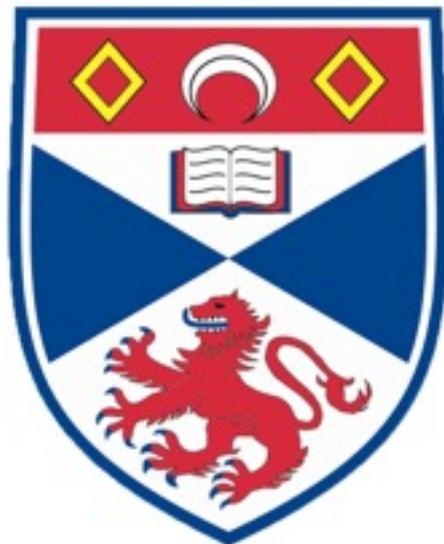


A historically based linguistic comparison of Modern Scots and
Modern German



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Tae borrae the wirds o the weel-kent Scottish owthor James Robertson, ah wid lyk tae dedicate the screivin o this dissertation tae aa the Scots speakers wha dinnae ken the worth o whit they speik.

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Abbreviations and Symbols

adj. = adjective

EModE = Early Modern English

Gmc = Germanic

ME = Middle English

MHG = Middle High German

MidSc = Middle Scots

ModE = Modern English

ModG = Modern German

ModSc = Modern Scots

OE = Old English

OHG = Old High German

OSc = Older Scots

past. part. = past participle

PGmc =Proto-Germanic

PIE = Proto-Indo-European

pret. pl. = preterite plural

pret. sing. = preterite singular

W.Gmc = West Germanic

* = reconstructed postulated form

1. Introduction

Scots, German and English have all evolved from a common West Germanic ancestor, yet, as will become apparent, many of the features shared by Scots and German are not shared by English. By outlining a range of parallels present between Modern German and Modern Scots, and tracing the historical developments which have resulted in these, it is demonstrated in this dissertation that the affinities between Modern Scots and Modern German are the result of these languages both having preserved ancient Germanic features once common to all three languages, features which have not been preserved through the developments which led to Modern English.

Even the most cursory acquaintance with Scots and German affords a superficial awareness of the similarities present between the two languages. The most familiar and easily identifiable of these is perhaps the phoneme /x/, present in many typically Scots words such as *'bricht'*¹ and *'dreich'*², yet the affinity between German and Scots is limited neither to this one example, nor to the field of phonology, but extends further into the realm of verb forms, vocabulary, syntax and morphology.

It would exceed constraints of space to discuss every aspect of similarity between Scots and German, and the focus of this dissertation will therefore be concentrated on selected aspects of three main fields, namely, phonology, strong verb forms, and lexical cognates.

The modern West Germanic languages of English, Dutch and Frisian, being so closely related to both Scots and German, are also of great interest in this study and will be frequently referred to as a point of comparison.

In this dissertation the terms 'German' and 'Modern German' refer, unless otherwise specified, to the Standard German ('Standarddeutsch' or 'deutsche Standardsprache')³ of Germany. 'English' and 'Modern English' refer, unless otherwise specified, to the Standard English of Great Britain, and, in terms of phonology, Received Pronunciation (RP). In each case, references to earlier historical periods in the development of English and German will be specified and clarified as necessary.⁴ 'Dutch' and 'Modern Dutch' refer to the Standard Dutch ('Algemeen Nederlands') of the Netherlands and Flanders. 'Frisian' and 'Modern Frisian' refer to the West Frisian language (Dutch: 'Fries') spoken predominantly in the province of Friesland in the north of the Netherlands.

Whilst the understanding and language status of German, English, Dutch, and Frisian are uncontentious and pose little issue, the case of Scots is by comparison much disputed and misunderstood. One often encounters the view that Scots is a dialect, or, worse, is poor or corrupted English.

Contrary to such views, Scots is a language, with a distinct historical evolution, literary tradition, vocabulary, idiom, grammar, pronunciation, and syntax, and is recognised as such by the EU and by

¹ Meaning: 'bright'.

² Meaning: 'lasting, tedious, tiresome, drawn-out, protracted, wearisome'. Often used specifically in description of weather in the sense of: 'dreary, hard to bear'.

³The terms 'Standarddeutsch' or 'deutsche Standardsprache' have been preferred over the perhaps more expected term 'Hochdeutsch' in order to ensure clarity and objectivity. Historically speaking, the term 'Hochdeutsch', literally 'High German', had exclusively geographical connotations, designating those forms of German spoken in areas situated higher above sea level - e.g. in modern central and southern Germany - than those forms of German spoken in the lowlands - e.g. in modern northern Germany - which were grouped under the expression 'Niederdeutsch', literally 'Low German'. Over the course of time, however, the adjective 'high' came to take on the subjective meaning of 'hoch angesehen' (highly regarded), and the term 'Hochdeutsch' came to designate the standardised form of the German language regarded as more educated or cultured as opposed to the local dialects. Note that the group of dialects which constitute Hochdeutsch (in historical-geographical terms) are further subdivided into 'Oberdeutsch' (eg. Bavarian, Alemannic, South Franconian) and 'Mitteldeutsch' (eg. Middle Franconian, Rhine Franconian, Thuringian). (Schmidt 2007 : 73)

⁴ An overview of the historical periodisation of English, German, and Scots can be found in Appendix A.

the UK and Scottish governments, with efforts currently underway to bridge the gulf between the current misinformed perception of Scots and the reality of its status as one of the three indigenous languages of Scotland alongside English and Gaelic. Given the widespread misconception which still surrounds Scots at present, it has been thought constructive to include in this dissertation a short introduction to Scots for the benefit of the reader who is new to the language (see section 3).

2. Methodology

This dissertation takes as its theoretical basis two of the central distinctions formulated by the linguist Ferdinand de Saussure, the first between *langue* and *parole*, the second between *synchrony* and *diachrony* (Saussure 1983).

In the case of the first distinction, *langue* is understood as denoting the abstract, possible and essential system or structure of language, *parole* the actual realisation of the system in concrete and individual speech or texts,⁵ with the two together constituting *langage* (Saussure 1983, Beedham 2005). This dissertation combines both a *langue* and a *parole* based approach. The historical analysis component of this dissertation is *langue* based, arrived at through consultation of a wide array of literature on the history of the Scots, German and English languages and the canonical dictionaries and grammars of each language at each stage of its historical development. The results of this research were then analysed and used to construct a synthesised overview of the developments which have led to the common features between Modern Scots and German and their absence in Modern English.

The analysis of Modern Scots and Modern German presented here is likewise predominantly grounded in *langue*, giving an overview of the current norms of phonology, strong verb forms, and vocabulary in each language as described in the canonical grammars and dictionaries of Modern Scots and Modern German. In the case of Modern Scots, however, the *langue* based description is supplemented in the sections on strong verb forms and lexical cognates by specific examples from a corpus of Modern Scots in order to provide the reader new to the language with a deeper knowledge and understanding of how the Scots language looks and is used today. These examples were obtained through both my own primary research conducted on a corpus of modern literature, and the invaluable online resource of the Scottish Corpus of Texts and Speech.⁶ In order to gain as accurate an image as possible of current usage, a wide range of genres and only the most recent literature, predominantly twenty-first century, was consulted (see Appendix B).

The second Saussurean distinction of importance in this study is that between synchronic and diachronic linguistics. Synchronic linguistics is concerned with language as it exists as a self-contained system at a given point in time, whereas diachronic, or historical, linguistics is concerned with how language has evolved and developed over the course of time. The two are, however, not as mutually exclusive as may first appear. Any diachronic study of linguistics is fundamentally synchronic, as any diachronic study presupposes that two synchronic studies have been carried out. That is to say, only *after* one has identified and analysed two distinct stages of a language can one begin an analysis of the developments which led to the later stage, i.e. a historical or diachronic study (Beedham 2005).

In this sense, both approaches are combined in this dissertation. Taking as its starting point a synchronic study of the commonalities between Modern Scots and Modern German, it then

⁵ A text can be written or spoken.

⁶ Online since 2004 : <http://www.scottishcorpus.ac.uk/corpus-details/>

embarks on a diachronic study in order to ascertain what developments at earlier stages in the languages have led to the modern commonalities.

3. Introduction to Scots

‘...the speech of Lowland Scotland, which became distinct from Northern English in the 15th. c. and was the official language of the Kingdom of Scotland until 1707, though gradually anglicised from the mid-16th. c. and now surviving as a series of dialects and in a modified literary form...’
(Grant & Murison 1931-1976)

The above excerpt from the Scottish National Dictionary provides an accurate summary and good starting point regards the history and status of Scots, and the remainder of this introductory chapter will set out what is understood by ‘Scots’ as an object of inquiry.

3.1 Historical Overview

The history of Scots begins in the fifth century A.D. with the arrival of Germanic invaders from the continent, the Angles and the Saxons. The Germanic dialects which they brought with them formed the basis of the group of dialects now termed Anglo-Saxon, or Old English.⁷ The Northumbrian dialect of Old English developed into Scots, the West Saxon dialect into English.⁸ The Northumbrian variant of Old English, prevalent in Northern England and in Southeast Scotland, had by the eleventh century established itself as one of the languages of the Scottish kingdom, remaining at this point concentrated in the Southeast, with Gaelic spoken over most of the country.

Northumbrian Old English in Scotland went on to evolve through the stages of Pre-Literary Scots (1100-1375) and Early Scots (1375-1450), before reaching the period in its development deemed Middle Scots (1450-1700) (Grant & Murison 1931-1976, Robinson 1985).

Whilst there was very little to distinguish Early Scots from Northumbrian Middle English, by the mid-fifteenth century Middle Scots had diverged so markedly from Northumbrian Middle English (and from the other developing Anglo-Saxon dialects, including, of course, Early Modern English) as to constitute a distinct entity.

Furthermore, as a result of a series of economic and political factors, the Anglo-Saxon tongue of Southeast Scotland had gradually increased in dominance over the centuries, and by the fifteenth century⁹ Middle Scots had displaced Gaelic as the dominant language of the Scottish kingdom. This now distinct Scots was the language of kings and commoners alike. It was the prestigious and official language of the institutions of state, the humble speech of the most mundane to the most intimate aspects of everyday life, and the medium through which Scotland communicated with and contributed to wider Europe (Horsbroch 1999). Indeed, during the period between the accession of James I (1406-37) and the Union of Crowns with England in 1603, Scots was the vehicle of a

⁷ The four main dialects of Anglo-Saxon / Old English were West Saxon, Kentish, Mercian, and Northumbrian. The former two are customarily grouped together as ‘Saxon’, the latter two northern variants as ‘Anglian’.

