The role of lexis in Scottish newspapers

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Submitted for Degree of PhD

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October 2000

ProQuest Number: 13819012

ProQuest 13819012

Abstract

This study investigates the language of Scottish newspapers, excluding Sunday editions, during 1995. The newspapers studied are the Herald, the Scotsman, the Daily Record and the Scottish Sun, with the Times (London) and the English edition of the Sun used as controls. The research is based on a computerised corpus of newspaper texts, collected specifically for the project. The texts and the research results are contained in a Microsoft Access relational database on CD-ROM, again specially designed for this project, which has been submitted in conjunction with the thesis as an integral part of the research project.

The study investigates the hypothesis that the use of peculiarly Scottish lexis plays an important part in the Scottish newspapers' construction and maintenance of a Scottish identity. It argues that this Scottish identity is important in helping these newspapers relate to their largely Scottish readership. The study investigates which items of Scottish lexis are used by the newspapers, and where they are most likely to be found. It asks to what extent the newspapers use a standardised Scots, and also whether there are identifiable differences between the broadsheet and tabloid newspapers. The immediate contexts of items of Scottish lexis are also considered, such as the language variety of the surrounding context (i.e. whether Scots or English) and whether Scots is used in direct speech or narrative contexts. The study asks what reference is made to well-known Scottish stereotypes and to what extent the construction and maintenance of this Scottish identity relies on formulaic content such as Scottish fixed expressions and idioms. The main theme of the study is therefore the linguistic construction and maintenance of Scottish identity. In addition, it investigates the extent of coverage of Scottish stories by the Scottish press, and in particular, the coverage of articles concerned with Scottish language. The observations made from the research data are considered in the context of the more general link between language, identity and social group membership, and in light of the complex linguistic situation that exists in Scotland today.

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Author's declaration

I declare that this thesis embodies the results of my own original research, that it has been composed by myself and that it does not include work forming part of a thesis presented successfully for a degree in this or another University.

1 INTRODUCTION

In the introduction to my thesis I would like to outline the following:

- The scope and general topic of the thesis.
- The basic premise on which the research is founded.
- A review of previous work in this area.
- The key research questions.

1.1 The political situation in Scotland in 1995

Scotland is now post-devolution. It has its own Scottish parliament and although still tied to Westminster, has a series of devolved powers. When this study was commenced in 1995, all this had yet to come, and at that stage it was extremely doubtful whether devolved power would ever be held in Scotland. There was a long-established Conservative government which was opposed to the introduction of devolved powers for Scotland, and although there had been a referendum on devolution in 1979 under a Labour government; it had failed to get the required majority. Although Scotland did have some measure of control over its own affairs under the auspices of the Scottish Office (see McCrone, 1992, p.22), the overall situation was very much dominated by Westminster. This study is a snapshot of the use of Scottish language in the Scottish newspapers during 1995, and it is therefore quite likely that there may have been changes in the press since the introduction of the Scottish parliament.

1.2 The research topic

As the title suggests, this is a study of the language of Scottish newspapers. More specifically the study focuses on the use of Scottish lexis by the Scottish national newspapers during 1995. Using a computerised corpus of newspaper texts, the

study investigates which items of Scottish lexis were used by the newspapers, and the contexts in which they were found. The study also investigates whether the use of such lexis was consistent across different newspapers. The Scottish newspapers studied were the Herald, the Scotsman, the Daily Record, and the Scottish Sun. The Times (London) and the English edition of the Sun were also included as controls to verify that the observations being made were attributable to the 'Scottishness' of the Scottish newspapers, and not to other factors.

1.2.1   Source of suggestion for research

The original suggestion for this research came from John Kirk's article 'Computing and research on Scots' (1992/93). In this article Kirk argues for the need for computerised corpora research into Scottish-English, and suggests that newspapers might provide a useful source. He notes that

> If researchers are to study Scottish English seriously, it seems essential that they should get away from the notion that only literary uses count ... Besides, much of the humour of the opinion or social columns in Scottish press has its basis in actual speech, so that newspaper resources appear a major, conspicuously untapped resource for the study of Scottish English. ... Newspapers are a microcosm of society reflecting all its range and depth of variety, and a great deal about Scottish English could be gleaned from a systematic study of a very large corpus of their material.
> (Kirk, 1992/93, p.90-91).

Kirk (1992/93, p.90) goes on to argue that newspaper writing is closely related to speech and contains much direct and indirect reported speech. (Fowler (1991, p.59-65; p.230-231) also notes the importance of oral models in the press, citing the fact that many news reports are based on oral sources such as speeches, statements etc., and also the use of typographical conventions by the newspapers to indicate the nuances of speech, especially in the tabloids. Kirk suggests that

because newspaper language has this close relationship with speech, analysis of it may give a great deal of information about Scottish-English.

Kirk's original suggestion for further research (1992/93, p.97-98) was that there should ideally be collaboration between the press, a large dictionary with a computerised corpus, and an academic researcher working in the area of Scots language. A word list generated from the dictionary could be run against a CD-ROM of, for example, the Herald. The words which showed up over and above the dictionary word list could then be checked against a list of neologisms generated from a study of the Times, and any expressions still outstanding should be considered as distinctively Scottish. Thus the Scottish items would show up by a process of elimination.

As will be discussed in chapter 4 (see 4.2.3), this was similar to the line of research that I had originally proposed to take, but unfortunately this did not prove feasible. As a compromise, I finally devised a search list of some 440 Scottish words and expressions (see Appendix 2), and based the research around those. The approach taken in this study meant that the Scottish lexis was preselected from the search list, thus Kirk's suggestion has the advantage of greater scope in the capture of Scottish lexis. However, there may be potential problems in Kirk's model, as it seems to presuppose that the Times will contain no Scottish lexis. As will be demonstrated later in the data chapters, that was not found to be entirely accurate, although it is fair to say that some examples of Scottish lexis in the Times, such as "wee", may have some currency outwith Scotland. The present study has another advantage in that by using more than one Scottish newspaper and including tabloid, not just broadsheet newspapers; it may give a better idea of the range of Scottish-English used by the press. As will be demonstrated later in the data chapters, there were identifiable differences between the two newspaper types in this respect.

The original research premise was as outlined below, and the data were analysed to answer a series of specific research questions which are detailed below at 1.4.

1.3   The premise

The basic premise for the research was that Scottish newspapers create a singular relationship with their readers on the basis of their shared Scottish identity; and further that the use of Scottish lexis may assist in the construction and maintenance of a Scottish identity for these publications. Thus the aim of the research was to investigate the possibility of a linguistic construction or maintenance of 'Scottishness' in the Scottish national newspapers. It was felt that by investigating more than one Scottish newspaper, differences in lexical usage might be observed, thereby allowing ascertainment of whether there is one coherent Scottish identity or multiple Scottish identities, and how it/they might be constituted or reflected by the text. As Kirk (1992/93) had suggested, it was hoped that an examination of the language of Scottish newspapers would also provide useful insights into current Scottish (Standard) English. It was, however, envisaged that although some of the observations would be applicable to Scottish-English varieties generally, others would be more specific to the language of the Scottish press. This general premise breaks down into the following research questions.

1.4   Research questions

1.4.1   Identity & language; newspapers & readers

- Is there such a thing as a Scottish identity? If it actually exists, of what does it comprise? Is it a coherent entity, or are there multiple Scottish identities?

- If a Scottish identity is discernable, do the Scottish national newspapers help to promote it, and if so how and why?

- Is language choice an important feature in the creation or maintenance of a Scottish identity?

1.4.2   Coverage

With the exception of the Sun and the Scottish Sun, for which only partial data could be obtained, the data are taken from Monday to Saturday editions of the newspapers published during 1995.

- What proportion of stories carried in the Scottish newspapers had a peculiarly Scottish significance?

- How much coverage was given to Scottish stories in the (English) national press?

- What status is accorded to Scots language in the Scottish national press, and what is the extent of coverage of articles on Scots language?

1.4.3   Scottish lexis (Lexis I)

- Which of a given set of Scots lexical items were found in Scottish newspapers? Which were the most frequently occurring, and can any reasons be suggested?

- Which newspapers contain most Scottish lexical items from the list of words searched for?

- Were there any inconsistencies in the orthographic forms of Scottish lexical items? (If orthographic forms were consistent throughout a newspaper, this could be evidence of a process of standardisation of Scots taking place in the press.)

- Whereabouts in the newspapers do the items of Scottish lexis occur? Are some sections of the newspaper or article types more likely to contain Scottish lexis than others? If so, which are these, and why should this be the case?

- Were there noticeable differences between the tabloid and broadsheet newspapers in terms of frequency of Scottish lexical items, and also the

register / type of lexical items used? Could any differences be linked to social class distinctions?

- Were there any noticeable differences between the newspapers in terms of geographic provenance and currency of Scottish lexical items?

1.4.4   Contexts of Scottish lexis (Lexis II)

- What were the immediately surrounding contexts of the Scottish lexical items?

- What was the relationship between occurrences of Scottish lexis and the use of direct speech? Was Scots reserved for use in direct speech or was the frequency of Scottish lexis occurring in narrative prose not significantly lower?

- Did the items of Scottish lexis occur primarily in Scots, Scottish Standard English or otherwise English-English contexts? Was there a case whereby certain items of Scottish lexis occurred primarily in one of these contexts, or was the distribution even?

- Were Scottish versions of grammatical words used, i.e. closed class words? If so, did this signal that the text was 'more Scottish' than one whose use of Scots was restricted to open class lexical items?

- Were there noticeable differences in the contexts of Aitken's (1979a, 1984a, 1984b) column 1 and column 2 Scottish lexis?

1.4.5   Idioms and collocations (Lexis III)

- Were there characteristic collocations for items of Scottish lexis, and what did this reveal about the lexical items themselves?

- Did certain Scottish lexical items only occur in the context of fixed expressions, and if so, what were these?

1.5   Review of previous work

The research straddled quite a few different discipline areas, and the most useful pieces of previous work for the purposes of this study are outlined in the following.

1.5.1   Critical linguistics

An influential work on the language of newspapers was Roger Fowler's *Language in the News* (1991) which investigates the language of the press using the analytical techniques of critical linguistics. The main thrust of the book is how underlying ideologies in the press are displayed in language. It stresses the dynamic nature of the relationship between the newspaper and its readers, and discusses how this is negotiated. Chapter 3 of the present work owes much to Fowler's analysis of newspapers, readers and stereotypes.

Fairclough's theories of appropriacy and linguistic hegemony as outlined in *Critical discourse analysis* (1995) were very useful concepts when considering the perceived acceptability or unacceptability of using Scottish lexis in newspaper texts. They provided a theoretical construct which helped to explain why Scottish lexis might be more likely to be found in certain parts of the newspaper than others, and also assisted in understanding the complex relationship which exists between English and Scots in Scotland today. Chapter 2 contains the main points of relevance to this study, but the theories are also referred to in the data chapters as necessary.

The work of Halliday makes two major contributions to this study. His theory of register analysis (1978) also followed by Eggins (1994), provides the framework for categorisation of different types of texts based on the three components, tenor, field and mode. The distinction between the written and spoken modes was particularly helpful in chapter 7 when analysing texts which contained direct

speech or were written in first person narrative. This distinction is analysed more fully in his 1989 work, *Spoken & written language*, which suggested explanations for the differences observed in the relative proportions of open and closed class lexis in direct speech and straightforward narrative contexts discussed in chapter 7 (see 7.8.2.2).

1.5.2   Corpus linguistics

The research is based on a computerised corpus of Scottish newspapers. Some of John Sinclair's work with the COBUILD corpus is described in his book *Corpus, concordance, collocation* (1991). In chapter 1 he outlines the important issues which must be addressed when working with computerised corpora such as size, inclusivity, representativeness, sampling and whether tagging is helpful. Not all of these points were relevant to this project as this study uses quite a specialised corpus, including as it does, only newspaper texts. This project was also limited, as indeed are many corpus linguistics projects, by the availability of material. In chapter 2 he goes on to discuss ways of analysing the corpus which exploit the potential of the computer such as the KWIC (key word in context) display, and information which can be gleaned by re-ordering concordance entries in particular ways. These approaches provided much of the framework for the methodologies used in the present work. I also attended a workshop run by John Sinclair and his colleague Mike Smith at the University of Glasgow towards the end of the first year of my research, in which they demonstrated the potential applications of the concordancing program *Wordsmith* using many of the methods explained in Sinclair's (1991) book. This first hand insight into its potential ultimately led to my selection of this particular concordancing tool for this study.

Carter's (1987) book *Vocabulary, Applied linguistic perspectives* provided useful definitions of the distinctions between 'words', 'lexical items' and 'lexemes', which were followed in this study. His chapter on collocations, fixed expressions and idioms (Ch. 3, p.47-70) provided the basis for the categorisation of such

expressions in chapter 8 of the present study. Moon (1998) and Fernando (1996) also contributed to the general theoretical background of Lexis III, and both give good background information on the linguistic tradition of research into idioms.

1.5.3   Media studies

General works on media studies such as Tunstall (1996) and Bell (1991) provided good background information on the press. Hall (1978) argues for the link between newspapers and their readers. His argument that newspapers seek to construct their readers as part of a shared society and common culture are particularly relevant for this study, which argues that Scottish newspapers use Scottish identity, which they share with the majority of their readership, to construct their readers as part of a shared Scottish culture.

Turning particularly to Scottish newspapers, Maurice Smith's *Paper Lions: The Scottish Press and National Identity* (1994) gives an overview of the key motivating forces and politics behind the Scottish Press, and focuses particularly on the coverage of the independence question. Although not written from a linguistics viewpoint, it gives good background information on the powers behind the Scottish press.

Mike Cormack's (1995) article 'The use of Gaelic in Scottish newspapers' is the closest to the research undertaken here, although he is focusing on the use of Gaelic in Scottish newspapers. He uses the concept of language display (Eastman & Stein, 1993) to explain the underlying function of Gaelic articles. This is a concept which has been used in this study, and forms part of the argument of chapter 3.

Roz Smith's (1995/96) article 'The local press – What's in it for you?' focuses on the local press in Scotland. She looks at the functions of Gaelic and Scots language in the local Scottish newspapers, and examines the use of a few items of

Scots lexis such as "wee", "weel-kent face" and "kenspeckle figure". She also notes (p.152) that on occasions there are articles in the local press devoted to explaining Scots words and proverbs, or written entirely in Scots; and as will be discussed in chapters 5 and 7, this is also the case in the Scottish national press, particularly in the broadsheets. She identifies two key functions of Scots in the press, which were also discovered in the course of this study: to entertain and to build a sense of community (p.153). The use of Scots in direct speech is also considered by Smith (p.155-156). (See chapter 7, sections 7.8ff for analysis of Scots and direct speech in the present study.)

William Donaldson's two books *Popular literature in Victorian Scotland* (1986) and *The language of the people* (1989) argue that the Victorian Scottish press contained rather more Scots than had previously been realised, and he argues for a flourishing vernacular print trade. Although not directly relevant to this study, his work provides an interesting historical context for the study of the use of Scots in present-day Scottish newspapers.

1.5.4 Scots

The work of A.J. Aitken and J.D. McClure over many articles and books (see bibliography) informed much of the content on the linguistic situation in Scotland. Many of their theories are seminal in this area, and their models form the basis of much of the discussion and analysis of the data. Of particular importance were Aitken's model of Scottish speech and McClure's model of thin and dense, and literary and colloquial Scots. Although McClure makes passing mention of the use of Scots in newspapers and periodicals, neither he nor Aitken have focussed on this type of text. Macafee (1983a, 1994a) was helpful in relation to the use of urban Scots by the newspapers.

1.5.5 Identity & language

The potential link between language and identity has been the focus of many studies. Those most influential in the present work were Edwards (1985) *Language, society and identity* and Anderson (1991) *Imagined communities* whose theories form the basis of much of chapter 3. Eastman & Stein (1993) 'Language display: Authenticating claims to social identity' introduced the concept of 'language display', which was to prove very helpful in suggesting reasons for the stylistic use of Scots in the newspapers. Bex (1996) develops the concept of the discourse community, which provides an explanation for the link between membership of particular social groups and linguistic behaviours. It also includes the concept of linguistic tariffs raised by language; knowledge of which are necessary for acceptance into the group as an initiate member. McCrone's (1992) *Understanding Scotland: The sociology of a stateless nation* also discusses linguistic tariffs, and also, in addition to McCrone, Morris & Kelly (1995), provided a useful summary of the main Scottish stereotypes, and their impact on Scottish culture. Newspapers are often accused of using stereotypes, and therefore it was useful to consider what, if any, use was made of Scottish stereotypes by the Scottish newspapers; consideration of which is given in chapter 6 (see 6.4.2).

1.6 Summary of chapter content

After the present introductory chapter, chapter 2 sets the scene by describing the linguistic situation which exists in Scotland today. It discusses the main language varieties, how they relate to each other and to English, and the uses for which they are usually considered suitable. Chapter 3 explores the link between language and identity, and asks 'What is Scottish identity, and can it be linked to the use of Scottish language varieties?' It also considers the relationship which exists between newspapers and their readers, and whether in Scotland, that relationship is to some extent mediated by shared knowledge and use of Scottish language. Chapter 4 moves to a discussion of the methodology behind the data collection

and analysis which formed the basis for the study. In chapter 5 the focus shifts to what makes a newspaper Scottish, whether this is simply a matter of being produced in Scotland, of Scottish branding, or whether Scottish newspapers are self-defined as such by their (presumably) higher coverage of Scottish stories. It also considers whether Scottish newspapers carry more Scottish stories than their English counterparts, and what makes a story Scottish. Chapter 6 is the first of the three main data chapters which concentrate on the use of Scottish lexis by the newspapers. In chapter 6 the focus is on the lexical items themselves: What items of Scottish lexis do the newspapers use? Are they evenly distributed throughout the newspaper or concentrated in specific areas, and if so, why? Are there differences between the Scottish tabloids and broadsheets in their use of Scottish lexis, and if so what conclusions can be drawn? Does a newspaper's geographic provenance affect the language it uses, and which is lexically the 'most Scottish' newspaper? Chapter 7 broadens the focus to consider the contexts in which Scottish lexis tends to occur. It investigates whether individual items of Scottish lexis tend to occur in passages of Scots or what is otherwise English, and whether or not they tend to occur in direct speech. It also investigates potential differences in the use of open vs. closed class, and Aitken's column 1 vs. column 2 lexis. Chapter 8 continues the focus on the immediate contexts of Scottish lexis by asking if there are characteristic collocations which are associated with certain items of Scottish lexis. It also asks whether certain items of Scottish lexis tend to occur in fairly fixed idiomatic or proverbial phrases, but are less productive on their own. Chapter 9 presents overall conclusions which can be drawn from the data, and gives suggestions for future lines of research.

2 SCOTTISH-ENGLISH

2.1 Introduction

As outlined in the introductory chapter, this study is concerned with the language of Scottish newspapers. In particular, it deals with those linguistic features found in the newspapers which are unique to, or indicative of, a Scottish provenance. This chapter introduces the main concepts associated with the study of Scottish language, which form the theoretical framework against which the observations made in the data chapters were tested. It considers general questions such as the origins of the various Scottish language varieties, the relationships that exist between them, their perceived status, and the issue of standard varieties.

2.1.1 Scottish language

It is important to firstly clarify exactly what is meant by the rather vague term 'Scottish language', and to outline its key characteristics. 'Scottish language' is a rather ambiguous term which can potentially be applied to a range of language varieties. Firstly, it can be used to refer to Scottish Gaelic (as spoken mainly in the Hebrides and Highlands). This study is not concerned with Gaelic or even with the use of Gaelic in newspapers; although Gaelic is an important language in Scotland particularly from a cultural viewpoint, though spoken by a small minority of Scots. An interesting study on the use of Gaelic in Scottish newspapers was carried out by Cormack (1995), and the results have some interesting parallels with the observations made in the course of this study. (See 3.6.4 for further details.)

Rather, this study is concerned with linguistic elements from the range of native language varieties in Scotland which are ultimately derived from Old English.

This group of varieties can be collectively termed 'Scottish-English'. Scottish-English is therefore used as the blanket term for all native varieties spoken in Scotland other than Scottish Gaelic, and includes the varieties 'Scots' and 'Scottish Standard English', definitions of which are given in the following at 2.4.1ff. (Scottish Standard English is discussed more extensively in 2.4.1.3.) It should, of course, be remembered that there will be some English-English spoken in Scotland as well, either by English and other immigrants to Scotland, the Scottish gentry, or Scots who have been educated in English public schools. (See Aitken (1979a, p.110) and McClure (1994, p.80).)

Before discussing the complex linguistic situation which exists in Scotland today, it is helpful to examine the origins of these Scottish language varieties.

2.2 Historical origins

Two fundamental theories of language change can be used to explain the development of, and also the current situation as regards, these Scottish-English varieties. These are the tree and wave models (Smith 1996, p.50).

2.2.1 Tree model (descent)

Historically speaking, the languages of the Scottish and the English nations were, and indeed still are, linguistically closely related. Scots developed from the Northumbrian dialect of Old English. Present-day (P.D.) English-English developed from another dialect of Old English, that which was centred around the power centre of London. Aitken (1979a, p.87) gives the following tree diagram which illustrates the development of both varieties.

Old English

| Early Northern Middle English | Early Midland and South-Eastern Middle English | Early Southern and South-Western Middle English |

| Early Scots | Northern Middle English | Midland and South-Eastern Middle English | Southern and South-Western Middle English |

Middle Scots (Stewart Scots)

Metropolitan early modern English (Tudor English)

| Modern Scots Regional Dialects | Modern Northern English Regional Dialects | Modern Midland English Regional Dialects | Modern Standard English | Modern Southern and South-Western English Regional Dialects |

Figure 2.1   Tree diagram showing origins of Scots & P.D. English

Thus the tree model of language change can be used to describe the historical development both of English and Scots from different dialects of their common ancestor, Old English.

Scots and English are therefore both Germanic language varieties, and are part of the same group of languages as, for example, present-day German or Swedish. Their historical development can be traced back, using the tree model, through Old English to the Germanic language family and ultimately to Proto-IndoEuropean. However, the tree model oversimplifies the situation, as it suggests independent uninterrupted development, and fails to take account of an important factor in language change which is particularly relevant when

considering the linguistic situation in Scotland, that of language contact. It is therefore useful to simultaneously consider the wave model.

2.2.2   Wave model (contact)

The wave model is concerned with language contact and interaction. Following this model, languages which come into contact may exert an influence on each other, to a greater or lesser extent. Thus "linguistic changes begin in small specific areas and spread outwards to other dialects, like the concentric ripples created by dropping a pebble in a pool." (Millward, 1989, p.38). As Millward goes on to note

> One advantage of the wave theory and its later modifications is that it can account for the fact that languages in close geographical proximity to each other over long periods of time are more alike than languages separated by thousands of miles. (Millward, 1989, p.38)

Thus the wave model clearly has significance for the linguistic situation in Scotland. In addition to being closely related linguistically as near relatives in the Germanic language family; the languages of the Scottish and English nations are also closely related geographically; and it is this, coupled with certain historical, political and sovereignty factors, which has given rise to the present-day linguistic situation in Scotland. Although having originally developed from different dialects of Old English, Scots and English have not developed in isolation from each other, and English has significantly influenced the language varieties of Scotland over the centuries. The following details the principal factors which have led to the present linguistic situation in Scotland.

2.2.3   Influence of English in Scotland

There is evidence to suggest that during the 16th century, Scots increasingly became seen as a homely or more domestic language, and not always suited to more lofty purposes. (Aitken (1979a, p.89) gives a statement of this viewpoint by Sir William Alexander.) The introduction of printing to Scotland in 1508 had a far-reaching effect as printers 'normalised' Scots lexical and grammatical forms to their English counterparts. The Scottish Reformation in 1560 and the attendant exposure to English through the English version of the Bible changed things still further. There was a recovery in Scottish literature for a few years under the aegis of James VI, but with the relocation of the court south and the Union of the Crowns in 1603, the Scots language began to decline in status, and over a period of time began to be somewhat displaced by English, at least in intention if not in actual realisation, by its more upwardly mobile speakers. During the seventeenth century there was also an increase in the amount of contact between the Scots and the English, and the numbers of Scottish gentry marrying into the English gentry rose sharply. There was a corresponding decline in the fortunes of Scottish literature, and this situation continued until what we now term the Scottish Enlightenment in the 18th century when there was a resurgence of interest in things Scottish. The work of writers such as Burns, Ramsay, Ferguson and later Walter Scott revived the use of Scots in literature. (It should be noted, however, that these writers stressed the differences between Scots and English.) However, this revival also reinforced negative attitudes to Scots. Lectures on how best to expunge one's language of Scottish barbarisms became extremely popular in the 18th century, partially influenced by the Augustan distaste for anything vulgar or barbaric; and increasingly those higher up the social ladder sought to emulate the language of England as they had closer and more frequent contact with those in the south. Indeed Burns often wrote in both Scots and English, reserving the latter for his more philosophical and decorative passages, and often using Scots for humour or narrative description. (See Smith (1996, p.172-173) for an account of the conflicting styles in *Tam O'Shanter*.) Scots increasingly came to be viewed as homely and domestic, and not suited to high style writing or serious prose, and this is a situation which largely persists today. Donaldson (1986, 1989) presents

evidence for a thriving Scots prose in the popular press during the nineteenth century, but it is notable that such newspapers were largely purchased and read by the literate working-class, not the middle-classes. In the twentieth century there was an attempted literary revival of Scots using a synthetic variety known as Lallans (see 2.4.1.2 and 2.6.6.2), the main proponent being the poet Hugh MacDiarmid. This variety was not widely adopted, however, and nowadays the position of Scots in Scotland is very much overshadowed by English. Thus Scots has a long historical pedigree, but one which has been heavily influenced by its close contact with English over the centuries.

2.3   Current linguistic situation in Scotland

The wave model can also be applied to the current linguistic situation in Scotland in terms of the actual choices made by individuals. The overwhelming hegemony of English today (see 2.7.2) can make an impact on the linguistic choices made by individual speakers. As will be discussed later at 2.3.7, Smith (1996) argues that middle-class Scots with weak social ties will feel the pull of Scottish Standard English and Scots, but also of Southern Standardised English. Language contact is arguably still having an effect in Scotland today. The present linguistic situation in Scotland is therefore complex, presenting as it does a large range of choices for individual speakers. One very important concept which attempts to rationalise the range of choices in Scotland is that of the linguistic continuum.

2.3.1   A bi-polar linguistic continuum

It has been suggested (Aitken 1979a, McArthur 1979, and others) that the present linguistic situation in Scotland is best considered as a bi-polar linguistic continuum, with 'Scots' at one end being the variety which is most maximally differentiated from English Standard English, and 'Scottish Standard English' being the least so. Individuals, taking account of external factors such as context of situation, social class, education etc., are able to move along the continuum in

either direction, thus it is bi-polar. It should be noted that for some speakers the attraction of one pole may be stronger than the other.

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+-----------------------------------------------------------+
|                                                           |
|                  SCOTTISH-ENGLISH                         |
|                                                           |
|   Scots    <----------------------------->  Scottish Standard |
|                                              English      |
|                                                           |
+-----------------------------------------------------------+
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Figure 2.2   The Scottish-English linguistic continuum

Thus within the broad category which has been termed 'Scottish-English', a range of varieties can be distinguished. Those most commonly discussed are 'Scots' and 'Scottish Standard English', but it should be borne in mind that there are a whole range of varieties lying between these two extremes. Macafee notes that

> Utterances can be placed on a continuum between fully localised and fully standardised. The continuum can be extended further in either direction in writing than in speech – not only are more formal types of St E [Standard English] possible in writing, but also more dense types of Scots. (Macafee, 1983a, p.31) (my brackets)

2.3.2   Langue & parole

As has been suggested by the foregoing, a key factor which must be taken into consideration when analysing the Scottish linguistic situation is the individual and their linguistic choices. Many native Scots have available to them multiple options along the continuum, their choice from which, or accessibility to which, may be affected by numerous factors such as social class and social aspirations, education, attitudes, regional affiliation, context of situation, awareness of language use and so on. Saussure's theory of *langue* and *parole*, helps to explain

the linguistic situation and also stresses the importance of the individual and their linguistic options or choices. The concepts of *langue* and *parole* were Saussure's most important contribution to linguistics, and are useful here when discussing the range of options open to native Scots. Saussure distinguished between "language as a system (*la langue*) and the actual manifestations of language in speech or writing (*la parole*)" (Benskin, 1981, p.xvii). Thus the language varieties Scots and Scottish Standard English in the abstract can be thought of as *langues*, i.e. language systems. Scottish individuals have differing degrees of access to these systems, depending on the various factors such as social class etc., discussed above. The *parole* will be the actual utterances made by the individual, whether tending towards the Scots or the Scottish Standard English ends of the continuum. Thus the *langue* is the abstract inventory of the language as system, with its rules of grammar etc.; the *parole* is the actual rendering made of that language variety by the individual. This distinction is useful when considering the situation in Scotland as it differentiates two distinct levels, language *conceptualisation* and language *production*. It thus explains the ease with which many Scots can move across the linguistic continuum from Scots to Scottish Standard English or vice-versa, adjusting their usage according to situation etc.; i.e. what Aitken (1979a, p.85) terms 'dialect-switching' or 'code-switching' in extreme examples, and 'style-drifting' in others (see 2.3.6).

It is important to stress that *parole* or the utterances made by the individual can be both spoken and written utterances. Therefore the newspaper articles can be considered to be instances of *parole*. As such they may serve to situate the writer (and readers) in terms of their social and linguistic identity (i.e. where they place themselves on the continuum) and this will be discussed with reference to the differences between the tabloid and broadsheet newspapers in later chapters.

2.3.3 Bakhtin's concepts of heteroglossia & polyglossia

Wales (1989, p.178) notes that for Bakhtin, Saussure's concepts of *langue* and *parole* gave an insufficient understanding of language as a living entity, spoken

by living people. Instead, Bakhtin argued for a dialogic theory of language where the meaning of an utterance is constructed within the context of a dynamic relationship with other utterances, past, present and future, and where the meaning of individual words is affected by the contexts in which they have been used. He introduced the concepts of heteroglossia and polyglossia, which are useful when considering the linguistic situation in Scotland. Polyglossia is where we have "The simultaneous presence of two or more national languages interacting within a single cultural system." (Bakhtin, ed. M, Holguist, 1981, p.431). Heteroglossia is the name given to the situation whereby slightly different versions of the same national language are used in different contexts of situation (Vice, 1997, p.19). For example, the language of the classroom, the language we use to speak to friends, the language of formal or informal situations. Bakhtin argues for

> The internal stratification of any single national language into social dialects, characteristic group behaviour, professional jargons, generic languages, languages of generations and age groups, tendentious languages, languages of the authorities, of various circles and of passing fashions, languages that serve the specific sociopolitical purposes of the day, even of the hour (each day has its own slogan, its own vocabulary, its own emphases). (Bakhtin, 1981, p.262-263)

The concepts of both heteroglossia and polyglossia are useful when considering the linguistic situation in Scotland, especially if regarded as complementary theories. It can be argued that there are two distinct indigenous national languages in Scotland today (three if we include Gaelic), Scots and English. As will be discussed later in section 2.4.4, many commentators such as McClure insist that there is an identifiable linguistic entity which exists today, that can be termed Scots, and that it is, or should be, a focus for Scottish national identity, and considered as a separate language in its own right. Thus Scotland would be a polyglossic nation. This viewpoint depends on the assumption that Scots is a distinct language, and not merely a dialect, albeit a distinctive one, of English. This question of whether Scots is a distinct language or a dialect of English is given further consideration in section 2.4.4.

The concept of heteroglossia gives a different emphasis, stressing as it does, not different languages, but different realisations of the same language depending on social factors such as the context of situation etc. Bex draws attention to the varying social discourses to which an individual may have access. Individuals may belong to many different social groups, and therefore may use many different social 'languages'.

> So typically, individuals establish networks of social relationships whereby membership of one does not preclude membership of another and where the meanings established by one may not be entirely congruent with the meanings employed in another. ... This situation has been described by Bakhtin (1981, p.263) as fundamental to all human societies and manifests itself as 'heteroglossia'. Social groups develop characteristic forms of discourse by which they challenge and confirm the meanings of that group, and membership of the group requires aspirants to learn and use such modes of discourse. (Bex, 1996, p.58)

Following this line of thought it can be argued that within Scotland today there are different linguistic options or 'social languages', which may be brought into play in different social situations. If a composite is made of these theories, it can be suggested that the linguistic choices made in Scotland today, ranging along the linguistic continuum, will broadly correlate the degree of Scottishness with the context of situation. Thus, for example, for some speakers 'Scots' will be generally used in less formal situations, and English (or their approximation to it, or to Scottish Standard English) will be used in more formal or more public situations. Thus different linguistic varieties will tend to become associated with certain contextual situations. Donaldson (1998, p.194) argues for a link between register and language variety thus:

> The more relaxed and intimate the communication, the more likely it is to be in Scots; the more public and formal, the nearer it is likely to approximate to Standard Scots English.

(See also Aitken (1979a, p.85-86) cited at 2.3.6.) This argument is taken further in section 2.7.1 when the concept of appropriacy is introduced.

2.3.4 Discourse communities

Bex also introduces the useful concept of the discourse community. Bex (1996, p.61-67) takes Swales' (1988, 1990) concept of a 'discourse community', which has a fairly narrow definition and six rigorously defined key characteristics, and broadens it to make observations about the wider use of language by society. He distinguishes between quite exclusive discourse communities, membership of which may require the knowledge of certain "appropriate" or "correct" language, and the meanings generated within which "will tend to be local and specific and be relatively distinct from those that obtain outside"; and more open discourse communities which "admit a greater variety of linguistic behaviours" (Bex, 1998, p.66). With respect to Scotland, it can be argued that 'true' membership of the group of Scotsmen/women requires knowledge, at some level, of the distinctive features of Scottish language. There are linguistic tariffs (see McCrone, 1992, p.28-29 at section 3.3.1) which must be met if one wishes to participate fully in membership of the group. Such a theory accounts for the use of Aitken's stylistic overt Scotticisms (see 2.3.8.1) as linguistic display showing that the speaker is an 'initiate'.

Thus within Scotland it can be argued that there is a fairly close discourse community which excludes outsiders. However, Scots must also participate in wider discourse communities where the use of something approximating to Standard English is desirable, and hence Scottish Standard English may be used. Individual Scots may therefore find themselves participating in various discourse communities, which require knowledge and display of different discourse types. Bex (1998, p.66-67) goes on to say that

> What I am proposing then is a complex interrelationship between social discourses, discourse communities, text production and text reception. The

model I have in mind is entirely dynamic. Individuals either produce, or produce interpretations of, texts according to the norms of the discourse community and the functions which the text is intended to serve within the discourse community. These are then verified by the group as meaningful, or challenged and refined.

It is important to note that 'texts' here can refer to either written or spoken texts. Thus texts are produced in the context of the norms of the discourse community, and according to the functions which they are intended to serve within that discourse community. With respect to this study, it can be argued that newspaper texts are produced in a discourse community which is predominantly Scottish, but is aimed at individuals who may also take part in a wider non-Scottish discourse community. Depending on the function of the text, e.g. a news article versus a feature article, the language of the text may vary. Whether or not this can be proved to be the case for the newspaper texts is discussed in chapter 6 (see 6.7.1.5).

2.3.5 Aitken's model of Scottish speech

Aitken's model of Scottish speech can be viewed as an account of polyglossia or heteroglossia depending on whether one views Scots as a distinct language or a dialect of English. This model again stresses the role of the individual, and the linguistic choices open to them. Although it is primarily a model for speech, it also has validity as a model for the written mode, as Aitken himself notes (1984b, p.28). Native Scots often have a range of possible lexical, grammatical and phonological options open to them. Aitken (1979a, p.85-86; also 1984a, p.519-523; 1984b, p.28-29) gives a 5-column model of Scottish speech, where he splits examples of Scottish usage into 5 columns.

> [Columns 1 and 2] derive historically from earlier native Scots speech; columns 4 and 5 represent much 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 [i.e. common-core vocabulary]. (my brackets) (Aitken 1979a, p.85)

An extract from the table (Aitken 1984a, p.520, Table 30.1) is given below to
better illustrate the model.

'Scots'			'English'	
1	2	3	4	5
bairn	hame	name	home	child
brae	hale	hole	whole	slope
kirk	mare	before	more	church

Figure 2.3   Extract from Aitken's model of Scottish speech

The model thus stresses that individuals have access to two separate though
linguistically related systems, 'Scots' and 'English'. Speakers may choose words
mainly from columns 1-3, in which case they would often be described as
'speaking Scots', or from columns 3-5, in which case they would be described as
'speaking English' (Aitken, 1984b, p.29). (Note that columns 2 and 4 are items of
cognate lexis which differ mainly in phonological realisation e.g. "hame" vs.
"home"; "hoose" vs. "house" etc. Columns 1 and 5 are examples of lexis derived
from completely different roots e.g. "lass", "quine" vs. "girl"; "bairn" vs. "child".)
Column 3 is invariant lexis, i.e. lexis for which there are no alternative forms, and
which has for centuries been shared by Scots and English, and which can be
termed 'common-core' lexis. Column 3 includes most of the syntax and word-
order, phonology and morphology. This model forms an important theoretical
construct against which data are tested in chapter 7 in sections 7.7.7 and 7.8.3.

Aitken (1984a, p.521) goes on to categorise different groups (1 to 4) of Scottish
speakers, based on their usage of items from columns 1 to 5. Group 1 speakers
"operate fairly exclusively from columns 3 to 5, except that they employ both

'obligatory covert' and sporadic 'stylistic overt' Scotticisms". These speakers
have a Scottish accent, and this variety, depending on accent, is termed Scottish
Standard English or Educated Scottish Standard English, and is situated at one
extreme of the linguistic continuum (see 2.3.1). This is the variety favoured by
middle-class or educated speakers (Aitken, 1984a, p.521), or used by speakers
from other classes in formal situations. Group 2 speakers, who are drawn from
the middle-class (especially it is suggested middle-class men), the lower middle-
class and 'respectable working class'

> operate much less exclusively, though still preponderantly, from columns 3
> to 5. Such speakers make moderately frequent, though inconsistent,
> recourse to column 2, though more often for function words including
> 'weak forms' … than for content words. Speakers of this group have
> recourse to column 1 much less frequently than to column 2, except in
> 'stylistic overt Scotticism' function. (Aitken, 1984, p.521)

Group 3, generally working-class speakers, veer more towards the Scottish usage
of columns 1 and 2, especially favouring column 2 (i.e. cognate) lexis for content
words, although their usage is often inconsistent. Group 4 speakers who tend to
be elderly working-class speakers from rural communities are more consistently
Scottish and firmly favour columns 1 to 3 (Aitken, 1984a, p.521). Thus Aitken
links linguistic choice with class identity. This is a concept which is returned to in
chapter 6 (see section 6.4.1.1) when the differences between the tabloid and
broadsheet newspapers are related to class distinctions in their perceived
readerships. As may have been noted earlier in the reference to Scottish Standard
English and its use by working-class members in formal situations, Aitken also
links linguistic choice with register or context of situation.

2.3.6   Code-switching/dialect-switching and style-drifting

Aitken (1979a, p.85-86) goes on to observe that

> Many Scots speakers also operate the Scots and English bases as different
> registers, using one or the other under different social circumstances. Some
> such speakers can switch quite cleanly from one to the other – these people
> have been called *dialect-switchers*. Others again cannot or do not choose to
> control their styles in this way, but they do shift styles in a less predictable
> and more fluctuating way – these people we may call *style-drifters*.

Individuals can therefore switch between the different bases in different
circumstances, or can drift between styles. Thus individual linguistic choices,
whether conscious or not, are paramount in this model, and linguistic choices can
reflect differences in register, with the English base generally being considered
more appropriate in formal contexts. As already discussed, not all speakers have
equal access to both systems, and the choices of a particular individual may be
restricted by a number of social and contextual factors. Hence this model
considers the situation to be that of a polarised linguistic continuum.

> By selecting differently from such alternatives as these Scottish people can,
> potentially, arrive at an almost infinite number of personal styles, which
> may also vary from occasion to occasion and individual to individual.

> In practice, variation is reduced by socio-linguistic and traditional factors
> which encourage stylistic polarisation. So that, broadly, there are opposite
> tendencies: either to prefer one stylistic pole, traditionally regarded as
> appropriate to public or formal or middle class speech, where the Scottish
> options of columns 1 and 2 are largely disallowed – 'to speak English', as
> we say -, and an opposite vernacular style, common among working-class
> speakers, in which some column 1 and column 2 items are habitual – or to
> 'speak Scots' or 'fairly broad' or 'very broad' or 'broad Scots'. Both styles

of course share a very large body of common material, represented by column 3. (Aitken, 1984b, p.28-29)

Aitken (1984b, p.30) also notes the importance of the English R.P. accent "there is no doubt of the prestige of this accent and this tends to pull the whole system in an English direction". The continuing influence of a prestigious English-English accent is important, though often overlooked.

2.3.7 Smith's model

Smith also puts forward a model which stresses the presence of a linguistic continuum, running from Scots to Scottish Standard English, and he also underlines the importance of Southern English. Smith (1996, p.167) notes that

> [Scottish Standard English] seems to be part of the same linguistic continuum as Scots since many middle-class speakers in less formal situations use Scots items as opposed to those more characteristic of Scottish Standard English. However, the fact that it is modified in the direction of Southern English is also significant; evidently, middle-class people feel the centripetal pull of two different linguistic centres of gravity.

He suggests the following diagram, Figure 2.4 (Smith, 1996, p.168) represents the linguistic situation of individuals with weak social ties (i.e. middle-class) living in Scotland. Smith argues that a middle-class Scot with weak social ties will have a *dynamic* relationship with all three of these language varieties, i.e. Scots, Standard Scottish English (equivalent to Scottish Standard English as used in this study) and southern Standard English-English, perhaps being more drawn to one variety than the others in different social settings. It is important to note the dynamic nature of the relationship, as indicated by the double-headed arrows which extend from the individual to all three varieties.

(SSE = Standard Scottish English, Sth SE = Southern Standardised English, χ = individual with weak social ties)
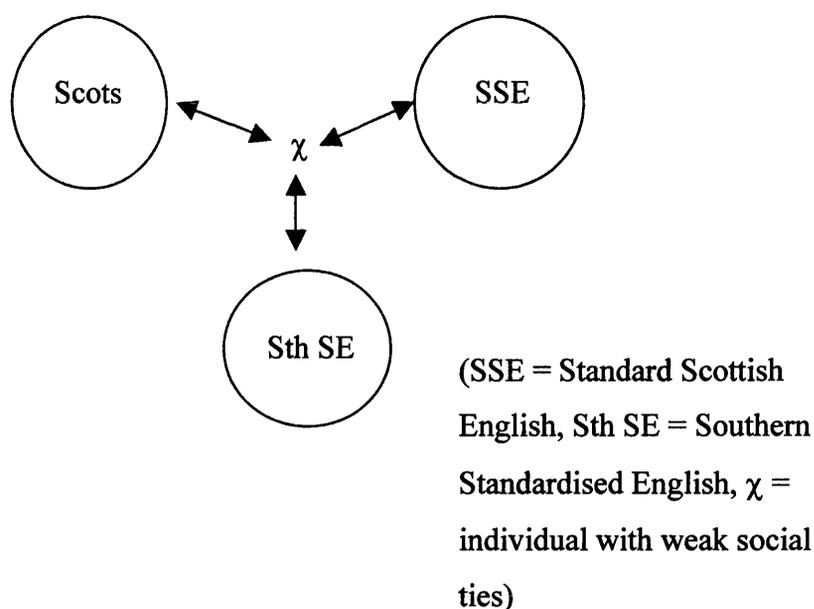
Figure 2.4   Smith's diagram of the linguistic situation for middle-class Scots

Smith notes that

> it is important to bear in mind that the relationship is not one of clear-cut division, but clinal; many, if not all, speakers shift from one group to another in different situations, and some – especially those whose social ties are weak – can drift fairly indiscriminately between varieties.

(Smith, 1996, p.168)

2.3.7.1   Anglicising tendencies

Smith thus makes a strong case for the continuing influence of English in Scotland. He argues that whilst "on the one hand, such people seek to imitate an overtly prestigious usage which reflects British rather than Scottish identity; on the other, they feel the pull of Scots." (Smith, 1996, p.167). For Smith language contact between Scots and English is still exerting a powerful effect in Scotland, and he claims that English-English has an on-going effect on the language of certain Scots. McClure (1979, p.27) notes the continuing influence of (Standard) English-English on Scots, resulting in a loss of many of its distinguishing features.

It is argued that there is a continuing attrition of Scots linguistic items to English ones (e.g. Aitken, 1979a, p.88; Macafee, 1997, p.541ff) due to the continuing influence of English-English on the language of Scotland. Aitken (1984b, p.29) outlines the reasons for the continuing anglicisation of the system.

> Since English is also the principal upper and middle class informal language, inevitably some people have tended to neglect the private and unofficial language for the more prestigious public one – so that the Scottish options in the system get chosen less often by fewer people and so tend to die out.

Romaine (1982, p.77) notes that the linguistic situation which exists in Scotland today

> has its roots in the linguistic insecurity of the eighteenth century. Anglicization is transmitted by social class and is working its way down from the top of the social scale. There can be no doubt that this anglicizing influence has manifested itself in real attrition in a number of areas.

McClure argues (1994, p.79) that Scottish Standard English "is now an autonomous speech form" although originating "as a compromise between London standard English and Scots", and it is certainly non-controversial that many Scots grow up using it as their natural variety. It is not being argued here that in every case Scots and English are competing and the result is Scottish Standard English. That was the historical situation. Rather, what is being argued is that although nowadays Scottish Standard English is the norm for many middle-class Scots, they also feel to some extent, and in varying degrees, the influence of Scots (as evidenced by the often apparently idiosyncratic usage of Scots lexis in stretches of what would otherwise be classified as English, i.e. Aitken's overt Scotticisms which will be discussed next), and also the influence of prestigious English usage (which they encounter frequently in the media etc., to such an

extent that they may feel uncomfortable on hearing their own variety in such contexts) (Smith, 1996, p.167).

Thus it can be argued that many Scots have varying degrees of access to not two but three different varieties: Scots, Scottish Standard English and Standard English-English. Their background, education, social class etc. will influence their linguistic competence, and the result will be a *parole* which can be placed at some point along the linguistic continuum. The *parole* of an individual may well vary in different contexts, with different varieties tending to become associated with certain registers, thus developing notions of linguistic appropriacy. (See section 2.7.1)

2.3.8   Linguistic awareness

As suggested by both models discussed above, individual choice is an important factor in the Scottish linguistic situation, as is the degree of access an individual has to the different varieties which operate in Scotland. If individuals have varying degrees of access to the different varieties, it follows that they have differing degrees of knowledge of these varieties. Thus we can say that individual Scots may have differing degrees of knowledge of the Scots or English systems. It follows that on occasions they may be more or less aware than others that they are using peculiarly Scottish expressions. Aitken's *overt*, *covert* and *cultural* Scotticisms illustrate differences in the linguistic competence of individuals.

2.3.8.1   Overt and covert Scotticisms

Aitken coins the term *covert Scotticism* for peculiarly Scottish usages which Scots are unaware of as being particularly Scottish. He defines covert Scotticisms as

> 'unmarked' Scotticisms; that is, more or less exclusively Scottish usages
> employed by many Scottish speakers without their being very much or at all

aware that in so doing they are revealing their Scottish origins, that these *are* peculiarly Scottish usages. (Aitken, 1979a, p.106)

On other occasions individuals may be very aware that they are using a Scottish expression, and these Aitken terms *overt Scotticisms*. He defines overt Scotticisms as

> 'marked' Scotticisms ...the special diction of Scottish-tagged locutions used self-consciously by many Scottish speakers as a kind of stylistic grace and as a way of claiming membership of the in-group of Scotsmen. For this purpose any traditional Scots word or expression will serve. (Aitken, 1979a, p.107)

It is worth noting, that although there may well be general tendencies following class or education in terms of what for individuals are overt or covert Scotticisms, to a certain extent this will be variable with each person having their own idiolect, depending on their background, education, parents, social class etc. Thus it is very difficult to categorise individual lexical items as overt or covert Scotticisms, as these may well be different things to different people.

Aitken (1984c, p.107) makes refinements to the above model. He argues for a special type of overt Scotticism, the 'stylistic overt Scotticism', which are

> used for special stylistic effect – as a deliberate deviation from normal style – by those whose regular or expected speech is Scottish Standard English (columns 3 to 5 in table 1 of chapter 30), that is by group 1 or group 2 Scottish Standard English speakers ... and also by other Scots on formal occasions when an 'English' style is expected ... This includes a large number of traditional vernacular Scots words and word-forms ... not, however, those stigmatised localisms which are regarded as 'vulgarisms'.

The examples he gives are *aye, dinna, hame, hoose* and *ben the hoose*. Thus he argues that there are occasions when a Scot will consciously and deliberately choose to use an expression which they themselves realise is markedly Scottish in order to make a particular point; whether that be to demonstrate that they are a 'real Scot', or to introduce an element of humour etc. (Also discussed in Aitken, 1979a.)

Aitken goes further and argues that some of these marked or overt Scottish expressions are generally only ever used for such stylistic purposes, and are not part of the normal Scottish repertoire for most Scots. These lexical items are almost exclusively reserved for overt stylistic usage, and tend to be found in the company of English rather than Scots lexis. This contrasts with the expressions discussed in the previous paragraph which may be used either as a stylistic '*coup de grace*' or as part of a speaker's normal repertoire of Scottish expressions.

> In addition there exist for this purpose a substantial number of expressions which seem to occur most frequently, or only, under 'stylistic overt Scotticism' conditions. Paradoxically, that is, these are expressions of traditional Scottish origin, and overtly marked as of Scottish provenance, which are employed for special stylistic purposes only by Scots whose habitual speech otherwise disfavours vernacular Scottish elements, or by any Scots in an English-using register (such as public speaking): they are largely confined to use by 'English-speaking' not 'Scots-speaking' Scots. (Aitken, 1984c, p.107)

Examples of this type of stylistic overt Scotticism as given by Aitken (1984c, p.107ff) are *to keep a calm sough, it's back to the auld claes and parritch tomorrow* (or *the morn*), *darg, kenspeckle, thrang* and *stravaig*. He argues that the reason why such expressions are more likely to be used by middle-class 'English' (by which he really means Scottish (Standard) English) speaking Scots is that such people are more likely to have been exposed to Scottish literature or are more likely to be interested in more archaic lexical forms. Some of these

lexical items form part of the search list, and will therefore be returned to in the data chapters, where Aitken's hypothesis will be tested (see 6.4.1.3).

2.3.8.2   Cultural Scotticisms

Aitken (1979a, p.107) also distinguishes another category of Scotticisms which he terms 'cultural Scotticisms', and are defined as "those which refer to peculiarly Scottish aspects of life in Scotland and so naturally possess native Scottish labels." The examples he gives are *laird*, *kirk-session*, *first-foot* and *ceilidh*.

2.3.9   Relevance of theories to newspaper research

This section relates the theories discussed in the foregoing to the analysis of the newspaper texts. The theory of the bi-polar linguistic continuum can be used to place utterances, or in the case of the newspaper data, texts at various points along the continuum from Scots to Scottish Standard English. Macafee (1983a, p.31) (see 2.3.1) noted that the continuum can be extended further in either direction in the written mode, than in the spoken mode. Extremely dense Scots is illustrated by those Scots language articles which are written in Scots by Scots language experts such as Fairnie and Hodgart (see texts 1 and 2 in Appendix 10, discussed at section 7.11). Although it is not possible to study fully the contrast between the written and spoken modes as outlined by Macafee in this study, chapter 7 does investigate whether the illustrative texts presented in dense written Scots (texts 1 and 2) are more or less dense than illustrative texts 3 and 4 which are written in more colloquial types of Scots and are closer to spoken models (see 7.11.1).

The theory of *langue* and *parole* explains that different Scottish people have differing degrees of access to the varieties (Scots, Scottish Standard English, and arguably English-English). Their competence in or knowledge of the different systems will vary according to social class and aspirations, context of situation and other factors. Thus, these theories may help to explain observations made

later in the data chapters about the differences between the tabloid and broadsheet newspapers, especially where there is a difference in the distribution and frequency of more archaic or literary Scots terms (see 6.3.1.3). The newspaper texts themselves are examples of *parole*, and therefore they can be used to situate the writer (and reader) in terms of their social and linguistic identity.

Bakhtin stresses the dialogic nature of language where the meaning of individual words is affected by the other contexts in which that word has been used. It is therefore important to study contexts, and in chapter 8 (see 8.6.1.2) it will be argued that the contexts of certain items such as "bonny" are restricted. Thus if a certain item consistently appears in restricted contexts, it can be argued that this affects the actual meaning of the word.

Bakhtin's concepts of polyglossia and heteroglossia, and Bex's concept of discourse communities give a framework for understanding the relationship between the language variety used and both the context of situation and the group membership identity of the individual. The concept of heteroglossia can be used to explain the observation made later in chapter 7 that there is a correlation between the language variety used and the register of a text. Following Bex, Scotland can be seen as quite a close discourse community, where knowledge and display of certain linguistic features shows that the individual is an initiate, and a member of the social group of Scotsmen/women. Developing the idea of Scotland as a fairly close discourse community, it can be argued that the use of Scottish lexis by the newspapers shows solidarity with other Scots, and of course simultaneously excludes non-Scots from the discourse community. (The discussion of the link between language and identity in the next chapter at section 3.3.1 also discusses this notion of linguistic tariffs to group membership.) Scots (and Scottish newspapers) will also have to function as part of a wider 'British' or English-speaking discourse community, and this will also be reflected in the types of texts produced.

Bex argues that texts are produced according to the norms of the discourse community, and the function which they are expected to serve within that community. This argument is useful when examining the notion of appropriacy

(see section 2.7.1 later in this chapter), and when considering in chapter 6 at
section 6.7 whether certain parts of the newspaper and certain types of article tend
to use more Scots lexis than others. Of course, there are likely to be smaller social
groups within the larger social group of Scotsmen, and some of these will
correlate with class divides. Again, the use of certain lexical items by some
newspapers and not by others may indicate differences in the perceived social
groups of the readerships. (This is investigated more fully in chapter 6 at 6.4.1ff.)

Aitken's model can be seen as an account of heteroglossia or polyglossia
(depending on one's point of view) in operation in Scotland. Potential differences
between the use of Aitken's column 1 and column 2 Scots lexis are investigated in
chapter 7 (see 7.7.7 and 7.8.3). Again this model stresses the link between
linguistic choice and register or context of situation.

Smith's model emphasises the continuing influence of English-English on the
system, and this may be reflected in the orthographic forms used or the
anglicisation of Scottish fixed expressions (see 6.3.3ff and 8.5.2.6).

Thus the various theories discussed above give a theoretical framework against
which the observations made in the data chapters can be tested, and possible
explanations suggested. The next section moves on to a consideration of the
definitions used for the available language varieties in Scotland today.

2.4   The Scottish-English continuum

As discussed above at 2.3.1, the Scottish-English linguistic continuum contains a
whole range of varieties between Scots and Scottish Standard English.
Definitions are given in the following.

2.4.1 Definitions of Scottish-English, Scots, Scottish Standard English & English-English

It is now necessary to consider the precise definitions of the terms 'Scottish-English', 'Scots', 'Scottish Standard English' and 'English' as used in this study. As suggested in section 2.3, these terms are not particularly easy to define, and deciding where one variety ends and the other begins has been the focus of much linguistic debate. Given the complexity of the issue, the following delineates the position adopted in this study as regards definitions etc., and where appropriate relates this to the positions adopted in the wider linguistic community.

2.4.1.1 Definition of Scottish-English

As discussed at 2.1.1 'Scottish-English' is used as a blanket term for all native varieties in Scotland descended from Old English. Given its historical origins, and close similarity to English-English, Scottish-English can be considered to be a localised form of British English, characterised by the inclusion of Scots lexis, Scottish grammatical and syntactic features, and Scottish pronunciation. By definition, Scottish-English also contains a fair proportion of English lexis, and English grammatical and syntactic structures. Scottish-English can therefore be thought of as a hybrid variety. That is of course not to say that each time someone in Scotland utters what we would term 'Scottish-English', that they are consciously choosing to mix a bit of Scots with a bit of English to create their own individualistic variety. Many people in Scotland simply grow up hearing this language variety every day, and adopt it as their usual ideolect. It is, however, true to say that on occasions, speakers will be aware of two possible lexical items, one English and the other Scottish, and will choose the Scottish or English option depending on the social context etc., i.e. make a choice from Aitken's columns 1 and 5, or 2 and 4. It is equally true to say that on other occasions, a speaker will unwittingly use a covert Scottish construction or lexical item, and believe themselves to be speaking English, albeit perhaps a rather informal variety of English.

2.4.1.2   Definitions of Scots

The term 'Scots' does not describe a homogeneous linguistic community, and it can be used to cover a whole range of language varieties. It is generally held to include localised Scottish vernaculars known variously as 'broad Scots' or 'dialect Scots', for example, rural or more traditional varieties such as the Ayrshire dialect or the Doric. 'Scots', it should be remembered, is at the Scottish 'extreme' of the linguistic continuum.

Aitken (1982, p.33) highlights the distinction often made between 'genuine dialect' (Good Scots) and the "disapproved kind of Scots speech" (Bad Scots). It should be noted that these labels are very tongue-in-cheek and that Aitken himself does not adhere to these value labels, although many lay-people do.

> Good Scots, wherever it can be found (if anywhere), is 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, slovenly, slipshod, uncouth, gibberish, jumble, hotch-potch and so-called Modern Scots.

Bad Scots is

> often described as a hotch-potch, a jumble, a confusion of imperfect English and corrupted Scots. Sometimes it is said to be not really Scots at all, just corrupt or debased or bastard English. It is also said to have degenerated, become debased, become perverted. (Aitken, 1982, p.34)

Aitken coins another term 'Ideal Scots' which he claims nowadays is an imaginary construct often used by those who claim language status for Scots. He describes it as

consistently fully Scots: it possesses a large repertory of Scotticisms and selects them invariably and exclusively in preference to the corresponding Standard English options. It is homogeneous, maximalist, consistent, pure. (Aitken, 1981a, p.80)

For the purposes of this study, no evaluative judgements were made as to the authenticity or desirability of the varieties encountered, and an eclectic approach was taken when deciding which Scottish dialects qualified as Scots. Thus it regarded urban and rural, synthetic and natural dialects as being equally important in painting an overall picture of Scots usage in Scotland's press. The reason for this inclusive approach was that to differentiate between 'acceptable' and 'unacceptable' dialects could have excluded much of the data. Certainly the urban dialects seemed to provide a fair amount of the data under study, and as newspapers are produced in cities, and the majority of the readers may well use these dialects, it was quite likely that this sort of Scots dialect would be fairly heavily represented. Thus urban dialects such as contemporary Glaswegian, rural dialects, and the synthetic language variety Lallans were all considered as coming under the broad banner of 'Scots'. However, it should be noted that many commentators regard the newer urban dialects as being somehow inferior, and certainly less Scottish than the more traditional rural varieties.

Lallans, described above as a 'synthetic' variety, provokes heated debate, but it was included as a variety of Scots in this study. Originally devised as a 'standard' literary variety (see 2.6.6.2), therefore predominantly intended for use in the written mode, Lallans takes an eclectic approach to Scottish vocabulary and borrows words from different local varieties of Scots, in addition to resurrecting now obsolete old Scots words (dictionary dredging) and coining new ones (neologisms). Despite this, or indeed perhaps because of its 'synthetic' character, many Scots writers have rejected it as a valid Scots form. Lallans is usually considered to be a literary variety, and thus it might be expected that it would not be relevant to a study of newspaper language. However, both the Herald and the Scotsman included some articles, generally on the topic of the Scots language,

which were written in an approximation of Lallans. These texts are examined more closely in chapter 5 (see 5.5.6). (See also illustrative text 1 in Appendix 10.)

2.4.1.3   Definition of Scottish Standard English

Present-day 'Scottish Standard English' is a widespread and important variety. Although often decried or ignored by Scots language activists as being not truly Scots, or some sort of 'sell-out' to English-English, the fact remains that it is a persistent, prevalent and influential variety in Scotland today. Many Scots would find speaking or writing in what would be considered by some to be true or 'ideal' Scots (see Aitken's definition at 2.4.1.2) very difficult if not impossible; unless they were educated to a high level in that area, or happen to live in particular geographical location which has a strongly differentiated and persistent local variety. Scottish Standard English, by contrast, is a variety understood and used by the vast majority of the Scottish populace, as it is the variety most often used in Scottish education. Whether or not this situation is regrettable is not the issue here. The fact remains that Scottish Standard English is in widespread use in Scotland today, enjoys reasonably high status, and will be the language variety aimed at by most Scots in formal situations. McClure states that Scottish Standard English

> originated as a compromise between London standard English and Scots; a
> compromise resulting partly from the natural interference of a native on a
> learned language and partly from a conscious belief among most of the
> eighteenth-century literati that a total Anglicisation of their speech, leaving
> no Scottish features whatsoever, was not a desirable aim. It is now an
> autonomous speech form, having the status of one among the many national
> forms of the international English language, and is recognised as an
> established national standard, throughout the English-speaking world. ...
> Like other national forms of English, it is characterised to some extent by
> grammar, vocabulary and idiom, but most obviously by pronunciation.

Regional, social and in lesser degree age and sex variations exist, principally on the phonetic level and very noticeably in intonation; but a common phonological system, differing in several conspicuous ways from those of the other accents of English, is shared by most forms of SSE and is close to being a defining feature of it. (McClure, 1994, p.79)

Smith (1996, p.166-167) notes that it is "frequently defined as 'Standard English with a Scottish accent'" and goes on to say that

this a fair summary. It has a grammar and vocabulary almost (although not quite) the same as that used by educated speakers of Standard English in England, but it combines these characteristics with an essentially Scottish pronunciation, albeit modified somewhat in the direction of Received Pronunciation. This variety of English is aimed at by the Scottish middle classes and those aspiring to that status, although it seems to be part of the same linguistic continuum as Scots.

Smith agrees with Aitken that its key distinguishing feature is pronunciation, but that it also has characteristic grammar, vocabulary and idiom. Scottish Standard English, it is claimed, is mainly the language of the Scottish middle-classes. It is thought to be part of the same linguistic continuum as Scots, and is the language variety to which working class Scots speakers (i.e. those who are thought to habitually use Scots in informal speech situations) will aspire if trying to 'upgrade' their language in more formal situations (see 2.3.5). Aitken (1984a, p.521) notes that Scottish Standard English is "commonly heard also from lower middle- and working-class speakers in public speaking and when addressing middle-class interlocutors". However, Aitken points out that there will still be differences between their rendering of Scottish Standard English, and the renderings given by those from the middle-classes. Thus it can be argued that the distribution of selections from the Scottish Standard English system will vary according to class background, as Scottish Standard English can be pronounced using a variety of Scottish accents. Aitken (1979a, 1984a) distinguishes another language variety which he calls Educated Scottish Standard English and describes

as Scottish Standard English realised by one of the accents favoured by middle-class or 'educated' speakers.

2.4.1.4 Definition of English-English

The term English-English has been used when wishing to highlight that reference is being made to the particular form of World English as spoken in England. Where this is not a necessary distinction, or is made clear from the context, the more common terminology of 'English' has been used.

2.4.1.5 Terminological confusions

One of the key problems associated with this area of linguistic study is the plethora of terms used to describe these Scottish language varieties. For example, what has here been termed 'Scottish-English' has been termed 'Scots English' by McArthur and Aitken amongst others. The term 'Scots' can also be used in a variety of ways. Aitken highlights this problem, saying that

> the fact is that the term 'Scots' has for long presented a chameleon-like character in use and that its users have been apt to conflate rather different applications of it. At times it is used for 'a group of low-prestige dialects' (McClure 1979b, p.93), at times for an archaistic literary variety, at times for the perfect Ideal Scots. (Aitken, 1981a, p.77)

It will be noted that the term 'Scots' was used in the historical account at section 2.2, rather than 'Scottish-English'. The use of these two terms is often confused in the literature, with different commentators using different terms to refer to the same language variety depending on their point of view. The difference is one of perspective, rather than linguistics. Viewed from the tree model perspective, the differences between Scots and English are highlighted, and hence the term 'Scots' is used. Viewed from the perspective of the wave model, the similarities between

the languages of Scotland and England are stressed, and therefore the term 'Scottish-English' may be used.

It should be noted that when considering the data obtained from the present study in later chapters, the terms 'Scots', 'English' and 'Scottish-English' are used in a slightly different way as labels for different types of language based on a quantitative analysis of the amount of identifiably Scottish lexis the text contains. Thus where these labels are being referred to the terms are italicised to differentiate them from the more general discussion of language varieties elsewhere. In the context of the data description *Scots* is used to denote a variety that is more densely Scottish than the thinner *Scottish-English*. *English* is used to describe texts which contain no other Scottish lexis apart from the search item. (Obviously by containing even one item of Scottish lexis these texts would conventionally be described as written in the variety Scottish Standard English.) These labels are used in various combinations as illustrated in the Chart Key preceding Fig. 7.1 to describe a range of text types. (See also discussion at section 7.2.3.)

2.4.2   Distinctive features of Scots & Scottish Standard English

However, terminological confusions aside, these Scottish language varieties have several key distinguishing features. It should be noted that Scots and Scottish Standard English are traditionally defined by the extent to which they differ from English Standard English.

These Scottish varieties are distinctive in terms of pronunciation or phonology, distinctive vocabulary or lexis, and certain grammatical/syntactic features. This study is primarily concerned with Scottish varieties in the written medium, and the discussion is largely confined to lexis. However, phonological issues also

2.4.2.1   Phonology

Both Scots and Scottish Standard English have different phonological systems to that of English, i.e. there are distinctive features in terms of accent which differentiate Scottish speakers from other UK speakers. By 'accent' we simply mean pronunciation, so for example both Scots and Scottish Standard English are well known for features such as differences in vowel distribution (a detailed analysis of which can be found in Aitken (1981a)), rhoticity and particular word stress patterns. The distinguishing features of Scottish phonology are not be discussed in any depth here, as this thesis is concerned with manifestations of Scottish varieties in the written mode as they occur in the Scottish press. However, phonological features must be taken into account when attempting to define the key language varieties in Scotland today, as many of these definitions are based on models of Scottish speech.

2.4.2.2   Grammar

Scottish grammar includes both distinctively Scottish grammar and syntax. This study does not investigate elements of Scottish syntax, but it does look at closed class or grammatical lexis. (See section 6.1.1ff for discussion of reasons for concentrating on lexical analysis, and section 7.7.1ff for analysis of closed class lexis data.)

2.4.2.3   Lexis

For the purposes of this study, Scottish lexis is defined as being words or longer lexical items (lexical items being the broader term, and including, for example, longer expressions such as idioms) that can be readily distinguished from the vocabulary of English (see 6.1.2 for definitions). As discussed above at 2.2, given the historical development of the language (as a descendent from Old English), there are many lexical items that are shared between Scots and English, which are termed 'core vocabulary'. Where lexical items are not distinguished by a

distinctively Scottish form, this study does not consider them to be discernible from English in the written mode, and therefore they have not been included in this study as Scottish lexical items. Thus, for the purposes of this study 'Scottish lexis' refers to words that are recognisably Scottish in form and /or origin. To refer back to Aitken, the study investigates column 1 and column 2 lexis i.e. lexis which is only found in Scots (column 1), and lexis, which although having cognate forms in English, is differentiated (in this case by orthographic form as the texts are in the written mode) from English usage (column 2). The Scottish lexis data are covered in chapters 6,7 and 8.

2.4.3 Context of World English

It is useful to outline where these Scottish language varieties fit into the picture in Britain as a whole and the wider platform of the English speaking world, as a preface to considering in the next section whether Scots should be considered as a language in its own right, or as a dialect of English. McArthur (1979, p.50) helpfully puts British language varieties into context, using the term 'World English' to cover "the whole English language in all its varieties, everywhere, and all its users, past and present, with all their books and records". Within the global category of 'World English', one of the varieties is the distinctive variety of English as spoken in Scotland. This he terms 'Scots English' (equivalent to the 'Scottish-English' category adopted here), and takes this to refer to

> all the varieties of speech in Scotland that derive ultimately from Anglo-Saxon, including the localised forms known as 'broad Scots' and 'dialect Scots'. It will also include, necessarily, that which is termed 'Scottish Standard English' here, a more or less homogeneous range of nationally acceptable norms of spelling, grammar, vocabulary and pronunciation, which is in turn one variety of World Standard English. (McArthur, 1979, p.50)

Thus McArthur says that with reference to Scotland we can talk about three Scottish language varieties descended from Anglo-Saxon

Scots English for the totality [my 'Scottish-English'], Scots for the localised vernaculars; and Scottish Standard English for the national variety of World Standard English. (McArthur, 1979, p.51) (my brackets)

He gives the following helpful diagram (McArthur, 1979, p.59). As can be seen, aside from the naming of the category 'Scots English' for 'Scottish-English', this is essentially the classificatory system which has been adopted in the present study, with the right side of the diagram representing the Scots / Scottish Standard English continuum.

Scotland's Languages		
Gaelic	Scots English	
	Scots	Scottish Standard English
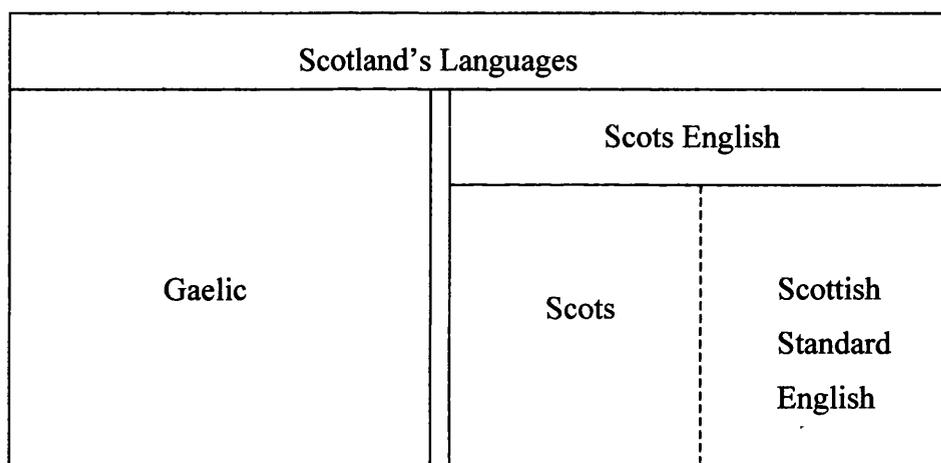
Figure 2.5   McArthur's diagram of language varieties in Scotland

2.4.4   A distinct language or a dialect

One of the main topics of debate in linguistic circles as regards Scots is "Is it a language or a dialect?"; indeed Aitken (1985) and McClure (1979, 1995) have devoted entire articles and chapters to this question. In other words, should Scots be considered to be merely a specialised and distinctive dialect of English, or should it be considered as a language in its own right, separate from, although linguistically closely related to, English-English? Various arguments are put forwards on both sides, and the following attempts to summarise them briefly.

Various reasons are given why Scots should be considered a distinct language. As discussed above at 2.4.1.2, Scots is not a homogeneous entity, and contains within it a number of different dialects. This, it can be argued, means that it should be regarded as language in its own right, rather than merely as a dialect of English. Historically, it had the status of being for a time the national language of an autonomous state during the late 15th and the16[th] centuries. The breadth and quality of its literature is often cited as another reason for according Scots language status. Various other reasons are given, such as it being recognised by the European Bureau for Lesser-Used Languages. McClure tends towards giving Scots language status, although he concedes that the argument is by no means clear-cut.

Aitken tends to adopt the opposite viewpoint, that of considering Scots to be a dialect, albeit a distinctive one, of English. Aitken (1981a, p.72-73) discusses reasons for considering Scots to be a dialect of English.[1] Aitken (1982, p.30) contributes that

> I would regard it [Scots] today as no more than a distinctive component in the total body of Scottish language, which can fairly be called a highly distinctive national variety of English. (my brackets)

In this statement Aitken is referring to the spoken language, and he concedes that there may be an entity with some form of separate existence called 'the Scots language' as far as Scottish literature is concerned. The key argument against Scots being considered as a language in its own right is the similarity of Scots to English. Scots and English having developed from a common ancestor (different dialects of Old English), some would say that they are not now, although they may have been in the past, substantially different enough from each other to warrant calling Scots a language. Another problem is the lack of a standard form of the language, and this is considered in more depth later in 2.6.5, although it should be noted that it is not absolutely necessary that a language should have a standard form. The insistence on language status for any variety often forms part

of a nationalistic agenda (see for example Cooper's discussion of the use of
Hebrew as a "mobilizing symbol in a national struggle" (Cooper, 1989, p.86; also
p.11-14).), and certainly McClure's arguments often have a nationalist slant (see
refs. at 2.6.6).

Unfortunately there is no easy answer to the question of whether Scots should be
considered to be a language or a dialect. It depends how one defines a language.
If language is to be defined on a purely linguistic level, then Scots is no more
similar to English than the mutually comprehensible languages of neighbouring
Scandinavian languages, and yet they are accorded language status. Languages
are socio-political constructs. An autonomous nation's mother tongue is generally
called a language. Scotland has been incorporated as part of Great Britain or the
United Kingdom, and that may well be the reason for Scots not being officially
regarded as a language. As Aitken observes (1984a, p.519) "Had Older Scots
retained its former autonomy from English, we might have had in Britain today a
language situation resembling that of modern Scandinavia".

Various alternatives are suggested to get away from the language/dialect
dichotomy. One possible solution to the question is that taken by McClure (1997,
p.12ff), who follows Heinz Kloss in his distinction between *abstand* and *ausbau*
languages.[2] Alternatively Strauss (1979) (see Bailey, 1991, p.69) suggests that
the linguistic situation in Scotland and England may be described by the concept
of *apperceptional language*.[3] Another solution is to take a compromise approach
with Aitken (1985, p.45) and say that

> if Scots is not now a 'full' language it is something more than a mere
> 'dialect'. A distinguished German scholar once called it a *Halbsprache* – a
> semi-language.[4]

However, most linguists seems to agree that *linguistically* Scots is a highly
individual variety of English. It shares common roots with English, and although
it developed independently for a time, it has had long periods of very close
contact and has thus been heavily influenced by English-English.

> Scots, being descended from Old English and sharing in the general history of West Germanic speech in the British Isles, is appropriately considered to be part of 'English' in the purely linguistic sense of the term. That Scottish English, as opposed to Scots, is a form of English is of course non-controversial. The distinction between Scots and Scottish English, which though not always clear in practice is soundly based on historical facts. (McClure, 1994, p.23-24)

However, although linguistically it may be agreed that Scots is a dialect of English, the socio-political debate on the status it should be accorded continues.

2.4.4.1   Implications for status

Whether Scots is considered to be a distinct language or to be a dialect of English has important implications for its perceived status. Dialects are often perceived as being non-standard usages within a language, and generally have lower status that the standard form. To say that Scots is a dialect of English denies it the status of being a language in its own right; but also implies that it is non-standard with respect to Standard English. That the distinction between Scots as a language or a dialect is important can be seen by the lengths gone to by some such as McClure (see 1994, 1997), to 'prove' that it is a language. As will be seen in section 2.7ff, appropriacy is a very important consideration when deciding which variety of a language to use in a piece of text. Standard written English is generally the only acceptable form for formal written prose. If Scots is viewed as a separate language, it is presumably more acceptable for use in a wider variety of contexts, especially if it has its own standard form. (As will be discussed at 2.6.5, there are problems when speaking of a Standard Scots.) If viewed as a dialect of English, Scots must be considered as non-standard and of lower status, and hence inappropriate in formal contexts. The following section deals more fully with considerations of status for the different varieties of Scottish language, and the implications this has for their register.

2.5   Status & register

This section deals with the perceived status of Scots and Scottish Standard English in particular, as being at opposite poles of the linguistic continuum, and the important implications this has for the registers in which the varieties are considered appropriate for use. Both varieties are found in the Scottish newspaper texts; but as will be seen in the data chapters, they are likely to show some differences in their distribution, i.e. there are certain types of texts where the use of Scottish Standard English would be acceptable, but the use of Scots would not. The reason for this split is primarily due to considerations of appropriacy, which will be discussed in section 2.7.1. However, appropriacy itself is largely determined by the perceived status of the language variety, and the registers with which the language variety has become associated. Thus, if a variety such as Scots has low status, it will generally be considered inappropriate for use in formal contexts.

2.5.1   Status of present-day Scots

Present-day Scots has a rather ambivalent status depending on the context in which it is being used, and to whom the question of its status is addressed. Many Scots have grown up under an educational system where the use of Scots in the classroom was very much discouraged. This led to the well-attested playground-versus-classroom linguistic dichotomy for many. (See McArthur, 1979, p.56; Romaine, 1982, p.76-77) Not only was the use of Scots discouraged, it was also treated as 'bad English' or 'slang', rather than 'good Scots'. (See Aitken, 1982 quoted at section 2.4.1.2 above for discussion of 'good' and 'bad' Scots.) Thus there has been created a climate of linguistic insecurity in Scotland, where many people felt their natural language, the tongue they learned and used at home, was considered to be inferior to that used in the education system. The view still prevails to a certain extent, that if you want to 'get on in life' your accent should be modified in a certain way, and your language should be 'good English'. Macafee (1994a, p.188) attests to situations where older members of the speech community have been corrected by their juniors. However, there is a

counterbalance to this, in that among the working-class, such language habits are regarded as pretentious, betraying your roots, and worst of all as aping the English. Thus there is covert prestige associated with working-class Scottish speech.

Different dialects of Scots are often perceived differently; with the more traditional, rural accents usually being accorded higher status than the newer urban dialects. Also, in certain areas of the country, linguistic pride in one's dialectal origins seems stronger, as seen for example in the strong allegiance to the Doric in Aberdeenshire, which has developed a strong Doric culture.

2.5.2   Status of present-day Scottish Standard English

Scottish Standard English enjoys widespread high status in Scotland, but it also has reasonably high status throughout the English speaking world. Why should Scottish Standard English enjoy such comparatively high status over Scots? One of the key reasons must be the ease of comprehensibility it has for speakers of other Englishes. It is no less comprehensible, linguistic prejudices aside, than say American or Australian English. It is distinctive, especially in terms of pronunciation, but there are no real barriers to communication for motivated interlocutors. Within Scotland, broad Scots may be seen by some as indicative of down-to-earthness, or kind-heartedness, but these impressions do not seem to transcend national boundaries. The Scottish accent, however, when coupled with something approaching Scottish Standard English, is widely regarded as being friendly, honest and so on; a fact attested to in recent years by the proliferation of call-centres in Scotland, with companies indicating that their main reason for choosing to locate in Scotland is the favourable attributes associated with the Scottish accent. Scottish Standard English is also seen as a standard variety, a fact which lends it a status to which present-day Scots cannot aspire. (This will be considered further in the data chapters, when the use of standard forms by the press is considered (see 6.3.3ff). Perhaps the most salient point is one which is central to most sociolinguistic views of language: Scottish Standard English enjoys high status because it is generally associated with a socially and

economically powerful social group, the middle-classes or above. (However, as has already been mentioned at 2.4.1.3 Scottish Standard English may be used by members of the working-class in more formal contexts.)

