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A Sociolinguistic Approach to the Study of Literary Dialect

in the Work of John Galt and Christian Johnstone

PhD Thesis

by

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English Language Department
Faculty of Arts
University of Glasgow
14th February 1992
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Variable print quality
Corrigenda

In Figure 6a, p.188b, Figure 6d, p.216a and in Appendix E.1.24, for Bel, read Bell.
Abstract

This thesis is interested in the communicative function of literary dialect. It argues that approaches to the study of literary dialect which focus on linguistic form at the expense of literary function have helped to create a false dichotomy: literary dialect is seen either as the writer's serious attempt at re-creating the nuances of speech, or else is merely the use of established literary conventions which have no bearing on actual linguistic usage.

Taking John Galt's *The Entail* (1823) and *The Provost* (1822) together with "West Country Exclusives" by Christian Johnstone (1834-5) as case studies, the thesis aims to develop, apply and assess a series of analytical procedures which can effectively describe the selection and distribution of literary dialect in these texts and can explain the range of functions dialect serves: its role in creating the impression of verisimilitude and the development of characterisation, together with its wider thematic and stylistic functions.

The sociolinguistic approach to the study of literary dialect adopted here incorporates methods already established within linguistic research. For example, the dialectology of West-Mid Scots provides a model of the Ayrshire dialect represented in the above texts. In addition, primary sources from the period, together with modern linguistic studies of the historical relationship between Scots and Standard English, help to create a
picture of sociolinguistic behaviour in early 19th century Scotland, the period in which the above texts are both written and set. Furthermore, sociolinguistics provides both a descriptive model for selecting and classifying linguistic variables and counting their occurrence as well as an established theoretical framework for interpreting linguistic variation. However, traditional sociolinguistic techniques need to be adapted to suit an analysis of the whole dialect component in a literary text. In this respect the thesis develops a system of "metavariables" which can account for different categories of Scotticism. Analysis of the selection and distribution of literary dialect in The Entail and The Provost is facilitated by the use of the Oxford Concordance Program, a general purpose software package for creating wordlists and concordances.

In this thesis a sociolinguistic theoretical framework complements traditional textual analysis to produce an explanation of the communicative function of literary dialect in The Entail, The Provost and "West Country Exclusives". In the process, the study has produced a corpus of Galt's and Johnstone's literary dialect in these texts, and in addition has established two additional Galt texts on magnetic tape which will be lodged in the Oxford Library for Computer Readable Texts. It is hoped that this material, together with the methods of classification and analysis developed here, will encourage further comparative studies of the communicative function of literary dialect.
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I am particularly grateful to Dr B Welsh, Lesley Drysdale and Lorna Hughes of The University of Glasgow Computing Service, who, at various crucial stages of this project, gave valuable practical assistance.

Finally, heartfelt thanks to my family.
### List of Abbreviations

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Abbreviation</th>
<th>Description</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>AB</td>
<td>Adam Bede</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ASA</td>
<td>Ayrshire Sound Archive</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CSD</td>
<td>Concise Scots Dictionary</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DOST</td>
<td>Dictionary of the Older Scots Tongue</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>EModE</td>
<td>Early Modern English</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>HM</td>
<td>Heart of Midlothian</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>LANE</td>
<td>Linguistic Atlas of New England</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>LAS</td>
<td>Linguistic Atlas of Scotland</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>LCL</td>
<td>Lady Chatterley’s Lover</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ME</td>
<td>Middle English</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>OCP</td>
<td>Oxford Concordance Program</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>OE</td>
<td>Old English</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>OED</td>
<td>Oxford English Dictionary</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>OSc</td>
<td>Older Scots</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>RR</td>
<td>Rob Roy</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SE</td>
<td>Standard English</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SED</td>
<td>Survey of English Dialects</td>
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<tr>
<td>SND</td>
<td>Scottish National Dictionary</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TE</td>
<td>The Entail</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TP</td>
<td>The Provost</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>WCE</td>
<td>&quot;West Country Exclusives&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>WH</td>
<td>Wuthering Heights</td>
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Chapter 1

"A Sociolinguistic Approach to the Study of Literary Dialect"

According to Bakhtin, the distinguishing feature of the novel as a genre is its scope for creating meaning by the juxtaposition of linguistic varieties which are socially significant — whether distinct languages in diglossia, dialects, registers or even individual idiolects:

The novel orchestrates all its themes, the totality of the world of objects and ideas depicted and expressed in it, by means of the social diversity of speech types, and the differing individual voices that flourish under such conditions.

(1985:263)

The diversity of "speech types" in the novel and their communicative function is precisely the concern of this thesis. Discussion will concentrate on the use of literary dialect in the work of two early 19th century Scottish writers, John Galt and Christian Johnstone, but will also be concerned with how both standard and non-standard varieties interact or are juxtaposed for literary effect.

Bearing in mind Bakhtin's point that meanings are produced not just by the literal interpretation of the words themselves, or by the connotations associated with the different linguistic varieties, but in the actual juxtaposition of these varieties within the text, literary discourse can be said to operate at various levels:

1. At the "micro-level", that is, through "differing individual voices" occurring within the text, whether:

   (a) individual characters' idiolects (including
first-person narrative)
(b) the author's narrative
(c) "empathetic narrative" (which Bakhtin (ibid:359) calls "character zones" - "hybrid" areas where the narrative voice takes on some of the characteristics of the adjoining dialogue).

2. At the "macro-level", at the level of the whole text, in the interaction and dialogic relationship of the above "voices".

Bakhtin refers to the reproduction and juxtaposition of individual and hybrid varieties and their attendant points of view as examples of "heteroglossia" (1985:258).

According to him:

All languages of heteroglossia, whatever the principle underlying them and making each unique, are specific points of view of the world, forms of conceptualizing the world in words, specific world views, each characterized by its own objects, meanings and values. As such they may be juxtaposed to one another, mutually supplement each other, contradict one another, and be interrelated dialogically.

(ibid:291-92)

Here Bakhtin stresses not only the relationship between language and social and cultural identity, but also emphasises the relationship between language and point of view.

The view taken in this thesis is that the use of different varieties in literary discourse is semantically and ideologically motivated, and that the direct association between variety and point of view can be exploited not only for purposes of verisimilitude in characterisation, but for wider thematic effect.

Therefore, in order to account for the wide range of functions literary dialect serves, an approach is needed which focuses on the communicative function of literary
dialect. The starting point for such an approach is the claim by Fowler that "all discourse is part of social structure" (1981:21). Discourse, or language use, is therefore placed within the context of sociolinguistic competence, that is, both active and passive knowledge of the range of potential choices and meanings available within a particular speech community at a given time.

Ideas about norms of appropriateness and attitudes towards different linguistic varieties are produced socially: to a certain extent these meanings and norms are historically produced, and to a certain extent they are negotiated in situ in terms of the immediate social context.

The implications for literary analysis generally as well as for the specific concerns of this thesis are these: firstly, "literary texts should be put on a par with other texts and regarded as socially situated ("enabled and necessitated") discourse" (Fowler ibid:192). Secondly, sociolinguistics, which focuses on the description, interpretation and explanation of language varieties, is an approach which is potentially useful in studying literary texts.

In formal terms, codes or linguistic varieties are distinguished one from another by the occurrence and combination of characteristic linguistic features: phonological, lexical, syntactic and/or semantic. In functional terms, however:

A variety is not a sub-division of a given language but any consistent mode of discourse marked by any formal feature whatever, which has some consistent function in
relation to a given economic comm_unity... It may be a very parsimonious but meaningful sprinkling of linguistic features so long as the principle of consistency is observed.

(Fowler ibid:193)

The latter point is important with respect to the study of literary dialect because it directs attention away from the formal representations of dialects and focuses instead on their status as sociolinguistic varieties: the fact that, within the text, different linguistic varieties (or in Bakhtin's terms, "voices") "encode different semantic potentials" (Fowler ibid:195). Fowler therefore suggests that "literary studies must take sociolinguistic variety, theory and methodology seriously as a way of accounting for the specific linguistic properties of the texts concerned" (ibid:21). Accordingly:

A functional approach to linguistic variation entitles us to treat varieties as "codes", as semantically motivated. Thus linguistic description leads to and involves interpretation, statements about the communicative function of the text in relation to its extra-textual co-ordinates... such interpretation [is] potentially richer and less tenuous than traditional literary interpretations; partly because of the existence of established procedures for linguistic and sociolinguistic description, partly because the focus on sociolinguistic varieties locates the text in society and its history and therefore allows interpretations to be fed by and checked against the findings of social and historical research.

(ibid:198)

What follows is an attempt to carry out Fowler's programme in the context of a specific study. The aim is to devise, apply and assess a set of analytical approaches to the study of a particular literary dialect which will take into consideration the whole dialect component and at the same time provide an account of the various functions
of dialect in a literary text. Discussion will focus on The Provost (1822) (TP) and The Entail (1823) (TE), two novels by the 19th century Scottish writer, John Galt, together with the sketch "West Country Exclusives" (1834-1835) (WCE), by Mrs Christian Johnstone, a contemporary of Galt and editor of Tait's Edinburgh Magazine (TEM). Both Galt and Johnstone's work have a particular relevance for this thesis as they provide a comparative literary representation of the dialect of a specific area. TP, TE and WCE are set in the same region of the West of Scotland, and the period covered in the three texts is broadly concurrent. Secondly, the use of dialect in these particular texts is interesting both in terms of variation in sociolinguistic representation and in the range of functions that dialect serves:

TP, written as a first person narrative, takes the form of the memoirs of the political career of Provost Pawkie from 1759 until his retirement in 1815. In sociolinguistic terms the novel presents a synchronic sketch of interactions within a particular speech community at a given period in time. Here we find that, although most characters use Scots or SE exclusively, according to their age or socio-economic position, the main protagonist, Provost Pawkie, code-switches between Scots and SE for a variety of reasons; for example, code-switching may be determined by the formality of context, or his own view of his role in the community at any given time. In addition,
the character is seen to deliberately code-switch in order to manipulate the connotations surrounding Scots or SE, usually for his own political gain.

TE is a longer novel and wider in scope. The three volumes trace the history of three generations of the Lairds of Grippy; sociolinguistically it is thus a diachronic study of a particular speech community. The narrative begins in 1700 when Claud Walkinshaw is scarcely one year old; it ends in 1815, many years after his death. At the beginning of the novel all the characters regardless of their social status speak in fairly broad Scots. In the course of the novel this situation changes so that the use of Scots or SE varies according to the age or socio-economic position of the individual character. Thus, by the end of the story, among the main characters only the old Leddy Grippy remains a full Scots speaker, and stands as a relic of a by-gone age.

WCE starts in 1806, the year of Mrs Mark Luke’s marriage. She is described as a "Dumbarton Youth" which traditionally would make her over thirty-six years old. The story ends in approximately 1823 on the marriage of her daughter, Mysie, aged seventeen. Broadly speaking, the deployment of dialect follows the same sociolinguistic criteria as that found in Galt’s texts. Johnstone is less consistent and comprehensive in her selection of linguistic features to represent the dialect of West-Mid Scots and she does not present the same sociolinguistic refinements as Galt. Nevertheless, dialect is crucial to the didactic
function of the novel: the connotations surrounding both Scots and SE are important to the thematic structure.

Rejecting the notion that exclusiveness is the domain of only those who inhabit the highest echelons of society and live a "fashionable life", Johnstone suggests that the ambition to move within a more fashionable set than one's own can exist at any level of society. She demonstrates this point by charting the social progress of Miss Barbara (Bauby) Peaston, who, in 1806, marries Mr Mark Luke, a Glasgow grocer she had rejected ten years previously as, "neither genteel, nor yet improvable in manners or calling" (I:600).¹

The sociolinguistic approach to the study of Galt and Johnstone's literary dialect adopted here involves a number of analytical procedures and draws on a variety of modern and historical sources:

(a) Evidence about the dialect of the geographical area represented in the texts.

(b) Primary sources contemporary with the period which may provide information about sociolinguistic norms of appropriateness, or perhaps reveal attitudes towards linguistic usage.

(c) Modern sociolinguistic research which provides a theoretical framework for analysing and interpreting linguistic variation between standard and non-standard language.

(d) Secondary sources, if available, on the sociolinguistic context of the period in question.

Both dialectology and sociolinguistics have a useful contribution to make in this sphere. On the one hand, the information which the evidence of dialectology provides...
reveals the potential speech patterns in a particular community. On the other hand, sociolinguistics provides us both with an analytical model for isolating, identifying and quantifying individual linguistic features and, in theoretical terms, with a descriptive framework for understanding the social implications of linguistic variation. However, Chapter 2, pp27-84, argues that traditional sociolinguistic techniques which focus on quantitative analysis of a few salient linguistic variables cannot simply be lifted from the study of "real life" and applied to literary texts. Some methodological adaptation is necessary since we wish to include for analysis the whole dialect component. Similarly, questions concerning the function of literary dialect cannot be fully answered in terms of sociolinguistic theory alone. Further stylistic analysis may be necessary if we are to address the thematic, symbolic and structural functions beyond mere verisimilitude.

In the first instance, an understanding of the sociolinguistic context of our period is important. The historical relationship between Scots and SE is well documented, most significantly in the work of Aitken (1975, 1979, 1980). Chapter 3, pp85-119, briefly outlines this relationship and demonstrates that changing attitudes between the 16th and 19th centuries affected the way the Scots saw their language in relation to English as spoken and written in England. Here we find that modern linguistic studies such as Aitken’s complement primary
sources contemporary with our period, such as the 
*Statistical Account for Scotland* (1791-99) and more 
specifically, the writings of Lockhart (1819) and Cockburn 
(1838).

Chapter 4, pp120-54, establishes a procedure for 
isolating, identifying and counting the literary dialect. 
A "Scotticism" is defined here as a linguistic feature 
eexisting in 19th century Scottish literary texts, but which 
was not generally used by contemporary English writers. 
Because I am interested in the whole dialect component of a 
literary text a system of "metavariablies" was devised to 
cover all of the "marked" forms in a portion of text. 
These "metavariablies" are based on a modified version of 
MacQueen's (1957) system of classification. They include 
Orthography, Phonology, Morphology, Lexis, Syntax and 
Idiom, together with a miscellaneous category for 
Idiosyncratic spelling or malapropisms.

A study such as this which involves the selection, 
identification and quantitative analysis of the dialect 
component in literary texts is made easier with the use of 
a computer, especially since there already exists, in the 
Oxford Concordance Program (OCP), a general purpose 
software package for devising concordances and wordlists in 
a variety of languages and alphabets. The fact that Galt's 
novel, *Ringan Gilhaize* (1823), already existed in computer 
readable form enabled me to carry out a short pilot study 
in order to test the viability of isolating and identifying
the dialect features in particular stretches of narrative, in the idiolects of individual characters, or indeed between a speaker and a particular addressee. (See Appendix A, which refers to this pilot study and outlines the procedures involved using OCP.)

Following the outcome of the pilot study on RG, both TE and TP were then transferred into computer readable form with the aid of an optical character reader. Modern Oxford Paperback editions of these texts were used. The OUP edition of TE is printed from the British Museum copy of the only edition published in Galt’s lifetime: "it was printed in Edinburgh in three volumes by George Ramsay and Co. and published in Edinburgh by Blackwood, and, for him, by Cadell in London". The OUP edition of TP is printed from the Bodleian copy of the first edition published in May 1822, again by Blackwood. It was not possible to use an optical character reader with the WCE text since the original 1834-5 serial editions were used for this study. The style of print and the quality of paper made this material, or even photocopies of the originals, unsuitable. The text could have been typed onto computer file, but given the scope of the present study this was both unnecessary and impractical. This being the case, analysis of Johnstone’s literary dialect was accomplished by hand.

Once in computer readable form, TE and TP could be prepared to work in conjunction with OCP. To implement the program, the user presents two sets of information to OCP: the text which is to be analysed, and the set of commands
describing the analysis to be carried out. It is thus possible to instruct OCP to operate only on a particular section of text, or select only certain words for the concordance, wordlist or index.

With this sort of material to hand it is possible to address a number of questions concerning both the distribution and function of Scots in TE, TP and WCE.

Analysis of the three texts initially focusses on a description of the selection of linguistic features used to represent the dialect of West-Mid Scots, the dialect area referred to in each of the three texts. In Chapter 5, pp155-83, the dialect model of West-Mid Scots is established with reference to information from a number of sources: the principal one being the Introduction to the Scottish National Dictionary (1931-78), but additional material is drawn from Murray’s The Dialect of the Southern Counties of Scotland (1873), Ellis’s Early English Pronunciation, Part V (1889), Wilson’s The Dialect of Robert Burns (1923), and the Linguistic Atlas of Scotland, Volume 3 (1975-86). Such a corpus provides a basis for answering questions on whether the literary representations follow the pattern of real speech. However, descriptive studies of dialect such as these do not help us to judge which dialect features are under-represented and which are exaggerated. It would be helpful to know in what proportions dialect and standard are mixed in contemporary speech, although, obviously, such information cannot be
recovered for past times. Here a contemporary source has been used as a basis for interpretation: transcriptions of oral history tapes in the Ayrshire Sound Archive (ASA) have made it possible to consider the implications of spelling practice in terms of overall impression of dialect density; for example, which features of lexical incidence have been omitted from Galt and Johnstone's literary dialects. (See Appendix B for full transcript of the main ASA tape used in this study.)

While Chapter 5 examines in detail the selection of Scotticisms to represent the dialect of West-Mid Scots, Chapter 6, pp184-264, extends this analysis by looking at the distribution of dialect in TE, TP and WCE. The study begins with a systematic, statistical analysis of the aggregated figures for the dialect component in the speech of individual characters in each of the three texts. A quantitative analysis of this data permits linguistic comparison of characters and demonstrates where linguistic variation takes place. We find that there is a visible relationship between the descending order of percentage of dialect component and definable generation groupings. The findings of modern sociolinguistic theory offer an explanation for many apparent inconsistencies in the overall distribution pattern, and in turn, direct textual analysis confirms to what extent dialect distribution may be explained in terms of sociolinguistic refinement; for example, where linguistic variation is related to the age or socio-economic position of the character, or functions
as an emotional index, or occurs in relation to context or topic of conversation. Such additional qualitative analysis is necessary when, for example, aggregated figures include both childhood vernacular and adult speech, a character code-switches between Scots and SE, or alternatively, in a particular idiolect, the dialect component consists of technical terms referring to Scots Law.

Chapter 6 shows that linguistic variation fulfils a number of functions in terms of verisimilitude of both characterisation and sociolinguistic behaviour. We are then in a position to address the wider thematic functions of linguistic variation. Even here, though, interpretations of meaning tend to rely on the reader’s sociolinguistic awareness. For example, in TE, TP and WCE, the connotations surrounding Scots and SE are multifarious and not easily polarised into straightforward, positive versus negative associations. Thus we find that, in thematic terms, Scots and SE are used to present contrasting points of view and associated values. This is effective at both micro-level, in the contrasting values of different characters, and at the macro-level, in the juxtaposition of different points of view which contribute to the overall argument in each of the three texts.

The set of approaches devised, applied and assessed here aims to demonstrate that a communicative approach to the study of literary dialect is feasible and that linguistic variation between standard and non-standard varieties
fulfil a number of literary functions. However, before going on to present these analytical procedures in detail and address the issue of the communicative function of literary dialect in TE, TP and WCE, it would be useful at this point to have further biographical information about Galt and Johnstone, respectively.

1.1 John Galt (1779-1839) was born in Irvine, Ayrshire, and moved to Greenock on the Clyde Estuary when he was ten years old. His father, John Galt Snr., was a shipmaster who owned his own ship, and who engaged in trade with the West Indies. The family was not wealthy, but "solidly middle class" (Kaplan 1972:7). Carlyle would later refer to Galt as a "Greenock Burgher", while Lockhart pointed out that "he had the education and habits of a merchant". Recurring childhood illness interfered with Galt's formal education and prevented him from attending university. Frykman (1953:9), however, refers to Galt's long association with Greenock Subscription Library, and to the literary and debating society established by Galt and his friends, James Park and William Spence. Through membership of the subscription library Galt encountered the major works of the Scottish Enlightenment, and, most significantly, the ideas of the Scottish Realists, men such as Dugald Stewart and Thomas Reid, as well as Lord Kames, Adam Ferguson and Adam Smith. Their ideas would inform both Galt's non-fictional and fictional writing, and in practical terms, influence a pioneering project in Canada.
In 1804, at the age of twenty-five, Galt left his job as clerk to a merchant in Greenock and headed for London in partnership with a friend from Glasgow called McLauchlin (Kaplan ibid:8). The two advertised themselves in the *London Gazette* (1808) as "Factors, Brokers, Dealers, Chapman and Co. Partners" (Aberdein 1936:36). The enterprise, which was funded by Galt's father, failed, and Galt was declared bankrupt (Kaplan ibid:15). In the following decade Galt embarked on travel in Europe and the Near East, tackled a number of administrative posts including that of parliamentary agent, and simultaneously engaged on work as a writer in a variety of modes: journalist, travel writer, biographer, hack writer and fictional writer of novels and short stories. Galt's early non-fiction writing appeared in *The Philosophical Magazine*, 1805, 1807, and in *The Monthly Magazine*, 1814, 1819, but during the period 1819-1829 appeared most copiously in *Blackwood's Edinburgh Magazine*. His non-fiction writing combines enlightened views on prison reform, capital punishment and slave emancipation, with suggestions on ways of dealing with American Indians, advice to the landed gentry, and comments on agricultural improvement. On the one hand, in the monograph *Cursory Reflections on Political and Commercial Topics as Connected With the Regent's Accession to The Royal Authority* (1812), Galt is openly critical of extreme government action during the Luddite Riots. On the other hand, he is equally capable of reactionary views concerning the Poor Laws and
Parliamentary Reform. Frykman (1959:202) stresses that Galt's criticism of Radicalism is not directed so much against the workers as against doctrinaire politicians and thinkers. In many respects these views reflect Galt's exposure to the ideas of the Scottish Realists. Costain 1969, 1980, 1981 has been foremost in illuminating the connection between Galt and 18th century Realism. He argues, for example, that it is the key elements of Scottish Realist theory and method which guide Galt's view of the relationship between the individual and society, his perception of himself as a writer of "theoretical histories", and most importantly in terms of this thesis, the role of dialect in contributing both to the "metaphysical truth" of his fictional writing, and in persuading the reader as to the validity of his argument.

Between 1821 and 1826, Blackwood published the series of fictional works which Galt referred to as his "Tales of the West". This series of books, which includes The Provost (1822) and The Entail (1823), was well received critically. Coleridge wrote: "This [The Provost] and "The Entail" would alone suffice to place Galt in the first rank of contemporary novelists and second only to Sir Walter Scott in technicality."

During the same period Galt's business career took a new direction. One of his tasks as parliamentary agent had been to lobby the British Government on behalf of a group of claiments in Upper Canada. (When the United States
invaded Canada in 1812, settlers sought compensation from the British Government for loss of land (Scott 1985:20). This association lasted for two years and resulted in a scheme to develop unsettled Crown and Clergy Lands in Ontario. An organisation called the Canada Company was formed in 1824 and Galt was appointed secretary. He was one of five Commissioners sent to Canada on behalf of the Company, and in 1826 he became Superintendent of the project, with a remit to develop two million acres in Upper Canada. Costain (1969:211) suggests that Galt saw this as an opportunity to put into practice his ideas concerning emigration and settlement. Indeed Galt was responsible for founding the towns of Guelph and Goderich. However, the scheme was not initially perceived as a success by the Company Directors back in London. And in 1829, when Galt returned to England to answer criticism of his methods, he found that he had been replaced as Superintendent.

Worse was to follow. While out of the country Galt had accumulated many creditors. As a result he was arrested for debt and sentenced to several months' imprisonment at the King's Bench. In this state of financial embarrassment he resumed a career as a hack writer, Colburn and Bentley commissioning him to write a series of three volume novels specifically for the market of circulating libraries. During this period he published his only two North American novels, Lawrie Todd (1830) and Bogle Corbet (1831). In the same year Galt was appointed secretary to the British American Land Company, which eased his financial dependence.
on writing to order. He returned to his shorter literary format and in 1832 published *The Radical* together with *The Member*, both considered to be among his finest work.

Galt’s health, which had never been robust, failed seriously in the years following his return to England. In 1832 he had a stroke, but the following year managed to complete his *Autobiography*, and the anthology, *Stories of the Study*. In 1834 he published a *Literary Life*. Meanwhile, he had returned to Greenock where he would stay until his death in 1839. In the remaining years he continued to write short stories in the vernacular style of his earlier "Tales of the West". These appeared in *Tait's Edinburgh Magazine*. Mrs Christian Johnstone who had major responsibility for editing this journal was a longstanding admirer of Galt’s work. Scott (1985:23) points out that she had written "some of the first perceptive reviews of the Annals on their publication in 1821." It is the same Mrs Johnstone who is the author of the other case study in this thesis, "West Country Exclusives".

1.2 Christian Isobel Johnstone (1781-1857) was born in Fife. Her association with newspapers began after 1812 following her second marriage to John Johnstone, then a schoolmaster in Dunfermline. The couple moved to Inverness where Johnstone purchased and went on to edit the *Inverness Courier*, with Mrs Johnstone making literary contributions to the paper. Eventually they moved to Edinburgh and opened a printing office in James Square. With Blackwood,
Johnstone purchased the copyright of the Edinburgh Weekly Chronicle which he and his wife jointly edited. However, their politics clashed with those of Blackwood (Boucher 1983:75). Johnstone sold his share of the paper and undertook a series of cheap publications, supposedly the first of their kind in Scotland. One early venture, the Schoolmaster and Edinburgh Weekly Magazine, was conducted and almost entirely written by Mrs Johnstone herself. In 1833 this weekly one and a half pence journal became Johnstone's Edinburgh Magazine, published monthly at eight pence. A year later the magazine, in its ninth number, was incorporated in Tait's Edinburgh Magazine (TEM), founded in 1832 and printed by Johnstone in Edinburgh. The new TEM, with its price reduced from two shillings to one shilling and sixpence, was edited by Mrs Johnstone, who was offered a half share in the publication, which she held until 1848 when the magazine was sold.

TEM was established during the period of the Reform Bill agitation. William Tait perceived himself as a "sincere reformer [and] having always come forward when any thing was to be done for the cause" (letter to Thomas Doubleday, poet and essayist, 8 Feb., 1832, cited in Boucher ibid:75). However, the overall emphasis of the magazine was literary rather than political, and in the large literary section, the "Monthly Register of New Books", written and devised by Mrs Johnstone, the moral and social function of literature was stressed.
Is it not the first duty, the noblest privilege, of genius, of poetry, of invention, of all that is best in literature and art, to raise and purify society, to widen the sphere of our sympathies with the pure and lofty, as well as with the tender and the beautiful; to plant high and firmly the standard of virtue, whatever of toil, of pain, and self-denial, is to be encountered in pressing upward and onward toward the mark.

(TEM, V, January, 1838:22, cited in Boucher 1985:76)

Boucher points out that in the two decades, 1830-50, "the constant demand to have the novel rooted in reality and to find its subject matter in contemporary situations is a feature of the criticism of the period" (ibid:76-77). Like Galt, the editors of TEM believed that the convincing representation of characters and sentiments could persuade the reader as to the "truth" of the ideas expressed. The representation of reality was favoured because of its morally and socially useful effect. But this Utilitarian outlook on the novel as a powerful instrument for social change was countered both by a fear of offending the sensibilities of the middle class reading public, and by the notion that the novel had to retain its role as a source of entertainment.

Mrs Johnstone's stories, like Galt's, were founded upon a study of Scottish manners and locality. The extent of their popularity and the scope of their distribution is indicated by the fact that, between 1845 and 1846, The Edinburgh Tales, edited by Mrs Johnstone, and consisting principally of her own stories published in The Schoolmaster, Johnstone's Magazine and TEM, with contributions by other writers, was issued in weekly numbers as well as in monthly parts, and later,
collectively, in three volumes. Between October 1834 and September 1835, TEM published, in four episodes, Mrs Johnstone's sketch entitled, "West Country Exclusives". The story is set mainly in Glasgow and the Ayrshire coastal resort of Largs, at the turn of the 19th century, and, like Galt's novels, TE and TP, includes a number of dialect-speaking characters.

Hitherto studies of literary dialect have focussed almost exclusively on the question of verisimilitude (cf. Ives 1955, Bowdre 1964, Petyt 1970, Melchers 1978). This has meant that discussion has polarised over the issue of whether or not literary dialect is a serious attempt at recreating the nuances of everyday speech. For example, in his definition of literary dialect as "an author's attempt to represent in writing a speech that is restricted regionally, socially or both", Ives (ibid:137) excludes what he terms "sheer misspelling exuberance...the hodgepodge of traditional misconceptions found in Al Capp's Dogpatch dialect and the same author's ingenious inventions in the language of Lower Slobovia" and includes for consideration "only serious attempts to suggest an actual speech - the real dialect of real people". Such studies, which consider literary dialect a conscious attempt at verisimilitude, generally concentrate on describing and evaluating the literary representation of particular dialects in individual texts, sometimes with reference to the external evidence of dialectology. (The work of the
above writers is discussed in Chapter 2, pp27-84).

The alternative view that literary dialect is essentially non-realistic is based partly on recognition of the limitations of English orthography, and partly on the development within literary tradition of conventional notations which may have no bearing on actual linguistic usage, but which collectively act as a signal to the reader that a particular character's speech is non-standard. For example, Blake (1981:16) argues that linguistic realism is not attempted in literature and that writers look to established literary convention and not to the speech community for guidance when representing dialect: traditional non-standard spellings are developed, copied and perpetuated by generations of writers. Thus, normative literary conventions include:

(a) colloquialism such as *an', 'em, <-in> for <-ING>, or consonant deletion to represent glottal stops,
(b) normal standard pronunciations which are nevertheless marked orthographically, for example, wud/ WOULD, wimmin/WOMEN, negoshiate/NEGOTIATE,
(c) stereotypes such as the substitution of /z/ for /s/ as in zound/SOUND, /ʃ/ for /dʒ/ in shentleman/GENTLEMAN and /d/ for /θ/ as in wid/WITH.

(see Chapter 2, Section 2.1.2, pp30-32)

These devices may be used to mark the speech as non-standard. However, the reader would need to retrieve additional information about the fictional setting in order to specifically locate the speech regionally or socially. Blake argues further that there is necessarily a polarisation of standard and non-standard, in written English, with each character in a novel, for instance, being given one linguistic variety. He suggests that
literature cannot accommodate the range of linguistic variation existing in society and the numerous non-standard varieties are "reduced to a limited number of stereotypes drawn to contrast with the standard" (ibid:14).

The argument presented in this thesis is that different authors and different texts vary in the extent to which they concentrate on phonological, syntactic and lexical detail in the presentation of literary dialect. But all texts tend to rely on shared assumptions with the reader about meanings associated with particular varieties. Thus, even notations which are based on established literary conventions nevertheless depend on the reader recognising the significance of the deviation from the norm of SE. Kinniebrew (1983:214) makes the important point that "the value of using varying dialects...depends upon the reader's ability to perceive the significance of the linguistic difference." Furthermore, she argues:

Each change in linguistic form produces a new dialect and each change, no matter how small, affects the central relationship between the writer and his audience...these written forms establish the author - reader relationship and then, based on that relationship, move on to create the characters, settings and ideas that are the essence of the experience of fiction for the reader.

(ibid:204)

The writer has access to the various connotations associated with both standard and non-standard speech and speakers: meanings developed within literary convention can therefore be confronted with assumptions based on contemporary sociolinguistic behaviour for literary
The argument that non-standard language in literature, even that which is based on literary conventions, draws on socially understood meanings and connotations which have developed historically, is explored in more detail in Chapter 3, Section 3.5, pp108-13, with reference to the use of Scots in literature. In the first instance, though, Chapter 2 looks in more detail at approaches to the study of literary dialect.
References

1. The text for WCE used here is the original 4 part series published in TEM between October 1834 and September 1835. References are given to the instalment number together with page reference in TEM. A later edition of WCE appeared in C Johnstone (ed) The Edinburgh Tales (1845-6) Vol. I, 261-334.


3. The Ayrshire Sound Archive was established by the Federation of Ayrshire Historical Societies and consists of a library of around two hundred oral history tapes. The main recording used for the purpose of this thesis is tape 80a, Memories of Mauchline, produced by The Living Memory Project, Kyle and Carrick Community Education Department, April, 1984. See Appendix B for a full transcript of this tape.


6. In Literary Life Vol. I (1834:155-6) Galt comments that Fables "are often a better way of illustrating philosophical truths than abstract reasoning". He comments:

   My own notion was to exhibit a kind of local theoretical history, by example, the truth of which would at once be acknowledged.

   (ibid:226)

   And in a letter to Blackwood, he writes:

   If there is any merit in any of my sketches it is in the truth of the metaphysical anatomy of the characters.

   (quoted in Costain 1969:366)

The Scottish Realists opposed the "great man" theory of historical change. In their writings, which they called "theoretical histories", they emphasised the onward movement of history toward higher civilisation. And in this respect they considered that the present was always of greater ultimate significance than the past. This, in turn, had a bearing on their view of the value of literature: they considered that modern literature should deal with ordinary people, who were the real makers of historical change, and that writers should depict in significant detail the struggle of the common people to
understand, adapt themselves to and cope with the far-reaching development brought about by economic change (see Costain 1969:50-92).

7. "The Tales of the West" comprises The Ayrshire Legattees (1820-21), Annals of the Parish (1821), The Provost (1822), Sir Andrew Wylie (1822), The Entail (1823), and The Last of the Lairds (1826). Galt’s fictional writing also appeared in Fraser’s Magazine, New Monthly Magazine, The Literary Souvenir, together with some of Lady Blessington’s productions, and towards the end of his life, Tait’s Edinburgh Magazine. In 1823 Galt left Blackwood’s to join Oliver and Boyd; he returned in 1826 to publish The Last of the Lairds. On his return from Canada in 1829 Galt was commissioned by Colburn and Bentley to write a series of three volume novels. These included his only North American novels, Lawrie Todd (1830), and Bogle Corbet (1831). His two radical novels, The Member (1832) and The Radical (1832) were both published by James Fraser.


9. Ironically, two of Galt’s sons would attain the fame that had eluded him in Canada. One became a Lord Chief Justice of the Canadian High Court, and the other, a Cabinet Minister, creator of the Canadian Constitution and Canada’s first Ambassador to the Court of St. James (Costain 1969:211).

10. Broadly, assumptions about dialect use in literature have changed historically. Since Shakespeare’s plays up to the 19th century, it was largely reserved for minor "rustic" characters who fulfilled a comic function (cf. Smollet’s The Adventures of Roderick Random (1748) and Fielding’s Tom Jones (1749)). The influence of 19th century Romanticism helped change the emphasis from urban to rural values and gave dialect-speaking characters a seriousness and credibility they formerly lacked. Edgeworth’s Castle Rackrent (1800) marks a watershed in the use of non-standard varieties in literature, both with respect to its regional perspective and to the serious role given to a character such as Thady. Nevertheless, a hostile view of dialect-speakers as representatives of diverse (and potentially divisive) interests still existed and can be seen in Ferrier’s Marriage (1818). Later in the period, writers such as Thomas Hardy, Mrs Gaskell and George Eliot viewed dialect-speakers favourably and this led to dialect becoming part of an intellectual polarity of standard v. dialect, objective v. subjective, complex v. simple, society v. nature, etc (cf. D H Lawrence, James Hogg). In Chapter 6, pp184-264, we find some of these connotations used for thematic effect in TE, TP and WCE.
Chapter 2

"Approaches to the Study of Literary Dialect"

The moment "talk" is put into print you recognise that it is not what it was when you heard it; you perceive that an immense something has disappeared from it. (quoted in Kinniebrew 1983:163)

Mark Twain’s well known comments to Edward Bok on speech in the novel is echoed by many students of literary dialect. For example, Leech and Short (1984:160) suggest that in fictional speech:

Language is used to simulate, rather than simply to report, what is going on in the fictional world... fictional speech may aspire to a special kind of realism, a special kind of authenticity, in representing the kind of language which a reader can recognise by observation, as being characteristic of a fictional situation.

Similarly, with reference specifically to dialogue which makes use of literary dialect, Page (1988:17) points out that "the principles of selection and concentration are generally at work to give fictional dialogue a quality quite different from that of real speech" (see also Ives 1950; Traugott & Pratt 1980; Blake 1981).

There is a general consensus that speech in the novel is a "simulation" or an "image" of real speech. However, critics disagree both on the extent to which writers try to emulate or capture the nuances of specific linguistic varieties, and the means by which literary dialect is most effectively created. Traditionally, critics have divided into those who see literary dialect as a conscious attempt at verisimilitude, and those who perceive literary dialect as the mere manipulation of inherited literary conventions.
The following review of the literature demonstrates that the role of dialectology in the analysis of literary dialect is well established, and that there is an increasing interest in analysing literary dialect from a sociolinguistic perspective. This thesis takes the view that sociolinguistic theory and method have a broader contribution to make, both as an analytical model for formal analysis of linguistic variation, and as a theoretical framework which explains the social implications of linguistic behaviour.

Whichever approach we adopt to the study of literary dialect: whether we consider it as the conscious attempt to create the nuances of speech or as merely the use of established literary conventions, there are a number of formal and sociolinguistic factors which affect the creation, use and perception of non-standard varieties of English in literature. These factors must be accounted for by any approach to the study of literary dialect.

2.1 Formal factors

2.1.1 Limitations in the capacity of English orthography to convey accurately the nuances of speech.

Two points are at issue here. Firstly, the limited capacity of 26 orthographic characters, and their combinations, to represent accurately the range of sounds in the linguistic repertoires of English speakers. Secondly, the relationship between spoken and written SE,
and how this affects the coding and de-coding of literary dialect. The concern here is the scope that the orthographic system offers for meaningful contrasts with the forms of SE words.

The spelling of English was not standardised until the end of the Early Modern English period (henceforth EModE), but the spellings which then became accepted were ones which had taken shape about 200 years earlier (Barber 1981:289). Standard spellings are therefore nearer to pronunciation at the beginning of the EModE period than they are to modern usage (Leith 1983:53, and Chapter 3, Section 3.2, pp92-97, which discusses this point in relation to the historical relationship between Scots and SE). Thus, with reference to the representation of standard speech in literature, Hardy writes:

Hardly any phonetic principle at all is observed, and if a writer attempts to exhibit on paper the precise accents of a rustic speaker he disturbs the proper balance of a true representation by unduly insisting upon the grotesque element; thus directing attention to a point of inferior interest, and diverting it from the speaker's meaning.

(Athenaeum, 30 Nov. 1878:688)

He is making the point that in even attempting to render accurately the nuances of non-standard speech in literature, a different set of criteria is being addressed than those involved in the representation of characters who speak SE. In formal terms written SE implies nothing at all about how a character should sound - in principle he/she could have a broad accent.² The "transparency" of written SE is reinforced by its association with the aloof
stance of the omnipotent narrator. The sociolinguistic relationship between standard and non-standard varieties in literature is discussed in Section 2.2 below, and in Chapter 3, Section 3.5 pp108-13.

2.1.2 Conventional markers of non-standard speech.

Conventional dialect markers in literature largely consist of colloquialisms, general non-standard features, or stereotypes based on perceived (or mis-perceived) features of current or historical usage.

(a) Features such as the deletion of consonant and consonant clusters in initial, final or sometimes medial position suggest the elisions and assimilations found in colloquial speech (these can occur with or without an apostrophe): t' TO, an, an' or 'n AND, dont, don't DO NOT, ahm, ah'm I AM, you'll YOU WILL, ye YOU, 'im HIM, 'em THEM (although 'em may be a representation of an observed feature of speech, a survival of OE, latterly southern, HEM, forms).

(b) Another type of conventional marker is "eye-dialect", a term coined by Krapp in the 1920's to refer to quasi-phonetic spellings which represent standard pronunciation: only the spelling itself marks the item as a deviation and creates an illusion of an individual character's speech as being regionally or socially marked in some way (see Krapp 1926; Bowdre 1964, 1971). Eye-dialect has the advantage that it can be read without much difficulty. However, dialect writers who strive for authenticity tend to frown.
on its use since the grapheme substitutions do not imply a
difference in pronunciation from the standard and are
therefore non-significant in phonetic terms (see Ives 1950,
1955). In the USA, eye-dialect was relied upon heavily by
19th century "Frontier Humorists" such as Charles Farrer
Browne (Artimus Ward), Seba Smith (Major Jack Downing),
Johnson Jones Hooper (Josh Snuggs) and George Washington
Harris, but to a much lesser extent by "Local Colorists"
such as Bret Harte, Mark Twain, Joel Chandler Harris and
Edward Eggleston, who focus on regional identity. The
following is an extreme example of the use of eye-dialect
by George Washington Harris:

Well, to cum tu the serious part ove this conversashun,
that is how the old quilt-mersheen an’ coverlidloom cum
tu stop operashuns on this yeath. She had narrated hit
thru the neighborhood that nex Saterday she’d giv a
quiltin’ three quilts an’ one cumfurt tu tie. "Goblers,
fiddils, gals an’ whiskey", were the words she sent tu
the menfolk, an’ more tetchin ur wakenin words never
drap’t ofen an ’oman’’s tongue. She sed tu the gals,
"Sweet toddy, huggin, dancin, an’ huggers in ’bundance."
Them words stuck the gals rite in the pit ove the
stumick, an’ spread a ticklin sensashun bof ways, ontil
they scratshed thar heads wif one han’ an’ thar heels
wif tuther.³

(quoted in Bowdre 1971:180-181)

The dense use of eye-dialect spellings such as tu TO, cum
COME, wer WERE, sed SAID, conversashun CONVERSATION,
Saterday SATURDAY suggest that the writer is not
attempting to convey a particular regional or social
dialect. Rather, they contribute to the impression gained
from the context itself, namely that Sut Lovingood is a
somewhat ludicrous and humorous figure. Bowdre suggests
that a different use of eye-dialect is found in Crane’s
The Red Badge of Courage (1926:207):

Th' lieutenant, he ses: "He's a jimhickey," an' th' colonel, he ses: "Ahem! he is indeed a very good man t'have, ahem! He kep' th' flag 'way t' th' front. I saw 'im.

(quoted in Bowdre ibid:183)

Here the emphasis is on interpersonal relationships between the soldiers, and the use of eye-dialect for unstressed and colloquial features helps to convey an impression of informality between the ranks, rather than suggest ignorance or crudity.

(c) General non-standard features include items such as o' OF, wi' WITH, tak' TAKE, sma' SMALL, <-in'> <-ING>, ne'er NEVER, together with syntactical constructions such as 'tis IT IS, I be I AM, you is YOU ARE, ain't AM NOT, I am come I HAVE COME.

(d) The substitution of <z> for <s> and <v> for <f>, and the juxtaposition of <v> and <w>, are well known stylisations for "Southern Rural" and "Cockney" speech, respectively. Similarly, with respect to Southern American English, we find the substitution of /d/ for /Ø/ as in dat THAT and wid WITH.4

2.1.3 Grapheme manipulation.

Because of the possibility of different phonologies, shared assumptions between writer and reader regarding pronunciation are important when it comes to the formal interpretation of dialect spellings. Thus, with reference to the logic of grapheme manipulation in dialect writing, Foster (1977:255) points out that a writer who attempts to represent accurately particular regional or social dialects
"ideally...shares a common ground of pronunciation with the projected reader, and he respells on the basis of phoneme-grapheme correspondence in words common to both". Foster cites the example of a character's pronunciation of <itch> using the /i/ phoneme (of e.g. SEE). To indicate this, the writer respells the word using the <ee> grapheme, thus <eetch>. (An alternative spelling of *itch* as *each* would have elicited the desired pronunciation, but might hinder or confuse the reader.) Making a similar point Kinniebrew (1983:189) cites both Flannery O'Connor and Eudora Welty's use of *borry* for *BORROW*, whereby the writers presumably hope that the reader will identify an analogy with *SORRY* where the final syllable is pronounced /ɔː/ rather than /ə/ as in *TRY*.

Where there is no national standard pronunciation, it is the writer's own regional standard which forms the basis of his/her notion of a normative variety against which deviant spellings are formed. Ives (1950:157), with reference to dialect writing in the USA, makes the point that "an author, seeking spellings to represent pronunciations that differ from his own, will select those which "stand for" the deviant sounds in his own speech type, not in that of other varieties of English". To illustrate the importance of taking into account the native speech of the writer, Ives (ibid:153) refers to comments made by Mencken (1948) where this writer condemns Joel Chandler Harris for the spelling <brer> (as in Brer Rabbit). Harris's "Uncle
Remus' stories are set in the Gullah region of Middle Georgia, and Mencken argues that a closer approximation to the Negro speech of this area would be achieved by the spelling <bruh>, to represent schwa. What Mencken overlooks, or chooses to ignore, is that because most Southern varieties of American English are non-rhotic, intrusive <r> is a feature of Southern eye-dialect, or alternatively is used as a device to "mark" the pronunciation of the preceding vowel, so that, for instance, <marster> indicates [mæstə] as opposed to [mAɛstə], and not [marstər] (see Ives 1955, and Traugott & Pratt 1980:343). Similarly, in the old plantation areas, and probably in Harris' own speech, unstressed syllables spelled <-er>, as in FATHER, RIVER, and CONSIDER, are pronounced with final [ə]. Consequently, to a native of the /r/-less area, an <-er> spelling as found in brer does not suggest that the <r> should be pronounced (see Wright 1981 for examples of similar problems with the representation of Cockney dialect).

2.2 Aesthetic factors

Krapp (1926) makes the point that:

The more faithful a dialect is to folklore, the more completely it represents the actual speech of a group of people, the less effective it will be from the literary point of view. A genuinely adequate representation of a living dialect could be made only with the help of a phonetic alphabet, and such a record would contain an enormous amount of detail which would merely distract and often puzzle the reader. The writer of a literary dialect is not concerned with giving an exact picture of the folklore of speech. As an artist he must always keep his eye on the effect, and must select and reject what the scientific observation of his material reveals
to him as it suits or does not suit his purpose.
(reprinted 1971:24)

Even critics such as Ives (1950:137), who define literary dialect as "an author's attempt to represent in writing a speech that is restricted regionally, socially or both", recognise that literary dialect is "deliberately incomplete". Ives writes:

The author is an artist, not a linguist or a sociologist, and his purpose is literary rather than scientific. In working out his compromise between art and linguistics, each writer has made his own decision as to how many of the peculiarities in his character's speech he can profitably represent.

(ibid:138)

Thus, literary dialect is essentially a compromise between the aesthetic and linguistic demands of the text. It is, as Page puts it, "a delicate balance between the use of some of the observed features of actual speech and the imposing of a more or less elaborate code of stylistic conventions" (1988:10). In support of such a position Page cites the views of writers such as Stevenson, Hardy and Hemingway. For example, in a letter to Henry James, Stevenson writes:

[people] think that striking situations or good dialogue, are got by studying life: they will not understand that they are prepared by deliberate artifice and set off by painful suppression.

(quoted in Page ibid:11)

And writing in the Athenaeum, 30 Nov. 1878, in defence of his use of dialect in The Return of the Native (1878), Hardy claims that his own purpose was "to show mainly the character of the speakers, and only to give a general idea of their linguistic peculiarities" (quoted in Ingham
This notion of literary dialect existing as a balance between aesthetic and linguistic principles occurs again and again in writers' own statements about their work, even among writers whose professed aim is faithfulness to a particular linguistic reality. Thus, in the Preface to *Adam Bede* (1859) George Eliot writes that she "prizes the precious quality of truthfulness" that she finds in Dutch painting, and that her own "strongest effort [is] to give a faithful account of men and things as they have mirrored themselves in [her] mind". For her own part her "inclination to be as close as [she] could to the rendering of the dialect, both words and spelling" is checked only by "the artistic duty of being generally intelligible" (quoted in Ingham 1970:350). Many modern writers take a similar view. For example, Flannery O'Connor gives the following advice on how to create the illusion of consistent dialect without disturbing the flow of the text:

> When using dialect, use it lightly. A dialect word here and there is enough. All you want to do is suggest. Never let it call attention to itself. Where people make the mistake is letting the dialect overshadow the character. You get a real person down there and his talking will take care of itself, but if you get to thinking about dialect and would he say it this way or that way, then you are going off the track, it's going to sound self-conscious. Concentrate on the meaning. ("To Cecil Dawkins", 26 Oct. 1958, in *The Habit of Being*, p301, quoted in Kinniebrew ibid:105)

In formal terms, therefore, the unambiguous representation of literary dialect, and the patience of the reader in deciphering the text, are aesthetic considerations which need to be addressed by the writer. Similarly, the
defamiliarising effect of non-standard language in general, together with its ability to slow down the pace at which the reader interprets and absorbs information, are stylistic factors which can usefully be exploited for aesthetic purposes in a text (see Dabke 1979). The stylistic function of literary dialect is explored in more detail in Section 2.4.4 and in Chapter 6, pp184-264.

2.3 Sociolinguistic factors

A number of interrelated issues are relevant here: firstly, the relationship between the establishment of SE and the development of the English novel; secondly, the fact that changing attitudes towards non-standard varieties have been reflected in assumptions regarding the use of standard and non-standard varieties in literature. At the same time, both the varying expectations and the response of the reading public have reflected changing perceptions of the novel as a genre, and its function in society.

An understanding of the model of written SE and its status within the development of the English novel is important when it comes to considering the use of literary dialect. SE and its associated ideology of formality, objectivity and prestige, had repercussions for the role of standard and non-standard language in literature. In particular, the relationship between written SE and authorial omniscience is important within literary genre in terms of the creation of an aloof and therefore reliable narrator, unaffected by the events he or she relates, so
much so that the notion of SE as the "appropriate" medium for the narrative, together with the speech of the main protagonists, have been associations which once established have been extremely difficult to break (see Blake 1981; Barrell 1983). Thus, with reference to Smollett's The Adventures of Roderick Random (1748), Blake (1981:114) comments:

> It would have been too inconvenient for Smollett to give his principal character a variant language, for Roderick was both the narrator and the hero.

and adds:

> The question of what language to use in the narration if the hero spoke Scots would be a perpetual problem.

Assumptions about dialect speech and speakers have changed historically and this is reflected both in the connotations associated with non-standard speech in literature and in the expectations and response of readers. The nature of this response is something which varies according to prevalent social attitudes and assumptions in different generations as well as with an individual's own experience and point of view (Page 1988:56). Thus, with reference to the "doctrine of correctness" prevalent in the popular novel in England, between 1770 and 1800, Tompkins (1932:188) quotes from the Monthly Review (1784) which states:

> Readers of taste will be disgusted at descriptions which enter too minutely into vulgar scenes, and at dialogues which are degraded by the cant of provincial speech.

And even in the 20th century we find that some writers believe in keeping an aloof authorial stance and would seem
to support the role of SE both in establishing an "appropriate tone" and in separating the language of narrative and dialogue. Thus, in a letter to Cecil Dawkins, Flannery O'Connor writes:

This may seem a small matter but the omniscient narrator never speaks colloquially. This is something it has taken me a long time to learn. Every time you do it you lower the tone.

(quoted in Kinniebrew 1983:22-23)

Relevant, too, are changing attitudes toward the novel as a genre, for example, the notion that it could instruct as well as entertain. And here Page (1988:57) makes the point that when Mrs Gaskell used the Lancashire dialect in Mary Barton (1848) for serious purposes, she provided "footnotes which not only glossed the meanings, but also cited parallels from Chaucer, the Prayer Book, and other respectable sources - thus making a frontal attack on the reader's social prejudice as well as his probable ignorance".

The formal and sociolinguistic factors outlined above will provide us with a framework for a review of different approaches to the study of literary dialect. These various approaches can be broadly categorised thus:

2.3.1. General studies which take an overview of literary dialect, from either a theoretical or historical perspective (Krapp 1926; Ives 1950; Bowdre 1964, 1971; Foster 1977; Blake 1981; Mace 1987).

Theoretical approaches may focus on only one particular aspect of literary dialect such as "the function of eye-
dialect as a literary device", or "the logic of grapheme manipulation" (see Bowdre 1971 and Foster 1977 respectively). Historical studies may be equally selective. For example, McClure (1983) and Tulloch (1985) concentrate on the historical development of the use of Scots in dialogue and narrative, respectively. Indeed, some of the most perceptive and systematic work on the use and methods of dialect writing often forms part of a wider study (see Traugott & Pratt 1980:335-358; Page 1988:55-96).

2.3.2. Studies which focus on particular instances of dialect writing, whether the work of individual writers, or specific (or comparative) case studies. These include:

(a) Studies which focus on describing and evaluating the accuracy of a literary dialect, using the evidence of dialect geography (Tidwell 1941; Ives 1955; Quirk 1957; Petyt 1970; Williamson & Burke 1971; Melchers 1978; Shorrocks 1977, 1981).


(c) Studies which, in addition to (b), concentrate on the connotations associated with standard and non-standard varieties, in terms of their thematic or symbolic function (Ingham 1970; Howard 1979; Ortega 1981; Kinniebrew 1983; Bakhtin 1985; Omole 1985; Mace 1987).

(d) Studies which focus specifically on the stylistic function of the juxtaposition of standard and non-standard varieties, e.g. in terms of segmenting the text or pacing.
the flow of information (Dabke 1979).

These approaches are not necessarily mutually exclusive, and the above classification serves mainly to structure the following discussion. Thus, in (b) individual studies vary both in the extent to which they include a detailed and systematic account of the linguistic features which comprise a particular literary dialect, and in their specific reference to the findings of modern sociolinguistic research as a means of explaining linguistic variation.

2.4 From a review of the literature it is possible to say that, so far, there is a lack of general, theoretical work on literary dialect, with the notable exception of Ives' "A Theory of Literary Dialect" (1950). But even he has tended to concentrate on only one particular aspect of literary dialect. Ives deals specifically with the USA, and his definition of literary dialect as "an author's attempt to represent in writing a speech that is restricted regionally, socially, or both", includes for consideration "only serious attempts to suggest an actual speech - the real dialect of real people" and excludes what he terms "sheer misspelling exuberance", "traditional misconceptions" or "ingenious inventions" (Ives 1950:137).

Literary dialect is seen as a selection by an individual writer of what he/she considers the most significant distinguishing features of a particular regional or social variety. In addition, because there is a regular
repetition of selected features, literary dialect is inevitably a simplification and at the same time an exaggeration of the real life model. Ives goes on to suggest that this exaggeration is compounded by the use of eye-dialect, a feature he frowns on, seeing it as the domain of writers like George Washington Harris and Artimus Ward who use such non-standard features for comic effect (see this thesis, Section 2.1.2, pp30-32).

In his attempt to formulate principles by which the representations of American English dialects in literature may be evaluated, Ives stresses that a scientific theory of literary dialect "should be guided by the principles of descriptive linguistics and should be controlled by the findings of linguistic geography" (ibid:173). Dialect is understood as merely the corpus of speech habits associated with a particular group which has some geographical or social unity. A scientific approach to the study of literary dialect involves the phonetic interpretation of the spelling devices used by the writer. And here, as already mentioned, the speech of the individual writer has to be taken into account (see 2.1.3, pp32-34). Thus a reconstruction of the writer's speech or "speech type" is a necessary prelude to the interpretation of dialect spelling. Once all the spelling devices employed in the literary dialect are interpreted phonetically and the variations noted, they can then be examined for authenticity using independent linguistic evidence such as
that found, for example, in *The Linguistic Atlas of the United States and Canada* (Kurath et al. 1939-43).

While recognising that even literary dialect which aims for authenticity is inevitably a compromise between art and linguistics, Ives argues that despite the many factors which militate against a writer being able to render a particular dialect in print, literary dialect nevertheless produces a more convincing picture of reality than is possible using standard spelling and grammar.

2.4.1 A convincing picture of reality can be approached in two ways which are related, but by no means identical: the crucial distinction being between an emphasis on linguistic form and on linguistic behaviour. In the former, the writer concentrates on representing as phonetically as possible, given the limitations of English orthography, the actual pronunciation of a particular dialect (and of course, grammar and vocabulary). The latter approach, which is concerned with the depiction of convincing sociolinguistic behaviour, exploits what the writer considers to be shared assumptions about their usage. This can be achieved without undue attention to phonetic detail. Modern sociolinguistic research has documented how linguistic form is determined by social function (see Fishman 1971; Gumperz 1983). This means that whether in a bilingual or monolingual community, the selection of a particular linguistic variety is dependent on the social context, perhaps the age, social position or even the gender of the speaker (or addressee), or the emotional
state and ongoing intentions of the participants involved in the conversation. For literary dialect to be convincing in sociolinguistic terms, it need only signal to the reader that a particular utterance is appropriately marked in terms of its social function.

Most studies which consider literary dialect as a conscious attempt at verisimilitude have tended to concentrate on evaluating linguistic features in terms of their nearness or otherwise to an external real dialect, using the evidence of dialect geography as a reference point for their analysis. This approach is popular in the USA, but nearer home, Petyt’s 1970 monograph on Emily Bronte and the Haworth Dialect is one example of this approach.

While Petyt’s analysis of Joseph’s speech in Wuthering Heights is both comprehensive and convincing in its attempt to show how accurately Emily Bronte renders the local Haworth dialect, this study is nevertheless misleading because, in its highly selective approach, it fails to take into consideration the overall function of dialect in the novel. Seen in isolation, Joseph’s speech is authentic in its representation of social and regional characteristics. But if placed in relation to the other characters’ speech in the novel, Joseph’s broad dialect stands out, especially since the social distance between the characters is not such that would adequately explain this linguistic difference. If, instead, we consider the distribution of
dialect in terms of the novel’s structure, we find that it occurs at key points in the text, reinforcing important thematic elements. For example, Joseph is closely associated with Heathcliff; it is he who provides a description of Heathcliff’s malevolent character when he informs Ellen Dean of the effect Heathcliff’s homecoming has on the lives of the Earnshaws and Lintons. Similarly, Joseph himself is directly associated with violence when he sets the hounds on Lockwood (p59). This association of dialect (and dialect speakers) with cruelty and crudeness is extended to other characters in the novel, most notably Hareton Earnshaw. However, as the influence of Heathcliff and Joseph gives way to that of Catherine, we see a corresponding shift in Hareton’s language from dialect towards SE. For example, Isabella Heathcliff (nee Linton) recounts her first meeting with Hareton, as follows:

"Shall you and I be friends, Hareton?" was my next essay at conversation.

An oath, and a threat to set Throttler on me if I did not "frame off" rewarded my perseverance.

"Hey, Throttler, lad!" whispered the little wretch, rousing a half-bred dog from its lair in the corner. "Now, wilt tuh be ganging?" he asked authoritatively. (p174)

Later, in a passage which reveals Hareton’s inability to read, he is ridiculed by his cousins Linton and Catherine. Hareton rounds on Linton thus:

If you weren’t more a lass than a lad, I’d fell thee this minute, I would; pitiful lath of a cratur. (p254)

These episodes contrast with his language and behaviour
towards the conclusion of the book. For example, when Heathcliff leaves the dinner table to walk distractedly in the garden Hareton follows him and reports back to Catherine and Nelly:

"Nay", he answered; "but he's not angry: he seemed rare and pleased indeed; only, I made him impatient by speaking to him twice; and then he bid me be off to you; he wondered how I could want the company of any body else".  

(p358)

It would seem, therefore, that amongst the characters in Wuthering Heights Joseph's speech is an essentially isolated attention to verisimilitude on Bronte's part. Consequently, in terms of its overall function in the text, dialect can be seen to fulfil a symbolic rather than a realistic role.

2.4.2 A number of studies, including those by McClure (1979, 1981) and Tulloch (1980), of John Galt and Walter Scott respectively, have noted that linguistic variation in the ratio and distribution of standard and non-standard features can also change according to the age, education, and sometimes the gender of the speaker. Of such studies which look beyond the literary representation of particular regional or social varieties, and begin to focus instead on sociolinguistic behaviour, by far the most systematic in its approach is Shuy's 1975 article, "Code-switching in Lady Chatterly's Lover". Here methods developed from linguistic studies are used to order the material for analysis. For example, Shuy isolates twelve major "speech events" in the novel with a view to examining the use of
dialect in *Lady Chatterly's Lover* (LCL) as it varies according to the participants involved, the context, and the topic of conversation. In a literary context, a "speech event" refers to "extended conversations in which switching is potential or actually takes place" (Shuy 1975:7). By applying what is known about code-switching as rule-governed behaviour, Shuy claims that the literary critic can determine the writer's sociolinguistic consistency and evaluate his/her "innate sociolinguistic effectiveness" (ibid:4). Mellors is the only character in LCL who is given the capacity to code-switch and this gives him an additional resource by which to create meaning in conversation. Shuy thus uses his analysis of twelve major speech events to explore how the meaning offered by switching can reinforce or be juxtaposed with the semantic meaning of the words being used. For instance he finds that in Mellors' speech SE occurs at key conversational junctures such as introductions, conversational openings and (and closings), as well as for insults, invitations to sexual intercourse together with rejections of sexual overtures. On the other hand, the vernacular is used for all representations of meal-time conversations, talk during and after love-making (ibid:7). (See Leith 1980:245-58 for discussion of code-switching in LCL in relation to the development of power relationships.)

