

Tam o' Shanter: A Nordic Tinge

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Abstract

Tam o' Shanter, a great narrative poem written by Roberts Burns, is written in Scots and as such is difficult to access by standard English speakers and non-natives alike. This monograph offers an account of the language of Tam as characterised by a significant number of distinctive lexical and phonological items related to Old Norse. It is claimed that Old Norse constitutes an essential and highly descriptive element of the poem in terms of dramatic impact, soundscape, timing, and pace. As the beating heart of Tam, this element is identified and described as constituting the core of the poem's linguistic fusion, and it is related to present-day Icelandic and Swedish. A new translation of the poem is also proposed in order to increase accessibility to a wider audience.

1. Introduction

Tam o' Shanter, written by Scottish national poet Robert Burns and published in 1791, is considered a great narrative poem (MacKenzie 1963). It often forms the centrepiece of Burns night, the 25th of January, when Burns' birth is celebrated in many parts of the world. As a long poem written in Scots, 1,513 words in 228 lines, it proves a difficult work to read and understand for English speakers without a knowledge of Scots, let alone a non-native audience (Pittock 2006, p.330).

The action starts with a description of Tam o' Shanter, a farmer who settles into the pub after market day. At midnight it is time to go home, and Tam, somewhat inebriated, relies on his old grey mare, called variously Meg or Maggie, to guide him. Along the way he sees a collection of ghosts and witches led in a dance by the devil, playing the bagpipes. After a while, he notices one rather attractive witch in particular, Nannie, to whom he calls out, addressing her as Cutty Sark (named after her short petticoat). A silence falls, the company notices Tam and begins to pursue him with Cutty Sark in the lead. Meg puts on some speed and manages to transport Tam over the river Doon. Witches cannot cross a running stream, but just at the last leap Cutty Sark grabs Maggie's tail and manages to

detach it from its owner. Tam has escaped by the skin of his teeth: Maggie has saved him by the hairs of her tail.

Although *Tam o' Shanter* is written in Scots, there is an interplay between passages that are more or less distant from standard English. It has been pointed out that those in Scots register would have been more accessible and immediate to the local discourse community whereas those tending towards standard English are "...delivered in the best narratorial English of the collector's external gaze", as, for example, Tam approached the river Doon (Pittock 2006, p.334). Thereafter, however, "...the narrator's language slips back into the colloquial Scots of shared community..." (Pittock 2006, *ibid.*). Variations in the language of Tam have long been noticed, and Burns' own linguistic background included his local dialect of Scots mixed with English. While Smith (2007, p.83) gives an account of the language of Burns from a sociolinguistic perspective, Harvey (2013) points out his certain ability to code-switch in social situations, and Morris (1987) speaks of heteroglossia (dialogic properties) in Tam, an analysis based on these approaches alone is inadequate as a means to express the linguistic form and substance of Tam created by the poet.

A linguistic analysis of Tam will reveal that patterns found in the Scots passages are both characterised and heavily enriched by expressions with a Norse resonance in terms of lexis and phonology. That enrichment, in turn, contributes to the discourse stream (Perkins 2019; 2020) and provides a unique component in the fusion of elements comprising the substance of the poem. In one sense, a poem consists of frozen language. The words are written down and cannot be altered. In another, a poem, like a notated piece of music, is waiting to be brought to life by a reader or reciter-performer. A poem is a performance piece. A narrative poem tells a story. The dynamism of Tam lies in the fact that the poem constitutes an instance of discourse that will come to life every time it is read or performed, thus returning itself to the oral tradition and offering an unfolding story throughout its internal movement. There is a strong case to be made that the engine of that constant revival is fuelled by Old Norse.

The strong Nordic tinge running through the poem supplies intense descriptive power and can be interpreted in terms of prosody in and across the discourse (Hunston, 2007). This is defined here as semantic prosody, the repetition and tight clustering of lexical items distributed through the poem with significant levels of concentration and placement, as well as phonological prosody manifested both as a resonance of segmental features occurring through the poem with increasing momentum and in metrical structures. This semantic and phonological prosody also informs the architecture of the poem, its pace and timing, in the expression

of major structural themes such as order and chaos, transition and transformation, dynamism and stasis, as well as such literary themes as male-female relationships (Tam and his wife (his moral conscience)), Cutty Sark (his temptress), and his mare Meg (his saviour). Indeed, such themes place Tam in the sphere of epic poetry, especially when the larger context of good and evil (the devil) is added, and the use of epic literary devices such as the invocation to the muse and simile, and a frequent structural underlay of formula (especially in *wh*-expressions (*Whare, in the snaw...Whare drunken Chairlie...* (lines 90, 92)) are considered. Commonly referred to as an epic poem (Smith 2016, p.22), Tam has also been convincingly described as a mock epic on many counts (MacKenzie, 1963; Beggan, 1992). It is, indeed, the case that many traditional epic themes are inverted. For example, Tam can be seen as an anti-hero. Parodied by Burns “*By which heroic Tam was able*” (line 129), he does not take initiative, but rather suffers events as a fool. Then, the underworld travels up to the surface rather than Tam going down to meet it (as does Aeneas in Virgil’s *Aeneid*); Nanny, presumably, would like to drag Tam down to hell whereas Orpheus attempts to pull Eurydice back to the surface (as recounted in the *Orphic Argonautica* (Vian, 1987)); there is a home coming but to a disapproving wife (Kate) rather than a dutiful loving one (Penelope in Homer’s *Odyssey*); and catalogues of death (images in the snow and in the church) contrast with catalogues of heroes (in the *Iliad*). On the other hand, it is Tam’s destiny that sees him through in the end, escaping the clutches of a beautiful witch, as it is Aeneas’ destiny to leave Dido and go on to found Rome, although the contrast between Nanny and Dido contains a large element of parody. An analysis based on Old Norse shows that phases of mock epic dispersed through Tam contain a deep Nordic tinge of statistical and literary significance. It is as if there is almost a Nordic riposte to the conventions of Mediterranean classical epic which constitutes a further parody on a grand scale.

2. A Nordic Tinge

Old Norse is the term for the collection of dialectal varieties with high degrees of commonality found across the Nordic area, recorded in a number of old texts such as the *Prose Edda* and *Poetic Edda* (The Library of Old Norse). It is traditionally divided into Old West Norse (Icelandic and coastal Norwegian) and Old East Norse (Swedish and Danish), although the Swedish territory is so large that sub-demarcations need to be made as to the southern, western, and eastern Swedish areas. While Vikings from the south and east of Sweden penetrated down into the European continental area, those from the Scandinavian west coast ranging from present-day Denmark and Sweden to Norway participated in raids on northern parts of the British Isles. This is borne out by investigations based on comparative

contemporary genetic data drawn from the north-western coastal region of Scotland and Iceland, Norway, Sweden, and Denmark (Goodacre et al. 2005, p.130, p.132).

Furthermore, deploying computational phylogenetic techniques in linguistics, Eekman puts forward the thesis that the first phonological split within the core East Scandinavian branch (including Swedish, southern Norwegian dialects resulting in Bokmål (the official written standard), and Danish) may have occurred around 1400 CE (Eekman 2015, p.34). If that is the case, the phonological variation of the dialects spoken by Vikings present in Scotland before that date would have been minimal. Vikings from Iceland (comprising Norwegians settling possibly as late as 800 CE onwards (Eekman, *ibid.*), Norway (stretching down to the estuary of the river Göta Älv (which flows through Gothenburg, Sweden, today)), the Swedish west coast (under Danish rule) and Denmark would all have understood each other to a large extent. This gives legitimacy to the attempt to make phonological comparisons between items in those languages and cognates in Tam.

The Old Norse period is generally taken to last from the 9th to the 16th century. In the early part of that period, there would not have been one common language, but rather a number of close local and regional mutually intelligible dialects spoken across the Nordic area, including Iceland, and present-day Norway, Sweden, and Denmark. In the latter part it seems that these dialects will have coalesced into more distinct varieties now known as Old Norwegian, Old Swedish, and Old Danish, as administrative systems developed and there was an increasing need for codification of law as time went by. Indeed, early law and regulations were mostly written in Latin by scribes, and there are only 28 manuscripts dating from the Old Swedish period of 1225-1375 (Carlquist 2002, p.808).

There were thus no standardised spoken languages before the 1500s, rather local dialects and dialect continua. There was a language continuum along the west coast of the Scandinavian peninsula, and that pertains today to a large extent as the Norwegian border is approached up the coast from the region of Bohuslän in Sweden. However, the 15th and 16th centuries saw a decisive transition from the Old Norse period to a further stage where standardisation and codification began to occur, and the modern variants of the Nordic languages began to appear. Moreover, the botanist Linnaeus was highly influential at that time: his scientific techniques of categorisation and stylistic ideals of clarity had an impact on practice in orthography and inflectional morphology (Ralph, 2017). Yet even today, the Scandinavian languages may be seen as dialects of a common tongue.

Indeed, there are three principal forms of Norwegian in currency today: Riksmål and Bokmål (convergent forms of written language based on Danish with Bokmål used more, especially in state documents), Nynorsk (a further written standardisation also now little used), and spoken Norwegian (with four regional dialects, the prestige one being West Norwegian centred on Oslo) (Leon, 2014). Moreover, when English is added to the mix, there is continued linguistic influence of one variety on another that continues to this day, not only with regard to the impact of English on Nordic languages but also concerning interference errors creeping into local varieties of English (such as Swedish English) in terms of both grammar (**it came erm about a hundred (there came about a hundred)*) and grammar and lexis (**which lives in ruckles (who live in slums), where ruckel (Swedish) = slum (English)*) (Perkins 1986, p.35, p.47). It is easy to imagine such interference errors becoming establish as loan words and constructions over time given sustained exposure and use.

From the 9th century, then, the linguistic map was characterised by dialectal variation with increasing divergence later on, and there was also contact between Old Norse and Gaelic that was extensive and long-lasting (Stewart, 2004). In addition, not only did large numbers of content words make their way from Old Norse into English, but the English third-person plural pronominal forms *they*, *them*, *their*, and *theirs* also have their origins in Old Norse (Trudgill 2016, p.330). Large-scale Viking settlements took place mainly during the ninth and tenth centuries, and led to many areas of eastern and, especially, northern England containing a heavily Scandinavian or Scandinavianised population, as well witnessed by the hundreds of Norse place names (Trudgill 2016, pp.329-330). There is also evidence for substantial settlement along the west coast of Scotland from the Hebrides down to Kintyre and the Isle of Arran, not far from Alloway (very near Ayr), Burn's birthplace (Jennings 1994, p.7, p.43). Indeed, it was as late as 1263 CE when the Norwegian king Haakon IV Haakonsson was defeated in the battle of Largs (in north Ayrshire, only 55km north of Ayr), marking the beginning of the end of Norwegian rule of Western coastal Scotland.

2.1 What counts as Old Norse lexis in Tam?

There are clearly words in Tam which appear to resemble counterparts in Old Norse and present-day Nordic languages. When a comparative analysis is made between the Scots of Tam and Old Norse, present-day Icelandic, and Swedish, (as offered in the glossary in Appendix 2), the similarities are striking. These range from more accessible examples such as *lang* (*lång* (Sw), *long* (Eng)) to the less accessible including *chapman* (*köpman* (Sw), *merchant* (Eng)), as found in

Kvarteret Köpmannen (the merchant quarter of Gothenburg, (*merchant, buyer* (Eng)). In the light of the discussion above, it is more difficult to describe the relationship between these words and their Nordic relatives. It is near impossible to trace clear derivational lines due to the variety of texts found in Old Norse, Old English, and Old Germanic, the high degree of community mixing, and influence of one dialect upon another. In some cases, a term might have entered Scots from Old Norse directly, and in other cases through Old English, for instance, and many expressions in Tam are common to all or most branches of Germanic. In Aitken's view, there are a very large number of nouns and other parts of speech deriving from Norse (Aitken [1954], 2015, p.4), and these largely entered Scots through northern English-speaking migrants (*ibid.*, p.3), whose English would have been heavily influenced by the Old Danish spoken in the Danelaw. It is thus perhaps safer to use the label cognate rather than historical derivate, meaning a relationship of form and meaning, and, in many cases, phonology.

It is well-known, indeed, that there are many Old Norse cognates found in Scots, and extensive documentation is found in the reference work *Dictionaries of the Scots Language* (DSL). It is commonly known, for example, that the word *bairn* (*child*) derives from *barn*, which is found today in all four principal Nordic languages (Icelandic, Norwegian, Swedish, and Danish), and this is attested in DSL. On the other hand, a word such as *ane* (*one*) is not accredited to ON in DSL, rather to Old English. However, *einn* is found in Old Norse, and there are also phonological grounds for giving ON as at least an influence if not a root, apart from morphological. The vowel sound of *ane* (as pronounced by Scots speakers today) is remarkably similar to that of current *einn* (Ice), *en* (N), *en* (Sw), *en* (DK) and by extension *einn* (ON), that sound being /ei/.

There is a set of Old Norse cognates that can be identified in Tam which are of particular interest in that they have a major impact on the poem. These are the ones that are not immediately recognisable, whether in morphology (form) or phonology (sound), or both, by an English speaker with no knowledge of Scots. Of these, however, some are more recognisable and thus accessible to the English native speaker than others: it is a matter of degree. The word *drouthy* (line 2) (*thirsty*) is not at all recognisable, whereas *lang* (*long*) is much more so, especially due to the environment in which it occurs (*...lang Scots miles...*, line 7). It is this set of key Old Norse lexical cognates (KONCs) that gives Tam a special Nordic tinge and provides a distinctive character to the poem in several ways. A full inventory of these KONCs is presented in Appendix 2 with comparators from Old Norse, Icelandic, Swedish, and English. Danish and Norwegian could, naturally, also be chosen. Old Norse and Icelandic are prime comparators (Icelandic being very close to Old Norse) but any one of Norwegian, Swedish, and Danish could

also be chosen. For reasons of space, it was possible to select only one, Swedish, by reason of the author’s greater familiarity with that language.

2.2 Old Norse momentum through Tam

A linguistic analysis of the lexis in Tam reveals significant semantic patterns in terms of the distribution and momentum of the key Old Norse lexical cognates, 240 items (tokens) in total representing 15.86% of all items in the poem. The density of such lexical expressions increases as the action in the poem proceeds. Tam can be divided into distinct narrative sections, and the distribution of these key Old Norse lexical cognates plotted in terms of occurrences of items, as shown in Table 1.

Tam o’ Shanter	Description	KONCs	Lines	% of Poem
Scene-setting	Time for a drink after market day	10	1-12	0.66%
Moralising	Tam should have taken his wife's advice	29	13-36	1.92%
Drinking	Tam settles in for the night	12	37-52	0.79%
Reflecting	Pleasures are quick to disappear	6	53-66	0.40%
Transition	Time to go	10	67-78	0.66%
Moving on	From Doon to Alloway church	32	79-104	2.12%
The Scene Laid Bare	Murderous visions	41	105-146	2.71%
The Witches	Satan pipes, the witches dance	32	147-166	2.12%
Cutty Sark	Tam calls out, Cutty Sark notices	50	167-204	3.30%
The Race	Cutty Sark chases Tam, Maggie saves him	18	205-228	1.19%
Total		240		15.86%

Table 1: Key Old Norse Cognates Distribution

Furthermore, this can be represented as a chart in figure 1.

