fund* [fʌn(d)] ('found'), *grund* [grʌn(d)] ('ground'), *lum* [lʌm] ('chimney'), *mountain* ['mʌnʔn] ('mountain'), *murn* [mʌrn] ('mourn'), *pund* [pʌn(d)] ('pound') and *whumml̃* ['wʌml̃] ('overturn'). Note: *burn* [bʔrn, bʌrn] ('stream'), *dun* [dʔn, dʌn, dʔn] ('the colour'), *bull* [bʌl, bʔl].

Vowel 6 is generally /u(ɪ)/. In Southern Scots, when final, the realisation is /ʌ/. Usually variously spelled <oo>, <ou> and <u-e>.

It is quite normal for an initial [tj] in a word like *tube*, *tune* to [...] turn into [cj] or even [kj] so that *tube* = *cube* [...] This is quite common in both Caithnessian and Ulster Scots [...] (Johnston 1997: 503)

The pronunciation is generally /ʊ(ɪ)/ in Ulster Scots, though in Antrim /ɔ̃/ may occur in closed monosyllables except before voiced fricatives and disyllables except before /z/, and before /r/, a long lowered allophone /ø:/ as in *oor* [ø:r] ('our') may occur (Gregg 1972:122,1958: 398–399).

Plain [ɪ(:)] typifies Wigtown and Ulster Scots [...] (Johnston 1997: 475)

Examples are: *about* [ə'bʊt] ('about'), *allow* [ə'lʊ:] ('allow'), *bou* v. [bʊ:] ('bow'), *broun* [brʊn] ('brown'), *cou* [kʊ:] ('cow'), *dout* [dʊt] ('doubt'), *drouth* [drʊθ] ('thirst'), *floor* ['flʊ:ɛr] ('flour'), *fou* [fʊ:] ('full'), *fouter* ['fʊtɛr] ('clumsy person'), *hoose* [hʊs] ('house'), *hou* [hʊ:] ('how'), *mooth* [mʊθ] ('mouth'), *nou* [nʊ:] ('now'), *oor* [ʊ:ɛr] ('hour'), *oor*³⁹ [ʊ:r] ('our'), *ploum* [plʊm] ('plum'), *pou* [pʊ:] ('pull'), *pouther*⁴⁰ ['pʊðɛr] ('powder'), *roust* [rʊst] ('rust'), *shouther*⁴¹ ['ʃʊðɛr] ('shoulder'), *souk* ('suck'), *thoosand* ['θʊ:zən(d)] ('thousand') and *thoum* [θʊm] ('thumb').

A disyllabic realisation may occur in words such as *floor* ('flour'), *flouer* ['flʊ:ɛr] ('flower'), *pouer* ['pʊ:ɛr] ('power'), *shour* ['ʃʊ:ɛr] ('shower') and *soor* ['sʊ:ɛr] ('sour').

The spelling <u-e> in words such as *dule* (sad) and *hure* (whore) etc.⁴²

Vowels 5 and 18, /o:/ and /o/ or /ɔ(:)/ are usually spelled <oa> and <o> respectively.

In Scots, Especially mid and south Scots (whence most of the Ulster Scots) *ō* is normally tense *o* and can be written *oa* [...] G.B. Adams records the Scots tense *o* for Antrim, but (from the point of view of Scots usage) inconsistently. Thus he gives *froth* [fro:θ], *lost* [lo:st] but *frost* [frɔst]. If the [ɔ] forms are not intrusions from a non-Scots dialect then they illustrate the type of variable quantity discussed above. (Braidwood 1964: 64)

Scots *oa* in words such as *froath* (= froth). This was not traditionally shown in any special way in Scots, and only appears sporadically in writing. (Macafee 1996: xxi)

Merger with COT is more or less complete in vernacular Scots, except in Argyll, Bute and adjacent parts of north Ayrshire, extreme south Ayrshire, Wigtownshire and Ulster on one side, and central Perthshire, north central Fife and parts of Berwickshire on the other. (Johnston 1997: 480)

In the south-west, in Galloway and Ulster, there is a trend towards lower and lower isolative forms as one moves away from the Central Belt, and thus, a decreased likelihood of the COT/COAT merger [...] In the rest of Gallovidian, and in most Antrim dialects, Mid [ɔ(:)] is the rule, without merger except before /x/ and final /r/, as in Caithness. In county Down, [ɔ(:)] is the majority form except pre-rhotically, and unrounded low [ä(:)-ä(:)] becomes regular, not somewhat lexically conditioned as in the rest of Scotland, around labials. The forms approach the usual Hiberno-English [a(:)] as one goes southwards. There is something of a tendency to have raising to /o/ before /g n ŋ/, and for [ɔ:] to appear as the reflex for both COT and COAT before /k x/ in Gallovidian and Ulster Scots. (Johnston 1997: 483)

³⁸ Also [do:g, dəŋg].

³⁹ The unstressed form of *oor* is *wir* [wɛr].

⁴⁰ Also *pouder* in Scotland.

⁴¹ Also *shouder* in Scotland.

⁴² Often from Older Scots /ø/.

Examples are: *bocht* [bɔ:xt] ('bought'), *borrae* ['bɔ:rə] ('borrow'), *cord* ['kɔ:rd], *corn* [kɔ:rn], *dochter* ['dɔ:xtər] ('daughter'), *jo* [dʒɔ:] ('dear') *loanin* ['lɔ:nən, 'lɔ:nin] ('lane'), *loch* [lɔ:x, lɔx] ('lough'), *mornin* ['mɔ:rnən] ('morning'), *no* [nɔ:] ('not'), *rock* [rɔ:k], *scobe* ['sko:b] ('scrape off with teeth'), *short* ['ʃɔ:rt], *snoke* [sno:k] ('poke with snout'), *sort* [sɔ:rt], *thole* [θɔ:l] ('endure'), *tossle* ['tɔ:s] ('tassle') and *troch* [trɔ:x] ('trough').