⁸ To quote the poet Norman MacCaig, writing in the introduction to Hugh MacDiarmid's *Scottish Eccentrics*, ‘Scots and English, therefore, are cousin languages with a common ancestor, and it is as absurd to call Scots a dialect of English as it would be to call English a dialect of Scots.’ (Riach 1993 : ix)

⁹ ‘In 1398, the Scottish Parliament began to record proceedings in Scots rather than in Latin’. (Smith 2012:8).

vernacular literary tradition of European stature.¹⁰ Scots in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries was thus by any modern linguistic criteria a flourishing and independent national language, used across a range of high- as well as low-prestige situations (Smith 2012:6).

This upward trajectory in political and cultural status was, however, not to be maintained. From the mid-sixteenth century onwards Scots was subjected to a series of historical developments which unleashed a process of relentless language attrition. Paramount amongst these were the dominance of English as the language of the Protestant Reformation, most notably as the language of the Bible; the small Scottish market for printed books and sporadic existence of Scottish presses; the removal of the Scottish king and court to London with the Union of Crowns in 1603, and, just over a century later, the dissolution of the Scottish Parliament and relocation of power to London with the Union of Parliaments in 1707. The emasculation of the Scots language to the advantage of the English language which had begun in the mid-sixteenth century was now continued with a vengeance, with the anglophile Scottish intelligentsia and elite actively ridding their language of Scotticisms and taking elocution lessons (Richards 1991:85). From this period on, the familiar prestige and dominance of English and stigmatisation of Scots was to accelerate unabated in all aspects of official life until very recently. Centuries of anglicisation along with ignorance and stigmatisation of Scots have had profound social and political consequences for its status and perception.

3.2 Current Status

'The Scots language is an integral part of Scotland's distinctive culture and heritage. The language comprises a range of distinct regional and local variants'

The Scottish Government, 2011¹¹

Whilst greatly reduced in both prestige and use from its apotheosis as the official language of the state in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, Scots has remained resilient through the vicissitudes of history and continues to be spoken as the mother tongue and everyday speech of a considerable proportion of the population of Scotland.¹² Scots speakers thus switch between Scots and Scottish Standard English (see below) in what appears to be a classic example of diglossia.¹³

Furthermore, despite its demise as the official language of the state, since the vernacular revival of the 18th century, Scots has remained the vehicle of a vibrant literary tradition¹⁴, and today's Modern

¹⁰ The *Eneados* of Gavin Douglas, a translation into Scots verse of Virgil's *Aeneid* (completed 1513) is ranked by scholarly consensus amongst the great works of European literature of the time. (McClure 1988:12, Smith 2012:9). Douglas stands alongside Henrysoun and Dunbar as one of the Great Makars of the golden age of Scottish literature in the Middle Scots period.

¹¹ <http://www.scotland.gov.uk/Resource/Doc/346190/0115217.pdf>. Scots Language Working Group Report: Reponse from the Scottish Government.

¹² In the 2011 Census for Scotland, 38 per cent (1.9 million) of the population aged 3 or over in Scotland reported that they could speak, read, write or understand Scots, and 30 per cent (1.5 million) of the population aged 3 and over reported they were able to speak Scots. *Scotland's Census 2011, Shaping Our Future*.

¹³ First defined by Ferguson in 1959, diglossia is a linguistic situation in which two varieties, a high (H) and a low (L) variety, fulfilling distinct social functions exist alongside each other in an entire community. The (H) variety tends to be regarded as the more logical, expressive, and thus more formal, whereas the (L) variety tends to be associated with intimacy. The competence of native speakers is not the same in the two varieties : the (L) variety is usually acquired as a first language (at home), the (H) language is the result of learning in institutionalised education. Compare with the situation between Swiss German and Standard German; and Norwegian Bokmål and Nynorsk. (Hoffman 2011:157)

¹⁴ The best known example of a Modern Scots writer is the internationally celebrated Robert Burns, Scotland's national Bard.

Scots continues to be used for a wide range of literary genres alongside ongoing attempts to re-establish Scots as a medium for formal writing.

Scots is recognised under the European Charter for Regional or Minority Languages, which was ratified by the UK in 2001. It is furthermore recognised by the Scottish Government as one of the three indigenous languages of Scotland alongside Gaelic and English. The Scottish Government is actively committed to reviving and protecting Scots, and recent decades have seen its re-introduction into the Scottish school curriculum, the establishment of a Ministerial Working Group on the Scots Language, and the appointment of a dedicated Minister for Learning, Science and Scotland's Languages.

Scots, like other languages, contains several different dialects. The main ones are Insular, Northern, North East Central, South East Central, West Central, South West Central, and Southern (see fig.1 on page 11).¹⁵

A reflection of its tenuous socio-political status, there is, at present, no standardised spoken or written Scots.¹⁶ For the purpose of this dissertation, however, the features discussed are common to all dialects of Scots and the deviations between the varying orthographic norms are not so considerable as to pose a problem. All citations in this dissertation will therefore retain the orthography of the source.

'Scots' and 'Modern Scots' in this dissertation thus refer to the group of dialects which together constitute the Scots language spoken and written across Scotland today. As with German and English, references to earlier historical periods in the development of a language will be specified and clarified as necessary.

Scots is not to be confused with Scottish Standard English (SSE), essentially Standard English spoken with a Scottish accent.¹⁷ Scots can be seen as the extreme end of a continuum, at the other end of which is Scottish Standard English.

3.3 'A language is a dialect with an army and a navy.'¹⁸ Max Weinreich, linguist (1894-1969)

The current perception and status of Scots, as with many other speech forms throughout the world, has far less to do with objective linguistic reality than with the socio-political situation in which it currently finds itself. Modern Norwegian provides an excellent case in point.¹⁹

¹⁵ Ulster Scots, spoken in Northern Ireland, is descended from the Scots spoken by the Scottish settlers of the Plantation in the early seventeenth century. It is itself recognised as a language under the Belfast Agreement of 1998 and the European Charter for Regional or Minority Languages, and is thus not considered a dialect of Scots.

¹⁶ Interestingly, it has been pointed out that were Scots to be written in a manner more true to its pronunciation, then it would *look* a lot more distinct from English. '[...] it may be noted that the absence of a systematically-devised spelling system for the language has resulted in its [Scots] being written, from the seventeenth century to the mid-twentieth, with a slightly modified form of English orthography, and thus being made to look much more like English than it actually is.' (McClure 1988:25).

¹⁷ Note that 'accent' tends to designate phonological differences, whereas 'dialect' tends to designate lexical and grammatical differences.

¹⁸ Mario A. Pei, the Italian-American linguist, made the same point in his *The Italian Language*: '[...] there is no essential difference between "language" and "dialect", the language being a dialect which has met with political or literary favour, while the dialect is a language which politically or culturally has not met with the same good fortune'. (Pei 1941:139). See also (Fromkin, Rodman & Hyams 2011:430).

¹⁹ Einar Haugen's, *Language Conflict and Language Planning : The Case of Modern Norwegian* (1966) provides a highly readable, nuanced, insightful and informative introduction to the subject.

In 1814 Norway broke away from Denmark to become a largely self-governing nation within the Swedish monarchy before regaining her full independence in 1905 (Haugen 1966:28). Four centuries of dynastic union with Denmark, however, meant that Danish had become the language of official life and of the upper and middle classes, which set the scene for a language struggle which is ongoing to this day.

This struggle is reflected in the two official written²⁰ forms of Modern Norwegian:

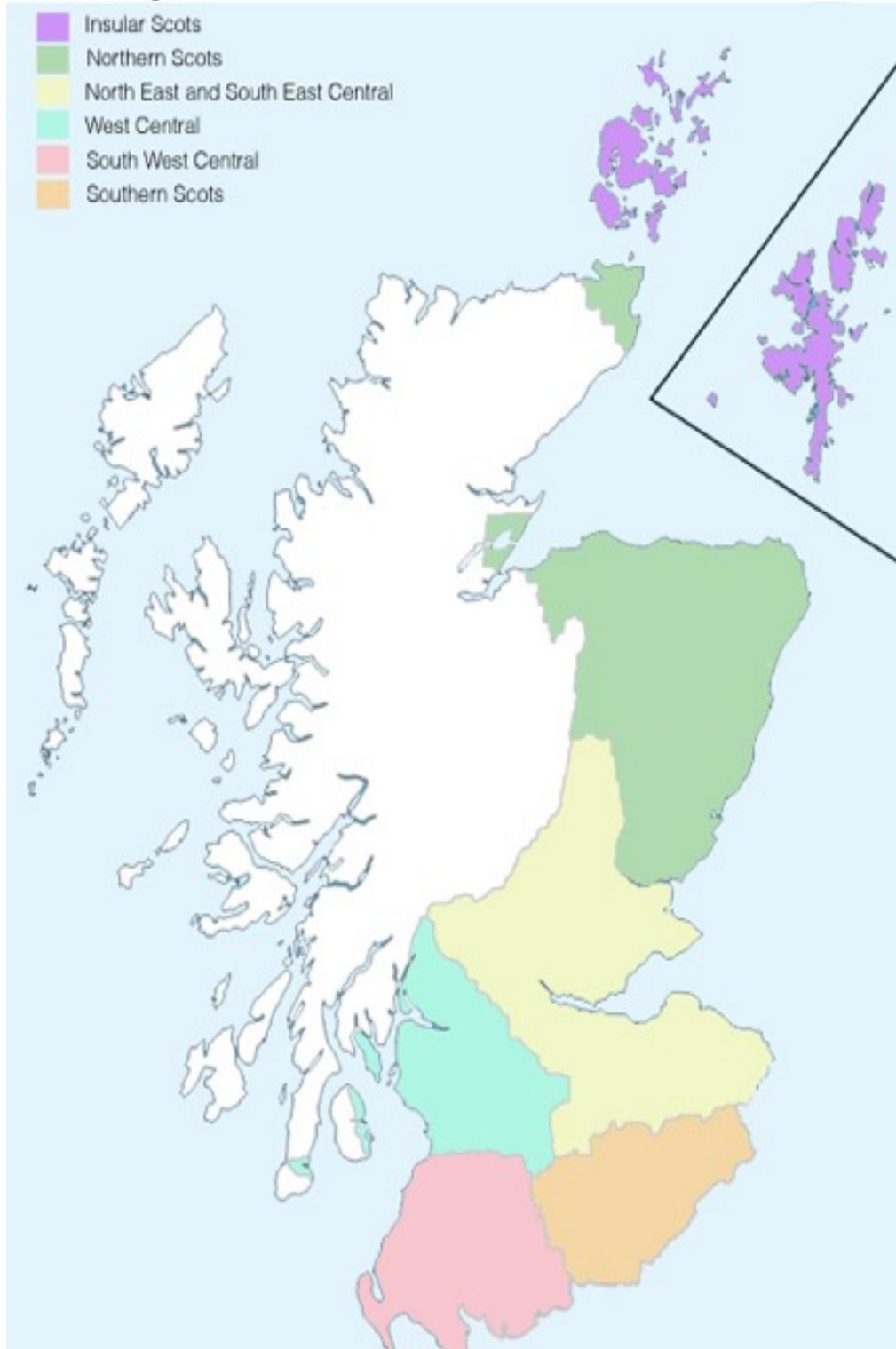
- *Bokmål*²¹ ('Book Tongue') is the variant used by the vast majority (c. 85%) of the population and in the media. It is also the standard taught to foreign students. It is based on the Norwegian inflected Danish spoken by the upper and middle classes and is essentially 'the result of several spelling reforms with Danish as the original starting point' (Kristoffersen 2000:3). The term Dano Norwegian ('dansk-norsk') was formerly used to refer to this dominant variety of Norwegian, but the term 'dansk-norsk' today is used only in a pejorative sense by those who favour a more distinctively Norwegian national language.
- *Nynorsk* ('New Norwegian') is the variant developed by Norwegian linguists in the 19th century based on rural dialects and Old Norse, and is used by the remaining 15% of the population.