In the main, analysis of linguistic behaviour in studies of literary dialect has tended to remain impressionistic. This has meant that the full sociolinguistic implications...
of dialect variation, whether in terms of an individual character's speech or in terms of the whole text, have not been fully addressed. However, one of the most interesting developments in recent years is the increasing attention given to the sociolinguistic implications of linguistic variation in the work of modern African writers. For example, in his sociolinguistic analysis of Wole Soyinka's The Interpreters, Omole (1985) demonstrates how the notion of linguistic and national identity gives further scope for the range of meanings associated with linguistic choice and linguistic variation within literature.

2.4.3 Other literary studies have looked at linguistic variation from a different perspective, namely the relationship between variety and point of view, and how this can be exploited for thematic effect (see Ingham 1970; Kinniebrew 1983). These studies differ in the degree to which descriptive linguistic analysis forms the framework for discussion.

In her study of dialect in the novels of Hardy and George Eliot, Ingham prefers to rely on these writers' own comments on the formal status of literary dialect (see above, Section 2.2, pp34-37). She argues that while Hardy's representation of dialect is "deliberately and carefully impressionistic", George Eliot's aim is to be as accurate as possible in portraying particular dialects while still being generally intelligible (1970:352 and p350, respectively). Ingham is interested in the function
of literary dialect over and above its role as social indicator. She points to George Eliot's use of irony and the fact that in her novels dialect acts as a clue to social aspirations or self-deceit. This can be fairly comic, for instance when in Adam Bede (1858) Mr Casson the innkeeper comments scornfully about the local speakers of the "dileck" because he himself was "brought hup among the gentry...an' got the turn o' their tongue when I was a bye" (quoted in Ingham ibid:356). Elsewhere irony can be used to challenge the assumption that linguistic varieties carry with them connotations of "moral worth". See for example, the characterisation of Esther Lyon in Felix Holt (1866).

In Hardy's novels, on the other hand, the relationship between language and point of view is brought to the fore. Dialect can thus have a dual role: it can operate as a social indicator, but a different concept of dialect, "as a language powerful in its own right", gives it, as Hardy calls it, "a delicate ability" to express the deepest feelings (quoted in Ingham 1970:358). Ingham argues that it is in the playing off of these two divergent points of view that Hardy achieves his most powerful effects. She cites the example of Marty South speaking at the graveside of Giles Winterbourne in The Woodlanders (1887) (ibid:360).

Similarly, in Tess of the D'Urbervilles (1891) dialect functions as a social indicator, but in this instance the presentation of dialect as an alternative form of speech is less successful. The frequent use of dialect by
characters like the Durbeyfields, the Cricks and the other dairymaids means that it is difficult to sustain the association of dialect and sensibility. For thematic reasons it is necessary to distinguish Tess strongly from her feckless parents and from the other worthy but inferior dairymaids. And as a consequence in subsequent revisions of the text (see 1891, 1892, 1912) Hardy edits out many of the dialect features in Tess's speech and according to Ingham, "reverts to the simpler use: an uncritical acceptance of dialect as a social indicator" (ibid:359).

Variation in the density of dialect occurs in the work of both Eliot and Hardy, but as Ingham herself points out, this tends to be related to authorial exploitation of the connotations surrounding different linguistic varieties, rather than an attempt to portray convincing sociolinguistic behaviour on the part of the characters involved.

A more linguistic approach to the study of the thematic function of literary dialect is seen in Kinniebrew's analysis of dialect in the novels of Carson McCulloch, Flannery O'Connor and Eudora Welty (1983). For instance, she begins by describing linguistic variation in terms of the frequency of occurrence of specific variables in texts by the three authors. Kinniebrew focusses specifically on pronominal variation, but also lists miscellaneous structures and colloquialisms used by each author. She takes the view that formal choices to do with the creation
of literary dialect have a direct bearing on the reader's response, both to what is being said in that variety, and to the characterisations themselves. She argues:

Every decision, conscious or unconscious, that a writer makes concerning word choice, placement, spelling, capitalisation, or punctuation has a direct effect upon the dialect being suggested to the reader, and therefore, directly influences the reader's attitudes toward whatever is being said in that dialect. What the author must assume is that he and his reader share a sense of what a neutral or standard dialect would be and that they will share similar reactions to variations, however slight, from that dialect.

(Kinniebrew 1983:209)

Variation from the standard puts the reader in touch with a range of meanings: in addition to the literal meaning of what is being said, the language itself says something about the character and the nature of the world they inhabit (ibid:14). The notion of shared communicative competence thus includes attitudes towards the standard variety as well as the various meanings associated with non-standard language. In her study of the thematic function of literary dialect in the fiction of these writers Kinniebrew finds that different aspects of these meanings are at work in the fiction of each of the three writers. The following is a brief outline of her argument:

(a) Kinniebrew finds that Bakhtin's concept of heteroglossia can usefully be applied to McCullers' use of linguistic variation in both narrative and dialogue. Bakhtin (1985:320) refers to "character zones" as the "hybrid" areas where a character's language style and point of view influences the surrounding narrative (see Chapter 1, p2). Kinniebrew argues that in The Heart is a Lonely
Hunter (1940) each chapter can be said to be a distinct character zone. Thus, in terms of thematic function, the dialects of the central characters and the distinctive narrative in which the dialogue is embedded, help to differentiate the characters and emphasise "their linguistic differences, symbolic of their social and spiritual isolation" (Kinniebrew 1983:48).

(b) In O'Connor's work Kinniebrew regards the distinction between the language of narrative and dialogue as being important in creating tension and establishing what the author calls "an appropriate tone" (see reference to O'Connor's letter to Cecil Dawkins quoted in section Section 2.2.2, p36).

(c) Thirdly, in Eudora Welty's fiction, language is closely related to place, group identity and cultural perspective. And Kinniebrew argues that in "Losing Battles" the contrast between SE and the vernacular "parallels the difference in world view" of the two central groups of characters in this story (ibid:132). Language is associated with place, personal and group identity and point of view, and as Kinniebrew's study demonstrates, these associations can fulfil a variety of thematic functions: they can help to create the impression of community, shared values, or alternatively can single out a character or group of characters to suggest alienation or perhaps reinforce the notion of discord.
2.4.4 Stylistic function of literary dialect.

In her study of code-switching in Peter Hartling's historical novel, *Das Familienfest* (1969), Dabke (1979) points out that it is difficult to account for the distribution of Swabian dialect and Standard German in straightforward sociolinguistic terms. For example, dialect is not used as a social indicator. All the settings in the novel are in Swabia, and all the main characters are Swabian. While the numerous servants in the novel speak dialect, all the people of the middle class - teachers, ministers, local politicians, and university professors - speak Swabian too. Similarly, the 19th century Swabian upper class - the local aristocracy - are not wholly restricted to Standard German: Countess Franziska speaks Swabian with her lover, Georg Lauterbach. Here, to a certain extent, code-selection and code-switching can be explained in sociolinguistic terms: Countess Franziska speaks Swabian only when the topic is sex, when she makes love to Lauterbach, but this usage is inconsistent, and she also uses Standard German in these situations (Dabke 1979:363).

Dabke points out that, when viewed in relation to topic and function, a large number of Swabian segments are "trivial formulae, or linguistic routines such as simple questions, commands, negations, greetings and leave takings" (ibid:363). And with reference to the distribution of Swabian and Standard German in the text, she adds:
Frequent code-switching by individual speakers within the same speech event with stable components is typical of the novel; not even the most sophisticated sociolinguistic model could account for all these switches.

(ibid:363)

In recognition of this fact she argues that the dialect segments must be viewed as part of the "author’s verbal arrangements" of scenes, and consequently must be analysed "individually according to their place within the scene and their relationship to the direct speech and non-direct speech text in the standard code (ibid:364). And on the basis of such analysis Dabke (ibid:364-470) shows that code-switching fulfils the following stylistic functions in Das Familienfest:

(a) Code-switching allows the novelist to "dispense" with "many aesthetically inconvenient aids to understanding" (ibid:365). For example, Swabian occurs almost exclusively as direct speech. Thus, a switch into dialect is a powerful signal to indicate a shift from narrative to direct speech. This allows the writer to dispense with formal markers such as inverted commas so that a single comma becomes sufficient support for the semantic and syntactic signals of such a shift.

(b) Code-switching may also signal embedded direct, or direct speech in an embedded summary of past and simultaneous events.

(c) Short complete scenes may be set off from surrounding all-Standard German speech events by having all or most of their direct speech in Swabian. Similarly, dialect may set off a self-contained exchange between two or three speakers in a long speech event with a large number of participants.

(d) Further to (a), the use of dialect may help to identify a speaker, and thus the code-switches can be seen as having taken over the function of speaker attributions like "Naphta said", or "I said".

(e) In general, code-switching may signal key points of juncture in the novel, whether in relation to narrative summary or speech event. Similarly, a discussion about
a fictional character may culminate and end in a dialect quotation, a typical saying by that person. Alternatively, a closing formula at the end of a speech event can also function as a point of rest, perhaps bringing a momentary relief in a tense encounter, or creating a pause before a climactic, highly poetic passage in Standard German.

Finally, dialect may combine with other devices such as the use of repetitions, paraphrases, or elaborations to slow down the tempo of a passage.

Thus, in her analysis of Hartling's use of dialect and standard varieties of German in Das Familienfest, Dabke demonstrates that the sociolinguistic function of code-selection and code-switching is of little significance, and that the relationship between standard and non-standard varieties is used as a means of organizing and segmenting the text. Indeed, according to Hartling himself, dialect is used to arrange the text "in a musical way" (1979:364). Here he would seem to be referring to both the writer's control over the pace at which the text is read, and the varying rhythms produced by different styles of writing. Chapter 6, Section 6.2.5, pp235-39, carries out a similar analysis of the stylistic implications of the use of Scots and SE in narrative and dialogue in The Provost.

2.5 Towards a functional approach to the study of literary dialect.

Page (1988:58) argues that "the full history of regional dialects in English has yet to be written and [that] many of the piecemeal investigations which have been undertaken are of primarily philological and phonological interest". Diverse but selective approaches to the study of literary dialect have had limiting effects, the most important being
the danger of focusing almost exclusively on the question of phonetic "accuracy". In seeing verisimilitude only in terms of formal representation, there is a tendency to undervalue works which concentrate on rendering convincing sociolinguistic behaviour at the expense of phonetic detail. Further, by focusing attention on literary dialect alone and thus giving one variety precedence over another, it is possible to miss the full significance of the interaction of standard and non-standard varieties, for example, in relation to the creation of divergent points of view. In this respect, the wider thematic functions of literary dialect can be overlooked. This thesis will build on the contributions made by the above studies in order to propose a series of analytical approaches which will take into consideration the relationship between standard and non-standard varieties, and provide a broader account of the various functions of dialect in a literary text.

2.5.1. Dialectology: the basic framework.

Traditionally, dialectology gives a geographical account of language variation, especially in the speech of rural, working-class speakers. This approach involves a broad linguistic concept of dialect. For example, dialectologists are not generally interested in studying the social implications of linguistic variation within a particular speech community, or within the individual idiolect. Rather, the aim is to hold constant the many social and contextual factors that might influence language
usage in order to chart the geographical distribution of particular variations in linguistic usage. Thus, information for large scale dialect surveys is traditionally based on the speech of selected informants, usually the oldest, male, working-class speakers in a rural community. The focus is on long-standing dialect forms, and information on selected linguistic features (usually restricted to lexis and phonology) is elicited by means of a lengthy questionnaire, either in a series of face-to-face interviews or by post. The results are finally plotted as isoglosses on a map or series of maps. Isogloss "clusters" or "bundles" are said to mark the boundary of dialect features, thus giving a broad and large-scale geographical perspective on the distribution of those features selected for analysis. In this respect, the methods of both analysis and presentation tend to reinforce the notion of a homogeneous community, and of homogeneous linguistic varieties which show strong regional patterns.

The information which traditional dialectology provides can be useful to the literary critic in that it presents the actual speech patterns in a particular locality. In Chapter 5, pp155-76, the dialect features of West-Mid Scots will be the basis from which an analysis is made of both Galt and Johnstone's literary dialect. At the macro-level, that is, at the level of the whole text, it provides the model by which to delimit the linguistic choices that each makes in their novels: the selection and representation of what are considered to be the salient features of the
dialect of the West of Scotland. However, while dialectology presents us with the potential linguistic resources, it tells us little about variation of language in use. Consequently, it offers little help in assessing the significance of the distribution of dialect features in a literary text, either between characters, or within the individual idiolect. Here, I would argue, sociolinguistic theory and method offer resources that are potentially more useful to the literary critic.

2.5.2 Sociolinguistic theory and the prediction of the mechanism of linguistic change.

Sociolinguists are concerned, amongst other things, with understanding the mechanism of linguistic change. Labov (1972:3) argues that "one cannot understand the developments of language change apart from the social life of the community in which it develops". The principal claim of sociolinguistic theory is that the movement of linguistic change can be inferred from the direction of existing speech patterns within the community. Seminal studies by Labov (1966, 1972) and Trudgill (1972, 1974) have demonstrated that language, even within a particular locality, is heterogeneous. They argue that the pattern of linguistic variation within a socially heterogeneous community is relatively ordered, and varies according to the age, sex, ethnicity and social status of the speaker. In addition, linguistic variation occurs within the individual idiolect and in the range of speech styles used in different social contexts. The aim of studies such as
these is to trace the complex interaction between the above extra-linguistic variables and formality of speaking styles, and identify the social factors which have a direct bearing on the linguistic process. According to traditional sociolinguistic theory, prediction of the direction of linguistic change is possible due to the existence of a common value system whereby speakers in a community unconsciously agree on the hierarchical status of certain linguistic features. This hierarchy is also subject to change over time as sources of prestige change. Labov found that while individuals do not always agree as to the hierarchical status of individual linguistic variables, in general, the results showed regular patterns of usage within the community. In practice, this means that whatever the nature of a person's colloquial speech and despite possible conflicting loyalties to the vernacular, all speakers tend to gravitate towards a more prestigious form (usually the standard variety) as they begin to speak more formally and more carefully. Consequently, Labov (1972:248, Fn40), argues that as a basic principle:

social attitudes towards language are extremely uniform throughout a speech community...in fact, it seems plausible to define a speech community as a group of speakers who share a set of social attitudes towards language.

Other linguists have argued that there are problems in isolating a homogeneous speech community and in defining it as "a functionally integrated social system
with shared norms of evaluation" (Gumperz 1983:26; see also L Milroy 1980; L Milroy & J Milroy 1977).

2.5.3 Sociolinguistic methodology: the sociolinguistic variable.

The most characteristic feature of traditional sociolinguistic methodology is the use of sociolinguistic variables. These are a few, salient linguistic elements (usually with an emphasis on lexical incidence) which co-vary with a number of extra-linguistic features: independent variables such as age, sex, ethnicity and social class. (The latter is determined by a socio-economic index usually calculated according to occupation of breadwinner, education of informant, and family income.)

The selection of linguistic variables is important. For example, they must be expected to show social distribution and stylistic variation and occur frequently enough to permit quantitative analysis.

According to Labov (1972b:208), "observation of the vernacular gives us the most systematic data for the analysis of linguistic structure" since this is the style in which the minimum attention is paid to monitoring one's speech. Labov's sociolinguistic study of Martha's Vineyard (1961) was innovative in that he devised a way of eliciting from his informants a variety of speech styles ranging across both casual and careful speech and different reading styles including reading a prose passage, word list and list of minimal pairs. He arranged these five speech styles on a linear scale, graded hierarchically in relation
to increased formality and attention to speech. Initially, in order to elicit variation within casual speech, to get what he called "emotionally coloured speech", Labov asked his informants to give value judgements on certain issues of political or social interest. At the same time he discarded the interview structure itself to capture "off the record" remarks, and exploit interruptions from third parties, phone calls, the scolding of children, and arguments with other members of the family. In the ten years following his Martha's Vineyard study, Labov's analytical techniques went through a process of refinement, with the result that in his 1972 New York City study he had developed a strategy which enabled him to consistently elicit unselfconscious casual speech. This involved directly asking his informants if they could ever remember a time when their life was in danger. Most people had at one time or another faced danger of some sort, and Labov found that his informants generally became spontaneously animated as they recounted their story.

Orthodox sociolinguistic methodology thus involves the quantitative analysis and systematic comparison of particular linguistic variables across a range of taped speech styles elicited from a sample of informants who may be positively or randomly selected. Statistical analysis is possible because the variants are awarded a numerical value. Index scores are then calculated indicating the average occurrence of individual variables, or combinations of variables, in an individual's speech. Group scores
involve grouping speakers according to extra-linguistic categories such as age, sex or social class. The incidence of individual linguistic variables can then be correlated with both stylistic and social stratification. It is then theoretically possible to derive certain rules for distribution, and predict the direction of linguistic change from the results of such analysis.

In their studies of New York and Norwich respectively, Labov and Trudgill found that while the scope of linguistic variation between groups is most readily seen in ordinary casual speech, the movement of linguistic change is best demonstrated in the shift of speech style as speakers adopt more formal and more careful speech. High or low index scores are generally determined by socio-economic factors, but the direction of movement of linguistic variation is directly correlated with the scale of formality. This pattern which correlates with both social and stylistic stratification is closely associated with the evaluation of linguistic varieties. Labov (1972b:251) states that "if a certain group of speakers uses a particular variant, then the social values attributed to that group will be transferred to that linguistic variant." Broadly speaking, the standard variety, associated with higher status groups and with more formal contexts, is "overtly" prestigious, and the vernacular, associated with the lower end of the social spectrum, with blue as opposed to white collar workers, carries connotations of masculinity, solidarity
and spirit of place. Attitudes towards linguistic varieties and those who use them overlap, but, as the next section will demonstrate, these attitudes are not quite so homogeneous as traditional sociolinguistic theory would suggest.

Labov found that the typical findings in a specific kind of society are that the speech of the second highest status group (in Labov’s (1972b) terms, the LMC) shows the most extreme style shifting, often going beyond the highest status group, the UMC, in this respect (ibid:244). This phenomenon is called "hypercorrection". At the same time, comparing linguistic variation between the sexes, Labov (1966:288) found that in careful speech, women in all classes use fewer stigmatised forms than their male counterparts. The movement of style-shift towards the formal end of the spectrum is sharper overall, and is most marked among LMC women. This is the pattern even where women use the most extreme vernacular form in their casual speech. The traditional sociolinguistic argument is that as a rule women are more socially and economically insecure than men. At the same time, they are supposedly more status-conscious and aware of the social significance associated with certain linguistic varieties. Lower middle class women especially, because of social aspirations together with inherent social insecurity, attempt to emulate the speech of their social "superiors". These findings are generally confirmed by Trudgill (1972) in his sociolinguistic study of Norwich. However, Trudgill went
on to demonstrate that the vernacular is not always consciously shunned, and that there is such a thing as "covert" prestige associated with linguistic forms. He found that while women as a whole, and particularly those who belonged to the LMC, are motivated to style-shift in the direction of the standard variety, men were also influenced by what they perceive as the positive connotations associated with the vernacular: the notion of masculinity, social solidarity and regional loyalty.

Sociolinguistic studies by Gal (1979), Nichols (1980), and L Milroy (1980), have argued that an account of sex difference in language based on an assessment of women's greater awareness of the relationship between language and status is inadequate. These studies all stress the importance of habitual interaction, social networks and employment opportunities as possible motivations for choosing or rejecting particular varieties.

A linguistic variety does not merely signal membership of a particular regional, social or ethnic group. It also signals a set of associated cultural values. To a certain extent this was demonstrated already in Labov's sociolinguistic studies of both Martha's Vineyard (1961) and of New York Black English Vernacular (1968), as well as in Trudgill's Norwich study (1972) which recognises the operation of "overt" and "covert" prestige in relation to certain linguistic features. However, these studies concentrate on both the social and linguistic significance
of the *spontaneous* use of individual varieties; more recent studies have considered the sociolinguistic implications of the *deliberate* adoption of certain varieties. For example, Douglas-Cowie's study of Articlave, County Londonderry, Northern Ireland (1978) demonstrates that linguistic variation can co-vary with extra-linguistic variables other than class. She found that the education, personality of the informant, and the sex and social identity of the interlocutor had a bearing on the styles of speech used during her series of interviews. Douglas-Cowie suggests that this linguistic variation within the casual speech of individual informants is motivated at a subconscious level. Alternatively, in his study of attitudes towards particular linguistic varieties, Giles (1987) found that a respondent may vary his or her own style of speech in response to both an interpretation of the speaker's motivations and an understanding of the connotations associated with the particular variety used. He calls this shift in speech style "speech accommodation". Thus, a respondent's speech may "converge" or "diverge" on or away from that of the original speaker. The code-switch is not necessarily abrupt; rather the shift may take place gradually during the course of the conversation. According to Giles, convergence involves, in general terms, a certain relinquishing of personal or social identity and suggests solidarity with the addressee. Divergence, on the other hand, reinforces personal or social identity and implies emotional or social distance. The point that Giles makes
is that this sort of linguistic variation can involve a conscious choice on the part of the participants. It is part and parcel of the structuring and restructuring of our personal and social identity, and of establishing our relationship with others.

Creolists Le Page and Tabouret-Keller (1985) have taken this point further, and describe linguistic behaviour as a series of "acts of identity" in which people reveal both their regional and social identity, as well as their social aspirations and allegiances. They argue:

The individual creates for himself the patterns of his linguistic behaviour so as to resemble those of the group or groups with which from time to time he wishes to be identified, or so as to be unlike those from whom he wishes to be distinguished.

(ibid:181)

This particular study involved a number of ethnic groups and languages, including Spanish, Carib, Maya, Kekebi and Waika. The researchers argue that in this complex linguistic situation it is simply not possible to list the individual varieties along a single stylistic continuum, defined by attention to speech and formality of context. Similarly, it is not possible to assume a homogeneous speech community and shared norms - hence the theoretical difficulty: language varieties cannot be defined in advance. In practice Le Page and Tabouret-Keller found these to be more or less discrete (focused) entities. Thus, it is the individual context together with the specific motivations of the participants which determine the linguistic variety, or even particular aspects of a
variety which are used. In this movement towards a more speaker orientated approach to the study of linguistic variation we can see a change in theoretical emphasis.

In recent years sociolinguists such as Blom and Gumperz (1972), Gal (1979), L Milroy (1980), Horvath (1985), and Creolists such as Bickerton (1975) and Le Page and Tabouret-Keller (1985), have challenged traditional sociolinguistic theory and methodology on a number of counts. The remainder of this chapter focuses on such developments and outlines some of the major contributions which the above studies have made to our understanding of the sociolinguistic implications of linguistic variation. Issues such as motivations for code-selection and style variation have important implications when we come to look at the communicative function of dialect variation in The Entail, The Provost and "West Country Exclusives" (Chapter 6, pp184-264). And in this respect sociolinguistics provides both an analytical tool for identifying and counting the frequency of occurrence of individual categories of Scotticism, together with a theoretical framework which assists our interpretation of linguistic variation between Scots and SE in these texts.

Perhaps the fundamental criticism of traditional sociolinguistic theory is of the assumption that "speech communities, defined as functionally integrated social systems, have shared norms of evaluation" (Gumperz, 1983:26). Gumperz argues:
Rather than claiming that speakers use language in response to a fixed, predetermined set of prescriptions, it seems more reasonable to assume that they build on their own and their audience's abstract understanding of situational norms, or communicate metaphoric information about how they intend their words to be understood. (ibid:61)

Gumperz differentiates between situational and conversational code-switching:

(a) Situational code-switching.

Situational code-switching takes place within a relatively stable linguistic environment, where there is extreme compartmentalisation of linguistic form and social function. Code-switching which occurs is either associated with particular social contexts, bounded spheres of activity, or conversation associated with particular categories of speakers. The norms of appropriateness governing linguistic usage are collectively defined and are prescriptive to the extent that breaching of code-selection rules is likely to evoke overt comment from within the speech community itself.

The most extreme example of situational code-switching is called diglossia, a term coined by Ferguson in 1959. It refers to:

a relatively stable linguistic situation, in which, in addition to the primary dialects of the language (which may include a standard or regional standards) there is a very divergent, highly codified (often grammatically complex) superimposed variety, the vehicle of a large and respected body of written literature, either of an earlier period, or in another speech community, which is learned largely by formal education, and is used for most written and formal spoken purposes, but is not used by any sector of the community for ordinary conversation.

(Ferguson 1959, reprinted 1972:244)
The difference between "primary" dialects which are categorised as the L (lower) form, and the "superseded" variety, the H (higher) form, revolves round the fact that the L form is the vernacular learned spontaneously in childhood by all sectors of the community: it is the form used by parents to their children, by children amongst their peers, and outside the home in all informal contexts. Since there is a general lack of prescriptive rules defining the use of the vernacular there will be inevitably considerable regional and social variation. At the same time, though, regional standard varieties may develop reflecting the hegemony of certain centres of social and linguistic importance. To illustrate this point Ferguson (1972:233) refers to Athens where the surrounding area takes the local variety, Dhimotiki, as its standard L form.

The H form, on the other hand, is always a highly codified, superimposed variety learned through formal education. It is the medium for a respected body of literature, past and present, as well as being used for most written and formal spoken purposes. It can be somewhat archaic, as in the classic variety, Katharevousa, in Greek, or Classical Arabic (Ferguson ibid:238). The dual factors of antiquity and "distance" help to cultivate the position of prestige associated with the H form. It always fulfils a formal as opposed to an informal function, and it is associated with the cultural heritage of the community. It is never used for informal conversation even within higher status groups. With reference to the
diglossic situation of Greek, Arabic and Swiss-German, Ferguson (ibid:236) maps out the stratification of H and L functions thus:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>FUNCTIONS</th>
<th>FORMS</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>H</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sermon in church or mosque</td>
<td>X</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Instructions to servants, waiters,</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>workmen, clerks</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Personal letters</td>
<td>X</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Speech in parliament, political speech</td>
<td>X</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>University lecture</td>
<td>X</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Conversation with family, friends and colleagues</td>
<td>X</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>News broadcast</td>
<td>X</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Radio &quot;soap opera&quot;</td>
<td>X</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Newspaper editorial, news story,</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>caption on a picture</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Caption on a political cartoon</td>
<td>X</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Poetry</td>
<td>X</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Folk literature</td>
<td>X</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Such stratification between linguistic varieties is possible only if there is tacit consensus among all sectors of the speech community as to the specialisation of function. While each code has a different role within the speech community and expresses different values and attitudes, the significant factor is that the community as a whole is working within the same set of prescribed norms based on shared understanding of meaning, with the result that it would be possible to predict which variety would be used in a given situation. At the same time, the breaching of these "norms of appropriateness" would lead to overt
comment and criticism; the "deviation" would be interpreted as perhaps pedantic or arcane, on the one hand, or crude and uncouth on the other (Gumperz 1983:61). While each variety has a distinct place and function within the collective linguistic repertoire of the speech community, the actual linguistic competence of the individual members may vary according to their social background and formal education, factors which control access to the H form in the first place. This means that, in practice, many people will have only passive knowledge of the H variety. However, this does not inhibit their understanding of the significance of its use in given situations, or their endorsement of the "norms of appropriateness". In Chapter 6, Section 6.2 pp220-39, this point is particularly significant in relation to conversational code-switching in TP.

In his original definition of diglossia, Ferguson (1959) had placed precise restrictions on the term: it was a highly unusual sociolinguistic situation which involved the speech community in binary choices between H and L forms. Ferguson refers to Arabic, Modern Greek, Swiss-German and Haitian Creole, where in each case there is code-switching between highly divergent varieties of the same language. Since 1959 there has been an increasing extension of the definition so that diglossia now refer simply to "functional differentiation of language variation" (Tollefson 1983:1-9). Thus diglossia can occur in certain
bilingual situations. One country which incorporates bilingualism and diglossia is Paraguay, where the two linguistic varieties involved are Spanish and Guarani (Rubin 1977:513). In geographical terms, Guarani is the rural standard variety, while Spanish is predominately used in urban environments. The factor which makes the situation diglossic rather than just purely bilingual is that Spanish is the superimposed variety of education, religion, government business and "high" culture, while Guarani is the variety associated with group solidarity and intimacy at all levels of the community.

While each of the examples in Ferguson's original article (1959) referred to highly divergent varieties of the same language, it was always his intention to distinguish diglossia from a linguistic environment which consists of standard variety plus dialects. The latter has, in some respects, come to be considered diglossic (see for example, Fishman 1971, reprinted 1979).

In their sociolinguistic study of Hemnesberget, Norway, Blom and Gumperz (1972) describe situational code-switching between standard Norwegian and the local dialect. The standard variety, Bokmal, is the language of formal communication, for example in the media, educational institutions and in church services. It is used by educated incomers, and by those who belong to the social elite. (This account of situational code switching differs from Ferguson's definition of diglossia which does not permit the use of the H form for everyday speech for any
group within the speech community.) In Hemnesberget, the local dialect, Ranamal, is used in colloquial speech generally, and symbolises local identity and solidarity. Blom and Gumperz demonstrate how code-switching between standard and dialect occurs, for instance, within an educational context, where a lecture would be delivered in the H form, while the open ended discussion which follows would take place in the L form, that is, the local dialect. Similarly, where the working environment is an office, the researchers found that code-switching between standard and dialect occurred in relation to the topic of conversation and addressee, for example, whether the staff were talking to clients or colleagues about business or about personal matters.

In a diglossic situation, the actual norms of appropriateness and compartmentalisation of roles are stable and collectively defined, despite variation in the linguistic repertoire of individual members of the speech community. Diglossia is maintained only if the separate codes remain compartmentalised: there is no room for idiosyncratic usage, or for individual initiative in the "re-making" of codes and categories. In bilingualism without diglossia where the relationship between linguistic form and social function is not prescriptively defined by codified norms, or agreed by societal consensus, situational code-switching is of a more negotiable kind. Where this occurs there is a movement towards what Gumperz
calls conversational or metaphorical code-switching, as participants become conscious of the additional linguistic and semantic resources that "the meaningful juxtaposition of two distinct linguistic varieties" offers (Gumperz 1983:59). For example, with reference to their study in Hemnesberget, Blom and Gumperz (1972) demonstrated that even within what seemed like a relatively homogeneous, isolated sociolinguistic community:

All speakers differed with respect to where and for what communicative goals they chose among the two codes. What was normal usage for some in some situations counted as marked for others. Marked forms, moreover, tended to be used to convey indirect inferences which could only be understood by someone who knew both the speaker's family background and his or her position within the local spectrum of value orientations.

(quoted in Gumperz 1983:27)

Chapter 3, Section 3.4, pp100-108, discusses the historical relationship between Scots and SE in terms of the codification of these varieties in relation to contextual function together with socially understood norms of appropriateness.

(b) Conversational code-switching.

According to Gumperz (1983:59), conversational code-switching (CCS) can be defined as "the juxtaposition within the same speech exchange of passages of speech belonging to two different systems or subsystems". This phenomenon is usually found in circumstances where the linguistic situation is "unstable", for example, in situations of rapid social change, "where traditional inter-group barriers are breaking down and norms of interaction are changing" (Gumperz 1983:64). Thus it is found within a
modern urbanising environment, occurring in the colloquial speech of cohesive minority groups who perhaps use the "majority" variety at work or in conversation with "outsiders", but revert to their native variety at home, or when in the company of group members. (Tollefson (1983) disagrees with Fishman (1971) and the notion that bilingualism without diglossia is a product of a necessarily unstable and transitory situation. He quotes the example of Yugoslavia where there is a policy of language planning to achieve bilingualism without H and L domains. But, to achieve this end it is necessary for the different linguistic varieties to have dual functions.)

In CCS the norms for using a particular code are not situationally prescribed. (There may be a few exceptions, such as speaking to very small children, or older, monolingual adults, or for highly ritualistic activities (Gumperz 1983:66).) Without societal consensus to differentiate the functions of H and L forms, there is a linguistic overlap, as language of work, the H form, infiltrates the domain of the home. The norms of appropriateness are not defined across class and regional barriers, but within close-knit communities, and even then only in a relatively short-term way. Linguistic variation such as this is not then a matter of simply conforming to agreed norms of appropriateness, but is an additional linguistic device which wittingly and unwittingly conveys information about values, beliefs and attitudes held by the
speaker. Participants still draw on the value systems and connotations associated with the individual linguistic varieties, but one code can be played off against another to undercut or reinforce the meaning of the original statement. In this respect it is not only the selection of a particular code, but the actual direction of the code-switch itself which is important. For example, an utterance which shifts from H to L might well be interpreted differently from the same message where the shift is from L to H.

Gal’s study (1979) of code-switching between different varieties of German and Hungarian in Oberwart, Hungary, examined the semantic implications of code selection in specific circumstances. For example, in a conversation which develops into an argument, a switch from Hungarian dialect to German might be used to conclude the dispute by drawing on the connotations of authority associated with this variety. Gal comments (1979:117):

The point is not that a switch to German is always used to express anger, to indicate the last and most effective increase in show of anger in an escalating disagreement, or to win an argument. It is not. The point is, rather, that if a speaker wants to, switching to German at a particular point in an argument can accomplish these communicative purposes.

The effectiveness of the switch as a discourse strategy depends on shared agreement as to the meaning of the code-switch in a given context. In other circumstances, a switch to German can fulfil other functions, for example, underlining a person’s knowledge of a subject. While there is no guarantee of shared norms, CCS can be seen as a
device for pointing the participants in a conversation in
the direction of how the speakers feels the utterance
should be interpreted. Gumperz (1983:95) describes the
process thus:

Code-usage reflects conventions created through networks
of interpersonal relationships subject to change with
changing power relationships and socio-economic
environments, so that sharing of basic conventions
cannot be taken for granted. This accounts for the fact
that listeners in code-switching situations may
understand the literal meaning of an utterance, but
differ in their interpretations of communicative intent.

In Chapter 6, Sections 6.2, pp220-39, and 6.3, pp139-36,
the communicative function of conversational code-switching
in TP and WCE will be discussed.

The trend towards a more speaker-orientated approach to
the study of linguistic variation has helped broaden our
understanding of the motivations and strategies involved in
the use of different linguistic varieties, and, in terms
of our study of literary dialect, invites us to consider
the wider functions of dialect variation in the three
texts: for example, the structural, thematic and symbolic
functions as well as its role in creating verisimilitude.
The remainder of this chapter considers the methodological
changes brought about by these developments in
sociolinguistic theory.

We have seen that the traditional Labovian approach to
sociolinguistic analysis takes as its premise a socially
heterogeneous speech community with shared norms of
evaluation. The analysis itself begins from the
perspective of discrete extra-linguistic variables; those
of sex, age, ethnicity and class. These categories are, in turn, correlated with the frequency of particular linguistic variables occurring in the speech of selected informants. The results are then displayed on a single stylistic continuum, ranging from informal to formal speech, reflecting increasing attention on the part of the speaker.

Bickerton (1975), Horvath (1985) and Le Page and Tabouret-Keller (1985) have challenged this procedure on a number of counts. For example they argue that within traditional sociolinguistics the number of variables chosen for analysis is too few, and that it is not the frequency of occurrence of these limited numbers of variables, but rather the co-occurrence relationship of a wide range of linguistic features that must be taken into account when considering linguistic variation. We saw already with reference to Le Page and Tabouret-Keller’s work in Belize, which covered the interaction of a large number of ethnic groups and languages, that it was simply not possible to conceive of linguistic variation along a single linear dialect continuum defined by attention to speech and formality of context. By working from linguistic evidence outward to extra-linguistic categories, a socially and stylistically defined dialect continuum was not presupposed. Instead this emerges from the results of cluster analysis, so that the dialect continuum is subsequently understood as multi-dimensional rather than
linear. It is worth quoting again the following:

the individual creates for himself the patterns of his
linguistic behaviour so as to resemble those of the
group or groups with which from time to time he wishes
to be identified, or so as to be unlike those from which
he wishes to be distinguished.

(Le Page & Tabouret-Keller 1985:181)

Similarly, in Horvath’s study of linguistic variation in
Sydney, Australia (1985), she includes in her analysis
twelve variables from a range of linguistic levels,
together with a wide range of information on extra-
linguistic features. Using Principal Component Analysis
(PCA) she is able to circumvent the problem of pre-
determining the social group membership of her informants
through the imposition of discrete socio-economic
categories. Rather, speakers are initially grouped
according to their linguistic behaviour. Then, on the
basis of patterns which emerge from the use of PCA, their
common or divergent social characteristics are revealed.

Traditional sociolinguistic analysis focusses on the
frequency of occurrence of a few selected linguistic
features, usually with an emphasis on lexical incidence.
More recent sociolinguistic studies, such as those
mentioned above, have eliminated the problem of starting an
analysis of linguistic variation from the perspective of
presupposed discrete extra-linguistic categories. At the
same time, by increasing both the number and levels of
linguistic variables for discussion they have pointed the
way towards a more comprehensive account of linguistic
variation.
2.6 The implications of adapted sociolinguistic techniques for a study of literary dialect.

The argument of this thesis is that by using a series of analytical procedures the literary critic can overcome the essentially partial analysis of literary dialect which has been the norm to date. Traditionally, the emphasis has been on using the evidence of dialectology as a "control text". While this information provides a basic comparative framework from which to begin an analysis of literary dialect, it is not sufficient in itself. Sociolinguistics has a valuable contribution to make in terms of both theory and method. For example, from a theoretical perspective, traditional sociolinguistics points to some of the complex social factors which have a direct bearing on linguistic behaviour: age, social status, gender, together with factors such as context of situation, motivation of speaker and notions of personal and cultural identity. At the same time, methods used in sociolinguistic research offer a potentially useful analytical tool with which to study dialect variation in literary texts, for example, in terms of identifying the selection of linguistic features which make up the literary dialect, and counting both their frequency of occurrence and distribution in the text. But some adaptation is necessary before sociolinguistic techniques can be directly applied to literature. Many of the methodological limitations of this approach have been overcome by recent developments in sociolinguistics. As a result the analytical procedures used by both Horvath
(1985) and Le Page (1985) which, for instance, take into consideration a much larger number of linguistic and extra-linguistic variables, can be adapted to provide a viable means of analysing the whole dialect component in a literary text. From another perspective, but equally relevant to the literary critic, the focus on interpersonal communication, as demonstrated in the work of Gal (1979) and Gumperz (1983, 1988), has broadened our understanding of the motivations and strategies for code-switching between different linguistic varieties. This has implications for a study of literary dialect in that it encourages us to consider the wider functions of dialect within a text: its structural, stylistic and semantic uses as well as its role in achieving verisimilitude. To demonstrate the value of these different, but complementary, analytical techniques, Chapter 4, pp120-54, describes how the classification of individual dialect features according to their particular linguistic levels makes it possible to trace the distribution of dialect in a literary text, and to account for it qualitatively as well as quantitatively.

To provide a context for our analysis of Galt and Johnstone’s use of literary dialect in TE, TP and WCE, we need to consider the sociolinguistic norms of appropriateness for the use of Scots and SE in 19th century Scotland: the period in which the texts are both set and written. Chapter 3 therefore begins with an overview of the historical relationship between these varieties.
References

1. There may be a difference in emphasis amongst critics who claim that linguistic realism is not attempted in literature and that writers look to established literary conventions and not to the speech community for guidance when representing dialect. For example, Blake (1981:16) takes the view that traditional non-standard spellings are developed, copied and perpetuated by generations of writers. He argues further that there is necessarily a polarisation of standard and non-standard in written English, with each character in a novel, for instance, being given one linguistic variety. He suggests that literature cannot accommodate the range of linguistic variation existing in society; the numerous non-standard varieties are reduced to a limited number of stereotypes drawn to contrast with the standard (ibid:14). Bakhtin (1985) also takes the view that literary dialect is an impression of reality achieved by artistic consistency rather than close attention to phonetic detail. However, he differs from Blake in that he believes that even within these constraints linguistic variation can and does exist in literature, and that it can have a functional status similar to that exercised in real life. Thus, Bakhtin argues:

   the novelist makes no effort at all to achieve a linguistically (dialectologically) exact and complete reproduction of the empirical data of those alien languages he incorporates into his text - he attempts merely to achieve an artistic consistency among the images of these languages.

   (ibid:366)

In Bakhtin's terminology "alien languages" refers to the full range of linguistic varieties existing in the real world which potentially can be aesthetically re-created as "images of these languages" within the text, for example, through the selection of graphological, syntactic and semantic features.

2. The political implications of breaching the norms of appropriateness for the representation of speech in print are illustrated in Chapter 3, pp85-119, with reference to the response to the "faithful" reporting of Lord Braxfield's speech in the Edinburgh Gazetteer, 15 April 1793.

3. George Washington Harris, "Mrs Yardley's Quilting", in Richmond Croom Beatty et al. (1952), The Literature of the South.

4. In the following text dialect features are underlined and accompanied by the SE equivalent in capital letters.
Graphemes are enclosed thus, < >, phonemes / /, and phonetic realisations [ ].

5. See Petyt (1970:46-51) for the corpus of dialect utterances by Joseph in Wuthering Heights.

6. All future references to Wuthering Heights are to the 1965 Penguin edition.

7. Ellen Dean describes the following two encounters with Hareton, first as a young child and later as a youth:

He raised his missile to hurl it; I commenced a soothing speech, but could not stay the hand. The stone struck my bonnet, and then ensued, from the stammering lips of the little fellow, a string of curses which, whether he comprehended them or not, were delivered with a practised emphasis, and distorted his baby features into a shocking expression of malignity.

(p148)

In my flight through the kitchen, I bid Joseph speed to his master; I knocked over Hareton, who was hanging a litter of puppies from a chairback in the doorway.

(p217)

8. Ingham (1970:358) writes that in the Preface to Select Poems of William Barnes (London, 1908) ppvii-viii, Hardy comments that there is "no grotesqueness" in Barnes's use of dialect, since to a native its sounds are as consonant with moods of sorrow as with moods of mirth", adding:

The full significance the original words bear to those who read them without translation, and know their troubles, delicate ability to express the doings, joys and jests, sorrows, needs and sicknesses of life in the rural world as elsewhere.

9. In the following extract from The Woodlanders (Macmillan edition, 1969:379-80) a close association is made between dialect and the characterisation of sublime feeling:

As this solitary and silent girl stood there in the moonlight, a straight, slim figure, clothed in a plaitless gown, the contours of womanhood so undeveloped as to be scarcely perceptible in her, the marks of poverty and toil effaced by the misty hour, she touched sublimely at points, and looked almost like a being who had rejected with indifference the attribute of sex for the loftier quality of abstract humanism. She stooped down and cleared away the withered flowers that Grace and herself had laid there the previous week, and put fresh ones in their place.
"Now, my own, own love", she whispered, "you are mine, and only mine; for she has forgot 'ee at last, although for her you died". But I - whenever I get up I'll think of 'ee, and whenever I lie down I'll think of 'ee again. Whenever I plant young larches I'll think that none can plant as you planted; and whenever I split a gad, and whenever I turn the cider wring, I'll say none could do it like you. If ever I forget your name let me forget home and heaven!...But no, no, my love, I never can forget 'ee; for you was a good man and did good things!"

10. Kinniebrew (1983:122) refers to Holland (1963:352) who quotes Welty's own reference to small town middle class south as a place "in which speech structure and culture structure are in constant interaction...the people of Clay, Mississippi, inheriting a uniform tradition live in a closed society of intimate relationships...Everybody is quite at home with everybody else". Thus, Holland argues that the structure of dialogue in the novel "is a vocalisation of the design of the culture in which they move" (ibid:122). See also Pickett (1973) for further discussion of colloquial language and its relation to narrative structure in the first person narrative fiction of Eudora Welty.


Chapter 3

"The 19th century sociolinguistic context: the historical relationship between Scots and Standard English"

Chapters 1 and 2 have explained that a functional approach to the study of literary dialect in TE, TP and WCE involves several analytical procedures. For example, formal linguistic analysis is used to describe and categorise both Galt and Johnstone's literary dialect in terms of how it differs from SE. Further quantitative analysis of this data using OCP charts the distribution of standard and non-standard features in the above texts. This sort of computer-aided linguistic analysis enables us to produce a comprehensive description of Galt and Johnstone's literary dialect, firstly in terms of the selection of features to represent the dialect of West-Mid Scots, and secondly, in terms of the distribution of literary dialect in TE, TP, and WCE. Sociolinguistic procedures, on the other hand, are helpful in interpreting the communicative function of standard and non-standard features in these texts. Chapter 1, pp3-4, pointed out that from a sociolinguistic perspective different varieties are treated as "codes" which are semantically significant, and whose meanings can be interpreted in terms of their communicative function. Thus a sociolinguistic approach to the study of literary dialect is valuable, since:

[it] locates the text in society and its history and therefore allows interpretations to be fed by and
checked against the findings of social and historical research.

(Fowler 1981:198)

An interpretation of the communicative function of Galt and Johnstone's literary dialect in TE, TP and WCE respectively involves "locating" these texts in their 19th century sociolinguistic context, in so far as this is possible.¹ Here I would argue that an understanding of the historical development of the relationship between Scots and SE is helpful in explaining the changing formal status of Scots up to the 19th century, and how this, in turn, has affected both attitudes towards Scots, and the norms of appropriateness for the use of Scots and SE in our period. The following historical account begins by focussing on the terms "language" and "dialect" themselves.

3.1 In order to account for the changing sociolinguistic relations within Scotland as a whole between the 15th and 19th centuries, the terms "language" and "dialect" are used to clarify the declining status of Scots during this period, from an emerging national standard language, to its existence as a number of dialects. The clearest model for this discussion of the relationship between Scots and English is that given by Chambers and Trudgill in their book, Dialectology (1980), and it is primarily from this source that examples are drawn.

One way of looking at the distinction between language and dialect is to regard a dialect as a subset of a particular language, and that within this framework the
various dialects are mutually intelligible to all the speakers within the speech community. However, as Chambers and Trudgill point out, there are a number of counter-examples to this criterion of "mutual intelligibility":

1) some languages are mutually intelligible, for example, Norwegian, Swedish and German;
2) some dialects are not mutually intelligible, for example, certain varieties of German;
3) the actual term "mutually intelligible" is hard to define. Chambers and Trudgill quote the example of certain African tribes, where A understands B’s language, but B (perhaps for reasons of political autonomy) does not (or will not) understand A. (1980:3)

What we find in practice is that the notion of a "language" is one that depends on geographical, historical and socio-political factors, as much as on formal linguistic features. For example, Norwegian, Swedish and Danish are traditionally acknowledged as different languages, yet all belong to the Scandinavian dialect continuum. At extreme geographical points on this continuum it is possible that the varieties spoken are not mutually intelligible, yet the chain exists through the intelligibility of neighbouring varieties. The important fact in relation to the Scandinavian dialect continuum is that "breaks" in the chain are imposed by national boundaries, within which the separate standard languages of Swedish, Norwegian and Danish are created and defined. However:

It is of course relevant that all three Scandinavian languages have distinct standardised forms, with their own orthographies, grammar, books and literatures; and
that they correspond to three nation states, and that these speakers consider that they speak different languages.

(Chambers & Trudgill ibid:4)

Thus we find that both standardisation of linguistic forms and ideas of political autonomy are major factors in the creation of the status of a language, and these are important considerations when examining the relationship between Scots and English. Political independence (such as Scotland achieved in the 14th century) encourages standardisation and linguistic autonomy. Stewart points out that:

the standardisation of two fairly different dialects is likely to produce two centres of autonomy, with the remaining dialects becoming heteronomous in terms of either one of the other standardised forms. (1968:535)

"Heteronomous" means that the various dialects are "dependent" on a dominant sphere of influence; this would take the form of a national standard language which may or may not be based on a specific regional variety, but it usually is where the standard has emerged gradually without much conscious interference, in most cases the variety of the capital city. The relationship of heteronomous dialects to an imposed autonomous standard can be seen in the following diagram. Chambers and Trudgill (ibid:10) cite the West German dialect continuum thus:

![Diagram of Dutch and German Dialect Continuum]

88
The West Germanic dialect continuum is therefore cut up into those varieties which are heteronomous in relation to standard Dutch and standard German respectively. It is possible to relate this situation to the relationship between Scots and English thus:

(a) 14th century:

```
Inglis (Anglo-Saxon)   
/                        
| Inglis (Lowland Scots)  | Inglis/Sudron |
/                        
"Inglis" dialects continuum
```

The vernacular language spoken in Lowland Scotland was directly descended from the Northumbrian dialect of Old English, and was referred to as "Inglis" by the Scots themselves. In this period, the term "Scottis" applied to the old Scottish language, Gaelic: "Scottis" was later superseded by the terms "Erse" and "Irish".

(b) 15th century:

```
Inglis/Scottis   Inglis/Sudron
/                   
"Inglis" dialects continuum
```

In 1494, the term Scottis was used by a Scotsman, Adam Loutfut, to refer to the Scots language (see Templeton 1973:6). However, the term "Inglis" still applied to both
English English and Scottish English during the 16th century.

(c) 19th century:

Standard English

Lowland Scots English vernacular

(This changing sociolinguistic situation is discussed in detail below in Section 3.2, pp92-97).

Since notions of linguistic autonomy and dependence are influenced by political and historical factors, these states are subject to change. For these reasons the status of Scots moved from dialect (a northern variety of Inglis) to a standard language, and progressively, from the 17th century, back to a dialect. Thus between the 16th and 19th century what we find in Scotland is a general slipping away of linguistic autonomy due to the process of anglicisation, and a growth of a national standard throughout the UK as a whole.

Standardisation is a development which helps to impose uniformity of usage through dialect levelling. This can be brought about through codification of rules which are imposed formally through education, printing and publishing for example. Alternatively, standardisation can occur informally through societal consensus agreement of optionally applied norms of appropriateness. The degree of codification, and the "harshness" of penalties for breaching the rules, helps to determine what type of
sociolinguistic situation exists at a given time. (This is particularly relevant in our period, in the late-18th and early-19th centuries, when the Edinburgh literary establishment, taking the cultural and linguistic behaviour of Augustan metropolitan polite society as its model, defined "hard" rules limiting the function of Scots in society in favour of the "superimposed" variety of SE. A superimposed variety is one which is formally learned through the educational system; it is principally the written rather than the spoken form, and is associated with formal social functions such as religion or High Culture.)

Examining the relationship between Scots and SE, McClure (1981:57) states:

> the question of whether a particular speech form ought to be regarded as a language, or as a dialect, or as being essentially the same, or as essentially different from another speech form, is not always decided with reference to linguistic facts alone.

He then goes on to say:

> to what extent Scots in the Renaissance and Reformation periods was different from English, and to what extent it was regarded as being different from English, are two entirely different questions. (ibid:57)

McClure (ibid:58) quotes Strauss (1978), who elaborates on this type of linguistic environment, giving the term "apperceptional languages" to two speech forms which are objectively so similar that the impartial observer would class them, at most, as different dialects, but which, in situ, are regarded as different languages. Thus perception tends to change according to socio-political perspective.
(and in the case of the relationship between Scots and SE in the 15th century, whether one was taking the spoken or the written form as the main criterion).

The following historical account of the sociolinguistic situation in Scotland between the 15th and 19th centuries shows just how crucial the notion of "attitude" becomes, particularly in the latter stages of the Enlightenment when the "polite society" of Augustan London became the cultural and linguistic model for the Scottish upper classes and the Edinburgh literati. It also shows how this situation was complicated by a rapidly changing socio-economic climate which itself helped to inculcate ideas about "good" and "bad" Scots, so that on the one hand Lowland Scots was reviled as "vulgar" while simultaneously, traditional, especially literary forms were revered as "the gude Scots tongue" (Aitken 1983).

3.2 The historical relationship between Scots and English is well documented, most significantly in the work of Aitken (1975, 1979, 1980). In examining the development of this relationship we find that ideas of language difference are not wholly defined in relation to purely linguistic criteria. Factors including national identity, political expediency and public attitudes are equally valid. Changing attitudes between the 16th and 19th century affected how Scots saw their language in relation to English as spoken (and written) north and south of the Border.
The following discussion outlines a number of important factors, both linguistic and non-linguistic, which contributed to the sociolinguistic situation in 19th century Scotland and which ultimately have a bearing on the communicative function of Scots and SE in TE, TP and WCE.

The particular vernacular variety spoken in Lowland Scotland, and which originally had been concentrated on the small south-east region around Berwick, was directly descended from the Northumbrian dialect of Old English. By the end of the 13th century this Lowland Scots vernacular had spread north and west, driving the Gaelic language "virtually to the Highland line, except for parts of Galloway, and parts of Aberdeen, where it was spoken until the 18th century" (Templeton 1973:5). Although the language varieties of Lowland Scotland and Northern England were closely related and both, along with the dialects of Southern England, were called Inglis until the late 15th century, the War of Independence in the early 14th century resulted in different sociolinguistic perspectives beginning to develop centred in Edinburgh and London respectively. Despite structural similarities, especially in the written form, political expediency often meant that the Scottish and English varieties of Inglis would be perceived as different, an outlook that gained credence with the growing differentiation in the two spoken forms after the Great Vowel Shift in the 15th century. However, in strictly linguistic terms, during the 14th century, in both their written and spoken form, the Anglo-Saxon
dialects of Scotland and England formed a continuum, "in which the most conspicuous break occurred not at the Tweed, but at the Humber" (McClure 1981:60).

The contrasting status of the different varieties of Inglis as they developed during the 15th century can be illustrated by looking at the sociolinguistic relationships that existed within the separate domains of Scotland and England. At the same time as the dialects of Northern England were being squeezed out of literary use in favour of a standard based on linguistic varieties of the Midlands and South-East, centred on London, there was a simultaneous, steady increase in the status of Inglis in its Scots form as the vernacular language of Scotland. This meant that while Latin had previously been the language of law and education, and Norman French that of the Court and diplomacy, after the mid-14th century, "Scots" Inglis in its written form was being used for occasional glosses in Latin charters and deeds between the landed gentry. This was the variety used as the language of popular songs, but in 1375, a major literary work, Barbour’s Brus, appeared in the vernacular. By the end of the 14th century correspondence between the courts of Scotland and England was written in Inglis as opposed to French, for, according to the Earl of March (writing to Henry VIII), "that is mare clere to myne understandynge than latyne or fraunches" (quoted in Murison 1979:5). (This points to the structural similarities between the Inglis varieties of Scotland and
England, in the written form at least.) In 1390, Parliament began intermittently to record its business in "Scots" Inglis, and during King James I's reign, in 1425, the old Latin and French laws were translated into the vernacular, while soon after, in 1434, the larger burghs, led by Aberdeen, were using the vernacular for administrative purposes. Thus, in Independent Scotland, "Scots" Inglis reached the status of a national standard language, being used in all spheres of public and private life in the Lowlands.

This change in linguistic perspective is reflected in linguistic usage in literature, for example, in Blind Harry's Wallace, 1478, where the hero's opponents are called "Southernmen" or "Southerons" while their language was given the regionally specific term "Sudron" as opposed to the superordinate term Inglis (McClure 1981:60).

(Sudron had the benefit of being free from the national ambiguity of Inglis, and developed into a derogatory term for the English themselves as well as their language.) This national assertiveness is also seen in the fact that by 1495 the term Inglis began to give way to "Scottis" to describe the language of Lowland Scots, marking political autonomy and a change of outlook rather than a change in the actual linguistic structure of Lowland Scots. However, we find that despite the introduction of the names Scottis and Sudron for the Scottish and English varieties of Inglis, Inglis was still frequently used to refer to the vernacular language north and south of the border, and the
terms Scottis and Inglis were interchangeable right up to the 18th century when referring to the written vernacular.

These factors emphasise the structural similarities in the linguistic forms themselves, and illustrate how political assertiveness can provide the motive for re-labelling, which in turn helps to foster linguistic autonomy.

However, traffic between the Scottish and English Courts, personal histories of individual scribes, lack of codification of spelling, together with the enabling factor of the closeness of the linguistic structures, emphasised the qualities that Scottis shared with Inglis south of the border, and made linguistic borrowing easy. Thus it was not unusual to find southern varieties of Inglis embedded in Scottish texts. For example, even in a partisan text such as Blind Harry's Wallace, which makes explicit reference to national difference we find the following:

"no" for Scots na, "so" for så, "only" for anerly, while later we find "head" spelt head for Scots hede or heid, and also plural verb forms "bene" for Scots ar.

(Templeton 1973:7)

But this does not mean that the text was to be read as "English" rather than "Scottish". As we have already seen, in the 16th century it was still possible for Scots to be written in a similar orthography to English while the spoken form was becoming increasingly divergent. Robinson suggests that this meant:

what was written as English could be and was pronounced as Scots, and therefore was regarded as being Scots, although it could at the same time quite happily be
accepted as English. (1983:59)

It was exactly this sort of fluidity that enabled the anglicisation process to get under way.

3.3 Scots and SE: the ongoing process of anglicisation.

During the 16th century there was increasing familiarity among the people of Scotland (at all levels of society) with SE through the domains of Church, Education and Government administration.7

The Scottish Reformation and the political swing away from Catholic France towards Protestant England brought "literary" English into many homes, with the introduction in 1579, of a law requiring that each household with an income of over 300 merks (marks) should possess a "bible and psalme buke in vulgare language".8 The following year a Bible was printed in Scotland, but significantly it was not printed in Scots: it was a reprint of the English "Geneva" Bible of 1561. Along with this edition, the general population also had access to Calvin’s Form of Prayers (1562) and Catechism (1564).

An additional factor in the process of anglicisation of written texts was the presence of English printers in Scotland who standardised spelling and syntax according to English norms of appropriateness. However, such orthographic changes were often sanctioned by the authors themselves, interested in the larger markets south of the Border. Thus we find that the conscious interference of the printers along with the anglicisation policy of writers
accelerates the general evolutionary process towards anglicisation."

An important factor contributing to the demise of Scots as a prestigious written form was that from the 17th century there was no opposing literary force to counter the anglicising vogue in literature. Neither was there any political support: the court and its patronage had moved to London. Plenty of Scots was being written, but only in the restricted domain of "diaries and memoirs, household accounts, the records of the smaller burghs and kirk sessions" (Templeton 1973:8). Consequently, there was a loss of older Scots terms in higher registers from the repertoire of the speech community in general; and with the loss of a literary register there remained for Scots only the register of every-day speech as well as technical words associated with Scotland, for example, Scots Law. In her study of the anglicisation of Scots prose in the first half of the 18th century, MacQueen (1957) demonstrates that:

[schoolmasters and session clerks] retain some traditional Scots forms, spellings and inflections in the early 18th century, their mixed style deriving from both Scots and English traditions, but after 1715, when the National records and many writers of letters and memoirs, are ceasing to use many of the conventions of writing, the Schoolmasters have less opportunity of becoming familiar with these old conventions and they, also, begin to discard them.

(quoted in Williamson 1983:60)

This situation was aggravated by the fact that there was no distinction between Scots and English as linguistic entities in the schools. Williamson, in a study of Lowland Scots in education, quotes from Peebles Burgh records to
show that in 1649 a Peebles schoolmaster was instructed, to give the bairns learning Scottis each of them a pactions of psalmes or catechisme and give ane compt thereof upon Sunday. (ibid:61)

Thus pupils learning "Scottis" were taught the language of the Bible and the Catechism, which was not Scots at all, as we would now use the term, but SE. Consequently, we find that in the church and in the school, the use of SE texts helped to accentuate the difference between the written and spoken forms, and the corresponding functions of Scots and SE. For example, SE was the style used in reading from Biblical texts, while "plaine Scots wordes" were used in directly addressing the congregation (Williamson 1983:57).

During this period there was increasing polarisation between written and spoken forms as English was perceived as the prestige variety used in education, church administration and in the higher echelons of society, while the functions of Scots were increasingly shrinking to the restricted domains of hearth and home. With the reduction in status of Scots from a national standard language to regional dialects, it became predominantly the language of the uneducated and lower classes at the same time as the upper and middle-classes increasingly adopted SE as their vernacular language. This contrasts with the fact that, up until the early 18th century, Scots was the spoken variety for people of all walks of life. While we can chart fairly accurately the steady process of anglicisation of the written form, the process of changing pronunciation is
neither steady nor universal, as Section 3.4 will demonstrate.

3.4 Edinburgh "polite society": an ambivalent attitude towards Scots.

During the late 1690's, Scotland faced mass starvation as, like much of Europe, the country was affected by the economic problems of harvest failure. For some Scots, England offered opportunities for re-development and future prosperity, and within fifty years of the Union in 1707, the attraction of the English model of improvement paved the way for a more widespread emulation of cultural and linguistic models. Consequently, it was Augustan England, and SE, which would henceforth dictate the norms of appropriateness for refined society in Scotland. This meant that in certain areas of Scottish society, the Scots language and accent was seen as vulgar, something to be rid of at all costs, or alternatively, as a comic oddity, a party piece for drawing-room entertainment.

The Edinburgh gentry moved against the vernacular by creating "hard" code-selection rules for the use of Scots in society: compartmentalisation was stringent and breaching the code incurred "harsh" penalties. The problem with these "norms of appropriateness" was that they were based on a desire to copy London "polite society". Numerous guides to the "correct" pronunciation of English were published: for example, James Buchanan's Linguae Brittanica Vera Pronunciation (1757), and John Burns'
Pronouncing Dictionary of the English Language (1777, 2nd ed. 1778) (quoted in Williamson 1983a:64). This resulted in a "theoretical" idea of linguistic behaviour which did not cater for the actual practices of the Scottish speech community.