Note: *mony* [mɔne, mɔ:ni]⁴³ ('many').

In Ulster Scots /a:/, where other varieties usually have /ɔ:/, may occur in some words, for example *Bob* [ba:b], *bottle* ['ba:t] ('of hay etc.'), *fond* [fa:n(d)] and *job* [dʒa:b].

Vowel 7. Old English /o:/ became /ø/ and later also /y/. Forms such as /i/⁴⁴ and /e/⁴⁵ appeared around the seventeenth century and were brought to Ulster by incoming Scots from south-west Scotland. That was partially replaced by a subsequent development originating in Lothian which spread westwards, whereby the original long vowel became /e:/ before /v, ð, r, z, ʒ/, zero and /#/, otherwise short /ɪ—/i/ in Ulster. That has also been spreading south towards the Borders and northwards through Fife and into Angus. Often spelt <ui>, and <eu> before /k/ and /x/.

The original vowel in most of the words containing y or ø appears to have been a long o in O.E. and Scan. And u in Fr. [...] This o (or u) became fronted and became ø. ø remained before *voiced fricatives* and r and in final position, but in other cases it was generally raised and shortened to y. In many districts of the Mid. Area, recent unrounding has taken place so that y becomes ɪ and ø become e. (Grant and Dixon 1921: 46)

[...] the settlement history clearly points to south-west Scotland as the source of the of the overwhelming majority of Scottish settlers in seventeenth-century Ulster, and the linguistic Survey of Scotland [...] found these reflexes with /i/ [...] in rather remote relic areas [...] on the borders of Dumfries and Lanarkshire, thus sustaining the theory that these forms were once current in the south-west of Scotland [...] The present distribution bears out this theory if we assume that /i/ is an innovation spreading from the usual ports of entry in Antrim and Down [...] the change postulated here from /i/ to /i/ was not a regular, internal change in the in the SI areas concerned, but rather the result of the spread of new forms incorporating an innovation that may actually have had its origins somewhere in eastern Scotland. (Gregg 1972: 119–120)

The word ABUNE illustrates the outcome of the Scots vowel traditionally spelled *ui* or *u+consonant+e*. the form *abin* is now usual in Scotland south of the River Tay, and is found in Ulster in south Antrim and east Down. The form *abane*, found in Scotland in the area between Stonehaven and the River Tay, is found in north Antrim and over into Co. Londonderry. The form *abeen*, which occurs in Ulster in Co. Donegal, west Down and the southern part of the Ards peninsula, is found in Scotland from Stonehaven northwards to Caithness, but also, and more relevantly, there are traces of this vowel in such words in Dumfriesshire, Kirkcudbrightshire, and Wigtownshire. These south-western counties contributed many families to the population of Ulster. (Macafee 1996: xxx)

The 'older' /i/ and /e/ forms are more common in the Western Ulster Scots dialects, where influence from and contact with Scotland is less than in Antrim and Down.

1. Mid Antrim, North Ards, parts of County Down.
2. North Antrim and points in east Londonderry.
3. County Donegal, North Ards, parts of County Down.

	1	2	3	
<i>abuin</i>	[ə'bɪn]	[ə'be:n]	[ə'bin]	('above')
<i>buid</i>	[be:rd]	[be:rd]	[bi:rd]	('board')
<i>duin</i>	[dɪn]	[de:n]	[din]	('done')
<i>guid</i>	[gɪd]	[ge:d]	[gid]	('guid')
<i>schuil</i>	[skɪl]	[ske:l]	[skil]	('school')
<i>muive</i>	[me:v]	[me:v]	[mi:v]	('move')
<i>fluir</i> ⁴⁶	[fle:r]	[fle:r]	[fli:r]	('floor')
<i>luif</i>	[lif]	[le:f]	[lif]	('palm of hand')

⁴³ Both [mɔni] and [mɔni] occur in Scotland.

⁴⁴ This form still exists in northern Scots. A further development, with the notable exception of Caithness, occurred whereby /wi/ occurs after /g/ and /k/. e.g. *cuit* [kwit], *guid* [gwɪd], *schuil* [skwɪl] etc.

⁴⁵ Such forms are also found in Fife, East Perthshire and Dundee.

⁴⁶ In some areas this vowel, before /r/, is retracted to /e:/.

Pre-rhotic mid vowel lowering to /ɛ/ occurs in those dialects which have it. (Johnston 1997: 465)

The word-final long environment are usually spelled <ae> reflecting the central Scots pronunciation.

<i>dae</i>	[de:] ⁴⁷	[de:]	[di:]	(‘do’)
<i>shae</i> ⁴⁸	[ʃe:]	[ʃe:]	[ʃi:]	(‘shoe’)
<i>tae</i>	[te:]	[te:]	[ti:]	(‘to/too’)

In connected speech Ulster /e:/ often shortens to /ɪ/, for example *dae it* [dɪt].

In Ulster *door* [dɪr] (Harris 1984: 119) is also recorded, where Scotland has [dɔ:r]⁴⁹.

Before /k/ and /x/ the vowel above developed differently and was brought to Ulster as /j)ʌ/ and /j)u/⁵⁰, though /j)ʌ/ is most widespread. That is usually represented by the spelling <eu>, for example *beuk* [bük] (‘book’), *keuk* [kük] (‘cook’), *creuk* [krʌk] (‘crook’), *heuk* [çʌk] (‘hook’) and *neuk* [nʌk] (‘nook’) also in *eneuch* [ə'nʌx, ə'njʌx] (‘enough’), *plou* [plʰɪ, pjʰɪ] (‘plough’), *sheuch* [ʃʌx, ʃjʌx] (‘ditch’) and *teuch* [tʃʌx, tʌx, tjʌx] (‘tough’).