Thus the dominant form of Modern Norwegian, despite being virtually identical to Danish and certainly mutually intelligible, enjoys the status of an independent language, a status which cannot be considered in isolation from Norway's political independence. Prevailing views on Scots, by contrast, see Scots as a mere dialect or corruption of English, in spite of its much more persuasive case for linguistic distinctiveness. That is to say, in objective linguistic terms, Scots is a language, and is formally recognised as such by the EU and the UK and Scottish governments. This formal status, however, does not yet correlate with the perception of Scots in the minds of the majority of Scots speakers, or in the minds of the majority of speakers of English elsewhere in the UK. This can be seen as due to the historical and political circumstances of the sixteenth, seventeenth and eighteenth centuries outlined in 3.1 above, as a result of which the Scots language came to be regarded as a dialect or a corruption of English. Recent decades have fortunately seen a strong shift away from such perceptions and there is positive work being done both at governmental level and by committed groups and individuals to restore to the Scots language -and its speakers- the proud status it should rightfully have as one of the three indigenous languages of Scotland alongside English and Gaelic. There remains, however, much to be done in order to reverse the centuries of anglicisation and stigmatisation to which Scots has been subjected. It will be of great interest to observe the development of the Scots language should Scotland vote to re-establish itself as an independent state later this year.

²⁰ There is no official standard spoken Norwegian. However, the sociolect of the urban upper middle class in Eastern Norway, Standard Østnorsk, is the de facto spoken standard for Bokmål and is the version taught to students of Norwegian.

²¹ Note also the terms *Riksmål* and *Landsmål*. The former was the name for *Bokmål* until 1929, and is now used only by the more conservative faction of the *Bokmål* movement to designate the more conservative written form of *Bokmål*. The latter was the name for *Nynorsk* until 1929 (Kristoffersen 2000:3).

Figure 1 : The main dialect divisions of Scots ²²



²² Adapted from (MacLeod & Cairns 1993:xxxi).

4. Phonology

The most readily identifiable phonological similarity present between Scots and German, and not present in English, is perhaps the voiceless velar fricative /x/, which will constitute the central focus of this chapter. The first part of the chapter outlines the nature and distribution of the phoneme /x/ and its allophones in Scots and German.²³ The second part demonstrates that its shared existence in Scots and German is due in many cases to the preservation of an ancient Germanic consonant which has since disappeared in English. Other aspects of phonological similarity, in particular vocalic, between Scots and German will also be identified and explained in the course of this section, and in the next section on strong verb forms. This dissertation follows the usual practice of writing a broad phonemic transcription between oblique lines, and a narrow phonetic transcription between square brackets.

4.1 The phoneme /x/ in Modern German and Modern Scots²⁴

	German	Scots
Word Initial	Chemie, China	Ø
Morpheme Initial	Mädchen	Ø
Word Final	Bach	lauch ('to laugh')
Morpheme Final	krieche	richtly ('rightly')
After l, r, n	Milch, Mönch, Kirche	Ø
Cluster v + /xt/	Nacht, dachte, brachte, Licht	nicht ('night'), thoct ('thought'), brocht ('brought'), licht ('light')
Intervocalic	lachen	lauchin ('laughing')

German

/x/ is a central element of the consonant inventory of Modern German and is represented orthographically by 'ch'. Phonetically, it occurs in word and morpheme initial position; word and morpheme final position; after the consonants [l, r, n] in the cluster 'vowel + /xt/', and intervocalically.

Scots

The phoneme /x/ in Scots is not as prevalent as in German, but is nonetheless frequently and widely present, and appears across a wide range of word forms; from countless items of basic vocabulary - nouns, verb forms etc. - to proper and place names, and exclamations. It is likewise represented in

²³ Diachronically speaking, the phoneme /x/ in Modern German can be traced back to either the First Germanic Sound Shift which saw PIE *k become Germanic /x/, or the Second Germanic, or High German Sound Shift, which saw West Gmc. *k become OHG /x/. In this dissertation, concerned with historically based similarities between Modern Scots and Modern German, the phoneme /x/ of concern is that which developed through the First Germanic Sound Shift, through which the phoneme /x/ in Scots and English also developed (i.e. not the phoneme /x/ in Modern German which developed through the later High German Sound Shift, which did not affect Scots and English). See section 4.3 'Historical Data and Analysis' for more detailed explanation.

²⁴ Note that the allophones of /x/ are not distinguished in the table. See section 4.2 for allophonic distribution.

orthography as ‘ch’. Phonetically, it occurs in word final position, morpheme final position, in medial position in the cluster ‘vowel + /xt/’ cluster, and intervocalically.²⁵

4.2 Allophonic Distribution of /x/ in German and in Scots

In both Scots and German the phoneme /x/ has two realisations: the voiceless palatal fricative [ç] (known in German as the ‘Ich-Laut’) and the voiceless velar fricative [x] (known in German as the ‘Ach-Laut’). These allophones occur in identical complementary distribution : [ç] after front vowels and [x] after back vowels.²⁶

Indeed it is common practice in literature on the Scots language to describe these sounds in Scots by means of German examples: the Scottish National Dictionary, for example, describes the [ç] sound as having the value of ch in German ‘ich’, and [x] the value of ch in German ‘lach’. The Manual of Modern Scots likewise describes the phoneme [ç] in Scots by means of the ‘ch’ sound in German ‘ich’, and the [x] is described by reference to the ‘ch’ sound in German ‘ach’.

	German	Scots
[ç] after front vowels	ich, mich, dich, Gespräch, Tücher, Küche	dreich, nicht, bricht, fricht, nicht, richt, fecht.
[x] after back vowels	Tuch, Buch, hoch, auch, lachen, brach, Dach, doch.	loch, thocht, bocht, slaughter, Auchtermuchty, Strachan

4.3 Modern English

The phoneme /x/ is no longer present in Modern English. Its presence in earlier periods in the development of English is attested to in traces left in orthography by ‘gh’: for example, ‘laugh’, ‘cough’, ‘light’, ‘night’.²⁷ A remnant of the phoneme /x/ is to be found in English /h/. This was previously an allophone of /x/ in initial position, but the loss of /x/ meant that /h/ became a new phoneme in itself. It is also worth noting that the voiceless palatal fricative [ç]²⁸ occurs in English as an allophone, albeit uncommon, of /h/ in the vicinity of front vowels.²⁹

²⁵ Most frequently in place names and words of Gaelic origin. That is to say, not all /x/ sounds in Modern Scots are Germanic preservations, but rather that some are due to contact with Gaelic.

²⁶ Two further points must be noted with regard to German. Firstly, note that in German [ç] also occurs in word and morpheme initial position and after the consonants [l, r, n]. Secondly, the phoneme [x] is often divided into three allophones, viz. [χ], [x] and [ç], where [χ], voiceless uvular fricative, occurs after open, back vowels. /a(:)/ and /o/ ; [x], voiceless velar fricative, after back, closed and half-open vowels. [u:], [ʊ] und [o:] and [ç] as above. (Kohler 1977:164) Research on this tripartite distribution has at present not been undertaken in Scots.

²⁷ See section 4.3 Historical Data and Analysis for more detailed information as to these developments.

²⁸ An allophone of /x/ in Scots and German : see next section on allophonic distribution.

²⁹ For example, at the beginning of words such as ‘huge’, ‘human’, and ‘hue’ (Roach 2000:53).

4.4 Historical Data and Analysis

In order to investigate the development of the phoneme /x/ in Scots, German and English, it is necessary to begin roughly 1000 years BCE, the time at which a distinct Germanic branch can be perceived as having developed from Proto-Indo-European.

4.5 Indo-European

Proto-Indo-European (PIE) (also ‘Indo-Germanic’) is the name given to the reconstructed proto-language postulated to be the common ancestor of around 140 lexically and grammatically related languages. These 140 languages are traditionally divided into 11 main sub-groups, one of which is Germanic (Baldi 2008:130).

Hypotheses as to the origin and spread of PIE vary amongst scholars, but there is general agreement that it was spoken between c. 4500 BCE and 2500 BCE.³⁰ For the purposes of this investigation it is important to know simply that a Proto-Indo-European language was in existence and spoken over a large part of Europe and parts of southwestern and southern Asia by circa 1000 BCE, by which point several main branches are discernible (Baldi 2008:130, Schmidt 2007:31).

Major Indo-European branches by c. 1000 BCE

Proto-Indo-European										
Albanian	Anatolian	Armenian	Baltic	Celtic	Germanic	Hellenic	Indo-Iranian	Italic	Tocharian	Slavic

4.6 From Indo-European to Germanic

By the first millennium BCE³¹ a hugely significant linguistic development had taken place, distinguishing Proto-Germanic, the common ancestor of the Germanic languages, from Proto-Indo-European. The ‘First Germanic Sound Shift’ or ‘Grimm’s Law’ affected the PIE plosives and their development into Proto-Germanic. In short, PIE voiceless plosives /p, t, k/ become Germanic voiceless fricatives /f, þ, x/ ; PIE voiced plosives /b, d, g/ become Germanic voiceless plosives /p, t, k/ , and PIE voiced aspirated plosives /b^h, d^h, g^h/ become Germanic voiced fricatives /β, ð, γ/ or plosives /b, d, g/ (allophones).