2.5.3   Implications for register of Scots

The problematic status of Scots has implications for the registers in which its use is considered acceptable or desirable. The following sections deal with the implications for each of the three constituents of register: domain, tenor and mode.

2.5.3.1   Domain

Although based on a sample of the total Scottish vocabulary, a brief glance at the index for the Scots Thesaurus suggests that Scots has become restricted in its domains. There are many words for discussing domestic life, the weather, farming and so on; but virtually none for talking about, for example, politics, technology or official administration. The language is now out of step with the culture in which it finds itself. There have been attempts to redress this situation, with the attempted introduction of new words like "germsooker", "cyberjanny", "cyberpauchler", "circumpauchled" by Matthew Fitt in his novel *Cafe o the Twa Suns*; or attempts like that by the Scottish Nationalist Party from Alex Salmond in 1993 (see Corbett, 1997, p.14-15) to make documents written in Scots acceptable to the general populace, but with varying degrees of success. (The document was also printed in English and Gaelic.)

Scots has traditionally been stronger in the domain of poetry than prose, but this situation has now intensified. Whilst Scots poetry can often seem more resonant and colourful than similar English poems, the use of Scots for serious argumentative prose may seem odd and rather contrived. The magazine for the Scot Language Society, *Lallans*, regularly publishes serious articles written entirely in Scots; but although long running with a loyal following, it has a

relatively small and specialised readership. There seems to be a general perception that Scots may be acceptable for use in serious prose if the article discusses something which is archetypally Scottish, such as the state of the Scots language, a review of a new work by a Scottish author, the culture of Scotland and so on. (E.g. *Cairn: The historie jurnal in the Scots leid* is written in Scots and focuses on Scottish history.) This is a view borne out by the present newspaper analysis, and further details of articles written in broad Scots are given in chapter 5 (see 5.5.6). There were very few articles written entirely in Scots, and those which were tended to be writing about the state of the Scots language, the use of Scots in education, or some other such topic. This agrees with McClure's observation that

> such few attempts at non-literary prose as have appeared in Scots are – again with no exception known to me – discussions of Scots writers, comments on the use of the Scots language, suggestions for Scots spelling reform, or similar Scottish topics. (McClure, 1979, p.47)

2.5.3.2   Tenor

Present-day Scots also seems to be restricted in tenor, and perhaps this helps to explain the mixed reception of documents like those produced by the SNP. Scots tends to be used in more colloquial or informal contexts, and this observation is borne out by the data collected from the Scottish press. Scots is seldom found in serious news reports, but is considered quite fitting, and indeed perhaps desirable, for inclusion in certain types of features articles especially those where humour is intended. (See 6.7ff for details of feature articles and 3.6.3.1 for further discussion on the use of Scots for humour.)

2.5.3.3   Mode

Finally, present-day Scots is also restricted in mode. Scots is much more common in spoken than written discourse. Many more people in Scotland use spoken

Scots in their everyday lives, than would be motivated to, or even capable of, writing for sustained periods in Scots. The education system for most people, has largely ignored developing writing skills in Scots; and most people's experience of Scots in the classroom has been a passive one, reading a few of Burns' poems once or twice a year. There are currently moves afoot to change the schools' English curriculum and to redress this balance somewhat, but the fact remains that there are a large number of people in Scotland, many of whom may be otherwise well-educated, who would be unsure of, for example, the recognised spellings of Scots words, and therefore extremely reluctant to commit their everyday language to paper.

Whilst on the subject of mode, i.e. whether the text is written or spoken; it is interesting to note whether in the newspapers, Scots is used in direct speech, or first person style reporting; or in straightforward prose style. The use of Scots in direct speech contexts can be argued to show less commitment to the use of Scots than the use of Scots in straightforward narrative. This is discussed further in chapter 7 at 7.8.4.1. Although newspapers are evidently texts in the written mode, as was discussed at 1.2.1, it can be argued that they have certain features which are reminiscent of the spoken mode. These range from typographical conventions to indicate differences in tone, emphasis etc. (features normally associated with speech), to the observation that many of the articles may be based on spoken statements, press conferences etc. Direct speech is a representation of speech rendered in the written mode, and it is therefore reasonable to expect that it may have some, although as will be discussed later at 7.8.2.2 not all, the characteristics of spoken discourse. Direct speech is examined more detail in chapter 7 at section 7.8ff.

2.5.3.4   Restricted registers for Scots

Thus present-day Scots does not have a fully developed range of registers as it once did in the past. For example, literary critics have distinguished between Dunbar's high, aureate style and his low style, with his plain style lying somewhere in-between. Dunbar was able to use different registers of the language

as deemed appropriate to the subject matter. R.D.S. Jack (1998) discusses the different registers used by Scots poets in terms of *decorum*; i.e. that different rhetorical styles and indeed different registers of language are appropriate to different subject matters. Jack also argues that the Makars saw nothing odd in using Latin, French or English forms to elevate their language to the high style. Scots nowadays, especially in the language of prose, seems to have lost the potential for a high style, and seems generally to be considered to be only suitable for less elevated topics. This has widespread implications for the situations in which its use is considered 'appropriate' (see 2.7.1 for discussion of appropriacy). Section 2.5.5 considers the impact these restrictions might have on the use of Scots in newspaper texts.

2.5.4   Implications for register of Scottish Standard English

The registers of present-day Scottish Standard English are less constrained than those of Scots. With respect to tenor, for some, especially working-class speakers, Scottish Standard English will be a more formal variety used on more formal or public occasions, which is quite different from their usual speech. For other speakers, especially for middle-class speakers that have been educated in Scotland, it will generally be their normal medium of communication, unless they wish to make a particular point, or modify their speech to those around them. Scottish Standard English is considered suitable for a wider range of domains than Scots, as it integrates more easily with English-English, thus it is not impossible to use Scottish Standard English to communicate in many of the areas such as politics, technology and so on, from which more dense Scots would usually be debarred. Scottish Standard English may occur in the written or spoken modes, although it should be remembered that usually Standard written English is the acceptable norm for formal written texts. Scottish Standard English is spoken by many middle-class professionals in Scotland, and as noted at 2.4.1.3 above, it may well be spoken in a particular accent which Aitken terms Educated Scottish Standard English. Scottish Standard English therefore enjoys fairly high status

within and furth of Scotland, a large part of that status being due to its recognition as a standard form. Section 2.6 investigates the notion of standards in more detail.

2.5.5 Implications for register of newspaper texts

De Beaugrande (1993, p.18) ties the concept of register to notions of appropriacy (see 2.7.1 for discussion of appropriacy).

> a register is essentially a set of beliefs, attitudes or expectations about what is or is not likely to seem appropriate and be selected in certain kinds of contexts.

Thus we can argue that there will be a 'register' for Scottish newspaper articles about which Scottish readers will have a shared set of expectations. The argument is similar to that given by Bex (1996, p.66-67) (see 2.3.4 above), that texts will be produced and interpreted according to the norms of the discourse community and the functions they are expected to perform within that community. As readers, we are preconditioned by the prevailing linguistic hegemony of English in the discourse community that is Scotland, to expect that formal written language will be in Standard English. (See 2.7.2 for discussion of linguistic hegemony.) Thus, anything written in Scots seems to automatically shift downwards in register, becoming less formal and increasingly colloquial in tenor, and also closer to the spoken mode. The latter is not surprising as many Scots may use Scots or Scottish Standard English in speech; but use Standard English in writing. Attempts to address this anomaly, for example by seeking to expand the vocabulary of Scots, or to use it for writing serious formal prose (usually, it must be said, with some nationalistic slant), are often received derisorily by native Scots. Consequently only a very few serious articles appear in the newspapers written entirely in Scots, and these are generally concerned with the Scots language anyway. (See discussion of Scots language articles at 5.5.6ff.) For the majority of readers, the inherent register implications of choosing to write in Scots

make such articles seem incongruous; though perhaps more acceptable, or excusable, if they limit themselves to talking about issues such as the Scots language. To report on the Gulf War in Scots would be deemed unacceptable; to report on a Burns festival in Scots would be much more acceptable. By contrast, Gaelic, probably because it is entirely distinct from English, has now become acceptable for a wide range of language uses, including news reporting e.g. Gaelic TV news and current affairs programmes, although as Cormack (1995) notes, its use in the Scottish press is largely symbolic (see 3.6.4). Gaelic has a potentially much wider range of possible public registers than Scots because of its distinctiveness from English. It cannot be construed as bad English due to its separate language status. (See 2.4.4 above for discussion of the language status of Scots.)

Thus the notions of appropriacy and register are closely linked in the context of Scottish newspaper articles. Newspaper articles will, of course, straddle a range of registers from serious news reporting to more informal feature type articles; but these registers and the associated linguistic choices, are largely prescribed by writers' and readers' shared notions of appropriacy. (See 3.7.5 for discussion of the impact of readers on newspaper style and 2.7.1 for discussion of appropriacy.) The subject matter of the articles is likely to set the level for the register; but the actual language variety used, in terms of the density and type of Scottish language involved, will also have implications for register. Dense Scots is likely to be viewed as less formal than thin Scottish Standard English. As noted previously at 2.3.6, Aitken argues that in effect many Scots make their selection from the available varieties based on register considerations.

2.6 Standards

This section considers what makes a language variety a standard, and the different stages of standardisation; before moving on to consider the degree of standardisation achieved by Scots, and asking whether it is important that Scots

should achieve a standard form. The discussion also focuses on the role of elites, particularly the press, in the promotion and maintenance of standards.

2.6.1   Criteria for standards

What makes a certain language variety a standard? Standards fulfil certain key criteria. First, they must be accepted as a standard by the majority of native users of the language, and this is often linked to codification of the standard forms in dictionaries or grammatical textbooks/reference books. Secondly, this variety enjoys an elevated status or prestige over other competing varieties within the language community. This can be seen in the way in which others will often tell those using non-standard constructions that their language is "wrong", "unacceptable" or "inappropriate". Thirdly, standard varieties are usually those used by institutions, those in political or social positions of power, government, education and so on. (Whether the use of a particular language variety by such institutions imparts the status of standard to a given variety or whether such institutions would automatically use the prevailing standard of the day is a side issue.) Fourthly, we usually expect standard varieties to be more easily understood by a wider range of people, e.g. from different geographical locations, than non-standard varieties.

2.6.2   Standardisation

Smith (1996, p.73-76) and McClure (1980, p.19) discuss E. Haugen's model of standardisation which outlines four stages a language variety must go through before it can be said to have truly achieved the status of a national standard. These four stages are *selection, codification, elaboration,* and *acceptance.* McClure (1980, p.11-44) makes a detailed analysis of how each of these stages might be achieved for Scots. Smith (1996, p.76-77) describes the process whereby written English was standardised. However, whilst English did develop a standard form, and one which was extremely prestigious, Scots did not.

As McClure (1994, p.33) notes, with the introduction of printing to Scotland in 1508, there was pressure for standardisation of forms, but in an English, not a Scots direction. For those printers wishing to sell books to as wide a base of people as possible, it evidently made economic sense to 'set' the book once, in English, and not twice to accommodate Scots forms. Aitken (1984a, p.519) notes that there was an

> adoption by Scottish writers, from about the middle of the sixteenth century, of a 'mixed dialect' in which both Older Scots and Tudor English equivalent forms ... co-existed as options. (Aitken, 1984a, p.519)

This situation eventually gave rise to the mixed situation or Scottish-English linguistic continuum which exists in Scotland today (see 2.3.1) with Scots and Scottish Standard English at the two poles, and forms the rationale behind Aitken's columns 1-5 (Aitken, 1984a, p.520) (see 2.3.5) which describes the linguistic variants available to Scottish speakers today.

2.6.3   Failure of Older Scots to develop a standard variety

Smith (1996, p.77-78) discusses the reasons why Older Scots failed to develop into a standard variety, even though it initially seemed to be developing a standard form in much the same way as Late Middle English. (See also Meurman-Solin (1993, p.38ff) which argues that Scots can be considered to have achieved the status of a standard for a time.) Smith cites the main reasons for this failure as the loss of political autonomy for Scotland following the Union of the Crowns in 1603 and the Parliamentary Union of 1707; and the Reformation in 1560, which led to the use of an English version of the Bible in Scotland, and consequently English becoming the accepted type of language for serious and abstract thought, with a consequent decrease in the status of Scots. He also cites the problem of extensive language contact with English and therefore a consequent lack of a distinct individual identity for Scots. Smith (1996, p.78) goes on to discuss the failure of Scots to develop a standard fixed variety thus:

Thus the standardisation of written Scots was cut short. It has been suggested that Older Scots in the early sixteenth century was developing a standardised variety in the sense that Central Midlands Standard in the fourteenth century and Chancery Standard in the fifteenth century were standardised; but Scots never took the extra step, which Chancery English and its successors did, into becoming a prescribed and normative standard written language taught in schools. To be successful and to proceed from focus to fixity, a written standard must be linked to broad-based continuing social prestige. This prestige Chancery Standard acquired, but its parallel Scottish equivalent failed to sustain it.

Smith (1996) thus draws a contrast between the different degrees of standardisation achieved by English and Scots, and introduces the useful terms *fixity* and *focus*, which help to explain the current situation.

2.6.4   Fixity and focus

Smith (1996, p.66) introduces the distinction between varieties that have 'fixity' and those that have 'focus' in order to discuss the English R.P. accent, but as will be shown later, the distinction can equally be applied to the English versus Scots situation.

It is therefore perhaps better to consider Received Pronunciation in terms of focus rather than fixity; in other words, individual speakers tend to a greater or lesser extent to conform to Received Pronunciation usage, but no one of them can be said to demonstrate every characteristic of the accent. Thus Received Pronunciation may be considered to be *standardised* or focused rather than *standard* or fixed; a centripetal norm towards which speakers tend, rather than a fixed collection of prescribed rules from which any deviation at all is forbidden. (Smith, 1996, p.66)

He gives a helpful diagram, Figure 2.6, to illustrate the point which is reproduced below. However, the model is equally applicable for our purposes here to discuss the differences between English and Scots in terms of the degree of standardisation achieved. Over the centuries English has developed a highly normalised spelling system, which tolerates very little variation. There are a few words such as "gipsy" vs. "gypsy", and of course the American vs. British distinction between "-is-" and "-iz-" in words such as "normalise" or "normalize" where there is a small degree of variation; but otherwise the English language is heavily standardised in the written mode, and very little variation is tolerated in public and formal contexts.
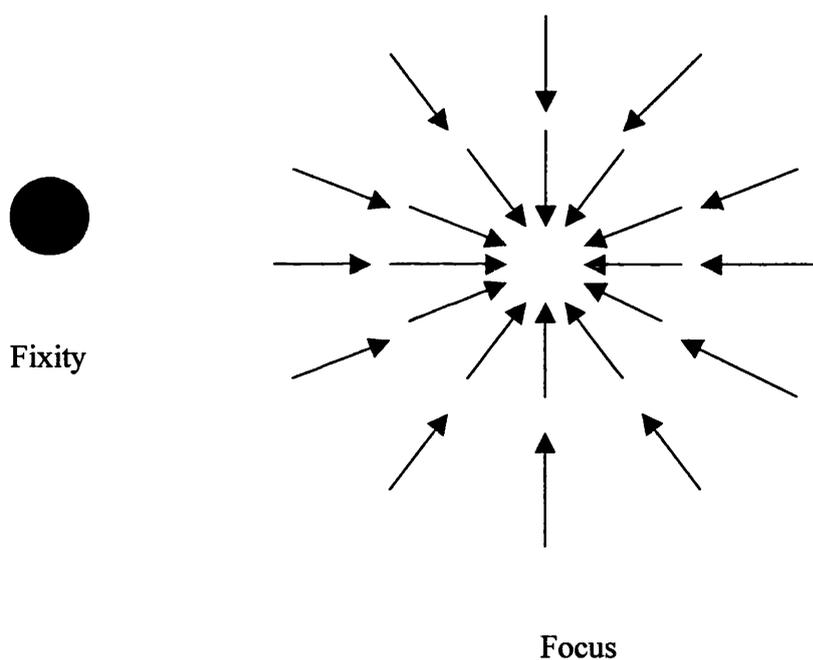
Fixity

Focus

(Smith, 1996, p.66)

Figure 2.6   Smith's diagram of fixity and focus

Present-day Standard written English is therefore a fixed variety, the only exceptions being a few isolated examples such as those highlighted above. Scots does not have such a highly normalised spelling system. This is because Scots is not a standard variety like English, rather it is a focused variety.

2.6.5 A present-day standard for Scots

It is therefore difficult to speak of a present-day Standard Scots; as unlike English, Scots has not fully gone through the rigorous process of standardisation, and has not achieved the status of a fixed standard variety. If considered in light of the criteria for a standard discussed above at 2.6.1, no variety of present-day Scots seems to fulfil all the requirements. Scots has been codified to some extent by the production of the Scottish dictionaries and various descriptions of Scottish grammar. However dictionaries such as the SND do not seek to be prescriptive in their outlook, but rather to be descriptive. Thus for each headword, a wide variety of orthographic and phonemic forms are often given. Although Scots is thus codified to some extent by being written down in a prestigious document, the fact that variation is still very evident detracts somewhat from the potential authoritative impact of such works. (Some other dictionaries such as the Scots Schools Dictionary are rather more prescriptive, but whilst welcomed by some as being easier for those unfamiliar with the language to use, they are criticised by others as omitting important variants.) Scots has also not been fully elaborated, as it is not accepted as suitable for all types of usage. Whilst relatively acceptable in the realms of literature and comedy for example, as McClure notes (2.4.4 above) Scots is restricted in its functions. It is not generally considered suitable for philosophical treatises, the language of government or technological discussions. Final acceptance of Scots for all functions and in all situations has by no means taken place.

Attempts have been made to set up a standard variety of Scots, but with limited success. The following section discusses the origins such attempts within the context of corpus planning, and analyses the success of the synthetic variety Lallans in achieving standard status.

2.6.6 Language planning

Cooper (1989, p.125) places language standardisation within the overall context of language planning, but also terms it more specifically as *corpus planning*

(1989, p.31). He also notes that "language standardisation is sometimes the result of unplanned evolution and sometimes the object of overt planning" and "customary variants in language are often difficult to reduce to a universal norm". (Cooper, 1989, p.133) This would certainly appear to be the case as regards the desire to standardise Scots (see 2.6.6.1) where the process would, of necessity, involve direct deliberate intervention. The reason for this is that the language is not in frequent use by enough people, using it for a sufficiently wide variety of functions, for spelling reform to occur without direct intervention. However, it is important to consider whether, if finally agreed on by a significant majority of the elite, these recommendations for the standardisation of the spelling system would be widely implemented. McClure (1995) and others such as Aitken (1984b) have attested to the difficulties in implementing such a system and getting people to abandon their own preferred variants, even if a standard variety could be agreed. This may be due to writers feeling they have a certain investment in the use of a particular form; to quote Cooper (1989, p.133) "when linguistic variants serve as markers of our identity, we may be loath to abandon them, particularly in the name of a soulless efficiency". It is for example unlikely that writers in Doric would willingly accept a system based on the language of Central Scots, or indeed vice-versa.

Cooper (1989, p.143) also makes a link between language planning and nationalism, and articles and books on Scots by language activists such as McClure (1985a, 1993, 1995, 1997) and Kay (1986) make an overtly nationalistic case for increasing the status of the language.

> Language planning is a typical adjunct of these nationalist movements, as their leaders seek to mould the new standard to mobilize and unify those they wish to lead, to legitimate their claims, and to buttress their authority (Fishman, 1972, 1983. Cited in Cooper, 1989, p.143)

McCrone (1992, p.29) notes that

> It is not necessary for nations to be linguistically distinct, but there are
> plenty of examples – not simply the Scottish one – of nations setting about
> constructing or, rather, reconstructing 'national languages' for political
> purposes: Hebrew, Norwegian, and even Irish.

2.6.6.1   Recent attempts to set up a Scots standard

When we consider the calls for the standardisation of Scots, especially the
perceived need for some sort of normalising process on Scots orthography, we
should not be surprised to see that these requests originate with political and
linguistic activists – the 'elites' (sometimes self-appointed) in the field of Scots.
That the request comes from specialists in the field, rather than from interested
novices is no coincidence. Cooper (1989, p.135) suggests that elites play an
important role in the adoption of a certain variety of a language as standard.
Macafee (1997, p.518) outlines the main preoccupations of Scots language
activists, stressing the link between increasing the status of Scots and developing
a standard form. Standard forms have high status; therefore if one wishes to
increase the status of a language variety, it is often perceived as important to
develop a standard form.

> Attempts by language activists to increase the status of Scots include
> activities directed towards focusing the language, such as raising historical
> awareness and promoting access to literature in Scots. The other main
> activity is language standardisation (McClure 1995)…Many linguists have
> felt unable to take standardisation attempts seriously, sharing the view of
> Fishman (1980: 12) that 'corpus planning without status planning is a
> linguistic game, a technical exercise without social consequence'.

2.6.6.2   Lallans

Lallans is a synthetic variety of Scots, which was an attempt to develop a standardised form of the language (see also 2.4.1.2). It was largely instigated by the poet Hugh MacDiarmid and used by poets of the Scottish Renaissance movement, although its use persists today in *Lallans*, the journal of the Scots Language Society (McArthur, 1995, p.568-569). However, if we attempt to measure Lallans against the standard criteria set out in 2.6.1, problems again become apparent. Firstly it is by no means accepted by the majority of Scots speakers and writers. Those behind the movement have made laudable attempts to codify the system, the development of the recommendations of the *Scots Style Sheet* in 1947 (first published in 1955, and the later *Recommendations for writers in Scots* by the Scots Language Society in 1985 being important contributions. (See footnote 5.) The various Scots dictionaries and works on grammar such as Purves (1997) have also had an effect in codifying the language. (Purves (1997, p.5) notes the need for a "generally recognised orthography for Scots and a recent Scots grammar" before Scots can be effectively taught in schools and university.) However, there are still long-standing arguments about the conventions it proposes. Secondly, it would be difficult to say that Lallans enjoys higher prestige than other varieties; indeed in certain circles the reverse is probably true. The Lallans movement has attempted to address the third criterion (i.e. that the standard variety should be used by institutions etc.) by pressing for the conventions of Lallans to be taught in schools; thus they argue making it easier for schoolchildren to get to grips with the Scots language as only one version would have to be dealt with. The latter brings us to the fourth criterion – that of ease of comprehension to a wider audience, and again the Lallans movement has used this argument to defend their position. As a standard form of Scots has not developed 'naturally' (although it should be remembered that language change is usually as a result of social pressures), but has had to be developed synthetically; it is perhaps not surprising that the Lallans movement, though laudable in its aims, has met widespread opposition or indifference. Although accepted by some, on the grounds that it will aid comprehension for the majority of Scots (especially if we seek to introduce more Scottish literature to the curriculum), or that it will raise

the status of the language and make it more acceptable for use in the public domain, many writers and linguists reject Lallans as a false, plastic Scots which is not rooted in any discernable time or place in the Scots language.

2.6.7 Importance of standard form

As discussed above, Scots has not developed a standard variety, and Lallans is often rejected; but is it important to develop a standard form for Scots? We are very familiar with the notion of the importance of a standard form of English, but as regards Scots is it important or desirable that it should have a standard form? As noted above, standard varieties tend to have high status, but does this necessarily imply that a language variety without a standard form will have a lesser status? Not all notional languages have standard forms; indeed (see 2.6.2) English did not fully develop a truly standardised form until the 16th century or later. However, many would argue the lack of a standard form of the language has handicapped Scots. McClure (1994, p.62) argues that

> an essential factor affecting the development of Scots in the modern period is the absence of any officially recognised standard or sociolinguistic norm – that place being held by Scottish standard English.

As will be argued in chapter 6 at 6.3.3.5, the recognised standard status of Scottish Standard English continues to present problems for the development of a standard Scots. If the language is to be used solely for personal or literary purposes, then a standard form seems less important. If, however, the language variety is to be used for official, commercial or even educational purposes, then the need for a standard becomes clearer. Whilst standards themselves are not necessarily essential accoutrements for a language; given the dominance of Standard English, and the intolerance with which 'mistakes' are generally greeted; the lack of a standard variety for Scots implies that the language variety is less important, and unfit for official use. This has important implications for the use of Scots in newspapers, such as it is unlikely that the front page of the Scotsman will be written in Scots. Chapter 6, section 6.7ff investigates where Scots is acceptable in

the newspapers, and suggests reasons why this might be the case. The following section considers the role of the press in the upholding and acceptance of standard forms is discussed in the following section.

2.6.8   The press and standard varieties

The press, as Cameron (1995) notes, often play a significant part in constructing and maintaining the notions of standards. Cameron asserts that there are strong stylistic expectations of what is considered to be appropriate form in print journalism. Bell (1991, p.82) notes that an important function of copy-editing is to ensure the language used by the newspaper adheres to "language standards" and the wider "speech community's prescriptions". There is a widespread assumption that journalists, especially those writing serious articles in the broadsheet press, are expected to write using Standard English grammar. Bell (1991, p.82) also notes that this stress on 'correct forms' is present in texts advising on news writing style which

> often concern themselves with the minor, disputed points of language which
> are the focus of overt comment in the community – split infinitives,
> prepositions at the end of sentences, neologisms, American versus British
> spellings or pronunciations.

Cameron discusses at length (1995, p.34-38) the function of the press as guardians or 'gatekeepers' of the language. There is pressure on journalists from both editors and readers to write using Standard English grammar, given the general expectation that formal written prose should follow these standard grammatical conventions. Whilst newspapers are not at the extreme or 'frozen' end of the formality spectrum, such as for example certain types of bureaucratic institutionalised prose, they are often expected to 'uphold certain linguistic standards'. Cameron argues that this is not just a perception which readers have of newspapers, but is also a role which newspapers may see themselves as

fulfilling. Her discussion focuses particularly on the Times, but the general precept has wider applications in the press.

> there is one place where received ideas about style are particularly elaborate, systematic and influential; that is, among the craft professionals whose job it is to regulate the language of published printed text ... The institutions that matter most here are journalism and publishing; the key actors in reproducing particular notions of 'style' are not authors and academics, nor even teachers of composition, though they play a significant supporting role, but copy editors. (Cameron, 1995, p.34)

Thus copy editors form an elite group (c.f. Cooper citation at 2.6.6.1) which imposes its notions of correctness onto, not only those who write for the publication in question, but also by extension, on those who read the publication. For most readers, newspapers are imbued with a sense of correctness. Cameron goes on to argue that

> [The Times] has practised verbal hygiene in a highly deliberate way because it has seen itself, and has been seen by others, as occupying a special position in British journalism and society. *The Times* is an institution, and has been conscious of its obligations to that other cherished institution, the English language. (Cameron, 1995, p.58) (my brackets)

Thus by extension, the Scottish newspapers will also generally be expected to write using a standard variety. However, what will that standard variety be: Standard written English, Scottish Standard English, or Standard Scots? The ongoing linguistic hegemony of English in Scotland (see 2.7.2) means that there is a strong assumption that Standard written English is the only acceptable variety in formal contexts. However, as was discussed at 2.5.2 above, Scottish Standard English does enjoy fairly high status as one of the national varieties of World Standard English. The situation is likely to depend on the article type, and the subject matter (see 6.7ff for investigation). As discussed at 2.3.8.2, there are

various cultural Scotticisms due to inherent differences between the English and Scottish cultures. Thus for example the use of terms such as "rector" for a school headteacher, "minister" rather than the English "vicar", or a verdict of "not proven" are unlikely to be perceived as inappropriate uses of Scots terms in a formal news article. The use of items such as "wee" or "bonnie" is likely to be more restricted in terms of article type.

However, what about a standard Scots? Is it necessary that the newspapers should have a standardised form of Scots, or is Scottish Standard English considered to be 'Scottish enough'? As discussed in the above, present-day Scots has no adequate standard form, and no recommendations for the development of a standard form for Scots have been widely agreed. Cameron's (1995) observations of the role of the press in maintaining standards would suggest that the Scottish press could have a powerful role in the development of a standard Scots. However, this is unlikely to be achieved unless deeply ingrained attitudes to Scots are changed. Whilst Scots is predominantly associated with humour or with informal features articles in the press, it is unlikely that its use will be extended into more formal contexts; and unless the use of Scots were to be extended into more formal contexts, such as serious news articles, there seems to be little pressure for the newspapers to use, or even encourage the development of, an agreed standard form. The much higher status of Scottish Standard English also seems likely to discourage the development of a standard Scots in the press, as this variety maintains its Scottish identity without compromising too much on the expected rules of grammar etc.

2.6.8.1   Toleration of orthographic variation

The extent to which a standard form for Scots exists in the Scottish newspapers can be gauged in some measure by the degree of variation they allow in the orthography of Scottish lexical items. (See 6.3.3ff for investigation of variation in orthographic form in the newspaper data.) Thus, one of the key questions as regards standards in terms of newspaper language is the issue of alternative

spellings. As will be demonstrated by the lexis data in chapter 6 (see 6.3.3), there are occasions where the same newspaper uses different orthographic forms of the same word; and, although in many cases individual writers seem to have their own orthographic preferences, sometimes there are variations in the forms used by the one writer. Such variation is allowed because unlike written English, written Scots is not a fixed variety. Thus the situation exists today where many words have several orthographic forms, all of which can be considered to be equally "correct", although the compositors of the *Scots Spelling Sheet* and other such documents would suggest that certain forms are preferable on historical or phonological grounds. It would therefore be wrong to view variations in orthographic form of Scots words as "incorrect" or "mistakes". If there is no agreed standard, individual usages cannot be described as correct or incorrect, even though individual writers may consider certain orthographic forms to be more felicitous than others. "The idea that spelling and grammatical forms must be uniform and invariant even within texts and discourses in the same dialect is a characteristic of maximum standardization." (Cheshire & Milroy, 1993, p.10). There have been various attempts to draw up guidelines for those wishing to write in Scots,[5] and there are basically two schools of thought as regards variety in the spelling of Scots lexis, which are summarised by McClure (1995, p.27-29) where he describes what he terms as the 'minimalist' and 'maximalist' approaches to the reform of Scots spelling.[6]

2.6.8.2   Pronunciation spellings

As noted in section 2.4.2.1, spoken Scots is especially distinctive in its pronunciation or accent. This is a feature of the language which is somewhat lost in the written mode. I say somewhat lost, as much written Scots is spelled in such as a way as to attempt to reflect the pronunciation of Scots. This is often especially the case where the lexical item has a very close English cognate, and the writer wishes to indicate that a particularly Scottish pronunciation or influence was intended. Spelling pronunciations are discussed further at 6.2.1.1.

2.6.8.3   Anglicisation and Scottish orthography

There has been a longstanding impact of English on the spelling of Scots (see for example, Meurman-Solin's (1993, p.48ff) account of the anglicisation process as noted in the Helsinki Corpus). This trend can be seen in the anglicising of spellings which took place in the seventeenth century and has persisted to the present day; a situation which is largely due to the close relationship between English and Scots.

> Essentially, what the anglicising Scots of the seventeenth, eighteenth and later centuries learned to do was to replace the distinctive and provincial native items of word-form, vocabulary and idiom and the more obtrusively native Scots rules of grammar, as in columns 1 and 2 of Table 6:1, with the corresponding material from columns 4 and 5. (Aitken, 1979a, p.99)

That this should have been the case is not surprising, given that the eighteenth century Scots revival took place in a context in which Scots had not been written for a hundred years, and in which English spelling was being codified (e.g. Johnson's dictionary). In this situation it is not surprising that the new generation of Scots writers should have chosen to adopt English spellings.

2.6.9   Wider significance of orthographic forms

The foregoing discussion has focussed on orthographic forms as being indicative of the degree of standardisation reached. It is important to note, however, that orthographic forms can have a significance which extends beyond standardisation and fixity. For example, Webster's dictionary of American English introduced new spellings for certain words to differentiate American English from English-English. (Discussed in Cooper, 1989, p.147; Edwards, 1985, p.33.) Thus, a normative standard variety can act as the boundary of a discourse community, thus marking the community off as a distinct entity and fuelling notions of

national identity. Scots failed to achieve this fully, and hence it can be argued that the boundaries of the Scots discourse community are blurred with English.

2.7 Appropriacy & linguistic hegemony

As has been suggested above the low status of Scots and its lack of an agreed standard variety inhibit the registers for which it is considered suitable usage. Indeed, it can be argued that choosing to write in Scots rather than English automatically lowers the register of a text. This tendency can be explained by the notions of appropriacy and the linguistic hegemony of English in Scotland, which are explained in the following sections.

2.7.1 General theory of appropriacy

We can consider the lower status of Scots and hence the restriction of contexts in which it is considered suitable, in light of the notion of appropriacy. In this study appropriacy provides a useful concept which helps to explain observations made later in the data chapters that Scots language is more likely to be found in certain types of articles than others.

Fairclough (1995) uses this concept of appropriacy in a narrower context when discussing the language varieties generally considered appropriate for use by schoolchildren in a range of contexts. Thus, for example, Standard English would generally be deemed the appropriate variety for formal written prose. Non-standard dialect forms might be more appropriate for use in the home, or in creative writing. Fairclough (1995, p.233) rejects this theory as being a valid reason why schoolchildren should be taught Standard English, and also rejects "a competence-based 'communication skills' view of language education". He describes the concept of prescriptive appropriateness in language as "the commonplace view that varieties of a language differ in being appropriate for different purposes and different situations." (Fairclough, 1995, p.223). Fairclough

argues that in education, the term "inappropriate" is used by those who do not wish to appear overly prescriptive, but that it is really just a softer way of saying 'bad'. Fairclough argues that educators present these notions of appropriacy as unchallengeable and static truths, which are somehow inherent in the language itself. Thus as regards the present study: Scots is suitable/appropriate for humorous or informal contexts, never for serious discursive prose. Standard written English, on the other hand, is entirely appropriate for serious discursive prose. Fairclough rejects this thinking, and argues that these notions of appropriateness arise from social forces that can, and perhaps should, be challenged. Thus for Fairclough, appropriacy is dynamic, and can change over time as a result of different pressures on the language. To return to the earlier example, it is not inconceivable, though from the present status-quo unlikely, that Scots could one day successfully extend its registers into more formal types of mainstream prose; just as it can be argued that historically Scots was used for a much wider variety of purposes and registers of texts which were presumably considered perfectly appropriate at the time.

Fairclough makes interesting objections to the concept of appropriacy, saying that it gives

> an image of clearly distinguished language varieties being used in clearly distinguished contexts, according to clear-cut conventions, which hold for all members of what is assumed to be a homogeneous speech community. (Fairclough, 1995, p.243)

He goes on to argue that in subscribing to appropriateness models of language, we are making certain untenable presuppositions about sociolinguistic variation, which can be summarised as follows:

1. There is a 1:1, or at least a determinate and well-defined many-to-one, fit between varieties of a language and the contexts/purposes they are appropriate for.

2. This determinate fit characterizes all parts of the sociolinguistic order.

3. This fit holds for all members of a speech community.

4. The distinction between appropriate and inappropriate language use is clear-cut.

5. Varieties of a language, contexts, and purposes, are well-defined and clearly demarcated entities.

(Fairclough, 1995, p.243)

2.7.1.1   Application of appropriacy to newspaper texts

Fairclough's presuppositions can be tested in light of the data presented in this study and to Scots and Scottish Standard English more generally. With regards to the first presupposition, that there is a well-defined fit between varieties of a language and the contexts for which it is deemed appropriate, certainly the data chapters suggest that Scots is only acceptable usage in certain contexts (see 6.7ff). For more serious news articles, the preferred variety is Standard English, or Scottish Standard English. However, it can be argued that Scots is a rather special case. Firstly, to a certain extent the restricted contexts of Scots is determined by its word stock. As already mentioned (see 2.5.3.1), a brief look at the sections most heavily represented in the Scots Thesaurus indicates that whilst Scots is comparatively rich in lexis for agriculture, nature, the weather etc., it has very few technological or scientific lexical items. Thus there are simply not the existing lexical resources in Scots to enable one to write sustained formal prose on, for example, the DNA double-helix. Also, Aitken's observations (1979a, p.85-86) on style-drifters and code-switchers (see 2.3.6) surely indicate that there are powerful forces at work which motivate people to attempt to modify their language to suit the situation in which they find themselves. The lines for what is and what is not considered to be appropriate usage may be more clearly demarcated for Scots than for Scottish Standard English; i.e. there are situations where Scots may be acceptable, and situations where it definitely is not acceptable. As varieties at the thinner end of the Scottish-English continuum (particularly Scottish Standard

English) are much more closely related to English than is Scots, they are presumably acceptable in a wider variety of contexts. Certainly as far as the spoken mode is concerned, for many Scots, even those who would be described as well-educated and/or middle-class, this is the only variety of English available to them; although they may well be able to modify it to some extent in terms of overt vocabulary and accent.

There is a strong historical precedent for the appropriacy or register distinctions we have been discussing; with a strong recognition that the uses of English vs. Scots and vice versa have strong stylistic and register as well as possibly political implications. For example, as noted earlier at 2.2.3, Burns, although generally revered as an icon of the Scots language, was a poet well-versed in the mores of Augustanism, with its strong predilection for correctness and appropriacy; and often exploited the differences in register between Scots and English to create specific effects in his poetry – for example *Tam O'Shanter*. This dichotomy in the language of Burns is also discussed by Jack (1998, p.15-17).

> It has often been pointed out that even in *Tam O'Shanter*, one of his 'Scots' poems, Burns mixes Augustan English with Scots usage. In this poem, Burns seems to have distinguished between narrative description, written in Scots, and philosophical reflection, written in Augustan English; and this distinction is generally taken as reflecting Burns's assessment of the relative social significance of these varieties. (Smith, 1996, p.172)

In addition, as discussed by Cameron (1995) (see 2.6.8 for full discussion of the press and standard varieties) the media itself exerts powerful hegemonic influences on language. It is a very public discourse form, and as such is much more open to criticisms about its linguistic practices than say the individual in society. For example, if one thinks of the Scottish news programmes, although many Scottish viewers will not sound anything like the presenters Jackie Bird or Viv Lumsden, their accents are viewed as being appropriate for the purposes of a Scottish news broadcast. They are recognisably Scottish, but also 'polite enough' not to offend. A news programme delivered by someone speaking broad

Glaswegian would be considered inappropriate, possibly insincere and probably also offensive, even to Glaswegians with so-called 'broad' accents. Many newspaper letters pages include readers' complaints about the newspaper's use of language – 'ungrammatical', 'new-fangled', 'incorrect English' etc. In this study it was found that some of the articles which have been classified as Scots language articles complained about, or defended the use of, particular orthographic forms for certain Scots words (see Appendix 3).

Fowler (1994, p.42 & p.44) in his general study of newspaper language, notes that

> It is obligatory to select a style of discourse which is communicatively appropriate to the particular setting … The fundamental principle is that, to repeat, *the writer is constituted by the discourse.*

> The newspaper and its readers share a common 'discursive competence', know the permissible statements, permissions and prohibitions … Newspaper and reader negotiate the significance of the text around the stipulations of the appropriate discourse, a mode of discourse 'cued' for the reader by significant linguistic options.

Fowler applies this to examples like "blondes are busty", but this can also be applied to the notion of appropriateness of language variety to function of text. Different types of newspaper articles have different functions. News articles are primarily designed to be informative, whereas feature articles although they may have some referential content, have as their dominant function to entertain. Thus the different functions of the discourse may be reflected in the differences in variety of language used.

It is also important to remember that newspapers are not written by individuals, in the sense that each article will have to go through various editorial stages; and thus to an extent, newspapers are written by committee. As such, it is not surprising that they tend to conform to the prevailing hegemony. Generally the

more people who are involved in its production, the more normalised will be the discourse. Newspapers are examples of a particular type of institutional discourse, and as such their language will tend to conform to the prevailing institutional and societal norms. (See also Hall (1978, p.58).) There is far less scope for individual linguistic choices than there would be for an individual speaker confronted by a variety of situations. Also, the print medium means that any idiosyncratic choices would be preserved for all to see. As Cameron (1995, p.58) notes (see section 2.6.8 above), newspapers see themselves as arbiters of style.

With respect to Fairclough's third presupposition, that this fit between varieties of a language and the contexts for which they are considered appropriate is true for all members of the speech community; the present study shows this to be untrue. The Scots language articles written in broad Scots discussed in section 5.5.6 are examples where Scots is being used in a very public discourse to discuss serious topics. Publications such as *Lallans* which use Scots for discursive prose also seem to deny this presupposition. However, as has been noted at 2.5.3.1, Scots is only ever used in this way in the newspapers to discuss Scottish topics such as the state of the language, Scottish literature etc., and even when used to discuss history (as in *Cairn*), the history is Scottish history, It can therefore be argued that there do seem to be unspoken appropriacy rules operating here which allow Scots in these very restricted contexts, but would presumably rule out the use of Scots in an article covering the Chancellor's budget speech.

The fifth presupposition, that varieties of a language are clearly demarcated and distinct has been shown to be untrue earlier in this chapter when discussing the linguistic continuum. This will also be discussed later at 2.8ff, where the difficulty of categorising individual texts is discussed.

Thus Fairclough appears to be correct when he argues that appropriacy is a problematic concept. There do, however, appear to be deep-seated beliefs about what is and is not appropriate usage, as illustrated by the observations on the

distribution of Scottish lexis in the newspapers made in chapter 6 at 6.7ff. It is perhaps better therefore, to consider language use by the newspapers, particularly as relates to the use of recognisably Scottish lexis, as generally conforming to what is considered to be appropriate by the linguistic community and newspaper readership. These ideas of what is appropriate and what is inappropriate are the result of long-standing forces of linguistic hegemony which have tended to restrict the contexts in which the use of Scots or Scottish language is considered to be acceptable, desirable, or appropriate. The following section discusses the concept of *hegemony* in more detail.

2.7.2   Linguistic hegemony of English in Scotland

Fairclough (1995, p.76) defines 'hegemony' as follows.

> Hegemony is leadership as well as domination across the economic, political, cultural and ideological domains of society. Hegemony is the power over society as a whole of the fundamental economically defined classes in alliance (as a bloc) with other social forces, but is never achieved more than partially and temporarily, as an 'unstable equilibrium'. Hegemony is about constructing alliances, and integrating rather than simply dominating subordinate classes, through concessions or through ideological means, to win their consent.

Fairclough argues that discourse is often used as a tool both to further and to struggle against hegemonic practice; but also that discourse itself is a hegemonic battleground where certain discourse practices are dominant within the language community.

> There is a dual relationship of discourse to hegemony. On the one hand, hegemonic practice and hegemonic struggle to a substantial extent take the form of discursive practice, in spoken and written interaction. ... The second aspect of the dual relationship of discourse to hegemony is that

> discourse is itself a sphere of cultural hegemony, and the hegemony of a
> class or group over the whole society or over particular sections of it ... is in
> part a matter of its capacity to shape discursive practices and orders of
> discourse. (Fairclough, 1995, p.94-95)

Thus following Fairclough, the Scottish newspapers can be seen as the arena where part of the hegemonic struggle between English and Scots is being played out. The linguistic practices of the newspapers, i.e. whether they use Scots or English, and in what contexts, can be seen as a reflection of the prevailing hegemony of the day. The study of the amount and location of Scots contained within the newspapers as contained in chapter 6 will therefore give a good indication of society's views, and in particular the views of dominant groups within society, of the status of Scots and Scottish Standard English. That is to say, powerful forces have been at work in Scottish society, which say that Scots is not appropriate for use in formal written prose. From time to time those hegemonic principles will be challenged, e.g. by the SNP's use of Scots for certain documents, or to a lesser extent by the occasional inclusion of articles written entirely in Scots in the newspapers, such as the Scots language articles discussed in chapter 5 (see 5.5.6 and Appendix 3). However, such challenges to the prevailing hegemony are the exception and not the rule.

It should also be borne in mind that different linguistic communities may well have different hegemonic pressures. For example, the magazine *Lallans'* insistence that all articles submitted for publication should be written in some form of Scots can be viewed as illustrating prevailing hegemonic forces operating within a small subsection of society, which are in conflict with the general hegemonic norms of society as a whole. Such linguistic practices can be seen as a reaction against the prevailing hegemony which views Scots as more appropriate for private use, or in creative writing especially for poetry, or for generating humour.

Having outlined the general theoretical background to the study of the Scottish language varieties, and given some definitions of what each variety is held to be; it is now useful to consider how one might analyse individual texts, and this is covered in the next section.

2.8 Classifying texts

The concept of a linguistic continuum is useful in the abstract, but it is less helpful when, as was the case in this study, faced with a text and trying to categorise it, or position it along the continuum. For example, in this study in order to analyse the language varieties of the immediate contexts of Scottish lexis, it was necessary to devise some system whereby a line was drawn between what was Scots and what was Scottish Standard English. As discussed at 7.2.3, this was by no means an easy task. Quantitatively and qualitatively how Scottish does a text have to be to qualify as Scots rather than Scottish Standard English? As will be discussed in chapter 7 (see 7.10), there are many inter-related factors which must be taken into account when attempting to classify a text. McClure has developed a model which seeks to address this problem of analysing individual texts.

2.8.1 McClure's model

McClure's model is based on two pairs of concepts. Firstly that of 'thin' and 'dense' Scots, i.e. a quantitative analysis; and secondly 'literary' and 'colloquial', a qualitative analysis.

McClure's terms 'thin' and 'dense' Scots have their basis in the concept of the linguistic continuum, being more or less Scottish. He suggests (McClure, 1979, p.30) that in the written mode we can differentiate between dense and thin Scots where

> if the piece contains a large number of distinctively Scots words, if it is
> Scots in grammar and idiom, if it is written in an orthography that is clearly

based on Scots pronunciation or Scots etymology, then it is a sample of 'dense' Scots. Conversely, if only relatively few of its words and other features are distinctively Scots, it would be placed near the 'thin' end of the axis.

He gives the following diagram, Figure 2.7, (McClure, 1979, p.29) to clarify the model.

Thin ↑

Dense ↓ ⟵————————⟶

Literary   Colloquial
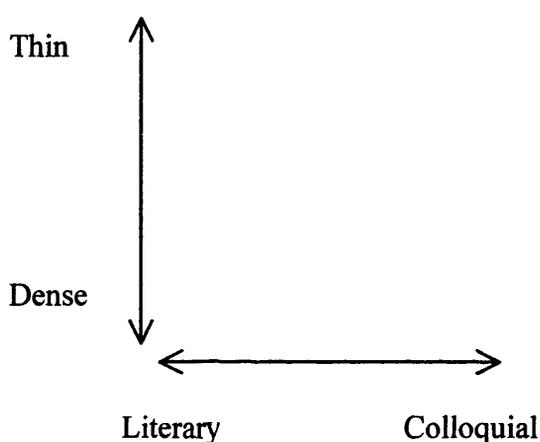
Figure 2.7   McClure's model

He goes on to say that "the limiting case, as it were, of 'thin' Scots would be Scottish-English, i.e. Standard English, the international *lingua franca*, as spoken by educated Scotsmen."(McClure, 1979, p.30) (N.B. McClure's use of the term 'Scottish-English' here equates to my use of the term 'Scottish Standard English' in this study.) As can be seen from the diagram above, McClure also proposed a distinction be made between 'colloquial' and 'literary' writing, where

'colloquial' writing might employ slang or jargon, and might attempt to suggest the lack of overt attention to formal grammatical rules that characterises spoken language. It would not abound in rhyme, alliteration, syntactic parallelisms, metaphors, or any other obviously 'poetic' features. To the extent that those were present, the passage would be moved away from the 'colloquial' towards the 'literary' end of the scale. 'Literary'

Scots, by contrast, is by definition remote from actual speech. Some of its characteristics would be: a more or less recondite vocabulary, containing words from a wider range of times and places than could be found in 'colloquial' writing; an avoidance of distinctively local forms in grammar and orthography ... and of course, the presence in some degree of figurative and allusive language and formal versification. (Note that the degree of literariness does not depend solely on the degree of Scotsness.)

(McClure, 1979, p.29-30)

2.8.1.1   Problems with this approach

McClure's distinction between 'colloquial' and 'literary' language is less helpful when attempting to analyse the prose language of Scottish newspapers as they are unlikely to exploit certain literary features, although it does work well for literary texts as his (1979) examples show. However, it is certainly true to say that the items of Scots vocabulary found in what we would traditionally think of as literary contexts, are likely to be more eclectic in provenance and diachronic time-scale. The ultimate example of such language would be Lallans - the 'synthetic' language specifically created for literary purposes which uses lexical items from different regions in Scotland and eras in Scots to enrich its vocabulary. (See 2.4.1.2 and 2.6.6.2 above for further discussion of Lallans.)

However, some difficulties are encountered when attempting to distinguish and describe interim points on the Scottish-English linguistic continuum. This is especially true in the written mode as there can be no assistance gained from an analysis of accent. There will be many cases where it is evident that a certain text is Scots and another is Scottish Standard English; but as McClure's diagram suggests, there are grey areas in the middle. Some texts seem to fall mid-way between these two poles. That is to say there can be degrees of linguistic 'Scottishness'.

One of the issues addressed by chapter 7, is whether or not certain Scottish lexical items tend to occur within dense Scots or thinner Scottish Standard English contexts, or somewhere in-between. For the present it is worth noting that there can be serious difficulties when attempting to determine just how far along the linguistic continuum between these two varieties a particular text lies. In brief, in this study it is posited that where texts have Scots closed class items, they are likely to lie fairly close to the Scots end of the spectrum, whereas if a text has only open class Scottish lexical items, then it is more likely to tend towards the Scottish Standard English end of the continuum. The rationale behind this theory is rehearsed in more detail in chapter 7 (see 7.7.2ff).

2.9 Conclusion

Central to the argument of this chapter is Bex's (1996) development of the notion of a 'discourse community'. Scotland can be viewed collectively as a fairly close discourse community; where the knowledge and display of distinctively Scottish linguistic features shows the individual is an initiate member of the discourse community. (Language display is covered more fully in the next chapter.) Thus it can be argued that if the Scottish newspapers wish to 'truly belong' or to have a Scottish identity; they must demonstrate their membership by the linguistic forms they use. However, individuals and newspapers also have to participate in, for example, the wider 'British' discourse community (or for some the closer Gael community). Individuals participating in different discourse communities will therefore have access to different social languages. Thus we have a situation where different social languages co-exist within the same culture. Depending on whether Scots is considered to be a dialect of English or a language in its own right, the situation can be termed as one of heteroglossia or polyglossia following Bakhtin.

However, not all individuals in the culture will have the same degree of access to the various varieties which operate within Scotland; i.e. they will have varying competences (i.e. access to, or knowledge of, the possible varieties). To a certain

extent the linguistic options available to them will be determined by various factors such as social class and aspirations, education and context of situation. Thus the situation in Scotland is one of a polarised linguistic continuum, where individuals will tend to be more drawn to one of the two poles than the other. The utterances (*parole*) produced by these individuals can therefore be used to situate them in terms of their social and linguistic identity along the continuum. (The link between language and identity is explored in the next chapter.) By extension, newspaper texts as utterances will also give indications of their social and linguistic identity; although as will be seen in the next chapter, the situation is complicated by the fact that the newspapers will be written in language which is the newspaper's own version of the language used by their readership (see 3.7.5). It is therefore possible to view the newspapers' linguistic choices as an attempted reflection of the language of their perceived readerships. This will be investigated further with respect to the potential split between tabloid and broadsheet newspapers in the data chapters (6, 7 & 8).

Aitken's (1979a, 1984a) model of Scottish speech outlines the available linguistic options in Scotland, and underlines that the choices made from columns 1 to 5 may correlate with social class etc., and may vary according to register; Scots and English often being used in different registers. Thus different varieties come to be associated with particular registers, thereby developing notions of linguistic appropriacy. Scots is generally perceived as being of low status (partly because it is not universally recognised as a language in its own right, and because it has no recognised standard form), and therefore it tends to be used in more restricted contexts. Scottish Standard English has higher status and is therefore acceptable for use in a wider variety of contexts. It is therefore important to look at how and where Scots is used in the newspapers, as this will give an indication of its perceived status. (See 6.7ff for investigation of where Scots used in the newspapers under analysis.)

Bex (1996) argues that texts are produced according to the norms of the discourse community, and the function the text is expected to serve within that community;

thus it follows that newspapers are also written according to these constraints. Texts are therefore constructed according to notions of appropriacy. Fairclough (1995) argues that appropriacy is dynamic, not static; and therefore it can alter over time. Thus the present low status and restricted contexts for Scots are capable of being challenged. One way of challenging these ideas is through what Cooper (1989) terms *corpus planning*; i.e. the development of a more prestigious standard form. It can be argued that the lack of a present-day standard form for Scots is largely responsible for its low status and restricted registers. Cameron (1995) has noted the importance of the press in constructing and maintaining standard varieties, and therefore by extension the Scottish press could be a powerful instrument in the development and acceptance of a Scottish standard. However, the prevailing linguistic hegemony of English in Scotland, and the reasonably high status of Scottish Standard English, means that that in the foreseeable future this is unlikely to happen. Fairclough (1995) argues that discourse is often used both to further and to struggle against hegemonic practice, but that the discourse itself can often be the arena where these struggles take place. Thus analysis of the Scottish newspapers to see where and how much Scots they use and whether it is in any way standardised, will give an indication of the prevailing hegemonies in Scotland today and whether they are likely to be challenged in the near future.

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[1] "… according to the typology devised by William Stewart (1968), Scots qualifies as no more than a Dialect and neither as a Standard nor a Classical language. Using Stewart's terminology, its functions are marginal to the patterns of communications within the polity: in fact it has unquestionably only one of the functions (*literary*) which Stewart takes into his reckoning, unless we consider it has the *group* function within the working-class. As a spoken language it lacks 'standardisation'; it is heteronomous with – bound up in a sociolinguistic continuum with and constantly influenced by – Standard English, and therefore conspicuously lacking in the crucial attribute of 'autonomy'. It has indeed only two of the four 'attributes' used by Stewart in assessing language-type. It does possess the attributes of 'historicity' and, though perhaps questionably, 'vitality' – questionably, because by some definitions of Scots it could be said not any longer to be spoken by more than a tiny minority. This makes it what Stewart calls a Dialect." Aitken (1980, p.72-73)

[2] Two tongues which are unalike to the extent that a monolingual speaker of one would find the other very difficult or impossible to understand are *abstand* languages: English and Gaelic, or French and German, are obvious examples. (See McClure, 1997, p.12) "An *ausbau* language is one which has been adapted for a wide range of uses, and one language has *ausbau* status relative to another if their ranges of functions are mutually comparable. In this there can be no possibility of measuring Scots against a world language like English, with an accepted application, in both its spoken and written forms, to all branches of human activity ... Scots, clearly, has developed part of the way towards this stage, but not all. It has a written form and possesses a splendid corpus of literature, including poetry, fictional dialogue, narrative prose and drama, but the extent to which it is used for non-literary writing is negligible, despite some experimental attempts to employ it for literary criticism and linguistic discussion. One only has to imagine a quality newspaper, containing reports and analyses of local, national and world politics, editorials, sports commentaries, reviews of books, theatre and broadcasting, and the other regular features of *The Scotsman* or *The Herald* written entirely in Scots, to realise how far it is from the *ausbau* level of a world language." (McClure, 1997, p.19)

[3] Strauss (1979) describes apperceptional language as being "an idiom that is considered by many speakers of an area as a separate language without owning the objective characteristics indispensable for that status." (Quoted in Bailey, 1991, p.69)

[4] It should be noted that Kloss, the distinguished German scholar, later withdrew this term "Halbsprache" as "arguably derogatory and ill-defined" (Wood, 1979, p.187). Kloss was also responsible for the term "ausbau".

[5] The *Scots Style Sheet* of 1947 (first published 1955) was a one-page document drawn up in an Edinburgh hostelry, which laid out some basic recommendations for Scots orthography. The Language Planning Committee was set up following a conference on language planning for Scots held in November 1977 at Glasgow University. The group foundered after a few meetings, as members could not agree on its basic aims. The *Scots Style Sheet* was revisited and added to by the Scots Language Society at the Skreivars' Tryst, described as a "meeting of Scots Makkars" held in the School of Scottish Studies, University of Edinburgh, on 30 March 1985. These recommendations were published as *Recommendations for writers in Scots* by the Scots Language Society in 1985. The magazine *Lallans* published guidelines for "Skreivars in Lallans" in 1987. The Scots Spelling Committee was set up in November 1996, and issued its report in 1998 (for details see the Scots Language Resource Centre website). Purves has written various documents giving guidelines on the spelling of Scots, such as Purves (1975, p.26-27) 'The spelling of Scots', *Lallans* 4; Purves (1979, p.61-76) 'A Scots orthography', *Scottish Literary Journal* Supplement; Scots Language Society; Purves (1985, p.18-19) 'Spelling recommendations', *Lallans* 24. Purves'

Scots grammar (1997) gives detailed recommendations on Scots spelling. Others, to quote Macafee (1997), are "fairly radical", and include Stirling (1994) and Allan (1995).

[6] The minimalist stance argues for the retention of an English based orthography for Scots, although removing any obviously anomalous items. Those words which are shared with English would generally continue to be spelled according to the English conventions. The maximalist approach, to which McClure subscribes, proposes a totally radical reform of the existing Scots spelling system, based on Scots phonology. Further, it suggests that words which are shared with English should be spelled according to this new spelling system, and not according to English convention. Both the minimalist and the maximalist options have inherent advantages and disadvantages. With the minimalist approach, the main advantage is that as the spelling system would be fairly familiar, as based on English orthographic conventions. The main advantage for the maximalist stance would be a unique spelling system specially designed to agree with Scottish pronunciation. (Based on McClure (1995, p.27-29.)

3 LANGUAGE, IDENTITY, NEWSPAPERS & READERS

3.1 Introduction

This chapter deals with the potential link between language and identity, and the relationship between newspapers and their readers. These are more general issues which are relevant to the study as a whole. Firstly, it outlines Anderson's concept of the 'imagined community', which stresses that nationhood is grounded as much in the mind, i.e. in people's perceptions about their community, as in more tangible outward manifestations. It then considers the symbolic functions of language, and how language can be used as a focus for identity. The chapter then moves to a consideration of the relationship between Scottish language and Scottish identity, and asks what form that Scottish identity (or Scottish identities) might take. It asks whether there is one coherent value system which can be termed the Scottish identity, or whether there are multiple Scottish identities, depending on one's viewpoint, background, social class etc. It then moves to a consideration of whether the newspapers reflect or mark their Scottish identity using language, or are actually involved in the linguistic construction of identity. As part of the discussion of Scottish identity, the chapter will also outline the main Scottish stereotypes, and ask to what extent they form part of the Scottish identity. Scottish stereotypes will be investigated further in chapter 6 at section 6.4.2ff to see whether these stereotypes are in evidence in the newspaper texts, and if so, to what effect. A more general discussion on newspapers and the dynamic relationship which they share with their readers concludes the chapter.

3.2 Scotland as 'imagined community'

On a literal level, Scotland is, of course, the northern part of the British Isles, with its own distinctive legal, educational and religious institutions, and nowadays,

with its own parliament. However, Scotland is not just about this physical place
and its inhabitants; Scotland is also a mental construct. In other words, Scotland
is made distinctly Scottish partly by the attitudes and values held by those who
live there, and their sense of Scottish identity. To clarify the point further, until
recently Scotland was largely governed from Westminster, as an integral, if
distinctive, part of Britain. However, although Scotland had none of the
traditional attributes which might usually be considered to make it a nation, such
as political autonomy, self-determination, consistent usage of its own language
etc., many of its inhabitants still considered it to be a nation of sorts; if not in
actuality, at least as far as their mental attitude towards it was concerned. There is
for many Scots a sense of British identity; but there is also generally a strong,
perhaps even stronger, sense of Scottish identity. Certainly McCrone et. al.'s
fairly small study of National Trust for Scotland members' attitudes (1995)
suggests that Scots have a stronger affiliation for Scottish rather than British
identity (see section 3.5). McCrone (1992, p.24) notes that in a 1991 opinion poll
carried out for the Scotsman, "40 percent of Scots considered themselves to be
Scottish not British, and a further 29 percent more Scottish than British." (21
percent considered themselves to be equally Scottish and British.)

Thus, if that sense of Scottish nationhood was not based on concrete outward
manifestations, it must have been based largely on the way the Scottish people
think about themselves. That is not to say that all Scots necessarily share exactly
the same ideas as to what Scotland is all about, and what makes them Scottish; but
there will be a pool of generalised concepts about Scotland and Scottishness, from
which the individual can construct his or her own Scotland. For some those
concepts may be mainly historical, for others cultural, for some linguistic and so
on. McCrone says that

> Scotland as 'country' is, then, a landscape of the mind, a place of the
> imagination. As such, notions of the essential Scotland are what people
> want it to be. (McCrone, 1992, p.17)

McCrone follows Anderson's (1983) terminology when he argues that

the lack of linguistic, religious or similar cultural markers in Scotland forces
nationalists to conjure up an alternative 'imagined community' (McCrone,
1992, p.174).

McCrone, adding to Anderson, argues that

nation implies community, a sense of deep, horizontal comradeship among
people. Anderson talks of nations being 'imagined communities' because
they require a sense of belonging which is both horizontal and vertical, in
place and time. The 'nation' not only implies an affinity with those
currently living, but with dead generations. The idea of the nation is to be
conceived of, says Anderson, 'as a solid community moving steadily down
(or up) history' (1983: 31). (McCrone, 1992, p.27-28)

Thus nationhood is not just to do with political principalities, but rather it is based
on a more fundamental sense of belonging to a distinctive community which is
rooted in history. Both Anderson and McCrone are therefore suggesting an idea
which is also alluded to in the title of a book review article by Paul Scott (1996,
p.102) 'Are we a nation only because we think we are?' Scott takes issue with
Drost-Hüttl's (1995) assumption that Scotland is a nation only because it thinks it
is, arguing that historically there are many more tangible reasons why Scotland
should be considered to be a nation in its own right, such as its history and
tradition of independent institutions (the church, law and education). Whilst these
tangible attributes are undeniably true, the presence of a mental consciousness of
nationhood, a feeling of belonging to the community that is Scotland, is a
powerful factor in the creation and maintenance of a sense of Scottish identity.

A mental consciousness of being Scottish, whether based on historic fact, cultural
'totems' and icons, Scottish heritage or Scottish language is still very pervasive in

Scotland today. Ferguson's study (1998) of the development of Scottish identity through the ages discusses how myth and ideology can pervade our sense of 'historical fact', history often being cited as a powerful source of Scottish identity. (also noted by McCrone (1992, p.199-200).) It does not ultimately matter whether or not these things to which we cling as making us Scottish are particularly 'authentic', if indeed true authenticity can ever be claimed. (Note for example the success of lowland Scots' appropriation of Highland mores of dress in the development of the tartan industry; many of the tartans having little historical basis, and the kilt being a modern interpretation of the philbeg (large tartan plaid cloth). (See Donnachie & Whatley, 1992, p.150-151.) What matters is that we believe in these cultural totems and icons, and use them to validate our sense of Scottish identity.

3.3 Functions of language

It is argued in this study that language plays a part in the construction and maintenance of Scottish identity for the readers of Scottish newspapers. Many linguists, e.g. Jakobson (1960) and Edwards (1985) emphasise that language does not always function only to facilitate communication. Language can fulfil a variety of functions, and in the following section a distinction is made between the communicative and symbolic functions of language. It will be argued that the symbolic function of language is related to the linguistic construction and maintenance of identity.

3.3.1 Symbolic vs. communicative functions

Edwards (1985, p.17) argues that language, in addition to being used for communication, helps to define boundaries between different groups, and that it has both *communicative* and *symbolic* functions.

The basic distinction here is between language in its ordinarily understood sense as a tool of communication, and language as an emblem of groupness, as a symbol, a rallying point. (Edwards, 1985, p.17)

Language can thus emphasise group identity, in that members of the group share the same language or language variety; but it can also highlight the differences between that group and others around them. As McCrone (1992, p.28-29) notes, language used to negotiate identity can be simultaneously inclusive and exclusive.

The late nineteenth century saw the remaking of 'Wales' as an ideological device for rousing 'the people' against the dominant foreigner – the English who were 'stealing the land' (Gwyn Williams 1980). In this context, language became a crucial 'cultural identifier' in Gellner's phrase, which included, and, of course, excluded. To borrow Anderson's comment, 'Seen as both a historic fatality and as a community imagined through language, the nation presents itself as simultaneously open and closed' (1983: 133) ... Anderson's is an important point, but implies that other identifiers are less significant in generating nationalism. Language, however, carries disadvantages as well as advantages, because it erects a threshold, a tariff, which has to be met if one wishes to participate.

Those who are part of the shared linguistic community feel as though they belong to a common group with common aims and ideology; those who do not have the necessary linguistic skills are however excluded. Their lack of shared linguistic competence precludes them from partaking of full group membership. Donaldson (1998, p.194-195) also stresses the tariffs raised by language, and argues that it can be used to include or exclude others from the group. Donaldson is focusing on spoken discourse, but the general point applies here.

Spoken Scots is a relaxed and informal mode, used with insiders, used, indeed, to 'define' insiders. Many people having it as their preferred mode

of communication, would not dream of using it in public settings with strangers. It would be considered a form of linguistic nudism, and therefore shunned. English and Scots do not, therefore, form the twin poles of a seamless continuum of usage, because they perform essentially different functions. Spoken English is a bridge between the user and the wider world, and Scots a bastion against it. The first is a means of including the user within a wider supra-national community, the second a means of excluding that larger community from the speaker and his circle and possibly also disrupting it.

3.3.2   Persistence of symbolic function

Edwards goes on to argue (1985, p.18) that the communicative and symbolic functions of language can be separated, and that it is possible for the symbolic function of a language as a focus of identity to persist, even when the language is no longer used in its communicative function. In other words, the symbolic function of language as a rallying point or emblem of group identity can persist even when the communicative function of that language is reduced or lost.

Thus, for example, the display of old Scots proverbs in the newspapers, particularly the Scotsman, (see section 8.7.1) may include the use of Scots words which are no longer in current use. The precise meaning of each word of the proverb may be quite difficult for many modern readers to recover; but the meaning is, in a sense, less important than the display of the proverb. This seems to be especially the case where there are long lists of proverbs, or invitations to the readers to 'write-in' to the newspaper with their own examples. Display rather than comprehension seems to be the main aim. That comprehension may be difficult is shown by the numbers of such expressions which are explained, or 'translated' into present-day English.

The persistence of the symbolic function can be argued for Scots. The impact of English over the centuries has been such that most Scottish individuals can easily express their thoughts in English, and do not generally need to make recourse to Scots for the sake of clarity; however, they may still choose to use Scots, primarily in its symbolic function. Indeed, as will be seen in chapter 5 at section 5.5.6 when the Scots language articles written in Scots are discussed, dense Scots for many readers may actually have lost much of its communicative function (i.e. they find dense Scots difficult to read), but still maintain, and perhaps even heighten its symbolic function. Thus it can be argued that in such cases the function of Scots is largely like that of Gaelic as explored by Cormack (1995, p.272), where the use of Gaelic by the Scottish newspapers is viewed as being largely symbolic, and comprehension is less important than visibility. (See 3.6.4.)

3.4   Language and identity

As noted above, one of the many symbolic functions of language is as a focus for identity. That identity can take many forms, not just national identity, but also group identity, local identity and class identity. Each of these will be considered in the following, but first consideration must be given to this question. To what extent does language reflect or mark a pre-existent identity, and to what extent does it actively construct identity?

3.4.1   Language as reflecting, marking or constructing identity

Cameron (1995, p.15-16) summarises the two main traditions of thought regarding the link between language and identity, the one following sociolinguistic theories of language variation, and the other following recent social and critical theory. The two traditions approach the question of the relationship between language and identity from different viewpoints.

In sociolinguistics, the reasons why speakers produce certain patterns of variation are most often understood with reference to the truism that 'language reflects society'. People's use of linguistic variables can be correlated with their demographic characteristics: their belonging to particular classes, races, genders, generations, local communities. The linguistic behaviour is taken to 'reflect' the speaker's social location. Alternatively, some linguists argue for a more active conception of speaker's behaviour; that language is used to 'mark' social identity. Consciously or unconsciously, speakers use speech to signal their sense of themselves as belonging to group A and being different from group B. In both accounts, it is implicitly assumed that the relevant categories and identities exist prior to language, and are simply 'marked' or 'reflected' when people come to use it.

But any encounter with recent social and critical theory will cast doubt on such an approach. The categories that sociolinguistics treats as fixed givens, such as 'class', 'gender' and even 'identity', are treated in critical approaches as relatively unstable *constructs* which are therefore in need of explanation themselves. Furthermore, in critical theory language is treated as part of the explanation. Whereas sociolinguistics would say that the way I use language reflects or marks my identity as a particular kind of social subject – I talk like a white middle-class woman because I am (already) a white middle-class woman – the critical account suggests language is one of the things that *constitutes* my identity as a particular kind of subject. Sociolinguistics says that how you act depends on who you are; critical theory says that who you are (and are taken to be) depends on how you act. (Cameron, 1995, p.15-16)

Cameron takes the critical linguistics stance, and cites Judith Butler's *Gender Trouble* (1990) as an example. Butler's discussion focuses on gender identity, but the points Cameron draws from it are of interest here. In arguing against sociolinguistic explanations she notes that

If identity pre-exists language, if it is given, fixed and taken for granted, then why do language-users have to mark it so assiduously and repetitively? In Butler's account, the repetition is necessary to sustain the identity, precisely because it does not exist outside the acts that constitute it. … From a critical perspective, then, the norms that regulate linguistic performance are not simply reflections of an existing structure but elements in the creation and recreation of that structure. (Cameron, 1995, p.17)

Thus Cameron argues that language helps to construct identity, rather than merely being used to reflect identity. McCrone (1992, p. 195) also adopts this viewpoint when discussing Scottish identity.

The question to ask is not how best do cultural forms reflect an essential national identity, but how do cultural forms actually help to construct and shape identity, or rather identities – for there is less need to reconcile or prioritise these.

In the previous chapter I referred to Bakhtin's theories of heteroglossia and polyglossia, and his theory of dialogism. Crawford (1994) argues for the potential importance and relevance of Bakhtin's concept of dialogism to studies of Scotland. Dialogism stresses the ongoing interaction between meanings, the constant reformulation of the meaning of utterances or words in the context of what has gone before, and what is still to come. Crawford argues that Bakhtin is useful in providing more flexible models of thinking; but what is especially relevant here is the association he draws between Bakhtin and the constructivist critical theory perspective.

To start with, Bakhtin sees identity not as fixed, closed and unchanging, but as formed and reformed through dialogue. The self is always part of a community of selves which change, and change with each other, through processes of dialogue. The self develops through contact with the other, and

depends on that process of contact. It is not a monologue, but a continuing series of dialogues. (Crawford, 1994, p.57)

Bakhtin's thought suggests that identity is constructed and reconstructed through an ongoing interaction with language, rather than being a static entity which is marked by or reflected in language.

Sociolinguistic studies on Scots, however, may stress the opposite viewpoint. For example, Romaine (1980, p.226) notes that

> Nationalist feeling can be expected to be very strong at the moment in Scotland [just after 1979 referendum], and speech is certainly one of the most overt *markers* of in-group identity. (my brackets and emphasis)

Thus, there are two clear and quite different perspectives. With respect to this study then, do we argue that the use of Scottish language in the newspapers reflects the newspapers' Scottish identity, that it is used to 'mark' them as being Scottish and therefore to differentiate them from their British counterparts; or do we argue that the linguistic construction of Scottishness by the newspapers itself helps to create a sense of Scottish identity? That is, are there elements of a Scottish identity in the Scottish consciousness which the newspapers are able to key into by using Scottish language in much the same way as newspapers often key into stereotypes; or are the newspapers themselves contributing to the creation or maintenance of Scottish identity by using language in this way?

This is a very difficult question to answer, and both sides of the argument have merit. Certain concepts used in this study such as class divisions in terms of the actual items of Scottish lexis used which is highlighted in the tabloid/broadsheet comparisons, and also mentioned in passing with respect to certain of Aitken's stylistic overt Scotticisms which are especially favoured by the middle-classes and not used by the working-classes (see 6.4.1ff), suggest that people use Scottish

language in a certain way, because of who they are. In other words, their social, economic and educational background will determine their linguistic choices and competence.

However, when consideration is given to concepts such as the creation and maintenance of Scottish stereotypes (see 3.5.1), or even the general use of overt Scotticisms as a way of joining the in-group of Scotsman (see 2.3.8.1), the emphasis seems to be more on the constructivist side. Thus newspapers are not just reflecting the Scottish stereotypes which already exist in society, but they are also helping to promulgate, maintain, and perhaps even develop them further. It is important to remember that from a constructivist point of view, as Bakhtin's dialogism suggests, identity will be reformulated and reconstructed, i.e. in an on-going process of construction. Identity can never then be said to be fully achieved, as it is always subject to new influences and revisions.

With respect to this study it can be argued that the question will be answered by how one perceives the relationship and the balance of power between newspapers and society, between newspapers and their readers, and this relationship is examined in more detail at 3.7. This study generally favours the constructivist approach, but acknowledges the sociolinguistic approach is also persuasive. Thus this study focuses on the linguistic construction of Scottish identity by the newspapers, but also acknowledges that the newspapers are drawing on ideas about Scotland and what it means to be Scottish which are already prevalent in society. Scottish newspapers can therefore be viewed as involved in both the construction and maintenance of Scottish identity.

3.4.2   Language and social group membership

Whether from a critical theory or sociolinguistic perspective, language and identity are closely linked. This assertion can be further verified by

examining differences in individuals' production of language and seeing whether or not they correlate with perceived differences in identity.

Most of us vary our language according to the situation in which we find ourselves, otherwise known as the context of situation. Thus in very formal spoken or written contexts we will tend to use different language from that which might be used when relaxing at home with our friends and family. Thus a difference in register can be observed in the language produced in these two situations. However, it can be argued that we may also vary our language depending on who we perceive ourselves to be, or how we wish to be perceived. The argument is thus that in addition to modifying our language depending on where we are and who we are with; many of us may also use language (whether consciously or subconsciously) either to reflect or to constitute who we are, or who we want to be. Labov (1977) conducted research into the language of New York black teenagers which explores the relationship between language use and perceptions of group membership, and this is considered in the following section.

3.4.2.1   Labov's New York study

Labov's study of black teenagers in New York (1977, p.205) showed that language is very much bound up with membership of certain social groups.

> The form of black English vernacular used by lames will be compared with that used by members of the dominant social groups of the vernacular culture. The findings will be of considerable sociological interest, since it appears that the consistency of certain grammatical rules is a fine-grained index of membership in the street culture. (Labov, 1977, p.255)

'Lames' were black individuals, who although they had grown up amongst the prevailing black street culture, were for a variety of reasons outsiders to, and isolated from, the peer street culture. Generally lames found it easier than

members of the street culture to integrate with the rest of society and to compete favourably in educational and other areas. The important point which is relevant to the present argument is that lames, though originally from the same class culture, used significantly different language forms to those who were actively involved in street culture. Thus who they were (as lames or peer group members) was evident from their language. A similar situation could be considered to exist in Scotland, where there are fundamental differences (usually class based) between the speech of middle and working-class speakers.

3.4.2.2   The Scottish situation

The language associated with social classes in Scotland has been extensively researched (e.g. Macafee (1997), Macaulay (1997)). Class-based variants include, for example, the well-known working class shibboleths discussed by Aitken (1979a, p.109) such as the syncretism of the past tense and past participle forms – e.g. "I should have went ...". Aitken proposes a sliding scale of acceptability of expressions for middle-class Scots.

> Some native and exclusively Scottish words and expressions are thus shared by middle-class speakers of 'Scottish Standard English' and working-class speakers of 'Scots' (that is, of speech styles drawing more copiously and unselfconsciously on material from columns 1 and 2 of Table 6.1). There are other expressions of a 'covert Scotticism' variety which are of more doubtful, or less assured, or less general middle-class acceptability. ... Moving still further down the scale of acceptability to middle-class Scottish Standard English speakers, there are a number of well-known shibboleths of Central Scots urban working-class speech, apparently mostly of comparatively recent origin (that is, they are at once restricted in their social, regional and chronological distribution), which seldom or never occur, except by way of mockery of other speakers, in middle-class speech. (Aitken, 1979a, p.108-109)

Although these shibboleths may be generally associated with other working-class features such as particulars of accent, it is quite possible for a person who has come from a working-class background and progressed socially through education or other means to become generally considered to be middle-class, having modified their accent etc., to be 'caught out' by using such constructions unawares, and thereby find themselves neatly pigeon-holed as to their origins by a middle-class listener.

Both of these examples, Labov's Black English Vernacular and present-day grammatical forms in Scotland, demonstrate that language is often used as an indicator of social position, and most of us make assumptions about a person's background and education based on their language. Some of us may consciously seek to affect changes in our language in order to be perceived in a particular light by others; whether that be linguistic accommodation by the young boy at private school who is hoping to be accepted by working-class children in the area where he lives, or the modifications which verge on 'hypercorrection' in the opposite direction which have given rise to the well-known Kelvinside and Morningside accents. (Aitken, 1979a, p.113)

As language can be used as such a sensitive indicator or even determiner of social stratification; language can also be used to signal or construct group identity on a wider scale, even serving as a focus for national identity as is discussed in the next section.

3.4.3 Language and national identity

Many studies have focussed on the perceived link between language and group identity, language and national identity, or language and ethnicity (e.g. Eastman & Stein (1993), Fishman (1989), Hardie (1995/96), Wood (1979)). Anderson (1991), again from a constructivist viewpoint, argues that languages help to create a sense of national identity. He concentrates on the historicity of languages, the

sense we have that they have always been there and that they are therefore a link between ourselves and our ancestors, between the present and history. A sense of history, of a nation stretching backwards through time, he argues, is of profound importance in the concept of nationhood, and language forms part of that sense of continuity.

> First, one notes the primordialness of languages, even those known to be modern. No one can give the date for the birth of any language. Each looms up imperceptibly out of a horizonless past. …Languages thus appear rooted beyond almost anything else in contemporary societies. At the same time, nothing connects us affectively to the dead more than language … Second, there is a special kind of contemporaneous community which language alone suggests – above all in the form of poetry and songs. (Anderson, 1991, p.144-145)

> Through that language [mother tongue], encountered at mother's knee and parted with only at the grave, pasts are restored, fellowships are imagined, and futures dreamed. (Anderson, 1991, p.154) (my brackets)

Thus Anderson argues that languages also reach back through history, and thus helps to maintain the 'imagined community' by maintaining continuity with the past. It is important to note that languages are perceived to reach back through history, even if they do not.

