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Scottish English in the TV Show *Outlander*:

How accurately does a Scottish character speak Scots?

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Abstract

English varieties are usually misrepresented in the media due to different factors. Firstly, some of them are seen as ‘bad English’. Secondly, and most important, they are not studied enough, especially when it comes to their syntactic and morphological features, and thus, there is not enough information in order to truthfully represent the variety. Therefore, this paper intends to review the literature on the variety of English spoken in Scotland – Scots or Scottish English. Once this is done, an analysis on the TV series *Outlander* will be carried out in order to see if the variety is represented faithfully or not, so as to answer the question how well Scots is represented in a TV series set in Scotland.

Keywords: *English, variety, Scotland, Outlander, Scots, Scottish*

1. Introduction

1.1. Context

Scotland is one of the Home Countries or Nations of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland and therefore English is the official language. However, unaware as one may be of the situation, Scotland is a bilingual country, Gaelic being the second language. Gaelic is a Celtic language that was spoken in Scotland long before the arrival of English, but that now is only spoken by a small minority in the north of the country. This reduction in speakers of the Gaelic language dates back to the 18th century after the ‘Highland Clearances’.¹ Nowadays, there are attempts at reviving the Gaelic language, such as teaching it in schools, television channels and road signs. Despite the language’s nearly disappearance, it influenced Scottish English a lot, especially the English spoken in the Highlands.¹

However, there are authors, such as Niven (2017), that support the theory that in fact, there are three languages spoken in Scotland. The third one would be the Scots language. The Scots language developed around the 15th and 16th centuries, during the Middle English period. It was a dialect of Northumbrian English and was known as *Scottis*, as opposed to *Ynglis*. After the 1707 Union between Scotland and England, *Scottis* became a spoken language as *Ynglis* became the official language for the whole of the United Kingdom. In the next section reasons will be given as to why Scots and Standard Scottish English are best treated as two ends of a continuum regarding the English spoken in Scotland.

¹ The ‘Highland Clearances’ (*Fuadaichean nan Gàidheal* in Gaelic) were a series of eviction of the Highlands population after the Jacobite Rebellion in 1745, that effectively destroyed the Gaelic culture and traditions in Scotland.

Even though Scottish English is spoken by millions in Scotland –93% of the population according to the census–,² as with other varieties of English, it is usually underrepresented or misrepresented in the media. For that reason, the research question on this paper is to evaluate how well Scots is represented in a TV series that is set in Scotland. The series chosen is *Outlander*.

1.2. Literature Review

The English in Scotland consists of “a range of syntactic structures varying from Broad Scots at one end of a continuum to Standard (Scottish) English at the other” (Miller, 2004: 47). The Broad Scots end of the continuum is most closely related to Old Scots, the original Germanic language of Scotland, while the Standard (Scottish) English end would be the equivalent of the grammatical Standard English with phonological features attributed to Scotland. For the sake of the paper and the analysis, the variety spoken in Scotland will be referred “Scots”.

Miller (2004) gives a quite complete description of the features present on this continuum. Most features present are grammatical, with some discourse features. Miller claims that these features are not unique to Scots, so it can be assumed that other varieties of English present them as well. The examples are taken from spoken language, collected in other works. The full description of the features by Miller (2004) will be part of section 2. His conclusion at the time of publication was that “there has been little study of Scots grammar since the late seventies” (2004: 70). However, since then, more authors (e.g. Corbett and Stuart-Smith, 2012; Smith, 2012; Machaň, 2013; Weir, 2013) have carried out research on the topic.

² Population in Scotland is 5,424,800 according to the National Record of Scotland (<https://www.nrscotland.gov.uk>). 93% reported speaking English at home (<https://www.scotlandscensus.gov.uk>)

The status of Scots as a dialect of English in present day is supported by authors such as McClure (1982) and Corbett and Stuart-Smith (2012). They defend that what is now known as Scots was previously known as *Inglis* and that it changed into *Scottis* simply to identify it with Scotland. Corbett and Stuart-Smith also give a description of the variety but with the main focus on phonology and lexicon.

Douglas (2006: 41-57) contributes with two key elements to this paper. First, she states that the continuum of languages in Scotland is highly stratified into the classes. The closer the speech of a speaker resembles Broad Scots, the less social prestige this speaker has. The closer the speech resembles Standard (Scottish) English, the more social prestige they have. If this were true, it would explain why Broad Scots has not been studied thoroughly, and why it is overseen in the media. Second, Douglas describes Highland English as the variety spoken in the Highlands and the Western Isles. This variety of English would be outside of the continuum since it is influenced by Gaelic and not Scots. Since the TV series under review is set in the Scottish Highlands, considerations on specific features of this variety will have to be taken.

Finally, since the purpose of this paper is to analyse a certain variety of English in the media, other works on different varieties were studied to see how well those varieties were represented in order to know what to expect. Isaacs (2010) worked on African-American Vernacular English. Bleichenbacher (2012) and Ramasubramanian (2005) both looked into Indian English in Hollywood movies. The three of them came, roughly, to the same conclusion, namely that the varieties were associated to certain stereotypes and hence, seen as negative characters.

2. Variety Description

For the description of the features, as mentioned previously, the basis is the description by Miller (2004) with relevant additions by other authors. The first, and probably most characteristic, features of the variety would be those related to phonology. However, I will not address them in this paper for the main reason that phonology has already been reviewed by many authors –see Atiken (1984, 2015), Douglas (2006), Wells (1982). Despite Miller’s (2004) work being thorough, in this paper I will only present a summarised version.³

2.1. Morphology

Regarding verbs there is variation both in the past simple and the past participle form of verbs, where a strong form may have different forms in Scots and Standard English (*seen* vs. *saw*); or a strong verb in Standard English may be weak in Scots (*sold* vs. *sellt*). The verb *to know* in Standard is replaced in Scots by the form *ken*, which derives from the Middle English *kennen* (‘make known; give instruction to; be aware, know, have knowledge of, know how to; recognize by sight; see, catch sight of’).

- (1) *I seen the twa o’ them in the Broch.* (SCOTS, document 1416)
- (2) *And syne she sellt hersel tae a witch woman.* (SCOTS, document 587)
- (3) *Aye, and ye’d ken it if ye saw him.* (*Outlander*, Season 1 Episode 15)⁴

³ The examples regarding the different features come mainly from the *Scottish Corpus of Texts & Speech* (www.scottishcorpus.ac.uk), indicated as SCOTS, and from the TV series *Outlander*, indicated as *Outlander* Season and Episode. Any other example from any other source will be properly indicated.

⁴ Since all examples are from Season 1 of the TV Series *Outlander*, only the Episode number will be provided from now on.

As for plural nouns, Scots is one of the dialects that still retain archaic forms such as *een* ('eyes'). There is also levelling in the morphophoneme {-fs} whereas in Standard English it is realised as {-vs}.

(4) *Wi' twinkling fingers an' twinkling een.* (SCOTS, document 1034)

(5) *(...) the wifes or girlfriends hud (had) been gaein (gone).* (SCOTS, document 714)

The reflexive pronouns *himself* and *themselves* are levelled to their *yourself*-analogues *thissel(f)* and *theinsel(ves/fs)* and sometimes are used in non-reflexive situations. The first person reflexive *mysel(f)* is used in coordinated subjects instead of *I*. Furthermore, in Scots the reflexive pronoun *myself* is sometimes used where Standard English requires *me* or *I*.

(6) *An' there's the man hissel, McAndrew.* (SCOTS, document 572)

(7) *...I was at a boarding school and myself and my headmistress and my English teacher decided that ...* (SCOTS, document 1445)

(8) *It's not myself I'd be nominating for the position.* (*Outlander*, Episode 6)

The same form of an adjective can function as an adverb. In Standard English, with a few exceptions, most adjectives use the suffix *-ly* in order to function as adverbs.

(9) *Lad was caught stealing, most like.* (*Outlander*, Episode 3)

2.2. Syntax

Syntax is, apart from phonology –which is not accounted for in this paper–, where most of the differences are found between Scots and Standard English.

2.2.1. Negation

Aside from the standard use of *not*, in Scots this negative particle can be replaced by *no* and *na(e)* as in (10) and (9). It can also be used to replace Standard English *no*, as shown in (12).

(10) *I dinna ken what happened. (Outlander, Episode 2)*

(11) *They'll no leave us alone. (Outlander, Episode 7)*

(12) *I have nae answers for you. (Outlander, Episode 2)*

In Present Day English, the temporal adverb *never* is used to express universal temporal negation (Palacios, 2013: 220). In Scots, this function of negation has been extended to a general negator, as shown in (12), where *never* is equivalent to *not*.

(13) *I would never presume. (Outlander, Episode 3)*

The emphatic meaning that *never* used to have has been transferred to the constructions *never ever* or *nane*.