³⁰ The most widely accepted thesis amongst scholars suggests that the proto-language arose in the area of the Pontic-Caspian steppes north of the Black and Caspian Seas at about 3500 BCE. (Baldi 2008:130).

³¹ ‘Die erste Lautverschiebung scheint erst in der zweiten Hälfte des 1. Jahrtausends v. Chr. zum Abschluss gekommen zu sein, bevor die Germanen mit den Römern in Berührung traten, denn kein einziges lat. Lehnwort im Germ. ist von der ersten LV. betroffen worden.’ (Schmidt 2007:43).

Simplified Overview of Grimm's Law / First Germanic Sound Shift^{32 33}

From	Proto-Indo-European	To	Germanic
	labial dental velar		labial dental velar
voiceless plosives	p t k	voiceless fricatives	f þ x
voiced plosives	b d g	voiceless plosives	p t k
voiced aspirated plosives	b ^h d ^h g ^h	voiced fricatives /plosives	β/b ð/d ɣ/g

A detailed explanation of the full, extensive and complex nature of the First Germanic Sound Shift is not necessary for the purposes of this dissertation. Of crucial interest is only the part of the shift which saw PIE voiceless plosive *k develop into the new, Germanic voiceless velar fricative /x/. It is this ancient Germanic consonant which survives today in both German and in Scots.³⁴

4.7 From Proto-Germanic to West Germanic

The Proto-Germanic language which evolved from the First Germanic Sound Shift went on to develop into two distinct branches of Northwest and East Germanic. The latter divides again into North Germanic (Old Norse) and West Germanic. West Germanic splits into three further branches: Ingvaemonic, Istvaeonic, and Erminonic. From the Ingvaemonic branch develops Old English, different dialects of which develop into English and Scots. From the Erminonic branch develops Old High German, the ancestor of Modern German. (The tables overleaf provide a simplified overview of these developments).

The Germanic voiceless velar fricative /x/ - from PIE *k through Grimm's Law - is present in the consonant inventory of both Old English and Old High German. It has remained intact through the developments which led to Modern Scots and to Modern German, but not Modern English.

³² Adapted from (Fulk 2008:142-3)

³³ /þ/ and /ð/ represent the sound of Modern English 'th' in think and this respectively ; /ɣ/ is the voiced equivalent of /x/ (as in Danish *kage*) ; /β/ is similar to /v/ (to which it develops in Modern English), but it is formed with both lips rather than with teeth and lips together.

³⁴ In the case of words of Germanic origin in which the phoneme /x/ arose through the First Germanic Sound Shift.

Simplified overview : from Proto-Germanic to the modern Germanic languages

Proto-Germanic					
West Germanic		North Germanic		East Germanic	
Ingvaemonic	Istvaeonic	Erminonic	West Norse	East Norse	Gothic
English Frisian Scots	Dutch Afrikaans Flemish	German Yiddish	Icelandic Norwegian Faroese	Danish Swedish	

Simplified Overview : from Proto-Indo-European to Modern English, German, and Scots

Proto-Indo-European				c. 4500-2500 BCE
Proto-Germanic				c. 1000 BCE
Northwest Germanic				to c. 1000 AD
West Germanic				
Ingvaemonic		Erminonic		to c. 1100 AD
Old English		Old High German		
Middle English	Middle Scots		Middle High German	c. 1100-1700 AD
Modern English	Modern Scots		Modern German	c.1700 AD onwards

4.8 Development of /x/ in German

In Old High German, /x/ is represented orthographically as ‘h’. Its phonological value had undergone one major change from Proto-Germanic:

- In word and syllable initial position, Germanic /x/ had either developed to the aspirate /h/, or disappeared, even if preserved orthographically, for example, in OHG ‘*sehen*’.³⁵
- In medial and in final position, however, it is preserved as the fricative /x/ - for example, OHG ‘*naht*’ (Schmidt 2007:234).

This situation (/h/ in initial position, /x/ in medial and final) persisted throughout the Middle High German period, with /x/ represented orthographically by either ‘h’ or ‘ch’ (Schmidt 2007:280). Both the the velar and palatal variants of the guttural fricative /x/ are attested from this period, along with the modern allophonic distribution of [ç] after front vowels, and [x] after back vowels.³⁶ The nature and distribution of /x/ in Middle High German has endured into Modern German.

It is crucial to note that in Modern German many occurrences of the phoneme /x/ are a result of the High German, or Second Germanic, Sound Shift, which distinguished Old High German, the forebear of Modern Standard German, from the other West Germanic languages. As part of the High German Sound Shift, West Germanic *k became OHG /x/ after a vowel. That is to say, in OHG, and in Modern German, the occurrence of the phoneme /x/ in a given word can be traced back either to PIE *k through the First Germanic Sound Shift, or to Germanic k* through the Second Germanic, or High German, Sound Shift.

The High German Sound Shift explains the existence of the phoneme /x/ in Modern German where it is not present in other West Germanic languages such as Dutch, English and Scots, which did not undergo the Second Germanic, or High German, Sound Shift. This is seen, for example, in German ‘*machen*’ compared to Dutch ‘*maken*’, Scots ‘*tae mak*’ and English ‘*to make*’.

The cases of the phoneme /x/ in Modern German which entered the language in the OHG period through the later High German Sound Shift are not of relevance in this study, which is concerned with shared features of Scots and German which can be traced back to their common West Germanic ancestor.

The phoneme /x/ referred to in this dissertation is that which evolved through the First Germanic Sound Shift which saw PIE *k become Germanic /x/ (e.g. PIE ‘*nókʷts’ > Germanic ‘*nahts*’ > OHG ‘*naht*’), and not that, in the case of German, which entered Old High German through the later High German Sound Shift, which saw West Gmc. *k become OHG /x/ after a vowel (e.g. OHG ‘*mahhon*’ from PGmc. ‘*makōnaǵ’, where the West Gmc /k/ has remained in English, Scots and Dutch, which were not affected by High Germanic Sound Shift).

³⁵ OHG ‘*sehen*’ from PIE *sekʷ- through Gmc *sehwanǵ /’se.xʷa.nǵ/. (Modern German ‘*sehen*’ = ‘to see’).

³⁶ Note that in the Alemannic and Bavarian variants of MHG, there is only the velar fricative /x/ and no palatal allophone [ç]. The same is the case in the modern non-standard dialects of German, for example, Bavarian, which developed from these variants of MHG.

4.9 Development of /x/ in Scots and English

Simplified Overview : from Old English to Modern English and Scots ³⁷

Old English / Anglo-Saxon							
	Early Northern Middle English			Early Midland and South-Eastern Middle English			Early Southern and South-Western Middle English
Early Scots		Northern Middle English		Midland and South-Eastern Middle English			Southern and South-Western Middle English
Middle Scots (Stewart Scots)					Metropolitan early modern English (Tudor English)		
Modern Scots		Modern Northern English Regional Dialects	Modern Midland English Regional Dialects		Modern Standard English		Modern Southern and South-Western English Regional Dialects

As established above, /x/ was present in the consonant inventory of Old English. All early varieties of English which developed from it (viz. including the ancestors of English and Scots) also shared the voiceless fricative /x/. Parallel to its development in OHG, /x/ had been replaced in Old English in initial position by the aspirate allophone [h], but preserved as a fricative in medial and final position (Johnston 1997:52,103).

Middle English

The development of /x/ in Middle English now differs from that in Middle Scots. For most of the Middle English period, /x/ remains present in medial and final position, with the existence of the allophones [ç] and [x] - and the complementary distribution of the former after front, the latter after back vowels - clearly established throughout this period. The sound was mostly represented in orthography as 'gh'.

Beginning in the fourteenth century, however, the phoneme /x/ had already begun to show signs of loss, with spellings without 'gh' or an equivalent grapheme - for example, 'nyte' for 'nyght' (Minkova & Stockwell 2008:39, Lass 2008:116).

Throughout the later Middle and Early Modern English period, this loss continued as a gradual and progressive development, with [x] and [ç] still attested sporadically until as late as the early seventeenth century, but mostly disappearing or transforming into another sound. For example:

³⁷ Adapted from (Aitken 1979:87).

- [x] and [ç] either dropped completely, or resulted in lenition to [w], [y] (Minkova & Stockwell 2008:39). For example:

OE	ME	Translation
boh	bow(e)	‘bough’
heah/heh	hei(e)	‘high’
sohte	sout(e)	‘sought’

- [x] either dropped completely, or resulted in fortition, strengthening to [f].³⁸ For example:

OE	ME	Translation
toh	tuf	‘tough’
ruh	ruff	‘rough’
hleahtr	lauhter	‘laughter’

Minkova & Stockwell interestingly note that ‘the vocalization of [h] occurs both after front and back vowels, while the change of [h] to [f] can only occur after back vowels, suggesting that the input consonant for that change was the velar allophone [x] whose fortition was most likely perceptually driven.’ (Minkova & Stockwell, Robert. 2008:39)

Also of interest is that the loss of the fricative typically lengthened the preceding vowel. For example:

- Middle English [liçt] ‘light’ became [li:t] and this long [i:] diphthongised to [aɪ] in the course of the Great Vowel Shift, giving Modern English [laɪt] (Terru 2006:128). Compare with Scots ‘licht’ and German ‘Licht’.
- Similarly, Middle English [fiçt] became [fi:t], giving Modern English [faɪt] ‘fight’ (Ekwall 1975:78). Compare with Scots ‘fecht’ and German ‘fechten’.

By 1650, the tailend of the Early Modern English period, /x/ was no longer present in English.

Scots

The development of /x/ between the periods of Middle and Modern Scots requires little elaboration. In short, where the fricative /x/ is lost in the development from Middle to Modern English, no such loss takes place in the development from Middle to Modern Scots.

³⁸ ‘In earlier ModE [f] is often attested in words which now do not have it, e.g. in daughter, bought, etc’. (Ekwall 1975 1975:79).