The "theoretical" approach is also apparent in the teaching methods adopted in Scottish schools, where English was taught by the "Edinburgh New Method" after the manner of Latin, with an emphasis on formal grammar, using text books such as R Godskirk and J Hume's The Edinburgh New Method of Teaching English (1750). Williamson suggests that the significance of the New Method was that:

it helped to establish a full Standard English as the language of literacy in many Scottish schools, even if it cannot be ascertained what influence it may have had on the spoken language of the classroom. (ibid:63)

Alongside the published pronunciation guides, and the efforts being made through formal education, there were also such societies as The Society for Promoting the Reading and Speaking of the English Language (founded in 1761), among whose membership was David Hume. He aptly summed up the insecurity of the Edinburgh literati thus:

we ... are unhappy in our accent and our pronunciation, speak in a very corrupt dialect, of the language which we make use of. (quoted in Greg 1932:255)

This "theoretical" approach to language meant that "polite society" members were caught in a situation where they wrote in one language and spoke in another.11

Simultaneous to the movement to eradicate Scotticisms in
speech there was a growing tendency to revere the language of the past, so that Scots language and history became a focus for national feeling. As well as the re-emergence of older ballads and folk songs there was a deliberate cultivation of Scots in the new vernacular poetry. Anthologies like James Watson’s *Choice Collection of Comic and Curious Scots Poetry Both Ancient and Modern* (1706-11), Allan Ramsay’s *Tea-Table Miscellany* (1725) and David Herd’s *Ancient and Modern Scots Songs* (1776) were all precursors to the vernacular poetry of Robert Burns. Later, the publication of Jamieson’s *Dictionary* in 1808, together with the growth of 19th century Antiquarianism, Romanticism and Nationalism brought renewed interest in Scots.

However, the relationship between Scots and SE was not a simple one of polarisation. The rapidly changing socio-economic situation during the 18th century makes the linguistic environment complicated, especially in regard to public attitudes to Scots. For example, industrialisation brought a massive influx of Irish and Highlanders into the central belt of Scotland. Ferguson (1978:229) estimates that by 1851 more than half the population of the ten main towns in Scotland were incomers. Population growth in urban areas was staggering: Smout (1969:36) quotes the following figures for population growth in Glasgow:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Population</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1755</td>
<td>23,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1801</td>
<td>77,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1831</td>
<td>202,000</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

This broadening of the sociolinguistic base meant that there was now an additional distinction being drawn between
what constituted "good" and "bad" Scots; that is, essentially between rural and urban varieties, as well as between "traditional", often literary forms, and contemporary, colloquial idioms (see Aitken, 1983, and this thesis, p92 fn4). In general, the broad Scots of the lower classes, particularly in urban areas, was regarded as "a mass of perfect and absurd corruption" (Dalyell 1801), while the Crawfurd Manuscripts (1820:290) described the speech of the industrial towns as "a Babylonish dialect, both in idiom and accent ... The tone is a shocking drawl and draunting" (quoted in Aitken:1979:96-97).

This ambivalent attitude towards Scots amongst "polite society", in relation to what passes as acceptable language in a given context, and what is regarded as the "correct" representation of that language, especially when it concerns a figure of authority in the community, is seen in the arrest of Captain William Johnstone, the owner and editor, and Simon Drummond, the printer, of the Edinburgh Gazetteer, for "making a laughing stock of Lord Braxfield by faithfully reporting him" (Cockburn 1838:123). It is worth considering this particular example in detail since it provides evidence for the "norms of appropriateness" that governed the use of Scots in society, as well as illustrating the difference between what was admissible in the spoken and written form.

In the number for the 15th January 1793, the Edinburgh Gazetteer printed an account of the trial for sedition of
three Edinburgh printers. This was not unusual in itself, but the account of the summing up by the Lord-Judge Clerk, Robert MacQueen, Lord Braxfield, was "faithfully" reported to represent his actual style and pronunciation thus:

The reformers talk of liberty and equality; this they hae in everything consistent wi' their happiness; and equality also. However low born a man may be, his ability may raise him to the highest honours of the State. He may rise to be Lord Chancellor, head o' the law, or he may rise to be Archbishop of Canterbury, the head of the kirk, and may take precedence o' a' ranks but the bluid royal. What mair equality wad they hae? If they hae ability, low birth is not against them. But that they hae a richt to representation in Parliament I deny. The landed interest alone should be represented in Parliament for they only hae an interest in the country. In God's name, let them gang. I wish them not to stay, but I deny they hae a richt to representation in Parliament. I only mainteen that the landed interest pay all the taxes. The shoon, I aloch, are dearer by almost a half than I remember them, owing to the additional taxes on leather which the exigencies of the State require; but it is not the mechanics and labourers who pay that tax, but the proprietors o' the land; for I remember when I could pay a labourer with half the sum I can do now. I am therefore of the opinion that the present constitution is the best that ever existed.

(quoted in Johnstone 1929:223)

As a result of this report, Captain Johnson and Simon Drummond were prosecuted for libel and sentenced to three months imprisonment. In addition, both had to find security, of £500 and £100 respectively, for their good behaviour for three years. The court's findings were that:

the said publication is a false and slanderous representation of the proceedings in the said trial and a gross indignity offered to this high court calculated to create groundless jealousies and doubts of the due administrative justice by the supreme criminal court of this part of the united Empire.

(Cockburn 1838:123)

The issue was further complicated by the fact that the
Edinburgh Gazetteer was a radical paper and the Government was looking for any possible excuse to prosecute. Lord Cockburn (1838) in Trials for Sedition in Scotland vol.I, comments thus:

The impression of the time was probably correct, that, if it had not been for the temptation of crushing the Gazetteer and punishing its conductors their contempt of court would never have been noticed. (ibid:120)

Lord Cockburn goes on to say that the account of Braxfield's speech was by no means an exaggeration of his style and pronunciation. Despite this, and the obvious zealous nature of the prosecution, Cockburn, himself a Whig, nevertheless agreed with the court's findings. This point of view is particularly interesting given that Lord Cockburn himself spoke with a Scots accent, and that in practice, Scots was used, and even applauded as a contribution to courtroom eloquence: for example, Lockhart (1819:68) mentions that Cockburn "uses the Scotch dialect - always its music and not infrequently its words." In certain circumstances, even in what would be termed highly formal contexts, Scots was appropriate because of its connotations of familiarity. Lockhart continues, commenting on Cockburn's pleading for the life of a young radical:

It was now that I felt in all its potency the intense propriety of the native dialect in which he chose to deliver himself. The feelings and sympathies which he wished to nourish - the reverend images he wished to call up ... would have appeared weak and dim in comparison, had they been set forth in any other than the same speech to whose music the ears around him had been taught to thrill in infancy. (1819:68-9)
Here we find that in 1793, whilst Scots had been the childhood tongue, even of these educated speakers, now its use was (ostensibly) a matter of choice, to create a particular effect. The same thing occurs in Church: while the reading of the Scriptures was rendered in SE, the sermon was more likely to be delivered in Scots. Lockhart comments on the great Glasgow (later St Andrews) preacher, Dr Chalmers:

his pronunciation is not only broadly national, but broadly provincial - distorting almost every word he utters into some barbarous novelty, which had his hearers leisure to think of such things might be productive of an effect at once ludicrous and offensive in a singular degree.

(ibid:27)

Again we find words such as "distorting", "barbarous", "ludicrous" and "offensive", acknowledging the "standard" attitude towards Scots, yet at the same time, in his references to the speech of Braxfield, Cockburn and Chalmers, Lockhart stresses their eloquence, and the effectiveness of their style.

Writing fifty years later, an unnamed author in The Scottish Educational and Literary Journal (December, 1852:99), commenting on the speech of the general populace in Scotland, notes:

there are two styles of speech - one which is set apart for public occasions and one for domestic uses.

(quoted in Williamson 1983:73)

He then goes on to point out the tendency to code-switch from Scots to SE, among educated speakers (especially those who deal with the general public), and referring
specifically to clergymen, says:

Unless there is a change in the body of the people, the clergymen cannot with propriety divest himself entirely of the home accent, as it appeals more forcibly to the hearts of the people.

(Williamson ibid:73)

While this example, along with Lockhart's references to educated speakers mentioned above, illustrates the functional use of Scots in society, nevertheless the norms of appropriateness for the written form dictated that Lord Braxfield's speech "should" automatically have been represented in SE regardless of his pronunciation. The significance of the communicative function of using Scots rather than SE must therefore be seen in political terms and it is from this point of view that Cockburn says of the Edinburgh Gazetteer:

the true delinquency lay in the speech ascribed to the Justice which made him personally vulgar and odious.

(Cockburn 1838:119)

By reporting Braxfield in dialect, albeit faithfully, the paper was appealing to these very norms of appropriateness, by drawing parallels between the vulgarity of Braxfield's speech and his politics.

The domain of Scots in late-18th and early 19th-century Scottish society was restricted, in the main, to the spoken form, informal contexts and among the lower, uneducated classes (although it was still retained as an option by the older generation even among the educated upper class).

"Officially", Scots was scorned as vulgar and barbaric and in addition the various literary clubs and publications emphasised the need for "correct", i.e. SE pronunciation,
but in practice, even such eminent figures as Cockburn, Hume and Scott spoke with a Scots accent. (It would seem to be the case that people in the upper and middle classes over-estimated the "correctness" of their speech in much the same way as Labov and Trudgill have found in their contemporary studies of the New York and Norwich speech communities respectively.) We have also seen that Scots still had a functional use in society, even among educated speakers and in formal contexts such as the Law Court and Kirk, although the usage is metaphorical in that it is drawing on connotations of familiarity, solidarity and filial bonds. These factors together with an ambivalent attitude towards Scots amongst Scottish "polite society" naturally affected the status and function of Scots in literature.

3.5 Sir Walter Scott: creating the model for the Scottish Novel.

Since English literature provided the model for Scottish novelist, established literary conventions as well as the sociolinguistic relationship between Scots and SE were factors which limited the domain of Scots even in what would be termed "the Scottish Novel". For example, the use of SE in the narrative to suggest disinterested objectivity together with a comprehensive and reliable viewpoint unrestricted by parochialism or professional jargon, was already established. Scots was therefore considered inappropriate for the authorial voice, and indeed the
language of the main characters.\textsuperscript{12}

The most prolific writer of the Scottish Novel in this period was Sir Walter Scott and in many respects it was he who created the model for the genre. The domain of Scots in literature as characterised by Scott is fairly clearly defined: in dialogue rather than in narrative, and even in the context of spoken language it would tend to characterise the uneducated lower classes (or the two extremes of children and the older generation). In addition the characters who use Scots are often comic, occasionally rustic. Another feature of Scott's writing which helps to compartmentalise the use of Scots is his tendency to create stereotypes suggesting national characteristics. But he goes further than this, since through his choice of language he not only assumes that his readers share his opinion, he presents this "opinion" as "fact", and it is interesting to note, with the frequent references to Scots as "they", that this ostensibly "shared" outlook is seen from an English perspective. For example, in Rob Roy (1817), the narrator, commenting on the congregation at a service in Glasgow Cathedral, says:

\begin{quote}
The Scotch, it is well known, are more remarkable for their exercise of their intellectual powers than for the keeness of their feelings.\textsuperscript{13}
\end{quote}

These dual factors of language and character not only help to promote norms of appropriateness for Scottish character types, but also help to create norms for the Scottish Novel.

Tulloch (1983) points out that it was Scott who
provided the model for the use of Scots in the narration, presenting the following categories used by Scott:

(a) ordinary English narrative with a few Scots words

(b) recorded Scottish speech narrative, as in "Wandering Willie's Tale" (Red Gauntlet)

(c) written narratives of an uneducated Scot, as in Jeannie Dean's letters (Heart of Midlothian)

(d) only barely explored, but still there, the written narrative of an older educated man who speaks and writes informally, in a mixture of Scots and English. (ibid:346)

The density and scope of Scotticisms used in the first category is limited to technical terminology which refers to Scots Law, for example, *infeofment*, *intromit* and also to words which refer to Scottish landscape or society, for example, *brae*, *burn*, *loch*, *kirk*, *manse*, *bairn*. Scott, in his narrative, according to Tulloch, uses *glen* and *laird*, and occasionally *loch*, but not *kirk* or *bairn*. What we find, then, is that in order to provide Scottish colour, the narrator introduces the Scottish term, but not as part of his own idiolect; rather he qualifies his usage by including the words "as the Scotch say". Tulloch (1983:345) refers to "Chronicles of the Canongate" and a story narrated by Mrs Bettine Balliol who speaks of "a sod or divot as the Scots call it". In this instance the narrator is not English; therefore we have the most peculiar occurrence of one Scot explaining to another what the Scots mean by "divot". In third person narratives such as Rob Roy, we find:

snuff-box or mull, as he called it. (p56)
the lapwing and curlew, which my companions denominated the peasweep and whaup. (p247)

swamps, green with treacherous verdure, or sable with turf, or, as they call them in Scotland, peat-bogs. (p247)

The latter is also a good example of Scott's use of understatement, deflating for effect by switching from somewhat elevated "poetic" SE into colloquial Scottish idiom.

Alternatively, when Scott uses SE spelling it does not necessarily mean that the character is supposed to be speaking English rather than Scots. A striking example of this is in *Heart of Midlothian* (1818) when the narrator comments on Jeannie Deans' broad Scottish accent, when she first addresses Queen Caroline, but Scott goes on to represent her speech, both style and spelling, largely in SE. On the one hand Scott is using more elevated diction appropriate to Jeannie's role as heroine, and also the significance of the speech in the context of the book. On the other hand this is a prime example of Scott's inhibition over using the vernacular, the episode being one of the main focal points of the novel: presumably in such a serious episode Scott was unwilling to risk using colloquial Scots that might alienate his audience. Scott's awareness of his extensive readership was perhaps another factor in curtailing the use of Scots lexis and spelling in the novels. This is particularly true because within this clearly defined format the Scots novel became very popular, appealing to the wider reading public in England, as well
as in Scotland.

While Scott established the model for the Scottish novel, Galt significantly extended the genre. Galt, like Scott, had to acknowledge the social constraints imposed on the use of Scots in society, but he managed to extend the scope for Scots within the genre of the Scottish Novel by developing areas which Scott had failed to exploit to any degree. For example, Galt allowed Scots to infiltrate the SE narration as part of the implied writer's idiolect (see Tulloch 1985). But in terms of extending the scope of the Scottish Novel, Galt's use of the narrative persona, and his attention to sociolinguistic detail, are more significant than the infiltration of Scots into SE narration. While Galt acknowledges the potential of the characterised first person narrator, he realised that this device could only be used within certain contexts which took into consideration both the actual sociolinguistic situation in society as well as literary convention, notably with reference to ideas of a "credible" authorial voice.

This account of the historical relationship between Scots and SE has established a sociolinguistic framework which not only explains the norms of appropriateness for the use of these linguistic varieties in 19th century Scotland, but also explains the ambivalent attitude of Scots. Chapter 6, pp184-264, uses this contextual information together with the sociolinguistic theoretical
framework outlined in Chapter 2, Section 2.5, pp55-81, as an aid to analysing the communicative function of Galt’s literary dialect in TE, TP and WCE, respectively. In the first instance, though, we must consider the procedures involved in establishing a classification of Scotticisms which take into consideration the whole dialect component and which, in turn, will enable us to make a quantitative analysis of the various linguistic features used in both Galt and Johnstone’s literary dialects.
References

1. Chapter 1 pointed out that a sociolinguistic approach to the study of literary dialect such as this draws on a variety of both modern and historical sources. In terms of the historical relationship between Scots and SE, the following material is particularly relevant:

(a) Modern linguistic studies by Aitken (1979), MacQueen (1957) and McClure (1981) which examine the process of anglicisation.
(b) Historical sources such as the Statistical Account for Scotland, drawn up from the communication of the ministers of the different parishes, edited by J. Sinclair, 21 Vols. Edinburgh (1791-99), Lockhart (1819), Cockburn (1838) which reveal contemporary attitudes towards Scots together with information about norms of appropriateness for the use of Scots and SE in our period.

2. To understand the role of Edinburgh "polite society" and the literati in particular, in creating norms of appropriateness for the use of Scots and SE in society, and the ultimate implications of this codification for the domain of Scots in literature, it is useful to see the movement towards anglicisation in Scotland in relation to the growth within the UK as a whole of a national standard language. Barrell, in English Literature in History 1730-80 (1983), describes why for various linguistic and political reasons the language of the English "gentleman" emerges as the appropriate model for the national standard language. We see parallels being drawn between politics, ethics and dialect in much the same way as in Scotland in the latter stages of the Enlightenment. But in this instance the situation is complicated by the fact that Scots has a historical and psychological status beyond that of a regional dialect (see Chapter 3, Section 3.1, pp86-92).

These factors helped to create an ambivalent attitude towards Scots which had repercussions for the Scottish intellectual ego, particularly when members of Edinburgh "polite society", the people most intent on following the English cultural and linguistic model, themselves spoke Scots in childhood, some never losing the distinguishing features of Scots despite efforts to eradicate them from their spoken as well as written language. In this sociolinguistic environment the relationship between Scots and SE became self-conscious and strained.

3. Pedro de Ayala, the Spanish ambassador at the court of James IV, in 1498, probably basing his example on the language of London, as opposed to the dialects of Northern England, noted that the King's "own Scottish language is as different from English as Aragonese from Castilian" (quoted
in Templeton 1973:6). On the other hand, the author of The Complaynt of Scotland (1549), while stressing the difference between Scotland and England nevertheless admits that they are of "ane language":

there is nocht twa nations undir the firmament thatar mair contrar and different fra uthers nor is inglis men ans scottis men quhoubeit that thai be uitht [both] in ane ile, and nychtbours, and of ane language.
(quoted in Kratzmann 1980:12)

4. Aitken, in his article "Bad Scots: some superstitions about Scots speech" (1982), discusses the mythologising of Scots speech into the following vague categories:

(a) Scottish Standard English
(b) Genuine dialect (Good Scots)
(c) Bad Scots.

Aitken points out that clear expressions of disapproval about Bad Scots emerge during and immediately following the period of industrialisation in late-18th century and early-19th century Scotland, and that this language was clearly associated with the down-trodden, working class, crowded into urban ghettos (ibid:41). The notion of Good and Bad Scots has remained, and we find that Bad Scots is still associated with working-class districts of Glasgow, and, Aitken adds, for some people, with Edinburgh and Dundee. He also points out that others would add to this list their own local urban centre. This means that the Scots of Aberdeen city may be treated as Bad Scots, though rural Aberdeen is always held to be Good Scots. (Similar judgements are made regarding Hawick (Bad Scots) as opposed to rural Roxburghshire (Good Scots), Penicuik (Bad Scots) and rural Midlothian (Good Scots) etc.

Aitken lists the following epithets used to describe Good Scots and Bad Scots: Good Scots is seen as genuine, authentic, pithy, expressive, forceful, rich, fine, lovely, and often old, or good old. Bad Scots, on the other hand, is degraded, corrupted, degenerated, vulgarised, debased, perverted, corrupted, slip-shod, uncouth, gibberish, jumble, hotchpotch, and so-called Modern Scots (ibid:33-34). Bad Scots, which is generally viewed as a confusion of imperfect English and corrupted Scots, is sometimes said to be not really Scots at all, just corrupt or debased English. It is also said to "have degenerated", "become debased", "become perverted". Good Scots is the exact opposite of this. It is not impure, or corrupted, but perfect, and uncorrupted. Aitken points out that beyond their own localities, and outside Buchan and the Borders, most people are pretty hazy about where to find Good Scots. Indeed, in many respects, Good Scots can be said to be an idealisation of Scots. Perfect Good Scots would be fully Scots in every possible respect. And as such it would
bear little resemblance to the actual speech of any speech community in Scotland. The notion of Good Scots as "pure" and "uncorrupted" ignores both the existence of a Scots/SE dialect continuum, and the reality of stylistic variation within individual idiolects.

5. Scots as a standard literary language reached its peak in the late-15th and early-16th century. Nowadays this form is referred to as Middle Scots. Scots contemporaries generally referred to it as Inglis, although up to the early 16th century, the term Scottis was also used. The following lines from William Dunbar's "Lament for the Makaris" (Elegy for the Poets), written about 1505, and cited in Barber (1981:29-30), demonstrates some of the features of Scots as a standard literary language:

I that in heill [health] wesand gladnes,
Am trublet now with gret siknes,
And with infermite;
Timor mortis conturbat me.

Our pleasance heir is all vane glory,
This fals warld is bot transitory,
The flesche is brukle [frail], and Fend is lle;
Timor mortis conturbat me.

The stait of man dois change and vary,
Now sound, now seik, now blith, now sary,
Now dansand merry, now like to dee;
Timor mortis conturbat me.

No stait in erd heir standis sickir [secure];
As with the wynd wavis the wickir [twig, osier],
Wavis this warldis vanite;
Timor mortis conturbat me.

On to the ded [death] gois all Estatis,
Princeis, Frelotis, and Potestatis [rulers],
Baith riche and opur of al degre;
Timor mortis conturbat me.

In view of the dialect features of Scots in Galt's work, it is worth noting the following:

(a) <-it> not <-ed> for the past tense and past participle of weak verbs: trublit/TROUBLED, feblit/ENFEEBLED.
(b) <-and> as the ending of the present participle, dansand/DANCING.
(c) Third person singular inflection of the verb is always <-is>, never <-eth>, as in standis/STANDS, and wavis/WAVES; <-is> is also used as a plural inflection: "On to the ded gois all estatis".

6. According to Smith, in Specimens of Middle Scots (1902),
"Inglis" as a national standard language in Scotland during the 15th century was essentially a literary variety based on the language of the Court in Edinburgh. He argues:

Middle Scots was more exclusively than any other companion phase in the languages of north-west Europe, the special affair of literary habit, as distinguished from spoken dialect...it was the common medium of every writer during a century when Scottish literature was at its best.

(ibid:xi-xii)

Although the period 1450-1550 can be said to be the zenith of Scottish literary language in the works of Lindsay, Henryson and Dunbar, these writers, The Makars, saw themselves as writing within the same tradition as Chaucer and Lydgate. Dunbar, for instance, praises Chaucer as "the sovereign light of our Inglisch" (The Golden Targe I.259), while Lindsay talks of Gavin Douglas as "the finest flower of 'our Inglis rethorick'" (quoted in Kratzmann 1980:12). This does not mean to say that the written varieties of Inglis, north and south of the Border, were identical. Rather, to some extent they evolved in a parallel direction with reference to auxiliary verbs, <quh-> relatives, and elaboration of Latinate vocabulary, for example. If we compare the language of Henryson and Chaucer, we can see the variation between Scottish and English equivalents of the same linguistic forms:

And of hire look in him ther gan to quyken
So gret desir and such affeccion,
That in his hertes botme gan to stiken
Of hir his fixe and depe impression.
Chaucer, Troilus and Criseyde, lines 295-8

The idole of ane thing in cace may be
Sa deip imprentit in the fantasy
That it delLdis the wittis outwardly.
Henryson, Testament of Cresseid, lines 507-9
(quoted in Kratzmann ibid:84)

Perhaps the main difference between Scottish and English varieties of Inglis at this time, and the factor to which the language of the Makars owes its greatness, is that "Scots" Inglis contained within its "standard" repertoire the full range of registers from the elevated Latinate forms to colloquial idioms. In his reference to the description of the rising sun in Gavin Douglas’s Eneados, Kratzmann demonstrates how the Makars used Scottish idioms to balance aureate phrases:

Defunded from his sege etheryall
Glaid influent aspectis celicall;
Befor his regale his magnificens
Mysty vapour vpsepyngand, sweit as sens,
In smoky soppys of donk dewis wak,  
Moich hailsum stovys ourheldand the slak.

Gavin Douglas *Eneados* XII, lines 41-46

Here we find the following Scotticisms: "Glaid influent, glad influence; soppys, clouds; wak, wet; and, moich hailsum stovys ourheldand the slak, Moist wholesome vapours covering the valley" (Kratzmann Ibid:254).

7. During this period, the terms Scottis and Inglis were still interchangeable when referring to the language of Lowland Scots. For example, in a law authorising the printing of a vernacular Bible in 1543, we find the following:

> It is statute and ordainit that it salbe lefull to all our sourine ladys lieges to haif the haly write baith the new testament and the auld in the vulgar toung in Inglis or scottis of ane gude and trew translation and that thai incur no crimes for the hefing or reeding of the samin.

(quoted in Robinson 1983:60)


9. The gradual weeding out of Scotticisms in written texts can be illustrated by reference to the evolution of James I’s *Basilicon Doron*. The original manuscript of 1598 was written in the normal Scots of the time. A limited edition of this text was printed in 1599 for private circulation, but a number of Scotticisms had already been deleted, or changed to their SE equivalent:

> ken becomes KNOW; thir, THESE; mekill, MUCH; although idioms containing Scottish terms were mainly left.

(Templeton 1973:8)

Templeton (ibid:8) points out that when the full edition was printed in 1603, it was in a revised form and most of the remaining Scotticisms had been removed; "the 1603 text reads 'taking good heed', for the 1598, *taking narrow tent*."


11. This is not necessarily a problematic situation. After all, every language is compartmentalised to a certain extent, be it differences in linguistic style, register, differences between standard and vernacular, within the same language system, or different languages in diglossia (see Chapter 3, Section 3.1, pp86-92). What makes this situation different is the changing formal status of Scots, and more importantly, the ambivalent attitudes of those members of society who were partly responsible for creating
the code-selection rules for the use of Scots and SE, together with the norms of appropriateness for their use.

12. Smollett in *The Adventures of Roderick Random* (1748) evaded the problem of a principal character who would be a Scots dialect speaker by using various tactical devices. The recording of Roderick's speech is directly related to his own opinion of himself as a gentleman and his ability to use SE. Thus, early in the book, before he comes to this point of view, his speech is by various means contained within the narrative and thus rendered in SE. Inverted commas may be used, but the syntax would then take the form of reported speech.

Chapter 4

"Classification of Scotticisms"

The work of both MacQueen (1957) and Aitken (1979) has particular relevance to the methodology used in this study of literary dialect in TE, TP and WCE; firstly, in terms of developing a classification of Scotticisms, and secondly, interpreting the communicative function of dialect variation in these texts.

4.1 MacQueen focuses on the older literary language of Scotland and tackles the thorny problem of isolating, defining and counting Scotticisms in written texts. The core of her study is based mainly on the language of official documents in the first half of the 18th century. She is interested in the process of anglicisation and the aim of her analysis is to list Scottish features occurring in sample texts at various periods, and thus to record the frequency of occurrence of different types of Scotticism in various documents at various dates.

A Scotticism, according to MacQueen, refers to a linguistic feature existing in 18th century Scottish writing, but not generally used by good writers in 18th century England (1957:73). To distinguish between Scots and English usage at this time, the Oxford English Dictionary (1884-1986) was taken as the standard for English, while in order to identify individual items as Scots, reference was made to the Scottish National
Dictionary (1931-1976), Murray's The Dialect of the Southern Counties of Scotland (1873), Smith's Specimens of Middle-Scots (1902) and Grant and Dixon's A Manual of Modern Scots (1921).

Scotticisms are divided into five classes:

1. Spelling
2. Grammar
3. Word-form
4. Vocabulary
5. Idiom & Syntax

The following summary briefly outlines MacQueen's criteria for including items in each category (1957:50-56). The chapter goes on to explain how the system of classification adopted in the present study of literary dialect differs from that used by MacQueen and Aitken respectively.

4.1.1 Spelling

MacQueen notes that minor variations in spelling were still common in both Scots and English in the 18th century, but not so much in literary texts. Examples include thairfore/THEREFORE, greit/GREAT, <quh-> where SE has <WH-> as in guhen/WHEN.²

This category has limited use for the study of 19th century novels, although specifically Scottish spellings do occur in Galt's texts, for example pye for PIE. As indicated in Chapter 3, Section 3.3, pp97-100, various factors contributed to the anglicisation of literary works printed in Scotland: the presence of English printers, the desire to conform to an existing literary norm together with the possibility of appealing to a wider audience of
readers south of the border.

4.1.2 Grammar

1. Nouns:
   (a) especially those indicating time, space, quality, measure and number, are uninflected in the plural, for example, seven mile.
   (b) Individual plurals differ from English, such as cornis/CORN, horse/HORSES (except in military parlance, for example, Horse Guards Parade), and kye/COWS.

2. Adjectives and Pronouns:
   (a) Some adjectives and adjectives used as pronouns take a plural inflection (probably under French influence), for example, utheris/OTHER.
   (b) The plural of <THIS> is thir. MacQueen points out, however, that from the 16th century, in the North, this and that are found with plural nouns.
   (c) Adjectives without inflections are frequently used as adverbs, for example "It would seem terrible conspicuous" from R L Stevenson’s The Weir of Hermiston (1894). (Quoted in Grant and Dixon (1921:144).)

3. Verbs:
   (a) The present tense ends throughout in <-is> (later <-es> or <-s>), except where the subject is a personal pronoun directly antecedent to its verb. Thus, we find I dare and not *I dars. When pronoun and verb are separated, the usage would be for example, I that dars.
   (b) Past tense and past participle of weak verbs end in <-it>, for example, repetit/REPEATED, sustenit/SUSTAINED.
(c) The `<in>` past participle ending of some strong verbs remained longer in Scots than in English, and in the 18th century `<en>` endings still remain in verbs where literary English has weak endings, as in *proven, shapen*.

(d) The present participle `<and>` was originally distinct from the gerund `<ing>`, but by late Middle Scots `<ing>` has become an alternative ending for the present participle also, thus agreeing with English usage. Grant and Dixon (1921:113) quote the following example:

> Thay war *dansand* aa thruw auther an’ sye *dansin*’ aa never afuore; hey *a-greitin*, but feint o’ aene kaennd quhat hey was *greitand* for; syc *ongangin’s* as yr *gaan’n* on yonder.

Murray, *Dialect of the Southern Counties* (1873:211)

### 4.1.3 Word-form

Chapter 3 pp85-119, which surveys the historical relationship between Scots and SE shows how both varieties originated from the same (Old Northumbrian) dialect of Old English, and as a consequence have many words in common.

MacQueen points out that these words have often come to differ, either (a) through divergent phonological development in the two languages, or (b) by their selecting differently from different morphological variants in early Middle English, or (c) by their selecting differently from variants existing in languages which provided loan-words. Examples of these three variations in the type of cognate forms include:

1) *stane/STONE, puir/POOR, a/ALL*
2) *abune/ABOVE, selch/SEAL*
3) *dispone/DISPOSE, expone/EXPOSE, gloir/GLORY*
4.1.4 Vocabulary
This category includes all other words used in Scots, but not in contemporary English, together with words used in a sense different from that of contemporary literary English. MacQueen quotes presently/AT PRESENT, caution/SECURITY and beadle/CHURCH OFFICER.

4.1.5 Idiom and Syntax
Since MacQueen is primarily concerned with the language of legal texts, this category mainly consists of formal idioms and expressions used in the sphere of Scots Law, for example, the guhilks/WHICH, it is statute and ordanit, in maner foirsaid. Theoretically, though, this category would include all other differences in idiom, construction and usage, but MacQueen herself admits that this is a problematic area. In fact she points out that in the last three classes the line of demarcation between Scots and English is far from clear (1957:43). She refers to the fact that the two varieties have a "common core" of shared linguistic features; in terms of her classification none of this common core has been marked as Scots. On the other hand, though, items such as friend meaning a close relative, which were originally common core but which have since been discarded in English must be classed as Scotticisms.

4.1.6 The criteria for identifying and marking individual features as Scotticisms has implications when it comes to making a quantitative analysis of literary dialect. Only
those features initially accepted as Scots under the terms of the study itself are reckoned in counting the number of Scotticisms in a passage. For instance, since her study is based mainly on the language of official documents, MacQueen omits the following from her initial classification of Scotticisms:

all titles and offices peculiar to Scotland and remaining in use to the present day, since, strictly speaking, these have no English equivalents, and are not capable of anglicisation. Thus, provost, bailie, Kirk Session, Lyon Court, Dean of the Faculty, Writer to the Signet, Moderator, for example, have not been reckoned as Scotticisms for fear of distorting the picture of the language in its development; on the other hand, words like laird, beadle (in Church), writer (in Law), advocate, have been included as being positions and occupations not particularly characteristic of Scotland, but roughly equivalent to the English SQUIRE, VERGER, SOLICITOR and BARRISTER.

(1957:41-42)

MacQueen also makes the point that in a corpus comprising mainly official documents there is a tendency to find patterns of repetition in specific types of passage. She refers, for example, to a document concerning the bequest to a church of the interest on a sum of money where the words mortification and marks occurred six times each, and the words annairent and kirk four times each. This gave a potential total of twenty Scotticisms although only four different Scots items were used. MacQueen explains that this situation is countered by including in each analysis the number of different words and forms, in addition to the total (1957:45).

This latter point is important: in her analysis of the process of anglicisation as it affects sample written texts
in early-18th century Scotland, MacQueen's quantitative analysis of Scotticisms focuses on the number of individual Scots features, noting their frequency of occurrence. This is in preference to counting the number of discrete words which could be classified as Scots. Thus it is possible to find instances of "dual categorisation" whereby two Scots features occur in one word and would therefore count as two separate Scotticisms (1957:45). An example of this would be rookit, meaning TO CHEAT. Here we find a Scots lexical verb with a Scots inflectional ending. Using MacQueen's terminology this item would be entered twice, under Vocabulary and Grammar respectively. Wantit, on the other hand, would be entered under Grammar only since this is a lexical item which is common to both Scots and SE, but here is presented in its Scots form. (But see Section 4.3, pp129-34, for an alternative analysis.)

4.2 While MacQueen is concerned with monitoring the process of anglicisation in sample written texts from the early 18th century, Aitken (1979) is primarily interested in current Scots speech. He employs a similar method of classifying Scotticisms to MacQueen, but he simplifies his criteria of classification in order to establish the following five column table to represent the current linguistic situation in Scotland as it exists along the Scots/SE dialect continuum (see Figure 4a). The table can be said to display information at both the macrocosmic and microcosmic level, respectively. This means that on the
one hand, it refers to the range of speech options in use amongst the various social groups of Lowland Scots speakers. At the same time, in terms of the individual idiolect, it indicates the range of alternatives theoretically available within the linguistic competence of native Scots speakers as they vary their speech according to function and personal motivation. According to Aitken:

Columns 1 and 2 derive historically from earlier native Scots speech; Columns 4 and 5 represent later importations from southern English; and much of the vocabulary and grammar part of Column 3 consists of material which has since the outset been common ground between these two dialects.

(1979:85)

Figure 4a

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Scots</th>
<th>English</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bairn</td>
<td>mair</td>
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<tr>
<td>lass</td>
<td>stane</td>
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<tr>
<td>kirk</td>
<td>hame</td>
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<td>chaft</td>
<td>dee</td>
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<tr>
<td>gowpen</td>
<td>heid</td>
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<tr>
<td>ken</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>bide</td>
<td>loose(n)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kenspeckle</td>
<td>louse(v)</td>
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<tr>
<td>low</td>
<td>yaize(v)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>cowp</td>
<td>yis(n)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>shauchle</td>
<td>auld</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>whae’s aught that?</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>truth</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pit the haims on</td>
<td>barra</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tumble wulkies</td>
<td>they</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>no(adv)</td>
<td>*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-na(neg.part.)</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* Most of the inflectional system, word-order grammar
+ Pronunciation system and rules of realisation

(Aitken 1979:86)

If "Scots" and "English" can be said to represent the
opposite poles of the Scots-English dialect continuum, then each of the five columns in Aitken's model refers to the historical origins of the different sets of options. If we see this model in the context of the historical relationship between Scots and English, we can say that anglicising Scots since the 17th century learned to substitute the distinctively Scottish lexical and syntactic items together with native idiomatic phrases as represented in Columns 1 and 2 of the above table, with their English equivalents from Columns 4 and 5. The structural similarities of the two linguistic varieties meant that this substitution was able to take place at the level of dialect merely through the assimilation of new vocabulary items.

In terms of current Scots speech an individual may consistently select items from one particular end of the dialect continuum and only very occasionally choose items from the other end. Aitken points out that in Scotland, depending on which "end" predominates, i.e. Columns 1-3, or 3-5, the speaker may be judged to be "speaking Scots", "speaking very broad", "speaking very broad dialect" or "speaking English", respectively. Between these extremes there are many variations in dialect density. In addition Aitken argues that the range of linguistic varieties which compose the Scots-SE dialect continuum operate as registers within the linguistic repertoire of many Scots speakers. This means that, depending on the social context, certain features will predominate more than their Scots or English
equivalents. Because of the connotations surrounding the respective varieties, in an informal context Scots is more liable to be used, while in formal contexts, or in situations where the speaker might wish to impress the addressee, SE would be more likely to prevail. As well as considering the function of Scots and English in terms of register Aitken expands on this notion by distinguishing between "dialect-switchers", who code-switch consciously and recognisably between one variety and another, and others called "style-drifters" who also code-switch, but do so in a less predictable and less systematic way. According to Aitken, this latter form of linguistic behaviour is typical of working class speakers who perhaps code-switch less consciously, or alternatively, do not have the linguistic competence to fully engage in the consistent use of items which would appear in Columns 3-5 in the above table (1979:86).

4.3 While Aitken's five-column model displays current Scots speech at both the macrocosmic and microcosmic level, and MacQueen examines the older literary language of Scotland, both studies have a bearing on the system of analysis developed here. For example, a modified version of Aitken's five-column table provides us with a basic sociolinguistic model with which to consider the potential choices made by Scots speakers in the 19th century. This model together with information from historical sources regarding attitudes towards Scots and the norms of
appropriateness for the use of Scots and SE, can further contribute to our interpretation of the communicative function of dialect variation in TE, TP and WCE. (See Chapter 3, Section 3.4, pp100-108.) Chapter 6, pp184-264, will show that dialect distribution in these texts can vary in relation to social status, formality of context and addressee, and that characters such as Provost Pawkie (TP) for instance, are "dialect-switchers" while others such as Claud and Charles Walkinshaw (TE) are "style-drifters".

A Scotticism, in terms of the following study, is similar to the definition used by MacQueen but here refers to a linguistic feature existing in early 19th century Scottish writing, but not liable to be used by contemporary writers in England. The intention is not to describe Scots as a linguistic system, but rather to describe Galt and Johnstone's literary dialect in terms of how it differs from SE. In other words, the focus is on a comparative analysis. This means that while preterite endings such as <-it> as opposed to <-ed>, as in wantit/WANTED, and expectit/EXPECTED, are discussed by MacQueen under the heading Grammar, given the terms of my classification items such as these are listed under Phonology, being different from their SE equivalents through the implementation of a sound change rule, in this instance, the use of voiceless as opposed to voiced alveolar plosives (see MacQueen 1957:56; Grant & Dixon 1921:182 and this thesis, Chapter 4, Sections 4.1.2, pp122-23 & 4.1.3, pp134-37).
Scotticisms such as stane/STONE, hae/HAVE, collek/COLLECT and expectit/EXPECTED, which have direct lexical equivalents in SE, have spellings which imply merely a phonological difference from SE, and are listed under Phonology. On the other hand, items such as afore/BEFORE, atween/BETWEEN which perhaps sound as if they ought to be similarly classified, are listed under Morphology since these Scotticisms involve the selection of a different affix from that used in SE, in this instance the prefix *a-* as opposed to *be-*. (Since a morphological difference automatically involves a difference in spelling and pronunciation, a Scotticism which is classed under Morphology does not, in addition, require to be included under Phonology.)

Classification of the Scots system of negation is more problematic. For example, the following items from TE include both synthetic and analytic forms together with instances of dual categorisation:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>canna</th>
<th>may na</th>
<th>t’s no</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>dinna</td>
<td>would na</td>
<td>is’t no</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>maunna</td>
<td>would nae</td>
<td>will it no</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>hae na</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>is na</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Classification of the Scots negative particle is described in detail in Section 4.3.2, pp134-37, while the issue of dual categorisation and its implication for a computer-assisted analysis of literary dialect is discussed in Section 4.4, pp151-53.

In the Classification of Scotticisms which follows,
items are allocated to a particular category in terms of how they differ from SE rather than according to the linguistic status of the item itself. The criterion of analysis therefore differs slightly from that used by Aitken, particularly regarding the status of common core items included in Column 3 in his table (see Section 4.2, Figure 4a, p127).

While it is possible to say that Column 1 consists entirely of Scots items, for example, bairn, ken, and that Columns 2 and 4 are made up of Scots and English versions of the same form respectively, as in hame/HOME, auld/OLD, there is a certain ambiguity surrounding the actual status of Columns 3 and 5, since there are no distinguishing features to signal that an item is "common core" and not "wholly" SE. It could be said that if an alternative, semantically equivalent, Scots item is available, then the English item, if selected, would exist as a "borrowing". But this sort of criterion for classification would depend on the analyst knowing the linguistic competence of the speaker, or being sufficiently knowledgeable her/himself about an alternative item being available and globally in use at any given time. Consequently, in terms of this study of literary dialect, it would be difficult to distinguish between "unmarked" forms which are common to both Scots and English, and those items which exist as SE borrowings. For this reason, like MacQueen, I have chosen to ignore common core items, listing only features which are markedly Scots.
The sociolinguistic approach to the study of Galt and Johnstone's literary dialect adopted here involves examination of the selection and distribution of the full dialect component. The analysis of TE, TP and WCE in Chapters 5 and 6, pp155-264, focuses on dialogue, but depending on the scope of the study, this approach is equally relevant to an analysis which includes narrative.

The procedure adopted here differs from a traditional sociolinguistic approach which would focus on a quantitative analysis of only a few salient sociolinguistic variables. The following system of what I shall call metavariables are designed to cover all the linguistically marked forms in a portion of text. These metavariables, entitled Orthography, Phonology, Lexis, Morphology, Idiom, Syntax, together with a category for malapropisms entitled Idiosyncratic usage, include items which would appear in Columns 1 and 2 of Aitken's table (see Figure 4a, p127) but exclude common core items which Aitken ascribes to Column 3.

4.3.1 Orthography.

This category refers to items which are marked orthographically without necessarily implying a phonological difference from SE, and is roughly equivalent to MacQueen's Spelling.

(a) Thus, in Galt we find PIE occasionally spelled pye:

i) I'll mak you as sick o' pyes and puddings (TE)

(b) Although the phenomenon occurs rarely in my corpus,
this category includes spellings which can be said to represent the usual colloquial pronunciation of unstressed items:

ii) I hope *an’* trust it’s in your power (TE)

(c) The running together of I AM occasionally provides the following:

iii) but am blithe to see you (TE)  
v) if am no mistaen (TE)

An alternative analysis of *am* for SE I AM would interpret this as the deletion of I, in which case *am* would be classified under Syntax.

(d) It is impossible to retrieve from the texts whether Galt intends *ye* to represent the pronunciation */jɪ/ or */j/. Thus where *ye* is used ahistorically it could be said to refer to the normative unstressed pronunciation of *YOU*:

v) but *ye* can afford to bide (TE)  
v) how’re *ye* yourself (TE)  
vii) Surely *ye’ll* no objec to mak me the wiser (TE)  
viii) I redde *ye* keep calm (sing.) (TE)  
I redde *ye*, lads (plu.) (TE)

4.3.2 Phoneme Selection.

This category refers to the Scots equivalent of terms which have a direct lexical equivalent in SE, and involves the implementation of a sound change rule. The following are a few examples of the sorts of systematic differences in word-form found in the corpus. (See Figures 5c-5f, Chapter 5, pp176-82 which list features of lexical incidence in the dialect component in TE, TP and WCE.)

(a) Vowel:  
*banes/BONES, daur/DARE, amang/AMONG, anither/ANOTHER, soople/SUPPLE, cabaudge/CABBAGE, reguesht/REQUEST.*
In this connection, it is worth noting that Scots has in
*gae* and *gang* alternative variants of SE GO. While *gae*, as
in the following example:

i) Girzy, *gae* to thy bed (TE)

would be marked under Phonology, *gang* (which derives from a
different source) cannot be equated with SE GO, and would
be marked under Lexis:

ii) so just *gang* hame at ance (TE)

(b) Inter-vocalic consonant or final consonant cluster
(including preterite endings) deleted, or simplified:

*deil*/DEVIL, *ne’er*/NEVER, *gi’en*/GIVEN, *ca’d*/CALLED,
*shouthers*/SHOULDERS, *mistaen*/MISTAKEN, *reflek*, *objec* or
*objek*, *attain’t*, *bequilt*, *blacken’t*, *borrow’t*, *change’t*,
*dippit*, *countit*, *devour’t*, *expectit*, *picket*, *sparet*.

i) *ne’er* fash your thumb (TE)

ii) our Hughoc’s auld *claes* (TE)

iii) Surely ye’ll no *objec* to make me the wiser (TE)

iv) I might hae *expectit* (TE)

v) she might hae *alloo’t* her (TE)

vi) this hobbleshaw would hae been *sparet* (TE)

Given the remit of my classification, this category of
metavariable would not distinguish between *hae*/HAVE,
occurring as a lexical or as an auxiliary verb.

vii) therefore we maun hae a little more of your
balsamic advice (TP)

viii) sic things, ye ken, hae been (TP)

(c) Negative particles:

According to *A Dictionary of the Older Scottish Tongue*
(1931— ), "*no* (adv)⁶ is a reduced form of *Nocht*, or
possibly its variant *Noth*. Analytic *<-n>* (adv)⁷ is a
suffixed form of *No* (adv)³ with a change in vowel owing to
the absence of stress. *Ne* (adv)³ [of which I have only
found one occurrence in the Galt texts I have examined] is
a variant of Na". Ultimately, these various forms of the negative particles are etymologically the same (ie they have the same morpheme (neg), but different phonological (allomorph) form). However, in order to stay consistent within the system of classification adopted here, it is necessary to recognise the linguistic distinction between free and bound morphemes. Thus, while *canna* can be said to be the Scots equivalent of SE CAN'T, different only in terms of the phonological representation of the reduced form of <NOT>, *is nae, could na, or need ne*, which all involve the selection of the analytic negative form, are marked under Morphology.

In spoken language the difference between the free and bound negative form would not necessarily be recognised, particularly if the adverb <NOT>, or *na* is unstressed. In terms of written text, however, the use of the analytic form of the negative further contributes to the reader's impression of marked difference from SE. Thus, while *canna* counts under Phonology, and *is nae/ISN'T* counts as Morphology, *it's no/IT ISN'T* also involves a difference in word order from SE and would therefore be marked as Syntax + Morphology. We therefore find the following variations in the classification of the Scots system of negation:

(a) Phonology:

i) that *canna* be thought o' (TE)

\[ P \]

ii) I *dinna* think (TE)

\[ P + P \]

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iii) Meg Draiks *winna* gie me (TE)

\[ P + P \]

iv) for ye *maunna* expek (TE)

\[ L + P \]

(b) Morphology:

i) ye should *na* let it fash you (TE)

\[ M \]

My god, is *nae* this moving? (TE)

\[ M \]

The negative particle in Scots also occurs with a limited number of lexical verbs where SE would use "DO" support. In this case the Scoticism is also marked under Syntax.

ii) I see *na* why a father may *na* tak' his own course

\[ S + M \]

\[ P \]

(TE)

The situation is further complicated in interrogative contexts where a difference in word order from SE may be involved:

i) *is't no* an afflicting thing (ISN'T IT) (TE)

\[ S + M \]

ii) *will it no* be (WON'T IT) (TE)

\[ S + M \]

4.3.3 Lexis.

MacQueen omits from her classification of Scoticisms all titles and offices peculiar to Scotland since strictly speaking they have no English equivalents (see Section 4.1.6, pp124-26). She is concerned with the process of anglicisation and she argues that since she is dealing mainly with official documents, the inclusion of items unique to Scotland gives a false impression of dialect density. MacQueen is concerned with a different set of questions from the ones being addressed here. For instance, in literary dialect the author is responsible for
selecting language to produce a deliberate effect. Like MacQueen, I feel it is necessary to take into consideration the qualitative differences in the dialect of two passages where, for instance, one is composed of titles, offices and legal terminology and the other consists of Scots Idiom and Syntax. In terms of this study of literary dialect the former items are included as Scotticisms. And I would argue that MacQueen is inconsistent in the distinction she draws between titles and offices peculiar to Scotland and other aspects of Scots cultural life. Due to its particular historical relationship, Scots shares some aspects of the English cultural and linguistic experience, but that is not to say that each is identical. The Kirk and Scots Law are institutions which reflect the Scottish cultural experience, and in this respect I would argue that the distinction MacQueen draws is a false one. For example, she allows laird, writer (in Scots Law) and advocate as Scotticisms having an English "equivalent" in SQUIRE, SOLICITOR, BARRISTER respectively, but these equivalences are only approximations due to the differences in the institutions themselves. In the same way, bailie could be said to have an English equivalent in MAGISTRATE or COUNCILLOR, and likewise Provost, in MAYOR. But MacQueen disallows these items (see MacQueen 1957:41-42; this thesis Section 4.1.6 pp124-26).

Noting the distribution of literary dialect in terms of density alone does not take into consideration the difference in effect between a passage containing a
smatter of Scots lexical items, and another passage of equal length where the Scotticisms are composed of idiomatic phrases and Scottish cognate forms. This means that while the classification of Scotticisms according to their linguistic level makes an important set of quantitative distinctions it is important to follow up this initial analysis of literary dialect with a subsequent analysis which takes further distinctions into account.

For the time being, however, Lexis includes the following:

(a) General Scotticisms:

These are items which would be listed in Column 1 of Aitken's Model and would include both "overt" and "covert" Scotticisms (see Aitken 1979:106-108). The following are a few examples from TE and TP:

- anent, bairn, belve, canny, craigling, deved, doddered, eyedent, gaumeril, gloaming, gumshionless, kyteful, sauvendie stiver, swattle, taigling, toom-handed, wamling, wastrie, wull-ease wyted, yird.

i) dinna spear any quistons (TP)
ii) I don't value them now a cuttyspoon no, not a doit (TP)
iii) the office of dean of Guild must be a very fashious one (TP)
iv) ye see it requires a canny hand to manage public affairs (TP)

(See Appendix C1-C6 for a full wordlist of dialect components in TE, TP and WCE respectively.)

(b) Cultural Scotticisms:

This includes titles, offices and technical terms referring to Scottish institutions, for example, Provost/
(corresponding approximately to English MAYOR), Bailie/
(similar to English TOWN MAGISTRATE), intromit/Scots Law
term meaning to handle or deal with funds or property, especially of a person who is deceased (SND), writer (to the Signet)/SOLICITOR (a member of a society of solicitors in Edinburgh) (SND), feu/ the possession of heritable land or property in payment of a sum entitled a feu duty (SND), grassum/ the sum paid by a tenant or feuar at the grant or renewal of a lease or feu right (SND), exambio/ the exchange of land or property, mailing/a tenant farm, aught/ possession (of land or money), tack/the leasehold tenure of land, property, or perhaps mining or fishing rights (SND), bawbee/the Scots coin equivalent, in the nineteenth century, to a half-penny sterling, groat/a small coin, tolbooth/the town jail, cognost/Scottish legal term meaning investigated judicially.

i) shilling, a groat and a bawbee (TE)
ii) I am a writer to the signet (TE)
iii) its a great pity ye're no even a bailie this year, far less the provost (TP)
iv) till my rights are cognost (TE)
v) to mak an exambio of the Divithill (TE)
vi) I dinna think yon's auld Kittlestonheugh's crookit bairnswoman (TE)

(c) Archaisms:
This refers to items which, originally common core, had fallen into disuse in England by the 19th century, whilst being retained north of the Border: friend/CLOSE RELATIVE, howsoever/HOWEVER, redde/WARN, wat/Scots version of SE WOT, ought/ALL.

i) for ought I care (TE)
ii) I redde you, Watty, keep your distance (TE)
iii) Girzy will no be ill to woo (TE)
iv) that the very way that my friend that's no more laid himself out to be fleched (TP)
(d) From a synchronic perspective the following items would be simply seen as "nonsense" words and would therefore be listed as general Scotticisms. However, a diachronically informed synchronic analysis reveals that these are cognate forms of English words, but far removed, coming to Scots from a different source than the English equivalent. For example, the following are derived from Old Norse: kirk/CHURCH, meikle/MUCH, A LOT, maun/MUST, aboun or abune/ABOVE, frae/FROM, an/AND IF, EVEN IF.

i) we maun ca' canny many a day yet (TP)  
ii) I wish you meikle joy (TE)  
iii) so far aboan my reach [possible misspelling of aboun] (TE)  
iv) an thou can but master (TE); an he's sparet (TE)

(e) Semantic difference from SE:
These lexical items which are common to both Scots and SE can sometimes occur in a different environment from which they would appear in SE, or alternatively, in certain contexts which produce a different meaning.

i) cast him wi his sma (YOUNG) family (TE)  
ii) than the bravery (CHEEK) o' sic a Solomon (TE)  
iii) frae the time o' the sore (BAD) news (TE)  
iv) the wa's were na subject to a right (PROPER, FULL) inspection (TP)  
v) he's a thought daft (TE); a thought mair (TE) complaisant (TE); a wee thought mair of daffing (TE)  
vi) our Girzy's no surely past (BEYOND) speaking to (TE)  
vii) I trow I'll learn him better manners (TE)

(In (vii) the Scots is conforming to traditional non-standard usage, where SE would use TEACH).

4.3.4 Morphology.

This category includes both inflectional and
derivational morphology. Inflectional morphology deals with the various forms of lexemes, and according to Strang (1968:101) "involves relatively few variables in a closed system". Derivational morphology, on the other hand, according to Lyons (1977:522), is "the process that results in the formation of new lexemes", and, unlike inflection, can involve many variables in an open class.

Inflectional Morphology:

(a) Nouns:

Scots may select different plural allomorphs from SE:

i) to gie thee mair childer (TE)
ii) my eyne maun be worth pearls and diamonds to the East India Company (TP)

Non-standard plural endings such as thir/THESE, thae/THOSE:

i) remmede for us a' in thir straits (TE)
ii) for ye ken in thir novelle and play-actoring times (TE)
iii) brings a' thae things to mind (TE)

(b) Verbs:

We find the use of weak past forms where SE has irregular:

i) her life gied out like the snuff o' a' can'le (TE)
ii) my father has telt me (TE)
iii) or selt them, Provost, for meal (TP)
iv) I gaed up to London (TP)

Non-standard past-participle:

i) now that ye hae gotten a house (TE)
ii) an instinct to make me aquaint wi the particulars (TE)

(c) Adverbs:

Scots sometimes selects different affixes from those used in SE:
i) I'll stand ahint the dike (TE); frae ahint the scrutoire (TE)
ii) threatened to tak me afore the Lords (TE)
iii) deep and dumb aneath the yird (TE)
iv) But atween hands up the balance sheet (TE)

(d) Concord:

According to Bauer (1984:24), "concord is the system whereby two (or more) lexemes are obligatorily marked for the same morphological categories to show a specific syntactic relationship between them":

Subject and verb:

i) as anybody ken (TE)
ii) but say that thir news are no just what I could have wiss'd to hear (TE)
iii) And a' she haes might hae been (TE)

Adjective and noun:

i) to learn the particulars of thir great news (TP)
   (where thir means THESE and not THEIR.)

Derivational Morphology:

There are many examples in Galt's texts which illustrate how Scots differs from SE by creating different lexemes from the same root.

i) for gentle blood come to a needcessity (TE)
   (NECESSITY)
ii) Watty, no to speak disrespectfule of his (TE)
   (RESPECTFULLY)
iii) I'll no see him wrangeously driven to the door (WRONGLY)
   (TE)
iv) the tawpy taunts of her pridefu' customers (TE)
   (PROUD)
v) under no obligation to serve or obey them mair than pleased mysel (TP)
   (PLEASED)

4.3.5 Syntax.

According to Matthews (1981:11) this category "traditionally covers both the construction of phrases and sentences and also the features of meaning which are
associated with them".

Noun Phrase:

(a) Determiner:

The use of the determiner in Scots with reference to institutions, periods of time, diseases:

i) it's no the gout or the rhumatism (TE)
ii) I would be nane surprised the morn (TE)
iii) how're ye the day (TE)

(b) Personal pronoun:

For example, the use of them where SE would use, THEY:

i) no better than them can be (TP)

(c) Relative pronouns:

In non-restrictive environments Scots frequently has that instead of WH- forms:

i) I wonder you, that's now a rich man, (TP)

(d) Genitive case:

In Galt's texts we occasionally find non-standard use of the possessive:

i) which was brought to a criticism yesterday's afternoon (TP)

Verb Phrase:

(a) The use in Scots of the second person singular familiar form. This sometimes is used in conjunction with the Scots verb ending, but not always. Thus, we find:

i) an t'ou has the capacity of an understanding (TE)  
   \[
   \begin{array}{c}
   P + S \\
   \end{array}
   \]

ii) T'ou's a born idiot (TE)  
   \[
   \begin{array}{c}
   P + S \\
   \end{array}
   \]

iii) I wonder t'ou didna think (TE)  
   \[
   \begin{array}{c}
   P + F \\
   \end{array}
   \]

iv) I wonder you, that's now a rich man (TP)  
   \[
   \begin{array}{c}
   S + S \\
   \end{array}
   \]
(b) The selection of a different AUX from SE, or alternatively, where SE would have 0 AUX:

i) I ken what ye're come about (TE)
ii) they are come to tak down your (TE)
iii) I am not come here to ask needless questions (TE); I am come to you as a friend (TP)
iv) Givans who are come o’ the best blood (TE)

(c) Double modal:

i) he’ll no can thole (TE)
ii) I’ll s’en gie an account (TP)
iii) he’ll can weel afford to help George (TE)

(d) 0 have after negative, as in the use of past participle for perfect tense:

i) Charlie need na been in sic a (TE)
ii) I would na needed to be put (TE)

Also, 0 do in final position:

iii) that’s what I will (TE)

(e) Use of present progressive in certain contexts where in SE we would find stative lexical verbs:

i) I am wanting to speak to thee (TE)
ii) I am thinking the walls are no o’ a capacity of strength (TP)

(f) Use of past progressive in Scots where SE would use the infinitive:

i) Mr. Walkinshaw, an onything were happening on a sudden (TE)

(g) wh- adverbs: the use of what for instead of WHY:

i) and what for may na Watty (TE)
ii) What for is’t no possible (TE) (WHY ISN’T IT POSSIBLE)

(h) Yon and yonder as determiner and adverb.

Scots has a three way distinction, "here", "there", and "yonder", where the latter term refers to something or someone far distant from the speaker. As well as being used
referentially, *yon* and *vonder* can be used metaphorically.

i)  I dinna think *yon* auld Kittlestonheugh's crookit bairnswoman (TE)

ii) dae ye ca' *yon* singing (TE)

iii) what a kyteful o' pride's *vonder* (TE)

Adjectival Phrase:

(a) Double comparatives and superlatives:

i) will it no be the *most hardest* thing (TE)

(b) Double negatives:

i) *was na no* mere man (TE)

Subordinating Conjunctions:

(a) Where SE would have THAT, or EXCEPT THAT, Scots has the following:

i) there's no doubt *but* your father would marry (TE)

ii) I dinna see *but* ye might set your cap (TE)

iii) a thing which, *but at* on occasion (TE)

4.3.6 Idiom.

This is potentially a problem area because of the difficulty in establishing coherent and consistent criteria by which the category is defined. A definition of Scots Idiom must take into consideration semantic factors to do with the cultural production of meaning, together with syntactic factors to do with how this meaning is produced within the language system. If the definition is too narrow it cannot account for every aspect of idiomatic usage. Alternatively, if the definition is too vague, Idiom becomes a "catch all" for any constructions which differ from SE but in a way which is difficult to classify elsewhere within the system of metavariables.
(a) On the one hand, Idiom can be said to refer to a conventional collocation where the meaning of the whole is not predictable from the sum of the meanings of each item. That is, the meaning is not a literal one, but derived from access to a shared cultural experience, for example:

i) hear that the Nechabudnezzer was a' gane to pigs and whistles (TE)
ii) an ay keep mind that the hills (TE)
iii) come intil Glasgow, where he fell into a decay o' nature (TE)
iv) that's looking far ben (TE)

(b) An alternative approach would be to say that Idiom merely refers to proverbial sayings and expressions. These may well have a similar meaning to those used in colloquial English, but are able to be classed as Scotticisms by virtue of the fact that these meanings are created by different verbal constructions. This classification would include the above examples, together with the following:

i) minnows are better than nae fish (TE)
ii) ye might do better than cast a sheep's e'e in at oure door (TE)
iii) It's no the fashion for bare legs to come thegither (TE)
iv) gudeman ye'll ne'er even your han' wi' a saxpence (TE)
v) for a gift of sagacity by common (TP)
vi) let us get this executed aff hand (TE)
vii) frae even doun inattention or prodigality (TE)
viii) They would need lang spoons that sup parridge wi' the de'ill (TE)

Expressions such as those found in (a) and (b) are commonplace in Scots, and indeed throughout Galt's novels. While the former set might be easily recognised as Idiom, the latter are perhaps less easily defined. It would seem that in most cases both Lexis and Syntax are involved but that the usage is restricted to particular combinations of
features, as opposed to being predictable in terms of rule
governed relations. For this reason, the approach outlined
in definition (b) has been adopted here. Even so, there
are still Scotticisms which are difficult to classify. For
example, while Petyt (1970) in his analysis of one of the
dialects of West Yorkshire includes non-standard use of
prepositions such as of for IN, over for ABOUT, BECAUSE,
OF, and while for UNTIL, under the category of Syntax, I
have listed non-standard prepositional usage under Idiom:
again because it involves the idiosyncratic use of
individual lexical items within a particular syntactic
relationship. Thus we find the following:

   i) in the road (TE) (ALONG)
   ii) at that wat (TE); the fifteen at Edinburgh (TE);
       for behoof of your son (TE) (IN)
   iii) look for me to dinner (TE); buy saut to his kail
       (TE) (FOR)
   iv) We’ll think better or the morn (TE) (BEFORE)

Another example of a construction which is rule bound, but
which applies to specific or very small groups of lexicon
is the use of make + NP where SE would merely use VP:

   i) he made an abolute refuse (TE)
      (HE ABSOLUTELY REFUSED)
   ii) I hae lived long enough to mak an observe (TE)
      (LONG ENOUGH TO OBSERVE)

Finally, in Scots, bit, meaning either SMALL, or A PIECE OF
SOMETHING, can be used as a modifier and as a head-word.
Items such as bit, drap and wheen are usually treated as
nouns, but modify the N directly rather than taking a
following possessive (cf. A FEW).

   i) be making up a bit balance-sheet (TE)
      (MAKE UP A SMALL BALANCE SHEET)
ii) a *bit* blue o’ superfine (TE)  
(A PIECE OF BLUE SUPERFINE)

iii) I met wi’ a *bit* accident (TE)  
(I MET WITH A SMALL ACCIDENT, or, I MET WITH A BIT OF AN ACCIDENT)

Although this usage is limited to lexical items pertaining to quantity, these are various and consistent enough to warrant inclusion under Syntax as opposed to Idiom.