3.4.3.1   Persistence of national identity without nation-status

It is important to stress that linguistically determined boundaries may or may not correlate with nation-states (see 2.4.4 for discussion of language as a socio-political construct). There is nothing to say that because a group has a distinctive language and/or culture, that they will automatically have an autonomous nation-state. However, for those cultures which have once had, and for whatever reason

have now lost their nation status, language can continue to be a strong unifying force. This is arguably the case in Scotland where although Scots is not generally perceived to be suitable for the language of government, administration etc., it still gives a large proportion of the Scottish people a sense of distinctness from their English neighbours. (This discussion excludes consideration of Gaelic speakers and speakers of Highland English for whom their own varieties would give sense of identity, e.g. very strong sense of community felt by Gaelic speakers.) As Cooper (1989, p.12) notes, the fact that language continues to be a strong force in a sense of national identity in such communities is evidenced by the attempts which are often made to revive a language which go hand-in-hand with nationalism or nationalistic ideologies, e.g. the promotion of Hebrew in Palestine and Nyorsk in Norway. For example, McClure (see 2.6.6 for citations) generally has nationalistic tendencies running through his arguments for the importance of Scots, and his recommendations for its revival.

3.5   The Scottish national identity

Having considered the link between language and identity in general terms, let us now focus on the specific links between Scottish language and Scottish national identity. Firstly, it is useful to review what the Scottish identity might be considered to be. This is an important broad sociological question about Scotland and the Scottish people; a full analysis of which extends well beyond the scope of this thesis. However, as this study investigates the potential link between language and identity, it is useful to ask what form a Scottish identity might take, and what it means to be Scottish.

There are different perspectives on the origins of the Scottish identity. Ferguson (1998) as a historian, stresses the construction of identity by history, and he investigates the origins and development of the Scottish identity, arguing as already mentioned at 3.2, that both Scotland's history and its myths and legends (many of which, though somewhat fanciful, were presented as fact in earlier times), were important influences on the development of the Scottish identity.

Many myths were developed to 'explain' for example why Scotland belonged to the Scots; that it was an important independent nation distinct from England; that it had a historical pedigree which could be traced back to significant figures such as Adam and the Romans. This should be considered in the light of Anderson's claims that nations need to stress their historicity (Anderson, 1983, p.31). (See discussion at 3.4.3.) Ferguson's argument suggests that the need for a sense of historicity is so strong that on occasions the historicity may be actively or deliberately constructed or reconstructed.

McCrone (1995) approaches the question of identity from a different perspective, that of heritage. He argues that Scottish heritage and iconography, whether authentic or not (e.g. tartan) are very important in legitimising Scottish identity.

> In the quest for national (as opposed to state) identity, heritage is a vital source of legitimacy. The iconography of nationalism is replete with sacred objects such as flags, emblems and sites which are often contested and fought over. ... In asking who we are, the totems and icons of heritage are powerful signifiers of our identity. We may find tartanry, Bonnie Prince Charlie, Mary Queen of Scots, Bannockburn and Burns false descriptors of who we are, but they provide a source of ready-made distinguishing characteristics from England, our bigger, southern neighbour. (McCrone et al, 1995, p.7)

Again, the idea of a historic basis for the nation seems to be integral to Scottish identity, even when 'history' is transformed into 'heritage'. It is important to note that we do not necessarily have to agree with these 'totems' of our nationality in order to make use of or reference to them.

McCrone therefore argues that factors other than language are also involved in the generation of national identity, and that language will not necessarily function in this way for everyone. Edwards (1985, p.3) argues that language is only one of

the factors which goes into the formation of an individual's sense of identity; other factors being things like age, sex, social class, geography, religion and so on. These are important provisos, and of course not all Scottish people will read Scottish newspapers or use Scottish language, and language will not necessarily function as a cultural identifier in the same way for everyone. It should also be remembered that as discussed at 3.4.1, from a constructivist perspective, identity is always in the on-going process of construction, and is therefore never fully achieved. However, this study does argue that language can play a significant part in that process, and therefore this study looks at the way language is used in the press as a 'cultural identifier'.

The Scottish identity is often linked with well-known Scottish stereotypes, although being stereotypes, these are likely to be exaggerated clichés of what is perceived to be the essence of Scottishness. The following section defines these stereotypes in detail, and discusses their importance to the way the press reflects or constructs Scottish identity.

3.5.1   Scottish stereotypes - Tartanry, the Kailyard & Clydesidism

Part of the mental construct of Scotland will draw upon Scottish stereotypes. Newspapers are well known for keying into stereotypes, as these give the journalist a shorthand method of establishing common ground. Fowler (1991, p.17) describes stereotypes as being "a socially-constructed mental pigeon-hole into which events and individuals can be sorted, thereby making such events and individuals comprehensible". Stereotypes, as his definition suggests, can be wide-ranging and are extremely pervasive in the language of the press; for example, the well-known stereotypes associated with women, especially in the tabloid newspapers, e.g. blonde, beautiful, defined in relation to men etc. Stereotypes relate individual mental constructs to socially-shared categories, and help us to make sense of the world (see van Dijk, 1998, p.83-85). By definition, stereotypes need not be, and indeed are unlikely to be, entirely accurate reflections. (Indeed,

if one follows the constructivist line, it can be argued that they help to construct Scottish identity, rather than simply being a distorted reflection.) They are a selective representation or simplification of a much more complex and varied situation. Although stereotypes may have some basis in truth, much of them may be exaggerated or simply untrue. As discussed in the previous section with respect to Scottish 'totems', this need not detract from their influence or pervasiveness. We do not need to believe that all Scotsmen wear kilts, eat haggis and play the bagpipes in order to make use of that stereotype, or even to promulgate it, when the occasion suits.

For the purposes of this study, we are thinking of peculiarly Scottish stereotypes: for example, what is the quintessential Scotsman like, and what is the real Scotland? There are three stereotypes we need to mention when thinking about Scottishness. These are Tartanry, the Kailyard and Clydesidism. McCrone (1992, p.177ff.) discusses and defines these three key 'mythic structures'. (Note the use of 'mythic' again suggesting that these stereotypes are not necessarily true.)

> Kailyardism is usually described as a popular literary style celebrating Scottish rural quaintness, and lasting from about 1880 until 1914 (Anderson, E. 1979). It helped, ... to give cultural expression to the 'lad o' pairts', the boy of academic talent but little financial means, which became an ideal-type in Scottish educational ideology. The term 'Kailyard' is usually attributed to the critic George Blake, who described its essential elements as domesticity, rusticity, humour, humility, modesty, decency, piety and poverty (Shepherd 1988). (McCrone, 1992, p.177-178)

Key features associated with the Kailyard are the importance of the minister and the schoolmaster or dominie. This is the Scottish stereotype often portrayed by television, for example 'Dr Finlay's Casebook', earlier episodes of 'Take the High Road' etc. (Corbett, 1997, p.185).

McCrone (1992, p.180-181) goes on to describe Tartanry as follows.

> Tartanry was not a literary movement, but a set of garish symbols appropriated by lowland Scotland at a safe distance from 1745, and turned into a music-hall joke (Harry Lauder represented the fusion of both tartanry and Kailyard – the jokes and mores from the latter, the wrapping from the former) ... tartanry has come to stand for tourist knick-knackery, visits to Wembley, and the Edinburgh Tattoo.

Tartanry includes elements like the kilt, the bagpipes, a noble Highland ancestry, patriotism, Jacobitism, Scotch whisky etc. (Corbett, 1997, p.186).

The final Scottish stereotype we should consider is Clydesidism (see also McArthur, (1981 & 1982)). Clydesidism, according to McCrone (1992), has in its favour

> that it is constructed from 'real' images of working-class life, from the discourse of class, and from naturalism. Says John Caughie, the tradition is 'based on working class experiences which, since the twenties, have seemed to offer the only real and consistent basis for a *Scottish national culture*' (1982: 121). (McCrone's emphasis) (McCrone, 1992, p.186)

McCrone (1992, p.187) goes on to argue "We search in vain for the 'true' image because none such exists, nor indeed should we be looking for it in the late twentieth century." (based on Cairns Craig, 1983). Some of the key attributes associated with Clydesidism are, borrowing from Corbett (1997, p.187), working-class, male, skilled worker, hero, oppression, violence, alcoholism, socialism etc. A key representative of this stereotype would be Billy Connolly, an ex-shipyard worker, who makes jokes about the working-class ethos, drinking etc.

Of course, as society changes, other stereotypes will emerge, and even the more recent stereotype of Clydesidism is nowadays, in many ways, outdated. Works such as *Trainspotting* and others by writers like Irvine Welsh and James Kelman are a modern version of Clydesidism. The TV character Rab C. Nesbitt is another modern adaptation (although a slightly different one) of this stereotype. Clydesidism has often been argued to be more realistic than either Kailyardism or Tartanry, as it was ostensibly based on the real experiences of the working classes; but with the closure of the shipyards etc. McCrone (1992, p.187) queries whether this is really the case and suggests this stereotype too is on its way to being a historical construct.

3.5.1.1   The role of Scottish stereotypes

Many of the elements of these Scottish stereotypes have become clichéd in Scotland, and beyond. Tartanry, although an extremely successful marketing ploy, has often been heavily criticised, part of the criticism being that we are content to accept and put forward debased images of ourselves for external consumption (e.g. the misleading representations of Scottish history or culture projected by films such as *Braveheart* and *Brigadoon*), rather than seeking to project the 'real' Scotland (whatever that might be). For a more in-depth discussion of representations of Scotland on film see McArthur (1982, p.40-69), where he notes that even the Scottish Film Industry has failed to shake off Tartanry and the Kailyard in its representations of Scotland. (It is interesting to consider in passing whether realistic books, and films such as the more recent *Trainspotting* are any more 'real'.) However, it would appear that not all the trappings of Tartanry are universally despised in Scotland. Many people still choose to get married in kilts, and to have a piper play them down the aisle, with a ceilidh afterwards at the reception. In that guise it seems to be perfectly acceptable. Nevertheless, there is a rather wry appreciation that the Scots have come to be viewed as a tartan bedecked, haggis eating nation; but it is a stereotype which many Scots seem to promulgate themselves, albeit with a sense of humour. (For example, there was an interesting billboard advertisement displayed in

Edinburgh to announce the opening of the new Ikea furniture store, which depicted the store wrapped up like a box of petticoat tails shortbread, but claiming that the contents of their box were much more interesting than the usual shortbread.)

The influence of the Kailyard in literature and film has also been widely criticised. See Craig (1982, p.7-8), where he contrasts the romanticism of the Tartanry espoused by Scott in the *Waverley Novels* with the grotesque impoverishment of Barrie's *Auld Licht Idylls*, before going on to argue that

> The worlds described by Scott and Barrie became the foundation of myths of national identity in a country whose individual identity had been swamped by its incorporation into the United Kingdom. (Craig, 1982, p.7-8)

Craig (1982, p.11) also argues that the Kailyard associated the language of Lowland Scots with a "couthy, domestic, sentimental world", an association from which the variety has struggled to escape as

> Languages are not neutral conveyors of information, but have identifiable social and ideological connotations... After Kailyard it becomes impossible to give expression to a vernacular working-class environment in Scotland [in literature] without provoking those connotations. (Craig, 1982, p.11) (my brackets)

3.5.1.2 The consumption of Scottish stereotypes

However, what should be remembered, is that stereotypes are not necessarily foisted upon people, and then left unchallenged or unaltered. People can choose to engage with the stereotypes, perhaps challenging them, or modifying them for their own purposes. Thus there is a dynamic relationship between the stereotype

and either its referent, or those who invoke it. Fowler (1991, p.17), again from a constructivist approach, cautions that

> it is of fundamental importance to realize that stereotypes are *creative*: they are categories which we project on to the world in order to make sense of it. We construct the world in this way. And our relationship with newspapers makes a major contribution to this process of construction. (Fowler's emphasis)

It is important that we consider the Scottish stereotypes used by the newspapers, as they play a part in the construction and maintenance of these stereotypes, as of course do Scottish souvenirs, whisky trails, adverts, TV representations of Scotland etc. Corbett (1997, p.188-189) argues specifically for the power of the reader with regard to Scottish stereotypes.

> it has been argued (e.g. Caughie 1990) that those who complain about the regressive stereotyping of kailyardism and tartanry underestimate the uses which people make of stereotypes; for example, the use of shared representations (however far removed from 'reality') as a form of shared culture, to bond communities together. These shared representations can be celebrated (as on Burns Night or at social events such as weddings) and they can be questioned, subverted, and denied.

What stereotypes do give is a shared point of reference. As far as the use of stereotypes in the newspapers is concerned, the stereotypes may be used verbatim, although I suspect this is usually rather tongue-in-cheek; or they may use the stereotypes simply as a shorthand way of evoking a sense of Scottishness; or they may subvert or challenge the stereotype in some way, perhaps using humour (see example given in next section). It is important to recognise that readers are not simply passive recipients of stereotypes. They too are involved in their development, promulgation or rejection. Fowler (1991, p.43) argues, persuasively, that being a reader is an active process. We can choose to accept or

reject the ideology of the text. We can be an accepting or a resisting reader. This is a viewpoint again echoed in McCrone (1992, p.189).

Given the widespread criticisms of Scottish stereotypes, we should consider whether Scottish newspapers are constructing a 'realistic' Scotland and an 'authentic' Scottish identity. The answer depends largely on what one considers 'real' Scottishness and the 'real' Scotland to be about; and as I have argued, these may be very individualistic or even indefinable constructs, meaning different things to different people. Certainly the use of Scottish stereotypes might lead us to the conclusion that some of the Scottishness evoked by the newspapers is not particularly 'real'. Whether or not it is the 'real' Scotland that is being evoked, or a true representation of Scottishness that is being constructed, does not really matter. What does matter, is that a sense of Scottish solidarity be created, and the readers be made to feel part of a wider Scottish community. Clichéd representations of Scottishness, or even clichéd Scottish lexis are not necessarily a bad thing in this context. At least they are immediately recognisable as in some way representing Scotland, Scottishness and the Scottish culture. What is being aimed for is reader identification with the general idea of Scottishness.

Chapter 6 (section 6.4.2ff) considers to what extent the newspapers draw upon these Scottish stereotypes, and asks whether certain newspapers tend to identify with certain stereotypical representations of Scottishness. Arguably the Record tends more towards the Clydeside ethos, and the broadsheets more towards the Kailyard especially, and also Tartanry stereotypes. It is likely that this is to some extent a class-based distinction, as Clydesidism with its strong working-class associations may be less appealing to some members of the middle-classes.

Thus whether or not these stereotypes have validity, or are desirable or demeaning to Scots does not detract from the fact that these stereotypical representations of Scotland are available to be drawn upon in the unstable, dynamic construction and maintenance of identity.

3.5.2   Local vs. national identity

One issue that should be addressed when discussing Scottish identity is the interplay between 'national' Scottish identity and 'local' identities. In addition to having a Scottish consciousness, most people will also have a distinctive 'local' identity; by which I mean that for someone living in Glasgow, their notion of what it means to be Scottish will be bound up with their experience of being a Glaswegian, with its attendant value systems, local stereotypes and so on. Someone living in Inverness, may well have a quite different experience of being Scottish, based on their experience of life in the Highlands; perhaps a more rural Scottishness, a more conservative value system and a stronger sense of local community. The newspapers will often make use of these local Scottish identities, in addition to the broader 'national' Scottish identity. E.g. in a light-hearted article in The Herald (27/06/95, *Where money talks with a cute Scottish accent*) on speaking Automated Teller machines, Tom Shields notes that

> In Aberdeen, the machine could ask "Fit like?" In Paisley, it might say: "Surely, you're not going to spend all that?" In Edinburgh the voice would ask if you had had your tea. In Glasgow, a voice could very well ask in which pub you intend to spend the folding stuff.

thus exploiting local stereotypes.

Individuals may key into different identities on different occasions; thus on some occasions choosing to highlight their national Scottish identity, and on others choosing to foreground their local, or class or religious identity. McCrone (1992, p.25-26) makes the same point, first quoting anthropologist Anthony Cohen:

> 'A man's awareness of himself as a Scotsman may have little to do with the Jacobite wars, or with Burns, or with the poor state of housing stock in Glasgow. It has to do with historical particular experience as a farmer in

Aberdeenshire, as a member of a particular village or of a particular group of kin within his village. Local experience mediates national identity.' (1982: 13)

We might invert the final sentence to say that national identity (in this case, being Scottish) also mediates local experiences insofar as these are made sense of in terms of the national level. The problems of living in an Aberdeenshire croft or in a Glasgow slum can be interpreted as the result of 'being Scottish', for example. (McCrone, 1992, p.25-26)

3.5.3   Class identity

In addition to a national and local identity, most Scots will also have a class identity. This will be dependent on a number of inter-related factors such as their education, financial status, family background and general outlook on life. Scotland still has quite a strong system of class identity, although it has traditionally been believed in Scotland that if one works hard and gets a good education, that it is possible to rise above one's origins; indeed, this forms a central tenet of the Kailyard 'lad o'pairts' stereotype. As suggested earlier at 3.5.1, it can be argued that the Clydeside stereotype is strongly rooted in the working-class mentality. Class identity in Scotland may be strongly linked to the variety of Scots, or English used in speech; and Aitken (1979a, p.109) records many well-known working-class shibboleths which are shunned by the middle-classes. The data chapters investigate the importance of class identity, especially as relates to observable differences between the tabloid and broadsheet newspapers (see 6.4ff.)

3.5.4   A multi-faceted Scottish identity

Evidently we must consider the Scottish identity as being multi-faceted, and also as integrating with other identities. Thus, for example, a Scot may have an

identity which comprises being a Scotsman or Scotswoman, a Glaswegian or a Highlander, a working class factory worker or a middle-class professional.

> Identities as well as societies can co-exist. … being black, Glaswegian and female can all characterise one person's culture and social inheritance without one aspect of that identity being paramount (except in terms of self-identification). What is on offer in the late twentieth century is what we might call 'pick 'n mix' identity, in which we wear our identities lightly and change them according to circumstances…The question to ask is not how best do cultural forms *reflect* an essential national identity, but how do cultural forms actually help to *construct* and *shape* identity, or rather identities – for there is no need to reconcile or prioritise these. Hence national identity does not take precedence over class or gender identities (or indeed vice versa) except insofar as these are subjectively ordered. These identities themselves, in turn, cannot be defined except with reference to the cultural forms which give them shape and meaning. (McCrone, 1992, p.194-195) (my emphasis)

Crawford (1994, p.56-57) argues for a diversity in our 'canon's of Scotland, i.e. that Scotland is perceived differently by different groups within it, and also without, for example Catholic Scotland, Gaelic Scotland, Scots Scotland, English-speaking Scotland etc. He notes that

> Too many of us like to believe that there is one true Scotland, and anything else is a fake, a kailyardism, a Harry Lauderism, a sell-out to the English. (Crawford, 1994, p.57)

Thus there are a variety of perspectives which can be taken on Scottish identity, ranging from the historical approach taken by Ferguson to the sociological approach taken by McCrone and the linguistic one suggested by the present study. As the previous sections have shown, there may also be a variety of Scottish

identities, and it is important to recognise that national identity may be mediated by other group identities.

Newspapers do not have only one identity through which to appeal to their readers. The working-class versus middle-class distinction, although a broad generalisation, may be covered by the differences in the tabloid and broadsheet press. Newspapers must appeal both to men and women, perhaps reflected by the sports versus the lifestyle or women's pages. These variables are addressed generally by all newspapers. However, Scottish newspapers have the additional option of appealing to a sense of Scottish identity or identities and drawing on a sense of Scottishness which they share with the majority of their readers. It is important to remember that the newspapers may be constructing a Scottish identity or sense of Scottishness which is itself multi-faceted and has a range of options.

3.6 Language display

Having discussed the link which can exist between language and identity, it is useful to consider a related concept, that of language display. After defining the term 'language display' as used in this study, this section will consider how language display can be used to negotiate identity, and how this relates to the use of Scots language in Scottish newspapers. A comparison will be made with the use of Gaelic in Scottish newspapers at the end of the section.

Whilst it has been argued in the above that the link between language and identity forms part of the symbolic function of language, the concept of language display emphasises more strongly the purely symbolic role which language can sometimes play. Eastman and Stein (1993, p.187) define language display as "a language-use strategy whereby members of one group lay claims to attributes associated with another, conveying messages of social, professional, and ethnic identity". They go on to say that

what we refer to here as language display, classified variously in the literature on contact phenomena under borrowing, code-switching, or attempted accommodation, is a type of borrowing/codeswitching for special purposes – e.g. *covert prestige*. (Eastman & Stein, 1993, p.188) (their emphasis)

In their definition language display is mainly in the use of foreign languages for display. I am adapting Eastman & Stein's term 'language display' to refer to the symbolic rather than communicative use, not of a foreign language, but of a different heteroglossic linguistic variety. Scots and Scottish Standard English are not 'foreign languages' in the sense that French or German are; rather they are different linguistic varieties contained within the same overall system. (Thus Eastman & Stein are using the term 'language display' in a more specialised restrictive capacity than I do.) It will be argued in the following that the symbolic use of Scots and Scottish Standard English, particularly by middle-class Scots, can be very similar to that outlined by Eastman & Stein (1993) for foreign languages.

Language display can be used to negotiate an identity. Eastman and Stein (1993, p.200) observe that

> Language display is used to negotiate an identity in order to establish a broader conception of self in society. Though relying on borrowing for its material, and dependent on language contact, language display represents symbolic rather than structural or semantic expression. People *associate* (Eastman & Reese, 1981) the symbolic invocation of another language with group characteristics. To be successful requires a recognition of the language as symbol, a shared understanding of what the language being displayed represents, and it must also take place where its use is not seriously challenged.

On a more general level, the way in which we use language says a great deal about us. The most obvious area where this is important is in the realm of pronunciation, or the accent we inherit / adopt. However, our written language can also enable us to display a certain 'face' to the world. For example, having contacted the Scots Language Resource Centre with an e-mailed request (written in standard English) that they would send me a copy of a particular document, I duly received the document, and a friendly note written in a type of 'Lallans' Scots. Although studying in this field, I found this odd, and immediately read into the courteous attachment, assumptions about the ideological stance of those working at the SLRC, and their enthusiasm for Scots. The point is that my initial expectations were somehow jolted. (I have not received communications in Scots to any other e-mails I routinely send, whether or not to fellow Scots.) I suspect that it is standard policy for Scots activist organisations to send out communications in Scots, but clearly that in itself announces their viewpoint in an unmistakable way.

3.6.1   Exclusivity

As discussed in chapter 2 (see section 2.3.8.1 for further information and quotation), Aitken (1979a, p.109) suggested that certain speakers, especially those from the middle-classes who would not normally use a great deal of Scots, use certain overtly Scottish lexical items, or Scotticisms, as a way of claiming membership of the 'Scottish club'; thus these items are being used for display purposes.

In the same way, middle-class readers may enjoy the fact that they can read and correctly understand some of the more obscure Scottish lexical items, as a badge of learning, or at least of initiation into a rather 'select club'. Thus they may find the inclusion of the more obscure literary or archaic Scots lexical items somehow flattering, rather like solving a good crossword puzzle. Thus the language display found in the newspapers includes some readers, and excludes others, and raises

linguistic tariffs. Whilst this is evidently relevant in the case of English nationals living in Scotland on the basis of differences in nationality and hence usually differences in linguistic repertoire, it is also likely to be the case across class boundaries. As Scots we like to feel we are part of a community of Scottish persons; but possibly most of us only really want to be identified with Scottish people from a similar class background to ourselves. Thus as discussed above at 3.5.3 the national identity is mediated by class identity, and also probably by local regional identity.

3.6.2   A conscious choice

Choosing to write in Scots in a present-day Scottish newspaper is in itself an act of overt language display. It can be argued that most people writing in even a Scottish newspaper would naturally use Standard English as their mode of communication in written contexts. From a young school-age, most Scots are taught that writing, especially writing used in a fairly formal and public context, has to be done in Standard English. Thus, the act of writing in Scots (with the exception of a few covert Scotticisms such as "outwith", although as noted at 7.7.6, Aitken (1984c, p.106) argues that the category 'covert' Scotticism almost ceases to exist in the written mode) indicates that a deliberate choice has been made to write in that language variety, rather than in Standard English. Thus arguably all such Scots writing in newspapers is essentially a self-conscious act of language display, as the choice of Standard written English (or perhaps even Scottish Standard English) has been 'naturalised' by the prevailing hegemony and is now the expected option.

3.6.3   Linguistic solidarity

What is the purpose of this language display? The answer has already been hinted at in the foregoing. Part of the purpose of this type of language display is to

create a feeling of 'belonging' or 'exclusivity'. I would argue that the majority of Scots, even if they have no nationalistic tendencies, still view themselves as being in some way unique because Scottish. Certainly most seem to like to disassociate themselves from the English especially, and have a fairly strong sense of national or at least cultural identity. (One only has to think of the horrified replies given to foreigners when Scots are asked if they are, or worse still, are assumed to be, English.) Scottish newspapers have to cater to this Scottish audience, and one important advantage they have over their English competitors is their very Scottishness. The use of Scottish lexical items is a fairly reliable way of invoking Scottish feeling, and convincing readers that this is their sort of newspaper, written for their sort of people. The importance attached to newspapers appealing to their target readers is discussed at 3.7.2 below. One very effective way of creating linguistic solidarity and a sense of belonging is through the use of humour.

3.6.3.1   Use of Scots for humour

Scottish language is often associated with humorous contexts. As noted above at 3.5.1, humour is one of the central characteristics associated with the Kailyard. Much of Scotland's popular culture also uses Scottish language for humorous purposes, probably the best known proponent being the comedian Harry Lauder (1870-1950); but there has been a long tradition of others e.g. Rikki Fulton, Jimmy Logan, Billy Connolly etc. See 6.7.2.4 where this is discussed with reference to the prominence of articles from the humorous Herald and Scotsman Diaries in the newspaper data. It seems likely that that this helps to create a sense of solidarity, as the reader often needs in-group knowledge of Scots lexis, to 'get' the joke. Thus by meeting the linguistic tariff raised by the Scottish lexis, the reader is constructed as part of the wider Scottish community. (See McCrone's discussion of the linguistic tariffs raised by language at section 3.3.1 above. Further details on the link between the use of Scots (particularly in formulaic expressions) in the newspapers and Scottish popular culture are given later at

sections 8.7.2ff.) It is, however, often argued that the association of Scots with humour devalues it, and debars it from use in other, more serious contexts.

It is interesting to note in passing Marshalsay's point that Harry Lauder

> had already decided, after his first music-hall tour, that there was no point in using Scottish dialect words in his songs as his audience wouldn't understand them: even in Scotland an Aberdonian phrase wouldn't mean much in Glasgow and vice-versa. The way forward, he believed, was to sing his songs in English, *with a Scottish accent*. Lauder kept to this throughout his career, using the occasional Scots word for spice, and plenty more that were easily understandable such as "weel", "laddie" and "braw". His recordings testify to his exceedingly clear diction, and his immense popularity in England and abroad, as well as in Scotland, proves just how much his decision paid off. (Marshalsay, 1992, p.18) (her emphasis)

Thus it can be suggested that varieties at the thinner end of the Scottish-English continuum such as Scottish Standard English can often provide more effective language display than dense Scots. (This point is reiterated in the following section where the use of Gaelic in the Scottish newspapers is compared to the use of Scots.) It can be argued either that in using more thin than dense Scots (see 7.7ff) the Scottish newspapers subscribe to similar beliefs about comprehension difficulties; or alternatively that the influence of popular culture, such as that of Harry Lauder on the use of Scots in general, and in particular the type of Scots used by the newspapers, has been such that thinner varieties have come to be regarded as the norm. It is quite likely that both sides of the argument have validity.

3.6.4   Parallels with Gaelic usage as language display

This study has noticeable parallels with Cormack's study of the use of Gaelic in Scottish newspapers. In the abstract to his article (1995, p.269) Cormack notes

> how little serious news is given in the language [i.e. Gaelic], with most newspaper uses being more concerned with the language's symbolic role as a signifier of Scottish or Highland identity. (my brackets)

Cormack notes that "displays may consist of as little as a single word" (Cormack, 1995, p.270) and "Use of the odd phrase from another language is most effective among those who have least knowledge of that language." (Cormack, 1995, p.217) He analyses the use of Gaelic in the weekly Scotsman article as follows:

> In content it varies from reviews of Gaelic books through items of general Scottish or Celtic, but not specifically Gaelic interest, to items with no Scottish or Gaelic connection whatsoever (or only a very tenuous one). Very few of these articles are in any way concerned with current affairs. ... The feature is clearly part of the newspaper's attempt to portray itself as *the* national Scottish quality paper, the use of Gaelic being more symbolic than anything else ... the Gaelic feature is a language display intended to show off the paper's Scottish identity and as such, it is aimed as much (perhaps even more) at non-Gaelic readers as it is at Gaels. (Cormack, 1995, p.272)

Also

> it is notable that most of what is printed can be placed either in a broad cultural category (if this is taken to include such items as short stories, poems and music reviews, and articles on historical and linguistic matters) or in a narrow current affairs category consisting of comment on current affairs, rather than news itself. (Cormack, 1995, p.278)

Cormack notes that we find only a "smattering" of Gaelic in publications such as the West Highland Free Press, which might be expected to contain more Gaelic, or at least to have a wider set of contexts in which Gaelic is used, and that

> It is using a display of Gaelic to declare its territorial and social identity. There is a potential problem with this in that, as Eastman & Stein note, such language display is effective within the non-Gaelic community but less so among Gaelic speakers. (Cormack, 1995, p.276)

He also notes that part of the problem is that newspapers have to sell, therefore do not want to alienate potential readers, and thus to sell an all Gaelic newspaper given low number of speakers and wide distribution, would not be economically viable. (Cormack, 1995, p.277)

Gaelic is therefore being used in these newspapers on the symbolic level of language display.

The use of Scots by the Scottish newspapers has interesting parallels with Cormack's observations. (It should be noted that the situation is a little more complicated when discussing the use of Scots due to the range of varieties from Scots to Scottish Standard English along the continuum. As discussed earlier at 2.5.4, Scottish Standard English is acceptable in a wider variety of contexts than Scots.)

Cormack's first observation that there is little serious news given in Gaelic is largely mirrored for Scots. News articles are not written in Scots, as this would be deemed inappropriate usage. (See 2.7.1 for concept of appropriacy and 6.7ff for distribution patterns of Scottish lexis in newspapers.) Depending on the subject matter, some may be written in very thin Scottish Standard English, especially where the subject matter dictates the use of a specifically Scottish item such as "minister".

His second observation that sometimes the language display can consist of as little as a single word is very interesting. For Cormack, language display is as described by Eastman & Stein (1993) (see section 3.6), i.e. to describe the display use of items from a language different to that in the main body of the text/utterance. As discussed above, the situation with Scots is complicated by the close linguistic relationship between Scots and English. However, the pattern of single word displays also applies for Scots. As will be noted in chapter 7, when discussing the contexts of Scottish lexical items (see 7.7ff), there are many occasions where there are only a few, or even only one Scottish lexical item(s) in a passage of what is otherwise English. As discussed there, in some cases that may be because the item is a covert or functional Scotticism. However, in other cases, this argument does not apply; and the mostly English passage will be sprinkled with a few Scottish words which are not semantically necessary (i.e. there are readily available English synonyms), but appear rather to be included on stylistic grounds. The situation is similar to that described by Aitken (1979a, 1984c) when he describes the occasional use of stylistic overt Scotticisms to claim membership of the Scottish discourse community. It seems that a few well-chosen Scottish items are enough to impart a Scottish flavour to the text, and suggest shared Scottish identity (see also Meurman-Solin, 1993, p.48 which makes the same point.). Indeed as suggested in the previous section, a dense Scots text may actually contribute less to a linguistic construction of Scottish identity for the newspaper than a thinner text towards the Scottish Standard English end of the continuum, due to the unfamiliarity of most readers with dense Scots prose. Occasional or token use of Scottish lexis has the advantage of easier comprehension.

Cormack notes that there is a problem with using only a "smattering" of Gaelic, as it is most effective as an act of language display with non-Gaelic speakers, not the Gaelic speakers themselves. As has been argued above, the opposite case seems to apply for Scots. This difference between the two studies may be explained again by the fact that Gaelic is a language entirely separate from English, whereas Scots arguably is not. (See 2.4.4 for discussion of whether Scots should be

regarded as a language in its own right, or a dialect of English; and 5.5.6 for discussion of the use of Scots in Scots language articles.)

Cormack's comments on the content of articles written in Gaelic is similar to that noted for dense Scots texts in this study. Dense Scots in the newspapers is generally written by Scots language experts rather than journalists (see Appendix 3 and also 7.7.4), and the articles are almost without exception about the state of the Scots language, suggestions for increasing its role in education and so on (as noted by McClure, 1979, p.47; see 2.5.3.1 for quotation). (Articles written in more colloquial types of Scots such as illustrative texts 3 and 4 (see Appendix 10) do not show this pattern, and are usually written by journalists.)

Cormack's final comment that newspapers do not want to alienate potential readers by using an excess of Gaelic also applies to the use of Scots. Bex's theory of individuals as members of different discourse communities (see 2.3.4), some communities being closer than others, can be used to explain this observation: i.e. the newspapers are part of the discourse community that is Scotland and Scottish people, but they must also cater for the wider non-Scots speaking discourse community, therefore they will tend to choose a middle-ground which constructs Scottish identity without alienating the readership.

Based on these observations, the use of Scots by the Scottish newspapers, like the use of Gaelic, seems to be largely symbolic. That symbolism may appear less obvious due to the closer linguistic relationship between Scots and English and therefore easier integration or to use Aitken's term 'drifting' between varieties (Aitken, 1979a, p.86).

3.7 Newspapers and their readers

Whilst the previous sections focussed on the link between language and identity, and how the newspapers construct and maintain Scottish identity; this section focuses more closely on the relationship which exists between newspapers and their readers.

3.7.1 Importance of newspapers in raising national consciousness

Anderson (1991, p.44) discusses the historical importance of the print media in raising national consciousness.

> These fellow readers, to whom they were connected through print, formed, in their secular, particular, visible invisibility, the embryo of the nationally imagined community.

He goes on (Anderson, 1991, p.63) to say

> we have seen that the very conception of the newspaper implies the refraction of even 'world events' into a specific imagined world of vernacular readers; and also how important to that imagined community is an idea of steady, solid simultaneity through time.

It is interesting to note that Anderson uses the term "vernacular readers", 'vernacular', of course, implying that the newspaper presents an account of world events in the native regional or local language of its readers. Thus news of world events and international significance is communicated to the readers through the medium of the newspaper in their own familiar language. Anderson also talks about the 'specific imagined world' of the readers, and this is very similar to the terminology used by Fowler (1991, p.232) when he speaks of newspapers as

constructing the "ideal reader". "Discourse always has in mind an implied addressee, an imagined subject position which it requires the addressee to occupy." (Discussed further at 3.7.2.)

Anderson (1991, p.35-36) also uses the reading of newspapers as an illustration of one of the ways in which an imagined community operates (see 3.2).

> Yet each communicant [newspaper reader] is well aware that the ceremony [reading newspapers] he performs is being replicated simultaneously by thousands (or millions) of others of whose existence he is confident, yet of whose identity he has not the slightest notion ... What more vivid figure for the secular, historically clocked, imagined community can be envisioned? At the same time, the newspaper reader, observing exact replicas of his own paper being consumed by his subway, barbershop, or residential neighbours, is constantly reassured that the imagined world [of the newspaper] is visibly rooted in everyday life. (Anderson, 1991, p.35-36) (my square brackets)

The picture Anderson paints is one where the act of reading a newspaper makes the individual part of society, or a group within society, as the reader is aware that there is a larger body or readers who presumably share similar attitudes and aspirations to themselves. Anderson uses the metaphor of the Catholic mass by describing readers as "communicants", and the act of reading as the ceremony, a picture which stresses the symbolic solidarity which newspapers can engender. Thus by extending Anderson's argument we can say that by reading a Scottish newspaper, Scottish people feel part of the wider community of Scots.

Hall (1978) emphasises that all newspapers construct their readers as part of the same society with shared cultural knowledge, and emphasise consensus. He argues that events covered in a newspaper have to be interpreted 'to mean' within the known context of the society addressed.

An event only 'makes sense' if it can be located within a range of known
social and cultural identification. ... This process of 'making an event
intelligible' is a social process – constituted by a number of specific
journalistic practices, which embody (often only implicitly) crucial
assumptions about what a society is and how it works.

One such background assumption is the *consensual* nature of society: The
process of *signification* – giving social meanings to events – *both assumes
and helps to construct society as a 'consensus'*. We exist as members of
one society *because* – it is assumed – we share a common stock of cultural
knowledge with our fellow men: we have access to the same 'maps of
meaning'. (Hall, 1978, p.54-55) (his emphasis)

Thus all newspapers seek to construct their readers as part of a shared community.
What is being argued in this study is that the Scottish newspapers have available
to them the additional option of using Scottish linguistic features to appeal to this
shared knowledge and common understanding.

3.7.2   Alignment with readers

It is important that newspapers align themselves with their readers, and each
newspaper is written with a particular target readership in mind. On a general
level, this means that certain newspapers will become known as favouring
particular political parties, or as holding particular values. For example, the
Guardian traditionally appeals to left-of-centre readers, especially those involved
in education. This alignment with the readership may be made explicit in the
opinion or leader pages, by expressions like "the Mirror's loyal readers", or more
subtly by the use of inclusive pronouns such as "we" and "our"; or simply by the
sorts of subjects on which the newspaper contains articles. Thus each newspaper
will be written with its own target readership in mind. Although readers are free
to read any of the newspapers, they will generally choose one which fits in with
their value systems. It is therefore extremely important that newspapers make
sure they make their target readers feel 'at home'. Fowler (1991, p.232) notes that

Newspapers are concerned ... to construct ideal readers:
'*Times/Guardian/Sun* reader'. The *real* reader, you or I, will be comfortable
with the ideological position silently offered by the particular newspaper,
whether s/he notices it or not. The real reader will continue to buy the
newspaper with which s/he is comfortable, keeping circulation up; sales
figures are of immense importance to newspapers, because they determine
advertising revenue.

3.7.3 The role of the reader

The reader is involved in the negotiation of significance and meaning, and I
suggest that this negotiation process is at least partly responsible for readers
feeling that it is 'their newspaper'. They are partners in a collaborative effort to
make sense of the world. Being a reader is not just a passive process. To quote
Fowler (1991, p.43)

Kress has made the very good point that the early model of critical
linguistics gave too little power to readers, so that (as in the conspiracy
theory of news distortion) they seemed to be passive vessels or sponges,
absorbing an ideology which the source of the text imposed on them.
(Fowler, 1991, p.43)

Thus with respect to the present study it is not being argued that Scottish readers
are the passive recipients of a newspaper's concept of Scottishness. The concept
of Scottishness or Scottish identity which a newspaper projects must be accepted
by its readers and negotiated with them. There is an unspoken dialogue between
the newspaper and its readers, with the readers ultimately setting the boundaries
within which the newspaper operates. If, for example, readers rejected the use of
particular Scottish stereotypes by complaining to the editor or not buying the
newspaper, the newspaper would have no choice but to listen, or else face
financial ruin. Thus, as was discussed by Corbett earlier at 3.5.1.2, as readers we

are willing participants in the construction and maintenance of these stereotypes. As readers we are also involved with the newspapers in a dialogic negotiation which constructs and maintains Scottish identity.

Of course, as discussed previously (see 3.5.4), Scottish identity is a multi-faceted phenomenon, and therefore we may tend to choose newspapers which espouse those particular facets of the Scottish identity which we adhere to, and not choose those which emphasise a different side of that identity. This is likely to be most evident in a class-based split between the tabloid and broadsheet readerships, and as will be seen later in the data chapters, the inclusion of absence of certain features such as the display listing of Scottish proverbs or discussion of issues relating to Scots language or literature do seem to split according to newspaper type.

3.7.4 The significance of newspaper language

How then, do newspapers align themselves with their readers? This is a complex and multi-faceted phenomenon; but one very important way in which newspapers align themselves with their target readers is, as has been argued by the foregoing, through their use of language. If one accepts that language can be used to mark or construct identity (depending on your viewpoint), and that individuals often recognise and seek to exploit this function of language (see 3.4.2.2 above); it is reasonable to suggest that newspapers wishing to identify with their readers, and to have their readers identify with them, may exploit this feature of language. Scottish newspapers have the option of using Scottish language to authenticate their Scottishness and better relate to their readers. They will use language with which their readers are familiar and comfortable, and to which they can relate (c.f. Anderson's (1991, p.35-36) 'vernacular' discussed at 3.7.1 above). This does not necessarily mean that the newspaper language will be exactly the same as that used by its readers (see 3.7.5); but it will draw on the same ideological viewpoints and assumptions shared by its target readers. These viewpoints and assumptions

are inherent in language itself. No language can ever be truly entirely unbiased. Fowler (1991, p.4) argues that

> There are always different ways of saying the same thing, and they are not random, accidental alternatives. Differences in expression carry ideological distinctions.

Even the presentation of facts, which forms a large part of the newspapers' remit, has to be mediated through language, and language itself inherently involves choices. These linguistic choices can reflect different underlying ideologies. Danuta Reah (1998, p.55) makes a similar point.

> Everything that is written in a newspaper has to be transmitted through the medium of language. The transmission of a message through language almost of necessity encodes values into the message...For example, if a particular culture has little respect for certain groups, concepts or beliefs, then the language for expressing ideas about these groups, concepts or beliefs will reflect that attitude, therefore when these things are written about, people reading the text will have their attitudes reinforced by the way the language presents these things to them.

Thus the use of Scots language in any form, encodes certain meanings into the message. Reah argues that newspaper language reflects the views of its readership, and reinforces their attitudes. This is interesting in light of the observations made in chapter 6 (see 6.7ff) that Scots is generally restricted to certain parts of the newspaper, and is commonly used for humour. Reah's argument says that Scots is restricted to such areas because these are the only places it is deemed acceptable by the readers. It can be argued that the association of Scots with humorous and non-formal contexts denigrates Scots, but unless the majority of readers change their attitudes about Scots, it is extremely unlikely to move into other areas of the newspaper. The status (or lack of status) of Scots

language in the newspapers reflects the views of, and has been negotiated with, the readership.

3.7.5   Scottish newspapers and their readers

Scottish newspapers must appeal to a Scottish audience in order to survive, or at least to fight off competition from the 'national' English titles. The key thing which they share with their readers is their Scottishness (complex though this concept is), and thus this is often exploited to create a feeling of newspaper-reader solidarity. There are various ways in which this can be achieved. One of the most obvious is to ensure that the readers obtain information about the events which are of interest to them; and thus Scottish newspapers, as will be seen in the chapter on coverage, will carry a higher proportion of Scottish news stories than their 'English' counterparts. They are therefore attempting to be more relevant to a Scottish readership. Another, related way of achieving this is (again as discussed in the coverage chapter), is through providing information about forthcoming events, or reviews of past events happening in the readers' area.

However, as with all newspapers, Scottish newspapers will also attempt to establish common ideological ground between themselves and their readers. In the case of Scottish newspapers, part of those shared ideologies and viewpoints will be the very fact of being Scottish, and this may also be reflected in the linguistic choices made, through the use of items of Scottish lexis. It is important to stress that the suggestion is not being made that all the language of the Scottish newspapers is necessarily exactly the same as the language used by its readers. Especially in the case of a Scottish national newspaper, which may be read all over Scotland, albeit with strongholds in particular geographic locations, that would be impossible to achieve. Each Scottish reader's language will in many ways be individual to them, having been moulded by a variety of factors such as their education, forms used by their parents and peers, geographical origins, social class and related social aspirations and so on; and this would be impossible for the newspapers to replicate for each individual reader. Rather the newspapers will

develop and use a common discourse which will be related, but not identical to, the language of their ideal readers. Hall (1978, p.61) (also quoted in Fowler (1991, p.48) argues that

> Of special importance in determining the particular mode of address adopted will be the particular part of the readership spectrum the paper sees itself as customarily addressing. The language employed will thus be the *newspaper's own version of the language of the public to whom it is principally addressed*: its version of the rhetoric, imagery and underlying common stock of knowledge which it assumes its audience shares and which thus forms the basis of the reciprocity of producer/reader.

Fowler (1991, p.48) goes on to say:

> I have already pointed out that this does not mean that the idiom of a newspaper is an objective rendering of the speech of its readers; and of course, Hall does not intend this. A key notion here is 'reciprocity' between writers and readers, the negotiation of a style with which the targeted readers feel comfortable, and which allows writers the band of flexibility mentioned above.

This concept of "reciprocity" again underlines the negotiation of a language style between the newspapers and its readers. When discussing the recommendations on language usage made by the Times style guide, Cameron (1995, p.46) makes the same assertion.

> It might be more accurate to say that the stylistic choices made by a newspaper are intended to reflect not the way its readers really use language, but a way of using language with which its readers – and just as importantly, advertisers – can identify. This entails paying particular attention to linguistic details that, while trivial enough in themselves, carry important and recognizable social or political contrasts.

It does not really matter whether or not the Scots used by the newspapers is particularly 'authentic' (whatever that may be) or clichéd; what matters is that readers should be able to recognise it as being Scottish, and therefore be able to identify with it. Following Anderson, it should be recognisable as their vernacular.

3.8 Conclusion

Thus the situation is complex, with readerships and newspapers engaged in a negotiation of acceptable language styles, and newspapers attempting to use the vernacular of their perceived readership. The language thus negotiated will play a part in the construction and maintenance of Scottish identity, itself a complex multi-faceted phenomenon. It has been argued that the use of Scots in the newspapers is as much for symbolic purposes, language display and stylistic considerations as it is for communicative import.

This chapter concludes the main theoretical framework for the study; and the next chapter moves on to a consideration of the methodological approaches used in the study, relating these to individual research questions as outlined in the first chapter, and the relevant sections in the following data chapters 5,6,7 and 8.

4 Methodology

4.1 Introduction

This chapter reviews the key research questions and outlines the methodologies used when collecting and analysing the data necessary to address them. The account is organised on the basis of the research questions addressed by each chapter, and cross-reference is made with the relevant chapters where necessary. The structure and construction of the database are also discussed, although instructions for its use from the CD-ROM are given in Appendix 1.

As already discussed, the main emphases of this study are identifiably Scottish lexis and how its inclusion may contribute to the construction of Scottish identity for Scottish newspapers, and more generally the use of varieties from the Scottish-English continuum by the newspapers. Therefore the most extensive methodologies developed were those which related to the investigation of Scottish lexis, and which form the basis for chapters 6, 7 and 8. Chapter 5 concentrates on the more general coverage of Scottish stories, and has a separate methodological approach from that used in the rest of the study. An account of the general methodology underlying this study will be given first, incorporating accounts of data collection, the corpus of texts and the construction of the database, before moving on to a closer consideration of the methodological approaches for each chapter.

4.2   The study of Scottish lexis

4.2.1   General Premise

To the non-Scot, the two most obvious distinguishing features which differentiate Scots people from the rest of the UK are elements of pronunciation (or accent) and the use of distinctively Scottish vocabulary (see 2.4.2ff). Obviously, since newspapers are generally written, elements of pronunciation will not really enter the argument in this study. As noted at 2.6.8.2, however, pronunciation can be reflected by orthographic form, especially in a linguistic situation such as exists for Scots where there is no agreed standard, and this is discussed further in chapter 6 at 6.2.1.1. (Other features, such as distinctively Scottish grammar or syntax e.g. the use of a Scottish modal system, fall outside the remit of this study.) For the purposes of this study therefore, identifiably Scottish vocabulary seemed likely to give the clearest indication of a distinctive language for the Scottish newspapers. Three chapters (Lexis I, II, and III) are devoted to the discussion of Scottish lexis. Lexis I deals with the lexical items themselves, noting features such as frequency of occurrence and whereabouts in the newspapers items of Scottish lexis are found. Lexis II looks at the immediate context of the Scottish lexical items, focussing on issues such as whether the item occurs in direct speech, the language variety of the immediate context, whether *Scots*, *English* or *Scottish-English* (see discussion at 2.4.1.5), and how the relative proportions of open and closed class lexis might relate to different types of text. Lexis III continues the focus on the immediate contexts of lexical items, but this chapter considers situations where the Scottish lexis occurs as part of longer units such as fixed expressions, idioms and preferred collocations.

4.2.2   Definitions

It should be noted at this point that the term 'Scottish lexis', refers to lexical items which can be readily distinguished from the vocabulary of English-English. As discussed in chapter 2, given the historical development of Scots and its close

links with English, there are many lexical items which are shared between Scots and English, which we can term *core vocabulary* (see 2.3.5). Where lexical items are not distinguished by an identifiably Scottish form, this study does not consider them to be discernible from English in the written mode, and therefore they have not been included as Scottish lexical items. For the purposes of this study, 'Scottish lexis' must be recognisably Scottish in form and /or usage, and distinct from English-English. (See 6.1.1.4 for discussion of what is included in Scottish dictionaries.)

4.2.3   General methodological approach

There were several potential methods for looking at Scottish lexis in the newspapers. Ideally, as explained in chapter 1 (see 1.2.1), the project would have run each of the newspaper CD-ROMs against an all-inclusive electronic Scots dictionary, or failing that against an electronic English dictionary which contained no Scottish words. Thus by a process of elimination it would have been possible to obtain all Scots lexis used in the newspaper during that year. Unfortunately at the time of data collection there was no computerised Scots dictionary available, although a concise version on CD-ROM has since been produced by the Scottish National Dictionary Association for schools called the *Electronic Scots Schools Dictionary*. (This electronic dictionary was used as a reference source to check preferred orthographic forms; see 6.3.3ff.) The Oxford English Dictionary, although widely available in CD-ROM format, would not have been suitable for this purpose as it contains some but not all Scottish lexis. The introduction states that it does not include dialect vocabulary after 1500.) This method would have been closer to that suggested by Kirk (1992/3) (see chapter 1, section 1.2.1.), but was examined at the start of the project and dismissed as unachievable.

However, both these options proved to be logistically impossible; and so a second option was to construct a test word stock of Scottish lexical items, and then to search for occurrences of these in each newspaper. It was important that the word list contained Scottish lexical items in current usage, as it seemed much more

likely that these would be used by the newspapers than would archaic and therefore probably more obscure lexical items. (See 6.2.1 for expectations on currency and other language features in the Scots of newspaper texts.)

A Scots dictionary would be used to supply the word list entries. The Collins Gem Scots Dictionary is one of the smaller Scots dictionaries available, and includes predominantly current Scottish lexical items, although it does contain some important archaic lexis. In the introduction it states that

> The aim of this book is to survey the modern colloquial language of
> Scotland as a whole, while not neglecting vital archaic or formal terms ...
> [It covers] three main types of vocabulary; everyday language, official and
> technical language and literary language. (Collins Gem, 1995, p.v) (my
> brackets)

It was therefore expected that this dictionary would contain a much higher proportion of current Scottish lexis than would be the case in the Scottish National Dictionary (henceforth SND), which contains Scottish lexis from 1700 onwards. (See 6.1.1.4 for discussion of the scope of the various Scots dictionaries.) Thus, it should be stressed that the word list on which this study is based, includes more current than obsolete or obscure vocabulary, and therefore the observations made are not relevant to the language as a whole through time. The small size of this dictionary was also an advantage as it had evidently already undergone a rigorous selection process, including therefore only the most common or most widely used lexical items and orthographic forms. Thus much of the selection procedure had already been carried out, and therefore the task of choosing Scottish lexical items which might reasonably be expected to be found in the Scottish newspapers was made much easier than would have been the case had the word list been drawn from the massive resources of the SND.

In the time allotted it would have been impossible to search for all the Scottish lexical items listed in the dictionary across all the newspapers under investigation.

Therefore a list of approximately 440 Scottish lexical items was selected from the dictionary. (The Collins Gem as a whole contains some 1760 separate headwords, and therefore the word list represented approximately 25 percent of the dictionary entries.) Selection was carried out on a fairly random basis. The only stipulations were that the word list should contain a reasonable number of examples from each of the grammatical word classes as this was to be important for the open vs. closed class observations covered in chapter 7; that it should be alphabetically representative (i.e. not all the lexical items beginning with say the letters A-D), that the lexis should be reasonably likely to occur in a modern newspaper (i.e. not too obscure, although as explained, such lexis was unlikely to be contained in this dictionary anyway), and that it should not necessarily represent my own knowledge of Scottish lexis as that would inevitably have a West Central Scots emphasis (Concise Scots Dictionary area terminology (henceforth CSD)). Each of these lexical items from the test word stock was then exhaustively searched for in each of the newspapers under study. The search word list (including definitions as given in the Collins Gem Scots dictionary) is contained in Appendix 2.

The possibility of interrogating the CD-ROMs directly (bypassing their search engines) with an 'intelligent' concordancing tool was also considered. TACT was investigated at the start of the research, but was felt to be too unwieldy for the purposes of this project. The project later made extensive usage of the Windows based concordancing program *Wordsmith*, which is discussed in more detail below at 4.6. Had *Wordsmith* been available at the beginning, it could have been used to extract the required information and generate concordances directly from the CD-ROMs, thus bypassing the troublesome search engines. (However, as discussed later at 4.6, this method of approach would not have been without problems.) Unfortunately Wordsmith was not available at the commencement of the research and did not become commercially available until about 1 year into the research project. Thus data had to be collected by conducting Boolean style searches on words from the search list using the built-in CD-ROM or Daily Record database search engines (see 4.3.1.2 above for further information on search engines). This was an extremely lengthy and tedious process.

The search engines returned a list of possible 'hits' (i.e. articles containing the search item), each of which had to be checked manually to avoid spurious data, and then each of which had to be individually saved to disk as a text file. Each article which contained at least one incidence of the relevant search word was saved individually as a text file. The text files were named according to the word being searched for, plus a numeric count. Thus text files containing "wee" were named "wee1.txt", "wee2.txt" and so on. Thus the text file names gave an automatic count of the number of individual stories which contained each lexical item searched for.

4.2.3.1   Problems with duplication of text files

One serious, though initially unavoidable problem which arose as a result of the data collection method, was the inevitable duplication of text files. That is to say, if a particular article contained both the lexical items "wee" and "bonny", it would be saved twice as for example "wee 345.txt" and "bonny1.txt", and thus there would be two copies of the same text file, each with a different file name. Without the use of a concordancing program, and before the later rationalisation of the database as described at 4.7.2, it was impossible to tell which files were duplicates. Although this made the original file store much larger, this was the only way to approach the project given the available resources.

4.3 The Corpus

In order to draw meaningful conclusions from my research, it was necessary to work with as broad a corpus as possible. Many surveys have been spoiled, and the data skewed, by the use of too small a sample on which to base the results. It was especially important when dealing with the vocabulary investigation, to ensure that as far as possible the data gave a fair representation of the actual situation. As it was not expected that the proportion of Scottish to English lexis would be particularly high, and the word list was restricted to 440 lexical items; it

was necessary to use as many texts as possible. It was hoped that this would remove many of the problems associated with sampling, and enable the study to make more meaningful observations. Accordingly, where possible the data were based on a full year's editions for each newspaper. (See section 4.3.1.1 for details of exceptions.) A full year's data were used as it was considered possible that there may be peaks and troughs in the amount of Scottish lexis used over the year; potential peaks occurring around Burns' Night and Hogmanay. Sunday editions were not included in the survey. The Sunday version of the Herald was not in existence in 1995, therefore information would not have been available for the newspaper which yielded the highest frequencies of Scottish lexis (see chapter 6 for further details of lexical frequencies). It was also felt that Sunday editions were quite different types of newspaper to those published during the week, containing as they do a far greater proportion of feature articles and specialised 'magazine' sections, and would therefore be better studied as a separate type of newspaper. The year selected was 1995, not because it had any special significance, but purely because at the commencement of the research, this was the most up-to-date data available in computerised format. A computerised corpus was essential, due to the sheer volume of material. To give a better indication of the representativeness of the corpus, it should be noted that the full Herald CD-ROM had approximately 25.5 million running words/tokens and the Scotsman CD-ROM had approximately 17.5 million running words/tokens. The Times & Sunday Times CD-ROM had approximately 42.3 million running words in total (i.e. for both newspapers).

The Scottish newspapers chosen were the Herald, the Scotsman, the Daily Record and the Sun (Scottish edition), thus two broadsheets and two tabloids. There are well-known differences between tabloids and broadsheets (see section 6.4.1 for further details) and it was considered quite likely that these differences in text type might have had an effect on the results. It was of interest to observe whether there were noticeable differences in the usage of Scottish lexis by the tabloids and broadsheets, both in terms of quantity and type. For example, it was not inconceivable that one type of newspaper would characteristically yield more Scottish lexis than the other, or use non-standard grammar more frequently.

(Non-standard is used here to refer to any grammatical construction which is not part of Standard English usage.) As a control, the Times (London), and the English edition of the Sun were also examined, to ensure that the observations made about the language of the Scottish newspapers could reasonably be explained by their Scottishness, and not some other factor. It was also useful to be able to compare the figures for the Scottish newspapers with those for the English newspapers, to see whether the usage of Scottish lexis is necessarily restricted to Scotland. The control newspapers also served to alert any lexical items which had a commonplace occurrence outside Scotland, such as "bevvy" and "canny".

4.3.1   Data resources

There were two types of resource from which the data were obtained: CD-ROMS and the Daily Record's own database. CD-ROMs were available for 1995 editions of the Herald, the Scotsman and the Times. There was, however, a problem with the Times CD-ROM as it failed to allow the researcher to choose whether to search the Times or the Sunday Times material exclusively, and therefore the Times texts were taken from the Daily Record database. (A CD-ROM is also available for the Daily Record data. This was not available to me until later in the research, but was used for the data covered by the coverage chapter (chapter 5). A few lexical searches were run to check that frequency figures from the Times and Daily Record CD-ROMs matched those from the database, and that the two information sources were therefore compatible. These confirmed that the same information was contained in each.) Thus the data for the Daily Record, the Times, the Sun, and the Scottish Sun were taken from the Daily Record's own database. The Daily Record library, Anderston Quay, Glasgow were most helpful in giving me access on two evenings a week to their archived materials.

4.3.1.1   Problems with data resources

Each of these types of resource presented its own problems. The data from the
Daily Record's database was collected over a six-month period. This entailed
manually saving all the files required onto disk, and then transcribing the
headline, by-line etc. details onto paper proformas so that this information could
be entered into the database manually at a later date. Unfortunately the design of
the Daily Record's database meant that it was impossible to save this information
with the text files to which it referred. This meant that information for all
newspapers taken from the Daily Record's own database had potentially
incomplete concordance displays (refer to Appendix 1, section A1.7 for full
explanation.) Data for the Sun (both editions) are incomplete, and the limited data
which were obtained were those which were available on the Daily Record
database. For the English edition of the Sun, this was spread throughout 1995.
For the Scottish Sun, the Daily Record's database had only 750 stories in total
from 1995 and 1996. There was no CD-ROM of the material available, and the
Sun declined to assist me in my research. In order to combat this inadequacy to
some extent, hard copy versions of the Sun (English edition) and the Scottish Sun
were collected over the period of a month, to see what, if any, differences could
be determined between the two editions. The results of this study are given in
chapter 5, although data are not given for the whole month, because the often
minimal differences noted did not justify the time and resources necessary to
make an exhaustive study from the hard copies.

A key problem encountered when using the CD-ROMs was that the search
engines were found to be geared towards the needs of journalists rather than
linguists, and often rather laborious refining of searches had to be carried out to
exclude unwanted or spurious data. Thus for example, items such as "aa" (all)
and "ba" (ball) gave large amounts of spurious data on the Automobile
Association or Alcoholics Anonymous, and British Airways respectively as not all
the CD-ROMS had case-sensitive search engines. Had the concordancing tool
Wordsmith (see 4.6) been available at the beginning of the research some of these
problems could have been avoided, as Wordsmith allows case sensitive searches.

Problems were also encountered where the search item had the same form as an English lexical item. Thus for example "bile" ("boil") could not be specified as a Scots verb rather than an English noun, "footer" ("dither") generated many examples concerning golf shots (He hit a six-footer), a Boolean search on "uplift" meaning "collect" generated many examples of English "uplifting" as in "cheering".

The Herald CD-ROM in particular caused many problems as its search engine was faulty. It therefore yielded zero returns for certain search items which were actually contained within the newspaper. Unfortunately there was no way of telling that these results were wrong from the CD-ROM, and it was only later when analysing the results that I began to question some of the data such as the zero returns for "barra" which seemed very odd given the Herald is a Glasgow based newspaper and it seemed unlikely the stories about The Barras (famous Glasgow market) contained in the other newspapers were not covered at all by the Herald. (Again, had Wordsmith been available at the outset, this problem would not have arisen, as the problem proved to be with the search engine, not the data itself; and Wordsmith can search directly from the CD-ROM thus by-passing the faulty search engine.) The producers of the Herald CD-ROM (S.C.E.T.) were contacted, and they provided a corrected version of the search engine. However, the initial problem meant that many of the Herald searches had to be redone, to check the results were accurate. Many of them were not, and had to be re-entered in the database.

Thus the corpus consisted of a full year's data (excluding Sunday editions) for all the newspapers under study with the exception of both editions of the Sun.

4.3.1.2   Data retrieval resources

Each of the CD-ROMs used a different search engine, each of which allowed different types of searches, yielded different amounts of data, and had different

mechanisms for saving the articles for future use. The Herald CD-ROM allowed searches using the widest range of criteria. It allowed searches for items in the main text, in the headlines, by-lines, newspaper sections, article types, date, page number etc., allowing refinement of searches using different criteria. The Herald CD-ROM also gave the fullest information about the articles, as information from the above list of search criteria was contained in the display at the start of the article.

The Scotsman CD-ROM used a completely different search engine, allowing searches on publication (the CD-ROM also contained information for the Scotland on Sunday newspaper), main text, headlines, by-lines, article type and date. Unfortunately unlike the Herald CD-ROM, this one did not include a list of the possible options for article types in the accompanying documentation. Another problem with the Scotsman CD-ROM was that it did not include information on page numbers or the section of the newspaper in which the article appeared.

The Daily Record database allowed searches on the main text, by-lines, date, section and supplement (where relevant). On each occasion the newspaper had to be specified as this was a large database containing information from many different newspapers. The output display gave the most information of any of the data resources: headlines, sub-headlines, by-lines, date, section, page numbers, supplement, edition, and number of words in the story for the newspaper's own publications, but unfortunately as discussed above, this had to be transcribed manually and typed into the database at a later date.

As can be seen, the different data collection methods yielded different types of information in various formats, which caused some problems later when trying to compare results across newspapers.

4.3.2 Newspapers excluded from the survey

The original intention was that the study would also look at other, perhaps more provincially orientated Scottish newspapers, such as the Dundee Courier and the Aberdeen Press & Journal. However, it was not possible to get computerised archive material from these sources, and thus regrettably they had to be excluded from the present study. More locally based newspapers such as the Airdrie & Coatbridge Advertiser or free publications such as the Edinburgh Herald & Post were also not included in the survey. It can be argued that these newspapers fulfil quite a different function to that of the more 'national' Scottish newspapers, concerned as they are with almost exclusively local news and events. They are community based newspapers in the truest sense of the word, and therefore they are likely to be more concerned with creating a sense of local community, than developing a sense of Scottish national identity. The differences between the Scottish national identity and more locally based identities are discussed in chapter 3 at section 3.5.2. However, some of Roz Smith's (1995/96) findings in the local Scottish press (see section 1.5.3) do show areas of overlap with the national Scottish newspapers in this study; for example articles discussing Scots proverbs (discussed in chapter 8), and articles written in Scots (see chapters 5 and 7). Gaelic newspapers were also excluded from the study, partly on the basis of their more locally based community appeal, but more importantly as I am a non-Gaelic speaker this was not something I would have been equipped to tackle. Cormack (1995) has already carried out a study on the use of Gaelic in Scottish newspapers (see 1.5.3 and 3.6.4).

Information on different regional editions was available for the Daily Record, but as they did not seem to differ substantially and this information was not available for the other newspapers (either on the CD-ROMs or from the Daily Record database), it was not investigated in the present study.

4.4 The Word List

As discussed above at 4.2.3, a conscious effort was made not to favour exclusively those Scots words with a predominantly West Coast provenance. It was, however, felt to be important that certain very common Scots words such as 'wee' be included. Some alternative orthographic forms were included where these were cited in the dictionary, but the forms cited in this study are by no means exhaustive. All parts of the verb were searched for, and both singular and plural forms of nouns were included. Often this meant using a Boolean style search to ensure that all possibilities were covered. For example to ensure that all parts of the verb were included, or where some of the Scots verbs had normalised English inflexions such as "-ed" instead of Scots "-it", or "-ing" instead of Scots "-in", and the study had to take account of both possibilities.

The word list contains a broad variety of Scottish lexis, some of which is fairly colloquial in register, such as "glaikit"; some of which is reasonably formal in tenor such as "homologate" (a specialised Scots legal term); some of which generally seem to be used in fairly restricted collocations, such as "bonny" (see 8.6ff). It is important to note that some of the lexis identified in the study as being Scottish is in fact shared with some other dialects of English, especially Northern English dialects. Glaüser (1974) has shown that there is a linguistic border or isogloss between Scotland and England, but this is by no means as clear-cut as is often thought. Aitken (1984b, p.31) notes that some items of what is generally considered to be Scottish lexis are shared across the political boundary. Lexical items which seem to come into this category in the present study include examples such as "canny" and "bevvy" which have some degree of usage outside Scotland. (See 6.3.2.2.)

4.5 File storage system

Each story which contained an item from the search list was stored as a discrete text file. They were stored using *text only format* as this made the articles easier to store and re-use later on. For the Herald and Scotsman articles this was a fairly straightforward procedure, as one simply had to specify at the search engine's *save* stage that the file should be saved in "text-only" format. For the stories gleaned from the Daily Record database, saving files was much more complicated, as their database system had been designed for their own purposes, and as described above (see 4.3.1.1) the accompanying information on headlines, by-lines, dates etc. could not be saved alongside the main text of the article. Another complicating factor was that the Daily Record's database system worked on a MAC platform, not PC; and so all the files had to be converted to PC format before they could be stored on the project's PC based system, and ultimately linked into the Access database.

The text files were stored in separate directories on the PC for each newspaper. As it was quite likely that for example "wee1.txt" would occur for most of the newspapers, this precaution was necessary to ensure that the text files from different newspapers could be differentiated. This division into separate directories proved useful later on, when devising concordances, and also when linking the text files into the final version of the database. It also avoided problems with computer storage space, although for the larger newspapers such as the Herald and the Scotsman, it was necessary to sub-divide the directories so that files were grouped alphabetically, thus being divided into 4 sub-directories a-h, i-p, q-v, and w-z respectively. This proved essential as Microsoft's File Manager could not cope with a directory which contained all the text files for the larger newspapers. However, the alphabetical sub-directories did make things more difficult later when it came to writing table-generating queries in the final version of the database. The sub-directory divisions here are not as random as might first appear. They were based on an attempt to divide the number of text files up as evenly as possible. (For example, there were so many entries for "wee", that the directory holding them could take very few other files.)

4.5.1 Back-up

To ensure that no data would be lost, in the event of Acts of God etc. separate copies of all the text files were kept at two different residential locations, with another copy being held on the University network drive.

4.6 Wordsmith

Wordsmith is a windows based concordance package designed with the linguist in mind, developed by Mike Scott of Liverpool University. (The version used in this project is an older version of the program. It has since been updated several times. Unfortunately, the newer version of Wordsmith cannot be accessed directly from the Access database and asked to automatically run the correct concordance file, and therefore it made more sense to continue using the older version.) Using Wordsmith, the researcher can search texts for specified words, or perform Boolean type searches. The package includes four main tools, two of which were used heavily in this project. These were the *Wordlister* and the *Concordancer* tools.

Wordlister creates a word list of the entire text, or group of texts, and arranges the words alphabetically and also by frequency of occurrence. Thus is it easy to see which words occur most or least frequently in a text, and also to identify individual words from the word list. It is possible to compare word lists for different texts or groups of texts.

The *Concordancer* tool enables words to be placed in their immediate context, and the display can give one or three lines, or one full sentence of context as required. The concordance display also shows details of the filename of the source text and the line number where the search item occurs, and this is useful if looking at multiple texts. Concordances can be saved either in text form as a word processing document (*.txt files), or much more usefully as a living

concordance file (*.cnc files) which can be remanipulated at a later date. This tool also has the facility to view the full original text. Concordances can be manipulated in various ways. One of the most important is the capacity to reorder entries based on other words in the surrounding contexts. For example, when looking at "wee", it became obvious by performing various sorts of this type that a commonly occurring word cluster was "a wee bit". The concordancing tool can automatically identify clusters on the basis of given criteria if this is required. It also gives information such as type-token ratios, average sentence and word lengths etc. For the purposes of this study, *Concordancer* allowed the immediate contexts of the Scottish lexical items to be checked to answer the range of questions considered in chapters 7 and 8.

Had Wordsmith been used earlier, at the start of the data collection stage, although time and labour saving, this could have caused problems in distinguishing individual articles. Using this regime, Wordsmith would have created summary concordances for each word, and the concordance display would only have given a numeric file reference, based on the CD-ROM as a whole, by way of source file information. Tracing which occurrences belonged to which articles would have been an extremely difficult and laborious process. There was therefore an unforeseen advantage in having collected the data manually, as this meant that there was an individual file, with a self-explanatory filename for each text file, even although some of these were inevitably duplicated. Therefore, although the slow method was frustrating, especially in view of later advances such as Wordsmith, it did mean that a full set of data existed in a fully flexible form.

This longhand method (i.e. saving individual articles as text files) was also preferable in terms of switching back to the actual text file itself to get full contexts. Wordsmith has a facility whereby it can regenerate the full text for a concordance entry, but it is extremely limited in what can then be done with it, and there can be problems recovering the original text if the source files were created using another PC or a network. Another problem with Wordsmith was that, although it allowed case sensitive searches (an improvement on some of the

CD-ROM search engines (see 4.3.1.1 above), it could not differentiate between other types of genuine and spurious entries, and therefore it was always necessary to check the entries manually. For example, "uplift" is also used with a quite different meaning in English (also discussed at 4.3.1.1).

Wordsmith did, however, prove very useful at later stages in the development of the database. Having stored all the manually collected text files individually, and then grouped them in sub-directories for each newspaper, it was relatively easy to make concordances for each search item/word. That is, all the Herald text files containing, for example, "wee" in their filename were searched using the Concordancer, and the results saved in a concordance file for the Herald called "wee.cnc". Using the facility for displaying the source filename within Concordancer, it was then easy to trace to which particular article the entry belonged. Once created these concordances were very useful for answering the questions posed in chapters 7 and 8, as they gave fairly quick access to the immediate contexts of word occurrences and therefore to information such as whether the contexts were direct/indirect speech, and the language variety of the surrounding context. These concordances were then attached to the relevant database, accessible on the basis of selecting the lexical item which is of interest, and then asking the database to retrieve the concordance. (See Appendix 1 for further detailed information on how to use the database.)

4.7 The database

Having collected my data for each newspaper, it became apparent that so great was the volume of data collected, that some way of making the results more accessible would have to be devised. This would make it easier to compare the use of lexical items and the contexts in which they were found across newspapers. Accordingly, it was decided that the only sensible way to do this would be to construct a database, and thus to organise the information gleaned more effectively.

Although a database was the only sensible means of organising so great a volume of data, it was not without problems. Computerised corpus linguistics is still a relatively new discipline, and therefore it was difficult to find suitable models on which to base the database design. I also had no prior experience of designing or using relational databases. In the end an original design specifically tailored to the needs of this project had to be devised. The database began as a relatively simple affair, in Microsoft Access version 2.0 (now updated to Access 97), based on the results and the methodology behind the manually collected text files, i.e. there was one major table which contained information at the level of the individual text files. The information in this table included details such as the headline for the article, the sub-headline where appropriate, the by-line, the publication date, the edition where relevant, the page number on which the article originally appeared, the article type where given, the newspaper section where it appeared if relevant and the number of occurrences of the search word recorded by the *Concordancer* for that particular article.

4.7.1   Procedure for entering information into database

The procedure for getting the information into the database varied according to the newspaper. As both the Herald and Scotsman files had originally come from CD-ROMs, the information on headlines, by-lines, dates etc. was contained within the text file at the start. A PERL program was written by Des O'Brien (Department of English Literature, University of Glasgow) which stripped out these details from the text files and automatically inserted them into an Access table. For the Daily Record, the Times, and the Sun (both editions) the situation was rather different. As this information had not been obtained from CD-ROMS, and the headline, by-line etc. information was not stored with the text files but rather recorded manually on paper proformas, the procedure for getting the information into the database was rather different. For these newspapers the information had to be entered into the database manually, a procedure which took a great deal of time and gave much more potential for errors. This became a significant problem when the database was redesigned, as any minor differences

in punctuation, spacing etc. in addition to typing errors which had been missed, meant that files which were actually duplicates and therefore should have been rationalised into one piece of information in the database were not identified as such. (More explanation of the rationalisation process is given in the following section.) Given the initial collection technique however, this early prototype database retained the original duplication of files. It was therefore much larger than it had to be, and ran more slowly. It was therefore decided that the database, which by this stage contained all the information as described above from the text files for all newspapers, should be redesigned to remove the element of duplication.

4.7.2 Re-design of the database

After consultation over the purposes of the database, Jim Everett (then CTICH, University of Glasgow; now Stevenson College, Edinburgh) designed a preliminary new database which would run more efficiently and remove all the duplication. This greatly reduced the size of the database, thereby enhancing its performance. All the tables from the old database had to be transformed to the new format, and new forms and queries designed and run. This proved to be a very difficult and time consuming process, the technical details of which need not be rehearsed here.

However, as mentioned in the previous section, this transformation process raised a new series of problems with respect to the newspapers which were not from CD-ROMs. Where large amounts of information had been manually entered, i.e. for the Daily Record, Sun (both editions) and Times data, severe problems were encountered. One of the steps (of which there were many) in the database transformation, was to run a query which found all duplicate text files, i.e. stories which were saved in the database more than once by virtue of containing more than one item of search lexis. Where there were small differences in e.g. typing errors, spacing or punctuation, these duplicates were not picked up by the system,

and had to be painstakingly manually removed. This was obviously quite a frequent problem for the entries which had been manually typed into the database.

Another problem caused by the redesign of the database, centred around the concordances which had been generated for each search item. These had been created prior to rationalisation of the database, and therefore the file name references given in the concordance display referred to the original set of filenames, some of which had been subsequently removed as duplication. It was therefore on many occasions impossible to tell which concordance entries related to which text files, and therefore information such as headlines, by-lines etc. could not be correlated with information about individual word occurrences. In order to combat this, I designed a small sub-form (Concordance Link Check) which is contained within FORM 'Word Occurrences' which matches up the old file names as used by the concordances with the new story I.D.s from the now much smaller, rationalised database (see Appendix 1).

The new database was subsequently refined and added to over the period of a year until it reached the present format. Serious problems were encountered as this type of work is still relatively uncommon in the humanities, and many of the innovations were entirely experimental. For example my idea of getting the Access database to automatically open *Wordsmith* and run the correct concordance file from within the database was considered by many to be difficult, if not impossible.

Microsoft Access, although a powerful database program, was not ideal for the purpose. It was chosen because it was one of the few database programs to allow the simultaneous storage of numeric and textual data, but numerous problems were encountered. The database has been submitted on CD-ROM as part of the final report as the methodology behind its creation formed a crucial part of the research. The final result can be added to or adapted to meet different needs, and used as a resource for future research. The database evolved to suit the needs of

the project and the questions to be answered. Further details on the structure of the database and instructions for its use are given in Appendix 1.

Having described the process of data collection and organisation, I shall now detail the methodologies relevant to each of the following chapters.

4.8   Methodologies for coverage chapter (Chapter 5)

4.8.1   Premise

The premise for chapter 5, which focuses on the amount of coverage given to Scottish stories by the Scottish press, was as follows. It was expected that Scottish national newspapers would carry a proportionately higher number of Scottish stories than their English or British national counterparts. The term 'Scottish stories' can be used of a range of article types such as (a) those stories which focus on news happening in Scotland, (b) stories which may have a national British significance, but which have been given a distinctively Scottish slant or news angle, and (c) feature articles concerned with what are predominantly Scottish issues. This chapter sought to discover what proportion of the stories carried in the Scottish newspapers had a peculiarly Scottish significance; how much coverage the (English) national press, as represented by the Times and the Sun, gave to Scottish stories; and what coverage there was of Scots language articles. (See research questions at 1.4.2.)

4.8.1.1   Methodology for coverage data

The first issue was to decide how best to discover what proportion of stories carried in the Scottish newspapers had a peculiarly Scottish significance. It was decided that an exhaustive study to find all Scottish stories in the newspapers was logistically impossible. The only way to have made sure that all had been

included would have been to read all the articles for each newspaper that year. Instead an estimate was attempted on the basis that it might be reasonably expected that Scottish stories might contain key items of lexis such as "Scottish", Scots", "Scotland" in the headline or main text. Accordingly, using Wordsmith to make a search of the whole CD-ROMs for the Herald, the Scotsman and the Record, not just the texts which had been collected by virtue of containing Scottish lexical items from the search list, an estimate could be made of the relative amounts of Scottish stories run by each newspaper. Obviously this was an extremely crude method of gauging the Scottish content, but it did seem likely to give some indication of the coverage patterns. Those stories which did contain one of these search items were totalled. As a control, the same types of stories were searched for in the London Times. Results are given at 5.6.

Unfortunately as already stated, data for the English Sun was incomplete, and therefore a full comparison of Scottish coverage in English and Scottish versions of the Sun was not possible. In order to in some way compensate for this shortcoming, a comparison was made of several hard copy editions of the English and Scottish Sun. The methodology for this comparison between the English and Scottish versions of the same editions of the Sun was as follows. As explained above at 4.3.1.1 the Sun declined to assist me with my research and therefore I was forced to use a sample of one month's hard copy of both the Scottish and English editions. Unfortunately hard copy was the only way to ensure a stock of directly comparable material for this research question as it was essential that both editions could be compared on a given day. As hard copy is extremely unwieldy and laborious to work with in a project of this scale, the collection period was limited to one month. It was hoped that such a time span would enable some general comments to be made on just how much and where the English and Scottish editions differed. (It had initially been thought possible to scan-in the newspaper texts, but substantial problems with 'bleed-through' from the other side of the page rendered this impossible.) Once investigation had begun, however, it became clear that the slight differences found between the two editions did not merit the extensive time and other resources which would have

been required to extend the study across the whole month. Accordingly only three full issues were compared, and the results are given in chapter 5 at 5.7.

The coverage chapter also considers the question of the coverage accorded to Scottish language as a topic in its own right. This research question was not originally part of the proposed study, but it became apparent whilst pursuing the project that there were quite a few articles, especially in the Herald and Scotsman, which dealt exclusively with Scots language issues, some of which were written entirely in Scots. It was very difficult to devise hard and fast rules for the collection of such articles, but as many of them used some Scottish lexis, they tended to have already occurred in the project and been noted anyway. A few others were picked up by CD-ROM searches such as "Scots" + "language". These articles formed such a discrete and interesting group of texts that it was decided that they should be incorporated as part of the study. Again details of the results can be found in chapter 5, at section 5.5.6.

4.9   Methodologies for Lexis I (Chapter 6)

Lexis 1 focuses on the Scottish lexical items from the search list themselves. The key research questions and their associated methodologies are as follows. The general methodology as discussed at 4.2.3 outlines the preparatory steps taken to prepare the data for all the lexical data chapters, i.e. chapters 6,7 and 8.

