

Norse lexis in Scots: Surviving well^[1]

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(平成 30 年 11 月 1 日査読受理日)

スコッツ語における北欧起源語：その揺るぎない立場

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(Accepted for publication November 1st, 2018)

Abstract

Scandinavian languages have exerted a great influence on the Scots language, spoken in Scotland, but are not well documented as their influence on the English language. This is partly due to direct language contact between speakers of Scandinavian and English in the north of England, which consequently produced the Great Scandinavian Belt in Middle English dialects. Scotland, on the other hand, was not forcibly occupied by the Scandinavians, apart from the northern isles of Shetland and Orkney (as well as Caithness, in northeastern mainland Scotland). Nonetheless, a considerable number of Scandinavian elements were incorporated into Scots. These were brought in from the Great Scandinavian Belt, and became interwoven with Scots in its preliminary phase, thus becoming an inseparable part of the language even in modern times. Scotland is usually excluded when Scandinavian linguistic influence upon the English language is discussed in the literature. However, the significance of the processes that occurred in the Great Scandinavian Belt has great relevance in the language formation process that took place in Scotland.

要約

スコットランドで話されているスコッツ語の中には北欧語からの借用語が沢山存在している。ブリテン島と北欧の距離的な近さを考えると当然のことであり、太古の昔からこれまで様々な経路から流入して来たと考えられる。歴史的に最も良く知られている重要な経路は、イングランド北部地域からのものであろう。その地域—ヴァイキング時代に多くの北欧人が定住し現地イギリス人と共存したため言語が混成していた—から、ノルマンコンクエスト後に、イングランド人が大挙して移住し、その結果彼らの話し言葉が萌芽期にあったスコッツ語の中に入り込むことになる。その時代に組み込まれた北欧起源語は現在でも典型的なスコッツ語と見なされている一方、それらは北イングランドでは消失しつつある。本稿ではスコッツ語の中の北欧起源語の残存について論じる。

Key words : Scots, Scotland, English, Norse influence, Great Scandinavian Belt

キーワード : スコッツ語, スコットランド, 英語, 北欧語の影響, グレートスカンジナビアンベルト

1. Introduction

In Scots, a language spoken by the majority of people in Scotland, a substantial body of words originates from Scandinavian⁽¹⁾. The integration process of these words into Scots has been varied, likely due to the exchange of goods and people from the ancient period to the present between the geographically close northern parts of the British Isles and Northern Europe. Thus, the Norse lexis that enter Scotland did

not necessarily spread evenly from the original point of entry to other regions; it would have depended on when and how the words entered and whether they were integrated into the local speech or not. Some words might now be used only in regionally or socially limited circumstances and environments, or they might have disappeared long ago due to social change, or they may be on the verge of disappearing now. Other words might be firmly established and be of more general use.

Perhaps the most well-known historical route of entry of Norse lexis to Scotland is that from the northern part of

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England, a strongly Scandinavianized area, due to intensive Scandinavian settlement in an earlier era. This is the most important route of entry of Norse lexis because it entered an area which became a future center of politics and economics in the Lowlands. Of equal historical relevance is the fact that the northern isles of Scotland, Orkney and Shetland, were officially under Norwegian control until 1472. When these isles were ceded to Scotland, a gradual language shift occurred from the Scandinavian language to Scots, although Scots in these isles has evolved into a distinct variety with strong Norse elements in the substratum.

The purpose of this paper is to show that Norse lexis penetrating Scots from northern England still survives in Scots, away from its origin point in northern England where it barely survives. We begin by examining the historical context of primary and secondary contact with Norse in Scotland. Following a discussion of the Norse words used in the Scottish Lowlands today, we then examine their diachronic geographical distribution compared with that in England.