Appendices D1–D3 list examples of Idiom and Syntax in TE, TP and WCE, respectively. The concordances in Appendices D1 and D2 were produced using OCP and the Cocoa References on the left hand side provide information about speaker and addressee. Appendix D3, on the other hand, was produced by hand and lists examples of Scots idiom and syntax in WCE.

4.3.7 Idiosyncratic Usage

This category refers to items which are marked in relation to SE, but which are not characteristically Scots. Rather, these are examples of malapropisms, perhaps even mis-pronunciations of actual Scots items, used for purposes of characterisation:

i) that kens muckle about the *prejinketties* o’ the law (TE)
ii) is no a time for *molloncholious* moralising (TE)  
(MELANCHOLY)
iii) Ye’l mind how *outstrapolous* and *constipated* he was at her burial (TE)  
(OSTREPEROUS)
iv) But crocodile, or *croakindeil* as I should ca’ him (TE)

v) it’s ony way to *commode* the business (TE)  
(ACCOMMODATE)
vi) rather than *promulge* this matter (TP)  
(FROMULGATE)

vii) a gentleman, so *conspicable* in the town as you are (TP)  
(CONSPICUOUS)

viii) it’s no to be *deputed* (TP)  
(DISPUTED)

As with Idiom, features of idiosyncratic usage may not always be translated literally into SE.
4.3.8 Dual-Categorisation

The issue of dual-categorisation was first raised in Chapter 4, Section 4.1.6, pp124-26, with reference to MacQueen's system of classification of Scotticisms. Chapter 5, pp155-83, examines in detail both Galt and Johnstone's selection of Scotticisms to represent the dialect of West-Mid Scots. Chapter 1, pp1-26, and Appendix A, outlined the procedures involved in using OCP for analysis of literary dialect.

One of the limitations of OCP is that once an item has been selected and allocated to a particular metavariable, this item is then dropped from the available lexicon, and therefore cannot be re-allocated to another category. This means that Scotticisms such as maunna or dinna which incorporate two Scots features are initially ascribed to a temporary category called "dual". Once the concordance or wordlist is produced in hard copy, the dual category items are re-allocated manually to their appropriate linguistic category. The following examples illustrate the range of metavariables involved:

i) wisic an *ettling o' pains and industry* (TP)
   I + L

ii) wonder you, *that's* now a rich man,
   S + S
   and with *eyne* worth pearls and diamonds (TP)
   I + M

iii) let your father *rin* to the woody as he will
   (TE)

iv) but t'ou *kens* that in family settlements (TE)
   L + S

v) T'ou's a born idiot (TE)
   P + S

Appendices D1 & D2 show concordances of Idiom and Syntax.
together with examples of dual-categorisation in TE and TP. Appendices E1-E3 chart the dialect component in individual characters' speech in TE, TP and WCE, respectively. These graphs are produced from data once instances of dual-categorisation have been re-allocated to their appropriate metavariables. The final section in this chapter expands further on the issue of counting Scotticisms.

4.4 Counting Scotticisms.

The quantitative analysis of literary dialect which follows in Chapters 5 and 6 employs a similar method to that used by MacQueen. This means that the base score for Total Words (TW) in a stretch of text refers to the total number of discrete words (hyphenated words count as one unit). The raw score for the Dialect Component (DC) refers to the total number of marked dialect features. This figure includes instances of dual categorisation, whereby one graphological unit comprises two Scots features (see Section 4.1.6, p126). Alternatively, idiomatic expressions such as step the length of (TP), which consists of four items of vocabulary, count only once under Idiom since no other Scotticisms are involved.

The following extract from Malachi Hypel's speech in TE demonstrates the method of classification described in Section 4.3, pp129-51, and shows how literary dialect can be analysed quantitatively:

"I hear," said the Laird, on entering the shop, and proffering his hand across the counter, "that ye hae a sappy bargain o' the Grippy. It's true some o' the lands are but cauld; howsoever, cousin, ne'er fash your
Glasgow's on the thrive, and ye hae ae many een in your head, for an advantage, as anybody I ken. But now that ye hae gotten a house, wha's to be the leddy. I'm sure ye might do waur than cast a sheep's e'e in at our door; my dochter Girzy's o' your ain flesh and blood; I dinna see ony moral impossibility in her becoming, as the Psalmist says, 'bone of thy bone'.

There are two examples of dual categorisation in this extract:

i)  dinna  
    P + P

ii) fash your thumb  
    I + L

_Cast a sheep's e'e in at our door_ is another idiomatic expression, but here the Scots cognate forms _e'e_ and _oure_ are able to be marked separately.

**Figure 4b**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>P</th>
<th>L</th>
<th>M</th>
<th>S</th>
<th>I</th>
<th>Id</th>
<th>D</th>
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<tr>
<td>ye(3)</td>
<td>hae(3)</td>
<td>sappy</td>
<td>een</td>
<td>the Grippy</td>
<td>dinna</td>
<td>on the thrive</td>
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<tr>
<td>o'(3)</td>
<td>howsever</td>
<td>gotten</td>
<td>cauld</td>
<td>ken</td>
<td>ne'er</td>
<td>leddy</td>
<td>cast a sheep's e'e in at our door</td>
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<td>onybody</td>
<td>ain</td>
<td>dochter</td>
<td>ony</td>
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<tr>
<td>e'e</td>
<td>fash</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>oure</td>
<td>fash</td>
<td>your thumb</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>dinna</td>
<td>P + P</td>
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<td>15.15%</td>
<td>6.06%</td>
<td>3.03%</td>
<td>9.9%</td>
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</tbody>
</table>

DC = 32%, TW = 100

_TW = Total Words, DC = Dialect Component, O = Orthography, P = Phonology, L = Lexis, M = Morphology, S = Syntax, I = Idiom, Id = Idiosyncratic Usage, D = Dual-Categorisation._

The dialect component is presented as a percentage of the
full vocabulary. Furthermore, sums for the individual metavariables are displayed as a raw score, and as a percentage of the dialect component as a whole. This sort of quantitative analysis, particularly if these figures are visually displayed (for example as a histogram), enables comparison between individual idiolects as well as forming the basis for a general assessment about patterns of dialect distribution within the text as a whole. Figure 4b displays the distribution of metavariables in Malachi Hypel, the Laird of Plealands‘ speech in TE: data is based on his full amount of dialogue. Chapter 6 pp184-264, analyses dialect distribution in TE, TP and WCE. But first we need to look in more detail at Galt and Johnstone’s selection of Scotticisms to represent the dialect of West-Mid Scots.
References.

1. MacQueen's corpus consists of a range of formal records including National Records, Kirk Session Records, Burgh Records, other local Scottish records and English records, as well as letters and memoirs.

2. In this thesis the following conventions are used:
   (a) Scots features are underlined.
   (b) SE features are written in capital letters.
   (c) Morphological forms and examples of spelling are presented thus: <-it>, <-ed>, <qhu->, <WH->.
   (d) Phonemes are depicted using IPA conventions, thus: /a/, /u/, for example, MORE/mair/, /mer/.

3. MacQueen (1957:42) points out that even in the 16th century a very large part of the Scots language was common to both Scots and English. Under the terms of her classification all words common to Scots and English are included under English, the term Scots being reserved for features peculiar to Scotland.

4. In Scotland, speakers who consistently select from Columns 3-5 of Aitken's table (in this thesis, Figure 4a, p127), may generally be considered (by people in Scotland) to be speaking English, when they are actually speaking Scottish Standard English, that is, SE, but with a Scots accent.

5. Huddleston (1984:102-3) refers to the traditional terms "analytic" and "synthetic" in his discussion of verb forms:
   a perfect VP is marked as such by the presence of a particular word, while the marker of the past tense is a morphological process.

   Thus, the perfect HAVE TAKEN is analytic, while the past tense, TOOK, is synthetic. In terms of our analysis of the Scots system of negation, the analytic form is marked by the presence of a particular word, e.g. no, na, nae, ne, while in the synthetic form, the negative consists of a lexeme with a bound negative morpheme, e.g canna.


7. In 19th century Scotland, the owner of even a modest estate was addressed by the name of his property. As he bought or inherited larger, more valuable estates his title changed accordingly. Thus, in TE, Claud Walkinshaw's first acquisition is the estate of Grippy, but eventually he succeeds in reclaiming the land of his forebears, the estate of Kittlestonheugh. In the course of the novel Claud is thus known as Walkinshaw, Grippy and finally Kittlestonheugh.
Chapter 5

"Selection of Scotticisms in Galt's and Johnstone's literary dialect"

This chapter addresses the linguistic question of Galt's selection of Scotticisms to represent the dialect of the West of Scotland in The Provost and The Entail. To assess the verisimilitude of this literary dialect, it is necessary to compare it with a description of the dialectology of the area (see Figure 5a).

Figure 5a
Analysis of Galt’s literary dialect can be assisted by a further comparison: firstly with an alternative representation of the dialect of this area by one of Galt’s contemporaries. Chapter 1, p5, states that an appropriate text for this purpose is Mrs Christian Johnstone’s sketch “West Country Exclusives", published serially in Tait’s Edinburgh Magazine in 1834-1835. Secondly, some comparison with genuine speech is desirable though the lapse in time means that such comparison can only be suggestive not conclusive of Galt’s realism. Here, Oral History tapes from the Ayrshire Sound Archive have proved a useful source (see Chapter 1, p12 and Appendix B). Transcriptions of individual ASA tapes have made it possible to compare both the selection and representation of Scots features together with the distribution of linguistic levels which make up the dialect of this area. Although there is an obvious difference in the amount of Scots lexis used, transcriptions of the tapes nevertheless allow us to consider the implications that choice of spelling has for the overall impression of dialect density. In this way we can see to what extent Galt and Johnstone concur in spellings used to represent lexical incidence.

5.1 The framework for our analysis is the dialectology of West-Mid Scots. The following outline of this dialect area covers lexical incidence. This information is based on a number of sources, the principal one being the Introduction to the Scottish National Dictionary (1931-76) (SND). The
SND provides information about the overall stressed vowel system found in different areas whereby items such as root, food, fool, soon and roof would be considered as a matching set. Although the Linguistic Atlas of Scotland Vol III (1986) (LAS) is a more recent and a more detailed source, it is less convenient to use in conjunction with literary dialect. The LAS, which confirms the phonemic information in the SND, and indeed adds to it by giving a detailed account of specific phonetic realisations, presents its information on the dialectology of West-Mid Scots in a different way. The criteria in the LAS are to demonstrate a number of systems defined by the structural positions of the vowels. In this respect the LAS questionnaire is polysystemic. The questionnaire consists of a series of monosyllabic common core words. These are arranged in sections numbered from 0 to 10 where each section shows the stressed vowels as occurring before a given consonant or group of consonants. Thus, series 0 shows vowels occurring before /t/, series 1 refers to those vowels occurring before /d/, while series 7, 8 and 9 shows vowels occurring before /l/, /n/ and /f/ respectively. This means that root appears in series 0, food in series 1, fool in series 7, soon in series 8 and roof in series 9.

The amount of detail that the LAS provides is unnecessary for the purpose of this thesis, chiefly because the nature of English orthography makes such fine distinctions in the representation of regional
pronunciation impossible. Since the task at hand is to describe both Galt and Johnstone’s representation of the Ayrshire dialect through their selection and distribution of linguistic features, a description of the phonemic characteristics of the dialectology of West-Mid Scots, is more suitable. This is found in the SND.

Once the control text is created, the literary representation of the Ayrshire dialect in TE, TP and WCE can then be analysed. This is done firstly in terms of items in the texts (consistent with the dialect as described in the literature) and secondly, in terms of potential items which Galt or Johnstone fail to exhibit. The latter features include both prominent and unstressed syllables. For example, neither writer attempts to represent orthographically certain common characteristics of lexical incidence: items such as FARM could have been spelled *erm* (an exception to this is *gathering* (TE)). Likewise, unstressed vowels found in items such as HAD or WAS could have been given the phonetic spellings *hid* and *wis* which would have contributed to the impression of dialect density in the text (in WCE we find one instance of *wad* for *WOULD*).

This leads to a wider consideration of Scots literary dialect: the fact that there is a recognised Scots spelling tradition which uses both Scots and English forms (see Chapter 3, Section 3.2, pp92-97). This also means that where SE spelling does not conflict with Scots pronunciation Galt and Johnstone do not generally change
the orthography to make the item "overtly" Scots. For example, HOUSE is not spelled hoose, and items such as OFFICE are not spelled oaffice. In a sense there is no need since within traditional Scots spelling, <ou> and <o> can represent /u/ and /o/ respectively (see Section 5.3 pp169-70).

In analysing Galt and Johnstone's literary dialect we are not just concerned with individual Scots features, but with the collocation of different types of Scotticisms: lexis, phonology (lexical incidence), morphology, idiom and syntax. Ives (1950:147) states that, because of the regular repetition of selected identifying features, literary dialect is more regular, more simplified and yet in some respects an exaggeration of the "real life" model (see Chapter 2, Section 2.4, pp41-3). By examining both Galt and Johnstone's literary dialect in the light of the dialectology of West-Mid Scots we can gain some perspective on the question of whether their respective representation follows the pattern of "real speech", or whether they tend to "under-represent" certain individual features and/or linguistic levels, whilst "over-Scotticising" in other respects.

Figure 5a illustrates that dialect regions do not necessarily coincide with geographical divisions. Thus in Ayrshire we find that the West-Mid dialect cuts the county in half extending from Ayr in the West, to the River Nith in the East, and northwards across the Firth of Clyde to
Bute and to the southern extremity of Kintyre, (SND pxxvii). The majority of Scotticisms featured in ordinary Ayrshire speech are General Scots rather than being regionally specific. This means that as well as linguistic features which would distinguish West-Mid and South-Mid Scots, the Ayrshire dialect includes many items which are shared by other varieties of Lowland Scots. The following description of West-Mid Scots focusses mainly on features of lexical incidence, that is, characteristics of pronunciation which distinguish West-Mid Scots from other dialects of Scots.

5.2 Murray, in his Dialects of the Southern Counties of Scotland (1873:238), states that "the Clydesdale dialect is distinguished from that of Lothian by its broader vowels". Similarly, with respect to consonants, the /l/ is dark in all positions. These are characteristics which though plain to the ear would be difficult to represent orthographically. Where the difference in pronunciation involves the selection of a different phoneme from SE this is easier to represent through the spelling. Thus we find that Galt and Johnstone are able to incorporate many aspects of West-Mid Scots in their literary dialect. It has to be said though, that the majority of their Scotticisms are General Scots rather than being regionally specific. This is particularly true when it comes to consonant deletion, preterite endings, lexical items and syntax. That is not to say that their literary representation of
vernacular speech in the West of Scotland is unrealistic. Rather it means that the Scotticisms used are general to most parts of Scotland, including Renfrewshire and Ayrshire.

Figure 5b

West-Mid : Stressed Vowel System.

\[
\begin{array}{c}
\text{i} \\
\text{u} \\
\text{e} \\
\text{o} \\
\text{oe} \\
\wedge \\
\wedge i \\
\wedge u \\
\text{a} \\
\text{æ}
\end{array}
\]

(a) Lexical Incidence: Vowels.

1.1 From the above chart (Figure 5b) we see that there is no separate reflex, OSc /oː/, since words like mune/MOON, guid/GOOD, have /ɪ/, and those like dae/DO, puir/POOR, mair/MORE, have /e/. The SND points out that in Burns' time the rounded vowel was already being superseded by [e] and [ɪ] as the following rhyme suggests:

I sell'd them a' ane by ane -
Guid ale keeps the heart aboon -
Burns "O Guid Ale Comes" (SND, pxxvi)

Here ane /iːn/ rhymes with aboon /aʊn/.

1.2 Similarly, there is no separate reflex as in OSc /æ:/ since words like CLEAN and MEAT have /i/.
2. /o/ ~ /ɔ/, /a/ ~ /ɔ/, /e/ ~ /ɔ/, /u/ ~ /ɔ/.

The SND points out that /ɔ/ is prevalent instead of /a/ especially before /r/ and /n/. Over most of the area words like ALL, TAR, BAR, SNOW, TWO, WHO and AWAY have /ɔ/.

West-Mid: twa/TWO, aulder/OLD, Cauterine/Catherine, corryin/CARRYING, wha/WHO.

TE: haudd/HOLD, cauld/COLD, aulder/OLDER, craw/CROW, behauden/BEHOLDEN.

TP: auld/OLD, cauld/COLD.

WCE: auld/OLD, auldest/OLDEST, haudd/HOLD, twa-faced/TWO-FACED.

In Galt's texts we also find twa/TWO, whare/WHERE, wha/WHO, and awa/AWAY where it is difficult to say for sure if this represents /ɔ/ or /a/ (in WCE we find twa, wha, awa).

3.1 /ɔ/ ~ /o/, /ɔ/ ~ /a/, /ɔ/ ~ /ʌ/, /ɔ/ ~ /u/, /ɔ/ ~ /i/.

OSc /o/ or /ɔ/ develops to /a/ in labial environments in a number of words. Murray (1873:238) points out that the short /ɔ/ before a consonant has a tendency to be replaced by /a/ as in STOP/STOP, stap/; DROP/drap, /drap/. On the other hand a few items such as PORRIDGE and BONNET have /ʌ/. However, in general before a consonant /ɔ/ develops to /o/ which contrasts with SE /ɔ/. Thus words like COT and BOX have /o/.

West-Mid: drap/DROP, aff/OFF, tap/TOP, also purridge/PORRIDGE, bunnet/BONNET, whit/WHAT.

In the main though, there is a preference for /o/, as in, caff/OFF, boax/BOX, goat/GOT, stooap/STOP, froast/FROST, shoap/SHOP, oaffice/OFFICE, loat/LOT, boarn/BORN, boatom/BOTTOM, knoaked/KNOCKED, hoarse/HORSE, moarnin/MORNING.

TE: saft/SOFT, aften/OFTEN.

TP: none

WCE: aff/OFF, muniments/MONUMENTS.
Galt has one instance of parridge/PORRIDGE instead of purridge/parɪdʒ/.

3.2 OSc /a/ remains after /w/.

- **West-Mid**: waashed/WASHED, waantit/WANTED, waater/WATER.
- **TE**: waantit/WANTED, warld/WORLD, wark/WORK, warst/WORST.
- **TP**: waantit/WANTED.
- **WCE**: warst/WORST, warldly/WORLDLY.

In wantit because Galt does not use orthographical devices such as aa or ah to indicate /a/ as opposed to /ɔ/, as in waant or wahnt, it is not clear which pronunciation he intends. There is no such ambiguity however in wark and warst.

3.3 North ME /ə/ remains in words with <-ng>.

- **West-Mid**: wrang/WRONG, sang/SONG, amang/AMONG.
- **TE**: sangs/SONGS, amang/AMONG.
- **TP**: none
- **WCE**: amang/AMONG, sang/SONG, lang/LONG.

3.4 Some OSc, ME short vowel forms are retained.

For example, het (HEATED), the past participle of HEAT.

- **West-Mid**: het/HEATED
- **TE**: het/HEATED, (we also find red-het/RED-HOT)
- **TP**: none
- **WCE**: none

4. /o/ ~ /e/.

OE /aː/ became /e/ which contrasts with SE /o/.

This feature is a general Scotticism and is the most frequent phonological feature to be found in both Galt and Johnstone's representation of the dialect of this area.

- **West-Mid**: baith/BOTH, mair/MORE, nae/NO (adv).
- **TE**: sair/SORE, mair/MORE, banes/BONES, milestone/MILESTONE, baith/BOTH, hame/HOME, nae/NO (adv).
- **TP**: ain/OWN, mair/MORE, sae/SO, hame/HOME, nae/NO (adv).
- **WCE**: mair/MORE, sae/SO, ain/OWN, hame/HOME,
sair/SORE, waeful/WOEFUL, amast/ALMOST.

5. /a/ ~ /e/, /a/ ~ /ɛ/.

OSc /a/ became /e/ and /ɛ/ mainly before /r/, which contrasts with SE /a/ and /ɑ/.

West-Mid : airch/ARCH, famly/FAMILY, cairt/CART, maiter/MATTER, aim/ARM, cairry/CARRY, mairriet/MARRIED, faither/FATHER.

TE : none
TP : none
WCE : mainners/MANNERS.

West-Mid : ferm/FARM, stert/START, Seterday/SATURDAY, smert/SMART hert/HEART, ledder/LADDER.

TE : gathering / GATHERING.
TP : none
WCE : none

(This very common feature of Ayrshire dialect speech is not one which is exploited to any degree in either Galt or Johnstone's literary dialect.)

6. /e/ ~ /a/.

West-Mid : tak/TAKE, camin/COMING, cam'd/CAME.

TE : cam/CAME, tak/TAKE.
TP : mak/MAKE, tak/TAKE.
WCE : mak/MAKE, tak/TAKE.

7. /i/ ~ /ʌ/.

/i/ backs and lowers to /ʌ/ after /w/ or any labial consonant, and either before or after /l/ so that HILL is pronounced hull /hʌl/.

West Mid : hull/HILL, mulk/MILK, lully/LILLY.

TE : none
TP : none
WCE : none

8. /i/ ~ /i/, /e/ ~ /i/, /a/ ~ /i/.

In certain instances, the original /i/ has been retained in Scots.

West-Mid : weedier/WIDOWER, peety/PITY.

TE : meeserable/MISERABLE, positeeye/POSITIVE,
9.1 /ɛ/ ~ /i/.

OSc /ɛ:/ develops to /i/ even before /d/ and contrasts with SE /ɛ/.

West-Mid: seevin/SEVEN, heid/HEAD, deid/DEAD.
TE: deevil/DEVIL.
TP: weel/WELL.
WCE: weel/WELL, freen'/FRIEND.

9.2 /ɛ/ ~ /o/.

West-Mid: anything/ANYTHING, mony/MANY.
TE: mony/MANY, any/ANY.
TP: mony/MANY, any/ANY.
WCE: mony/MANY, any/ANY, anything/ANYTHING.

10.1 /u/ ~ /e/, /u/ ~ /ʌ/, /u/ ~ /i/.

OSc /o:/ unrounds to /e/ in long environments (Scottish Vowel Length Rule (Aitken 1981)), which contrasts with SE /u/. Thus we find dæ/DO. In short environments /u/ centralises and unrounds.

West-Mid: dæ/DO, rud/RUDE, rits/ROOTS, bits/BOOTS, yist/USED, guid/GOOD, dis/DOES.
TE: tæ/TOO
TP: none
WCE: none

10.2 /ʌ/ ~ /i/.

OE /u/ also unrounds and raises slightly so that MOTHER becomes mither.

West-Mid: mither/MOTHER, brither/BROTHER, anither/ANOTHER, rinnin/RUNNING.
TE: mither/MOTHER, ither/OTHER, kintra/COUNTRY.
TP: ither/OTHER, sic/SUCH.
WCE: anither/ANOTHER.

11. Final unstressed <-a> in dinna/DON’T, and canna/CAN’T traditionally has /ɔ/, but in West-Mid we also find /e/ as in wurnae/WEREN’T.

12. /au/ ~ /u/.

OSc /u:/ remains a monophthong with loss of length which contrasts with SE diphthong /au/.

West-Mid : doon/DOWN, roun/ROUND, aboot/ABOUT, noo/NOW, pot/OUT, droon't/DROWNED.
TE : soun/SOUND.
TP : none
WCE : towns/TOWNS.

This is an interesting example of where traditional Scots spelling provides scope for either Scots or English pronunciation, house, /hus/ or /hau/.

13. There is an intrusive /j/ in ae and ane so that ONE is pronounced vin /jɪn/.

West-Mid : vin/ONE (In the ASA tapes we also find ONE pronounced /wan/ wan, and DUCK pronounced /dɪk/ juck).
TE : TOUGH/təʊk, ENOUGH/ənˈθjuː, a.ince/ONCE.
TP : aince/ONCE.
WCE : 166

(b) Lexical Incidence: Consonants.

These can be characterised as general Scotticisms.

1.1 /nd/ and /ld/ are reduced to /n/ and /d/ in both medial- or final-position consonant clusters.

West-Mid : ROUND/rʌn/, HAM-END/hæm-ən/, ham'le/HANDLE, aul/OLD, min'/MIND (REMEMBER), DWINDLED/dwɪndəld/, wunnering/WONDERING, HAN'/haʊn/, BLIND/blɪn/ /blɪn/, TOLD/taʊl /təl/.
TE : can’le/CANDLE, han/HANDLE, lan/LAND, won'er/WONDER, frien'ly/FRIENDLY.
TP : none
WCE: freen'/FRIEND.

1.2 /d/ is devoiced and tensed finally in unstressed syllables, for example, preterite endings WANTED/wantit.

West-Mid: tippit/TIPPED, drappit/DROPPED, happenit/HAPPENED.

TE: clippit/CLIPPED, scrimpit/SCRIMPED, compar’t/COMPAIRED, feathert/FEATHERED.

TP: crackit/CRACKED, plumpit/PLUMPED, happenit/HAPPENED.

WCE: none

2.1 /t/ final is deleted after plosives.

West-Mid: objec/OBJECT, expec/EXPECT.

TE: objek/OBJECT, neglek/NEGLECT.

TP: objec/OBJECT, neglek/NEGLECT, expek/EXPECT.

WCE: none

2.2 /b/ is often deleted between /ml/ and /nl/.

West-Mid: rumble/RUMBLE, grumble/GRUMBLE.

TE: HUMBLED/humblt, humblt/HAMBLT

TP: none

WCE: cuccu’ers/CUCUMBERS

3. /l/ is deleted medially and finally.

West-Mid: pu’d/PULLED, pu’in/PULLING.

TE: a’maist/ALMOST, a’together/ALTOGETHER, dreadfu’/DREADFUL, fa’en/FALLEN, sma’/SMALL.

TP: wa’s/WALLS, a’/ALL, ca’/CALL, poppit/PULPIT.

WCE: a’/ALL, sma’/SMALL, fa’/FALL, sautwater/SALTWATER, a’maist/ALMOST, a’together/ALTOGETHER.

4.1 /f/ and /v/ in medial and final position are deleted.

West-Mid: hae/HAVE, gie/GIVE.

TE: hae/HAVE, gie/GIVE, e’er/EVER, de’il/DEVIL, forgi’e/FORGIVE.

TP: hae/HAVE, g’er/OVER, ser’t/SERVED, qi’en/GIVEN, ne’er/NEVER.

WCE: hae/HAVE, ower/OVER, doo/DOVE, de’il/DEVIL, g’e/GIVE.

4.2 /f/ and /v/ are dropped after /l/.

West-Mid: del/DELVE, sel/SELF.

TE: himsel/HIMSELF, oursel/OURSLEVES, siller/SILVER.

TP: mysel/MYSELF, yours sel/YOURSELF, siller/SILVER.

167
WCE: mysel'/MYSELF, hersel'/HERSELF, himsel'/HIMSELF, yoursel'/YOURSELF, sill'er/SILVER.

5. /θ/ in final position is dropped, for example MOUTH/mou. Similarly, /ð/ is sometimes deleted medially as in CLOTHES/claes.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>West-Mid</th>
<th>TE</th>
<th>TP</th>
<th>WCE</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>wi'/WITH</td>
<td>wi'/WITH, mou/MOUTH, claes/CLOTHES.</td>
<td>wi'/WITH, claes/CLOTHES.</td>
<td>wi'/WITH.</td>
<td>wi'/WITH.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

6. OSc /x/ retained where SE has /h/.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>West-Mid</th>
<th>TE</th>
<th>TP</th>
<th>WCE</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>richt/RIGHT, dochter/DAUGHTER, fortnicht/FORTNIGHT, broacht/BROUGHT, eichty/EIGHTY, nicht/NIGHT.</td>
<td>dochter/DAUGHTER.</td>
<td>dochter/DAUGHTER.</td>
<td>dochter/DAUGHTER.</td>
<td>dochter/DAUGHTER.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

7. /tʃ/ ~ /k/, /dʒ/ ~ /tʃ/.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>West-Mid</th>
<th>TE</th>
<th>TP</th>
<th>WCE</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>SUCH/sic /s k/.</td>
<td>kist/CHEST, siclike/SUCHLIKE.</td>
<td>sic/SUCH.</td>
<td>none</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The SND includes kirk/CHURCH in this category. In my classification of Scotticisms I have chosen to mark kirk, along with maun/MUST, meike/MUCH, frae/FROM under Lexis since these items all derive from ON (see Chapter 4, Section 4.3.3, pp137-41).

8. /ʃ/ ~ /s/.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>West-Mid</th>
<th>TE</th>
<th>TP</th>
<th>WCE</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>WISH/wis /wis/.</td>
<td>wis/WISH, wis'd/WISHED.</td>
<td>none</td>
<td>none</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

9. /w/ is vocalised after /s/.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>West Mid</th>
<th>TE</th>
<th>TP</th>
<th>WCE</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>soomin/SWIMMING.</td>
<td>none</td>
<td>none</td>
<td>none</td>
<td>none</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
5.3 With reference to the above outline of West-Mid Scots, we find that both Galt and Johnstone's literary dialect includes many consonant characteristics of General Scots together with some features of lexical incidence of vowels characteristic of West-Mid Scots. To say more about the choice of spelling to represent the dialect of this area, it is necessary to set their literary dialect in the context of Scots literary tradition. The Introduction to the SND (p.xiv) describes the state of Older Scots spelling as "chaotic". Most words could be spelled in a variety of ways, for example abune/ABOVE in Older Scots can be spelled abone, abune, abon, abonne, abovn(e), aboin, abwn, abwne. However, most vowels had perhaps one form that was more frequently used than others. Thus /e/ which developed to /i/ was usually spelled ei, as in meit, deid, scheip; /u/ was spelled <ou> as in house, mouse, now, how. In the latter case the spelling is the same as in SE yet it represents a different phoneme. Writers such as Allan Ramsay, in the 18th century, tended to disregard some of the older forms such as <sch>, and <quh> for /ʃ/ and /ʍ/. To Middle Scots writers <v>, <w>, <u> were all interchangeable, but by the 18th century the spelling was simplified along the lines of Modern English. On the other hand certain features such as <gh> and <ch> remained interchangeable for /x/. Thus we might find micht, thocht, might and thought. (Depending on the linguistic competence of the reader, spellings such as <micht> and <house> may
suggest a SE pronunciation.) This has important implications for the modern reader, particularly non-Scots, or those unaware of the Scots literary tradition. While Ramsay and his contemporaries could assume that their Scots readers knew "a full canon of Scots", 20th century readers, even if Scottish, would tend to need detailed guidance.

The SND points out that the major Scottish writers of the 18th and 19th centuries such as Ferguson, Burns, Scott and Galt follow Ramsay’s example in mingling Older Scots spellings with Modern English spellings. As we have seen already, this results in some of the real dialect differences between Scots and SE being obscured. This point can be demonstrated with reference to a poem by Ramsay. By adopting a consistent and simplified spelling, as the poem is transcribed in such a way to illustrate the actual pronunciation of the writer:

Neebour wives, now tent my tellin'.
When the bonnie fish ye’re sellin',
At ae word be in your dealin' --
Truth will stand when a’ thing’s failin’.

Neeburr weifs, noo tent ma tellin.
Hwun dhu boanay fush yee’r sellin,
At ay wurd bee in yur dailin --
Truith ull stawnd hwun awthing’s failin.

(Wilson 1926:162-3, quoted in the SND, p.xv)

In the original version the pronunciation of the following items is lost to the reader: wives, now, my, when, bonnie, fish, truth. We find that the same thing can occur in Galt’s texts.

In summarising the characteristics of both Galt and
Johnstone's literary dialect, we find that within the category of lexical incidence these writers represent most of the consonant features of General Scots. These include the deletion of /d/, /f/, /v/ and /θ/ medially and finally; the vocalisation of /l/ and devoicing of /d/ in unstressed syllables. These features occur frequently, but others such as the deletion of /b/ between /ml/ and /nL/ as in humlet/ HUMBLED occur rarely. Whilst both writers represent the Scots variation of /ts/ and /κ/, and /ʃ/ and /s/ as in sic/SUCH and wis/WISH, they do not depict orthographically the vocalisation of /w/ after /s/ in several words such as swomin/SWIMMING. Similarly, we find that features which occur across word boundaries in the context of colloquial speech are not generally represented. This would include a hink/I THINK. However, the sole exception to this is am for I AM (previously discussed in Chapter 4, Section 4.3.1, pp133-4).

The above discussion has shown that both Galt and Johnstone are selective in their representation of the vowel characteristics of West-Mid Scots. Figures 5c, 5d and 5e, pp176-81, list features of lexical incidence and their frequency of occurrence, and demonstrate to what extent Galt and Johnstone concur both in their selection of Scotticisms and in their spelling conventions. Figure 5f, p182, summarises this information and charts the distribution of phoneme selection in TE, TP and WCE. Here we find that certain features predominate, whilst others, equally prominent in the ASA tapes, for instance, are not
featured in the above texts at all. Johnstone's selection of linguistic features to represent the dialect of West-Mid Scots generally coincides with that used by Galt. There are, however, one or two exceptions, for example, *mainners* /MANNERS, *exhausted*/EXHAUSTED, *mawtronly*/MATRONLY, together with *shoot*/SUIT, *creeshes*/CREASES and *curtsying*/CURTSYING. The latter are spellings which are sometimes used in literature to characterise Highlanders' speech, although this interpretation is not applicable in WCE (see Tulloch 1980:245).

Galt and Johnstone's selection of dialect features would seem to be influenced by the fact that they generally use spellings which fall within Scots literary tradition. Thus, pronunciation features which have established spellings are well represented: features such as /o/ ~ /ɔ/ as in *haud*, *auld*, and /o/ ~ /e/ as in *ain*, *mair*, *sair*. These not only represent current (19th century) pronunciation, but are also spelling characteristics which Galt and Johnstone have inherited. In some words such as *HOUSE*, *NOW*, *TOWN* (although *toun* is also used) they use a spelling which, within Scots literary tradition, is a variable Scots form, but which in a more modern context and to readers who do not share this linguistic competence, has a preferred reading in SE. Other items are given a Scots spelling which may still be ambiguous in terms of pronunciation, for example, *soun* /SOUND, *wha*/WHO, *awa*/AWAY, *wantit*/WANTED. Similarly, *<o>*, which can be read as either
/o/ or /ɔ/ in words such as bonnie, loch, fortnicht, OF and DROP, is not re-spelled as boannie, loach, foartnicht, oaf, droap. Other features, common in the ASA tapes, which are not generally represented in either Galt or Johnstone's texts are /æ/ ~ /ɛ/ as in ferm/FARM, start/START, /ɒ/ ~ /u/ as in hull/HILL, /u/ ~ /ʊ/ as in rud/RUDE, rites/ROOTS (the exception being gathering/GATHERING).

This chapter has focused on lexical incidence. OCP has facilitated our analysis of Galt's literary dialect in particular and indeed, in terms of data, has created an embarrassment of riches. The various concordances, wordlists and indexes have produced a wealth of interesting material all of which cannot adequately be dealt with within the remit of this thesis, but which will provide the basis of future studies.

An example of how further analysis can be carried out on the data concerns the collocation of the dialect form dinna with the lexical verbs that follow it in the verb phrase. In TE, there is a clear preference for the word to be followed by either THINK (10 occurrences) LIKE (9 occurrences), ken (9 occurrences) or SEE (3 occurrences). Other verbs such as COME, tak, fash, DO, LET and mak (1 occurrence each) are clearly in a different category from THINK, ken, LIKE and SEE (see Appendix D1).

An analysis of the distribution of SE DO NOT and DON'T reveals a similar pattern: THINK (9 occurrences), SEE (4 occurrences), OBJECT, CARE and -# (2 occurrences) and DOUBT, EXPECT, WISH, KNOW, NEED, RECOLLECT, ANTICIPATE,
SUSPECT, OBJECT, MEAN, ADVISE, UNDERSTAND, SAY, APPLY, RETURN, STIR, DISTRESS, BE ALARMED, BE IN SUCH A HURRY all occurring once. We find that DO NOT and DON'T generally occur in a SE environment. For example, the OCP concordance reveals that, in each of the above examples, the following five items are also in SE. Dinna, on the other hand, is generally used together with a range of other metavariables including Scots lexis, morphology and syntax.

A further way of extending our analysis of Galt and Johnstone's selection of Scotticisms would be to look in detail at the co-occurrence relationships of metavariables in individual character's idiolects (see Graphs in Appendices E1-E3). For example, Principal Component Analysis (PCA) of dialect distribution in individual idiolects such as that used by Horvath (1985) in her study of the "sociolects" of Sydney, Australia, would enable us to establish a hierarchy of Scots features.

The following chapter looks in more detail at the distribution of dialect in dialogue in TE, TP and WCE. Our starting point is the aggregated figures for percentage of dialect in individual character's speech. Our analysis will show that there are problems in treating individual speech as homogeneous: sociolinguistic and stylistic factors have a bearing on dialect distribution. Thus, using sociolinguistics as a theoretical framework together with close textual analysis, Chapter 6 examines the
communicative function of Galt and Johnstone’s literary dialect.
Figure 5c

Lexical Incidence in *The Entail*.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>/o/ ~ /ɔ/</th>
<th>/e/ ~ /ɛ/</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>auld</td>
<td>awa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>cauld</td>
<td>whar</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>craw</td>
<td>Whar</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>snow</td>
<td>daur</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>snaws</td>
<td>daurs</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>aulder</td>
<td>awa'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>behaulden</td>
<td>daur't</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>craw's</td>
<td>whare</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hound</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>/u/ ~ /ʊ/ or /a/</th>
<th>/ɪ/ ~ /a/</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>twa</td>
<td>lang</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>wha</td>
<td>wrang</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>wha's</td>
<td>aff</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>sang</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>langer</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>aften</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nae</td>
<td>wrang't</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mair</td>
<td>aff-hand</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sae</td>
<td>alang</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ain</td>
<td>Langlegs</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>baith</td>
<td>partridge</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hame</td>
<td>sangs</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gae</td>
<td>stapping-stanes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>amaist</td>
<td>tangs</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>banes</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>naebody</td>
<td>/e/ ~ /a/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>stanes</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nay</td>
<td>mak</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>stane</td>
<td>Tak</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gaen</td>
<td>cam</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hamely</td>
<td>tak'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>milstane</td>
<td>mistak</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sairer</td>
<td>mak's</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sairer</td>
<td>taks</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>mak's</td>
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</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>/a/ ~ /ɛ/</th>
<th>/a/ ~ /ɪ/</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>gathering</td>
<td>hing</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>/ɔ/ ~ /ɛ/</th>
<th>/ɛ/ ~ /ɪ/</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>het</td>
<td>kist</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>red-het</td>
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</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

176
### Lexical Incidence in *The Entail*

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Sound Combination</th>
<th>Words</th>
<th>Frequency</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>/a/ ~ /u/</td>
<td>behoof</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/θ/ or /j/ ~ /i/</td>
<td>deevil</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/u/ ~ /e/</td>
<td>tae</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/i/ ~ /æ/</td>
<td>deevil’s</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/e/ ~ /o/</td>
<td>tooking</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/l/ ~ /u/</td>
<td>sooking</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/æ/ ~ /i/</td>
<td>deevil-do-me</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/æ/ ~ /a/</td>
<td>na</td>
<td>64</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/u/ ~ /o/</td>
<td>deevil’s</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/u/ ~ /æ/</td>
<td>deevil-ly</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/o/ ~ /æ/</td>
<td>tae</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/e/ ~ /æ/</td>
<td>tooking</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/æ/ ~ /i/</td>
<td>sooking</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/i/ ~ /æ/</td>
<td>deevil-do-me</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/æ/ ~ /æ/</td>
<td>na</td>
<td>64</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/æ/ ~ /æ/</td>
<td>deevil’s</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/æ/ ~ /æ/</td>
<td>deevil-ly</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/æ/ ~ /æ/</td>
<td>tae</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/æ/ ~ /æ/</td>
<td>tooking</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/æ/ ~ /æ/</td>
<td>sooking</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/æ/ ~ /æ/</td>
<td>deevil-do-me</td>
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</tr>
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<td>/æ/ ~ /æ/</td>
<td>na</td>
<td>64</td>
</tr>
<tr>
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<td>deevil’s</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/æ/ ~ /æ/</td>
<td>deevil-ly</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/æ/ ~ /æ/</td>
<td>tae</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/æ/ ~ /æ/</td>
<td>tooking</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/æ/ ~ /æ/</td>
<td>sooking</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/æ/ ~ /æ/</td>
<td>deevil-do-me</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/æ/ ~ /æ/</td>
<td>na</td>
<td>64</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/æ/ ~ /æ/</td>
<td>deevil’s</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
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<td>/æ/ ~ /æ/</td>
<td>deevil-ly</td>
<td>1</td>
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<td>/æ/ ~ /æ/</td>
<td>tae</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/æ/ ~ /æ/</td>
<td>tooking</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
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<td>/æ/ ~ /æ/</td>
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<td>1</td>
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<td>/æ/ ~ /æ/</td>
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</tr>
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<td>/æ/ ~ /æ/</td>
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<tr>
<td>/æ/ ~ /æ/</td>
<td>deevil-do-me</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### Footnotes
- *sic* 120
- *mither* 11
- *anither* 9
- *ither* 2
- *kintra* 2
- *rin* 1
Figure 5c (continued)

Lexical Incidence in *The Entail*.

/ɪ/ ~ /a/  

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Word</th>
<th>Count</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>saxpence</td>
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<tr>
<td>sax</td>
<td>3</td>
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<td>sax-and</td>
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</table>

/ɛ/ ~ /a/  

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
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<th>Count</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
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<td>5</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

intrusive /j/  

<table>
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<tr>
<td>eneugh</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>teugh</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

intrusive /ʃ/  

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Word</th>
<th>Count</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>dochhter</td>
<td>39</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dochter's</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dochters</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dochter'</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

/ə/ ~ /a/  

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Word</th>
<th>Count</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>vera</td>
<td>32</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>wark</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>warld</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>warld's</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>te</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>wauld</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

neg. part. /nt/ ~ /nə/ or /na/  

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Word</th>
<th>Count</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>dinna</td>
<td>73</td>
</tr>
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<td>canna</td>
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<tr>
<td>hasna</td>
<td>16</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>winna</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>maunna</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>didna</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mauna</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>needna</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>cou'dna</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>doesna</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>wasna</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Figure 5d

Lexical Incidence in The Provost.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>/ø/ ~ /ɔ/</th>
<th>/e/ ~ /ɔ/</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>auld</td>
<td>Whar</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>cauld</td>
<td>whar's</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>awa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/u/ ~ /ɔ/</td>
<td>/e/ ~ /a/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>wha</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>twa</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>twa-three</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/o/ ~ /e/</td>
<td>/ɛ/ ~ /i/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mair</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sae</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ain</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nae</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>name</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/a/ ~ /u/</td>
<td>/ʌ/ ~ /i/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>behoof</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/o/ ~ /a/</td>
<td>/ʌ/ ~ /u/ or /i/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>na</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/e/ ~ /i/</td>
<td>/ə/ or /ʌ/ ~ /a/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>entertainment</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/ɪ/ ~ /i/</td>
<td>intrusive /j/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ceeveleezed</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>eeteration</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/ai/ ~ /i/</td>
<td>intrusive /x/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ceeveleezed</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/ɛ/ ~ /ɔ/ or /ʌ/</td>
<td>/ɛnt/ ~ /na/ or /nə/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ony</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mony</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ony</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mony</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/ʌ/ ~ /i/</td>
<td>sic</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Figure 5e

Lexical Incidence in "West Country Exclusives".

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>/o/ ~ /ɔ/</th>
<th>/e/ ~ /ɔ/</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>auld</td>
<td>awa'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>auldest</td>
<td>far-awa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>blaw</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>haud</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>/u/ ~ /u/ or /a/</th>
<th>lang</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>wha</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>twa</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>twa-faced</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>/o/ ~ /e/</th>
<th>amony</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ain</td>
<td>among</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sair</td>
<td>worldly</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hame</td>
<td>warst</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>baith</td>
<td>/e/ ~ /a/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mair</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nae</td>
<td>mak</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sae</td>
<td>Tak</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>a'maist</td>
<td>tak'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>amaist</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ane</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hamely</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>waefu'</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>/ɛ/ ~ /i/</th>
<th>ony</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>weel</td>
<td>onything</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>freend</td>
<td>onyway</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>freends</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ne'er-do-weels</td>
<td>anither</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>weel-plenished</td>
<td>sic</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>weel-bred</td>
<td>/ŋ/ ~ /e/</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>/e/ ~ /i/</th>
<th>naething</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>obteened</td>
<td>/ɔ/ ~ /ŋ/</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>/aʊ/ ~ /i/</th>
<th>muniments</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>preceese</td>
<td>/ɔ/ ~ /u/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>preceeesly</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>/a/ ~ /e/</th>
<th>exhausted</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>mainer</td>
<td>/ŋ/ ~ /ŋ/</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

180
Figure 5e (continued)

Lexical Incidence in "West Country Exclusives".

/a/ ~ /o/ or /ɔ/
Pawlace-Royal 1

/a/ ~ /ɪ/
hings 1

/ɪ/ ~ /ɛ/
prent 1
prents 1

/ɔɪ/ ~ /ʌ/
pushion 1

/æu/ ~ /u/
toons 1
pouch-fu's 1

intrusive /j/
aince 1

intrusive /x/
dochter 2
dochter's 1
dochters 1

unstressed phonemes:

/ə/ or /ʊ/ ~ /a/
wad 1
### Phoneme Selection

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Example</th>
<th>TE</th>
<th>TP</th>
<th>WCE</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>OLD/mair</td>
<td>*</td>
<td>*</td>
<td>*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TWO/twa</td>
<td>*</td>
<td>*</td>
<td>*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>AWAY/awa</td>
<td>*</td>
<td>*</td>
<td>*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>LONG/lang</td>
<td>*</td>
<td>*</td>
<td>*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>WORST/worst</td>
<td>*</td>
<td>*</td>
<td>*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DONE/gaen</td>
<td>*</td>
<td>*</td>
<td>*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>HOT/bet</td>
<td>*</td>
<td>*</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MORE/mair</td>
<td>*</td>
<td>*</td>
<td>*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>GATHERING/gathering</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>FATHER/faither</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MAKE/mak</td>
<td>*</td>
<td>*</td>
<td>*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NO/na</td>
<td>*</td>
<td>*</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>OBTAINED/obtained</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>POSITIVE/positive</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>WELL/weel</td>
<td>*</td>
<td>*</td>
<td>*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MANY/mony</td>
<td>*</td>
<td>*</td>
<td>*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DO/dae</td>
<td>*</td>
<td>*</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MOTHER/mither</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NOTHING/naething</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NEITHER/naither</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SUM/soom</td>
<td>*</td>
<td>*</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>BEHALF/behoof</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SOAKING/sooking</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CHEST/kist</td>
<td>*</td>
<td>*</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>HANG/hing</td>
<td>*</td>
<td>*</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>WHEN/whan</td>
<td>*</td>
<td>*</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DIE/deg</td>
<td>*</td>
<td>*</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>BLIND/blin</td>
<td>*</td>
<td>*</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TOWN/toun</td>
<td>*</td>
<td>*</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>POISON/pushion</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MANNERS/mainners</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>HANG/whanging</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>EXHAUSTED/exhausted</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MONUMENTS/muniments</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MATRONLY/matronly</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PALACE/Palace</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>WOULD/wud</td>
<td>*</td>
<td>*</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>WOULD/wad</td>
<td>*</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>VERY/vera</td>
<td></td>
<td>*</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The use of <na> for <N'T> is discussed in Chapter 4, Section 4.3.2, pp134-37.
1. Figure 5a is drawn from CSD pxxxxi. It depicts the main dialect divisions of Scots. The references on the key are as follows:

N = Northern Scots
NE = North East Scots
C = Central Scots
S = Southern Scots

Central is further sub-divided into East-Central Scots, South-West-Central Scots and West-Central Scots; the latter is referred to as West-Mid Scots in this thesis.


3. All examples of West-Mid Scots are taken from ASA tape 80a, Memories of Ayrshire (1984). See Appendix B for a full transcript of this tape.
Chapter 6

"Sociolinguistic analysis of literary texts: dialect distribution in The Provost, The Entail and "West Country Exclusives"

The previous chapter described in detail both Galt and Johnstone's selection of Scotticisms to represent the dialect of the West of Scotland. This chapter is concerned with the distribution and function of dialect in TE, TP and WCE. It will examine to what extent specific aspects of sociolinguistic theory and method can assist our explanation of linguistic variation in these texts, and will outline what additional analysis is necessary if we are to account for the range of functions dialect serves.

Before embarking on an analysis of dialect distribution in these texts, consideration must be given to the following factors which make statistical comparison appropriate but potentially problematic. In the first place, comparison is apt because Galt and Johnstone are contemporaries. TE, TP and WCE are set in the same region of the West of Scotland, as indicated in Chapter 1, and the period covered in the three texts is broadly concurrent: The Provost (1822), written in the first person, takes the form of the memoirs of the political career of Provost Pawkie from 1759 until his retirement in 1815. The Entail (1823) is a longer novel and wider in scope. The three volumes trace the history of three generations of the Lairds of Grippy. The narrative begins in 1700 when Claud Walkinshaw is scarcely one year old, and ends in 1815, many years after his death. "West Country Exclusives" was
published in serial form in *Tait’s Edinburgh Magazine* (1834-1835). The story starts in 1806, the year of Mrs Mark Luke’s marriage. She is described as a “Dumbarton Youth” which traditionally makes her over thirty-six years old. The story ends in approximately 1823 on the marriage of her daughter, Mysie, aged seventeen.

The length and narrative format of the three texts has a bearing on the overall amount of dialogue, and on the number of dialect speaking characters in each text. (For example, the total number of words in the dialogue in TE and TP is 66,239 and 6,563, respectively. The amount of dialogue spoken by individual characters ranges from less than 100 words to over 23,000. The latter is exceptional and refers solely to Girzy’s entire dialogue in TE.) Several dialect speaking characters utter less than 100 words, most speak less than 1,000, and the majority of the main characters speak between 1,000 and 5,000 words. Thus we find that TP has only ten speaking characters of which only the two principal characters, M’Lucre and Provost Pawkie himself, have over 1,000. Of the remaining eight, six have less than 100 words. On the other hand, TE has twenty-four speaking characters of which nine have over 1,000 words and another five have over 750. WCE is a much shorter text than either of Galt’s novels. There are only six dialect speaking characters, but four of these have between 1,000 and 5,000 words. The dialect component among those characters in the three texts who use Scots at all
ranges from 38.20% to less than 1.00%. This variation in the total percentage of dialect used, together with the co-occurrence of metavariables which make up the dialect component, are factors which are potentially significant when it comes to making statistical comparison between individual idiolects.

The sociolinguistic approach to the study of literary dialect adopted here incorporates both quantitative and qualitative analysis. Traditional sociolinguistic method as used, for example, by Labov and Trudgill has enabled us to isolate and identify individual dialect features and count their occurrence. However, the present study has departed from traditional sociolinguistic techniques in that quantitative analysis includes every occurrence of all dialect features rather than selecting only a few salient linguistic variables. Chapter 4, pp120-55, classified Scotticisms in TE, TP and WCE, in terms of how they differ from 19th century SE. Individual dialect features were categorised and grouped together under the following seven "metavariables" of orthography, phonology, morphology, lexis, syntax, idiom, plus a category for malapropisms, entitled "idiosyncratic usage". This development has enabled us to examine both Galt’s and Johnstone’s selection and distribution of literary dialect, in detail. And with reference to TE and TP, in particular, this process has been greatly facilitated by the use of the OCP software package for devising wordlists and concordances. (The actual procedures involved in implementing OCP are outlined.
Once the data on the dialect component in individual texts is produced, this information can be displayed as "raw" numbers or as percentages of either the total dialect component or of the full vocabulary. The actual output is determined by the minimum parameters used in the OCP command file. Thus, the distribution of dialect might be defined in terms of the text as a whole, the total utterances of individual characters, or even in terms of a single speaker, but in relation to different addressees. For example, the following statistics refer to the distribution of dialect in Watty's speech in TE, where the defining characteristics are, "Select where S = WATTY"

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>TW</th>
<th>DC</th>
<th>DC%</th>
<th>O</th>
<th>P</th>
<th>M</th>
<th>L</th>
<th>S</th>
<th>I</th>
<th>Id</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>4,828</td>
<td>1,265</td>
<td>26.20</td>
<td>109</td>
<td>650</td>
<td>87</td>
<td>344</td>
<td>37</td>
<td>38</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8.62</td>
<td>51.38</td>
<td>6.88</td>
<td>27.19</td>
<td>2.92</td>
<td>3.00</td>
<td>0</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

TW = Total Words  DC = Dialect Component,
O = Orthography,  P = Phonology,  M = Morphology,  L = Lexis,
S = Syntax,  I = Idiom,  Id = Idiosyncratic

Statistical analysis of the total dialect component, together with the co-occurrence of linguistic features in the speech of individual characters will permit linguistic comparison of characters, and will demonstrate where variation takes place.

It has already been pointed out that the total percentage of dialect in individual idiolects varies from nearly 40.00% to less than 1.00% and that the total number of words in individual idiolects ranges from less than 100 to over 23,000. Figure 6a charts the distribution of
Dialect Component of Dialogue in "The Entail"

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Total Words</th>
<th>Dialect Component</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
<th>Orthography</th>
<th>Phonology</th>
<th>Morphology</th>
<th>Lexis</th>
<th>Syntax</th>
<th>Idiom</th>
<th>Idiosyncratic</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Betty Bodle</td>
<td>264</td>
<td>28.03</td>
<td>15.79</td>
<td>51.31</td>
<td>2.63</td>
<td>26.31</td>
<td>2.63</td>
<td>1.31</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mrs Gorbals</td>
<td>308</td>
<td>22.68</td>
<td>3.53</td>
<td>44.77</td>
<td>10.54</td>
<td>36.3</td>
<td>2.35</td>
<td>3.53</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Plealands</td>
<td>508</td>
<td>26.77</td>
<td>6.62</td>
<td>55.15</td>
<td>4.41</td>
<td>18.38</td>
<td>8.09</td>
<td>7.35</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Watty</td>
<td>4828</td>
<td>26.22</td>
<td>8.62</td>
<td>51.38</td>
<td>6.88</td>
<td>27.19</td>
<td>2.92</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Provost Gorbals</td>
<td>77</td>
<td>24.68</td>
<td>10.53</td>
<td>47.37</td>
<td>21.05</td>
<td>15.79</td>
<td>5.23</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Manudge</td>
<td>416</td>
<td>23.8</td>
<td>3.03</td>
<td>55.55</td>
<td>7.07</td>
<td>26.26</td>
<td>4.04</td>
<td>4.04</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Claud</td>
<td>9262</td>
<td>21.93</td>
<td>5.76</td>
<td>54.51</td>
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### Dialect Component of Dialogue in "The Provost" and "West Country Exclusives"

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metavariavles in TE, TP and WCE: the characters being listed in descending order in relation to total percentage of dialect. This table shows that the pattern of distribution of metavariables remains fairly consistent even when the word total is small. On the other hand, the pattern tends to break down when the total percentage of dialect is very low. This is the case even if the total vocabulary is large. The dialect profiles in Figure 6b, together with the graphs in Figures 6c and 6d, illustrate this point:

Figure 6b

1. S = Maudge

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The Entail: Composite Graph of Dialect Component of Maudge, Claude and Meg

Metavariables

Orthography  Phonology  Morphology  Lexis  Syntax  Idiom  Idiosyncratic

Maudge
Claud
Meg
The Entail: Composite Graph of Dialect Component of George, Bel and Robina

Metavariabes

Orthography Phonology Morphology Lexis Syntax Idiom Idiosyncratic

George Bel Robina
There are, however, problems in anticipating an "ideal" cut-off point for statistical comparison of individual idiolects. A variety of characteristics could be chosen as the defining feature: total words, total percentage of dialect, or the co-occurrence relationship of metavariables. Each of these criteria present their own problems. If the cut-off point for word total is too high, for example over 1,000 words, there is a danger that most of the characters would be excluded from our analysis. If the defining characteristic is total percentage of dialect, and the cut-off point is set too low, for example below 1.50%, then meaningful comparison between idiolects is impossible. Example 6 in Figure 6b, above, illustrates this point, since one item in the category Phonology represents 25.00% of the dialect used by this character. Alternatively, if the criterion is the co-occurrence relationships between the various metavariables, there is a degree of arbitrariness in deciding where a pattern can be said to break down. It all depends on which metavariables are given prominence. And in this respect, the graphs in Appendices E1-E3 which chart the co-occurrence of metavariables in characters' speech in TE, TP and WCE, respectively, provide a valuable overview of the pattern of
distribution within individual idiolects.

The following discussion will examine in more detail the dialect distribution in individual idiolects in TE, TP and WCE. In order to set this analysis in context a summary of the dominant themes in each of the three texts will preface the account of dialect distribution.

6.1 The Entail

TE traces the progress of three generations of the Lairds of Grippy. Claud Walkinshaw, sole surviving male heir of the Walkinshaw's of Kittlestonheugh, is scarcely a year old when his father perishes in the fateful Darien Expedition of 1698-1700. The Kittlestonheugh estate is subsequently sold and Claud and his grandfather, the old Laird, are left in the care of Maudge Dobbie, an old and loyal family servant, and formerly "bairnswoman" to Claud's father. Within a year of moving to Glasgow the old Laird dies, and Claud and Maudge have to move from their respectable upper tenement flat in Aird's Close in the Drygate, to a garret room in the Saltmarket. There Maudge manages as best she can to eke out a living for the pair of them by knitting stockings. In the summer evenings she and Claud go for long walks and in the distance they are able to see the lands of his forefathers. By elaborating on "the hereditary grandeur of his ancestors" (p5) Maudge instills in Claud the resolve to redeem these lands.

The story of TE is the coming to fruition of the "actuating principle" (p12) of Claud's life: to redeem the
inheritance of his ancestors.

When he is just eleven, Claud sets out with a "pack" to earn his living. He travels widely, but finds that the Border Country is the most lucrative. He fails to keep in touch with Maudge, and twenty years after her death returns to Glasgow with five-hundred pounds. This is enough to set himself up in business as a cloth merchant. His business flourishes and a few years after his return to Glasgow he is able to purchase the farm of Grippy, a part of the patrimony of his family. His overall plan is:

- to marry and beget children, and entail the property, that none of his descendants might ever have it in their power to commit the imprudence which had brought his grandfather to a morsel, and thrown himself on the world.

(p12)

To further this end he considers "the prospect of all the heiresses within the probable scope of his ambition" (p12), and finally resolves "that his affections should be directed towards Miss Girzy Hypel, the only daughter of Malachi Hypel, the Laird of Plealands" (p12). The pair are duly married and, within a year, a son, Charles, is born, followed three years later by Walter (Watty), then Meg, and finally George. By their "united care and endeavour", Claud and Girzy help Claud, now the Laird of Grippy, to become "one of the wealthiest men of that age in Glasgow" (p23).

The novel explores the human cost of pride and tenacious ambition and considers the whole notion of the difference between the letter and the spirit of the law. For example,
Claud entails the properties of Grippy and Plealands on Watty, his idiot second son, and denies the birthright of his first son, Charles. It is young James Walkinshaw, Claud's grandson, who sums up the conflict of values which is the dominating theme in the novel:

interest seems the everlasting consideration of our family - interest disinherited my father - interest made my uncle Walter consign my mother to poverty - interest proved the poor repentant wretch insane - interest claims the extinction of all I hold most precious in life.

(p239)

Although TE traces the history of three generations of the Lairds of Grippy, there are characters from at least four different generations represented in the novel. The following chart outlines the main characters from each generation grouping:

Figure 6e

1. Maudge Laird Plealands Lady Plealands

2. Claud Girzy Milrookit Kilmarkeckle

3. Bell Charles Watty George Meg Betty Bodle

4. Ellan James Mary Robina Walky

To set the above generation groups in context see Figure 6a, p187a, which lists in descending order, the aggregated figures for the dialect component in the speech of individual characters in TE. Statistically this involves the simplest presentation of data, referring merely to the percentage of dialect occurring in the total vocabulary of 192
each character. In general terms the descending order of frequency in the dialect component coincides with generation difference. However, the visible relationship can be affected by "invisible" sociolinguistic factors such as the educational background, or the mental capacity of the speaker. In addition, the inclusion of childhood vernacular or the presence of code-switching between Scots and SE are hidden factors which can influence the overall dialect percentage.