4.9.1   Methodology for determining lexical frequencies

The first questions to be answered were which items of Scottish lexis occurred in the newspapers, and which occurred most frequently and why. These questions were easily answered from the database. TABLE 'Word Level' (see database) gave details of frequency of occurrence for each search item. Thus it was possible to tell which were the most commonly occurring Scottish lexical items from the search list. TABLE 'Words and counts' (again, see database) gave details of

which search items were found in the greatest number of articles, and therefore were most widely distributed throughout the newspaper. Both of these tables could easily be reordered in terms of frequency, and the results are given in Table 6.1 and Table 6.2 of chapter 6.

4.9.2   Methodology for determining the lexically 'most Scottish' newspaper

Consideration then moved to which newspapers contained the most Scottish lexical items from the search list. The methodology was the same as that used to answer the previous two questions. A comparison of the results was made across all newspapers to see which contained the most Scottish lexis from the search list. It should be noted that this question should be treated with caution as being unable to search for all Scottish lexis, a sampling search list was used. It is also important to stress that it is likely, though difficult to give precise figures for, that the broadsheet newspapers are larger than the tabloids, and therefore would be expected to have a higher overall word count. (As noted later at 6.4.1, Tunstall (1996, p.12) reckons broadsheets contain three times more words, and therefore they are likely to yield more examples of Scottish lexis.) Results are given at section 6.6.

4.9.3   Methodology for identifying alternative orthographic forms

The next question to be considered was that of alternative orthographic forms. Were these in evidence, and was there variation within newspapers, and even by particular journalists? (The data obtained had to be treated with a degree of caution as most of the stories contained on CD-ROM were probably rekeyed, and therefore spelling inconsistencies may have crept in that way. Stories taken from The Daily Record database had been 'scanned in' at their library, and therefore there was less likelihood of variation due to keying errors.) Also, if inconsistencies did exist, did this in any way devalue the language, and do the newspapers have style books or guidelines dealing with the use of Scots?

The original search list included various items with alternative orthographic forms (see list at 6.3.3), and these were investigated across the newspapers to see if any patterns could be observed. Results are given at 6.3.3.

4.9.4 Methodology for determining the location of Scottish lexis in the newspapers

The next matter for consideration was whereabouts in the newspapers the items of Scottish lexis occurred. Were some sections of the newspaper or article types more likely to contain Scottish lexis than others, and if so, which were these, and why should this be the case? A series of queries were developed to answer these questions. QUERIES 'Article types summary', 'Correspondence', 'Features', 'Leaders' etc. (see database) interrogated the database to find out in which article types the items of Scottish lexis from the search list were occurring. The newspaper section information was collected in the same way. It should be noted that in each case a query was run both on the basis of straightforward frequency, and also on the basis of the actual stories. Thus not only could the frequency of the lexical items be observed, but also how they were spread between articles. Results are given at 6.7ff.

4.9.5 Methodology for tabloid/broadsheet comparison

Consideration then moved to whether there were noticeable differences between the tabloid and broadsheet newspapers in terms of frequency of Scottish lexical items, and also the register / type of lexical items used. A summary list was developed which can be seen at Appendix 5, and shows which lexical items from the search list appeared or did not appear in which newspapers. The results are collated in a list which shows words which appear in the Herald and Scotsman, but not in the Record (Appendix 6), thus indicating any tabloid/broadsheet split. Results are given at 6.4.1ff.

4.9.6   Methodology for differences in currency and geographic provenance

The next question to be answered was whether there were any noticeable differences between the newspapers in terms of the geographic provenance and currency of the Scottish lexical items they contained. Details on geographic provenances and currency of lexical items were taken from the CSD and the Collins Gem dictionaries, supplemented by the SND is necessary. Using the lists showing which newspapers contained which items of lexis already obtained to answer the questions above, it was then possible to discern any patterns in the data. Particular attention was paid to the possibility of differences between the tabloid and broadsheet newspapers, and again the results are discussed in chapter 6 at section 6.4.1.3.

4.10 Methodologies for Lexis II (Chapter 7)

Lexis II focuses on the immediate contexts in which the search items of Scottish lexis are found. Thus it considers whether the language varieties of the immediate contexts are *Scots*, *English*, *Scottish-English* etc. and whether there are discernible patterns in this respect associated with particular lexical items. It also considers whether direct speech is a particularly common context in which Scottish lexis is found, based on the premise (discussed in more detail later at section 7.8) that Scots may be used more in direct speech to represent the actual speech of individuals, or may be seen as a less risky strategy than using it in narrative.

4.10.1   Methodology for determining language variety of immediate context

This information was obtained from a close examination of the concordance entries for each lexical item. A quantitative distinction was made on the basis of how many other items of lexis in the surrounding context were identifiably Scottish. If there were many items of Scottish lexis in the surrounding context, the context was considered to be *Scots*. If there were relatively few, and the grammar was generally that of Standard English, then the context was considered

to be *Scottish-English*. If the search word was the only item of Scottish lexis, then the surrounding context was considered to be *English*. It should be noted here that obviously the inclusion of even this one item of Scottish lexis makes the language variety of the extract as a whole Scottish Standard English. However, it was considered useful to have some way of distinguishing between texts where the search item was the only item of Scottish lexis, and ones where there were others, albeit only a few. (See sections 2.4.1.5 and 7.2.3 for further discussion of categorisation of language contexts.)

This part of the analysis had to be done manually, as there was no easy way of discerning what the surrounding context was, other than by close examination of the surrounding context by the researcher. Thus it was an extremely time-consuming process. The results observed were first annotated on hard copy print-outs of each lexical item's concordance, before being entered in summative form into the database. (Accessible from the main database form via the command button labelled "Contexts".) Comparisons were then made for each lexical item's behaviour across newspapers, to see whether any patterns could be distinguished. The results are recorded in chapter 7 at section 7.7.1ff.

It had originally been intended that results would be recorded separately for each individual occurrence of each lexical item, in database FORM 'Word occurrences', but as time progressed, it became apparent that this would be extremely time-consuming, and not justifiable in terms of the extra information it would have yielded. This form has been left in the database in case returned to at a later date. Summary information for each lexical item was considered to be more than sufficient, as what was of interest was overall patterns, rather than individual usages.

4.10.2 Methodology for identifying direct speech in immediate context

The methodology was exactly the same as that described above for the determination of the language variety of the surrounding context, although in this case the deciding factor was the presence or absence of quotation marks. This

part of the research was carried out at the same time as that on language varieties. Again results were collected manually, and then collated and entered into FORM 'Contexts'. (See section 7.8ff for details of results.)

4.10.3 Methodology for comparing open vs. closed class and column 1 vs. column 2 lexis

This part of the study considered whether there were any differences in the contexts of open vs. closed class lexis, and column 1 vs. column 2 lexis. Using the methodological approach as described above, it was possible to examine more closely the language variety and speech or non-speech contexts in which these items occurred. Thus this was basically an extension of the previous two activities described for this chapter. Results are given at 7.7ff and 7.8ff.

4.10.4 Methodology for specialised contexts

During the above analyses of the immediate contexts for Scottish lexical items, it was also noted whether the item occurred in a specialised context such as a Scots language article, poem, headline etc., and entered in database FORM 'Contexts'. This analysis forms the basis for the results at 7.9ff.

4.11 Methodologies for Lexis III (Chapter 8)

Lexis III again focuses on the immediate contexts of the search items of Scottish lexis, but looks at recurrent lexical patterns which suggest the lexis is part of a longer unit. Thus it considers whether items of Scottish lexis have characteristic collocations, and whether they occur in fixed expressions such as idioms and proverbs.

4.11.1 Methodology for collocational analysis

The collocational analysis focused on whether certain items of Scottish lexis tended to occur with certain collocations, and if so, whether this gave any insights into their connotative meanings. The Concordancer tool in Wordsmith was used heavily here, as by rearranging and resorting the concordance lists by, for example, the first or second word to the right or left of the search item, it was possible to discern collocational patterns. Thus, for example, for "bonnie/bonny" it became apparent that there were fairly predictable collocates such as "banks", "lassie", "baby" etc. which tended to occur with this item of Scottish lexis. Where these patterns exhibited strongly, it was possible to draw some conclusions about the extra connotative meanings associated with "bonnie/bonny". Thus, for example, it would be strange to talk about a "bonny man" or a "bonny painting"; but a "bonny lad" would be perfectly acceptable.

4.11.2 Methodology for idiomatic phrases

The methodological approach for this was exactly the same as that for the analysis of collocational phrases above, and indeed both analyses were carried out at the same time from the reordering of the concordance displays. It became apparent that there were some longer and more complex patterns of lexis which formed part of fixed, and somewhat less fixed idiomatic phrases. Having identified occasions where this was the case, the phrases themselves were then analysed in terms of variability and productivity to fit them into a categorisation which included proverbs, idioms, semi-idioms etc. This part of the research had not originally been intended, but it became apparent when analysing the contexts of certain items of Scottish lexis that they usually, or only ever appeared in such fixed contexts. This was an important consideration in terms of gaining an overall view of how Scottish lexis was used in the newspapers, as if lexis is only used in fixed contexts, its usage is different to that of lexis which can be used in a variety of contexts. Such lexis may have ceased to be productive.

4.12 Lexis & identity: preview of the data chapters

These then were the methodologies used to interrogate the data. It is useful at this point to take stock of how the application of these methodological approaches in the data chapters (5,6,7 and 8) was expected to provide answers to the original research questions as outlined in chapter 1, at section 1.4. It is also useful to consider where in the data chapters the theoretical constructs discussed in chapters 2 and 3 will be tested.

4.12.1 Coverage

Chapter 5 looks at the issue of coverage in the Scottish newspapers. The argument was put forward in chapter 3 that there is a link between the use of Scottish lexis and the construction and maintenance of Scottish identity for these newspapers. This hypothesis forms the basis of the investigations carried out in the lexis chapters (6, 7 and 8). However, as was also discussed in chapter 3 (see 3.5), language is only one of many factors which give individuals a sense of identity. With respect to the newspapers there is another very important, and perhaps more obvious factor which contributes to a Scottish identity: their coverage of Scottish stories. The Coverage chapter (5) therefore gives a contextual basis for the lexical chapters, and begins by discussing the defining characteristics of a Scottish newspaper, such as location, self-branding as Scottish, notice of forthcoming local events etc. It then moves on to discuss the coverage of Scottish stories by these newspapers, as it would be expected that they would carry a higher proportion of such stories than their 'British'/'English' counterparts. Evidently this is very important characteristic of Scottish national newspapers wishing to appeal to a Scottish readership, and will undoubtedly be responsible for a large part of readers' recognition of these newspapers as distinctively Scottish. After identifying various different types of Scottish story, the chapter then considers how many stories carried by the Scottish newspapers have a peculiarly Scottish significance. It then considers how this compares with the coverage of Scottish stories by the (English) national press as represented by

the Times. The chapter also includes a small-scale comparison between same-day English and Scottish editions of the Sun to see where and by how much they differ. This will therefore give an indication of how one newspaper (the Sun) sets about making a peculiarly Scottish edition of what is in reality an English-based newspaper. The other main area covered by this chapter is an analysis of articles in the Scottish newspapers focusing particularly on Scots language. The Coverage chapter therefore stands a little apart from the other data chapters, concentrating as they do on Scottish lexis in the press.

4.12.2 Lexis chapters overview

Lexis I, II and III explore the link between the use of Scottish lexis by the Scottish newspapers, and the construction and maintenance of Scottish identity. As discussed in chapter 3 (see 3.4ff), the link between language and identity is complex, and language is only one of the many factors associated with identity. As was also highlighted (see 3.5.4), Scottish identity itself is a multi-faceted phenomenon, and may vary between individuals. These three chapters will collectively answer the research questions on the link between Scottish language and Scottish identity posed at 1.4.1. Thus having discussed the theoretical and linguistic arguments behind this complex issue in chapter 3, these chapters will seek to discover from the data whether there is a discernible Scottish identity in the Scottish newspapers, and if so what form or forms it takes. They will also consider if and how the construction/maintenance of Scottish identity is related to the use of Scottish lexis.   These are fairly general questions, and in order to answer them more effectively, each of the Lexis chapters broke these questions down into a series of more detailed questions, the overall analysis of which would hopefully answer the main question of the link between Scottish language and Scottish identity in the newspapers. These more detailed questions are discussed chapter by chapter in the following, alongside indications of where they fit into the overall scheme of investigation.

4.12.2.1   Lexis I

This chapter asks how much Scottish lexis from the search list was actually used by the Scottish newspapers. Which items occurred most frequently, and which items did not occur at all? (See sections 6.3.1 and 6.3.2) It was hoped that this would indicate firstly the level of use of identifiably Scottish lexis by the newspapers, and secondly would highlight any differences between the newspapers, i.e. did some newspapers rely more on the linguistic construction and maintenance of Scottishness than others, and were there noticeable differences between the Scottish tabloid and broadsheet newspapers? (See 6.4.1ff.) In discovering which items of Scottish lexis were used most frequently and which were not used at all, again taking note of any differences between newspapers; it was anticipated that this information would give some insight into the nature of the Scottish identity or identities projected by the newspapers.

The potential tabloid/broadsheet split was investigated further by focusing on items of lexis which seemed to be associated with, or to trigger particular Scottish stereotypes. (See 3.5.1 for theoretical construct of stereotypes and 6.4.2ff for data). As discussed earlier at 3.5.1ff, Fowler (1991) argues that newspapers are known for their frequent use of stereotypes, but that these stereotypes are not passively consumed by readers; rather the stereotypes used reflect the wider views of society, and can be rejected or reformulated by readers. Thus by focusing on lexis associated with particular stereotypes of Scottish identity, it was hoped that it would be possible to ascertain to what extent the newspapers relied on these stereotypes in the construction/maintenance of Scottish identity, and also whether particular newspapers favoured particular stereotypes and why this might be the case.

The investigation of orthographic forms (see 6.3.3) should give an indication of the degree of standardisation or fixity associated with the use of Scots in the newspapers. As discussed in chapter 2 (section 2.6.8.1ff), the degree of variation observed between newspapers should indicate the extent to which Scots has been standardised, or has preferred forms; the degree of variation within newspapers

might indicate the importance placed on regularising the spelling of Scots by individual newspapers, and perhaps also indicate to what extent that newspaper is acting as 'an arbiter of style'.

The investigation of where Scottish lexis was located within the newspaper (see 6.7ff) should give an impression of the status or lack of status enjoyed by Scots. If Scots items were found to be consistently restricted to, for example, humorous contexts, feature articles, and sports reports, and seldom or never appeared in serious news articles; this would suggest that Scots is not perceived as appropriate for use in such contexts, is restricted in its registers, and has fairly low status. This analysis should also serve as a barometer of the prevailing linguistic hegemony in Scotland, as reflected, and perhaps even strengthened by the newspapers. (See 2.7ff for discussion of appropriacy and linguistic hegemony, and 2.5ff for discussion for status of Scots and implications for its registers.)

The newspapers were also investigated to see whether there was any difference between newspapers in the currency (i.e. whether literary, archaic, modern usage) and geographic provenance of Scottish lexis used (see sections 6.4.3 and 6.5 respectively). Again it was anticipated that there might be a difference between tabloid and broadsheet newspapers in terms of the currency of Scots lexis used, and that this could perhaps be extrapolated to make some observations about the perceived readerships of these different newspaper types. (As noted at section 3.7.5, newspapers are written in their representation of the language of the readers to at whom their publication is principally aimed.) The Scottish newspapers examined in this study are national Scottish rather than local newspapers, and the investigation of geographic provenance sought to determine whether there was any correlation between the geographic location of the newspapers' central offices, i.e. whether Glasgow or Edinburgh, and their traditional strongholds (Herald predominantly West coast, Scotsman predominantly East coast), and the geographic provenance of the Scottish lexis used. This is considered in light of the impact of local identity, see 3.5.2.

4.12.2.2 Lexis II

This chapter looks at the surrounding contexts of the Scottish lexical items used by the newspapers. It was hoped that it would shed some further light on the use of Scots and particularly Scottish-English generally, following Kirk's contention that the Scottish newspapers were likely to be a major untapped resource for such material. Firstly it investigates the language varieties of the surrounding context, i.e. whether *Scots*, *Scottish-English* or *English*; and whether there is any correlation between the type of Scottish lexical item (whether open or closed class, increasing semantic range or increasing semantic density, column 1 or column 2 lexis) and the context in which it is likely to be found. Sections 2.8ff discussed the problems associated with classifying texts as being at particular points along the linguistic continuum (see 2.3.1), and the analysis at 7.7.1 would investigate my hypothesis that the presence of closed class lexis tends to indicate a more densely Scots text. It was also considered likely that certain items of Scots lexis were more likely to be found in isolation in English contexts than others. Thus it was hoped that this information would give an indication of how Scottish lexis was used by the newspapers, and also give some insights into the Scottish lexical items themselves, such as were some items more able than others to make the transition between a Scots and an English context, and if so, why should this be the case?

The chapter also investigates whether the Scottish lexis found in the Scottish newspapers tends to occur in direct speech contexts or is equally likely to occur in straightforward narrative (see 7.8ff). Scottish lexis which occurs in narrative prose appears more closely attributable to the newspaper itself, than items which occur in direct speech, which seem to be the words of someone else. Arguably if the newspapers use Scots in narrative prose they are displaying a stronger commitment to its use than if they restrict its usage to direct speech contexts, thus again there are implications for the status of Scots.

The concept of language display was discussed earlier at section 3.6, and it was suggested at 3.6.4 that the use of Scots in the newspapers was similar to the use of

Gaelic as observed by Cormack (1995); i.e. that there was more emphasis on the symbolic function of such language than on the communicative function. Chapter 7 would investigate whether certain items of Scottish lexis were more suitable for language display purposes than others, and again why this should be the case. The chapter as a whole investigates the stylistic implications of choosing to use Scottish lexis. With respect to the column 1 versus column 2 analysis, one particular point of interest was whether analysis of contextual data could yield any information on different text types, and hence different types of Scots, such as colloquial/formal, closer to written/spoken models. Again this would help to understand the register implications of choosing to use certain items of Scots lexis.

4.12.2.3   Lexis III

The final data chapter again focuses on the surrounding contexts of Scottish lexis; but this time looking at restricted collocations, and Scottish fixed expressions and idioms. This chapter again investigated potential differences between the tabloid and broadsheet newspapers, this time with respect to their use of Scottish fixed expressions and idioms: could this be correlated with perceived differences in their readerships and differences in the Scottish identity they were constructing/maintaining? This chapter also considered the question of fixity or productivity of such expressions, and investigated where any differences were likely to occur. Thus, for example, some expressions were Scotticised or Anglicised: how and where in the expression was this achieved? It was hoped that this might give some information on the current relationship between Scots and English. Chapter 8 also considers the importance of formulaic language for the construction/maintenance of Scottish identity, and the cultural sources from which these fixed expressions are derived.

4.12.3 Chapter 9

The final chapter draws the observations that can be made from the data together, and compares the results observed with the original hypotheses. It asks whether the Scottish newspapers are indeed involved in the construction and maintenance of Scottish identity; if so how this is achieved and what form(s) that identity takes; and also what general information the study has to offer on the use of Scottish-English varieties in non-literary prose. It will also suggest some avenues for future research and outline the main problems encountered during the project.

5 COVERAGE

5.1 Introduction

Scottish newspapers are keen to promote their 'Scottishness' (it is a valuable asset in terms of sales figures) and they do so in a variety of ways (see 5.2.2.3). This thesis hypothesises that recognisably Scottish language elements are an important feature of the Scottish national press. It further suggests that the use of Scottish lexis helps to construct and maintain a feeling of Scottishness, and a sense of Scottish identity, and this will be dealt with in the three following chapters. However, it is important to recognise that it is not only the actual words on the page which create this Scottish identity in the Scottish national press, and this chapter deals with a more general way in which Scottish newspapers may seek to be particularly relevant to their Scottish readers; that is, through their coverage of Scottish events and stories. The chapter begins by discussing the defining characteristics of Scottish newspapers, before going on to discuss the different types of Scottish stories they contain. It then investigates what proportion of stories carried by the Scottish press are peculiarly Scottish and compares this with the coverage given to Scottish stories in the English control newspapers, the Times and the Sun. This chapter therefore gives an important contextual background against which the more specific observations made in the lexis chapters can be considered.

5.2 Defining characteristics of a Scottish newspaper

The following sections outline the key defining characteristics of a Scottish newspaper. It is important at this point to remember that this study is concerned with what can be termed Scottish national newspapers (the Herald, the Scotsman, the Daily Record and the Scottish Sun). (The Aberdeen Press & Journal has a similar status in the north and north-east of Scotland, but as noted in the previous

chapter (see 4.3.2) unfortunately its data storage methods prohibited its inclusion in this study.) The thesis does not study the local Scottish press, and thus titles such as the Airdrie & Coatbridge Advertiser, and more widely circulated papers such as the Edinburgh Evening News are not included. What then are the key distinguishing features which differentiate these 'local' Scottish newspapers from those which have been termed 'national' Scottish newspapers?

5.2.1   Local newspapers

One very obvious distinguishing feature of these local newspapers is the very frequent inclusion of the name of the town or regional area which they serve in the newspaper's name, thus giving titles such as 'The Bearsden Advertiser'. This feature in itself suggests these newspapers' defining criterion: the coverage of mostly local news and events. (It is interesting to note that the Herald dropped "Glasgow" from its title eight years ago, presumably to appear less parochial.) Just as has been argued in chapter 3 (see 3.7.1) that the national newspapers may have a role in defining the national community; so it can be argued that these local newspapers have an important role in helping to define the boundaries of the local community. Many of these local newspapers are issued on a weekly basis, whereas all of the 'nationals' considered in this study are daily newspapers. (As noted at 1.5.3, Roz Smith has carried out some preliminary research on the local press in Scotland.)

5.2.2   Scottish national newspapers

Whilst the majority of the content of local newspapers is most relevant to a fairly restricted regional locality, national Scottish newspapers have a much wider catchment area. What then are the shared characteristics of this group of newspapers?

5.2.2.1   Location

Firstly, these national Scottish newspapers (with the exception of the Scottish
Sun) are written and produced in Scotland, with significant visible presences in
one of Scotland's two main cities, Edinburgh or Glasgow. Indeed, both Scottish
broadsheets included in the study have occupied famous landmark buildings
before moving to more modern premises; their vacant buildings still retaining the
identity of their former newspaper tenant namesakes. The Herald moved offices
from the famous Mitchell Street building designed by Charles Rennie Mackintosh
in 1980, and has moved again very recently to the Scottish Media Group building
at Cowcaddens, and the Scotsman recently transferred from the landmark building
on North Bridge to new offices opposite the new Scottish Parliament building.
The Daily Record also has a very visible presence, although in a more modern
building which it shares with its sister paper the Sunday Mail. It would appear
that even in these days of modern technology where news is often distributed all
round the world by the large news agencies, a tangible and visible presence within
Scotland is very important for these newspapers. A case in point is the Scottish
Sun which moved its printing operation to Kinning Park in Glasgow.

5.2.2.2   Provenance of journalists

The latter example raises another important point, that of the nationality of the
journalists. Of course, Scottish newspapers do not employ only Scottish
journalists. Many journalists move around the country in the course of their
careers, often starting out working for a local newspaper before progressing to one
of the nationals. However, the nationality of journalists can be very significant in
the Scottish nationals depending on to which part of the newspaper they
contribute articles. For international or British news stories, the nationality of the
journalist is unlikely to be foregrounded. However, in certain parts of the
newspaper, for example, certain types of feature articles such as the Diary or some
of the columnists such as Jack McLean, the very Scottishness of the journalist
seems to be an integral part of the piece. This is discussed further in chapter 6 at

6.7.1.5. A similar situation applies, though perhaps to a lesser extent, with some of the sports pages. (See discussion at sections 5.7 and 6.7.2.4.)

5.2.2.3   Scottish branding and self assessment

Secondly, these newspapers consider themselves, and are considered by Scottish people, to be Scottish. They frequently promote themselves as being Scottish. The mastheads and sometimes the advertising slogans of many of these Scottish newspapers proclaim their Scottish identity. The Scotsman claims to be 'Scotland's National Newspaper' in its masthead and also has a thistle emblem. Its name also overtly proclaims its Scottish identity. As noted above in section 5.2.1 the Herald changed its name from the 'Glasgow Herald' eight years ago presumably in an attempt to appeal to a wider readership and to counter any impression of parochialism or relevance only to Glaswegian readers. The Daily Record has a quite separate Scottish identity from its sister papers in the Mirror group, and it ran an advertising campaign with the slogan 'Real Scots read the Record', and calls itself 'Scotland's Champion'. Some of these newspapers use Scottish symbols in their mastheads such as the use of a stylised thistle by the Scottish Sun, or the more elaborate version in the Scotsman. The Daily Record and the Scottish Express both have a lion rampant. The Herald's masthead includes the information that the newspaper was established in Glasgow in 1783, thus appealing to a sense of historicity (see 3.4.3) as well as Scottish provenance. The Scottish Sun claims that it is 'Dedicated to the people of Scotland'. Other newspapers such as the Scottish Express and the Scottish Mirror state that they are edited and printed in Scotland.

However, is self-proclamation of Scottish status enough to ensure a newspaper is accepted as Scottish by its readers? I would argue not, as in the course of this study, almost without fail when mentioning to people that I am looking at the Scottish Sun amongst other Scottish newspapers, the response has invariably been, 'well, it's not very Scottish anyway'. By comparison, the other tabloid

under consideration, the Daily Record, seems to be widely regarded as a homegrown and hence genuinely Scottish newspaper.

5.2.2.4   Advertising, TV schedules & notice of forthcoming events

Thirdly, the advertising in these newspapers is usually for products and services available in Scotland, although as we shall note in the following section, there may be an East or West of Scotland emphasis. It should be remembered that newspapers make substantial revenue from advertising. Advertisers target their products to their most likely purchasers, and thus Scottish newspapers carry adverts which appeal to, their Scottish target audience.

These newspapers also carry news of forthcoming events, days out and TV & radio schedules etc. in Scotland. Although often regarded as peripheral to the 'real' business of the newspaper, i.e. reporting the news, these parts of the newspaper are important in their own right, and help to maintain the relationship between newspaper and reader.

That it is important to appeal to local readers is evidenced by the fairly recent Sunday Times' addition of the 'Ecosse' section for its Scottish readers. It covers events in Scotland, and has articles, features and advertisements specifically aimed at a Scottish audience. Newspapers are increasingly able to use such supplements to customise their newspaper to different audiences, due to changes in technology and working practices. As noted at section 3.7ff, newspapers have close and very important links with their readerships. If the newspapers get this wrong, they risk languishing unsold on the news-stand. Indeed, it could be argued that as a text type newspapers have the greatest need to establish good reader relations, and to establish accurate readership profiles.

5.2.2.5   Politics

Fourthly as Tunstall (1996, p.64) notes, the political leanings of the Scottish press are more closely related to what is going on in Scotland, where the party structure and share of the votes is substantially different from the UK situation.

5.2.2.6   Coverage of Scottish stories

Fifthly, and the main topic of this chapter, the Scottish newspapers have substantially higher coverage of Scottish news than their counterpart English or perhaps even 'British' newspapers. It should, of course, be noted that like these other newspapers, the Scottish nationals also cover news on current events and features articles about stories overseas and on an international level, and their 'home news' includes items on for example, the policies of the British government, the National Health Service and so on. This is one of the key differences between the Scottish nationals and the Scottish local press. (It is perhaps worth noting however, to what extent these other newspapers are really 'British' newspapers. I lack definitive information on the proportions involved, but as an occasional reader of these 'British' newspapers, my observation would have to be that they are fairly Anglocentric. Whilst big Scottish news stories are covered, such as the Dunblane shooting, when looking for smaller news stories to cover, these newspapers seem to give more coverage to local English stories than to those from Scotland or Wales. Thus, whilst these newspapers are not necessarily explicitly marketing themselves as English newspapers in the way that Scottish newspapers market themselves as Scottish newspapers, that is in effect, how they should probably be classified.) Whilst the main argument in this study has been that the Scottish newspapers are actively involved in the construction and maintenance of Scottish identity; it is possible to argue that the English newspapers, due to their lower coverage of Scottish events, are to the Scottish readership, passively constructing a non-Scottish identity for themselves. Presumably an English readership would find the coverage of local English stories

part of an active construction of English identity. Thus the same newspapers are likely to have very different appearances to a Scottish and an English readership.

Of course, certain of these newspapers, such as the Telegraph and the Times, have very strong links and associations in the minds of readers with a London market, and certainly much of the advertising etc. would seem to support such a view. So perhaps the terms 'British' newspaper is misleading and valueless. It is unlikely that a national 'British' newspaper could appeal effectively to the whole range of communities in Britain.

I would argue that for newspapers such as the Herald, the Scotsman and the Daily Record, it is economically imperative that they establish themselves as peculiarly Scottish in character. They can thus compete for readers with the other newspapers such as the Times or the Telegraph, the Mail or the Mirror, with the additional bonus of being identifiably Scottish.

5.2.2.7   Regional split

Although defined for the purposes of this study as national newspapers, it should be noted that there are discernible differences between the Scotsman and the Herald with the Scotsman being more East coast based, and giving more details on events, advertising etc. based in Edinburgh than in Glasgow; with the Herald having a similar West coast emphasis. Thus it can be argued that their national identity is to some extent mediated by local identity (see 3.5.2). It is interesting to note that in conjunction with the Daily Record's 'Real Scots read the Record' campaign, there were also popular bumper stickers saying "I'm a real Scot from ....", where the blank was filled by the name of a local Scottish town e.g. Airdrie, Dunfermline etc., thus emphasising local identity.

This geographic split is backed up by the readership figures. The National Readership Survey for Jan-Dec 1993 showed that for the Herald, of a total

Scottish readership of 388,600 the vast majority of those, 319,500 (82.2%) were from Strathclyde, with Lothian, the Borders and Dumfries, Fife, Tayside and Grampian in the East having only 10,700 (2.7%); 3,800 (1%); 5,500 (1.4%) and 6,300 (1.6%) readers respectively. It should be remembered that there are significantly more people residing in Strathclyde than in these other parts of Scotland, but the figures still illustrate a West of Scotland emphasis. Similarly the Scotsman's readership was significantly higher in the East than in Strathclyde. Of a total of 269,600 Scottish readers, 128,400 (47%) were based in Lothian, 23,900 (8.8%) in Fife, 17,300 (6.4%) in Tayside and 16,700 (6.2%) in Grampian. By comparison, there were only 23,900 readers of the Scotsman in Strathclyde. The Daily Record had by far the largest average readership with 1,874,900 readers. (59.4 % of the readers were in Strathclyde, and 12.1% of the Record's readers were in Lothian, 6.8% in Fife, 3.9% in Tayside and 4.7% in Grampian.) (Source: Smith, 1994, p.170-171.) (Unfortunately 1995 NRS figures were unobtainable. See ABC circulation figures in chapter 9, section 9.4. N.B. The figures given here are for readerships rather than circulation, i.e. a newspaper may be read by more than one person hence higher figures.) The question of a regional or geographic split between the newspapers is discussed with respect to lexical differences in the next chapter at section 6.5.

However, the Herald, the Scotsman and the Daily Record all cover a broad range of Scottish stories and can therefore be considered Scottish national newspapers.

5.3   Exclusivity & Scottish solidarity

As discussed in chapter 3, and as noted by McCrone (1992, p.33), "Scotland has a distinct identity". This identity is not always necessarily linked to politically nationalist feeling, but there is a certain exclusiveness and pride in being Scottish. Therefore the idea of a newspaper tailored to our needs, and most of all, recognising that we are different, and not English, is highly appealing to a Scottish readership. Of course, that is not to say that other, English based newspapers have no readers in Scotland. Rather, I am suggesting that to read a

Scottish newspaper arises from a slightly different motivation than the reading of, say, the London Times. It depends on what the reader wants to 'get out of' his/her newspaper. For example, many people working in the finance or business sectors will read the London Times (often in addition to the Financial Times) or Daily Telegraph because they feel it better reflects their interests, and gives them more of the type of information they are looking for. Similarly many of those working in the education sector buy the Guardian as it seems to more closely cater for their interests. Importantly, it also carries many job advertisements for this sector of the workforce. Thus it is important to remember that as was discussed in chapter 3 at section 3.5.4, individuals may have multi-faceted identities.

There does, however, seem to be a definite Scottish solidarity in buying a Scottish newspapers, and Scots who habitually buy a non-Scottish, especially broadsheet newspaper may be regarded as social climbers or as in some way denying their roots. Why should this be the case? It is often suggested that readers tend to be influenced in their newspapers reading habits by what their parents read before them (although Tunstall (1996, p.215) suggests newspaper readerships have become much less stable since the 1990s). This may in part account for this feeling that those who choose to read a non-Scottish newspaper are in some way seeking to deny their Scottish roots. Readerships are also often cited as being generally loyal to a particular newspaper, and therefore this presumably reinforces this process of identification with a particular newspaper and hence the Scottish or non-Scottish readerships. I am arguing that in a similar way to assumptions being drawn about a person's standard of education and social class from whether they read a broadsheet or tabloid newspaper, a similar process is at work when someone is observed to buy a Scottish or a non-Scottish newspaper.

This tendency is reflected in the readership figures for English based newspapers in Scotland from the 1993 National Readership Survey (Smith, 1994, p.170-171). The Scottish broadsheets individually had significantly higher readerships than the combined figures for the five English dailies (The Daily Telegraph, the Times, the Guardian, the Independent and the Financial Times). These newspapers had a combined readership of 214,400 (includes duplicates where e.g. a reader buys

more than one UK title), a figure significantly lower than the readerships for both the Herald (388,600) and the Scotsman (269,000).

Tunstall (1996, p.62) notes that the 1995 *National Readership Survey* figures show that the "highest readership of non-London morning papers is in North Scotland." He goes on to argue that

> Scotland, then, continues to be the only major British region which has a significant morning and Sunday, as well as Evening, newspaper press of its own. Very obviously also Scotland's different press parallels Scotland's different and distant geography, its separate culture and history, its separate governmental system and – especially important in news terms – its separate systems of courts and sports. Obviously the Scottish newspaper press also parallels Scottish politics. (Tunstall, 1996, p.64)

Thus Tunstall argues that Scottish newspapers are successful in Scotland precisely because they reflect Scotland's distinct culture. The Scottish newspapers can therefore be argued to have more relevance in many ways for Scottish readers than the equivalent English newspapers.

5.4 News values

Before discussing in more detail the coverage of Scottish stories by the Scottish press, it is useful to consider the important concept of *news values*, a concept which also underlines the importance of the relevance of the news to the readership. Hall (1978, p.53) (also quoted in Fowler, 1991, p.12) notes that

> The media do not simply and transparently report events which are 'naturally' newsworthy *in themselves*. 'News' is the end-product of a

complex process which begins with a systematic sorting and selecting of events and topics according to a socially constructed set of categories.

Thus news stories are selected according to a complex set of socially constructed criteria, originally outlined by Galtung & Ruge (1965, 1973). The whole list includes 12 different criteria, some of which are subdivided further (see Fowler, 1991, p.13-17; Bell, 1991, p.165-170). Several of these criteria are of particular interest when considering Scottish newspapers' coverage of Scottish news stories.

The Proximity criterion says that stories which are geographically or culturally closest to the readership have more news value than ones which are further away. Thus the reporting of events such as a Glasgow train crash or the Dunblane shooting incident would fulfil this criterion. Applying this to Scottish news generally, it can be argued that Scottish events are extremely newsworthy to a Scottish readership on both geographical and cultural bases. The Relevance criterion is where the news event has some impact on the readership's own lives or is close to their experience, thus for example reporting on events in the Scottish Parliament or the recent fiasco over Scottish exam results. Relevance need not depend on Proximity, but evidently in the case of many Scottish stories, both criteria will be in operation. Thus again, as was discussed in chapter 3 (see 3.7.2), the newspaper readership is of primary importance in the construction of news values.

5.5 Significant types of coverage

Scottish news stories can therefore be expected to be of either geographic or cultural proximity to the Scottish readership and/or of relevance to their lives or experience. This study recognises several different sub-types of Scottish story, and they are discussed in the following. (It should be remembered that some of these stories may also be covered by the English national press.)

5.5.1   Coverage of specifically Scottish national stories

There will be certain stories carried by the Scottish national press which are specifically Scottish 'national' stories, for example articles on devolution and the Scottish parliament, Scottish education and the Scottish Farmer's Union. These can be categorised as Scottish stories, in that they are significant news stories whose provenance is within the geographical boundaries of present-day Scotland.

5.5.2   Coverage of local Scottish stories

Most national papers will also carry some element of what could feasibly be called local stories. This applies both to the Scottish and English based newspapers. This characteristic seems to be particularly true of the tabloids. (See Scottish Sun swapping of a Scottish local story for an English one at 5.7.) These are stories which do not have a Scottish national significance, but nevertheless are news stories about events which have occurred within the catchment area of the newspaper. This can cover a wide variety of stories, e.g. waitress killed by falling masonry from Edinburgh pub, or an M8 pile-up.

5.5.3   A Scottish angle on an otherwise British story

Frequently we find that an otherwise national, i.e. British, news story is given a Scottish angle, and is thus made more relevant to a Scottish readership. For example, a rail crash in London might be followed up by investigative articles into the comparative safety or otherwise of Scottish trains, and perhaps details of less serious Scottish incidents. Or perhaps another example would be the BSE in British beef scandal, with analysis of how Scottish beef shapes up by comparison.

It is often said that Scottish journalists frequently 'put a kilt on a story'. All news stories operate from a particular viewpoint (a news angle), and in this case, stories are reported from a particularly Scottish viewpoint. This can take various forms:

perhaps an analysis of how a 'British' story will have an effect on Scottish readers, or finding a peculiarly Scottish angle on a more general news story, e.g. if reporting on a British climbing party accident, giving more attention to the background and circumstances of Scottish members of the team.

5.5.4 Coverage of Scottish culture

There may be certain stories included, which could best be described as focusing on Scottish culture, for example an account of an evening at a Burns Supper, an article on the declining popularity of Scottish country dancing. These articles will tend to be feature articles rather than hard news stories, and may reinforce Scottish stereotypes as well as the distinctiveness of Scottish culture.

5.5.5 Coverage of peculiarly Scottish institutions

Certain institutions in Scotland have traditionally been distinct from those in the rest of Britain. These are the Scottish legal system, the church and the Scottish education system. (This dates back to the provisions made to preserve Scottish autonomy in these areas following the Act of Union.) (Nowadays there is also the Scottish parliament, but this was not in existence in 1995.) To this day, these institutions maintain a distinct identity, and therefore coverage of them in the press is likely to be fairly sharply differentiated into the Scottish and English/British systems. Many items of Scottish vocabulary arise from the distinctive nature of these institutions. As discussed at 2.3.8.2, Aitken (1979a, p.107) distinguishes a category of Scotticisms which he terms "cultural Scotticisms", and words used to describe parts of these traditionally separate Scottish institutions would naturally fall into this category. Although the use of such vocabulary is not attributable to stylistic considerations as may be the case with other, more general items of Scottish lexis; their use will still help to reinforce the Scottishness of the newspaper, although this is a passive rather than an active construction of Scottishness.

5.5.6 Coverage of Scottish language

Newspapers are a key forum for the discussion of language. Cameron (1995) notes the activities of *language mavens* (American term for self-appointed highly prescriptive language 'experts' or enthusiasts) are frequently conducted in the press. (See Pinker, 1994, p.370-403 for fuller discussion of their activities.)

> What do language mavens do? Stereotypically, they write letters to newspapers deploring various solecisms and warning of linguistic decline. The press is an important forum for language mavenry in general: it is striking how many newspapers run regular language columns and how much features space they devote to linguistic topics. (Cameron, 1995, p.viii)

This ranges from the well attested tendency to prescriptivism in terms of grammar etc. in say the letters pages of the Times, with readers complaining about the decline in standards in the language, to full length feature on the state of the language.

In the Scottish national newspapers, the topic of Scottish language is sometimes discussed in detail. Again, these articles range from readers' letters to whole feature articles on the subject. Often these articles are largely written in Standard English, as we might generally expect of newspaper articles. However, quite a few of them, particularly in the broadsheets, are written in some form of Scots. This is rather an interesting phenomenon, as several of these articles are of a fair length, and thus require quite a lot of patience and perseverance on the part of a readership which is unlikely to be wholly familiar with dense Scots. It could be argued that the inclusion of these articles is very akin to the inclusion of Gaelic articles, as does indeed occur in certain newspapers (e.g. the Press & Journal and the Scotsman); which as was discussed at 3.6.4, can be seen as primarily symbolic in function.

However, it can be argued that the effect on the readers is rather different. Generally, one either understands or does not understand Gaelic, and thus the potential readership of these articles (unless they provide a translation in English) is limited to the Gaelic speaking community, or to those who have at least a passive knowledge of written Gaelic. When an article is written in Scots however, the effect on the readership is quite different. Many readers, if motivated enough to persevere in reading the article, would actually be able to make sense of at least the general content, even if struggling over a few words, and these again they would probably be able to work out from the context; i.e. the similarities between English and Scots make it more likely that readers will be able to 'work out' what words mean. No such assistance is available for Gaelic.

These articles in the 1995 Scottish newspapers which are written entirely in Scots, tend to be written by one or two individuals who are themselves language specialists, and it is interesting to note that with one exception, (although that is a feature article written in what appears to be colloquial urban spoken Scots), all the articles written in Scots are concerned with the Scottish language (as noted by McClure (1979, p.47) see section 2.5.3.1.).

Thus it would appear that extended writing in Scots prose in the newspapers is politically (with a small 'p') motivated. The actual fact of writing the article in Scots has ideological implications. These articles seem to be written in what some might call a standard Scots, a language akin to that used in the Scots Language Society's magazine *Lallans*. A summary of the articles in newspapers on the subject of Scottish language, and the articles which are written in Scots is given in Appendix 3.

5.5.6.1   Scots in correspondence

Several interesting observations can be made from a closer analysis of these articles. Firstly, many of the articles and letters on the Scots language seem to be

written in response to other articles or letters written on the subject. There seems to be an ongoing dialogue carried out via the pages of the newspaper. Of 25 language articles in the Herald, no fewer than 9 of them refer to at least one earlier article or letter, in some cases replying to two or more articles. Within his discussion of discourse communities (see 2.3.4 for further details), Bex (1996, p.63) outlines Swales' (1990) description of the six characteristics of a discourse community. One of these is that the discourse community "uses its participatory mechanisms primarily to provide information and feedback". Thus it is possible to argue that not only are the newspapers (as was argued in chapter 2 at section 2.3.4), like individuals, participants in the discourse community that is Scotland; but that the newspapers are themselves also examples of loose discourse communities which have regulatory and feedback mechanisms. Thus these letters to the newspapers are examples of 'feedback' which serve to reaffirm and strengthen the discourse community.

5.5.6.2   Language activists and experts

Another very noticeable feature is those who are responsible for writing these articles and letters. Many of them are written by quite prominent Scots language activists, who have been discussing many of the points raised for years. Writers such as Sheila Douglas (Chair of the Scots Language Society), Stuart McHardy (Director of the Scots Language Resource Centre), David Purves (Editor of 'Lallans', the magazine of the Scots Language Society), Dr Anne King (Lecturer in English Language at the University of Edinburgh, specialising in Scots), Molly Rorke (an educationalist with an interest in Scots), Neil MacCallum (Past President of the Scots Language Society), John Hodgart (Principal Teacher of English and author of a Scots play), Richard Heinsar (Convener of Scots Tung), thus accounting for 11 of the 25 Scots language articles in the Herald. It can be argued that these individuals are *language mavens* (see beginning of section) for the cause of Scots. This is especially true of the many cases where the general point of the correspondence is to correct someone else's understanding of Scots,

preferred spellings etc. They can also be regarded in a sense as an elite (see 2.6.6.1).

5.5.6.3   Scots and education

In the Herald the most common place to find Scots language articles is in the letters page (accounting for 12 of the Herald's 25 Scots language articles), but a significant number are also found in the Herald's education section (accounting for 7 of the above); indeed many of the articles are concerned with the role of Scots in education. This mirrors a general association between Scots language issues and education (e.g. two conferences have been held titled 'Scots: its place in education'.). There is also a small cluster of feature articles on education in the Herald's weekender section (3 articles). It can be argued that the issue of education is often raised in such articles because education is an important factor in language planning. (See Cooper (1989, p.135).)

The situation is similar in the Scotsman, where there are quite a few articles written by the Scots language lobby. Robert Fairnie Secretary of Scots Tung has written 4 of the 6 letters. Sheila Douglas also contributes an article to the Scotsman, on the role of Scots in education. Tom Pow writes an article for the Scotsman, but was also presumably behind the submission of pupils at Dumfries Academy's examples of Scottish writing in the Herald. There are 3 articles concerned with education, although as the Scotsman CD-ROM does not give information on newspaper sections, this information is much more difficult to find.

There were only 2 articles on Scots language noted in the Record. One was a light-hearted article on the launch of the Collins Gem Scots dictionary, written in *Scottish-English* with a colloquial Scots headline and sub-headline, and including examples of Scots words taken from the dictionary, some of which are 'translated' into English. The other article is a TV Review by John Millar of a programme's

look at Scots language. Neither of these articles is written by a language expert, and neither is written in Scots. It can be argued that this reflects differences between the perceived readerships of the tabloid and broadsheet newspapers and the types of topic each newspaper is likely to cover. Further tabloid/broadsheet differences are noted in the lexis chapters.

5.6 Average coverage of Scottish stories

Having discussed the various types of Scottish story we might expect to find in a Scottish newspaper, I would now like to move on to a brief consideration of the actual numbers of Scottish stories covered. To carry out an exhaustive study of the actual number of Scottish stories as defined in the previous section which occurred during 1995, would have been an impractical task. Instead, comparative estimates of the sorts of figures we might be talking about have been attempted. It should be stressed that these are crude estimates, and are intended merely to give an index of the overall coverage of Scottish stories.

The following searches were carried out for those newspapers for which a full year's data were readily available, i.e. the Herald, the Scotsman, and the Record, with the Times as a control. There are gaps in the data for some newspapers due to the differences in search engines and information given for each of the four newspapers. Unfortunately it was not possible to give percentage figures for the number of hits as none of the CD-ROMS would give a count of the total number of texts they contained. The figures given for the Times require further explanation. It was not practical to carry out accurate searches for the Times, as the design of the CD-ROM made it impossible to automatically separate entries for the Times and the Sunday Times. This meant that where more substantial numbers of entries were concerned, an extremely lengthy process of manual counting would have had to be used. Figures in the fourth data column are combined totals for both newspapers. Figures given in the fifth data column are estimated counts for the Times alone, based on the rubric that Monday to Saturday editions will account for approximately 86 percent of the total (6 days out of 7).

Search description	Number of 'hits' (i.e. articles where this occurred)				
	Herald	Scotsman	Record	Times & Sunday Times	Estimated Times only
"Scotland" in headline	441	243	287	2,969	2,545
"Scotland" in text	16,163	9,167	6,744	5,060	4,337
"Scottish" in headline	638	422	38	241	207
"Scottish" in text	16,271	10,278	4,697	4,313	3,697
"Scots" in headline	728	500	365	152	130
"Scots" in text	3,459	1,930	4,827	928	795
"Scotland" in keywords*	13,528	-	-	-	-
"Scottish" in keywords*	1,609	-	-	-	-
"Scots" in keywords*	13	-	-	-	-
"Scots" & "language" in keywords*	22	-	-	-	-
"Scottish" & "language" in keywords*	37	-	-	-	-

Table 5.1   Estimated coverage of Scottish stories

Search description

	Number of 'hits' (i.e. articles where this occurred)				
	Herald	Scotsman	Record	Times & Sunday Times	Estimated Times only
"Scots" & "language" in text	201	115	45	61	52
"Scottish" & "language" in text	485	303	45	168	144
"Scottish" & "language" & "Lallans" in text	4	1	0	0	0
"sport"* in keywords & "Scotland" in text	139	-	-	-	-
"Lallans" in text	5	7	0	0	0

Table 5.1   Estimated coverage of Scottish stories   (Continued)

* keywords are extra information given with the Herald articles, supplied by the CD-ROM which summarise the content of the article. Therefore if the keywords include "Scots" and "language" in keywords, the article is much more likely to be about Scottish language. Of course, there may still be some spurious entries, or stories on for example Scottish Gaelic.

As will be seen from the above table, where comparable searches were carried out, there were usually, as one would expect, substantially fewer entries in the Times than for either of the two Scottish broadsheets. As suggested at 4.3, it was considered likely that Sunday editions would be likely to contain higher proportions of Scottish lexis than weekday editions, therefore the estimated figures for weekday editions of the Times alone in data column 5 are likely to be higher than the actual totals. Actual counts were made for the Times for several of the search items, and the results verified this hypothesis. 51 hits for "Scots" in headline in the Times compared with 101 in the Sunday Times (50 percent of hits are Sunday Times); 21 hits for "Scots" & "language" in text in the Times compared with 40 in the Sunday Times (48 percent of hits are Sunday Times); 69 hits for "Scottish" and "language" in text in the Times compared with 99 in the Sunday Times (30 percent of hits are Sunday Times). As can be seen, there were always substantially more hits attributable to the Sunday Times than the 14 percent estimated. This would seem to bear out the suspicion stated earlier at 4.3 that such topics are more likely to be covered in Sunday papers, and that Sunday papers are quite a different sort of publication from their weekday equivalents. The estimated figures in data column 5 for the Times are therefore likely to be substantially higher than the actual counts would have been, thus strengthening the argument that the coverage of Scottish stories by the Times was substantially lower than that for the Scottish newspapers. One set of figures requires further explanation. On first impressions it appears as if the Times has significantly greater occurrences of "Scotland" in headlines than the Scottish newspapers. On closer examination this anomaly can be explained by the fact that "Scotland" is often used as a label to indicate that a particular story in the Sunday Times is Scottish and presumably appears in the Scottish edition of the newspaper, thereby greatly increasing the counts.

Thus these estimates of coverage of Scottish stories indicate that, as predicted, there was a large difference between the Scottish broadsheets and the Times. There were also interesting differences between the broadsheet Herald and Scotsman and the tabloid Record, particularly in the searches which linked "Scots" / "Scottish" and "language"; suggesting that the Record is less concerned

with articles on Scots language. The next section continues the comparison between the Scottish and English newspapers in terms of coverage of Scottish stories by examining Scottish and English editions of the Sun.

5.7   The Sun & the Scottish Sun

The Scottish Sun seems to be trying to market itself to a Scottish readership as being a Scottish newspaper. (It is 'Dedicated to the people of Scotland', and has the stylised thistle in its masthead.) This section investigates whether the Scottish Sun is as Scottish as it claims to be. Given the Sun's lack of co-operation at the data collection stage and the difficulty of obtaining information from other sources, the only way to check this was to manually compare English and Scottish editions of the Sun produced on the same day, and see where the differences, if any, lay. As this was carried out using hard copies of the newspaper, this was an extremely lengthy process, and hence only three editions were studied closely. Initially the intention was to compare both editions for a month. However, it soon became clear that this would be very time consuming, and as there were fairly obvious areas where the two editions differed, this enterprise did not seem likely to greatly improve the results. However, one week is probably very like another in this respect, unless there is a huge Scottish story which dominates the Scottish edition. Accordingly, it can be argued that the following observations are likely to hold true as a general observation on the differences between the Scottish and English editions. It should also be noted that the hard copy issues studied are from 1996 as this part of the investigation was not undertaken until further into the research period, but again it is unlikely that there were any great differences between 1995 and 1996.

The results for the three issues studied are summarised in the tables given in Appendix 4. The third issue studied (14 March 1996) was the first day's coverage of the shooting at the primary school in Dunblane. Although a very emotive topic, it was felt that it would be useful to compare coverage between the Scottish and English editions for that particular day as although it was primarily a Scottish

news story, it also received huge coverage across all the British newspapers. As a mark of respect, the Sun rendered their masthead in black, rather than the usual red.

The two editions were analysed to see where they differed, if the Scottish edition contained any stories which would be classified as Scottish stories under the classification system discussed earlier at 5.2ff, and also whether either edition contained any identifiably Scottish lexis.

As can be seen from the comparison given in the tables in Appendix 4, a large proportion of the newspaper remains the same between editions. Excluding the coverage of the Dunblane shootings (as noted this received huge coverage across the board), there were a total of 45 Scottish stories over the 3 issues in the Scottish edition. (These are denoted in the tables by *.) As can be seen from the tables, many pages had exactly the same contents in the Scottish and English editions, or in many cases the differences noted were marginal, such as a change of address for reader's comments, some formatting differences, or a slightly longer or shorter version of the same story being used. In some cases the substitution is quite obvious, as with the insertion of one column of Scottish letters in the Scottish edition's version of 'Dear Deirdre' on 11 March. The sports section, especially the football coverage does vary more between editions. Tunstall (1996, p.211) notes that this is one area of the newspaper which is heavily regionalised and is perceived as being a very important selling point for a newspaper, the tabloids in particular placing great emphasis and resources on the sports pages. This may explain the fairly high proportion of sports articles which contained Scottish lexis from the search list as noted in the following chapter at sections 6.7ff.

There is little use of Scottish lexis in the first two issues (1 incidence of "wee" in the Scottish edition). However, it is interesting to note that in the reporting of the Dunblane story, the quantity of Scottish lexis, although still low, does increase markedly, with the Scottish edition having "wee fella", "wee children", "wee boy" in direct speech and "wee bairns" in quotation marks.

Thus for the Sun, the main difference between the English and Scottish versions, based on the limited results presented here, appears to be a matter of coverage, rather than linguistic usage. The following lexis chapters (6,7, and 8) argue that the Scottish newspapers also use Scottish lexis to construct and maintain Scottishness. Coverage is undoubtedly important, but the linguistic construction of Scottishness seems to be largely untapped by the Sun.

5.8   Summary of chapter

This chapter contextualises the more specific lexical analysis which follows in chapters 6, 7 and 8. It emphasises that the linguistic construction of Scottishness is only part of the way in which a newspaper can 'brand' itself as being Scottish; although as will be argued in the next three chapters, this linguistic construction of Scottishness is very important. This chapter explored further the relationship which exists between newspapers and their readers first discussed in chapter 3. I have suggested that newspapers can themselves be considered examples of loose discourse communities. As such they can try to 'brand' their readers as part of a national Scottish community. This can be achieved in a variety of ways from increased coverage of Scottish stories, to 'branding' of the newspaper as Scottish, through mastheads, self-proclamation etc., to the lexical features discussed in the next three chapters. It is important to remember that news is always selected, and that it is always presented from a particular angle of telling. Thus the Scottish newspapers will select more heavily from Scottish stories as being of increased relevance and proximity to their readers. They will also often present a more wide-ranging story from a peculiarly Scottish viewpoint. Thus by selection, viewpoint and coverage they construct their readership as part of the wider national Scottish community.

The inclusion of Scots language articles (5.5.6ff), especially by the broadsheets, is also interesting. As noted earlier in section 2.6.8, newspapers often see themselves, and are seen, as important institutions in the general 'upkeep' of the language. Bex (1996, p.58) argues that "social discourses, and the meanings

associated with them, are inherently unstable". He argues that there is an on-going process of negotiation and acceptance or rejection of meanings by the discourse community (Bex, 1996, p.66-67); a description which can be used to explain the extended exchanges of letters on Scots language issues noted at 5.5.6.1. These letters act as 'feedback mechanisms' for the discourse community, which allow participation from group members in the on-going negotiation of meaning. If we widen the argument further, we can say that the texts/articles within the newspapers are produced according to the norms of the discourse community (hence distribution of Scottish lexis in certain parts of the newspaper noted in chapter 6 at 6.7ff.); that the texts thus produced help to define the discourse community; and that therefore the Scottish newspapers are involved in on-going negotiation with their readers which constructs them, and their readerships as peculiarly Scottish. The following three chapters investigate this negotiation process further, concentrating on the linguistic construction and maintenance of Scottish identity.

6 LEXIS I – SCOTTISH LEXIS

6.1 Introduction

The study as a whole looks at the ways in which Scottish national newspapers
construct a sense of Scottishness and thereby create, reflect or mark their Scottish
identity. It argues that one very important way in which this is achieved is
through the use of identifiably Scottish lexis, and builds on the argument
developed in chapter 3 that linguistic features can be used to construct and
maintain identity, and to mark the boundaries of the discourse community. This
chapter is the first of three focussing on the use of Scottish lexis in the
newspapers, and answers the research questions posed at 1.4.3. The chapter
begins by outlining the reasons why the analysis of Scottish lexis is given such
prominence in this study, and defining key terms such as "lexical item" and
"lexeme". It then moves on to a consideration of those items from the search list
which were not found in any of the newspapers under analysis, and suggests
possible reasons why these items are not used; before investigating which items
from the search list were used most frequently by the newspapers. Section 6.3.3
considers whether the newspapers are consistent in their use of orthographic
forms. As discussed in 2.6.4, Scots is a focused rather than a fixed variety, and
therefore there are many cases where words have a variety of possible
orthographic forms. Analysis is carried out within and between newspapers for
consistency or variation in the orthographic forms used, and the results are
compared with the recommendations of the *Scots Style Sheet, Recommendations
for writers in Scots* and the *Electronic Scots Schools Dictionary* to see whether the
newspapers follow standard conventions and/or use a standardised Scots. The
chapter then moves to a more in-depth comparison between the different
newspapers at 6.4, to see whether different newspapers are in effect using
different types of Scots. It focuses particularly on any differences which can be
observed between the use of Scots by the tabloid and broadsheet newspapers,
whether any evidence of an East/West split as discussed at 5.2.2.7 can be
discerned, and also which newspaper exhibits the highest frequency of Scottish

lexical items from the search list. Included in this section is consideration of whether certain Scottish lexical items act as triggers for Scottish stereotypes. The final part of the chapter looks at the distribution patterns of Scottish lexis across different parts of the newspapers, and investigates which journalists use most Scottish lexical items from the search list; analysis which relates to the questions of appropriacy and linguistic hegemony discussed in chapter 2 at section 2.7ff.

Chapter 7 focuses on the immediate contexts surrounding the Scottish lexical items, and chapter 8 considers whether certain lexical items are found in characteristic collocational clusters and/or idiomatic phrases or fixed expressions. As these three chapters form the main account of the data collected during the study, they have extensive methodologies associated with them, and these have been given in chapter 4 at section 4.9ff.

6.1.1   Reasons for importance of lexical analysis in this study

As discussed in chapter 2 (see 2.4.2ff), Scottish lexis is only one of the distinguishing features of Scottish language varieties, the others being pronunciation/accent, grammar and syntax. The reasons for choosing to focus primarily on Scottish lexis in this study are as follows.

6.1.1.1   Salience of Scottish lexis for language display

One of the main reasons for concentrating on Scottish lexis was the hypothesis that, for most readers, Scottish lexis is probably much more instantly recognisable and easier to identify with as being distinctively Scottish than would be Scottish syntax or grammar. Many Scots are unlikely to recognise constructions which are distinctive only in terms of their syntax such as "I'll *maybe can* do it" or "I'm away to *my* bed" as being peculiarly Scottish. Although they may well have items of Scottish lexis which are, for them *covert* (see 2.3.8.1 for definition), they are likely to recognise many words or expressions they use as being distinctively

Scottish. Scottish lexis is familiar to them as forming an identifiable part of the language variety Scots either use themselves, or that which they hear from others around them; and is more likely to be deliberately used by them as an act of language display (see 3.6 and 7.7.4) than are syntactic or grammatical Scotticisms. Lexis is therefore a key area of Scottishness which can be exploited by Scottish newspapers wishing to construct or maintain Scottish identity, authenticate their Scottishness, or at least to signal that they are in touch with and part of the same Scottish culture as their readers. It helps to create a feeling that the newspaper writers and readers share a certain solidarity of outlook, by very virtue of being Scottish. Returning again to Bex, as noted at 2.3.4 he argues (1996, p.63-66) that one of the requirements for membership of a discourse community is the understanding and use of certain linguistic behaviours. Thus there is a linguistic tariff which must be met for acceptance into group membership. (This is similar to the argument put forward by McCrone (1992, p.28-29), discussed at 3.3.1.) It can therefore be argued that the use of Scottish lexis by the Scottish newspapers allows them to validate their claim to Scottishness, and as argued in the previous chapter at 5.8, to construct their readers as members of the wider Scottish community.

6.1.1.2   Scottish lexis as more acceptable

In chapter 2 we noted Cameron's (1995) discussion of the importance of the role of the press in determining and maintaining standards in language (see 2.6.8). The discussion there suggested that whilst Cameron's argument focuses on the Times, that the argument could equally be applied to the Scottish situation. Cameron (1995, p.34-38) discusses at length the function of the press as an institution which acts as a guardian or 'gatekeeper' of the language, and the pressure on journalists from both editors and readers to write using Standard English. This stress on adherence to standard forms of grammar may be less strict in certain parts of the newspaper such as in feature articles. (It is worth noting in passing that newspaper headlines seldom have standard grammatical structures, for example, few have a subject, verb and object; but this is accepted as a convention of the genre.) However, obviously non-standard (English) grammar

would probably have to be justifiable in the context of the article (for example, perhaps being used in humorous anecdotes, to represent individuals' speech etc.), and is unlikely be used for extensive passages of serious prose. The use of non-standard lexis is likely to be regarded more leniently; perhaps as adding authenticity, local colour or a touch of the exotic e.g. "a weel-kent face" rather than "a familiar face". On a general level, a language will more easily accept new lexical items, perhaps gained through borrowing or lexical innovation, than it will tolerate changes in grammatical structure or grammatical lexis. This is discussed further with respect to the distinction between the use of Scots open and closed class lexis in the next chapter at 7.7.4.

6.1.1.3   Search methods

Another reason for choosing to focus on Scottish lexis was the actual search methods used. As already discussed at 6.1.1, when considering Scots or Scottish Standard English in the written mode, the two defining features which distinguish these varieties from English are distinctively Scottish lexis and grammar. Given the search methods available for this study (outlined in chapter 4), Scottish lexis was by far the more practicable feature for which to search. As noted there, the CD-ROMs and search engines used in this study were not designed for linguistic analysis, searching as they did on the basis of lexical forms alone, with the possibility of a few wildcard variations. To search for grammatical forms using such tools would have been extremely difficult, and much more open to error.

6.1.1.4   Previous work on Scottish lexis and grammar

Additionally, on a practical level, much more work has already been done on Scottish lexis, and there are well respected Scots dictionaries such as the Scottish National Dictionary (SND) which contains Scottish words from c1700 to the present; the Dictionary of the Older Scots Tongue (DOST) which covers the period from 1200 to 1700 and includes the full vocabulary of the language at that time (unlike SND it does not exclude English items); and the Concise Scots

Dictionary (CSD) which is a concise composite of the two, to mention only a few. These resources make it much easier to check for variant orthographic forms, geographic provenance, lexical currency etc. This means that there is suitable reliable background information against which to check theories of unusual or idiosyncratic usage.

Many of the sociolinguistic studies of Scottish language, such as those by Macafee (1983a, 1994b) and Romaine (1982) have focussed on the knowledge or ignorance of certain Scots lexical items as evidence for the erosion of the language over time. Glauser's (1974) important contribution to English dialect studies concentrates on lexical items to delineate the Scottish/English linguistic border. Thus there is ample background material against which to compare the results uncovered by this study.

Works on Scots grammar have been much slower to emerge. The examples which do exist include Grant & Dixon (1921) *Manual of Modern Scots*, J. Miller & K. Brown (1982) 'Aspects of Scottish English syntax', Miller (1993) 'The grammar of Scottish English', Beal (1997) 'Syntax and morphology', Purves (1997) *Scots grammar and usage*. It is noticeable that none of these accounts claims to be a definitive and exhaustive guide to the grammar of Scots in the way that many grammars of English do.

6.1.2   Definitions

It is useful at the outset to consider precisely what is meant by the terms 'word form', 'lexical item', 'lexeme', and 'lexis'. The term 'word/orthographic form' will be used where wishing to demonstrate that a particular orthographic variant is being highlighted. For the purposes of this study "lexical items" are considered to be items which consist of one or more word forms, but which carry one unit of meaning, e.g. "doon the watter". Carter (1987, p.7) says of the term 'lexical item' that this is

a fairly neutral hold-all term which captures and, to some extent, helps to overcome instabilities in the term *word*, especially when it becomes limited by orthography.

Thus the term 'lexical item' allows for the incorporation within it of different word forms, e.g. the orthographic variants discussed later at 6.3.3; and can consist of one, or more than one of what in lay-language would be termed 'words'. Thus the Scots word "dreich" would be considered to be a lexical item, as would the longer construction "lad o'pairts", which although consisting of more than one 'word', is semantically indivisible; that is to say, if one part is removed from the expression, its meaning would be changed. 'Lexemes' are considered to be family collections of 'words'. The concept of 'lexemes' is useful as often we are considering lexical items from the same word family, such as "shoogle", "shoogly". Carter (1987, p.6-7) defines 'lexemes' as

the abstract unit which underlies some of the variants we have observed in connection with 'words'. Thus BRING is the lexeme which underlies different grammatical variants: 'bring', 'brought', 'brings', 'bringing' which we can refer to as *word forms* ... Lexemes are the basic, contrasting units of vocabulary in a language. When we look up words in a dictionary we are looking up lexemes rather than words.

Thus often in this study what has been searched for are lexemes rather than lexical items, and in some cases the analysis has differentiated between word forms, e.g. "bonnie" and "bonny". For example, the search "blooter*" (where * is a wildcard Boolean operator allowing any combination of letters (or none) to follow the root) allows searches for the lexical items "blooter" (noun or verb), "blooters", "blootered" (adjective or verb) etc. In this study the more general term "lexis" is used to denote a collection of lexical items – i.e. individually 'one lexical item', 'two lexical items', but 'lexis' or sometimes 'vocabulary' to denote the whole.

6.2   A distinctive newspaper Scots

This section discusses the distinctive features of the written Scots we find in the newspapers.

6.2.1   Written Scots in newspapers

It is important to recognise that Scots operates on two different though not entirely separate levels. It operates in both the written and the spoken modes, and although there are links between spoken and written Scots language, as has been suggested by the reference made to models of Scottish speech in earlier chapters, the two are not necessarily the same thing. (For further discussion of the relationship between written and spoken Scots, see sections 2.5.3.3 and especially 7.8.3.3 in the next chapter.)

It can be argued that a knowledge of certain types of written Scots is essentially a matter of education, and that most people living in Scotland today may be much more familiar with spoken Scots than they are with written varieties. If one argues that many written varieties of Scots, such as Lallans, are the preserve of the well-educated few; are the newspapers therefore risking excluding readers by including Scots in their articles? As was discussed in chapter 3 at 3.7.2ff, newspapers are not in the habit of trying to alienate their readers; rather they use a variety of measures to make their readers feel at home. The conclusion must therefore be that the written Scots which occurs in newspapers is generally quite different from the written Scots encountered say in the works of Hugh MacDiarmid and Edwin Morgan. This 'newspaper Scots' might differ from such varieties in several main ways.

Firstly, we would expect that the language will usually be 'current'; i.e. the language will not include many archaic or obsolete words. There would be little reason for newspaper language to contain such words. Unlike poetry, they are

unlikely to be used for stylistic effect; and more importantly, they would probably impede comprehension and thus alienate readers. (See 6.4.3 for investigation.) Secondly, we would expect it to be less geographically fixed and more easily recognised by speakers from all over Scotland. This is very important if the newspaper seeks to be national rather than local or regional. Thus it is unlikely that the Herald or Scotsman would run frequent columns written entirely in Doric or Ayrshire dialects. External commercial pressures (i.e. they want to be able to sell newspapers all over Scotland) may therefore have an effect on their linguistic choices. This is investigated further at 6.5. Thirdly, newspaper Scots would generally be expected to contain less Scots; i.e. it will tend more towards McClure's 'thin Scots' (1979, p.30) (see 2.8.1), or even Scottish Standard English. Section 3.6.4 argued that thin Scots is easier to identify with, and therefore more powerfully symbolic than dense Scots. This will be discussed further in the next chapter (Lexis II) at sections 7.7ff when the immediate contexts of the lexical items are examined to see whether they occur primarily in *Scots* or *Scottish-English* contexts. Fourthly, it may be a particular type of Scots, closer to the comic music-hall Scots of 'Parliamo Glasgow', Francie & Josie and Harry Lauder than to other contemporary brands of Scots prose. (See also discussion at 8.7.2.1.) Fifthly, although newspaper language is in the written mode, it is common for newspaper language to be influenced by oral models. Fowler (1991, p.62-63) lists various techniques used by the press which are suggestive of speech such as innovations in typography to suggest variations in stress, tone etc., slightly different conventions being adopted by the tabloid and broadsheet press; and unusual orthographic forms which suggest pronunciation (discussed at greater length in 2.6.8.2 and 6.2.1.1.) among others. Thus we may find evidence of pronunciation spellings (see 2.6.8.2, also discussed in the next section) and direct speech (the representation of the spoken mode in written texts; discussed in the next chapter).

6.2.1.1 Influence of the spoken mode on orthographic forms

Although as suggested at 6.2.1, there are differences between written and spoken Scots, it is important to remember that the spoken and written modes are related to some extent, and the spoken mode may impact on the written mode through the use of spellings which reflect pronunciation. The newspaper data give quite a few examples of pronunciation spellings. For example, in articles such as illustrative text 3 (see Appendix 10) 'London's bright lights don't look so good from a cardboard box', by Gerard Seenan which is ostensibly written in the language of Tony, a Scottish homeless person living in London. Many of the orthographic forms e.g. "wiz" (was), "jist" (just), "goat" (got) are intended to reflect the pronunciation of the 'speaker', and have no recognised historical precedent in Scots orthography. One Scots writer who has taken this idea to its limits is the poet Tom Leonard whose poems are well known for their 'phonetic' spellings.

Thus the spoken form is having an impact on the written mode. This may be less likely to happen if there were a well-established Standard Scots. Although there may be a natural tendency for the written orthographic forms to follow the spoken forms, i.e. to attempt to reflect orthographically, what is happening phonologically; in the history of English, this broke down over time as Standard languages, once codified tend to freeze the orthographic forms, so that they may no longer reflect more modern pronunciation. The relationship between the spoken and written modes is considered further in the next chapter at 7.8ff (particularly at 7.8.3.3) with reference to the use of Scots in direct speech in the newspaper texts.

6.3 Investigation of Scottish lexical items used by the newspapers

The following sections investigate the occurrence or non-occurrence of Scottish lexical items from the search list in each of the newspapers. Section 6.3.1 considers those items which were not found in any of the newspapers and suggests reasons for their absence. Section 6.3.2 investigates which items

occurred most frequently, again suggesting reasons why this may be the case. It was hoped that analysis of these factors would give some information on the type of Scottishness being constructed by the newspapers.

6.3.1 Lexical items which missing from all newspapers

Approximately 70 of the lexemes on the search list for were not found in any of the newspapers. A list of these can be found at Appendix 5. Various reasons can be suggested as to why certain lexemes or word forms from the initial list were not found in any of the newspapers.

6.3.1.1 Subject matter

One possible reason is simply that the words would tend to be used in contexts which are not generally included in the subject matter of newspapers. The absence of forms such as "bastartin" (possibly a taboo word); "bothan" (meaning an unlicensed drinking house or hut, a kind of shebeen); "homologate" (often used as specialised legal term); "scratcher" (slang) may be explained by this.

6.3.1.2 Localised currency

Another possible explanation is that some lexemes/word forms have a fairly localised currency, and therefore would be less likely to be found in a Scottish national newspaper which has to appeal to, and be understood by Scots from all over the country. (See discussion at 6.2.1 above.) This may explain forms such as "aucht-day" (chf. NE); "ballop" (now local); "barkit" (now Mry); "boorach/bourach" (Cai, Mry, Highl); "contermacious" (local Bnf-Fif); "fantoosh" (local); "knype on" (NE Ags); "nabbler" (NE); "tattie-boodie" (NE); "vratch" (NE). Following the argument outlined at 3.3.1, if readers are unable to

understand or identify with the linguistic tariffs raised by the language, they are likely to feel excluded from the discourse community. As argued at 3.7.5, it is very important that newspapers use language with which their readers are comfortable. (See also discussion later in the chapter at section 6.5ff on the evidence for local identity on the basis of an East/West split.)

6.3.1.3   Archaic or literary forms

Some lexemes may be absent because they are either archaic forms, or may generally be associated with literary contexts (see 6.2.1). As regards the latter, as the study progressed it became evident that, especially in the broadsheet Herald and Scotsman, poetry was quoted quite a bit, and of course, this poetry may in itself contain archaic or essentially literary forms. (Section 7.9ff further investigates the quotation of Scots poetry by the newspapers.) However, outwith such specialised contexts, it is perhaps less likely that archaic and literary forms will be used, as quite often the Scots seems to be of a fairly contemporary and often colloquial variety, which would not include such lexical items. Forms which may be missing on account of being archaic are "babby" (16-e20); "blaud" (16-e20). Forms which may be absent on account of being literary are "lang-luggit" (literary and figurative), and "sic-like" (old-fashioned, literary). It is important to remember that certain lexical items may have enjoyed wider currency in the past, and that poetry quite often includes archaic language. As a general rule, it tends to be more conservative than prose; one of the reasons for this being its register, but the other very important reason being that it is often very useful to retain certain older lexis for the sake of metre and rhyme. However, forms which are generally considered to be literary such as "aiblins"; "blate"; "bleezin" (*current in NE, but old-fashioned, literary elsewhere*); "ilka"; "makar"; "sic"; "siccar" are represented in the newspapers, although it is interesting to note the split between newspapers. The Herald contains all of these forms; the Scotsman contains "blate", "makar" and "sic"; but significantly the Daily Record contains none of these literary forms. This can be linked to the general observation which is discussed further in the two following chapters, that the broadsheets tend to

make more reference to literary culture than the tabloid Record, and that this may be linked to perceived differences in the education and social class of their target readerships.

6.3.1.4   On-going anglicisation

It is also possible that there is some effect from anglicisation tendencies, due to on-going contact with English-English which may cause Scots forms to be replaced by English ones (see 2.3.7.1). Aitken notes that over time, items tend to be lost from columns 1 and 2 (for discussion of Aitken's model see 2.3.5), and replaced by equivalent English forms from columns 4 and 5. Aitken (1979a, p.88) notes that there is

> a slow attrition of distinctively Scots elements in the system and their replacement by corresponding Standard English forms. Thus items from columns 1 and 2 … disappear and column 3 is correspondingly enlarged by items formerly from columns 4 and 5 … This then, reduces the Scottishness of the system.

Aitken is talking about a long-term historical process, but the general anglicising tendency may actually affect the use of individual Scots lexical items by the Scottish newspapers. This is likely to be exacerbated by the prevailing hegemony of English and appropriacy concerns.

6.3.1.5   Sensitivity to corpus size

There are certain common word forms which are missing which we might have expected to find in at least one of these newspapers, such as "deif"; "doolie"; "gaunae"; "hoatching"; "bumfle"; "ramstam"; "sherrackin/shirrackin". No

particular explanation suggests itself for the absence of these words and their absence may simply be as a consequence of the overall size of the lexicon compared with the probability of finding any given lexical item. As Sinclair (1991, p.18-19) notes the size of the corpus is a primary concern, as less frequently occurring words may not show up at all. "About half the vocabulary of a text – even a very long text – consists of words that have occurred only once in that text." (Sinclair, 1991, p.18). As noted at section 4.3, the full Herald CD-ROM contained approximately 25.5 million running words/tokens, with 172,089 different types, and as Sinclair notes (1991, p.18), the frequency drops quite steeply from very common words such as "the" and "of" to others placed slightly further down the frequency list. Thus the absence of these forms may simply show sensitivity to corpus size.

6.3.2 Most frequently occurring Scottish lexis

This section examines which items of Scottish lexis are most commonly found in the newspapers. It investigates each newspaper separately before going on to draw comparisons between newspapers, and suggest reasons why these lexical items may occur most frequently. The results are given in Table 6.1 and Table 6.2 below, which show the top ten lexical items for each newspaper. Table 6.1 shows the top 10 most frequently occurring lexemes in terms of the actual number of word occurrences. Table 6.2 shows which lexemes were found in the greatest number of stories. (It should be remembered that for the Scottish Sun, a full year's data were not available.) The frequencies of other lexical items can be accessed directly from the main database FORM 'Show words', and are displayed in the boxes next to the lexical item drop-down list. The top figure gives the total number of stories in which the lexical item was found. The second figure gives the total number of occurrences of that lexical item in the newspaper. The 'Count' box displayed next to the headline, by-line information gives the total number of occurrences of the search item in that particular article. Thus it is possible to discern to what extent the item of lexis is distributed evenly throughout the articles or is particularly heavily used in certain articles.

TOP 10	Herald	Scotsman	Record	Times	Sun (English)	Sun (Scottish)
1	wee (1428)	wee (437)*	wee (1013)*	canny (131)	canny (20)	wee (28)
2	outwith (396)	outwith (223)	wean (67)	wee (67)	aye (15)	lassie (3)
3	tae (263)	aye (96)	lassie (52)	reek (51)	loon (14)	tattie, pure, aye, bonny, bothy (2)
4	ye (173)	tae (69)	bevvy (50)	aye (29)	wee (10)	single entries
5	aye (163)	canny (66)	ned (48)	bothy (10)	reek, lug (10)	
6	wean (139)	erse (44)	aye (38)	bonny (8)	pure (7)	
7	oor (134)	haar (40)	canny (36)	midgie (7)	yin, bairn, bevvy, baldie (4)	
8	ah (119)	wi (35)	yin (36)	pawky, loon, wi beastie, bairn, (6)	poke, och lassie, bonnie, bonny (3)	
9	nae (115)	bothy (33)	tattie (35)	nae, poke, midden (5)	kale, bandit beastie (2)	
10	canny (106)	lassie (33)	bonnie (34)	och, ay, haver, sassenach, bawbee (4)	single entries	

Table 6.1   Top 10 lexical items by frequency

TOP 10	Herald	Scotsman	Record	Times	Sun (English)	Sun (Scottish)
1	wee (1042)*	wee (358)	wee (830)*	canny (117)	canny (19)	wee (21)
2	outwith (376)	outwith (211)	wean (64)	reek (49)	aye (12)	pure, lassie, bonny, bothy (2)
3	aye (134)	aye (72)	lassie (47)	wee (48)	wee (10)	single entries
4	wean (116)	canny (60)	bevvy (45)	aye (19)	reek (9)	
5	ye (108)	tae (35)	canny (34)	outwith (9)	loun (9)	
6	canny (98)	lassie (29)	aye (34)	bonny (8)	pure (6)	
7	nae (81)	heid (28)	bonnie (32)	bothy (7)	bevvy, bairn, baldie (4)	
8	reek (74)	reek (27)	tattie (32)	pawky, loon, bairn, refreshment beastie (6)	bonny, yin, lassie, och, poke, lug (3)	
9	leet (72)	wi (26)	outwith (31)	midden, nae, poke (5)	kale, bonnie, bandit (2)	
10	tae (69)	ilk (23)	gub/bairn (28)	sassenach, haver, och (4)	single entries	

Table 6.2   Top 10 lexical items by story

(*Figures for "wee" show slight differences between database and manual counts. Given the overall number of entries, this was deemed a very inconsequential problem. For further details on minor discrepancies in the database, see Appendix 1.)

