
Is (Older) Scots an Anglic variety?

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This article is aimed at being a repository of occurrences and uses of the term *Anglic*, principally in relation to Scots and English historical linguistics. In that sense, it hopes to provide scholars from both fields with a paper they will be able confidently to refer to when in search of synthetic and referenced insights into this term. Beyond being a photograph of the state of knowledge on the term *Anglic* in the time of writing this article, this research also wishes to highlight the fact that there is a particular, notably linguistic and historic, idiosyncrasy in referring to (Older) Scots as an English variety and that *Anglic* may well be an accurate and favourable way to address this issue. As a corollary, this paper proposes the widespread adoption of the term *Anglic* into the discipline of Scots, and more broadly, English studies. The article has six sections: (1) problem, (2) evidence of an existing issue, (3) occurrences, (4) definition, (5) advantages of using the term *Anglic* and (6) conclusions. The first section will introduce the issue and crystallise it in a research question. The second section will bring up examples taken from scholarly writing with the intention to testify to the existence of the issue. The third section will discuss occurrences of the term *Anglic* in scholarly and non-scholarly material. The fourth section will develop a definition of the term, based on the occurrences in section (3) and will test (a) the possibility for *Anglic* to have a most narrow and specific application range and (b) its possible use for creole and pidgin research. The fifth section will list the advantages of using the term *Anglic*. Finally, the sixth and last section will be devoted to drawing conclusions following the research carried out in this paper.

The conclusions that will be drawn will be valid for Older Scots and its descendant language or language group of varieties, commonly known under the generic label ‘Scots’.¹ Language labels do not have rigid semantic boundaries.² The term Scots itself, for instance, is liable to polysemy. It

can refer to nationality,³ both as a noun and adjective, to culture (Kay (2006:189) and, obviously, to language.⁴ It is therefore a multifarious and, to a certain extent, slippery word to handle. The language aspect is the one of interest here. In linguistic terms, two different types of usages are noted. One shows that Scots can be used as an abbreviation for Modern Scots (Kay 2006: 198). The second reveals a higher level of semantic complexity when Scots is utilised as an overarching linguistic complex for the language as a whole, then comprehending older stages of the language, such as Older Scots (I am using ‘complex’ to mean ‘a complex semantic entity’: the term is an adaptation from Barnes (2008:266) which I have transferred into semantics). This latter usage is not uncommon and is to be observed, for instance, in Macafee’s seminal 1992/1993 article *A Short Grammar of Older Scots*. My use is a synthesis of these two usages, and this is why, in the title to this paper, I have put ‘Older’ into brackets and have not specified whether it was ‘Modern’ Scots or not which was being referred to. It is Scots that is meant, both older and modern, in its diversity and richness.⁵

1. PROBLEM

One of the ways scholars classify Scots in present-day research is to regard it as a variety of English. This classification is to be noted in Hickey (2013: 276) in which the author, while recognising the specificity of Scots, speaks about the language in the following terms: ‘Scots is a variety of English’.⁶ But Scots has not always been considered part of English varieties. Hillberg (2017), for instance, in Beal and Hancil (2017), discusses the influence Scots had upon Scottish Standard English, thus externalising Scots from English.⁷ The status of Scots appears to be equivocal, if not contradictory at times (it is a case of *semantic ambivalence*), which is an interesting continuation of the ambiguity and polysemy pointed out before this section.

Referring to Scots in relation to English is a difficult task indeed, not only because, in so doing, researchers have to solve an impossible conundrum: writing about a language that displays genetic proximity to English and yet has to be categorised as distinct for linguistic but also, and not exclusively, historical and identity-linked reasons. The key question is therefore: how do we talk about Scots in a way that marks its specific

character while acknowledging its relatedness to English? This will be our research question.

2. EVIDENCE

There is abundant evidence in scholarly literature where Scotticists have had to display a considerable degree of ingenuity due to the lack of a practical term to classify and describe Scots easily. As will be seen, the chief problem lies in ambiguity. This ambiguity is this time not connected with the term Scots, but with the term English, along with the fact that no clear-cut and widely accepted and used definition of Anglic can be traced back in the literature. The consequence is that scholars need to have recourse to three strategies to clear out any of this terminological and typological ambivalence. One is the use of quotation marks, the second is to be found in paraphrase and/or supplementary comments which researchers insert in their arguments, and the third consists in stating the origins of Scots. The first two methods pertain to meta-language, which Tang and Rappa (2020: 3) aptly define as a useful descriptive tool: '[...] metalanguage is useful to describe scientific genres, such as explanation, argument, information report, and experimental report.' The words of Norris et al. (2008: 783) on scientific metalanguage are transferable to the linguistic context of this paper because linguistics is the science of language. They describe scientific language as the use of 'terms for speaking *about* science [...]' (italics theirs). In either definition of metalanguage, the idea of language being used to describe language is essential and very useful when it comes to clarify a point or a concept. This is precisely the purpose of meta-linguistic strategies. The following evidence from the specialised literature on Scots will enable us to see how these very strategies are materialised in scholarly writing:

2.1. Evidence-1, 'quotation marks = Strategy-1'

One of the strategies scholars have recourse to in order to avoid ambiguity is the use of quotation marks around the word English. McClure (1994: 24) is a very good example of this: '(Scots) is appropriately considered as part of 'English' in the purely linguistic sense of the term', he writes. The quotation marks around *English* reveal that readers ought to give this word

a linguistic sense and not any of the other senses this polysemous lexeme can have (see the *Oxford English Dictionary* entry to English, *adj.* and *adv.* and *n.* for more details). This only English-in-the-purely-linguistic sense is a subtle nuance and is hard to introduce in any argumentative text, which is why McClure (1994: 23) made supplementary comments to make sure that his understanding of English is correctly apprehended by readers.⁸ It should be added that using English orally becomes even trickier because of the impossibility to flag up the specificity of the term with, say, quotation marks, as is possible in writing. Had the term Anglic been proposed before McClure was writing his article for the *Cambridge History of the English Language*, he might have wished to utilise it, because Anglic makes any supplementary comments superfluous since it does naturally carry with it a much higher degree of clarity than the term English does, the latter being one of the most ambiguous linguistic terms.

The term English has always been problematic. Though some scholars have decided to characterise Scots as an English variety (see Hickey previously mentioned), doing so is not entirely satisfactory owing to the eventful history between Scotland and England. National sensitivity is only part of the problem. Scots cannot be described as an English variety, for the simple reason that from a linguistic point of view it is not. As is well-known (Macafee 2002), Scots derives from Old Northumbrian which is, like Mercian for English, an Anglian dialect. The fact that Scots developed independently (Macafee 1997a: 195 and McClure 1994: 23) as a linguistic offshoot marks it off from English and seals the linguistic argument. A further complication was highlighted by Roueché in one of her lectures given in Aberdeen in 2010. In one of her trips to the United States, she reported she had noted a certain confusion amongst some Americans when she was saying she was English. In her view, the confusion arose from the fact that there was homonymy between the national adjective English (*I am English*) and the language adjective English (*I speak English*). Incidentally, a similar phenomenon exists in the French and German-speaking worlds (*je suis français(e)*, *ich bin Deutsche(r)*) ‘I am French/German’ vs. *je parle (le) français*, *ich spreche Deutsch* ‘I speak French/German’). This testimony by Roueché reinforces the sense that English is a confusing word to use, from a linguistic point of view.

2.2. Evidence-2, ‘paraphrase and/or supplementary comments = strategy-2’

After McClure, Smith (2012: 5) talks about the difficulty of establishing a relationship between Scots and English:

Whether Scots is a distinct language from English, or simply a markedly different variety of English, is hard to decide. Indeed, any question about the precise status of Scots in relation to English used in England is probably unanswerable in clear-cut terms; recent trends in linguistic categorisation have tended to emphasise fuzziness between usages rather than distinct differentiation. It is often claimed that a language is a ‘dialect with a flag’, and there is much truth in this statement. The difficulty is that, although Scotland has a flag – indeed, two flags – of her own, her flag is also included, at least at present, in that of a larger entity, the United Kingdom.