The following analysis takes as its starting point the visible relationship between descending order of aggregated figures for the percentage of dialect spoken by individual characters, and broad generation groupings. Apparent inconsistencies in the overall distribution pattern will be examined in the light of sociolinguistic theory together with relevant information which can be retrieved from the text. On the basis of such specific analysis it will then be possible to make some general comments about the distribution and function of dialect in TE, and go on to compare these findings with a similar analysis of dialect in TP and WCE.
6.1.1 Aggregated figures for the dialect component in dialogue in The Entail.

Group One: see Figures 6f and 6g.

<table>
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<tr>
<th>Character</th>
<th>DC =</th>
<th>TW =</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Betty Bodle</td>
<td>28.03%</td>
<td>264</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mrs Gorbals</td>
<td>27.60%</td>
<td>308</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Plealands</td>
<td>26.77%</td>
<td>508</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Watty</td>
<td>26.20%</td>
<td>4,828</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Provost Gorbals</td>
<td>24.68%</td>
<td>77</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Maudge</td>
<td>23.80%</td>
<td>416</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

DC = Dialect Component, TW = Total Words.

Group One includes the oldest generation of characters in the novel, that is, Maudge, the old bairnswoman, Provost and Mrs Gorbals, Claud’s original benefactors, and the Laird of Plealands, Malachi Hypel. The odd ones out in this group are Watty and Betty Bodle. A number of factors together explain what would seem to be the disproportionately high percentage of dialect in the speech of these two characters from a younger generation. The dominating factors are perhaps mental capacity and attitude towards social mores which is influenced by lack of access to formal education: Watty is the idiot son of Girzy and Claud Walkinshaw, and Betty Bodle is his wife. While she is not presented as mentally retarded in any way she is characterised as behaving with a similar spontaneity and childlike vigour, and in this respect she can be said to share Watty’s disregard of social decorum appropriate to status and gender, respectively. In Bakhtin’s terminology they can be said to share a similar “world view” (Bakhtin 1985:291-2, and this thesis, Chapter 1, pp1-2).

Young (newly) upper class characters in TE learn to speak SE mainly through access to formal education. It
The Entail: Composite Graph of Dialect Component of Mrs. Gorbals, Plealands, Provost Gorbals and Maudge

Metavariables

Orthography  Phonology  Morphology  Lexis  Syntax  Idiom  Idiosyncratic

Mrs Gorbals  Plealands  Provost Gorbals  Maudge
The Entail: Composite Graph of Dialect Component of Watty and Betty Bodle

---

**Figure 6g**

- **Orthography**
- **Phonology**
- **Morphology**
- **Lexis**
- **Syntax**
- **Idiom**
- **Idiosyncratic**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Metavariables</th>
<th>Watty</th>
<th>Betty Bodle</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Orthography</td>
<td></td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Phonology</td>
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<tr>
<td>Morphology</td>
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<tr>
<td>Lexis</td>
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<tr>
<td>Syntax</td>
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<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Idiom</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Idiosyncratic</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
would therefore be appropriate to compare both Watty and Betty Bodle’s education with that of their peers, Charles, George and Meg Walkinshaw. When Charles is only ten years old he is sent to Glasgow to live with his grandmother, Lady Plealands, "for the advantages of attending the schools" (p39). He and his grandmother are very close, and under her tutelage his "natural sensibility [is] exalted and refined" (p41). Both Charles and his brother George attend the University of Glasgow. Charles goes on to work for his father, and George is placed in the counting house of "one of the most eminent West Indian merchants at that period in Glasgow" (p109). Meg’s education, on the other hand, is much more elementary than that of her brothers:

what few elements of education which she had acquired were chiefly derived from Jenny Hirple, a lameter woman...[who] gave lessons in reading, knitting, and needlework, and something that resembled writing.

(p38)

This situation continues until Meg is sixteen years old, when, in anticipation of the connections to be made with her hand in marriage, Claud sends his daughter to Edinburgh for three months:

there and in that time, to learn manners, "and be perfited" as her mother said, "wi’ a boarding-school education".

(p38)

Up until this point Meg’s early education is very similar to the rudiments of learning imparted to Claud by Maudge the old bairnswoman. (Maudge’s father was a schoolmaster and he taught her "a few of the elements of learning beyond those that fell to the common lot of female domestics"
She, in turn, was able to teach Claud elementary reading and writing, and was able "even to supply him with some knowledge of arithmetic" (p4).)

An important factor in terms of language variation is how the vernacular language of childhood can be anglicised through a process of socialisation which includes formal education and notions of appropriate social behaviour. For example, Robina, Girzy's grand-daughter, is introduced into the story as a young adult, and speaks predominantly in SE. Robina had been educated by an English governess, "got down frae Manchester", whom Girzy describes as:

wi' gumflowers on her head, and paint on her cheeks, and speakin in sic high English, that the Babel babble o' Mull and Moydart was a perfection o' sense when compar' wi't.

(p260)

A similar illustration of the relationship between education and appropriate social accomplishments is seen with reference to the education of Mary Walkinshaw, Robina's cousin.

Mary and James Walkinshaw, the children of Charles and "gentle" Bell Fatherlans, speak Scots vernacular, changing to SE as they grow up. After their father's death, Bell takes the children to the village of Camrachle, outside Glasgow. There she befriends the Rev. Eadie and his wife. Mr Eadie undertakes the education of James, while Bell, together with Mrs Eadie, unite in the education of Mary.

With reference to Mary's future, Mrs Eadie says to Bell:

We cannot tell...what her lot may be; but let us do our best to prepare her for the world, and leave her fortunes, as they ever must be, in the hands of
Providence. The penury and obscurity of her present condition ought to be no objection to bestowing on her all the accomplishments we have it in our power to give. (pp207-8)

The total dialect component in Mary and James' vocabulary is 5.00% and 1.91% respectively. The difference is partly due to statistical factors such as the difference in total words (Mary = 160 words, James = 2,513 words), and partly due to the fact that when James is an adult, he figures predominantly in the latter section of the novel. Mary, on the other hand, is a very minor character. Despite these statistical and thematic differences, the distinction between the language of childhood and adulthood is nevertheless reflected in both characters' idiolects. In conversation with her Uncle Watty, Mary asks:

Do ye no ken me?...Uncle, I'm your wee Betty Bodle; what for will ye no speak to me? (p216)

James's childhood vernacular is similar to his sister's. For example, shortly after Charles' death, Claud tries to persuade James to sit on his knee. James says:

I'll come, if ye'll no hurt me...I dinna ken...but I am fear't, for ye hurt papa for naething, and mamma used to greet for't. (p153)

Claud is repentant about the wrongs done to Charles and says:

I'm very wae that e'er I did ony wrang to your father, my bonny laddie, but I'll do sae nae mair. (p153)

James replies thus:

That's cause ye canna help it,...for he's dead - he's in a soun' soun' sleep - nobody but an angel wi' the last trumpet at his vera lug is able to waken him - and Mary
and me, and mamma - we're a' gaun to lie down and die too, for there's nobody now in the world that cares for us.

(p153)

If we segment James' total vocabulary of 2,513 words into childhood and adult utterances we find that out of a total of 48 Scotticisms, 35 occur in childhood. The statistically adjusted figures for the dialect component in his adult speech is thus, 0.52% (DC = 13, TW = 2,408). As an adult Mary speaks consistently in SE.

Unlike Mary and James, Charles, Watty, Meg and George Walkinshaw are all introduced into the text as young adults. The total dialect component in their speech varies considerably, as we can see from the following:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>DC</th>
<th>TW</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Charles</td>
<td>6.08%</td>
<td>921</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Watty</td>
<td>26.20%</td>
<td>4,828</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Meg</td>
<td>13.05%</td>
<td>383</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>George</td>
<td>1.03%</td>
<td>4,546</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

DC = Dialect Component, TW = Total Words.

This linguistic variation can be interpreted in terms of a number of sociolinguistic and stylistic (literary) factors which will be explored in the following discussion. George speaks predominantly in SE with only a smattering of Scotticisms, invariably pertaining to Scots Law. On the other hand, Charles code-switches between Scots and SE and this affects the overall percentage of dialect in his vocabulary. Watty, in contrast to both his brothers, speaks consistently in Scots. Unlike Charles and George he has retained his childhood vernacular and this impression is reinforced by the fact that his speech is peppered with "childish" idioms. For example, in a passage where Watty...
puts a stick between the leaves of the Bible to keep the place, he says; "I'll chapse that place" (p63), *chapse* being a term used by children in games such as dominoes. Other childhood terms include *go halffer* (p83), *auld daddy* (p77) for *grandfather*, *spider webster* (p83), *chucky-stanes* (p136), *playing at whirley* (p85), *shoo ane another on a swing* (p88), as well as diminutives such as *lambie* (p200).

Watty's mental state is a question of comment, debate and even litigation in the novel. Watty's father refers to him as a *gouk* (p25) and in conversation with Girzy says:

> ye ken, there are degrees o' capacity, Girzy, and Watty's, poor callan, we maun alloo, between oursels, has been meted by a sma' measure.

(p25)

This image of Watty is reinforced by both his speech and behaviour. For instance, the following utterance is the reader's first direct encounter with Watty:

> Mither, mither, Meg Draiks winna gie me a bit of auld daddy's burial bread though ye brought o'er three farls wi' the sweeties on't, and twa whangs as big as peats o' the fine sugar seed-cake.

(p34)

Betty Bodle, on the other hand, is not characterised as mentally sub-normal. Rather, she is portrayed as an unrefined child of nature. Like Watty and his brothers and sister, Betty Bodle is also introduced as an adult. However, we are told something of her childhood and how this has shaped her character and behaviour: her mother died when she was very young, and her father had allowed her "to run unbridled among the servants" (p79), with the
result that any subsequent attempt to make her conform to "the requisite subjection of the sex" (p79), totally failed. Consequently, she is described as follows:

 Bold, boisterous, and frank, she made no scruple of employing her whip when rudely treated, either by master or man; for she frequently laid herself open to freedoms from both, and she neither felt nor pretended to any of her sex's gentleness or delicacy. (p79)

Watty and Betty are childhood companions, and when the idea is later presented by Claud that Watty should ask for Betty's hand in marriage, Watty's reply reinforces the narrator's earlier description of Betty Bodle's personality:

 I'll no deny that she has red cheeks, and e'en like blobs o' honey dew in a kail-blade; but father—Lord, father! she has a neive like a beer mель. (p83)

However, the compatibility of their natures is seen in the passages referring to their courtship and wedding. For example, while wooing Betty, Watty says:

 "Eh! this is a bonny hand; and what a sonsy arm ye hae— I could amaist bite your cheek, Betty Bodle— I could." "Gude preserve me Watty! Ye're like a wud dog." "An I were sae, I would worry you," was his animated answer, while he turned round, and devoured her with kisses; a liberty which she instantaneously resented, by vigorously pushing him from her, and driving him down into her father's easy chair... notwithstanding this masculine effort of maiden modesty, Miss Betty really rejoiced in the ardent intrepidity of her lover. (p87)

Watty goes on to proclaim his love for Betty Bodle in language which reveals the retention of his childhood vernacular, with the repetition of key words and a smattering of childish idioms, linked by a series of co-
ordinating clauses:

for if ye'll just marry me, and I'm sure ye'll no get any body that can like you half so weel, I'll do anything ye bid me, as sure's death I will — there's my hand, Betty Bodle, I will; and I'll buy you the bravest satin gown in a' Glasgow; wi' far bigger flowers on't than on any ane in a' Mrs Bailie Nicol Jarvie's aught. And we'll live in the Plealands-house, and do nothing frae dawn to dark but shoo ane another on a swing between the twa trees on the green; and I'll be as kind to you, Betty Bodle, as I can be, and buy you like-wise a side-saddle, and a poney to ride on; and when the winter comes, sowing the land wi' hailstones to grow frost and snow, we'll sit cosily at the chumley-lug, and I'll read you a chapter o' the Bible, or aiblins Patie and Roger, — as sure's death I will, Betty Bodle.

(pSs)

Watty and Betty can be said to share a disregard for social norms of appropriateness. Their behaviour is essentially childlike. In Watty this childlike quality is reflected in spontaneous and often generous affection which is sometimes misplaced, for example, when he tries to abduct his young niece because she reminds him of his dead infant daughter. With Betty, on the other hand, spontaneity often takes the form of a ready slap, especially in association with Watty. For example, when she discovers Watty peeping in at the window while she and her bridesmaids are performing the pre-nuptual ritual of "the footwashing", Betty admonishes her betrothed thus:

"The deevil ride a hunting on you, Watty Walkinshaw, I'll gar you glower in at windows", was her endearing salutation, seconded by the whole vigour of her hand in a smack on the face, so impressive that it made him yell till the very echoes yelled again. "Gang hame wi' you, ye roaring bull o' Bashen, or I'll take a rung to your back."

(pp95-96)

Similarly, at their wedding reception, Betty Bodle admonishes Watty as follows:
Are ye fou' already, Watty Walkinshaw? If ye mudge out o' that seat again this night, I'll mak you as sick o' pyes and puddings as ever a dog was o' het kail.

Like the other characters listed in Group One, Watty and Betty Bodle speak consistently in Scots. Their speech is wide-ranging in its use of Scots lexis and idiomatic phrases, and, in addition, Watty's repertoire retains many childish words and phrases. Mental capacity is perhaps the dominating influence on Watty's retention of the vernacular. Betty's use of the vernacular, on the other hand, would be explained by her lack of formal education and her subsequent rejection of social decorum which would include notions of appropriate language. Such sociolinguistic factors have influenced the dialect component in their speech and explain why these two characters are listed along with their uneducated elders rather than along with their socially mobile peers.

Similarly, in terms of generation alone, one would have expected to find Lady Plealands listed here along with her husband. However, her educational background and sensibility are very different from that of her husband and also set her apart from her peers, the Provost and Mrs Gorbals. It is Lady Plealands who is the major subject for discussion with reference to Group Two.
6.1.2 Group Two: see Figures 6h and 6i.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Character</th>
<th>DC (%)</th>
<th>TW</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Claud</td>
<td>21.93</td>
<td>9,262</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Girzy</td>
<td>20.90</td>
<td>23,639</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kilmarkeckle</td>
<td>17.95</td>
<td>468</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Milrookit</td>
<td>16.67</td>
<td>642</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rev Kilfuddy</td>
<td>16.45</td>
<td>772</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Keelevin</td>
<td>15.92</td>
<td>3,374</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lady Plealands</td>
<td>15.48</td>
<td>846</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

DC = Dialect Component, TW = Total Words.

This group contains the two main protagonists in the novel, Claud and Girzy Walkinshaw, as well as their friends and local professional advisers, Rev. Kilfuddy, and Mr. Keelevin, the writer. Milrookit, the Laird of Dirdumwhamle, is a middle-aged businessman and widower who marries Meg Walkinshaw, and the Laird of Kilmarkeckle is Betty Bodle's father. More will be said in due course about the characteristics of individual idiolects. In terms of the relationship between aggregated figures for dialect component and generation difference, the character of significance in this group is Lady Plealands.

Lady Plealands is described as "a pale, pensive, delicate woman" (p19). She is the daughter of an Edinburgh advocate who had sat in the last assembly of the States of Scotland, and was vehemently opposed to the Union of Parliaments in 1707. As a result he was rejected by the Government party of the day. Finding his talents no longer required, he turned his attention instead to "the cultivation of his daughter's mind" (p39). In view of his ruinous circumstances he feared for her future well-being and passionately longed to see her safely married, even to one such as Malachi Hypel, the Laird of Plealands.
The Entail: Composite Graph of Dialect Component of Claud, Girzy, Milrookit and Lady Plealands

Metavariables

Orthography  Phonology  Morphology  Lexis  Syntax  Idiom  Idiosyncratic

Claud  Girzy  Milrookit  Lady Plealands
The Entail: Dialect Component of Rev. Kilfuddy, Keelevin, Kilmarkeckle and Dr. Denholm

![Graph showing the entail of dialect components with categories: Orthography, Phonology, Morphology, Lexis, Syntax, Idiom, Idiosyncratic. The categories are represented with different colors for each individual: Rev. Kilfuddy, Keelevin, Kilmarkeckle, Dr. Denholm.](image)
a sturdy, rough, hard-riding and free-living fellow, entitled by his fortune and connections almost to the best society; but qualified by his manners and inclinations to relish the lowest more joyously. 

(p40)

The marriage is a disaster, and we are informed that:

during the life of the Laird, her husband, [Lady Plealands] languished, almost from her wedding-day, in a state of uninterested resignation of spirit. 

(p39)

When Plealands dies, the Lady moves to Glasgow and though late in years, begins to blossom again. This is partly due to her new sense of freedom and to the close relationship she shares with her grandson, Charles.

Lady Plealands and Charles, together with Claud, are the only characters in TE who code-switch between Scots and SE. These characters all vary slightly in the type of code-switching employed.

Claud generally speaks in idiomatic Scots. However, towards the end of his life, crippled with remorse at his attempts to deprive his eldest son of his birthright, he repents for his sins and awaits God’s vengeance. With his mind so preoccupied, from this time until his death his language switches between informal, idiomatic Scots and a more formal register predominantly in SE. This movement does not merely reflect a shift in subject matter, or the author’s, or character’s belief that serious or metaphysical matters are more appropriately rendered in SE. Rather, Claud’s language is full of religious imagery borrowed from the Authorised Version of the Bible, and, since this edition is printed in SE, it is by this second-
hand method that Claud’s vocabulary and diction changes. He frequently addresses God in mid-utterance, and when he does this there is often a corresponding shift from Scots to SE in a Biblical register:

I had a fear o’it, but was na prepar’t, Mr Keelevin, for this...and noo I’ll kick against the pricks nae langer. Wonderful God! I bend my aged head at thy footstool. O lay not thy hand heavier upon me than I am able to bear.

(p145)

Similarly, the vivid Biblical allusions continue to permeate his speech, even when he is not addressing God:

Spare me doctor! O spare me, an it be possible — for the worm that never dieth has coiled itself within my bosom, and the fire that’s never quenched is kindled around me.

(p148)

In the context of this utterance, Claud’s language does not involve a straightforward switch from Scots into SE. Rather he is adopting a formal and Biblical register, which for historical reasons happens to be in SE, but which nevertheless forms part of the linguistic repertoire of the Scottish speech community, even among relatively uneducated speakers such as Claud (see Chapter 3, Section 3.3, pp97-100). In this respect, one could argue that Claud’s use of SE is different from that of Lady Plealands and Charles, both of whom received a formal education, and are linguistically competent in both Scots and SE.

Lady Plealands generally speaks Scots vernacular in informal conversation with her family, whether counselling her grandson, Charles, or rebuking her daughter, Girzy, and son-in-law, Claud. Thus, when Charles confides in his
grandmother that he and Bell Fatherlans have married in secret, Lady Plealands replies:

Ye should na, Charlie, speak to me. I canna help you, my dear, though I hae the will. Gang to your father and tell him a', and if he winna do what ye wish, then my poor bairn bravely trust to Providence, that gars the heart beat as it should beat, in spite o' a' the devices o' man...So gae your ways hame to Bell...and counsel and comfort her; the day's raw, but I'll even now away to the Grippy to intercede for you, and by the gloaming be you here wi' your bonny bride, and I trust, as I wish, to hae glad tidings for you baith.

(p49)

Similarly, when she confronts Claud on the matter, she pleads her grandson's case in the vernacular:

Ye're a parent, Mr. Walkinshaw...and I think ye hae a fatherly regard for Charlie; but I'll be plain wi' you, I doubt ye hae na a right consideration for the gentle nature of the poor lad; and it's that which gars me doubt and fear that what I hae to say will no be agreeable.

(p51)

She continues:

Ye canna put auld heads on young shouthers. In a word Mr Walkinshaw, it's no reasonable to expek that young folk, so encouraged in their mutual affection as they were, can thole so lang as ye would wish. The days o' sic courtships as Jacob's and Rachel's are lang past.

(pp51-52)

Thus we find that in terms of addressee, the distribution of dialect in Lady Plealands' speech is fairly even. For example, where:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Addressee</th>
<th>Dialect Component</th>
<th>Total Words</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>A = Girzy</td>
<td>DC = 12.61%</td>
<td>TW = 116</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A = CLAUD</td>
<td>= 13.37%</td>
<td>= 158</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A = CHARLES</td>
<td>= 15.23%</td>
<td>= 402</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

A = Addressee, DC = Dialect Component, TW = Total Words.

Code-switching into SE occurs infrequently and is determined partly by topic of conversation, and partly by how the particular topic is conceptualised at a given time.
This can be illustrated by an extract from a passage which describes the old lady's past, her hard life and unfortunate marriage. Lady Plealands reiterates to Charles her fervant belief in the value of love:

Love...is like its emblem fire; it comes down from Heaven, and when once kindled in two faithful bosoms, grows brighter and stronger as it mingles its flames, ever rising and pointing towards the holy fountain-head from whence it came.

(p41)

Here Love is closely associated with Divine Providence. However, the Biblical references and the style of language used are essentially different from Claud's close paraphrase of Biblical passages. At the same time the subject of Love is generalised and talked about in abstract and quasi-religious terms. Elsewhere in the text, when Lady Plealands is confronted with the embodiment of these abstract ideas in the reality of Charles and Bell's predicament, her speech is less anglicised, although the religious associations are still present, and the reverence with which the sentiments are held is reflected in both the meaning of what she is saying and in the style of language used:

Hows'ever, Mr. Walkinshaw, marriages are made in heaven; and it's no in the power and faculty of man to controvert the coming to pass o' what is ordained to be. Charlie Walkinshaw and Bell Fatherlans were a couple marrowed by their Maker, and it's no right to stand in the way of their happiness.

(p51)

Thus again we find reference to Divine Providence, "what is ordained to be", explicit reference to heaven, and their Maker, together with an implicitly Biblical style of
language, "the coming to pass..."

The above examples demonstrate that it is not subject-matter alone which determines the linguistic variety used, but how the subject is conceptualised in a particular context. (See Gal 1979:106, and this thesis, Chapter 2, Section 2.5.3, pp60-80.) Thus SE is seen as the appropriate form for deeply felt, serious thoughts which are given an almost reverential status, and where the utterance is a well-considered reflection rather than a spontaneous response. When Lady Plealands is confronted with her grandson's predicament her spontaneous reaction is made in vernacular Scots. Similarly, when she vehemently argues his case with Claud, she does so in Scots rather than SE. (Charles' use of Scots in informal contexts is very similar to that of his grandmother. However, it is interesting to note that unlike Lady Plealands, he uses SE when he confronts Claud. The issues are still the same, but a different set of sociolinguistic conditions operate and influence Charles' selection of Scots and SE.)

Lady Plealands' educational background to a certain extent accounts for the lower dialect component in her total vocabulary and explains why she is not included in Group One along with her husband and peers. In addition, the fact that she code-switches between Scots and SE also influences the total percentage of dialect in her linguistic repertoire. Lady Plealands is only a minor character in terms of both her total vocabulary (846 words), and her role in the action of the story. However, she emerges in
the book as a "gentle" woman of great integrity. She, together with her grandson Charles and her great-grandson, James, and characters such as Mr Keelewin, the writer, are important thematically in that they can be seen to represent enduring moral values and sensibilities which contrast with the pervasive concern of self-interest which most obviously dominates characters like Claud and George, and the east-coast lawyers, Threepmer and Pilledge.

6.1.3 Group Three: see Figure 6j.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name</th>
<th>DC</th>
<th>TW</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Meg</td>
<td>13.05%</td>
<td>383</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dr Denholm</td>
<td>10.79%</td>
<td>843</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Walky</td>
<td>6.56%</td>
<td>244</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Charles</td>
<td>6.08%</td>
<td>921</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mary</td>
<td>5.00%</td>
<td>160</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

DC = Dialect Component, TW = Total Words.

In comparison with Groups One and Two, Groups Three and Four are less clearly compartmentalised in terms of generation difference. This is due to sociolinguistic factors which are obscured when aggregated figures alone are considered. Sociolinguistic factors which influence the overall percentage of dialect within individual idiolects in this group are differences in the language of childhood and adulthood, situational and conversational code-switching, and the use of Scots legal terminology by predominantly SE-speaking characters.

Together with Rev Dr Denholm, a friend and contemporary of Kilfuddy and Keelewin, Group Three includes Meg, her son Walky (Walkinshaw Milrookit), Charles, and his daughter Mary. It has already been pointed out that the dialect
The Entail: Dialect Component of Meg, Walky, Charles and George

Figure 6j
component in Meg's speech is high in comparison with her brothers, Charles and George. The educational and social factors which contributed to this variation in dialect distribution were described in detail with reference to Group One. In the same section, the idiolects of both Mary and James Walkinshaw were discussed in connection with the difference between the language of childhood and adulthood. As an adult Mary Walkinshaw speaks consistently in SE, and in this respect her idiolect is similar to her cousin Robina and her best friend, Ellan Frazer. Mary is included in Group Three solely because of the dialect component in her childhood vernacular. Some of the characteristics of Charles's idiolect have also been referred to in relation to the idiolects of both Watty and Lady Plealands. However, more can be said about the sociolinguistic factors which influence Charles' use of Scots and SE in certain contexts.

Ian Gordon, editor of the 1984 edition of TE, argues that Charles' use of dialect in conversation with his grandmother is "exceptional" and "a further indication of Galt's inattention to detail" (p48). I disagree with this appraisal and would argue that Galt is not only being consistent in his characterisation of Charles, but is simultaneously displaying a considerable degree of sociolinguistic refinement. For example, Charles engages in both situational and conversational code-switching. In casual conversation with members of his immediate family or
with Mr Keelevin, the writer and close family friend, Charles generally includes Scotticisms in his speech. The exception to this is where the addressee is his father, Claud. Their relationship is one of conflict, and the context of the conversations generally formal. In these circumstances Charles speaks consistently in SE. Charles's wife, the "gentle" Bell Fatherlans, speaks predominantly in SE, and in conversation with Isabella (as he calls her), Charles also tends to use SE.

While Charles' language diverges from the broad vernacular of his father's speech, in conversation with Bell his speech can be said to converge towards the variety used by his wife. The following section will examine in greater detail the various factors which influence Charles' use of Scots and SE in given circumstances. For example, although Charles invariably uses SE when speaking to both Claud and Bell, his motivation for doing so is different in each case.

The distribution of dialect in terms of addressee is as follows:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Addressee</th>
<th>Dialect Component (DC)</th>
<th>Total Words (TW)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Claud</td>
<td>0%</td>
<td>249</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bell</td>
<td>3.77%</td>
<td>159</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Keelevin</td>
<td>6.52%</td>
<td>276</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lady Plealand</td>
<td>8.52%</td>
<td>176</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Girzy</td>
<td>11.11%</td>
<td>27</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Watty</td>
<td>43.75%</td>
<td>16</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

A = Addressed, DC = Dialect Component, TW = Total Words.

Generally speaking, where the context is informal or the circumstances humorous, Charles uses the Scots vernacular. For example, prior to Watty's wedding, the bridegroom is
severely chastised by Betty Bodle for spying on her and her bridesmaids as they perform the ritual of "the feetwashing" (p95), when Watty wails:

it was na a pat, but a scud like the clap o' a fir deal. (p97)

Charles attempts to pacify his brother, saying:

Weel, weel Watty...you must just put up wi't, ye're no a penny the waur o'it. (p97)

Similarly, when Charles seeks reassurance from his grandmother, after his own clandestine marriage, he also uses Scots:

I'm sure...that I hae done no ill, and dinna ken why I should be frightened in thinking on what every bodie that can feel and reflect will approve. (p48)

When she agrees to speak to Claud on his behalf, Charles replies:

I hae a notion...that we need be no cess on him: we're content to live in a sma' way; only I would like my wife to be countenanced as becomes her ain family, and mair especially because she is mine, so that, if my father will be pleased to tak her, and regard her as his gude-dochter, I'll ask nothing for the present, but do my part, as an honest and honourable man, to the very utmost o' my ability. (p49)

Bell Fatherlans speaks predominantly in SE. In a vocabulary of 1508 words, she uses only seven Scotticisms, and four of these are in conversation with Watty:

- ye (2) mak no
- ye'll intents weans

O = Orthography, P = Phonology, M = Morphology, L = Lexis, S = Syntax, I = Idiom.

In conversation with Bell, Charles' language generally
converges towards the variety used by his wife. However, in certain circumstances this general pattern breaks down. For instance, in the following passage, Charles is highly agitated and this emotional state is reflected in a movement back towards vernacular Scots:

I wish, Isabella... that this business of ours, were well settled, for I begin, on your account, to grow anxious. I am not superstitious; but I kenna what's in't — every now and then a thought comes over me that I am no to be a long liver — I feel, as it were, that I have na a firm grip of the world — a sma' shock, I doubt, would easily shake me off.

(pp89-90)

These are the only Scotticisms used by Charles in conversation with Bell. Reference to their mutual predicament and to his concern about his wife's future welfare is made in SE. Charles also uses SE to deny his belief in superstition. This statement is immediately followed by the premonition of his own death. And it is significant that this feeling is expressed in the Scots vernacular. This tells us something about the character, his values, and the values associated with the different linguistic varieties as they are found in this particular context. The sensibility of second sight is rated above mere superstition (and this is later borne out by the accuracy of Charles' fateful premonition). SE is associated with fine altruistic sentiments and rationality of thought, while Scots vernacular is associated with folk wisdom and a sometimes unpalatable reality or home truth. Similar connotations surround the use of Scots and SE in Charles' conversations with both Claud and Lady Plealands.
In conversation with his father, Charles consistently uses SE. This is due to a combination of factors: the addressee, formality of context, and even the character's self-perception and attitude towards the topic of conversation. In the following exchange Charles is outraged at his father's attempt to make him reject Bell Fatherlans because of her father's financial circumstances:

It is impossible... and even were it in my power to submit to the sacrifice you require, honour, and every sentiment that makes life worthy, would forbid me. No, sir; I feel that Isabella and I are one. Heaven has made us so, and no human interposition can separate minds which God and Nature have so truly united.

Claud replies thus:

Weel, weel, Charlie... rant awa, and tak thy tocherless bargain to thee, and see what thou'll mak o'it. But mind my words - when Poverty comes in at the door, Love jumps out at the window.

Charles's use of SE when addressing his father reflects both the formality of context, and the emotional (and moral) distance between the two characters. In addition, his choice is influenced both by his conception of the subject matter and how he perceives himself, his notion of "right" behaviour. For example, he argues:

The very reason that you [Claud] urge against the continuance of my attachment, is the strongest argument to make me cherish it with greater devotion than ever. You tell me she is poor, and must be pennyless. Is not that, sir, telling me that she has claims upon my compassion as well as on my love? You say her father must be driven to the door. Gracious Heaven! and in such a time shall I shun Isabella? A common stranger, one that I had never before known, would, in such adversity and distress, be entitled to any asylum I could offer.

Here we can see that there is something of the Romantic
(literary) hero in both Charles' view of the world and in the way he chooses to express these views. Elsewhere, we find a similar attitude and a similar use of SE. For example, the following extract refers to Charles' solitary musings on Claud's suggestion that he and Bell should postpone their marriage for a year:

It is but a short time...and our happiness will be the dearer that we shall have earned it by this sacrifice to prudence and to duty.

(p45)

The contrast between father and son's view of the world is reflected in both the content of their utterances and in the style of language used. Charles' speech echoes the sentiments expressed by Lady Plealands regarding the primacy of Love. The reference to Divine Providence is explicit, and at the same time, Charles extends the discussion from the specific to the general. SE is thus associated with duty and virtue, "honour and every sentiment that makes life worthy", and with generic truth, "no human interposition can separate minds which God and Nature have so truly united". SE is also the language of the Authorised Version of the Bible, and this association is reinforced with the explicit reference to Heaven and God. Scots, on the other hand, reflects a much more pragmatic approach which encompasses both folk wisdom, "when Poverty comes in at the door, Love jumps out at the window", together with a very down-to-earth assessment of Bell's economic condition - "tocherless". Elsewhere, in Charles' own speech we find that Scots also acts as an
indication of his emotional state, either in the relaxed, comfortable presence of his family or as a reflection of his acute anxiety and his fatefully accurate "second sight".

6.1.4 Group Four: see Figures 6k, 6l and 6m.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Character</th>
<th>DC</th>
<th>TW</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Pilledge</td>
<td>2.98%</td>
<td>503</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>James</td>
<td>1.91%</td>
<td>2,513</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pitwinnoch</td>
<td>1.87%</td>
<td>908</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Threeper</td>
<td>1.46%</td>
<td>137</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>George</td>
<td>1.03%</td>
<td>4,546</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bell</td>
<td>0.46%</td>
<td>1,508</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mrs Eadie</td>
<td>0.39%</td>
<td>2,330</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Robina</td>
<td>0.35%</td>
<td>1,131</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mr Eadie</td>
<td>0.25%</td>
<td>786</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

DC = Dialect Component, TW = Total Words.

This whole group of characters are essentially SE speakers who use the occasional Scotticism. The low dialect component in the vocabulary of characters such as George, Bell, Robina and Mr Eadie reflects their educational background and social status. In George's case the social status is newly acquired: his work for "one of the most eminent West Indian merchants at that period in Glasgow" (p109) led him to a "higher class of acquaintance than his elder brothers" (p109). Mrs Eadie, on the other hand, is of Highland extraction, and therefore not a native speaker of Scots. She is portrayed as an educated and aristocratic Highlander with a somewhat romantic and mystical outlook on life.

Statistically, the most significant characters in Group Four are James Walkinshaw, together with the three legal personages, Pilledge, Pitwinnoch and Threeper. Within the
The Entail: Dialect Component of James, George, Bel and Robina
The Entail: Composite Graph of Dialect Component of Mrs Eadie and Mr Eadie
The Entail: Composite Graph of Dialect Component of Pilledge, Pitwinnoch and Threeper
discussion about Group One it was demonstrated that James’
total dialect component includes his childhood vernacular
and that this effectively increases the overall percentage
of dialect in his total vocabulary. If we take James’
adult vocabulary alone we find that TW = 2,408, DC = 13
(0.52%), and that consequently James’ dialect component
would be in the same range as that of Bell and Robina.

In TE there is a linguistic distinction between east-
and west-coast lawyers, and in addition, particular
connotations associated with the different linguistic
varieties help to reinforce the notion of a particular
moral difference.

Mr Gabriel Pitwinnoch, a friend of George Walkinshaw, is
another Glasgow writer, and a contemporary of Mr Keelevin.
However, from Pitwinnoch’s character one “expected to
encounter fewer scruples and less scrutiny” than with the
latter (p179). Unlike Keelevin, Pitwinnoch tends to use
SE: this aligns him more with the linguistic and legal
practices of his east-coast contemporaries. The dialect
component in Pitwinnoch’s vocabulary is as follows:

1. S = Pitwinnoch

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>S</th>
<th>M</th>
<th>L</th>
<th>I</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ye’ll</td>
<td>no custodiers</td>
<td>fatuus (2)</td>
<td>hundreds heir of</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>a’</td>
<td>wi’</td>
<td>cognost</td>
<td>entail</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>o’</td>
<td></td>
<td>disposed</td>
<td>heirs general</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>jointure</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Leddy (2)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Plealands</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

DC = 1.87% TW = 908

Out of the 17 Scotticisms uttered, 12 are either Scots
legal terms or titles.

Pilledge and Threeper, the Edinburgh advocates, also speak predominantly in SE. The dialect component in their speech consists mainly of a few Scots legal terms or formal titles which are repeated in conversation:

2. S = Pilledge

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>O</th>
<th>P</th>
<th>M</th>
<th>L</th>
<th>S</th>
<th>I</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>heritable</td>
<td>heir of entail (4)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>signet writer</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

DC = 2.98% TW = 503

3. S = Threeper

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>O</th>
<th>P</th>
<th>M</th>
<th>L</th>
<th>S</th>
<th>I</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>fatuus</td>
<td>Plealands</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

DC = 1.46% TW = 137

Pilledge is described as an "old pawkie and shrewd Writer to the Signet...He had acquired a considerable fortune and reputation in the Parliament House, by the address with which he discovered dormant rights and legal heirs" (pp331-32). Threeper, is described thus:

a gentleman of long standing and great practice in the Parliament House, and much celebrated for his shrewd perception of technical flaws, and clever discrimination of those nicer points of the law that are so often at variance with justice.

(p179)

On the one hand, Pilledge's "pawkie" and "shrewd" character can be seen as an attribute. But taken to extremes his ability to discover "dormant rights and legal heirs"
(p332), and Threeper's pre-occupation with "technical flaws and clever discrimination of the nicer points of the law that are so often at variance with justice" (p179) mark these characters as having very different values from those which guide Mr Keelevin, the Glasgow writer. For example, the latter's response to Claud's instructions to entail the property of Plealands on Watty is as follows:

Sic a settlement as ye speak o' would be cutting him [Charles] off a'thegither: it would be most iniquitous! sic an entail as ye speak o' would be rank injustice to poor Charlie...let your estate go the natural way to Charlie...Mr Walkinshaw there's no Christianity in this ...cut[ting] off poor Charlie from his rightful inheritance.

(pp57-58)

In contrast to his Edinburgh counterparts, the worthy Mr Keelevin speaks in the Scots vernacular. Claud's reply is also in Scots, but the sentiments expressed nevertheless align him with the values of the Edinburgh lawyers:

No, no, Mr Keelevin, we're no now in a state o' nature but a state o' law.

(p58)

If we compare the use of Scots in the speech of both Keelevin and Claud, we find that there are contrasting connotations operating. On the one hand, in Keelevin's speech (and in the language of his west-coast contemporaries, Rev Kilfuddy and Dr Denholm) Scots is associated with the language of the honest local worthy, with an inherent sense of justice ("let your estate go the natural way to Charlie") and in this instance, Christian values ("there's no Christianity in this cutt[ing] of poor Charlie"). On the other hand, in Claud's speech the
traditional association of Scots with down-to-earth realism, and home-truths, takes a less coothy and more sinister turn. Here it is associated with a matter-of-fact singleminded pursuit of self interest: with the letter rather than the spirit of the law, and these, as we have seen are the very issues which are at the heart of TE.

6.2 The Provost

TP traces the political and economic rise of Mr Pawkie of Gudetown, from his early days as apprentice to a clothing merchant to owner of his own retail clothing business together with several other properties and land in and around the town. His political career starts with a seat on the Town Council and progresses through the Offices of Dean of Guild and Bailie, until he eventually becomes (three times) Provost.

Pawkie's own account of his political progress ironically reveals the relationship between "private" and "public" interest. Early in his career Pawkie is clear both about how local government appears to operate, and how it ought to function (and be seen to function) in the community. For instance, he says:

although it was the custom to deduce reasons from out the interests of the community, for the divers means and measures that they wanted to bring to a bearing for their own particular behoof, yet this was not often very cleverly done, and the cloven-foot of self interest was now and then to be seen anearth the robe of public principle.

(p8)

Ironically, the emphasis here seems to be on appearances rather than substance. However, he continues:
I had, therefore, but a straightforward course to pursue, in order to overcome all their wiles and devices, the which was to make the interests of the community, in truth and sincerity, the end and object of my study, and never to step aside from it, for any immediate profit to myself.

(p8)

Fawkie sees his role in local government to reduce the whole council into:

a proper state of subjection to the will and pleasure of his majesty, whose deputies and agents [he had] ever considered all inferior magistrates to be, administering and exercising, as they do, their power and authority in his royal name.

(p9)

But he is not altogether against self-interest. Rather he implies that the relationship between public good and self-interest should be discreet. The above extract suggests that, in the past, "this was not often very cleverly done" (p8). The same thought underlines the comment, "I was so disturbed by this open corruption" (p16) (my emphasis).

The following quotation demonstrates how public and private interest (are made to) coincide, and the sort of tactics used by Fawkie to achieve this end:

Both for the public good and a convenience to myself, I was resolved to get a finger in the Dean of Guild's fat pye...Therefore, without seeming to have any foresight concerning the lands that were coming on to be out of lease, I set myself to constrain Mr. M'Lucre to give up the Guildry, as it were, of his own free will.

(p10)

The story of TP relates how the "subjection" of the town council "to the will and pleasure of his majesty" is variously interpreted, and the ways and means used to achieve this end. Important too, here, is Fawkie's perception of himself as loyal servant of the Crown. In
the main, his different roles in the community, and the
different linguistic varieties used to fulfil their various
functions, are determined by contextually based norms of
appropriateness: thus Pawkie tends to use SE in the Court
or Sederunt, or when addressing the "commonality" in his
capacity as Provost. Scots is used in conversation with
his family and peers, in informal contexts at home or at
his place of work. But at times there may be a conflict of
roles and a corresponding tension between local and
national identity which is reflected in his use of, and
attitude towards, Scots and SE. For example, Pawkie
converges his speech to the SE of the local Earl, yet feels
threatened by the "Englification" of an English Captain in
charge of a press gang (p67). On the other hand, Pawkie's
own manipulation of the connotations which are associated
with Scots and SE is an important means by which he is
(covertly) able to achieve his various goals. Thus, we can
agree with him when he says that the achievement of his
long political career was "to rule without being felt,
which is the great mystery of policy" (p8). In the name of
public interest Pawkie is progressively able to wind the
council round his finger, influence the corps of
volunteers, the local gentry, MP, newspaper and shape the
general traffic and development of the town. In the figure
of Provost Pawkie, Galt gives us a finely drawn ironic
study of a local politician who has linguistic competence
in both Scots and SE, and who shows a shrewd appreciation
of the nuances inherent in different registers and dialects, and who is able to exploit their various meanings for his own (and he would add, the community’s) social, economic and political benefit.

The following section will examine dialect distribution in TP focusing on the various sociolinguistic factors which influence and motivate Pawkie’s use of Scots and SE, and go on to consider the wider thematic and stylistic functions of linguistic variation in the text.

6.2.1 Aggregated figures for the dialect component in dialogue in The Provost.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Character</th>
<th>DC</th>
<th>TW</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Mrs Pawkie</td>
<td>38.20%</td>
<td>89</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Commonality</td>
<td>37.21%</td>
<td>43</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mrs Fenton</td>
<td>24.19%</td>
<td>62</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Smeddum</td>
<td>23.53%</td>
<td>136</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mrs Sprowl</td>
<td>22.86%</td>
<td>70</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bailie Booble</td>
<td>19.35%</td>
<td>31</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>M’Lucre</td>
<td>12.84%</td>
<td>1254</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pawkie</td>
<td>7.63%</td>
<td>3315</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Peevie</td>
<td>6.00%</td>
<td>483</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mucklewheel</td>
<td>5.63%</td>
<td>71</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

DC = Dialect Component, TW = Total Words.

It has already been pointed out that in terms of genre TP is very different from TE, which takes the form of a traditional third person narrative and gives a diachronic study of three generations of the Lairds of Grippy, from 1700-1815. TP, on the other hand, spans a much shorter period, namely the duration of Pawkie’s political career from 1759 until his retirement in 1815. The narration is in the first person, and the total dialogue is in the region of 6,000 words (as opposed to 66,000 in TE). In addition, there is a significant range in the distribution
of dialogue in TP: Provost Pawkie and his old adversary, Bailie M’Lucre, are the two main protagonists in the novel and have a vocabulary of over 3,000 and 1,000 words respectively. The remaining characters have very little dialogue and, with the possible exception of Mr Peevie, fulfil a relatively minor role in the novel. In addition, apart from Mr Mucklewheel, there is no obvious generation difference between characters in TP. These factors make comparison of aggregated figures alone less productive than with TE.

In the previous section it was demonstrated that various sociolinguistic factors affected distribution of dialect in TE. The same is true in TP. If we compare the total dialect component in the speech of Pawkie, M’Lucre and Peevie, it would appear that, overall, Pawkie’s idiolect is closer to Peevie’s. This apparent similarity is misleading because it does not take into consideration the fact that Pawkie code-switches between Scots and SE and that this affects the percentage of dialect in his vocabulary. In addition, the accompanying graph (Figure 6n) shows that while the general distribution pattern of metavariables in the idiolects of these three characters is fairly consistent, the latter’s idiolect includes no idiomatic expressions and is significant in having a considerable number of idiosyncratic items. The following extract illustrates the typical style of Peevie’s speech:

What ye say, Provost Pawkie, has in it a solid commodity of judgment and sensibility; and ye may be sure, that I was not without cogitation of reflection, that there had
The Provost: Composite Graph of Dialect Component of Pawkie, McLucre and Peevie

Figure 6n
been a discreet argument of economy at the bottom of the revolution, which was brought to a criticism yesterday's afternoon. Weel aware am I, that men in authority cannot appease and quell the inordinate concupiscence of the multitude, and that in a' stations of life there are persons who would mumpileese the retinue of the King and Government for their own behoof and eeteration, without any regard for the cause or effect of such manifest predilections. But ye do me no more than a judicature, in supposing that, in this matter, I am habituated wi' the best intentions. For I can assure you, Mr. Pawkie, that no man in this community has a more literal respect for your character than I have, or is more disposed for a judicious example of continence in the way of public entertainement than I have been; for as you know, I am of a constipent principle towards every extravagant and costive outlay. Therefore, on my account, I had a satisfaction at seeing the abridgement which you made of our former inebrieties; but there are persons of a conjugal nature, who look upon such castrations as a deficiency of their rights, and the like of them will find fault with the best procedures.

On the other hand, Pawkie's speech fluctuates considerably in the amount and broadness of dialect used. A closer examination of Pawkie's idiolect will reveal both the contextual and personal factors which influence his selection of Scots and SE in given circumstances. The aspect of Pawkie's idiolect which sets him apart from other dialect-speakers in TP, TE and WCE, is the fact that he is presented as consciously code-switching between Scots and SE, and is able to exploit the connotations associated with these different linguistic varieties, in order to manipulate his colleagues and associates for political and financial gain. (In this respect some aspects of Pawkie's use of Scots and SE are significantly different from code-switching found in TE. There, in the idiolects of both Lady Plealands and Charles Walkinshaw, code-switching was either situationally based or else occurred as a spontaneous
indication of an emotional state. In Claud’s idiolect, on the other hand, the SE of the Biblical language functioned as a register within his linguistic repertoire.)

6.2.2 Situational code-switching.

Generally speaking Pawkie uses Scots in casual conversation, in informal contexts with his wife and peers. Mrs Pawkie’s own dialect is broad Scots and in conversation with his wife, Pawkie’s speech generally converges to hers. The context of the following extract is their child’s christening. There are relatives, friends and business associates present, and Mrs Pawkie jokingly accuses her husband of “ettling at the magistracy”:

Na, na, gudeman, ye need ne be sae mim; every body kens, and I ken too, that ye’re ettling at the magistracy. Its as plain as a pike staff, gudeman, and I’ll no let ye rest if ye dinna mak me a bailie’s wife or a’ be done.

(p6)

The narrative continues thus:

I was not ill pleased to hear Mrs. Pawkie so spiritful; but I replied, "dinna try to stretch your arm gudewife, farther than your sleeve will let you; we maun ca’ canny; mony a day yet, before we think of dignities.

(p6)

Scots is the variety used when addressing his wife in private, but in this more formal context the informality of colloquial Scots also serves to defuse a potentially embarrassing situation, and at the same time, create the impression of modesty and humorous affection. Thus, even at this early stage in the novel the reader is made aware that at a subconscious level at least, Pawkie understands the connotations associated with the vernacular.
Pawkie's language moves along the dialect continuum towards SE when the context is more formal, or he is perhaps drawing on his position of authority in the community. But Pawkie's code-switching is not only situationally determined. It can also vary according to his notion of his own identity. In this respect we can say that the Provost changes linguistic variety in relation to his perception of his role within society, i.e. family man, local worthy or official representative of the King's authority. In the following extract from Chapter XLV, Pawkie addresses the Sederunt. He begins by using Scots, but his identification with the authority of the state is reflected in his movement towards SE:

"Gentlemen", quo' I, "dinna mistake me. I never was in more composure all my life. - It's indeed no on my own account that I feel on this occasion. The gross violation of all the decent decorum of magisterial authority is not a thing that affects me in my own person; it's an outrage against the state; the prerogatives of the king's crown are endangered; atonement must be made, or punishment must ensue. It's a thing that by no possibility can be overlooked; it's an offence committed in open court and we cannot but take cognizance thereof."

(pp141-2)

Indeed Pawkie himself is clear to point out that while the insult is not to himself personally, the authority of the Crown and State are nevertheless identified in his position as Provost: "the insult that had been given to the constituted authority of the king, so imperfectly represented in my person" (p141).

Pawkie's changing self-perception and how this affects his use of language is well illustrated in the following
two exchanges. In the first example, the townsfolk congregate to demand coals for their annual bonfire, after the Sederunt have decided to ban this common right. Pawkie refers to them as "the utmost gathering and congregation of the clanjamphry" (p33), and in his account to the reader directly relates language and behaviour:

"Provost, whar's the bonfire? Hae ye sent the coals, Provost hame to yoursel, or selt them, Provost, for meal to the forestaller?", with other such misleart phraseology that was most contemptuous, bearing every symptom of the rebellion and insurrection that they were then mediating.

(p33)

In his official capacity as Provost, Pawkie sees in their language and attitude the potential power to undermine both his and the Crown's authority. (See Barrell 1983:110-75 for further discussion of language and the authority of common usage.)

In the second incident Pawkie feels equally threatened by the language and authority of the English Captain in charge of the press gang: "I did not like the Englification and voice of claim and authority" (p67). In this instance Pawkie is made to feel that his power is parochial and that his identity is local rather than national. Elsewhere in the text Pawkie himself draws on this SE "voice" of authority when he successfully quells dissension in the Sederunt, or, towards the end of his career, when he is settling for a silver plate on his retirement from the council.
6.2.3 Conversational code-switching.

The last section of the novel, from Chapter XLIII, illustrates how Pawkie is able to exploit the connotations which surround Scots and SE for his own political purposes. Throughout this chapter he comments on the language spoken by other characters, and boasts how he can manipulate his own language in order to parody or cajole his associates.

When Mr Peevie, "one of the very sickerest of all the sederunts" (p134), visits Pawkie to complain on behalf of the council about the proposed "cuts", Pawkie comments thus:

The method of his discourse and conversation was very precise, and his words were all set forth in a style of consequence that took with many for a season, as the pith and marrow of solidity and sense.

(p135)

This is a statement about the general view and is uttered in SE. The following sentence reflects Pawkie's own opinion and combines formal phrases with colloquial Scots:

The bodie, however, was but a pompous trifle and I had for many a day held his observe and admonishments in no very reverential estimation. So that when I heard him address me, in such a memorializing manner, I was inclined and tempted to set him off with a flea in his lug.

(p135)

Here Pawkie demonstrates not only an awareness of the connotations which surround different varieties, but a sophisticated appreciation of the potential power of style of language (as opposed to content) to deceive. He then informs the reader of his intention to emulate Peevie's style of speech so that he might control the situation:

I was enabled to bridle and rein in this prejudicial
humour and answer him in his own way.

(p135)

In the following exchange, Pawkie code-switches between Scots and SE, on the one hand suggesting a relationship of frankness and confidentiality, and on the other hand making clear his position of authority and trust in the community:

"Mr. Peevie," quo' I, "you know that few in the town hae the repute that ye hae for a gift of sagacity by common, and therefore, I'll open my mind to you in this manner with a frankness that would not be judicious polity with folk of a lighter understanding...For we neither live in the auld time nor in the golden age, and it would not do now for the like of you and me, Mr. Peevie, to be seen in the dusk of the evening, toddling home from the town hall wi' gogling een and havering tongues, and one of the town officers following at a distance in case of accidents; sic things, ye ken, hae been, but no body would plea for their continuance."

(pp135-7)

The solidarity of "the like of you and me" is a ploy, for it is only Mr Peevie himself who has ever had James Hound, the officer, "obligated to cleek and oxtter him" (p137) home after the annual Michaelmas dinner. Nevertheless, Pawkie is wholly convincing and it is Mr Peevie who comes to his aid later in quelling potential dissent in the Sederunt.

The Provost is able to manipulate Mr Peevie by drawing on the connotations of solidarity associated with the vernacular. He goes on to use similar tactics with Mr Mucklewheel. In this instance the aim is to persuade Mucklewheel to make a proposal to the Sederunt, that Pawkie should be presented with a silver plate on his retirement from office. In this final passage in the novel Pawkie openly acknowledges to the reader his manipulation of language:
"Hooly, hooly, friend," quo' I, with a laugh of jocularity, no ill-pleased to see what effect I had worked upon him.

(p150)

In this passage code-switching between Scots and SE variety fulfills a number of functions: SE is the appropriate variety of public discourse in the Sederunt and is used by Pawkie to outline the protocol for making a representation to his fellow counsellors. Scots is the variety used to suggest informality and confidentiality and here we find that Pawkie deliberately employs colloquial idiom to put "the greenhorn", Mucklewheel, in the picture of public affairs, at the same time reinforcing the friendly atmosphere of solidarity:

The Provost maun ken nothing about it, or let on that he does na ken, which is the same thing, for folk would say that he was settling at something of the kind for himself, and was only eager for a precedent.

(p150)

On the other hand, he adopts a strictly formal register of SE when he wants to illustrate clearly and concisely what Mucklewheel should propose on his behalf at the Sederunt. The proposal which Pawkie suggests is uttered in the style of SE that would be appropriate in this particular domain of public life.

The worthy counsellor has but anticipated what everyone was desirous to propose, and although a committee is a very fit way of doing the thing respectively, there is a far better, and that is, for the council now sitting to come at once to a resolution on the subject.

(p151)

While the narration stays in SE, the dialogue with Mr Mucklewheel returns to Scots:

Having in this judicious manner primed Mr. Mucklewheel
as to the procedure, I suddenly recollected that I had a letter to write to catch the post, and having told him so, "May be", quo' I, "Ye would step the length of Mr. Birky's..."

(p151)

In the narrative Pawkie uses "recollected" when previously, on another occasion, he preferred "mind" ("I mind it well as if it had only been yestreen" (p18)). This would have been more consistent with the idiomatic "step the length of" already present in the dialogue. The distinction between the language of dialogue and narrative does not just serve to illustrate the norms of appropriateness for the written and spoken form. Rather, it reminds the reader that the choice of language is deliberate, and functions as part of Pawkie's means whereby he gets his "plate". Pawkie himself says as much:

Thus had I the great satisfaction of going to my repose as a private citizen with a very handsome silver cup, bearing an inscription in the Latin tongue, of the time I had been in the council, guildry, and magistracy.

(p152)

6.2.4 Scots and SE and the narrative voice in TP.

Chapter 3 pp112-3, referred to Galt's use of Scots in narrative. This computer-aided study of Galt's literary dialect has focused almost exclusively on dialogue, but since TP is a first-person narrative it is important to consider the communicative function of the use of dialect (and SE) in Pawkie's narrative voice. For example, he tends to use SE when addressing the reader, uttering general truths or referring to himself, either in relation to his career or his position as "author". Conversely, any
movement from SE into Scots often accompanies a shift from a general (ostensibly objective) account, into a particular (subjective) description. A complex juxtaposition of Scots and SE, and interaction of various registers (official, poetic and colloquial) is seen in Chapter IX, with the account of Jean Gaisling's trial and subsequent hanging. Pawkie begins by uttering a general truth concerning positions of responsibility:

The attainment of honours and dignities is not enjoyed without a portion of trouble and care, which, like a shadow, follows all temporalities.

(p27)

This sentence, using the generic present, is immediately followed by a shift into Scots. The account, in simple past and past perfective, tells of Pawkie's own view of the incident:

On the very evening of the same day that I was first chosen to be a baillie, a sore affair came to light, in the discovery that Jean Gaisling had murdered her bastard bairn.

(pp27-8)

The passage continues in Scots, fluctuating between Scots and SE when Pawkie describes Jean's appearance in court and her journey to the Tolbooth. SE is used to narrate the outcome of Jean's sentence, but Scots, together with SE of a Biblical register, is used when Pawkie gives the account of public reaction to the news of the woman's death, and the fact that her body was to be afterwards "given to the doctors to make an Atomy". (p29):

The execution of Jeannie was what all expected to happen; but when the news reached the town of the other part of the sentence, the wail was as a sough of a pestilence, and fain would the council have got it
Similarly, Pawkie uses SE when he distances himself from the "scene" and attempts to objectify the proceedings by intimating to the reader: "It was thought by many, that her advocates might have made greater use of her visible consternations". This would tend to indicate that the "many" were fellow councillors and that this was a paraphrase of their actual words. This contrasts with the "wail" of the commonality mentioned above. As he proceeds to describe the scene, Pawkie returns to Scots, and a Biblical register:

At the first sight of her at the Tolbooth stairhead, a universal sob rose from all the multitude, and the sternest ee could na refrain from shedding a tear. We marched slowly down the stair, and on to the foot of the scaffold, where her younger brother, Willy, that was stable-boy at my lord's, was standing by himself, in an open ring made round him in the crowd; every one compassionating the dejected laddie, for he was a fine youth, and of an orderly spirit.

Pawkie ends the passage by shifting into a more poetic register to describe the sight of Jean "dressed in white" ascending the scaffold to have the "fatal cap" placed on her head by her brother, who:

kneeling down, with his back towards her, closing his eyes and shutting his ears with his hands, he saw not, nor heard when she was launched into eternity.

The continuous flow of action, "kneeling", "closing", "shutting", is abruptly halted by her death when the action is then described using negatives, past tense and passive case: "saw not", "nor heard", and "was launched". This
particular passage not only illustrates the range of registers used to adequately deal with a complex and emotive event, but demonstrates how variation between Scots and SE is used to reinforce the notion of the narrator’s fluctuation between public and private response to the unfolding events.

The above discussion has focused briefly on the role of Scots and SE in narrative, particularly with reference to "point of view". In Chapter VII we find linguistic variation between Scots and SE functioning as a structuring device, alternatively fusing and separating passages of narrative and dialogue (cf Dabke 1979; this thesis Chapter 2, Section 2.4.4, pp53-55).

6.2.5 Linguistic variation as a structuring device in TP.

In Chapter VII Bailie M’Lucre visits Provost Pawkie at home and recounts the recent experience of his trip to London. In the following passage the dialogue is initially separated from the preceding narrative by the formal lexical and graphic structures, _said_ and _—_. respectively:

All this was Greek and Hebrew to me, but it was plain, that the bailie, in his jaunt, had been guilty of some notour thing, wherein the custom-house was concerned, and that he thought all the world was acquaint with the same. However, no to balk him in any communication he might be disposed to make to me, I said:—

"What ye say, Bailie, is great news, and I wish you meickle joy, for I have had my fears about your situation for some time; but now that the business is brought to such a happy end, I would like to hear all the true particulars of the case; and that your tale and tidings sha’na lack stlockening, I’ll get in the toddy-bowl and the gardevin; and with that, I winket to the mistress to take the bairns to their bed, and bade Jenny
Hachle, that was then our feed servant lass, to gar the kettle boil. Poor Jenny, has long since fallen into a great decay of circumstances, for she was not overly snod and cleanly in her service; and so, in time, wore out the endurance of all the houses and families that feed her, till nobody would take her; by which she was in a manner cast on Mrs. Pawkie's hands; who, on account of her kindliness towards the bairns in their childhood, has given her a howf among us.

(p19)

The narrative tells of Pawkie's attempts to make the Bailie feel at home in order to encourage him to take Pawkie into his confidence: "no to balk him in any communication he might be disposed to make to me".

Pawkie's actual utterance contains a number of traditional Scotticisms such as meickle, slockening, toddy-bowl, gardevin. There is no major structural separation between Pawkie's dialogue and narrative, and indeed the passage beginning "What ye say", up to "gar the kettle boil" forms a single sentence. Stylistically, too, the narrative appears to merge with the dialogue. This effect is reinforced by the fact that a similar density and style of dialect is sustained:

```
O      P      M      L      S      I
winket cleanly bairns(2) that feed servant lass
gar
bade
snod
howf
toddy
bailie
overly
```

Q = Orthography, P = Phonology, M = Morphology, L = Lexis, S = Syntax, I = Idiom.

The parenthesis about Jenny Hachle helps to create the impression of spontaneity in the narrative: Pawkie is
gossiping to the reader in a similar manner and in a similar style of language, as he does with M'Lucre. This notion of immediacy is reinforced when Pawkie interrupts his own train of thought, thus:

But, to go on with what I was rehearsing; the toddy being ordered, and all things on the table, the baillie, when we were quiet by ourselves, began to say, —

M'Lucre's monologue about his "bit jaunt to London" (which takes up two and a half pages) continues in a similar style of Scots as Pawkie's own dialogue. At the end of the chapter, when Pawkie resumes his narration, it is interesting to note that he does not take up the threads of vernacular Scots established earlier. The narrator appears to have now removed himself from the immediate context of the scene and this is reflected in the fact that the concluding passage of 115 words is almost wholly represented in SE (the two exceptions being o' and leet). Pawkie, once more has become the omnipotent narrator and generalises thus:

Such was the account and narration that the bailie gave to me of the particulars o' his journey to London; and when he was done, I could not but make a moral reflection or two, on the policy of gentlemen putting themselves on the leet to be members of Parliament: it being a clear and plain thing, that as they are sent up to London for the benefit of the people by whom they are chosen, the people should always take care to get some of the benefit in hand paid down, otherwise they run a great risk of seeing their representatives neglecting their special interests, and treating them as entitled to no particular consideration.