(14) *I never ever liked pure romances. (SCOTS)*

The verb *to be* is negated by the negative particles *no* and *-na(e)* as in (15) and (16)

(15) (...) *that's no a pretty thing to be. (Outlander, Episode 2)*

(16) (...) *Jaime isna doing his duty by ye. (Outlander, Episode 7)*

2.2.2. Modal Verbs

In spite of the fact that Scots has the same form of the modals as Standard English, their functions vary. For instance, the use of *must* in Standard English is performed in Scots by the verbs *have to* or *need to*. Note that *need* behaves as a main verb and supports negation. Negation of modal verbs is either with *-n't* or the *na(e)* particle.

(17) *You needn't be afraid of me, Claire. (Outlander, Episode 7)*

(18) *Canna say I disagree. (Outlander, Episode 8)*

(19) *He couldn't hope for a better lot. (Outlander, Episode 4)*

Like other varieties of English, such as American Southern English (Battistella, 1995) and Northern English (Fennell and Butters, 1996; cited in Campbell, 2007), Scots presents double modals.

(20) *He'll can help us the morn (tomorrow). (From Miller, 2004: 52)*

2.2.3. Tense and Aspect of Verbs

The English language has verbs that always (or almost always) are used only with Simple aspect and not with the Progressive aspect. These are known as 'stative verbs'. In Scots, however, there are some that can be used in the Progressive aspect, despite having the same meaning as if they were in the Simple aspect. According to Corbett and Stuart-Smith (2012: 90), this is a possible transfer from Scottish Gaelic:

(21) *Ye'll all be needing breakfast, I reckon. (Outlander, Episode 2)*

There are also differences when using the tense of verbs. For instance, Standard English uses the Perfect Progressive to speak about a recent past time, while Scots presents a Past Progressive + *there* construction for the same. The Standard construction of Past Perfect + *just* is made in Scots substituting the Past Perfect by a Simple Past or Present. The Standard use of the Perfect to speak about an experience in the past is constructed with a Simple Past + *ever*.

(22) *I was speaking to John on Friday there. (From Miller, 2004: 55)*

(23) *Well I just came back. (SCOTS, document 349)*

(24) *No North-Easter ever liked to see food wasted. (SCOTS, document 1483)*

2.2.4. Interrogatives

Despite Scots having the same *wh*- interrogative pronouns, the function of these is slightly different. Instead of *why* Scots uses *how*. The constructions *where* (for place) / *how* (for quantity) + *about* replace the Standard *where* and *how*. Also, for time interrogatives, *when* is substituted by *what time ... at?* Finally, the pronoun *what* fulfils both the functions of *which* and *what*.

(25) *How do you no use that one?* (SCOTS, document 1432)

(26) *Whereabout are you goin'?* (SCOTS, document 827)

(27) *What time does it finish at?* (From Miller, 2004: 56)

(28) *What house will you make?* (SCOTS, document 1615)

Another differential trait between Standard English and Scots is found in the use of tag questions. Despite having the same difference in polarity on a tag question (i.e. negative sentence + positive tag and vice versa), the negative tag usually has the negative particle *no* or *not* instead of the *auxiliary* + *-n't*. The use of a positive tag after a positive declarative implies that the speaker is expecting a positive answer to the question.

(29) *That's a really common one, isn't it?* (SCOTS)

(30) *(...) got yourself in a right swivet, have you no?* (*Outlander*, Episode 3)

(31) *But you believe in the powers of magic do you not?* (*Outlander*, Episode 3)

(32) *Colum's rhenish, is it?* (*Outlander*, Episode 3)

However, the most usual tags are *eh* and *no*, which can accompany both positive and negative declarative sentences. In addition, both can appear together as *eh no* in positive sentences. *Eh* can also be used at the beginning of a question which seeks to confirm a strong confidence.

(33) *She doesn't want it, all the more for us, eh?* (*Outlander*, Episode 5)

- (34) *But we ate well, no?* (*Outlander*, Episode 4)
- (35) *Wow, but he's a spunkie chiel, eh no?* (SCOTS, document 1628)
- (36) *E Harry supports Celitc* (From Miller, 2004, 59)

The use of *eh* in requests makes them more polite and less sharp, while *won't you* will make the request sharper. Other tags that appear in Scots are *yes*, *surely*, *not really*, *right*.

- (37) *Willie, you'll hold my hand, won't you?* (SCOTS, document 993)
- (38) (...) *he'd have given a hint, surely?* (SCOTS, document 993)
- (39) (...) *then I moved into nicer places, right?* (SCOTS, document 1432)

Opposite to Standard English, and along with tag questions, Scots favours the use of the adverbs *no* or *not* to the enclitic form *-n't* in questions.

- (40) *How do you no use that one?* (SCOTS, document 1432)

2.2.5. Agreement

As for agreement, plural nouns are usually combined with *is* and *was*. The most usual construction where this happens is in the existential construction. Miller (2004) states that more educated people tend to avoid using (41).

- (41) *We was looking for shells on the beach the last day* (SCOTS, document 1584)
- (42) *But there's no arguments, you've got no.* (SCOTS, document 1433)

The definite article, apart from the functions that coincide with those in Standard English, can be used with institutions, family members, games, periods of time, illnesses, and modes of travel.

- (43) *I hear you and the wife have another on the way.* (*Outlander*, Episode 5)
- (44) *Her father wishes the MacKenzie to have her punished for disobedience.*
(*Outlander*, Episode 2)

2.2.6. Prepositions

Despite the use of prepositions and adverbs has yet to be studied, according to Miller (2004), some differences exist. For instance, *from*, *off* and *with* are the prepositions used in passive clauses. *Off* also expresses the source of something, instead of *from*; *by* is replaced by *at*, *beside* and *next* in location senses, while *past* is used in the directional sense. *In*, *out*, *down* and *up* do not require to be followed by either *to*, *of* or *to*, *at*, respectively. Finally, *outside* is followed by *of*.

- (45) *We were all petrified frae him* (From Miller, 2004: 57)
- (46) *Ah'd rather hae no job than bein beat frae pillar tae post off a that man* (From Miller, 2004: 57)
- (47) *I got helped with the midwife* (From Miller, 2004: 57)
- (48) *I got the book off Alec* (From Miller, 2004: 57)
- (49) *(...) sittin' on the chair beside his bed.* (SCOTS, document 359)
- (50) *(...) and right on past the Kennels up to (...)* (SCOTS, document 1017)
- (51) *She ran in the living room.* (From Miller, 2004: 57)
- (52) *We'd to run out the close, (...)* (SCOTS, document 351)
- (53) *(...) I like that you can get down the beach (...)* (SCOTS, document 354)
- (54) *He was up the valley in hiding (...)* (SCOTS, document 1375)
- (55) *I've been tryin', when I see them outside of class and stuff like that (...)*
(SCOTS, document 799)

2.3. Organisation of Discourse

Scots typically announce a new topic by left-dislocation. The noun phrase –which can be complex or subordinate, or an existential clause– is moved to the left, followed by a complement clause. Unlike in Standard English, the complementiser is not always

compulsory. Despite IT clefts being generally rare in Scots, they do appear in *wh*-questions.

(56) *The foolish child he went up to the Black Kirk* (Outlander, Episode 3)

(57) *And it was my mother was daein' it* (From Miller, 2004: 63)

(58) *What was it he said again?* (SCOTS, document 724)

2.4. Lexis

Despite Miller (2004) not including any discussion of lexis, it is important to take it into account as an important feature of the variety. Corbett and Stuart-Smith (2012: 6-7) show how Broad Scots lexical items are used alongside Standard English items. These lexical items are described as overt Scotticisms – (59) and (60) – and are mostly spoken rather than written.

Douglas (2006) states that Scots shares much vocabulary with Standard English (which she calls *English-English*). According to her, this is due to the Old English origins of both varieties and the influence of Old Norse and French. Furthermore, Scots has unique loan words from Gaelic – (61) and (62) – as well as from other languages.

(59) *Some wee slur on his Ma.* (SCOTS, document 250)

(60) *Nae crouds fash me.* (SCOTS, document 921)

(61) *A Sassenach.* (SCOTS, document 1685)

(62) *'Tis a braw day for a boar tynchal, is it no?* (Outlander, Episode 4)

Due to time and length restrictions, it was decided that a limited series of features would be selected for the analysis. These features were chosen among the ones that were mostly repeated throughout the main references. The list of selected features is as follows:

- Morphology:
 - Past simple strong verbs
 - Past simple weak verbs
 - Plural nouns
 - Reflexives
- Syntax:
 - Negation
 - Modal verbs
 - Stative verbs
 - Interrogatives
 - Definite article
 - Agreement
- Lexis

3. Methodology and Data Collection

3.1. Methodology

Once the features of the variety have been outlined, and the features that will be analysed are presented, the paper will proceed first with the data that have been collected. As stated in the Introduction, the data are from the TV Series *Outlander*. The series is set in Scotland and the majority of its characters are Scots. With the data collected, a corpus has been created and will be the basis for the analysis. The aim of the analysis is to answer the research question: how well Scots is represented in a TV series that is set in Scotland.