Smith captures very well the dilemma and the difficulty Scotticists have found themselves in. In fact, Smith continues, albeit indirectly, what Macafee (1997b: 514) observed when she wrote about the difficulty of ‘defin(ing) Scots as a language’. The interesting part in her phrase is that she placed the emphasis on the classification rather than the language status of Scots. I do not wish to enter discussions over the nature of Scots because, as has been noted (Smith 2012, McClure 1994, Macafee 1997b, Lawson 2014), that is a distinct debate. There is, however, every reason to believe that part of the difficulty with classifying Scots as a language is down not only to the difficulty of defining Scots ‘in relation to English’, as Smith put it, but also to the difficulty of defining English to Scots. Still about this passage: in terms of meta-language, the quoted passage from Smith is a shining example of how strategy-2 can be used. Smith does not take sides, as it were, but he is in a virtuoso balancing act: he does not say that Scots is (an) English (variety) but he does not say it is not either. The crux of the matter, as he points out, resides in the *difficulty* to talk about the typological status of Scots, in other words to classify and label it vis-à-vis English.

2.3. Evidence-3, ‘stating the origins = strategy-3’

There is yet a third type of strategy that scholars have adopted to deal with Scots’ complex typological status. It consists in emphasising the shared Anglian ancestry existing between Scots and English, thereby mentioning that Scots was descended from Old Northumbrian, itself a variety of Old English. This can be seen in Macafee (1992/93: 10), and also in McClure (1994). Johnston (1997: 91) sometimes employs the label Old Northumbrian, sometimes Anglian (Johnston 1997: 56). Macafee (2002) states that Scots is descended from Old Northumbrian too. Interestingly, the terminological boundary between Scots and Older Scots fades away in Macafee (2002), where the subdivisions of Older Scots are seen as *Pre-literary Scots*, *Early Scots*, *Early Middle Scots* and *Late Middle Scots* (and not *Pre-literary Older Scots*, *Early Older Scots* and so on).⁹ In that particular case, the boundary line is so thin that the terms Older Scots and Scots can become interchangeable and, if that is so, arguably they have become synonyms. Macafee (1997a) confirms what is being highlighted here. In (1997a: 195), she writes that ‘(a) major part of the vocabulary of Scots is, naturally, of Old English origin, namely from the Northumbrian dialect of the Anglian dialect group.’ Scots here can be understood as ‘Modern Scots’ as much as ‘Older Scots’ since her paper treats Older Scots lexis. Indeed, the term *Scots* as she uses it probably encompasses both realities, the ancient and modern ones, and in that sense the diachronic and synchronic divide blurs away because in that very case the language is considered as a whole, in other words, as a continuum. Sometimes, Scots is used as a synonym for Scottish English (Kirk 1992/93). The creation of typological labels is also to be noted via combinations, as can be seen in Johnston (1997: 91), who writes about ‘Scoto-Anglian dialects’, thus bringing back an alternative version of the by-gone label *Scoto-Saxon* (Geddes 1792, cited both in McClure 2002: 22–23 and Marshall 2004: 322). However, in both labels, the door remains open to questions about their full and exact semantic range.

From a different point of view, this strategy resembles that seen in Smith (2012), at least to a certain extent. The researchers mentioned in the previous paragraph do not say whether Scots ought to be considered as an English variety or not. This is very close to what Smith does when he commented

upon the impossibility to classify Scots in satisfactory terms. The strategy displayed by these researchers may be different as it consisted in classifying the language from an ‘Old English’ angle exclusively, but the end result is similar.

3. OCCURRENCES

This section contains five different types of occurrences¹⁰ of the term Anglic. These occurrences are (1) the *Oxford English Dictionary* (OED), (2) Wikipedia, (3) Curt Woolhiser, (4) John Tait, (5) Maguire *et al.* All of these will now be discussed.

3.1. Oxford English Dictionary

Below is a simplified reproduction of the OED entry for Anglic. In the following, the typography is the OED’s; the only elements that have been removed from it are the original OED footnote numbers so as not to create confusion with the footnotes in this article.

Anglic, *adj.* Now *rare*. (*italics theirs*)

Of or relating to the Angles (*ANGLE n.*), the Anglian kingdoms, or their languages; = *ANGLIAN adj.*

The OED definition is very restrictive in meaning: it points to *Anglic* as a synonym for *Anglian*. It also seems to be a historic or diachronic term exclusively.¹¹ The OED examples do corroborate this as they all point to Anglic in historical contexts. Out of the five examples, three can readily be identified for sheer historical purposes. The 1880 scope of use is more difficult to determine, as it seems to be a title or fragment. I would venture to suggest that the term is, in that case, utilised from both an historical and a religious perspective. The most interesting Anglic specimen is in the 2000 sentence, in which it appears in a linguistic context for the first time. In that context, it does not seem to have been intended as a synonym for English. Admittedly, English could have been used instead of Anglic in that extract but doing so would have involved a slight alteration in meaning: Anglic, as used by the author, restricts the meaning to its being solely the language of the Anglians. It is therefore, strictly speaking,

the Anglian dialects that are meant (hence the plural in *tongues*). It should be stressed that the OED rates Anglic quite low on the frequency scale. It is a *rare* item.

3.2. Wikipedia

The OED information does not exactly mirror what can be found on the term Anglic on the Internet. Wikipedia has an entry for the term and makes a direct link between the adjective ‘Anglic’ and the phrase ‘Anglic languages’, on which it also has an entry. As these two entries are obviously related to one another and relevant to the present study, they will be discussed together. The parts of the entries which are most relevant to our discussion have been reproduced below:

Anglic may refer to Old English and the other Anglic languages, descended from it.

Wikipedia entry to Anglic

The Anglic languages (also called the English languages or Insular Germanic languages) are a group of linguistic varieties including Old English and the languages descended from it. These include Middle English, Early Modern English, and Modern English, Early Scots, Middle Scots, and Modern Scots, and the now extinct Yola and Fingallian in Ireland. English-based creole languages are not generally included, as only their lexicon, not their linguistic structure, comes from English.

Wikipedia entry to Anglic languages

Several objections can be made to the above entries if these are assessed critically. First, the entry to Anglic. The issue with it is that it does not have any reference whatsoever for the term Anglic per se. Consequently, it is impossible to know *where* the usage was seen, if indeed it was seen at all. Now to the entry to Anglic languages. This second entry only has one reference in which the term Anglic actually appears, and this reference is a catalogue of languages named *Glottolog 4.5*. (Hammarström et al. (no date)). This language catalogue was set up by the Max Planck Institute for the Science of Human History and is a language database in which world languages are classified by families. A list of these families

is given under the tab ‘families’ of the catalogue. As in any tree-like classification, the *Glottolog* languages tree has different levels, which in this particular case are: Indo-European, Classical Indo-European, Germanic, Northwest Germanic, West Germanic, North Sea Germanic, Anglo-Frisian, Anglic, Later Anglic, Old English. Here is a zoom on the Anglic part of the tree:

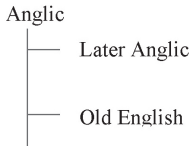


Figure 1: Max Planck scheme of Anglic languages.