2. Historical Context

2.1. Primary contact

The overall influence of Old Norse (ON) is illustrated in Figure 1. The most influential primary contact is shown by the two large arrows running from Norn to Northern Isles dialects and Viking Norse to northern English dialects in England. The left thick arrow results from the Norwegians' entry, settlement, and eventual control of Shetland and Orkney and Caithness, located on the northeastern edge of mainland Scotland, from the 8th to 15th centuries. In these far north areas, various dialects from the west coast of Norway developed into Norn and were used until the 17th to 18th centuries, despite the isles' acquisition by Scotland in the 15th century. This direct and long Scandinavian overlay is revealed in the area's place names, almost all of which are of Scandinavian origin. A particularly strong cultural institution is reflected in the presence of *-thing* (<ON þing 'gathering', 'assembly', as in *Althing* in Iceland and *Storting* in Norway) in place names such as *Tingwall* in Shetland (also *Tynwald*, the name of the parliament of the Isle of Man) (<ON þingvöllr 'assembly-field'), *Dingieshowe* in Orkney (<ON þingshaugr 'assembly-mound'), and *Thingswa* (<ON þingsvað 'assembly-slope') in Caithness⁽²⁾, all of which signify an important administrative site⁽³⁾. It was in these areas where ON elements started to diffuse into Scots that saw development of the prevailing language and a distinctive type of dialect with a Norn substratum (called the insular dialects of Scots).

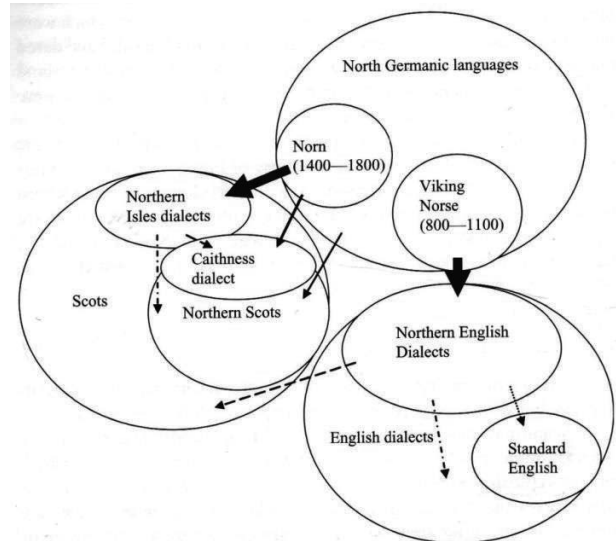


Figure 1: Levels of Scandinavian influence on Scots and English dialects 1₍₄₎

(Full lines denote primary contact; broken lines denote secondary contact. The thicker the line, the more intense the contact.)

Though not illustrated in Figure 1, during the 10th century, there was another entry of Norwegians from Irish enclaves into the northwest of England and the Great Scandinavian Belt. Some of the Norwegians moved again into areas in southwest Scotland. The complex ethnicity of this part of Britain is reflected in the so-called inversion compound in place names, where generic elements, the majority of them being *kirk* (an ON-induced form of Old English (OE) *church*), are placed first as in Gaelic, as in *Kirkbride* and *Kirkoswald* (compared with *Bridekirk* in Dumfriesshires and *Oswaldkirk* in Yorkshire). Other such place names include *Kirkmichael*, *Kirkmaiden*, *Kirkcowan*, *Kirkcudbright*, and *Crossraguel*. This area comprises the northern limit of the Great Scandinavian Belt. This early presence of Scandinavians in the far north and southwest of Scotland seems to have had little effect on the emergence of Scots.

The right thick arrow in Figure 1 results from the entry of a considerable number of Scandinavians (mostly Danish) between the years 800 to 1100 to the former Viking kingdom of *Jórvik* (in the southern half of Northumbria) and the *Danelaw* area. The resultant mix of their speech with local northern speech in England in this area is sometimes known as *Anglo-Danish* or *Anglo-Scandinavian*. The linguistic atlas of Middle English (ME) dialects clearly shows this geographical band in England, which is known as the *Great Scandinavian Belt*⁽⁵⁾. It stretches between the North Sea and Irish Sea, in the area running east of Yorkshire toward the west of

Cumbria, including Humberside but excluding Durham and Northumberland (see Figure 2). This band is still visible in modern dialect atlases, with its focal area putatively reflecting the relatively late survival of ON, the Scandinavian language. The strong Scandinavian linguistic influence is witnessed in the distribution of Scandinavian place name elements such as -by, -thorp, -toft, -lathe, -thwaite, and -garth in the former Danelaw area. While some of the Scandinavian linguistic elements in speech were lost over time, others have survived in the north or other localities and even infiltrated into the south to eventually become firmly codified through their inclusion in Standard English in England. Similarly, a considerable number of ON elements also entered the Scottish Lowlands through the large number of immigrants that came from northern England following social change in both countries after the Norman Conquest of England.