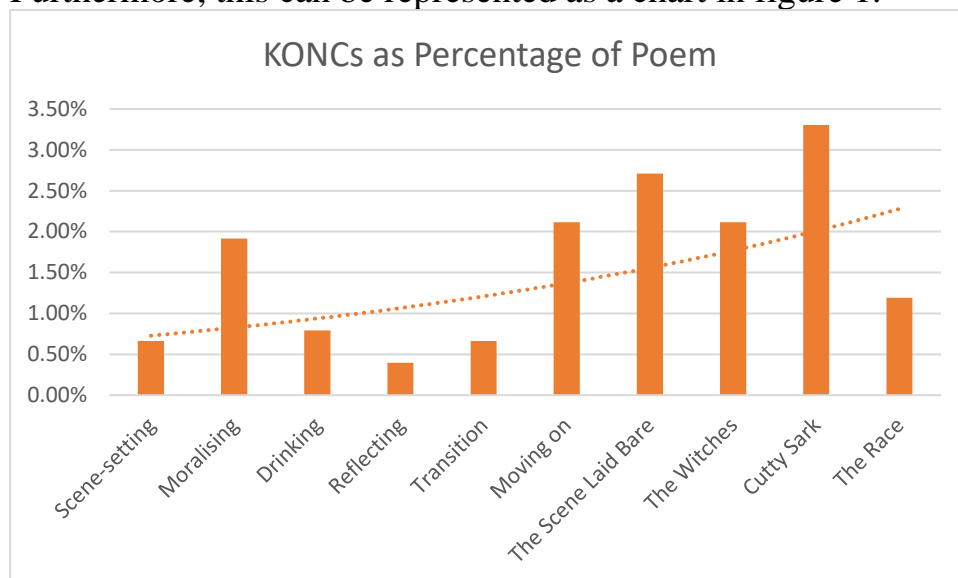


Figure 1: Key Old Norse Cognates – Diachronic Distribution with Exponential Trendline

Figure 1 shows notable peaks where KONCs occur, especially in the sections *Moralising*, *Moving on*, *The Scene Laid Bare*, *The Witches*, and *Cutty Sark*. There is clearly an increase in occurrence and intensity as events progress through time, as the exponential trendline also demonstrates. In each section, the KONC provides a distinctive character to the narration. In *Moralising*, the narrator adopts Kate’s voice and perhaps we are being treated to a rare performance of how a local person may have spoken at that time, words, and sounds, including many KONCs in their variety of Scots. *Moving on* offers many KONCs in its language descriptive of local features our attention is drawn to as Tam rides on towards Alloway church. However, the intensity of the poem reaches a series of climactic peaks in the three sections *The Scene Laid Bare*, *The Witches*, and *Cutty Sark*, where Burns’ imagination is in full flight. Burns chooses to deploy concentrations of KONCs to convey the true horror of Satan playing the pipes in a church and the witches dancing to his tune. This is not to say that KONCs are any the less significant in other sections. At the very beginning of Tam, in *Scene-setting*, a series of KONCs occurs which anchors the poem linguistically in Scots and socially in the locality of the marketplace at Ayr: *chapmen*, *drouthy*, *tak*, *gate*, and *fou*. Similarly, KONCs are found in the last section of the poem, *The Race*, where moralising returns, as in *ae*, *hale*, *ain*, *carlin*, *wha*, *ilk*, and *cutty-sarks*.

Narrative sections, naturally, can be distinguished using other boundaries than those chosen here. According to the current argument, a momentum builds through the poem, and peaks of intensity can be identified: in both of these features, KONCs are highly significant.

The distribution of KONCs can also be viewed by simply dividing the poem into halves, thirds, or quarters, as in figures 2, 3, and 4.

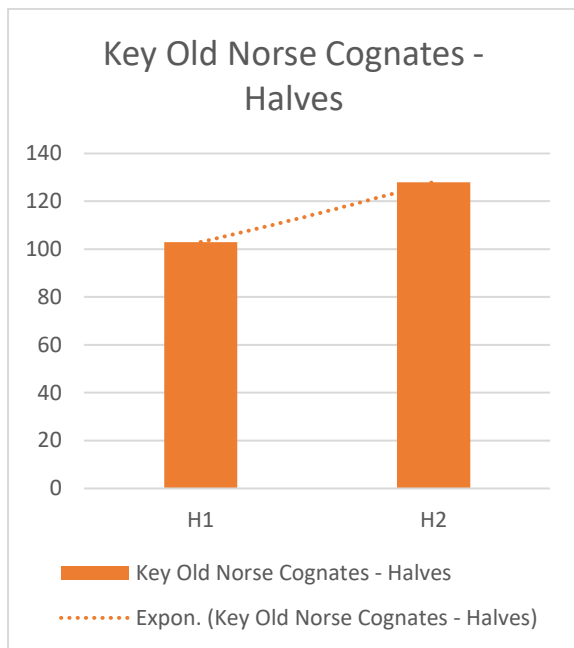


Figure 2: Key Old Norse Cognates – Diachronic Distribution, poem in halves

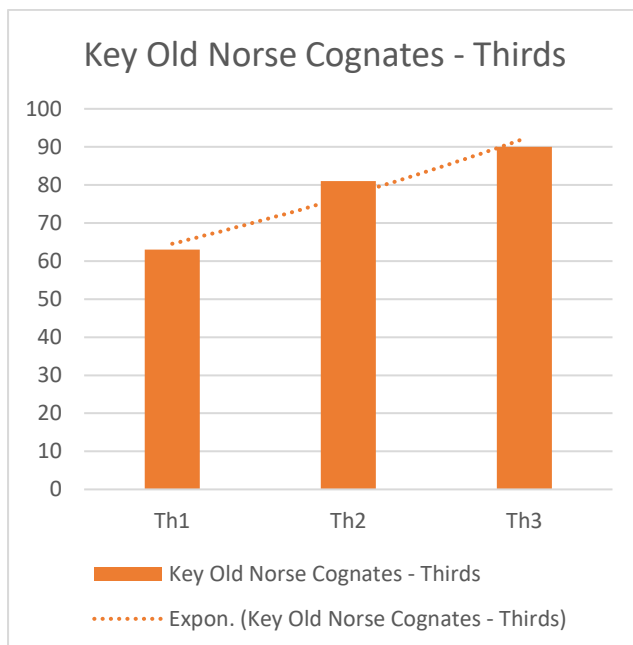


Figure 3: Key Old Norse Cognates – Diachronic Distribution, poem in thirds

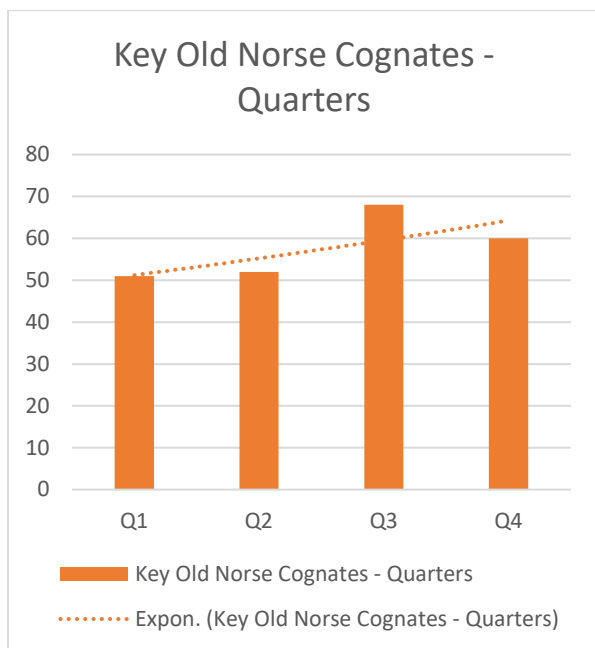


Figure 4: Key Old Norse Cognates – Diachronic Distribution, poem in quarters

The trends shown in figures 1 – 4 clearly indicate an increasing density of KONCs as the poem goes on. These cognates provide a descriptive mechanism underlying the crucial structural foundations of Tam, one prime aspect of which can be characterised in terms of static and dynamic. On a very simple level, throughout Tam there are static passages (passages of description) and dynamic ones (passages of movement). Another simple and ever-present static-dynamic dimension concerns times when Tam himself is stationary, and times when he is moving. Clearly, there are passages describing movement (as in the first set of similes: “*Or like the borealis race, That flit ere you can point their place*”; (lines 63-64) while Tam is stationary, but when these broad dichotomies are taken into account an interesting pattern emerges regarding the distribution of KONCs (as percentages of all items), as shown in Table 2.

Narrative Sections	Description	Static / Dynamic	Notable Features	KONCs % of Tam
Scene-setting	Time for a drink after market day	S	Setting the scene (S)	0.66%
Moralising	Tam should have taken his wife's advice	S	Narrator's address to Tam (S)	1.92%
Drinking	Tam settles in for the night	S	Stories and pleasures (S)	0.79%
Reflecting	Pleasures are quick to disappear	S	Similes (1) (S, transition, D)	0.40%
Transition	Time to go	S	Preparing to go (S - D)	0.66%
Moving on	From Doon to Alloway church	D	Galloping to the church (D)	2.12%
The Scene Laid Bare	Murderous visions	S	Observation of horrific objects (S)	2.71%
The Witches	Satan pipes, the witches dance	D	Observation of dancing (D)	2.12%
Cutty Sark	Tam calls out, Cutty Sark notices	D	Interruption (S)	3.30%
The Race	Cutty Sark chases Tam, Maggie saves him	D	Fast movement home (D)	1.19%
Total				15.86%

Table 2: Static and Dynamic Elements of Tam

It is clear from the above schema that the KONCs are concentrated in the passages of movement. Indeed, Tam is on horseback for most of the poem (lines 79 – 228). He begins “weel mounted” (line 79): order prevails, but quickly breaks down as the storm intensifies, the pace increases (“Tam skelpit on”, line 81) and the catalogue of local horror unfolds (“whare mungo’s mither hang’d hersel’”, line 96). The increase in intensity of speed, storm, and horror is expressed by a concomitant increase in KONCs in sections *Transition* and *Moving on*. A further dimension is that of light and dark. The poem begins in the fading light and moves to the darkness of the early stages of the storm. The storm reaches its zenith of lightning, thunder, and engulfing darkness just before Tam is brought up short at the glimmering light in Alloway church.

The narrative sections identified in Table 2 reflect another fundamental structural element of Tam, that of chaos. There is an opposition and conflict between order and chaos that runs through the poem, the main categories of which are contrasted in Table 3.

Order	Chaos
Settled in the pub	Murder
Kate's advice	Pipes and dancing
Meg's homing instinct	Eroticism
Meg's carrying Tam home	Chase
Salvation	Mortal danger

Table 3: Order and Chaos

The underlying order in Tam is provided by Maggie. It is her consistency and determination that bring Tam home, offer salvation and vindicate his wife’s advice, and restore order. This steadfastness is contrasted with the chaos and lack of control witnessed in the major themes of murder (and we can assume Tam would have died if Maggie had not saved him), manic music and dancing, abandoned eroticism, and a hell-for-leather chase.

The chaotic intensity builds through lines 114 to 193 and reaches a peak when Tam calls out, as can be seen in Table 4.

Lines	Intense narrative moments	KONCs
114-124	Satan plays the pipes	22
125-146	Murderous visions	21
147-166	The witches dance	32
167-182	Nannie, her attractions and exploits	21
183-186	Invocation to the muse	5
187-188	Tam is bewitched	2
189-190	Satan plays more intensely	4
191	Tam dances and joins the party	3
192	Tam completely loses his reason	1
193	Tam calls out	4
	Total	115
	% of all KONCs	44.54%
	% of all items	7.60%

Table 4: *The Poem goes Berserk; Highest Concentration of KONCs*

In the build up to this section of the poem, the scene Tam witnesses in the glimmering light of church Alloway is characterised by an increasing concentration of KONCs as the drama moves into its chaotic phase of piping and dancing led by Old Nick. All hell has now broken loose. The poem has gone berserk linguistically: here the heaviest concentration of KONCs is to be found, 44.54% of all KONCs and 7.60% of all items in the poem. In the narration, too, there is a high feverishness about the characters, they have also gone berserk, and with which word could they be more aptly depicted than *berserk*, a combination of Old Norse *björn* (*bear*) and *serkr* (*shirt*), used to denote a raging warrior dressed in bearskin? The descent into chaos soon concludes with a full-scale entrance into the abyss, as Tam calls out to Cutty Sark (line 193) and full darkness falls instantly (line 194). At this turning point in the poem (*Cutty Sark*), the maximum concentration of KONCs has been reached. After this, movement resumes, Maggie runs on (line 203), and she eventually saves Tam and restores order. The concentration of KONCs falls.

In the extract below the concentration of KONCs in the narrative section Cutty Sark is shown in red.

167	But Tam kend what was what fu' brawlie:
168	There was ae winsome wench and waulie ,
169	That night enlisted in the core,
170	Lang after ken'd on Carrick shore;
171	(For mony a beast to dead she shot,
172	And perish'd mony a bonie boat,
173	And shook baith meikle corn and bear ,
174	And kept the country-side in fear.)
175	Her cutty-sark , o' Paisley harn
176	That while a lassie she had worn,
177	In longitude tho' sorely scanty ,
178	It was her best, and she was vauntie,-
179	Ah! little ken'd thy reverend grannie,
180	That sark she coft for her wee Nannie,
181	Wi' twa pund Scots, ('twas a' her riches),
182	Wad ever grac'd a dance of witches!
183	But here my Muse her wing maun cour ;
184	Sic flights are far beyond her pow'r;
185	To sing how Nannie lap and flang ,
186	(A souple jade she was, and strang),
187	And how Tam stood, like ane bewitch'd,
188	And thought his very een enrich'd;
189	Even Satan glowr'd , and fidg'd fu' fain ,
190	And hotch'd and blew wi' might and main;
191	Till first ae caper, syne anither ,
192	Tam tint his reason a' thegither,
193	And roars out , " Weel done, Cutty-sark! "
194	And in an instant all was dark:
195	And scarcely had he Maggie rallied,
196	When out the hellish legion sallied.
197	As bees bizz out wi' angry fyke ,
198	When plundering herds assail their byke ;
199	As open pussie's mortal foes,
200	When, pop! she starts before their nose;
201	As eager runs the market-crowd,
202	When "Catch the thief!" resounds aloud;
203	So Maggie runs, the witches follow,
204	Wi' mony an eldritch skriech and hollo .
205	Ah, Tam! ah, Tam! thou'll get thy fairin'!
206	In hell they'll roast thee like a herrin'!

Extract 1: Highest concentration of KONCs, Lines 167-206

In all, it is striking that the highest concentration occurs in the narrative section *Cutty Sark*. It is here that the movement in the poem (Tam's riding, the witches' dancing) comes abruptly to an end as Tam cries out. The movement is, of course, quickly resumed as Cutty Sark and the complement of witches set out to pursue Tam, and the action then careers on until halted once more by her clutching Maggie's tail.

2.3 Old Norse, Literary Devices and a Counter Narrative

There is good evidence to suggest that Burns was aware of and comparatively well-read in the classical authors such as Homer and Virgil, especially during his sojourn in Edinburgh from 1786 to 1791 where he would have come across Pope's *Iliad* and translations of Virgil by Douglas and Dryden (Bowie, 2021). Indeed, he has even been called "a self-aware linguistic marvel...linguistic innovator" (Harvey 2013, p.1), although Tam can also be seen as a narrative poem written in the context of Scots as an oral tradition with no standardised rules (ibid., p.4). In that case, he would have been aware of literary devices such as the invocation to the muse and simile. These two devices have a prominent place in Tam, punctuating the narration as they do, and are distinguished by Scots and English linguistic features.