The first issue of *Glottolog* is that it makes use of some idiosyncratic terminology: Classical Indo-European is not usually the term given in *any* historical book on English, the closest relative to Scots. It is Indo-European. Macro-Dutch is also an unusual label and so are, of course, Anglic and Later Anglic which are not frequent terms in academic writing. The terminological innovation *languoid*, i.e. ‘a dialect, a language, a language family’ which comes up notably in the Glossary section of *Glottolog*¹² was previously used in Nordhoff and Hammarström (2011). The second issue is that *Glottolog*, while being an interesting and promising tool, looks unfinished in the detail.¹³ Thus, the link with the term *Anglic* – where it comes from and how it was used – is not made explicit in any of the sources provided in *Glottolog*, and so is lost completely. A consequence of this is that the language tree and/or the references themselves seem(s) to be, partly at least, faulty. The list of references also seems to have been generated automatically – potentially with some flaws – by an IT program, and the same remark holds true for the language tree. Other, equally worrying, observations on the Anglic sub-classification heighten the sense that something is wrong with the accurateness of the data presented on this website. For example, Stiles (2013: 17–23) and Harbert (2007: 7–9) are presented as the sources to this subclassification in which the term Anglic is present. Now, it turns out that the very term Anglic is absent from both authors. The connection between what Stiles discusses, on one hand, and

the term ‘Anglic’ or ‘Anglic languages’, on the other hand, is far from clear and is made even weaker by the fact that, in the pages referenced in *Glottolog*, Stiles talks about shared innovations of the West Germanic languages from a morphological and lexical point of view (2013: 17). Then, he focusses on some typically Ingveonic features (Stiles 2017: 17–21) and finally on innovations shared by both North Germanic and Ingveonic (2013: 21). The point raised here is that *Glottolog* users are not given the keys to understand *why* the *Glottolog* research team chose to single out these particular passages from Stiles (2013) for their reference on the term Anglic and Anglic varieties and *which elements* in those passages drove them to make that selection. All these observations point to a lack of traceability and some subsequent unreliability as to the information provided and where it comes from. This in turn makes the Wikipedia entries insufficiently robust and shrouded in unexpected vagueness, though they at first seemed clear and rooted in certainty. A third issue, which I have already touched upon, is that these entries, unlike the OED, do not include any estimate of the frequency of the term Anglic, and so readers would be tempted to believe, when reading the Wikipedia entries, that the term is widely accepted and used in and outside the academic community, though it is rare.

A fair and objective description of the Wikipedia entries ought to stress that there are some very positive aspects in these entries. The simple fact of having an entry on Anglic and Anglic languages is good in itself. It offers interesting attempts at classifying some closely related linguistic varieties together. The entry to Anglic languages also has a box to the right of the entry with a map of the UK in which the dialectal areas of English and Scots can be seen. Just beneath, Anglic is, as in *Glottolog*, the common label in which English and Scots can be grouped together. This makes, in Wikipedia’s understanding, Anglic a synonym of West Insular Germanic.

The last part of the Wikipedia entry on Anglic languages deals with ‘English-based creoles’. The author(s) of the entry write(s) that ‘English-based creole languages are not generally included (in Anglic languages, my addition), as only their lexicon, not their linguistic structure, comes from Modern and Early Modern English.’ The fact that Wikipedia uses the

phrase ‘are not generally included’ about creoles is problematic and I am going to explain why. This indeed points to some researchers who would have discussed the term Anglic and analysed reasons as to why creoles should be excluded from the category of Anglic languages. Yet there is no evidence nor reference to any such research in the entry, and I have not been able to find any elsewhere either. One is led to believe that there is a clear-cut and widely accepted and used definition of Anglic languages, but this is not what the evidence in the literature suggests. Another point is that Wikipedia contrasts lexicon on the one hand with structure on the other when talking about creoles and does it in such a way that one would be tempted to believe that creoles have no structures taken from the lexifier, i.e. the old colonial tongue.¹⁴ Research in the field of creoles shows that this is not so straightforward. As far as linguistic structures are concerned, Bakker and Daval-Markussen (2014: 3) write that there is a considerable discrepancy between the grammar in creole languages and the grammar of the lexifier. However, they also add that academics do not agree on the reasons why this happened. Some experts thus think that creole grammar is a continuation of the lexifier’s, while some reject this idea. In any case, what Baptista writes (2017: 4) is true: ‘the source of creole grammatical features remains controversial’. The stance of viewing creoles as hybrid grammars, which Baptista (2017: 5) explains, also gives the sense that things are much more complex than suggested in the Wikipedia entry. Hybrid grammars, as the name indicates, mean that creole grammatical features were borrowed from several languages, *including* the lexifier. So, not only can it be argued that the structural (= grammar) import from Anglic varieties into creoles would make them good candidates to qualify as such, but also the complexity of the argument and its nuances jar the ‘lexicon-structure’ argument in Wikipedia.

The entry is not incorrect; it is simply too general, both in the ‘lexicon-structure’ opposition it presents and in its assumption about what the structure of creoles is. The same conclusion is reached regarding the understanding of creole lexicon because there is no full consensus on this aspect either. Baptista (2017: 4) does write that (my italics): ‘(i)n *most* cases, the lexicon of a given creole is derived from the superstrate’, i.e. the former colonial language. Yet Bakker and Daval-Markussen (2014: 3)

and again Bakker (2017: 8) do make a distinction between the whole and the basic lexicon of creoles. They say that the *basic* lexicon is, in their words, typically but not always derived from the lexifier. So, it appears that full consensus is not reached on the lexicon side of the argument either.

3.3. Curt Woolhiser

Insular West Germanic (Anglic) is today represented by dialects of English and Scots.

In Woolhiser's usage, Insular West Germanic is used from a synchronic point of view, that is that it specifically points to present-day English and Scots. This is made apparent by his use of *today* when defining English and Scots, which makes it clear that he has the modern, not the ancient, varieties in mind. Because of that, it is difficult to pin down whether his understanding of the term Anglic extends to and includes ancient Germanic speech spoken in the British Isles. In addition, he brings together on a par both the term Insular West Germanic and Anglic: he treats them as synonyms.¹⁵ Possible problems about the lack of a recognised clear-cut definition are, on the one hand, that it generates redundancy in typological terminology as Insular West Germanic and Anglic are utilised to convey essentially the same idea. On the other, it generates imprecision as no absolute certainty can be reached on what is meant exactly. For instance, in that particular case: is 'Anglic' an exact synonym for Insular West Germanic, and if not, what are the differences? Can the term 'Anglic' have historic denotation too even though the author uses it in a contemporary perspective? All these questions belong to the meta reading level, but linguists, as scientists of language, are likely to have them. Woolhiser's usage is both specific and broad, which can be regarded as very paradoxical. It is specific because it refers to present-day varieties and it is broad because the semantic boundaries of the term are not explicitly spelt out or discussed in Woolhiser or academic prose in general.¹⁶ Surprisingly enough, and this is perhaps what is even more paradoxical about it, combining these two apparently antinomic values is not disturbing from an intellectual viewpoint. Woolhiser's sentence reads very nicely, the ambiguity nearly goes unnoticed, it is only when we start digging into the meta reading that it surfaces.

3.4. John Tait

John Tait maintained a website on which he presented a series of articles related to Scots. One of these on-line publications has the term ‘Anglic’ in it. Tait gives a definition of the term:

In this paper, the term Anglic refers primarily to the language varieties of Scotland which are closely related to English. In this respect, the term may be thought of as standing in the same relation to Germanic as Gaelic or Goidelic does to Celtic – that is, just as Gaelic/Goidelic (or Q-Celtic) is that branch of the Celtic languages which comprises Irish, Scottish Gaelic and Manx, so Anglic comprises those Germanic languages which are either autochthonous to the British Isles or are derived from languages autochthonous to the British Isles (such as various pidgins and creoles), and which include standard English and Scots.