2. 2. Secondary contact

After the Norman Conquest in England in 1066 and the subsequent establishment of the Norman regime and feudalism, many English refugees escaped oppression by William I and William II by fleeing to southern Scotland, where people spoke Northumbrian dialects of OE. As they were from the Great Scandinavian Belt⁽⁶⁾, their heavily Scandinavianized linguistic elements consequently also entered with them. This occurred when Malcom III was King of Scots (1058-1093). Though he spoke Scots unofficially with his queen, Margaret, a princess of the ancient royal house of Wessex, Gaelic was the dominant language in Scotland at the time. It was their son David I (1124-1153) and his successors who established the path for Scots to become a common language in trade and then an official language in Scotland.

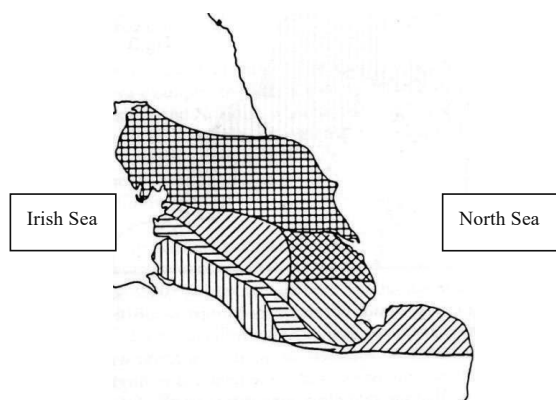


Figure 2: Great Scandinavian Belt with focal area⁽⁷⁾
 (The double-hatched area is the focal area)
 (Irish Sea and North Sea are added to the original map for clarification.)

Like his brothers, David I was brought up in England, was educated in the Norman fashion, and had Norman friends. Upon becoming king, he continued this relationship with his Norman peers and provided them with important juridical and administrative positions. He also further strengthened royal authority by giving away lands to Norman aristocrats, who brought with them considerable numbers of Anglo-Scandinavian-speaking retainers. English fugitives from the turbulent age under England's King Stephen (1135-1154) also entered the picture at this time, again from the Great Scandinavian Belt⁽⁸⁾. These different peoples all entered the Scottish Lowlands, reinforcing ON elements in the local language. There is no record of the total number of immigrants from northern England, but 'population movement was large-scale in relation to the existing population'⁽⁹⁾. It is possible these people became sufficiently numerous and powerful to exert linguistic influence on newcomers both from within Britain and from outside it. This numerical supremacy might be one reason that Anglo-Norman French, the language of the Norman aristocracy, never acquired the importance in Scotland that it had in England. It was used among the Normans as well as for wider communication (with England and France), but Scots 'was the shared language of feudal overlords, (secular and clerical), their vassals, and the freemen of the burghs'⁽¹⁰⁾.

Another Norman custom, that of establishing towns with special trade rights known as royal burghs, was very important both economically and linguistically. These burghs were mainly constructed on the south and east coast, and commercial trading was conducted in Scots from the outset⁽¹¹⁾. The location and language seem to have attracted people from Flanders, the Rhineland, northern France, and England, especially eastern England⁽¹²⁾, as they did not understand Gaelic. Instead, they gradually and naturally came to acquire Scots, which was closely related to their own languages⁽¹³⁾. These people migrated domestically to new burghs, which would have increased the homogeneity of the dialect that spread as a result⁽¹⁴⁾. The burghs, therefore, acted 'as foci of internal and external trade, [and] played a crucial role in spreading Lowland Scots'⁽¹⁵⁾. With economic success in the burghs, Scots as spoken by people in the Lowlands and, particularly importantly, by the new social class of merchants and craftsmen gradually became predominant. The language also spread to other Gaelic-speaking areas, where the majority of Scottish people lived, as well as to the royal court, where Norman French was spoken. After the death of the last Celtic king in 1286 and the relocation of the capital from Perth to Edinburgh, in the heart of Scots-speaking territory, Scots was