The muse is invoked twice in Tam, first in the address to John Barleycorn, the muse of drink, and second in an acknowledgment of the weakness of the poet's own poetic voice. These invocations lie in contrast to those at the beginning of the *Iliad* and *Odyssey*, the Greek epics composed by Homer which provide the canonic versions of this device, and the *Aeneid*, the Latin epic written by Virgil. Of these, the *Odyssey* tells the story of the homeward journey of the Greek Odysseus after the fall of Troy, and the *Aeneid* that of the Trojan Aeneas as he was driven by fate to wander and eventually arrive in Italy where he was to found Rome. In both the *Odyssey* and the *Aeneid*, the muse is invoked at the beginning of the poem (thus setting a convention) and the tone and programme of the whole poem is laid out, as in:

ἄνδρα μοι ἔννεπε, μοῦσα, πολύτροπον, ὃς μάλα πολλὰ πλάγχθη ἐπεὶ
Τροίης ἱερὸν πτολίεθρον ἔπερσεν
*Sing, muse, of that resourceful man who wandered far abroad after sacking
the holy citadel of Troy (Odyssey 1, lines 1-2).*

and

Arma virumque cano, Troiae qui primus ab oris Italiam, fato profugus,
Laviniaque venit litora...

Musa, mihi causas memora...

*I sing of the man, exiled by fate, who first came to the shores of Lavinia
from the coasts of Troy...*

Muse, remind me of the reasons ...

(Aeneid I, lines 1-3, line 8)

In Burns' nod to the classics, however, the invocations do not occur at the start of the poem but rather are placed at points that give pause to the narrative; nor do they follow conventional form.

The first invocation appears in the form of an address to John Barleycorn, the personification of drink. Drink is in charge: it has got Tam into a stupor. He cannot ride home under his own steam, but he is emboldened, and the liquor coursing through Tam's veins constitutes a channel through which visions of the devil, witches and warlocks and Cutty Sark are conjured up.

Inspiring bold John Barleycorn!
What dangers thou canst make us scorn!
Wi' tippeny, we fear nae evil;
Wi' usquabae, we'll face the devil!
(lines 105-108).

In the second invocation the poet addresses his own muse as a source of song.

But here my Muse her wing maun cour;
Sic flights are far beyond her pow'r;
To sing how Nannie lap and flang,
(lines 183-185).

That song is not able to fly high enough to describe the wild music and dancing which leads to the great pause in the poem when Tam calls out to Cutty Sark. In this second invocation, Burns' innovation is not only to place it long after the beginning of the poem, but also to claim humility, for his muse is not up to describing how Nannie danced to the tune of Satan's pipes. Moreover, Burns invokes his own muse, "my Muse her wing maun cour" (line 183), not the external divine source of classical literature, although another interpretation might be that he is indeed invoking the classical muse and elevating his subject matter to such a plane that not even a goddess could describe it. The irony, of

course, is that Burns goes on to give an excellent description of Nannie’s dancing, Satan’s playing, Tam’s calling out, and the dramatic climax when he loses all control and “roars out weel done, Cutty sark!” (line 193). The action then comes to an abrupt halt and the rest of the poem is dedicated to Tam’s escape. As for the lexical structure, both invocations occur in forests of dense Old Norse cognates as far as the narrative segmentation is concerned, the first in the section *The scene laid bare* (with 14% of the KONC lexis) and the second in the section *Cutty Sark* (with 16% of the KONC lexis). However, if a more immediate lexical environment is taken into account such as a target context horizon of 50 words before and after the invocation, the picture looks different. The first invocation is placed in a low density segment of text (52 words before, of which 3 KONCs, so 5.77%, and 58 words after, of which 10 KONCs, so 17.24%), whereas the second invocation is placed in a high density segment of text (54 words before, of which 7 KONCs, so 12.96%, and 53 words after, of which 12 KONCs, so 22.64%).

The second classical literary device, simile, is represented in two sections of Tam. Section one contains no less than five similes in lines 53-66 (81 words), and in section two there are three, in lines 197-204 (50 words). Their composition in terms of KONCs and their distribution are show below in Table 5.

Simile 1	KONCs	% of Simile	Simile 2	KONCs	% of Simile
Bees	2	2.47%	Bees	2	4.00%
Poppies	0	0.00%	Pussie	1	2.00%
Snow	0	0.00%	Witches	0	0.00%
Wind	0	0.00%	Thief	4	8.00%
Rainbow	0	0.00%			
Total	2	2.47%	0	7	14.00%
Total Words	81		Total Words	50	

Table 5: Two Sets of Similes

Both sections provide literary force at two pivotal points of transformation in Tam. Section 1 comprises a passage of transition as Tam moves from being settled and content in the pub with friends to the commencement of his homeward journey with all the perils to come. The transition is marked by a series of similes concerning transformations in the natural world, metamorphoses of natural phenomena from stable to unstable states, recognisable to elusive. Section 2 also marks a period of transition, from Tam’s state of shock and immobility as he

called out to Cutty Sark, was noticed, and encountered the darkness which suddenly fell, to that of rapid movement and escape on Maggie's back. The similes in section 2 concern living creatures moving as fast as they can (bees flying to escape attack, the hare fleeing to escape mortal danger, and the thief running to evade capture). A further metamorphosis occurs in which Tam begins the return to normality. Bee similes (notable in the Iliad and Aeneid (Heist, 2016)) play a prominent role in both sections, in their position (the first simile in each case) and their significance. In the first simile, bees fly home "wi' lades o' treasure", as do the bees in Virgil's simile (Aeneid I, lines 430-6), and represent the minutes passing full of happy experiences in the pub. But the pleasures of those minutes soon transform to pleasures easily lost as the similes prepare the ground for the loss of order to come. The second section begins with a bee simile of quite a different nature. Here the bees, representing the witches, are angry and fly out in disorder when disturbed in their hive. The following two similes convey an atmosphere of panic and flight. Tam must escape by any means possible. Maggie turns out to be the reliable means he cannot do without. The KONC distribution in section 2 clearly reflects the employment of Old Norse to convey chaos and danger. There is a low incidence of KONCs in section 1: the poem is in its early stages in the path to the abyss. These two sections, then, are key turning points of transition and transformation in the poem. As Carruthers points out, "The fragility of the moment or the basic unit of truth is precisely what is at issue throughout Burns's poem" (Carruthers 2012, p.55).

2.4 Old Norse Sounds resonate in Tam

A phonological representation primarily of the vowel sounds of Tam as recited today can be constructed through an analysis of present-day readings and recitals and current descriptions of Scots (Wir Ain Leed). An historical reconstruction can be made by drawing on the highly detailed and authoritative work of Aitken (1977; 2015), and Macafee (2003; 2015) on Old Scots and its development. A detailed comparison between current vowel sounds and those reconstructed as in Old Scots and later Scots shows a significant degree of consistency. For present purposes it is sufficient to identify the sounds of Key Old Norse Cognates in Tam (as currently pronounced) that are difficult to recognise morphologically and phonologically, or phonologically alone. It is then interesting to make comparisons with a contemporary Nordic language such as Swedish.

When such comparisons are made, it is reasonable to make the claim that Norse sounds ring throughout Tam and constitute a vital part of the poem's fabric. Although the sound system of Old Norse can only be reconstructed approximately

through an examination of rhyme, spelling variation, and grammatical and morphological comparison with Nordic languages through time, it appears that there is a remarkable similarity of sound between certain phonemes as they were likely to have been pronounced at the time of Tam's composition (1790) and how they are pronounced today, and their counterparts in contemporary Nordic languages. There is a Norse echo and contemporary resonance in Tam. Sounds echo as if from Old Norse through the Nordic languages of today and resonate with Tam thus forming a sound continuum that is both diachronic and synchronic.

A phoneme inventory of the sounds of Tam can be drawn up so as to describe and reflect the influence of Old Norse and connections with current Nordic languages. The inventory is shown in Appendix 3, with modern Swedish as the comparator. The phonemes given for items in Tam are drawn from descriptions in *Wir Ain Leed* - West Central Scots (WAL-WCS), DSL, and Grant (1931) as found in DSL. On the *Wir Ain Leed* site, it is claimed that "This is the dialect that the famous bard Robert Burns spoke". DSL gives selected and limited phonemic and phonetic descriptions for terms in Scots since 1700. A given entry might include one or more phonetic descriptions together with a number of example terms occurring on dates from 1700 to well into the 20th century (such as with *bairn*, *fou*, and *gude*). There is an underlying assumption that Scots phonology has remained broadly stable throughout the period. In addition, a phonetic analysis of contemporary readers and reciters has here been made (Dunbar, 2021; Fleming, 2009; McCormack, 2011). While containing some significant differences, this analysis broadly supports the phonemic account found in *Wir ain Leed* and DSL.

If that is a reasonable approach, the resulting phonemic inventory may be said to serve as a close approximation to the Scots of Tam since the time of the poem's composition to the present-day realisations of readers and reciters. The phonemic pattern has most likely remained stable from composition to the present day. It is then also possible to compare the phoneme inventory with cognates found in a modern Nordic language, in this case, Swedish. Swedish phonology has been stable since the vowel shift in the late old Swedish period (1375–1526) which resulted in the emergence of modern Swedish (Widmark, 1998; Dahl & Koptjevskaja-Tamm, 2001). This points to a similar phonological stability to the Scots of Burns from the late 18th century to the present. Appendix 3 compares Scots (as in Tam) and Swedish phonemes, and it will be found that in many cases the similarities are striking.

In addition to segmental phonology (especially vowel phonemes and their contribution to sound prosody), Old Norse influence is significant in Tam regarding suprasegmental features such as syllable stress, metrical distribution

and rhythm, and lexical patterns and their associated phonology. These features combine to yield a unique prosodic soundscape comprising a vowel quality sound contour and an integrated stress and rhythmic structure.

2.4.1 Phonemic Prosody: The Soundscape of Tam

The soundscape of Tam can be described in terms of a continuum of Old Norse related sounds resonating through the poem. A segmental phonological analysis (as given in Appendix 3) shows many points of contact between the language of Tam and present-day Nordic languages, with Swedish as a comparator. This segmental prosody, concerning individual sounds and in particular vowels, is characterised by periods of density which build in waves throughout the poem. The relative occurrence KONC phonemes is represented in Figure 5, and the occurrence through time in chart, as an illustration of periods of sparsity and density.

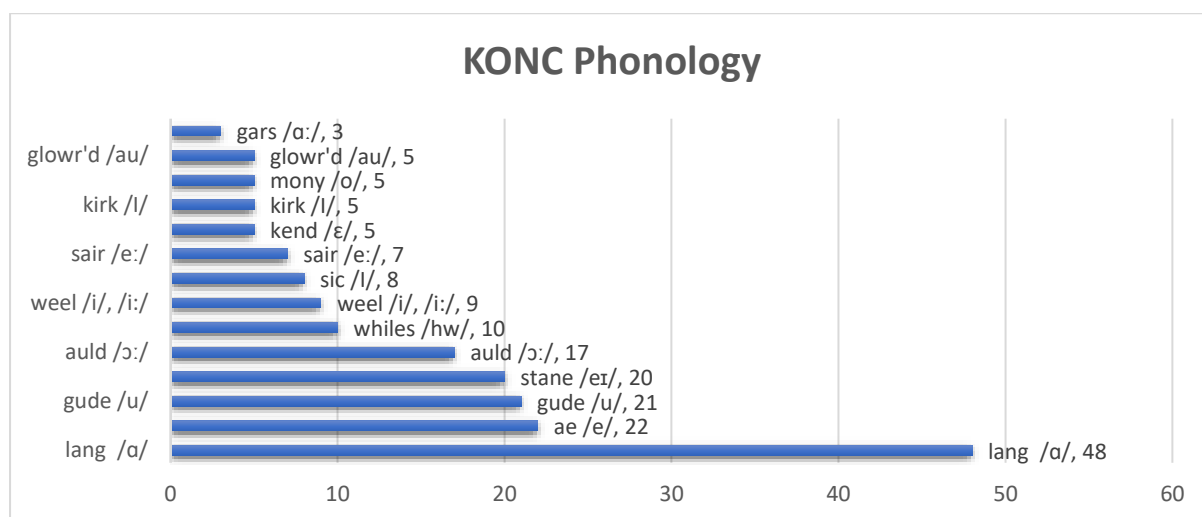


Figure 5: Key Old Norse Cognates - Phoneme Occurrences (tokens) with examples

Key

KONC: Key Old Norse Cognate

Figures against each phoneme indicate the number of tokens.

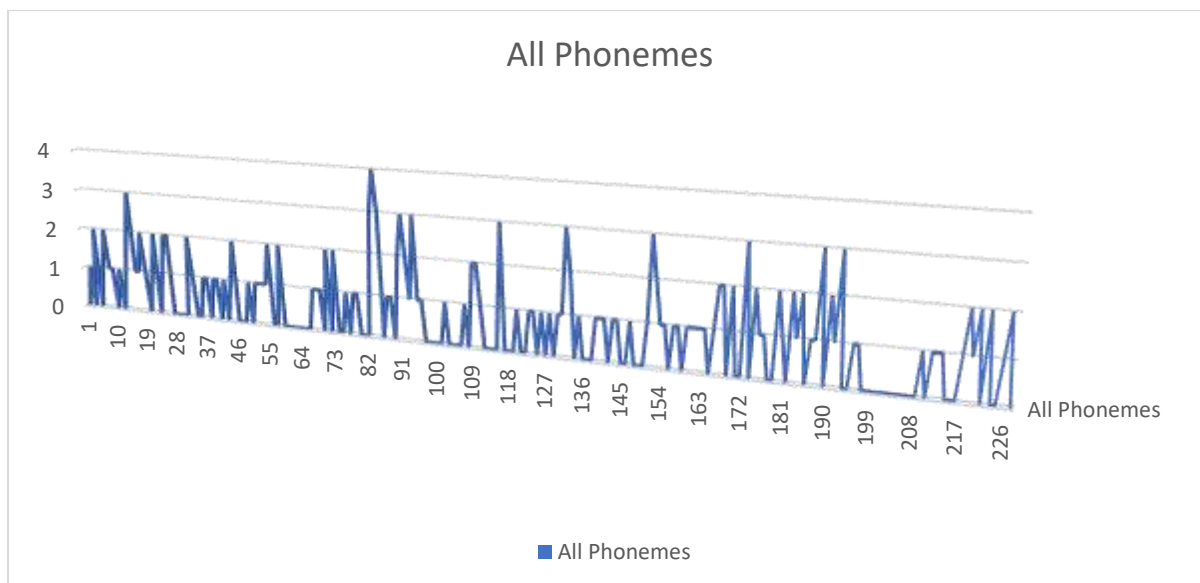


Figure 6: Occurrence of all phonemes through Tam

This chart shows the distribution of all phonemes through the poem. There are dense passages comprising clusters of sound relatable to Old Norse that are naturally concomitant with lexical items. When Tam is heard in a live recital, these sounds spring forward as if spoken by an ancient persona. With a knowledge of present-day Norwegian or Swedish it is perhaps not too fanciful to imagine or indeed perceive a linguistic blend stretching back in time. The characteristics of this blend can broadly be described in terms of monophthongs versus diphthongs (as resulted from the great vowel shift), English words (shifted) versus KONCs (non-shifted), words with Nordic phonemic and length similarity, and periods of prosodic intensity.