In academic and lexicographical publications, all such varieties indigenous to Scotland are referred to as Scots. Yet, while such a description is justified from a linguistic viewpoint, it raises problems in the context of linguistic and cultural identity, with corollary problems accruing to the treatment of these varieties in education. *John Tait Website (Linguistic | Anglic)*

In this extract, the term Anglic is attested to comprehend the ‘language varieties of Scotland which are closely related to English’. Further detail on how the term should be understood exhibits that Anglic refers to ‘those Germanic languages which are either autochthonous to the British Isles or are derived from languages autochthonous to the British Isles [...]’. As another extract will reveal, the Germanic languages mentioned here are those languages which were exported from the Continent to England by the Germanic tribes. Ultimately, this historic and linguistic event will also signify the export of Germanic-descended speech to the island of Ireland and the majority of the other territories of the British Isles. Such an understanding of the term Anglic is comprehensive: it is both synchronic and diachronic. From a typological perspective, it links Scots with English while marking out the specific character of Scots.¹⁷ What is particularly

interesting is the comparison with Celtic languages. What Tait does, even though he does not say it, is fleshing out the Germanic genealogy of Germanic by adding to it the term *Anglic* which makes it possible to have a tree-structure that is similar to that of Celtic. In tree-gram terms, this gives:

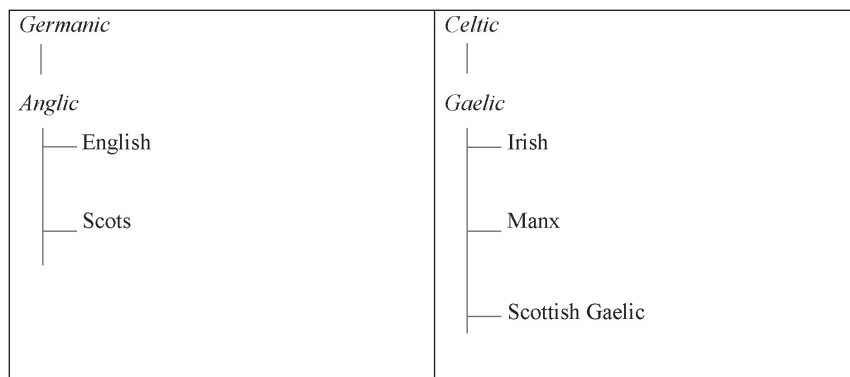


Figure 2: Cladistic view of Tait's Germanic and Celtic families parallel outline, including the term *Anglic*.

Tait's objective in using the term *Anglic* is the defence of Scots which has been suffering from a negative perception. He describes what he calls a 'schizoglossia', in other words, in his mind, a paradoxical attitude towards Scots that Scottish people have (perhaps not entirely dissimilar to the attitude Irish people have towards Irish). His point is that while Scots is perceived as being the language of Scotland, Scottish people tend to dismiss it. It is not entirely clear whether this negative perception comes exclusively from within the Scottish community. What is certain is that the elements he puts forward refer to a Scottish context. He writes, for instance, about the way schoolmasters would teach Burns' works (and therefore words, my addition) whilst making sure their pupils would use as little Scots in their speech as possible (this paradox is incidentally not uniquely Scottish, see the parallel with Occitan poet and literature Nobel Prize winner Frédéric Mistral in France (1830–1914)). Another piece of evidence is Tait's allusion to the 'upwardly mobile', who would, according to him, make every effort to 'expung(e) it [i.e. Scots] from their own speech and that of their children'. He fleshes out his argument by adducing certain further cases which are not reproduced here but can be read in his online article.

From Tait's point of view, a 'proactive approach to Scots' is needed. This approach consists in the teaching and studying of Scots (the debate is ongoing, and I would say, a field on its own. See Costa 2015 for an introduction into some reflections on the matter). In this argumentative frame, Tait gives to Anglic a utilitarian function in the sense that it is utilised to save Scots. This enables him to suggest a typology with Scots and English together while, at the same time, also differentiating Scots from what is implicitly seen as its main rival and its biggest threat, *viz.* English. 'The Anglic varieties', he wrote, 'are sufficiently closely related to English that an English speaker can learn to understand them relatively quickly and without formal training.' The advantages of Scots are made clear in this one line. Scots indeed appears to be a language that would be easy to pick up for anybody with English as their mother tongue.¹⁸ The closeness between English and Scots can be seen as detrimental to the survival and vitality of Scots because the proximity between the two languages allows for an easy language shift from what were originally Scots speakers to English speakers.¹⁹ Tait proposes to turn the situation round and to make the similarities between the two languages an asset for Scots. Incidentally, he stresses the 'mutual comprehensibility of Anglic varieties with English – itself an Anglic variety [...]'.²⁰ His points are, in essence: (1) to suggest a defence of Scots on the same basis as what is being done for Gaelic while (2) arguing and highlighting that the proximity of Scots and English, both being Anglic varieties, makes for easy learning of Scots. Interestingly, Tait does not always use the term Anglic to talk about Scots, as the extract below will show:

Briefly, the Scots language [...] is a form of English, in the sense of a language descended from that of the Germanic tribes – including Angles and Saxons – which invaded Britain after the Roman exodus. It is not, however, English in the sense of being descended from English as spoken in England, as most forms of world English – such as American and Australian English – are. It is a parallel development to, and thus a sibling rather than an offspring of, standard English. It is distinct from Scottish Standard English, the form of standard English spoken in Scotland, although lack of standard written form for Scots

means that the differences are not clearly defined. *John Tait Website* (Introductory | Introduction: A Short Introduction to the Website)

This excerpt is a very good example of what has been identified earlier on as ‘strategy-2’ which was recognisable by paraphrase and/or supplementary comments.²¹ As can be seen, not using the term *Anglic* automatically generates ambiguity and drives the author into one of the different strategies, here ‘strategy-2’. This offers an opportunity to compare both usages between Tait and Smith (2012). In the previous extracts, the first uses the term ‘*Anglic*’ to typologise Scots. In this one, he opts for ‘a form of English’.²² This is dissimilar from what I have highlighted about Smith (2012) who applies neither label to Scots. The two authors have chosen different techniques to discuss Scots, but they invariably deliver the same idea: positioning Scots on the typological map is complex.

3.5. Maguire *et al.*

In 2019, the *From Inglis to Scots* (FITS) project research team published a paper with the goal of testing what the phonological, phonetic and phonotactic reasons were behind the apparently inconsistent Older Scots graphemic variation of the sounds (f, v). The starting point in their investigation was that these two sounds were rendered by scribes indifferently as <f> and <v ~ u>, when appearing in a morpheme-final position (cf. Maguire *et al.* 2019).

Out of the three hypotheses advanced as possible explanations to this idiosyncrasy (see Maguire *et al.* 2019 for the details), the FITS research team has selected the third as the most robust, and consequently most plausible. This third hypothesis was to say that final (v) devoiced to (f) in pre-Older Scots. Developing their argument, the authors write: ‘[...] the devoicing of final (v) in Scots put it out of step with English (...) and, as a result of “pan-Anglic pressure”, Scots ultimately realigned with English in this respect, simplifying the variation between (f) and (v) in LUFU, LIF+ and LUFU+ to (v).’²³ The word ‘*Anglic*’ has been used three times in Maguire *et al.* 2019, and each time it appears in the phrase ‘pan-Anglic pressure’ only. The first occurrence is the one that has just been quoted. The **second** and **third** occurrences are reproduced here:

second occurrence:

Thus morpheme-final devoicing of (v) in Scots was reversed, with variation in the word *nieve*~*nief* remaining as the sole witness to this one-time change, perhaps because this word did not occur in most English dialects and thus escaped the pan-Anglic pressure which affected other words of the same type.

third occurrence:

The subsequent retreat of this final devoicing change is a result of this ongoing variation and long-term pan-Anglic pressure, leading Scots, which had diverged in this respect, to eventually realign with English.