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embraced throughout the Lowlands as the official language in Scotland in the middle of the 14th century. From there it spread to the northeastern peripheral areas, including Caithness and the northern islands, where Norn was spoken. The series of entries of English immigrants into the Lowlands after 1066 can be regarded as a social situation that would produce a large amount of people with weak social ties₍₁₆₎, who could have potentially triggered linguistic change as well as acted as distributors of this change over time and region.

Apart from this indirect, albeit strong, Scandinavian influence, there appears to have been direct Scandinavian influence via entry of Scandinavian immigrants, although this group did not become the dominant power or social group anywhere in Lowland Scotland₍₁₇₎. This can be observed in place names; in the southeast of Scotland, there are many examples of the ‘Grimston hybrid’ compound place name₍₁₈₎, which is characterized by the combination of a Scandinavian personal name, the most common of which is Grīm, combined with the OE element tūn (>ton). This type of place name usually suggests a secondary settlement site by Scandinavians on Anglian territories. In the central Lowlands, there is also a limited number of Norse place names that use -by, suggesting a primary settlement like those in the Danelaw area_[2].

3. Norse lexis in a Scots

Students of Present-Day Scots can trace the impact of Scandinavian at all linguistic levels: phonology, grammar, and the lexicon₍₁₉₎. Among these, the strongest impact was on the Scots lexicon. There are many ON loanwords in everyday use introduced from the Great Scandinavian Belt, such as lass ‘girl’, harns ‘brains’, hause ‘neck’, neive ‘fist’, luif ‘palm’, lowe ‘flame’, lowse ‘finish work’, nowt ‘cattle’, lowp ‘jump’, and meikle ‘big’₍₂₀₎. Beside this wide range of words belonging to the open word classes (nouns, adjectives, verbs, etc.), there are also words from the closed word classes such as the prepositions till ‘to’ and frae ‘from’, demonstrative thir ‘these’, and the Middle Scots pronoun thay ‘they’. These are rather well-known loanwords, and they are high in number and include the following.

Noun

auchteen ‘eight’, aynd ‘breath’, birr ‘force’, bow ‘a stock or herd of cattle’, brandreth ‘a gridiron’ (cf OE), brod ‘something with a point’ (also eModE), cag ‘keg’, carline ‘(old) woman’, castock ‘a stalk of cabbage’, cavel ‘a piece of wood used in casting lots’ (cf ON), cleg ‘a gadfly’, cleth ‘claith’, cod ‘a cushion’,

fell ‘a hill’, fore-elder ‘ancestors’ (cf ON), garth ‘an enclosure’, gavel ‘gable’, haver ‘oats’ (cf ON), hesp ‘a length of yarn’, hissel ‘havzel’, ‘moderate’, keelin ‘a cod, esp a fully grown or large one’ (cf ON), kist/kest ‘chest’ laik ‘a stake’, lait ‘outward appearance, manners’, lane ‘a loan’, lirk ‘a crease, rumple or fold a in cloth or paper’ (also Scand), maich ‘a male connection by marriage’, maucht ‘ability’ (also eME), ogart ‘pride, arrogance’ (cf ON), stouth ‘theft’, stroup/stroop ‘the spout or mouth of a kettle etc) (also Norw dail), teind ‘a tenth part’ (cf ON), Tysday ‘Tuesday’, waith ‘the action or practice of hunting or fishing’, wale ‘choice’