Simplified Overview of Development of /x/³⁹ in English, Scots and German⁴⁰

	Onset	Medial / Final
PIE	k-	k-
W.Gmc	x-	x-
OE / OHG	h-	x-, ç-
ME	h-	x-, ç- <i>(loss and transition - fortition to [f], lenition to [w] / [y] - from C14)</i>
MidSc / MHG	h-	x-, ç-
EModE	h-	x-, ç- (continued progressive loss and transition)
ModE	h-	-
ModG and ModSc	h-	x-, ç-

4.10 Evidence from other modern West Germanic languages

In order to further elucidate how the similarities between Scots and German, and not present in English, are due to Scots and German having preserved features of a common West Germanic forebear, it is constructive to make reference to other modern West Germanic languages.

The table overleaf provides examples of cognate words in five modern West Germanic languages whose origins can be traced back to PIE. Through the First Germanic Sound Shift, PIE *k became Germanic /x/, which was preserved in the shared West Germanic forebear of the five languages below.

The existence of the phoneme /x/⁴¹ in cognate words in the modern West Germanic languages of Scots, German, Dutch and Frisian, and its absence in the modern West Germanic language of English, provides further striking evidence that the shared occurrences of the phoneme /x/ in German and Scots are due to the two languages having preserved features of their shared West Germanic ancestor, where English has not. In each of the cases below, the presence of /x/ in earlier periods in the development of English is clearly attested in traces left in orthography by ‘gh’.

³⁹ The phoneme /x/ referred to in this section in the case of German is that which evolved through the First Germanic Sound Shift which saw PIE *k become Germanic /x/, not that which entered OHG through the later High German Sound Shift, which saw West Gmc. *k become OHG /x/ after a vowel.

⁴⁰ Adapted from (Lass 2008:117)

⁴¹ Allophones of /x/ are not distinguished.

Evidence from other modern West Germanic languages

Origin	English	Scots	German	Dutch	Frisian
PIE *nók ^w ts Gmc *nahts	night /nart/	nicht /nixt/	Nacht /naxt/	nacht /naxt/	nacht /naxt/
PIE *kewk- Gmc *hauhaz	high /hai/	heich /hi:x/	hoch /ho:x/	hoog /fio:x/	heech /hi:x/
PIE *pek Gmc *fehtaną	fight /fart/	fecht /fext/	fechten /fextn/	vechten /ˈvex.tə(n)/	fjochstje /fjɔxtsi:/
PIE *lewk- Gmc *leuhtą	light /lart/	licht /lɪxt/	Licht /lɪxt/	licht /lɪxt/	ljocht /jɔxt/

5. Strong Verb Forms

In all Germanic languages a distinction is made between ‘strong’ and ‘weak’ verbs based on how they form their preterite and past participle forms.⁴² The ‘strong’ verbs accomplish it by means of ablaut (changes to the stem vowel) and often *-en* in the past participle; the ‘weak’ verbs by means of a dental suffix (e.g. *-ed* in English; *te, ge-t* in German; and *-d, -t* or *-it* in Scots). The strong verbs with their vowel changes are an older inheritance from PIE, whereas the dental suffix of the weak verbs is a Germanic innovation (Fulk 2008:144).

In OE, the strong verbs were already largely a closed class, and, with very few exceptions, new or borrowed verbs joined the weak class. This is also overwhelmingly the case for OHG, although a considerable number of verbs did enter the vocabulary as strong verbs between the OHG and Middle High German period (Durrell 2001).⁴³

The strong verbs in Modern German, English, and Scots are thus nearly all survivals from OE or OHG, even if they have undergone great flux since this early stage in the language: many originally strong verbs have joined partly or completely the weak conjugation, and even those remaining strong in the modern languages demonstrate considerable changes from the original seven ablaut classes of the strong verbs in OHG and OE.

This attrition of the strong verbs has taken place to a greater extent in English and Scots than in German, with the latter preserving both more strong verb forms overall, more consistently the *-en* suffix in the past participle, and more clearly the 7 ablaut classes, than have Scots and English.^{44 45}

The greater conservatism of German on the whole notwithstanding, Scots has preserved the archaic ablaut forms of many common strong verbs, as well as many participle forms in *-en*, where English has not, thus allowing for a striking point of commonality with Modern German. This affinity between Modern Scots and Modern German with regard to strong verb forms constitutes the focus of this section.

It will begin by setting out the parallels between the strong verb forms in Modern Scots and Modern German, and absent in Modern English, before demonstrating by recourse to the OE and OHG forms that these similarities are the result of Scots and German having preserved older forms which are no longer present in English.

⁴² Even-Simkin and Tobin (2013) suggest that there is a difference in meaning between strong verbs and weak verbs in both Old English and Modern English, viz. strong verbs are resultative (or perfective), whilst weak verbs express a process (or are neutral with regard to the distinction between process and result). Beedham (2012, 2014, MS) claims to have found structural evidence of perfective meaning in the strong verbs of Modern German in a phonotactic correlation between strong verbs and separable prefixes. Other linguists, most notably Durrell (2001), reject a phonotactic or phonological solution for the strong verbs and stress instead the strong evidence for paradigmatic analogy/analogical extension in the formation and ordering of the strong verbs. Beedham’s research in this area is ongoing, and I am not attempting to apply it in the comparison of Scots and German given in this dissertation.

⁴³ Interestingly, the vast majority of the 48 verbs which Hempen (1998) identifies as joining the strong class between OHG and MHG were adopted into the most frequent patterns of vocalic alteration: 26 joined the traditional MHG class I (e.g. *pfiffen, swigen*) and another 15 joined class III (e.g. *glimmen, verderben*). This would appear to support Durrell’s suggestion that ‘these verbs have clearly been attracted analogically into strong classes on the basis of the phonological form of their infinitives. In the case of the large class I, this has obviously operated on the basis of their root vowel *-i-*, irrespective of preceding or following consonants’ (Durrell 2001:11).

⁴⁴ Modern English has between c. 150-170 strong verbs, German between c. 170-200. (Durrell 2001, Beedham 2005).

⁴⁵ Note that German has also preserved another other archaic feature once common to OE/OHG strong verbs, viz. the *ge-* prefix in the past.part. Originally introduced in Proto-Germanic to impart perfective meaning, it has developed to indicate the more general meaning of ‘past’. Although present in OE, it is preserved in neither Modern Scots nor Modern English, although it survives in other West Germanic languages (Wright & Wright 1925:263, Lass 2008: 146).

The Germanic strong verbs constitute an extremely broad and complex subject and constraints of space mean that this chapter can contain only a very generalised overview and selective study of certain verbs. As such, other Germanic languages - either modern or ancient - will not be considered, and extensive detailed explanation of the strong verb classes and their development from Germanic through OE and OHG cannot be given here.⁴⁶

5.1. Example strong verbs with shared ablaut forms in Modern German and Modern Scots (and not in Modern English)^{47 48}

Principal Parts : Infinitive - Preterite⁴⁹ - Past Participle

German	Scots	English
finden - fand - gefunden	find - fand - fund	find - found - found
binden - band - gebunden	bind - band - bund	bind - bound - bound
brechen - brach - gebrochen	brek - brak - broken/braken/brucken	break - broke - broken
sprechen - sprach - gesprochen	speik - spak - spoken	speak - spoke - spoken
stehlen - stahl - gestohlen	steil - stal - stown	steal - stole - stolen
bitten - bat - gebeten	bid - bad - bidden	bid - bid - bid

⁴⁶ For a more detailed explanation of the Germanic strong verbs and their development consult: Bammesberger (1986), Hogg (1992), Schmidt (2007), Mitchell and Robinson (2007), Seebold (1970).

⁴⁷ In the case of Scots, particularly helpful were Graham (1977), Grant & Main Dixon (1921), Murison (1977), Purves (1997) and Wilson (2008).

⁴⁸ Note that the shared vowel of Scots 'cam' and German 'kam', as the pret. form of 'to come' and 'kommen' respectively, is not due to Scots having preserved the OE form; rather, the form 'cam' develops in Scots at a later period and is thus not relevant to this study, which is concerned with identifying preserved historical features which account for modern similarities between Scots and German. (The OE forms are *cuman* - *cōm* - *cōmon* - *cumen*. (Ekwall 1975:107)).

⁴⁹ Morphologically speaking, English and Scots have only one form of the preterite, which does not differentiate between person or number. German, on the other hand, has four forms, with personal endings added for the 2nd person singular informal (-*est*), 2nd person plural informal (-*et*) and the 3rd person plural/2nd person formal (*en*). For example : *ich/er/sie/es fand* - *du fandest* - *ihr fandet* - *sie/Sie fanden*.

5.2 Example strong verbs with preserved past participle in -en in Modern German and Modern Scots (and not in Modern English)⁵⁰

Past Participle (Infinitive)

German	Scots	English
gefochten (fechten)	fochten (fecht)	fought (fight)
gelaufen (laufen)	luppen (lowp/loup)	leapt/leaped (leap)
gehalten (halten)	hauden (haud)	held (hold)
gelassen (lassen)	latten (lat)	let (let)
getrunken (trinken)	drukken (drink)	drunk (drink)
gestanden (stehen)	stuiden (staun)	stood (stand)
gegriffen (greifen)	gruppen (grup)	gripped (grip)
gebeten (bitten)	bidden (bid)	bid (bid)
gewaschen (waschen)	waschen/wushen (wash)	washed (wash)
gekrochen (kriechen)	cruppen (creep)	crept (creep)

5.3 Selected examples of strong verb forms in Modern Scots from my own corpus and from the Scottish Corpus of Texts and Speech^{51 52}

Preterite Forms (ablaut)		Past Participle Forms (ablaut / -en suffix / ablaut + -en suffix)	
Modern Scots	Source	Modern Scots	Source
‘Yin accoont says that he spak wi great arrogance and widna admit that he nicht hae done onything wrang...’	Robertson. 2002.b.	If ye were fund guilty the punishment wis tae be ‘scurgeit and burnt throw the girsill of the rycht eare with ane het Irne of the compasse...’	Robertson. 2002.b.

⁵⁰ Note that the tendency of Scots to favour the archaic -en suffix in the participle is also demonstrated in common Scots words with no direct German cognate. eg. proven, improven, gotten, approven, putten (from ‘to pit’ = ‘to put’), grutten (from ‘to greit’ = ‘to weep’, hutten (from ‘to hit’), hurten (from ‘to hurt’) etc.

⁵¹ See Appendix B for full list of texts consulted.

⁵² In the case of ‘fund’, the vowel of the strong verb past participle in Scots is illustrated. In the case of the other strong verb past participles in the table, the -en suffix in Scots is illustrated.