Anglic is not explicitly defined by Maguire *et al.* It seems to be used as a synonym for English, synchronically and diachronically. It is not possible to see it as a common umbrella term for English and Scots because of the word ‘pressure’, which presupposes an external force acting upon Scots. This line of interpretation of the phrase ‘pan-Anglic pressure’ is reinforced by the fact that the relatedness of Scots and English is not put centre stage in their article, although it is referred to. The kinship between the two languages is attested in various places in Maguire *et al.*, for instance when they quote Williamson (2002 and a second time 2002: 253). The fact that the genetic proximity of Scots and English does not seem to be foregrounded in that 2019 paper makes sense from the standpoint of the authors’ argument. Their focus is on the influence that English had on Scots, so they see the two languages as two different units for analytical purposes. However, there seems to be some contradiction or confusion or unclarity at some point in the use of the word Anglic, at least from a reader’s perspective. The following line, which was taken from one of the extracts quoted, will illustrate my point: ‘[...] this word (i.e. *nieve*) did not occur in most English dialects and thus escaped the pan Anglic pressure [...]’. Does that mean that we ought to read this statement as: ‘Most English dialects’ escaped the ‘pan-Anglic pressure’? Are we expected to include or exclude northern varieties of English, which share Old Northumbrian descendancy with Older Scots, from these ‘most English dialects?’ If ‘Anglic’ is understood here as a synonym for English, the question that remains unanswered is

then: why use another word for ‘English’ if what is meant is ‘English’? And if it does mean something else, what is it exactly? These questions are inevitably going to come up in the careful reader’s mind and all have two causes: the undeniable fact that the phrase ‘pan-Anglic pressure’ is used in such a way that it stands out against ‘most English dialects’, but also, and most importantly, that the term ‘Anglic’ has not been defined.

When compared to the other occurrences, the ‘Anglic’ use found in the FITS paper is unique. All the occurrences listed in this article can be regarded as innovations if the OED entry of the term is taken as a reference point. The OED definitions are very restrictive, and it is only in the latest recorded use of ‘Anglic’ that we saw that the term seemed to gain linguistic meaning. Maguire *et al.*’s usage is therefore not innovative on the simple ground that it is not recorded in the OED. It is an innovation (a) semantically because Anglic does not seem to mean the same as the other occurrences that I have listed in this paper and (b) structurally because the way Maguire *et al.* use the term is highly codified. It only comes up in a set phrase, namely: ‘pan-Anglic pressure’. It is reasonable to think that, when using this phrase, the authors may also have in mind the general developments common to English varieties, even though no absolute certainty can be reached on that point.

4. DEFINITION

A definition of the term Anglic should consist of two steps: STEP ONE will provide an overview of all the meanings the term can have, adding extra layers of usage whenever deemed necessary and useful. STEP TWO will make sure terminological redundancy is avoided.

4.1. Step one: overview of meanings

The first step has already been initiated, as occurrences of ‘Anglic’ have been listed and commented. I will summarise them here:

- (1) OED: ‘Anglic’ is a historical term, relating to the Angles. Linguistically, it points to Anglian, that is the Old English variety comprising of the Mercian and Northumbrian dialects of Old English.

- (2) Wikipedia: ‘Anglic’ is a term that denotes Old English and the languages descended from it. It is a synchronic and diachronic term and encompasses all the older as well as the modern varieties (for example, present-day Modern English and Modern Scots) originated from these older varieties. It excludes creoles (see the quoted Wikipedia passage: ‘English-based creole languages are not generally included.’) The term is also used as synonym for West Insular Germanic.
- (3) Woolhiser: ‘Anglic’ is not explicitly defined, none the less it can be surmised that its use is synchronic and diachronic. It also seems to be a synonym for West Insular Germanic. It includes Modern English and Modern Scots.
- (4) Tait: ‘Anglic’ comprehends all the Germanic languages autochthonous to the British Isles, that is all the Germanic varieties that were imported to Britain following the weakening of Roman power in Britain around 476 (accepted date of the end of the Roman Empire). It includes all the Germanic languages descended from Old English and so Modern Scots and Modern English as well as pidgins and creoles. The term also seems to be an equivalent to West Insular Germanic.
- (5) Maguire *et al.*: ‘Anglic’ is not explicitly defined. It is used only diachronically and seems to refer to English and its direct diachronic varieties in existence in the Older Scots period (c. 1100–1700). It may be understood also to refer to English varieties pre-dating the Older Scots period but this point is not clear. In a same way, it is not entirely clear which English varieties are included in the term or not, and so, *a fortiori*, whether northern English varieties are part of ‘Anglic’ or not. The term may be understood as referring to the internal developments noticeable in some Anglic varieties, which would justify the use of both the phrases ‘pan-Anglic’ and ‘pan-Anglic pressure’. It only occurs in the set phrase ‘pan-Anglic pressure’.

To my eye, an ideal definition should fuse as many of the above elements as it can for the simple reason that the term is already around and that it

has developed meanings in the hands of researchers and specialists. From that viewpoint, the more encompassing it is, the better it will be. The most all-encompassing use of the term is that of Tait and, as such, it offers a very good basis for a good definition and widely accepted use of the term. I therefore suggest that Anglic should refer to:

- (a) all the Germanic varieties spoken by the Germanic tribes who settled down in Britain permanently, henceforth called ‘primary varieties’.
- (b) all the Germanic varieties derived from these primary varieties.

The conclusion resulting from (a) and (b) *de facto* implies that the term can be used:

- (c) synchronically and diachronically.

I also propose that:

- (d) the term Anglic be applied to creoles and pidgins, bearing in mind the linguistic difference existing between creoles and pidgins.
- (e) the phrase ‘(neo-)Anglic’ should be applied to creoles and pidgins, not losing sight of what has been specified under (d) about the nature and distinctness of creoles and pidgins.
- (f) that the phrase mentioned under (e) should be associated with extra labels, such as English(-based), to describe and place pidgins or creoles in typological terms and on a typological line, thus allowing subtle turns of phrases, such as ‘Anglic English(-based) creoles/pidgins’ which can express in a highly synthetic and complex way a highly complex linguistic reality (see 3.2, also 5.5 below).
- (g) the phrase ‘pan-Anglic’ should be applied to refer to developments shared across the largest part or the entirety of the spectrum of Anglic varieties.

- (h) the phrase ‘southern Anglic’ and ‘northern Anglic’ should be used only to emphasise the distinctness between English and Scots varieties respectively, with the possibility to include northern English varieties into ‘northern Anglic’.

These suggestions are aimed at encompassing the whole spectrum of Anglic usages. But they also investigate other uses thereof, in an attempt to test the term to the maximum. Sometimes, these options can be combined too. Scots, for instance, can be referred to as an Anglic variety. However, in a diachronic argument, some researchers may feel the need to specify this further and describe it as a northern Anglic variety or northern Anglic. These distinctions are meant to stimulate discussions in a continuous effort to map out the possibilities of using the term and all the advantages/insights it can offer.