It is interesting to note that the most frequently occurring lexical items, when measured either by actual word occurrences or by the number of stories, are quite consistent throughout the newspapers. As will be seen from the tables above, both in terms of overall occurrences and number of stories, it is generally the same group of words (e.g. "wee", "canny", "aye", "lassie") which occurs most frequently across all the newspapers. The following sections discuss possible reasons for this observation.

6.3.2.1   Reflecting use in wider discourse community

It is quite likely that these lexical items may be very commonly used in Scotland, and the relative frequencies observed in this study may simply reflect their general proportions of use.

6.3.2.2   Overlapping discourse communities

Many of these top 10 lexical items are also available for use in English contexts, either because they are well known Scotticisms like "wee" or because they have a distribution which extends outwith Scotland. Aitken notes that

> many 'Scots words' which Scots imagine to be peculiarly their own are still or until recently have been … current in other nonstandard dialects of English, especially those of northern England. (1984c, p.103)

Although Glauser (1974) has illustrated that isoglosses exist between Scotland and England, he demonstrates that many items which Scots think are distinctively Scottish are in fact shared with dialects of Northern England. Aitken (1984c, p.103) gives such examples as "bairn", "canny", "bonny", "loun", which are well represented here in the top 10. (Also Aitken, 1985, p.42.) Such lexical items which appear to be used in both Scotland and some non-standard English dialects illustrate the close proximity of Scots and English as outlined by the tree and wave models (see 2.2ff). Thus as discussed earlier at 2.6.9, the boundaries of the Scots discourse community are blurred with English.

6.3.2.3   Observations on frequency data

In the three main Scottish newspapers (Herald, Scotsman, Daily Record), "wee" was the most frequently occurring item of Scottish lexis from the search list, and also generated the greatest number of individual stories. This is not at all surprising as "wee" is a very commonly used lexical item in Scotland, and is also widely recognised elsewhere. It is also used in some English dialects. (See OED) The OED lists the associated phrases "a wee bit" and "the wee (small) hours"; both of which are well represented in the collocational clusters for "wee" in the newspaper data which can be viewed using *Wordsmith*. "Aye" is also well represented in all the Scottish newspapers. It is also comparatively well represented in the Times. The OED notes that it is common dialectally and in nautical speech or in the House of Commons. Again its usage in Scotland is widespread.

For the Herald and Scotsman, the next most frequently occurring lexical item, both in terms of actual occurrences and the number of stories generated, was "outwith". This lexical item is usually a covert Scotticism (see 2.3.8.1 for definition) and is equally appropriate for usage in formal and informal contexts. It is interesting to note that it is much less commonly found in the Record, and this may indicate differences in the perceived lexical usage of the tabloid and broadsheet newspaper readerships. On this basis "outwith" should perhaps be considered a middle-class Scotticism. Of the 9 occurrences of "outwith" in the

Times, 8 are contained within Scots Law Reports. It is possible that "outwith" has a special use in legal discourse, but its prevalence in a wide variety of contexts in the Scottish newspapers, and the relatively wide range of uses in the Times Law Reports, suggests that this is not necessarily the case. Although the SND gives quite a few citations where "outwith" is used in legal type documents, it has widespread usage in other contexts. The other occurrence of "outwith" is in a letter about transport and road links (presumably the language used by correspondents is less likely to be edited by the newspaper). There is no indication whether the writer of the letter is Scottish, and therefore would be more likely to use "outwith" as part of his/her usual linguistic repertoire, but it is interesting to note that in the immediate context of "outwith", the writer mentions improvements that should be made to the road network in the Highlands, and so he/she may well be Scottish. The OED considers "outwith" to be chiefly northern and Scottish in provenance. ("Outwith" is discussed later at 7.7.6ff, where it is classified as a functional Scotticism.)

Some of the figures were comparatively much higher in some newspapers than others. For example, the Herald had very high frequencies of "tae" in certain stories. These are explained by its heavy usage in Scots language articles written in Scots which were discussed previously at 5.5.6. The frequencies are somewhat lower in the Scotsman, but again the articles are of the same type. The Record had comparatively very high frequencies for "bevvy". I suggest that this may be due to differences in the type of Scottish lexis used by the tabloid and broadsheet press. (See 6.4.2.3 for discussion of lexical items which trigger the Clydeside stereotype.) "Canny" was the most frequent item in the Times, and interestingly it occurred more frequently in the Times (both in frequency and number of stories) than it did in any of the Scottish newspapers. It was quite unexpected that any of the lexical items would prove to be more frequent in an English newspaper than in the Scottish ones. However, the OED notes that "canny" can have various different meanings, and that the 'careful, frugal, thrifty' meaning has been taken up in English. Some of the other meanings are also current in the north of England. The Herald was unique in having high frequencies of "ye". The OED notes that its use survives in modern dialects of English, but this alone does not

seem to account for its uncharacteristically high frequency in the Herald, but very low frequency in the other Scottish broadsheet, the Scotsman.

Some idiosyncrasies were also noted in individual newspapers as follows. The Record is interesting in having lexical items appearing in its 10 most frequently occurring lexis which do not appear in the top 10 for other newspapers. Lexical items such as "bevvy", "yin", "ned" and "tattie" fall into this category.

- **bevvy:** The Record, with 50 occurrences, had significantly more occurrences of "bevvy" than the other two Scottish newspapers. The Herald had 23 occurrences, and the Scotsman only 7 occurrences of "bevvy". Given the relative sizes of the Record and the broadsheet newspapers (see 6.6), it is reasonable to assert that for some reason the Record is more likely to use "bevvy" than the other newspapers. (This is discussed further at 6.4.1.1 when lexis is related to social class affiliations.)

- **yin:** The Record had 36 occurrences of "yin" in 24 stories. This compares with 20 occurrences across 17 stories in the Herald, and 12 occurrences in the Scotsman. However, the majority of entries in the Record (31 of 36 entries) were "the Big Yin", i.e. Billy Connolly. Tabloids traditionally carry more stories on celebrities than do the broadsheets, and this may explain the disparity.

- **ned:** The Record had 48 occurrences of "ned" across 27 stories. This compares with 17 entries across 15 stories in the Herald, and 12 entries across 8 stories in the Scotsman.

- **tattie:** The Record has 35 occurrences of "tattie" across 32 stories. This compares with 12 occurrences across 11 stories in the Herald, and 19 occurrences across 16 stories.

These lexical items which have much higher proportions in the Record share the fact that they are all quite colloquial in register. This may be linked to differences

in the use of Scots between the Scottish broadsheet and tabloid newspapers. (See 6.4.1).

The Herald also had some high frequency lexical items which were not represented in the top 10 of the other newspapers. These lexical items were:

- **oor:** (134 occurrences in 57 stories) The high incidence of "oor" can be explained by the presence of two articles by John Hodgart written in dense Scots which accounted for 57 occurrences. "oor ain" was a widespread collocation overall (18 occurrences) (see 8.6ff for common collocations). 25 occurrences were "Oor Wullie/Willie" (character from Scottish comic strip). (See further discussion of "Oor Wullie" at section 6.4.1.3.)

- **ah:** (119 occurrences in 33 stories) A similar reason applies for the high incidence of "ah". Two stories ('London's bright lights don't look so good from a cardboard box', illustrative text 3, see Appendix 10, discussed further in chapter 7, which contains first person narration ostensibly in the words of a young homeless Scottish person in London – hence prevalence of "ah"; and an Education article from Liberton High School which includes Scots poetry) account for 76 occurrences.

- **nae:** (115 occurrences in 81 stories) is much more evenly distributed in the Herald. By comparison the Scotsman has 22 stories containing a total of 25 occurrences of "nae", and the Record has 13 stories containing 14 occurrences.

- **erse:** The Scotsman had a fairly high frequency of "erse" (44 occurrences across 22 stories). The Record had no occurrences of "erse". It was considered possible that the Record might prefer the English "arse", but only 3 occurrences of this were recorded throughout 1995. The Herald has 13 occurrences across 11 stories. Closer examination of the Scotsman occurrences shows that they all appear in the Scotsman Diary, which seems to have a long-running preoccupation with proverbial sayings containing the word "erse", e.g. "a fat soo's erse is aye weel greased".

(See Appendix 11 for further examples.) This, then, is what has skewed the data. Incidentally, the Herald contains 4 similar proverbs.

As mentioned above, the lexical item the Times makes most frequent use of is "canny". This is closely followed by "wee" at 67 occurrences, and "reek" at 51 occurrences. Like "canny", "reek" can have various meanings (to emit smoke, steam; to stink), and is also used in English.

As can be seen from analysis of the frequency tables, there is an interesting mix of both open and closed class items in the Top 10. Open and closed class lexis will be discussed in more detail in the following chapter (see 7.7.2ff), as will the relative proportions of Scots open and closed class lexis in different text types.

6.3.2.4   Summary of findings from frequency data

Thus the analysis of the frequency data yielded the following observations. Approximately 16 percent of items from the search list were not found in any of the newspapers. Various reasons were put forward for this at 6.3.1ff. In terms of the construction of a Scottish identity for the newspapers, it was interesting to note that highly localised lexis was often absent; therefore it can be argued that these newspapers construct a national rather than a simply local Scottish identity. Some archaic or literary items were also not found, although it was noted that there was sometimes a marked difference between the tabloid Record and the Scottish broadsheets in this respect. Absences of both localised and archaic or literary lexis can be explained by Bex's discourse community (see 2.3.4). If the linguistic tariffs for membership of the group exclude large numbers of readers, the newspapers run the risk of alienating part of their potential readership. The tabloid/broadsheet split noted throughout this section can be explained by smaller, probably class-related discourse communities which operate within the larger discourse community that is Scotland. The frequency data also illustrated ongoing contact with English, as some forms such as "canny" crossed the socio-political boundary and were also used in English-English. Thus the argument for

some overlap between discourse communities in Scotland and England seems validated. It is also important to note that some results were skewed, either by particular articles, or by sensitivity to corpus size; common problems in corpus linguistics. (Sinclair, 1991, p.18-19) recommends using as large a corpus as possible.)

6.3.3 Orthography

As discussed in chapter 2 (see 2.6.5), present-day Scots is not a fixed variety, and it exhibits a fair amount of orthographic variation. This section investigates the variation in orthographic forms used by the newspapers, both within and between newspapers. It was hoped that this would illustrate (a) the level of fixity/standardisation associated with the use of Scots generally; (b) the emphasis placed on standardised forms by individual newspapers; and (c) the impact of spelling recommendations by Scots language experts (see 2.6.8.1).

If we argue that the Scottish press are engaged in a type of 'verbal hygiene' (defined by Cameron (1995, p.viii) as "the urge to meddle in matters of language"), and are therefore concerned to uphold standard language, it is important to consider what standard form they are seeking to uphold. Due to the prevailing hegemony of Standard English in Scotland they, like the Times, are also likely to uphold Standard English in formal contexts; but do they also uphold a standard form for Scots, and if so, what form does this standard take: a standard Scots or Scottish Standard English? The extent to which the Scottish press uphold standard forms is considered with respect to the use of alternative orthographies in this section. However, it is important to recognise that upholding Scottish language standards is in itself problematic; as due to the overwhelming hegemony and high status of Standard English, even 'good Scots' is likely to be viewed as 'bad English', unless there are established and agreed models of good Scots from which to claim authority. These models do not really exist for Scots prose, and therefore it would be very difficult for the Scottish press to both forge and maintain Scots standards in the face of the opposition from Standard English. It is

also very doubtful that they would wish to eschew Standard written English or Scottish Standard English in favour of a standard Scots.

Of the lexis studied, the following items had alternative orthographic forms. It should be noted that this is not a comprehensive set of all possible orthographic forms of these items. The alternatives cited were those listed in the Collins Gem Scots Dictionary. It should also be noted that some of these words have different semantic distributions, i.e. they do not necessarily have the same meaning in all contexts, and therefore the meaning of the word in context may determine which is the preferred form. For example, although there was some overlap between "aye" and "ay", generally each form had a preferred semantic area, with "aye" being used more commonly for "yes", and "ay" being used more commonly for "always". Register may also be different between different forms of the same word, e.g. "carry-out" & "cairry-oot", the latter being more markedly Scottish, and probably regarded as more colloquial than the former. The list on the following page gives the alternative orthographic forms investigated from the search list. (Italics denote the word form was not found in any of the newspapers.)

A total of 76 words with alternative orthographic forms were investigated. A detailed account of which newspapers used which forms can be found in database QUERY 'Orthography 1, 2, 3' or REPORT 'Alternative Orthographic forms 1, 2, 3'. As can be seen from the italicised display, for 9 items neither word form was represented in the newspapers, and thus these can be discounted for the purposes of assessing the degree of variation allowed. In 28 cases, only 1 of the possible word forms was used. Thus there were a total of 38 items where some variation in orthographic word form was observed within or between newspapers. The Herald showed most variation in forms, having 36 items where alternative orthographies were used; the Scotsman used 16 alternatives, and the Record used 8. However, this must be balanced against the proportionate amounts of Scottish lexis from the search list used by each newspaper. (See 6.6.)

a', aa, aw

abeen, abune

ahent, ahint

aye, ay

ba, baw

bachle, bauchle

bahookie, *behouchie*

baldie, bauldie

black-affronted,

black-affrontit

boak, boke

bonnet, bunnet

bonnie, bonny

bouff, bowff

bowlie, bowly

broo, buroo

canna, cannae,

(sometimes canny)

cairry-oot, carry-out

chauve, *tyauve*

clack, *claik*

clart, clort

clarty, clatty, clorty

clipe, clype

coorie, *courie*

cuddie, cuddy

dander, dauner

dinna, dinnae

disna, disnae

drookit, *droukit*

drooth, drouth

droothy, drouthy

dwam, *dwaum*

fae, frae

footer, fouter

footery, fouterie

forby, forbye

fou, fu'

glaiket, glaikit

hacket, hackit

hinna, hinnae

isna, isnae

kail, kale

laldie, laldy

loon, *loun*

loupin, *lowpin*

meikle, muckle

moo, mou, mooth

morn, morra

nebbie, nebby

pauchle, pochle

pawkie, pawky

peelie-wallie, peely-

wally

plook, plouk

puggie, puggy

rone, *rhone*

ronepipe, rhonepipe

scoosh, skoosh

sherrackin, shirrackin

skellie, skelly

scliff, skliff

smout, smowt

sonsie, *sonsy*

sook, *souk*

stoat, stot

stoatin, *stottin*

stoor, stour

stoorie, stourie

stooshie, stushie

swallie, swally

tattie, tottie, totty

totie, tottie

twa, twae

wallie, wally

wheesh, wheesht

widna, widnae

winna, winnae

yous, youse

Four main types of orthographic variation were evident in the search list. Detailed tables showing favoured orthographic forms in the Scottish newspapers are given below. Some of these forms have been the focus for spelling recommendations, and where relevant these have been noted. Spelling recommendations, where noted are those given by the *Scots Style Sheet* or *Recommendations for writers in Scots* (see 2.6.8.1). The *Electronic Scots Schools Dictionary* was also checked for forms, as it is more prescriptive over orthography than the larger dictionaries such as SND or CSD. In this case prescriptivism was an advantage as I was trying to discern preferred, rather than possible, orthographic forms. It is also worth remembering that those campaigning for standardisation and increased status for the language concentrate much of their efforts on education (see 5.5.6.3).

6.3.3.1   "A" or "AU" spellings

The *Electronic Scots Schools Dictionary* (henceforth ESSD) from SNDA uses "bauchle" as the main orthographic form for the headword, although "bachle" is recognised. Neither "baldie" nor "bauldie" were found in the ESSD. "Dander" is given as a headword, with "dauner" listed as a variant form. "Dwam" is listed as a headword, but "dwaum" is not present.

Word	Herald		Scotsman		Record	
	Stories	**Freq.**	**Stories**	**Freq.**	**Stories**	**Freq.**
bachle	1	1	0	0	1	1
bauchle	1	1	2	2	1	1
baldie	6	6	4	4	7	11
bauldie	0	0	0	0	0	0
dander	4	4	0	0	0	0
dauner	1	1	0	0	0	0
dwam	3	3	5	5	0	0
dwaum	0	0	0	0	0	0

Table 6.3   "A" or "AU" orthographic variation

"Bachle" (ESSD main form) and "bauchle" (ESSD variant form) were both used by the Herald and the Record, although it should be noted that the numbers of occurrences involved are very small, only one in each case. The Scotsman, however, does not use the "bachle" form at all, preferring to use "bauchle" (ESSD variant). "Baldie" is consistently the preferred form in all three newspapers. "Bauldie" is not used at all. As neither "baldie" nor "bauldie" were listed in ESSD, no comparison could be made. Only the Herald uses "dander" and "dauner", the preferred form being, as in ESSD, the former. "Dwam" is used by both the Herald and Scotsman, but not by the Record. None of the three newspapers use "dwaum" thus again agreeing with ESSD usage. Generally the "a" spelling seems to be preferred over the "au" spelling, except in the case of "bauchle" in the Scotsman. Thus orthographic forms in the newspapers for "dwam" and "dander" are consistent with ESSD usage.

6.3.3.2   "-IE" or "-Y" ending

The *Scots Style Sheet* recommends "*Ie* for diminutive, adjectival and adverbial endings – *mannie, bonnie*". *Recommendations for writers in Scots* (see Scots Language Resource Centre website) recommends "TERMINAL –IE in place of final 'y' generally, for example, in *lassie, bonnie, sairlie, cuddie, clamjamfrie,* etc." The ESSD consistently prefers "-ie" endings over "-y", and is thus in agreement with the *Scots Style Sheet* and SLRC; but does not include "nebbie/nebby" or "sonsie/sonsy".

As can be seen from the words represented in this study shown in Table 6.4, there does not seem to be a consistent preference for –ie endings over –y endings in the newspapers. However, it can be said that certain words seem to tend to take either the –ie or the –y ending, and that this trend is repeated across different newspapers. "Pawky", "peely-wally", "sonsie" and "swally" all are consistent choices across all three Scottish newspapers, with no examples of the alternative

–ie or –y endings. There also seem to be preferred forms, with "bonnie" significantly more prevalent than "bonny", "wally" preferred to "wallie", and "laldy" preferred to "laldie".

Word	Herald		Scotsman		Record	
	Stories	Freq.	Stories	Freq.	Stories	Freq.
bonnie	23	44	22	25	32	34
bonny	22	27	13	17	6	6
bowlie	0	0	0	0	0	0
bowly	0	0	0	0	0	0
cuddie	1	1	1	1	0	0
cuddy	4	4	0	0	2	2
laldie	2	2	1	1	0	0
laldy	17	17	5	5	3	4
nebbie	0	0	0	0	0	0
nebby	0	0	0	0	0	0
pawkie	0	0	0	0	0	0
pawky	18	21	12	13	0	0
peelie-wallie	0	0	0	0	0	0
peely-wally	2	2	0	0	3	3
puggie	3	3	0	0	2	2
puggy	2	2	0	0	0	0
skellie	0	0	0	0	0	0
skelly	0	0	0	0	1	1
sonsie	5	7	1	1	1	3
sonsy	0	0	0	0	0	0
swallie	0	0	0	0	0	0
swally	2	3	2	2	6	6
wallie	5	5	0	0	1	1
wally	13	27	2	3	0	0

Table 6.4   "-IE" or "-Y" orthographic variation

6.3.3.3   Negatives/ weak forms

The *Scots Style Sheet* recommends "*Negatives: -na* affixed to verb, *nae* before nouns, and *no* normally." However, McClure (1994, p.73) notes that

> The clitic is *–na* or *–nae* /n , ne/ with a regional distribution which has evidently altered in recent decades: *-nae* was formerly restricted to the east midland dialect, but is now prevalent also in the western conurbation and the south-west.

The Electronic Scots Schools Dictionary gives the possibility of both forms, "(-ae)" and "(-a)"in every case.

Word	Herald		Scotsman		Record	
	Stories	Freq.	Stories	Freq.	Stories	Freq.
canna	11	11	1	1	2	2
cannae	21	28	13	15	6	6
dinna	13	17	8	9	0	0
dinnae	8	11	11	12	5	5
disna	1	1	0	0	0	0
disnae	9	10	4	4	2	2
hinna	1	1	0	0	0	0
hinnae	1	1	0	0	0	0
isna	0	0	0	0	0	0
isnae	6	7	1	1	1	1
widna	1	1	0	0	0	0
widnae	8	9	4	4	1	1
winna	4	4	2	2	0	0
winnae	1	5	0	0	0	0

Table 6.5   Negatives/weak forms orthographic variation

As regards the use of the *–na* ending on verbs to denote the negative, usage in the newspapers under study was as follows. "Cannae" was significantly more prevalent than "canna" in all newspapers. Across the three newspapers "dinna" and "dinnae" were fairly evenly distributed. "Disna" occurred once only, in the Herald, and elsewhere "disnae" was the preferred form. "Hinna" and "hinnae" were both very infrequent words, each occurring only once in the Herald. There were no occurrences of "isna" in any of the newspapers, "isnae" appearing to be the preferred form, at least in the Herald (the other two newspapers only having one occurrence of the word). For the "widna"/"widnae" pair, again the "-ae" ending was the most prevalent, with only the Herald having one occurrence of "widna". No clear pattern was distinguishable for "winna" and "winnae". On the basis of the words we were looking at in this study, it is reasonable to say that the "-ae" ending forms generally seem to be the most common, although there are certain words where "-a" is preferred. Therefore, there is some evidence that in this aspect the language of the newspapers is in opposition to the recommendations of the Scots language experts. However, this may be due to the changes in distribution in West and Southwestern Scots noted by McClure above.

However, the following interesting facts do emerge. Firstly, as we might expect, certain writers make consistent choices of either the "-na" or "-nae" endings. Charlie Allan who writes the Farmer's Diary in the Herald, consistently chooses the "-na" ending for "canna", "dinna" and "hinna", in fact he seems to be the most frequent user of this form of the negative. John Hodgart on the other hand, consistently chooses the "-nae" endings for his articles which are written in Scots, using "cannae", "dinnae", "hinnae", "isnae", "widnae" and "winnae". (Being a Scots language activist and a teacher we might have expected him to use the "-na" form, (see below) but he does not implement the recommendations of the SLRC.) The form "winna" occurs in both the Herald and the Scotsman, but on all occasions it is used as part of the formulaic phrase "chiels that winna ding" (see chapter 8, for further discussion of formulaic phrases).

6.3.3.4   "OO" vs. "OU" spelling

The *Scots Style Sheet* recommends "*Ou* mainly for sound of French *ou* in *mou, mouth, south, sou, about, out, nou, hou, dour, douce, couthie, drouth, toun, doun, round;* but *oo* according to old usage in words like *smooth, smool, snoove*." *Recommendations for writers in Scots* suggests "OU mainly for the sound of French 'ou' in *cou, fou, croun* and *flouer*. In certain words, such as *out, about* and *our*, there may be a case for using OO for this vowel to avoid confusion with English pronunciation." The *Electronic Scots Schools Dictionary* gives "behouchie" as the headword with "bahookie" as a variant form. Neither "drookit" nor "droukit" were found, but "drook" is listed in the ESSD. "Drouth" is given as the headword, with "drooth" as a variant; but only "droothie" is given for "thirsty". Both "footer" and "footerie" are given, but "fouter" and "fouterie" are not. "Loon" is given, but "loun" is not. "Mou" is given under "mooth"; "moo" however, has a different meaning. "Plook" and "sook" were given, but "plouk" and "souk" were not. "Stour*" was given, but "stoor*" was not.

As can be seen from Table 6.6 below, these results are fairly mixed. "Bahookie" is always preferred to "behouchie" but the actual numbers involved are very small. "Coorie" is used only by the Herald, which avoids the "courie" form. No other newspapers have either form. "Drookit" is consistently preferred to "droukit" across all the newspapers. "Droukit" is not used. A similar consistency in choice can be observed for "drouthy" over "droothy", the latter not being used. "Footer*" and "fouter*" are used only by the Herald and have fairly even distributions. "Loon" is preferred over "loun" (not used) by all the newspapers. "Plook" seems to be preferred over "plouk" by the Herald and Record (the Scotsman uses neither form.) "Sook" is consistently preferred over "souk" in both the Herald and the Scotsman (does not appear in the Record). "Stoor(ie)" and "stour(ie)" are evenly distributed in the broadsheets, with the Record sticking to the "stoor(ie)" form, although again relatively low numbers. The general impression is that certain lexical items have preferred spellings, whether the "ou" or "oo" spelling is preferred seems to depend on the individual lexeme. The

newspapers do not seem to adhere to any particular set of conventions, but do seem to have preferred forms.

Word	Herald		Scotsman		Record	
	Stories	Freq.	Stories	Freq.	Stories	Freq.
bahookie	1	1	0	0	2	2
behouchie	0	0	0	0	0	0
coorie	5	5	0	0	0	0
courie	0	0	0	0	0	0
drookit	3	3	2	2	1	1
droukit	0	0	0	0	0	0
drooth(y)	0	0	0	0	0	0
drouth(y)	9	11	4	4	0	0
footer(y)	8	8	0	0	0	0
fouter(ie)	4	9	0	0	0	0
loon	11	16	10	10	10	11
loun	0	0	0	0	0	0
moo	0	0	0	0	0	0
mou	0	0	0	0	0	0
plook	3	3	0	0	4	5
plouk	1	1	0	0	0	0
sook	12	12	2	2	0	0
souk	0	0	0	0	0	0
stoor(ie)	3	4	2	2	2	2
stour(ie)	3	3	1	1	0	0

Table 6.6   "OO" or "OU" orthographic variation

6.3.3.5   Summary of overall level of variation

For some fairly common Scots items such as "bonnie/bonny" there seems to be quite a lot of variation tolerated within each newspaper. Other items appear to have only one acceptable variant across all the newspapers, e.g. "pawky", "baldie", "sonsie", "loon"; but in many other cases variation is observed between

newspapers. Thus the conclusion must be drawn that at present the newspapers are not actively promoting standard Scots forms, and do not follow such guidelines as have been put forward by language experts. Such levels of orthographic variation suggest that standardising Scots forms is not seen as a priority. If considered in the light of Cameron's (1995) observations of the important role of the press in relation to standards, these influential institutions which are normally concerned with 'style' do not see the development of a standard Scots as important; any immediate prospects for the widespread introduction and implementation of a standard Scots seem unlikely. Developing the argument made in chapter 3 at 3.7.5 that newspapers try to use their version of the language of their readers further, it can be suggested that a standard Scots is not important to readers either. Again the argument returns to the overwhelming hegemony of English in Scotland today. Presumably without a standard form Scots is unlikely to be used in formal written contexts. In addition, Scots has to compete with the widely recognised and fairly high status variety Scottish Standard English. Thus Scots is likely to remain restricted to usage in those areas of the newspaper where its use is considered appropriate. (See McClure, 1994, p.62, quoted at 2.6.7.)

Newspaper style books are an important consideration when discussing the normalisation or variation of orthographic forms as they potentially exert a pressure for fixity/standardisation. Some newspaper style books, such as that produced for the London Times are well known, and indeed that particular style book was published and made available to the general public. Notions of correctness in language, are therefore perceived as important by the press, and it is reasonable to say that newspapers are in some way responsible for maintaining certain notions of correctness. As noted in section 2.6.8, Cameron (1995, p.34-38) discusses the role of style books, especially that of the Times, arguing that journalism can have a prescriptive effect on language. The main Scottish newspapers were contacted and asked about style books or preferred reference books for Scots, but no responses were received. During the data collection phase at the Daily Record, I was able to ascertain that they had no style book or particular policy on Scots forms, although their internal library staff would refer to Scots dictionaries if a journalist requested information on how to spell a

particular form. From the data, I suspect the situation for the other Scottish newspapers is similar; and unless there is pressure for the standardisation of Scots from this and other quarters, rather than simply from Scots language activists, I suspect Scots in the newspapers will remain a focused rather than a fixed variety.

6.4   Impact of class and local identities on newspaper language

This section of the chapter looks at four main questions. Firstly it considers whether there are observable differences between the tabloid and broadsheet Scottish newspapers in terms of the Scottish language they use, and relates this to a discussion of class identity. It then considers whether individual lexical items might trigger schematic knowledge through stereotypes. Thirdly it focuses on the potential for an East/West split, between the Herald and the Record based in Glasgow, and the Scotsman based in Edinburgh, to see whether there are differences in the geographic provenances of the Scottish lexis used, which might indicate local identity is impacting on national Scottish identity. Finally it considers which newspaper uses most Scottish lexis from the search list and the implications this has for the issue of national identity.

6.4.1   Tabloid / broadsheet split

The tabloid and broadsheet newspapers are generally perceived to have different readerships, primarily distinguished by class. Although this is a large generalisation, it seems generally to hold true. As Tunstall (1996) notes, the 'National Readership Survey' (Jan-June 1995) confirms that British newspapers are indeed distinguished primarily by class affiliation.

> In Britain the newspapers split very much along social class lines. ... about 87 per cent of the readers of upmarket papers are indeed middle class, against only about 31 per cent for the downmarket dailies. ... the degree of

class segregation ... in the readership of the national press, is very sharp indeed. (Tunstall, 1996, p.8)

They also differ widely in their content.

> [Tabloids] focus on light news, the entertaining touch, and human interest; this in practice means focusing on crime, sex, sport, television, showbusiness, and sensational human interest stories. There is an overwhelming emphasis on personalities ... there are many pictures, big headlines ... the remainder of the tabloid is 'quick read' material with most stories running to less than 400 words ... [Broadsheets] assume that their readers are more interested in serious news. The broadsheet typically carries at least three times as many words in a week as does the tabloid ... carry longer stories, including many pieces of over 800 words. (Tunstall, 1996, p.11-12) (my brackets)

Tabloid and broadsheet newspapers also use different types of language. Generalisations abound, for example, that the broadsheets tend to write using longer sentences, longer words, using a different type and register of vocabulary from the tabloids, and that the tabloids tend to make more use of word play and other poetic features of language. These differences in language between the newspapers can be viewed as correlating with the differences in their perceived readerships. (See section 3.7.2 for further discussion of the relationship between newspapers and their readers.) Bell (1991, p.107-109) investigates variation between newspapers on the basis of a single linguistic variable, the deletion of the determiner in appositional naming expressions, and concludes that the tabloids are much more likely to do this than the broadsheets. He argues further that the newspapers' rankings based on their deletion of this linguistic variable "correspond almost exactly to the social status of their readerships." (Bell, 1991, p.108) Thus it can be argued that the language used by newspapers strongly correlates with the social class of their perceived readerships.

The social class divide in readerships is of particular interest in the context of Scottish newspapers, as the usage of Scots and Scottish Standard English can indicate social class (see following section). Therefore the Scottish newspapers were investigated to see whether on a lexical level any differences could be discerned between the tabloid and broadsheet newspapers, and whether these could be related to differences in language variety use by different social classes in Scotland. It is should be noted once again that the data are incomplete for the Scottish Sun, and therefore this comparison has been based on observable differences between the two Scottish broadsheets, the Herald and Scotsman, and the tabloid Daily Record.

6.4.1.1   Social class as affecting linguistic choice

Sociolinguistics argues that who you are will be reflected in how you speak. (See section 3.4.1 for discussion of sociolinguistic and critical theory perspectives.) Accent is often used as a primary indicator of social class, as is the use of standard or non-standard grammar and syntax. As this study is primarily lexically based, these more usual indicators of social class were unavailable. However, it has frequently been argued that in Scotland, lexical choice can be indicative of social class. It should of course be remembered that these are tendencies not absolutes, and therefore certain individuals may on certain occasions, or for certain words, display lexical usage which would not have been expected on the basis of their social class. Macaulay (1991) in his sociolinguistic study of variation in speech in the Ayr dialect across social class, notes that "there are patterns of social class variation in the lexicon" (1991, p.117); but cautions that these may not show up in a small corpus and may, to some extent, be mediated by topic (1991, p.107).

Returning to Aitken's 5-column model (see 2.3.5), Aitken distinguishes four main social groups largely on the basis of their lexical usage. (It should be noted that the model also briefly mentions morphology, syntax and pronunciation.) By dividing the whole range of possible lexical forms available in Scotland into these 5 columns, Aitken is able to determine tendencies in linguistic choice which are

related to social class. As discussed in chapter 2 (see 2.3.2), there are two main factors which affect individuals' linguistic choice in Scotland. Firstly, their social class will probably determine their linguistic competence, i.e. knowledge of different lexical forms; and secondly, their social class or social aspirations will probably determine their deliberate selection or deselection of certain linguistic forms. Thus part of the effect is sub-conscious, and part is conscious. The degree to which either of the parts takes precedence will depend on that individual's linguistic awareness and the value they place on it.

Aitken (1979a, p.107) argues that certain Scotticisms are essentially the preserve of the middle-classes.

> There also exists a limited number (several hundred?) of these expressions [Scotticisms] which seem specially favoured by middle-class English-speaking Scots, so as to constitute a highly recurrent set of stereotypes. (my square brackets)

As noted earlier at 3.4.2.2, Aiken proposes a sliding scale of acceptability for middle-class Scots. Aitken (1979a, p.107-109) gives a list of expressions favoured by each social class. Those which coincide with items from the search list used in this study are as follows.

For expressions especially favoured by the middle-classes Aitken cites:

chuckiestanes	dreich	shoogly
it's back to auld claes and parritch	a feardie	stravaig
	kenspeckle	wabbit
a drop o the craitur	peelie-wallie	wersh

For working-class expressions Aitken cites:

awfie	ken (although "ye ken" seems to carry less stigma)
dinger*	
to loss the heid	puggled*
	youse (or "youse-yins")

(* denotes possibly deemed acceptable by some middle-class speakers)

These expressions are investigated as part of the wider analysis of lexical differences between the Scottish tabloid and broadsheet newspapers in section 6.4.1.3.

6.4.1.2   Suggested reasons for lexical differences

Before proceeding to the analysis proper, it is useful to consider some of the reasons which may lie behind these differences, and then see whether these explanations look likely in view of the data collected. It can be argued that some of the differences in lexical choice between the tabloids and broadsheets may be due to differences in the education and knowledge of Scottish literature of their perceived readerships. Miller (1998, p.55) argues that

> many highly educated Scots know some of the literature and through it
> know, and indeed use, 'classic' Scots words and phrases. Much of this
> classic vocabulary is no longer in use among people unacquainted with the
> literature, hence the opinions that certain words are just token items used by
> middle-class speakers when they want to sound Scottish. Putting it crudely
> but nevertheless with a very large grain of truth, working class speakers
> have much of the syntax of Scots but the under-40s have lost the classic
> Scots vocabulary; middle-class speakers with a knowledge of the literature

have the classic vocabulary but not the syntax; and many middle-class
speakers have neither the syntax nor the vocabulary.

Macafee (1983a, p.41) notes that

> Macaulay (1977:55) found in a small lexical test, involving ten items, that
> his middle class informants knew more 'old Scots words' than his working
> class ones. Aitken (1979: 108) is no doubt correct in explaining this
> phenomenon in terms of the middle classes being better read in Scottish
> literature.

Thus social class differences in education may account for some of the
differences. Working-class and middle-class Scots may have differing degrees of
access to and knowledge of the available varieties along the Scottish-English
continuum.

6.4.1.3   Analysis of newspaper data for tabloid/broadsheet split

Firstly I consider lexis which appeared in the Herald and Scotsman but not the
Record, and vice versa. Secondly I consider the relative frequencies of
occurrence of lexemes in the tabloid and broadsheet newspapers, and thirdly,
where they have not already been dealt with in preceding sections, Aitken's
stereotypical class-related expressions as cited at 6.4.1.1 are investigated.

However, before looking in more detail at each of these strands of enquiry, it is
necessary to note that the perceived differences between use of lexical items in the
tabloid and broadsheet newspapers should not be overstated. Many more lexical
items in this study appear in all three of the main Scottish newspapers, than have
distinctive distributions in the tabloid and broadsheet newspapers. A list of the
words which appeared in all three Scottish newspapers i.e. the Herald, the
Scotsman and the Record can be found at Appendix 6. (For this part of the study

no distinction has been drawn between different orthographic forms of the same word, although if a particular orthographic form was not found in any of the newspapers, it was omitted from the list as an alternative, and where an item had two alternative orthographic forms these were considered together, i.e. if one form appeared in the Herald and Scotsman, but not the Record, but the other orthographic form was exhibited by the Record, this form was not considered to be indicative of a tabloid/broadsheet split.)

However, that said, there were over 70 lexical items which appear in both the Herald and Scotsman newspapers, but do not appear in the tabloid Record. The results are comparable across all three Scottish newspapers, as information was available for all the 1995 weekday and Saturday editions for each. As discussed in the methodology chapter, the information was retrieved from different sources (i.e. CD-ROM or database) for each of the newspapers, but this did not present a significant problem here. A list of lexical items which appeared in the broadsheet Herald and Scotsman, but not in the tabloid Record is given at Appendix 7.

Firstly then, a consideration of those items which were found in the Herald and Scotsman, but were entirely absent from the Record (see Appendix 7).

Differences in education and knowledge of Scottish literature may explain why the following items were found in the broadsheets, but not in the tabloid Record.

- **Flyte*:** The whole idea of 'flyting' seems to be associated with a knowledge of Scottish literature and its associated customs, perhaps something which is more familiar to the often better educated middle-class readers.

- **Agley:** Similarly the use of "agley" in both broadsheet newspapers on all occasions alludes to the quotation from Burns; "the best laid plans o' mice and men gang aft agley" (*To a Mouse*). (See section 8.3.1.1 for discussion of use of quotations in newspapers.)

- **Airt*:** The use of "airts" is often associated with the phrase "a' the airts", also the title of a love song by Burns. The phrase "airts and pairts" is also common in the broadsheets. (See 8.3.1.5 for further details.)

- **Unco:** "Unco" is frequently used as part of the phrase "unco guid" another reference to Burns (*Address to the Unco Guid*). (See 8.3.1.1.)

- **Sleekit:** "Sleekit" is used in reference to the play 'Nancy Sleekit' performed at the Citizens Theatre, but also in wider contexts. This is another reference to Burns (*To a Mouse*).

- **Lallans & makar:** "Lallans" and "makar" are fairly academic terms associated with a knowledge of Scottish literature, and therefore perhaps not surprisingly omitted from the Record.

(* indicates lexeme.) (Further consideration of literary and archaic terms is given at 6.3.1.3.) As will be noted, Burns has a fairly substantial influence in the lexical choices of the broadsheets. Further discussion of this is given at section 8.7.2.3.

Differences in social class may be reflected by the following non-literary items which are present in the broadsheets, but missing from the Record. The terms "keelie", "Jock Tamson's bairns" and "lad o'pairts" are interesting in-so-far as they seem to reflect certain social views which would traditionally be associated with the middle-classes.

- **Keelie:** "Keelie" is a term of disapproval generally levelled at working class males, usually from the city (especially a 'Glesga keelie'), and therefore it is natural that this would tend to be a middle-class term.

- **Lad o'pairts:** The whole ethos behind someone being described as a "lad o' pairts", where someone has allegedly come from a humble background and made their way up in the world, whilst associated with the whole culture of kailyardism (see 6.4.2.2) is probably still a predominantly middle-class ethos.

- **Jock Tamson's bairns:** The term "Jock Tamson's bairns" which is supposed to denote that we are all part of a common humanity, could be viewed as a middle-class attempt not to appear to be rejecting one's roots, or being too snobbish.

- **Kenspeckle:** Aitken cites "kenspeckle" as a middle-class term, and this appears to be borne out by the newspaper data.

- **Pawky:** Based on the evidence from the newspapers, "pawky" seems to be another term especially favoured by the middle-classes. It is possible it also has literary overtones from a character called Provost Pawkie in Galt's *The Provost* (see also 6.4.2.2).

Other noteworthy items in the broadsheets which were absent from the Record were:

- **Furth:** (Meaning outside, e.g. "furth of Scotland".) There were 24 occurrences of "furth" in the Herald, and 9 in the Scotsman. Like "outwith" (discussed later in this section), "furth" often occurs in fairly formal article types, and can probably be classed as a functional Scotticism. (See 7.7.6 for definition)

- **Twa / twae:** The Herald has 18, and the Scotsman 15 occurrences of this Scottish enumerator. The Record presumably uses the English version "two".

One other general observation which can be made is that, based on the data collected, the Record tends to avoid Scots lexical items with the "<-cht>" cluster, such as "bocht", "brocht", "micht", "nocht", richt", "licht". Not all such items were included on the original search list, and therefore it is not possible to make a categorical statement; but of the words in the search list, the only "<-cht>" which the Record did use, and then only once, was "nicht", but as this is in the context "braw, bricht moonlicht nicht" (which of course contains other "<-cht>" items not on the search list). This can be explained as a deviation from the normal pattern

due to a formulaic and clichéd expression which is supposed to be archetypally Scottish. One suggestion for the avoidance of such forms by the Record is that most of these lexical items have easily accessible and probably more readily understood English "<-ght>" phonological cognates: "bought", "brought", "might", "right" and "night". ("Nocht" meaning "nothing" could be compared with the rather formal English "nought".) It is, as mentioned important to bear in mind the frequency with which these items occur in the broadsheets to assess the relative significance of their absence from the Record.

WORD	Occurrences in Herald	Occurrences in Scotsman
bocht	1	2
brocht	2	1
licht	5	0
micht	9	4
nicht	7	1
nocht	2	2
richt	10	2

Table 6.7   Lexis containing the <-cht> group

As can be seen from Table 6.7 above, the numbers involved, especially if one compares the Scotsman with the Record, are not huge. However, the search items do suggest that the Record tends to use the <-cht> grapheme less.

There are however, a few surprising omissions from the Record. For example "erse", discussed earlier at 6.3.2.3, which as a vulgar term might reasonably have been expected to be found more commonly in a tabloid; and "ye" ("you") which has many occurrences in the Herald.

It should be noted that in some cases the lack of a certain lexical item in the Record seems less significant as there are not many occurrences in the Herald or Scotsman either; and it is generally expected that they will contain more Scottish

lexis than the Record due to their greater size (see 6.6). However, for other lexical items their absence from the Record does seem to be due to class and educational differences in the perceived readership.

If the situation is considered from the opposite point of view, i.e. which lexical items appeared in the tabloid Record but were not found in the broadsheet Herald and Scotsman (of which there were only a few), the following observations can be made.

- **Boke:** The Record had the sole occurrence of "boke", although it also used the alternative orthographic form "boak" once. However, the Herald used "boak" twice, therefore this is primarily a difference of orthographic form.

- **Dinger:** The sole occurrence of "dinger" was found in the Record. (To "go/do one's dinger" means 'to lose one's temper'.) This is interesting as Aitken (1979a, p.107-109) (see 6.4.1.1 above) says this is primarily a working-class word, which or may not be acceptable to certain members of the middle-class.

- **Jiggered:** Sole occurrence is found in the Record, in a direct speech context.

- **Puggled:** The sole occurrence of "puggled" meaning "drunk" was also found in the Record.

- **Skelly:** One occurrence was found in the Record.

Due to the low levels of occurrence noted for the above items which are found in the Record but not in the broadsheets, the items which are absent from the Record but present in the broadsheets (see Appendix 7) discussed previously present a stronger argument for differences in lexical choices between the tabloids and broadsheets.

The second phase of analysis was to investigate the relative frequencies with which items appeared in the newspapers. For example, a relatively high incidence of a lexical form in the broadsheet newspapers which is entirely absent from the tabloid Record might also suggest an underlying difference in the types of Scottish lexis used by the broadsheets and tabloids. Here again differences were observed between the broadsheet Herald and Scotsman, and the tabloid Record. However, before progressing to the analysis itself, it is important to note that when considering the relative frequencies of certain lexical items, we must also take into consideration (a) the relative sizes in terms of word count of the newspapers concerned (see 6.6), and also (b) the newspaper's general degree of use of Scottish lexis, i.e. is this item proportionately over or under-represented based on what we know of the newspaper's use of Scottish lexis generally? As a general rule of thumb, overall the Herald contained over three times as many occurrences of Scottish lexis as the Record (7,369 occurrences in the Herald compared with 2,375 occurrences in the Record), and the Scotsman (2,737 occurrences) contained over 360 more occurrences than the Record.

Instances where the Record contains higher than expected occurrences of a given lexical item are worth further investigation. Into this category would come lexical items such as:

- **Bevvy:** 50 occurrences in Record, compared with 23 in Herald and 7 in Scotsman. The Record is also the only newspaper to use the colloquial phrase "bevvy merchant" ("drunkard"). (See also discussion of "bevvy" as a trigger for the Clydeside stereotype at 6.4.2.3.)

- **Gub:** 33 occurrences in Record compared with 13 in Herald and 10 in Scotsman.

- **Tattie:** 35 occurrences in Record, compared with 12 in Herald and 19 in Scotsman.

- **Yin:** 36 occurrences in Record, although 33 are references to Billy Connolly (the Big Yin), compared to 20 occurrences in the Herald (of

which 8 are Billy Connolly) and 12 in the Scotsman (of which 2 are Billy Connolly). This probably reflects the Record's typical tabloid greater emphasis on entertainment and celebrity 'news'. (See also section 6.7.2.4.) Billy Connolly is also seen as a working-class icon, given his background in the shipyards etc. Interestingly, although both the Herald (9 occurrences) and the Scotsman (4 occurrences) use the longer expression "high heid yins(s)", this expression is not found in the Record.

- **Wee:** This item was also more frequent in the Record (1,013 occurrences, than in the Scotsman (437 occurrences); the Record figure being much closer to that for the Herald of 1,428 occurrences.

Lexical items which were much more common than expected in the broadsheets were also considered to be significant. For example:

- **Outwith:** 396 occurrences in Herald, 223 in Scotsman, 31 in Record. As discussed at 7.7.6, this often occurs in fairly formal article types, and along with "leet", "retiral" and "furth" can be categorised as a functional Scotticism.

- **Tae:** 263 occurrences in Herald, 69 in Scotsman, 15 in Record. 174 of the occurrences in the Herald were found in Scots language articles, most of which used fairly dense Scots. As noted at 5.5.6.3, only two such articles were found in the Record, and neither was written in dense Scots. (See also discussion at 6.3.2ff on frequency of this item.)

- **Wi:** 76 occurrences in Herald, 35 in Scotsman, 11 in Record. (25 occurrences found in the Herald were in Scots language articles, and therefore this may account for some of the disparity.)

Differences in the usage of particular lexical items was also considered to be significant. There were some items which the Record only used in certain fairly restricted contexts, but which were used more freely by the broadsheets. For example:

- **Oor:** "Oor" occurs only 3 times in the Record, but is always in the context of "Oor Wullie" (Scots cartoon strip character). In the Herald there are 134 occurrences of "oor", 23 of which are "Oor Wullie" and 2 are "Oor Willie". The Scotsman has 27 occurrences, 13 of which are "Oor Wullie". Thus "oor" is used more productively in the broadsheets.

- **Ae:** "Ae" occurs only 3 times in the Record, and always as part of "ae fond kiss" (song by Burns; see 8.7.2.3 for further observations on influence of Burns). In the Herald, of 4 occurrences, 3 are "ae fond kiss"; but in the Scotsman, from a total of 14, 1 is "ae fond kiss", and 7 are "a ae oo" (fixed expression).

- **Gie:** "Gie" is used twice in the Record, but on both occasions it is as part of the "Gie It Laldy Festival". In the Herald it is used 22 times in a variety of contexts, and in the Scotsman 12 times.

- **Hae:** "Hae" occurs 4 times in the Record. 3 are "Scots wha hae" (song) and 1 is "wha hae" in subheadline. In the Herald of 68 occurrences, only 7 are "Scots wha hae", and in the Scotsman of 20 entries only 1 is "Scots wha hae".

- **Yon:** "Yon" occurs only twice in the Record, and on both occasions is in "Yon bonnie banks" (extract from song by Burns). This compares with 45 occurrences in the Herald (only 1 of which is "by yon bonnie banks" and 1 is word play "by yon pretty noisy banks"), and only 4 in the Scotsman.

Thus there are occasions where although the lexical item is found in the Record, it is only used in very specialised and restrictive contexts; whereas the usage in the broadsheets is much more productive for general communication. (See 8.7.2.3 for further discussion of productivity of expressions.)

The final strand in the analysis was a consideration of the terms Aitken (1979a, p.107-109) categorised as being predominantly favoured by either the working or middle-class and yielded the following observations. (See 6.4.1.1 for lists and quotations.) As a general point it should be noted that the numbers were usually

not substantial enough to enable any strong statement to be made agreeing with or denying Aitken's (1979a, p. 107-109) categorisation.

The following observations were noted for Aitken's middle-class expressions/lexical items:

- **Chuckiestanes:** This item does not occur in any newspaper, although the shorter version "chuckie" does appear once in the Scotsman and the Record.

- **It's back to auld claes and parritch:** There were only two occurrences of this expression in the Herald; one of which substituted "porridge" and is enclosed in inverted commas. There was also one occurrence in Scotsman, although the order was reversed to "parritch and auld claes". No occurrences were found in the Record, therefore this expression does appear to bear out Aitken's findings, although the low frequencies in the broadsheets make this questionable.) (Also discussed in chapter 8.)

- **A drop o the craitur:** There was only one occurrence of "cratur" in the Herald; but it was not as part of this phrase. There were two occurrences of "cratur" in the Scotsman, but one seems to mean "creature", and neither occurs as part of this phrase. Six occurrences of "cratur" were found in the Record, and one occurrence was "drop of the cratur". Therefore this goes against Aitken's classification, but again the low frequency makes generalisation dangerous.

- **Dreich:** There were 27 occurrences in the Herald, 8 in the Scotsman and 4 in the Record. Although the Herald had a proportionately higher frequency than expected based on the usual proportions (Herald usually 3 times as many occurrences as the Record), the difference between the frequencies noted in the Scotsman and the Record was inconclusive.

- **Feardie:** This orthographic form only occurs in the Herald, and then only once. However, the Herald has 5 occurrences of "feartie" and 1

occurrence of "fearty". The Scotsman has 1 occurrence of "feartie", and the Record has 3. Again, the results are inconclusive.

- **Kenspeckle:** As noted above at 6.4.1.3, this lexical item does seem to bear out Aitken's labelling of it as middle-class, with 15 occurrences in the Herald, 5 in the Scotsman, and none in the Record.

- **Peelie-wallie:** The "peely-wally" form occurs twice in the Herald, and three times in the Record. It does not appear in the Scotsman.

- **Shoogly:** The Herald has 8 occurrences of "on a shoogly/shooglie nail" (see Appendix 11) and 2 further occurrences of "shooglie/shoogly". The Scotsman has 3 occurrences of "shoogly", one of which is associated with "peg". The Record has 2 occurrences of "shoogly peg". Distribution is therefore fairly even across the newspapers.

- **Stravaig:** The Herald has 8 occurrences, but they are all to do with a restaurant of that name in the West-End of Glasgow. This item does not occur in the Scotsman or the Record.

- **Wabbit:** The Herald has only one occurrence. This item does not occur in the Scotsman or the Record.

- **Wersh:** The Herald has 2 occurrences. This item does not occur in the Scotsman or the Record.

Thus "it's back to auld claes and parritch" and "kenspeckle" were the only expressions for which Aitken's categorisation could be verified by the data. "A drop of the cratur" actually suggested the opposite of Aitken's categorisation, and the rest of the results were deemed inconclusive.

Observations on Aitken's (1979a, p.109) working-class expressions were as follows:

- **Awfie:** The "awfie" form was not part of the original search list, but it was later investigated in light of Aitken's categorisation. Only one

occurrence of "awfie" was found in the Herald, in the context of a Scots poem written by a schoolchild. "Awfie" was not found in the Scotsman. The Herald has 18 occurrences of "awfy" and 3 of "awfu". The Scotsman has 3 occurrences of "awfy" and 1 occurrence of "awfu". The Record has 1 occurrence of "awfy". Thus the results are inconclusive.

- **Dinger:** As discussed above at 6.4.1.3, "dinger" is not found in the Herald or Scotsman, but does occur once in the Record where it is word play on a story about a man being awoken by church bells ("A peace loving parishioner did his dinger when church bells woke him every Sunday.") The headline also uses word play "No-bell peace prize". Aitken noted that on occasions this item might be acceptable to the middle-classes, but in this study it was not used by either the Herald or the Scotsman.

- **To loss the heid:** This very colloquial expression occurs twice in the Herald, but does not occur in the Scotsman or Record.

- **Ken:** Aitken (1979a, p.109) says the unreduced "ye ken" carries less stigma, but that the asseverative tag "ken" as in "Weel – ken – ye dinny pey – ken" or "jist watch – ken" is typically associated with the working-class. "Ken" occurs once as an asseverative tag in the Scotsman, but not in the Record or the Herald. "Ye ken" however, occurs 8 times in the Herald, twice in the Scotsman, and twice in the Record (one of those being in a headline). Thus again results are inconclusive.

- **Puggled:** This does not occur in the Herald or the Scotsman, but occurs once in the Record.

- **Youse / youse-yins:** The Herald has 2 occurrences of "yous", 16 occurrences of "youse" and 1 occurrence of "youse-yins". The Scotsman had one occurrence of "youse" and 2 occurrences of "yous" (all of which were in direct speech contexts) and no occurrences of "youse-yins". The Record had 3 occurrences of "yous".

With the exception of "dinger" and "puggled" the newspaper data do not seem to bear out Aitken's (1979a, p.107-109) categorisations. However, again a note of

caution must be sounded, as the actual numbers of occurrences are too small to be conclusive.

6.4.1.4   Summary of results

Although as has been noted there are many occasions where a particular lexical item is found in all three of the main Scottish newspapers; there were sufficient differences between the tabloid Record and the broadsheets to substantiate the hypothesis that they differ in their use of Scottish lexis. As argued at 2.3.2, the newspaper texts are examples of *parole*. Parole can be used to situate the speaker or writer in terms of their social or linguistic identity. However, as discussed at 3.7.5, newspapers are written in their version of the readers' vernacular, in language which is negotiated with the reader, and with which the readership is comfortable. Thus with respect to the newspaper texts, linguistic differences between the tabloid and broadsheet newspapers can be said to correlate with social class differences in their perceived readerships, and there are well-documented class differences in the selections habitually made from the varieties Scots and Scottish Standard English. In 6.4.1.2 it was suggested that the differences in lexical usage may be due to class differences in education, and in particular knowledge of archaic and literary lexis through acquaintance with Scottish literature. Items such as "flyte", "Lallans" and "makar" which are entirely absent from the Record seem to uphold this theory. Other differences seem to depend on a difference of viewpoint, e.g. the Record's non-use of terms like "keelie", and "Jock Tamson's bairns", and non-lexicalisation of the apparently middle-class concept of the "lad o'pairts". (See discussion at 6.4.2.2 where the 'lad o'pairts' concept is alluded to in the Record, but is not lexicalised as such.)

The lack of productivity of items such as "oor", "ae", "gie", "hae" and "yon" in the Record, which only occur in well-known song titles or names in the Record, suggests a quite different level of Scots usage to that encountered in the

broadsheets. As these items only occur in fixed collocations in the Record, their meaning does not have to be decoded (see chapter 8 for further discussion).

The analysis of Aitken's preferred middle-class and working-class expressions was the only inconclusive strand of the investigation. However, it should be remembered that Aitken is primarily dealing with spoken Scots, and these are written texts. It is also possible that corpus size is having an effect, and that a larger sample of data may give more convincing results.

One other factor which should be considered, and which is relevant to this section as a whole, is that although it can be argued that the tabloids tend towards working-class linguistic habits and the broadsheets towards middle-class usage; it is not inconceivable that one newspaper type may from time to time use the vernacular of the other newspaper type's readership. This is probably most likely to occur in the broadsheets where working-class language may be used or parodied to signal outgroup membership or otherness, e.g. as is done in the 'Genteel disclosures in Govan Gents' text (illustrative text 4, Appendix 10, discussed at 7.11). (See van Dijk (1998, p.159-161) for discussion of inclusion and exclusion from group membership.) Working-class direct speech may also be used in dialogue, as is the case in the Scottish novel tradition. For the newspapers, the use of Scots, or outgroup Scots in direct speech requires less commitment on the part of the newspaper. (See discussion at 7.8.4.1.)

The other proviso is that it is important to remember that due to their larger size the broadsheet newspapers would be likely to contain more examples of Scottish lexis anyway, and therefore some differences may simply be due to the smaller number and length of tabloid texts. However, there do seem to be consistent types of differences which suggest that there are indeed class differences reflected in the language of the tabloid and broadsheet newspapers.

6.4.2   Lexical items and Scottish stereotypes

This section considers whether certain lexical items trigger certain stereotypes, and whether this can in turn be related to the differences in social class reflected in linguistic choice discussed above. As discussed in chapter 3 at section 3.5.1, Scottish newspapers may make use of or refer to particular Scottish stereotypes. The main consideration there was the main features of these stereotypes and why they might be used by the newspapers. In this chapter consideration moves to whether certain lexical items trigger Scottish stereotypes, and therefore whether certain stereotypes can be associated with certain newspapers. With such a large volume of data, it would have been extremely time consuming to read every article and assess whether or not it exploited or made reference to any of these Scottish stereotypes. More importantly, as the main focus of this study was on the use of Scottish lexis by the Scottish newspapers as an essential part of the Scottish construct, it was more useful to begin with the lexis and then search for the stereotypes. The hypothesis is that individual items of Scottish lexis can act as 'triggers' for Scottish stereotypes. For example, mention "heather" and a whole series of associations may be made. The clichéd collocation "bonnie purple heather" springs to mind, or a mental picture of the Scottish countryside, complete with its stereotypical associations of ruggedness, the Highlands and tartanry, and so on. Just as a cartoon of a Scotsman in a kilt can trigger a whole set of associations, so too can certain items of Scottish lexis. The stereotypes themselves can act as a 'shorthand' for Scottishness; and similarly certain lexical items can act as 'shorthand' for Scottish stereotypes. This is, of course, an argument with applications beyond this particular study.

Whilst it would have been a mistake to attempt to assign all the Scottish lexical items under analysis to particular Scottish stereotypes, there were certain ones which did seem to be associated particularly strongly with certain stereotypes. For example, the "lad o'pairts" is essentially a Kailyard concept (see 3.5.1 for its characteristics), and therefore we might expect that it will be used in essentially Kailyard contexts, or to express essentially Kailyard values. Thus I am arguing that "lad o'pairts" is semantically so entwined with the Kailyard concept and its

associated value system that its use automatically triggers a set of associations from the Kailyard stereotype.

The results are given in Appendix 8. The lexical items under investigation in were as follows. For the Tartanry stereotype I looked at "bonny"/"bonnie". "Bonny"/"bonny" is linked to concepts such as "Bonnie Prince Charlie" (an icon of Tartanry), the Scottish Tourist Board's use of "bonnie Scotland", the song "Bonnie banks of Loch Lomond" etc. For the Kailyard stereotype, I considered "lad o'pairts" and "pawky". "Lad o'pairts" has already been discussed above, and "pawky" with its associations of down-to-earthness and humour fits in with Kailyard notions. (It had originally been intended to include "canny" as an item which triggered the Kailyard stereotype, but although this seemed likely, it was abandoned for two reasons: firstly, because "canny" can also be used in English therefore it is not unique to Scots, and secondly because there were far too many entries to make this practicable.) For the Clydeside stereotype I looked at "blooter(ed)", "bunnet", "broo"/"buroo" and "bevvy"; "blootered" and "bevvy" suggesting the hard drinking often associated with Clydesidism, "broo"/"buroo" suggesting the unemployment, and "bunnet" being associated with the ubiquitous working man's cloth cap. (It should be noted that "blootered" is also often associated with football, again often associated with the working-class.) Each lexical item under investigation was considered in light of its context in the article, to see whether it was used in the expected stereotypical context. The following sections discuss the main findings. Unless otherwise stated, there is assumed to be one occurrence of the lexical item per article.

6.4.2.1   Lexical items which trigger associations with Tartanry

If we consider "bonnie" and "bonny", we can see several key themes with which this lexical item is often associated. (It should be borne in mind that occurrences where "bonnie" / "bonny" is contained directly as part of the construction "Bonnie/Bonny Prince Charlie" have been omitted from these occurrences figures. At the outset of the study during the data collection phase, it was not

envisaged that Scottish stereotypes would be part of the study's remit, and therefore these data were excluded as it was a proper name rather than a more general collocation. Although as an icon of Tartanry it would have been useful in retrospect to have included these figures; the necessary time and effort to redo the figures, re-entering all the data into the database was not deemed an appropriate use of resources.) "Bonnie"/ "bonny" are often associated with Loch Lomond as in the song lines "bonnie, bonnie banks of Loch Lomond". This construction may be given in the original, or modified in some way; but it has become highly formulaic. (See chapter 8 for further discussion of formulaic expressions.) However, other interesting associations with this lexical item in the Herald are concepts such as the description of scenery, golf, cultural events (e.g. Burns festival), conservation, thistles, pipe bands, the TV programme *Take the High Road*, in addition to the quoting of song titles or lines containing this lexical item. "Bonnie" / "bonny" may also be used in other formulaic contexts such as "bonnie purple heather". Other things which may be "bonnie"/ "bonny" are flowers, women, babies and children. The Scotsman largely follows these sorts of themes, with the addition of Scottish rugby, Highland regiments, haggis, and references to "Bonnie Dundee" again sometimes used in its original historical sense and sometimes modified to discuss the present-day Scottish city. The Daily Record generally follows this pattern of using "bonnie"/ "bonny" in traditional or stereotypical Scottish (cultural) contexts e.g. references to Flora Macdonald, films such as *The Bruce*, tartan and tweeds. It is thus fair to say that "bonnie"/ "bonny" are used in the newspapers in fairly restricted contexts which often fit in with concepts associated with Tartanry such as Scotland's scenery, its historic past, the Highlands, haggis etc. Further analysis of the restricted contexts of "bonnie"/ "bonny" are given in chapter 8 at 8.6.1ff.

6.4.2.2   Lexical items which trigger associations with the Kailyard

Having mentioned it already, let us firstly consider the use of "lad o'pairts". As discussed above, its meaning of 'poor boy made good' with the aid of that great leveller, the Scottish educational system, is central to the Kailyard stereotype,

therefore it is not surprising to see that these are usually the contexts in which it is mentioned. Thus for example in the Herald we find discussion of poor students surviving at university on porridge (albeit tongue-in-cheek), a prominent Glasgow lawyer from humble origins, the son of a shepherd who was sent to Rome to study for the priesthood and became a scholar. What is potentially much more interesting however, is that this item is only used by the Herald and the Scotsman. The Record does not use "lad o'pairts" at all, fuelling speculation (discussed with reference to "pawky" later) that the lad o'pairts stereotype is predominantly a middle-class concept, and is not a rallying point for readers of the (presumably generally more working-class) Daily Record. It is very interesting to note that when the Record is speaking of the golfer Sam Torrence, he is associated with the term "bunnet" and described as a "local boy made good". Thus the concept of the "lad o'pairts" is there, but it is not lexicalised. Instead, he is described as "the archetypal working class hero".

A similar example, although not investigated exhaustively here, would be the use of "Jock Tamson's bairns", which again is a usage employed by the Herald and the Scotsman, but not the Record. McCrone (1992, chap.4) discusses both the 'lad o'pairts' and 'Jock Tamson's bairns' where he links them with the egalitarian 'myth' (McCrone, 1992, p.88ff) arguing that both 'myths' seem to testify to the egalitarian myth of Scotland: the former (lad o'pairts) expressing the idea that anyone, no matter if from humble origins, can 'get on in life' if they work hard and apply themselves to their education; and the latter (Jock Tamson's bairns) being that rich or poor, we are all part of the same common humanity. (In the Herald, " Jock Tamson's bairns" is often used in the context of us all being part of Scotland and its achievements.) It is interesting that neither of these constructions is used by the Record. This can be explained either by saying that it is incompatible with the Clydeside stereotype, which might be more readily identified with by readers of the Record; or by suggesting that those who have made good and 'got on'; i.e. the Scottish middle-classes (assuming they are more likely to read a broadsheet newspaper) are in a position to look back to their rise from their humble roots and to praise education as the universal leveller.

"Pawky" in the Herald often has in its immediate context "humour" or "humorous", which is not surprising given its meaning. "People are often described as "pawky", and there seems to be no real restriction on who can be described as "pawky", although it is often associated with traditionally positive Kailyard attributes such as honesty, canniness, integrity and shrewdness. (However, Galt's Provost Pawkie was shrewd, but also cannily lined his own pockets.) However, other patterns do suggest themselves, such as the association between writing / writers and something being described as "pawky". Music seems to be another creative area where "pawky" might, perhaps rather unexpectedly be used. These tendencies are also borne out in the Scotsman. Interestingly the Record has no occurrences for "pawky". This may be significant as "pawky" may be an essentially middle-class word.

6.4.2.3 Lexical items which trigger associations with Clydesidism

"Blooter*" has two possible meanings: either drunkenness or violent blows, especially of kicking a football hard, both of which could be considered semantically to fit into the Clydeside stereotype. Considering the drunkenness meaning first, in the Herald this lexical item is often found in fairly colloquial contexts and is largely a term of disapprobation. This meaning of "blooter" is not used in the Scotsman; but in the Record it is associated with concepts such as football, and Glaswegians going to Blackpool on holiday, both of which can be described as traditionally stereotypical working-class pastimes. It is also associated with pubs, over-indulgence and "boozing", but these examples could be explained simply by its meaning. The others however, do seem to loosely fit into some sort of Clydeside stereotype. If the other meaning is considered, that of a violent blow, here again the lexical item seems to fit into Clydeside stereotypical contexts, for example in the Herald it is often used in association with football. This may be a throwback to the terms used by certain Scottish football commentators, but there does seem to be a preferred association here. It is also used to denote violence in the Herald and Record, but this is most probably due to its semantic provenance. The sole occurrence in the Scotsman is interesting as it

is used to describe a High Constable returning from a special occasion, running over a pheasant in his car. It is mentioned in the same context as Rob Roy, who might be traditionally thought of as an icon of Tartanry.

"Bunnet" splits into two traditions in the Herald: one (the most prevalent) being the Clydeside stereotype, and the other being some sort of Tartanry. Thus we find "bunnet" associated with Clydeside contexts such as football, pie suppers, traditionally working-class communities such as Dennistoun and Airdrie; but also with elements of Tartanry such as Highland crofters, the islands, and the Scottish regiments. A similar split is observed in the Scotsman. As an interesting aside, in the majority of cases bunnets are worn by men. In the examples given by the Scottish newspapers, only a small minority of the bunnets were worn by women. (Again this would fit in with the notions of these Scottish stereotypes, as it is always a *man* wearing a kilt for Tartanry, a *lad o'pairts* for Kailyardism, and a *wee hard man* for Clydesidism. McCrone (1992, p.190) observes that

> there is no analogous 'lass o'pairts'; the image of tartanry is a male-military image (and kilts were not a female form of dress); and the Clydeside icon was a skilled, male worker who was man enough to 'care' for his womenfolk.)

In the Record "bunnet" is most often associated with football. As noted earlier, it is also associated with the golfer Sam Torrence.

Both "broo" and "buroo" are generally associated with Clydeside type contexts, such as poverty, unemployment, Govan, James Kelman. Examples are found in all three of the Scottish newspapers.

"Bevvy" by the very nature of its meaning tends to be associated with pubs, drinking etc. However, it does seem to be frequently associated with other stereotypical Clydeside or working-class traits, such as football, betting, racing,

unemployment, karaoke, Rab C. Nesbitt, manual workers, pub darts etc. It is often in colloquial language contexts, but this is not surprising as "bevvy" etc. is a colloquial term. As noted earlier at 6.3.2.3, the Record has a very high frequency for this item (50 occurrences, compared with 23 in the Herald and 7 in the Scotsman. (It is interesting that the Record also has more occurrences for "swally" than either of the broadsheets (6 occurrences in the Record, compared to 3 and 2 in the Herald and Scotsman respectively.)

6.4.2.4   The link between stereotypes and specific lexical items

What conclusions can be drawn from these results? Firstly, it should be reiterated that the argument being put forward is not that certain lexical items can only ever be associated with one particular stereotype. However, the above results do show some correlation between certain lexical items and certain stereotypes. There are particular lexical items such as "lad o'pairts", "Jock Tamson's bairns" and "pawky" which trigger the Kailyard stereotype and, as discussed in the previous section, only occur in the Scottish broadsheets. Based on the evidence collected, the Record seems less likely to allude to the Kailyard stereotype; perhaps replacing some of its central themes such as poverty and down-to-earthness with similar attributes from the Clydeside stereotype. Analysis of "bonnie" / "bonny" suggests that the Tartanry stereotype is accessed by both the tabloid and broadsheet newspapers. "Bunnet" is interesting as it can apparently trigger either the Tartanry or the Clydeside stereotypes. This duality is in evidence in all the newspapers. Those lexical items which trigger the Clydeside stereotype seem to be fairly evenly distributed across the newspapers, although the Record features "bevvy" more often than the broadsheets.

Thus again there seems to be some sort of tabloid/broadsheet split which can be correlated with social class. Certainly the data present strong evidence that these lexical items do trigger particular stereotypical schemata, thus validating the

argument made earlier at 3.5.1.2, that stereotypes provide useful shortcuts which are often exploited by newspapers.

6.4.3   Currency (literary and archaic items)

As noted earlier at 4.2.3, the dictionary from which the original word list was drawn (the Collins Gem Scots Dictionary) tends to include predominantly current lexical items, although it does contain some important archaic lexis. As discussed at section 6.2.1 above, it was expected that the newspapers would tend to use current Scottish lexis. However, it became apparent during the lexical analysis that there were some differences in terms of currency between the broadsheet and tabloid Scottish newspapers. Again this can be argued to be indicative of differences in the perceived readerships of the two different types of newspapers. That is not to say that on all occasions it is merely a matter of saying that middle-class readers are more educated and therefore more likely to understand the meaning of more archaic or literary lexical items. Some of the differences in lexis inevitably arise as a result of differences in the subject matter covered by the tabloids and the broadsheets. The broadsheets are more likely to include more esoteric topics such as Scottish poems, or references to Scottish literature, or to run a series of articles on old Scottish sayings and proverbs than the tabloids (see chapter 8). For example, the Herald feature articles in the Education section often include Scottish poetry by schoolchildren or well-known Scottish poets. In the Scotsman there was a long running series of articles based on old Scottish sayings and proverbs, with the readers being involved and asked to send in examples or supply proverbs of their own (discussed in section 8.5.2.3). This type of pursuit does not seem to be covered in the tabloids. These tabloid/broadsheet differences are discussed further in the following two chapters.

Noticeable differences in the currency of lexis used between the tabloid Record and the Scottish broadsheets were as follows.

- **Aiblins** (perhaps, possibly), which is now chiefly a literary term, occurred only once in the Herald. It was not found in the other two newspapers.

- **Abune** (above) was found once (in a poem) in the Herald only. The other orthographic form searched for "abeen", which CSD dates as 19-e20 and Northern, was not found.

- **Ahint** (behind) was found twice in the Herald only, but "ahent" dated la19-e20 by CSD was not found at all.

- **Frae** (from) is cited by the CSD as being now chiefly literary. It occurs 30 times in the Herald, 6 times in the Scotsman and twice (both in direct speech) in the Record. The form "fae" was used 28 times in the Herald, 8 times in the Scotsman, and 3 times in the Record.

- **Makar** (poet) is cited by the CSD as being especially literary, and by Collins Gem as old-fashioned or literary (it was used to refer to post-MacDiarmid Scots poets 'the modern Makars'), and as cited above at 6.4.1.3 occurs in the Herald (7 occurrences) and Scotsman (6 occurrences), but not the Record.

- **Agley** (to go awry) is a figurative usage and forms part of the famous Burns quote in *To a Mouse* and, as discussed above (again at 6.4.1.3), occurs in the Herald and Scotsman (4 and 7 times respectively), but not in the Record. (See chapter 8 at 8.1.4 for further discussion of this item.)

- **Blate** (very timid) is described by Collins Gem as old-fashioned or literary word. It occurs 6 times in the Herald and once in the Scotsman, but not at all in the Record.

- **Bleezin (fou)** (very drunk) is described by Collins Gem as current in the NE, but old-fashioned or literary elsewhere (Tam o'Shanter was "bleezing finely"). It occurs once in both the Herald and Scotsman, but not in the Record.

- **Bogle** (ghost) is described by the Collins Gem as an old-fashioned name for a ghost (also used in *Tam o'Shanter*). It occurs twice in the Herald, once in the Scotsman and not at all in the Record.

- **Chiel** (lad) is described by Collins Gem as current in NE, but old-fashioned or literary elsewhere. It occurs 10 times in the Herald, 4 times in the Scotsman and only once in the Record. The Record occurrence is as part of the proverbial phrase "Facts are chiels that winna ding"(also discussed at 8.3.1.1). Four of the occurrences in the Herald are of this type, and one in the Scotsman.

- **Sic** (sure) is described by the Collins Gem as old-fashioned or literary. It occurs 5 times in the Herald, 6 times in the Scotsman, and not at all in the Record.

- **Siccar** (sure, certain) is described by Collins Gem as old-fashioned. It occurs 3 times in the Herald only.

The data suggest then (see earlier discussion at 6.4.1.3), that the Record generally avoids certain literary or more archaic Scottish lexical items. Examples from this study would be lexical items such as "anent", "blate", "ee", "Lallans", "makar". Again this may be explained by the assumption discussed above at 6.4.1.2 that generally middle-class readers are likely to have had a more extensive education, and therefore may have been more exposed to such lexical items through their reading of Scottish literature. Of course, an interest in Scottish literature need not be linked to a better education, but it is arguable that an interest in one's national literature may be assumed to be part of a middle-class ethos.

6.4.4   Analysis of register of lexical items

As was argued in section 2.5.5, choosing to use Scots lexis in a public written mode such as the newspapers has stylistic implications. However, there are also variations in register within Scottish lexis, with some items having a less formal register than others, some being considered taboo or slang; and it was considered possible that the tabloid and broadsheet Scottish newspapers might display differences in terms of the register of Scottish lexical items used. Macafee (1994a) notes that differences in register were important to her Scots speakers,

and often the same item of lexis was categorised differently by the older and younger members of the speech community.

> The basic dichotomy is between a register of decent language, acceptable in
> mixed company and in front of children, and a register of colourful,
> occasional language, much of it risqué, used mainly within single sex peer
> groups. This includes what is usually termed 'slang'. ... The age
> stratification of slang lexis is clearly demonstrated by Agutter (1979), and is
> amply illustrated also in the present research ... The use of the term *slang*
> for Scots especially from the younger age-groups, where it is less often
> balanced by the term *Scotch/Scots*, could be seen as indicating a loss of
> pride, a willingness to be perceived as rough, or a pre-emptive self-
> identification as rough. (Macafee, 1994a, p.207 & 210)

This study therefore also sought to examine register differences between different Scots lexical items. Items of lexis from the search list which could be considered to be particularly colloquial, slang, of low register, or even taboo, totally aside from their social class associations (some overlap here is probably inevitable) were as follows:

- **Bahookie:** (Collins Gem: informal, jocular) 1 occurrence in the Herald and 2 in the Record (West coast bias).

- **Bampot:** (Collins Gem: colloquial) 10 occurrences in both Herald and Record, and 1 in Scotsman, therefore West coast bias, but Record also unusually high given comparative sizes of Herald and Record.

- **Bastartin:** (Collins Gem: swear word) No occurrences.

- **Boggin:** 5 occurrences in the Herald and 1 in the Record.

- **Chanty:** 4 occurrences in the Herald and 1 in each of Scotsman and Record.

- **Cludgie:** 4 occurrences in Scotsman and 2 in Herald and Record.

- **Erse:** 13 occurrences in the Herald, and 44 in Scotsman. None in Record.

- **Geggie:** No occurrences.

- **Minging:** 2 occurrences in Herald, and 1 in Scotsman and Record.

- **Offski:** (Collins Gem: slang) 2 occurrences in Herald and Record, and 1 in Scotsman.

- **Scratcher:** (Collins Gem: slang) No occurrences.

The immediate contexts and article types of these occurrences were investigated further, but no particularly strong patterns emerged. Quite a few were found in direct speech or humorous contexts, but this also applies to many other items of Scottish lexis. There were also no observable differences between the newspapers in their use of such lexis and therefore it was impossible to make any general correlation between newspaper type and the register of the Scottish lexis used. Again it should be remembered that it is quite possible that Scots may be used to suggest outgroup as well as ingroup membership; thus, for example, a broadsheet using very colloquial Scots lexis to indicate non-alignment with a particular social group. (It should be noted that there were a few notable exceptions such as "outwith", "retiral" and "furth" which seem to cross the register boundaries and tend to be associated more with the broadsheet than the tabloid newspapers. These items were found in very formal contexts, and seem to have a very formal register. They are discussed in chapter 7 at 7.7.6.)

6.5 East / West split (geographic provenances)

This section investigates whether there is any evidence of an East/West split in the Scottish newspapers. As the Herald and the Daily Record are produced in Glasgow, and the Scotsman is produced in Edinburgh, it might be interesting to see whether a East /West coast split could be discerned between the newspapers, as this might indicate local identity is having an impact on Scottish national identity (see 3.5.2 for discussion of local identity). Of course, this assumes that a

newspaper's physical location will be reflected in its use of language, and this is not necessarily the case. It is, however, likely that these newspapers, as they are unwilling to be seen as parochial or regional newspapers and are instead aiming to be Scottish national newspapers, would find it counter-productive to have a high frequency of very localised vocabulary which would be unlikely to be readily understood by readers from other parts of Scotland. (The Scotsman is "Scotland's national newspaper", the Herald dropped "Glasgow" from its title eight years ago (see also 5.2.1) and "Real Scots read the Record".) Thus they are unlikely to raise linguistic tariffs which would exclude large proportions of their target readerships from the discourse community.

6.5.1 Analysis of data

Again the approach adopted was firstly to see whether there were items which appeared in the Herald and Record (West) but not the Scotsman (East) and vice-versa. Then the relative frequencies of lexical items were investigated to see whether any differences could be detected.

As a whole, the Scotsman has relatively few words which do not appear in one of the other Scottish nationals. The only examples noted were as follows (with total word frequencies indicated in brackets:

ablow (1)	chauve (1)	lintie (1)
baith (2)	crannie (1)	lowse (2)
beltie (1)	cutty (1)	skiddle (1)
birse (1)	girny (1)	
cauld-wind (2)	guttered (1)	

Comparatively few of these forms indicate significant differences in provenance. The Scotsman is exclusive in having the lexical items "chauve" a north-east form,

and "crannie" (Bnf-Ags) which would be contrasted with the lexical item "pinkie" elsewhere in Scotland (interestingly found in the Herald, the Record and the Scotsman). Many North-Eastern (henceforth NE) forms were not included in any of the newspapers, e.g. "barkit", "biling", "blaud", "contermacious", "knype on", "nabbler", "peenge", "vratch". However, "gadgie" (Herald), "mannie" (Herald & Scotsman), "loon" (Herald, Scotsman & Record), "quine" (Herald, Scotsman & Record), "sharger" (Herald) and "warsle" (Herald) are NE forms which were found in a variety of newspapers.