2.4.2 Rhythmical Prosody: The Beat of Tam

The metrical structure of Tam is also significant regarding momentum through the poem. The verses are composed in octosyllabic couplets (two-line groups each comprising an iambic tetrameter with four stressed syllables), “long favoured by Scots poets for narrative poems, and for popular poetry of the folk epic type” (Mackenzie 1963, p.91), a far cry from the quantity-based dactylic hexameter of the classical epic poets, Homer and Virgil. In Tam, Burns’ couplets employ considerable repetition and use of formulae, and it is here that momentum is conveyed especially with the aid of key Old Norse cognates.

Tam’s narrative structure, then, unfolds in time according to a regular stress pattern, based on the metrical structure of the octosyllabic couplet as in the first two lines of the poem given in Extract 2.

1	When chapmen billies leave the street,
	1 2 3 4
2	And drouthy neibors, neibors meet,
	1 2 3 4

Extract 2: Stress Position 1

Key:

1 2 3 4 indicate the four primary stress positions

Red text indicates the occurrence of stress on a KONC

There are thus four positions in which primary stress may fall. As lexical components, the syllables which receive this stress are significant to the extent that they are parts of key Old Norse cognates. The first syllable is highly significant in that its strong stress bears the main power which then runs through the line and fixes the rhythmical pattern. A good analogy is to be found in classical music: in a bar with a time signature of 4/4 (four crotchet beats in a bar), the strongest beat is the first one, followed by the third. Beats 2 and 4 are weaker. The unmarked stress pattern of Tam would perhaps include an initial primary stress followed by three more stresses of less power than the first. These may be equal or may vary in terms of possible secondary stress (thus diverging from the musical analogy). A reader, however, might choose to allocate strong stress to any of these positions, depending on what seemed worthy of making prominent at the time (reading poetry can be analogous to playing jazz with its constant shifting of accent). Nevertheless, taking the starting point as an unmarked stress

pattern with strong stress on the first stress position enables a contrastive analysis to be developed as to the distribution of KONCs across the four positions. For lines where there is only one KONC in a primary stress position, a KONC falls in the initial primary stress position in 19 cases and in the second primary stress position in 17 cases, and in the third and fourth positions 11 cases each (Table 9). This also means that KONCS fall in one of the primary stress positions in 25.44% of the poem (in terms of lines). In other words, the semantic impact of Old Norse is reinforced by stress position.

Furthermore, unstressed syllables are also significant in Tam, and those before the initial primary stressed one are of particular interest. These pre-initial unstressed syllables beginning with the phoneme /ʌ/ are quite distinctive, as below in Extract 3.

83	Whiles holding fast his gude blue bonnet;	0 1 2 3 4
84	Whiles crooning o'er some auld Scots sonnet;	0 1 2 3 4
85	Whiles glowing round wi' prudent cares,	0 1 2 3 4
88	Whare ghaists and houlets nightly cry.	0 1 2 3 4
90	Whare , in the snaw , the chapman smoor'd;	0 1 2 3 4
92	Whare drunken Chairlie brak 's neck- bane ;	0 1 2 3 4
94	Whare hunters fand the murder'd bairn ;	0 1 2 3 4
96	Whare Mungo's mither hang'd hersel'.	0 1 2 3 4

Extract 3: Pre-initial unstressed syllables with /maI/ and /ma:r/ (initial /ʌ/)

Key:

1 2 3 4 indicate the four primary stress positions

0 indicates an unstressed position

Red text indicates the occurrence of stress on a KONC

Furthermore, the repetition of *wh*-words provides substantial poetic effect. In the first group (*whiles*) it serves to convey Tam's actions as he carried forward by the regular beat of Maggie's hooves. In the second (*whare*) it points out at intervals the ghastly features along the way. Moreover, the sound quality of *wh* (/ʌ/) can be directly connected to Old Norse. The /ʌ/ sound is found generally in Scots today (DSL), including South West Central Scots spoken in the region where Burns originated (Wir Ain Leed). Interestingly, however, none of the three most

popular readers of Tam (Dunbar, 2021; Fleming, 2009; McCormack, 2011) use this sound. A review of many readers on YouTube produced only one where a slight /ʌ/ sound was in evidence (Stewart, 2020). Perhaps this is because of the influence of the standard English /w/. /ʌ/, a voiceless labialized velar approximant, is likely to have retained its sound from Old Norse *hvar* to the Swedish *hvar/where* of the early modern period after which it developed into *var* /va:r/. The sound would also have occurred in Norwegian and Danish although those languages retain the old spelling with *h* today (*hvor*), as does Icelandic (*hvar*), although Icelandic retains /ʌ/ with some affrication (/x^wa:r/). Interestingly, one of the two main variants of the Swedish *sj*-sound today is close to /ʌ/ as in *sjukhus / hospital* (/ʃu:khʌ:s).

3. Conclusion

It is evident that Old Norse influences form an essential part of the fabric of Tam o' Shanter concerning its many dimensions and aspects. Lexical items and their sounds relatable to Old Norse make essential contributions to the intensity and momentum of the poem, with key distributional peaks providing maximum impact. Perhaps the most significant aspect of that impact is the descent into chaos following Tam's observance of Old Nick, the witches and wizards and the fall into the abyss. Fittingly, the action goes berserk: what better language to express this than that related to Old Norse? The language of Tam which powers the dynamism of the poem needs to be seen as an organic fusion comprising elements of English, Old Norse (cognates), and just a little Gaelic. These elements are semantic, phonological (segmental and supra-segmental), and architectural (lexical combinations). In other words, they are about the words (choice and combination), sound, rhythm, and poetic construction. Seen as a discourse stream occurring through time, the poetic language of Tam changes constantly as combinations emerge of greater or lesser intensity. Seen as a unique fusion of form and substance, Tam is a diamond of different hues which appear and fascinate as the artifact is turned in the twin lights of performance and analysis. It is clear that the Nordic tinge provides an essential, substantial, and distinctive foundation to the poetic substance of that diamond.

4. Appendices

Appendix 1: Translation

While there are a number of English translations available, many of them fall between the two stools of an attempt at poetic equivalence and functional explanation. The exception that stands out is that of Jim Smith (2016), distinguished by its flow and adherence to original poetic meaning. In that light, I would like to offer this new translation as a piece of poetry with an alternative expressive range. The translation is presented in parallel with the original text (as found in Kinsley 1968). In the original, red text indicates key Old Norse lexical cognates, in terms of meaning, morphology, and phonology.

Tam o' Shanter Original	Tam o' Shanter Translation
1 When chapmen billies leave the street,	When peddler boys do leave the street,
2 And drouthy neibors, neibors meet,	And thirsty neighbours, neighbours meet,
3 As market days are wearing late,	As market days are wearing late,
4 An' folk begin to tak the gate ;	And folk begin to take their gait ;
5 While we sit bousing at the nappy,	While we sit bousing at the bebies,
6 And getting fou and unco happy,	And getting drunk and quite so merry,
7 We think na on the lang Scots miles,	We think not on the long Scots miles,
8 The mosses, waters, slaps , and styles,	The mosses, waters, bogs, and styles,
9 That lie between us and our hame ,	That lie between us and our home,
10 Where sits our sulky sullen dame.	Where sits our sulky sullen dame.
11 Gathering her brows like gathering storm,	Gathering her brows like gathering storm,
12 Nursing her wrath to keep it warm.	Nursing her wrath to keep it warm.
13 This truth fand honest Tam o' Shanter,	This truth found honest Tam o' Shanter,
14 As he frae Ayr ae night did canter,	As he from Ayr one night did canter,
15 (Auld Ayr, wham ne'er a town surpasses	(Old Ayr, whom never a town surpasses
16 For honest men and bonie lasses .)	For honest men and bonnie lasses.)
17 O Tam! had'st thou but been sae wise,	O Tam! had you but been so wise,
18 As ta'en thy ain wife Kate's advice!	As taken your own wife Kate's advice!
19 She tauld thee weel thou was a skellum ,	She told you well you were a rascal,
20 A blethering, blustering, drunken blellum;	A blithering, blustering, drunken blatherer;
21 That frae November till October,	That from November till October,
22 Ae market-day thou was nae sober;	A market-day you were not sober;
23 That ilka melder , wi' the miller,	That every corn day, with the miller,
24 Thou sat as lang as thou had siller;	You sat as long as you had silver;
25 That every naig was ca'd a shoe on,	That every time a nag was shoed on,
26 The smith and thee gat roaring fou on;	The smith and you got roaring drunk on;
27 That at the Lord's house, even on Sunday,	That at the Lord's house, even on Sunday,

28 Thou drank wi' Kirkton Jean till Monday.
 29 She prophesied that late or soon,
 30 Thou would be found deep drown'd in Doon;
 31 Or catch'd wi' warlocks in the mirk,
 32 By Alloway's **auld** haunted **kirk**.
 33 Ah, gentle dames! it **gars** me **greet**,
 34 To think how **mony** counsels sweet,
 35 How **mony** lengthen'd, sage advices,
 36 The husband **frae** the wife despises!
 37 But to our tale: **Ae** market-night,
 38 Tam had got planted unco right;
 39 **Fast** by an ingle, bleezing finely,
 40 Wi' **reaming swats**, that drank divinely
 41 And at his elbow, Souter Johnny,
 42 His ancient, trusty, **drouthy** crony;
 43 Tam lo'ed him like a vera **brither**
 44 They had been **fou** for weeks thegither!
 45 The night **drave** on wi' **sangs** and clatter
 46 And ay the ale was growing better:
 47 The landlady and Tam grew gracious,
 48 wi' favours secret, sweet and precious
 49 The Souter **tauld** his queerest stories;
 50 The landlord's laugh was ready chorus:
 51 The storm **without** might rair and rustle,
 52 Tam did **na** mind the storm a whistle.
 53 Care, mad to see a man **sae** happy,
 54 E'en drown'd himsel' **amang** the nappy!
 55 As bees **flee hame** wi' **lades** o' treasure,
 56 The minutes wing'd their way wi' pleasure:
 57 Kings may be blest, but Tam was glorious.
 58 **O'er** a' the ills o' life victorious!
 59 But pleasures are like poppies spread,
 60 You seize the flower, its bloom is shed;
 61 Or like the snow falls in the river,
 62 A moment white - then melts for ever;
 63 Or like the borealis race,
 64 That flit ere you can point their place;
 65 Or like the rainbow's lovely form
 66 Evanishing amid the storm.
 67 **Nae** man can tether time or **tide**;
 68 The hour approaches Tam **maun** ride;
 69 That hour, o' night's black arch the key-**stane**,
 70 That dreary hour he mounts his beast in;
 71 And **sic** a night he **taks** the road in

You drank with Kirkton Jean till Monday.
 She prophesied that late or soon,
 You would be found deep drowned in Doon;
 Or caught with warlocks in the mirk,
 By Alloway's old haunted church.
 Ah, gentle dames! it makes me weep,
 To think how many counsels sweet,
 How many lengthened, sage advices,
 The husband from the wife despises!
 But to our tale: A market-night,
 Tam had got settled fine and right;
 Close by an ingle, blazing finely,
 With frothing ale, that drank divinely
 And at his elbow, Cobbler Johnny,
 His ancient, trusty, thirsty crony;
 Tam loved him like a very brother
 They had been drunk for weeks together!
 The night drove on with songs and clatter
 And yes the ale was growing better:
 The landlady and Tam grew gracious,
 with favours secret, sweet and precious
 The Cobbler told his queerest stories;
 The landlord's laugh was ready chorus:
 The storm outside might roar and rustle,
 Tam did not mind the storm a whistle.
 Care, mad to see a man so joyful,
 Would drown himself deep in a skin full!
 As bees flee home with loads of treasure,
 The minutes winged their way with pleasure:
 Kings may be blest, but Tam was glorious.
 Over all the ills of life victorious!
 But pleasures are like poppies spread,
 You seize the flower, its bloom is shed;
 Or like the snow falls in the river,
 A moment white - then melts for ever;
 Or like the borealis race,
 That flit before you point their place;
 Or like the rainbow's lovely form
 A vanishing amid the storm.
 No man can tether time or tide;
 The hour approaches Tam must ride;
 That hour, night's black arch key-stone,
 That dreary hour he mounts his beast in;
 And such a night he takes the road in

72 As ne'er poor sinner was abroad in.
 73 The wind blew as '**twad blawn** its last;
 74 The rattling showers rose on the blast;
 75 The speedy gleams the darkness swallow'd
 76 Loud, deep, and **lang**, the thunder bellow'd:
 77 That night, a child might understand,
 78 The **Deil** had business on his hand.
 79 **Weel** mounted on his gray mare, Meg
 80 A better never lifted leg
 81 Tam **skelpit** on thro' dub and mire;
 82 Despising wind and rain and fire.
 83 **Whiles** holding **fast** his **gude** blue bonnet;
 84 **Whiles** crooning **o'er** some **auld** Scots sonnet;
 85 **Whiles glowing** round wi' prudent cares,
 86 Lest **bogles** catch him unawares:
 87 **Kirk**-Alloway was drawing nigh,
 88 **Whare** ghaists and houlets nightly cry.
 89 By this time he was cross the ford,
 90 **Whare**, in the **snaw**, the **chapman** smoor'd;
 91 And past the **birks** and **meikle stane**,
 92 **Whare** drunken Chairlie **brak 's** neck-**bane**;
 93 And thro' the **whins**, and by the cairn,
 94 **Whare** hunters **fand** the murder'd **bairn**;
 95 And near the thorn, **aboon** the well,
 96 **Whare** Mungo's **mither** hang'd hersel'.
 97 Before him Doon pours all his floods;
 98 The doubling storm roars thro' the woods;
 99 The lightnings flash from pole to pole;
 100 Near and more near the thunders roll:
 101 When, glimmering thro' the groaning trees,
 102 **Kirk**-Alloway seem'd in a bleeze;
 103 Thro' **ilka bore** the beams were glancing;
 104 And loud resounded mirth and dancing.
 105 Inspiring bold John Barleycorn!
 106 What dangers thou canst make us scorn!
 107 Wi' tippeny, we fear **nae** evil;
 108 Wi' usquabae, we'll face the devil!
 109 The **swats sae ream'd** in Tammie's noddle,
 110 Fair play, he car'd **na deils** a **boddle**.
 111 But Maggie stood, right **sair** astonish'd,
 112 Till, by the heel and hand admonish'd,
 113 She ventured forward on the light;
 114 And, vow! Tam saw an unco sight
 115 Warlocks and witches in a dance;

As never poor sinner was abroad in.
 The wind blew as had blown its last;
 The rattling showers rose on the blast;
 The speedy gleams the darkness swallowed
 Loud, deep, and long, the thunder bellowed:
 That night, a child might understand,
 The Devil had business on his hand.
 Well mounted on his gray mare, Meg
 A better never lifted leg
 Tam pelted on through mud and mire;
 Despising wind and rain and fire.
 While holding fast his good blue bonnet;
 While crooning on some old Scots sonnet;
 While glowering round with prudent cares,
 Lest goblins catch him unawares:
 Church-Alloway was drawing nigh,
 Where ghosts and owlets nightly cry.
 By this time the ford he'd crossed,
 Where smothered in snow, the peddler's lost;
 And past the birch and mighty stone,
 Where drunken Chairlie broke neck-bone;
 And through the gorse, and by the mound,
 Where hunters a murdered child had found;
 And near the thorn, above the well,
 Where Mungo's mother hanged herself.
 Before him Doon pours all his floods;
 The doubling storm roars through the woods;
 The lightnings flash from pole to pole;
 Near and more near the thunders roll:
 When, glimmering through the groaning trees,
 Church-Alloway seemed in a blaze;
 through every gap the beams were glancing;
 And loud resounded mirth and dancing.
 Inspiring bold John Barleycorn!
 What dangers you can make us scorn!
 With good ale, we fear no evil;
 With whisky tippie, we'll face the devil!
 The ale so frothed in Tammie's revels,
 Fair play, he cared not tuppence for devils.
 But Maggie stood, right sore astonished,
 Till, by the heel and hand admonished,
 She ventured forward on the light;
 And, wow! Tam saw the strangest sight
 Warlocks and witches in a dance;