In order to do so, the data collected from the first season of the series will be compared to the chosen features –which are, roughly, the most characteristic of the variety. After the analysis a discussion will try to determine how accurately the variety is portrayed in the series.

3.2.Data Collection

The only thing taken into account for the data collection was whether the character was the main character –a Scottish highlander named Jamie– or whether it was one of the other Scottish characters. This differentiation was made for two reasons. Firstly, because the main character gets more screen time and more speech time. Secondly, because the question whether being the main character or not affects how the variety is represented will also be investigated. The data are considered in the next subsections.

3.2.1. Morphology

Feature	Main Character?	Example(s)
Differences in Strong-Weak verbs	No	<i>Ye kilt nobody.</i>
Plural nouns	NO DATA	
Reflexives	Both	<i>It's not myself I'd be nominating.</i> <i>Dinna faesh yerself about it anymore.</i>
<i>Ken</i> for Standard <i>know</i>	Both	<i>I ken fine what ye mean.</i> <i>Now you ken my mind.</i>

Table 1: Morphology features attested in the TV Series *Outlander*.

3.2.2. Syntax

Feature	Main Character?	Example(s)
<i>Na(e)</i> for Standard <i>-n't, not</i>	Both	<i>I dinna ken what happened.</i> <i>They dinna touch ye, now?</i>
<i>No</i> for Standard <i>not</i>	Both	<i>They'll no leave us alone.</i> <i>Ye have no told the truth (...)</i>

<i>Na(e)</i> for Standard <i>no</i>	No	<i>I have nae answer for ye.</i>
<i>Never</i> as general negator	No	<i>I would never presume.</i>
<i>Never ever / nane</i> as Standard <i>ever</i>	NO DATA	
Negation of <i>to be</i> with <i>no</i> and <i>-na(e)</i>	Both	<i>(...) that's no a pretty thing to be.</i> <i>(...), Jaime isna doing his duty by ye.</i>

Table 2: Negation features attested in the TV Series *Outlander*.

Feature	Main Character?	Example(s)
<i>Have to / Need to</i> for Standard <i>must</i>	Both	<i>You needn't prove it again, Claire.</i> <i>It's Randall ye need to worry about.</i> <i>You need to stay out of it.</i>
Negation of modals with <i>n't</i> or <i>na(e)</i>	Both	<i>But I canna do it one-handed.</i>
Double Modals	NO DATA	
Standard stative verbs in progressive aspect in Scots	Yes	<i>Ye'll all be needing breakfast, I reckon.</i> <i>You'll be needing this.</i> <i>(...) will ye be wanting tea?</i>

Table 3: Modal and Stative verbs features attested in the TV Series *Outlander*.

Feature	Main Character?	Example(s)
Different uses of <i>wh</i> -words	NO DATA	

Tag questions: - Different polarity - Same polarity - <i>no?</i> , <i>not?</i> - <i>E(h)?</i>	Both	<i>But you believe in the powers of magic, do you not?</i> <i>Colum's rhenish, is it?</i> <i>But we ate well, no?</i> <i>She doesn't want it, all the more for us, e?</i> <i>They didna touch ye, now?</i>
Requests: - <i>E(h)?</i> - <i>won't you?</i>	No	<i>Give him a drink of water, will ye?</i>
<i>No, not</i> in questions	No	<i>Was he no a good man?</i>

Table 4: Interrogatives features attested in the TV Series *Outlander*.

Feature	Main Character?	Example(s)
Plural subject + <i>is</i> , <i>was</i>	Yes	<i>(...) all I had was my wits, ye ken?</i>
Definite article with institutions, family, games, etc.	No	<i>I hear you and the wife have another one on the way.</i>

Table 5: Agreement and preposition features attested in the TV Series *Outlander*.

3.2.3. Lexis

Feature	Main Character?	Example(s)
Scotticisms	Both	<i>Join us tonight for a <u>dram</u>.</i> <i><u>Ca' canny</u> noo ('now').</i> <i>(...) it will wet your <u>thrapple</u> sure enough.</i>
Gaelic	Both	<i>How hard is it to keep watch on a <u>Sassenach</u> wench?</i> <i>It's near a wide <u>glen</u>.</i>

		<i>Not far from <u>Loch</u> Fannich.</i> <i>I had my <u>sporran</u>.</i>
Archaic words	Both	<i>How hard is it to keep watch on a Sassenach <u>wench</u>?</i> <i>(...) I'll freeze stiff <u>afore</u> ye're done talking.</i> <i>(...) he thinks are <u>naught</u> but a rabble of snot-nosed bairns.</i>

Table 6: Lexis features attested in the TV Series *Outlander*.

4. Analysis

It is important to stress that, despite a phonological analysis not being conducted, the characters in the TV series do have a speech with the phonological features of the variety. Concerning morphological features, the main character does consistently produce two of the features analysed, while the rest of the characters produce three. Whereas only one instance of a weak verb substituted by a strong form was found, the use of reflexives in non-reflexive situations is attested by both the main and the rest of the characters but only in one expression. However, both the main and the rest of the characters, use the form *ken* for Standard English *know*. This is one of the most recognised features of Scots, so it was expected to be present.

Regarding the syntactic features, the tendency changes. There is only one related to Negation that is not attested, while the main character produces three of the other five features. Again, however, it is seen that the features produced by the main character are the ones more representative for Scots.

Regarding modal verbs, the main and the rest of the characters coincide in producing the same features, which succeeds to represent the variety. However, surprisingly, there

is not even one instance of double modals, a prominent feature in non-standard varieties of English. As for the use of stative verbs in progressive aspect, there are instances from other characters mainly with the verb *need*. Since the verb *need* in Scots behaves differently, as a modal, it could be that it has a different status. Furthermore, the constructions were all the same *will/would + be + verb-ing*.

With respect to interrogatives there were two interesting findings. First, regarding tag questions, the tag *now?* was found produced by the main character. However, in the literature there was no trace of this tag. Likewise, the second finding was the tag *will ye?* for a request by one of the rest of the characters. In the literature there was the tag, *won't you?* for requests, but not the one found in the TV series. Since both characters who produce them are supposed to be Highlanders it is possible that it is a feature from Highland English, but no information on it has been found. The characters do comply with the rest of the tag question features.

For agreement only one instance of a plural subject together with a singular *is* or *was* has been found but no instances of different uses of prepositions. There were only two instances of the article being used with institutions, family or games.

Finally, for the Lexis, due to the time setting of the TV series – 1740s –, archaic words were also included in the data and the analysis because they were expected as they would give more veracity. As expected, both main and other characters use Scotticisms, Gaelic and Archaic words. In fact, since the setting is the Highlands, there were instances where whole conversations were carried out in Gaelic.

5. Discussion

After having analysed the data, the TV series fails to truly represent the variety but does a good job at following the stereotype. Without taking into account the phonology,

the features that the main character does produce are those that, first, are most widely known and, second, have less impact on prestige. While the main character is said to be educated outside Scotland, learned in different languages and prepared to be a *laird* – the leader of a Scottish Clan –, it is understandable that his speech would be, on the continuum, closer to Standard English than to Scots. On the other hand, most of the other characters analysed are highlander warriors who have never set foot outside Scotland and are characterised as quite drunkards and a bit silly. This would, again, explain why their speech is closer to Broad Scots.

Mainly, the most exploited features are those related to lexicon, because they are the easiest to reproduce. The most known and recognised Scots word is, probably, *aye* which was attested in all the possible instances where it could appear, thus, giving a faithful account in that sense. Then, characters use lexical items related to Scots such as *wee*, *bairn*, *lass*, *lad* or *Laird*. An average viewer of the series, without any syntactic or morphologic knowledge, listening to those words, combined with their pronunciation, would easily place the characters as Scots. The word *Sassenach* is the most attested Gaelic word – a total of 31 of the 44 Gaelic words – but the reason is because the English main character is referred to as *Sassenach* – which translates as *English*. However, there are instances where full conversations are carried out in Gaelic, which allows viewers to place the series. Finally, as for archaic words, there is a quite number of tokens but most of them – 53 of 85 – are for the word *mistress* which is old-fashion rather than archaic. Although it is true that the pronouns *ye* and *yer* are rather archaic, more vocabulary from the time could be expected.

The next most exploited feature is the use of the verb *ken* as close equivalent of Standard English *know*. Scots *ken* has more meanings than *know*, such as *perceive* or *have knowledge*. In the TV series a total of 69 tokens were collected which is quite a high

number, and, again, leads the viewer be assured that the series is set in Scotland. However, there were a total of 148 possibilities where *ken* could be used, which gives less than a 50% uses. Together with *ken* the features related to Negation are highly exploited. In this case, there are only a few instances that do not comply, but overall, the representation of the variety concerning the grammar of negation is accurate.