Table 6.8 below gives details of words which appeared in both the Herald and Record, but not in the Scotsman, and therefore might be expected to show a West coast bias. The Herald and Record as representative of the West coast have a few more exclusive examples which are not found in the Scotsman, such as "bahookie" (Glas.); "beauty" as in 'ya beauty' (Glas.); "boggin(g)" (Glas.); "gutties" (West Central (WC)); "lumber" (Glas.); "nippy sweetie" (Glas.). As can be seen, these lexical items found in both the Herald and the Record are predominantly drawn from the urban variety Glaswegian. Most of these words are of comparatively recent origin. Some other items such as "ba"/"baw", "lug", "yon" were not found in the Scotsman, but are not restricted to WC Scots.

(Abbreviations used in table: (Glas.) – Glasgow; (WC) – West Central Scots; (SW) – South Western Scots; (local) – found in local dialects.)

Word	Total frequency in Herald	Total frequency in Record
ba / baw	15	6
baffie (local)	6	2
bahookie (Glas.)	1	2
beauty (Glas.)	2	3
bile	2	2
boak / boke	2	2
boggin(g) (Glas.)	5	1
gutties (WC, SW)	8	1
hackit / hacket	1	1
long lie	3	3
lug	14	7
lumber (Glas.)	4	8
masel	7	1
mooth	1	2
nippy sweetie (Glas.)	3	2
pauchle / pochle	3	1
peely-wally / peelie-wallie	2	3
plook / plouk	4	5
puggy / puggie	5	2
stank (WC only "drain grate")	5	1
steamin	5	2
stoatin	2	1
terr (local)	1	1
yon	45	2

Table 6.8   Lexical items found in Herald & Record, but not Scotsman

There were over 50 lexical items which occurred in the Herald, but were not found in the other Scottish newspapers. This must be put into context by observing that, as will be discussed later (see 6.6), the Herald contained more items from the search list than either of the other two Scottish newspapers. These

items which only occurred in the Herald are shown in Table 6.9 below as follows. (Abbreviations for geographic provenances are those used by CSD.)

Word	Total frequency in Herald
abune	1
aince	2
atween	1
barley (bree)	2
besom	4
binger (WC slang)	1
blackie	1
cahoutchie (local Abd-Kcb)	1
cairt	2
chappit (Sh Ork N)	2
coggle	1
coorie	5
corrie-fisted	2
dander / dauner	5
daud (now local Bnf-Kcb)	10
dicht	2
easy-oasy	3
gadgie	1
grue	3
gushet (now local Sh-WC)	5
hinna / hinnae	2
ilka	2
kye	5
lea	2
licht	5
maindoor (C,S)	1
menage (C,S)	2
minding	3
murder polis (Glas.)	1
plain loaf	5

Table 6.9   Lexical items found in Herald only

Word	Total frequency in Herald
plank (N,C)	3
plunk (C,S)	2
pokey-hat (C)	2
ra (Glas.)	2
randan	8
redd	4
rummle	2
Scotticism	1
sharger (NE)	1
siccar	3
snash	5
snaw	2
stotter (local N-SW)	2
stravaig	8
sumph (N/NE-S)	1
sweir	1
totie (Cai C,S)	1
wa	1
wabbit	1
warsle	1
wersh	2
yestreen	3

Table 6.9   Lexical items found in Herald only   (Continued)

As can be seen from Table 6.9, the Herald had 52 lexical items which were not found in any of the other newspapers; thus it exhibited more breadth in the Scots lexis it included. However, the total word frequencies of these items are not particularly high, and they do not seem attributable to any one reason. Although a few items such as "murder polis" and "ra" are Glaswegian terms, few of the others have a particularly West coast emphasis.

The final strand of analysis for a regional split was based on an investigation of differences in word frequencies. In terms of frequencies of occurrence, the

following interesting points were noted, which seem to indicate an East/West divide.

- **Doon:** The Herald had 72 occurrences of "doon" overall. Of those 39 were of the "doon the watter" type. The Scotsman had 7 occurrences of "doon the watter" from a possible total of 17 occurrences of "doon", and the Record had 8 occurrences of "doon the watter" from a possible total of 10. This result is expected, as "doon the watter" is traditionally associated with holidays taken on the Clyde coast, therefore there is a West coast bias. (See also discussion in chapter 8.)

- **Greet:** Lexemes of "greet" seem to be more common in the West (19 and 16 in the Herald and Record respectively, versus 8 occurrences in the Scotsman.)

- **Haar:** Haar is traditionally associated with the East coast (although its usage is not restricted to Scotland) and this is borne out by the data. The Scotsman has 40 occurrences, compared with 6 in the Herald and only 1 in the Record.

- **Hen:** This is usually thought of as a Glasgow expression, and the data seem to back this up. There were 24 occurrences in the Herald, 8 in the Record, and only 2 in the Scotsman.

- **Wean:** "Wean" as opposed to "bairn" is generally a West coast usage, and the data bear this out. The Herald has 139 occurrences, the Record has 67 occurrences, and the Scotsman has 20.

6.5.2   Summary of findings on East/West split

The analysis shows that there are some limited lexical differences between the West coast Herald and Record, and the East coast Scotsman; thus to some extent Scottish national identity is being mediated by local identity. (See 3.5.2 for discussion of local vs. national identity.) The term 'limited' is crucial, as an appeal to national identity seems to override local considerations, and as noted earlier at section 6.3.1, highly localised forms are generally avoided or seldom used. As discussed at 3.7.2, it is important that newspapers do not alienate their

readers, and a high proportion of localised Scots forms would be likely to do this
to large sections of the readership. (There seemed to be a particular avoidance of
North-Eastern Scots forms by the newspapers under study, and it would have been
interesting to compare results from the Press & Journal as it has a very strong
following in that part of the country. Presumably for the newspapers based in
Central Scotland the use of such forms which are probably alien to their largest
readership in the Central Belt, would signal outgroup rather than ingroup
membership, and would therefore be avoided.) It can therefore be argued from
the data that for these Scottish national newspapers national Scottish identity
outweighs more localised identities. It is interesting to note that Smith (1996,
p.73-74) comments on the exclusion of colourful local dialectalisms and the
adoption of a " 'colourless' dialectal mixture", i.e. using forms which "show no
special dialectal distinctiveness" during the evolution of a standard form for
English. Thus although as was argued at 6.3.3.5, the newspapers do not seem to
be developing or upholding a standard Scots, they do appear to avoid the more
exotic local dialectalisms. This is likely to be explained by their reluctance to
exclude or alienate readers from a shared Scottish discourse community.

6.6   Total frequencies of Scottish lexis compared across
newspapers

This section attempts to ascertain the lexically most Scottish newspaper. (Of
course, it must be remembered that this study is not exhaustive in its account, and
therefore any conclusions can only be applied to the items of lexis from the
original search list.) This section investigates (a) an overall total of the
occurrences of search item lexis in each newspaper (i.e. tokens); (b) the number of
different lexical items carried by each newspaper (i.e. types); and (c) the total
number of articles in which these word occurrences are contained (thus are some
very densely Scottish articles skewing the data, or are the items of Scottish lexis
fairly evenly spread?). These observations must be set in the context of the
overall size and word count of the newspapers. As noted above (see Tunstall
(1996, p.11-12) quoted at 6.4.1), it would be expected that the broadsheets would

be larger than the tabloids, and therefore yield more Scottish lexis, and a wider range of Scottish lexis, simply because there are more texts with more words from which to choose, than would be the case in a tabloid newspaper, thus again corpus size is an important factor.

As noted in 6.4.1.3 above, the Herald contained over three times as many occurrences of Scottish lexis as the Record (7,369 occurrences in the Herald compared with 2,375 in the Record). Summary data are given in the following Table 6.10. Interestingly as noted earlier at 6.4.1, Tunstall (1996, p.11-12) noted that, on average, tabloids were likely to contain three times more words than broadsheets; thus this figure for the Record suggests that in terms of number of occurrences of Scottish lexis in this study, the Record may be proportionately no less 'Scottish' than the Herald. The Scotsman with 2,737 occurrences contained over 360 more occurrences of Scottish lexis than the Record, but many fewer than the Herald. As noted earlier at 4.3, analysis of the Herald and Scotsman CD-ROMs using the *Wordlister* feature from Wordsmith suggested that the Herald contained some 25.5 million words, and the Scotsman contained some 17.5 million words; thus the Herald is approximately 50 percent larger than the Scotsman. Thus we would have expected somewhere in the region of 4,912 occurrences of items of Scottish lexis from the search list. The actual figure of 2,737 is approximately 55 percent of the expected total. It may therefore be possible to suggest that the Scotsman is less densely Scottish than the Herald, at least on the basis of the search list items. (It should be noted that these figures and comparisons cannot be guaranteed as absolutes as they depend on the way in which data are stored on the CD-ROM, and the Herald and Scotsman CD-ROMs used different storage systems. It is therefore difficult to ensure that the overall word counts are accurate and comparable. Also, as discussed earlier, it was unfortunately impossible to obtain a total running words count for the full year of Daily Record articles. I was unable to run the Daily Record CD-ROM through Wordsmith to generate a full wordlist, as it was held by the reference library.) On the basis of the Scottish items investigated in this study, the Herald seems proportionately more Scottish than the Scotsman in terms of total occurrences of the lexical items searched for, although the numbers involved are very small when

considered in light of the total running words on each CD-ROM. (The Scottish lexis retrieved by this study accounted for 0.028 percent of the total running words in the Herald; for the Scotsman the figure was 0.016 percent.) The overall frequency figures show that the Herald contained approximately 2.7 times as many items from the search list as the Scotsman.

It is also interesting to consider the breadth of range of items of Scottish lexis carried by each newspaper. If one compares the number of different lexical items from the search list i.e. *types* which each newspaper contained, the Herald contains 379 of the approximately 440 search items, the Scotsman 283, and the Record 212. Thus the Herald contains by far the largest range of lexical items from the search list. However, the range of Scottish lexical items from the search list exhibited by each broadsheet seems more in keeping with their relative sizes, with the Herald (which is 1.5 times the size of the Scotsman) having 1.3 times as many Scottish types as the Scotsman. The number of types for the Record is higher than expected (approx. 126 types expected) if considered in light of Tunstall's generalisation that broadsheets are three times larger than tabloid newspapers (see 6.4.1).

The Herald also has the biggest catchment of stories (3,288 stories are saved in the database). (It should be noted that for many of these stories, they will contain more than one Scottish lexical type from the search list. In each case the story was recorded only once in the database, therefore avoiding unnecessary duplication.) The Scotsman had 1,499 distinct stories and the Record 1,639 stories. Thus although the Record contained less lexis from the search list than the Scotsman, the lexis it did contain was spread over a greater number of stories, thus it may use slightly less dense language. On average the Herald has 2.24 occurrences of search list items per article saved, the Scotsman has on average 1.82 occurrences, and the Record has 1.44. Thus for this study, the Herald's articles are the lexically most densely Scottish based on the search items. Continuing the comparison of the two Scottish broadsheets, the Herald has twice as many articles containing items from the search list as the Scotsman, which is slightly higher than anticipated.

It is useful to compare these figures with those from the English newspapers to investigate whether the Scottish newspapers really do contain proportionately more Scottish lexis. Based on interrogation for search list items, the Times yielded a total of 462 tokens and 77 different types over 247 articles, and the English Sun yielded 132 tokens and 31 different types over 111 articles. Thus the Scottish newspapers are demonstrated to contain more Scottish lexis from the search list, both in terms of tokens and discrete types. Interestingly the Times is closer to the Scottish broadsheets in terms of the average number of search items (i.e. tokens) in each article saved with approximately 1.9 items of search list vocabulary per article. The English Sun with an average of 1.2 items of search lexis per article saved is more in line with the figures for the tabloid Record. This may indicate an underlying difference between tabloid and broadsheet newspapers which is evident in both the Scottish newspapers and the English control newspapers. The following table (Table 6.10) summarises the above data.

	Herald	Scotsman	Record	Times	E. Sun
Total running words on CD-ROM	25.5 million	17.5 million	n/a	n/a	n/a
Total occurrences of search list items (tokens)	7,369	2,737	2,375	462	132
Search items against total running words (%)	0.028	0.016	n/a	n/a	n/a
Number of different Scottish types	379	283	212	77	31
Average frequencies for each Scottish type found	19	10	11	6	4
Total number of articles containing search lexis	3,288	1,499	1,639	247	111
Average no.of search items in each article saved	2.24	1.82	1.44	1.9	1.2

Table 6.10   Summary of cross-newspaper comparison

It is therefore very difficult and potentially misleading to draw overall conclusions as to which is lexically the most Scottish newspaper, as many factors such as overall newspaper size, range of Scottish items used, size and representativeness of the search list used, spread of lexis across articles, are all significant. Thus a quantitative summary analysis, especially as we are working from only a sample of Scottish lexis in the search list, is difficult. However, qualitative analysis concentrating on issues such as potential differences in the type of Scots used by the tabloid and broadsheet newspapers (see 6.4.1ff) are much more useful in determining how the Scottish newspapers construct Scottish identity, and what sort of Scottish identity they are constructing/maintaining.

6.7   Distribution patterns of Scottish lexis

The final section of this chapter considers the distribution patterns of Scottish lexis within the Scottish newspapers, i.e. where in the Scottish newspapers do we tend to find Scottish lexis, and can any reasons be suggested as to why this is likely to be the case?

6.7.1   Where Scottish lexis is found in the newspapers

This section of the chapter investigates the hypothesis that identifiably Scottish lexis is likely to be concentrated in certain parts of the newspaper. Macafee (1983a, p.139) notes that

> The Scottish press regularly admits dialect in certain specialised areas, particularly cartoons and anecdotes with dialogue. Feature and sports writers also often flatter their readers by using dialectal items for key terms. The same practice is found in reminiscence, where it lends verisimilitude. These dialectal items are sometimes put between quotation marks, sometimes not.

It would seem unlikely that large amounts of Scottish lexis would be found in say a foreign news story, but reasonable to assume with Macafee that its use might be more common in features articles. This can be developed from an argument of the uses for which Scots is considered 'appropriate' and/or desirable usage by the newspapers. (See 2.7.1 for discussion of appropriacy.) Bex (1996) argues that texts are produced according to the norms of the discourse community, and according to the functions they are expected to perform within that community. The generally low status of Scots (see 2.5.1) and its usual restriction to literature, the homely and domestic, or use for humour precludes its use in serious news articles, but allows its use in feature articles where its potential for constructing Scottish identity is not threatened so seriously by considerations of 'correctness'.

The results will be analysed first, and then possible explanations will be suggested. Unfortunately, the data available from different newspapers are not directly comparable, due to differences in the level of detail given and the classification systems used by the CD-ROMs and the Daily Record database resources. It was therefore necessary to consider each newspaper in its own right, and then to look across newspapers to see if any general trends could be discerned. The comparisons were done for the three main Scottish newspapers, the Herald, the Scotsman and the Daily Record. The fullest data available for this part of the study are for the Herald. It is also, as noted above, the newspaper yielding the largest amount of data overall.

6.7.1.1   Article types in the Herald

The data can be found in database QUERY 'Article types summary' or individually by article type e.g. QUERY 'Features', QUERY 'Correspondence' etc. (ensure select "Stories" and not "Occurrences" version), and is discussed in the following. (See Appendix 1 for further details.) It should be noted that not all articles had an article type assigned to them by the producers of the Herald CD-ROM. For example, news articles were not identified as such by the newspaper

database. The article types which were identified on the CD-ROM are as follows: 'Book Review', 'Correspondence', 'Feature', 'Leader', 'Obituary', 'Profile' & 'Review'.

In the Herald, the lexical search yielded a total of 3,288 distinct stories, i.e. articles which contained at least one of the search items. Of these, 1,025 (31 percent) were not assigned article type designations. Of the remainder (i.e. 2,263 articles with article type designations), by far the most common type of article represented was, as might be expected, the Feature article, with a total of 1,514 distinct articles recorded during the lexical search (i.e. 46 percent of all articles saved; 67 percent of all articles with article type designations). Review articles amounted to 231 stories (7 percent of all articles saved), Correspondence to 212 articles (6 percent of all articles saved), Profiles accounted for 184 stories (6 percent of all articles saved), Book Reviews for 57 stories (2 percent of all articles saved). In addition there were 27 obituaries, 23 Ad Features, and 23 Leaders.

However, are these figures significant, and do they demonstrate a higher proportion of Scottish lexis in these specialised types of articles? As explained before at 4.2.3, the articles were selected from the entire CD-ROM on the basis of whether they contained an item from the search list. Thus they were selected on the basis of whether or not they contained Scottish lexis, and were not a random sample taken from the CD-ROM. It is reasonable to make comparisons between the sample articles selected by the study, and the make-up of the CD-ROM as a whole; i.e. to compare the articles in this study, with a collection of all the articles appearing in the Herald during 1995.

As already mentioned, not all articles were assigned specific article type designations. The whole Herald CD-ROM contains over 50,000 articles, 20,702 (approx. 41 percent) of which are given article type designations. (The fact that exact figures for the total number of articles on the CD-ROM were not available is not particularly important, as this would bring down the percentage of articles with article type designations still further, thus strengthening the argument to

follow.) As noted above, the total number of articles selected by the search word method was 3,288. Of these articles, a total of 2,263 had article type designations (67 percent of all the articles selected). Thus, there appears to be a higher proportion of articles with article type designations in the selected sample, than is the case for the CD-ROM as a whole. It is reasonable to assume that this is because these articles were selected on the basis of their containing Scottish lexis. Thus it can be argued that as one would suspect, Scottish lexis is more likely to be found in certain types of specialised articles such as features, than in other articles such as say news reports.

If the figures are more closely examined for different article types, comparing the proportions of each individual article type in the sample against the sample total with the relative proportions in the newspaper as a whole, further observations can be made. For many of the article types, such as Ad features, Book Reviews, Correspondence and Leaders the proportions seem fairly constant between the newspaper considered as a whole, and the sample. However, the largest difference can be seen in the proportion of articles designated as Features. In the newspaper as a whole (i.e. based on the entire CD-ROM), 17 percent of all the articles in 1995 are designated as Features. In the study sample however, this rises to 46 percent of the articles selected being designated as Feature articles. Thus it appears that the Feature articles are largely responsible for the overall proportional differences in designated vs. non-designated articles between our sample and the CD-ROM. It can therefore be argued that when selecting on the basis of Scottish lexis alone, Feature articles figure strongly. This agrees with Macafee's (1983a, p.139) argument quoted in the previous section.

In this study, 10 percent of the Feature articles saved by the study were articles taken from the Herald Diary by Tom Shields. This is a humorous column, and ties in well with the tradition of the use of Scots in humour. (See 3.6.3.1.)

6.7.1.2   Newspaper sections in the Herald

Newspapers sections are, in effect, different parts of the newspaper which group together articles of a particular type, e.g. the Sport or Education sections. All newspapers have these, but only the Herald CD-ROM included information on them as part of the article information. The types of newspaper sections in the Herald are much more varied and less well documented than is the case of the article types. However, those sections which seem best represented are as follows. Again, as with the article types, not all articles have newspaper section designations attached to them. As might be expected, the most common newspaper sections represented by the data were the 'Sport' section at 218 stories, and the Herald 'Diary' accounting for 139 of the total 3,288 stories covered by the study. Macafee (1983a, p.139) quoted above at 6.7.1 and Tunstall at 5.7 both suggest that sport is likely to be fairly heavily regionalised, and this is borne out by the data in the present study.

'Scotland's Homes' was a fairly well represented section at 56 stories. The 'Farmer's Diary' section had 35 stories, the 'Education' section had 33 stories and the 'Scotland's Business' section also had 33 entries. Scottish cultural events also seemed to play a part in the use of Scottish lexis, with the study saving 31 articles in special sections on the Edinburgh Festival, 18 on the Fringe and 18 on Mayfest.

The Weekender and Weekend Extra sections were also well represented, accounting for 252 and 80 stories respectively (8 and 2 percent of all articles). This figure becomes more noteworthy when considered that these newspaper sections only appear in Saturday editions of the newspaper, whereas most other sections are represented across the week. Thus, rather than being selected from a pool of some 313 editions (calculation based on the assumption that most other sections are carried Monday through Saturday), these sections are drawn from a maximum of only 52 newspapers (one sixth of the total year's output). Thus we could say that, on average the selection methods in this study have pulled 5 articles from the weekender section in each edition of the Saturday newspaper,

and 1.5 articles from the weekend extra sections. The reason for this is probably the higher feature article content of such sections of the newspaper. This information was not available for the Scotsman or Record. Thus again feature type articles are well represented, with sport and the Diary giving the highest figures.

6.7.1.3   Article types in the Scotsman

Unlike the Herald, the Scotsman CD-ROM does not allow searches based on article type or newspaper section, nor does it give this information in the resulting display. Some of the article types could be, and indeed were deduced from the article itself and others from the headlines. At one point, I had considered finding out article type and section information for each article saved for the Scotsman CD-ROM. However, this would have required the manual searching through archived microfiche copies of the newspaper for almost 1,500 articles, and this did not seem practical in the time allotted. In addition, the results were unlikely to have been directly comparable with those of the Herald or Record anyway. However, some information can be gleaned from the analysis of by-lines (journalists characteristically only write in one or two parts of the newspaper, or one or two article types (hence news editor, features columnist titles), and also from the limited information given by the CD-ROM on correspondent types (essentially a description of the journalist's remit).

Out of a total of 1,499 stories which were saved in this study (as explained in section 4.2.3, articles were saved if they contained an lexis from the search list), only 457 stories (30 percent) could be allocated to article types using the methods outlined in the above paragraph. Of these 457 stories, the most common article types represented were as follows. As with the Herald, the Diary (in the case of the Scotsman usually written by Fordyce Maxwell) accounted for a significant number of stories, in this case 125 stories (8 percent of total stories). Sports articles were again well represented, accounting for 141 stories (9 percent) and were the most highly represented category. Other common places where Scottish

lexis was found were the letters page (63 stories), the leader article (43 stories) and the obituaries (27 stories).

6.7.1.4   Article types in the Record

The Daily Record's database only allocated three different categories of article, although it is likely that these could be subdivided to give narrower categories. Thus, again it is difficult to compare these article types with those of the Herald. The three article types allocated were as follows:

Features   (accounting for 415 stories)

News   (accounting for 376 stories)

Sport   (accounting for 258 stories)

Thus, out of a total of 1,639 Record articles which were saved by this study, 1,049 (64 percent) were allocated to one of these article types. 590 articles were therefore not categorised. At first glance it appears that the Record has significantly more news stories containing Scottish lexis than is the case for the two Scottish broadsheets. However, closer investigation shows that stories which are classified as news articles in the Record would be unlikely to be categorised as such by either of the two broadsheets, their content often being closer to the broadsheets' Feature articles. For example, the Daily Record's article below is categorised as a news article, but is quite unlike a news article as carried by the broadsheets.

"A mug in a million"

Life's just gone to pot for actor Richard Wilson. Coffee pot, that is. The Greenock-born star, better known as crabbit Victor Meldrew in One Foot in the Grave, took part in the world's biggest coffee morning yesterday. The event, in aid of the Cancer Relief Macmillan Fund, raised £1million in just

four hours last year, with coffee-fests nationwide. Richard turned up at the
top London store Harrods to sample their caffeine. Even that didn't make
him smile. Seems he felt it was too mocha to expect from him.

6.7.1.5   Discussion of article type data

Why should Scottish lexis be more commonly found in the feature type articles?
The answer may lie in the different functions of news articles and feature articles.
It was suggested in section 2.3.4 that the language used by newspaper articles may
vary according to the function they are expected to perform (a.k.a. Bex's
discourse communities).

News articles are written primarily to convey information. They are ostensibly
unbiased reports of factual events. (It should be borne in mind that although the
newspapers would assert their news reporting is unbiased, many linguists have
shown, using methods such as transitivity analysis see for example Fowler (1991),
that news articles are always written from a particular point of view). Even so,
the personality of the news reporter is usually not foregrounded in news articles.
To do so would be to suggest an element of personal opinion, and this would run
contrary to the general ethos of the news article. News articles are thus generally
written in a fairly impersonal style, which suggests that what is contained therein
is not the product of one individual's thoughts, but is rather an objective account
of the facts, and it is generally assumed that news articles are authoritative and
(certainly in the quality press) based on factual information.

By contrast, the primary function of the feature article is to entertain, although
many feature articles also seek to inform, for example articles on education,
cooking or gardening. Feature articles often highlight the persona and opinions of
the writer (see discussion below), and thus as a personal opinion is being
expressed (although obviously the general ethos and ideological viewpoint of the
newspaper will also have an effect), there is less problem with disagreeing with

his/her views. For example, theatre reviews are clearly one person's view of how they rated the performance. Readers may be influenced by it to the extent that they may go to see the performance on the basis of the review; but it is perfectly acceptable for them to disagree with the writer. To disagree with the content of a news article would be to say that the newspaper is spreading untruths; to disagree with a feature article is simply to have a difference of opinion; it does not call into question the basic integrity of the newspaper or its reporters. Feature articles and news articles are thus read in quite a different way, and are perceived differently in the minds of readers.

Bell (1991, p.14) notes that "In features, journalists are allowed more liberty of style, and many features are written by non-journalists." (It should of course be remembered that although feature writers may have more autonomy over the content of their articles than news reporters; they are still subject to the rigours of copy editors and thus it is highly unlikely that any article will be entirely the work of one person.) Feature writers are thus allowed to be, and probably also encouraged to be more individualistic and idiosyncratic in their style; hence the adoption of what seems like a 'stage Scots voice'. Certain types of feature article, often called the feature column, seem to have as their main function, a platform from which an individual pronounces his general views on the world, often in a humorous manner - for example Jack McLean's column in the Herald (see example given at 6.7.2.1 below).

The individual voice of the feature columnist may well be more one of a *dramatis personae* than a true representation of the columnist's character. The use of first person narration in regular columns has the effect of making the writer seem closer to the reader, but there is no necessary correlation between the persona projected in the newspaper, and the real person behind the article. Indeed, in the case of Scottish newspaper columns, there often seems to be a deliberate heightening of the Scottishness and local provenance of the as a way of making contact with the reader. Jack McLean for example is well known for writing about his adventures in pubs on the south side of Glasgow. Tom Shields Diary in

the Herald and Maxwell's Diary in the Scotsman give amusing anecdotes on local events, personalities and organisations. These columnists are expected to be humorous or slightly outrageous in the things they say, and therefore we read these parts of the newspaper in a different way than we read the news articles or other more serious matter. The creation of a larger than life persona for columnists such as Jack McLean also means that the reader regards the views expressed as belonging to that particular individual, and not as being representative of the views of the newspaper as a whole. The frequent use of Scottish lexis and other Scots features in such columns helps to create this impression of anti-establishment and personal opinion writing. The fact that such articles include a fair amount of Scots helps the reader to take them less seriously, because Scots is generally associated with either humour or the private life. That there is a link between this type of article and the use of Scots is shown in the next section where the most frequently represented journalists are shown to be often those who write this type of feature column.

There is also the issue of how Scots as a language variety is perceived, and the problems it has in terms of available vocabulary and perceived status when it is used to write serious prose (see 2.5ff), and this impacts on the types of articles in which Scots is used. It would seem inappropriate or non-authoritative to most Scottish newspaper readers if the front-page coverage of a tragic rail crash were to be written in Scots. Scots is perceived as largely confined to the home life, the private or personal, to comedy or to sentimental literature, and thus its presence on the front page in a serious news article would seem extremely odd, and in the case of the example given above, even insensitive. McClure (1979, p.46) makes a similar observation.

> Scots is used almost exclusively for literature. Whereas the use of Gaelic for textbooks, official documents and reports, forms, road-signs, and other non-literary purposes is either an actual achievement or a serious possibility, even the idea of using Scots in such contexts sounds far-fetched. Readers who are perfectly accustomed to poetry or dialogue in Scots often experience a feeling of strangeness when faced with, say, an editorial, book

review or announcement in the language, such as those published in the *Lallans* magazine.

Thus the expectations associated with the use of Scots are quite different to those associated with the use of English, and this impacts on where it is considered suitable for use.

6.7.2 The importance of individual journalists in the use of Scots

This section follows on from the last one by investigating whether certain journalists are more likely to use Scottish lexis. It analyses the newspaper by-lines to see how many of the articles containing items from the search list are written by particular journalists. However, it should be remembered that this is unlikely to be attributable simply to an individual journalist's personal choice, style or ideolect. As argued above at 6.7.1, using Scottish lexis is more acceptable/desirable in certain parts of the newspaper than others, and therefore this is likely to be the deciding factor. The data discussed in the following appears to bear this out.

6.7.2.1 Journalists in the Herald

An analysis of the newspaper by-lines gives an indication of which journalists use most Scottish lexis. Of a total of 3,288 articles in the Herald, 541 (16 percent) had no by-lines. The journalists responsible for the greatest number of Herald articles containing search lexis were Tom Shields (138 articles; 4 percent of total articles), David Belcher (110 articles; 3 percent), Jack McLean (107 articles; 3 percent) and Derek Douglas (77 articles; 2 percent). These journalists write the sorts of articles where we might expect Scots to be quite prevalent. Tom Shields writes the Herald Diary, and some sports articles; David Belcher writes entertainment reviews, Jack McLean writes a distinctive column, often appearing to use a distinctive Scottish ideolect, and as it is usually concerned with events in his life, this is probably not surprising; and Derek Douglas, who writes sports

reports. The following extract from an article by Jack McLean on 20/10/95 gives a flavour of his rather idiosyncratic style.

But was it not the other day I overheard a radio programme about how simply dreadful the business of suspending or indeed expelling weans from school was: why thae teachers were oot of order.

A wummin, a so-called mother, was giving it big licks aboot how her weans had been treated badly. She had three weans. The two boys had been suspended and then sent to other schools; spent most of their last years not having any schooling. Got into trouble as a result. Her daughter had been suspended from school, expelled, got into . . . If it hadn't occurred to her that there was something wrong with her children, that was as good a reason for not grasping that there was something wrong with her for badly bringing up children.

Aye, it wis the schools that were wrang. Well it is. They put up with these illiterate parents and their children and spend a fortune on looking after degenerates when there are perfectly decent mums and dads and children in despair, because the scum are destroying all before them. You think I'm going over the top. Not at all. I have less of an enthusiasm for my argument than I did a few years back: I'm out of the confrontation.

Now they tell us, teachers and authorities of all kinds, that it has got out of hand; too many children expelled, excluded, what do we do now, things aren't what they were. When we put the weans out of school they spend their hours vandalising, housebreaking, stealing in shops, hurting. Often themselves. Mothers say the schools are to blame. For years educationists said it was the schools' fault too.

"Schools aren't interesting enough," they said. Listen: you could place a French tart in a suspender belt on all fours on a lab table and most of the visigoths who cause trouble in schools would say they were bored. Disaffected girls would rather get up the stick with a local drugs dealer with acne than apply for a job as a nurse. I told you years back. I said I was

ringing a fireball in the night then. The fire is raging now and you never listened.

As can be seen, this article uses a fair amount of Scottish lexis, and is written in a fairly colloquial style.

It is also interesting to note what percentage of the articles written by these journalists in 1995 were picked up by the search list investigation. Tom Shields wrote 172 articles in total during 1995, 80 percent of which were represented in this study; David Belcher had a total of 283 articles during 1995, therefore the study picked up 39 percent; Jack McLean had a total of 120 articles during 1995, 89 percent of which were picked up by this study; and only a small portion (19 percent) of Derek Douglas's total 408 articles were represented by this study. Thus for Jack McLean and Tom Shields in particular, it can be argued that this study is correct in identifying them as some of the more frequent users of Scots in the Herald. It can also be argued that the search list must be reasonably representative of the type of Scottish lexis used by these journalists to yield such high percentages of their articles.

If a comparison is made between by-lines, number of articles and occurrences of Scottish lexical items, some estimate can be made as to which journalist uses the most dense Scots. There is a clear leader in the Herald, and the writer is not actually a journalist. Rather he is a schoolteacher, well known for being a Scots language activist, John Hodgart (see illustrative text 2, Appendix 10 for example of his writing). He submits only two articles to the Herald in 1995, but these contain 102 occurrences of lexical items from the search list (some of which may be duplicate uses of the same word. Thus it seems fair to say that he uses more dense Scots than the others. This is clearly evident from a cursory glance at the articles, as they are reasonably lengthy, and are written in sustained dense Scots. In terms of overall frequencies, Tom Shields contributes more lexical occurrences than any of the other journalists at 451 items (again, some will be different entries for the same word.)

6.7.2.2   Journalists in the Scotsman

Of a total of 1,499 Scotsman articles, 227 (15 percent) had no by-lines. As might be expected, the high incidence of Scottish lexis in the Scotsman Diary noted at 6.7.1.3, and the fact that this is usually written by Fordyce Maxwell, means that he is the most heavily represented journalist in the study, accounting for 126 (8 percent) stories (108 of which are in the Scotsman Diary). Other journalists who feature heavily are Graham Law who writes sports articles (63 stories; 4 percent)), Hugh Keevins who again writes sports articles (44 stories), Mike Aitken, another sports writer (42 stories). Thus again the Diary feature and sports stories are heavily represented.

39 percent of Maxwell's articles during 1995 were selected by the search list investigation, although the figure rises to approximately 100 percent of his total Diary features. The investigation yielded varying proportions of articles for the following journalists: Graham Law - 13 percent; Hugh Keevins - 7 percent; Mike Aitken - 14 percent.

6.7.2.3   Journalists in the Record

486 articles saved from the Record (30 percent) had no by-lines. John Millar, who writes TV reviews and on TV personalities generally, had most articles at 91 (6 percent of all articles), closely followed by Tom Brown (84, various article types, 5 per cent of total articles) and Joan Burnie, who writes human interest stories and the Agony Column (74; 4 percent of articles). Bill Leckie contributed 60 articles (4 percent), most of which were sports articles. Thus the tendencies are slightly different to those seen in the broadsheets.

6.7.2.4   Explanation of journalist data

In both the Herald and the Scotsman, feature and sports writers are well represented in the data. As discussed above at 6.7.1.5, this is likely to be due to the fact that writing in Scots in these parts of the newspaper is much more acceptable than it would be in the hard news stories. Feature articles, especially the Diary columns in both of the broadsheets are often humorous, and there is a strong association and tradition of Scots and humour. (See 3.6.3.1.) The sports sections of a newspaper, as noted earlier at 5.7 (Tunstall, 1996, p.211), command large budgets and are heavily regionalised. In view of the latter, it is perhaps not surprising that they use comparatively quite a lot of Scottish lexis. The Record is slightly different in that its most highly represented journalist writes TV reviews and news on TV personalities. It can be argued that the Record, by virtue of being a tabloid, is likely to contain more of such features, hence the higher representation. However, it may also suggest a link between the use of Scots and popular culture. David Belcher writes entertainment reviews for the Herald, and is also strongly represented. Thus we can say that based on the results for this study, Scots lexis is most likely to be used in Feature articles, especially in humorous columns like the Diaries or Jack McLean; sports reports and articles which focus on culture (with the tabloid Record especially focussing on popular culture). There has, of course, been a long association of Scots with popular culture and comedy, epitomised by Harry Lauder and carried on by those such as Jimmy Logan, Rikki Fulton, Dorothy Paul, Gregor Fisher (of Rab C. Nesbitt fame) and many others; and the newspapers seem to be continuing this tradition. (See Marshalsay (1992) for further details of popular entertainment in Scotland, and sections 8.7.2ff in the present study for the influence of popular culture on the newspapers.)

6.8   Summary of chapter

The main points from this chapter are as follows:

It was suggested at section 6.2ff that the Scots or Scottish Standard English used by the newspapers was likely to be distinctive in terms of currency, preferring current over archaic or literary Scots lexis, and geographically non-fixed; i.e. not especially favouring any particular Scots dialect, as this would compromise their construction of a national Scottish identity. These hypotheses were tested at 6.4.3 and 6.5 found to be generally true, although there was limited use of some more localised Scottish expressions.

The chapter also investigated those items of Scottish lexis which occurred most frequently in the newspapers (see 6.3.2), some of which were explained by the on-going contact between Scots and English, and others which probably represented frequency of usage in the language generally. The chapter attempted to ascertain which was lexically the most Scottish newspaper, but concluded that although the Herald had the greatest number of occurrences of search list items, it was extremely difficult to adopt a purely quantitative approach, as many other factors such as newspaper length had to be taken into account. The data given in Tables 6.1, 6.2 & 6.10 demonstrated significant differences between the English control newspapers and the Scottish press in terms of the overall amounts (token frequencies) and variety (type numbers) of Scottish lexis from the search list each newspaper group contained. This chapter also explored variation in orthographic forms to ascertain (a) to what extent Scots was standardised or focussed, (b) to what extent the newspapers were consistent in preferring particular orthographic forms, and (c) whether there was any evidence of impact of spelling recommendations or preferred dictionary forms (see 6.3.3ff). The data suggested that the newspapers did not follow Scots language experts' spelling recommendations, nor did they consistently promote standardised forms. Therefore the Scottish newspapers were unlikely to act as a pressure for the standardisation of Scots. It was considered that with the availability and acceptance of Scottish Standard English as a formal written medium, this situation was unlikely to change.

The chapter also investigated whether there were differences between the tabloid Record and the broadsheet Herald and Scotsman in their use of Scottish lexis, and whether this could be related to the perceived social class of their respective readerships (see 6.4ff). The evidence broadly supported this difference, with the broadsheets being more likely to use archaic or literary lexis than the Record; marked differences in frequency or usage/non-usage of particular lexical items (e.g. the high frequency of "bevvy" in the Record, but the absence of terms expressing things from a possibly more middle-class viewpoint such as "keelie", "lad o'pairts", "Jock Tamson's bairns"; and the non-productivity of certain lexical items in the Record such as "oor", "ae", "gie", "hae", "yon" which were used productively in the broadsheets.

The chapter also investigated whether certain items of Scottish lexis triggered particular Scottish stereotypes (see 6.4.2ff), and generally this was demonstrated to be true. It also suggested that the broadsheets were more likely to use items which triggered the Kailyard stereotype than the tabloid Record, which although expressing the concept of the "lad o'pairts", did not lexicalise it as such. Tartanry and Clydesidism were found to be triggered in both newspaper types. The conclusion reached was that Scottish national identity enters into a complex relationship with class identity (as illustrated by the tabloid/broadsheet split), and to a limited extent with local identity. Therefore as suggested at 3.5.4, the Scottish identity constructed/maintained by the newspapers is multi-faceted, although it was considered unlikely that newspapers would consistently use items of Scottish lexis which raised linguistic tariffs which would exclude large parts of their readerships.

The chapter also investigated the distribution of Scottish lexis throughout the newspapers, and concluded that certain types of article and/or parts of the newspaper were particularly heavily represented (see 6.7ff). This was related to concepts of appropriacy, and to the functions which the articles were expected to perform, e.g. Feature articles are largely to entertain. Again, this result was anticipated at the outset of the research, and if Bex's theory of the discourse

community is followed, it can be argued that these notions of appropriacy are dictated by the discourse community itself. Thus Scots is largely relegated to these parts of the newspaper due to the readerships' general perception of its status (or lack thereof), thus reinforcing the prevailing hegemony of English in Scotland and restricting the potential registers of Scots. It was also noted that there were tabloid/broadsheet differences in terms of article types, with the tabloid *Record* having a higher proportion of news articles saved on the basis of containing items from the search list. However, it was argued that most of these tabloid 'news' articles would be classed as 'features' by the broadsheets. The tabloids also seemed to rely more on popular culture.

The next two chapters investigate the surrounding contexts of the lexical items more closely; chapter 7 focuses on the language variety of the surrounding contexts, the extent to which Scottish lexis occurs in direct speech, and differences between Aitken's column 1 and column 2 lexis, and open vs. closed class lexis; chapter 8 focuses on fixed expressions, preferred collocations and Scottish idioms.

7   LEXIS II – IMMEDIATE CONTEXTS

7.1   Introduction

This chapter continues the focus on the items of Scottish lexis found in the newspapers. Whilst the last chapter focussed closely on the lexical items themselves, where they were most likely to be found, alternative orthographic forms and frequency of occurrence; this chapter looks at the immediate contexts (i.e. the surrounding lexis) for these items of Scottish lexis. Consideration in this chapter is given to the following main areas which answer the research questions posed in section 1.4.4:

- Whether open and closed class lexical items exhibit any differences in their contexts. These contexts are specified as follows:

- The language variety of the immediate context in which the item of Scottish lexis is found.

- Whether the immediate context is direct speech.

- Whether there is any difference in the contexts of column 1 and 2 lexis.

- Whether the lexical item occurs in a specialised context.

7.1.1   Importance of studying immediate contexts of Scottish lexis

The hypothesis is that these aspects are significant in building an overall picture of the ways in which Scottish language is used in the newspapers. As noted above, the previous chapter focussed on the actual items of lexis themselves and where in the newspapers they occurred; and this is clearly important in a study of the incidence of Scottish lexis in a particular text type. However, it is equally important to consider the immediate lexical contexts of those items of Scottish

lexis (i.e. the actual words surrounding the node word (the search item) in the concordance displays). This can reveal much about the different types of context in which Scottish lexis is used by the newspapers; and where they fit into the picture of the overall construction and maintenance of Scottish identity. It should also give more general information on varieties along the Scottish-English continuum as used by the newspapers. For example, analysis of the language variety of the surrounding context will give an indication of the extent to which the newspapers use broad Scots or alternatively varieties at the thinner end of the continuum to construct national identity, and also whether certain items of Scottish lexis tend to be found in particular language variety contexts. Analysis of whether Scots lexis is used in direct speech or narrative may indicate the newspaper's level of commitment to the use of Scots, or the extent to which they prefer to be disassociated from it, and also whether certain items of Scottish lexis are more closely associated with the spoken than the written mode. The analysis of open versus closed class lexis, and column 1 versus column 2 lexis may indicate that certain items of Scottish lexis are more 'suitable' or 'salient' for language display than others. It was hoped that the more general analysis of specialised contexts for Scottish lexis, such as whether it occurred in headlines, poems or Scots language articles might indicate differences between the newspapers, particularly between the tabloid and broadsheets thus continuing the strand of analysis begun in chapter 6. It was anticipated that there might be differences in what is perceived to be appropriate for headlines, and also in how the newspapers construct Scottishness using poems and Scots language articles. It was envisaged that the analysis might also reveal something about the more general 'linguistic behaviour' of Scottish lexical items from the search list in contexts of varying densities, although it must be remembered that these observations have been based on one particular text type, the newspaper article. It is quite possible that the text type (or genre) may exert an influence on the type of context within which particular lexical items are found, in-so-far as the Scottish newspapers may have a distinctive prose style. That prose style is itself worthy of investigation, if only because little work has been done hitherto on the use of Scots and Scottish Standard English in contemporary non-literary prose.

7.2   General research methods

Information for this part of the study was taken from the immediate contexts of
the lexical items as given in the concordances generated by Wordsmith. The
Wordsmith display can be manipulated to show either a sentence or three lines of
text, in addition to the more usual one line display, and this was usually sufficient
for determining contexts.

The newspapers were studied in the following order: the Herald, the Scotsman,
the Record, and then the others. The reason behind this is quite straightforward:
the Herald had by far the largest range of lexical items (i.e. types) with 379
different lexical items. (The Scotsman had a range of 283 different lexical items,
and the Record a range of 212 lexical items.) (See longer discussion at section
6.6.) The Herald also had by far the greatest number of occurrences of the lexical
items searched for, and thus it seemed likely that any patterns in the types of
contexts typically associated with a given lexical item, would be more evident in
the Herald, than might be the case with a smaller number of occurrences. Each
other newspaper was investigated on its own merits; i.e. each lexical item was
investigated to see whether any discernible patterns emerged in the contexts of
that item; but the other newspapers were also checked against the results found for
the Herald to see whether they agreed with or contested the results found there.
The reason for doing so was that in many cases, because the other newspapers
may have had significantly fewer occurrences of a lexical item, considered only
within the context of that newspaper, the results may have seemed less significant
simply due to the lack of numbers. If, however, although having fewer
occurrences of a particular lexical item than the Herald, a newspaper still seemed
to be giving the same results for a particular lexical item, this was then considered
to be a valid observation as the result was being replicated across newspapers. It
could therefore be argued that such results were representative of the use of
Scottish language as a whole, or at least as used in Scottish newspapers, rather
than simply being attributable to a particular newspaper's house or writer's style.
The analysis was conducted alphabetically through the search list, observing any
noticeable patterns which appeared for lexical items as it proceeded, rather than

trawling the data looking for specific results or patterns which agreed with the suggested hypotheses.

7.2.1 Methods for research into open vs. closed class lexis

Each lexical item from the search list was classified as open or closed class, and this distinction was borne in mind when carrying out the analyses discussed below. As will be seen later in the data sections (see 7.7ff), the results were displayed in Tables A9.1-9.3, Appendix 9 on the basis of this division. The tables were also ordered in accordance with Ellenberger's concepts of semantic range and semantic density (see 7.4.1) yielding some interesting results. The contexts were then examined to see whether any general observations could be made about the usual contexts for open and closed class lexical items, especially where they differed.

7.2.2 Methods for research into column 1 & column 2 lexis

The lexical items under analysis were classified as belonging to Aitken's column 1 or column 2 Scottish lexis based on whether they had phonologically related English cognates. (Classifications are indicated in superscript in the data tables, Appendix 9.) The data were then analysed to see whether any trends could be detected which showed a distinguishable split between column 1 and column 2 lexis. (As will be seen from the tables, a few lexical items which were to some extent shared with English were classified as column 3 lexis. See 2.3.5 for discussion of Aitken's model of Scottish speech.)

7.2.3 Methods for research into language variety contexts

Language variety contexts were quite difficult to determine, and each concordance entry had to be manually checked for identifiably Scottish lexis in the surrounding

contexts. The individual concordance entries were firstly classified as being *Scots* (S), *Scottish-English* (SE) or *English* (E) based on the quantity of identifiably Scottish lexis and/or grammar each contained. (N.B. As noted earlier at 2.4.1.5, these italicised terms are used in a specialised sense as useful labels to describe observations in terms of density a.k.a. McClure (1979, p.29-30) made from the newspaper texts and should not be confused with the discussion of the language varieties themselves conducted elsewhere and as defined in chapter 2 at sections 2.4.1ff.) It should be noted that, as discussed earlier at 2.8, that this part of the study is not an exact science. The full concordance display for each particular lexical item, in say the Herald, was then considered together and a final overall categorisation arrived at. This summary information was then entered into FORM 'Contexts' in the database (see Appendix 1), and is given in the language varieties contexts columns shown in Tables A9.1-3 (Appendix 9). Again it should be noted that these summary labels reflect the concordance contexts of the majority of entries. Where only one or two entries deviated from the overall categorisation, these were ignored. However, if more occurrences showed a different context, this was reflected in the categorisation, hence examples such as E/SE, which means that most of the occurrences were in *English* contexts, but a significant minority occurred in *Scottish-English* contexts. The full range of context categories found are given before the charts at 7.7.1, and are arranged in order of their position along the Scottish-English linguistic continuum. The language variety data are discussed at 7.7ff.

7.2.4   Methods for research into direct speech contexts

Of the types of contexts considered here, direct speech was by far the easiest for which to search as the presence of quotation marks made these examples relatively easy to find. There were a few complications, such as distinguishing direct speech from, for example literary quotations, as both used inverted commas; but usually the context made the situation clear. Stretches of first person narration, although as noted later at 7.8 likely to show similar patterns to those of direct speech, would have been much more time-consuming to search for, and

therefore the analysis concentrates on the use of direct speech. Sections 7.8ff discuss the analysis of the direct speech data.

7.2.5   Methods for research into specialised contexts

Other observations, such as whether there were specialised contexts for certain lexical items (such as quotations from Scots poems, in headlines or subheadlines as this would indicate a high profile usage for the item, or as occurring in Scots language articles) were made at the same time as the analysis into language variety contexts and direct speech contexts. This entailed quite a bit of switching backwards and forwards between the concordances for each lexical item, and the background details for the articles in which they occurred. This information was recorded in database FORM 'Contexts', and is discussed at 7.9ff.

7.2.6   Level of detail in summary information

My original intention was to record information separately (also for the direct speech and other contexts data in this chapter) for each individual occurrence of each lexical item in FORM 'Word Occurrences' (accessible via the "Go to word occurrences" button on the main form, see Appendix 1 for details). However, it soon became clear that this would be a huge task for large newspapers like the Herald and Scotsman, and would not be justified in light of the minimal extra information it would give. As this chapter is concerned with overall discernible patterns in the contexts of lexical items, a summative approach was deemed to be a much more useful; i.e. rather than recording information on every individual lexical occurrence which would have created many thousands of pieces of information, a summary was made of the contexts of each discrete lexical type from the search list and recorded in database FORM 'Contexts'. Thus for the Herald which used 379 discrete items of Scottish lexis from the search list, 379 sets of summary information on whether contexts were *Scots* or *English*, direct speech or narrative etc. were compiled; one set of information for each lexical

item. Unfortunately this summary information does not allow direct comparisons with data for individual word occurrences; thus, for example, it does not allow comparisons between the use of direct speech and individual journalists or article types, which might have yielded interesting information, particularly for the question of the construction/maintenance of Scottish identity. Recognition that this would be a potentially useful avenue of enquiry in the future prompted my retention of FORM 'Word Occurrences' in the database for future use.

It should be noted that the data presented in Tables A9.1-3, Appendix 9, are included because these lexical items showed particularly strong similarities in their contexts across the newspapers, and were suggested by observations made during the analysis of concordance displays for chapter 6. In total 85 lexical items from the search list showed these very strong contextual patterns, and hence are investigated here.

7.3 Viewing data

The concordance showing the immediate context for the lexical item in question can be viewed by pressing the 'Concordance' button in the database. (See Appendix 1 for details of how to access concordance displays from the database. See also section 4.7.2 in the methodology chapter for details of how to 'match up' concordance entries with text file names.)

Summary information on all aspects of the contexts of each lexical item is given in the database. This can be viewed by pressing the 'Contexts' button on the main form 'SHOW words'. Again see Appendix 1 for full details of how to access all aspects of the database.

7.4 Summary data tables

The data in Appendix 9 are split into three separate tables (A9.1-3) described below, although it should be emphasised that this split was not envisaged at the outset of the data collection and analysis. Examination of the data suggested that the three-way split presented here on the basis of open versus closed class data, and then further split according to Ellenberger's distinction between lexis which increases semantic range and lexis which increases semantic density (discussed in the following section), would be the best way to meaningfully organise the data. Each of the three tables in Appendix 9 was further classified as to whether the lexical item was a column 1 or column 2 item. (See superscript annotations on tables.) The language varieties of the contexts of these lexical items were then examined more closely to see whether as a group, column 1 lexis in each table exhibited different language variety patterns from column 2 lexis. These results are shown in Table 7.1 and discussed at 7.7.7 for language variety of contexts, and at 7.8.3 for direct speech contexts.

7.4.1 Semantic density vs. semantic range

A distinction can be made between the use of Scots lexis which increases semantic range, and the use of Scots lexis which increases semantic density. This distinction was made by Ellenberger (1977) with respect to the use of Latin by the medieval Scottish Makars. Corbett (1997, p.217) notes that

> Ellenberger distinguishes between those items which 'increase semantic density' and those which 'increase semantic range'. The former items are decorative, and the vernacular might already have synonymous terms which express the concept adequately ... Other Latinate terms introduced into Scots concepts for which there were no native equivalents...[this type of term] extends the semantic range of the language: the terms are philosophical, or argumentative, or scientific, rather than purely decorative (Ellenberger 1977: 82-9). (my square brackets)

Thus for the purposes of this study, we can consider Scots as either being used to express concepts for which there are no accessible English equivalents to extend the semantic range, such as "ceilidh" (although this is a loanword from Gaelic), or "Free Kirk" (example of Aitken's cultural Scotticisms; see 2.3.8.1ff); or Scots being used in a more decorative manner to increase the semantic density, i.e. the use of Scots primarily for display purposes, where an English word would equally have sufficed (e.g. "birl" or "blether"). This distinction forms the basis for the division of the open class lexis into Tables A9.2 & A9.3.

7.4.2   Description of table contents

Table A9.1 shows the data for closed class lexis. Table A9.2 shows data for open class lexis which increased semantic range. Table A9.3 shows data for open class lexis which increased semantic density. Overall the tables are therefore split initially by whether the lexis is open or closed class Scottish lexis. The open class lexis is then split further according to Ellenberger's concepts of lexis which increases semantic range (i.e. words for concepts that, for example, express aspects of Scottish material culture, e.g. "blaes" or "lad o'pairts", for which there are no readily accessible English synonyms); and lexis which increases semantic density (i.e. lexis which expresses concepts for which there are English alternatives, for example "scunnered" / "disgusted" and where the choice of a Scots or English lexical item is therefore more of a stylistic than a functional decision.). (See 7.4.1) The tables also indicate from which column in Aitken's model of Scottish speech, the items are considered to come (indicated in superscript next to lexical items). (See 2.3.5 for overview of Aitken's model of Scottish speech.)

Each table shows three separate sets of information. Each table gives the percentage of the immediate contexts for each lexical item which occurred in direct speech. This forms the basis for the analysis at 7.8ff. (The data for "ah" in the Herald also includes information on first person narrative contexts as

illustrative Text 3, Appendix 10 (see 7.11) formed a significant portion of the use of "ah".) Each table also gives information on the number of occurrences for each item of lexis, and the number of stories/articles it appeared in. This information was added to the table in order to put the direct speech percentages in context. Clearly a 100 percent figure would be less significant if it applied to only 3 entries rather than to 103. The tables also give information on the language varieties of the immediate contexts which forms the basis of the discussion at 7.7, and is also shown by Figures 7.1-3. More precise information on, for example, the actual numbers of direct speech contexts, can viewed in the database via FORM 'Contexts'.

7.4.3   Classification problems

There were some problems of classification for particular lexical items, especially between Tables A9.2 and A9.3. Thus for example, "backcourt" has been placed in Table A9.3 (i.e. lexis which increases semantic density), but it is arguable that it refers to a particular aspect of Scottish material culture, as it is usually used to describe the garden/yard area of a Scottish tenement building. Similarly "jotter" has been placed in Table A9.3 as it arguably has a synonym in "exercise book", but for many Scots these refer to quite different referents in the real world. The situation is complicated further by the issue of *covert* Scotticisms (see 2.3.8.1 for definition). Following Ellenberger's classification system, it can be said that Scots items which increase semantic range have no English equivalents, whereas those Scots items which increase semantic density do have English alternatives. However, if a particular item is *covert* for many Scots, as for example is likely to be the case for "jotter", there are problems associated with classifying it as increasing semantic density rather than as increasing semantic range. Even though an English equivalent or near synonym may exist, if it is not available to the majority of Scots because the word they would naturally associate with the referent is "jotter"; then can that Scottish lexical item truly be said to increase semantic density and not range? (There was an additional problem in that a few of the Scots lexical items studied can be used as both adverbs and prepositions

(e.g. "furth" and "outwith"), and therefore there was potentially a difficulty in deciding whether they should be classed with open or closed class lexis.) However, these problems proved to be unfounded as generally these items were only used as prepositions by the newspapers, and were therefore classified with Table A9.1 as closed class lexis.)

The *Scots Schools Dictionary* (which contains both Scots to English, and English to Scots sections) and the *Concise English-Scots Dictionary* were very useful for this part of the study, and served as the final adjudication in these problematic areas of classification between lexis which increases semantic range and lexis which increases semantic density (i.e. whether open class lexis was entered in Table A9.2 or Table A9.3). By cross-checking the English and the Scots sections of these dictionaries, it was possible to determine which items of Scottish lexis had English equivalents or synonyms (where one English word was used to describe one Scots word and vice-versa) e.g. "bing" (slag-heap); and those which evidently did not have English synonyms, as the definitions included either long circumlocutions to explain what the Scots item meant e.g. "lad o'pairts" (a promising boy, a talented youth), or listed many English words which described the plethora of different meanings associated with the single Scottish word e.g. "pawky" (1. having a matter-of-fact, humorously critical outlook on life, with a sly, quiet wit. 2. roguish; lively, merry. 3. cunning and stubborn; astute.). (All definitions cited here taken from the *Scots Schools Dictionary*.)

The data analysis splits into 3 major parts. The language variety of the immediate contexts is discussed in sections 7.7ff. Direct speech contexts are discussed in section 7.8ff. Sections 7.9ff discuss the specialised contexts data. Before proceeding to analysis of these aspects of the surrounding contexts, it is necessary firstly to outline briefly where the analysis of open vs. closed class lexis, and column 1 vs. column 2 items fits into the overall scheme.

7.5   Differences between open and closed class lexis

In linguistics generally, a basic distinction is drawn between grammatical lexis
and content lexis. This chapter considers the split between open and closed class
Scottish lexis, or to put it another way, the distinction between content Scottish
lexis (i.e. the words which carry meaning) and grammatical Scottish words (words
which organise meaning), to be potentially significant. (Open class lexis consists
of nouns, verbs, adjectives and adverbs; closed class lexis is determiners, auxiliary
verbs, pronouns, prepositions, conjunctions, interjections and negatives.)
McClure hints that this functional split is significant with reference to Scots when
he describes one of the criteria for classifying a text as dense Scots as being that
"it is Scots in grammar and idiom" (1979, p.30), i.e. it should be dense at both a
grammatical and a lexical level. (See 2.8.1 for discussion of McClure's model.)
This chapter suggests firstly that the use of open and closed class Scottish lexis
may have different stylistic and register implications (discussed at 7.7.3).
Secondly, it suggests that open class lexis may be more frequently used in
language display than closed class lexis (discussed at 7.7.4). The chapter suggests
thirdly, that the presence or absence of identifiably Scottish grammatical lexis
may indicate the overall density and register of the text (as discussed by McClure
(1979, p.29-30; see section 2.8.1), see discussion at 7.7.5. It is hypothesised that
open class lexical items are more likely to be found in isolation in thinner
Scottish-English or even *English-English* contexts than are closed class lexical
items. (The results of this analysis are given at 7.7.2.) Conversely it is
hypothesised that closed class lexis will tend to be found in more dense *Scots*
contexts. It is also considered unlikely that a text will contain a significant
number of closed class items but very few open class items, thus there may be
differences in distribution of the two types. The language variety contexts data on
open and closed class lexis is discussed below at 7.7.2 ff.

7.6   Column 1 & column 2 lexis

As noted in section 2.3.5, Aitken divides the lexical options open to Scottish speakers into 5 columns, columns 1 and 2 being the distinctively Scots items. This chapter seeks to identify whether there are any differences in terms of context, between column 1 and column 2 Scottish lexis. It asks whether there are differences between column 1 and column 2 lexis in the proportions of occurrences in direct speech (see analysis given at 7.8.3), and also in the language variety of the surrounding context (see analysis given at 7.7.7).

7.7   Language variety of immediate contexts

It became apparent whilst investigating the data for the previous chapter that some lexical items were more likely to occur in certain language variety contexts than others, for example seeming to favour otherwise English rather than more dense Scots contexts. In some cases these patterns were very noticeable, and were repeated across different newspapers. E.g. "aboot" was consistently found in *Scots* contexts, whereas "uplift" was consistently found in *English* contexts. This chapter therefore investigates which items of Scottish lexis from the search list exhibited these strong patterns in the language variety of their immediate contexts, and also asks why this might be the case; and what, if anything, can therefore be deduced about the items of Scottish lexis themselves, and how they are used by the newspapers.

7.7.1   Language variety data

As can be seen from the tables in Appendix 9 and the following pie-charts (Fig. 7.1-7.3), a considerable number of items of Scottish lexis exhibited strong patterns in the language varieties of their immediate contexts. There were substantial differences in the language varieties of the contexts of all three groups of data

(closed class lexis, open class lexis which increases semantic range, and open class lexis which increases semantic density).

The percentages quoted in the pie-charts were calculated by totalling the language variety classifications for each of the discrete lexical types given in Tables A9.1-3 and then calculating this as a percentage of the total classifications given. Thus in Table A9.2, all 5 of the language variety categories quoted for the Record were English, thus 5 divided by 5 and multiplied by 100 gives 100 percent (see Fig. 7.2). In Table A9.1, 8 of the 22 categories given for the Herald were "S/SE" (i.e. mostly *Scots* contexts, but with a significant minority of *Scottish-English* contexts), therefore this was 36 percent of the total categories (see Fig. 7.1). Thus the percentages are based on an overall summary of the contexts for discrete Scottish lexis types not individual tokens or word occurrences. Thus, they yield information about which lexical types were associated with which language variety contexts, not the contexts of individual tokens. The observations made from the data and the possible explanations lying behind these patterns are discussed in the following sections. (Each of the sets of charts relates to the data given in the table noted, sub-divided to show results for separate newspapers.)

The full range of language variety context categories is displayed below in conjunction with the key for the chart; arranged by position along the Scottish-English linguistic continuum, with explanations for abbreviations. This is quite a complex list of categories, but as the ordering shows, it is possible to group categories together as tending towards the Scots or the Scottish Standard English ends of the continuum. (See 2.3.1 for discussion of bi-polar linguistic continuum.)

Chart Key

Colour code	Label	Definition
	S	*Scots*
	S/SE	Mostly *Scots*, but with a significant minority of *Scottish-English* entries.
	S/SE/E	Mostly *Scots*, but with significant minorities of *Scottish-English* and *English* contexts (in order of quantity).
	S/E	Mostly *Scots*, but with a significant minority of *English* contexts.
	SE	*Scottish-English*
	SE/S	Mostly *Scottish-English*, but with a significant minority of *Scots* contexts.
	SE/E	Mostly *Scottish-English*, but with a significant minority of *English* contexts.
	E/S	A mixture of *English* and *Scots* contexts.
	E/SE	Mostly *English*, but with a significant minority of *Scottish-English* entries.
	E/SE/S	Mostly *English*, but with significant minorities of *Scottish-English* and *Scots* contexts (in order of quantity).
	mixed	A mixture of contexts.
	other	Other more complex mixtures.
	E	*English*

Original in colour

(Table A9.1) Language varieties of contexts in Herald
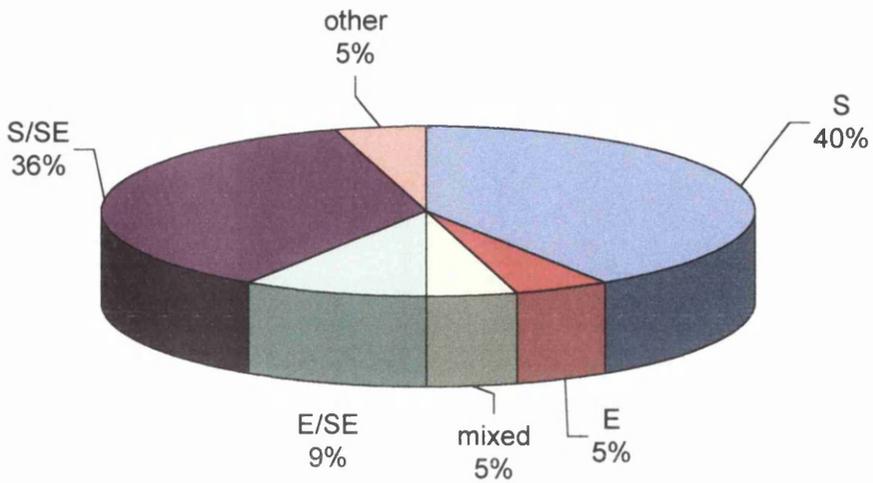
(Table A9.1) Language varieties of contexts in Scotsman
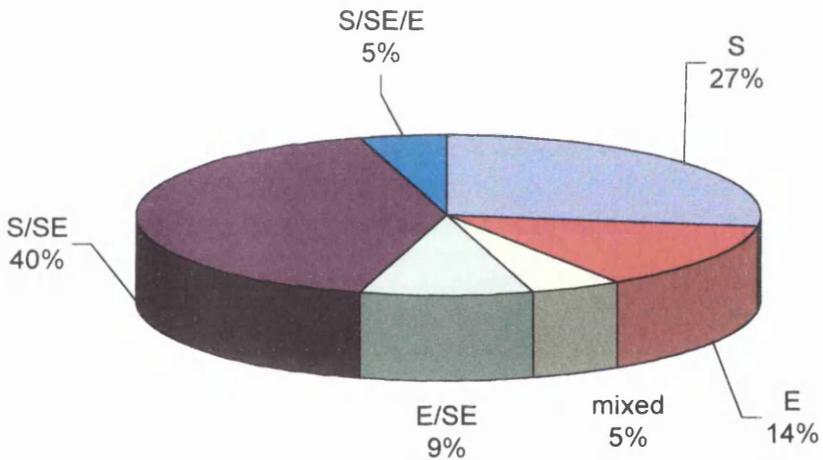
(Table A9.1) Language varieties of contexts in Record
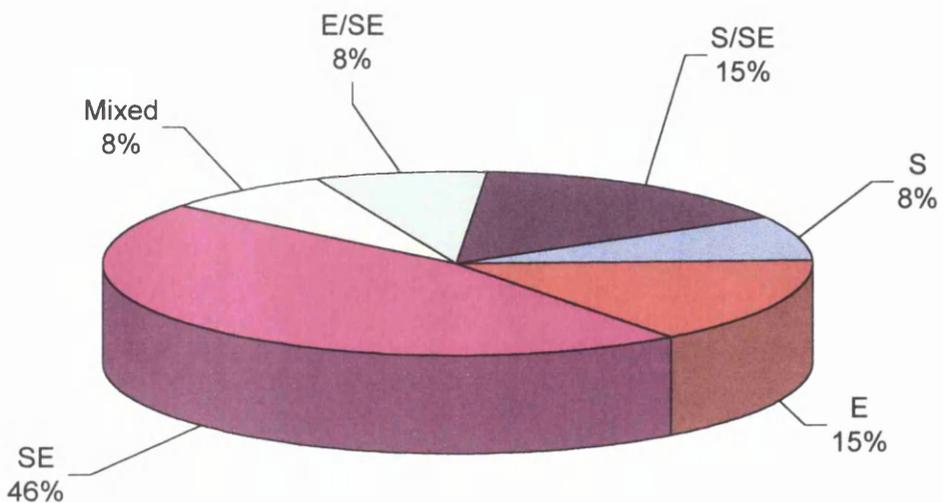
Figure 7.1   Language varieties of surrounding contexts for closed

class lexis   (Original in colour)

(Table A9.2) Language varieties of contexts in Herald
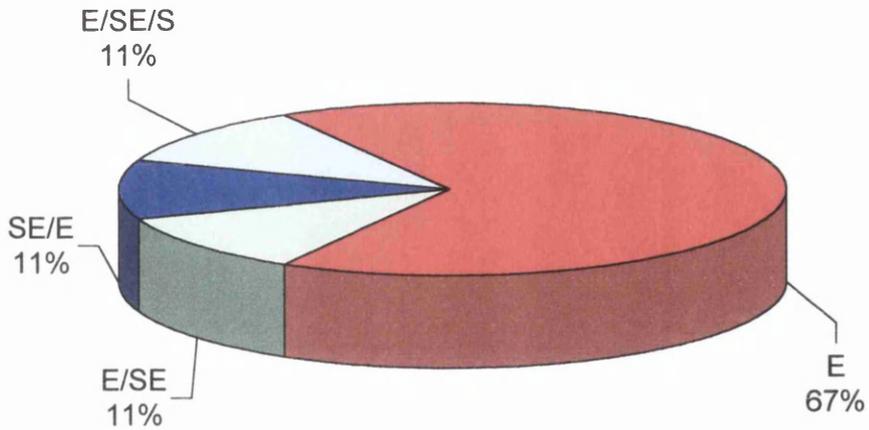
(Table A9.2) Language varieties of contexts in Scotsman
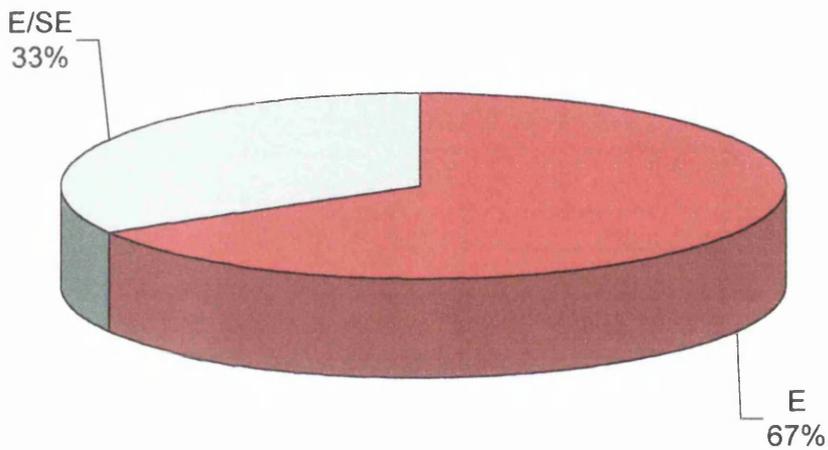
(Table A9.2) Language varieties of contexts in Record
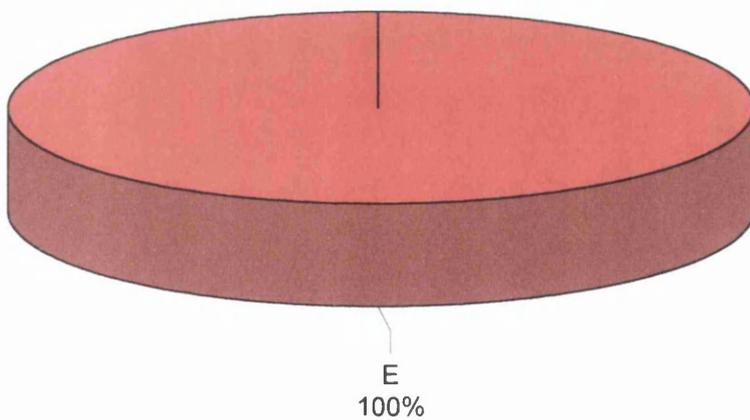
Figure 7.2   Language varieties of surrounding contexts for open class
               lexis which increases semantic range (Original in colour)

(Table A9.3) Language varieties of contexts in Herald
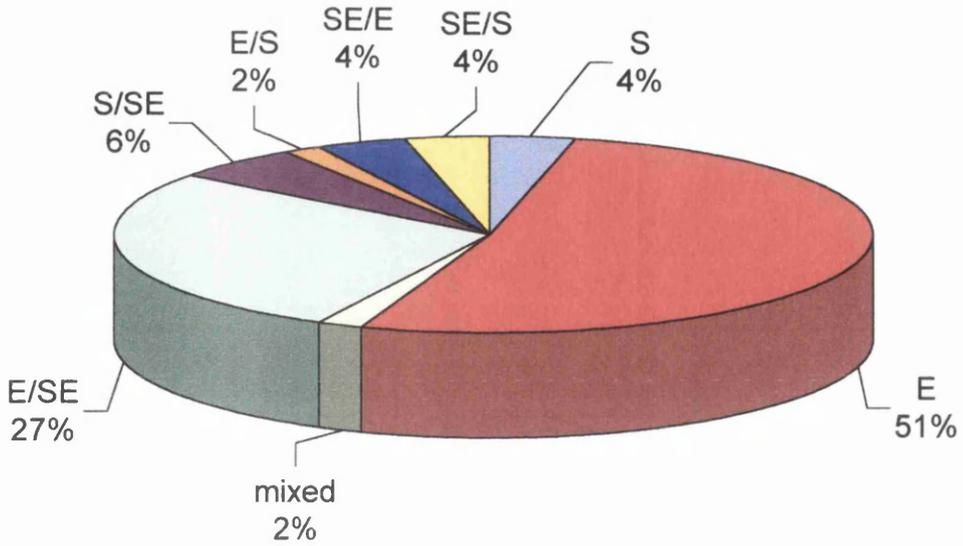
(Table A9.3) Language varieties of contexts in Scotsman
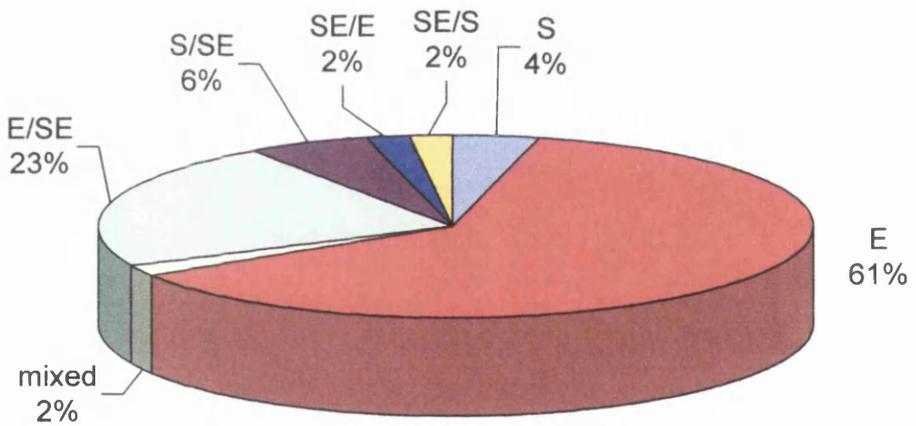
(Table A9.3) Language varieties of contexts in Record
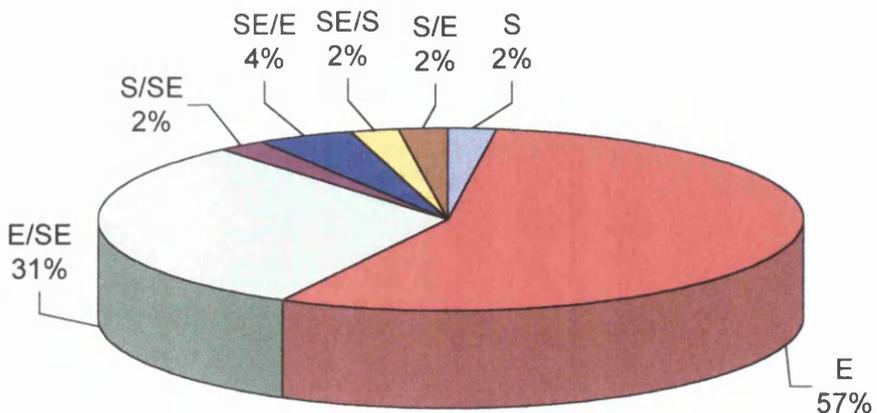
Figure 7.3   Language varieties of surrounding contexts for open class lexis
which increases semantic density (Original in colour)

7.7.2   Observations made from language variety data

Comparison of the three tables in Appendix 9 and the charts above shows clearly that closed class Scottish lexis (Appendix 9, Table A9.1) has by far the highest proportion of lexical items which are found in *Scots* or *Scots/Scottish-English* contexts. Of the 22 closed class lexical items included in Table A9.1, only one item "outwith" had consistently *English* contexts. (The suggested reason for the contextual patterning of "outwith" is discussed below at 7.7.6.) In the broadsheets, for the rest the predominant contexts were either *Scots, Scottish-English* or a mixture of the two, with only a very few items having *English* contexts in one or other of the newspapers. It should be noted that for many of these lexical items, the actual number of occurrences or each item was quite considerable. For example "ah" with 118 occurrences in the Herald; "aye" with 163 occurrences in the Herald, 96 in the Scotsman and 38 in the Record; "doon", "hae", "ma", "oot" and "ye" with 72, 68, 84, 64 and 173 occurrences in the Herald respectively. The high frequencies of these lexical items are, to some extent, explained by the fact that closed class items occur with a higher frequency in language than open class items. However, that said, it means that these observations are consistent over a large range of data and these results are not based on only a few, possibly idiosyncratic, examples. Rather, they demonstrate clear trends for this closed class group of lexical items.

Figure 7.1 shows clearly that the Record had a different distribution of contexts around the items of closed class lexis studied, its predominant context for closed class Scottish lexis (Table A9.1) being *Scottish-English* at 46 percent. Although the items studied here are only a sample from the search list, this result may suggest that the Record has a lower proportion of broad *Scots* contexts than the broadsheets. As was noted in chapter 5 at 5.5.6.3, this may be in part due to the absence of Scots language articles written in dense Scots in the Record. It may also suggest that the Record is less likely to use dense Scots in its construction/maintenance of Scottish identity, possibly as this may be felt likely to alienate readers.

The most striking pattern is that observed for open class lexis which increases semantic range (Appendix 9, Table A9.2), where, as can be seen from Figure 7.2, by far the majority of Scottish lexical items are found in *English* contexts (two-thirds of entries in the Herald and Scotsman are *English*, and 100 percent of the entries in the Record are found in *English* contexts) i.e. there are no other items of Scottish lexis in the immediate context. The Scotsman also had 33 percent "E/SE" (mostly *English*, but with a significant minority of *Scottish-English* contexts), thus again well towards the Scottish Standard English end of the linguistic continuum. The situation was slightly more complicated in the Herald, with 11 percent each of *English/Scottish-English* ("E/SE"), *English/Scottish-English/Scots* ("E/SE/S"), and *Scottish-English/English* ("SE/E) contexts; again well towards the Scottish Standard English end of the continuum. As noted above, the data in Appendix 9, Table A9.2 were organised on the basis of Ellenberger's category of lexis which increases semantic range. (See 7.4.1) Thus as discussed at 7.4 these items of lexis were placed in this table, rather than in Appendix 9, Table A9.3 because they did not have English synonyms or equivalents. Such items of lexis fill semantic gaps in the language.

The rest of the search list was checked for other items of open class lexis which increased semantic range to see whether similar results were yielded, and the same strong pattern was observed. Items of Scottish lexis which increase semantic range are characteristically found in *English* contexts, with only a few exceptions where several occurrences are in *Scottish-English* contexts. This finding is consistent across all the Scottish newspapers studied. As can be seen from a comparison of the charts (Figures 7.2 & 7.3), both types of open class lexis (i.e. lexis which increases semantic range and lexis which increases semantic density) have a preponderance of *English* and E/SE contexts. However, as will also be observed, there is more variety in the contexts of open class lexis which increases semantic density (Table A9.3 data), with higher proportions of contexts from the Scots end of the continuum being found in each newspaper for this group. The higher proportions of contexts from the Scottish Standard English end of the continuum and lack of Scottish type contexts for open class lexis which increases semantic range may be explained by the fact that these items fill semantic gaps in

the language. It should be noted that Table A9.2 which shows open class lexis which increases semantic range from the sample, contains no items of column 2 lexis, which as will be discussed later at 7.7.7ff with respect to the data given in Table 7.1, may be more likely to be found in contexts towards the Scots end of the continuum, and thus this may also be having an effect on the language varieties noted .

Table A9.3 and Figure 7.3 show that for those items studied of open class Scottish lexis which increases semantic density, the majority of the language variety contexts were again *English* ("E") and E/SE (mostly *English*, but with a significant minority of *Scottish English* contexts). This is similar to, although as noted in the previous paragraph, not as clear cut, as the pattern found for open class lexis which increases semantic range.