Preterite Forms (ablaut)		Past Participle Forms (ablaut / <i>-en</i> suffix / ablaut + <i>-en</i> suffix)	
Modern Scots	Source	Modern Scots	Source
‘Efter he’d feenisht his rant, Sir Robert Graham, a leadin opponent o the King, spak up on behauf o...’	Robertson. 2002.b.	‘[...] an noo that I hae fund ye I dinnae mean tae let ye oot o ma sicht again’.	Robertson. 2002.a.
‘An the mair he spak , the mair I didna.’	Robertson. 2002.a.	There were fower killt, an yin that wis fund hauf-deid the neist mornin.’	Robertson. 2002.a.
‘ He spak o the sowl, o the pouer o the mind ower physical objects, o saicont sicht, an prophecy ; an he spak o whit we cry spectres, bogles...’	Robertson, 2002.a.	‘A’m gled ye’ve fund time tae look in...’	Waddell, 2004.
‘Never a wurd she spak agin the man at haed hauden hir agin hir wull for aw thae lang year.’	Purves, 1985a.	‘Efter a while, he still hidnae fund yin sae he poued ower tae the side o the road...’	Fairnie, 2000.
‘At hame, John fand time tae redd up the auld biggin, mak new buises in the byre...’	Begg, 2012.	In the early years o the 20th century Hame Rule micht even hae been grantit, but it[...] had tae be hauden back in 1914...’	Robertson, 2002.b.
‘I fand masel tellin him foo I wintit tae be a vet.’	Blackhall, 2003.	Never a wurd she spak agin the man at haed hauden hir agin hir wull for aw thae lang year.’	Purves, 1985a.
‘Sae the auld wifie ran doon the steps an fand her dochter greetin her een oot.’	McGonigal, 1997.	Hamish Henderson, sodger, academic, makar an, abuin aw a passionate Scot, is hauden bi monie fowk tae be the maucht ahint the Scottish folk-sang revival in the hinnermaist quarter o last century’.	Fairnie, 2002a.
‘[...]awa he went doon tae the cellar an fand the twa weemin there...’	McGonigal, 1997.	‘[...] an ye ir ti say til him that whan he haes drukken it, the thrie claen kists wul be reddie for him.’	Purves, 1985b.

Preterite Forms (ablaut)		Past Participle Forms (ablaut / <i>-en</i> suffix / ablaut + <i>-en</i> suffix)	
Modern Scots	Source	Modern Scots	Source
‘Ah dout it’s mair nor tyme Ah fand anither wyfe ti tent til ma bairns’.	Purves, 1985a.	‘At aince, thay aw sat doun ti aet an drink, an whan thay haed etten an drukken thair fill...’	Purves, 1982a.
‘Whan thair faither fand out whit haed befawn thaim...’	Purves, 1985a.	‘Nou the prince in the castel wes nane ither but the braw callant that haed stuiden up for Jennie in the huntin ludge...’	Purves, 1982a.
‘[...] it brak his hert aa ower again when he thocht on hou shuin she wad forget...’	Begg, 2012.	‘The prince himsell is anaith the spell o a blek, blek wutch an maun dae as he is bidden .’	Purves, 1985b.
‘The only time the fan gart him wauken wis the odd time it brak doon throu the nicht an Geordie waukened up wunnerin whit wis adae.’	Fairnie, 2001a.	‘The lassie did as she wes bidden .’	Purves, 1985b.
‘fae the time he brak his leg as a bairn.’	Fairnie, 2001b.	I wis a kind of feart I wid be washen oot tae.’	Fenton, 2005.
‘But the girdil brak and she wan free oot the dure inti the mirk o the nicht...’	Purves, 1982a.	Whan ye hae wushen and buskit yersel, pit on yer mantua, gang doon... tae the threshie-flair, but dinna mak yersel kent tae the man till he is by etten and drinkin...’	Borrowman, 1974

5.4 Historical Data and Analysis⁵³

This section will provide examples of how in the strong verbs Modern Scots preserves the vowel pattern of OE and Modern German preserves the vowel pattern of OHG. Where attested, the following four principal parts will be listed : infinitive - 3rd person singular preterite - 3rd person plural preterite⁵⁴ - past participle. Note that the vowels in OE and OHG shared almost exactly the same pronunciation, so that in general only one phonetic transcription is given for both. Verbs which have the same vowel changes (i.e. are of the same ablaut class) are grouped together for historical analysis.

5.5 Strong Verb Ablaut

Overview of how OE strong verb ablaut is preserved in Modern Scots and OHG strong verb ablaut is preserved in Modern German

OE	ModSc	OHG	ModG
findan - fand - fundon - funden	find - fand - fund	findan - fand - funtun - funtan	finden - fand - gefunden
bindan - band - bundon - bunden	bind - band - bund	bintan - bant - buntun - gibuntan	binden - band - gebunden
breccan - bræc - bræcon - brocen	brek - brak - broken/braken/brucken	brehhan - brah - brāhun - gibrohhan	brechen - brach - gebrochen
spreccan - spræc - spræcon - spreccen	speik - spak - spoken	sprehhan - sprah - sprāhun - gisprohhan	sprechen - sprach - gesprochen
stelan - stæl - stælon - stolen	steil - stal - stown	stelan - stal - stālun - gistolan	stehlen - stahl - gestohlen
biddan - bæd - bædon - beden	bid - bad - bidden	bitten - bat - bātun - gibieten	bitten - bat - gebeten

⁵³ Particularly helpful in this section were Seebold (1970) and Lass (2008).

⁵⁴ A distinct vowel to mark third person pret. pl. is no longer present in German, Scots or English and only three forms are now required to demonstrate the vowel gradation. German does, however, still distinguish in the preterite between person and number by means of personal endings (see footnote 49).

i. to find / finden / tae find ; to bind / binden / tae bind ⁵⁵

PGmc	<i>fenþ-a</i> 'to find'	<i>bend-a</i> 'to bind'
OE	findan - fand - fundon - funden	bindan - band - bundon - bunden
OHG	findan - fand - funtun - funtan	bintan - bant - buntun - gibuntan
OE / OHG pronunciation of the ablauting vowels: /ɪ/ - /a/ - /ʊ/ - /ʊ/		

It can be seen from the above examples how Modern Scots and German preserve the vowel pattern of OE and OHG respectively. This holds both orthographically, with both languages writing i-a-u, and phonologically, albeit with slight change in the pronunciation of the vowel in the past. part. in the case of Scots, where OE /ʊ/ has developed to /ʌ/ in Modern Scots 'fund / bund'. In Modern English, by contrast, although still represented orthographically by 'i', the /ɪ/ of the OE infinitive has developed to /aɪ/, and both the /a/ of the OE pret. sing. and the /ʊ/ of the OE past. part. have developed to /au/ (written 'ou') as a result of developments in the Middle English period. (viz. the Great Vowel Shift⁵⁶ and the influence of the pret. pl. and past. part. on pret. sing) (Ekwall 1975: 99-103, Lass 2008:132).

ii. to break / brechen / tae brek ; to speak / sprechen / to speik ; to steal / stehlen / tae steil ⁵⁷

PGmc	<i>brek-a</i> 'to break'	<i>stel-a</i> 'to steal'	<i>sprek-a</i> 'to speak'
OE	brecan - bræc - bræcon - brocen	stelan - stæl - stælon - stolen	sprecan - spræc - spræcon - spreccen
OHG	brehhan - brah - brāhun - gibrohhan	stelan - stal - stālun - gistolan	sprehhan - sprah - sprāhun - gisprohhan
OE / OHG pronunciation of the ablauting vowels: /ɛ/ - /a/ - /a:/ - /ɔ/			

It can be seen from the above examples that Modern German preserves the OHG vowel pattern e-a-o in orthography, and the OHG pronunciation of /ɛ/ in the infinitive and /ɔ/ in the past. part. The /a:/ of the Modern German pret. sing. 'stahl' is a lengthened version of the OHG short /a/. Modern Scots has preserved phonologically in this case the short vowel of the OE pret. sing. /æ/, which corresponds directly to the short /a/ vowel in Modern Scots 'brak', 'sprak', 'stal'. In the case of OE 'breccan', Scots also preserves phonologically and orthographically the /ɛ/ ('e') of the infinitive in

⁵⁵ Note that OHG 'funtan' ordinarily occurred without the *ge-* prefix. This is explained by fact that in Germanic 'the prefix *zi- was added to the past participle to impart to it a perfective meaning. Verbs which were already perfective in meaning, such as *bringan*, *cuman*, *findan*, *niman*, did not originally have it.' (Wright & Wright 1925 :263). 'Die Vorsilbe *zi*, *ze* hatte ursprünglich perfektivierende Bedeutung, doch ist sie ae. (wie as.) bereits zum reinen Formprinzip geworden.' (Brunner 1965: 280).

⁵⁶ A series of changes affecting the long vowels in English, and, to a lesser extent, Scots, between the fifteenth and eighteenth century.

⁵⁷ Note that OE 'spreccan' was in class V, as opposed to class IV of 'breccan' and 'stelan', hence the /ɛ/ in the past participle where we would expect /ɔ/ as in *broccen* and *stolen*. It joins class IV in the ME period (Ekwall 1975:106).

Modern Scots ‘brek’, and in the past. part. the OE /ɔ/ of brocen, although this pronunciation varies in Modern Scots between /ɔ/, /a/ and /ʌ/ (Gburek 1986:119-121, Grant & Murison 1931-1976, Macleod & Cairns 1993, Robinson 1985).

In the infinitive and past. part. forms of ‘to speak’ / ‘tae speik’ and ‘to steal’ / ‘tae steil’, however, the vowels in Modern Scots, as in Modern English, have undergone sound changes from OE as a result of the progress of the Great Vowel Shift in Middle English and Middle Scots respectively.⁵⁸ The modern vowel of the infinitive /i:/ has developed from OE /ɛ/; and the /əʊ/ in the modern past. part. ‘stolen’ / ‘stoun’, and ‘spoken’ / ‘spoken’ (and English ‘broken’) has developed from OE /ɔ/.

iii. to bid / bitten / tae bid

PGmc	<i>bed-ja</i> ‘to bid’
OE	biddan - bǣd - bǣdon - beden
OHG	bitten - bat - bātun - gibieten
OE / OHG pronunciation of the ablauting vowels: /ɪ/ - /a/ - /a:/ - OE /ɛ/; OHG /i:/	

Modern German, Scots and English have preserved the ‘i’ or /ɪ/ of the OHG and OE infinitive respectively, both orthographically and phonologically. Modern German has also preserved orthographically the pret. sing. /a/ of OHG, although phonologically, as in the case of Modern German ‘brach’, ‘sprach’, ‘stahl’, the /a:/ of the Modern German pret. sing. ‘bat’ is a lengthened version of the OHG short /a/. Modern Scots has preserved phonologically the OE pret. sing. vowel /æ/, which, as in the case of ‘spak’, ‘brak’, ‘stal’, corresponds directly to the short /a/ vowel in Modern Scots ‘bad’. Vowel developments in each language mean that neither German, Scots nor English have preserved the OE or OHG vowel of the past. part.