116 **Nae** cotillion **brent**-new **frae** France,
 117 But hornpipes, jigs strathspeys, and reels,
 118 Put life and mettle in their heels.
 119 A **winnock-bunker** in the east,
 120 There sat **auld** Nick, in shape o' beast;
 121 A towzie **tyke**, black, grim, and large,
 122 To **gie** them music was his charge:
 123 He **scre'd** the pipes and **gart** them **skirl**,
 124 Till roof and rafters a' did **dirl**.
 125 Coffins stood round, like open presses,
 126 That **shaw'd** the dead in their last dresses;
 127 And by some **develish** cantraip **slight**,
 128 Each in its **cauld** hand held a light.
 129 By which heroic Tam was able
 130 To note upon the **haly** table,
 131 A murders's **banes** in gibbet-**airns**;
 132 **Twa span-lang**, wee, unchristen'd **bairns**;
 133 A thief, new-cutt'd **frae** a **rape**,
 134 Wi' his last gasp his gab did gape;
 135 Five tomahawks, wi' **blude** red-rusted;
 136 Five scymitars, wi' murder crusted;
 137 A garter, which a babe had strangled;
 138 A knife, a father's throat had mangled,
 139 Whom his **ain** son o' life bereft,
 140 The gray hairs yet stack to the **heft**;
 141 Wi' **mair** o' horrible and awfu',
 142 Which even to name was be unlawfu'.
 143 Three lawyers' tongues, turn'd inside **out**,
 144 Wi' lies **seam'd** like a beggar's **clout**;
 145 Three priests' hearts, rotten, black as muck,
 146 Lay stinking, vile in every **neuk**.
 147 As Tammie **glowr'd**, amaz'd, and curious,
 148 The mirth and fun grew fast and furious;
 149 The piper loud and louder blew;
 150 The dancers quick and quicker flew;
 151 They reel'd, they set, they cross'd, they **cleekit**,
 152 Till **ilka carlin swat** and **reekit**,
 153 And **coost** her **duddies** to the **wark**,
 154 And **linket** at it in her **sark**!
 155 Now Tam, O Tam! had **thae** been **queans**,
 156 A' plump and strapping in their teens,
 157 Their **sarks**, instead o' creeshie flannen,
 158 Been **snaw**-white seventeen **hunder** linnen!
 159 Thir **breeks** o' mine, my only pair,

No cotillion brand new from France,
 But hornpipes, jigs strathspeys, and reels,
 Put life and mettle in their heels.
 A window ledge set in the east,
 There sat old Nick, in shape of beast;
 A mangy mongrel, black, grim, and large,
 To give them music was his charge:
 He screwed the pipes and made them swing,
 Till roof and rafters all did ring.
 Coffins stood round, like open presses,
 That showed the dead in their last dresses;
 And by some devilish magic sleight,
 Each in its cold hand held a light.
 By which heroic Tam was able
 To note upon the holy table,
 A murderer's bones in gibbet-irons;
 Two span-length babes unchristened
 A thief, just cut down from a rope,
 With his last gasp his gob did gape;
 Five tomahawks, with blood red-rusted;
 Five scimitars, with murder crusted;
 A garter, which a babe had strangled;
 A knife, a father's throat had mangled,
 Whom his own son of life bereft,
 The gray hairs still stuck to the shaft
 With more all horrible and awful,
 Which even to name would be unlawful.
 Three lawyers' tongues, turned inside out,
 With lies sewn like a beggar's cloth;
 Three priests' hearts, rotten, black as muck,
 Lay stinking, vile in every nook.
 As Tammie glowered, amazed, and curious,
 The mirth and fun grew fast and furious;
 The piper loud and louder blew;
 The dancers quick and quicker flew;
 They reeled, they set, they crossed, they linked,
 Till every witch did sweat and stink,
 And cast her tatters to the drift,
 And skipped along in rags and shift
 Now Tam, if they'd been queens,
 All plump and strapping in their teens,
 Their shifts, instead of greasy flannel,
 Been snow-white full of fibre linen!
 These breeches mine, my only pair,

160 That **ance** were plush, o' **gude** blue hair,
 161 I **wad hae gi'en** them off my hurdies,
 162 For **ae** blink o' the bonie burdies!
 163 But wither'd beldams, **auld** and **droll**,
 164 **Rigwoodie hags wad spean** a foal,
 165 **Louping** and **flinging** on a crummock,
 166 I wonder did **na** turn thy stomach!
 167 But Tam **kend** what was what **fu'** brawlie:
 168 There was **ae** winsome wench and **vaulie**,
 169 That night enlisted in the core,
 170 **Lang** after **ken'd** on Carrick shore;
 171 (For **mony** a beast **to dead** she shot,
 172 And perish'd **mony** a bonie boat,
 173 And shook **baith meikle** corn and **bear**,
 174 And kept the country-side in fear.)
 175 Her **cutty-sark**, o' Paisley **harn**
 176 That while a **lassie** she had worn,
 177 In longitude tho' sorely **scanty**,
 178 It was her best, and she was vauntie,
 179 Ah! little **ken'd** thy reverend grannie,
 180 That **sark** she **coft** for her wee Nannie,
 181 Wi' **twa** pund Scots, ('twas a' her riches),
 182 **Wad** ever grac'd a dance of witches!
 183 But here my Muse her wing **maun cour**;
 184 **Sic** flights are far beyond her pow'r;
 185 To sing how Nannie **lap** and **flang**,
 186 (A souple jade she was, and strang),
 187 And how Tam stood, like **ane** bewitch'd,
 188 And thought his very **een** enrich'd;
 189 Even Satan **glowr'd**, and **fidg'd fu' fain**,
 190 And hotch'd and blew wi' might and main;
 191 Till first **ae** caper, **syne anither**,
 192 Tam **tint** his reason a' thegither,
 193 And roars **out**, "**Weel** done, **Cutty-sark!**"
 194 And in an instant all was dark:
 195 And scarcely had he Maggie rallied,
 196 When **out** the hellish legion sallied.
 197 As bees bizz **out** wi' angry **fyke**,
 198 When plundering herds assail their **byke**;
 199 As open **pussie's** mortal foes,
 200 When, pop! she starts before their nose;
 201 As eager runs the market-crowd,
 202 When "Catch the thief!" resounds aloud;
 203 So Maggie runs, the witches follow,

That once were plush, of good blue hair,
 I would have given them off my bum
 For just a glimpse of lassies and fun!
 But withered beldames, old and droll,
 Wizen'd hags to wean a foal,
 Leaping and flinging around a switch
 I wonder wouldn't make you retch!
 But Tam knew what was what quite fully:
 There was a charming wench so jolly,
 That night enlisted in the core,
 Long after known on Carrick shore;
 (For many a beast to death she shot,
 And wrecked many a bonnie boat,
 And shook both plenty corn and barley,
 And kept the countryside in fear.)
 Her cutty-sark, of Paisley yarn
 That while a lassie she had worn,
 In length and breadth though sorely scanty,
 It was her best, and she was handy,
 Ah! little knew your reverend grannie,
 That shift she bought for little Nannie,
 With two Scots pounds, (all her riches),
 Would ever've graced a dance of witches!
 But here my Muse her wing must cower;
 Such flights are far beyond her power;
 To sing how Nannie leapt and flung,
 (A supple jade she was, and strong),
 And how Tam stood, like one bewitched,
 And thought his very eyes enriched;
 Ev'n Satan glowered, and twitched, no shame,
 And hotched and blew with might and main;
 Till first a caper, then another,
 Tam lost his reason all together,
 And roars out, "Well done, Cutty-sark!"
 And in an instant all was dark:
 And scarcely had he Maggie rallied,
 When out the hellish legion sallied.
 As bees buzz out and angry strive,
 When plundering herds assail their hive;
 As hounds to hare are mortal foes,
 When, pop! she starts before their nose;
 As eager runs the market-crowd,
 When "Catch the thief!" resounds aloud;
 So Maggie runs, the witches follow,

204 Wi' **mony** an **eldritch skriech** and **hollo**.
 205 Ah, Tam! ah, Tam! thou'll get thy fairin'!
 206 In hell they'll roast thee like a herrin'!
 207 In vain thy Kate awaits thy **commin'**!
 208 Kate soon will be a woefu' woman!
 209 Now, do thy speedy utmost, Meg,
 210 And win the key-**stane** o' the **brig**;
 211 There at them thou thy tail may toss,
 212 A running stream they dare **na** cross.
 213 But ere the key-**stane** she could make,
 214 The **fient** a tail she had to shake!
 215 For Nannie, far before the rest,
 216 Hard upon noble Maggie prest,
 217 And flew at Tam wi' furious **ettle**;
 218 But little **wist** she Maggie's mettle -
 219 **Ae** spring brought off her master **hale**,
 220 But left behind her **ain** gray tail;
 221 The **carlin claught** her by the rump,
 222 And left poor Maggie scarce a stump.
 223 Now, **wha** this tale o' truth shall read,
 224 **Ilk** man and mother's son take heed;
 225 Whene'er to drink you are inclin'd,
 226 Or **cutty-sarks** run in your mind,
 227 Think! ye may buy joys **o'er** dear -
 228 Remember Tam o' Shanter's mare.

Wiith many a weird-like screech and holler.
 Ah, Tam! ah, Tam! you'll get your fair share'!
 In hell they'll roast you like a herring!
 In vain your Kate awaits your coming'!
 Kate soon will be a woeful woman!
 Now, do your utmost, speedy Meg,
 And win the key-stone of the bridge;
 There at them you your tail may toss,
 A running stream they dare not cross.
 But ere the key-stone she could make,
 The fiend a tail she had to shake!
 For Nannie, far before the rest,
 Hard upon noble Maggie pressed,
 And flew at Tam with furious bent;
 But little knew she Maggie's intent -
 A spring brought off her master whole,
 But left behind her own gray tail;
 The witch did clutch her by the rump,
 And left poor Maggie scarce a stump.
 Now, who this tale of truth shall read,
 Both man and mother's son take heed;
 Whene'er to drink you are inclined,
 Or scanty shifts run in your mind,
 Think! you buy your joys too dear -
 Remember Tam o' Shanter's mare.

Appendix 2: Key Old Norse Cognates - Glossary

Line	Tam	Old Norse	Icelandic	Swedish	English
1	chapmen (n-pl)	kaupandi (n)	kaupmaður (n)	köpman (n)	peddlers ¹ (n-pl)
2	drouthy (adj)	þyrstr (adj)	þyrstur (adj)	törstig (adj)	thirsty (adj)
4	tak (v)	taka (v)	taka (v)	ta (v)	take (v)
4	gate (n)	gata (n)	gata (n)	gata (n)	gate (n)
6	fou (adj)	fullr (adj)	fullur (adj)	full (adj)	drunk (adj)
7	na (adv)	nei (adv)	nei (adv)	nej (adv)	no (adv)
7	lang (adj)	langr (adj)	langur (adj)	lång (adj)	long (adj)
8	slaps (n-pl)	slétta (n)	skvette (n)	skvätta (n)	bog (n)
9	hame (n)	heim (n)	heim (n)	hem (n)	home (n)
11	brows (n)	brún (n)	brún (n)	bryn (n)	brows (n)
13	fand (v-p)	finnr (v)	fann (v-2)	fann (v-2)	found (v-2)
14	frae (prep)	frá (prep)	frá (prep)	från (prep)	from (prep)
14	ae (art)	einn (num/art)	einn (num/art)	en (art)	a / an (art)
15	auld (adj)	aldinn (adj)	eldri (adj)	äldre (adj)	old, older (adj)
15	wham (pro)	hveim (pro)	hver (pro)	vem (pro)	who (pro)
16	lasses (n-pl)	lauss (adj)	lös (adj)	lös (adj)	lass, lassie (n)

17	sae (int)	svá (int)	svo (int)	så (int)	so (int)
18	ta'en (v-pp)	taka (v)	tekið (v-sup)	tagen (v-sup)	taken (v-3)
18	ain (adj)	eiginn (adj)	eiginn (adj)	egen (adj)	own (adj)
19	tauld (v-2)	tala (v)	talaði (v-2)	talade (v-2)	told, (v-2)
19	weel (adv)	vel (adv)	vel (adv)	väl (adv)	well (adv)
19	skellum (n)	skelmir (n)	skelmir (n)	skälla ut (v)	rogue, joker (n)
23	Ilka (adj, pl)	líka, álíkr, líkr (adj)	álíka (adj)	lik, likadan (adj)	same, every, (adj)
23	melder (n)	mjöl (n)	mjöl (n)	mjöl (tid) (n)	meal/corn (time) (n)
25	naig (n)	hneggja (v)	gneggja (v)	gnägga (v)	neigh (v)
25	ca'd (v)	kalla (v)	kallað (v-sup)	kallat (v-sup)	call (v)
26	gat (v-2)	gat (v-2)	gætt (v-sup)	gitta (v)	got (v-2)
32	kirk (n)	kirkja (n)	kirkja (n)	kyrka (n)	church (n)
33	gars (v-3rd)	gjøra (v)	gerir (v-3rd)	gör (v-3rd)	makes (v-3rd)
33	greet (v)	gráta (v)	gráta (v)	gráta (v)	cry (v)
34	mony (adj)	margr (adj)	margur (adj)	många (adj)	many (adj)
39	fast (adv)	fast (adv)	fast við (adv, prep)	fast (adv)	tight (adv)
40	reaming (v)	rýma (v)	rýma (v)	rymma (v)	making space (v-ing)
40	swats (n)	søetr (adj)	sætur (adj)	söt (adj)	sweets (n-p) (young beer)

43	brither (n)	bróðir (n)	bróðir (n)	bror (n)	brother (n)
45	drave (v-2)	drifa (v)	drífur (v-3rd)	drev (v-2)	drove (v-2)
45	sangs (n)	söngvar (n-pl)	söngvar (n-pl)	sånger (n-pl)	songs (n-pl)
51	without (adv.)	út (prep)	út (prep)	ut (prep)	without (adv.)
54	amang (prep)	miðli (prep)	á milli (prep)	mellan (prep)	among (prep)
55	flee (v)	fjúka (v)	flýja (v)	fly (v)	fly, flee (v)
55	lades (n-p)	hlöður (n-pl)	hlöður (n-pl)	ladda (v) (load)	loads (n-p)
58	o'er (prep, int)	yfir (prep)	yfir (prep)	över	over (prep)
67	nae (adj)	nei (adv)	nei (adv)	nej (adv)	no (adj, adv)
67	tide (n)	tíð (n)	tíma (n)	tid (n)	time (n)
68	maun (m-v)	mátta (m-v)	mátte (m-v)	måste (m-v)	must (m-v)
69	stane (n)	steinn (n)	steinn (n)	sten (n)	stone (n)
71	sic (adv)	slíkr (adv)	slíkur (adv)	sicken (adv/det)	such (adv)
71	taks (v-3rd)	tekr (v-3rd)	tekur (v-3rd)	tar (v-3rd)	takes (v-3rd)
73	'twad (v-m)	vilja (v)	vilja (v)	velat (v-sup)	(it) would (v-m)
73	blawn (v)	blásinn (v-sup)	blásið (v-sup)	blåst (v-sup)	blown (v-3)
78	deil (n)	djöfull (n)	djöfull (n)	djävul (n)	devil (n)
81	skelpit (v-2)	valt (v-2)	valt (v-2)	vältat (v-p)	careered (v-2)