4.2. Step two: avoiding terminological redundancy

The issue of terminological redundancy is a tricky one and is perhaps best-known in the co-existence of the terms Old English and Anglo-Saxon.²⁴ Those two terms are synonyms of one another, and yet – probably out of tradition – none of these has achieved displacement of the other. It might be more accurate to speak about ‘Old Germanic Insular Varieties’ (OGIV) as a correct and precise umbrella term for all the Old English dialects, but OGIV will never make it as widely used term simply because Old English and Anglo-Saxon work fine as technical terms, even though they are not perfect.²⁵ In our case, the question we are facing is this: can the synonymy with Insular West Germanic be avoided for Anglic? The only possibility which I have seen to answer this question is to try and give a very specific use to Anglic. In Annex 3, I have therefore attempted a projection in which Anglic would only be applied *after* the Old English period, thus marking out the fact that Anglic languages are directly descended from Northumbrian and Mercian. The space between the two boxes in the Annex 3 diagram is meant to convey a typological caesura, and so makes much sense from that point of view. It also opens the door to some other terminological innovations. If ‘Anglic’, as in that scheme, only comes to

refer to post-Old English, time-wise, and Anglian-descended varieties, typologically-wise, then ‘Westic’ and ‘Kentic’ could be used in a same way to denote West Saxon and Kentish-descended varieties. This proposal sounds interesting on paper and only future attempts at using this range of promising new terms will tell us about their full potential, even though tradition may be an obstacle, as for the case of OGIC vs. Old English and Anglo-Saxon. The trend in the use of ‘Anglic’ clearly is towards a less specific, overarching employment of the term but this should not preclude the testing out of a fully-fleshed multiple and highly specific terminology with a specific use of Anglic in it, along with Westic, Kentic. Making this choice could quite possibly enable us to look at these West Saxon and Kentish-descended varieties from a fresh perspective, charting their internal independent developments down to the very moments when they fell into the orbit, and under the influence, of southern Anglic speech for which modern standard English stands as the best-known representative. At this stage of the discussion, I will then say that redundancy is acceptable because it is accepted and used in our discipline. This also leads us to the last definitional statement on Anglic, namely:

- (i) Anglic is also a synonym for Insular West Germanic.

5. ADVANTAGES OF USING ANGLIC

I have already mentioned that the Anglic occurrences in this paper are not symptomatic of a widely accepted and systematic use of this term. Anglic remains marginal in use in academic writing and is rated as a rare item by the OED. Therefore, it is just to talk about the lack of a term to define and classify Scots vis-à-vis English and English vis-à-vis Scots satisfactorily. This lack raises a typological problem and finding a solution to it will consequently not only address the ‘Scots-English’ issue but will also have typological repercussions for Scots and English alike. The problems resulting from this terminological gap have already been discussed in section 1 and 3 of this article; therefore I will directly introduce the advantages in adopting Anglic as a systematic label to classify Scots. As the term has potential applications for creoles and pidgins, some comments will also be made about that field.

5.1. Unambiguous

English is a terribly ambiguous label to use in some linguistic contexts. Anglic is different from English in form and in sound and thereby achieves clarity in both written and spoken contexts. The subsequent advantage to that is that the term Anglic generates an automatic greater degree of exactness in argumentation. It is a better alternative to the polysemous and, from a Scottish perspective, sometimes negatively charged term ‘English’. It avoids ambiguity but does not avoid the question of Scots and English complex linguistic nature. In all cases, ‘Anglic’ achieves greater accuracy in all contexts.

5.2. Conundrum and Paradox solved

‘Anglic’ is a convincing means of demarcating the two closely-related idioms, English and Scots, whilst at the same time acknowledging what makes them unique and similar: an apparent paradox. This is very much unlike the typological label English which has led scholars to numerous strategies when they wanted to talk about Scots and/or English. The term English also highlighted a conundrum and a paradox of typological nature but it did not solve them. Anglic is a two-sided coin, but with only advantages to it as it appears as a clear and convincing way to clarify the genetic and typological relationship Scots has towards English and it inevitably also clarifies the relationship English has towards Scots.

5.3. More practical in writing

All the strategies presented and discussed at the start of this paper will disappear with the use of Anglic. By taking away any hue of ambiguity, the term adds conciseness and clarity to writing and benefits style.

5.4. Discussions and insights-generator

The term Anglic can help narrow down the focus on some taxonomic theories of Scots and potentially question some of these. Let us take Kirk (1992/93) as a test case. In that article, he uses the term ‘Scots’ and ‘Scottish English’ interchangeably (Kirk 1992/93: 75). In his opinion, the linguistic reality to which the two concepts refer is essentially the same. These different ideological stances are reflected in two models which he appended

to his article: the bifurcation and the global models, both from McArthur 1992.²⁶ McArthur's concentric model (also termed global model) sees all kinds of Englishes being linked back to a centre, the name of which is World Standard English (WSE).

From a communicative point of view, and partly from a structural one, the model works. But it does not work for all purposes. The fact that Scots is far away from the centre of the diagram suggests that it is subsumed to a global English variety on one side and to British and Irish Standard English (BISE) on the other side.²⁷ Indeed, BISE is schematically depicted as being closer to the centre than Scots in that model. Subsuming Scots to WSE and BISE would be an error. It equates with ignoring Scots' linguistic specificity as well as the complex *vivre ensemble* of Scots and Scottish English.²⁸ The fact that Scots and Scottish English – two distinct entities in McArthur's, one in Kirk's – are placed side by side in McArthur's model backs up the assumption that Scots' specific character has not been taken into account fully. Otherwise, why would it stand next to Scottish English, from which it differs considerably?

5.5. A terminological gateway/bridge to research on pidgins and creoles?

As has been showed under 4.2, a widespread use of the term Anglic may well ripple across the spectrum of historical linguistics. The extent of the waves created by this ripple can only be delimited by research and repeated trials of the term Anglic and all the other terms it can generate (see 4.2 for the discussion in historical linguistics). Interestingly, the term has some very interesting potential in the field of pidgins and creoles as well because it enables subtle distinctions in the subtleties of expression (4.1). An Anglic English(-based) creole, for instance, would be a creole that can be labelled as an Anglic variety and which has had a substantial input from English into its forming. I am fully aware that creole languages are highly complex and more than once sit on the fringe of typological classification because of the multiple languages that came into contact to forge them. However, classifying them as Anglic varieties seems advantageous only on the grounds that it would put them on par with English. Doing this is arguably more

egalitarian in terms of schematic and linguistic perspectives. Again, only research and trials to use the term will put the term Anglic, its relevance and its effects to the test.

5.6. Gap-filler: schematic evidence

Anglic is not only a gap-filler because of the lack of a practical term to describe Scots on a typological line. McArthur's models make for the perfect transition to focus on genealogical and comparative tree models which demonstrate how Anglic can be seen as actual gap-filler under that perspective too. In her 2002 article, Macafee reproduces a well-known tree in which the genealogy of Scots can be readily seen and grasped. Using a similar way of thinking, I will build a simpler tree-architecture and show that Anglic is rather necessary, as it fills a gap in the schemes. Thus, comparing languages with one another, I will exemplify this by means of four projections:

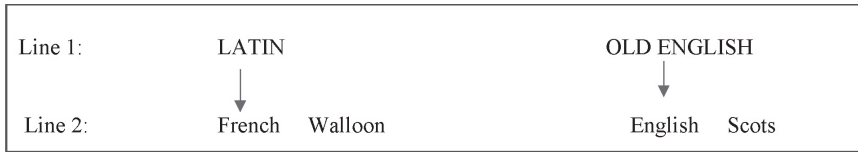


Figure 3: Projection 1.

In this Projection, and according to Schleicher's widely adopted terminology, French and English can be shown as descending from their respective mother, i.e. ancestor, languages. French is thus descended from Latin, and English from Old English. These are theoretical concepts and simplifications of what the reality once was. Walloon, for instance, does not derive from the same type of Latin as French or Castilian nor English from the same type of Old English as Scots. The all-encompassing labels of Latin and Old English should therefore be understood as what they stand for: a simplification of a complex reality, and a convenient labelling system enabling linguists to group all varieties under single umbrella terms. Valid as it is, Projection one still presents an issue. Latin is a concept comprehending *all* Romance languages. Old English refers to a smaller-scale linguistic reality as it points to 'only' a certain type of Germanic languages.

Latin also spans a much larger period of time than Old English does. These two remarks make Projection one slightly asymmetrical, and we will see whether it can be corrected or not.