Dialect therefore forms an important stylistic device whereby Galt can manipulate his fictional narrator in
proximal and distal relationships both to the scene being
described and in terms of the relationship with the reader.
The use of SE at points of juncture in the text, whether
between narrative and dialogue, or at chapter beginning or
end, helps to reinforce the structure of the text and at the
same time influence the reader's interpretation of events.
Similarly, dialect operating within dialogue needs to be
seen in relation to the narrative in which it is embedded
(cf. Bakhtin's reference to "character zones" 1985:258;
Kinniebrew 1983:48; this thesis, Chapter 1, pp1-2, and
Chapter 2, Section 2.4.3, pp48-53). In TP, the information
given in the narrative and dialogue can be exploited for
themetic, and often humorous effect. For example, at the
beginning of Chapter VII we find the narrative drifting
towards the Scots end of the dialect continuum,
simultaneously moving from "literary" SE to colloquial
Scots. The passage referred to begins in an almost
conventional "Once upon a time..." pattern:

One evening, as I was sitting at home, after closing the
shop for the night, and conversing concerning the
augmentation of our worldly affairs with Mrs. Pawkie and
the bairns; it was a damp raw night; I mind it just as
well as if it had been only yestreen; who should make
his appearance at the room door but the bailie himself?
and a blithe face he had.

(p18)

At one level, the phrase "conversing concerning the
augmentation of our worldly affairs" is ironic when one
considers that Mrs Pawkie's actual idiolect is very broad
Scots (see TP p6; this thesis, Section 6.2.2, p226). The
narrative style fulfilS other functions, though. The
colloquial parenthesis, "I mind it as well as if it had been only yestreen", together with the rejoinder, "and a blithe face he had", are embedded in the predominantly SE narration and prepare the reader for the general tone of the scene which follows, and at the same time draws the reader into close proximity to the action. When Pawkie does speak, he greets the bailie thus: "Hooly, hooly, Bailie...what's a' this for" (p.18).

Dialect distribution thus helps to determine the relationship between narrative and dialogue, between written and (ostensibly) spoken form. Where the stylistic difference between narrative and dialogue is underplayed, this creates a fluidity in the passage, makes the situation more immediate and helps to situate the reader in close proximity with both the action and the narrator's point of view. Alternatively, where the distinction between style of narrative and dialogue is foregrounded, the narrative cuts across the action, halting it, at the same time presenting an alternative perspective on the events described. This, in turn, can be used as a device to distance the reader from the events as described and perhaps alter the status of the reader's relationship with the narrator.

6.3 "West Country Exclusives"

Rejecting the idea that "exclusivism", or the pursuit of exclusiveness, is the domain of only those who inhabit the highest echelons of society and live the "Fashionable
Life", Johnstone suggests the ambition to move within a more exclusive "set" than one's own can exist at any level of society. In this respect she considers it a mistake to imagine that property is the most important factor in gaining access to exclusive circles. In her story which she describes as:

a sketch...of exclusivism as it exists among the minor orders of the middle class, and as it is modified by their peculiar social condition,

(I:598)

Johnstone demonstrates this point by charting the social progress of Miss Barbara (Bauby) Peaston, who, in 1806, marries Mr Mark Luke, a Glasgow grocer she had originally rejected ten years previously as "neither genteel, nor yet improvable in manners or calling" (I:600). In the interim, though, he had extended his "trade, stakes and speculations" and was now considered to be a very wealthy man. The story goes on to relate the various social ambitions Mrs Mark Luke has for herself and her family, and how these are often thwarted by existing exclusives, or eventually realised only to be discarded soon after as new social aspirations loom before her.

On the one hand, we learn of Mrs Mark Luke's social objectives, and her various successes and failures in reaching them. Because of the very nature of exclusiveness she is involved in pursuing goals that often change or are illusory, whilst simultaneously trying to repel other would-be exclusives. Consequently, an opposition inevitably occurs between things, people, manners and
language which are perceived as fashionable and exclusive, therefore desirable and to be copied or attained at any cost, and another set which are seen as "vulgar" and to be reviled. The notion of what is truly exclusive varies according to one's social and regional perspective. Consequently, what in this instance begins as an opposition between the manners and social condition of Glasgow and Edinburgh, ultimately the West and East of Scotland, changes as Mrs Mark Luke becomes more knowledgeable in the ways of exclusiveness, so that London, and finally Paris, is seen as as the only Fashionable Standard for select society. As a result, the distribution of things, people and manners included in the categories "exclusive" and "vulgar" varies accordingly. And so the process continues.

While these comparisons demonstrate "exclusivism" taking a tangible form, Johnstone is also concerned about the psychological toll exacted by what one character describes as "senseless ambition and restless vanity" (IV:613).

Johnstone informs the reader that:

to be consistently exclusive, it is necessary to possess a cold narrow heart, as well as a haughty temper, and the capacity of insolent manners, when an object is to be gained by their exhibition. This does not however, in the least impeach the other requisites of suppleness, flattery, meanness and gross insincerity. To be rigidly exclusive; it is above all, necessary to subdue the social feelings and vanities of less immediate gratifications - to be, in short strictly self-denied, as well as aspiring.

(II:336)

And it is here that Mrs Mark Luke ultimately falls short. Basically good natured and spontaneous in her feelings, she cannot resist the urge of social vanity, for instance, when
she shows off her recently acquired house in Largs to all her old and vulgar acquaintances. This failure of self-denial persistently restricts her social advancement. But at the same time, this residue of what Johnstone calls natural feeling ultimately makes it possible for Bob Pirgirvie to help recover her critical self-awareness. Only after she is able to see the truth of her situation in Paris can Mrs Mark Luke re-value her present and past life, and make the decision to return home to Halcyon Bank.

The crucial point that Johnstone makes in her story is that the blind pursuit of exclusiveness erodes certain fundamental human qualities such as judgement, justice and mercy, and that the consequences of this are detrimental both to the individual and to society as a whole. Her assessment of the psychological and social implications of exclusivism assumes that particular moral and social feelings exist naturally in the unaffected personality. Thus while the exclusives, and, for the most part, Mrs Mark Luke, are shown to be blind in the face of everything save their own social aspirations, characters such as Mark Luke, Mysie, Bailie Bob Pirgirvie and the Hawgreens, who have retained their native wit and sensibilities, are depicted as self-aware as opposed to self-denying, with their critical faculties intact. In this respect their function in the text is to offer an alternative perspective to that of the exclusives, representing a different point of view and set of values, and, since they are principally dialect
speakers, often, literally, a different voice. The Hawgreens, being gentry, are represented as speaking SE: Johnstone describes the daughters as "two pleasant, unaffected girls" (II:342). In this respect the dialect in itself is not so important as the underlying assumption that native good judgement and moral feelings are to be found in the unaffected personality. The unaffectedness of a vernacular speaker merely contributes to underlining the point. And the role of language in demonstrating sociolinguistically and symbolically how self-denial operates is what we focus on next.

6.3.1 Aggregated figures for the dialect component in dialogue in "West Country Exclusives".

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Character</th>
<th>DC</th>
<th>TW</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Bailie Pirgirvie</td>
<td>9.63%</td>
<td>5,245</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Betty Bogle</td>
<td>9.62%</td>
<td>1,164</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Penny Parlane</td>
<td>8.60%</td>
<td>1,488</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mark Luke</td>
<td>7.93%</td>
<td>605</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mysie Mark Luke</td>
<td>4.45%</td>
<td>449</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mrs Mark Luke</td>
<td>0.90%</td>
<td>3,457</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

DC = Dialect Component, TW = Total Words, (see Figures 60 and 6p).

From information retrievable from the text, it would seem that with the exception of Mysie, the characters in the above table are of the same generation and of a similar social background, "the minor orders of the middle classes" (I:598). Mrs Mark Luke’s language, however, differs greatly from that of her peers. As a social climber, she consciously anglicises her own speech and also attempts to "correct" that of her husband (see references to I:601, II:338, II:344, quoted below). Mysie Mark Luke, like Mary
West Country Exclusives: Composite Graph of Dialect Component of Betty Bogle, Bailie Pirgirvie and Penny Parlane

Metavariables

- Orthography
- Phonology
- Morphology
- Lexis
- Syntax
- Idiom
- Idiosyncratic

Mark Luke
Mysie Mark Luke
Mrs Mark Luke
and James Walkinshaw in TE, uses Scots vernacular as a child, but speaks predominantly in SE as an adult. She differs from them, however, in that she drifts into Scots when emotionally fraught, and in this respect she resembles Charles Walkinshaw.

Johnstone’s literary dialect contributes not only to the creation of verisimilitude and the process of characterisation, but, both explicitly and implicitly, fulfil an important thematic function in the text: these functions interact, and therefore the issues are treated simultaneously in the discussion which follows.

At its simplest, dialect is spoken by the young, the old and the lower classes, as demonstrated by the characters of Mysie, Mark Luke’s mother and Miss Jean Sprot, respectively. Mark Luke, Bailie Bob Pirgirvie and several of Mrs Mark Luke’s non-exclusive friends also use the vernacular. As Mysie grows up, however, and is exposed to a refined education, her speech is represented in SE, although in her letters from Paris to her grandmother in Glasgow she uses dialect. She writes:

Dear grannie, do you remember when James Wilson and I used to play at birky upon your whammled mahogany tea board in dear Glasgow?

(III:391)

Similarly, when she encounters the old family friend, Bob Pirgirvie, in Paris, she reminds him of his former pet-name for her and greets him thus: "still your wee 'four neuked Mysie'" (III:400). Mysie misses her grandmother and her home in Scotland. In both these utterances she refers to
her former life, and is addressing people of whom she is very fond. In this respect Scots is used both because of her emotional involvement and because of its friendly connotations.

Johnstone comments that "nine out of ten wives are always genteeeler than their husbands... [and that]... Mr Mark Luke's family followed the general rule" (I:601). Mrs Mark Luke is critical of her family's manners and speech. She describes her mother-in-law as "an ill-dressed old woman, in her brown bombazeens, who spoke so broad Glasgow" (I:604), and later asks, "was there ever so indelicate an old woman. She was quite enough of herself to vulgarise her grandchild's manners and corrupt her accent" (II:339). The idea that the vernacular and those using it are vulgar is a common one, and when Mr Mark Luke addresses her as "gudewife", she says:

Well, well Mr Luke. But I am sure you know how I detest that eternal vulgar gudewife of yours. (I:601)

As far as her own speech is concerned, Mrs Mark Luke has been considerably successful in eradicating most of the Scotticisms, although she would occasionally make a slip. Johnstone comments:

she still sometimes mispronounced a word, or used an expression of a kind that neither the delicate substitution of the Lord Chamberlain, nor the matron of Camlachie House could have sanctioned. (I:610)

Alternatively, Mrs Mark Luke would hypercorrect her speech, as in the following instance when the very fashionable Mrs Stronach is warning her about the suitability of a
particular governess who has certain "vicious habits...of English prosody" (II:344). The narrative continues:

Mrs Mark Luke was not quite certain about this prosody aforesaid. Had it been syntax or grammar - or as she called it, when ultra-fine in her pronunciation, græmber - she would have known. (II:344)

Mrs Mark Luke's linguistic pretensions are elsewhere humorously exposed. The context is her Halcyon Bank "househeating", and she is somewhat anxious that the rumbustious Pirgirvie will prove a social embarrassment. It is significant that Johnstone uses this particular character, who himself is regarded by exclusives to be both vulgar and comic, to show Mrs Mark Luke in a comic light. At the same time the episode demonstrates how the Bailie's wit, and the combination of dialect and humour, can penetrate Mrs Mark Luke's affectations and in the end unite the two old friends. In the following exchange Mrs Mark Luke begins:

"We expected the pleasure of seeing the Stronas of Port Glasgow here to-day, Mr Pirgirvie".
"The Stronas! - I thought I kenned a'maist all the Port folk, but I never heard of the Stronas before. Are they safe folk, are ye sure, Mem? There's a hantle rips come down here about the saut-water."
"The Stronacks, Mr Pirgirvie - you must have at least heard of them. Mrs Stronack was a Dennison."
"The Stron-acks! - no, no, I ken naething about the Stronacks either."
"The Stron-achs, then, ye droll, provoking sorrow!" bawled Mrs Mark Luke, with a native strength of guttérals which proved that, besides conquering High German and Low Dutch, she need not to despair of mastering the Erse or the Arabic, the roots of which, we believe, lie even more deeply in the bowels of the land. (II:341)

In trying to dispose of the Shibboleth of a velar fricative, /ʃ/, Mrs Mark Luke is not really making a
hypercorrection. But Bob Pirgirvie will not let her get away with her affectation. She makes a compromise with a voiceless velar plosive, /k/, but the Bailie persists. Mrs Mark Luke submits to the ridiculous humour of the whole situation, and the two disssolve into laughter. (This ability of dialect to make contact with Mrs Mark Luke’s natural feelings has a more serious significance later in the story.) Although in the above exchange Mrs Mark Luke’s final response to Bailie Bob Pirgirvie is both spontaneous and good humoured, and in a Glasgow context he is welcomed for his company, in the select sea-side resort, and in the proximity of exclusive acquaintances, he is a potential source of embarrassment, especially since Mrs Mark Luke heard that he had been "put to the ban by the Smythes" (II:340). According to Mrs Mark Luke, "his dialect sounded broader, in her refined ears, every day" (II:340). But the vulgar Bob Pirgirvie was not as unwelcome in refined company as a vulgar relative of the opposite sex. Drawing attention to differences between the sexes in their attitude to male and female dialect speakers, Johnstone points out that on the arrival of cousin Jean Sprot at the Halcyon Bank househeating, the hostess’s evident displeasure and awkwardness instantly spread over at least the female part of the company, to whom one young woman of equivocal rank was a greater bugbear and annoyance than fifty vulgar humourists like the privileged Bob Pirgirvie.

(II:342)

That is not to say, of course, that the pursuit of exclusiveness was a wholly female preoccupation. When Mr
Mark Luke heard of some plots becoming vacant in the cemetery, and put in a bid; we are informed by the narrator of the Trustees reply:

that, notwithstanding the earliness of his application, and the extent of his wealth and credit, there was no place for him and his among the defunct Exclusives of his native City. Smith himself...and Dempster, had crushed his claim at once: - no lady had a hand in this.

(I:608)

According to Mr Smith, "The Walkinshaws are in terms...but if they hear that such people as Mark Luke are applying, the speculation is ruined: - no one will or can purchase after him" (I:608).

To return to Mrs Mark Luke, we have seen that while she made a conscious effort to anglicise her own speech, she could, on occasion, lapse into dialect unawares, or be persuaded, in a humorous context, to acknowledge and enjoy her vernacular tongue. Mrs Mark Luke is therefore presented as being fully aware, and responsive to, the connotations of friendliness and solidarity associated with dialect speech. And she is not averse to drawing on this association herself. In the following incident she is anxious to keep "exclusives" and vulgar friends and relatives apart, and tries to persuade her husband that it would be in his mother's own interest to miss the househeating altogether, and come to Largs later in the year with the rest of the Glasgow contingent. She continues:

"If Miss Parlane and Miss Bogle could agree with one bedroom between them, it would be altogether a nice
Glasgow party of auld friends to enjoy their auld cracks." Thus with a coaxing mixture of her old vernacular speech, which our heroine always used when she had a point to carry, did Mrs Mark Luke address her husband.

(II:338)

The fact that Mrs Mark Luke apparently always spoke like this when she had a point to make suggests that the writer intends to convey the impression of metalinguistic awareness on the part of this character. Johnstone is also being sociolinguistically convincing when she presents Mysie as speaking in vernacular Scots in certain contexts. Here we find a clear association being drawn between dialect and naturally occurring feelings. In response to her mother's above suggestion Mysie flings her arms around her father's neck and cries:

Oh, but grannie must come, mamma, to the dance... I'm wearying sair, sair, to see grannie, and to shew Jamie Wilson my wee bantams.

(II:338)

Mrs Mark Luke admonishes her daughter for the vulgar outburst, but her husband springs to the defence of both Mysie and the Scots tongue:

"Sair is a very gude Scotch word, gudewife...better than your sore, I'm sure - which puts one in mind of wounds and bruises, and putrifying sores, while sair, sair, bespeaks the crushed waefu' heart in a metaphorical sense only."

(II:388)

And, he continues:

It is but natural for Mysie to long to see her own grandmother who was aye so kind to her. My mother will be fourscore next month - a lang age, gudewife, and it is but short time we can look to have her here among us. I would even rejoice to see my mother at the last house-heating I am ever like to ha'e, and the last she is likely to enjoy, as the sang says - "wi' her bairns and her oes a' around her, 0".
This association between dialect speech and speakers, and natural moral feelings can be seen further when we consider the issue of "exclusivism" in terms of values and judgement.

The most obvious area where social climbing involves value judgements is in the selection and adoption of particular models as suitably exclusive. At the outset the Smiths (or Smythes as they later called themselves) seemed to be a family which possessed the necessary credentials.

To Mrs Mark Luke they were a family of the "first distinction":

Their mother was an east-country lady, - i.e. the daughter of an Edinburgh writer, - and their connexions were all either East Country people, or West India people. The son was training for the Scotch bar.

(1:604)

This particular assessment of the Smiths is undercut when later in the text Mark Luke offers an alternative judgement:

As for Mrs Smith, or "Madame Mere", he knew her of old to have been a senseless, proud, extravagant woman who had ruined her husband, and brought up her children too much like herself. Miss Maria had been, whatever she now was, a saucy satirical little cuttie who had often laughed at his simple good wife in the face of the whole kirk, - and Miss Smith a vain, conceited fool.

(1:610)

While Mrs Mark Luke's assessment of the Smiths is based on a vague and theoretical notion of what they represent as exclusives, her husband's judgement would seem to be grounded in personal experience, "he knew her of old", and in his observation of how they treat other people. And this notion of native judgement and moral feeling existing
naturally in the unaffected personality (usually, but not always a dialect speaker) is a dominant theme in the text.

By adopting the eastern Smiths as her model, Mrs Mark Luke champions Edinburgh style over that of Glasgow, but this choice presents her with numerous difficulties. At home in Glasgow her native western style of hospitality involved excellent meals, and favoured the punch bowl over bottles of wine. (We find a similar distinction being made between eastern and western manners in Galt’s The Last of the Lairds (1826).) Such was Mrs Mark Luke’s generosity that she often "did not turn her company out of doors before a second dinner appeared at her command, under the name of supper" (I:606). Guests of the "old school" considered this an improvement upon the exclusive or East-Country System introduced by Mrs Smith. According to the Rev Ewins there was little actual difference between the Luke and Smith style except that with the former "there was really less pretension; and that the affectation of refinement was really less troublesome or obtrusive" (I:607). Her judgement in favouring eastern models of refinement, especially once she moved to Largs, is undercut by the actual behaviour of the model exclusives themselves, and by the judgement of certain reliable characters. For example when, at the Halcyon Bank househeating, Mrs Smith’s lawyer son, Robert, empties nearly the entire contents of a dish of exotic preserved pineapple onto his plate, it is "to the utter horror of the old Scotch good breeding of Bailie Pirgirvie", who considers this "anither swatch o’
Edinboro' mainners" (II:342). The two "unaffected"

Hawgreen girls also notice, and begin

to enter into the humour of the scene, and of the characters; especially when the ci-devant Glasgow magistrate thus looked high disdain upon the ill-mannered effeminate Edinburgh lawyer, gobbling up the tabooed luxuries in the presence of the ladies.

(II:342)

The Smiths and Edinburgh come under fire from another source, this time from the even more fashionable Mrs Stronach, who rejects them both as a fit model of exclusivism. Talking about the Camlachie Road School, Mrs Stronach informs Mrs Mark Luke:

The Smythes lay down the law in education to you ladies of the West...but I imagine they would soon have their pretentions pulled to pieces in France or England.

(II:345)

She continues:

What is Edinburgh, after all, but a provincial city, where the Scottish law courts sit...with all the formality and more than the conceit of such kind of places? Even your city of Glasgow, Ma'am, is in some respects, superior to that town of poor cousins.

(II:345)

The re-alignment of cultural and geographical perspective which such a pronouncement involves give Mrs Mark Luke some momentary problems. She forgets herself for a moment and responds too much from the heart, and in dialect too! "Aye the Edinburgh folk were aye upsetting". The narrative informs us that Mrs Mark Luke, who

usually affected to yield the palm to the city of palaces as a proof of her own refinement, was...at heart, sound and unfaltering in her allegiance to her native district.

(II:345)

In due course we learn this to be true, but in the meantime
Mrs Mark Luke is still very much pre-occupied with the idea of select society. It dawns on her that Scotland, never mind Edinburgh, does not figure at all in the "central" exclusivist notion of what constitutes refined society:

They seemed to despise the whole province as commercial and vulgar, manufacturing and impracticable to the refinements and graces of life. They had not more reverence for the poor provincial gentry than for the purse-proud mercantiles. Edinburgh itself, the very modern Athens, was despised, with all its architectural, literary and aristocratic pride and splendour.

(II:345)

In this respect Mrs Mark Luke is learning the hard truth about "exclusivism", but she is both determined and adaptable enough to stay in the race. Her husband collapses and dies at the Halcyon Bank househeating, and once her financial affairs are in order, Mrs Mark Luke takes Mysie off to a finishing school in Paris. It would seem at this stage that Mrs Mark Luke's denial of self in the pursuit of exclusiveness is complete.

In Paris she falls into the company of the somewhat racy Lady Diana Carscadan, herself the widow of an Irish Baronet, and a Colonel Rugby Blake, not quite a swindler, but on the lookout for a rich widow to marry. Mysie, unlike Mrs Mark Luke, is astute enough to recognise the danger that her mother is prey to. She urges her mother to return to Scotland, saying:

Oh! how I wish we were at home! - You were always so well at Halcyon Bank. There was no Lady Di to laugh at us there.

(III:398)

Mysie's awareness of her mother's true status within this
fashionable circle is reflected here, and later when in response to her mother's threat to send her back to school, she says:

I shall anyway be happier at school than seeing you make a fool of yourself, Ma'am.

(III:398)

A similar perspective of Mrs Mark Luke's position is seen when Isabella Hawgreen tells her brother that she has seen the lady in the company of Lady Di and Colonel Blake. The young man replies:

You must be mistaken, Isabella, or else your old neighbour if a respectable Scotchwoman, has fallen among thieves.

(III:400)

Thus, Mrs Mark Luke's assessment of refined society is again challenged, this time by members of the gentry class. And later, when Bob Pirgirvie refers to the Hawgreens' description of Parisian fashionable life, he turns the tables on the notion of social standards, when he says, "such would be thought but queer things in Glasgow" (IV:605). At this Mrs Mark Luke writhes because, "that ancient world was something to her still - something to her moral feelings" (IV:605).

From Mysie's letters to her grandmother, Bob Pirgirvie was aware of the situation in Paris, although it was by chance that it was on the eve of Mrs Mark Luke's marriage to Colonel Blake that he met her and her friends in the Champs Elysees. This meeting with the old Bailie begins a process of confusion followed by growing self-awareness for Mrs Mark Luke. For example, when the Bailie reminds her of
an incident in her youth and pays her a compliment in Scots, the narrator reminds us:

There was a time when Mrs Mark Luke would have been over-powered and disgusted by his style of compliment. Now, smiling she demurely answered, "Such nonsense Bailie!" And the few words were said with that original little air of westland, or more properly, womanly and natural coquetry...<the very adoption of the homely yet imposing title of Bailie instead of the formal Sir, or the cold Mister, augured favourably.

(IV:600)

Once more we find the association of unaffected language with "natural" feeling. Similarly, when the two are strolling down the Champs Elysees, full of colourful and fashionable people, Mrs Mark Luke turns to her companion and asks, "As fine as the Green, Bailie?", (IV:607), meaning Glasgow Green. In these examples we see the recovery of Mrs Mark Luke's self-awareness in terms of both her personal and social identity. At the same time, self-awareness brings with it a home truth. Finally she is able to admit to herself that:

it was by money, or money's worth, and suffrance alone that she held even her present rank in the surrounding corps of the aristocracy.

(IV:614)

Although she retains a certain wistfulness concerning the elegance and refinement of exclusives, the Bailie tries to put this in perspective by telling her:

let us not put the cart before the horse - not forget the weightier matters of the great law of life - judgement, and justice, and mercy; which are sometimes at a low in high places.

(IV:615)

And this would seem to be the moral message of the piece. When she finishes her story with the motto:
Let all men know
That tree shall long time keep a steady foot
Whose branches spread no wider than the root.
(IV:618)

Johnstone is not suggesting that we each have a place in society and should stick to it. The material success of Mark Luke disproves that, as does the social success of Bailie Bob Pirgirvie in genuinely befriending the Hawgreens. Rather she is saying that those qualities of judgement, justice and mercy, alive in the unaffected individual of all ranks, are threatened to the point of extinction by "senseless ambition and restless vanity" (IV:606). In her dramatic illustration of these opposing forces, linguistic variation plays an important role in demonstrating sociolinguistic, geographical and cultural aspects of exclusivism "as it exists among the minor orders of the middle class, and as it is modified by their peculiar social condition" (I:598) in the West of Scotland.

6.4 The communicative function of dialect variation in TE, TP and WC.

An overview of Galt and Johnstone's literary dialect reveals that both writers make similar use of literary dialect in terms of the creation of sociolinguistic verisimilitude together with the development of characterisation, and that in all three texts variation between Scots and SE plays an important thematic function.

The starting point for our study of dialect distribution in TE, TP and WCE was the relationship between aggregated figures for the total dialect component in individual
idiolects and broad generation groupings. We found that a purely quantitative approach has certain limitations and that sociolinguistic theory as outlined in Chapter 2, Section 2.5.2, pp58-60, together with information available in the text, have helped to explain why, on occasions, this pattern of distribution breaks down.

For example, with reference to TE, sociolinguistic explanations have been useful in interpreting linguistic variation which occurs between the idiolects of Charles, Watty, Meg and George Walkinshaw, why James and Mary's idiolects vary in childhood and adulthood, and why Watty and Betty Bodle have retained their childhood vernacular. Alternatively, having examined the idiolects of both Charles and Lady Plealands we have seen how factors such as formality of context, interpersonal relationships, and attitude towards addressee, conceptualisation of the subject matter, and even self perception, can affect the selection of Scots or SE. In addition, the above discussion has revealed that aggregated figures can hide sociolinguistically significant qualitative distinctions in the type of Scotticisms used. Thus Pitwinnoch, Pilledge and Threeper are essentially SE speakers, and the Scotticisms which do occur consist wholly or predominantly of Scots legal terminology, or formal terms of address.

In terms of the process of characterisation, we found that various connotations associated with different varieties can be used to reinforce the author's presentation of the character's appearance and behaviour,
as well as thoughts and values. Thus, for example, the traditional rustic associations of the vernacular coincides with the description of Meg as being no beauty, and as having few social graces:

her chief merit consisted in an innate predilection for thrift and household management.

(p38)

In this she takes after the "rough-spun humours and character" (p39) of her mother, Girzy, of whom the Laird of Plealands had boasted to Claud:

There's no another in the parish that kens better how to manage a house. - Man, it would do your heart gude to hear how she rants among the servan' lasses, lazy sluts, that would like nothing better than to live at heck and manger, and bring their master to a morsel; but I trow Girzy gars them keep a trig house and a birring wheel.

(p21)

This picture of the dialect-speaking character as essentially practical and unrefined is reiterated in the representation of characters of such different social classes as Betty Bodle and Maudge Dobbie, described as "bold, boisterous, and frank" (p79), and "warm hearted" (p10), respectively.

Linguistic variation, as part of the method of characterisation, can help to create the impression of shared value systems, and this, in turn can fulfil a wider thematic function in the text. On the one hand, this might suggest a continuity of values across generations, as in the association of SE and altruistic sentiments and refined sensibility in the speech of Lady Plealands, Charles and James. On the other hand, linguistic variation can
reinforce the difference between groups of characters who hold opposing sets of values. Thus we find that to a greater or lesser extent, Claud, Girzy, Meg, Milrookit (and sometimes Watty) share a similar world view which is dominated by greedy self-interest, identified by James as "the everlasting consideration of our family" (p239). This opposition of values is not straightforward because SE, as the language of the educated, socially mobile characters in TE is associated with the avaricious outlook of George and Robina, and the east-coast lawyers. At the same time it is the variety associated with the finer, nobler sentiments of Lady Plealands, Charles, Bell and James (and to a lesser extent, Mr and Mrs Eadie, and Ellan Fraser).

Johnstone’s use of literary dialect in WCE contributes to the creation of sociolinguistic refinement and the process of characterisation in much the same way as we found in Galt’s texts. At the same time, Scots and SE are used to suggest similar nuances of meaning: the association of dialect and dialect speakers with down-to-earth, honest-to-goodness commonsense, enduring friendship on the one hand, and gossipy home truths, on the other. In WCE, however, these meanings form an important part of the overall thematic function of Johnstone’s literary dialect: the issue of "exclusiveness" and the distinction she draws between "natural social vanity" and "empty pride and vainglory" (IV:606). Dialect, together with the character’s own metalinguistic awareness, is therefore foregrounded in WCE in a way which does not occur in either
TE or TP. For example, issues to do with the relationship between language and social norms and status, on the one hand, and personal and cultural identity, on the other, are explicitly addressed through the words, attitudes and behaviour of the characters as well as in the narrative commentary. At the same time, these issues are implicitly addressed (as in Galt's texts) through the writer's literary use of the connotations associated with Scots and SE.

Like Galt, Johnstone is careful to avoid a simplistic polarisation of Scots and SE into positive v negative meanings. Although Scots has a clear and consistently positive association in this text, her emphasis is on the value of the unaffected personality. This is most readily seen in Scots speaking characters such as Bailie Pirgirvie (and Mysie's heart-felt letters to her grandmother), but it is important to note that the SE-speaking Hawgreens are presented from a similar perspective.

Johnstone calls WCE a "sketch", and in many respects this is an apt description of her use of literary dialect. She is not attempting to create a wealth of intricate sociolinguistic detail: literary dialect helps to place her characters socially and culturally (often in a very humorously satirical way). And most significantly, it functions as a device which alerts the reader to the range of meanings associated with Scots and SE, and which are at the heart of her story.
The above analysis of TE, TP and WCE, has shown that the connotations surrounding the use of Scots and SE are multifarious and not easily polarised into simplistic positive versus negative associations. In his article, "The language of The Entail" (1981:50), McClure sums up Galt’s use of Scots and SE as follows:

In The Entail, the Scots language which disappears in the course of the novel is the vehicle of a principled and co-operating society: not of idealised saints, still less of the amiable pietistic morons portrayed in the Kailyard novels which The Entail is often absurdly said to foreshadow, but of honest if realistically flawed human beings: the kind-hearted Watty, the generous and forthright Keelevin, the pious Kilfuddy, the charming Betty Bode and her agreeably whimsical father. The typical representatives of the English-speaking world which eclipses theirs are the callous and mercenary George, his cynical friend Pitwinnoch, and his "sly, demure, observant, quiet and spiteful" daughter Robina. Of course there is also on the one side the moral blindness of Claud and on the other the gallantry of young Jamie.

His summary concludes by admitting that "in general it is true that Galt’s characters are too lifelike and the world they inhabit too complex for easy moral judgements" (1981:50). McClure’s studies of Annals of The Parish, The Provost (1979) and The Entail (1981) were illuminating for the attention given to Galt’s language. However, the above summary tends to polarise Scots and SE into positive versus negative associations. In doing so it risks limiting the recognition of the range of meanings Galt has at his disposal, and narrowing the reader’s interpretation of the text.

As a first-person narrative, TP adds a further dimension to our study of Galt’s literary dialect. Although Provost
Pawkie's narration is a retrospective account of his career, the narrative style does not chronologically mirror his climb up the social ladder, neither is there any straightforward demarcation between the language of Pawkie's narrative and dialogue. SE covers a wide range of functions in the novel. It is the variety used formally in both the Court of Law and in the Sederunt. It is also used socially by and when addressing the lairds and country gentry. More generally, it is the variety associated with authority and objectivity. The latter is also particularly significant with reference to the narrative style and Pawkie's attitude both to his role as "author" and to the topic for discussion. Thus he tends to use SE when he wishes to distance himself from the topic, give an objective account or relate the general point of view rather than a personal opinion or description. On the other hand, Scots functions as a particularly useful register within the framework of specific social contexts, having a rich vocabulary built up through frequent and long usage. In Peevie's idiolect it is associated with an older language of public life, but this is exceptional in the book. Usually it is associated with the "commonality", with proverbial expressions and "home truths", or else vivid descriptions of physical or mental states. It is a marker of subjectivity, solidarity and humour. Pawkie uses SE in the Sederunt, elsewhere in his official capacity as loyal servant of the Crown, or when addressing the local Earl. Alternatively, he uses Scots in informal contexts,
in casual conversation with his wife and colleagues. Thus, Pawkie’s use of Scots and SE varies not only in relation to context and addressee, but also in relation to his own view of himself and his role in the community.

A sociolinguistic approach to the study of TE, TP and WCE has demonstrated the particular sociolinguistic refinement in Galt’s use of Scots and SE, and has shown that his use of linguistic variation (even for thematic purposes) is not based on usage which is idiosyncratic either to the author or these two texts, but is grounded on an understanding of the range of connotations associated with individual linguistic varieties. Thus, it is how a variety is used in a given context which determines its meaning(s) and not the inherent property of the variety itself. It is this sociolinguistic understanding on Galt’s part which allows Scots and SE to have both positive and negative associations, even, at times, within the same character’s speech.

This study of Galt and Johnstone’s literary dialect has focused on dialogue. It has shown how linguistic variation between Scots and SE can be used for purposes of verisimilitude and characterisation, and that both writers exploit the connotations associated with these different varieties for thematic effect. Further, in our discussion of TP, we looked briefly at the relationship between the language of narrative and dialogue, and how Galt uses linguistic variation between Scots and SE in this context.
This analysis showed that both the writers' and reader's awareness of connotations surrounding both Scots and SE have an important part to play. On the one hand, the association of Scots as the language of hearth and home, its connotations of friendliness and solidarity, of spontaneity etc. Conversely, we find that SE is associated with a more formal and perhaps more objective attitude; in particular contexts it is also drawn on as the established form for the omnipotent narrative voice.
1. In TE, TP and WCE, page references are to the following editions:

WCE: references are to the original four-part serial edition published in TEM between October 1834 and September 1835. Serial number and page references in TEM are given in each case.
This thesis has argued that diverse, but selective approaches to the study of literary dialect have had limiting effects, the most important being the danger of focusing almost exclusively on the question of phonetic "accuracy". And that in seeing verisimilitude only in terms of formal representation, there is a tendency to undervalue works which concentrate on rendering convincing sociolinguistic behaviour at the expense of phonetic detail. Further, by concentrating on dialect features alone and thus giving one variety precedence over another, it is possible to miss the full significance of the interaction of standard and non-standard varieties, and overlook the wider function of dialect within a text, for instance, in relation to the contribution it makes to the creation of divergent points of view (see Chapter 2, Section 2.4.3, pp48-53).

From this perspective an alternative approach has been sought, one which focuses on the communicative function of literary dialect. And here, the thesis has drawn strongly on the theoretical work of both Bakhtin (1981, reprinted 1985) and Fowler (1981). For example, Bakhtin argues that the novel is unique in its capacity to produce meanings by the dialogic relationship of diverse linguistic varieties or "speech types". And in connection with the analysis of these different varieties, Fowler's claim that, "a
[linguistic variety] may be a very parsimonious but meaningful sprinkling of linguistic features so long as the principle of consistency is observed" (1981:193), has had important implications for this research and for the study of literary dialect generally. Fowler’s view, and the one adopted in this thesis, focuses on the communicative function of literary dialect and treats the formal representations of literary dialect on their own terms. Thus, the notion that literary dialect is either a conscious attempt at verisimilitude or, alternatively, that it relies on the use of conventional notations established within a literary tradition, is rejected as a false dichotomy (see Chapter 2, Section 2.4.1, pp43-46). Taking Fowler’s claim that "all discourse", including literary dialect, "is part of social structure" (ibid:21) the present study has adopted a sociolinguistic approach to the study of literary dialect with the view to establishing a set of analytical procedures which will take into consideration the wide range of functions literary dialect serves.

The case studies of John Galt’s The Entail and The Provost, together with Christian Johnstone’s "West Country Exclusives", focused specifically on the use of Scots and SE in dialogue. The initial step in analysing these texts involved establishing contextual linguistic information on the period. Thus, Chapter 3, pp85-119, referred to modern linguistic studies which
examined the historical relationship between Scots and SE, as well as primary sources from the period, in order to establish a picture of sociolinguistic attitudes and behaviour in 19th century Scotland. In addition, modern sociolinguistic research such as that outlined in Chapter 2, pp58-82, provided us with established analytical procedures for examining linguistic variables, together with a theoretical framework for explaining linguistic variation in terms of its communicative functions.

A sociolinguistic approach to the study of literary dialect has incorporated both quantitative and qualitative linguistic analysis. However, the present study has departed from traditional sociolinguistic techniques in that quantitative analysis of literary dialect includes every occurrence of all marked dialect features in our sample texts, rather than a selection of only a few sociolinguistic variables. The thesis has attempted to establish a set of analytical procedures for the study of literary dialect which can be applied to studies of literary dialect in general. Chapter 4, pp120-154, therefore developed a system of metavariables which enabled individual dialect features to be classified and grouped together under the following categories: Orthography, Phonology, Morphology, Lexis, Syntax, Idiom and Idiosyncratic Usage (for example, malapropisms).

Detailed analysis of literary dialect on this scale was greatly facilitated by the use of the Oxford Concordance Program, even though a considerable amount of groundwork
was required in order to prepare the literary texts to work in conjunction with OCP. (Appendix A outlines the procedures involved in using OCP and points out that computers do not remove the traditional, painstaking and laborious burden of scrupulously notating dialect features.) The benefit of using OCP comes in the flexibility and speed with which the data can be manipulated once the text itself is ready. It is not only a matter of having access to the utterances of each individual character, but that this information can be further broken down to provide the concordance, wordlist or index of a particular character's speech in relation to different addressees. This is achieved simply by adjusting the selections from an available set of commands.

As a consequence of this study, two additional Galt texts have been established on magnetic tape. These will be lodged amongst the sources already available in the Oxford Library for Computer Readable Texts.

The OCP software was used on TE and TP and produced a corpus of Galt's selection and distribution of literary dialect in these texts. The analysis of WCE was accomplished by hand.

The subsequent examination of Galt's and Johnstone's literary dialect demonstrated that sociolinguistic knowledge not only informs our interpretation of the meanings associated with linguistic variation, but, in a more subtle way, also informs our detailed textual
analysis. And from this point of view the thesis has argued that literary theory and criticism together with sociolinguistic theory and method complement each other and are equally necessary if we are to successfully reveal the range of functions literary dialect serves. Bakhtin (1985:366) takes this notion further:

The novel demands a broadening and deepening of the language horizon, a sharpening in our perception of socio-linguistic differentiations.

In other words, not only does sociolinguistic theory and method have a contribution to make to literary criticism, but literary uses of language and language variation can, in turn, help to raise our awareness of the semantic potentials embedded in different varieties.
Appendix A

Outline of pilot study of Ringan Gilhaize, describing the procedures involved using OCP to create wordlists and concordances.
Appendix A

"Ringan Gilhaize: a short pilot study using OCP"

The Oxford Concordance Program (OCP), devised by the Oxford University Computing Service (1979-80), is a general purpose computer program which makes concordances and word-lists from texts in a variety of languages and alphabets. To implement the program, the user must present two sets of information to OCP: the text which is to be analysed, and the set of commands describing the analysis to be carried out. The information which is produced takes the form of a concordance, index, or word-list, accompanied by vocabulary statistics. It is possible to instruct OCP to operate only on a particular section of the text, or select only certain words for the concordance, index or word list. At the same time, OCP offers a variety of methods for choosing and presenting the information required.

The object of the pilot study on Ringan Gilhaize (RG) was to determine whether or not OCP would provide a useful means of isolating and counting the dialect features in a literary text. If this were the case, since OCP provided the means of isolating and identifying individual utterances in a section of text, it would be possible to gather information on linguistic variation in the speech of different characters. Furthermore, any linguistic variation occurring within the idiolects of individual characters in relation to different addressees could also be noted. In this respect OCP would function as a device
for creating a corpus of the full dialect component in the
dialogue of TE and TP, and would be capable of presenting
this data in a variety of forms.

At that time RG was the only Galt novel available on
magnetic tape through the resources of the Oxford Library
for Computer Readable Texts. I am indebted to Douglas Mack
of Stirling University for transferring a portion of this
text onto the mainframe computer at the University of
Glasgow. With this material in situ, the initial task was
to transfer a short test sample into a separate file with a
view to extracting the dialogue from the narrative. The
resulting data file, comprising some 200 lines of dialogue
from Vol.III, Chapters I to IV, formed the basis for the
pilot study. To further the analysis of literary dialect
in the text, the data file had to be prepared in two ways:
firstly by inserting contextual references using a
convention known as COCOA references. Such references are
added at the beginning of the file, thus:

W GALT
T RINGAN
V 3
C 1

(W = writer, T = title, V = volume, C = chapter)

In addition, before each utterance, it was necessary to
indicate the speaker together with the addressee. For
example, the initial utterance in the data file was marked
thus:

S = "RINGAN"
A = "SARAH"
The second manner of marking the text was to insert a prefix code-symbol that would identify each dialect feature with the appropriate class of metavariable. (Chapter 4, pp120-55, described in detail the method of classification of Scotticisms adopted in this thesis.) The prescribed symbols were as follows:

$ = Orthography, ½ = Phonology, # = Lexis,
' = Morphology, ^ = Syntax, ~ = Idiom, ! = Idiosyncratic Usage, + = Dual-Categorisation.

With the COCOA references and metavariable identifiers in place, a further computer file was created containing a selection of commands from the OCP set that would generate the information required. The following example is designed to produce a concordance, together with the standard statistical analysis provided by OCP, of the dialect component in the speech of the character, Ringan:

```
*INPUT
REFERENCES COCOA.
SELECT WHERE S = "RINGAN".
*WORDS
ALPHABET " A=a B=b ... Y=y Z=z  $ ½ # ^ ~ ' +".
*ACTION
DO CONCORDANCE AND STATS.
PICK WORDS "** ½** "** ^* ~* !* **".
SORT KEYS BY DESCENDING FREQUENCY AND START.
SORT CONTEXT BY REFERENCES.
REFERENCES S = 4, A = 4, C = 2, L = 4.
MAXIMUM CONTEXT RIGHT 5 WORDS.
*FORMAT
LAYOUT LINES 1 BELOW CONTEXTS A2 BELOW ENTRIES.
REFERENCES LEFT.
TITLES "Dialect Component in Ringan's Speech in Ringan Gilhaize; $ = O ½ = P ' = M # = L ^ = S ~ = I
! = Id + = O"
CENTRE AND LINES 3 BELOW.
*GO
```

The command structure of OCP is split into different sections, each headed by a keyword identified by the
preceding *, the fact that it is assigned a line to itself, and that there is no punctuation. In the above example the first section establishes that the data file has been prepared using references that follow the COCOA convention, and that the program should only perform the analysis on the specific section of the data file where the speaker (COCOA reference: S) is Ringan. The next section of the command file defines the characters that will be found in the text. In this instance, the metavariable symbols had to be added to the alphabet definition. The *ACTION section determines that a concordance is to be produced (rather than a word list or index), together with a statistical analysis of the information.

The subsequent lines ensure that only those words marked as dialect component will be drawn from the total dialogue of the speaker Ringan, and then establishes the way the resulting data is to be sorted. Here, the concordance will be produced in a descending frequency with a second level of priority defined by the context reference. The context produced by this command file would include the preceding five words from the selected text, and would be identified by the first four letters of the names of the speaker and addressee, together with a chapter and line reference.

The *FORMAT section is concerned with the manner in which the resulting data will be presented: this includes line spacing between examples, where the references will be printed, what the title of the report is and where that, in turn, will be printed.
By making minor adjustments to the command file it is possible to make use of the flexibility provided by a computer analysis of literary texts using OCP. Simply editing the command file, replacing Ringan with Sarah (SELECT WHERE S = SARAH.), a concordance and statistics could be provided for another character. Further sophistication was possible by extending the selection criteria to include a speaker and an addressee.

Alternatively, by changing the *ACTION command to:

```
DO WORD LIST AND STATS.
```

a word list of the dialect features could be produced. (By removing the line PICK WORDS "$* %* "* ** ^* ~* !* **". a full word list for a character’s dialogue could be quickly retrieved.)

By these methods it was therefore possible to produce the following range of information:

(a) Concordances and statistics for the dialect component in individual character’s speech.

(b) As above but in terms of specific addressees.

(c) Full word lists and statistics for individual characters’ speech (and in relation to specific addressees).

(d) As in (c) above, but selecting only the dialect component.

This information provided the basis of general assessments about Galt’s treatment of individual character’s speech in the data file. For example, in this small test sample, Willie Sutherland, the jailer, has the greatest amount of dialogue with a total of 537 words of which only 20 are
dialect items. Willie came south to Paisley from the Highlands as an illiterate and destitute man. There he learned to read in order to study the Bible. Several interesting factors come to light when analysing his vocabulary, for example, the low number of dialect items and the fact that his speech style is fairly formal SE peppered with many Biblical references:

But my Bible has instructed me, that I ought not to execute any save such as deserve to die; so that if ye should be condemned, as like is you will be, my conscience will ne'er allow me to execute you, for I see you are a Christian man.

(RG p220)

Despite his low social status, his idiolect is convincing, mainly because of his apparent sociolinguistic experience: Gaelic is his native tongue and English has the status of a second language. Secondly, the prominence of religion in his life, together with the fact that he had learned to read using the Bible, explains the style and structure of his own speech.

The pilot study demonstrated that OCP is useful not only in terms of describing the selection and frequency of occurrence of metavariables, but that it is also possible to use OCP to look more closely at the distribution of individual linguistic variables, for instance, Galt's use of YOU, THOU, ye, t'ou. This is possible using OCP since concordances can produce up to three lines of context.

Once the system of classification of metavariables was established, OCP proved to be a quick and efficient means of isolating and counting the dialect features in literary
dialogue. It has to be said that the task of physically marking the text with appropriate COCOA references and flagging every dialect feature with a symbol representing its class of metavariable, was a time consuming and laborious one - no quicker than if these items had been listed using pen and paper. However, the benefits of using OCP come in the flexibility with which the data can be manipulated, once the notation is in place. It is not a matter of only having access to the utterances of each separate character, but that this data can then be further broken down to include concordances, statistics or wordlists of a particular character's speech in relation to different addressees, something which would require much rewriting and possibly result in error if done by hand.

One final point: the edition of OCP initially used for the present study was Version 1.0, created in 1979-80. Version 2.3 was introduced in 1989, and this has superseded the previous program. Command files created using the former version of the software are not compatible with the revised version. This means that either the Version 1.0 must be retained to complete projects started under the original system, or alternatively, new command files must be created using the revised syntax for Version 2.3. For further information about OCP contact Susan Hockey, Oxford Computing Service, 13 Banbury Road, Oxford, OX2 6NN.
Appendix B

Transcription of Ayrshire Sound Archive Tape 80a, "Memories of Mauchline" (1984): an interview with Mrs M C and Mr G M by A B, produced by the Living Memory Project, Kyle and Carrick Community Education Department, Wellington Street, Ayr.
"Transcription of Ayrshire Sound Archive, Tape 80a: Memories of Mauchline"

Side 1.

<S MC>
och aye

<S GM>
did %aa %gie you the money Peggy?

<S MC>
yes..you %hinnae got $yer pound %tha

(unclear)

<S AB>
how did you start being a binder (unclear) how did you start em in the farms?

<S MC>
the binding?

<S GM>
when %aa %wis %workin a-at %furst . as a %boay . we used to get binders from America and %packin %boaxes .. and . we %assemblet them and then they went to the %ferms of %coorse . that %wis when %aa %stertit work . %aa %stertit %workin in nineteen fourteen . no nineteen twelve nineteen twelve . [and]

<S AB>
[and you were fourteen then]

<S MC>
ah but they %yist they %yist $tae cut it %wi they %yist $tae cut it %wi a scythe a wan time

<S GM>
#aye %an %aa %huv a record . that %thur %no %mony folk'll %hiv . read the back %o' that watch

(gap in tape)

<S GM>
and %oot %o' ^that fifty six years ^there's only two weeks %oaff

<S GM>
%eichty %am %eichty six in Mey

<S MC>
#aye all 'thae Trains are. all "leevers

<S GM>
#aye they’re %a' %aul' ["leevers]

<S MC>
[#aye]

<S GM>
%ma %mither $wis the %youngist %yin and she %deed %furst %o' them

<S MC>
$an %whit age $wis %shae?

<S GM>
%sixty-wan

<S MC>
oh

<S GM>
^see %ma aunty Madge ^that %stye across the road $wis %eichty . ninety %whit . six or %ninety-seevin

<S MC>
#aye she’d be %ninety-seevin she $wis [an %auld]

<S GM>
[and Jimmy Hyslop] $wis the same ^that $wis her son

<S MC>
#aye

<S GM>
and Jessie Hyslop’s %leevin yet and that’s his %dochter $an she’s ninety what?

<S MC>
she’ll be %ninety-fower

<S GM>
#aye

<S MC>
it’s the %guid %stroang air up the (laughs)

<S AB>
and so how did you come to start?
<S GM>
eh?

<S AB>
and how did you come to start with the . in your job?
"<S MC>
%wi the . . +whit $d’ye %ca’ them . the . the binders .
%hoo did you come $tae %stairt %wi them? . you went when
you $wur a %boay [when you] left the %schule

<S GM>
[oh #aye] when %aa left the %schule $an %stertit %workin
%wi %Poallock $an eh . at that time it $wis an %auld
bicycle $ye $hid $tae go %wi . $an #jees %aa $wis %oot $tae
sort things when %aa $wis a +jist a year there $an’ an
%auld bicycle %aa %stertit %workin on the Coogit $an eh

<S MC>
#aye that $wis where %Poallock %stertit %furst

<S GM>
#aye then they %shiftit %doon $tae %whar they are %noo
%cause %o’ the %beginnin % o’ the fourteen-eighteen war

<S MC>
in the Station Road its about its a good place %noo but
that’s %whit it $wis at %wan time it $wis %jist a a #wee
place up the Coogit

<S GM>
#aye

<S MC>
$an %auld %Tam Linton %yist $tae sit on the %stane at the
Coogit

<S GM>
#aye

<S MC>
$an Joe the Barsman

<S GM>
$an %auld #wee [%auld Arthur quack quack]

<S MC>
[%auld Arthur] oh dear God #aye . %whae there are %nane %o’
‘thaec characters %nane-a-days

<S GM>
no . they were +kinna tramps three %o’ them

<S MC>
#aye they [%waur that]

<S GM>
$an ‘thaec three they %yist $tae go . %whit we %ca’d the
Loach Road $an eh there $wur a #wee #burn it $wis %efter
$ye got up #bye the %boax ‘work at the back side %o’ the
%boax ‘work . $an there $wur a #wee #burn on %baith sides
it was a right way actually it took ye up on tae the Loach Road. well thir three wur tramps they dost at ferm hooses anywhere ye ken at nicht but the three %o them %goat %thegether %an %bought a %ham-en at the butchers %an %goat a tin can. dippit it in the burn %an %filt it up %wi waater. kennlet a fire %wi the bark %aff the sides %o’ the trees %o’ the boax ’work yaird %an %pit their %ham-end in it %an %bilet it in that tin can %wi the water %oot the %burn. %an Mauchline Mains ferm %ower there had a %tattie pit a field %aff them. they slipped %oot %an went to the. to the [%tattie pit]

[S MC]
 [%tattie pit]

[S GM]
%an #whizzlet %oot some %tatties. cam %ower %an ‘gied them a ^bit wash %an threw them into the the fire %an ^goat them %roastit then they %skint them %an they %et them %wi their %ham-end. that %wis three tramps that %wis

[S MC]
(laughs)

[S GM]
%yin they %ca’d %auld Arthur quack quack his nick name

[S MC]
oh he stole a %juck at some %ferm %an it went a %wee bit below his %airm %an it went quack quacked %a’ the road %doon

[S GM]
well that %auld Arthur that %wur telling you %about. eh he went %doon the Ayr road %makin for some %ferm %hoose %whar he %wis %goin %tae be %dossin at nicht %an ^there a %wee #burn

[S MC]
Katy [Connel’s #burn]

[S GM]
it’s a. [%aye it’s]

[S MC]
[it’s the Chalk]

[S GM]
it’s a. it’s an extention of the River Chalk it goes %oot through the road in Mauchline the main road that goes to %gaun to Kilmarnock and. he ‘gaed %ower this %wee #burn to get to this %ferm he was %gaun %tae. %an he fell %an he %deid. well he was really in Tarbolton %Pairish then

[S MC]
#aye his %heid %wis

<S GM>
$an %whit %whit sh's supposed to happen if they %dee a bodie like that. $whitever parish they %dee in they're supposed to bury %im. well there $wur an %auld %dochter in Mauchline they %ca'd %Dochter John Reid $an he said don't have any fuss %onythin about it I'll bury him. so he paid $fir %the buryin %o' him in Mauchline cemetary in %the pairse %grun'

<S MC>
that that $wis %anither %yin eh that %Dochter Reid. he %aa think he %belongt to Auchinleck actually but eh he $wis in that %house up there. Braemore

<S GM>
before he got that %yin built

<S MC>
#aye eh oh his %claes $wur %aa don't know if folks %didnae %paie for %'im when they sent for him or %no but they $wur green his %claes $wur green $an he $hid eh a %caw-hemmer coat $an he tied it onto his %gallusses at the back %an it hung hung %doon his back (laugh) $an' it was never %an his %shooder

<S GM>
that %Dochter Reid. when he $wis %gaun $tae visit %anyb'dy in the country he had $tae get a %pownie $an trap %fae %whit we %ca' the Black Bull $an it %hid $tae be a %gie %smert %trottin horse that took %'im $an he was %ae %very near %runnin $tae get into it when it $wis %gaun along %wi his %wee black bag $an his hat in his %haun $an there $wur %wan %nicht when he $wis %comin %hame up the Kilmarnock road %whit we %ca' Hughie Maurs' %brae they %ca' it the pit %brae %noo. but the %pownie $wis %camin %trottin up this %brae %wi the chap %drivin it $uv %coorse %an %auld %Dochter Reid $wis in it $an there $wur a chap you'll +hae %mind %o' %auld Jimmy Curdoicie the %sadeler

<S MC>
#aye #aye

<S GM>
he was %comin up %corryin in his bicycle $an the %auld %dochter shouts %oot $tae him. %wull %bate $ye $tae the %tap %o' the %brae. they did %bate %'im he %drappit %deid the fella %wi the bicycle (gap in tape)

<S GM>
they walk in %wi a bailer $an bail it $an %tak it in %noo %instead %o' %gaun %wi a a %ruck or such like %whit they used $tae #mark #ruck lifters #mind [we used $tae]
<S MC>
[we used $tae get a #hurl in them]

<S GM>
we used $tae #mark ~near enough %about three 'hunner #ruck lifters in a season $an the majority %o' them went to Ireland a %hink they burnt them %an' then they needed a new %yin next year

<S MC>
(laughs) it $wis a %sloapin it %sloapit a bit %o' %wid sloped

<S GM>
#aye . it it %tippit in the back %o' it went to the %grund $an then $ye #rou'd a %houn'1 $an it $an it %pu'd the #ruck up %oan onto the #ruck $an when it %goat $tae the place it %pit it %doon $an it %coagh %wi a snip $an that %wis it

<S MC>
%an if $ye $wur in the field $ye %goat a #hurl on the #ruck

<S GM>
#aye #aye . $an %someb'dy %pu'd the lever $an $ye slid %aff

<S MC>
(laughs) #aye dear #aye . $an when the . when the cabs $wur %gaun %doon $tae the station . $tae meet the trains we %yist $tae sit in the back %o' the cab there %waur a %baur across the back $an the %whup %wid come %roon $an . get %aff %o' that . but we %didnae bother %gettin %aff

<S AB>
and these were horse drawn cabs?

<S MC>
#aye #aye %fae the Black Bull

<S GM>
(unclear)

<S MC>
oh that %wis before the railway was made into %Cauterine $tae %aye eh the %Cauterine ~big bugs %cam in %oan their horses $an $fir the trian $fir %Glesca in the %moarnin $an eh Auchenfail it was Failford in 'thae days . it %wis Collins ~that %wis in there #aye he left a lot %o' money he . he had

<S GM>
[mm]

<S MC>
a %brither $an he %didnae want the %brither $tae get the
money an he left it an it wis tae keep up some hooses at Failford. ken whit we ca'd Allan's hooses, the folk get intae them for nothing. there wur fower there waur twae fur Tarbolton an twae fur Mauchline an they wur burnt doon an eh aa don't know whit happen't tae that money

(S GM)
%jist like a lot o' mair things connected wi money [ye ken naethin about it]

(S MC)
[someby] will hae done away wi it (laughs) someby'll hae run away wi it aa don't know it's bound tae be pretty big noo that money wull they cam up here wi a pair o' hoarse

(S GM)
there's someby about Tarbolton left a wheen o' thousands o' pounds fur somethin' no Tarbolton Newmills an its years ago an it hisnae been gein to whae it wis supposed to be gein tae yet and they're still someby's still wunnering whar it'll be

(S MC)
aye well am wunnerin' whar Collins's money is but it's a connection wi the kirk aa think the minister his it. he'll can buy a new motor or some day or that

(gap in tape)

(S MC)
an that wi their mulk cairts, takin the mulk tae the station

(S GM)
aye an gaun tae the creamery

(S MC)
aye, there wusnae a creamery then, oh aye there wis. aye, [at the Hough]

(S GM)
[whit I yist tae do] then. I yist to get a hurl in the mornin to Balloch, to the Hough to the creamery [wi Skeog cairt or summit other]

(S MC)
[whar ye got margarine] cheap

(S AB)
tell me was there a waterwheel at the Hough?

(S GM)
there wur aa [think there'd be a waterwheel] aa think
there'd be %yin at the mill

<S MC>
[there'd be %yin] at the mill . #aye

<S GM>
^there a big %yin at %Cauterine . they should never %hae ^took that %yin %doon at %Cauterine

<S MC>
+wur there %no %twae at %Cauterine?

<S GM>
%aa don't [know Peggy]

<S MC>
[+wis it %no %twae] that %wus in . the Isle %o' Man . . oh well if there ^was %twae that ^was at the Isle %o'Man there was %jist %yin at %Cauterine .

(gap in tape)

<S GM>
(famous sort %o' place #yae way %o' another (unclear) they used to %hae the the championship %o' Ayrshire ^played for at the %kites in Mauchline

<S MC>
%whae that's another thing that's [disappeared]

<S GM>
[it it went] defunked $an the silver kite . God knows %whar it's

<S MC>
%a'vè %a've %enquirt %about that $fir ages $an ^there %naebody %kens [%anything %about it]

<S GM>
^there %naebody %kin tell me #ought %about it either Peggy [this . this]

<S MC>
[no] this Claud Alexander %a . . [Ballochmyle]

<S GM>
[this %wis] this $wis a a silver . it %jist $wis like a big broach but it $wis in the form %o' a %kite . you know the %kites that they played

<S AB>
yes

<S GM>
well it was Sir Claud Alexander %o’ Ballochmyle ^that %present it this $fir the championship %o’ Ayrshire $an the championship of Ayrshire %wis $tae be played . in the club %o’ the man that ‘winned the championship this certain year . well it $wis a Mauchline man ^that won the championship with the result that it $wis always played at Mauchline the %furst %Saturda in August . but it gradually %dwinnelet $an %dwinnelet $an %dwinnelet so that 

<S MC>  
[#aye ^s’away]

<S GM>  
+thurs %naebody #kens %whar it is ^nor nothing %about it . but it %jist %wis like a big broach

<S AB>  
and whereabouts were the %kites flown?

<S GM>  
%doon there at the school

<S MC>  
where the where the scout hut is

<S GM>  
the scouts $huv a hut built on it %noo . that %wus the %kitin’ %grun’ . that was the recognised %kinda %hoaliday time %about here . the the first %fortnicht in August Kilmarnoch Fair

<S MC>  
[oh dear #aye]

<S GM>  
[they ^comed] #frea %a’ %roun’ Ayrshire $tae it . %Tammy Bone $an Andrew Connell eh %Tammy Bone #frea Muirkirk and Andrew Connell #frea %Dervill

<S MC>  
#aye . $an %doon at %Wallockstane eh that #wee %ferm %ower the Hough . it $wis eh Morrison ^that $wis in it wasn’t it

<S GM>  
#aye . Wallo Wallock %Wallockstane

<S MC>  
%Wallockstane

<S GM>  
Wallockstane %Wallockstane or some other they %ca’ it

<S MC>  
#aye $an . ‘they were sons they $wurnae %a’ there . $bit
by jove they could walk, eh %yin or them or $wis it %baith %o' them would go $tae %Gost'n $tae a, a show $fir eh hens or cockerals ~or that $an they walked back fae %Gost'n $fir %thur dinner $an then went back. they $wur %nae time in %coverin the %grun'

<S GM>
[%dae $ye #ken] . she's 'telt $ye

<S SB>
[how far $wis that?]