The rest of the features analysed were not present or much less exploited. Regarding Tags, they were the most faithful of these less exploited features fulfilling every instance. There were instances, as mentioned in the previous section, that were not even present in the Literature and that cannot be accounted for. Disregarding the Tags, the rest of features that were less analysed are probably the features that could lead to misunderstandings and that are less known about Scots. For instance, there were only 11 attested instances of the use of *need to* or *have to* as the Standard English *must*. Since in Standard English these have clear different functions, the viewer could be led into confusion. The same could happen with the use of reflexive pronouns in non-reflexive situations, and it may be the reason why they are only used in the closed phrase *Dinna fash yerself*.

Finally, three features remain unexploited. The first one is the use of stative verbs used in progressive tenses. In the data there were only a few instances where more should be expected. Despite Corbett and Stuart-Smith (2012) suggesting that this is a possible transfer from Gaelic, other English accents – like Indian (Gargesh, 2006: 104) and East African (Schmied, 2006: 197) – also present this feature, so it is a known feature across the English language. The two other features not exploited, are the use of archaic plurals and distinctions in strong and weak verbs. According to Miller (2004: 48), the plural forms are disappearing, so it is reasonable that they are not present, however, taking into account that the series is set in the 1740s those plural forms would still be used. As for strong-weak verb forms, only one instance was attested, the past of the verb *kill* as *kilt*.

Since Miller (2004) gives a list of verbs that are present in Scots, some of them were to be expected.

6. Conclusion

Leaving aside the fact that the setting – Scotland, 1740s – would make the speech of the characters incomprehensible for a speaker of English in the present time, the TV series does not do a very good job at giving a faithful picture of the variety. It is certainly true that the costumes of the different characters place the viewers in the correct location/time and the different characters certainly use some archaic words, but the English – if any – spoken by Highlanders in the 1740s would differ very much from the one spoken by the English of the English main character – Claire – and that of the present times. Again, the main Scottish characters use Gaelic at some points – when plotting against the Crown, or when they do not want to be understood by Claire -, its usage would have been much more extended. Another issue that would have happened is that the phonology of the 1740s is clearly different from the current one, but – even if this paper does not deal with it – the contemporary phonology of the variety is well represented in that sense.

Seeing that the most exploited features are regarding Lexis and Negation it is possible that the writers did not have enough information regarding other syntactic or morphological features to incorporate them into their scripts. Another reason could be that, due to the intended global audience of the TV series, the speech chosen for the series is closer to the Standard Scottish English in the continuum.

Nevertheless, and agreeing with the authors on the literature, more research is needed regarding the features of Scots. By doing that, more could be understood about this variety and prejudices could be erased. This would allow for a more general understanding and representation in the media.

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Appendices

Appendix I: Morphology

No attested data of Plural nouns.

Differences in strong and weak verbs:

	Character	
Episode	Main	Other
9	.	<i>Ye kilt nobody.</i>

Count: 1

Reflexive pronoun in non-reflexive situation:

	Character	
Episode	Main	Other
2	<i>Dinna fash yourself over this.</i>	
6		<i>It's not myself I'd be nominating.</i>
10		<i>Dinna fash yerself, it's not a permanent situation, ye ken</i>
12	<i>Dinna fash yerself about it anymore.</i>	

Count: 2

Ken for Standard *know*, *perceive*, *understand*:

	Character	
Episode	Main	Other

2	<i>I ken fine what he mean.</i>	<i>Laoghrie is my granddaughter, ye ken?</i>
	<i>I dinna ken what happened.</i>	<i>Now you ken my mind.</i>
	<i>Ken, for a woman, you do ask a fair amount of questions.</i>	
	<i>He wouldna ken what to make of that.</i>	
	<i>Ken who she is.</i>	
3	<i>You Ken how to obey a man's orders for once.</i>	<i>(...) to ken the difference very well.</i>
		<i>The demons ye ken.</i>
4	<i>(...) all I had was my wits, ye ken?</i>	<i>I ken it.</i>
		<i>But ye ken how much I fancy a hen with a bit of meat.</i>
		<i>I dinna ken if ye're a brother or no.</i>
		<i>I dinna ken how ye celebrate in Oxfordshire.</i>
		<i>Ye ken, a potion or maybe a brew.</i>
5	<i>As you ken well.</i>	<i>And you ken it well.</i>
		<i>I'm the only one he'll trust with the money, ye ken</i>
		<i>I'm a Mackenzie, ye ken.</i>
		<i>Well, time lets the truth slip, ye ken.</i>
6	<i>I reckon one of us should ken what they're doing.</i>	<i>(...) leaves us ower fae each other as equals, dinnae ye ken.</i>
		<i>But I ken now ye're telling the truth.</i>
7	<i>Protect it from the weather, ye ken?</i>	<i>You didna ken that.</i>
	<i>(...) you know, like like horses, ye ken.</i>	<i>Dougal sent us up to see if ye'd, uh - y'ken?</i>
	<i>Well, still waters run deep, ye ken?</i>	<i>(...) you'd ken your bible verses, too.</i>
8	<i>(...) and give it focus, like a glass, ye ken?</i>	<i>I ken where he is.</i>

9	<i>I dinna ken when, if ever, we'll get back there.</i>	<i>I ken I'd find ye here.</i>
	<i>And next I ken, (...)</i>	
	<i>I ken ye're not yet familiar with our ways.</i>	
	<i>I dinna ken what's a sadist.</i>	
	<i>And every one of us in the room already kent it well.</i>	
10	<i>I ken all about that.</i>	<i>It's not a permanent situation, ye ken</i>
	<i>Ye'll be pleased to ken I'll soon be returning to my home at Lallybroch</i>	
11		<i>It's a boy, ye ken?</i>
		<i>Animals have a nose for these things, ye ken.</i>
		<i>(...) but you're beyond saving, and you ken it.</i>
12	<i>You dinna ken what you're saying</i>	<i>I ken now that he was trying to make himself ready.</i>
	<i>And my father, he built this place, ye ken.</i>	<i>I ken fine who you are.</i>
	<i>I dinna Ken exactly what he said</i>	
13		<i>And if you want to Ken the truth of it, (...)</i>
		<i>I dinna ken.</i>
14	<i>You ken your way about the wilds</i>	<i>She'll ken what it's for.</i>
	<i>Do you ken how to use a knife?</i>	<i>I ken you're my brother's wife</i>
	<i>I ken what you were hoping for.</i>	<i>Jamie kens the song you're singing well.</i>
	<i>You're too green to ken what you're saying.</i>	<i>At least I ken that much.</i>
	<i>And I ken if it was me about to meet the hangman's noose, (...)</i>	<i>You ken it all now, do you lass?</i>
		<i>Until we ken otherwise, (...)</i>
15		<i>Aye, and ye'd ken it if ye saw him</i>

Count: 69 (there were 79 instances of *know* not collected in this appendix)

Appendix II: Syntax

Na(e) for standard *not*:

Episode	Character	
	Main	Other
1	<i>If I dinna move my shoulder.</i>	<i>It willna fill your belly.</i>
2	<i>I dinna ken what happened.</i>	<i>We hadna thought to see ye before the gathering.</i>
	<i>Doesna taste bad, but it's not very filling.</i>	<i>Dinna want him inside the walls.</i>
	<i>Dinna fash yourself over this.</i>	<i>It doesna matter why.</i>
	<i>I dinna believe in tempting fate by making light of old Nick in his very own kirkyard.</i>	<i>No, I dinna think so.</i>
		<i>I dinna need your help.</i>
		<i>You dinna see me waving?</i>
4	<i>They dinna touch ye, now?</i>	<i>The MacKenzie dinna say you could waste the whole day out here.</i>
	<i>Colum doesna travel.</i>	<i>I dinna ken if yer a bother or no.</i>
		<i>I dinna ken how ye celebrate in Oxfordshire.</i>
		<i>I dinna mean to offend ye, Mistress.</i>
		<i>But I dinna want ye maiming half the clan while ye were making up yer mind.</i>
5		<i>Dinna worry what they're sayin', lass.</i>

6	<i>I dinna come here to fight.</i>	<i>(...) leaves us ower fae each other as equals, dinnae ye ken.</i>
	<i>So long as it doesna bother you that I am.</i>	
7	<i>I didna see I had much of a choice either.</i>	<i>Ye dinna haud yer wheesht.</i>
	<i>I didna realise you did it face-to-face.</i>	<i>Dinna melt it down.</i>
	<i>Dinna need to stay up any longer.</i>	<i>You didna ken that.</i>
	<i>I didna ask.</i>	
	<i>I didna mean to hurt you.</i>	
	<i>I didna know women could ...</i>	
	<i>I didna want to hurt you.</i>	
8		<i>Whoa, dinnae kill him yet, mistress.</i>
9	<i>Murthagh, dinna wait too long.</i>	<i>She doesna understand what she nearly cost us.</i>
	<i>He- he didna hurt you?</i>	
	<i>I didna ken what's a sadist.</i>	
	<i>I didna say I wasna gonna enjoy it.</i>	
	<i>Ye dinna look very happy.</i>	
	<i>I dinna ken when, if ever, we'll get back there.</i>	
	<i>That thought doesna pain me as much as it once might have.</i>	
	<i>Ye dinna flatter me overmuch.</i>	
10	<i>(...) I'd never ask you for anything ye dinna wish to tell me.</i>	<i>I said kiss her, dinna swallow her.</i>