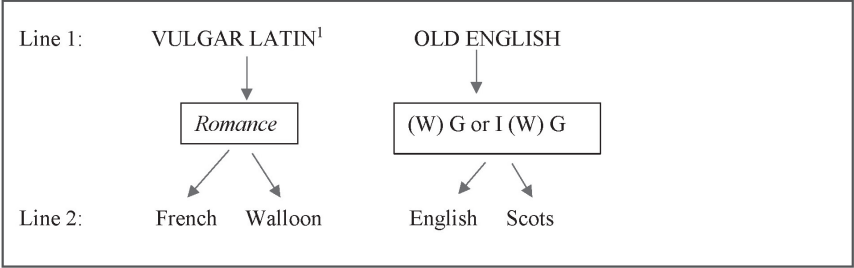


Figure 4: Projection 2.

¹ For discussion on the term see Herman’s *Vulgar Latin* (1967), translated into English by Wright (2000), as well as the review on the translation written by Mańczak (2001).

In Projection two, French can be grouped with Walloon under the umbrella term ‘Romance’. Scots can be grouped with English under the general term (West) Germanic ((W) G) or even Insular (West) Germanic (I (W) G) which is more specific and more restrictive. Woolf (2007: 336) uses Insular Germanic²⁹ and McClure (1994: 22) Insular West Germanic, as do Maguire *et al.* (2019) who refer to Scots as an Insular West Germanic variety. As it appears, the terminology in Scots studies is fully fledged in that respect. The gap between Latin and Old English identified in the comments to Projection one has also been reduced by changing Latin into Vulgar Latin. Projection two is perhaps not perfect in symmetrical terms but it shows improvement from Projection one. Projection two cannot be further improved as the label ‘Romance’ needs large enough a supra label to encompass all Romance languages.

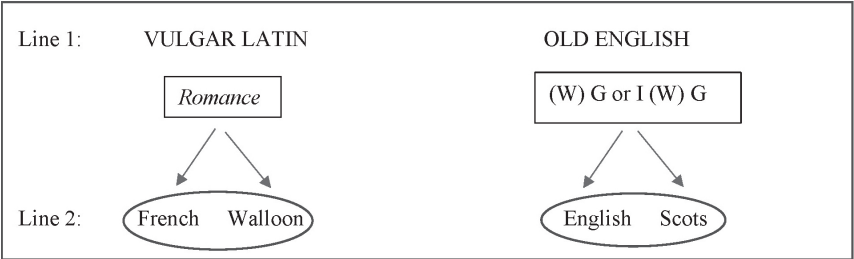


Figure 5: Projection 3.

A line linking French and Walloon could also be imagined. This link could then be called Romance too, as this is the link uniting those two varieties descended from Latin. Analytical bridges can therefore be built in two directions in the scheme above: vertically, as symbolised by the arrows pointing downwards; and horizontally, as shown by the circles. Either bridge shows the same type of ‘kinship’ but from different analytical angles.

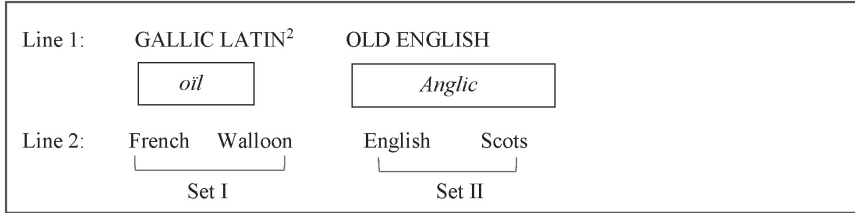


Figure 6: Projection 4.

² For the use of the label, see Kellogg (1913). I could have used the phrase Vulgar Latin here, but it is too general as it does not point to French in particular, which is important in my argumentation.

Walloon and French can be grouped together thanks to the technical term *oil*, so they are *oil* varieties, i.e. Latin-descended varieties traditionally spoken in roughly what is now northern France and southern Belgium (the latter being approximately the formerly called *Communauté française*). This is where the terminological gap for Scots lies, and this is where a term is needed. Interestingly, the scheme enables to visualise not only where the gap is but also what the problem of the term English is. It seems clear that using the term English in lieu of Anglic would add on some confusion to the scheme. The whole point of having these projections is that Anglic is shown to have some unexpected value and possible applications. There clearly is a sense of the full potential unleashed by the term. It makes it possible to look at Scots nearly in a different and refreshing way, by just using the very term. The last and final projection achieves perfect parallelism and symmetry with the addition of the term Gallic Latin, the closest possible correspondence to Old English in such a scheme.

6. CONCLUSIONS

This article has reviewed key occurrences of the term Anglic found in scholarly and non-scholarly material (articles, books, websites). By doing

so, it has achieved a synthetic overview of the term Anglic, something which had never done before within English and Scots studies. The chief goal pursued was indeed to highlight the typological shortcomings of the term English for Scots and English and to show that Anglic is a suitable, and desirable, alternative to categorise these two languages typologically. The secondary and corollary objective of this article was to summarise existing scholarly output on Anglic and to propose a definition for the term.

In the course of this study, evidence has been brought up to show (a) that scholars encounter an issue when they wish to define Scots and (b) how they deal with this issue. The chief problem that I identified was the ambivalent nature of the term English. It has then been demonstrated that experts would have recourse to three different types of strategies to filter out any ambiguity from their prose. Once the existence of the problem was proved, occurrences of the term Anglic have been provided and rigorously scrutinised. A holistic definition of the term has been propounded on the basis of previous usages of Anglic. An attempt has also been made to test a narrower definition and use of Anglic along with transversal use of the term over to the field of creole and pidgin research. Possible repercussions of a systemic and systematic terminologically-based Anglic logic have also been discussed. Before reaching the conclusions, five advantages of using the term have also been pinpointed. The article has introduced the semantic notions of *complex* (as a noun) and *doublon* as well as the typological labels OGIV, Westic, Kentic and Anglic. In the discussion of the terms Old English/Anglo-Saxon, it has also used the notion of synonymic emptiness which points to absolute equivalence between lexical items. The phrase *semantic ambivalence* has also been used on one occasion.

Because it is a summary of existing and past occurrences of the term Anglic, because it has propelled the term into new semantic frontier, this paper is meant also to be the reference on which readers and users of the term Anglic can fall back. This will suppress the smallest shadow of uncertainty and will hopefully provide solid ground in terms of use and possibly research on the term. Whether synchronic or diachronic, whether synonymic or not, whether broad in sense or narrow in meaning, Anglic seems to be destined to stand between English and Scots firmly and permanently, uniting

these two varieties in their differences, as Anglic varieties. Scholars will not even need to specify which meaning they give to this term; as has been shown the term works and is self-sufficient: in the light of this research, it may sound like a paradox: one more.

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ANNEX 1

Ian Hudghton (Verts/ALE). – Mr President, **as a Scots MEP** (bold mine) I have an obvious interest in any regulation that relates to whisky. However, we also have other national drinks, including a very significant economic interest in vodka and gin distillation and bottling. The debates in which I have taken part in the Committee on the Internal Market and Consumer Protection have been interesting, at times heated, and I have argued strongly for a flexible definition of ‘vodka’.

Some say that spirits should be treated the same, but vodka and whisky are not the same, and this proposal simply has to recognise that fact. Vodka has traditionally been made from different ingredients in different areas; Scotch whisky is a product of centuries of traditional practice, by contrast. The first reference to Scotch whisky in Scotland was in Exchequer records in 1494/95. The first taxes were imposed in 1644.