In the N.E. and in some parts of the Mid. Area an original long o before a back consonant becomes ju or iu. [...] In some districts of the Mid. Area the u of ju before a back consonant has been lowered and unrounded, hence *eneuch*, *heuk*, *heuch*, etc. become ə'njʌx, hjʌk, hjʌx etc. (Grant and Dixon 1921: 49)

Diphthongs

Vowel 14, often /jʰɪ:/, for example *ewest* (‘close to’), *due*, *new* and *tew*⁵¹ (‘thong of a whip/a piece of hard work’) etc. In northern dialects word final /jʌu/ occurs.

Note *blue* [blu:] also [blju:] and [bjʌu:].

Vowel 1, /əi, ɛi, ae, aɪ/ variously spelled <i-e>, <y-e> and <y>, <ye> and <ey> etc.

Examples are *wife*, *knife*, *thrice*, *lice*, *dyke*, *fyle* (‘defile’), *syne* (‘ago/then’) and *tyne* (‘lose’) *wynd* (‘narrow winding street’), *aye* (‘always’), *ay* (‘yes’), *by* adv., *kye* (‘cattle’), *eydent* (‘diligent’), *eyster* (‘oyster’), *cley* (‘clay’), *gey* (‘very’) and *wey* (‘way’)⁵² etc.

The diphthongs /ae/ and /əi/ occur in Ulster Scots. In Scotland /əi, ɛi, ae, aɪ/ occur depending on dialect and words.

The PRICE words are distributed in two distinct phonemic categories in the Scotch-Irish area (as in Scotland), with [əi(:)] in some words and [a(:)e] in others. The choice between these two diphthong types is partly conditioned by phonetic environment, e.g. [əi] before voiceless consonants, [ae] before vowels, thus [lɛik] *like*, [ˈraeət] *riot*; but in many environments both are possible. (Wells 1982: 443)

The distribution of the diphthongs [ae] and [əi] generally follow the conditions of Aitken’s Law:⁵³ [ae], in which both morae are long, occurs only in ‘long’ environments, and [əi], in which both morae are short, usually only occurs in ‘short’ environments. (Harris 1984: 121)

An uncentralised [ɛi] is common in parts of Fife, Wigtownshire and Ulster [...] (Johnston 1997: 494)

Following /w/ and /m/, the diphthong /əi/ is used to the exclusion of /ae/ regardless of what follows [...] (Montgomery and Gregg 1997: 620)

⁴⁷ *Daes* or *dis* [dɪz] (‘does’) *duin* [dɪn] (‘done’) *daena* or *dinna* [dɪne] (‘don’t’).

⁴⁸ Plural *shuin* [ʃɪn, ʃe:n, ʃi:n].

⁴⁹ This may be the result of English influence cf. *muive* [me:v] in Ulster but [mu:v] in Scotland. Interestingly the forms *buird* [bɔ:rd] (board) and *door* [dɔ:r] are recorded for Glenoe. (Gregg 1964: 181) They are probably influenced by Ulster English.

⁵⁰ Aitken (1981) treats those as having vowel 14. Vowel 14 is usually /ju:/ and in northern dialects /jʌu/, not /j)ʌ/ or /j)u/ as is usual for that development of vowel 7.

⁵¹ Northern form *tyauve* [tjɔ:v, tjɔ:v].

⁵² Some of those are the modern outcomes of vowel 8a.

⁵³ The Scottish vowel length rule. (Present writer’s footnote).

Examples with /æɪ/: *buy, by, lie* ('recline'), *pie, rye, tie, dial, dive, prize, scythe, ay* ('yes'), *guy, sty* ('for pigs'), *mine* poss., *ma* ('my') etc.

Examples with /əɪ/ are: *aye* ('always'), *bey* ('bay'), *brey* ('bray'), *cley* ('clay'), *gey* ('very'), *hey* ('hay'), *Mey* ('May'), *mine* n. ('mine'), *pey* ('pay'), *quey* ('heifer'), *stey* ('stay, steep'), *wey* ('way') and *whey* ('whey').

Vowel 10, /əɪ/ often spelled <oi> in English cognates:

The *SND* explains: 'The diphthong *oi* (oi + ɔɪ) is found in Scots as *boy, ploy, foy* (a farewell feast), but in most words which have *oi* in StEng, Scots has [əɪ] – e.g. *avoid, boil* (v), *choice, coin, join, oil, ointment, oyster, point, poison*, (pəɪzn, pʊzn, pɪzn), *soil, spoil, voice*;' that is, apparently, [oɪ/ɔɪ] finally, otherwise normally [əɪ]. [...] There is certainly no simple pattern of the type suggested (though not stated) by *SND*, viz. [oi] finally, [əɪ] medially though on phonetic grounds this would be feasible. [...] This MScots development makes doubtful G.B. Adam's explanation of the normal Antrim forms in [ɔɪ] where Scots has [əɪ] as having 'preserved' the MScots sound which Central Scots has usually lost. Central Scots, as shown above, has by no means usually lost [ɔɪ] as *SND* would lead one to suppose. The Antrim forms remain puzzling. (Braidwood 1964: 63)

Another possible alteration in linguistic habits may have been brought about by a conscious or unconscious rejection of certain pronunciations which had both been typical of northern and southern Hiberno-English. Industrialisation increased the North's prosperity and its links with England and resulting political events began to polarize what had at one time been a relatively homogenous country. This brought into being what may be described as a "Northern Consciousness", probably in the last quarter of the nineteenth century. This may have well led to a repudiation of forms such as /aɪ/ in *join*, [...] (Connolly 1981: 405)

Gregg gives *byle* n. ('boil') Braidwood (1964: 62–63) mentions *jyne* ('join') and *spyle* ('spoil'). Some of the above may occur with [ɔɛ]⁵⁴.

Note *reins* and *neebour* ('neighbour') also have that diphthong in Ulster Scots.