Verb

big ‘build’, clink ‘clench’ (also Norw), coll ‘cut, taper’ (cf ON), coup ‘buy, trade’, gar ‘cause, make’, gowl ‘howl’, graith ‘prepare’ (also ME), green ‘long or yearn for’, kilt ‘tuck (up) (one’s) clothes’ (also Norw), lain/layne ‘conceal or be silent about (a fact)’, lait ‘seek, look for’, maun ‘must’, moul ‘grow moudly’ (also eME), muck ‘dung, farmyard manure’ (eME, cf ON), nait n. ‘use’, nevin ‘mention’, nyte ‘deny’, rug ‘pull rigorously’ (also Norw), ruise ‘praise’ (also eME), sile ‘pass (a liquid, esp milk) through a sieve (also Scand), stair ‘thrust (a weapon)’, tyne ‘lose’, ug/oug ‘dislike’ (also eME)

Adjective

blae ‘blue’, brath ‘fierce’, eident ‘assiduous’, gleg ‘quick, keen in perception’ (also ModE dial), grain ‘a branch’, graip ‘an iron-pronged folk used in farming and gardening’, hamlet ‘domestic’, huilie ‘moderate’, laich ‘low’, slaip ‘slippery, smooth’ (nEng dial), snarp ‘sharp, keen’, trig ‘active, nimble’ (also eME, Eng dial), wicht ‘valiant, courageous’ (also eME)

Adverb

thyne ‘thence’ (also eME)

Preposition

or ‘before’ (cf ON)

The source of these words is the Concise Scots Dictionary (CSD, revised in 1999), a comprehensive single-volume reference of Scots that has been updated throughout to reflect modern Scots usage with coverage of older Scots₍₂₁₎. From the

dictionary, the listed words are noted nME (northern dialects of Middle English) and ON, but not OE, in their description of etymology. The fact that these words are not found in OE, but are found in ON and nME, would suggest that they may have entered from northern England in earlier periods.

This assumption solely based on the etymological description in a dictionary, however, should be viewed with caution. Some of these words might have been in pre-Scots due to the Scandinavian presence in the Lowlands in an earlier period, as the place names suggest (see Section 2-1). In such case, some of the putatively Norse-derived words were already established before the northern English immigrants arrived. Study of old languages inevitably must rely on written resources, and though the above Norse loanwords do not appear in written OE materials (which themselves are quite limited in number from a modern perspectives), we cannot totally deny their existence in speech form in OE. In addition, there is still a huge part of Norse lexis in the dictionary that is thought to be derived either somehow from ON or from OE, or both: these two languages are cognates, making analysis extremely difficult. (It should be noted that a large chunk of Norse-derived words apparent in Orkney and Shetland are totally omitted here as they would require substantial attention for further analysis.)

4. Distribution of ON loanwords

Despite the many Norse words in present-day Scots, there are markedly fewer in Older Scots than in contemporary Northern English dialects. According to Heuser, who compiled some of these differences into a table comparing Northern English and Scots in the Middle Ages, ‘the Northern English forms are rather more markedly Scandinavian in appearance than their Scots equivalents for the same item’⁽²²⁾ :

Scots:	Northern English:
is, ar	es, er (is, ar)
bigouth, couth ‘began’	gan, can
forzet	forget
gif ‘if’	if
qhous ‘how’	how
sik (swylk, silk) ‘such’	swilk, slik

This is also supported by Figures 3 and 4 from the Linguistic Atlas of Late Mediaeval English⁽²³⁾, which covers only the Early Scots period^[3] (approximately from 1375 to 1450) and includes only the Scottish Borders. Nevertheless, it clearly shows the relationship between Scots and northern

English varieties during the Middle Ages and confirms that the Scandinavian impact on Northern English, as reflected in the later medieval period, was stronger than that on Scots. This different state is, after all, expected from the different processes of Scandinavian inputs (direct or indirect influence). In Scotland, it took time for the northern English dialect to be incorporated into written documents in the Lowlands.