Thus the data suggest that there are clear differences in the language varieties of the contexts of open versus closed class lexis. On the basis of the data collected by this study, closed class lexical items are more likely to be found in consistently *Scots* or *Scottish-English* contexts, than are open class lexical items. Open class items, particularly those which increase semantic range, but also those which increase semantic density, are likely to be found in *English* or *Scottish-English* contexts, and unlikely to be found in *Scots* contexts. The following sections offer explanations for these trends.

7.7.3 Stylistic and register implications of using open vs. closed class Scottish lexis

As noted in the previous chapter at sections 6.1.1.1 and 6.1.1.2, there are different stylistic and register implications associated with using open class vs. closed class items of Scottish lexis. In the written mode, particularly in fairly formal or public discourses such as newspaper articles, there is strong pressure to conform to the norms of Standard written English. As Cameron (1995) noted, (see discussion at 2.6.8) the press themselves and their readers, expect newspapers to use standard

forms and to be arbiters of 'good style'. The emphasis is on 'correctness' and probably focuses more on grammar and spelling than on individual items of lexis, although it must be noted that there is also some pressure to use a standard lexicon. Grammar can be subdivided into syntax and morphology, and closed class lexis by definition carries grammatical meaning. Thus if an item of closed class Scottish lexis is used in a text, it impacts on the grammar of the discourse, not simply on its lexis. In most formal written contexts, it is likely to be viewed more as non-standard grammar (i.e. non-Standard written English grammar), rather than an expression of distinctively Scottish grammar. There are thus greater constraints of register placed on the use of closed class Scottish lexis, than open class Scottish lexis; as the more formal the text, the higher will be the expectation that the grammar will follow that of Standard written English. A text which includes some content Scottish lexis, such as nouns, verbs or adjectives, in the overall context of generally standard written English is likely to be regarded as more 'standard' and hence more acceptable in formal contexts than one which uses Scots grammar. Smith (1996, p.65) notes that

> To use written Standard English is to signal competence in a set of established rules enforced by a normative educational system; to use non-standard forms in writing is a way of marking oneself off from other users of language in terms of prestige, or of literary artfulness.

Cheshire & Milroy (1993, p.15) in their discussion of attitudes to regional varieties of English, agree with the discussion above when they note that

> whilst standard English is valued and considered to be 'the' English language, the syntactic forms that occur in non-standard varieties, such as *we was* or *I breaked it*, are devalued and considered to be 'bad English', 'ungrammatical' or simply 'careless'. Curiously, non-standard vocabulary does not provoke views of this kind. A word such as *tup*, which in some parts of Britain refers to a young ram, or *bait*, referring to a mid-morning snack in some parts of the country, tends to be seen for what it is – in other

words, as a regional variant that is no better or worse than the standard English equivalent. Regional forms of morphology and syntax, on the other hand, are not always recognized as regional variants, but instead are seen as corruptions of grammar. (their emphasis)

Purves (1997, p.4) commenting on the Scottish situation, notes that

> Macafee has stated in an important paper: 'In grammar, more than at other linguistic levels, modern written Scots tends to adhere to the model instilled by literacy in Standard English.' This is a natural consequence of the representation of Scots in schools, over a period of generations, as an incorrect form of English. The adherence by writers in Scots to the standards of English grammar and orthography is not of course a modern phenomenon: it has been a characteristic of writing in Scots since the sixteenth century.

Thus the prevailing linguistic hegemony of Standard English (see 2.7.2) as the accepted norm for formal written prose in Scotland, with its stress on correct forms of grammar and intolerance of non-standard forms, exerts an influence on the use of Scots lexis, particularly I would argue, in situations where the surrounding context is *English* or very thin *Scottish-English*. The use of identifiably Scottish lexis may show a breadth of experience; the use of non-standard grammar in many contexts is likely to be attributed not to linguistic tolerance, but rather to a lack of education. As McClure (1994, p.86) notes

> Inconsistencies of attitudes, readily explained as the result of educational conditioning, are very frequent: many middle-class speakers use traditional vocabulary items with some patriotic pride but would recoil at the thought of using a *grammatical* Scotticism like *a bit bread* or *I'll not can come*.

Given these constraints, it might be suggested that journalists are more likely to use open class Scottish lexis than they are to use non-standard grammatical

constructions or Scottish closed class lexis. However this hypothesis has to be considered in light of the data presented in Appendix 9, table A9.1, as in quite a few cases the actual numbers of occurrences noted for items of closed class lexis are quite considerable. The Herald in particular has quite high frequencies for the items of Scottish lexis studied in the sample. For example "aboot" (46), "ah" (118), "doon" (72), "hae" (68), "ma" (84), "oot" (64), "wi" (76), "ye" (173). In some cases, these high frequencies will be due to particularly high usage in one or two articles, for example "ah" and "ma" have 52 and 9 occurrences respectively in illustrative text 3 (see Appendix 10). However, this is not always the case. Therefore the argument, especially in view of the evidence presented in Figure 7.1, must be modified to say that the use of closed class or grammatical Scottish lexis is likely to be restricted to use in *Scots* contexts, and seldom extends to *English* contexts. There are greater expectations of standard English grammar associated with *English* or thin *Scottish-English* contexts than with more dense *Scots* contexts.

As noted at sections 6.4.1.3 and 6.6, the Herald has on average 3 times as many occurrences of any given lexical item as the Scotsman. As can be seen from Appendix 9, Table A9.1, some of the frequencies for closed class lexis in the Herald compared to the other two newspapers evidently exceed this expected ratio. Does this imply that the Herald is any less preoccupied with standard forms than the other newspapers? This seems highly unlikely given its broadsheet status, and the most likely explanation is that the Herald may include dense Scots contexts more frequently, for example in the number of Scots language articles written in Scots (see section 5.5.6 and Appendix 3). This study found 25 Scots language articles in the Herald compared to 12 in the Scotsman, although it should be noted that the recovery methods were not necessarily exhaustive.

These perceptions of relative acceptability or unacceptability associated with the use of different types of Scottish lexis will inform the linguistic choices, whether conscious or not, behind the contexts in which they are used; although it should be remembered that as was argued earlier, the use of any items of Scots lexis in the

written mode is likely to reduce the perceived formality of the text. These perceptions of non-standard morphology and syntax, versus non-standard content lexis affect, not only the contexts in which open class and closed class Scottish lexis are used, but also their capacity and desirability for use in overt language display. This is discussed in the following section.

7.7.4   Language display & open vs. closed class lexis

As mentioned briefly at 6.1.1.1, when considering the concept of language display as originally described by Eastman & Stein (1993) (see 3.6 for further information), it seems much more likely that open class lexis would be employed for this purpose, than would be closed class lexis. As open class lexis is potentially infinite and can easily be added to as necessary, whereas closed class lexis is more-or-less fixed, it is much more likely that any language display will occur using open rather than closed class items. For language display purposes, it is much more likely that, for example, a French or German noun would be incorporated into English discourse to demonstrate one's knowledge, rather than that the occasional French or German definite article or preposition would be used as the act of display alongside English open class items.

If we consider the Scottish situation, ongoing language contact between Scots and English has meant that for many Scots, both English and Scottish items are available to them; i.e. Aitken's columns 1 –5 (although as discussed in chapter 2, the choices individuals make will be influenced by their social class, aspirations etc.). The items chosen for language display are also likely to be related to social class, as the use of Scots is quite different between middle and working-class speakers (discussed earlier in chapter 2 at section 2.3.5). Aitken (1979a, 1984b) argues that for middle-class speakers (group 1), their usage is likely to be mainly English (i.e. from columns 3 to 5 in his model), pronounced with a Scottish accent, with the use of obligatory covert Scotticisms, and occasional, sporadic use of stylistic overt Scotticisms. Working-class speakers make much more frequent

recourse to items from column 1 and 2. Aitken draws a distinction between group 2 and group 3 speakers based on whether their use of column 2 lexis is largely for function lexis, i.e. closed class items (group 2), or for content lexis, i.e. open class items, group 3. Thus there is a class-based distinction between the use of column 2 closed and open class lexis.

Eastman & Stein (1993, p.188) define language display as "a type of borrowing/codeswitching for special purposes – e.g. *covert prestige*". It can be argued that for many Scots (probably especially middle-class Scots), open class Scottish items are much more salient and acceptable for acts of overt language display than closed class lexical items. The formulaic expressions discussed in the next chapter are also highly salient for language display. With the exception of "aye", Aitken's (stylistic) overt Scotticisms (1979a, 1984b) are either open class lexical items, or longer formulaic expressions which may themselves include some closed class Scots lexis. (Stylistic overt Scotticisms can be drawn from either column 1 or column 2 lexis.) For middle-class Scots especially, the use of grammatical Scots lexis outwith these formulaic fixed expressions, is likely to be avoided, as it can potentially be regarded as non-standard English (rather than simply Scots) grammar (see previous section). For group 1 middle-class speakers, the systematic use of Scots grammatical lexis in speech/writing, unless in very specialised contexts such as Scottish literature, would be stigmatised as deviant from Scottish Standard English. However, Scots grammatical lexis may well be deemed acceptable usage by such speakers if contained within iconic Scots formulaic expressions, such as those discussed in the next chapter.

It can therefore be argued that for middle-class Scots, open class lexical items (particularly those from column 1, as they are quite markedly differentiated from English), make more effective and acceptable stylistic overt Scotticisms than grammatical Scots lexical items (with the proviso that many Scots formulaic expressions used as overt signals of Scottishness by middle-class speakers will of course include grammatical Scots lexis lexis). Open class column 1 items have the advantage of being readily identifiable as Scottish words, and avoid,

especially in the spoken mode, any negative associations by being regarded as 'slovenly English' rather than Scots. Romaine (1980, p.214) notes

> There is a kind of "middle-class folklore" about what constitutes acceptable Scottishness in speech, so that a middle-class speaker can "get away with," so to speak, the use of a number of marked Scotticisms, provided they occur against the background of a middle-class and not a working class accent (cf. Romaine 1975).

Thus although there is a desire to be identifiably Scottish, for many Scots that wish is heavily mediated by the association of certain expressions with a particular social class. Aitken (1979a & 1984b) discusses this with respect to stylistic overt Scotticisms which are particularly favoured by the middle-classes, and shibboleths of working-class speech which are heavily stigmatised and avoided. (See 2.3.8.1 for further information.) Thus I am arguing that the linguistic hegemony of English in Scotland today, and the high status accorded to Standard English, especially by the middle-classes, is likely to mean that whilst items of Scottish open class lexis can be used stylistically as an act of language display, the influence of standard English grammar is likely to preclude closed class Scots lexis for language display, unless confined within the 'safe' limits of a formulaic fixed expression.

In terms of the construction and maintenance of Scottish identity by the newspapers, particularly the broadsheets, it can be argued that language display which consists of open class Scots lexis, or formulaic fixed expressions within an overall context of Standard (Scottish) English grammar, i.e. thin *Scottish-English*, as it is more likely to be deemed acceptable usage, signals ingroup membership. Texts which exploit non-standard Scots grammar, particularly in the broadsheets, perhaps in conjunction with other non-standard features such as pronouncing spellings (for example illustrative Texts 3 and 4, "London's bright lights don't look so good from a cardboard box" and "Genteel disclosures in Govan Gents" considered later in section 7.11 and at Appendix 10), can be argued to symbolise

outgroup identity, as this type of language use is stigmatised as non-standard, rather than viewed as simply regional or Scottish. What makes the Govan Gents article funny is its use of non-standard, and highly stigmatised stereotypical urban working-class Scots. The humour arises because this can safely be considered to be an outgroup for the majority of the Herald's readership. Of course, it can also be argued that the Scots language articles written in dense Scots which use high proportions of Scottish closed class lexis also symbolise outgroup membership. However, in this case the outgroup identity is likely to be perceived rather differently as these are articles written by 'language experts' or elites. Their claim to 'expertise' is usually validated by a mention of their expert status, e.g. in illustrative Text 1 the letter is signed by "R. Fairnie, Secretar, Scots Tung", in Text 2 we are told that John Hodgart is "Principal Teacher of English at Garnock Academy", in Text 5 we are told that "Dr Anne King is Lecturer in English Language at Edinburgh University, specialising in Scots". (Examples taken from illustrative texts in Appendix 10, discussed later in section 7.11.)

As was noted in sections 3.6.3.1 and 3.6.4, texts towards the thin end of the Scottish-English continuum are probably generally more effective for the construction and maintenance of Scottish identity than more dense Scots texts. It is being argued here that not only is the density of the text important, but also the actual items of Scottish lexis it employs; open class Scottish lexis generally being perceived as more acceptable. Densely Scots texts also evidently construct Scottish identity, but it is an identity less accessible, and perhaps less acceptable, to the majority of Scots than thinner texts which tend towards the Scottish Standard English pole. I would argue that for most Scots, the linguistic tariffs raised by very dense Scots texts, particularly of the Lallans type, are too high, and therefore individuals may feel excluded from that particular discourse community. Scottish Standard English is identifiably Scottish, but raises less problematic linguistic tariffs.

7.7.5 Proportions of open and closed class lexis in thin and dense Scots

This argument can be developed further to suggest a modification of McClure's model of thin and dense Scots (see 2.8.1). As noted in the previous section, the data suggest that while *English* (really Scottish Standard English) contexts may use open class Scottish lexis, closed class Scottish lexis is only likely to be found in more dense *Scots* or *Scottish-English* contexts. Or to express it another way, more dense passages of *Scots* and *Scottish-English* are likely to contain both open and closed class Scots lexis; McClure's extreme thin context, Scottish Standard English (labelled in the data as *English*), will tend to include open class rather than closed class lexis for the reasons discussed in the previous section. A comparison of Table A9.1 with A9.2 and A9.3 (or alternatively between the three sets of charts (Fig. 7.1-3)) shows that closed class lexis is more commonly associated with *Scots* contexts, and open class lexis is more commonly associated with *English* contexts.

If the criteria for McClure's thin vs. dense, and colloquial vs. literary categorisations are developed further (McClure, 1979, p.29-30) (see 2.8.1), it can be suggested that the relative proportions of Scottish lexical content words to Scottish grammatical lexis in a text are significant. As will be illustrated later at 7.8.2.2, texts which are closer to spoken models (or McClure's 'colloquial' category) will tend to have a higher proportion of closed class lexis than texts which are closer to written models (or McClure's 'literary' category). (It should be noted that McClure intended his categories to be applied to literary texts. See 2.8.1 for details. However, he does state as one of the criteria for categorising a text as 'literary' that it should exhibit "an avoidance of distinctively local forms in grammar and orthography" (McClure, 1979, p.29).)

As we move from dense *Scots* to thinner *Scottish-English* texts, the overall quantities of Scottish lexis (of both open and closed types) will decrease, culminating in very thin texts which employ the occasional item of Scottish open class lexis or formulaic fixed expression, either as an act of language display

as discussed in the previous section; or simply because the subject matter demands the use of a cultural of functional Scotticism, or an item of Scottish lexis which has no English equivalents. However, there is also a force exerted by the mode of the text, and as will be seen later at 7.8.2.2, texts which are closer to spoken models are likely to have greater proportions of closed class Scots lexis than more formal written Scots texts. Thus any account of a text must take account both of the amounts of Scottish lexis, and of its type, i.e. whether open or closed class lexis.

7.7.6 Items of Scottish lexis which cross register boundaries

This, and the following two sections, investigates a specialised group of Scottish lexical items which cross the register boundaries that usually restrict the use of Scots. It has already been argued in chapter 2 (see section 2.5) that Scots (and to a much lesser extent Scottish Standard English) is generally perceived as being less formal in tenor than English Standard English. The linguistic hegemony of English in Scotland today is such that Standard written English is the only acceptable norm for formal written texts. (See 2.7.2) As discussed above in section 7.7.3, the use of grammatical Scottish lexis may have greater constraints on register than the use of open class Scots lexis. However, the data suggest that certain items of Scottish lexis may be viewed as more acceptable in formal, even *English* contexts where the use of Scots would be generally precluded.

FORM 'Show words' in the database (accessible from main listing for forms, refer to Appendix 1 for further information) shows that for lexical items such as "leet" and "retiral" especially, that these items are often found in more formal article types such as news articles, and are not restricted to feature articles and the more informal parts of the newspaper. Often such items are the only occurrences from the search list appearing in the article, thus not only is the immediate context English, but the overall language context of the article is English. A similar argument appears to apply to "uplift" (See Appendix 9, Table A9.3) which is here categorised as an open class lexical item which increases semantic density (most

people would have "collect" as a readily accessible English equivalent), and to "outwith", interestingly in view of the discussion at 7.7.3, a closed class lexical item (Appendix 9, table A9.1). (Both "uplift" and "outwith" are often associated with more formal discourse styles, "uplift" for example often being used in local authority notices about procedures for collection of refuse.) Both of these Scottish lexical items appear consistently in otherwise English contexts, and are often found in serious articles with little or no other Scots lexis.

In the spoken mode, these observations could perhaps be explained by the items being what Aitken terms covert Scotticisms (see 2.3.8.1). It is a characteristic of obligatory covert Scotticisms, that they are not recognised as being Scottish, and therefore they may presumably be used in passages of what is otherwise English without the speaker necessarily being aware that they are 'giving themselves away' as being Scottish. However, whilst this argument seems reasonable and indeed probable when referring to the spoken mode, it becomes, as Aitken (1984c, p.106) notes, less persuasive when applied to the written mode, especially when discussing a technologically advanced and reliant industry such as the press. Most articles nowadays are drafted at the journalist's own desk on a P.C. before being transferred to the larger document which forms the rest of the day's newspaper, for editing purposes. Both at the drafting and editing stages, if the newspaper office uses standard word processing or desktop publishing packages, they are likely to run a spell-check on the text. If based on Standard English usage, the spell-checker will mark lexical items such as "leet" and "retiral" as unacceptable. Such spell-checking programs can of course be overwritten with the user's preferences, but this requires a conscious decision that such items are acceptable, and inputting of the new acceptable terms.

It is therefore unlikely that journalists and editors are unaware of the Scottish provenance of such items, and thus these items cannot be explained as 'obligatory covert Scotticisms'. An alternative term such as 'functional Scotticism' could be coined, meaning that the journalists are aware that this particular lexical item is, in fact, peculiar to Scotland, but that it is nevertheless considered to be a useful term

and is acceptable in formal written contexts. Aitken (1979a) introduces the term 'overt' Scotticism for situations where the speaker is aware that the usage is peculiarly Scottish; but there is an important distinction between overt Scotticisms and the sort of lexical item being discussed here. Overt Scotticisms are used in a self-conscious manner, primarily for stylistic reasons in order to claim membership of the in-group of Scotsmen (see Aitken, 1979a, p.107; discussed at 2.3.8.1.) The lexical items discussed here have a primarily functional role rather than a stylistic significance as is the case for overt language display. (It should be noted that the use of functional Scotticisms will still 'brand' a text as Scottish, even if this is not the primary motivation for their use.)

The argument that register is an important consideration here can be strengthened by looking briefly at the data for percentages of direct speech contexts in Table A9.2. (See 7.8ff for analysis of direct speech contexts.) (Mode, i.e. whether a text is spoken or written, is one of the three sub-divisions of register.) It is very noticeable that for all lexical items which fall into this open class but increases semantic range category, that the percentages for direct speech contexts are very low, especially when compared with the percentages for closed class lexis which will be discussed later (see 7.8.2ff). Spoken discourse is usually less formal than written discourse, and therefore this is the expected result. Thus items such as "leet", "retiral", "outwith" and "uplift" are generally restricted to straightforward formal prose in the newspapers. Another example would be "furth", again a closed class item, which based on the data at 7.7.2, would have been expected to occur in *Scots* contexts rather than the *English* and E/SE contexts within which it does in fact occur. Thus this category of "functional Scotticism" can apply to items from different word classes. It may therefore be possible to infer that such items are more formal examples of Scottish lexis, as a result of which they have restricted usage patterns.

7.7.6.1   Tabloid/broadsheet differences

Many of these functional Scotticisms have a fairly considerable number of occurrences in the newspapers, especially in the broadsheets. If register is an important consideration here, there should also be observable differences between the tabloid and broadsheet newspapers in their usage of these items. (Chapters 3 & 6 argued for register differences between the tabloid and broadsheet press.) This indeed appears to be the case as it is noticeable for "leet", "retiral" and "outwith" that the proportion of occurrences in the broadsheets is higher compared to the tabloid Record than would have been expected. (See 6.4.1.3 and 6.6 for average proportions. As a rough guide, the Herald has on average 3 times more occurrences of any given lexical item than the Record. The Scotsman usually has slightly more occurrences than the Record.) "Outwith" has 393 occurrences in the Herald, 223 in the Scotsman, and only 31 in the Record; "leet" has 107 occurrences in the Herald, 19 in the Scotsman, and 6 in the Record; "retiral" has 69 occurrences in the Herald, 20 in the Scotsman, and 10 in the Record. Thus once again, a broadsheet/tabloid split is suggested, with the broadsheets having far higher occurrences than expected of these items compared to the tabloid Record. As discussed in chapter 6 (see 6.4.1) the broadsheets have different subject matter, and this may be responsible in some part for the differences in figures. Chapters 3 and 6 also argued that broadsheets were generally more formal in tenor. In chapter 6, section 6.4.1.3 it was demonstrated that certain lexical items such as "lad o'pairts" and "pawky" were not found in the tabloid Record, and argued that this was due to differences in the perceived readerships having an effect on the language used by the newspapers. Thus it can be argued that these formal functional Scotticisms listed above are much more common in the broadsheets precisely because they have a more formal tenor which is compatible with the formal tenor of the broadsheets themselves. Differences in the levels of formality of the language used in a text may therefore actually be reflected by differences in the Scottish lexical items it includes or excludes.

7.7.6.2   Different texts, different Scots

As was discussed at 2.5.1, Scots is generally perceived to have lower status than English, and is therefore deemed to be less appropriate for use in formal written texts. However, formal functional Scotticisms such as "leet", "outwith", "retiral" and "uplift" evidently cross this language variety-register boundary as they are used in formal contexts. The use of such lexical items in serious formal article types by the broadsheets demonstrates their perceived appropriacy in a text type which would usually be expected to be written entirely in Standard written English. (It is interesting to note that "outwith" and "timeous" are found, with one exception where "outwith" is used in a letter presumably from a Scot, only in Scots Law Reports in the Times, and therefore they have a functional purpose in formal contexts. (See also 5.5.5 and 6.3.2.3) These functional Scottish lexical items are seldom found in the Record, and this demonstrates again the underlying differences between the two newspaper types, which are being reflected linguistically. It may also point to deeper issues such as the purposes to which Scottish lexical items are put in the newspapers, and the linguistic split which seems to exist between the tabloid and broadsheet press and has been noted throughout this study. Both the tabloids and broadsheets may use some elements of Scottish language, but arguably the language they use shows fundamental differences both in its purpose and realisation. Once again these differences can be related to differences in the Scottish identity (identities) constructed and maintained by different Scottish newspapers; the broadsheets evidently having a very formal register of Scottish Standard English (these functional Scotticisms do not occur with non-standard grammatical features) which is considered suitable for a wide variety of purposes, and is substantially removed from the more usual register associations of Scots lexis with informal and humorous contexts.

7.7.7   Language variety differences between columns 1 & 2

This section investigates whether there are any differences in the language varieties of the contexts of column 1 and column 2 lexis. It is hypothesised that

column 2 lexis may tend to be associated with more dense *Scots* contexts, due to its phonological cognate status. Conversely it is hypothesised that column 1 lexis may be more salient for language display in thinner contexts. The data for this section is displayed below in Table 7.1.

It is necessary, however, to first explain exactly how the percentages given in the Table 7.1 were arrived at. For each table a count was made of the total number of language variety contexts expressed. These counts were split into a total for the group 1 lexical items in the table, and a total for the group 2 lexical items in the table. Each table was then analysed for language variety category labels, e.g. E (*English*), SE (*Scottish-English*) and S (*Scots*). For example, 4 of the 8 language variety contexts for column 1 lexis in Table A9.1, Appendix 9 (i.e. closed class lexis) were categorised as "E" (*English*), i.e. 50 percent; and 4 were categorised as "E/SE" (i.e. mostly *English*, but a significant minority of *Scottish-English* contexts), i.e. 50 percent. Ideally these observations would be checked for the whole search list, but as explained earlier, this became logistically impossible in the time allotted, and thus these results were again based on the 85 items sampled in this chapter (see 7.2.6).

7.7.7.1   Observations made from data

As can be seen from Table 7.1 below, some interesting patterns emerge. For closed class lexis (Appendix 9, Table A9.1), the column 1 items were split evenly between *English* and E/SE contexts with 50 percent falling into each language variety category. The language variety contexts for column 2 closed class lexis were quite different with 35 percent having *Scots* contexts, 37 percent having S/SE contexts and 12 percent having *Scottish-English* contexts. Thus for closed class lexis, a clear split between column 1 items at the thinner end of the Scottish-English continuum and column 2 items at the more dense Scots end of the continuum could be clearly discerned.

Language variety label	Closed class lexis (Table A9.1)		Open class lexis; increases semantic range (Table A9.2)		Open class lexis; increases semantic density (Table A9.3)		Overall Percentages (Tables A9.1, A9.2 & A9.3)	
	Column 1 (%)	Column 2 (%)	Column 1 (%)	Column 2 (%)	Column 1 (%)	Column 2 (%)	Column 1 (%)	Column 2 (%)
S	0	35	0	0	0	18	0	27
E	50	4	76	0	63	28	65	13
SE	0	12	0	0	0	0	0	8
mixed	0	6	0	0	2	0	1	4
E/SE	50	2	12	0	27	25	26	10
S/SE	0	37	0	0	0	25	0	34
E/S	0	0	0	0	1	0	1	0
SE/E	0	0	6	0	4	0	3	0
SE/S	0	0	0	0	3	0	3	0
E/SE/S	0	0	6	0	0	0	0	0
S/SE/E	0	2	0	0	0	0	0	1
S/E	0	0	0	0	0	4	0	1
other	0	2	0	0	0	0	0	1

Table 7.1   Relationship between language variety and whether column 1 or column 2 lexis

N.B. There may be some effect on percentage totals from rounding to nearest whole number.

As it happened, all the open class lexis which increased semantic range (Appendix 9, Table A9.2) in the sample was column 1 lexis (with a few items which are shared with English being classified as column 3). Again there was a strong bias towards the Scottish Standard English end of the continuum, with 76 percent of column 1 lexis being found in *English* contexts, and 12 percent being found in E/SE contexts.

For open class lexis which increased semantic density (Appendix 9, Table A9.3), column 1 lexis again tended towards the thinner end of the continuum (63 percent of contexts were *English* and 27 percent were E/SE). The situation was slightly more complicated for column 2 lexis, with 28 percent of contexts being *English*, 25 percent of both E/SE and S/SE, and 18 percent being found in *Scots* contexts.

Overall percentages across all three groups of words were calculated, and here again column 1 lexis tended to be found in *English* contexts (65 percent) or E/SE contexts (26 percent). The overall percentages for column 2 lexis were more complicated, but there was a definite tendency towards the Scots end of the continuum with 33 percent being in S/SE contexts, 28 percent in *Scots* contexts, 13 percent in *English* contexts, 10 percent in E/SE contexts and 8 percent in SE contexts. Thus, based on the data in this sample, there appears to be an association of column 1 lexis with the Scottish Standard English end of the continuum, with column 2 lexis tending more towards the Scots end of the continuum. The following section suggests possible reasons for this split.

7.7.7.2 Column 1 lexis as more distinctively Scottish

It is possible to suggest that column 1 lexis has proportionately more contexts towards the thinner end of the Scottish-English continuum because these items, as suggested above (see 7.7.4) are sufficiently distinct from English, not to be confused with it. Stylistically they therefore function as overtly distinct Scots lexical items, and as such are highly salient for language display in thinner contexts (see also 7.7.4). Column 2 lexis, having readily accessible English phonological cognates may seem less acceptable in formal less dense

written contexts, precisely because it can be perceived as Scotticised English and therefore non-standard English; rather than as being part of a distinct Scottish linguistic culture. In more densely Scottish contexts, the formality or appropriacy pressures from English are less strong, and therefore column 2 lexis functions in relation to other Scots linguistic items, therefore its similarities to English are less noticeable and less important. It is perceived to be more 'truly' Scottish because it is set alongside other Scottish linguistic features. When put alongside English lexis, the similarities it bears to English are foregrounded. Column 2 lexis may therefore have proportionately more contexts towards the Scots end of the continuum, i.e. more dense contexts, because here the overall context is more Scottish and therefore there are fewer stylistic and register problems for column 2 lexis.

Thus the situation can be thought of as maximal or minimal differentiation from English. (In written texts the point of reference would be written Standard English.) Due to its close association with its English cognates, in the written mode, column 2 lexis may seem to be more of a stylistic than a semantic choice. As the column 2 and column 4 items are phonological variants of the same basic word, choosing one or other version seems to imply more of a language variety choice than choosing an entirely different column 1 Scottish item. Column 1 lexis, as entirely distinct from English forms, can be equated with dialect; column 2 lexis, in the spoken mode, may tend to be equated with accent. Choosing to use either a column 1 or a column 2 lexical item in the written mode usually implies a stylistic choice of some sort. What is being argued here is that these stylistic choices have different emphases, although evidently both column 1 and column 2 lexis can be used to construct and maintain Scottishness. This accent vs. dialect distinction for column 2 vs. column 1 lexis is returned to in 7.8.3, where the relative proportions of direct speech contexts for column 1 and column 2 lexis are examined.)

7.8   Direct speech in immediate contexts

This chapter also examines whether items of Scottish lexis occur in direct speech contexts, or in narrative contexts. These alternatives arguably have implications for the perceived level of commitment to, or distance from, the use of Scots; and also as a potential for signalling ingroup and outgroup membership.

There were several reasons behind this part of the investigation. Firstly, Scots is more frequently encountered and is generally more productive in the spoken rather than the written mode. Thus it was quite possible that in the newspapers a potentially significant amount of Scottish lexis would be found in direct speech contexts, as representing spoken Scots in written text. The overall proportions of direct speech contexts for the lexical occurrences noted in the newspapers are given in section 7.8.1.

Secondly, it was also considered possible that certain Scots lexical items may be more commonly used in the spoken than in the written mode, and vice-versa (i.e. related to particular registers), and therefore there might be observable differences in the direct speech data as it is a representation of the spoken mode in written text. The results of the investigation into direct speech contexts with respect to open vs. closed class, and column 1 vs. column 2 items are given at 7.8.2ff and 7.8.3ff.

Thirdly, it was possible that the use of Scots in direct speech would have different implications from the use of Scots in narrative. If Scots is used in narrative, there is a reasonably strong implicit suggestion that the journalist and reader share the same variety, i.e. they are constructed as members of the same discourse community. If, on the other hand, Scots is used in direct speech, it need not have that implication and the newspaper is to some extent dissociated from the usage, and it can therefore be used to mark outgroup as well as ingroup membership. E.g. If a representation of working-class Scots is given in direct speech in a broadsheet newspaper it need not imply that this is the language of its readership; rather it can indicate outgroup membership. If however, working-class Scots was

consistently used in the narrative of a broadsheet, problems with in-group identity occur. This is discussed further in section 7.8.4, where the link between the use of Scots and direct speech contexts is investigated.

(Again reference should be made to Tables A9.1-3 in Appendix 9 for detailed results.) During the analysis of data for the previous chapter, it was also observed that certain items of lexis in the sample were proportionately much more heavily represented in direct speech contexts than they were in straightforward prose; i.e. a significant number of their immediate contexts were direct speech excerpts. Thus this part of the chapter seeks to identify the items of lexis from the search list which show this strong patterning, and to answer why this might be the case.

It should be noted that first person narration contexts and reported speech contexts would be expected to show similar patterning, although given the absence of quickly identified markers such as the quotation mark, these first person narrative contexts were much more difficult to effectively search for. There were however, occasions such as in illustrative Text 3 (Appendix 10), where the article was written in an extended passage of first person narration, which were much easier to identify, and in such cases, similar patterns were observed.

7.8.1 Overall proportions of direct speech in the newspapers

Based on the data given in database TABLE 'Contexts', overall percentages of direct speech contexts for each of the newspapers were as follows. (These figures were calculated by dividing the total number of direct speech contexts noted in TABLE 'Contexts' by the total number of occurrences of search items for each newspaper (see section 6.6) and expressing the result as a percentage. Unlike the data discussed in the next section, these overall figures are not split by open versus closed class lexis.) Thus it was calculated that 27 percent of all word occurrences retrieved by the search list in the Herald were in direct speech contexts. This compares with 41 percent in the Scotsman, and 42 percent in the Record. Thus on the basis of the data collected by this study, the Herald is more

likely to use Scots lexis outwith direct speech contexts than either of the other two Scottish newspapers. The figures for the Scotsman and the Record are almost the same, thus there is no simple split between tabloids and broadsheets for this factor. As discussed above at 7.8, the use of Scots lexis in narrative, rather than through the distancing medium of direct speech, can be perceived as being much more attributable to the journalist or newspaper itself. As discussed in chapter 3 at 3.7.5, newspapers are written in their version of the language of their perceived readership, and thus the use of large quantities of Scots lexis in narrative may be a fairly risky strategy as it implies this is the language shared by the newspaper and its readers. Middle-class readers of broadsheets may find this triggers associations of outgroup rather than ingroup membership. On the basis of the data collected here, it can be suggested that the Herald relies less on 'filtered' direct speech Scots contexts than the other Scottish newspapers, and hence can in a sense be seen as more 'committed' to the use of Scots lexis.

7.8.2   Open vs. closed class lexis & direct speech contexts

This section investigates whether there are differences between open and closed class lexis in terms of the proportions of direct speech contexts. A comparison of the 3 tables in Appendix 9 (A9.1-3) shows that, as a group, the closed class Scottish lexical items have a significantly higher proportion of occurrences in direct speech contexts than is the case for either of the groups of open class lexis.

A comparison of the average percentages of direct speech contexts at the level of the individual newspapers also shows this trend. For closed class lexis, on average 29 percent of the sample contexts in the Herald were direct speech contexts, for the Scotsman the average was 40 percent and for the Record 44 percent. (These figures were derived by totalling the percentages for direct speech for each newspaper and then dividing by the total number of entries in the list.) If a comparison is made with the open class lexis which increases semantic density (Table A9.3) there is a noticeable drop in the averages to 7 percent in the Herald, 12 percent in the Scotsman, and 10 percent in the Record. The figures for open

class lexis which increases semantic range are even lower (Table A9.2) with an average of 6 percent of entries being in direct speech contexts in the Herald, 7 percent in the Scotsman and 7 percent in the Record. It is interesting to note that in each case for a particular class/group of words in the sample, the figures across the newspapers are quite similar. Thus the differences observed in the sample data shown in Tables A9.1-3, Appendix 9 are not primarily due to differences between the newspapers in the quantities of Scottish lexis in direct speech contexts, although overall the Herald has been shown to have lower proportions of direct speech contexts (see previous section); rather they are based on the distinctions between the different types of word represented by each of the three tables. The following sections suggest explanations for these high proportions of direct speech contexts for closed class lexis.

7.8.2.1   Semantic/functional associations with the spoken mode

Firstly it should be noted that some of these closed class lexical items are more generally associated with spoken Scots rather than the written mode. Thus for example "ah" and "ye" are explicable as often being representative of unstressed phonological variants (of "I" and "you" respectively), and are both listed as such in the CSD. "Aye" is commonly used informally for the affirmative in spoken Scots. Weak negative forms such as "dinna/dinnae" may also more likely to be found in the spoken mode. In formal written Scottish Standard English the expected form would be "do not"; the contracted "don't" form usually being reserved for speech or informal written contexts. These forms have a fairly informal register, and written language is generally more formal than spoken language. Thus it is not surprising that such forms should have a high proportion of direct speech contexts. It should be noted however, that Macafee (1994a, p.223) found "dinnae" to be quite rare in Glaswegian speech, the English form "don't" generally being the preferred form. Thus there may be a difference between the perception of what is included in spoken Scots, and what is actually found to be used in speech. This dichotomy may be reflected in the forms used in direct speech.

7.8.2.2   Characteristic proportions of open/closed lexis in written/spoken texts

A second explanation for the relatively high proportions of direct speech contexts for closed class lexis noted in Table A9.1 may be given by the characteristic proportions of open and closed class lexis in written and spoken texts. Although direct speech in the newspapers is evidently in the written mode, it is a representation of the spoken mode, rendered in the written mode. As such, it may have some characteristics generally associated with speech although not necessarily all. The written and spoken modes characteristically have different proportions of open to closed class lexical items. Halliday (1989, p.61) observes, "Written language displays a much higher ratio of lexical items to total running words." (For Halliday, "lexical items" are content words, i.e. open class lexis; and the others, the closed class lexis, are termed grammatical items.) He argues that written language contains proportionately more lexical content words than grammatical words; and spoken language contains proportionately more grammatical words than lexical content words. Thus he describes written language as being more dense, meaning that it uses more and a greater variety of lexical content words.

> In general, the more 'written' the language being used, the higher will be the proportion of lexical words to the total number of running words in the text.
>
> (Halliday, 1989, p.64)

Modifying his argument with respect to the relative proportions of identifiably Scottish lexis (of both types) in a text; it seems reasonable to suggest that straightforward prose texts may contain comparatively more Scottish lexical content words than would their spoken counterparts. Conversely spoken texts, or those in the written mode which represent spoken texts (i.e. direct speech or first person narrative), may contain a higher proportion of Scottish closed class/grammatical items than straightforward written narrative prose. These hypotheses seem to be borne out by the data contained in the three tables in Appendix 9. Closed class lexical items have a significantly higher proportion of

direct speech immediate contexts than was observed for the open class lexical items. A similar observation can be made in a comparison of illustrative texts 1 & 2 with texts 3 & 4 (Appendix 10), (closer to written and spoken models respectively) discussed later in section 7.11.3.

These differences between open and closed class lexis in terms of proportions of their occurrences in direct speech or straightforward prose contexts are not, of course, exclusive to Scots texts. Spoken texts generally are likely to contain a higher proportion of closed class lexis and a lower proportion of open class lexis than written texts. This is a result of fundamental differences between the nature of written and spoken language in terms of how information is ordered and how the overall text is structured. Of course, it must be remembered that direct speech in the newspapers is unlikely to be a completely accurate rendering of an individual's spoken language. For example, it is very unlikely to show all the false starts, repetitions, hesitations and fillers which are the norm in spoken discourse. Direct speech in the written mode is only a representation of the spoken mode, and many of the features of the 'real' speech may well have been edited out. Nevertheless, as a representation of the spoken mode, it is to be expected that direct speech will have a relationship with spoken language as well as with written language. In a sense, it can be thought of as an attempt to bridge the gap between the spoken and written modes in a written text. Direct speech examples of Scots are therefore likely to be as close (perhaps even closer) to spoken Scots language models, as they are to written Scots models. As discussed later at 7.8.3.3, spoken and written Scots do actually differ quite significantly from each other, and therefore the linguistic patterns noted in Scots prose and Scots direct speech are also quite likely to differ.

The next three sections focus more closely on the contexts of specific items of Scottish lexis, looking firstly at closed class lexical items, and then at open class lexical items.

7.8.2.3   Closed class items with high proportions of direct speech contexts

Closed class lexical items such as "aye", "dae", "dinna"/ "dinnae" and "ye" also have fairly high frequencies across the newspapers, and in all cases exhibit very high proportions of direct speech contexts. For example "aye" with 163, 96 and 38 occurrences in the Herald, Scotsman and Record respectively, has 42 percent, 66 percent and 53 percent respectively of these occurrences appearing in direct speech contexts. "Ye" has 173 occurrences in the Herald (57 percent of which occur in direct speech), and 12 occurrences in the Scotsman (67 percent of which appear in direct speech contexts). "Ah" is particularly common in direct speech or first person narrative contexts. (Text 3 discussed below at 7.11 contributes a significant number of occurrences (52) to the Herald's total for this lexical item, and was written in first person narrative.) In the Herald there were 118 occurrences of "ah", 96 percent of which were in direct speech or first person narrative contexts; in the Scotsman all 15 occurrences were in direct speech contexts, and in the Record again all 4 occurrences were in direct speech contexts. By comparison, the proportions of occurrences in direct speech contexts in Table A9.2 and Table A9.3, which show the figures for open class lexis, are generally much lower; most of the occasional higher proportions being attributable to a smaller number of occurrences overall, and therefore statistically much less significant percentages. A few lexical items from Table A9.3 such as "hen" particularly, and also "ken" have reasonable numbers of occurrences overall and also have high percentages of direct speech contexts, which suggests that they too may be exhibiting the same trend. ("Hen": 24 occurrences in the Herald, 2 in Scotsman (it is usually considered to be a West coast term, and this is borne out by the figures), 8 in the Record; 75, 100 and 75 percent respectively of the contexts being direct speech. "Ken": 12 occurrences in the Herald, 16 in the Scotsman, 3 in the Record; 50, 44 and 0 percent respectively of the contexts being direct speech.) "Hen" is a common form in the spoken mode in certain parts of Scotland, as is "ken". Both items are often used as discourse markers in speech; although the newspaper data showed "ken" was also frequently used as a lexical verb.

7.8.2.4   Closed class items with low proportions of direct speech contexts

It is also interesting to consider those items of closed class lexis which do not have the expected high proportions of occurrences in direct speech and therefore do not follow the trends outlined in the above. The most obvious examples are "maist", "doon", "furth" and "outwith". "Maist" is easily explicable as consultation of the database shows that the only place this item occurs in the Herald (the only newspaper which includes this lexical item) is in Scots language articles. As discussed at 5.5.6, these are specialised types of articles, and tend to have a different pattern of usage of Scottish lexical items. "Outwith", "furth" and "doon" are interesting in tending to have thinner *Scottish-English* or *English* contexts. "Doon" is complicated by the high proportion of its occurrences which are found in the fixed expression "doon the watter". When "doon" is used in this phrase, the surrounding contexts, with the exception of course of "watter", tend to be English. As will be discussed in chapter 8 (see 8.4.4), this is a common finding with Scots fixed expressions. Where "doon" is used as a stand-alone lexical item its contexts tend to be *Scots*. Thus there is a clear division in the contexts of "doon" based on whether it occurs as a single lexical item or as part of a longer fixed expression unit. (Interestingly "doon the watter" is not found in direct speech contexts. Such examples of "doon" that do exist in direct speech or first person narrative contexts are examples where "doon" stands alone as a lexical item and does not form part of a longer fixed expression unit.) "Outwith" as discussed above at 7.7.6 falls into the category of functional Scotticisms which are acceptable in formal written contexts, as does "furth". It is worth noting that although the Herald and Scotsman have large frequencies for "outwith" (396 and 223 respectively), a very low percentage of these occurrences are found in direct speech (4 percent and 2 percent respectively). By contrast the Record, which has far fewer occurrences (only 31) has a far higher proportion of them in direct speech (26 percent). Thus the broadsheets and tabloids use "outwith" rather differently, and in significantly different quantities. This again indicates differences in the purposes for which Scots is used in the tabloids and the broadsheets.

7.8.2.5   Open class lexical items not found in direct speech

Analysis of Table A9.2 and Table A9.3 shows that certain items of open class lexis are not found in direct speech contexts in the newspaper data. Examples include lexical items such as "body-swerve", "guddle", "lad o'pairts", "peep" (as part of the expression 'to put one's gas at a peep'), "sae", "stushie", "thrawn", "timeous", "weel-kent", "winch". With the exception of "sae", these lexical items are found in predominantly *English* or sometimes *Scottish-English* contexts. What reasons can be suggested for these observations?

"Lad o'pairts", "thrawn" and "timeous" are found in both the Herald and Scotsman, but not in the Record. As discussed in chapter 6 (see 6.4.1.3 and 6.4.2) "lad o'pairts" was suggested to be a predominantly middle-class usage linked to the Kailyard stereotype. It can be suggested that "lad o'pairts" and "thrawn" as predominantly middle-class usages may be used as overt Scotticisms in the broadsheets as acts of language display in passages of what is otherwise English. "Lad o'pairts" and "to put one's gas at a peep" are also fixed formulaic expressions, and as was seen with the example of "doon" in the previous section, and as will be discussed in more detail in the next chapter at 8.4.4, such formulaic fixed expressions are often found in otherwise English contexts. "To put one's gas at a peep" was found in the Herald, Scotsman and Record, and was quite productive in all the newspapers (see 8.2.4 for discussion of productivity of expressions). "Weel-kent" does occur in the Record, although on all three occasions it occurs as "weel-kent face" which is a highly formulaic collocational pairing. This cluster does occur in the Herald and Scotsman, but they extend its usage into other collocations, i.e. substitute another noun for "face" and use it more productively. (See chapter 8 for further information on common collocations.) "Weel-kent" is another rather formulaic item, and perhaps somewhat old fashioned, and as such may tend to be associated more with the written than the spoken mode. "Timeous" was, for me at least, a covert Scotticism, but it seems to have the level of formality associated with the functional Scotticisms discussed earlier at 7.7.6.

"Bodyswerve" is interesting as it has higher frequencies in the Record than in either of the broadsheets. This may reflect differences between the tabloid and broadsheets generally, as this is a particularly colloquial term. (It appears to be associated more often with sport in the Record than is the case in the broadsheets, although it was originally coined as a term meaning to dodge a player in football.) This lexical item is surprising as although it is a colloquial term, it does not appear in direct speech contexts in the newspapers, and always appears in *English* contexts. The latter may be due to urban colloquial Scots using less traditional Scottish lexis. "Winch" which is another colloquial term, would possibly be expected in the Record, but was not found there.

Other items of open class lexis such as "gub" also had noticeable differences in the proportions of direct speech contexts and overall occurrences between the tabloid and broadsheet newspapers. "Gub", with 33 occurrences in the Record, was much more commonly used in the tabloid Record than in either of the broadsheet newspapers. The Herald had only 13 occurrences of this item, and the Scotsman only 10 occurrences. Interestingly, the Herald had the highest proportion of occurrences in direct speech contexts at 23 percent, followed by the Scotsman at 10 percent. The Record, although having the greatest number of occurrences of this item (33 occurrences), had only 3 percent in direct speech contexts. This suggests again that the broadsheets may be constructing and maintaining a different Scottish identity to the tabloid Record, and that these distinctions are largely class-based. "Gub" is a colloquial term (meaning "to beat"), and the figures may suggest that by having a higher proportion of direct speech contexts, the broadsheets are tending more towards regarding this as an outgroup term. However, other colloquial terms such as "polis" suggest an opposite tendency with 63 occurrences in the Herald, 5 in the Scotsman and 12 in the Record; but with direct speech percentages of 5, 20 and 33 percent respectively.

The data presented in this and the previous two sections on the proportions of direct speech contexts for specific lexical items illustrate the complexity of the issues surrounding the use of Scots lexis for the construction/maintenance of identity, and as a potential for signalling ingroup and outgroup membership. This

complex situation is considered further in the following section which investigates whether there are differences in the proportions of direct speech contexts for column 1 and column 2 lexis.

7.8.3 Direct speech context differences between columns 1 & 2

The other hypothesis to be tested was whether there were any observable differences between the proportions of direct speech contexts for column 1 and column 2 lexis; column 2 lexis perhaps being expected to yield higher proportions of direct speech contexts due to its reliance on phonological differences to distinguish it from column 4 cognate lexis in the spoken mode.

Again the three tables at Appendix 9 were treated separately. In each case the percentages of direct speech associated with column 1 lexical items were totalled, and then divided by the total number of entries to give an average. The same calculation was done separately for column 2 lexis. The results are fairly consistent between the different categories of column 1 and column 2 lexis. The average direct speech percentage for column 1 closed class lexis was 25 percent. For column 2 closed class lexis the average was 39 percent. For open class lexis which increases semantic range column 1 lexis gave an average of 7 percent. (It will be remembered that there were no column 2 items from the sample in this category.) For open class lexis which increased semantic density the average for column 1 lexis was 10 percent, and for column 2 lexis the average was 9 percent. The overall figures therefore reconfirm the observation made at 7.8.2 above, that closed class lexis yielded proportionately more direct speech contexts than the other word groups, and also suggest that for closed class Scottish lexis, there were higher percentages of direct speech contexts associated with column 2 closed class lexis, than with column 1 closed class lexis.

The following sections suggest reasons for the higher percentages of direct speech contexts for column 2 closed class lexis.

7.8.3.1   Column 2 lexis: phonological variants

As discussed earlier at 7.7.7.2, with respect to the higher proportions of *Scots* contexts for column 2 lexis, column 1 and column 2 items can be associated with dialect and accent respectively. If a Scots lexical item closely resembles an English cognate form (i.e. is a column 2 item), it is likely in the written mode, especially if it occurs in a context which is not overwhelmingly one of dense Scots, that its spelling will be taken not just to infer that it is a Scots word, but also as signalling its distinctively Scottish pronunciation. Indeed, it is quite likely that for many readers unfamiliar with more dense forms of Scots writing, that the distinctively Scottish pronunciation signal will predominate, and the lexical item may be viewed as non-standard English, rather than as being peculiarly Scottish, i.e. column 2 lexis may, on occasions due to the overwhelming hegemony of English in Scotland, be regarded as deviant or substandard versions of column 4 lexis. McClure (1997, p.15) notes of these forms in the spoken mode that

> It is probably fair to say that most people, other than language scholars, vaguely imagine these Scots pronunciations to represent distortions or corruptions of the contemporary English words.

Column 1 lexis, as entirely distinct from English forms, is likely to be regarded as localised lexis; whereas column 2 lexis, especially if occurring in isolation from column 1 items, may tend to be associated more with pronunciation. Thus it is not particularly surprising that column 2 closed class lexis should be common in direct speech contexts. Clearly this is not a hard and fast distinction, as it will depend on the surrounding contexts of these items. Thus, for example, column 2 lexis occurring in dense Scots contexts, with many other items of Scots lexis, is more likely to be viewed as Scots rather than non-standard English. The emphasis on pronunciation, and hence the acceptance of column 2 forms, is likely to be more evident in direct speech where ostensibly a representation is being given of people's actual speech, than would be the case in straightforward narrative prose.

Both column 1 and column 2 lexis are resources for marking Scottishness; but as discussed in section 7.7.4, column 1 lexis may be preferred for language display.

As noted at 7.7.4, Aitken (1979a, 1984b) distinguishes group 2 and group 3 speakers on the basis of whether they use column 2 closed class lexis (group 2) or column 2 open class lexis (group 3). Thus there is a class distinction associated with these linguistic choices. Group 2 speakers (as noted in section 2.3.5) are drawn from the middle-class (especially middle-class men), the lower middle-class and 'respectable working class'. Group 3 is characteristic of informal working-class speech. Aitken (1984a, p.521) also notes that group 2 speakers "have recourse to column 1 much less frequently than to column 2, except in 'stylistic overt Scotticism' function". It may therefore be possible to hypothesise that texts which are more closely aligned to respectable working-class speech will tend to contain proportionately more column 2 closed class lexis and less column 1 lexis than other types of texts, and this question is addressed by the analysis of the illustrative texts at 7.11ff below, particularly focusing on texts 3 and 4 which represent more colloquial Scots and are closer to spoken models. Column 2 open class lexis may be more stigmatised as linked with group 3 speakers. It is therefore considered likely that different proportions of column 1 and column 2 lexis may be indicative of different text types, and may facilitate categorisation of texts in conjunction with McClure's thin/dense, literary/colloquial classification model (see 2.8.1).

7.8.3.2   Column 2 lexis as more prevalent than column 1 in *Scots* contexts

In 7.7.4 it was argued that column 1 open class Scots lexis was more likely to be used in very thin *Scottish-English* or even *English* contexts for language display. However, a general observation can be made that in present-day Scots contexts, column 2 lexis is likely to predominate. Aitken (1981a, p.74) notes that

At the opposite pole of the continuum [from middle-class Scots] working-class Scots speakers offer a noticeably higher type and token frequency of lexical and especially formal Scotticisms (Like *hame* and *doon* for *home* and *down*). (my square brackets)

He goes on to say that

The habitual speech of many Scots today probably contains more distinctively Scots *forms* than Galt's narrative prose, like *hame* and *doon* against *home* and *down*, but far fewer distinctive words and idioms. (Aitken, 1981a, p.76)

Aitken thus draws a distinction between "distinctive words and idioms", which are presumably column 1 items, and "distinctively Scots forms" which from the examples he gives appear to be column 2 lexis. His hypothesis that column 2 items may be more commonly used than column 1 items (although it must be remembered that he is discussing speech, not writing) is illustrated by the relative proportions of column 1 and column 2 lexis noted in illustrative texts 1 to 4, discussed at 7.11.2.

7.8.3.3   Relationship between written and spoken Scots

As noted briefly in the previous chapter at 6.2.1, it is important to remember that spoken and written Scots are not necessarily as closely related as might be assumed. (See also 2.5.3.3.) Although both would be categorised as Scots, they are usually rather different types of Scots, and as the comparison given later of illustrative texts 1 and 2, with texts 3 and 4 (Appendix 10) shows (see 7.11ff.) they may exhibit quite different linguistic characteristics. As noted above at 7.8.2.2, in the newspapers we only have a representation of speech in passages of direct speech, and thus the speech itself has been mediated by the writer. It cannot therefore be entirely 'naturalistic'. For example, the Scots language

variety Lallans is essentially only a written variety. Much of dense written Scots is of the Lallans type, and therefore has a much more literary register than would be encountered in speech, or even as we have here in reported speech. For example, as discussed later with reference to Text 1, there are likely to be vocabulary items used in these Lallans type texts which would not commonly be found in present-day Scots speech, due to factors such as their now general obsolescence, geographical provenance or more literary tone. People do not speak Lallans. It is a synthetic literary variety which uses lexis from different parts of Scotland and sometimes includes archaic and obsolete lexis. The language of much Scottish poetry, even if not written in Lallans, is often quite different from the varieties spoken by Scots today. The language of Scots poetry generally has a quite different register from that of the spoken varieties, although the language of some contemporary poets such as Tom Leonard seems to come much closer to spoken Scots.

Conversely many of the more informal expressions used in speech would be deemed inappropriate for serious Scots prose. It is also worth remembering that people will not necessarily use the same amount or type of Scots in writing as they do in speech.

As noted earlier at 2.5.3.3, it is generally accepted that more Scots is spoken nowadays than is written. There also seems to be much more analysis of spoken Scots than its written counterpart (e.g. studies by Aitken, Macafee, Macaulay etc.); and much of what has been done on written Scots not surprisingly (as that is where the bulk of it lies) tends to focus on literary Scots. The two modes are related, but as is often the case where a language is not used as the main vehicle of communication, there are some quite noticeable differences between spoken and written Scots. This situation is due in part to the tendency to reserve written Scots for the literary language of poetry especially, and there has been a lack of development of a written Scots suitable for discursive prose, although the Lallans movement has been trying to combat this. Written Scots nowadays tends to fall into two distinct registers. Either it is the embellished, often archaic, perhaps regional Scots of traditional poetry, or it is an attempt at a much more colloquial

style reminiscent of spoken, and often urban, Scots (for example, the work of Tom Leonard (urban dialect) or Flora Garry (rural dialect)). Spoken Scots on the other hand, tends towards the informal and the colloquial. Formal spoken Scots is something of an anomaly. As McClure (1979, p. 38) observes "Colloquial Scots retains a close relationship with the spoken language; literary Scots does not."

Thus the use of dense Lallans type Scots, as found in illustrative texts 1 and 2 (see 7.11ff), is likely to exhibit quite different features from colloquial Scots which is more closely associated with spoken models, as found in texts 3 and 4. The use of thinner *Scottish-English* contexts will exhibit different features again; thus the newspapers can exploit a range of different Scots styles, each of which will be considered more or less appropriate in particular contexts.

It is therefore possible to suggest that whilst texts that use a form of Scots which is closer to spoken models may have a lower proportion of Scottish lexis overall than Lallans type formal Scots prose or Scots literary texts, the Scottish lexis which they do contain is likely to have a higher proportion of grammatical to lexical content words than is the case for more formal and in some ways more traditional Scots texts. These 'pronunciation' differences which are referred to with respect to colloquial urban texts may be reflected in the written mode by differing proportions of column 1 and column 2 lexis, although it should be remembered that both are equally 'Scottish', and available for the construction/maintenance of Scottish identity.

7.8.4   Use of Scots in direct speech

One other observation which can be made from Appendix 9, tables A9.1-3, is that generally those lexical items from the sample which have higher proportions of direct speech contexts also tend to have language variety contexts towards the Scots end of the continuum. As can be seen from Fig 7.1 and Table A9.1, closed class lexis has the greatest proportion of contexts from the Scots end of the linguistic continuum. Closed class items also have the highest percentages of

direct speech contexts. Some open class items with higher proportions of direct speech contexts, such as "hen", "ken", "noo", and "wrang", also tend to have language variety contexts from the Scots end of the continuum. Thus it can be argued that there is a correlation between the use of Scots, and direct speech contexts in the newspaper data. The following section suggests an explanation for this link between the use of Scots and direct speech contexts in the newspapers.

7.8.4.1   The individual rather than the institutional voice

As discussed in 2.5.1, Scots is generally perceived as having lower status than English. As discussed in section 2.6.8 there is a great deal of pressure on newspapers, generated both by themselves and their readers, to use 'correct' or appropriately standardised language. Including Scots in direct speech contexts may in certain respects be considered 'safer' than using it in straightforward prose. Scots which appears in direct speech can be 'explained' as being the words of an individual. It is not directly attributable to the newspaper itself. Thus in more formal article types, this type of Scots usage may be deemed much more appropriate than would be the inclusion of Scots in straightforward prose. The reason for this is that distance is created between the newspaper, with its institutional image to maintain, by the inclusion of an intermediary 'speaker'. Thus the Scots becomes the responsibility of the 'speaker' not the newspaper, with its correct institutional image to maintain. It can be argued that if Scottish language elements are restricted to direct speech or first person narrative contexts, that less commitment is made to the use of Scots by the writer than would be the case if straightforward prose narrated in the third person used Scottish forms.

The situation can be explained by linguistic appropriacy (see 2.7.1). If the speech of individuals, whether in direct or reported speech format, is given in some variety of Scots, as readers we have the option of adopting an external viewpoint in-so-far as we can 'explain' their usage in terms of an individual's language choices. This is much easier for a readership to rationalise, than would be the use of Scots in extended passages of narrative, especially long passages of narrative

which appear to belong to the institutional voice of the newspaper. It is reasonably appropriate for real Scottish people to speak, and thus be quoted as speaking, in some Scottish language variety. It is less appropriate for an institutional voice to use Scots. On the basis of the texts examined in this study it appears to be less appropriate, unless in specialised contexts such as discussing the state of the Scots language, or attempting to be humorous, to use extended passages of Scots in newspaper narrative.

7.9   Specialised contexts

This chapter also investigates to what extent lexical items occur in specialised contexts, such as in the lines of poems, in headlines or sub-headlines, or in Scots language articles. During the analysis is became obvious that certain lexical items tended to be found in these and other specialised contexts. As discussed in chapter 5 at 5.5.6ff, especially in the broadsheets, there were a group of articles on the general subject of the Scots language, which were written in various forms of dense Scots. Details of the results of this analysis are given in the following section.

7.9.1   Specialised contexts data

Analysis of the information given in the database FORM 'Contexts' yielded some interesting observations. Three main points of analysis were made. Firstly I investigated Scots lexical items which occurred in Scots language articles; secondly those which occurred in poems; and thirdly, those which occurred in headlines and/or subheadlines in the Record. (The other Scottish newspapers did not have information on subheadlines.) It is necessary to explain exactly to what the figures quoted below refer, as this is not immediately apparent. The 'Contexts' form is a summative form in the database (can be viewed by depressing "Contexts" button; see Appendix 1 for further details), which gives an overall picture of the contexts associated with the different lexical items from the

search list. (The following explanation is best understood after viewing this form in the database.) Thus it is based on the different lexical items from the search list, not on individual occurrences or articles, as was the case for the analysis in the preceding chapter. (The information was taken by direct analysis of the concordance display for each lexical item.) E.g. for "wean", summary information is given on the part of speech (noun); whether it has alternative orthographic forms that were investigated by the data; whether there are particular idiomatic/formulaic phrases associated with this particular item of lexis, and if so how many examples there were of each expression; whether the item occurred in direct speech contexts, and if so, how many concordance entries could be classified as such; the language variety of the surrounding context, i.e. *Scots*, *Scottish-English, English*; whether the concordance indicated a particular concentration of certain article types, such as Scots language articles, sports reports etc., and if so, how many discrete articles represented in the concordance display fell into this category; whether occurrences were found in specialised contexts such as poems or headlines; and also any additional notes which should be made. It should be noted that in the analysis which follows, the figures quoted are based on lexical types and do not necessarily refer to the total number of articles, as it was quite common for different lexical items from separate concordances to be found in the same article. Thus the figures give an indication of the levels of occurrences which are attributable to these specialised contexts, counted by the number of references made to these contexts in FORM 'Contexts'; not a count of the actual number of discrete articles with the inevitable duplication removed.

The analysis of those items which occurred in Scots language articles showed a large split between the tabloid Record and the broadsheets, particularly the Herald. (Further discussion of the importance of the Scots language articles as a distinct article type can be found in chapter 5, at section 5.5.6ff.) From the articles stored on the database (see chapter 4 for details), only 4 references were made to articles in the Record dealing with Scots language issues. All 4 items were from the same article on the launch of a new Scots dictionary; interestingly the Collins Gem Scots Dictionary, from which the search list for this study was

drawn. In content and register this article is quite different from the types of Scots language articles found in the broadsheets as discussed in chapter 5. By contrast, in the Scotsman there were 39 references, and the Herald there were 176 references to Scots language articles. Thus it can be concluded that the broadsheets, particularly the Herald, place much greater emphasis on this quite specialised type of article. A similar search was carried out for lexical items which were found in poems in the newspapers. In the Record there were only 6 references made to poems; but in the Scotsman there were 23 references to poems, rising to 61 references to poems in the Herald. Thus we can conclude that, on the basis of the evidence collected by this study that the broadsheets, especially the Herald, include many more excerpts from poems than the tabloid Record. This can be explained by the difference in the types of material which the tabloids and broadsheets typically include. As will be discussed in the next chapter, with reference to literary quotations (see 8.7.3), it can be argued that the broadsheets contain more of such references than the tabloids due to perceived differences in the social class and educational background of their readerships. The general observation which can be drawn is that the tabloids may make more reference to present-day popular culture (especially to television and other personalities), whilst the broadsheets may include more references to literary culture.

The final point of analysis was the inclusion of Scots lexical items in the headlines (or subheadlines) themselves. Here again a tabloid/broadsheet split could be discerned; but on this occasion this was more likely to occur in the Record than in the broadsheets. In the Scotsman 36 references to headlines were noted; in the Herald 88 references; but in the Record there were 179 references to occasions of Scottish lexical items occurring in headlines (or subheadlines). Given the relative sizes of the different types of newspaper (see 6.4.1.3 and 6.6) with the Record being a much smaller paper, these results were even more noteworthy. Why should Scottish lexical items be more likely to be found in the headlines of the tabloid Record than of the Scottish broadsheets? The difference can probably be explained by differences in what is perceived to be appropriate usage in the tabloids and broadsheets, and general differences in the register of the articles contained therein. (See 2.7.1 for discussion of appropriacy.) Headlines are a very

visible component of the newspaper, and therefore choosing to use a Scots lexical item in a headline, even of a feature type article, as opposed to simply in the running text of the article, is highly salient. It seems likely that the constraints of appropriacy are stronger in the broadsheets as a consequence of their generally more serious and formal style.

7.10 Maximal & minimal differentiation from English

Looking at Table A9.1, it becomes clear that closed class Scottish lexical items tend to be found in *Scots* or *Scottish-English* contexts (more so than is the case for open class lexical items), and that high proportions of their occurrences are in direct speech contexts. It has been established by the above that the more dense the text (in terms of overall proportions of Scottish to English lexis), the more likely is the inclusion of identifiably Scottish closed class lexical items. It has also been argued that the proportion of closed class lexis is greater in spoken than in written language, and that there is a link between the use of Scots and direct speech contexts. Is it therefore possible to suggest a direct link between the mode and density of texts? Are spoken texts necessarily more dense than written texts?

Such an approach is too simplistic, and indeed as Macafee (1983a, p.31) notes the converse tends to be true, and it is possible to achieve more dense types of Scots in writing than is attainable in speech (see 2.3.1 for quotation). It is better rather to consider the situation as being the result of a complex interaction between different linguistic factors. These factors include those discussed above such as the relative proportions of open and closed class lexis, the overall proportions of identifiably Scottish to English lexis, whether the Scottish lexis included increases semantic range or semantic density (i.e. whether it functions primarily to fill a semantic gap or to give stylistic options), and whether the Scottish lexis is drawn primarily from column 1 or column 2 lexis. However, there are other considerations such as the overall register of the text, with its subsidiary categories of tenor, field and mode; and issues such as the geographic provenance and currency of the linguistic items themselves. In addition, in the case of the

newspaper data, even the subject matter of the text, whether humorous and therefore quite colloquial, or concerned with the Scots language (as in the specialised articles on this topic written in Scots, in which case a more formal and deliberately dense written Scots prose style is adopted) must be considered. Thus a fully integrated approach is required, where texts can be described as maximally or minimally differentiated. (The point of reference being their degree of differentiation from Standard written English (or Scottish Standard English), as this is the generally accepted norm for formal written texts.) McClure (1979, p.30), whilst arguing for the status of Scots as a language, notes that

'Thin' and 'dense' Scots are defined by their degree of differentiation from Standard English. It should be emphasised that this is merely for descriptive convenience and has no further significance. It does not imply, for example, that Scots is in any real sense a deviation from a standard represented by English. The reason for taking Standard English as the norm for comparison is simply that it is well-defined, incontrovertibly recognisable, and – alas – for all of us nowadays, the first and in many cases the only language which we ever learn to read and write.

A text which is maximally differentiated from English will be as distinctive as possible in all of the above areas, i.e. where a Scottish and an English option exists it will select the Scottish option; where a standard English and a non-standard (Scots) option exists it will select the non-standard option. (See McClure, 1997, p.12.) Thus the available varieties will be situated at various points along the linguistic continuum, with the Scots end including the maximally differentiated texts, and the Scottish Standard English end including the minimally differentiated texts. The possibility exists for texts to be maximally differentiated in one feature, e.g. by using significant proportions of closed class Scottish lexical items, but less so in others e.g. in terms of the relative proportions of column 1 & 2 lexis, or in terms of the currency of its lexical items. Thus, for example, illustrative texts 1 & 2 (Appendix 10) tend towards maximal differentiation in terms of overall proportions of Scots to English lexis (Text 1,

discussed in detail in 7.11.1, being more maximally differentiated than Text 2 by consistently opting for the more Scottish option); but less differentiated in terms of deviations from standard syntax and grammar, or spellings which represent individual pronunciations than texts 3 & 4. These pairs of texts also differ in their proportions of column 1 and column 2 Scottish lexis, and proportions of open to closed class lexis. Thus there are a number of factors which determine where along the linguistic continuum we place a text. Factors such as density are evidently important; but so are those on the other axis of McClure's model, i.e. whether the text tends towards more literary or colloquial models.

7.11 Illustrative texts

In order illustrate some of the above observations and suggested explanations for the data, several texts were selected from the 1995 newspaper data which were readily identifiable as one of the types of Scots mentioned, such as Lallans, dense Scots, colloquial or urban Scots and Scottish Standard English. These texts were closely analysed to see where and how they differed from each other, and hence hopefully to assist in differentiating the types of Scots. It should be borne in mind that these texts were selected precisely because they were readily identifiable as a particular type of Scots. There are many texts where this can be much more difficult to decide. The texts were not however selected on the basis of their agreement with the observations and hypotheses given above. Rather they were selected intuitively, and then analysed for the specific features discussed in this chapter.

The illustrative texts used were as follows:

> **Text 1:** *Heist yer glass tae oor Naitional Bard*: letter written in Scots by R. Fairnie, then Secretar of 'Scots Tung' and a Lallans enthusiast, to the Scotsman on 20/01/95. Text is written in dense Lallans type Scots. *(Scotsman - twa13.txt)*

Text 2: *Time tae cure oor cultural cringe aboot native tungs*: article written in Scots in Education section of the Herald on 12/09/95 by John Hodgart, teacher of English at Garnock Academy, Ayrshire, and a Scots enthusiast. Text is written in dense Scots. *(Herald - wee715.txt)*

Text 3: *London's bright lights don't look so good from a cardboard box*: article in the Herald on 13/06/95, written by Gerard Seenan, postgraduate student in journalism; but main extract ostensibly written in the own words of a young Scottish homeless man living in London. Text is written in first person narrative urban colloquial Scots. *(Herald - wi41.txt)*

Text 4: *Genteel disclosures in Govan Gents*: feature article in the Herald on 31/01/95. Text is written in colloquial urban Scots, with quite a lot of direct speech. *(Herald - widnae1.txt)*

Text 5: *A language beyond the pail*: weekend feature article in the Herald on 07/10/95, written by Dr Anne King, lecturer in English Language at Edinburgh University specialising in Scots. Text is written in fairly formal Scottish Standard English. *(Herald - wee852)*

Text 6: *Scotland's biggest male chauvinist lets rip: Gie these wimmin a New Year kiss off*: humorous article by Scottie McClue in the Record on 05/01/95. Text is written in more informal and colloquial thinner variety. *(Record - ma12.txt)*

The texts can be viewed in full at Appendix 10, or alternatively the texts can be accessed directly from the database by selecting the appropriate newspaper, choosing the lexical item as given in the file name, and then choosing the correct text file as indicated in bold above and selecting 'View'.

Texts 1 and 2 use fairly high proportions of Scots lexis, both column 1 and column 2 lexis, and open and closed class lexis. Text 1 in particular uses Scots forms where the English equivalents may be more readily understood. These two texts are written in a fairly formal prose style, and Text 1, especially, is close to Lallans type models. Texts 3 and 4 are more colloquial in tone. Text 3 is written

in first person narrative and is ostensibly the words of a young Scottish homeless man living rough in London. It would be expected that his language would be fairly informal, probably working-class and/or urban Scots, and as it is delivered in first person narrative would be expected to show some relationship with the spoken mode. Text 3 uses orthographic forms which suggest stigmatised urban working-class speech such as "jist", "ah", "wiz". Text 4 is a humorous text recording details of a conversation (thereby including a significant proportion of direct speech) which supposedly took place between a working-class and a middle-class man in the Govan gents, as told by the former. It would therefore be expected that it would be informal and colloquial in tone; and the inclusion of the punning reference to St. Rollox (a postal sorting office in Glasgow) and the setting in Govan, in addition to some of the expressions used such as "See that bit", "so he widnae", and orthographic forms such as "sez" and "cos", suggests the language of the main character is likely to be Glaswegian urban Scots. Texts 5 and 6 are written in *Scottish-English*, text 5 being fairly formal with very few items of Scottish lexis, and standard grammar, is probably closer to Scottish Standard English. Text 6 is more informal and colloquial in tone. Although it also contains very little Scots lexis, it does use some Scots closed class column 2 lexis such as "doon", "ma", "no", "oot o'", "yeeze a'". The following table (Table 7.2) summarises the observations made for each of these texts.

7.11.1 Density and currency of texts

As can be seen from Table 7.2 below, Text 1 with 54 percent of all tokens and 48 percent of types being identifiably Scottish, is the most densely Scottish of all the texts. Both in terms of types and tokens it contains more Scottish lexis than any of the other texts. It is written in Lallans type Scots and includes a significant number of now generally obsolete items of Scottish lexis (according to the CSD) e.g. "amaist" (almost) (15 – e20); "hamelt" (vernacular) (18 – e20); "hummle" (humble) (la16 – e19); "juist" (just) (17 – e20); "kinricks" (kingdoms) (la14 – e20, latterly only literary); "onding" (attack) (la19 – e 20); "vice" (voice) (19 – e20); "wirds" (words) (16- e 20).

Text	Scottish tokens (%)	Scottish types (%)	Closed class lexis by token (%)	Closed class lexis by type (%)	Column 1 lexis by type (%)	Column 2 lexis by type (%)
1	54	48	48	36	4	96
2	34	30	62	31	5	95
3	35	22	83	70	0	100
4	24	24	59	39	11	89
5	2	5	8	10	64	36
6	0.5	2.5	44	47	12	88

Table 7.2   Summary data for illustrative texts

N.B Token figures give total frequencies. Type figures give discrete lexical items.

Text 2 is also a fairly dense Scots text, 34 percent of all tokens and 30 percent of all types being identifiably Scottish. It is therefore 'thinner' than Text 1. Unlike Text 1, Text 2 uses few obviously obsolete lexical items and is therefore not as close to Lallans-type models.

Text 3, which is ostensibly first person narrative by a young Scottish homeless man, uses Scottish lexis predominantly of fairly recent date. It also uses quite a few orthographic forms which were not listed in the CSD, and are quite unusual. E.g. "wiz" (was); "hud" (had); "huv" (have); "bit" (but); "anybdae" (anybody); "goat" (got); "gonnae" (going to); "somebdae" (somebody). These spellings appear to be attempts to represent an individual's accent / pronunciation. (See McClure's (1979, p.29-30) colloquial category in section 2.8.1. See also sections 2.6.8.2 and 6.2.1.1 on pronunciation spellings.) Text 4 included quite a few unusual orthographic forms which are not necessarily restricted to Scottish use, and may be found in other non-standard varieties. E.g. "sez" x 12 (says); "yir" x 6 (your); "cos" x 3 (because); "huv" x 2 (have); "yi're" & "yi've" (you're & you've). It also included the highly stigmatised working-class "yaise" (plural for "you"). The "yi" type constructions appear to represent the unstressed variants encountered in speech. Thus texts 3 and 4 use a form of Scots much more closely related to spoken Scots. They are both colloquial in register, and as such are closer to spoken models. In Text 3, 35 percent of all tokens and 22 percent of all types are identifiably Scottish. In terms of density it is therefore less dense than Text 1, but quite similar to Text 2. It should, however, be noted that in Text 3 various forms (such as "ah", "ah've", "ah'd", "ah'm", "ah'll) relating to the first person narrative are very common. These forms account for a total of 52 tokens which is a significant proportion of the total, and if these entries are discounted, of the remaining tokens, 26 percent are Scottish. Thus for Text 3, the fact that it is told in first person narrative increases the density count. Text 4 is less densely Scottish, with approximately 24 percent of both types and tokens being clearly Scottish. (N.B. approximate figures are given here as there are quite a few non-standard (English) items in this text which are not necessarily restricted to use in Scotland such as "cos".)

Texts 5 and 6 are much less densely Scottish. Text 5 is mostly written in Standard English, and only 2 percent of tokens, and 5 percent of types are identifiably Scottish. A high proportion of those lexical items which are Scottish are fairly well-known and have a reasonably widespread use outside Scotland (e.g. "tartan", "haggis", "whisky", "kilt", "Oor Wullie"). They also increase semantic range. It is also worth noting that a significant amount of the Scottish lexis contained therein does not occur as part of the narrative prose, occurring rather in a quotation from Dunbar, as part of a made-up sentence, or in lists of Scottish lexis given either with their meanings or their etymological origins. Such entries account for 27 of the Scottish tokens, i.e. 56 percent of the total, and their use is not as fully integrated constituents of the running prose, therefore they have less significance in terms of overall Scottishness of the text. Text 6 only has a total of 0.5 percent of its tokens as being Scottish, equating to 2.5 percent of types; thus it is very thin. In terms of both frequency and variety of Scottish lexis, this is the least Scottish text of the six.

7.11.2 Proportions of column 1 and column 2 lexis

Text 1 contains 4 percent column 1 Scottish lexical types, although the majority are column 2 lexical items. Again the majority of Scots types in Text 2 were column 2 lexical items (95 percent), but there were also a number of column 1 items (5 percent). Thus the proportions of column 1 to column 2 lexis were approximately the same in Text 2 as for Text 1. Text 3, on the other hand, has no column 1 items of Scottish lexis at all. All the Scottish lexis in this text would be classified as column 2 lexis, i.e. all the items of Scottish lexis contained in this text are phonological variants of English cognates. This supports the theory given at 7.8.3 above that there may be a link between column 2 lexis and the spoken mode, or written representations of it, because this lexis is differentiated from English cognates on the basis of phonological distinctions. However, unlike the previous text, Text 4 does contain some column 1 lexis in addition to column 2 lexis (e.g. "wee", "aye", "blether", "dominies", "gob", "jalouse", "numpties", "semmit", "stoatin", "tumshie", "weans"). Again the majority of Scottish forms

used are column 2 lexis, i.e. phonological variants of English cognates, but the proportions of column 1 lexis are higher than for the previous 3 texts. 11 percent of the Scottish types in Text 4 are column 1 lexis, and 89 percent are column 2 lexis, though again column 2 lexis is more common. Text 5 includes both column 1 and column 2 lexical items, although overall the text is very thin, and much of the Scottish lexis is used for stylistic effect in overt language display to construct a sense of Scottishness which matches the theme of the article. It is interesting to note that this is the only text where the proportion of column 1 lexis (64 percent) is higher than that for column 2 lexis (36 percent). These observations become more significant when closer examination reveals that the general contexts for the column 2 lexis are quite unusual. For example "oor" as already discussed occurs in "Oor Wullie", which when it appears for the second times is in inverted commas, "mither" is always a collocate of "tongue" and appears in inverted commas, "Lallans" is also in inverted commas, "hoose" and "gie" are given as examples of differences in pronunciation from English, and the Dunbar quotation is made up entirely of column 2 lexis. Text 5 is largely written in Scottish Standard English, and therefore these figures support the argument made at 7.7.7.2 that column 1 lexis is more likely to be used for language display in thinner and more formal Scottish Standard English contexts or those towards the thin end of the continuum, and that column 1 Scots lexis may be more acceptable in formal contexts than column 2 Scottish lexis, as it cannot be mistaken for 'bad' English. Text 6, although written in fairly thin Scots, is a much more colloquial text, and the proportions of column 1 to column 2 lexis in Text 6 are roughly equivalent to those found in another colloquial text, Text 4.

The next section moves on to a consideration of the percentages of open and closed class lexis found in the different text types, and again relates this to the hypotheses made earlier in the chapter.

7.11.3 Percentages of open and closed class lexis

Although overall Text 1 (the Lallans type text) includes higher percentages of Scottish lexis (both in terms of tokens and types) than either Text 3 or 4 (54 percent of tokens (48 percent of types) in Text 1, compared with 35 percent of tokens (22 percent of types) in Text 3, and 24 percent for both tokens and types in Text 4); the proportion of Scottish closed class lexis as a percentage of the whole in text 1 was much lower than for either of the more colloquial texts. Approximately 36 percent of all Scottish types (48 percent of all tokens) in Text 1 were closed class lexical items. In Text 2, 31 percent of all Scottish types (62 percent of all tokens) were closed class lexical items. Although Text 3 exhibits a similar density of Scots items to Text 2 by Hodgart, it has a much higher proportion of closed class lexical items. 70 percent of all Scottish types in Text 3 were closed class items (73 percent of all tokens). Thus Text 3 showed proportionately much higher frequencies and varieties of closed class items than any of the other texts. It is particularly interesting to note that the proportion of closed class lexis in Text 3 is much higher than for the more densely Scottish Texts 1 and 2. These observations confirm the hypothesis given at 7.8.2.2 above that texts which are more closely aligned with the spoken mode, such as this text which is in first person narration and is colloquial in tone, are likely to have a higher proportion of closed class lexis, and a lower proportion of open class lexis than texts which are more closely related to the written mode and more formal models, i.e. here Texts 1 and 2.