5.6 Strong Verb Past Participles in-en

This section demonstrates how in the strong verbs Modern Scots preserves the *-en* suffix of OE and modern German the *-en* suffix of OHG. The *-en* suffix in the past participle⁵⁹ of the strong Germanic verbs can be traced back to the PIE suffix **-eno-*, plus its ablaut variants **-ono-* and **-no-*, which developed in PGmc to either **-inaz* or **-anaz*. The former generally weakens to *-in*, which in turn weakens to *-en* in OE, and the latter weakens to *-an* in OHG and then *-en* in MHG.

⁵⁸ The Great Vowel Shift was less extensive in Scotland and in Northern England than in Southern England, yet nonetheless had significant influence on the development of Scots and the Northern dialects of English.

⁵⁹ Historically an adjective formed from a verb stem (Lass 2008:146).

Simplified overview of development of *-en* past. part. suffix in English, German and Scots

English and Scots	German
PIE *-eno	
PGmc *-inaz	PGmc *-anaz
-in	-an
-en	-en

Overview of how *-en* in strong verb past. part. in Modern Scots is preserved from OE and how *-en* in strong verb past. part. in Modern German is preserved from OHG

PGmc	OE	ModSc	ModE	OHG	ModG
<i>feht-a</i> 'to fight'	feohtan - feaht - fuhton - fohton	fechten	<i>fought</i>	fehtan - faht - fuhtun - gifohtan	gefochten
<i>bed-ja</i> 'to bid'	biddan - bæd - bædon - beden	bidden	<i>bid</i>	bitten - bat - bātun - gibieten	gebeten
<i>drenk-a</i> 'to drink'	drincan - dranc - druncon - druncen	drukken	<i>drunk</i>	trinkan, trank, trunkun, (gi-)trunkan	getrunken
<i>læt-a</i> 'to let'	lætan - lēt - lēton - læten	latten	<i>let</i>	lāzan - liaz - liazun - gilāzun	gelassen
<i>sta-n-da</i> 'to stand'	standan - stōd - stōdon - standen	stuiden	<i>stood</i>	stantan - stuont - stuontun - stantan	gestanden
<i>þwaha -a</i> 'to wash'	þwēan - þwōg - þwōgan - þwægen	washen wushen	<i>washed</i>	dwahan - dwuog - dwuogun - gidwagan	gewashen
<i>hlaup-a</i> 'to leap' 'to run/ walk')	hlēapan - hlēop - hlēopon - hlēapen	luppen	<i>leapt</i>	loufan - liof - liofun - giloufan	gelaufen
<i>greip-a</i> 'to grip'	grīpan - grāp - gripon - gripen	gruppen	<i>gripped</i>	grīfan - greif - griffun - gigriffan	gegriffen
<i>kreup-a</i> 'to creep'	crēopan - crēap - crupon - croupen	cruppen	<i>crept</i>	kriochan - krouch - kruchan - krochan	gekrochen
<i>haldan-a</i> 'to hold, keep'	healdan - hēold - hēoldon - healden	hauden	<i>held</i>	haltan - hialt - hialtun - gihaltan	gehalten

It is clear from the verb forms of OE and OHG illustrated in the table above that the *-en* suffix in the past. part. of the verbs in Modern Scots and Modern German is due to the preservation of the earlier OE / OHG forms, or in some cases, MidSc / MHG, by which time weakening to *-en* was complete.

In English, by contrast, the OE *-en* of the past. part. began to fall out of use during the ME English period, and was by the end of the Early Modern period no longer present, thus allowing for another point of comparison between Scots and German based on the two languages having preserved older features which were once common to all three languages.

6. Lexical Cognates

For the speaker of German reading a Scots text the frequency of words which bear striking resemblance to Modern German words quickly becomes apparent.

The vocabularies of Scots and English overlap to a great extent, but Scots also contains a range of words whose origins are to be found in Old English, Old Norse, French, Dutch and Gaelic, which distinguish it from English. As will be demonstrated in this chapter, it is the distinctive Old English element of Modern Scots vocabulary which accounts in many cases for the similarities in vocabulary between Modern Scots and Modern German. By setting out a range of lexical cognates in the basic vocabulary of Scots and German, and providing an overview of their historical origin, this section will demonstrate how many of the common affinities between Scots and German vocabulary are due to Scots and German having preserved ancient Germanic items of vocabulary from OE and OHG respectively. In English, by contrast, these OE items haven fallen out of use during the course of the developments which have led to ModE.

Given that this is a study of how Scots and German have preserved common Germanic features from an early stage of the languages (OE/OHG respectively), other sources of later, non-native⁶⁰ vocabulary in Scots - e.g. Latin, Old Norse, Old French, Middle Dutch and Gaelic- and in German - e.g. Latin, Greek, Italian, and French - are not dealt with here.^{61 62}

For each item of vocabulary below, the Modern Scots and Modern German forms are listed along with the shared modern meaning.⁶³ The etymological overview given in the row '*Origin*'⁶⁴ then sets out how these items of vocabulary are lexical cognates, preserved in each language from Germanic, on occasion even from PIE, through the earliest defined stage of each language, OE and OHG respectively, to the present day. Where attested, West Germanic, OSc, and MHG forms are listed.

⁶⁰ i.e. not present from the earliest recognised stage of the language / entering the language after the period of OE / OHG respectively.

⁶¹ This explains the absence of many words of striking similarity in ModSc and ModG, which one might have expected to see in this chapter, but whose origins are not to be found in a shared, ancient Germanic root, but rather have entered Scots and German at a later point in the history of these languages as the result of some external influence. There is, for example, a group of highly similar words in Modern Scots and Modern German whose origins are to be found in Latin: *coft* / *kaufte*; *screive* / *schreiben*; *sicker* / *sicher*; *owerset* / *übersetzen*. Likewise, there is also a group of closely related words in Modern Scots and Modern German whose origins can be traced to Middle Dutch: *gowk* / *Geck*; *shoogle* / *shaukeln*; *keek* / *gucken*.

⁶² Similarly, it may be assumed that the voiceless velar stop /k/ in such Scots words as '*kirk*' '*kist*' and '*birk*' are to be seen as cognate with the /k/ of German '*Kirche*' '*Kiste*' and '*Birke*', where ModE has /tʃ/. The /k/ in Scots is not, however, due to the preservation of an OE feature, but is rather the result of later Scandinavian influence on Scots pronunciation (Grant & Main Dixon 1921:37).

⁶³ i.e. other meanings in the respective languages are not listed.

⁶⁴ Of particular assistance for this section were Holthausen (1974); Kluge (1999); Grant & Murison (1931 - 1976); Stratmaan (1873); Duden (2001-2007).

6.1 Examples of lexical cognates in Modern Scots and Modern German preserved from OE/OHG with historical data and analysis⁶⁵

	Scots	German	Shared Modern Meaning
Modern Form	fremit / fremd	fremd	adj: foreign, strange, alien, unfamiliar
Origin	Gmc *fram OE frem(e)ðe/ frem(e)de OSc fremmit	Gmc *fram OHG fremidi MHG vrem(e)de	In Scots also used without modification as a noun in the following senses: i. a stranger. (Cf. German: 'ein Fremder', 'eine Fremde') ii. an unknown, foreign land, a country far from native land: 'to gang (awa) to the fremd', 'out amang the fremd'. (Cf. German: 'die Fremde', 'in die Fremde gehen / ziehen', 'in der Fremde')
Modern Form	hoast	husten	verb: to cough
Origin	Gmc *hwōstōn OE hwēsan, hwōsan OSc host.	Gmc *hwōstōn OHG huostōn MHG huosten	In Scots also used without modification as a noun: a cough (Cf. German 'der Husten')
Modern Form	howff/ houfe	(der) Hof	noun: an enclosed place, a courtyard
Origin	Gmc *hufa OE hof	Gmc *hufa OHG hof MHG hof	
Modern Form	ken	kennen	verb: to know, be aware of, be acquainted with sb.
Origin	Gmc *kann-eja OE cennan OSc ken	Gmc *kann-eja OHG (in compounds) - chennan MHG kennen	(Note that there is no 'kennen' / 'wissen' distinction in Scots)
Modern Form	lear	(die) Lehre	noun: learning, doctrine
Origin	Gmc *lais-eja- WGmc *laizō OE lār (related to OE verb læren) OSc lere	Gmc *lais-eja- WGmc *laizō OHG lēra (related to OHG verb lēren) MHG lēre	In Scots also used without modification as a verb: to teach, instruct (Cf. German 'lehren')

⁶⁵ Note that in some cases ModE also retains the item of OE vocabulary, but that the ModE form has altered considerably from the OE form, making it less immediately identifiable as a German cognate or as being of OE origin, as compared to the more conservative Scots form which still bears striking resemblance to the similarly conservative German form. For example: Scots 'licht', German 'Licht', English 'light'; Scots 'fecht', German 'fechten', English 'fight'; Scots 'loup', German 'laufen', English 'leap'.

	Scots	German	Shared Modern Meaning
Modern Form	lift / luft	(die) Luft	noun: the sky, the firmament, the upper regions, the heavens; the atmosphere.
Origin	Gmc *luftu OE lyft	Gmc *luftu OHG luft MHG luft	
Modern Form	sair	sehr	adverb: severely, extremely, thoroughly, very.
Origin	Gmc *saira OE sāre	Gmc *saira OHG sēro MHG sēre	
Modern Form	sned	schneiden	verb: to cut, chop, prune, sever
Origin	Gmc.*sneiþ-a- OE snīðan	Gmc.*sneiþ-a- OHG snīdan MHG snīden	
Modern Form	snell	schnell	adjective: fast, swift, brisk (In Scots, frequently used specifically in relation to the weather in sense of ‘fast, keen, bitter, sharp, severe’)
Origin	Gmc. *snella OE snel	Gmc. *snella OHG snel MHG snel	
Modern Form	wale (oot)	(aus) wählen	verb: to choose, select, elect
Origin	PIE root *wel OE willan	PIE root *wel OHG wellen MHG weln	

6.2 Evidence from other modern West Germanic languages

As in section 4.4 on phonology, it is illuminating to compare Scots, German and English with other modern West Germanic languages.