Figure 3: IS, ‘es’ type (from Dot Map 134)



Figure 4: ARE, ‘er’ type (from Dot Map 121)

This being the case, due to the separation of the two kingdoms since early times and linguistic standardization in England, many Scandinavian elements disappeared from the northern English dialect (except for those that had already entered standard English) but remained prominent in Scotland. Many of what are considered to be typical ON loanwords in Scots do not seem to have survived in England. When we look at two dialect dictionaries, the English Dialect Dictionary

(EDD)⁽²⁴⁾ and the Survey of English Dialects (SED)⁽²⁵⁾, to examine where a number of ON-derived words are in use in Scots, this is quite obvious, as in Chart 1 below. The EDD was published from 1898 to 1905 and includes vocabulary of dialect-specific words still in use at that time or known to have been in use during the two hundred years before publishing, while the SED comprises those from 1950 and 1961⁽²⁶⁾. Thus, they cover approximately 250 years between them. Sometime in this period, many of the typical ON loanwords still strongly maintained in Scots in modern times seem to have become obsolete or rare in England, based on evidence in the EDD and SED.

Typical ON loanwords in modern Scots	Entry of location in use [4]	SED
<i>ain</i> 'own'	Y Nt Lin	None
<i>aye</i> 'always'	Nb Wm	None
<i>bairn</i> 'child'	All the n. counties to Chs Der Lin Lei	Nb Lin Y St Cu Du Nt La Wm
<i>big</i> 'to build'	Nb Cu Wm Y Lan	none
<i>blae</i> 'blue'	Nb Wm Y Lan Lin Np	none
<i>blether</i> 'to chatter'	all n. and midl counties	none
<i>brae</i> 'slope of a hill'	Nb Du Cu Wm Y Lan Lin	Nb
<i>cleg</i> 'a gadfly'	Nb Du Cu Wm Y Lan Lin Lei Np War	none
<i>eident</i> 'diligent'	Nb Cu Y	none
<i>ferlie</i> 'a wonder'	Nb Cu Wm Y Lan Lei	none
<i>flit</i> 'move house'	n. and middle counties to Bdf Hnt eAN Ken	none
<i>gar</i> 'to make or cause to do'	Nb Du Cu Wm Y Lan Der Lin	none
<i>gate</i> 'a road'	various dialectal usage in Sc Irel Eng	none
<i>gowk</i> 'a cuckoo' 'a fool'	Nb Du Cu Wm Y Lan Lin Wo Shr Glo Hnt Sur Dev Cor	none
<i>graith</i> 'to equip, equipment'	Nb Du Cu Wm Y Lan Chs	none
<i>harn</i> 'brains'	Nb Cu Wm Y Lan	none
<i>hause</i> 'neck'	Nb Cu Wm Y Lan	none
<i>kirk</i> 'church'	Nb Du Cu Wm Y Lan Der Lin	<i>kirkgarth</i> 'churchyard' Nb (very old) Y (old) <i>kirkyard</i> 'churchyard' Nb Cu La
<i>kist</i> 'chest'	Nb Du Cu Wm. Y Lan Lin Nrf Suf Dev Cor	'a wooden chest' Lan Y
<i>lass</i> 'a girl'	Nb Du Cu Wm Y Lan Chs Lin	only in plural forms: <i>lasses</i> 'girls' Nb Cu Du Wm Lan Y Shr Nt Lin
<i>lowp/loup</i> 'to jump'	Nb Cu Wm Y Lan Der Not Lin Np Shr eAn Ken Sus Hmp Wil	Nb Cu Du Wm La Y
<i>lowse</i> 'to finish work'	Nb Du Cu Wm Y Lan Not Glo	lowses (npl) (stopping-time) Nb Du
<i>luif</i> 'palm'	Nb Cu Y Np	none
<i>lug</i> 'ear'	Nb Du Y Lan Chs Der Not Lin eAn	'ear-hole' Brk Nb Cu La
<i>maun</i> 'must'	Nb Cu Y Lan Shr	none
<i>meikle</i> 'big'	Nb Du Cu Wm Y Lan Chs Stf Der Np War Brk Hmp Wil	none