		<i>Dinna fash yerself, it's not a permanent situation, ye ken</i>
11	<i>Claire, I know there are things you dinna wish to tell me (...)</i>	
	<i>So, I dinna understand it a bit, not yet.</i>	
12	<i>Dinna fash yerself about it anymore.</i>	<i>Ian tells me ye didna collect rents yesterday.</i>
	<i>You dinna ken what you're saying.</i>	<i>(...) he doesna understand.</i>
		<i>She says, well, I dinna ken exactly what he said, (...)</i>
13	<i>To drink whiskey with a man who doesna look on me with pity.</i>	<i>We dinna expect ye till next month</i>
	<i>I dinna ken.</i>	<i>And they didna have the army like we did, aye.</i>
15		<i>Well, dinna bother</i>
		<i>Well, ye sure as shite didna go thirsty.</i>
16	<i>Dinna touch me.</i>	<i>You canna save a man that doesna want saving.</i>
	<i>Dinna touch me.</i>	<i>But they dinna see you?</i>
		<i>(...) none can lead him where he doesna want to go.</i>

Count: 64

No for Standard not:

	Character	
Episode	Main	Other

2	<i>Ye have no told the truth about who and what you are</i>	
3		<i>I am but Dougal's eyes, no his head.</i>
6		<i>I'll shed no tears over Redcoat blood.</i>
		<i>I would no have liked it.</i>
7	<i>They'll no leave us alone.</i>	<i>Ah, young Jamie may no have much experience, (...)</i>
	<i>(...), everyone waited to see would she take him or no?</i>	
8	<i>I'll no risk you again.</i>	<i>(...) and I'll be silent no longer.</i>
	<i>He would have no advance notion of my capture.</i>	
9	<i>You'll no speak to me that way!</i>	<i>Ah, it may no be permanent, but it hurts like hell.</i>
		<i>She'll no make that mistake again.</i>
	<i>No, I made a vow, and I'll no break it.</i>	
12	<i>(...), and there will be no second flogging.</i>	
13	<i>There'll be no need to look after anybody.</i>	
15		<i>I'll no force any of my men to go to their deaths,</i>

		<i>but I'll no stand in the way of any that choose to go.</i>
		<i>(...) but I'll no put my family or myself in jeopardy.</i>
16		<i>And light or no light (...)</i>

Count: 19

Na(e) for Standard *no*:

	Character	
Episode	Main	Other
2		<i>I have nae answers for ye.</i>

Count: 1

Never as general negator:

	Character	
Episode	Main	Other
2		<i>Did ye never even look at her hooves?</i>
3		<i>I would never presume.</i>

Count: 2

No attested use of *never ever* / *nane* as Standard *ever*.

Negation of *to be* with *no* and *-na(e)*:

	Character	
Episode	Main	Other

1	<i>This lot isna my blood.</i>	<i>(...) your husband isna likely to stray far from your bed.</i>
	<i>Well, wasna much of a choice.</i>	
2	<i>I'm sore, but I'm nae really damaged.</i>	
	<i>(...) that's no a pretty thing to be.</i>	
4		<i>It's nae since I was a bairn we've had a gathering at Leoch.</i>
		<i>Ye're no wearing that to the ceremony, are ye, las?</i>
7	<i>I wasna planning to suddenly force myself on you.</i>	<i>(...), Jamie isna doing his duty by ye!</i>
9	<i>(...), I only thought to make certain he wasna about to raise the alarm.</i>	<i>My friend here isna best pleased with yer answer.</i>
	<i>I didna say I wasna gonna enjoy it.</i>	<i>And it wasna his to give.</i>
	<i>I had no notion about yerself and it wasna something I planned.</i>	<i>And wasna Colm's to take.</i>
	<i>I should have been happy that the MacKenzie clan wasna about to tear itself apart (...)</i>	<i>The Bonnie Prince isna sailing from Italy anytime soon.</i>
		<i>No, he isna, is he?</i>
11	<i>I just wasna ready.</i>	<i>She wasna Mrs. Fraser when we first became acquaint.</i>
12	<i>He wasna worthy of the watch nor even a Redcoat.</i>	

16		<i>Staying sober isna going to heal Jamie any faster, eh?</i>
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Count: 20

Have to / Need to for Standard must:

Episode	Character	
	Main	Other
2	<i>You need not be scared of me.</i>	
6		<i>It's Randall ye need to worry about</i>
7	<i>You needn't be afraid of me, Claire.</i>	<i>But it needn't stop you from sampling other pleasures.</i>
		<i>(...), then we have to follow it to the letter.</i>
8	<i>You needn't prove it again.</i>	
9	<i>I needed to do something, (...)</i>	
10		<i>I'll need to see the smithy in the morning.</i>
14		<i>You need to start milking the goat straight away.</i>
		<i>You need to establish a reputation (...)</i>
		<i>You need to attract attention.</i>

Count: 11

Negation of modals with *n't* or *na(e)*. Since the *n't* is the Standard negation particle, only the instances of *na(e)* were collected:

Episode	Character	
	Main	Other
1	<i>I couldna manage a horse.</i>	
	<i>The plaid'll keep us both warm, but I canna do it one-handed.</i>	
	<i>I canna stay here long.</i>	
	<i>If ye canna fix me up well enough to ride (...)</i>	
2		<i>You canna expect an beast to carry around something (...)</i>
		<i>(...) you wouldna kill an unarmed man!</i>
		<i>Aye, he wouldna ken what to make of that.</i>
3	<i>You canna been much more than seven or eight yourself.</i>	<i>I wouldna do that.</i>
	<i>Still, I wouldna even be likely to.</i>	<i>I canna render judgment with a roiling gut.</i>
	<i>I couldna do that before Alec.</i>	<i>(...), I canna let him go, (...)</i>
	<i>(...), he couldna see me anymore without thinking of my back.</i>	
4	<i>I canna wear this.</i>	<i>I canna seem to keep my legs.</i>
		<i>Ye shouldna be here.</i>
		<i>(...), Dougal wouldna let him breathe MacKenzie air for long.</i>

		<i>I canna feel my leg anymore, Dougal.</i>
5		<i>(...), but we canna expect much from a small place like this still.</i>
		<i>But tonight, I canna feed my family.</i>
7		<i>I said I canna perform a wedding until after the banns have been read.</i>
		<i>Well, ye canna do that.</i>
8	<i>Canna say I disagree.</i>	
9	<i>I canna use Randall's name to clear my own.</i>	<i>Seems I canna possess your soul without losing my own.</i>
	<i>(...), I wouldna say more about it.</i>	
	<i>Aye, ye canna keep a MacKenzie waiting.</i>	
	<i>Aye, if the storm canna be calmed between the brothers, I'll be the one to pay the price.</i>	
	<i>(...), but I canna fault your observations.</i>	
10		<i>Father, the man rents a great house, but canna pay an honest debt?</i>
11	<i>I shouldna have done so.</i>	
12	<i>I couldna imagine what he was talking about.</i>	<i>(...) because we canna make ends meet?</i>

		<i>He shouldna meddle in things he doesna understand.</i>
		<i>(...) why we couldna do any such thing (...)</i>
13	<i>I can bear pain myself, but I couldna bear yours.</i>	<i>I canna understand why you don't.</i>
	<i>I shouldna keep you from Jenny.</i>	<i>I canna use that money.</i>
15		<i>But what I canna see is how it can be done.</i>
16		<i>You canna save a man that doesna want saving.</i>
		<i>Couldna stop fretting about it.</i>
		<i>He couldna fight sleep.</i>
	<i>You canna understand.</i>	
	<i>I couldna help myself, Claire.</i>	
	<i>I canna be your husband any longer.</i>	

Count: 47

No attested use of double modals.

Standard stative verbs in progressive aspect in Scots:

Episode	Character	
	Main	Other
2		<i>Ye'll all be needing breakfast, I reckon.</i>

3		<i>You'll be needing this.</i>
4		<i>She'll be wanting a horse, then.</i>
5	<i>(...) the horses will be needin' their breakfast as well.</i>	
9		<i>Looks like we'll be needing a few more plates, then.</i>
16		<i>And what would ye be needing it for?</i>
		<i>(...) but will ye be wanting tea?</i>

Count: 7

There were no instances of different uses of *wh*-words.