Vowel 9, /oɪ/ occurs as /ɔɛ/ in Ulster in words such as *boy* [bɔɛ], *destroy* [də'strɔɛ] and *toy* [tɔɛ] etc.

Vowel 13, /ʌ/, usually /əʌ/ in Ulster. Examples are *bowl* [bəʌ], *chowe* [tʃəʌ] ('chew'), *cowp* [kəʌp] ('overturn'), *cowt* [kəʌt] ('colt'), *fower* ['fəʌər] ('four'), *gowp* [gəʌp] ('throb with pain'), *growe* [grəʌ] ('grow'), *knowe* [nəʌ] ('knoll'), *lown* [ləʌn] ('calm/quiet'), *lowp*⁵⁵ [ləʌp] ('leap'), *lowse* [ləʌs] ('loose'), *ower* ['əʌər] ('over'), *powl* [pəʌ] ('pole'), *thowe* [θəʌ] ('thaw'), *towe* n. [təʌ] ('rope') and *yowe* [jəʌ] ('ewe').

In some dialects, particularly Ulster Scots, when medial—especially before /k/ this diphthong has vocalised to /o(:)/, for example *bowk* [bo(:)k] ('retch'), *gowpen* ['go:pən] ('double handful') and *howk* [ho:k] ('dig').

Grammar

The indefinite article *a* [ə] is often used before both vowels and consonants (Wright 1905: 258). Though *an* before vowels and *a* before consonants also occurs.

The definite article is *the* [ðə]. Usage in Ulster mirrors that in Scotland. (see Grant and Dixon 1921: 77)

The definite article is used [...] before the names of all diseases [...] (Wright 1905: 259)

[...] the definite article is frequently used instead of a poss. adj. [...] especially in the phrase *the wife*. (Wright 1905: 260)

Used in some contexts where Standard English has no article [...] **the county Down ... the school** [...] **the bed** [...] branches of learning, crafts or sciences e.g. *the sums, the dress-making*, [...] *the Latin* [...] commodities e.g. *the tea is cheaper* [...] *at the Christmas* [...] (Macafee 1996: 353)

⁵⁴ Shared with South-West Scots (Macafee 2001:122).

⁵⁵ Note the form *lep* [lɛp] perhaps a back formation from *lept* [lɛp(t)]. (Gregg 1972: 130)

Note the use of *the* in some adverbial phrases *the nou* ('now'), *the day* ('today'), *the morn*, *the morra* [ðə'mɔ:rə] ('tomorrow'), *the nicht* ('tonight'), *the year* ('this year'), *the baith* ('both'), *thegither* ('together') etc. (Macafee 1996: 353)

Apart from a number of irregular plural nouns, for example *ee/een* ('eye/eyes'), *shae/shuin* ('shoe/shoes'), *cou/kye* ('cow/cows'), plurals are formed by adding /s/, /z/ or /əz/, usually written <s> or <es>. (see Grant and Dixon 1921: 79)

Nouns ending in s, f, tʃ, z, dʒ form the plural by adding əz [...] Nouns ending in a vowel or voiced consonant other than z, dʒ add z [...] Nouns ending in voiceless consonants other than s, f add s [...] (Wright 1905: 261)

Note that nouns ending in /f/ preceded by a vowel or diphthong follow the same pattern, for example *caufs* ('calves'), *leafs* ('leaves') *luifs* ('palms'), *wifes* ('wives') etc.

Among the irregular plurals are *been* ('bees'), *childer* ('children'), *kye* ('cows'), *een* ('eyes'), *shuin* ('shoes') and *fit—feet* ('foot—feet'), *guiss—geese* ('goose—geese'), *loose—lice* ('louse—lice'), *man—men* ('man—men'), *moose—mice* ('mouse—mice'), *tuith—teeth* ('tooth—teeth') etc.

There are also nouns where single and plural are alike, for example *ess* ('ashes'), *sheep*. Double plurals such as *bellaeses* ('bellows') and some nouns which are only plural also occur.

Broth, like *porridge* and *sowans*, is spoken of in the plural [...] (Patterson 1880: 13)

The following nouns, though remaining singular in form, take the plural form of the verb and pronoun [...] *broth* (Wright 1905: 264)

Genitive Nouns

There is a general tendency [...] to express the genitive plural by means of an additional syllable suffixed to the nominative plural... This is especially the case with the word *folk*, nom. pl. **fōks**, gen. pl. **fōksəs**. (Wright 1905: 265)

Nouns of measure and quantity preceded by a cardinal numeral remain unchanged in the plural (Grant and Dixon 1921: 80)

It's six-an'-twenty year [...] (Lyttle 1896: 7)
[...] the wecht o' a twa year auld stirk! (Lyttle 1896: 13)
Fifty poun', Rabert! (Lyttle 1890: 16)
[...] five hunner poun' [...] (Lyttle 1890: 57)

In Middle Scots the present participle was formed by adding <and> to the verb. By 1700, in all dialects with the exception of North Northern and Southern Scots the pronunciation had become indistinguishable from that of the verbal noun (gerund) <yng> or <ing>.

The present participle and gerund are usually realised /ɪn/ or /ən/, usually written <in>. (Grant and Dixon 1921: 113)

Examples of the present participle are *leukin* ['lʌkən, 'lʊkən] ('looking') and *snokin* ['sno:kən] ('poking').

Examples of the gerund (and noun endings) are *loanin* ['lɔ:nən] ('lane'), *mornin* ['mɔ:rənən] ('morning') and *waddin* ['wad(ə)n] ('wedding').

Multiple negation occurs in all varieties of Scots.