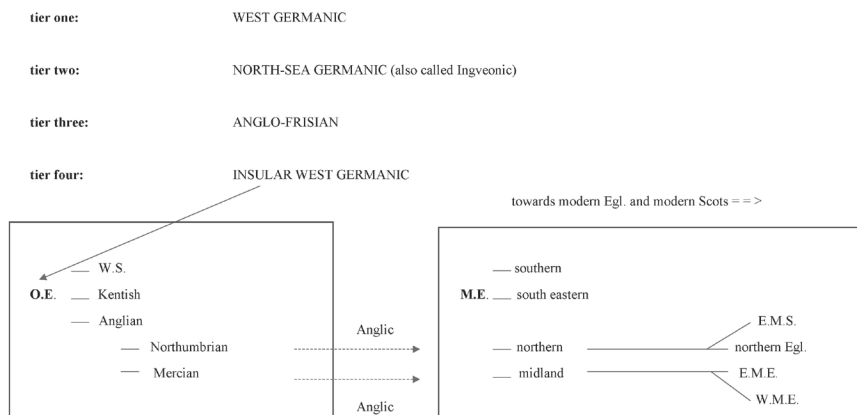
Some spirits have traditionally been rounded off using sugar. Scotch whisky has not, and this regulation must not allow that to happen. Protecting the term ‘Scotch whisky’, as well as the methods of production under geographic definition, is extremely important for Scotland for obvious reasons. Some details still have to be underlined in the technical files, and I look forward to that.

However, this first-reading compromise – the product of lengthy and very heated exchanges – is something that, in the spirit of that compromise, I am now prepared to accept, and I hope that the House will accept it tomorrow.

ANNEX 2: OED DATA ON ‘ANGLIC’

- 1789 J. Pinkerton *Enq. Hist. Scotl.* I. vi. 93 – The knowledge of Bernicia, an adjoining Anglic kingdom, has almost perished.
- 1868 W. F. Skene *Four Anc. Bks. Wales* I. 62 – Ida the Anglic king. The Anglic kingdom of Bernicia.
- 1880 A. Fryer *Cuthbert of Lindisfarne* 144 – The teaching of the Anglic Church.
- 1924 *Mod. Philol.* 22 188 – Since the seventh century the Pictish territory south of the Firth of Forth was for the main part under Anglic rule.
- 2000 *Scotsman (Nexis)* 9 Sept. 7 – Gaelic was at its strongest between the ninth and twelfth centuries, having ousted the earlier Pictish and Welsh languages of Scotland and yet to be seriously threatened by the onset of the Anglic tongues from the south.

ANNEX 3: AN ATTEMPT AT A NARROW USAGE OF ‘ANGLIC’

Figure 7: an attempt at a narrow use of *Anglic*

The label Insular West Germanic leaves out of the scope the Frisians (Dedio, Ranacher and Widmer 2019:509) who were and still are of West Germanic speech and who populated islands too (see notably Versloot 2011:136 and Majchczack 2021). Insular West Germanic can point to historical (McClure 1994:23 and McClure 2008:358) or present-day varieties (Dedio, Ranacher and Widmer 2019:509). Another more recent usage is Molineaux *et al.* (2019) in which Insular West Germanic covers historic and present languages. The boundary between medieval northern English and (early) medieval Scots is a shifting line which is challenging in more than one respect (see for instance Machan 2016), and indeed Kopaczky (2013:249) who notes that ‘[...] Scots separates itself from these northern English connections in the mid-fifteenth century’.

ENDNOTES

- 1 Scots, whilst showing homogeneity in its character, also displays a considerable degree of heterogeneity, best mirrored in Scots dialects.
- 2 Kopaczyk (2013) highlighted a similar point on periodisations.
- 3 cf. the syntagm '[...] as a Scots MEP [...]' said by Mr Ian Hudghton (SNP) in a 2007 EU Parliament debate. The full extract is to be found in the appendices to this article.
- 4 The term's semantic range could be extended: Scots is also linked with arts and politics, for instance.
- 5 The word *Scots* will be further discussed in section 2.3. and, to a lesser extent, section 5.4.
- 6 See also (Hickey: (no date)).
- 7 See also the *Introduction* written by the editors in that volume.
- 8 McClure is repeatedly faced with this issue, as is shown in his later accounts on the history of Anglic speech in Scotland (see McClure 2005 and 2008).
- 9 Macafee is not the only scholar to display this trend. Any researcher who studies Older Scots and mentions the periods of the language is confronted with the same phenomenon/issue.
- 10 Occurrences referring to the simplified spelling of English invented in 1930 by Uppsala Professor Zachrisson have been left out as they do not relate to the term *Anglic* in this article. For obvious reasons, occurrences where Anglic was a proper name, such as the first name of the mediaeval French clergyman *Anglic de Grimoard* (c. 1320–1388), have also been ignored. For this cleric's date of birth and death, I have relied on the information provided by the *Bibliothèque Nationale de France* (BNF), the reference of which is in the bibliography.
- 11 The examples drawn from the OED data which are going to be discussed are all appended to this paper for greater convenience and clarity.
- 12 The path to that section is: *Glottolog* | *About* | *Glossary*.
- 13 The language families are not classified alphabetically, for instance.
- 14 Variation and diversity are implicit in the phrase 'the old colonial tongue'
- 15 This is something Wikipedia also does: they equate Anglic to Insular Germanic (for comments on the phrase 'Insular Germanic', see 5.6. *Projection two*).
- 16 Tait can be regarded as an exception to this since he offered a definition for the term.

- 17 Tait adds detail to that point in the second extract.
- 18 It might be added ‘anybody with a command of English’, which makes the future of Scots brighter than it first seems, because this opens a series of exciting opportunities for L2 English speakers to learn the language. This, in my opinion, may well be a key element in the vitality, and possibly survival, of Scots in future years.
- 19 This phenomenon of ‘absorption’ is not unique to the Scots-English context. It is no coincidence if French has been adopted widely by *oïl* dialect speakers as their new mother tongue, thus weakening the position of the languages formerly spoken in territories of southern Belgium and northern France.
- 20 I assume Tait does not refer to *intelligibility* as understood by Smith (1992).
- 21 The previous passage from Tait quoted in this article is accompanied by a great deal of explanations so that the term itself does not necessarily produce an economy of words. This is due to the fact that Tait’s first extract is an explanatory one in which he takes time to define Anglic. All the subsequent occurrences of the term Anglic in his article are shorter and corroborate this.
- 22 There is arguably very little difference in naming Scots ‘a variety of English’ vs. ‘a form of English’.
- 23 The quotation marks around ‘pan-Anglic pressure’ are theirs.
- 24 I should like to advocate the use of the term *doublons* next to synonyms specifically for labels such as ‘Old English’ and ‘Anglo-Saxon’ as there is the idea of *double* in *doublons*, that is ‘a pair of words of identical meaning’. They are nearly ‘empty synonyms’, as it were.
- 25 Both lead into the false assumption of ‘one’ Old English, whereas Old English refers to a multitude of dialects. Anglo-Saxon, as a linguistic term, has the added drawback of giving primacy to some ethnic groups amongst the Germans who settled down in Britain, indeed the Angles and the Saxons. When considered closely, this issue also comes up in the term Old English since the etymological basis of English is ‘Angles’, English < Engl-/Angl-ish. Of course, these criticisms could also be made towards the term Anglic itself.
- 26 The models replicated in Kirk (1992/93) originate from a 1987 paper by McArthur, cf. Haswell (2013: 126) and McArthur (1998:97).
- 27 The phrase ‘British and Irish Standard English’ is from McArthur. In the diagram, it enables him to group different varieties of ‘British’ and ‘Irish’

Standard Englishes together. It does not imply, of course, the existence of one variety called ‘British and Irish Standard English’.

- 28 Unlike Kirk, I view Scots and Scottish English as two different realities and entities.
- 29 This label is to be used with caution since, as Woolf (2007: 336) admits it, it is not ‘widely used by historical linguists’.

Independent researcher