Tag questions:

Episode	Character	
	Main	Other
2	<i>Been through here before, <u>have</u> you?</i>	
	<i>Ye have no connections with clan Beaton, <u>have</u> ye?</i>	
3	<i>But you believe in the powers of magic, <u>do you not</u>?</i>	<i>Colum's rhenish, <u>is it</u>?</i>
	<i>He must have been speaking in tongues, <u>eh</u>?</i>	<i>Now then, Novelli, got yourself a right in swivet, have you no?</i>

	<i>You wouldn't expect me to be less bold than a wee Sassenach lassie, now, <u>would you</u>?</i>	<i>Well, you're hardly standard, <u>now</u>, <u>are you</u>, my Laird?</i>
4	<i>The dinna touch ye, <u>now</u>?</i>	<i>Doubt ye've ever seen anything as braw as this where ye from, <u>eh</u>?</i>
	<i>Knocked him out cold, <u>eh</u>?</i>	<i>Ye're no wearing that to the ceremony, <u>are ye</u>, lass?</i>
		<i>Dedicated, <u>are ye</u>, <u>now</u>?</i>
		<i>Come late to the oath-taking, <u>are ye not</u>?</i>
		<i>'Tis a braw day for a boar tynchal, <u>is it no</u>?</i>
		<i>But we ate well, <u>no</u>?</i>
5	<i>She doesn't want it, all the more for us, <u>eh</u>?</i>	<i>You'd have me smoke a pipe for a cough, <u>eh</u>?</i>
	<i>And that worries you, <u>does it</u>?</i>	<i>It's something of a paradox, <u>eh</u>?</i>
		<i>Aye, I did, <u>didn't I</u>?</i>
		<i>Go home, laddie, and suckle on your ma's tit, <u>eh</u>?</i>
		<i>An awful sight, <u>is it no</u>?</i>
		<i>But you would seem to be a lady of strong political opinions, <u>eh</u>?</i>
		<i>Warn me about what, <u>eh</u>?</i>
7		<i>Maybe-maybe I'll fill it with my fist, <u>eh</u>?</i>

8	<i>Gone official, <u>have you</u>?</i>	
9		<i>'Tis for the Jacobites, <u>is it not</u>?</i>
		<i>Now, I think that such fealty is worth a mere bag of gold, <u>don't you</u>?</i>
		<i>If the Mackenzie asked ye the same, ye'd do it, <u>would ye not</u>?</i>
		<i>Where does your loyalty lie between the chief and the war chief, <u>eh</u>?</i>
		<i>There is but one laird of the clan, <u>is there no</u>?</i>
		<i>No, he isna, <u>is he</u>?</i>
10		<i>That surprises ye, <u>doesn't it</u>?</i>
		<i>Beautiful, <u>is it not</u>?</i>
		<i>Ah, you saw them leave the house, <u>yes</u>?</i>
11		<i>We are still in Scotland, <u>are we not</u>?</i>
		<i>So you don't want to change thins or do anything at all, <u>do you</u>?</i>
12	<i>Thought it was a ghost for a minute, <u>did ye</u>?</i>	<i>So you're a night owl, <u>are ye</u>?</i>
13		<i>It's not like we had a choice, now, <u>is it</u>?</i>
		<i>Oh, burns like a torch going down, <u>aye</u>?</i>
		<i>Did ye, <u>now</u>?</i>

		<i>Surely you can raise the rents of your tenants, <u>eh</u>?</i>
		<i>Good being out on the road again, <u>eh</u>?</i>
14		<i>You ken it all now, <u>do you lass</u>?</i>
		<i>Cannot let the wee scunner go alone and have all the fun, <u>can I, eh</u>?</i>
15		<i>Seems it's a little late to be brandishing iron, <u>does it not</u>?</i>
16		<i>Staying sober isna going to heal Jamie any faster, <u>eh</u>?</i>
		<i>They can take ye in, provide shelter, <u>eh</u>?</i>
		<i>(...) you tell him Angus Mohr sends his best, <u>eh</u>?</i>
	<i>That's madness, <u>is it not</u>?</i>	

Count: Different polarity, 21; Same polarity, 9; *no/not*?, 1; *e(h)*?, 16; other attested, 4.

Requests:

Episode	Character	
	Main	Other
3	<i>Take that back, <u>will you</u>, lass?</i>	
9		<i>Give him a drink of water, <u>will ye</u>?</i>

Count: from the literature, 0; other attested, 2.

No, not in interrogatives:

	Character	
Episode	Main	Other
2		<i>Is he not alive?</i>
3		<i>Was he no a good man?</i>
	<i>Do you not believe in demonic possession, Claire?</i>	
12		<i>Have ye no compassion?</i>
13		<i>Jamie, have ye no sense?</i>

Count: 5.

Plural subject + *is/was*:

	Character	
Episode	Main	Other
4	<i>(...) all I had was my wits, ye ken?</i>	

Count: 1

Definite article with institutions, family, games, etc.:

	Character	
Episode	Main	Other
2		<i>Her father wishes <u>the MacKenzie</u> to have her punished for disobedience</i>
4		<i><u>The MacKenzie</u> dinna say you could waste the whole day out here.</i>
5		<i>I hear you and <u>the wife</u> have another one on the way.</i>

9		<i>If <u>the Mackenzie</u> asked ye the same, ye'd do it, would ye not?</i>
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Count: 4

Appendix III: Lexis

Scotticisms:

The positive particle *aye* is an archaic word for *yes* used frequently in Scots. Therefore, it would be both a Scotticism and an archaic word. However, since its frequency is so high, no instances of *yes* were found, it was not collected in order to not make this appendix extensively long.

Episode	Character	
	Main	Other
2	<i>Dinna <u>fash</u> yourself over this.</i>	<i>The wonder is how she manages to bake <u>bannocks</u> (...)</i>
		<i>My name is Colum Ban Campbell MacKenzie, <u>Laird</u> of this castle.</i>
		<i>I sent him to the stables to help <u>auld</u> Alec with the horses.</i>
		<i>A fornicator of women and a shagger of <u>wee</u> beasties (...)</i>
		<i>The <u>bannocks</u> should last a day or two (...)</i>
3	<i>You wouldn't expect me to be less bold than a <u>wee</u> Sassenach <u>lassie</u> (...)</i>	<i>Be with your other wee <u>bairns</u>.</i>
	<i>Folk hereabout call it the Black <u>Kirk</u>.</i>	<i>A <u>wee jouk</u> of the head and it's over.</i>

	<i>Aye, she's <u>bonnie</u>.</i>	<i>Apparently Tammas Baxter went to the Black <u>Kirk</u> with <u>wee</u> Lindsay Macneill.</i>
	<i>(...) I dinna believe in tempting fate by making light of old Nick in his very own <u>kirkyard</u>.</i>	<i><u>Wee</u> Lindsay was weak to begin with (...)</i>
	<i>Well, I know <u>wee</u> Lindsay and Tammas (...)</i>	<i>Well, I heard tell that <u>wee</u> Lindsay howled on five lazy, fat bastard.</i>
	<i>Last one was decades ago when Colum was made <u>Laird</u>.</i>	<i>Well, you're hardly standard, now, are you, my <u>Laird</u>?</i>
	<i>The Welshman would be welcome at any <u>Laird's</u> hearth.</i>	<i>Well, I thank you, my <u>Laird</u>.</i>
		<i>(...) to mock your <u>Laird</u>?</i>
		<i>My <u>Laird</u>, please.</i>
		<i>Of course, my <u>Laird</u>.</i>
		<i>Thank you, my <u>Laird</u>.</i>
4	<i>'Tis like calling a tall man "<u>wee</u>".</i>	<i>If I can trouble ye for a <u>wee</u> favour?</i>
	<i>And as <u>Laird</u>.</i>	<i>(...) and attending to a <u>wee</u> bit of business here and there.</i>
		<i>Doubt ye've ever seen anything as <u>braw</u> as this (...)</i>
		<i>'Tis a <u>braw</u> day for a boar tynchal, is it no?</i>
		<i>You'll be there soon, <u>lad</u>.</i>

		<i>I taught you this game <u>lad</u>.</i>
		<i>And he's proud to be called their <u>Laird</u>.</i>
		<i>Well, that should be suitable for the <u>Laird's</u> nephew.</i>
		<i>(...), then he'd be in line to succeed as <u>Laird</u>.</i>
		<i>If enough clansmen want Jamie to be <u>Laird</u>, (...)</i>
		<i>As the <u>Laird's</u> nephew, (...)</i>
5		<i>A Sassenach fleein' drunk <u>forbye</u>.</i>
		<i>And that bag is for the <u>Laird's</u> rents.</i>
		<i>My husband had to give away our goat to the <u>Laird</u> this morning, (...)</i>
		<i>The <u>lad</u> can wear rags from now on.</i>
		<i>It's one and the same, <u>lad</u> (...)</i>
		<i>Not while you travel with me, sweet <u>lad</u>.</i>
		<i>I'm much older than I appear, <u>lassie</u>.</i>
		<i>Dinna worry what they're sayin', <u>lass</u>.</i>
		<i>Be a good <u>lass</u>.</i>