The table below provides examples of cognate words of Germanic origin in the modern West Germanic languages of Scots, German, Dutch (and Frisian).⁶⁶

The absence of the word in the modern West Germanic language of English and its presence in the other modern West Germanic languages constitutes further evidence of how the lexical cognates in Modern Scots and Modern German are due to the two languages having preserved features of their shared West Germanic ancestor, where English has not. (Note in the case of Dutch ‘lucht’ the phonological shift /ft/ > /xt/. Compare also, for example, German ‘sanft’, English ‘soft’, and Dutch ‘zacht’ (Bremmer 1993:21)).

⁶⁶ In some cases, a lexical cognate in Modern Frisian could not be identified. My research was not, however, exhaustive enough to rule out the existence of such a lexical cognate in Frisian, and there may well be one.

Origin	English	Scots	German	Dutch	Frisian
Gmc *fram	Ø	fremit / fremd	fremd	vreemde	frjemd
Gmc *hwōstōn	Ø	hoast	husten	hoest	hoastje
Gmc *hufa	Ø	howff/houfe	Hof	hof	
Gmc *kann-eja	Ø	ken	kennen	kennen	kenne
Gmc *lais-eja-	Ø	lear	Lehre	leren	leare
Gmc *luftu	Ø	lift /luft	Luft	lucht	loft
Gmc *saira	Ø	sair	sehr	zeer	
Gmc *sneip-a-	Ø	sned	schneiden	snijden	
Gmc *snella	Ø	snel	schnell	snel	

6.3 Selected examples of lexical cognates in Modern Scots from my own corpus and from the Scottish Corpus of Texts and Speech⁶⁷

Modern Scots	Source	Modern Scots	Source
‘Maist Scottish people dinna ken muckle aboot the auld Parliament, forby the fact that...’	Robertson, 2002.b.	[...] when scribes and clerks were copyin awthing oot by haun, they didna hae ony dictionars or spellcheckers tae help them if they didna ken hoo tae spell a word’.	Robertson, 2002.b.
‘Later generations read the Declaration athoot kennin aboot Robert’s joukerie-pawkerie.’	Robertson, 2002.b.	Gin we dinna ken the words namin the land aboot us an the places whaur we bide, we dinnae ken Scotland’.	The Scots Pairlament Cross Pairty Group on the Scots Leid, 2003.
‘ kennin this last maitter tae be ane reservit tae the Westminstr Pairlament’	The Scots Pairlament Cross Pairty Group on the Scots Leid, 2003.	I kent I had tae keep gaun - I kent aw thae stories aboot fowk[...] But I didnae ken if I cud stey awake aw through the nicht’.	Robertson, 2002.a.
‘We ken naethin o his interests and private life, indeed, frae the time that we first ken him, he can scarcely hae had ony’.	Telfer, 1995.	Naebody kens whit Wallace wis daen during this period. But kennin how Wallace felt aboot his country...’	Telfer, 1995.

⁶⁷ See Appendix B for full list of texts consulted.

Modern Scots	Source	Modern Scots	Source
‘The twa elders[...] didnae let on they kent fine that the slee auld carle cuid still tramp mair nor that ower the hills ilka day efter his yowes’.	Begg, 2012.	He wis o an age wi Sandy, an had kent him as a sheperd lad...’	Begg, 2012.
‘[...] an mony mair were ta’en, sentenced, an hung at the Gressmairket in Embro, wi their heids sneddit aff and cairtit back...’	Begg, 2012.	Syne she sneddit aff the brainches an brunt the hail thing up...’.	Purves, 1982b.
‘The King’s curates had sent lang leets o names o absenters tae the garrison sodgers, wha went frae hous tae hous, an ferm tae ferm, walin oot non-attenders for beatins and fines - an waur’.	Begg, 2012.	Likewise on the ferm, when he’d uised a graip tae redd-oot the cou-skitter frae the byre[...] or wale oot some corn frae the meal kist for the hens.	Begg, 2012.
‘We wale ane schuil oot o thousands...’.	Hershaw, 2009.	The First Meenister is the heid o the Scottish Executive an is walit by the Scottish Pairlament.’	Scottish Parliamentary Corporate Body, 2003.
‘Syne the First Meenister wales the Scottish Meenisters that is in chairge o a devolvit area.’	Scottish Parliamentary Corporate Body, 2003.	‘The teachers wis speirt tae wale oot the best three entries frae ilka cless...’	Fairnie, 2002b.
‘John Jones was a collier wha spoke a fremmit leid’	Hershaw, 2009.	They were tellt tae screive i a fremmit leid’.	Hershaw, 2009.
‘I hae bade here awa frae the warld for mony years, sir, an I dout in that time I hivna seen thirty fremmit faces...’	Robertson. 2002.a.	It wis a fremmit feelin, a new feelin.’	Blackhall, 2001.
‘The wind wis comin frae the east, a snell , bitin wind.’	Robertson. 2002.a.	[...] win fae the North is mair an snell ...’	Smith, 2003.
‘I tried tae hoast , bit ma throat wis steekit, an fecht as I likit, nae breath cd I get.	Fenton, 1995.	[...] Jennet wis smitten by a great fever, an a rackin hoast that rattlt her kist and chokit her braith.’	Begg, 2012.
A try tae keep as warm as toast, bit sune A’ll hae a raspin hoast [...] She shouldnae be here wi that hoast [...] Ach, Ah’m wheezin an Ah’m hoastin [...] Ae winter time ma grandfather had got an awfu hoast .	Waddell, 2004.	‘Ye canna hoast in her hoose or she’ll be dichtin awa the germs wi a cloot.’	Blackhall, 2003.

Modern Scots	Source	Modern Scots	Source
'[...]bit he wis awa aa day at Strathbogie College in the toon, gaitherin lear o a different kyne.'	Blackhall, 2003.	He speiled the brae tae Gilmorehill Tae gether lear an classic knowledge Before gaun on tae Embro College...'	Reid, 1991.
'The splendor o the lift abuin an the whyteness o the clouds...'	Purves, 2000.	Owre an again the gowden sun gaes down, the blue lift mirkils intil nicht...'	Purves, 2005.
'[...]anaith the ever-restless lift abuin...'	Purves, 2005.	Then the hale lift abune wi their echoes did ring...'	Begg, 1993.
'En Sooth win, gale force on us gey sair [...] Hale day the win dis blaw, on us gey sair [...] Tries sair tae rain bit bides affa raw...'	Smith, 2003.	[...] he wisnae affa sair pleased wi himsel ata...'	Smith, 2003.

7. Conclusion

In conclusion, this dissertation has presented a synchronic outline of a range of parallels present between Modern Scots and Modern German together with a diachronic study of the historical developments which have led to them. In doing so, two main objectives have been met.

Firstly, this dissertation has illustrated how Modern Scots and Modern German share a range of strikingly similar features in phonology, strong verb forms and lexical cognates. In the case of the sections on strong verb forms and lexical cognates, the *langue* based overview of the modern similarities was supplemented by specific examples from a corpus of Modern Scots, providing the reader new to the language with a deeper knowledge and understanding of how the Scots language looks and is used today.

Secondly, through a diachronic study of the historical origin and development of the Scots and German languages, this dissertation has demonstrated how the affinities between Modern Scots and Modern German are due to Scots and German having preserved ancient features of their shared Germanic ancestor language, on occasion even their shared PIE ancestor language, through the earliest defined stage of each language, Old English and Old High German respectively, to the present day. Given that English, Dutch and Frisian are so closely related to both Scots and German, having evolved from the same West Germanic ancestor language, the English, Dutch and Frisian languages were frequently referred to as a point of comparison. This comparison further clarified the historical origins of the similarities between Modern Scots and Modern German, in demonstrating how they are the result of the preservation of ancient West Germanic features once common to all three languages of English, German and Scots.

These findings can be summarised by saying that Scots and German (and Dutch and Frisian) are more conservative languages than English, having preserved more features of the shared West Germanic ancestor, which accounts for the modern similarities between Scots and German and not in English.

The data and analysis given here correct the misinformed yet widespread view which dismisses Scots as a dialect of English, or, worse, as poor or corrupted English. Through detailed synchronic and diachronic analysis of the Scots language, in close comparison with the German, English, Dutch and Frisian languages, it has been demonstrated how Scots is an independent language, with a distinct historical evolution, literary tradition, vocabulary, idiom, grammar, pronunciation, and syntax. Furthermore, the overview of the history and current status of Scots in the 'Introduction to Scots' section endeavoured to outline the socio-political developments which account for the current disparity between the linguistic reality of Scots as one of the three indigenous languages of the people of Scotland alongside English and Gaelic, and its predominantly demeaning perception as a dialect or corruption of English.

Constraints of space meant that it was not possible to discuss every aspect of similarity between Scots and German, and that focus was concentrated on selected aspects of the three fields of phonology, strong verb forms, and lexical cognates. The study of the affinities between Modern Scots and Modern German presented in this dissertation is by no means exhaustive. Other aspects of similarity in the fields of phonology, strong verb forms and lexical cognates could be usefully explored in further research, as well as other areas of similarity not dealt with in this dissertation, for example, syntax, morphology and weak verb forms.

Due to constraints of space and time, this dissertation focused predominantly on the links between the two West Germanic languages of Scots and German. In order to gain a greater understanding of the West Germanic ancestor language, and how it compared to the North and East Germanic branches, it would be of great interest to pursue more extensive research on the modern similarities and historical affinities between all of the modern West Germanic languages.

The modern similarities and historical affinities between Modern Scots and the Modern Scandinavian languages constitute another intriguing topic which could not be addressed in this dissertation and which would benefit from further research. Closely related to this, another interesting area of research would be the modern similarities and historical affinities between Modern Scots and the modern northern English regional dialects.

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Appendix A

Overview of historical periodisation of English, German, and Scots
 (Smith 2012:6, Schmidt 2007:18)

English
Old English to 1100
Early Middle English 1100-1350
Late Middle English 1350-1475
Middle English 1100-1475
Early Modern English 1475-1700
Later Modern English 1700 onwards

German
Old High German to 1050
Middle High German 1050-1350
Early New High German 1350-1650
New High German (Standard German) 1650 onwards

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

Appendix B

Corpora

My own corpus

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⁶⁸ Place of publication and publisher are given when listed online by the Scottish Corpus of Texts and Speech. Further information on each text is available on the website.