<i>neive</i> 'fist'	Nb Du Cu Wm Y Lan Der Not Lon Glo	Nb Cu Y Du Wm La
<i>nowt</i> 'cattle'	Nb Du Cu Wm Y eAn	none
<i>skelp</i> 'to slap'	n. and midl counties to Lin Lei War eAn	Nb Cu Wm Y
<i>tyke</i> 'a dog, a cur'	n. Eng to Np War Bdf eAn	none

Chart 1: Location of ON loanwords in use in England

Among the words in the left column in the chart, *gar* and *kirk* appear widely in the late Middle English period from the Scottish Lowlands to as far south as the South Midlands, as shown in Figures 5 and 6. These words receded greatly northward but still survived in the northern counties in the late modern period (as listed in the EDD). However, they completely vanished in the present time (as listed in the SED).



Figure 5: GAR, 'make' or 'do' (from Dot Map 790)



Figure 6: CHURCH, 'kir-' and 'kyr-' types (from Dot Map 388)

5. Conclusion

In England, many ON loanwords, which are the end product of direct and intensive Scandinavian occupation in the previous period, were in use in the ME period, mainly in the northern parts of England. Most seem to have survived well until the early present day, but subsequently, reflecting a strong northern dialectal character, appear to have gradually

disappeared or continued to recede toward the northern border between England and Scotland. According to Glauser, when more and more northern dialectal words continue to recede to the border, ‘the dividing effect of the geographical Border can be expected to increase’⁽²⁷⁾. The recession of the northern English dialect was caused by the spread of Standard English (in England). The speed at which this happened was possibly much slower until about a couple centuries ago. In Scotland, most of Norse lexis, introduced indirectly to Scots in its embryonic phase via the effects of northern English immigration, gradually became fundamental elements of the language, spreading at a very early time to other areas of the Lowlands as a *lingua franca*. It is this type of speech that later became Older Scots, and from which modern forms of Scots developed. Modern Scots consists of several regional varieties, just like English in England. However, unlike English in England, it does not have a standard form and its regional dialects often have distinctive and unique characteristics that are not always easily understood beyond the region’s borders. Yet, there is still a common type of vocabulary that can be seen almost universally, often called ‘mainstream’ (some would call it *Lallans*, meaning ‘the lowlands of Scotland’ and consider it as a written standard). Much of the adopted Norse lexis fits into this category and hence survives well in Scots, and a huge number of Norse loanwords survive in regional dialects. Of these, especially significant are the insular dialects spoken in Orkney and Shetland, where Norse lexis survives especially well.

Notes

- [1] This is the modified version of an original paper presented at Historical Linguistics in Japan 2017, with some new information.
- [2] The significance of the population movement is also commented on by Fellows-Jensen (Scandinavians in Southern Scotland? *Nomina* 13: 41-60. 1990.) in relation to Scandinavian -by names in the Lowlands and to Anglo-Scandinavian ‘hog-back’ tombstones.
- [3] Scots is divided into two periods: Older Scots (1100–1700), which is subdivided into Early Scots (1100–1450) and Middle Scots (1450–1700), and Modern Scots (1700 onward).
- [4] County abbreviations: Y: Yorkshire, Nt: Nottinghamshire, Lin: Lincolnshire, Nb: Northumberland, Wm: Westmorland, Chs: Cheshire, Der: Derbyshire, Lei: Leicestershire, Cu: Cumberland, Lan: Lancashire, Np: Northamptonshire, Du: Durham, War: Warwickshire, Bdf: Bedfordshire, Hnt:

Huntingdonshire, eAN: East Anglia, Ken: Kent, Der: Derbyshire, Sc: Scotland, Irel: Ireland, Eng: England, Wo: Worcestershire, Shr: Shropshire, Glo: Gloucestershire, Sur: Surry, Dev: Devon, Cor: Cornwall, Nrf: Norfolk, Not: Nottinghamshire, Sus: Sussex, Hmp: Hampshire, Wil: Wiltshire, Stf: Staffordshire, Brk: Berkshire, Lon: London, n: north.

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- (19) See Smith 1994: 21, Yokota, Yumi. *The Impact of Great*

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