		<i>Aren't you the <u>canny</u> <u>lass</u>?</i>
		<i>I gave the <u>lassie</u> such a seeing-to.</i>
		<i>Aye, the <u>lassie</u> can see right through us.</i>
		<i>We Scots are not as <u>canny</u> as the English, yes.</i>
		<i><u>Ca' canny noo.</u></i>
		<i>She's <u>stottin'</u> drunk.</i>
		<i>(...), <u>Laird</u> of the MacKenzie clan, (...)</i>
6	<i>(...) without permission from the <u>laird</u> concerned.</i>	<i>(...), are ye purposely trying to embarrass the <u>lass</u>, (...)</i>
		<i>(...) or are ye just an arrogant <u>wee smout</u>?</i>
		<i>Are ye all right, <u>lassie</u>?</i>
		<i>Up ye come, <u>lassie</u>.</i>
		<i>Come on, <u>lass</u>.</i>
		<i>(...) but it will wet your <u>thrapple</u> sure enough.</i>
		<i>So tell me, from one <u>Laird</u> to another (...),</i>
7	<i>All right, <u>lads</u>, show's over.</i>	<i>There is no if about this, <u>laddie</u>.</i>
	<i>She's a smart <u>lass</u>.</i>	<i>Hey, <u>lass</u>, if you're still able to walk, (...)</i>
	<i>My brown-haired <u>lass</u>.</i>	<i>A <u>wee</u> joke.</i>

	(...) <u>wee</u> bits of auburn when the sun touches it.	I was just hoping to get a <u>wee</u> <u>keek</u> at her breasts.
		(...) you can <u>coorie</u> back down under your blankets.
8		<u>Lasses</u> say to me all the time
		<u>Lass</u> needs a Sgian Dubh.
9	When I was a <u>lad</u> , (...)	It's getting a <u>wee</u> bit uncomfortable around here for my taste.
	For the first time since I was a <u>lad</u> , (...)	Where's your mind, <u>lad</u> ?
	Even for a <u>lass</u> as <u>bonnie</u> as you.	The <u>lad</u> 's getting on with it.
	(...), or your next words will be in a <u>lassie</u> 's voice.	The <u>lad</u> shoulda come to us for counsel (...)
	(...) and lift yer shift, <u>lass</u> .	Devil, man, he's just a <u>lad</u> .
		This has been ye're secret place since ye were a <u>lad</u> .
		Come and have a seat here next to me, <u>lassie</u> .
		We can send for the <u>lass</u> when we find safe beds.
10	No need to <u>fret</u> , lass, (...)	Aye, <u>lad</u> , there is.
	Thought a <u>wee</u> bit of slave might help.	Look, <u>laddie</u> , as it stands now, ye're wanted for murder.
	Take my rightful place as <u>Laird</u> of Broch Tuarach.	I would expect nothing less of the <u>lad</u> .

		<i>He's such a good <u>lad</u>, stout-hearted.</i>
		<i>Let it go, <u>lads</u>.</i>
		<i>Ye flap that tongue at me again, <u>lad</u> (...)</i>
		<i>Poor <u>lass</u>.</i>
		<i>(...), the <u>wee</u> folk will come and take it back (...)</i>
		<i>But surely ye won't begrudge me a <u>wee</u> bit of celebration?</i>
		<i>The Duke of Sandringham has arrived to take counsel with the <u>Laird</u>.</i>
		<i>The <u>Laird</u> is asking for ye.</i>
		<i>Jaime, the <u>Laird</u> is asking for you.</i>
		<i>Do ye not even have a not to acknowledge the orders of yer <u>Laird</u>?</i>
		<i>Dinna <u>fash</u> yerself, it's not a permanent situation, ye ken</i>
		<i>Jamie will appease his <u>Laird</u> best he can (...)</i>
11		<i>(...) so as to recover our beloved <u>bairn</u> after the <u>wee</u> folk returned it.</i>

		<i>(...) and no sign of our own wee <u>bairn</u>.</i>
		<i>Do you love him, your ginger-haired <u>laddie</u>, Jamie?</i>
		<i>He's got an eye for the <u>lasses</u>.</i>
		<i>Clearly, she's a jealous young <u>lass</u> with broken heart.</i>
		<i>(...) before this English <u>lass</u> came into our midst.</i>
		<i>I'm sorry, <u>lass</u>.</i>
12	<i>I'm <u>Laird</u>.</i>	<i>This is my <u>wee</u> Jamie.</i>
	<i>(...), so sacred was the <u>Laird's</u> room.</i>	<i>Go find Mrs. Crook, my <u>wee</u> lamb.</i>
	<i>(...) when I was but a <u>bairn</u>.</i>	<i>(....), you cheeky <u>wee</u> bastard!</i>
	<i>As <u>Laird</u>, I decided to give my tenants some ease.</i>	<i>There are plenty of <u>bannocks</u>.</i>
	<i>I am the <u>Laird</u> of this estate now.</i>	<i>Mrs. Crook will get you a <u>wee</u> bite.</i>
	<i>Dinna fash yerself about it anymore.</i>	<i>Ronald, if I ever see any evidence of you harming your <u>wee</u> <u>laddie</u>, (...)</i>
		<i>It aches a <u>wee</u> bit towards the end of the day.</i>
		<i>(...) give them a <u>wee</u> kick in their backside.</i>

		<i>(...) this lovely <u>lass</u> is gonna be scrubbing yer brains off the floor.</i>
		<i>Ye're a <u>braw lad</u>, son.</i>
		<i>Be careful, My <u>Laird</u>.</i>
		<i>Well, since the <u>Laird's</u> staying (...)</i>
		<i>Well, seeing as it's the <u>Laird's</u> room (...)</i>
		<i>Tomorrow will be a time for celebrating the <u>Laird's</u> return.</i>
		<i>We're right pleased to have ye back, my <u>Laird</u>.</i>
		<i>Aye, my <u>Laird</u>.</i>
		<i>Thank ye, my <u>Laird</u>.</i>
		<i><u>M'Laird</u>, (...)</i>
		<i>Goodnight, my <u>Laird</u>.</i>
		<i>You'll have to answer to <u>Laird</u> Broch Tuarach.</i>
		<i>Begging yer pardon, <u>Laird</u> Broch Tuarach.</i>
		<i>Yes, my <u>Laird</u>?</i>
13	<i>Which is a <u>wee</u> bit of a puzzle.</i>	<i>My apologies for the <u>stramash</u>.</i>
		<i>They're good <u>lads</u>.</i>
		<i>They're just a <u>wee</u> bit coarse.</i>
		<i>But soon he'll have a <u>wee</u> brother (...)</i>

		<i>Wee Jamie may favour Ian (...)</i>
		<i>Ye look good with a <u>weeyin</u> in yer arms.</i>
		<i>But you're the <u>Laird</u>.</i>
		<i>Looks like the <u>laddie's</u> on his way.</i>
		<i>Your <u>bonnie</u> little <u>lass</u> just landed on her feet.</i>
		<i>A <u>lass</u>, ye say?</i>
		<i><u>Crivvens</u>.</i>
		<i>Is it the <u>bairn</u>?</i>
		<i>Be nice to get some chores done without a <u>bairn</u> under my feet.</i>
		<i>Tell him the <u>bairn's</u> coming.</i>
		<i>She's <u>bonnie</u>.</i>
14	<i>Sorry to disappoint you, <u>lass</u>.</i>	<i>Our <u>Laird</u> is in the clutches of the English.</i>
		<i>And your <u>Laird</u> would not want that to happen.</i>
		<i>(...) before the rightful <u>Laird</u> could return.</i>
		<i>The <u>Laird's</u> gonna find us.</i>
		<i>I'm pledged to the <u>Laird</u>.</i>
		<i>We've still no sign of the <u>Laird</u>.</i>
		<i>If I'd seen him, <u>lassie</u> (...)</i>
		<i>You ken it all now, do you <u>lass</u>?</i>

	<i>(...) she was a sonsie <u>lassie</u> (...)</i>
	<i>(...) gave them to the <u>lass</u> as a wedding gift.</i>
	<i>Is everything all right here, <u>lass</u>?</i>
	<i>The message was for the <u>lass</u> playing your role.</i>
	<i>Well, a Sassenach lady dressed as a <u>laddie</u>, (...)</i>
	<i>You're taking some of the <u>lads</u> with you, then.</i>
	<i>There's a big redheaded <u>lad</u> come through these parts.</i>
	<i>Look, I like the <u>lad</u>.</i>
	<i><u>Laddie</u>, stop your nonsense and get back behind me.</i>
	<i>I cannot leave <u>wee</u> Maggie too long.</i>
	<i>I'd show them the <u>wee</u> beasties (...)</i>
	<i>I've warmed them up with a <u>wee</u> jig.</i>
	<i>Cannot let the <u>wee scunner</u> go alone (...)</i>
	<i>Aye, the <u>bairn's</u> sucking starts the milk.</i>

		<i>Everything to do with <u>bairns</u> is a nuisance, almost.</i>
15		<i>Aye, I would do a bit for Ellen's <u>lad</u>.</i>
		<i>Up you get, <u>lass</u>.</i>
		<i>You're a bold <u>lass</u> (...)</i>
		<i><u>Lass</u>, we don't have the time!</i>
		<i>Good luck to you, too, <u>lass</u>.</i>
		<i>I'll be yer Jamie, <u>lass</u>.</i>
		<i>Let us out, <u>lass</u>.</i>
		<i>No <u>lass</u>, I'm sorry.</i>
		<i>An open door is nay a plan, <u>lass</u>.</i>
		<i>I have a wife and three <u>bairns</u> asleep upstairs.</i>
16		<i>Easy, <u>lad</u>.</i>
		<i>Get off her, <u>lad</u>!</i>
		<i>What's wrong with ye, <u>lad</u>?</i>
		<i>Ye'd be wise to do as she says, <u>lad</u>.</i>
		<i>(...) ye'd be able to talk some sense into the <u>lad</u>.</i>
		<i>The <u>lad's</u> taken his share of punishment, (...)</i>
		<i>I'd never do anything to hurt the <u>lad</u>.</i>
		<i>Are ye saying the <u>lad's</u> doomed?</i>

Count: 206

Gaelic:

Full conversations on Gaelic or proper nouns, were not collected.