A double negative is common [...] (Grant and Dixon 1921: 143)

Use several negatives for emphasis [...] (Todd 1990: 15)

A coudna teach naebody naething [...] ⁵⁶

⁵⁶ Present writer's transcript from
http://www.bbc.co.uk/northernireland/learning/voices/ulsterscots/realaudio/v07_cg.ram

Prefixed <a> in verbs has been recorded in dialect writing from Ulster. There seems to be no trace of that in Middle Scots and certainly none in the modern Scots dialects in Scotland, except for a few fossilised forms such as *athraw* ('awry').

Present participle. An *a-* is prefixed (*a-boiling*, *a-riding*, etc.) in scattered places in the east midlands and west midlands as far north as Cheshire and as far west as Wiltshire and Gloucestershire, deriving from OE *on* + verbal noun (*on ridunge*, ME *a-ridinge*).

Past participle An *a-* is prefixed (*a-found*, *a-done*, etc.) mainly in the south-west, deriving from the OE prefix *ge-* (ME *ȝ-*, *ī-*). (Wakelin 1984: 84)

That is often mistaken for the Scots unemphatic form of *hae* ('have'), *haed hae haen* [hədə'hɪn] ('had have had').

...in the construction *have* + *A* + *past participle*, e.g. *if ye had only alistened*.

[Usually understood as a shortened form of HAVE, but may be South-Western English *a-*, from Old English *ȝe-* before past participles... (Macafee 1996: 1)

That would indicate that *a* prefixing is a feature of Ulster English and probably occurs only in Ulster Scots/English contact varieties.

Formation of the past tense of verbs

The verbal or adjectival termination *ed* becomes *ət* after *p*, *t*, *k*, *b*, *d*, *g*, except in Caithness dialect where it is *əd*. (Grant and Dixon 1921: 8)

The connecting vowel is dropped when the verb ends in any consonant except *t*, *p*, *k*, *d*, *b*, *g*. After an accented vowel *d* (instead of *t*) is more common in the Mid and Sth. dialects as also after a liquid or nasal. (Grant and Dixon 1921: 113)

The dental termination of the past participle, borrowed from French or Latin, does not take on final "-d" or "-ed" in Scottish. (Grant and Dixon 1921: 182)

The past tense and past participle ending of regular verbs in Scots (including Ulster Scots) is *-it*, pronounced as a syllable, after certain consonants; and *-t* after others. (Macafee 1996: xxi)

With dialect differences, the resulting preferences are therefore:

[*-it*] after stops [...] [*-t*] after non-stop consonants (voiceless fricatives in particular) and unstressed vowels [...] [*-d*] after voiced non-stop consonants and stressed vowels [...] and a few other Latin participles used without a Scots inflection [...] there are irregular weak verbs, mostly shared with English [...] but also some independent items [...] Several verbs that are declined irregularly in English may be treated as regular verbs in Scots [...] A small number of verbs in the St E weak irregular paradigm may be strong verbs in Scots. (Görlach 2002: 96-97)

Gregg provides examples such as *creukit* ['krʌkət] ('crooked') for Ulster.

Lytle provides the following examples:

likit (1896: 7) walkit, prappit (1896: 48), drookit (1890: 16), feered (1890: 19), meent (1890: 19), thankit (1890: 38), creeshit (1890: 41), helpit (1896: 11), cloddit (1896: 31), blawed, (1896: 31), drappit (1896: 31), tell't (1896: 14), taul' (1890: 39), cummed (1896: 14), streetched (1896: 76), rammed (1890: 57)

Past participles in *-en*.

Note the frequency of forms in *-en*: *bidden* (remained), *broghten*, *brochten* (brought), *grutten* (wept), *hauden*, *looten* etc. (Grant and Dixon 1921: 133)

Tait (1999: 73) provides a comprehensive description of the written forms:

The endins o waek verbs – that is, verbs at forms thair past tenses bi endins (lik "kep", "keppit") rather nor internal chynghes (like "greet", "grat") – is maistlie as follaes:

1. In modren spaek, only verbs endin in **-P**, **-T**, **-K**, **-B**, **-D**, an **G** haes the endin **-IT**, e.g. "keppit", "howkit", "flittit", "biggit", "rubbit", "luggit", etc. This is true asweel whaur the present tense haes thae letters follaed bi **E** – e.g. "hatit", "gypit", "rakit", "fadit" – except **-GE**, whaur the **G** haes a different ("j") soond – sae "caged", "paged", "raged".

2. In tradeitional Scots gremmar, Latinate verbs endin in **-TE** disna add naething i the past participle, e.g. past tense "I appreciatit that", but past participle: "that wad be appreciate." (This uiss is nou thoct ti be auld farrant-kynd, an maistlie caractereistic o leiterary prose – e.g. Lorimer).

3. Verbs endin in **-F, -SS, -EN, -L, -SH, -TCH, -CH**, an sometimes **-R**, maistlie haes the endin **-T**, e.g. “fash^t”, “kent”, “raivel^t”, “birt^t”, “speir^t”, “pootch^t”, “brocht^t”. In maist cases a dooble consonant is made single afore the **T**, e.g. “coft”, “past”, “telt” (but “kill^t”).
 4. Verbs endin in **-LE** tak the endin **-ELT**, sae “ettelt”, “hirpelt”.
 5. Verbs endin in an unstresst **-IE** or **-Y** uisualle hips it an eiks **-IT**, sae worrit, mairit.
 6. Ithers (includin verbs endin in **-SE** an **-GE**, whaur the **S** uisualle haes a “z”, an the **G** a “j” soond) maistlie haes endins in **-ED**, e.g. “daured”, “muv^ed”, “scriev^ed”, “kamed”, “hain^ed”, “caw^ed”, “row^ed”, “pou^ed”, “rag^ed”, “kyth^ed”, “jalous^ed”, “lows^ed”, “suppos^ed”, etc. A kenspeckle exception is “fremmit” (at haes, tho, a variant “fremd”).
 7. Verbs endin in stresst **-EE** hips the **E** frae the **-ED** endin an replaces it bi an apostrophe, e.g. “gree’d”, “dree’d”, “pree’d”, etc.
- In general, it’s best ti uise pronunciation as a guide raither nor eik the **-IT** endin tae verbs like “kythit”, “jalousit”, “trampelit”, “followit”, “luvit”, etc. (better “kythed”, “jaloused”, “trampelt”, “follaed”, “loved”)

Note *gae/gang gaed gane* (‘go went gone’) present participle *gaun* (‘going’), *git gat gotten* (‘got got got’), *pit pat pitten* (‘put put put’).