<S GM>
eh?

<S AB>
how far was that?

<S GM>
%boot %seevin 'mile

<S AB>
each way?

<S GM>
#aye . $ye #ken she's %tellin $ye that %about 'thir folk $ye #ken %whit her man did . %he'd only %wan leg at this time . he went %wi's stilts . he %loast his leg when he $wis a quiet young man . he went fae Mauchline $tae %Gost'n %wi his stilts %walkin $tae a %fitba match $an %walkit back . that $wis %whit her man did

<S MC>
did he? he never 'telt me that

<S GM>
eh?

<S MC>
he never 'telt me that

<S GM>
aw but he did Peggy . he did %dae that . he went on his stilts fae Mauchline to %Gost'n $tae a %fitba match

<S MC>
#aye he could walk %tae
<S GM>
eh?

<S MC>
he could walk %tae

<S GM>
ah he went ~devilish quick %wi the stilts he ^ta'en some big long strides #aye . he %loast his leg when he $wis a comparatively young fellow . %aa +hae #min' %aa $wis only a %boay . he $wis %aulder than me %aa $wis only a %boay $an %auld Ted Bushle Wull Bushle's %faither

<S MC>
oh #aye he $wis %anither %yin ^that sat at the Cross on ^yon %stane

<S GM>
he he $wis in Kilmarnock Infirmary at the time $an John $wis in Kilnarnock Infirmary at the same time $an %ma %nither $an me went to see Ted Bushle but when we $wur there we went and ^seen John $tae . %aa $wis only a #wee %boay

<S MC>
uhuh oh #aye he'd be ten 'year %aulder he'd be %about %eicht 'year %aulder than you

<S GM>
oh #aye

<S MC>
ach #aye

<S AB>
tell me so what was your job in in in the [in the box factory]?

<S MC>
[in the %boax 'work] . oh everything $an %onything %aa $wis ~a Johnny %awthing they %jist sent me %tae . if %someb'dy $wis %oaff they sent me . but %aa liked being in the show room . . %aa liked %bein in there

<S GM>
liked $tae show %hersel %oaff

<S MC>
%naw eh the things $wur lovely that ^wis in there [Gilmour]

<S GM>
[oh #aye] oh #aye there $wur some very nice things in that %boax 'work made in Mauchline
<S MC>
#aye #an #aye

<S GM>
%bit %whit it $wis that %bait them they let 'thir %yins in %fae Japan $an %a' 'thae things %wi 'thae #wee tin can things that they made $an they $wur that much %chaiper. $an they got %kinna squeezed in $an the %boax wares got %kinna squeezed %oot

<S MC>
%naw %aa'think the boss $wis the boss $wis $tae blame [because]

<S GM>
[oh #aye] to a certain extent he $wid be Peggy

<S MC>
%aa #ken that 'they $wur some folk in Ayr $hud a %shope. two elderly ladies $an they %cam in $an they saw the fern work. $an eh. they %wantit they $wur in the habit %o' buying things $fir their %shope $an they %wantit this fern work $an %aa said oh we'd %huv to see the boss. so %aa went up the stair to the affice $an %telt him that the misses so and so $wur up from Ayr $an they %wanted eh some %fern work. oh no no no they can't have that Mr Miller's far too busy. so Mr Miller $wis next door $tae me here $an. eh %aa %cam up $an %aa says eh %whit %whit are $ye busy %about %jist %noot Andrew. %s'he nothing %av nothing to do. says I dammit the boss 'telt me that %ye were so busy %ye couldn't do it. no %s'he %nothin %o' the kind. well it $wis the boss 'that $wis %wrang he %jist couldn't be %bothert his %hert +wusnae in the place never $wis in the place %an it %jist got gradually %doon $an %doon. $bit eh %ma mother was in the %boax 'work when she $wis young %afore she $wis %mairriet %aa don't know %whit she did but eh there $wis a great painter he %feenisht up %paintin $fir the queen

<S GM>
%aa don't know about %hat

<S MC>
did %paintins $an he had quite a lot %o' %wee %paintins on the wall %ken %wee %wee. well if %ye %didnae keep %yer eye on these when folk %was in well %ye %loast them. %aa left the show room $an went through to Martha MacMin $fir something $an %aa %nivir noticed that there ^wur %yn away $an here when Effie %cam in she says what there're one of the paintings away. so it must %huv been some %o' these folk that $wur in

<S GM>
#aye there $wur a lot %o' clever fingered folk
<S AB>
customers?

<S MC>
#aye #aye

<S GM>
actually 'they wur a lot o' folk employed in the %boax
work at %wan time in Mauchline they $hud a great big %yaird
%fu %o' trees [oh . ]

<S MC>
[it's a %hoosin #scheme %noo]

<S GM>
#aye it's a %hoosin [#scheme %noo]

<S MC>
[it's a %hoosin #scheme]

<S GM>
$an that $wus one %o' the main things in Mauchline that .
$an the quarries . there $wur two quarries . the
Barskimming the Ballochmyle %saundst’n quarry

<S AB>
ah ha

<S GM>
~that's the way $ye'll see so %mony %saundst’n %hooses
built in Mauchline in olden days

<S MC>
#aye %ma %faither $wis %yin %o’them . [he ^cam’d #fae]

<S AB>
[so he worked in the sandstone quarry]

<S MC>
#aye he ^cam’d #fae Wales . . he actually $wis %boarn in
Scotland . he $wis %boarn in Closeburn but his %faither
went doon $tae Wales $an eh the mother died and eh the
%faither %mairriet a %weedier $an she $hud a %faimly so his
%faimly %a’ %cam back $tae Mauchline . Uncle Jimmy was in
the quarries %tae

<S GM>
~see ‘thae ‘thae quarries are %fu’ %noo $an $d’ye #ken
%whit they’re %fu’ %o’ . . rubbish . the dustbin #fae
Mauchline $an %ony %kinna thing at %a’ $ye #ken are %fille
up

<S MC>
#aye $an the pits . they got a lot %o’ stuff #fae the pits
<S GM>
#aye

<SMC>
$an %fullt them up . which $wis quite a good thing because they $wur terrible . $d’ye #ken when I used to take the %dug %doon there . I used $tae %gae %ower $an %huv a look . #aye but the %dug %wouldnae %gae %ower the %dyke . he stood $an %howlet so I’d $tae %stoap %gaun %ower . my ~nose #ae %bothert me %aa $wis %ae %lookin $fir %someth’n

<SGM>
'thæe $wur the %kinna main things in Mauchline at %wan time . the quarries $an the %boax ‘work

<SMC>
[#aye]

<SGM>
the other places $wur %kinna %wee-er places . Finleys $an %Poallocks $an the curlingstone place $an . the creamery $wis quite a %loat employed in the creamery when McCrone $wis in it [%mackin margerine]

<SMC>
that $wis nearly %a the Hough $wis in the creamery

<SGM>
ah then there +wur the blanket mill at the Hough

<SMC>
#aye . oh #aye that $wis the Ramsays that ^wus in there

<SGM>
#aye he had a %weavin shed at the back %o’ his %hoose %doon there

<SMC>
#aye he had that $an %auld Mary Ann %o’ %Barskimmin’ used $tae %cam up in her %powney $an trap $an the monkey %sittin on her %shouther %wi %hits %rid %jaikit %oan %an she’d shout Ramsay $an Mrs Ramsay’d come %runnin %oot . can I see Ramsay . yes just a minute $an I’ll get him $an he’d be %sittin in the pub $an she’d $tae send Geordie or some %o’ them %intae the pub $tae bring him %oot . he $wis %ae in the pub but he had a shed %doon at the %boattom $an he did travelling rugs $an things like that $fir the gentry . . $an that’s %whit eh %yin %o’ these %hooses ^that’s %no to be %knoaked %doon it $wis a Lambie the tiler ^that $wis in that that $wis his %shope . oh we $wurnae badly %aaff #mined $ye $fur factories $an %wan thing or %anither

<SGM>
do $ye #ken that the ^the’re %no a +daicent %richt good

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Xshoap in Mauchline, the only thing that %aa could say that there's plenty %o' is public %hooses

<S MC>
$an ^the're %no as %mony as %whit there $wis in Burns' time

<S GM>
oh but when $ye %coont them %a' in Peggy the British Legion $an Jimmieson's the licenced grocer. the Co-operative $an Pussy Nancy's, the Black Bull, the Supporters' Club $an the Ballochmyle $an %coont them all up there are quite a few places %whar $ye can buy liquor

<S AB>
what was Finnley's?

<S GM>
eh?

<S MC>
it $wis a %jiners

<S GM>
it $wis a %jiners' business. it's %no very hot %the %noo %ither %aa think

<S MC>
*aye it's %no too bad %noo since 'tha folk took it %ower

<S GM>
is it?

<S MC>
*aye but eh that $wis %anither case eh chap %that $wis left in Finley's %wha %jist took to the bottle $an %jist let the thing go but this Melville $an something is it that's %ta'en it %ower

<S GM>
%a've seen the name Peggy but a %couldnae tell $ye

<S MC>
Melville $an somthing but aw 'they +wur [a huge amount %o' folk in there] $an they $wur %a' sacked

<S GM>
[they %yist they %yist to] , they used $tae %dae quite a lot of %wark at Finley's (unclear) one way or %anither %aa think they did the %jiner %wark in Lauder Hall

<S AB>
uh huh

<S GM>
+ken Harry Lauder's %hoose through at Strathaven?
<S AB> yes

<S MC> oh $an they did the Mitchell Library %aa don’t know whether they’ve %goat it finished yet or %no they $wur at it $fir years

<S GM> #aye it $wis it $wis Reid the builders in %Cauterine %aa %hink that built it $an the %stanes $wur %a’ #howkit %fae a #whinstane quarry up #abin Sorn up there

<S AB> where sorry?

<S GM> eh?

<S AB> where?

<S GM> in Sorn . up #abin %gaun %fae Muirkirk

<S MC> oh this is Lauder %Ha’ he’s %talkin %about

<S GM> the %stane ^for to build Lauder Hall . it’s built %wi %whin . $an that’s %whar the %stanes come %fae . a quarry up #abin Sorn #bing %fae Muirkirk way . it $wis Reid %o’ %Cauterine %wha built it but it $wis Finley ^that did the %jiner %wark $an it $wis %auld Jimmy Wilson ^that put up the stair %casin

<S MC> #aye . #aye . %pair %auld Harry if he #kent %whit it $wis like %noo he’d turn %wi his stick $an %gie them a %leatherin

<S GM> there’s a there’s a %hoosin #scheme built %roon %about him

<S MC> #aye . $an he %wantit $tae be like Garbie he %wantit $tae be alone . . oh dear #aye

<S AB> when did the optical works come to Mauchline?

<S MC> oh
it's no so "very awfie mony years its quite [a number o' years yet]

[oh its quite a bit Gilmour]

#aye its quite a number o' years [yet +an %a']

[that wis when] eh McCrone went away

when when Pa when Paddy's went away frae there tae tae Rowallan

%now %now it wis before that it wis eh %whit did %aa %ca' him there

McCrone

McCrone when McCrone cam %oot it

uhuh %aye well of %coorse Paddy's went to Rowallan then

oh
to power Rowallan Creamery

%aa don't know when that would be

oh it's quite a number of years ago. %aa +hae #mind when we used to go to the Hough on a %Seterday %mornin $fir margerine %chaiper than %ye could buy it in the %shoaps as %boays

it wis it wis guid margerine it wis different frae %whit it is %noo they %hud a lot %o' different kinds. %ye went away %ye went away %doon the %stair. the office %wis up on the level %an %ye went %doon the %stair $tae get $tae the. the margerine place. %an it %wis %soomin in %watter. it %wis %ae %floodit %oneway the %watter Ayr %cam in %whiles but eh 'they %wur Wullie Thompson %an [the]
[there wur quite a lot worked in the toon at yae time]

[the Ingleses] Jessie Ingles. Jess widnae retire at a'. they 'gied her a watch an 'telt her tae retire she wis back the next day she widnae wait away

[she. she. she] she made the butter

#aye

it yist tae be 'they wur two steamy wagons rinnin fae the creamery tae Mauchline Station wi margarine every day

two steamy wagons?

#aye two steamies

two steam powered wagons?

#aye they wur drivin wi steam there twurnae petrol nor that wee wee Davie Gilchrist drove yin an Davie Cairns drove yin

#aye #aye

when did the first cars come to Mauchline?

#aye

when did the first cars come to Mauchline?

#aye

when did the first cars come to Mauchline?

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when did the first cars come to Mauchline?

when did the first cars come to Mauchline?
long before the first war because during the first war eh they $hud gas bags on the tap $o’ them. they went $wi gas $ye +hae #mind $o’ that?

<S GM>
they $hid $whit $oan the tap $o’ them?

<S MC>
a gas bag, a big gas bag that $wis ‘blawed up $wi gas $an it went $wi gas

<S GM>
#aye

<S MC>
oh my $aa don’t know

<S GM>
$aa +hae #mind $aa +hae #mind $o’ the first time that we ’seen a Al Todd $wi %masel we ’seen a +fleein machine %gaun %ower at the new road, we $wur %lookin along in the direction $o’ where Gilmour %styde $ye $ken a +fleein machine went %ower, big Jean McCaig $wis %staunin she says ‘oh my God ‘there the %wavin his shovel at us

<S MC>
(laughs) well eh that $wis that in the first war?

<S GM>
oh it $wis before the war Peggy. #aye

<S MC>
because it $wis eh Latter $that $wis in Failford at that time $an Jane $wis there $an eh ‘. oh %am %awfie bad at names ‘if %oor [Sammie $hud been %leevin]

<S GM>
[that $wis where that] Captain McCuddin the VC had his +fleein machine

<S MC>
#aye #aye he $wis $ae there. well we $wur on the telephone at that time we $hid a lot %o’ work $wi the telephone ‘$an eh %ma %mither used $tae say oh $aa hope that ‘lassie %mairries %such an a %yin $an %doesna %mairry the other %yin (laughs)

<S GM>
see that that Captain McCuddin $wis a VC he $wis a +fleein machine man. and he landed %doon at that place we’re talking %about Failford Auchenfail and ‘thae big %airch $o’ the big %brig $ye’ll %no $ken %awthing %about it do $ye ‘. %whit we %ca’ the Ballochmyle %Brig
<S MC>
the viaduct [the railway]

<S GM>
[the viaduct] the great big %airch that crosses the River Ayr

<S MC>
he went %doon below %hit

<S GM>
*an eh he %sade he would go through that %airch %wi the +fleein machine . #aye but when he %cam up $tae %hit he changed his mind $an . . up %ower the %tap . that $wis Captain McCuddin he $wis a VC

<S AB>
how long ago was that?

<S GM>
oh well eh

<S MC>
oh that $wis during the %furst war

<S GM>
during the %furst %wurld war

<S MC>
#aye .

<S GM>
$d’ye #ken %whit %happent . $ye’ll %hae never %hae $ye ever seen that big %brig?

<S AB>
only from the distance

<S GM>
#aye well . actually . eh it’s a big %airch $an $ye %gae %doon $tae %hit $an “there a bit where $ye $kin sit %doon $an %luck into the River Ayr

<S MC>
#aye $ye $kin walk in below it

<S GM>
$ye $kin walk in this %kinna path that’s it it $ye #ken

<S MC>
%no %noo $av done it %mony a time but %aa +wudnae %dae it %noo

<S GM>
oh $aye it $wis a place %whar ^there quite a lot of %kinna
Winchin couples went. $ye #ken. well there $wur Canadians here during the %furst %wurld war. $an ^there a young woman Jenny Hudd. %aa #maybe though %shouldnae tell $ye this %a' the same its #maybe a #wee ^bit %kinda %rud. it %doesn' %maiter. Jenny his Jenny Wudd $hud %goat ^in tow %wi %yin of 'thir Canadians $an she $wis %takin him a walk %doon ^through by the Ballochmyle %Brig $an they went %doon $an they $wur %sittin on this #wee ^bit where $ye could sit $an %luck into the River Ayr $an she %sais %tae the Canadian. that +thir a %kinna funny echo here in below this .. she %sais wait $tae $ye hear it $an she %sais %whit %i %ye %daein %ower there. $an +thir a %vice ^come back .. %shitin . shitin (laughs)

<S MC>
oh dear oh . aw it $wis eh a great place $fir %walkin [^right enough]

<S GM>
[oh #aye] it $wis a nice walk #fae the Cumnock Road to the Hough. %doon through the #glen

<S MC>
well . %ma %mither used $tae tell me that it $wis built when eh that %brig $wis built eh +thur a %cairter %gaun %ower %wi the %stanes $an ^here he fell %ower . into %doon %intae the %watter

<S GM>
he fell #fae the %tap $tae the %boattom $an the only thing that he $hid %loast $wis [his %bit]

<S MC>
[$wis his %bunnet] he asked %whar his %bunnet was

<S GM>
[%naw it $wis his %bit] it $wis his %bit that $hid been thrown off his %fit %aa $wis 'telt

<S MC>
oh well it $wis %someth' %belongin $tae him

<S GM>
that $wis a that $wis %wrang %wi him when hw %goat $tae the %boattom. [%rattlin %rattlin %oot through] the %scaffoldin %gaun %doon

<S MC>
[*an by jove it $wis some %drap]

<S AB>
how high would that be?
hm?

how high would that be?

%whit height?

height

%aa don’t know what height Ballochmyle Bridge’s reckoned %tae be one %o’ the largest %stane built %brigs in the %wurld

#aye . . oh #aye $ye %canna get $tae it %richt %noo %cause eh

the thing’s % kinda % bloakit % aff $tae $ye [%wan way or % anither]

[#aye that eh] Haggart Alexander %’e % cam %oot %a Ballochmyle %an he went into %whit $wis the dower house the . [Kinclough]

[Kingclose]

%an he shut % off the right %o’ way . %an %ma son $wis very angry at that %’e’s like his %mither he doesn’t like $tae see these places shut up %an eh %’e went %wi his saw #yae day %an sawed % doon a + wheen %o’ branches % aff the trees %an made a road . but %noo that’s done away %wi $tae . $ye’ve %goat $tae % gae in through the % ferm %noo

there % yist $tae be there a bit they %ca’d the % Lully Glen % doon [through the]

[#aye that $wis that $wis the the road $tae the . the % brig]

[#aye in % frae] Kinclough % Hoose the big % hoose %an % doon this $wis % fu % o’ % lullies %an of % coorse %aa think actually % kinda public % kinda % spilet % themsel because they % wur % gettin % doon $an % pu’ in them

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ah well if they'd left the %rits it +widnae %hae been %sae
bad but they took the %rits away

#aye they took the bulb [$an %a’]

but eh . the . $ye %yist $tae go be able $tae go %doon $tae
the Hough a walk along the %lade the side %o' the %lade $an
$ye could walk along the side %o' the %watter . $bit the
%watter $wis %awfie deep . they %ca’d it the %saits or %someth’n

[#aye the %lade $wis #ae %fu the %lade $wis #ae %fu]

#aye $bit this bit %wi the %saun’st’n $ye see the
%saun’st’n eh its nearly %a’ %saun’st’n %doon there $an the
%watter wore it away $an it $wis big holes in below $an
#aye there $wur %twae %weans %droont in there . $an eh they
must %huv %gin in below $an $ye see they %couldna rise
%naeb’dy could get them . but eh $ye could walk along that
way along the water or $ye could go up a %kinna %airm
%ledder $wis it or $wis it %jist a rope?

Jacob . . no Jacob’s %ledder though there $wis a %ledder
$ye %cam #fae a high bit as $ye go %doon though

#aye $an then $ye went %ower the %brig $an $ye could %cam
up the other side %o’ the %Lully Glen oh it $wis a nice
place [$bit]

[#ye see that] that %ledder that $av said Jacob’s %ledder .
there $wur three ‘hunder $an sixty five steps in it

#aye that $wis in Ballochmyle

that $wis %gaun %fae Ballochmyle %gaun %intae %Cauterine on
the road %doon $tae %Cauterine

it $wis a good short road if $ye managed $tae go through
%without the . the #gemmies %seein %ye

#aye $ye %couldnae %git %oot the gate $ye %hid $tae jump
$an %gae %ower a #dyke
aye . . oh we wur fu o’ thae kinna tricks lang-syne. they made a mess o’ thae steps an the fog choose that wis there in Burns’s time they did away wi hit tae

aye whit they ca’d the heather choose

aye . aye . they did away wi that tae. och
could you tell me about Mauchline cross again
the Cross?
yea you know the house that was on the corner
yea . oh well. eh. they did away wi that. mony mony steps o’ it wis the road up tae the castle ma mither said in the Croass. an finally they hud a they hud a shope it went doon an doon an doon gradually an folk went into the chooses they didnae luck efter them. then there wur a shope in yin o’ them. an along came the Post Office an knocked the whole damn’t thing doon. an built that awfie lookin place . . ye no listenin tae me?

whit choose is it yer talkin aboot Peggy. the yin on the corner where the Chemist’s in?
naw the choose that’s knocked doon where the post office is . . Jocky Clarke’s place . Jocky yist tae go roon wi a bell [an tell ye whit wis gaun tae tak place] in the toon
[tae gie ye the news]

oh an the suffregettes wur there yince. when they stairtit there wur suffregettes Miss eh

Miss Pankhurst

whit did ye ca her. she wis in Ballochmyle before Alexander cam back tae hit. oh my goodness aa forget wur name
[that the %yin that %cam?]

[S GM]
[the %yin that %cam?]

[S MC]
[%bit she %wis] %gettin that she %wis a great suffragette %an she %goat this %wummin %tae come %an speak %an Mary Ann %o’ Barskimming %wis against the suffragettes she %wis %jist like a man she should %hae %bin a man

[S GM]
[shie had the presence %o’ mind %tae put the hose on them] Jimmy Reid

[S MC]
#aye she %goat some man %tae turn the hose on them

[S GM]
#aye he %wis the Captain %o’ the fire brigade at that time

[S MC]
%an #aye . that did away %wi the suffragette .. oh my godness %av forgotten that %wummin’s name she got Ballochmyle she left Ballochmyle . in Mauchline . %whit %wis her name . #och %tae hang %aa don’t think you’ve been Mauchline at %a’

[S GM]
oh no %aa %huv Peggy %aa lay %kinda low

[S MC]
oh %aa %ken %aa like %tae %ken %everythin that %wis %goin on eh .. %aa don’t know %whit %ur name %wis but eh we went away %doon she %boacht a %hoose %about Prestwick somewhere (gap in tape) ahe went away %tae Prestwick %an eh Alexander let it %tae different folk . it %wis an MP that %wis in it %yince but the money %wis done away %wi which %wis which %wis a %peety because the folk %wur pretty . hard up in ‘thae days . %aa %ken we %wur hard up %onlyway . %ye %goat half an egg on the Sunday if %ye %wur lucky . we %wur %aye %gaun %tae %dae away %wi the hen that laid the half egg . but eh %hit %wis %purridge in the %mornin %ye %goat . %an eh %aa %dinae like it %an if %ye %dinae take it it %wis %sittin there %fur %ye %tae take it at dinnertime %ye %hid %tae take it at dinnertime . %an %aa %thought oh my goodness that’s a good idea ^there a big skin on it by dinnertime so %ye see %aa took the big skin %aff %an flung it in the fire . %aye %bit %ma %mither saw me %aa %hud %tae eat it skin %an %a’ %after that %bit eh . that %wis %whit %happent everybody %ye %wur %awfle %pair %an an sometimes the quarrymen %wur off %fir about sixteen weeks %wi the %froast %ye see they %couldnae work in the %froast they %couldnae cut the %stane in the %froast . %an they %wur %aff %fir sixteen weeks %an %thur %wur %nae social security in ’thae days . that %ye %hid %tae save up . %fir the bad days but . eh . oh #aye %aa
+hae quite %guid #mind %o' the %thacket %hooses %doon Louden Street

<S AB>
and where was the first post office eh the first telephone exchange?

<S MC>
the first?

<S AB>
television exchange

<S MC>
in that %hoose that they're %gaunna keep up across #frae the new post %office %thir eh $ye'll $ye'll notice it %cause $ye'll %no see in the windows they're ~that dirty and the curtains have never been %waasht since ^they've put up but eh that that's in the High Street $ye'll %ca that the High Street that $wis the %furst post %office . when it was built in the new in nineteen four

<S AB>
and where abouts was that . in Mauchline?

<S MC>
eh its across #ae the Louden Arms $an the postman's back in it . stupid asses they've that great big place up here %it the %Croass $n eh it's %intae a ^it %shoap noo in the post oaffice but eh they've %a' that %grun' but the motor %caurs $huv %a' $tae go %doon $tae the %auld post %oaffice away %doon Louden Street ^there %nae room $fir the motor %caurs up there . #och . stupid

<S GM>
#aye . $ye'll be %richt there . stupid

<S AB>
and when did the telephone exchange which your parents had start?

<S MC>
it $wis %jist %ma mother . %ma %faither died when %aa $wis five eh that $wid %stairt in

(gap in tape to end of Side A)
Appendix C

C.1 = TE, C.2 = TP, C.3 = WCE (pp307-32)

Wordlist of dialect component in TE, TP and WCE, using the system of metavariables described in Chapter 4, Section 4.3, pp129-153. The printouts in C1 and C2 were produced using OCP, the information in C3 was produced manually.
The Entail: Wordlist using OCP: $ = Orthography, % = Phonology, # = Lexis, ` = Morphology, ^ = Syntax, ~ = Idiom, | = Idiosyncratic Usage, + = Dual-Categorisation.

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The Entail: Wordlist using OCP: $ = Orthography, % = Phonology, # = Lexis, ^ = Morphology, ~ = Syntax, = Idiom, | = Idiosyncratic Usage, + = Dual-Categorisation.

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$ = Syntax, $ = Idiom, $ = Idiomatic Usage, $ = Dual-Categorisation.

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### Appendix C.3.1

**Dialect Component in WCE: Wordlist of O P M L.**

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| a’ting     | 1         | 1         |
| aff        | 1         | 2         |
| ain        | 1         | 3         |
| aince      | 1         | 2         |
| amaist     | 1         | 4         |
| amang      | 1         | 5         |
| anither    | 3         | 6         |
| auld       | 18        | 6         |
| auldest    | 1         | 7         |
| awa        | 1         | 8         |
| awa’       | 1         | 9         |
| baith      | 4         | 10        |
| blaw       | 1         | 11        |
| canna      | 1         | 12        |
| carena     | 1         | 13        |
| cheerfu’   | 1         | 14        |
| Chinee     | 1         | 15        |
| clearin    | 1         | 16        |
| Collitch   | 1         | 17        |
| couldnna    | 1         | 18        |
| cucum’ers  | 1         | 19        |
| cunning’   | 1         | 20        |
| darlin     | 1         | 21        |
| Deed       | 1         | 22        |
| dinna      | 2         | 23        |
| dochter    | 1         | 24        |
| dochter’s  | 1         | 25        |
| dochter’s  | 1         | 26        |
| dooch      | 1         | 27        |
| durstna    | 1         | 28        |
| Edinbors   | 2         | 29        |
| Edinboro’  | 2         | 30        |
| e’en       | 1         | 31        |
| e’er       | 1         | 32        |
| ee         | 1         | 33        |
| exhausted  | 1         | 34        |
| fa’        | 1         | 35        |

**Morphology**

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| gaed       | 1         | 39        |
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| kenned     | 2         | 41        |
| lassie     | 4         | 42        |
| lassies    | 1         | 43        |
| let-na     | 1         | 44        |
| like       | 3         | 45        |
| mayna      | 1         | 46        |
| morn       | 1         | 47        |
| near       | 1         | 48        |
| needful    | 1         | 49        |
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Appendix D

D.1 = TE, D.2 = TP, D.3 = WCE (pp334-93)

D1 and D2 are concordances using OCP which show the distribution of metavariables: Idiom, Syntax and Dual_Categorisation in TE and TP. The information in D3 on Johnstone's use of Scots idiom and syntax was produced by hand.
The Entail: Concordance of Syntax, Idiom and Dual-Categorisation using OCP: \(\$ = \) Orthography
\(\& = \) Phonology, \(\# = \) Lexis, \(\_ = \) Morphology, \(\& = \) Syntax, \(\& = \) Idiom, \(| = \) Idiosyncratic Usage,
\(+ = \) Dual-Categorisation.

- a

Claud Girzy

and he's \(\&\)ne'er a \(\&\) prin's worth the wiser \(\&\) o't. But it's

Claud Girzy

Haud thy tongue, woman, haud thy tongue. It's a thrashing to' the water, and a raising

Claud Milro

for \(\&\)ye \(\&\)ken it has cost me a world \(\&\) o' pains and \(\&\)etting to gather

Claud Mr Ke

Stands \(\&\)wi' nature, Mr Keelevin? A coat \(\&\) o' feathers or a pair \(\&\) hairy

Claud Mr Ke

He's an extravagant \(\&\)wi' nature; and \(\&\)ne'er had a hand to \(\&\)throw a key in a lock; --

Girzy Bell

Come in, Bell Fatherlans, and see what a \(\&\)world's \(\&\)won'er Pitwinnoch the writer

Girzy Bell

Heaven; and, unless there has been a booking among the angels above, \(\&\)a

Girzy Bell

the third and last time, in the \(\&\)kirk, will be only a thrashing the water and a raising of

Girzy Bell

a 'kittling's like a cat -- the only difference being a \(\&\)wes \(\&\)thought \(\&\)mair \(\&\) o' daffing and

Girzy Bell

a \(\&\)bodie Pitwinnoch, for \(\&\)intromitting

Girzy Claud

er do \(\&\)waur than sing the like \(\&\) o't. But \(\&\)ye just \(\&\)hase that he would \(\&\)gie you a \(\&\)het heart \(\&\) for't, and \(\&\)noo \(\&\)ye see my

Girzy Claud

really \(\&\)ta'en \(\&\)wi' a fit to' the liberalities; but Charlie,

Girzy Claud

Every body \(\&\)maun \(\&\)tallow that she's a well \(\&\)far't \(\&\)lassie \(\&\)yon; and, if

Girzy Claud

\(\&\)o' miracles to me. For although it's a thing just to the nines \(\&\) o' my wishes,

Girzy Claud

is a lad of a methodical nature, and \(\&\)no your uncle George has a hurly-burly ramstam, like \(\&\)yon \(\&\)flea-

Girzy James

great notion of you, and has done a beggary \(\&\) capacity, that we're \(\&\)no

Girzy Meg

would be a most Pagan-like thing, for the father

Girzy Meg

ing; so I'll \(\&\)mak a skip and a passover \(\&\) a matter and

Girzy Mrs K

when the box would come. But it happened to be a pig in a \(\&\)pock like that? \(\&\)is't a

Girzy Pitwi

ade his deed \(\&\)o' settlement -- and I \(\&\)hase heard he has a nerve \(\&\) o' ability; so, if \(\&\)ye 'bring

Girzy Robin

babble \(\&\) o' Hull and Moydart was a perfection \(\&\) o' sense when \(\&\)compar't

Girzy Robin

dumps, is \(\&\)sic a \(\&\)doolie doomster, that uncle Geordie,

Milro Claud

as good. I'm sure that's \(\&\)baith fair and a very great \(\&\)liberality on my side

Milro Girzy

shove onward in the road to a blithesome \(\&\)bridal

Mr Ke Claud

should \(\&\)hase a \(\&\)bairn's part \(\&\) o' your \(\&\)gear a pretty like story, that \(\&\)sic a gown

Mrs J Bel

an even down Nabal -- a perfect penure pig, that I \(\&\)ne'er

Mrs L Corne

head in the \(\&\)pat, \(\&\)wi' a cuff \(\&\) o' the neck like \(\&\)tony Glasgow

Watty Claud

\$Ye're a \(\&\)bonny flower, a lily- like \(\&\)leddy, and \(\&\)eil in the
The Entail: Concordance of Syntax, Idiom and Dual-Categorisation using OCP: $ = Orthography
$ = Phonology, # = Lexis, ^ = Morphology, ~ = Syntax, _ = Idiom, | = Idiosyncratic Usage,
+ = Dual-Categorisation.

Maudg Claud rprised the morn to hear that the Nechabudnezzar was a' gane to pigs and whistles, and
ail's

Girzy Claud this many a year; her ail's like water to leather; it makes

Girzy Bell tting like an effigy on a tomb, wi' your hands both alike $syde, and mento morti written on

Claud Girzy Lord to spare Watty, is't no an afflicting thing, to see sic a braw

Claud Mr Ke lad sae, for did 'na $ye yourself, with an settling of pains that no other body

Claud Mr Om would be unco like thing to hear of a man

Girzy Bell pound to thee, Bell, as an over and aboon; and when $ye hae

Girzy Meg It will be unco like thing no to partake to'

Girzy Meg an even down Nabal -- a perfect penury

MRS L Corne but it was unco like thing to think of marrying

Watty Watty argol

Pleal Claud +dina let us argol bargol about it; entail your own

Watty Mr Ke ark

Watty Mr Th $ae $ye $ony ark or amrie, Mr Keelevin, where a body

Girzy Georg marrying, I'll regard you as little better than art and part in his idiocy. But it's

Girzy Mr Th regard to himsel, be art and part on this occasion

Girzy Pitiwi to instruct in a case against you for the art and part conspiracy of the thousand

Meg Milro art or part in tony such conspiracy
The Entail: Concordance of Syntax, Idiom and Dual-Categorisation using OCP: $ = Orthography
\$ = Phonology, \$ = Lexis, ` = Morphology, ` = Syntax, ` = Idiom, \| = Idiosyncratic Usage,
+ = Dual-Categorisation.

pound note, and was `as \$dour as a smith's vice in the grip, were rendered `as \$soople as pudding skins. It was,
behold you sitting `as \$nim as a May \$puddock, when you see
on't, and \$twa \$whangs `as big as peats \$to' the fine sugar seed-

at

%sic things `at the Cross, I'm \$mindit to \$hae you
`at \$lon'\$on; but my first family are
faction of \$the fifteen `at Edinburgh, that he was a young man of
talking profanity, and \$taigling `at this \$gait? Come \$awa, Watty, \$ye
\$mislikening Watty `at that \$gait. I'm sure he's as \$muckle
hands? for, if he \$gangs on `at the \$gait he's going, I'll be

bare

fashion for `bare legs to come \$tegither -- The wife
But, poor \$laddie, `bare legs need \$happing; I would \$fain
hast `been about ? -- fifty

black

to know, what's at the bottom \$to' this `black art and \$glamour that \$ye \$hae

brewed

\$An he has `brewed good \$yill, Mr Keelievin, he'll

bridal

\$haith \$to' `bridal and \$infare by Charlie's
The Entail: Concordance of Syntax, Idiom and Dual-Categorisation using OCP: $ = Orthography
# = Phonology, ~ = Lexis, ` = Morphology, " = Syntax, " = Idiom, | = Idiosyncratic Usage,
+ = Dual-Categorisation.

"by" buy
GIRZY MILRO "buy %saut ~to his kail. I hope and

"by" by
GIRZY CLAUD thinking, #gudeman, %noo that Charlie's
GIRZY JAMES "by hand and %awa ~as the ballad %to'
GIRZY MEG "by the reel. What were you saying,
GIRZY ROBIN I'll do it myself; and the sooner it's
GIRZY ROBIN chaise to Camrachle, and bring him in
MILRO GIRZY "by the %lug and horn, and nail him to
MR KE CHARL out a thought ~myself that there was something
MR KE CLAUD thinking, %noo that Charlie's
MR KE CLAUD "by hand; when, after he has got his
MR KE MR KE thinking, %noo that Charlie's

"cast"
CLAUD GIRZY "cast out about a settlement for thee
CLAUD MILRO throw a "bit fifty #tilt~ just as a
GEORG GIRZY "cast %o the hand to %mak lucky measure
GIRZY GEORG But we need ~na
GIRZY MEG "cast out about this; and to end all
GIRZY ROBIN "we'll %na "cast out %wi~ the like %to a ~sooking
PLEAL CLAUD I'm sure %ye might do %waur than
PLEAL CLAUD "cast the #glarks in %a~ our ~een for?
WATTY BETTY "%cast out %wi~ the like %to a ~sooking

"cept"
MR SA MR TH mission with Mr Walkinshaw of Grippy, ~cept and except in the way of
The Entail: Concordance of Syntax, Idiom and Dual-Categorisation using OCP: $ = Orthography 
$ = Phonology, $ = Lexis, $ = Morphology, $ = Syntax, $ = Idiom, $ = Idiosyncratic Usage,
$ = Dual-Categorisation.

"Chevy
GIRZY GEORG

"Chevy Chase. Beenie's a decent 'lassie,

"come
CLAUD KILMA
CLAUD PLEAL
GIRZY BELL
GIRZY JAMES
MR KE CLAUD
MR KE CLAUD
PLEAL CLAUD

"come in by -- what's the best to' your
Come your ways, Cornie I want to speak
Come 'awa, Bell Fatherlans come away,
Come your ways, Jamie and draw in a
Come 'awa 'ben to my room
for you by Wednesday 'come eight days, and I'll %tak care to
horse flesh, and 'come your ways, some Saturday, to $spier

"come-to-pass
GIRZY BELL
GIRZY CLAUD

brought to a "come-to-pass. So I hope, Bell
sudden "come-to-pass, but the things to' time

"crack
GIRZY GIRZY

to "crack sand, or %mak "my-leaving where I

"darkened
LADY CHARL

"darkened and dubious when I think to'

"Dear
GIRZY CLAUD
GIRZY GEORG

"Dear keep me, #gudeman, but $ye're $mair
"Dear keep me, Geordie what's in the wind

"divide
PILLE WHITT

for half the rent, in the event of success, and we can "divide the bakes
The Entail: Concordance of Syntax, Idiom and Dual-Categorisation using OCP: $ = Orthography
& = Phonology, $ = Lexis, ` = Morphology, ` = Syntax, " = Idiom, $ = Idiosyncratic Usage,
+ = Dual-Categorisation.

--do
GIRZY PITWI

business that will "do my turn better -- for, in an

--Dr
GIRZY BELL

"hae settled my worldly "concernments, $ye'll send for "Dr $De'il fear, for I would "na like to

--drew
CLAUD MR KE

"drew up $wi' a $tocherless $tawpy, when

--drink
CLAUD MR KE

#An he has "brewed good $yill, Mr Keelevin, he'll "drink the better but I "hae come to

--eating
GIRZY CLAUD

Heh, #gudeman! but $ye "hae been "eating $sourrocks instead %o' $lang-

--ends
GIRZY JAMES

GIRZY ROBIN
to end %a' debates, $ye'll just pack up your "ends and your awls and $gang $hame to

gae bye. So I counsel you to pack up your "ends and your awls, and $flit your camp

--even
LADY CHARL
MR KE MR TH
MRS G PROVO
WATTY GEORG

and comfort her; the day's raw, but I'll "even now "away to "the Grippy to

$frae "even %doun inattention or prodigality. I

"even your $han' $wi' a $saxpence to the

I'll "no eat $ony $mair -- it's "even down $wastrie for $sic a useless

--failing
MR KE MR TH

#lairds, and lords, and country gentry, "failing to pigs and whistles, $frah
The Entail: Concordance of Syntax, Idiom and Dual-Categorisation using OCP: $ = Orthography
$ = Phonology, # = Lexis, ` = Morphology, ~ = Syntax, ~ = Idiom, | = Idiosyncratic Usage,
+ = Dual-Categorisation.

That's looking ~far &ben My wife, to be sure, is a frail Geordie, that you and her were ~na wise, but ~far left to ~yourselves to put your heads among us this day, for Geordie's a ~far-before looking soothsayer, and a +winna ~fare the ~waur ~wi' him when I'm dead
he ~fell into a decay ~o' nature ~'Deed,
pence the ~fell, ~first cost out ~o' the ~gudeman's ~ain ~the Lords. The ~first cost was ~mair than five and drawn out ~for a satisfaction to you ~a'; for ~nane ~lave ~for the ~behoof of Charlie, ~wha is, as you it's to be ~for your advantage; for Charlie's your ~mak a reservation ~for ~behoof of your son Walter, as heir that ~ye're ~no ~for ~ony dinner ~the day; for ~ye ~ken

for the property was your ~ain -- but if ~ye drive him ~for ~the shop, and cast him ~wi' his
The Entail: Concordance of Syntax, Idiom and Dual-Categorisation using OCP: $ = Orthography, % = Phonology, # = Lexis, ^ = Morphology, ~ = Syntax, " = Idiom, | = Idiosyncratic Usage, + = Dual-Categorisation.

"four"
GIRZY BELL #bodie Pitwinnoch, for #intromitting %wi' %ane of the "four pleas %o' the Gown? Had I %kent
"gather"
GIRZY BELL but "gather the haws "afore the %snaws,
"get"
GIRZY CLAUD books and Latin staliations. But, %gudeman, +ye's %no "get %a' your %ain way. I'll put on my
"go"
WATTY CLAUD "go %halffer
"grip-and-haud"
GIRZY ROBIN my presence, %ye "partan-handit, "grip-and-haud smedy-vyce %am- mon %o'
"grown"
WATTY GIRZY what would you think, our Charlie's "grown a wife's %gudeman like my father
"gut"
GIRZY CLAUD %weel what %ye're doing, and "gut %nae fish till %ye catch them
"hanging"
GIRZY CLAUD sitting here "hanging your %gruntel "like a sow
"heir"
MRS G PROVO in our house when he rode %the Circuit, being "heir of entail to her father, %alloos
The Entail: Concordance of Syntax, Idiom and Dual-Categorisation using OCP: $ = Orthography
$ = Phonology, # = Lexis, ~ = Morphology, ~ = Syntax, ~ = Idiom, | = Idiosyncratic Usage,
+ = Dual-Categorisation.

PILLE GIRZY the "heir-male of your eldest son is the rightful "heir of entail; but there are so many
PILLE GIRZY points, and especially as the "heir of entail is in the army, I
PILLE WHITT te without a struggle. But since you are agent for the "heir of entail, I will offer to conduct
PITWI GIRZY "heir of entail. He will give it up the
PITWI GIRZY Walkinshaw, is the true "heir of entail, and is prepared to
to establish the rights of the "heir of entail

"heir-at-
PILLE GIRZY case, Mrs Milrookit would still retain the estate, as "heir-at- law of her father
"heir-at-law
GIRZY PILLE can $ye tell me how the "heir-at-law of her father, Mrs Milrookit
GIRZY PITWI better right than the "heir-at-law to' George, the third and
"heir-female
GIRZY BELL %dochter, is an "heir-female, and is, by course of law,
GIRZY PITWI the same being an "heir-female
GIRZY PITWI between an "heir-male and an "heir-female
GIRZY ROBIN "heir-female of George, the third son, by
"heir-general
GIRZY PITWI "heir-general to his mother, being her
GIRZY PITWI succeeding; and, he being an "heir-general, cannot, according to the
GIRZY ROBIN Milrookit, being an "heir-general of Margaret, the daughter,
"heir-male
GIRZY BELL has been discovered that your son is an "heir-male according to law
GIRZY PILLE It's 'vera true what $ye say, Sir, that the "heir-male of my eldest son, -- is a son,
GIRZY PITWI is't no plain that his wife, not being an "heir-male, is debarred #frae succeeding;
GIRZY PITWI "heir-male is a young man, the eldest
The Entail: Concordance of Syntax, Idiom and Dual-Categorisation using OCP: $ = Orthography, $ = Phonology, # = Lexis, \_ = Morphology, \$ = Syntax, \$ = Idiom, \! = Idiosyncratic Usage, + = Dual-Categorisation.

GIRZY PITWI
only son ought to be an 'heir-male, 'afore Milrookit's wife

GIRZY PITWI
property of Kittlestonheugh to the 'heir-male, James Walkinshaw, his cousin;

GIRZY PITWI
render unto the 'heir-male of the late Claud Walkinshaw

GIRZY ROBIN
between an 'heir-male and an 'heir-female

PILLE GIRZY
the words of the act, an 'heir-male, and your husband, Walkinshaw

'heirs

CLAUD MILRO
%gangs to the 'heirs general to' Meg, so that $ye %hie

PILLE WHITT
he 'heirs-female of the sons do not succeed before the 'heirs whatsoever of the daughters; and

'heirs-

CLAUD MR KE
he 'heirs-male to' Charlie, and failing them, to Meg's 'heirs- general

'heirs-female

PILLE WHITT
that the 'heirs-female of the sons do not succeed

'heirs-general

GIRZY PITWI
winnoch, for the 'heirs-general %to' Margaret, the

PILLE GIRZY
Charles, the eldest son; and failing them, to the 'heirs-general of Margaret, your

PITWI GIRZY
right in himself, for you know it is to the 'heirs-general of his mother, and not to

'heirs-male

CLAUD MR KE
entail it on Walter and his 'heirs-male, %syne on Geordie and his

CLAUD MR KE
'heirs-male, and failing them, %ye may

CLAUD MR KE
to the 'heirs-male %to' Charlie, and failing

GIRZY PILLE
'heirs-male, which his heart, poor man,

GIRZY PITWI
second son; and, failing his 'heirs-male, then on George and his

GIRZY PITWI
'heirs-male; and, failing them, then it

GIRZY PITWI
eldest son, and to his 'heirs-male; if there's law in the land,

GIRZY PITWI
to understand, %baith by bed, board, and washing, and 'heirs-male, what, it is to try the law

PILLE GIRZY
the first instance, to the 'heirs-male of his sons; first to those
The Entail: Concordance of Syntax, Idiom and Dual-Categorisation using OCP: $ = Orthography, £ = Phonology, # = Lexis, ‰ = Morphology, ª = Syntax, · = Idiom, | = Idiosyncratic Usage, + = Dual-Categorisation.

PILLE GIRZY third son; and failing them, then to go back to the "heirs-male of Charles, the eldest son;  

GIRZY ROBIN father notice %o' this "loup-the-window, and "hey #cockalorum- like love  

CLAUD MR KE "Hoot  

GIRZY MEG he'll "no %daur to say a word to me about a "huggery muggery matri- monial, take my  

GIRZY CLAUD for I could "na %hae believed that Watty was %sic an "idiot %o' a #naturalist, had I %no lived  

CLAUD MR KE we %canna %gae back %wi' you, for we're just %sae far "in the road to see Charlie and his lady  

CLAUD MR KE me, and "in your way %hame bid Dr Denholm come  

CLAUD WATTY be "in the way when he comes  

GIRZY CLAUD and %ye'll be sure to put Tam Modiwart "in mind that he's %no to %harl the  

GIRZY GEORG I'm really sorry to see, Geordie, that %ye're "no just "in your %right jocularity. %Howsoever, as  

GIRZY JAMES fore %fain hope, that, "in the way %o' gratitude, there will be  

GIRZY JAMES "Got %ye %tony drink, Jamie, "in the %gait %hame, that %ye're in %sic  

GIRZY PILLE %ye'll %tak my advice, %ye'll "no %sca'd your lips "in other folks' kail- Mr Pitwinnoch is  

GIRZY ROBIN prised to see her "in the hypocondoricals; but for  

KILWA CLAUD brisk "in the %smeddum, so pleasant to the  

NILRO GIRZY shove onward "in the road to "a %blithesome %bridal  

MR KE WATTY Mr Walter, to keep out %o' harm's way, and %no %gang "in the gate %o' the %gleds, as %ye %ca'  

Jenny  

WATTY CLAUD was a "Jenny %Langlegs %bumming at the corner
The Entail: Concordance of Syntax, Idiom and Dual-Categorisation using OCP: $ = Orthography
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just
able, he was just like to burn the house aboon our

keep
testament, so I redde $ye keep a calm sough

for himsel, the kick-at-the-fbenweed foal that he is?

let
family that $ken $mair to the nine points than they let wit -- so I'm cordial glad to see

life's

but the $leddy's life's in her lip, and if ony thing

like
siller wi' him gangs like snaw aff a dyke; and as for his

sitting here hanging your gruntel like a sow playing on a trump? Hae na

loup-the-window
father notice to this loup-the-window, and hey cockalorum-

lying

$sye'll just conform to them. As for the bit saving of lying money, we'll no sfash wi' it for
The Entail: Concordance of Syntax, Idiom and Dual-Categorisation using OCP: $ = Orthography, \% = Phonology, \$ = Lexis, \# = Morphology, \$ = Syntax, \$ = Idiom, | = Idiosyncratic Usage, + = Dual-Categorisation.

```
GIRZY MR KE  hae a hundred a year out of the #barming to' his 'lying money; the 'whilk, as I have
GIRZY WALKY to mak any division to' what 'lying money there may hae been saved
MILRO GEORGE $oom of 'lying $iller
REV K GIRZY pounds of 'lying money

'mad

MR KE CLAUD "mad like action! The like to' that is

'male

GIRZY PITWI the 'gieing ups to' the estate to the 'male heir to me? I'll get neither $plack

'male-heir

GIRZY PITWI Because she's 'no a 'male-heir -- being in terms of the act --
GIRZY PITWI Have 'na I come to $ae point already, anent the 'male-heir
GIRZY PITWI Me! am I a 'male-heir? an aged woman, and a
GIRZY PITWI shaw, the righteous 'male-heir, comes to $tak possession. It
GIRZY ROBIN $ Advocates, that a %dochter's 'no a 'male-heir. So you being but the 'heir--

'matter-to'-money

GIRZY ROBIN a matrimony, or, as I should %ca't, a 'matter-to'-money conjugality %wi' your

'me

CLAUD PLEAL %nane to' your jokes, %laird, -- 'me even %mysel to your %dochter? %Na,

'meet

CLAUD WATTY 'meet %wi' her marrow; and $ye should

'mess

MILRO GIRZY 'mess or mell in the matter, by %ony open
```
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"Moll-on-the-coals"

GIRZY ROBIN

of your "Moll-on-the-coals, a sigher ' sadness,

"my"

GIRZY BELL

%hae heard "my #friend that's %awa -- your worthy
"my #friend that's %awa, the %testator,

GIRZY PILLE

Thomas Whitteret, "that was his clerk when "my #friend that's %awa made his deed %o"

GIRZY PITWI

"my-leaving"

to "crack sand, or %mak "my-leaving where I could, after

"need"

GIRZY JAMES

a sport. They would "need long spoons that sup %parridge %wi"

"off"

WATTY CLAUD

it in his arms; and he's "off and %awa %wi' her %intil his nest; -

"on"

MR KE CLAUD

%an Anyway thing "were happening "on a sudden to carry you %aff, %ye %hae
PLEAL CLAUD
cousin, %ne'er +fash your thumb, Glasgow's "on the %thrive, and %ye %hae as many
WATTY MR TH

I +dinna like to %gie you any satisfaction "on that head; for Mr Keelevin said, %ye

"or"

CLAUD GIRZY

think better "or the %morn %o' what we were speaking
GIRZY JAMES

there will be news in the land "or %lang

"our"

MRS G PROVO

%waur %wi' "our basket and our store
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- out

for thee -- $'t'ou'll $'no be "out $'o' the need $'o' $'t'. But $'at'ween hands

- out $'o' the body for Jamie; so, as I

would $'hae' been "out $'o' the body $'wi' your Betty Bodle;

- over

some small memorial "over and by what she might $'hae' $'alloo' $'t"

- partan-handit

my presence, $ye "partan-handit, "grip-and-haud smedy-vyce

- penure

"penure pig that thou art, shall be

- played

three half-crowns, and eighteenpence, "played #whir to the very middle $'o' the

- playing

- pretty

This is a "pretty like house $'o' mourning a father

- puckered

mantle, looks as "puckered $'wi' pride as my lord's $'leddy
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"put"

CLAUD GIRZY
CLAUD MILRO
GIRZY JAMES
GIRZY PITWI
GIRZY ROBIN
WATTY GIRZY
WATTY GIRZY

"putting"

REV K CLAUD
GIRZY MR TH
CLAUD LADY
GIRZY PITWI
GIRZY PITWI
CLAUD MR KE
GIRZY GEORG

%no to "put off your time %wi' %sic #havers
%ss kind as $ye %has been to him, $fir he "put %a' past me that he could, and had
%o' %ony %sic Gretna Green job, I %redde $ye "put your foot on the spark, and %no let
shall be "put to the horn without a moment's delay
I #maun "put you to the straights %o' a question.
I'll "no "put hand to %ony #drumhead paper again
#Nettles -- that's what I "ill; so "put the matter to your knee and

grandfather. It would be "putting adders in the creel %wi' the

"quirkie

dvocate versed in the devices %o' the courts, but is a "quirkie #bodie, capable %o' making law

"ravelled

Charlie has "ravelled the skein %o' his own fortune,

"repute

most $jewdical habit and "repute like action %o' you, Walky Mil-

"save

arrangements $ye may "save your breath to cool your porridge;

"scant

I doubt that his income is "scant to his want, Mr Walkinshaw

"seen

it would "na be pleasant "to you to be "seen on the #plane-stanes "the day, --
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"set"

GIRZY GEORG the $ae cousin, I $dinna see but $ye might "set your cap for the other

"set-by"

WATTY GEORG sic a useless "set-by thing as the like $o' me to

"she'll"

WATTY BELL $ben, that, rather than want $wark, "she'll $mak a baby $o' the beetle, and

"since"

WATTY MR KE I $hae had $twa teeth $tuggit out for the toothache "since $yne; and I $hae grown deaf in

"Snuffs"

PLEAL CLAUD "Snuffs $o' tobacco are "nae $ye $sib to

"so"

GIRZY GIRZY and "so $cam $o' t -- Watty's was a $walloping
GIRZY GIRZY and "so $cam $o' t -- Geordie's was little
GIRZY GIRZY trying to $gie a smirk, and "so $cam $o' t -- as for Meg's and

"something"

CLAUD CHARL $o' my counsel; at $ony rate, "something for a $sair foot may be

"spared"

WATTY DR DE spared her skill and spice Is "na that a

"sparrow-blasted"

GIRZY ROBIN Eh! $Megsty me! I'm "sparrow-blasted But thou, Beenie
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"spider"
WATTY CLAUD

"stand"
GIRZY GIRZY

left to the freedom %o' his own will, he would "na "stand on stepping %stanes, but, without

"standing"
GIRZY CLAUD

them, we need "na be "standing on %stapping-stanes; %no that I

"stirring"
GIRZY BELL

instead %o' "stirring your stumps, as $ye ought to

"tether"
GIRZY ROBIN

my own experience, that the law is a "tether %o' length and durability; so

"The"

BETTY WATTY %Nae doubt, Cornie, "the world's like the $tod's whelp, $aye

CLAUD CORNE fail to $take "the law %o' him for a $haverel

CLAUD GIRZY think that Watty, or any %o' my $bairns, were "na like "the $lave %o' the %world; but $ye $ken

CLAUD GIRZY misfortune, if, after %a' our frugality and gathering, "the cart were $cowpit in the dirt at

CLAUD GIRZY hairy $breeks is %a' "the $bairns part %o' $gear that I ever

CLAUD GIRZY %anither, "the $mither %o', a $haverel; and if it

CLAUD MR KE hairy $breeks is %a' "the $bairns part %o' $gear that I ever

CLAUD MR KE for "the $dail a $plack or $bawbee will I pay

CLAUD WATTY book, and $mind what it tells thee, %an %t'ou %has "the capacity of an understanding to

CORNE CLAUD $wantoning to the sound %o' "the $kist %fu' %o' whistles, %wi' "the

CORNE CLAUD ng to the sound %o' "the $kist %fu' %o' whistles, %wi' "the

GIRZY CLAUD s in my family, for, instead %o' any %pleasance to me, "the $deil-be-licket's my part and

GIRZY GEORG It would soon be "the death %o' me In short, Geordie, if
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GIRZY GEORG
GIRZY GEORG
GIRZY JAMES
GIRZY JAMES
GIRZY MILRO
GIRZY PILE
GIRZY PITWI
GIRZY PITWI
GIRZY WATTY
LADY CLAUD
MAUDG CLAUD
MR KE CLAUD
PLEAL CLAUD
REV K CLAUD
WATTY BETTY

%a' "the whys and wherefores that I %hae for
in this world %noo? -- when %the %Laird %flights the %Leddy, so does
you %the %gude's truth, though I would %hae
locutor %frae "the Lord Ordinary to %explicate and
teeth out %to' "the head %o' Watty to get him to do what
"the Lord Ordinary coming to a decision
-- "the %de'il %rook him for what he did to
For %ye %ken that "the deed of entail was first on Walter,
a %hoggar, and I %ken %when I die %wha %s'all get %the %gouden guts %o't -- Wilt %t'ou sign
gentle creature like her was 'na fit to bide %the %flyte and flights %t' the Glasgow
"the pride %o' back and belly, and seek
beginning to be "the %waur %o' the wear; but I %didna
"the Grippie. It's true some %o' the lands are but %cauld; %howssoever,
%sic thoughts are "the cormorants that sit on the apple
woman on "the Green of Glasgow, I'll carry your

"they're

GIRZY ROBIN

will -- "they're "no to be born that'll live to

"this

CLAUD LADY
GIRZY MR PI

the need %o' "this summering and wintering %anent it?
and %hae justice done me %frae %the Fifteen. I'll "this very night con- suit Mr Keelevin,

"till

WATTY CLAUD

and %ye'll %fleetch "till %puddocks grow %chucky-stanes

"to

CLAUD CHARL
CLAUD CHARL
CLAUD GIRZY
CLAUD MILRO
CLAUD REV K
CLAUD WATTY

+%hae, there's something to help "to keep the %banes green, but be
head %o' a family, "to look at %baithe sides %o' the %bawbee
If %ye %daur "to %mak or %medd %wi' what I %hae done
thee, %wi' the counsel %o' a father, "to %mak %na odds among them, but
the %banes, I believe, are %a' "to the fore; but it's %no to be
%hame and tell thy mother %no to look for me "to dinner, for I'll %aiblins bide %wi'
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GIRZY BELL 
GIRZY CLAUD
hae been to the fore, and in the full possession

%Na, #gudeman, #an that's to be a come-to-pass -- let nobody talk

girzy claud had been to the fore, $ye #durst 'na, #gudeman,

GIRZY DR DE
and a parent's part to the slave %o' my family, #an i were

GIRZY GEORG
%no do to stand shilly-shallying, if we hope

GIRZY GEORG
it would 'na be pleasant to you to be seen on the plane-stanes

GIRZY GEORG
If your worthy father had been to the fore, $ye would 'na %daur't to

GIRZY LADY
%wi' Charlie, for he promised to be out on Sabbath to his dinner, and never came

GIRZY MEG
'hae been to the fore, and in the full possession

ltry at 'the Dirdumwhamle. So, as we'll need something to keep the banes green, $ye may just

GIRZY MILRO
buy %saat to his kail. I hope and %expek no less

GIRZY MR KE
%egget on in her anger, when she happens, poor #body, %to %tak the #dods now and then -- for

GIRZY PITWI
been %noo to the fore, I 'would 'na needed to be

GIRZY PITWI
the law; and if I found you %o' a proper sufficiency, %to %gie you a "preferaent, %cause $ye

GIRZY ROBIN
%to Jamie Walkinshaw. But let your father

GIRZY ROBIN
pity, that I'm obligated not to be beautiful on the mountains, but to

JENNY MR TH
%mak a %hak to Mall Loup-the-Dike, the %auld ewe,

MR KE CLERK
and %no encourage yourselves to the practice of evil that good may

MRS J BEL
is enough to provoke the %elect; as $am a living

PLEAL CLAUD
sses, lazy sluts, %that would like nothing better than

-tyne's

GIRZY MEG
auld bye-word says, 'tyne's bottles gathering %straes. So

-unnorn

GIRZY GEORG
But we need 'na 'cast out about %sic 'unnorn babes %o' Chevy Chase. Beenie's