Episode	Character	
	Main	Other
1	<i>Thank you, <u>Sassenach</u>.</i>	
2	<i>No promises, <u>Sassenach</u>.</i>	<i>That you're likely a <u>Sassenach</u> spy.</i>
3	<i>You wouldn't expect me to be less bold than a wee <u>Sassenach</u> lassie (...)</i>	<i>It can't be easy being a <u>Sassenach</u> in the Highlands.</i>
	<i>(...) not childhood stories of fairies, devils and water horses in <u>lochs</u>.</i>	
	<i>He went up to an <u>eaghais dhubh</u>, he did</i>	
4	<i>No, <u>Sassenach</u>.</i>	<i>'Tis a braw day for a boar <u>tynchal</u>, is it no?</i>
	<i>Well, that's a very sound plan, <u>Sasenach</u>.</i>	<i>It's near a wide <u>glen</u>.</i>
	<i>'Tis fine, <u>Sassenach</u>.</i>	
5	<i>Trees are safe, <u>Sassenach</u>.</i>	<i>How hard is it to keep watch on a <u>Sassenach</u> wench?</i>
		<i>A <u>Sassenach</u> fleein' drunk forbye.</i>

		(...) before I let a whey-faced <u>Sassenach</u> use me so.
7	Better go back inside, <u>Sassenach</u> .	I see, um, see a new <u>kilt</u> for the occasion.
	It was just something I had in my <u>sporran</u> .	
	(...) than chasing after one stray <u>Sassenach</u> , no matter how pretty.	
	<u>Mo nighean dubh</u> .	
8	<u>Sgian Dubh</u> , hidden dagger.	Lass needs a <u>Sgian Dubh</u> .
9	<u>Sassenach</u> .	You marry a <u>Sassenach</u> , (...)
		(...), marrying he <u>Sassenach</u> (...)
10	It's dangerous to be out here alone, <u>Sassenach</u> .	
	'Tis but one more scar, <u>Sassenach</u> .	
	These are dangerous times, <u>mo nighean donn</u> .	
11	No, I believe ye, <u>Sassenach</u> .	Good-bye, <u>Sassenach</u> .
	I believe you, <u>Sassenach</u> .	
	So, <u>Sassenach</u> , are you ready to go home?	
12	I don't think anyone would ever make that mistake, <u>Sassenach</u> .	This is your uncle, <u>mo chridhe</u> , (...)
	<u>Sassenach</u> .	What's wrong, <u>a-graidh</u> ?

		<i>They said he'd gone and married a <u>Sassenach</u>.</i>
13	<i>No <u>Sassenach</u> I'm sure I wouldn't.</i>	<i>A <u>Sassenach</u>?</i>
14		<i>(...) she was a <u>sonsie</u> lassie (...)</i>
		<i>Well, a <u>Sassenach</u> lady dressed as a laddie, (...)</i>
		<i>And now I give you, the <u>Sassenach</u>!</i>
16	<i>I'm very happy indeed, <u>Sassenach</u>.</i>	

Count: 44

Archaic words:

Most second person singular and personal pronouns are *ye* which is an old pronoun for PDE *you*; this are not collected in the data – due to the large amount of them – but are taken into account.

Episode	Character	
	Main	Other
2	<i><u>Nay</u>, it's a simple story.</i>	<i><u>Naught</u> but a scratch, my dear.</i>
		<i>Claire, Beauchamp, <u>Mistress</u> Fitzgibbons.</i>
		<i><u>Mistress</u>.</i>
		<i>I welcome ye, <u>mistress</u>.</i>
		<i>What can I do for you, <u>Mistress</u> Beauchamp?</i>
		<i>But let me warn ye, <u>mistress</u> (...)</i>

3	<i>This dressing's been <u>chafing</u> me for days.</i>	<i><u>Yon's</u> no job to be making heavy weather of.</i>
	<i>Good night, <u>Mistress</u> Beauchamp.</i>	<i>The MacKenzie requests your presence in his <u>chambers</u>, <u>Mistress</u> Beauchamp.</i>
	<i><u>Mistress</u> Duncan, <u>Mistress</u> Beauchamp.</i>	<i>Do you sew as well as <u>physick</u>, <u>Mistress</u> Beauchamp?</i>
	<i>I'm an educated man, <u>mistress</u>, if I may be so bold.</i>	<i>What, you don't have demons in Oxfordshire, <u>mistress</u>?</i>
		<i><u>Mistress</u> Beauchamp is a healer and a good one.</i>
		<i>(...), and so do you, <u>mistress</u>.</i>
		<i><u>Mistress</u> Beauchamp, <u>Mistress</u> Beauchamp, are you all right?</i>
		<i>I'll take you with me to <u>Mistress</u> Duncan's.</i>
		<i><u>Mistress</u> Beauchamp was just about to tell me (...)</i>
		<i><u>Mistress</u>, the poor bairn is nearly gone</i>
		<i>God bless you, <u>mistress</u>.</i>
4	<i><u>Mistress</u> Claire.</i>	<i>You were right, <u>Mistress</u>.</i>
	<i><u>Mistress</u>.</i>	<i><u>Mistress</u> Beauchamp!</i>
		<i><u>Mistress</u>.</i>
		<i>I'm sorry, <u>Mistress</u> Beauchamp.</i>

		<i>I dinna mean to offend ye, <u>mistress</u>.</i>
		<i><u>Mistress</u> Claire!</i>
5	<i>Morning, <u>mistress</u>.</i>	<i>It comes in <u>turners</u> and <u>bawbees</u>, small coins.</i>
		<i>Something I can do for you, <u>mistress</u>?</i>
		<i>How hard is it to keep watch on a Sassenach <u>wench</u>?</i>
		<i>A Sassenach fleein' drunk forbye.</i>
6	<i>(...) <u>afore</u> ye're done talking.</i>	
7		<i><u>Mistress</u>, please.</i>
		<i>Evening, <u>mistress</u>, Dougal.</i>
8		<i>Whoa, dinna kill him yet, <u>Mistress</u>.</i>
9	<i>(...) and lift yer <u>shift</u>, lass.</i>	<i>(...) <u>afore</u> taking action.</i>
		<i><u>Mistress</u>.</i>
		<i>Seek <u>Mistress</u> Duncan in the woods, (...)</i>
		<i><u>Mistress</u>?</i>
		<i>We demand to see <u>Mistress</u> Duncan right away.</i>
		<i><u>Mistress</u>!</i>
		<i>Take us to your <u>mistress</u>.</i>
11		<i>She wasna Mrs. Fraser when we first became <u>acquaint</u>.</i>
		<i>She was <u>Mistress</u> Beauchamp then.</i>

12		<i>Good <u>morrow</u>, ladies.</i>
		<i>(...), he should have the main <u>bedchamber</u>.</i>
		<i>Excuse me, <u>Mistress</u>.</i>
		<i>The <u>Mistress</u>, or Mrs. Murray, (...)</i>
13	<i>(...) the man would barely walk ten steps to <u>pish</u>, (...)</i>	<i>They're just a wee bit <u>coarse</u>.</i>
		<i>Pleased to make yer <u>acquaintance</u>, <u>mistress</u>.</i>
		<i><u>Mistress</u>?</i>
		<i>Yes, <u>mistress</u>?</i>
14		<i>Whatever you call for, <u>Mistress</u> Claire.</i>
15		<i>An open door is <u>nay</u> a plan, lass.</i>
		<i>Don't despair, <u>mistress</u>.</i>
		<i>I was only stating a fact, <u>mistress</u>.</i>
16		<i>You need someone who can defend against <u>Mistress</u> Claire (...)</i>
		<i>For <u>Mistress</u> Claire's sake (...)</i>
		<i>I'll miss you, <u>mistress</u>.</i>
		<i>It's nothing personal, <u>mistress</u> (...)</i>
		<i><u>Mistress</u> Claire?</i>
		<i>May I kiss you <u>farewell</u>?</i>
		<i>Apologies, <u>mistress</u>, I lost my head.</i>

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