83	whiles (adv)	hvíla (v), (rest)	hvíla (v), (rest)	hvile (D) (v), (rest)	while (conj, n, v)
83	gude (adj)	góðr (adj)	góður (adj)	god (adj)	good (adj)
84	o'er (prep, int)	yfir (prep)	yfir (prep)	Över (prep)	over (prep)
85	glowring (v-ing)	glói (v)	glóa (v)	glo (v)	glowering (v-ing)
86	bogles (n-pl)	púki (n)	púkar (n-pl)	busa (v)	bogey (n)
88	whare (adv)	hvar (adv)	hvar (adv)	var (adv)	where (adv)
90	snaw (n)	snær (n)	snjór (n)	snö (n)	snow (n)
90	chapman (n)	kaupandi (n)	kaupmaður (n)	köpman (n)	peddlers (n)
91	birks (n-pl)	bjarkar (n-pl)	birki (n-pl)	björkar (n-pl)	birch (n)
91	meikle (adj)	mikill (adj)	mikið (adj)	mycket (adj)	great (adj)
92	brak's (v)	braut (v-2)	braut (v-2)	bräcktes (v-2)	broke (v-2)
92	bane (n)	bein (n)	bein (n)	ben (n)	bone (n)
93	whins (n)	hvein (n)	kvein (n)	ven (n)	gorse (n)
94	bairn (n-sing)	barn (n)	barn (n)	barn (n)	child (n)
95	aboon (prep)	ofan (prep)	ofan (prep)	ovan (prep)	above (prep)
96	mither (n)	móðir (n)	móðir (n)	mor (n)	mother (n)
103	bore (n)	bora (v)	bora (v)	borra (v)	bore (n), (v)
109	ream'd (v-2)	rýmadi (v-2)	rýmadi (v-2)	rymmade (v-2)	made space (v-2)

110	deils (n)	djofull (n)	djöfull (n)	djävul (n)	devil (n)
110	boddle (n)	būth (n)	ból (n)	bol (n)	Twopenny piece (n)
111	sair (adj)	sar (adj)	sár (adj)	sår (adj)	sore (adj)
116	brent (adj)	brendr (adj)	brenndur (adj)	bränt (adj)	burned, branded (adj)
119	winnock (n)	vindauga (n)	vindauga (n) (valve)	vindöga (n), (archaic)	window ("wind eye") (n)
119	bunker (n)	bekkur (n)	bekkur (n)	bunke (n)	bench/board (n)
121	tyke (n)	tík (n)	tík (n)	tik (n)	bitch (n)
122	gie (v)	gefa (v)	gefa (v)	ge (v)	give (v)
123	scre'd (v-2)	skrúfaði (v-2)	skrúfaði (v-2)	skruvade (v-2)	screwed (v-2)
123	gart (v-2)	gørði (v-2)	gerði (v-2)	gjorde (v-2)	made (v-2)
123	skirl (v)	skrikja (v)	skyrla (v)	skyrla (v)	shriek (v)
124	dirl (v)	þyrlla (v)	þyrlla (v)	dallra (v)	quiver (v)
126	shaw'd (v-2)	skoða (v)	skoðaði (v-2)	?	showed (v-2)
127	develish (adj)	djofull (n)	djöfull (n)	djävul (n)	devil (n)
127	slight (n)	slægð (n)	slægð	slughet (n)	cunning (n)
128	cauld (adj)	kaldr (adj)	kalt (adj)	kalt (adj)	cold (adj)
130	haly (adj)	heilagr (adj)	heilagur (adj)	helig (adj)	holy (adj)
131	banes (n-pl)	bein (n-pl)	bein (n-pl)	ben (n-pl)	bones (n-pl)

131	airns (n-pl)	járn (n)	járn (n-pl)	járn (n-pl)	irons (n-pl)
132	span (n)	spenna (v)	spenna (v)	spänna (v)	span (n)
132	bairns (n-pl)	barn (n-pl)	börn (n-pl)	barn (n-pl)	children (n-pl)
133	rape (n)	reip (n)	reipi (n)	rep (n)	rope (n)
135	blude (n)	blóð (n)	blóð (n)	blod (n)	blood (n)
140	heft (n)	skapt (n)	skaft (n)	skaft (n)	haft, shaft (n)
141	mair (adj, adv)	meiri (adj, adv)	meira (adj, adv)	mer (adj, adv)	more (adj, adv)
143	out (prep)	út (prep)	út (prep)	ut (prep)	out (prep)
144	seam'd (v-3)	sýjað (v-sup)	saumaður (v-sup)	sydd (v-sup)	sewn (v-3)
144	clout (n)	klæði (n)	klæði (n)	kläder (n)	clothes, clad (n)
146	neuk (n)	hnúka (n)	nokka (n)	nokka (n)	nook (n)
147	glowr'd (v-2)	glói (v)	glóa (v)	glo (v)	glowered (v-2)
151	cleekit (v-2)	?	?	klyka (n) (grip)	clasped/clutched (hands) (v-2),
152	carlin (n)	kerling (n)	kerling (n)	kerling (n)	witch or wizard (n)
152	swat (v-2)	svitnaði (v-2)	svitnaði (v-2)	svettade (v-2)	sweated (v-2)
152	reekit (v-2)	rejkja (v)	reykti (v-2)	rökt (v-2)	reeked (v-2)
153	coost (v-2)	kasta (v)	kasta (v)	kastade (v-2)	cast (v-2)
153	duddies (n-pl)	dúði (n)	?	?	tatters, dags (n-pl)

153	wark (n)	verk (n)	virkur (n)	verk (n)	work (n)
154	linket (v-2)	hlekkur (n)	hlekkur (n)	länkade (v-2)	linked (v-2)
154	sark (n)	serkr (n)	serkur (n)	skjorta (n)	shirt, under skirt (n)
155	thae (pro)	þeir (pro)	þeir (pro)	dom (pro)	they (pro)
155	queans (n-pl)	kvaen (n)	kvon (n)	kvinnu (n)	queen (n)
157	sarks (n-pl)	serkir (n-pl)	serkir (n-pl)	skjortor (n)	shirts, under skirts (n-pl)
158	hunder (nu)	hundrað (nu)	hundrað (nu)	hundra (nu)	hundred (nu)
159	breeks (n-pl)	brók (n)	buxur (n,pl)	buxor (n,pl)	trousers (n-pl)
160	ance (adv)	einn (cn)	einn (cn)	en (cn)	ance (adv)
161	wad (v-m)	vilja (v)	vilja (v)	velat (v-sup)	would (v-m)
161	hae (v-p)	hafa (v)	hafa (v)	ha (v)	have (v)
161	gi'en (v-pp)	gefa (v)	gefa (v)	givit (v-sup) (OS)	given (v-3)
163	droll (adj)	tröll (n)	tröll (n)	troll (n)	troll (n)
164	rigwoodie (adj)	Viður (adj)	Við (adj)	rygg, vide (willow)	rugged (adj),
164	hags (n)	hagr (n)	?	häxa (n)	hag (n)
164	spean (v)	venja (v)	venja (v)	avvänja (v)	wean (v)
165	louping (v-ing)	hlaupa (v)	hlaupa (v)	löpa (v)	leaping (v-ing)
165	flinging (v-ing)	flengja (v)	flenja (v)	flänga (v)	lope (v)

167	kend (v-3)	kunnaði (v-2)	kunnaði (v-2)	kände (v-2)	known (v-3)
168	waulie (adj)	gildr (adj)	gildur (adj)	giltig (adj)	fine (adj), worthy (adj)
170	ken'd (v-sup)	kunnað (v-sup)	kunnað (v-sup)	känd (v-sup)	known (v-3)
171	to dead (prep+n)	til dauðr (prep+n)	til dauða (prep+n)	till döds (prep+n)	to death (prep+n)
173	baith (conj)	bæði (conj)	bæði (conj)	både (conj)	both (conj)
173	bear (n)	barr (n)	barmál	?	barley (n)
175	cutty (adj)	skortr (n) (lack)	skortur (n) (lack)	kort (adj)	short (adj)
175	harn (n)	garn (n)	garn (n)	garn (n)	yarn (n)
176	lassies (n, pl)	laskura (n)	?	lös kvinna	lass, lassie (n)
177	scanty (adj)	skortr (n) (lack)	skortur (n) (lack)	skämt (adj)	scanty (adj)
179	ken'd (v-p)	kunnaði (v-p)	kunnaði (v-p)	kände (v-p)	knew (v-2)
180	coft (v-2)	keyptr (v-2)	keyptur (v-2)	köpt (v-3)	bought (v-2)
181	twa (nu)	tveir (nu)	tvö (nu)	två (nu)	two (nu)
183	cour (v)	kúra? (v)	kúra (v) (snuggle)	?	cower (v)
185	lap (v-2)	hlaupa (v)	hljóp (v-p)	löpade (v-2)	leapt (v-2)
185	flang (v-2)	flengja (v)	flenja (v)	flänga (v)	flung (v-2)
187	ane (pron)	einn (pron)	einn (pron)	en (pron)	one (pron)
188	een (n-pl)	augu (n-pl)	augu (n-pl)	ögon (n-pl)	eyes (n-pl)

189	fidg'd (v-2)	fika (v)	fika (v)	fika (v)	fidgeted (v-2)
189	fu' (adj)	fullr (adj)	fullur (adj)	full (adj)	full (adj)
189	fain (adj)	feginn (adj)	feginn (adj)	?	happy (adj)
191	syne (adv)	síðan (adv)	síðan (adv)	sedan (adv)	then (adv)
191	anither (adj)	annarr (adj)	annað (adj)	annan (adj)	another, other (adj)
192	tint (v-2)	týna (v)	týna (v)	?	lost (v-2)
193	out (prep)	út (prep)	út (prep)	ut (prep)	out (prep)
196	out (prep)	út (prep)	út (prep)	ut (prep)	out (prep)
197	out (prep)	út (prep)	út (prep)	ut (prep)	out (prep)
197	fyke (n)	fjúka (n)	flýja (n)	fly, flykt (n)	fly quickly (v), flee (v)
198	byke (n)	skeppa (n)	býflugnabú (n)	bikupa (n)	beehive (n)
199	pussie's (n)	puss (n) (pocket, pouch)	kisa (n)	kissekatt (n)	pussy (cat) (n)
204	eldritch (adj)	rikr (adj)	ríkur (adj)	älva (n) rik (adj)	elf-rich (n), (adj)
204	skriech (n)	skrækja (v)	skrækja (v)	skreka (v)	shriek (n), (v)
204	hollo (n)	ýla (v)	góla (v)	yla (v)	holler, howl (n), (v)
207	commin' (v-ing)	koma (v)	koma (v)	komma (v)	coming (v-ing)
210	brig (n)	brú (n)	brú (n)	bro (n), brygge (n)	bridge (n)
214	fient (n)	fjandi (n)	fjándi (n)	fiende (n)	fiend, enemy (n)

217	ettle (n)	ætla (v)	ætla (v)	?	intention, striving (n)
218	wist (v-2)	vita (v)	vita(v),vissi(v-2)	visste (v-2)	knew (v-2)
219	hale (adj)	heill (adj)	heill (adj)	hel (adj)	whole (adj)
221	claught (v-2)	?	?	klyka (n) (grip)	clasped/clutched (hands) (v-2),
223	wha (pro)	hveim (pro)	hver (pro)	vem (pro)	who (pro)
224	llk (adj, sing)	líka, álíkr, líkr (adj)	álíka (adj)	lik, likadan (adj)	same, every, (adj)
227	o'er (prep, int)	yfir (prep)	yfir (prep)	över	over (prep)

Table 6: Key Old Norse Cognates - Glossary

Abbreviations

adj	adjective	pro	pronoun
adv	adverb	sing	singular
art	article	v	verb base form
int	intensifier	v-2	verb second part
m-v	modal verb	v-3	verb third part
n	noun	v-3rd	verb 3rd person (singular or plural depending on language)
n-pl	noun plural	v-ing	verb ing-form
nu	numeral	v-p	verb past
prep	preposition	v-pp	verb past participle
prep+n	preposition + noun	v-sup	verb supine

Many of the above terms deserve detailed commentary, and allocations of grammatical categories to Old Norse words are not easy. An examination of just one term, *lassie*, will serve to illustrate the etymological detective work involved. While Aitken ([1954], 2015) states that *lass* is a Scots word of Scandinavian origin, Liberman (2007) claims that “Attempts to find one etymology for *lad* and *lass* have been fruitless. For example, *lass* may be a cognate of Danish *las* (*rag*). The entry for *lass* in DSL yields no etymological comment, yet that for *las* connects the term to the Swedish *lösk kona* unmarried woman, *lösker karl* unmarried man, and to Icelandic *lösk-r* (*idle*). The trail then leads to *Svenska Akademiens ordböcker* (*The Swedish Academy Dictionaries*, the Swedish counterparts of the Oxford English Dictionary) where *lös karl* (free man) and *lös kvinna* (free woman) (meaning unattached man or woman) are to be found (with examples from late old to middle and early modern Swedish). From there it is easy to make the leap to *lassie*, meaning young unattached woman. The contemporary Swedish word *lös* means *loose* (not fixed) in English. While *loose woman* (woman of immoral behaviour) is found in English, it does not appear to be in use in Swedish (?*en lös kvinna*).