GIRZY BELL
-%up

GIRZY GEORG
-%up and be doing in this good work,

GIRZY BELL
-%was

GIRZY GEORG
was eight days, I paid %Deacon Paul, the
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within
GIRZY GEORG the %ovelle name for calf-love; and if it's "within the compass %o" a possibility,

work
GIRZY GEORG possibility, get the swine driven %through't, or it may "work us %a" %muckle %dule, as his
GIRZY MEG understanding -- it's you and me, %Laird, that %maun "work the wherry in this breeze -- %ye're

a
CLAUD GIRZY should %tak a wife to %himsel as soon as %a possibility will %alloo, and if he has
CLAUD MILRO %a bare %eneugh sufficiency for my
CLAUD MR KE up as soon as %a possibility will %alloo, for it does
GIRZY CLAUD %hae %ye done? %canna %ye tell us, and %gie a %bodie
GIRZY PITWI in a %pock like that? %Is't %a possibility that he can be %ta'en out

about
GIRZY MR KE he's "no "about his will and testament: I %freddes

am
GEORG BELL I "am come partly to relieve my mind from
JAMES BELL that I "am only come to distress you Alas! am I
MR KE GEORG I "am not come here to ask needless

an
GIRZY CLAUD but "weary its life %wi' %garring it %loup for "an %everlasting after sticks and %chucky

are
CLAUD GIRZY Givans, who "are come %o' the best blood, and are,
CLAUD GIRZY happen to be; for I %canna but say that "thir news "are %no just what I could %hae %wiss'd
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Auld Colley, wi' his daffing, looks as he had a notion to the draw away
and comfort her; the day's raw, but I'll even now away to the Grippy to intercede for
be
$maun be minded; and I'm thinking if you had as well be making up a bit balance-sheet, that
slumbers and watches of the night, or I ne'er would be consenting to countenance such
It's no possible that Charlie can be consenting to his own disinheritance,

and get Watty to concur wi' me in some bit settlement that may lighten the
hae a bit alteration to make in my papers;
making up a bit balance-sheet, that I may see how
but, talking to remnants, I haie a bit blue to' superfine; it has been
canny to gang toom-handed, and I haie got a bit bill for five score pounds that I'm
bit paper by yourseels, just that there
throw a bit fifty tilt just as a cast to' the
but I haie come to consult you anent a bit alteration that I would fain make
and you'll just conform to them. As for the bit saving of lying money, we'll no
another cast to' your slight to' hand in the way of a bit will for the moveables and lying
twaft to' cauld that I got twa nights ago; -- a bit twot that's no worth the talking
I met wi' a bit accident, Rob Wallace, the horse-
would just gi'e a bit inkling to' what she'll haie
me, just wi' a single whisk to' dexterity, a bit touch of the law, make the vera
Bring me a pen that can spell, and I'll indoss this bit hundred pound to thee, Bell, as an
't. However, Geordie, you might lay yourseel out for a bit slaik to' its paw; so just come
right jocularity. However, as we're to hae a bit ploy, I request and hope you'll
'bit gathering %wi' Robin Carrick, that
should be groping about my bit gathering
't hint frae yourseel -- in a noty
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GIRZY PITWI nor $bawbee %by't, unless it please Jamie to %gie me a 'bit present, by way %o' a fee, for
GIRZY ROBIN business, %twa lines ^anent that 'bit %sma' matter for bed, board, and
MILRO GIRZY harm in you and me giving the %twa young things a 'bit ^canny shove onward ~in the road to
MR KE CLAUD I %the just %ta'en a 'bit canter ^ours to see you, and to
MR KE CLAUD a %sma' sum to get him free %o' a %wee 'bit difficulty, for, %ye %ken, there are
WATTY BETTY strong, woman; and what were %ye the %waur %o' a 'bit $slaik %o' a kiss? %Howsever, my

"bring
GIRZY PITWI ability; so, if %ye "bring `naa me the thousand pounds this

"but
CLAUD CHARL are %sae ^auld "but %ye can afford to bide a while
CLAUD GIRZY ^feckless way, there's no doubt "but your father would marry again, --
GIRZY GEORG the %sae cousin, I %dunya see "but %ye might "set your cap for the
GIRZY ROBIN l %o' despair -- I'll %gie you a toast, a thing which, "but %at ~in occasion, I %ne'er think %o' 3

"Can
CLAUD WATTY "Can %t'ou `no tell me what has happened, ~gudeman, and your male-heirs. "What for ~can %ye `no be content %wi' Charlie's
GIRZY CLAUD And %what for ~can %ye `no fancy him I would like to
GIRZY ROBIN ~come
GIRZY PITWI out. Just %gang %till him, and ~come ~na back to me without the thousand

~comes

MRS E MR EA but it ~comes ~not to us till earthly things

~did
MR QU DR DE ~did `not you yourself advise Mr George
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felt

MRS E MR BA
degree entire, I `felt `not as I now feel; but the door is

Got

GIRZY JAMES

`Got $ye $ony drink, Jamie, `in the #gait

had

GIRZY ROBIN

`deil's in Dublin city, that I %hae `had a discernment %o' thy heart-hatred

Hae

GIRZY BELL

thise, and I'll simper, and I'll wheedle them. -- `Hae, %tak my keys, and %gang into the

has

CLAUD CHARL

Charlie, %has %t'ou brought the balance-sheet, as

CLAUD GIRZY

Girzy, %t'ou %has a head, and so has a nail

CLAUD WATTY

book, and %mind what it tells thee, %an %t'ou %has %the capacity of an understanding to

CLAUD WATTY

Watty, %t'ou %has been provided more -- I %hae done

GIRZY CLAUD

word, Watty, %t'ou %has thy %ain luck -- first thy

GIRZY MEG

but %t'ou %has a stock %o' impudence, to %haud up

GIRZY MEG

preached in the Wynd Kirk, that %t'ou %has the spirit %o' sedition, to tell me

`he'll

PLEAL GIRZY

for %he'll %no can %thole to sit down on our

`Hear'st

CLAUD GIRZY

and %ye'll be sure to %tak care he wants for nothing. `Hear'st %t'ou; look into the %auld

CLAUD WATTY

markeckle has just been %wi' me -- `Hear'st %t'ou me? -- %deevil %an I saw
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"hundreds"

PITWI MILRO

"I"

MEG GIRZY

"na left the souls in their bodies -- that's what" I will, -- if $ye approve t'ot, Mr

WATTY MR KE

"I am thinking that, perhaps, it might be

"I'm

CLAUD CHARL

business #maun be minded; and I'm thinking t'ou had as #weel "be

CLAUD GIRZY

tha had in my own breast about it; and now I'm saying, would "na she make a capital

CLAUD MR KE

The minister, I'm thinking, will soon be here, and

CLAUD WATTY

I'm thinking, #gudeman, that $ye need

GI’RSY CLAUD

I'm thinking, #gudeman, though $ye hae

GI’RSY CLAUD

I'm thinking, #gudeman as $ye're "no

GI’RSY GEORG

I'm thinking that the seeds of a

LADY CLAUD

what I'm come about is a matter that #maun

MRS G PROVO

come hither to me, I'm wanting to speak to thee

ROB CLAUD

I'm thinking, Mr Walkinshaw that $ye

WATTY GEORG

deserve what it has #gi'en me. I'm thinking, Geordie, Providence #kens

WATTY GEORG

I'm thinking, instead t'ot making me

WATTY MR KE

I'm thinking, Mr Keelevin, that $ye

WATTY MR TH

%Mair %sae, I'm thinking, than $ye thought, Sir. --

"I'se

KILMA WATTY

ty, be brisk %wi' her, lad; she can %thole a %touzle, "I'se warrant

"ill

WATTY GIRZY

#Nettles -- that's what I "ill; so "put the matter to your knee and
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are done to the house, to flit my family; for I am in hopes the change of air will be
pair -- I'll give you a toast, a thing which, but at in occasion, I 'nee'er think to'
$ye were sitting
$ye can, for in the conscience to' me I would,

GIRZY WATTY

Haud thy fool tongue, and insult 'na me But $ye'll see what it is

CHARL CLAUD

and must be pennyless. Is 'not that, sir, telling me that she
potamus is as big as scythes; and he slumbers
"Deed is she -- my tain dochter

WATTY SHERI

is't

CLAUD GIRZY

Lord to spare Watty, is't no an afflicting thing, to see
What for is't no possible
and is't no like a daft man and an idiot,
And is't no true that $ye're obligated to
thing to thwart a true affection. Troth is't, gudeman ; and $ye should think
"Deed is't, sir, and a braw patrimony I trow
a disgrace to me? But, let me look at it. Is't no possible to put in a gushet or

CLAUD MR KE

but he may wise it a'wa as it likes him to do, for he's noo past

CLAUD REV K

the warst to't is' that Watty, haverel though it's like to be, is no sae ill as to
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just
CLAUD GIRZY

law
GIRZY PITWI

made
GIRZY WILLY

make
CLAUD GIRZY

most
CLAUD GIRZY

my
CLAUD WATTY

need
GIRZY CLAUD

no
GIRZY JAMES

and your grandfather, I'll ne'er maintain, was na a no mere man -- so anent the

obedient
GIRZY JAMES

bit paper by yoursels, just that there may be nae debate

I hae known my father law for seven years, and even when he

ners. He made an absolute refuse to gie a

obstinate as to make away the Plealands past Charlie,

it no be the most hardest thing that ever was seen in

come hame to my dinner

Atweel, Charlie need na been in sic a haste, he's no

and obedient fine lassie, will soon be
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of

CLAUD REV K

would "na #doubt "of making an $excambio %t' the

"out

MR KE WATTY

"out to Grippy, and sift the meaning %t'

"pound

CLAUD MR KE

"Twa hundred "$pound %t' debt $Aye and I marvel it's

"reputed

DR DE CLAUD

anger, the Comforter will soon come. $Ye %hae %ay been "reputed an honest man, and %no deficient

"see

CLAUD GIRZY

Grippy -- But he shall suffer %for't -- I "see "na why a father may "na %tak' his

CLAUD MR KE

I hope so too, but I "see "na %war at present it's to come

"should

MR KE CLAUD

"%Deed "should I but %ye %ken the Lords are

"staid

ROBIN JAMES

have "staid tea. "Will you "not go back with

"sure

GIRZY BELL

"cheatrie Milrookits. For "sure am I, had "no I %ta'en the case in

GIRZY JAMES

And "sure am I, Jamie that it will be %lang

GIRZY JAMES

"Sure am I he would %ne'er $mint %tony

GIRZY PITWI

"Howsever, Mr Pitwinnoch, "sure am I there was no mistake in the
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"that"

| CLAUD LADY       | sbraw Charlie, `that waves his hand, and beckons me to |
| CLAUD MR KE      | judgment `o' that $tavert $bodie, Gibby Omit, `that $gart me pay nine pounds seven |
| GIRZY CLAUD      | dead patriarchs `that $hae been rotten, for $ought I $ken |
| GIRZY MEG        | before my eyes of a demented lad, `that was so long a comfort to me in my |
| GIRZY MEG        | an aged woman, `that has `na travelled the world for |
| GIRZY FITWI      | Thomas Whitteret, `that was his clerk when `my $friend |
| GIRZY FITWI      | points $frae my worthy father, `that was thim sel bred an $advocate, an |
| GIRZY ROBIN      | me and your honest grandfather, `that was in mine, and is $noo in |
| GIRZY ROBIN      | nostering ancestors, `that $hae been -- %ude preserve us! -- |
| GIRZY WALKY      | -- %Ye unicorn of oppression, to speak to me `o' law, |
| MR KE CLAUD      | poor Charlie, `that I $hae $ay thought a most excellent |
| NRS L CORNE      | widow, `that, they say, set him up in the world, |
| PLEAL CLAUD      | %servan' $lasses, lazy sluts, `that would like nothing better than `to |
| WATTY DR DE      | brother Charlie, `that would `na in his `niggerality $faik |

"that's"

| MR KE CLAUD      | ill %ye would do to that fine lad, his `auld brother, `that's now a married man, and in the way |

| BETTY CLAUD      | when %ye're dead, will we still $hae `the Divethill |
| CLAUD BETTY      | of `the Divethill for `the Plealands, by |
| CLAUD BETTY      | of `the Divethill for `the Plealands, by `the $whilk the whole |
| CLAUD BETTY      | intend and $wis you and Watty to live at `the Divethill, our neigh- bours here, |
| CLAUD BETTY      | `na the $gumpshion `o' the cuckoo, `the $whilk has a note $mair in its |
| CLAUD GIRZY      | obstinate as to `make away `the Plealands past Charlie, he'll be |
| CLAUD GIRZY      | ure. Betty Bodle's $tocher would $hae been better than `the Grippy -- But he shall suffer $for't |
| CLAUD GIRZY      | $gait. I'll $gang in to Mr Keelevin `the $morn |
| CLAUD GIRZY      | $gang to'er `the $morn and $speer for Charlie. I $wis |
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| CLAUD GIRZY | #betimes the `morn's morning to $gang in `wi' me |
| CLAUD GIRZY | the worship the `morn's night, `while is the Lord's |
| CLAUD GIRZY | %docher inherit the Divethill by right %o' her father, |
| CLAUD GIRZY | lands, and so $rive the heart again out %o' the Kittlestonheugh, and %mak %a' my |
| CLAUD GIRZY | about his right to the $excambio we made for the Plealands |
| CLAUD KILMA | wherein it may be likened to a hippopotamus, the which is a creature living in the |
| CLAUD LADY | Watty, because he had _needful to redeem the Kittlestonheugh, the `while %maun |
| CLAUD MILRO | the `morn's night, `while is the Lord's |
| CLAUD MILRO | ed for by their mother's uncle, the `auld General `wi' |
| CLAUD MILRO | either %ca' me by name or $Kittlestonheugh, for |
| CLAUD MR KE | %Gude morning, %gude morning, Mr Keelevin; %show're $ye |
| CLAUD MR KE | position; only, as I would $fain $hae what %cam by |
| CLAUD MR KE | like to begin the entail %o' the `Grippy %wi' him |
| CLAUD MR KE | But $ye %ken, Mr Keelevin, when Watty dies, |
| CLAUD MR KE | ye %ken, Mr Keelevin, when Watty dies, the `Grippy and |
| CLAUD MR KE | Have %na I been telling you that it's my %wis that |
| CLAUD MR KE | and the `Grippy should be made one $heritage, |
| CLAUD MR KE | For him, by the `while he's to %gree that the |
| CLAUD MR KE | brought you here the day? Man, this is $sore weather for |
| CLAUD MR KE | %eneugh to %mak an `observe on prosperity, -- |
| CLAUD MR KE | been %owe %lang to %mysel. %However, $gang away |
| CLAUD REV K | would %na $doubt of making an $excambio %o' |
| CLAUD REV K | the Plealands for the Divethill and |
| CLAUD REV K | %doubt %of making an $excambio %o' the Plealands for |
| CLAUD REV K | the Divethill and Kittleston, the %twa farms that %wi' |
| CLAUD REV K | %o' law and nature, would still come in for |
| CLAUD REV K | short, I see nothing %for't, Mr Kilfuddy, but to join |
| CLAUD REV K | `Grippy in %as settlement %wi' |
| CLAUD WATTY | and tell thy %mither that $am %gaun up to the Kilmarmeckle to %hae some discourse |
| CLAUD WATTY | I'm saying, would %na $hake a capital $leddy to' |
| CLAUD WATTY | the Plealands I'm sure $ye %canna %fin' |
| CLAUD WATTY | wi' her marrow; and $ye should %reflek on her %tocher, |
| CLAUD WATTY | just $gang %o'er just $gang %o'er |
| GEORG MRS E | $mair than the second-sight. I must wish you good |
has, indeed, been a house of mourning 

Ye need 'na hope to see 'muckle 't' them 

bragging 't' the conquest he had made 't' his ancestors -- reasonable compensation out 't' the rents; 

'=I'm thinking, #gudeman, that Ye need 'na tak 

came 'o'er 'myself that I forgot to bid them come to please Charlie's Maker, by reason 't' 

'=t' its paw; so just come 'o'er to cite at 

e tail 't' your see, 'ye's 'no want my helping hand at 

failing you and yours, 'heir 't' entail to a be pleasant 't' you to be 'seen on the plane-stanes 

pose 'yoursel, I'll 'no tell you a novelle confession that Ye were married will, a handsome 'n'tuity; by grandfather --' the whisk, but for some 'mistak 't' 

ye's 'no consent, -the 'morn'. morning, to 'gie up 't' the day, even though we had 'na a body 

the night Poor folk, they 'shae 'gotten the Kittlestonheugh 't' his ancestors -- the whisk took him a lifetime to do -- the whisk are 'noo, as I am creditably 

the anxieties 'shae 'muckle to heart; the Plealands. That's the gospel truth 

the Grippy and tak their dinner +the 

dangerous distemper, 'no to 't' alloo the day, -- for I'm really sorry to see, 

the 'morn's morning and try; for it'll the boarding-school 

the Kittlestonheugh. 'Howsever, 'no to the fishing 

to Camrachle? -- Man, 'fan I had as brisk a bee in to Camrachle? -- Man, 'fan I had as brisk a bee in 

to Camrachle? -- Man, 'fan I had as brisk a bee in 

to Camrachle? -- Man, 'fan I had as brisk a bee in 

to Camrachle? -- Man, 'fan I had as brisk a bee in 

to Camrachle? -- Man, 'fan I had as brisk a bee in 

to Camrachle? -- Man, 'fan I had as brisk a bee in 

to Camrachle? -- Man, 'fan I had as brisk a bee in 

to Camrachle? -- Man, 'fan I had as brisk a bee in 

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GIRZY PITWI to renounce the property, and that he shall do
GIRZY PITWI in an $heritable bond, and
GIRZY REV K $baith here, at $the Grippy, and at
GIRZY REV K Sabbath, $wi$ very handsome black cloth,
GIRZY ROBIN and your aunty, $wi$ your Joe, are here
GIRZY WALKY Beennie, I $hae a projection in my head,
GIRZY WALKY would the hard $nigger let her $gang on
GIRZY WATTY me good $o$ her -- it's $no$ to seek what I'll $gie her
GIRZY WATTY what it is to stand $wi$ a $het face $afore the Court
JENNY MR TH $hame, $frea my service at
JENNY MR TH $the Grippy to Mr George's, the sheep
KILMA CLAUD $accaba is like a nightingale,
LADY CHARL good, let me partake
LADY CHARL Charlie --
LADY CHARL comfort her; the day's raw, but I'll $even now $away to
MAUDG CLAUD They're $no worth
MAUDG CLAUD $name surprised
MEG CHARL him ten pounds to $gang $intil Glasgow
MR EA MRS E t who this Frazer is -- Was he out with your father in
MR KE CHARL might be in a condition to make an exchange of
MR KE CHARL the $twa $mailings that were wanting to make up $wi$
MR KE CHARL doubt your $intent is to settle
MR KE CHARL on
MR KE CHARL $sic a condition as this. I hope it's $no
MR KE CHARL $sic a condition as this. I hope it's $no $the gout or $the rheu-matism
MR KE CHARL $anent it; $the which dislike, I $jealouse, could
MR KE CHARL $ye'll $no $hae heard
MR KE CHARL as $weel for me to come back
MR KE CHARL to $ca$ on you
MR KE WATTY $the best $o$ your news
MR KE WATTY gathered what it means, we'll $hae
MRS K GIRZY your $mither, at
PLEAL CLAUD $el$ had a notion of entailing
PLEAL CLAUD

The morn's morning if there's a toun-
the $whilk I refused, and then $ye
the $whilk bond is in my hands; that's
the Plealands, in full deep morn-ing;
the $whilk cost twenty- pence the $ell,
the day, we'll just lay our heads
the $whilk is a thought $o$ wisdom for
the session? for I $canna help her
the $morn
the $morn
the $morn
the Kittlestonheugh's a $raw estate;
the $whilk, as I $hae seen and read in
the solace $wi$ you; and if it's bad,
the $gude $forgie me because he is your
the Grippy to intercede for you, and by
the Grippy to buy a present for the bride,
the day to buy a present for the bride,
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REV K GIRZY
WATTY BETTY
but, if $ye'll $tak me, I'll $mak you
WATTY BETTY
but, if $ye'll $tak me, I'll $mak you
WATTY BETTY

what are we to do? My father has beguiled me to
WATTY CLAUD
Have `na I come in %' the $gait $frae
WATTY CLAUD
mock %
WATTY CLAUD
his lawful heir to
WATTY CLAUD
that $ye're %'o % for %ony dinner
WATTY GIRZY
ments, either for %t the cough, or
WATTY GIRZY
ments, either for %t the cough, or
WATTY GIRZY
head; he's $daft; and %t'en to
WATTY MR KE
mages `afore #Bailie Glassford's house at the head %'
WATTY MR KE
was $ill %aff for a turn when he took to
WATTY WATTY

"they're

MR KE WATTY
Walter, as I %hae some notion that "they're come to %tak down your words --
"think

GIRZY GEORG
GIRZY MR KE
So "think I, Geordie -- I am sure I would
what "think you %'o that

"Thou's

GIRZY JAMES
GIRZY JAMES
"Thou's a wheedling creature, Jamie and
"Thou's 'gaun %awa to face thy %aes, --
GIRZY ROBIN
It's %no possible, Beenie Walkinshaw, that "thou's %sic a masquerad- ing %cutty as
GIRZY ROBIN
ever, Beenie, "thou's a -- "thou's a -- I'll %no say
GIRZY ROBIN
ever, Beenie, "thou's a -- "thou's a -- I'll %no say what -- $ye
GIRZY ROBIN
thee, that "thou's %no a bit %sair brisk than the
GIRZY ROBIN
My word, but "thou's %no %blate. But it's %no worth my
GIRZY WATTY
"Thou's %ordaint to bring disgrace on us
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to

~enough, to make an observe on prosperity, --
to make a ridicule of sic a solemn

GIRZY GEORG %no do, to stand shilly-shallying, if we hope to make a right legality 'o't

GIRZY WILLY ners. He 'made an absolute 'refuse 'to 'gie a 'continuity 'o' Jamie's

was

CLAUD WATTY I did 'na think 'o' thy mother, Watty -- but 'an 't'ou was 'lance 'marriest to Betty Bodle, 't'ou

GIRZY JAMES was 'ay 'o' a nature that had 'nae

MR GU GEORG his son proving a more thriving wooer, was desirous of putting him for a season

WATTY SHERI 'wi' the eye 'o' my heart, that my brother's 'wee Mary 'was 'grewn my 'wee Betty Bodle, and so I

'weary

GIRZY CLAUD but 'weary its life 'wi' 'garring it 'loup

'were

CLAUD PLEAL her lip, and if 'tony thing 'were happening to her, $ye're a hale

GIRZY GEORG 'idiocety. But it's time I 'were taking the road, for they'll 'a' be

MR KE CLAUD #an 'tony thing 'were happening 'on a sudden to carry you

'What

CLAUD GIRZY 'What for 'is't 'no possible

CLAUD JAMES 'What for 'wilt 't'ou 'no come to me

CLAUD JAMES 'what for, poor thing, should I hurt thee

CLAUD MR KE Oh, but that's 'no what I mean, and 'what for may 'na Watty marry? Is 'na he

CLAUD WATTY 'What for 'do'st 't'ou 'tak the 'bairn

GIRZY CLAUD chevalier, I'm sure nobody can tell 'what for, and $ye 'say 'lookit down on

GIRZY CLAUD 'gudeman, and your male-heirs. 'What for 'can $ye 'no be content 'wi'

GIRZY CLAUD 'What for will I 'hau'd my tongue, a fool

GIRZY JAMES And 'what for 'no? I'm sure Beenie's fortune

GIRZY ROBIN And 'what for 'can $ye 'no fancy him I would
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Then "what for "will $ye "no let your father
 "what for are $ye sitting there alone
 "what for would $ye cut off poor Charlie
 Uncle, I'm your #wee Betty Bodle; "what for "will $ye "no speak to me
 But "what for should $ye get me? Have 'na I
 the like %o't without payment; and "what for should $ye get me? Have 'na I
 sign %nae papers; that's a fact 'afore divines. "what for do $ye #fash me %wi' your
 %a' say, "what for should $ye %hae me to do as %ill
 "what for would $ye %hae me to do as %ill
 nature and law, she has a right to %a' I %hae; "what for %a' this %fykerie's about a
 'what for should I %gie my mother %ony

"Will

"Will it "no be the "most hardest thing
 "will he "no do your bidding
 "will to Cupar, let him %gang, and %a'
 what's come %o'er you, %gudeman? Pity me,
 "will it "no be the "most hardest thing
 Uncle, I'm your #wee Betty Bodle; "what for "will $ye "no speak to me
 have %staid tea. "Will you "not go back with me? My mother
 "what for %a' say, "what for should $ye %hume me? $ye %mind how she
 But "will she "no thump me? $ye %mind how she
do %wi't. -- "Will I "no %tak care to' my %ain baby --

"wilt

"What for "wilt %t'ou "no come to me
 "wilt %t'ou "no do as %t'ou's bidden

"would

"Will it "no be the "most hardest thing
 "will he "no do your bidding
 "will to Cupar, let him %gang, and %a'
 what's come %o'er you, %gudeman? Pity me,
 "will it "no be the "most hardest thing
 Uncle, I'm your #wee Betty Bodle; "what for "will $ye "no speak to me
 have %staid tea. "Will you "not go back with me? My mother
 "what for %a' say, "what for should $ye %hume me? $ye %mind how she
 But "will she "no thump me? $ye %mind how she
do %wi't. -- "Will I "no %tak care to' my %ain baby --

"wilt

"What for "wilt %t'ou "no come to me
 "wilt %t'ou "no do as %t'ou's bidden

"would

If your worthy father had been "to the fore, $ye "would "na %daur't to %hae spoken %wi'
 been %noo "to the fore, I "would "na needed to be put to my
 "Deed "would I for %no %hasing a son %o' my own

"yon

to %ca' "yon singing; it's nothing but lal, lal,
spectators at a tragedy, and see "yon unfortunate bark rushing with- out
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GIRZY BELL really a man %o' the 'height %o' discretion 'yon -- that it would be hard for an aged
GIRZY BELL your %bairns be %rookit %o' their right by 'yon Cain and Abel, the %twa %chaeatrie
GIRZY BELL %ye might %hae continued singing Wally, wally, up 'yon bank, and wally, wally, down 'yon
GIRZY BELL wally, wally, down 'yon %bras, %a' the day %o' your tarrying
GIRZY BELL of the tomb, for they but devour the dead body; but 'yon greedy caterpillars would strip me
GIRZY CLAUD will %hae need %o' 't %a', for 'yon Flanders baby is %no for a poor
GIRZY CLAUD %wha's %yon at the %yett %stirling at the %pin
GIRZY CLAUD ry body %maun %alloo that she's 'a well %far't %lassie 'yon; and, if she's as good as she's
GIRZY GEORG %yon quirkie %bodis. I could see %vera
GIRZY GEORG %yon %flea-luggit thing, Jamie
GIRZY JAMES to your pastoraality %wi' 'yon Highland heron, and a sedate and
GIRZY JAMES We'll %gang %nae %mair to 'yon %toun %twi' your back to the manse
GIRZY JAMES and if he wantit you to break %twi' 'yon galloping nymp %o' the Highland
GIRZY MILRO tion and commonality in their charges -- but 'yon %lawfu' folk %twi' the cloaks %o'
GIRZY ROBIN my dear, about Jamie's calf-love for 'yon daffodil; but be an obedient child,
MAUDG CLAUD the %bravery %o' %sic a Solomon in all his glory as 'yon Provost Gorbals. -- Heh, sirs,
MR GU GEORG %yon vault, of which you may %see the
MR KE CLAUD %yon thing
MRS E GEORG that lead into the judgment-chamber of Heaven, and of 'yon sun, that is the eye of the
WATTY DR DE Look at 'yon %braw pastry %pye %twi' the King's
WATTY GEORG bringing 'yon %Cluty's claw %frais %Enbro' to prove
WATTY GIRZY %Na, %na,-mother, Betty Bodle's my wife, 'yon cloid in the black %kist is but her

'yon'er

MAUDG CLAUD -- Heh, sirs, what a %kyteful %o' pride's 'yon'er! and yet I would be %nane
WATTY CLAUD My Betty Bodle's dead! She's %awa up %aboone the skies 'yon'er, and left me a %wee %wee baby

'yon's

MRS G PROVO Eh! %Megsty, %gudeman, if I %dinna think 'yon's %tauld %Kittleston- %heugh's

'yonder

MR GU GEORG afternoon, as they were sitting together in the hall at %yonder archi- %traved window in the
WATTY MR KE Keelevin: -- %twa %gleds %o' the law %hae lighted %yonder; and %ye %ken, by your %tain ways,
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+aff
MR KE GIRZY
WATTY GIRZY

Mother! mother! my father's +gane by +himsel; he's +aff at the head; he's +daft; and +ta'en

+amang
CLAUD MILRO

and had he +no +deet +amang hands in one +o' his +scrieds +wi'

+atween
CLAUD CHARL

or thee -- +t'ou'll +no be -out +o' the need +o't. But +atween hands +mak up the balance-sheet,

+buff
GEORG MR KE

neither +buff nor styen for father nor mother,

+butt
WATTY BELL

-- for $ye $ken she has such a heart for a +thrangerie +butt and $ben, that, rather than want

+ca'
CLAUD CHARL

Charlie and Bell, +ca' +canny; +bairns will rise among you,

+cauld-kail-+het-again
GIRZY GIRZY

whamle's, theirs was a third marriage -- a +cauld-kail-+het-again affair -- and

+causey
GIRZY JAMES

I +hae been his mother. It's +no for a courtesy +o' +causey +clash that he's +birling his

+dauds
WATTY GIRZY

every body +dauds and +dings the +daft +Laird +o'
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+daurs

CLAUD WATTY Hast %t'ou neither grace nor $gumshion, that %t'ou +daurs to %tak %awa the word %o' God

+De'il-be-%lickit

GIRZY JAMES than I %hae been -- I'm the only sufferer. +De'il-be-%lickit has it cost

+deil-be-licket's

GIRZY CLAUD +deil-be-licket's my part and portion %o'

+dinns

BETTY WATTY I +dinna %objek to %tak you, but

BETTY WATTY I +dinna think, Watty that we need %sic a

CHARL LADY that I %hae done no ill, and +dinna %ken why I should be frightened in

CHARL MR KE I +dinna %misdoub that, Mr Charles, but

CLAUD BETTY +Dinna %ye %tak %ony care about what's

CLAUD GIRRKY word in the morning, if %ye +dinna come %hame, how Charlie may happen

CLAUD JOHNNO +dinna %ken why I should be frightened in

CLAUD KILMA But I +dinna see any likeness in that to snuff, +dinna believe me; but, like them, Mrs

CLAUD LADY that, like the orphans, %ye +dinna do that, the cost shall be on your

CLAUD MILRO at, %ye %maun %alloo, is worth something. %Howsoever, I +dinna %objek to the two hundred pounds;

CLAUD MR KE %Weel, %weel, Mr Keeleavin, as I was saying, +dinna %ye %fash your thumb, but %mak out

CLAUD MR KE %Na, %fan %ye +dinna think %ye ought to catechise me.

CLAUD MR KE %Weel, %weel, Mr Keeleavin, as I was saying, +dinna %ye %fash your thumb, but %mak out

CLAUD MR KE %Na, %fan %ye +dinna think %ye ought to catechise me.

CLAUD REV K right, only I +dinna like on poor Charlie's account. --

CLAUD REV K +dinna %ken %whar %frea within us

CLAUD WATTY course %wi' Mr Bodle, so that she need %na %weary if I +dinna come %hame to %my dinner

DR DE CLAUD +Dinna let %yoursel despond; %tak comfort

GIRZY CHARL that %ye +dinna wrang poor Watty; for he's an

GIRZY CLAUD +Dinna be %oure headstrong, my dear, but

GIRZY CLAUD +dinna think but %ye would make it %a'

GIRZY GEORG that, though I employ you to do my business, I +dinna think %ye ought to catechise me.

GIRZY GEORG +Dinna let %yoursel despond; %tak comfort
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GIRZY GEORG

the #ae cousin, I +dinna see "but $ye might "set your cap

matter, if $ye +dinna behave $wi' $mair reverence to

GIRZY JAMES

Surely -- $Na, $an he +dinna do that, what's to become "o' me?

GIRZY JAMES

$Haud your tongue, and +dinna terrify folk $wi' $ony $sic

GIRZY JAMES

by $twa $glaikit $jocklandys that +dinna care what they burn, $'en $ough

GIRZY MEG

sagacity and judgment, +dinna $ye think, though we $hae "na just

GIRZY MEG

riage. So, if $ye +dinna like to tell your son to $gang for

GIRZY MEG

+Dinna $ye #fash your head, Meg about

GIRZY MR KE

cloven-foot -- I'll say #ae #mair, Mr George; but +dinna mak your poor brother's #bairsns

GIRZY MRS K

$ye +dinna know what a misk- fortune I $hae

GIRZY PILLE

and I +dinna see how Walky Milrockit, or his

GIRZY PITWI

+Ye need `na tell me that. Do you think I +dinna $ken that he's an "heir-general to

GIRZY PITWI

I +dinna need Mr Whitteret, nor $ony

GIRZY WATTY

$#Wheesht, $wheesht, Watty, and +dinna blaspheme and `no be $overly

JAMES CLAUD

It's papa -- +dinna tramp on him

JAMES CLAUD

I +dinna think it I +dinna think it was

JENNY MR TH

I +dinna think it was ever in him to be

JENNY MR TH

Watty's circumstances, I +dinna discern how it is possible for my

MEG GEORG

if you +dinna like to apply to your father

MR KE CHARL

ye $alloo $yoursel to $gang $ssae like a $divor, that I +dinna wonder $ye $hae been $ta'en notice

MR KE WATTY

Ehi $Megsty, $gudeeman, if I +dinna think 'yon's $auld $kittleston-

MRS G PROVOD

my $docther Girzy's %o' your %ain flesh and blood; I +dinna see $ony moral impossibility in

PLEAL CLAUD

%oursels? and, if $ye +dinna fail by your %ain %blateness, our

PLEAL CLAUD

+Dinna let us "argol bargol about it;

REV K CLAUD

$Ye +dinna $ken $whar $fраe? -- I'll tell you

WATTY BETTY

Then, if $ye +dinna like it, Betty Bodle, I'm sure

WATTY CLAUD

But I +dinna $ken $the way %o' t, father; I

WATTY CLAUD

-- , I +dinna $ken

WATTY DR DE

%Noo, Doctor, +dinna scrimp the prayer, but tie a

WATTY GEORG

brought to want if I +dinna $tak care

WATTY GEORG

ing ill %o' the understanding %o' Providence, to say I +dinna deserve what it has %gi'en me.

WATTY GEORG

I +dinna like that she should "$na $hae
The Entail: Concordance of Syntax, Idiom and Dual-Categorisation using OCP: $ = Orthography $ = Phonology, $ = Lexis, $ = Morphology, $ = Syntax, $ = Idiom, $ = Idiosyncratic Usage, $ = Dual-Categorisation.

bigger, -- for I +dinna like big folk
+dinna understand it
+Dinna grow angry, mother It was `na a
I'm sure I +dinna hinder him. He may +mak fifty
+dinna be in sic a hurry -- I +hae some-
if $ye +dinna like to +tak the pleasure +t'o',
%for't -- I +dinna like to be every body's fool. I'm
by your %ain ways, that the likes +t'o' them +dinna flee afield for %naething
$deils are but %prentice work compared to them. I +dinna $ken what to do, Mr Keelevin -- I
'I'm thinking, Mr Keelevin, that $ye +dinna $ken that I +hae made a $paction
I +dinna think that, -- for $ye $ken the
but I +dinna like to make a $roos +t'o' $mysel
I +dinna like to +gie you any satisfaction
I +dinna $ken, $speer at $himsel; there he
+dreigh
the chariot-wheels +t'o' Pharaoh, +sae +dreigh +t'o' drawing, that I +canna afford
+e'ens
$lang-kail. But +e'ens $ye like, Meg dorts, as Patie and
+faik
Milrockit, and tell him I'll `no +faik a $plack +t'o' my just debt; and
+fash
%Gae $bot the house, and +fash `na me +wi' thy $clishmaclavers. I
+fasst, +weel, Mr Keelevin, as I was saying, +dinna $ye +fash your thumb, but +mak out the papers
cousin, `ne'er +fash your thumb, Glasgow's `on the
+fidding
and +fidding $fain, as $ye $baith are, for
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$gae

CLAUD WATTY

$gae thy ways $hame by thysel and tell

GIRZY GEORG

$gaen

The man's $gaen by himsel He has $scartit and

GIRZY CLAUD

$gane

-- I $wis the poor thing $hasna $gane by $itsel $wi' a broken heart. He
Mother! mother! my father's $gane by $himsel; he's $aff at the head;

WATTY GIRZY

$gang

would the hard $nigger let her $gang on $the session? for I $canna help

GIRZY WALKY

$gaun

The $callan's $gaun $aff at the head, to look at me as

GIRZY JAMES

$gie

I'll stand $haint a $dike, and $gie them a belter $wi' $stanes, till I

WATTY MR KE

$gotten

property. But I $trow I $hae now $gotten the $blin side $to' him at last:

GIRZY MEG

$Hae

CLAUD CHARL

$Hae, there's something to help $to keep

GIRZY CLAUD

We'll $hae to turn and $gang back with him

GIRZY CLAUD

$Ye'll $hae to $gang $ben, $gudeman and speak to

GIRZY JAMES

count, and I'll $hae to begin the $cutt again; so I may

GIRZY JAMES

if they $pay't, as $pay't they shall, or I'll $hae them for an affront to the Clerk's

PROVO MAUDG

ing $to' you, $lucky, to $tak compassion on the orphan; $hae, my $laddie, there's a $saxpence
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WATTY GIRZY
I +hae %nae #broo to' Courts and law-pleas
+hain

MR KE CLAUD %o' a man in your circumstances should +hain and hamper as $ye were
+hansel

GIRZY MR KE what the $gudeman has in his $pouch to %gie them for +hansel to their matrimony: the whole
+haud

WATTY GIRZY to +haud the grip I %hae ~gotten
+ill

GIRZY WATTY he would %hae ~gotten the property that's %sae +ill +waur't on thee
MEG MILRO sure it will be +ill put on $blateness, both on your part
WATTY MR KE was +ill +aff for a turn when he took to ~the
+jook

GIRZY ROBIN that, our %ain kith and kin, Beenie -- we $maun +jook and let the $jawp %gae bye. So I
+jookery

GIRZY ROBIN $gar me believe that there's ~no a $because for your +jookery $pawkrie
+ken

PLEAL CLAUD +ken. But now that $ye %hae ~gotten a
+kenna

CHARL BELL +kenna what's %in't -- every now and then
CLAUD GIRZY chapter to them and you, by way %o' a change, for I +kenna what's about me, but this rash
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**+kens**

| CLAUD GIRZY | Girzy Hypel, %t'ou +kens %naething about it. Will `na +T'ou +kens that I %hae provided thee %wi' the |
| CLAUD GIRZY | put on thy new black %class; -- %t'ou +kens they're in a #braw %fasson, -- and |
| CLAUD WATTY | %wrang to thee or thine; but %t'ou +kens that in family settlements, where |
| CLAUD WATTY | +kent |

| GIRZY MR KE | %wi' his kindness, I would `na +kent what it is to be a helpless widow. |
| +lang |
| CLAUD PLEAL | l %hae a +lang clue to wind before I #maun think |
| +leafu' |
| WATTY CLAUD | %ane that cares for her, but only my +leafu' $lane |
| +loup-the-$dyke |
| GIRZY JAMES | +loup-the-$dyke Jenny Cameron like Nell |

**+mak**

| CLAUD MR KE | Keeleavin, and surely I may +mak a $kirk and a mill %o't %an I like |
| GIRZY GEORG | Then I +mak no %doot that she is in a $begoted |
| GIRZY MEG | us %trow she can +mak fat kail %o' $chucky %stanes and an |
| GIRZY ROBIN | ne'er think %o' %minting, and this toast $ye #maun %a' +mak a lippy -- Geordie, my son and |
| MR KE WATTY | +mak a $kirk and a mill %o't; but be |
| WATTY DR DE | apple-tree, I'll +mak a $conformity |
| WATTY GEORG | %hae me to +mak away %wi' %ony thing that pertains |

**+mauna**

| CLAUD CLAUD | is fit that I should endure this. I sowed $tares, and +mauna %expek wheat |
| JENNY CLAUD | $ye +mauna be angry %wi' me, but I did `na |
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+maunna

$Ye +maunna hurry the wedding $oure soon
GIRZY CHARL down, for $ye +maunna $epek me to $ca' you by your
GIRZY PITWI law-suit, folk +maunna stand on friendships. Had Mr
MR KE CLAUD hope -- %ay, really Mr Walkinshaw, $ye +maunna think %o't

+ne'er-do-well

GIRZY ROBIN to be done %wi' that +ne'er-do-well water-wag-tail that's
+o'

GIRZY CLAUD although it's my notion she's 'no +o' a capacity to do $meikle in the way
GIRZY DR DE he might be +o' an instrumentality were the thing to
GIRZY MR PI suit Mr Keelvin, who is a most just man, and +o' a $right partiality

+o'ercome

CORNE CLAUD headed beast $routing its choruses at every +o'ercome %o' the spring
+oure

GIRZY CLAUD that she was +oure +souple in the tail to be easily
GIRZY CLAUD Watty, my ill-used $bairn, get your hat. We'll +oure for Kil- markeckle, and $gang $a'
+rin

GIRZY ROBIN %to Jamie Walkinshaw. But let your father +rin to the woody as he will -- %they're
+sca'd

GIRZY PILLE $ye'll %tak my advice, $ye'll 'no +sca'd your lips %in other folks' kail-
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+scà'ding
CLAUD GIRZY

wilt %t'ou %ne'er %devaul' %wi' +scà'ding thy lips in other folks' kail

+sin
GIRZY GIRZY

%hae I had +sin %syne, for my poor weak misled lad;
WATTY SHERI
a %randy at me ever +sin %syne, and wants me to put away my

+skelp-the-%dub
GIRZY ROBIN

silly market. A +skelp-the-%dub creature to upbraid me

+spree
GIRZY MEG

$kittle up your notions %wi' a +wee bit +spree and $spree %o' `jocosity, `afore

+T'ou's
CLAUD WATTY

+T'ou's a born idiot %wilt %t'ou `no do
CLAUD WATTY
+T'ou's a fool and a #sumph to say any
CLAUD WATTY
+ta'en

+T'ou's %past %remede, I fear but, Watty,

+ta'en
CLAUD GIRZY

$himsel is %sae +ta'en up %wi't, that he's a perfect
GIRZY PITWI
#ken, then, that I %hae +ta'en a `suspekton in my head, that
WATTY CLAUD
$ye're +ta'en up %wi' Charlie's %bairns, I

+tak
CLAUD GIRZY

%Weel, %weel; but sit %ye down, and Watty, +tak %t'ou a chair beside her; for I want
GIRZY CLAUD
the breath %o' life's in my %bodie; so, I %reddes %ye, +tak %tent to what %ye try

+that's
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GIRZY WILLY ing, for six weeks. -- And the case, Willy, -- you +that's breeding for a limb %o' the law,
+the

GIRZY CLAUD %tak their dinner +the morn, for $ye #ken we %hae a side
WATTY CLAUD
But I +dinna #ken +the way %o't, father; I %ne'er did %sic
+thir

GIRZY ROBIN to tell you +thir #sore news
+tod

GIRZY BELL d out the ground of an action for damages against that +tod %o' "a #bodie Pitwinnoch, for
+unco

MILRO GIRZY 'Deed, #Leddy, I'm +unco #sweet; I'll %no deny that
+Waes

MR KE CLAUD +Waes me, Mr Walkinshaw, that $ye should
+walloping

GIRZY GIRZY and "so %cam %o't -- Watty's was a +walloping #galravitch %o' "idiocety, and
+wee

GIRZY MEG #kittle up your notions %wi' a +wee bit +spree and #sprose %o'
+weel

GIRZY WATTY Ah, +weel I $wat %noo I %fin' to my cost,
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+wi'

as $ye're `no used +wi' making exercise, it may be as %weel

+windlestrae-legget

GIRZY CLAUD

£dyke-sides wi' that- %lang +windlestrae-legget #tawpie, Nell Frizel

+winna

CLAUD MR KE

be though $ye think %sae ill %o' me, it +winna be the %waur for Charlie after

GIRZY BELL

+winna `fare the %waur %wi' him when I'm

GIRZY MEG

%ain %gett, and +winna be put off %frie his intents by

GIRZY PILLE

a victory; but it +winna be %lang till I %hase another; for

LADY CHARL

he +winna do what $ye wish, then my poor

WATTY GIRZY

%Mither, %mither, Meg Draiks +winna %gie me a bit of %auld daddy's

+ye'll

GIRZY CLAUD

heavy loss which we all met %wi' in his wife, +ye'll can %weel afford to help Geordie

+ye're

BETTY WATTY

What are $ye `fear't for? I #ken what +ye're come about my father has `telt me

GIRZY CLAUD

+Ye're grown richer, %gudeman, than when

MR KE WATTY

She has acted a true friend's part; and I'm glad +ye're come and for her and her %bairns'

+ye's

GIRZY CLAUD

books and Latin %talitations. But, %gudeman, +ye's %no "get %a' your %ain way. I'll

GIRZY GEORG

the tail "o' your %ee, +ye's %no want my helping hand at 'the

GIRZY JAMES

the Clerk's Chambers; +ye's get the whole half "o't, Jamie, to

GIRZY MR KE

+Ye's get neither pen nor ink here, Mr

MR KE CLAUD

but +ye's %no get out "o' this world without

WATTY BELL

And +ye's Bet a "slicie "o' a "dishie "nicie
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1 TOTAL WORDS READ = 66239
TOTAL WORDS SELECTED = 66239
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TOTAL WORDS PICKED = 914
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McLUC PAWKI unkie opened, and speer't what I wantit, as if I was a thing no fit to be lifted off a
-argol

McLUC PAWKI Captain, no to argol bargol about the matter, for a'
at

McLUC PAWKI plea with the custom-house folk at London is settled, or rather, there
-by

PAWKI PEEVI the 'repute that ye thae for a gift of sagacity by common, and, therefore, I'll open my
-ends

McLUC PAWKI the Bank of England for the sum, and, packing up my 'ends and my awls, left the ship. It was
-even

SANDY SWINT be; it was even down madness to throw ourselves
-fume

PAWKI DEACO notion that a' this hobbleshaw's but the fume of a gill in your friend Robin's
-Gentle

RIOTE PAWKI fire, no bowl -- Gentle and semple should share and
-getting

MRS F PAWKI its fill 'getting a breek off a highlandman. I'll
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lay

McLUC PAWKI logy that "lay at his tongue end during the
PAWKI PEEVI see them on the subject, and if $ye find them willing, "lay your hairs in the water to bring the

let

PAWKI MUCKL #Provost $maun $ken nothing about it, or "let on that he does "na $ken, which is

lift

PAWKI McLUC influence free gratis, if $ye'll $gie Mr. Pittle a "lift into the $kirk; for, to be plain

like

PAWKI PEEVI and punch at the dinner, because the "like thing from any other would have

minows

McLUC PAWKI "minows are better than $nae fish, and a

more

PAWKI PITTL long discerned that $ye have had a look "more than common towards our $friend,

shotten

SMEDD PAWKI they're "crackit in divers places; they're "shotten out $wi' infirmity in others; in

smitten

SMEDD PAWKI to the $fundament, is a fabric "smitten $wi' a paralytic

"stretch"

PAWKI MRS P +Dinna try to "stretch your arm, #gudewife, farther

"taking"

McLUC PAWKI an end to their #stramash, I turned %myself round, and, "taking the door on my back, left them,

"the"

PAWKI MUCKL it's a satisfaction to me to think that $may be "the piece of plate and the vote of
PAWKI MUCKL thanks, and then to "the piece of plate, to remain with the
PAWKI MUCKL $ye would step "the length of Mr. Birky's and see how he

"throw"

McLUC PAWKI concern, I might "throw %mair bread on the water and not

"a"

McLUC PAWKI a #hantle to' either courtly #glammer that's 'no worth "a repeti- tion ; and from less to %mair,
PAWKI MUCKL unless they are both brought to "a bearing in a proper manner, I would
PAWKI PEEVI hairs in the water to bring the business to "a bearing
PEEVI PAWKI fore, on my own account, I had "a satisfaction at seeing the abridgement

"bit"

McLUC PAWKI it, than by a "bit jaunt to London to see how my

"can"

PAWKI MUCKL e is inclined, and by the time I am "done writing, $ye "can be back, for after all that we have
The Provost: Concordance of Syntax, Idiom, Dual-Categorisation using OCP: $ = Orthography, % = Phonology, # = Lexis, ` = Morphology, ` = Syntax, ` = Idiom, | = Idiosyncratic Usage, + = Dual-Categorisation.

"done
PAWKI MUCKL
he is inclined, and by the time I am "done writing, $ye "can be back, for
"I'm
PAWKI PITTL
SMEDD PAWKI
"I'm come to you as a friend; both Mrs. #fundament, for "I'm thinking the walls are %no %to' a
"Is
PAWKI McLUC
"put a question to 'yourself. -- "Is there 'no a possibility of get- ting
"say
PAWKI FRIEND
They say -- what "say they? -- let them say
"that
MRS S DEACO
the health of #Bailie Pawkie, "that is to be
"the
McLUC PAWKI
from Leith; and by the use of a %gude Scotch tongue, "the %whilk was the main substance %to'
PAWKI McLUC
ting you made "the $provost at Michaelmas, or, at the
"them
PAWKI PEEVI
No better than "them can be they are likewise both well
"to
PAWKI EARL
is for your interests, and would "to a certainty be a great advan- tage to
The Provost: Concordance of Syntax, Idiom, Dual-Categorisation using OCP: $ = Orthography, % = Phonology, # = Lexis, ~ = Morphology, ^ = Syntax, _ = Idiom, | = Idiosyncratic Usage, + = Dual-Categorisation.

would

burden of the town honours Therefore, Mr. Peevie, 'would it 'no be a very proper thing, in

'I'll +'en rest %myself and wait till he 'come;

me a #bailie's wife or+a' be done-

was the main substance %o' %a' the +bairns' part %o' #geer that I inherited

your sleeve will let you; we #maun +ca' #canny %mony a day yet, before we

pike staff, #gudeman, and I'll 'no let $ye rest if $ye +dinna %mak me a #bailie's wife or +a' be

Mr. M'Lucre, +dinna #spear any %quisitions but look at pearls and diamonds, that $ye +dinna think of asking a #tack of this

+Dinna try to 'stretch your arm,

+Dinna mistake me. I never was in more.

conquest which the #gudeman had, %wi %sic an +settling %o' pains and industry, gathered

Surely thought I, my +eyne #maun be worth pearls and diamonds

wonder you, +that's now a rich man, and with +eyne worth pearls and diamonds, that $ye
The Provost: Concordance of Syntax, Idiom, Dual-Categorisation using OCP: $ = Orthography, 
$ = Phonology, # = Lexis, ^ = Morphology, ~ = Syntax, - = Idiom, | = Idiosyncratic Usage, 
+ = Dual-Categorisation.

+friend

MRS S DEACO
+gane

COGGL DRAVE
+Gude saves, Mr. Dravel, are $ye +gane by $yoursel to think that our God's
+Gang

PAWKI DEACO
+Gude saves, Mr. Dravel, are $ye +gane by
+Gang your ways home for I $hae a notion
+no

a $doit; +no the worth of that; nor $a' their

McLUC PAWKI
at last an audience +o' my honourable friend. Well, $Bailie,
+s'en

McLUC PAWKI
whole of this troublesome affair, I'll +s'en $gie an account $mysel to the Lord
+sha'na

BAILI PAWKI
and that your tale and tidings +sha'na lack $lockening, I'll get in the
+tak'

PAWKI McLUC
for God's sake, Mr. Pawkie, +tak' $tent I hope, Mr. Pawkie, $ye $ken

FRIEND PAWKI
The Provost: Concordance of Syntax, Idiom, Dual-Categorisation using OCP: $ = Orthography, % = Phonology, # = Lexis, ~ = Morphology, ^ = Syntax, _ = Idiom, | = Idiosyncratic Usage, + = Dual-Categorisation.

+that's

PAWKI McLUC

wonder you, +that’s now a rich man, and with +eyne

+the

McLUC PAWKI
McLUC PAWKI
MRS P PAWKI
PAWKI McLUC
PAWKI McLUC
PEEVI PAWKI

I have been so long in +the guildry that I fear it %canna be keep +the guildry, I thought, after the wreck and I #ken too, that $ye’re #ettling at +the magistracy. Its as plain as a pike and with the mystery of +the guildry quite 'unacquaint -- if, as next Michaelmas, to +the magistracy, and there is not another as you are, to evacuate +the magistracy on account of it. But it

+Whar

PAWKI McLUC

+Whar %awa %sae fast, #Dean %o' Guild
The Provost: Concordance of Syntax, Idiom, Dual-Categorisation using OCP: $ = Orthography, 
% = Phonology, # = Lexis, ` = Morphology, " = Syntax, " = Idiom, | = Idiosyncratic Usage, 
+ = Dual-Categorisation.

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TYPE/TOKEN RATIO: 0.73239

TOTAL WORDS READ = 6096
TOTAL WORDS SELECTED = 6096
TOTAL WORDS PICKED = 71
TOTAL WORDS SAMPLED = 71
TOTAL WORDS KEPT = 71
TOTAL VOCABULARY = 52
Appendix D.3.1

Dialect Component in "West Country Exclusives":  
Idiom and Syntax.

S = BP it were as good a deid as drink to let her marry that rip of an Irishman, and I warrant me he baste her bones

S = BP that confounded Irish chap! How they do put their glamour ower the women folk

S = BP Nothing but the turf aboon her head will cure the affection of that woman - bray a fule in a mortar

S = BP John Bull, when he goes a-travelling, quite over-tops Paddy and Sawney

S = BP That Sir Ogilvry has, I declare, lost both flesh and favour

S = BP let them take their ain way o' it

S = BP Faith, it would take to sell the skim-milk at the Mains for a while, and sort out the nut-braes, to stand thee doings, said Bailie Pirgirvie: - that is, and leave onything in the sporran after clearin' and the lawin'

S + BP To be sure, it would be far wiser-like they waited for a while...But as better mayna be, and to break the fa' o' the mother's pride, I hope Mr. Ewins will have no reflection

S = BP I carena muckle where I sat, and I wudna like to affront the Frenchman, by scunnerin' at his dainties

S = BP Weel, weel! cried the Bailie, with some impatience; let them keep a' that - the carving on the outside of the cup and platter - and you leddies take on as reasonable a quantity of it as ye see fit

S = BP and a' through the sermon - and a great discourse it has been! ye seemed wanrestfu', and fidgety-like

S = PP I must confess, Mem, I found the Doctor rather dreich and dry this morning

S = PP our friend that's gone to a better place the eye of the fremmit

S = BP ye set her red-wude upon what's forbidden
Appendix D.3.2

S = BP I wish to the pigs, Mark Luke had lived to look after his womanfolk himself

S = BP when he is wearilying up in life

S = BP The brave Cornel will wait long for an antagonist before he get me to the field

S = BP and what would ye do, an’ if it were

S = Mrs ML there’s Penny Parlane’s grey eyne, I’m sure, glowing ower the blind to spy ferlies

S = BB So ye found the Pig-wife in all her glory

S = BB But siller makes itself sib, now-a-days, a’ gaits

S = BB He is a queer hand, Bob, but when is the wonderful house-heating to take place

S = BB "Lord help the gentles" as the by-word gangs. Puir folk can beg

S = BB to see a real auld family, like your cousins the Hawgreen folk, getting its head aboon the water, nowadays, that sae muckle o’ the scum of the cog has come up

S = BB Mrs Mark Luke has furnished her drawing room splendid-new with yellow silk

S = PP there’s aye, Miss Betty, a wherefore for a because

S = ML manage your househeating and your housekeeping both to be sure

S = Mrs ML I may, in an overly way, have asked Miss Bogle to look in upon us

S = ML Feint-a-fears! Bob can aye swin where there’s a full punch-bowl, Bauby

S = Mrs ML Now, the Edinburgh folk were aye upsetting

S = BB I wish she may do justice to the bit lassie, her daughter

S = PP was it no a judgement-like thing to see Mark Luke strucken down

S = BB even Mark himself, though a douce sensible man, was exalting his horn
Appendix D.3.3

$S = BB$ Hech, Sirs! to see a house-heating turned into a dirgie!
Appendix E

E.1 = T.E, E.2 = TP, E.3 = WCE (pp395-439)

The following graphs show the total dialect component together with the distribution of metavariabes in individual characters' speech in TE, TP and WCE.
## Dialect Component of Dialogue in "The Entail"

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## Dialect Component of Dialogue in "The Provost" and "West Country Exclusives"

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<td>7.63</td>
<td>13.44</td>
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The Entail: Betty Bodle

Total Words: 264    Dialect Component: 74    Percentage: 28.03
The Entail: Mrs Gorbals

Multivariables

Orthography | Phonology | Morphology | Lexis | Syntax | Idiom | Idiosyncratic

Total Words: 308  Dialect Component: 85  Percentage: 27.60
The Entail: Plealands

Multivariables

- Total Words: 508
- Dialect Component: 136
- Percentage: 26.77

Orthography | Phonology | Morphology | Lexis | Syntax | Idiom | Idiosyncratic
The Entail: Watty

Multivariables

Orthography
Phonology
Morphology
Lexis
Syntax
Idiom
Idiosyncratic

Total Words: 4828  Dialect Component: 1265  Percentage: 26.20
The Entail: Provost Gorbals

- Orthography: 10%
- Phonology: 45%
- Morphology: 20%
- Lexis: 15%
- Syntax: 10%
- Idiom: 5%
- Idiosyncratic: 0%

Total Words: 77  Dialect Component: 19  Percentage: 24.68
The Entail: Maudge

Multivariables

- Orthography
- Phonology
- Morphology
- Lexis
- Syntax
- Idiom
- Idiosyncratic

Total Words: 416  Dialect Component: 99  Percentage: 23.80
The Entail: Claud

Multivariates

Orthography
Phonology
Morphology
Lexis
Syntax
Idiom
Idiosyncratic

Total Words: 9262  Dialect Component: 2031  Percentage: 21.93
The Entail: Kilmarkeckle

Multivariables

Orthography  Phonology  Morphology  Lexis  Syntax  Idiom  Idiosyncratic

Total Words: 468  Dialect Component: 84  Percentage: 17.96
The Entail: Milrookit

Multivariables

Total Words: 642  Dialect Component: 107  Percentage: 16.67
The Entail: Rev. Kilfuddy

Total Words: 772  Dialect Component: 127  Percentage: 16.45
The Entail: Keelevin

Multivariables

Orthography

Phonology

Morphology

Lexis

Syntax

Idiom

Idiosyncratic

Total Words: 3374  Dialect Component: 537  Percentage: 15.92
The Entail: Lady Plealands

Multivariables

Orthography  Phonology  Morphology  Lexis  Syntax  Idiom  Idiosyncratic

Total Words: 846  Dialect Component: 131  Percentage: 15.48
The Entail: Meg

Multivariables

Orthography | Phonology | Morphology | Lexis | Syntax | Idiom | Idiosyncratic

Total Words: 383  Dialect Component: 50  Percentage: 13.05
The Entail: Dr Denholm

Multivariables

Total Words: 843  Dialect Component: 91   Percentage: 10.79
The Entail: Charles

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<td>Syntax</td>
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<tr>
<td>Idiom</td>
<td>5%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Idiosyncratic</td>
<td>5%</td>
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Total Words: 921  Dialect Component: 56  Percentage: 6.08
The Entail: Mary

Orthography
Phonology
Morphology
Lexis
Syntax
Idiom
Idiosyncratic

Total Words: 160  Dialect Component: 8  Percentage: 5.00
The Entail: Pilledge

Total Words: 503  Dialect Component: 15  Percentage: 2.98
The Entail: Pitwinnoch

Multivariables

Orthography  Phonology  Morphology  Lexis  Syntax  Idiom  Idiosyncratic

Total Words: 908  Dialect Component: 17  Percentage: 1.87
The Entail: Threeper

Multivariables

Orthography  Phenology  Morphology  Lexis  Syntax  Idiom  Idiosyncratic

Total Words: 137  Dialect Component: 2  Percentage: 1.46
The Entail: George

% 

Orthography Phonology Morphology Lexis Syntax Idiom Idiosyncratic

Multivariates

Total Words: 4546 Dialect Component: 47 Percentage: 1.03
The Entail: Bel

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<tr>
<td>Syntax</td>
<td>15%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Idiom</td>
<td>10%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Idiosyncratic</td>
<td>5%</td>
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</tbody>
</table>

Total Words: 1508  Dialect Component: 7  Percentage: .46
The Entail: Mrs Eadie

Total Words: 2330  Dialect Component: 9  Percentage: .39
The Entail: Robina

Multivariables

Orthography  Phonology  Morphology  Lexis  Syntax  Idiom  Idiosyncratic

Total Words: 1131  Dialect Component: 4  Percentage: .35
The Entail: Mr Eadie

Multivariates

Total Words: 786  Dialect Component: 2  Percentage: .25
The Provost: Mrs Pawkie

Metavariables

Orthography | Phonology | Morphology | Lexis | Syntax | Idiom | Idiosyncratic

Total Words: 89  Dialect Component: 34  Percentage: 38.2
The Provost: Smeddum

Multivariates

- Orthography
- Phonology
- Morphology
- Lexis
- Syntax
- Idiom
- Idiosyncratic

Total Words: 136  Dialect Component: 32  Percentage: 23.52
The Provost: Mrs Fenton

Multivariables

Orthography  Phonology  Morphology  Lexis  Syntax  Idiom  Idiosyncratic

Total Words: 62  Dialect Component: 15  Percentage: 24.19
The Provost: Mrs Sprowl

Orthography  Phenology  Morphology  Lexis  Syntax  Idiom  Idiosyncratic

Multivariables

Total Words: 70  Dialect Component: 16  Percentage: 22.86
The Provost: Pawkie

Multivariables

Orthography  Phonology  Morphology  Lexis  Syntax  Idiom  Idiosyncratic

Total Words: 3315  Dialect Component: 253  Percentage: 7.63
The Provost: Peevie

Multivariables

Total Words: 483  Dialect Component: 29  Percentage: 6.00
West Country Exclusives: Bailie Pirgirvie

Total Words: 5245  Dialect Component: 505  Percentage: 9.63
West Country Exclusives: Mark Luke

Multivariables

Orthography
Phonology
Morphology
Lexis
Syntax
Idiom
Idiosyncratic

Total Words: 605  Dialect Component: 48  Percentage: 7.93
West Country Exclusives: Mysie Mark Luke

Orthography
Phonology
Morphology
Lexis
Syntax
Idiom
Idiosyncratic

Total Words: 449  Dialect Component: 20  Percentage: 4.45
West Country Exclusives: Mrs Mark Luke

Multivariables

Total Words: 3457  Dialect Component: 31  Percentage: .90
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