Verb Concord or agreement is dependent on what is known as the Northern Subject Rule

Acause if ony o the boys cums in there micht be [...] (Lyttle 1890: 57).

[...] all persons, singular and plural, take **s**, **z** or **əz** when not immediately preceded or followed by their proper pronoun; that is when the subject is a noun, an interrogative or relative pronoun, or when the verb and subject are separated by a clause. The **s** is used after voiceless and **z** after voiced sounds, and **əz** is used after the spirants **s**, **z**, **ʃ**, **ʒ**. When the verb is immediately preceded or followed by its proper pronoun, the first pers. sing. and the whole of the plural gen. have no special endings [...] (Wright 1905:296)

This involves the use of the suffix *-s* (and by analogy the verb *is* and *has*) on third-person plural verbs where the subject of a verb is a relative pronoun [...] a common noun ... or any plural nominal other than the personal pronoun *they* [...] (Montgomery 1997: 219)

That also seems to have been carried over into Belfast English.

Plural subjects have singular verbs [...] not with personal pronouns. (Henry 1997: 95)

In relating past events or telling stories, the historic present form of the verb is often used in references to the past [...] using a form of the verb which is different from the simple present, the *-s* ending which in the present is restricted to the third person singular, in the historic the present also occurs with the first person. (Henry 1997: 95)

Progressive use of verbs with *to be* instead of simple verbs. (see Grant and Dixon 1921: 114)

Ye’ll be the better o’ a rest, A’m thinkin’. (Lyttle 1890: 34).

Modal Verbs are much the same in Ulster and Scotland.

The following usage occurs in Ulster; *may* (‘may’) is replaced by *can* in the sense of permission otherwise by *micht* (‘might’). The form *mebbe* (*may* + *be* = ‘perhaps’) occurs. *Will* fulfils the function of English *shall*. (Macafee 1996: 389)

Broad Scots lacks SHALL, MAY and OUGHT. (Miller 1993: 116)

Double-Modals occur in both Scotland and Ulster, for example *micht can*, *micht coud*, *micht shoud*, *will can* (see Macafee 1996: 222,389)

The double-modal sequence *will can* is relatively old, being mentioned by Wilson (1915) and Grant and Main-Dixon (1921). [...] dates from at least the last century and is widespread in the southern United States and northern England. (Miller 1993: 120)

Use of *to be* in Scotland and Ulster is much the same except that Ulster Scots retains the archaic *be* [bi:, be:] or *bes* [bi:z, be:z].

[...] what’s pikes? (Lyttle 1896: 21)
 What wuz ye tryin? Wuz ye tryin’ to make ocht? (Lyttle 1890: 2)
 There’s nae mony about the place [...] (Lyttle 1890: 47)

Thare's rats there [...] (Lyttle 1890: 47)

Was or *wis* may replace *were*, but not conversely [...] (Aitken in McArthur 1992: 896)

Is and **was** forms are used in the plural when the subject is a noun [...] They are not generally used with pronoun subjects where the usual forms are **they are** or **were**. [...] It is, however, usual to say **them is** [...] (Macafee 1996: 19)

[...] the present tense with BE or BEES is used to express a habitual or normal state of affairs [...] (Macafee 1996: 19)

A study of the lexicographical record for Scots shows a continuous tradition of finite *be(s)* forms [...] that Scots is a source for these usages [...] (Kirk and Millar 1998: 99)

A wud be there whiles. 'I am there occasionally'. (usual)

A be there whiles. 'I am there occasionally'. (occasional)

A dae be there whiles. 'I am there occasionally'. (Rare)

He wud be about a lock. 'He is around a lot'. (usual)

He bes about a lock. (Occasional)

He daes be about a lock. (Rare)

Wud they be angry affen? 'Are they angry often?' (usual)

Dae they be angry affen? 'Are they angry often?' (occasional)

If his wine bes better nor mine ... (occasional)

If his wine wud be better nor mine ... (Common)

If his wine besnae better nor mine ... (occasional)

(Montgomery 2006: 319)

The negative particle is traditionally spelled <na> [ne] in *daena* or *dinna* [dīne, dene, dine] ('don't'), *daesna* or *disna* [dizne, dezne, dizne] ('doesn't'), *haena* [həne, hīne, hene] ('haven't'), *haesna* [həzne, hīzne, hezne] ('hasn't'), *maunna* [mɑ:ne, mɔ:ne, mɒne] ('mustn't'), *canna* [kəne, kɑ:ne] ('can't'). In Scotland /nə, na, nɪ, ni/ also occur.

Other verbs may be made negative by adding *-na* (Grant and Dixon 1921: 133), though that has largely been replaced by the negative adverbial construction using *no* ('not')—see below.

Attached to verbs, "not" is found as *na*: e.g. *daurna*, *canna*, *sanna*, *widna*, *dinna*. (Grant and Dixon 1921: 143)

Many older rural speakers still produce:

Dinna ye ken? (Don't you know?) [...] But the use of *nae/ny* is still widely found as a negative, especially with *can*, *could*, *does*, *will*.

I canny get it to sit.

He couldny come.

He disnae want for to see her.

She willny tell me. (Todd 1990: 9)

The negative is usually *no* ('not') (Grant and Dixon 1921: 143). That has been carried over into Ulster and Scottish English.