Appendix 3: Key Old Norse Cognates - Phoneme Inventory

KONC	Tokens	Phoneme	Swedish	Phoneme	English
amang	1	/a/	mellan	/e/	among
brak's	1	/a/	brakk	/a/	break(s)
carlin	2	/a/, /ɑ:/	kerling	/æ:/	witch
fand	2	/a/	fann	/a/	found
fast	2	/a/	fast	/a/	fast
flang	1	/a/	flänga	/e/	fling
lang	5	/a/	lang	/a/	long
lap	1	/a/	löpade	/ø:/	leapt
lass	2	/a/	lös	/ø:/	lass
na	5	/a/	nej	/ɛj/	not
sangs	1	/a/	sang	/a/	songs
sark	6	/a/, /ɑ:/	skjorta	/ʊ:/	shirt
scanty	1	/a/	skämt	/e/	scanty
swat(s)	3	/a/	söt	/ø:/	sweet
tak(s)	2	/a/	tatt	/a/	take(s)
twa	1	/a/	två	/o/	two
'twad	1	/a/	velat	/e/	would
wark	1	/a/, /ɑ:/	verk	/e/	work
wha	1	/hwa:/	hvem	/e/	vem
wham	1	/hwam/	hvem	/e/	vem
whare	5	/hwa:r/	hvar	/ɑ:/	var
whiles	3	/hwai/	hvile (D)	/i/	while
Total	48				
ae	7	/ɛ/	en	/e:/	a
frae	5	/ɛ/	från	/o/	from
hae	1	/ɛ/	ha	/ɑ:/	have

heft	1	/e/	skaft	/a/	shaft
nae	4	/ɛ/	nej	/ej/	no
sae	3	/ɛ/	så	/o/	so
thae	1	/ɛ/	den	/e/	the
Total	22				
ain	2	/eɪ/	egen	/e:/	own
ance	1	/eɪ/	en	/e:/	once
ane	1	/eɪ/	en	/e:/	one
bane(s)	2	/eɪ/	ben	/e:/	bone
deil	1	/eɪ/	djävul	/æ:/	devil
deils	1	/eɪ/	djävul	/æ:/	devil
drave	1	/eɪ/	drev	/e:/	drove
fain	1	/eɪ/	?		happy
hale	1	/eɪ/	hel	/e:/	whole
haly	1	/eɪ/	helig	/e:/	holy
hame	2	/eɪ/	hem	/e:/	home
rape	1	/eɪ/	rep	/e:/	rope
stane	4	/eɪ/	sten	/e:/	stone
ta'en	1	/eɪ/	tagen	/ɑ:/	taken
Total	20				
auld	5	/ɔ:/ or /ɑ:/ (WAL-WCS)	äldre	/æ/	old
blawn	1	/ɔ:/ (or /ɑ:/)	att blåsa	/o:/	blown
ca'd	1	/ɔ:/ (or /ɑ:/)	kallad	/a/	called
cauld	1	/ɔ:/ or /ɑ:/ (WAL-WCS)	kold (D)	/kɔl/	cold
claught	1	/ɔ:/	?		caught, clutched
maun	2	/ɔ:/ (or /ɑ:/)	må	/o:/	must
shaw'd	1	/ɔ:/ or /ɑ:/	?		show

snaw	2	/ɔ:/ or /ɑ:/	snö	/ø:/	snow
tauld	2	/ɔ:/ or /ɑ:/ (WAL-WCS)	talade	/ɑ:/	told
waulie	1	/ɔ:/ or /ɑ:/	giltig	/i/	worthy
Total	17				
aboon	1	/u/, /u:/, /y/	ovan	/u:/, /ɑ:/	above
blude	1	/u:/, /u/, /y/	blod	/u:/	blood
brows	1	/u/	bryn	/y/	brows
clout	1	/u/	kläder	/u/	clothes
coost	1	/u/	kasta	/a/	cast
cour	1	/u:/	?		cower
drouthy	2	/u/	törstig	/ø:/	thirsty
fou	3	/u/, /u:/	full	/e/	full
fu'	2	/u/	full	/e/	full
gude	2	/u:/, /u/, /y/	god	/u:/	good
louping	1	/u/	löpa	/ø:/	leap, run
out	4	/u/	ut	/u/	out
without	1	/u/	ut	/u/	without
Total	21				
wha	1	/hwa:/	vem (hvem (D))	/e/	who
wham	1	/hwam/	vem (hvem (D))	/e/	whom
whare	5	/hwa:r/	var (hvar (D))	/ɑ:/	where
whiles	3	/hwai/	vila (hvile (D))	/i/	while
Total	10				
bear	1	/i:r/	?	?	barley
cleekit	1	/i/, /i:/	klække (Danish)	/æ:/	clasp
deil(s)	2	/i/, /i:/ deil	djävul	/æ:/	devils

een	1	/i/, /i:/	ögon	/ø:/	eyes
greet	1	/i/, /i:/	gråta	/o/	weep
reekit	1	/i/, /i:/	röka	/ø:/	reek
weel	2	/i/, /i:/	väl	/æ/	well
Total	9				
meikle	2	/l/, /el/	mycket	/ɣ:/	much
sic	2	/l/	sicken (arch)	/l/	such
syne	1	/l/	sedan	/e:/	then
tint	1	/l/	?		lost
whins	1	/l/	ven	/e:/	gorse
wist	1	/l/	visste	/l/	knew
Total	8				
airns	1	/e:r/	järn	/e:/	irons
bairn(s)	2	/e:r/	barn	/ɑ:/	child
baith	1	/e/, /e:/	både	/o/	both
mair	1	/e:r/	mer	/e:/	more
naig	1	/e:/	gnägga	/æ/	nag
sair	1	/e:/	sår	/o:/	sore
Total	7				
brent	1	/ɛ/	bränna	/æ/	brand
fient	1	/ɛ/	fiende	/ie/	fiend
kend, ken'd	3	/ɛ/	känna	/æ/	known
Total	5				
birks	1	/lɾ/ (DSL), /ɜ:r/ (con)	kyrka	/ɣ/	birch
dirl	1	/lɾ/ (DSL), /ɜ:r/ (con)	dallra	/a/	quiver

kirk	3	/lr/ (DSL), /ɜ:r/ (con)	björk	/ø:/	church
Total	5				
glowr'd	1	/ʌu(ə)/	glo	/o:/	glower
glowring	1	/ʌu(ə)/	glo	/o:/	glower
o'er	3	/ʌur/	över	/ø:/	over
Total	5				
mony	5	/o/	många	/o/	many
Total	5				
gars	1	/a:r/	gör	/ø:/	makes
gart	1	/a:r/	gjorde	/ʊ:/	made
harn	1	/a:r/	garn	/ɑ:/	yarn
Total	3				

Table 7: Key Old Norse Cognates - Phoneme Inventory

Key

KONC: Key Old Norse Cognate

With regards to *gars*, *gart*, *harn*, *wark*, *sark* there is room for a discussion as to whether the vowel is long or short. DSL only gives values for *sark* (/ar/, short) and *gars* (/a:r/, long). Perhaps it can be inferred that *gart*, *harn*, and *wark* would also be assigned as long (especially in conformance with the Scottish Vowel-length Rule (SVLR) (Aitken [1981], 2015), and that any perceived variations may be allophonic.

Appendix 4: Phonetic Inventory of Readers and Reciters

Line	Term	Fleming	McCormack	Dunbar
3	market	[e]	[e]	[e]
7	na	[a]	[a]	[a]
11	brows	[u]	[u]	[u]
14	ae	[jei], [jel]	[e]	[e]
14	night	[ex]	[lx]	[al]
15	town	[u]	[u]	[u]
16	lassie	[a]	[a]	[a]
18	ta'en	[eɪ]	[eɪ]	[eɪ]
30	drowned	[u]	[au]	[au]
30	doon	[u:]	[u:]	[u:]
33	gars	[a:r]	[a:r]	[a:r]
34	how	[u]	[au]	[au]
34	counsels	[u]	[ʌu]	[au]
35	how	[u]	[au]	[au]
37	our	[u:r]	[ʌu]	[ʌu]
37	night	[alx], [ex]	[lx]	[al]
38	right	[ex]	[lx]	[al]
43	lo'ed	[u]	[ɔ:]	[ɔ:]
51	without	[u]	[u]	[u]
52	whistle	[o]	[o]	[ɪ], [o]
55	treasure	[ɪ]	[ɛ]	[ɛ]
56	pleasure	[ɪ]	[ɛ]	[ɛ]
58	o'er	[u:r]	[ʌur]	[ʌur]
59	pleasures	[ɛ]	[ɛ]	[ɛ]
59	spread	[ɛ]	[ɛ]	[ɛ]
61	snow	[əʊ]	[əʊ]	[əʊ]
67	tide	[al]	[al]	[al]
68	hour	[u:r]	[au]	[au]
69	hour	[u:r]	[u:r]	[au]
70	hour	[u:r]	[u:r]	[au]
71	night	[lx]	[lx]	[al]
72	ne'er	[e:], or [eər]	[eər]	[eər]
72	poor	[e:], or [eə]	[u:r]	[u:r]
76	loud	[əʊ]	[au]	[au]
77	night	[lx]	[lx]	[al]
78	deil	[iɪ]	[iɪ]	[iɪ]
84	o'er	[u:r]	[ʌur]	[ʌur]
84	Scots	[u]	[o]	[o]
88	whare	[eɪ]	[ɔ:]	[eɪ]
88	nightly	[alx], /eɪx/	[lx]	[lx]

97	floods	[ʌ]	[ʌ]	[ʌ]
99	lightnings	[lɪx]	[lɪx]	[lɪx]
106	make	[a]	[a]	[a]
110	deils	[iɪ]	[iɪ]	[iɪ]
111	right	[aɪx], [eɪx]	[ex]	[ex], [lɪx]
113	light	[aɪx]	[lɪx]	[lɪx]
114	sight	[aɪx]	[lɪx]	[lɪx]
125	round	[u]	[u]	[u]
126	dead	[i:]	[i:]	[i:]
127	cantraip	[ɛ]	[ɛl]	[ɛl]
127	slight	[aɪ]	[lɪx]	[lɪx]
128	light	[aɪ]	[lɪx]	[lɪx]
132	twa	[ɔ:]	[ɔ:]	[ɔ:], [a:]
138	knife	[aɪ]	[aɪ]	[aɪ]
141	awfu'	[ə]	[ə]	[ə]
142	unlawfu'	[ə]	[ə]	[ə]
143	out	[u]	[u]	[u]
145	hearts	[ɜr]	[ɜr]	[ɜr]
146	neuk	[iu]	[iu]	[iu]
153	wark	[ar],[a:r],[ɜ:r]	[a:r]	[a:r]
154	sark	[a:r],[ar] no [r]	[a:r]	[a:r]
155	now	[u]	[au]	[au]
157	sarks	[a:r]	[a:r]	[a:r]
158	snaw	[ɔ:]	[ɔ:]	[ɔ:]
163	beldams	[a]	[bɛdləmz]	[əmz]
169	night	[aɪx]	[lɪx]	[lɪx]
171	dead	[i:]	[i:]	[i:]
173	bear	[ɪ:r]	[ɪ:r]	[ɪ:r]
176	lassie	[a]	[a]	[a]
178	vauntie	[a]	[ɔ:]	[ɔ:]
181	twa	[a], [ɔ:]	[ɔ:]	[ɔ:], [a:]
181	pund	[a]	[au]	[au]
183	cour	[u:r]	[u:r]	[u:r]
184	flights	[lɪx]	[lɪx]	[lɪx]
184	pow'r	[u:r]	[u:r]	[au]
185	how	[u]	[au]	[au]
186	jade	[ɔ:]	[ɛl]	[ɛl]
187	how	[u:]	[au]	[au]
190	hotch'd	[ɒtʃ]	[ɒx]	[ɒtʃ]
190	might	[aɪx]	[aɪ]	[aɪ]
191	syne	[aɪ] or [ɛl]	[aɪ] or [ɛl]	[aɪ] or [ɛl]
196	out	[u]	[u]	[u]
201	market	[ɛ]	[ɛ]	[ɛ]

204	skriech	[ri:x]	[ri:tʃ]	[ri:tʃ]
206	herring	[e:r	missing	[e:r
207	commin'	[ʌ]	missing	[ʌ]
208	woman	[ʊ]	missing	[ʊ]
209	now	[u]	missing	[u:]
221	claught	[ɔ:]	[ɔ:]	[ox]
222	poor	[e:], or [eə]	[u:r]	[e:]
223	now	[eu:]	[au]	[au]
223	wha	[ɔ:]	[ɔ:]	[ɔ:]
227	o'er	[au:r]	[ʌur]	[ʌur]
228	dear	[e:r]	[ɪər]	[ɪər]
228	mare	[e:r]	[e:r]	[e:r]

Table 8: Phonetic Inventory of Readers and Reciters

It is notable that all three readers use the phoneme [x], as in night [Ix] (Fleming and McCormack), nightly [aIx] or [eIx] (Fleming), [Ix] (McCormack and Dunbar), might [ax] (Fleming only), and lightnings [Ix] (all three readers). While distinctive, this phoneme has not been included in the KONC phoneme inventory since [x] does not occur in Old Norse, and in the Nordic languages there appears to be no history of letters such as *gh* (English *night*), *ch* (German *nacht*): Swedish has *natt* (*night*).

Appendix 5: Old Norse Stress Patterns

The following three charts illustrate the impact of KONCs on the potential stress positions in each line. Each line typically has four primary stress positions. These are marked by 1 2 3 4. In addition, an unstressed syllable may occur before each primary one. These are marked either by 0 (as in the unstressed syllable before stress one) or by 1a, 2a, or 3a, which refer to an unstressed syllable occurring before one of the other three primary stress positions respectively.

Line		
1	When chapmen billies leave the street,	1 2 3 4
2	And drouthy neibors, neibors meet,	1 2 3 4
21	That frae November till October,	1 2 3 4
35	How mony lengthen'd, sage advices,	1 2 3 4
78	The Deil had business on his hand.	1 2 3 4
81	Tam skelpit on thro' dub and mire;	1 2 3 4
86	Lest bogles catch him unawares:	1 2 3 4
122	To gie them music was his charge:	1 2 3 4
126	That shaw'd the dead in their last dresses;	1 2 3 4
139	Whom his ain son o' life bereft,	1 2 3 4
141	Wi' mair o' horrible and awfu',	1 2 3 4
157	Their sarks , instead o' creeshie flannen,	1 2 3 4
159	Thir breeks o' mine, my only pair,	1 2 3 4
162	For ae blink o' the bonie burdies!	1 2 3 4
181	Wi' twa pund Scots, ('twas a' her riches),	1 2 3 4
192	Tam tint his reason a' thegither,	1 2 3 4
196	When out the hellish legion sallied.	1 2 3 4
214	The fient a tail she had to shake!	1 2 3 4
223	No, wha this tale o' truth shall read,	1 2 3 4
6	And getting fou and unco happy,	1 2 3 4
11	Gathering her brows like gathering storm,	1 2 3 4
24	Thou sat as lang as thou had siller;	1 2 3 4
34	To think how mony counsels sweet,	1 2 3 4
36	The husband frae the wife despises!	1 2 3 4
44	They had been fou for weeks thegither!	1 2 3 4
49	The Souter tauld his queerest stories;	1 2 3 4
51	The storm without might rair and rustle,	1 2 3 4
76	Loud, deep, and lang , the thunder bellow'd:	1 2 3 4
93	And thro' the whins , and by the cairn,	1 2 3 4

121	A towzie tyke , black, grim, and large,	1 2 3 4
128	Each in its cauld hand held a light.	1 2 3 4
147	As Tammie glowr'd , amaz'd, and curious,	1 2 3 4
172	And perish'd mony a bonie boat,	1 2 3 4
176	That while a lassie she had worn,	1 2 3 4
179	Ah! little ken'd thy reverend grannie,	1 2 3 4
199	As open pussie's mortal foes,	1 2 3 4
218	But little wist she Maggie's mettle -	1 2 3 4
8	The mosses, waters, slaps , and styles,	1 2 3 4
42	His ancient, trusty, drouthy crony;	1 2 3 4
54	E'en drown'd himsel' amang the nappy!	1 2 3 4
95	And near the thorn, aboon the well,	1 2 3 4
111	But Maggie stood, right sair astonish'd,	1 2 3 4
130	To note upon the haly table,	1 2 3 4
135	Five tomahawks, wi blude red-rusted;	1 2 3 4
187	And how Tam stood, like ane bewitch'd,	1 2 3 4
188	And thought his very een enrich'd;	1 2 3 4
220	But left behind her ain gray tail;	1 2 3 4
9	That lie between us and our hame ,	1 2 3 4
16	For honest men and bonie lasses .)	1 2 3 4
43	Tam lo'ed him like a vera brither	1 2 3 4
124	Till roof and rafters a' did dirl .	1 2 3 4
140	The gray hairs yet stack to the heft ;	1 2 3 4
143	Three lawyers' tongues, turn'd inside out ,	1 2 3 4
146	Lay stinking, vile in every neuk .	1 2 3 4
151	They reel'd, they set, they cross'd, they cleekit ,	1 2 3 4
177	In longitude tho' sorely scanty ,	1 2 3 4
198	When plundering herds assail their byke ;	1 2 3 4
207	In vain thy Kate awaits thy commin' !	1 2 3 4