But *nae*, *ne:*, is commonly used, especially in the N.E. (Grant and Dixon 1921: 143)

Prefer to use the full form 'not' in such sentences as:

He'll not do. (He won't do.) *Do you not understand?* (Don't you understand?) (Todd 1990: 14)

[...] ScoE *not* is favoured over *n't* [...] (Aitken in McArthur 1992: 905)

Adverbs usually take the same form as the adjective.
For example *raigular* for regularly.

Like all Germanic languages (except standard English), Broad Scots does not add *-ly* to adjectives to create adverbs. Instead the same form functions as adjective and adverb. (Miller 1993: 108)

Aw meaning 'every' in the compounds *awbody*, *awthing* etc. occurs in both Scotland and Ulster.

In Sc. and Irel. **all** meaning *every*, is followed by a noun in the singular as *a' body, a' man, a' thing*. (Wright 1905: 267)

Comparison of Adjectives are formed using *-er* and *-est*.

Numbers

ane [en, jɪn⁵⁷], *twa*, [twɔ:, twɑ:, twɑ^w], *three* [θri:], *fower* ['fəʊər], *five* [faev], *sax*, *seiven* ['se:vən]⁵⁸, *acht* [ɛ:xt, ext], *nine*, *ten*, *eleiven* [ə'le:vən]⁵⁹, *twa*, *thirteen*, *fowerteen*, *fifteen* ... *twinty* ['twɪntɪ], *thirty*, *fowerty* ... *hunder* ['hʌnər] ... *thoosand* ['θɜ:zən(d)].

The *N.E.D.* says "at the present day in Sc. [...] *ae* [...] is the attrib. form before cons. and vowel alike." This is still true for the greater part of Scotland but *yin* before a noun with the force of *one* may be heard in wm.Sc. and sm.Sc. [...] This usage has been generally assigned to Irish influence. It may, however, be noted that *a* and *ane* were both used as numeral adjs. in O.Sc. (SND: Ane)

In the dialects, especially of Sc. Irel. [...] the ordinals after **third** take the suffix **t** [...] (Wright 1905: 269)

Also *yinst* [jɪnst] ('once'), *twicet* ('twice'), *twa-three* ('two or three, a few').

The infinitive is *for tae*, *for til*.

The marker of the infinitive in Broad Scots is not *to* but *for to* [...] (Miller 1993: 130)

[...] usual before a verb in the infinitive [...] (Macafee 1996: 131)

That has also been carried over into Belfast English.

Many speakers use *for to* infinitives only in purpose clauses [...] functions like *in order*. (Henry 1997: 98)

For a fuller description of Scots pronouns see (Grant and Dixon 1921: 95–104)

The demonstrative pronouns *this*, *that*, *thae* ('those'), *thir* ('these'), *yon* (*thon*),⁶⁰ *yonder* (*thonder*) ['ðɔ:nər], *thaim* can be found in both Scotland and Ulster.

[...] a wheen o' them boys nicht [...] (Lyttle 1890: 32)

[...] **ðē**, **ðir** are used for *these* and *those* in Uls. **yon** (*thon*), **ðon** are used for *that* and *those*. (Wright 1905: 3)

This is expressed by [...] *That* Sc. and n.Ir., as *that is a fine day*. (Wright 1905: 277)

Yon Sc. Irel. [...] Especially used of a person or thing a little way off, but within sight. (Wright 1905: 277)

Thon Sc. Irel. [...] used to identify an object remote from both speakers. (Wright 1905: 277)

Those [...] Its place is supplied by [...] *Them* in all the dialects of Sc. Irel. [...] In Sc. it is esp. used as the antecedent of the relative, as *them at did it*. [...] **Thon** Sc. Irel. [...] **Yon** Sc. n.Irl. (Wright 1905:279)

Those [...] Its place is supplied by [...] **Thae** (**ðē**) Sc. Uls. [...] **Thir** Sc. (s. of the Grampians) Uls. (Wright 1905: 279)

In both Scotland and Ulster *thaim* is often used as a distal demonstrative or the antecedent of a relative pronoun. That has been carried over into Belfast English.

[...] *dem. pron.* Those. Them's the right soart. Is them the ones you got? [...] *dem. adj.* Them dogs. Them books. (Traynor 1953: 301)

⁵⁷ Initial Old English *ā* became [i'a] or [i'ə] in Southern Scots and when the stress fell on the second vowel the first became weak and eventually became consonantal [j] e.g. *aiblins* ['jɪblɪns], *aits* [jɪts], *ane* [jɪn] etc.

⁵⁸ ['si:vən] in central Scots except ['se:vən] in Fife and Banfshire and ['səivən] in Aberdeenshire.

⁵⁹ [ə'li:vən] in central Scots, [ə'ləivn] in the North East, [ə'leivn] in Caithness and [ə'le:vən] in Perthshire.

⁶⁰ The *thon* form is a result of conflation with *this* and *that* etc.

Them can also be used as a distal demonstrative in place of *those*. (Henry 1997: 102)

Personal pronouns *A* [æ] ('I'), *me*, *ye – you* [je, jʊː], *he*, *him*, *she*, *her* [hɪr], *it – hit*⁶¹ [ɪt], *we*, *us – hus*⁶², *thay* [ðeː] ('they'), *thaim*. Elision of /h/ in the unstressed forms of *he*, *him* and *her* occurs in both Scotland and Ulster.

[...] *us* is used for the indirect object *me* (Wright 1905: 271) e.g. *gie's a few* (give me a few).

[...] the stressed form is [...] **hez?** [...] [hus] the unstressed forms are **əs**, **əz**. (Wright 1905: 273)

The pronoun *you*, *ye*, also has the plural *youse*, *yese* in Scotland and Ulster. That is thought to have originated in Hiberno-English.

The second pers. plural. [...] **yous**, [...] also **yees**, is used when more than one person is addressed. (Wright 1905: 274)

The distinction between singular *you* and plural *yous* (sometimes spelt *youse* or *yez/ yiz*) is another well-known characteristic of IrE vernacular [...] Interestingly, the same usage is also found in other varieties like Tyneside English, Scots and Liverpool dialect, all of which have been influenced by the speech of the large numbers of Irish immigrants [...] (Filppula 2004: 92)

The possessive pronouns *my* or *ma* [mæ] ('my'), *oor – wir* [ʊːr, øːr, wər, war] ('our'), *yer – your* ('your'), *his*, *her*, *its—hits*, *thair* [ðeːr] ('their'). Elision of /h/ in the unstressed forms is as in the personal pronouns.

[...] [Wir] the unstressed form of *our*. (Wright 1905: 275)

Forms ending –s also include *mines* [maenz] by analogy.

Reflexive Pronouns take the same form in Scotland and Ulster, for example *hissel* ('himself'), *masel* [mæ'se:l] ('myself'), *wirsels* [wər'se:lz] ('ourselves') etc.

[...] formed by adding [...] *sel* [...] for the sing. and [...] *sels* for the plural [...] (Wright 1905: 276)

[...] (ðerse:lz), *reflex. pron.* Also in form *Theirsells* [...] *Themselves* [...] (Traynor 1953: 301)

Gender

There is a general tendency [...] to personify inanimate objects [...] the feminine pronoun is used. (Wright 1905: 265)

The relative pronoun is *that*, often elided to *'at*.⁶³ Sometimes the relative pronoun is omitted. Archaic *whilk* also occurred in Ulster.

Has a *tongue* wud clip cloots. (Patterson 1880: 107)

There's a boy at the daur, mem, that wants the maister. (Lyttle 1890: 24)

A buddy wud think ye had seen a ghaist. (Lyttle 1890: 55)

An' a'm the very boy kens its richt place [...] (Lyttle 1896: 10)

[...] **at** is used as a rel. pron. (Wright 1905: 3)

[...] and often being omitted, even when the nominative of a clause [...] (Grant and Dixon 1921: 102)

The interrogative pronouns are *wha* [mɔː, mɑː, mɑ^w, mɑː] ('who, whom') and *whase* ('whose'). Archaic *whilk* also occurred in Ulster. *Whit* ('what'), *whit for* ('why'), *why* [mæ].

Broad Scots regularly uses *how* where Standard English uses *why*. (Miller 1993: 125)

Conclusion

⁶¹ Emphatic

⁶² Emphatic

⁶³ This may also represent an alternative form borrowed from Norse.

The evidence shows that Scots in Ulster is clearly the same ‘language’ as that spoken in Scotland. All the underlying phonetic realisations are mirrored in Scottish varieties, in particular those western varieties spoken where the majority of settlers originated. Scots in Ulster was never completely separated from its parent in Scotland, and consequently no significant autonomous developments occurred. Contact and interaction between speakers in Ulster and Scotland continued apace, as is exemplified by the introduction of developments such as [jɪn or jɿn] for *ane* in eastern Ulster and the survival of [en] in the peripheral dialects to the west. Similarly, the introduction of the [i/e:] realisations of the original Older Scots /ø:/ in areas closest to Scotland and the survival of the older /i(:)/ and /e(:)/ forms westwards indicates continued contact and interaction between speakers from each side of the North Channel. The grammatical evidence paints a similar picture. The differences between Scots in Scotland and Ulster are mostly at the level of accent, perhaps historical, but no doubt also a result of contact with both Mid-Ulster English and Irish, though of course from area to area these differences may be stronger or weaker.

The very proximity and ease of communication between Scotland and Ulster meant that, throughout the seventeenth century, the ‘Scottish settlement in Ulster was not so much a separate colony as an extension of Scotland itself. This constant interaction and the close ties of religion, language and culture [...] uniting Presbyterians in Scotland and Ulster throughout the eighteenth century. (McIlvanny 2005: 204)

Political or official recognition also reflects these conclusions. The British government clearly ‘recognises that Scots and Ulster Scots meet the Charter’s definition of a regional or minority language’⁶⁴ the implication being that the two are the same language. That is reiterated in the Good Friday implementation agreement where *Ullans*, is ‘understood as the variety of the Scots language traditionally found in parts of Northern Ireland and Donegal’.⁶⁵

The advocacy of Ulster Scots as an autonomous language is both linguistic and political wishful thinking as exemplified in the Ulster-Scots Language Society’s claim that ‘The question of whether Ulster-Scots is a language in its own right, or the “Scots language in Ulster” is still being debated.’⁶⁶ The only serious debate is whether or not Ulster Scots is one of five major dialects of Scots or a sub- or contact variety of the Central Scots dialect. Such wishful thinking cannot be disguised by the insertion of a hyphen in Ulster-Scots, the apparently ‘Ulster Scots’ rebranding as *Ulstèr-Scotch*⁶⁷ or *Ullans*⁶⁸, or the adoption of the esoteric, maximally differentiated orthography, complete with ‘umlauts’ and ‘accents’⁶⁹, used by some contemporary revivalist exponents.

⁶⁴ The European Charter for Regional or Minority languages.

⁶⁵ This definition was also used in UK’s Second Periodical Report to the Council of Europe regarding its European charter⁶ obligations.

⁶⁶ From the The Ulster-Scots Language Society leaflet “Quhit wud Ulstèr-Scotch be?/What is Ulster-Scots?” Date unknown. Probably Late 1990s.

⁶⁷ *Scotch* is in fact an English contraction of *Scottish*. Scots is the modern native form, derived from the older *Scottis*.

⁶⁸ A neologism combining *Ulster* and *Lallans* – the Scots for Lowlands, i.e. the lowland vernacular and the name of the magazine of the Scots Language Society.

⁶⁹ See Robinson 1997.

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