217	And flew at Tam wi' furious ettle ;	1 2 3 4
	Total	59
	Per cent of Poem (lines)	25.88%

Table 9: KONCs in the Four Primary Stress Positions

Key

KONC: Key Old Norse Cognate

Figures: potential stress positions

Red figures: KONC stress occurrence

Line		
15	(Auld Ayr, wham ne'er a town surpasses	0 1 1a 2 3 4
22	Ae market-day thou was nae sober;	0 1 2 3 3a 4
219	Ae spring brought off her master hale ,	0 1 2 3 4
39	Fast by an ingle, bleezing finely,	0 1 2 3 4
224	Ilk man and mother's son take heed;	0 1 2 3 4
102	Kirk -Alloway seem'd in a bleeze;	0 1 2 3 4
87	Kirk -Alloway was drawing nigh,	0 1 2 3 4
170	Lang after ken'd on Carrick shore;	0 1 2 3 4
116	Nae cotillion brent -new frae France,	0 1 2 2a 3 3a 4
67	Nae man can tether time or tide ;	0 1 2 3 4
184	Sic flights are far beyond her pow'r;	0 1 2 3 4
132	Twa span-lang , wee, unchristen'd bairns ;	0 1 1a 2 3 4
182	Wad ever grac'd a dance of witches!	0 1 2 3 4
79	Weel mounted on his gray mare, Meg	0 1 2 3 4
92	Whare drunken Chairlie brak 's neck- bane ;	0 1 2 3 4
88	Whare ghaists and houlets nightly cry.	0 1 2 3 4
94	Whare hunters fand the murder'd bairn ;	0 1 2 3 4
96	Whare Mungo's mither hang'd hersel'.	0 1 2 3 4
90	Whare , in the snaw , the chapman smoor'd;	0 1 2 3 4
84	Whiles crooning o'er some auld Scots sonnet;	0 1 2 3 4
85	Whiles glowring round wi' prudent cares,	0 1 2 3 4
83	Whiles holding fast his gude blue bonnet;	0 1 2 3 4
	Total	22
	Percent of Poem	9.65%

Table 10: KONCs in Pre-Initial Stress Position

Key

KONC: Key Old Norse Cognate

Figures: potential stress positions

Red figures: KONC stress occurrence

Line		
4	An' folk begin to tak the gate ;	1 2 3 4
7	We think na on the lang Scots miles,	1 1a 2 3 4
13	This truth fand honest Tam o' Shanter,	1 1a 2 3 4
14	As he frae Ayr ae night did canter,	1 1a 2 2a 3 4
15	(Auld Ayr, wham ne'er a town surpasses	0 1 1a 2 3 4
17	O Tam! had'st thou but been sae wise,	1 2 3 3a 4
18	As ta'en thy ain wife Kate's advice!	1 2 3 4
19	She tauld thee weel thou was a skellum ,	1 2 3 4
22	Ae market-day thou was nae sober;	0 1 2 3 3a 4
23	That ilka melder , wi' the miller,	1 2 3 4
25	That every naig was ca'd a shoe on,	1 2 3 4
26	The smith and thee gat roaring fou on;	1 2 2a 3 4
32	By Alloway's auld haunted kirk .	1 2 2a 3 4
33	Ah, gentle dames! it gars me greet ,	1 2 3 4
73	The wind blew as ' twad blawn its last;	1 2 2a 3 4
37	But to our tale: Ae market-night,	1 2 2a 3 4
40	Wi' reaming swats , that drank divinely	1 2 3 4
45	The night drave on wi' sangs and clatter	1 1a 2 3 4
52	Tam did na mind the storm a whistle.	1 1a 2 3 4
53	Care, mad to see a man sae happy,	1 2 3 3a 4
55	As bees flee hame wi' lades o' treasure,	1 1a 2 3 4
67	Nae man can tether time or tide ;	0 1 2 3 4
68	The hour approaches Tam maun ride;	1 2 3 3a 4
69	That hour, o' night's black arch the key- stane ,	1 2 3 4 4a
71	And sic a night he taks the road in	1 2 3 4
83	Whiles holding fast his gude blue bonnet;	0 1 2 3 4
84	Whiles crooning o'er some auld Scots sonnet;	0 1 2 3 4

85	Whiles glowing round wi' prudent cares,	0 1 2 3 4
90	Whare , in the snaw , the chapman smoor'd;	0 1 2 3 4
91	And past the birks and meikle stane ,	1 2 3 4
92	Whare drunken Chairlie brak 's neck-bane;	0 1 2 3 4
94	Whare hunters fand the murder'd bairn ;	0 1 2 3 4
96	Whare Mungo's mither hang'd hersel'.	0 1 2 3 4
103	Thro' ilka bore the beams were glancing;	1 2 3 4
107	Wi' tippeny, we fear nae evil;	1 2 3 3a 4
109	The swats sae ream'd in Tammie's noddle,	1 1a 2 3 4
110	Fair play, he car'd na deils a boddle .	1 2 2a 3 4
116	Nae cotillion brent-new frae France,	0 1 2 2a 3 3a 4
119	A winnock-bunker in the east,	1 2 3 4
120	There sat auld Nick, in shape o' beast;	1 1a 2 3 4
123	He scree'd the pipes and gart them skirl ,	1 2 3 4
127	And by some develish cantraip slight ,	1 2 3 4
131	A murders's banes in gibbet-airns;	1 2 3 4
132	Twa span-lang , wee, unchristen'd bairns ;	0 1 1a 2 3 4
133	A thief, new-cutted frae a rape ,	1 2 3 4
144	Wi' lies seam'd like a beggar's clout ;	1 1a 2 3 4
152	Till ilka carlin swat and reekit ,	1 2 3 4
153	And coost her duddies to the wark ,	1 2 3 4
154	And linket at it in her sark !	1 2 3 4
155	Now Tam, O Tam! had thae been queans ,	1 2 3 4
158	Been snaw -white seventeen hunder linnen!	1 2 3 4
160	That ance were plush, o' gude blue hair,	1 2 3 4
161	I wad hae gi'en them off my hurdies,	1 1a 2 3 4
163	But wither'd beldams, auld and droll ,	1 2 3 4
164	Rigwoodie hags wad spean a foal,	1 2 3 4
165	Louping and flinging on a crummock,	1 2 3 4

166	I wonder did na turn thy stomach!	1 2 2a 3 4
167	But Tam kend what was what fu' brawlie:	1 1a 2 3 3a 4
168	There was ae winsome wench and waulie ,	1 1a 2 3 4
170	Lang after ken'd on Carrick shore;	0 1 2 3 4
171	(For mony a beast to dead she shot,	1 2 3 4
173	And shook baith meikle corn and bear ,	1 1a 2 3 4
175	Her cutty-sark , o' Paisley harn	1 2 3 4
180	That sark she coft for her wee Nannie,	1 2 3 4
183	But here my Muse her wing maun cour ;	1 2 3 3a 4
185	To sing how Nannie lap and flang ,	1 2 3 4
189	Even Satan glowr'd , and fidg'd fu' fain ,	1 2 3 3a 4
191	Till first ae caper, syne anither ,	1 1a 2 3 4
193	And roars out , " Weel done, Cutty-sark! "	1 1a 2 3 4
197	As bees bizz out wi' angry fyke ,	1 2 3 4
204	Wi' mony an eldritch skriech and hollo .	1 2 3 4
210	And win the key- stane o' the brig ;	1 2 2a 3 4
212	A running stream they dare na cross.	1 2 3 3a 4
213	But ere the key- stane she could make,	1 2 2a 3 4
221	The carlin claught her by the rump,	1 2 3 4
226	Or cutty-sarks run in your mind,	1 2 3 4
	Per cent of Poem (lines)	33.33%

Table 10: KONCs in Variable Stress Positions

Key

KONC: Key Old Norse Cognate

Figures: potential stress positions

Red figures: KONC stress occurrence

Chaotic stress positions

Appendix 6: Old Norse Lexical Chaining and Phonological Effects

Line			
33	Ah, gentle dames! it gars me greet ,	1 2 3 4	conjoined lexical pair
45	The night drave on wi' sangs and clatter	1 1a 2 3 4	conjoined lexical pair
109	The swats sae ream'd in Tammie's noddle,	1 1a 2 3 4	conjoined lexical pair
110	Fair play, he car'd na deils a boddle .	1 2 2a 3 4	conjoined lexical pair
116	Nae cotillion brent -new frae France,	0 1 2 2a 3 3a 4	conjoined lexical pair
123	He scre'd the pipes and gart them skirl ,	1 2 3 4	conjoined lexical pair
127	And by some develish cantraip slight ,	1 2 3 4	conjoined lexical pair
131	A murders's banes in gibbet- airns ;	1 2 3 4	conjoined lexical pair
132	Twa span-lang , wee, unchristen'd bairns ;	0 1 1a 2 3 4	conjoined lexical pair
133	A thief, new-cutted frae a rape ,	1 2 3 4	conjoined lexical pair
152	Till ilka carlin swat and reekit ,	1 2 3 4	conjoined lexical pair
155	Now Tam, O Tam! had thae been queans ,	1 2 3 4	conjoined lexical pair
161	I wad hae gi'en them off my hurdies,	1 1a 2 3 4	conjoined lexical pair
163	But wither'd beldams, auld and droll ,	1 2 3 4	conjoined lexical pair
164	Rigwoodie hags wad spean a foal,	1 2 3 4	conjoined lexical pair
165	Louping and flinging on a crummock,	1 2 3 4	conjoined lexical pair
170	Lang after ken'd on Carrick shore;	0 1 2 3 4	conjoined lexical pair
183	But here my Muse her wing maun cour ;	1 2 3 3a 4	conjoined lexical pair
185	To sing how Nannie lap and flang ,	1 2 3 4	conjoined lexical pair
189	Even Satan glowr'd , and fidg'd fu' fain ,	1 2 3 3a 4	conjoined lexical pair
191	Till first ae caper, syne anither ,	1 1a 2 3 4	conjoined lexical pair
204	Wi' mony an eldritch skriech and hollo .	1 2 3 4	conjoined lexical pair
217	And flew at Tam wi' furious ettle ;	1 2 3 4	dispersed repeated lexical chain (and)
24	Thou sat as lang as thou had siller;	1 2 3 4	dispersed repeated lexical chain (thou)
153	And coost her duddies to the wark ,	1 2 3 4	proximate conjoined lexical chain (and)
154	And linket at it in her sark !	1 2 3 4	proximate conjoined lexical chain (and)

172	And perish'd mony a bonie boat,	1 2 3 4	proximate repeated lexical chain (<i>and</i>)
173	And shook baith meikle corn and bear ,	1 1a 2 3 4	proximate repeated lexical chain (<i>and</i>)
187	And how Tam stood, like ane bewitch'd,	1 2 3 4	proximate repeated lexical chain (<i>and</i>)
188	And thought his very een enrich'd;	1 2 3 4	proximate repeated lexical chain (<i>and</i>)
193	And roars out , " Weel done, Cutty-sark! "	1 1a 2 3 4	proximate repeated lexical chain (<i>and</i>)
135	Five tomahawks, wi blude red-rusted;	1 2 3 4	proximate repeated lexical chain (<i>five</i>)
207	In vain thy Kate awaits thy commin' !	1 2 3 4	proximate repeated lexical chain (<i>in</i>)
49	The Souter tauld his queerest stories;	1 2 3 4	proximate repeated lexical chain (<i>the</i>)
51	The storm without might rair and rustle,	1 2 3 4	proximate repeated lexical chain (<i>the</i>)
73	The wind blew as ' twad blawn its last;	1 2 3 4	proximate repeated lexical chain (<i>the</i>)
83	Whiles holding fast his gude blue bonnet;	0 1 2 3 4	proximate repeated lexical chain (<i>whiles</i>)
84	Whiles crooning o'er some auld Scots sonnet;	0 1 2 3 4	proximate repeated lexical chain (<i>whiles</i>)
85	Whiles glowring round wi' prudent cares,	0 1 2 3 4	proximate repeated lexical chain (<i>whiles</i>)
107	Wi' tippetny, we fear nae evil;	1 2 3 3a 4	proximate repeated lexical chain (<i>wi'</i>)
119	A winnock-bunker in the east,	1 2 3 4	regular repeated lexical chain (<i>a</i>)
91	And past the birks and meikle stane ,	1 2 3 4	regular repeated lexical chain (<i>and</i>)
93	And thro' the whins , and by the cairn,	1 2 3 4	regular repeated lexical chain (<i>and</i>)
95	And near the thorn, aboon the well,	1 2 3 4	regular repeated lexical chain (<i>and</i>)
197	As bees bizz out wi' angry fyke ,	1 2 3 4	regular repeated lexical chain (<i>as</i>)
199	As open pussie's mortal foes,	1 2 3 4	regular repeated lexical chain (<i>as</i>)
21	That frae November till October,	1 2 3 4	regular repeated lexical chain (<i>that</i>)
23	That ilka melder , wi' the miller,	1 2 3 4	regular repeated lexical chain (<i>that</i>)
25	That every naig was ca'd a shoe on,	1 2 3 4	regular repeated lexical chain (<i>that</i>)
157	Their sarks , instead o' creeshie flannen,	1 2 3 4	regular repeated lexical chain (<i>their</i>)
159	Thir breeks o' mine, my only pair,	1 2 3 4	regular repeated lexical chain (<i>thir</i>)
143	Three lawyers' tongues, turn'd inside out ,	1 2 3 4	regular repeated lexical chain (<i>three</i>)
88	Whare ghaists and houlets nightly cry.	0 1 2 3 4	regular repeated lexical chain (<i>whare</i>)
90	Whare , in the snaw , the chapman smoor'd;	0 1 2 3 4	regular repeated lexical chain (<i>whare</i>)

92	Whare drunken Chairlie brak 's neck- bane ;	0 1 2 3 4	regular repeated lexical chain (<i>whare</i>)
94	Whare hunters fand the murder'd bairn ;	0 1 2 3 4	regular repeated lexical chain (<i>whare</i>)
96	Whare Mungo's mither hang'd hersel'.	0 1 2 3 4	regular repeated lexical chain (<i>whare</i>)
196	When out the hellish legion sallied.	1 2 3 4	regular repeated lexical chain (<i>when</i>)
198	When plundering herds assail their byke ;	1 2 3 4	regular repeated lexical chain (<i>when</i>)
121	A towzie tyke , black, grim, and large,	1 2 3 4	regular repeated tetralexical chain (<i>a</i>)
8	The mosses, waters, slaps , and styles,	1 2 3 4	tetralexical chain
42	His ancient, trusty, drouthy crony;	1 2 3 4	tetralexical chain
151	They reel'd, they set, they cross'd, they cleekit ,	1 2 3 4	tetralexical chain
	Percent of Poem	27.63%	

Table 11: Old Norse Lexical Chaining and Associated Phonology

Key

KONC: Key Old Norse Cognate

Figures: potential stress positions

Red figures: KONC stress occurrence

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