In Text 4, 39 percent of Scottish types, and 59 percent of Scottish tokens, were closed class items. Thus on the basis of frequency, rather than variety, Text 4 had a higher proportion of closed class lexis than Text 1, but approximately equal proportions to Text 2 by Hodgart. Text 4 has a fair amount of direct speech, and the rest is first person narrative, therefore again it fulfils the expectations associated with texts which are more closely associated with the spoken than the written mode. With the exception of "oor" in "Oor Wullie", which is a proper name and is therefore not a particularly significant usage, and the use of the modal auxiliary "wald" in the Dunbar quotation, which as has already been discussed

being a quotation stands apart from the overall prose style of the article, Text 5 contains very few closed class Scottish lexical items compared to the other texts. This is extremely significant in view of the theory put forward at 7.7.4ff that the thinner and more standard the context (in this case reference to the density figures as expressed by the percentages of Scottish tokens and types are very low), the less likely it is that closed class lexical items will be used. Text 6, by contrast, although fairly thin, contains more closed class lexis (44 percent by token and 47 percent by type) e.g. "doon", "ma", "no", "oot o", "yeeze", "a", than Text 5. This can be explained by the theory given at 7.7.5 that register may also play a part in determining the proportion of closed class lexis in a text. Text 6 is very colloquial in tone, and is narrated from the point of view of one individual. Therefore it is closer to spoken colloquial models, whereas Text 5 is closer to more formal written models.

Comparison of the texts therefore fulfils the hypothesis expressed at 7.7.3ff above that more formal written Scots texts such as Texts 1 and 2, and Scottish Standard English Text 5, will have a lower proportion of closed class Scottish lexis than is the case for more colloquial texts such as 3, 4 and 6 which use a variety of Scots which is much closer to spoken models, and is less formal and more colloquial in tenor. Thus the approach discussed in 7.10 of establishing areas of maximal and minimal differentiation from English on a range of fronts is proved to be necessary.

7.12 Conclusions

On a general level, the preceding analysis has shown the importance of examining the immediate contexts of Scottish lexis in order to gain a better understanding of how and why the lexis is used. However, the analysis has also shed light on the actual lexical items themselves, for example illustrating the complex constraints on the use of Scottish lexis in different contexts. Such information is unlikely to be found in dictionaries, but nevertheless gives important insights into the place

occupied by such lexical items in the language as a whole, and the contexts in which they are likely to be used.

The analysis followed five main lines of enquiry, as outlined at the beginning of the chapter. The observations made and suggested explanations are summarised in the following. Although these observations are drawn from a corpus of newspaper texts, some of them may well indicate broader trends in Scots and Scottish Standard English.

- Closed class lexis tends to be found in contexts towards the Scots end of the linguistic continuum; open class lexis tends to be found in contexts towards the Scottish Standard English end of the continuum. It was argued that open class lexis is more acceptable in thinner and more formal contexts as these items are perceived as localised lexical forms; closed class lexis in such contexts being more likely to be regarded as non-standard (English) grammar. It was also argued that open class items were more salient for language display, although formulaic fixed expressions, which are also highly salient in language display, may contain items of closed class Scots lexis.

- Functional Scotticisms, which can be either open or closed class items, are found in formal English contexts, and evidently cross the register boundaries which would normally preclude the use of Scots lexis in such contexts. These were found to be particularly common in the broadsheets, suggesting an additional more formal register for some Scots lexis in the broadsheets.

- Closed class lexis has higher proportions of direct speech contexts than open class lexis. It was suggested that this was explained by the general link between language mode (i.e. whether written or spoken) and the usual proportions of lexical content to grammatical lexis as outlined by Halliday. Direct speech as a representation of the spoken mode in written text therefore exhibited similar proportions of open to closed class lexis to spoken texts. Where a written text displayed higher proportions of closed class to open class lexis than expected in the written mode, it was suggested that this implied that the text was closer to spoken models, and usually more colloquial. It is

therefore possible to make a qualitative as well as quantitative distinction, and to suggest that certain registers of texts or styles of Scottish writing may exhibit differing proportions of open to closed class Scottish lexis.

- Closed class column 1 lexis tended to be found in *English* or E/SE contexts. Closed class column 2 lexis tended to be found in *Scots* or S/SE contexts. The items of open class lexis which increase semantic range in the sample were all column 1 items (with the exception of a few column 3 items), and these tended to be found in *English* or E/SE contexts. Open class column 1 lexis which increases semantic density tended to be found in *English* or E/SE contexts. Contexts were more mixed for open class column 2 lexis which increases semantic density. Thus overall there was a tendency for column 1 items to be associated with *English* or E/SE contexts, and for column 2 lexis to be associated with contexts nearer the Scots end of the continuum. These observations were explained by the following. Firstly it was argued that column 1 lexis was sufficiently distinct from English not to be regarded as 'poor/bad English' and therefore had fewer register constraints and could be used more easily in thinner and more formal contexts. Column 2 items having phonological English cognates may be less acceptable in thin formal contexts such as Scottish Standard English. It was observed that column 1 and column 2 lexis could be associated with dialect and accent respectively, although it is important to note that both can be used to construct Scottishness. It was noted that Aitken (1981a) argues that most Scots lexis used nowadays is of the column 2 type.

- The association with dialect vs. accent for column 1 vs. column 2 items was offered as an explanation for the observation that closed class column 2 items had the highest proportions of direct speech contexts. It was argued that column 2 items could be seen as signalling pronunciation as well as being items of Scottish lexis, and as such may be more likely to be used and accepted in direct speech contexts. It was also suggested that there may be a class-based distinction between the use of column 2 closed class lexis, and the use of column 2 open class lexis.

- Items of Scottish lexis with high proportions of direct speech contexts, particularly closed class lexis, tended to have language variety contexts closer

to the Scots end of the linguistic continuum. It was argued that there may therefore be a correlation between the use of Scots by the newspapers and direct speech contexts. It was suggested Scots used in direct speech contexts was less easily attributed to the newspaper's own linguistic choices or language style, and also gave an opportunity for signalling outgroup membership without going against readers' expectations of appropriate newspaper language. The data suggested that the Herald was less likely to confine the use of Scots to direct speech contexts than the other Scottish newspapers.

- The specialised contexts data again illustrated the differences between the tabloid Record and the broadsheet Herald and Scotsman newspapers. The broadsheets contained many more Scots language articles and more references to Scots poetry. The Record had very few Scots language type articles, and none of the type written in dense Scots by Scots language experts which were noted in the broadsheets. These differences were explained by the differences in the social class and education of the newspapers' respective perceived readerships. The broadsheets were more likely to make references to literary culture, whereas the tabloid Record relied more on references to popular culture. The Record showed much higher use of Scots lexis in its headlines than either of the broadsheets. As headlines are a very visible part of the newspaper, it was argued that this demonstrated differences in the perceptions of appropriacy associated with, and the general register of articles contained within, the two different types of newspaper.

- It was therefore argued that a fully integrated approach was required when analysing texts, taking account of all the above features, and considering the situation along a cline of maximal or minimal differentiation from English.

Thus the analysis in this chapter illustrates the complex constraints acting on different types of Scottish lexis. It is important to be aware of these constraints when discussing the construction and/or maintenance of Scottish identity by the Scottish newspapers. Tempting as it is to blithely associate a particular type of Scots with the tabloid or broadsheet press, this chapter has illustrated that the

situation is much more complex. Particular types of Scots may be used either to signal or construct ingroup or outgroup identity, and therefore it is crucial to examine the contexts in which Scots lexis occurs. There are, as has been shown by this and previous chapters (and as will be shown in the next chapter), differences in the ways in which Scots is used by the two different types of newspapers, but it is essential to recognise that the Scottish-English linguistic continuum, running from dense Scots at one extreme to Scottish Standard English at the other, presents the newspapers with a whole range of linguistic options for constructing Scottishness. Which option is chosen will depend on a complex interaction between what is considered appropriate, the purpose for which the Scots lexis is being used, whether it is used in narrative or in a potentially more distant direct speech context, and whether it is being used to signal belonging (ingroup status) or exclusion (outgroup status). Thus, as was suggested in chapter 3 at 3.3.1, the use of Scottish lexis raises linguistic tariffs, but these are not always tariffs of comprehension or knowledge; very often they are finely graded class-related tariffs which can be used to signal both ingroup and outgroup identities. There are thus a whole series of complex interrelationships which must be considered when analysing the complex Scottish discourse community.

The next chapter continues the emphasis on the surrounding contexts of Scottish lexis, focussing on the important areas of fixed expressions, idioms and preferred collocations. As was discussed earlier in section 7.7.4, these formulaic expressions are highly salient for language display, and are therefore an important factor in the construction and maintenance of Scottish identity by the newspapers.

8 LEXIS III - IDIOMS, FIXED EXPRESSIONS AND COLLOCATIONS

8.1 Introduction

This chapter deals with idioms, fixed expressions and collocations found in the sample. (Precise definitions for the terms 'idioms', 'fixed expressions' and 'collocations' as used in this study are given later in section 8.3.) The chapter begins by discussing the reasons for this part of the newspaper analysis, before moving on to a description of the different types of expression under investigation, and analysis of the expressions found in the newspaper data. The chapter then considers the sources of Scots idioms and fixed expressions, and finally discusses the ideological functions of these expressions in the Scottish newspapers with respect to the construction/maintenance of Scottish identity.

8.1.1   Reason for studying Scottish idioms, fixed expressions & collocations

The analysis of fixed expressions, idioms and restricted collocations contained in this chapter was felt to be important for two main reasons. Firstly, as part of the aim of this study as outlined at section 1.3 was to investigate Scottish-English varieties themselves, it would be useful to consider to what extent Scots lexis is used productively in current written contexts such as newspapers. Secondly, it can be argued that formulaic language use has, as much, if not more to do with language display (see 3.6) and the symbolic function of language, as it has to do with communicative import. For example, as will be noted later at 8.5.2.3, there were occasions when the newspapers (the Scotsman in particular) engaged in extended exchanges of proverbs and sayings between readers and journalists; and there were also a fair number of allusions to well-known literary quotations, particularly from Burns and especially by the broadsheets (see 8.7.3). Thus it is interesting to consider to what extent the construction/maintenance of Scottish

identity by the newspapers depends on well-worn formulaic content. The situation is similar to that discussed in chapter 3, where it was suggested that Scottish stereotypes and icons or 'totems', although well-known and mostly clichéd, were still highly salient for Scottish identity. In the same way, although these fixed expressions and preferred/restricted collocations are 'well-worn', they are still part of the construction of Scottish identity. Indeed, as will be argued later in the chapter (see 8.5.2.4), their familiarity and clichéd status may actually make them more salient in constructing identity.

This part of the research should be seen as a continuation of that covered by the previous two chapters. It takes the analysis of the contexts of Scottish lexis (covered in the previous chapter) one stage further by suggesting that there may be fairly fixed collocational patterns or different types of fixed expressions associated with certain items of Scottish lexis. It is important to study such expressions, as Scottish lexis which is used as part of a fixed expression has a rather different significance to Scottish lexis which stands on its own. Some items of Scottish lexis may only ever occur as part a fixed expression, and therefore have very restricted and predictable contexts. Other items of lexis will occur both as part of a fixed expression, and as stand-alone lexical items. As has been argued in previous chapters, choosing to use Scottish lexis at all in a text such as a newspaper article is often a largely stylistic decision. There are however slightly different stylistic implications between using an item of Scottish lexis on its own, and using it as part of a longer fixed expression.

For example, the items "doon" (down) and "watter"(water) can be used separately, or can be used together as part of the fixed expression "doon the watter". In the Record, only 2 of the 11 occurrences of "doon" are not as part of the expression "doon the watter". "Doon" as a stand-alone item is rather more productive in the Herald and Scotsman. The Herald has 72 occurrences of "doon" in total, of which 31 are part of "doon the watter"; the Scotsman has 17 occurrences in total, of which 5 are part of the fixed expression. However, what is very interesting is that without exception, in all three newspapers "doon the

watter" occurs in what is otherwise an English or a very thin *Scottish-English* context. In the Herald and Scotsman, "doon" where it occurs on its own, occurs in a generally *Scots* context. Thus there appear to be different language varieties associated with "doon" depending on whether it is used as part of a fixed expression, or whether it stands alone. (See also discussion in previous chapter at 7.8.2.4.) Many, especially middle-class, speakers may be unlikely to use "doon" in isolation, but would quite happily use "doon the watter". Theoretically "doon" and "watter" can be used alone as part of a longer sentence of clause unit, in combination with any other items of lexis which fill the syntagmatic slots in the sentence. Therefore "doon" can act as the preposition in any number of phrases; "watter" can be used in any noun slot. In practice, this is often not the case; and a given lexical item will have preferred contexts, whether they be preferred collocations (e.g. "settle doon" in the Record) or longer fixed expressions such as "doon the watter".

Sinclair (1991, p.109-110) outlines the difference between two fundamentally different views of language: the 'open-choice principle' or 'slot-and-filler model', and the 'idiom principle'. Under the open-choice principle, a text is seen as a series of slots which can be filled by any number of words, the only restriction being the grammaticality of the sentence. Under the idiom principle, these choices are viewed as being much more restricted; the theory being that there are in language a large number of semi-preconstructed expressions: although on the surface they appear to be composed of separate analysable units, they occur with a frequency and predictability which necessitates their being regarded as a single choice unit. The idiom principle thus accounts for a whole range of expressions from true idioms (see definitions at 8.3.1.5 later), to preferred collocations (see 8.3.1.10). (See also 8.2.7 for discussion of features of the idiom principle.)

This tendency to predictability in language is of course not restricted to the use of Scottish lexis. It applies equally to English lexis; but the situation is exacerbated for Scottish lexis by the prevailing linguistic hegemony of English, which for some Scottish speakers leads them to make very careful choices about which

items of Scottish lexis they will and will not use and in which contexts. Choosing to use items of Scottish lexis in a fixed expression rather than using them as unrestricted lexical options in the language system seems to imply less personal responsibility. Because such expressions are formulaic, their content is predetermined and individual lexical items within the expression cannot be attributed to personal linguistic choices. Their formulaic nature also allows them to be viewed as linguistic totems and icons, as a symbolic act of language display that is sufficiently distanced to be acceptable.

8.1.2   Scope of the study

This is not an exhaustive study of all the possible fixed expressions, idioms and collocational clusters which could be derived from the data. Rather, in a similar fashion to the collection of the contexts data in the previous chapter, it concentrates on the most commonly occurring patterns noted in the concordance displays for the search items. The examples discussed in this chapter were obtained by close analysis of the concordances already generated by the previous analyses of Scottish lexis. A concordance had already been prepared for each item of search lexis in order to proceed with the analysis discussed in chapter 7. Each concordance was examined closely for details such as whether the item occurred in direct speech, the language variety of the surrounding context, and reoccurring lexical clusters around the node word, and the information entered in FORM 'Contexts'. At the outset of this programme of research, the question of idiomatic forms had not seemed to be an integral research question. However, the analysis of the lexical items contexts data suggested that some attention should be paid to this area, as it was evident from systematic analysis of the concordance displays for each item from the search list that there were reoccurring patterns in the contexts of certain items of Scottish lexis. It became apparent that the immediate contexts for certain items of Scottish lexis were not arbitrary choices made from a whole range of possibilities. Some of these contexts appeared to some extent to be predetermined. The focus of the research described in this chapter was thus an investigation of where these predetermined contexts arose,

which lexical items appeared to have more restrictive contexts, and to give suggestions as to why this might be the case.

What follows is more of a qualitative than a quantitative study. Whilst frequencies of individual items would have formed an extremely significant part of a larger scale study focusing specifically on these types of expressions, for the purposes of this broader consideration of the sorts of Scottish idiomatic expressions which are found in Scottish newspapers, their significance and function, a qualitative approach which sought to identify some of the common trends relating to these fixed expressions was preferable. In this area of research the study was less concerned with frequencies of occurrence, than with how these fixed expressions were modified in form or were worked into the text, and how they might contribute to the construction/maintenance of Scottish identity. This strategy was therefore different from that used in chapter 6 where individual word frequencies were considered in detail.

8.1.3   Qualifying criteria

One point that should be made very clearly here is that, as with the lexical searches discussed in earlier chapters, all of these expressions had to be in some way identifiably Scottish. Thus only expressions which contained at least one, but quite often more than one identifiably Scottish lexical item or orthographic form were included. The method of selection (i.e. from the concordance entries listed for individual Scots lexical items from the search list) ensured that this was the case. As research progressed, it became evident that some expressions had English equivalents, or that there may have been evidence of anglicisation or 'scotticising' in certain expressions, and discussion of these phenomena has been included later at 8.5.2.6.

8.1.4 Methodology

As mentioned above, the expressions discussed in this chapter were obtained from analysis of the concordance displays for each word from the search list. (Details of how concordances were obtained and analysed are discussed in the methodology chapter at 4.7ff.) For the purposes of this chapter, any word clusters which were repeated, either within or across newspapers, and looked as though they might be exhibiting some type of idiomaticity (as defined below at 8.2.6) were considered to be significant. It was felt necessary that examples should generally be represented by more than one newspaper article, to avoid any one article influencing the results in an unrepresentative manner. Therefore expressions which only occurred once tended to be discounted, although they may have been included if it was an expression which was considered to be self-evidently idiomatic or significant in some way, or indeed if the newspaper article identified it as a saying, proverb etc. This latter situation proved to be common, as these expressions were often glossed in the text as old Scots sayings, proverbs and so on. It should be noted that these labels given by the newspapers do not necessarily agree with the categories used here, and are not always consistent. The topic of newspapers labelling proverbs will be returned to later at 8.5.2.3.

To explain how the concordances were used to identify fixed expressions, it might be helpful to look at an example. The Herald's concordance for the lexical item "agley" looked like this:

- best-laid **plans o' mice and home-buyers go desperately agley** (and this is adapted from another poet, Rabbie Whatsisname)...

- and, in this instance, the experiment **has gone sadly agley**. Additionally, SRU chief executive Bill Hogg may have been stating...

- that **the best laid schemes of mice and men gang aft agley**. Lord Lovat, whose brother, the late Sir Hugh Fraser...

- the ball but, **like all the best laid plans, this one went agley** occasionally on the night. The young Nigel...

Similarly entries for "agley" in the Scotsman showed a similar pattern.

- someone to do it for her. Clearly, **something has gone agley in her upbringing,** which even the presence of Mrs Dunn-Butler has...

- **"The best laid plans of mice and men gang aft agley."** His side had taken the game to Celtic in the first half and exploited...

- **the best laid schemes of mice, men and families go aft agley, and leave us nought but grief and pain for promised joy** ...

- symbol of **a best-laid scheme gone spectacularly agley.** The outcome not only confirms that the Tories have been left without...

- Broadcasting Council for Scotland? Well, **things can go agley** in the best-ordered of organisations. But, had that been the true...

- Headline: MP joins row as **Burns festival plans gang agley...**

It is fairly self-evident, and indeed is as might be expected, that incidences of "agley" in both the Herald and the Scotsman (the item was not found in the Record) either make reference to the original quotation from Robert Burns "The best laid schemes o' mice an' men gang aft agley" from *To a Mouse,* and that either schemes, plans and experiments are **going (often/aft) agley,** or the quotation is reiterated. Obviously this is an extreme example as all concordances of "agley" yielded very similar collocational patterns. Not all concordances showed such strong patterns.

The expressions thus identified were those most commonly found in the newspapers of that year (1995) for the Scottish lexical items from the search list. (The results are displayed in the table at Appendix 11. Alternatively the data can viewed directly in the database within the 'Contexts' form, where summary data

are given for each lexical item. As before, concordances for specific lexical items can be viewed by depressing the 'Concordances' button on the main form. Using Wordsmith, the concordance displays can be reorganised to view particular patterns. Further detailed instructions are given at Appendix 1 which explains the capabilities of the database.) Closer analysis of these expressions suggested divisions into general types or categories of fixed expression, and also suggested some general tendencies of these expressions in terms of their behaviour, purpose and so on.

8.2 The 'idioms and fixed expressions' debate

One of the key problems encountered in this section of the research was how best to categorise the expressions found. Which expressions qualified as idioms, and how were the rest to be categorised? There is a significant amount of debate about this, and background reading on the topic suggested that although there were some overlaps in the various theories and definitions posited, there were often also substantial differences of opinion. I could find no substantial writings on the position as regards Scottish idioms, but as I see no real differences arising from the language variety in terms of general definitional issues, the following takes some of the key issues discussed for English idioms as being immediately relevant. (It should however be noted that there were some interesting points arising from the very "Scottishness" of these idioms, but these are considered separately later at 8.5.2.6.)

8.2.1 Previous work on Scottish fixed expressions and idioms

Although there are a fair number of books on Scottish sayings, proverbs and so on such as David Murison's (1981) "Scots Saws" and others by Cheviot (1896), MacGregor (1983), Walker (1996) and so on (refer to bibliography for details); these books are little more than collections (usually arranged alphabetically, but in the case of Cheviot under topic headings) of 'wise Scots sayings and proverbs'.

As such they make interesting reading, but have a limited use here as generally no attempt is made to classify the different types of fixed expression encountered, and other than Scots 'saws' little else is included. They were however useful in attempting to ascertain the degree of variation acceptable in the base forms of the expressions, and also in giving the meanings of some of the more obscure examples. For example, the proverb "Cast ne'er a clout till May be oot" which appeared in the Herald and Record, was cited in four of the books, in three slightly different ways, and this gave indications as to where the variations might lie in the newspaper examples. MacGregor and Cheviot both gave quite a lot of extra information in their citations on the meaning and possible English equivalents. For some of the examples discussed below, especially some of the more colloquial examples, no adequate explanation could be found either in these books or in the CSD or SND. Where this is the case, I have given my own understanding of the meaning of these expressions in the data table.

The following sections outline the theoretical background to the analysis.

8.2.2   Semantic opacity

One of the traditional criteria for describing something as an idiom is *semantic opacity*, i.e. that the meaning of the expression cannot be deduced merely from the semantic sum of its parts. To take the classic example: the meaning of 'to die' is not immediately apparent from the expression 'to kick the bucket'. 'Kicking' and 'buckets' have very little semantically to do with 'dying', therefore we can say that the expression is semantically opaque. Jarvie (1996) takes just this approach. "The emphasis in this dictionary is on expressions whose meanings cannot be worked out from the words they contain" (Jarvie, 1996, p.vii ff).

However, not all linguists are happy to leave matters there. The introduction to *The Oxford dictionary of current idiomatic English* (1983), whilst recognising the notion of semantic opacity, argues that this is not the whole story.

The best known approach to the definition of idiomaticity, and one which linguists as well as dictionary-makers have helped popularise, fastens on the difficulty of interpreting idioms in terms of the meanings of their constituent words. .... However, defining idioms in a way which throws emphasis on ease or difficulty of interpretation leaves a great deal unsaid ... an approach based simply on semantic opaqueness (or transparency) yields a very small class of idioms. It leaves out of account, for example, an important group of expressions which have figurative meanings (in terms of the whole combination in each case) but which also keep a current literal interpretation ... There is other evidence too, especially the fact that a small number of words can be substituted in expressions often regarded as opaque (consider *burn one's boats* or *bridges*), that idioms are not divided as a small water-tight category from non-idioms but are related to them along a scale or continuum. (Cowie & Mackin, 1983, Intro., p.xii ff)

8.2.3 Compositionality

Closely related to the concept of semantic opacity is the concept of *compositionality* or *non-compositionality* of idioms, indeed in many ways the terms are synonymous. Non-compositionality is defined by Moon as where

the meaning arising from word-by-word interpretation of the string does not yield the institutionalised, accepted, unitary meaning of the string ... Institutionalized strings which are grammatically ill-formed or which contain lexis unique to the combination may also be considered non-compositional. (Moon, 1998, p.8)

Compositional idioms are defined by Glucksberg (1993, p.17) as where "some relationship between an idiom's component words and its stipulated meaning can be discerned". Thus examples of non-compositional expressions, according to Moon would be metaphorical fixed expressions including idioms (which she

terms FEIs), or grammatically ill-formed strings, or those which contain lexis unique to the expression, like 'kith and kin'. She suggests that proverbs, similes and sayings would also be examples of non-compositionality, but this time in terms of their pragmatic purpose. It may be best to think of compositionality as a more finely differentiated description of semantic opacity or transparency, as Glucksberg (1993, p.17-18), based on Cacciari & Glucksberg (1991), distinguishes three types of compositional idioms:

Compositional opaque where "relations between an idiom's elements and the idiom meaning are not apparent, but the meanings of individual words nevertheless can constrain both interpretation and use".

Compositional transparent where "there are one-to-one semantic relations between the idiom's words and components of the idiom's meaning, usually because of metaphorical correspondences between an idiom's words and components of the idiom's meaning".

quasi-metaphorical where "the literal referent of the idiom is itself an instance of the idiomatic meaning".

This system of classification was too complex and detailed for the relatively small number of fixed expressions in this study. The classification systems adopted by Carter and Fernando were more appropriate to the data collected, and also tied in more closely with the newspapers' own labelling of such fixed expressions as proverbs etc.

8.2.4 Fixedness or degrees of variation

Another concept which is important in the categorisation of certain fixed expressions as idioms is what can be termed *lexico-grammatical fixedness* (Moon, 1998), or in other words the degree of variation allowed in lexis and grammatical forms within the constraints of the expression. For example, both "to be caught red-handed" and "catch her red-handed" would be acceptable variants of the same

base form expression. They merely vary in the verbal form used. However, to be "caught red-fingered" would not be an acceptable variant. In this case this type of lexical variation would not be permitted. To take another example, one can have lexical variation in whether one "burns one's bridges" or "burns one's boats", but the singular form of each of these two lexical variants would not usually be acceptable. Again the concept is of a cline of fixedness, ranging from 'frozen' expressions to those which tolerate quite a high degree of variation.

Glucksberg argues there are three key ways in which idioms may be varied.

> Idioms vary considerably in the extent to which they may sustain lexical substitutions, syntactic operations and semantic productivity. In general, the more compositional an idiom, the more likely will it be available for variation of one type or another. (Glucksberg, 1993, p.19).

'Lexical substitutions' we have already discussed with reference to the 'bridges' vs. 'boats' example. Also included in this type of variation would be minor alterations in terms of number (i.e. singular or plural), to mark tense, or adjectival and adverbial modifications. 'Syntactic operations' are alterations in the syntax of the expression, and are illustrated by quite a few of our examples providing we widen the scope of this argument to include other types of idiomatic and fixed expressions as well as idioms. (See examples given later at 8.5.2.1 such as "back to parritch and auld claes" (from "back to auld claes and parritch"), or "the peg on which Quinn's coat hangs in very shoogly" (from "coat/jacket on a shoogly nail/peg") both in the Scotsman. 'Semantic productivity', however, is perhaps a more interesting source of variation, especially if it occurs in newspaper headlines. E.g. "Putting the flame of greed on a peep" in the Herald is a variation of "putting gas at a peep", which by the inclusion of "flame" defamiliarises the expression, and makes it more literal. Semantic productivity is likely to be exploited fairly frequently in text types such as newspaper articles which often 'play' with language through puns etc. Glucksberg defines semantic productivity as

the ability of people to create new idiomatic meanings by changing relevant aspects of an idiom's individual elements. (Glucksberg, 1993, p.15-16)

He goes on to say that

In contrast to simple and unmotivated synonym substitutions, semantically productive operations serve communicative functions: They are motivated by communicative intentions and so they should be informative. (Glucksberg, 1993, p.16)

E.g. the example discussed later at 8.5.2.1 of "cauld kail followed by mince" in the Record, where the addition of the word "mince" modifies the meaning of the whole expression. It is expected that "cauld kail" will be followed by "and parritch/porridge" to make the usual expression. The addition of "mince", which in urban Scots is a slang term for something being "rubbish/not very good", but which of course is also literally another type of foodstuff, not only exhibits lexical substitution, but actually changes the meaning of the whole expression from "back to the usual humdrum normality after a period of festivity/indulgence" to a comment on how that normality is perceived, i.e. as being "rubbish".

8.2.5 Institutionalisation

For Moon, as for many of the other linguists, there is another feature which is important in deciding whether or not a certain expression is idiomatic which can be termed *institutionalisation*. 'Institutionalisation' means that the expression has come to be accepted and recognised as operating as an identifiable lexical item within the language. That is to say, when the expression is encountered, native speakers already know what it means as they are familiar with its semantic import, and they do not have to attempt to decode the expression each time. Thus when "kick the bucket" is mentioned, people do not have to work out the connection between kicking and buckets; they know that it is a euphemism for "died".

Thus for an expression to be idiomatic, evidence is required of *semantic opacity*, *fixedness* and *institutionalisation*. Not all of these indicators will necessarily be exhibited by each and every expression which would be considered to be idiomatic. These features again will be on a cline of occurrence. As Moon herself points out,

> There are degrees of institutionalisation ... of fixedness ... and of non-compositionality ... This means that it is difficult to identify clearly discrete categories of FEI. (Moon, 1998, p.9)

The following diagram may help to clarify the situation. Note that movement is possible in both directions along the cline for each of the three diagnostic features.
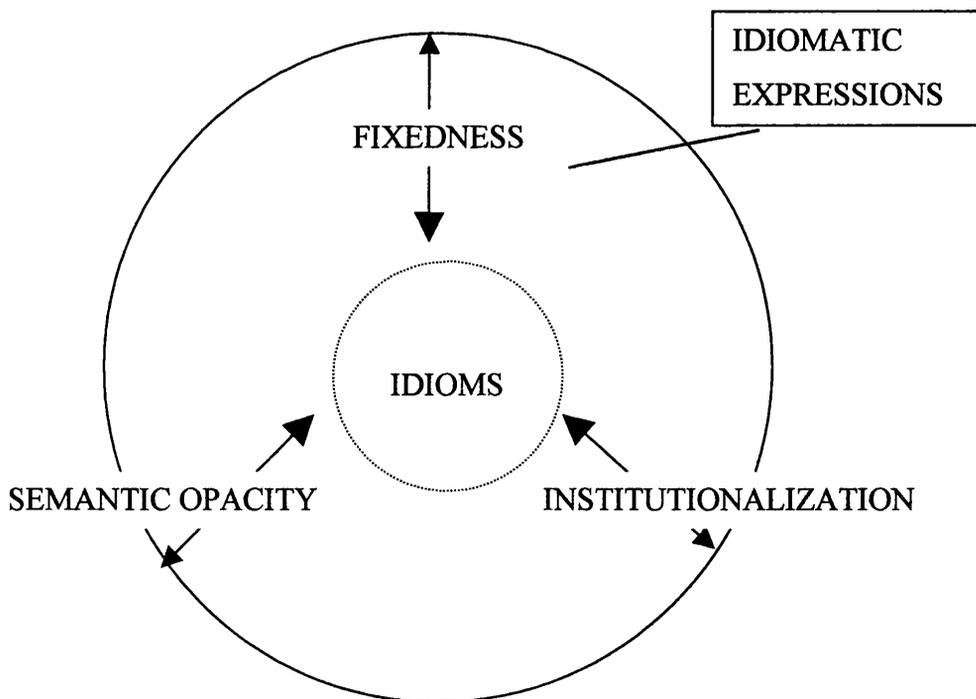
Figure 8.1   Idioms & idiomaticity

8.2.6 An idiomatic continuum

The idea of a continuum between idioms and non-idioms evidently lies behind Chitra Fernando's concept of idiomaticity where idiomaticity is a much broader term than 'idiom', covering items such as *habitual collocations* e.g. "black coffee", as well as the much more restricted set of *idioms*. Fernando (1996, p.30-31) distinguishes between 'idioms' and 'idiomaticity'. She notes that although idioms and idiomaticity are closely related, 'idiom' is a much more specific term denoting expressions which allow little or no variation of the constituent components. Although all idioms exhibit idiomaticity, expressions which allow greater flexibility such as *habitual collocations* e.g. "black coffee" are not classed as idioms because they allow a fairly high degree of variation, e.g. "white coffee" or 'hot coffee" is just as acceptable a collocational pairing, although "pink coffee" would not. Fernando notes that

> only those expressions which become conventionally fixed in a specific order and lexical form, or have only a restricted set of variants, acquire the status of idioms and are recorded in idiom dictionaries ...

> The existence of conventionalized multiword expressions, or idioms, showing invariance or only restricted variation and habitual collocations, restricted or unrestricted in their variability, calls for a scale of idiomaticity. (Fernando 1996, p.31)

Carter (1987, p.58-59) follows a similar line of argument: "[Idioms] present particular difficulties because they are restricted collocations which cannot normally be understood from the literal meaning of the words which make them up".

Carter goes on to say that:

> Idioms might thus be tentatively defined as:
>
> (1) non-substitutable or fixed collocations
>
> (2) usually more than single word units
>
> (3) semantically opaque.

> There are other fixed expressions which are not idioms but in some of their features behave almost as if they were. With reference to the above recognition criteria some are more fixed than idioms though most exhibit generally lesser degrees of structural fixity. Such units have been widely discussed within lexicological theory and have obtained various designations. (Carter, 1987, p.58-59)

Moon rejects the term 'idiom' on the grounds that it "is an ambiguous term, used in conflicting ways" (1998, p.3-4), preferring instead to use the broader term *fixed expression* (or more accurately *fixed expressions including idioms*, abbreviated to FEIs) to cover a whole range of phenomena ranging from frozen collocations to routine formulae, proverbs and sayings.

The present study makes use of the notion of a linguistic continuum in the categories used, ranging from very fixed, semantically opaque, institutionalised idioms at one extreme, to preferred and common collocations at the other. As noted above at 8.1.1, Sinclair (1991) describes what he terms the idiom principle and gives a useful list of some of its features which help to show areas where differentiation may occur along the idiomatic continuum. The list mainly concentrates on those features which have been considered under the umbrella of "fixedness" above.

8.2.7 Features of the idiom principle

Sinclair (1991, p.111-112) lists the following as features of the idiom principle (see 8.1.1).

- "Many phrases have an indeterminate extent." (I.e. how much of the expression is integral to its completeness, and where do we define its boundaries?)

- "Many phrases allow internal lexical variation."

- "Many phrases allow internal lexical syntactical variation."

- "Many phrases allow some variation in word order."

- "Many uses of words and phrases attract other words in strong collocation."

- "Many uses of words and phrases show a tendency to co-occur with certain grammatical choices."

- "Many uses of words and phrases show a tendency to occur in a certain semantic environment."

Many of these features are investigated in the data analysis section of the chapter (see 8.5.2ff). Idiomaticity is a variable continuum of many features, and it is important that any analysis of this sort should consider as many of these features as possible.

8.3 Definitions and categories used in this study

Having discussed at some length the prevailing arguments surrounding the classification of certain expressions as idioms, it is necessary to define the terms as used in this study. Terms such as idioms, fixed expressions and collocational clusters can vary in designation. Outwith the realm of linguistics, and indeed

sometimes within it, they are often used very loosely, therefore it is important to establish exactly what is meant by these terms as used in this study. The classification system generally follows Carter (1987, p.60, Fig.3.2) for definitions of the individual categories, with a few additions where his model did not seem particularly suited to the data here. Fernando (1996) adopts a similar approach to Carter, but is less helpful with the naming of certain types of fixed expression, although this study does follow some of her broad categories for idioms.

8.3.1 Categories

The categories used in this study are as follows (with debts to Carter and Fernando as annotated):

8.3.1.1 Straightforward quotations

These are especially common from Scots poems, and can be in quotation marks and/or attributed. Some are neither attributed nor in quotation marks and this is significant as the reader needs a fair amount of knowledge to recognise them as quotations. Certainly as far as attribution goes, the omission of this would surely suggest that readers are thought to be able to make the necessary connection for themselves. Presumably this could be especially appealing to a broadsheet, and stereotypically better educated readership. An example of this type would be "Facts are chiels that winna ding" which is a quotation from Burns' *Dream IV*.

8.3.1.2 Allusions

Following Carter, these are expressions which have been ultimately derived from well known quotations, but the original quotation has been modified in some way and is therefore not in its exact original form. Again these may or may not be

attributed. The same argument as for 'quotations' above applies. Presumably if such allusions are not attributed, or even if not placed in quotation marks, they require more effort or knowledge on the part of the reader to recognise them and make the link. Many of these allusions 'work' by playing around with the original wording to create interesting effects, e.g. word play. Thus for example, "The best laid plans o' mice, men and homebuyers go desperately agley."

In this analysis, as in Carter's, quotations and allusions have been considered together as quite often both the original quotation and modified versions of it will be used by the newspapers, and it is useful to compare both side by side.

8.3.1.3   Proverbs

These are often identified as such, or also as 'sayings' in the surrounding text (see 8.5.2.2). According to Carter (1987, p.59), who also calls these expressions 'Proverbs', these

> convey some kind of aphoristic truth, are usually in the simple present tense
> and are normally neither syntactically divisible nor substitutable (though
> this is not to say that creative mutation or distortions are not possible).

An example from the newspaper would be "A close mouth catches nae flees." in the Scotsman.

8.3.1.4   Popular wisdom and sayings

This category is fairly closely related to that of 'proverbs' above. The distinguishing feature of this category is that although these are popular 'sayings'

they do not contain the "aphoristic truth" element which sets proverbs apart. Thus for example "Hauf past ten and no' an erse skelpt" in the Herald.

8.3.1.5   Idioms & semi-idioms

'Pure idioms' (Fernando, 1996) or 'full idioms' (Carter, 1987) are defined as being semantically opaque; that is to say the semantic sum of their constituent parts does not 'add up' to give their idiomatic meaning. They do not mean what they literally say. Thus an example of an 'idiom' from the newspaper data would be "to put one's gas at a peep", versions of which are found in all three Scottish newspapers.

In semi-idioms, one or more parts of the idiom has its usual semantic meaning, i.e. is semantically transparent; whilst the other part still has this semantically opaque quality where the language is in some way being used figuratively. Fernando gives the example 'to foot the bill' meaning to pay, where the 'bill' part is literal, and the 'foot' part is not (Fernando, 1996, p.36).

Following Fernando (1987, p.35-36):

> A working definition of a pure idiom which is adequate for the present is 'a type of conventionalized, non-literal multiword expression.
>
> A semi-idiom (Weinreich 1969, Cowre 1981), has one or more literal constituents and at least one with a non-literal sub-sense, usually special to that co-occurrence relation and no other. (Fernando, 1996, p.35-36)

Thus the category 'semi-idiom' used in this study equates to Fernando's 'semi-literal idioms'. An example would be "frae a' the airts" in the Herald and Scotsman.

Literal idioms (following Fernando, 1996) are one step further away from pure idioms in that they are semantically transparent and mean what they literally say (e.g. "waste not, want not" (Fernando, 1996, p.36)). There could therefore be some debate over whether they should actually be considered to be idioms at all as they do not fulfil the semantic opacity criterion in any way, and indeed Carter does not include a special category in his model, though it would presumably be covered by his "Stock phrases" category. According to Fernando though,

> Literal idioms meet the salient criterion for idioms: invariance or restricted variation. They are, however, less semantically complex than pure and semi-idioms. (Fernando, 1996, p.36).

Like Carter, I have not considered 'literal idioms' as idioms for the purposes of this study. Idioms have been distinguished in light of the three criteria of semantic opacity, fixedness and institutionalisation (see 8.2.2ff).

Under Fernando's classification system, all 'habitual collocations' show some degree of variance; i.e. are not as fixed as idioms. They may be literal or non-literal, and restricted or unrestricted in variance. Idioms on the other hand, for her are defined as having either restricted variance, or as being invariant. Obviously there are potentials for overlap at the points indicated by arrows on the table she gives (Fernando, 1996, p.32, Table 2.1).

8.3.1.6   Similes

This category corresponds to Carter's 'idiomatic similes' category, and uses the usual "as ... as ..." or "... like ..." defining characteristics for similes. For example "A face like a skelpit erse" (Scotsman) or "as obvious as clabber on a coo's erse" (Herald) would both be classified as similes.

8.3.1.7   Colloquial imperatives

The data suggested a category of expressions which could best be described as colloquial imperatives; that is to say they are expressions which are colloquial in register, and imperative in mood. There seemed to be a fair number of such expressions, certainly enough to justify a separate category. Examples from the data would be "bile yer heid" (Herald and Record) and "haud yer wheesht" (Herald and Scotsman).

8.3.1.8   Common colloquialisms

This is rather a mop-up category. These are formulaic 'turns of phrase' which are fairly fixed in form, well-known and hence institutionalised, and colloquial in register. For example "Help ma boab" in the Herald, a well-known phrase from *The Broons* and *Oor Wullie*.

8.3.1.9   Fixed expressions

'Fixed expression' is the term which Carter (1987) uses as a sort of catch-all term for several different types of what Fernando would term "conventionalized multiword expressions" (1996, p.31) and includes as a specialised sub-set 'idioms', but also acts as a blanket term for proverbs, allusions, similes and so on. Thus all the above categories can be considered to be types of fixed expressions. There is one further category to consider, that of common or preferred collocations.

8.3.1.10   Common / preferred collocations & clichéd / 'dead' collocations

Expressions in this category are generally shorter than the fixed expressions
discussed above. They also behave differently and are usually less restrictive than
fixed expressions. With the fixed expressions data, the analysis began with the
usual form of the expression, and then observed where and how the examples
given in the newspapers differed. Here the analysis was much more open-ended,
as quite often a lexical item would have not just one, but a group of preferred
collocates. Once again the concordance displays provided the necessary
information, and the data collection was carried out in exactly the same manner as
for the fixed expressions as discussed above. Summary data on
common/preferred collocations for each lexical item is again displayed in FORM
'Contexts' in the database.

In this study collocations are simply considered to be words which occur next to
each other, i.e. co-occurrence. The research focuses primarily on immediate
collocations, that is words which occur right next to, or very near to each other.
The maximum horizons on either side of the node word for collocations in this
study (meaning the central word in the concordance display, i.e. the initial word
searched for) are 3 words to either side of the node word. There is no magical
significance attached to this number. It simply makes the data collection
manageable. A quick glance at the data shows that quite often the lexical item
which accompanies my node word is actually another lexical item searched for in
the study and therefore either could have been taken as the node word. For
example in "bonnie wee lassie" all three words were search items for the lexical
analysis. In such cases the data only appears in the table once, at what seemed the
most sensible node word to take.

Any word occurring next to any other word can be considered to be a collocate of
that word, but in this part of the study the focus is on collocations which are
repeated or seem to be significant in some way. Within the syntagmatic
constraints of the sentence or phrase unit, there are vast numbers of words which
can fill the noun, verb, adjective slots and so on. What is interesting is where

these choices seem to be preferred or restricted in some way. Hence the two categories 'common/preferred collocations' which simply describe recurring patterns of collocates; and 'clichéd / dead collocations' where the choice of collocate has become more formulaic. A word may have certain collocates which may be common or preferred, and others which could be considered to be formulaic. To return to the example "bonnie", "bonnie baby" could be considered to be a common/preferred collocation; but "Bonnie Scotland" or "bonnie banks" to be a clichéd / dead collocation. It becomes difficult on occasions to decide where to draw the line, and to a certain extent, intuition must be used. The key factor here is the extent to which these expressions have become heavily institutionalised.

Carter (1987, p.52-53) discusses restrictive ranges noting that

> Certainly it is clear that some words have different ranges from others...The description of restrictions on the range of collocability of particular items can provide a way of differentiating words from each other. The study of combinational or *selection restrictions* is not new.

It can be argued that as is the case with idioms and fixed expressions, clichéd/dead collocations can be used either as a shorthand way of signalling Scottishness, in terms of subject matter, point of view etc., or in a rather tongue-in-cheek self-conscious manner. (It should be noted that this category is not at all related to Carter's 'social formulae/clichés' category which comes under discoursal expressions in his model.)

8.3.1.11   Carter's 'discoursal expressions' category

No examples are included which would come into Carter's 'discoursal expressions' category. That is not to say that these were not present in the data, and indeed, their presence is quite likely in, for example, letters pages in the

broadsheets; but they were considered to be of less interest in the present research as they were likely to be English rather than peculiarly Scots expressions.

8.4   Points for analysis

The analysis focuses on the following key areas:

8.4.1   Identification of types of idiomatic expression

Firstly I attempt to identify which types of expression actually occur in these newspaper texts, using the categories outlined above. This gives rise to the groupings of results in the table (see Appendix 11). This categorisation makes it easier to discuss the results observed from the data.

8.4.2   Degree of variation

The analysis investigates the extent to which variation is acceptable in these expressions. There are two potential routes for variation within idioms and fixed expressions, and these can be summed up by the terms syntagmatic and paradigmatic variation; that is to say there can be variation at the level of the actual grammatical word slots, i.e. different noun choices, verb choices and so on; or there can be variation in terms of the overall syntactic structure of the expression or idiom. Obviously there are some places where it is more likely that variation will occur than others. For example, it is presumably quite common for different parts of the verb, 1st person, 3rd person, plural forms, different tenses and so on, to be used to make the expression fit better with that to which it refers. The situation can therefore be considered as having a cline of variation vs. fixity, with some expressions allowing considerably more variation than others. Any variation would presumably have to be restricted in some way, otherwise there

would be nothing to set idioms apart from collocations, so the situation should be thought of, as Fernando (1996, p.31; see 8.2.6) suggests, in terms of restricted variance. Glucksberg's three key points for variation: lexical substitutions, syntactic operations and semantic productivity were used to analyse the expressions. It was hoped that analysis of these three strands would indicate to what extent Scots was being used productively or formulaically in the newspapers. The degree of variation permissible for each expression is discussed under 'analysis' in the entries for each expression in the table in Appendix 11. General trends are summarised in the later discussion of points arising from the analysis at 8.5.2ff.

8.4.3   Attributions, quotation marks & self-conscious labelling

As has been suggested earlier at 8.3.1.1, it is potentially significant whether or not quotations and allusions are attributed and /or placed within quotation marks as a lack of attribution and/or demarcation from the rest of the text suggests the readership has shared knowledge. The assumption of shared knowledge may be highly salient in the construction/maintenance of a common Scottish identity. The labelling of proverbs, sayings etc. as such by the newspapers operates in a similar way in terms of drawing attention to the source of the expression, and overtly signalling an act of language display, and therefore this is also investigated. Again, individual entries are given in the results table in Appendix 11, and trends are considered at 8.5.2.2.

8.4.4   Language variety of surrounding context

Fourthly, the analysis considers whether there is any truth in the hypothesis suggested by the example of "doon the watter" discussed earlier in section 8.1.1, that identifiably Scottish fixed expressions, idioms etc. are frequently found in passages of otherwise non-marked English or even Scottish Standard English, and that is relatively uncommon to find such expressions in otherwise Scots contexts

(see also 7.8.2.4). Given the general underlying reasons for choosing to use a Scottish word or expression, e.g. for humour or familiarity; it would not seem unreasonable to assume that these contexts often exploit a fairly formulaic or clichéd use of language to signal a sense of solidarity and uniqueness; hence it might be quite common to find Scottish idiomatic expressions in passages of otherwise English text.

8.4.5   Discernible differences in broadsheets vs. tabloids

Throughout this study as a whole, the differences between the broadsheet and tabloid newspapers have been highlighted. Any discernible patterns in terms of idiomatic expressions between the two types of newspaper were noted, and are discussed in the results. Chapter 6 drew attention to the differences which existed between tabloid and broadsheet Scottish newspapers in their usage of individual lexical items. It was anticipated that a similar difference may exist for fixed expressions and idioms, and that these too may reflect educational or social differences in the perceived readerships.

These then, were the main points for analysis. Other significant points which arose during the course of the analysis are discussed in the results. As discussed in the introduction at 8.1.1, it was hoped that analysis of the fixed expressions data would indicate to what extent the construction/maintenance of Scottish identity by the newspapers relied on formulaic content, and to what extent Scots was used productively in fairly formal written contexts such as the newspaper texts. These points will be discussed in the summary of the data findings (see 8.8).

8.5   Fixed expressions data

Details for each expression such as meaning, newspaper where occurs, language variety contexts, original cited version etc. are contained Appendix 11: Data for the full range of data can be accessed at QUERY 'Idioms & collocations' in the database.

8.5.1   Difficulties encountered

As suggested earlier, there were some problems with the classification systems adopted. On occasions it was difficult to decide whether certain fixed expressions should be given the status of idioms, or should simply be classified as fixed expressions of one type or another. (Specific examples where this was a problem were annotated in the analysis.) This problem may have been compounded by the language variety being something other than English; that is to say the inclusion of Scots words in these expressions may have made it more difficult to consider whether or not these words were being used in an idiomatic way, rather than simply invoking some very basic extension of their basic meaning. This might be especially likely if the words are fairly uncommon Scots words as their connotations may be less familiar than their denotations.

Another problem was the difficulty in deciding which of the collocations were clichéd and which were not, i.e. which were still productive or, at least, not entirely dead.

8.5.2 Analysis of fixed expressions data

8.5.2.1 Degree of variation observed

Certain categories of expression seemed more tolerant of variation than others, although caution should be exercised given the small size of the study. The general areas where expressions could be modified were observed to be as follows:

1. Variation between singular and plural forms: e.g. 'chiels' or 'chiel' in versions derived from the base form "Facts are chiels that winna ding" (Herald, Scotsman, Record). This is very superficial variation in any case.

2. Variation in spelling: either between different Scottish spellings: e.g. "laldie" and "laldy" in "Gie it laldy" (Herald and Scotsman) i.e. orthographic variation; or between Scottish or English versions of the same lexical item: e.g. "jaiket/jaikit" vs. "jacket" in "Jaiket on a shooglie nail" (Herald, Scotsman, Record). The scotticisation/anglicisation question is dealt with in more depth in 8.5.2.6.

3. Straightforward lexical substitution of one synonym for another: e.g. to return to the example above "coats" or "jackets" can be used, as can "nails" or "pegs". Also "God's braw birling earth/world" (Herald and Scotsman). Thus in each case the semantic import is not really changed.

4. Minor lexical substitutions for person, tense etc.: e.g. "(will be) birling in his/their grave(s). Again, these do not have much effect on the semantic import of the expression; they merely make it more relevant to the situation being described.

5. More significant lexical substitutions which seek to tie the expression more closely to the subject under discussion: This may also involve word play. E.g.

"Scots wham **Malcolm** Bruce has aften led" in the Record, instead of "Scots wham Bruce has often led; "Whaur's your Torremolinus noo?" in the Times, instead of "Whaur's yer Wullie Shakespeare noo?"; "ya wee sleekit, timrous, cowerin' bassstart" in the Herald, instead of "wee sleekit, cowerin, timorous beastie".

6. Syntactic variation where the syntactic form of the derived version is significantly different from the original: e.g. "like all the best plans, this one went agley" (Herald); "Where, come to that, are all those cloots actually cast when May is "oot"?" (Herald). This may include the reversal of the usual order in a paired construction, e.g. "auld claes and parritch" (Herald) or "back to parritch and auld claes, as my grandmother used to declare" (Scotsman).

7. Shortening of the expression: e.g. "a gaun fit's aye getting" in the Scotsman. Note that quite often the abbreviated version comes to be better known than the full version.

8. Semantic productivity where the alterations result in a change to the meaning of the expression: e.g. "cauld kail followed by mince" in the Record, instead of "cauld kail het again". As discussed above at 8.2.4, this example is interesting as it actually modifies the meaning of the expression. However, it also defamiliarises it, as in the original the "cauld kail" is purely figurative. When put alongside mince, which in addition to being a synonym for "rubbish", is also a foodstuff, it then seems to concretise the "kail" and remove the figurative aspect. In "lang may your lum no reik peat" in the Scotsman, a modified version of "lang may your lum reek" which wishes long life and prosperity on the recipient, a similar change is being made. Peat gives a very smoky fire, and thus although the overall meaning has not been changed, the figurative meaning of the expression has in a sense been concretised. "Jock Tamson's enfants" in the Herald is a variation on the well-known expression "we're all Jock Tamson's bairns", which means we are all part of a common humanity. (It was argued in chapter 6 at 6.4.1.3 that this is a predominantly middle-class usage.) The substitution of the

French word "enfants" for "bairns, which makes it more relevant to the French content of the story, the Auld Alliance anecdote competition, seems to comically undermine the expression; "enfants" although meaning much the same, presumably being much more pretentious than "bairns".

9. Versions of "the best laid schemes o' mice and men" seem to be the most productive of the expressions considered, i.e. it can allow the greatest amount of variation. This may be because it is very well-known.

8.5.2.2   Inclusion of attributions and quotation marks

The majority of the expressions classed in this chapter as quotations, are straightforward reproductions of the original, generally enclosed within quotation marks. Whether or not the reader is given any assistance with the attribution of the quotation seems to vary, and probably no strong conclusions can be drawn from the pattern observed. If quotation marks are included, they overtly signal that the enclosed text is a quotation. If attributions are not given, it is presumably assumed that the reader is familiar with the expression, i.e. that they have shared knowledge. Some of the attributions included were interesting such as "to paraphrase Rabbie himself" or "and this is adapted from another poet, Rabbie Whatsisname" suggest familiarity with the poet. "Ayrshire's bardic dictum" is a more formal example of attribution.

8.5.2.3   Proverbs and sayings

The data illustrated several interesting points concerning Scots proverbs and sayings. Firstly, a large proportion of these expressions were labelled as 'proverbs' or 'popular wisdom' by the newspapers. These are often, as has been suggested earlier at 8.1.4, identified in the newspapers as being something along the lines of "the old saying" or "the Scots proverb", and 8 of the 13 proverbial

expressions included in the data table were glossed in this fashion. This marks the expression as formulaic, and as an overt act of language display. The use of phrases such as "old Scots saying" highlights the appeal to shared knowledge which constructs readers as part of the same Scottish national culture as the newspaper. These glosses also claim historicity, especially with the frequent inclusion of the word "old", and this can be seen as an attempt to kindle cultural nostalgia. As was noted in chapter 3 at 3.5, a sense of historicity is very important in constructing national identity.

The research also showed that many of these proverbial expressions were contained within quotation marks. The use of quotation marks around proverbial expressions marks them off from the rest of the text and explicitly draws readers' attention to the fact that the saying is formulaic.

One factor which was surprising was how many of these proverbial expressions were contained within lists of proverbs and sayings, presumably there for display purposes, i.e. for their own sake, rather than to communicate any informational or attitudinal content. Those which fell into this category were as follows. "H" denotes Herald and "S" denotes Scotsman.

- **If it's no bugs, the lum reeks**: (S) Including also **"mony a mickle maks a muckle"**, corrected to **"mony a pickle or puckle maks a mickle or muckle"**; **"the loudest bummer's no the best bee"**; **"even a haggis will run downhill"**; **"a spittoon will spoil a company"** (Gaelic saying).

- **A gaun fit's aye getting**: (S) One example is described as "the impenetrable thought for the week; the other is taken from a list of proverbs from Colin Walker's book including **"Ae scabbit sheep will smit a hail hirsel"**; **"a fool is happier thinking weel o himsel than a wise man is of ithers thinking weel o him"**; **"after dinner sit a while, after supper walk a mile; aft ettle, whiles hit"**. After the list the Diary comments "Translations provided on request".

- **A fair maid tocherless will get mair wooers than husbands**: (S) The Diary comments that the reader who provided the examples has added that "a tocher, he adds, quite unnecessarily, is of course a dowry". The list also includes **"A bonny gryce may mak an ugly sow"**; **"It's lang or four bare legs gather heat in a bed"**. The heading for this section of the article is "Blunt old saws" and by way of introduction it states that "A reader has suggested as a replacement [to a series on misnomers] something equally riveting. That's right, old Scottish proverbs." (my brackets).

- **A bairn maun creep afore it gangs / A close mouth catches nae flees / A craw is nae whiter for being washed**: (S) The list also includes **"a ae oo"**; **"a bad wound may heal, but a bad name will kill"**; **"A bald heid is soon shaven"**; **"A cock's aye crouse on his ain midden"**; **"A dish o marital love right sune grows cauld, and dosens down to nane as folk grow auld"**. The article takes examples from "a book by Colin RK Walker called, You've got it in one, Scottish Proverbs" and later comments on "our own popular series of well-known Scottish sayings".

- **Hauf past ten and no' an erse skelpt**: (H) Also includes **"Hauf past ten and not a whore in the house dressed"**. A reader has contributed the examples.

As can be seen, most of the lists identified seemed to be found in the Scotsman, only one such list being identified in the Herald, which begs the question of whether they were they all from the same article and indeed the same list. This proved not to be the case, with the maximum being three of the above expressions being contained within the same list. Further investigation showed that in the case of the Scotsman entries, they were all contained within Fordyce Maxwell's Scotsman Diary. The Herald list was contained in the equivalent Tom Shields' Diary. (As noted in chapter 6 at 6.7.1.1, the Diary in both newspapers is a humorous feature type article which often relies on readers' letters for input, and concentrates on local or Scottish humorous episodes.) Two of the Scotsman articles make explicit reference to Colin Walker's (1996) book *Scottish Proverbs*.

Many of these lists suggest that there is an ongoing dialogue between the readers and the journalist about what these sayings actually mean, whether or not they are significant, and who can collect and display the largest number, a sort of proverbial trophy hunt with many of the proverbs provided by readers 'writing-in' to the Diary. It can be argued that this process is significant for three reasons. Firstly, it helps to maintain the reader/writer/newspaper relationship by encouraging readers to get involved in the discussion. (See 3.7.2ff for further discussion of this relationship.) Thus, this ongoing exchange of proverbial wisdom can be considered to be a feedback mechanism within the discourse communities which serve to strengthen it. (See 2.3.4 and 5.5.6.1 for discussion of discourse communities and feedback mechanisms.) Secondly, this process is, in itself, a sort of language display (see 3.6ff.) These expressions are not included in the newspaper to fulfil any communicative purpose; they are simply there in a symbolic capacity, as part of a shared linguistic heritage. Knowing the proverb is a sign of group membership. The comments given by the journalist noted in the above such as "impenetrable thought for the week" and "translations provided on request" suggest that comprehension is less important than visibility for these expressions. The latter comment might also suggest that readers, as part of the shared discourse community, do not need translations, as they will already be familiar with these expressions, and this is also suggested by the comment that the reader has provided the unnecessary translation of "tocher" as "dowry". Therefore thirdly, the process also emphasises shared knowledge of Scottish proverbs, hence strengthening and reaffirming the notion of the wider Scottish community.

Thus the use of proverbs and popular wisdom by the newspapers seems to presuppose a common Scottish culture with a common Scottish heritage. The assumption that the readers will have shared knowledge, the appeal to historicity, the overt language display, and the feedback mechanisms for contributing examples of Scottish proverbs to the newspaper, all serve to construct the readership as part of a shared Scottish culture, and contribute to the construction/maintenance of Scottish identity.

Moon makes the important point, and one which is directly relevant here, that "FEIs may be localised with certain sections of a language community, and peculiar to certain varieties or domains" (Moon, 1998, p.7). This statement becomes relevant when thinking about Scottish readers encountering Scottish idioms in newspaper texts, amongst a majority of English text. These expressions are recognisable within the Scottish community, but not necessarily recognisable outside it, and it is this fact which lends them some of their pragmatic force. To use them and understand them is a statement in itself, and presumably reinforces a sense of belonging and cultural identity. Moon (1998, p.257) asserts that

> Metaphors and proverbs, informational and evaluative FEIs, appeal to shared knowledge and to shared values, and they encode the speaker/writer's relationship with the ideological context of the discourse. ... FEIs represent institutionalized sociocultural values. By selecting an FEI, a speaker/writer is invoking an ideology, locating a concept within it, and appealing to it as an authority.

The situation is similar to that discussed by McCrone (see 3.3.1) when he speaks about linguistic tariffs being raised by language. Knowledge of the proverbial expression is the linguistic tariff. The assumption is that Scottish readers as part of the shared discourse community will have shared knowledge and understand and be familiar with the proverb (although as was noted above, comprehension is actually less important than recognition of the expression as Scottish and an act of language display). Thus the use of proverbs by the newspapers simultaneously constructs readers as part of the Scottish culture, and excludes others who do not share the same knowledge.

Donaldson (1986, p.29), in his study of the Victorian press, notes of the People's Journal that

There were frequent series on things like Scots proverbs and popular songs, and long and detailed pieces on Scottish history, both national and local, often very ambitious in scope.

It is interesting to note that while in present times such features are generally more likely to be found in the broadsheets (the exchanges of proverbs discussed above were found in the Scotsman and Herald); the People's Journal was a newspaper aimed at the working classes. It is possible that the reason for the difference lies in the changing function of the newspapers, and the culture in which they are found. Donaldson (1986, p.72-100) notes that during Victorian times the newspaper was seen very much as a way of educating oneself, with families often gathering around the newspaper in the evening whilst it was read aloud, and then discussing its content. The main function of today's tabloids is to entertain, rather than to educate, and this may in part explain the difference noted here. Present-day tabloids concentrate heavily on entertainment news, TV personalities and so on. They concentrate on the popular culture of today. Arguably Scottish proverbs and popular songs formed a significant part of the popular culture in Victorian times.

8.5.2.4   Language variety of contexts for idioms and fixed expressions

Even a cursory glance at the data table shows that for fixed expressions and idioms, these expressions are mainly found in *English* or in some cases *Scottish-English* contexts, but very seldom in broad *Scots* contexts. (N.B. Variety labels as used for the data in chapter 7, explained in sections 2.4.1.5 and 7.2.3.) Why should this be the case? The answer may well be found in a consideration of the functions of idioms and fixed expressions in language as a whole, and the function of Scottish language elements in the language of Scottish newspapers. Carter draws attention to the formulaic, stereotypical and conventionalized nature of such expressions, and their stabilising role within communication (Carter, 1987, p.59).

They [fixed expressions etc.] facilitate essentially non-creative, stereotyped, formulaic expression which serves a maintaining, stabilizing role within communication. (my brackets).

Thus the use of a Scottish fixed expression in a passage of English-English can be viewed as a short-hand way of evoking Scottishness, and an overt act of symbolic language display. The process is quite similar to that of using a Scottish stereotype, as the expression triggers formulaic and clichéd associations of Scottishness. The familiarity and often apparent historicity of such expressions allows them to act as linguistic 'totems' of Scottishness in the text.

To use Carter's terminology, such expressions 'stabilize' precisely because of their familiarity and appeal to shared knowledge. Recognised fixed expressions are as Carter says "non-creative", and do not require linguistic decoding or 'unpacking' by the reader. If self-contained Scottish fixed expressions or idioms occur within what is otherwise English text, the digression into Scots can be easily compartmentalised by the reader as being a Scots saying, and not directly attributable to the habitual language use of the individual. Thus language display is achieved without the usual compromise on register which would attend extended passages of Scots, which would be more likely to require mental engagement by the reader, and could be interpreted as showing more commitment to the use of Scots language varieties. (See 2.5.3ff for discussion of registers of Scots and Scottish Standard English.)

These expressions work and are used by very virtue of their familiarity. They start from a conventional and agreed basis, and then either reiterate the construction, or modify it in some way. Both place slightly different demands on the reader, but the overwhelming necessity is for recognition of the shared knowledge element. Expressions become fixed expressions or idioms by being used over and over again by different people in different contexts. Therefore they should be, by definition, familiar and well-known to most native speakers. Of course, it is not being suggested that people are necessarily deliberately using

idioms to make their language seem familiar, although in a few cases that may well be true; rather that even if the usage is subconscious, the receiver is usually on familiar territory, and could with a high degree of accuracy, finish the idiom for the speaker/writer.

Therefore, if the newspapers are, especially in their features articles, regular columns, diaries and so on, trying to develop a style with which their readers feel comfortable but is also suitable for discussing more informal topics, they may well use Scottish language elements. They are however, as has been suggested, unlikely to write entire articles in Scots, so they use Scottish linguistic signals which are familiar to their readers to create this writing style. These signals or triggers of Scottishness are usually easily recognisable Scottish elements such as familiar words, phrases or, of course, idioms, i.e. stereotypically Scottish elements. Many of these expressions would fall into the category of what Aitken termed "overt Scotticisms" and their function is largely symbolic.

It can be argued that identifiably Scottish fixed expressions and idioms are fairly high up on the scale of comprehensibility and acceptability. They can be accepted as 'merely turns of phrase' and the fact that many of them as glossed in the text as being (old) sayings, probably reinforces this view. They are therefore easily slotted into passages of what is otherwise English, and other thin varieties towards the Scottish Standard English end of the continuum, giving a sense of Scottishness without detracting too much from the overall meaning and register of the text.

8.5.2.5   Scots idioms with English equivalents

The data suggested that there were some occasions where the Scottish idioms had English equivalents and vice versa. Murison (1981, p.87-88) comments that

> the same proverb or proverbial phrase may be rendered in Scots through a
> different metaphor or simile from that in English or in a different form of

words, which may be grammatical or conceptual or lexical and which for want of a better term may be called an idiom.

Thus he compares the saying about a crow being no whiter after being washed, with the adage about leopards never changing their spots.

In addition to idioms, or their underlying conceptual metaphors, being transferable from English to Scots and vice versa; the data showed that there were occasions where an English idiom had been Scotticised, and where Scottish idioms had been Anglicised. That this should happen is not particularly surprising given the close links between Scots and English (see 2.2.2). What is interesting however, is the mechanism of change, i.e. which lexical items are Anglicised or Scotticised.

8.5.2.6   Anglicisation & scotticisation of idioms

Idioms which appear to have been anglicised from the original Scots are as follows:

- "the best laid plans o' mice and men **gang** aft agley" becomes " .... **go** agley"

- "**mony** a mickel" becomes "**many** a mickle"

- "a fat **soo's** erse is aye **weel** greased" becomes "a fat **sow's** erse is aye **well** greased".

- "**maun** sit on the blister" becomes "**must** sit on the blister"

- "auld claes and **parritch**" varies with "auld claes and **porridge**"

- "doon the **watter**" in one instance becomes "doon the **water**". This is unexpected, as we would generally expect the more formulaic "doon the watter".

- "**bile** yer/yir heid" can become "**boil** ... heid"

- "**Whaur's yer** ... noo?" varies with "**where's your** ... noo?"

It is interesting to note that in each case an item of Aitken's column 2 Scottish lexis has been replaced with its English cognate. Presumably column 2 lexis is easier to replace with an English item precisely because they are already closely related cognates. (See section 2.3.5 for discussion of column 1 and column 2 lexis, and section 2.3.7.1 for discussion of process of attrition of Scots to English items.) Of course, the use of Standard English spelling does not necessarily indicate an English pronunciation; but the very strong expectation that newspapers will be written in Standard English will tend to ensure that texts are seen to be written in English unless they are explicitly Scottish.

Idioms which appear to have been Scotticised are as follows:

- "There's **no** place like **home**" translates as "there's **nae** place like **hame**"

- "**Turning** in his grave" translates as "**birling** in his grave"

- "Going **down** the **drain**" translates as "going down/**doon** the **stank**"

- "to get your **books**" becomes "to get your **jotters**"

These are more or less direct lexical substitutions of a more Scottish lexical item for an English one. However, the Scotticising seems to extend across both column 1 and column 2 lexis, the first and third examples showing column 2 Scotticisation, and the others showing substitution by a column 1 item. The substitution does not appear to be entirely random, as some permutations would appear to be disallowed. For example "bile yer head" would be very unlikely, although "boil yer heid" is allowed; as would "old clothes and parritch" as opposed to "auld claes and porridge" which would be acceptable. Aitken (1979a, p.86) notes that

there is a general tendency to associate Scots expressions with other Scots expressions and English expressions with other English expressions and some juxtapositions of items across the system are probably disallowed.

but that (with reference to his model of Scottish speech) he argues that

> It will be seen that groups 2 and 3 allow of wide variation between individual speakers in preferences for particular single items, and there is little doubt that such variation does exist: probably no two speakers of these groups agree exactly in their behaviour in this respect. With some speakers there may also be a tendency to polarization of choices: with such speakers either *You hae a good hame* or *You have a good home* are more likely than, say, *You hae a good hame* or *You have a guid home*, and *Yaize* (= Use) *your ain* is more likely than *Yaize your own*. Yet there are certainly other speakers who appear (in their less formal styles) to display little consistency of this sort. (Aitken, 1984a, p.522)

Thus to a certain extent, idiosyncratic individual choices and preferences may be evident.

8.5.2.7   Fixed expressions, idioms and closed class lexis

As has been argued in chapter 7 at 7.7.5, the presence or absence of identifiably Scottish grammatical words (closed class lexis) may be significant, and the presence or absence of identifiably Scottish grammatical words, could be an indicator (albeit a simplistic one) of whether to categorise a passage as 'thin' or 'dense' Scots. The argument is that as the grammatical words are the 'glue' of a language, they operate at a fundamental level of the language system, not at a superficial level. Thus, their inclusion would suggest 'dense' Scots. In terms of ease of comprehension and acceptability to readers, it is also probably 'easier' to

tolerate/comprehend a few Scottish nouns or verbs, rather than a dense string which includes Scottish grammatical words (see 3.6.4).

Idioms and fixed expressions, by their very nature, are likely to contain Scottish grammatical words, but these grammatical words, if consistently *frozen* in a fixed expression and not used outwith such expressions, are not free to act creatively in a piece of text. Some of the grammatical words found inside these expressions have their usage in newspapers restricted to this particular stereotypical context, and are therefore unlikely to 'break free' into the surrounding text. For example all occurrences of the negative form of the auxiliary verb "winna" (will not) in the Herald and Scotsman (it was not found in the Record) are as part of the phrase "Facts are chiels that winna ding". (The Record uses the form "wanna" in a more extensive quote.) All but one of the 10 occurrences of "wha" in the Record are as part of "Scots wha hae" or a variation on "Wha's like us?" These Scots lexical items are restricted to use in fixed expressions, and do not appear to be available for creative use in general Scots or Scottish Standard English prose in the newspapers.

8.5.2.8   Unique lexical occurrences

Some of these expressions seemed to contain words that are unlikely to appear using their literal meaning elsewhere, unless perhaps in a sample of broad Scots. Lexical items such as "pairt(s)" from "airt(s) and pairt(s)" and "lad o'pairts" fall into this category. The concordances for "pairt" for the Herald and Scotsman show that the only places where it is used at all, other than in these formulaic contexts, is in passages of dense *Scots*. Hence this word, if not in broad *Scots* contexts, seems to be restricted to use in these formulaic expressions. The lexical item "pairt" does not seem to be available in the newspapers for *Scottish-English* contexts. Presumably in such contexts it is replaced by English "part" or some other term, whether English or Scots. Thus these items of lexis have a very restricted usage.

For some items of Scottish lexis, it is quite likely that although they are no longer in current use as isolated lexical items, they are preserved or fossilised in fixed expressions. (See 8.7.1 for examples.) Again this is a phenomenon which is not unique to Scots.

8.6   Collocations data

This chapter also investigated common collocational patterns noted in the data, and the table in Appendix 12 gives some examples of common or preferred collocations which were observed in the newspaper texts. Once again, the data has been selected on the basis of interest and frequency. A full study of all possible collocations for this amount of data would be a much larger project, and was not felt to be necessary to illustrate the points addressed by this project. (N.B. The node word is the search word around which the concordance was based. The collocates are words which appear to either side of the node word in the collocation display.)

8.6.1   Analysis of collocations data

As can be seen from the table in Appendix 12, eleven node words were investigated. What results can be observed from analysis of their collocates?

8.6.1.1   Semantic clustering

Quite often a lexical item or node word may tend to have collocates which are quite similar to each other in semantic import. Thus for example, the lexical item "nae" (no) has collocates which seem to cluster into different semantic groups. There is the "nae bother", "nae problem/probs", "nae worries" group which have in common the conveying of lack of concern or ease of accomplishment. "Nae chance" and "nae danger" are more tenuously related to each other, but both seem

to convey a meaning of something being an exception or extremely unlikely to happen. "Nae wonder/wunner" and "nae doot/dout" may well form part of larger semantic clusters if a larger corpus was used. Similarly for "gey", "gey weird" and "gey queer" convey very similar concepts. Personal knowledge would add "gey strange", "gey odd" and so on. It therefore seems possible to argue that certain lexical items fit into larger semantic networks in particular ways. Although this is demonstrable from the data, there is nothing apparent in the lexical item itself which indicates that it can only be used with certain types of meaning; but the native speaker will know this to be the case. For example "gey nice" or "gey bonnie" seem less likely options, thus illustrating Sinclair's argument (1991, p.110-112) that the idiom principle places restrictions on the way we use lexis. Such observations may give extra information about the connotative meanings associated with certain items of Scottish lexis.

8.6.1.2   Restrictive semantic contexts

Other items of lexis appear to have even tighter semantic restrictions on the collocates they can have. For example, analysis of "bonnie/bonny" suggests that there are a fairly restricted set of semantic concepts with which this lexical item can be used. Thus for example "bonnie lassie", "bonnie lad" or "bonnie babies" are predictable collocations. "Bonnie man" or "bonnie ship" are much less predictable, and neither "man" nor "ship" sits comfortably with "bonnie". There appears to be an expectation that "bonnie" things are either certain groups of people (women and children), or that it is associated with stereotypical Scotland in "bonny banks", "bonnie (purple) heather", "bonnie flooers" etc. This latter set of collocates seems even more firmly entrenched, and it is reasonable to say that such collocations are now clichéd. The causes behind their institutionalisation may be various, but in the examples given here, popular culture in the form of well-known Scottish songs seem to have a large impact. "Bonny banks" is taken from *The bonny banks o Loch Lomond*; "bonnie purple heather" is taken from a line in *I love a lassie* ("she's as sweet as the heather, the bonnie purple heather, Mary ma Scots bluebell"). Many of these expressions or collocations can almost become a short-hand means of expression. Thus for example "bonny Scotland"

does not just express the notion of Scotland as a beautiful place; it is associated with vague notions of Tartanry and Tourist Board marketing, and may therefore be unavailable for use by those simply wishing to express their appreciation of Scotland's scenery, without all the additional associations. (Such observations illustrate Bakhtin's theory of dialogism as discussed in 2.3.3.) The analysis of "bonnie"/ "bonny" as a trigger for Tartanry discussed in section 6.4.2.1 and displayed in Appendix 8, shows that "bonnie"/"bonny" generally only occur with a fairly predictable set of collocates e.g. scenery, "banks", "lassie" etc. Therefore "bonny" is effectively restricted to use with a certain group of contexts, and cannot be freely combined with any noun.

8.6.1.3   Grammatical restrictions

Grammatical considerations can also impose restrictions on collocates. It is very noticeable in the data given here that "blate" consistently occurs with different parts of the negative Scots form of the verb "to be"; "arena blate"; "isnae blate"; "is no blate". The Herald has "widnae blate" in a Scots language article, but it seems likely that this is a misprint for "wisnae blate". These patterns are not as stylistically determined as the previous examples.

8.7   Sources of fixed expressions

The following sections discuss the sources and influences behind many of these fixed expressions and restricted/clichéd collocations.

8.7.1   Importance of kinship, ancestral wisdom and nostalgia

Two of Scotland's prominent cultural stereotypes, Kailyardism and Tartanry, (see 3.5.1) both look backwards to 'better times'. As discussed in chapter 3 at 3.4.3, Anderson stresses the importance of historicity in the construction of national

identity. Scots sayings and proverbs have symbolic significance because they are at least ostensibly old. Whether or not they would be used frequently in present-day Scotland is not the issue. What matters is that they are a link with the past. This is of course not restricted to Scottish proverbs. Most proverbs and old sayings are imbued with a sense of wisdom because they are perceived to be old. What is significant with respect to the Scottish ones however, is the way in which they preserve, in that very restricted context, Scots words which are not now generally part of the Scottish repertoire. For example, lexical items such as "tocherless" (now chiefly literary), "gryce" (local Sh-Dmf), "weird", meaning "fate" (now chiefly literary) are not now in general use outwith fixed expressions. (As cited in CSD.) Thus as was argued in chapter 3 at 3.3.2, there can be persistence of symbolic function even if communicative function has now largely been lost.

Thus it is not surprising that 'age', in terms of 'historicity', is often cited to claim authenticity and importance for some of these expressions. As discussed earlier at 8.5.2.3, many of the proverbs are glossed by the newspapers themselves as being 'old sayings/maxims' and so on. A strong link in the maintenance of a nation's culture, has always been the family. Sayings and stories passed down through the generations from father to so, mother to daughter. In two of the newspapers' glosses to these expressions, this idea is explicitly referred to. The "back to parritch and auld claes, my grandmother used to declare", and the reference to "a saying of my [the writer's] father's" with reference to "a fat soo's erse is aye weel greased", both invoke the authority of ancestral wisdom and a feeling of cultural nostalgia.

8.7.2   Interaction with other facets of Scottish culture

Thus a link with the Scottish past seems to be desirable. In addition, there are other aspects of Scottish culture which appear to be important. Many of the expressions under consideration seem to tap into resonances from various facets of Scottish life and culture, such as music-hall routines, popular Scottish songs,

the importance of national rugby and football in creating a national focus, and of references to well-known Scottish literature, particularly the works of Burns. These aspects of Scottish culture are discussed in the following.

8.7.2.1   The music hall

As already suggested above, there appears to be an attempt made to invoke a nostalgic sense of Scottishness. One such resource is the Scottish music-hall culture of the Stanley Baxter, Harry Lauder and 'Francie and Josie' stable. Aitken (1979a, p.109) describes "crivvens! jings! help ma boab!" (found in the Herald and Scotsman) as "stock music-hall stereotypes". The expression is also familiar to readers of *The Broons* and *Oor Wullie*. "C'moan get aff" (found in the Herald and Record) is derived from the music hall stereotype of a clippie (bus conductor). (See Marshalsay (1992) for discussion of these influences.)

8.7.2.2   Sport

As seen in the preceding chapter at section 6.7ff, sports reports account for a substantial part of the overall usage of Scottish lexical items. There is also a connection between sport and certain Scottish fixed expressions. It may be useful to consider whether the well-known syncretism of national sport (especially football and rugby) and nationalism in the minds of many Scottish people (probably especially in the male population) is having an influence. The quotation from "Flower of Scotland", about being 'sent hamewards tae think again' seems to be reserved entirely for reports on national football or rugby events, especially where there is a contest against the English; thus the conceptual metaphor about sport being war being applied very specifically to conflicts between the English and the Scots. Of course, "Flower of Scotland" is also used as an anthem at such events, and therefore has a close association with national matches.

8.7.2.3   The national bard

Burns seems to play a very significant role in newspapers' attempts to constitute a sense of Scottish culture. No fewer than 8 of the quotations identified by the study were quotations from Burns. This is perhaps not surprising given his popularity and his works being relatively well known to a large part of the population; more so than those of say Gavin Douglas, William Dunbar and so on. To use or refer to a quotation from Burns seems to be almost a shorthand way of evoking a Scottish atmosphere, but perhaps one which has become a little hackneyed. Macafee (University of Glasgow, Department of Scottish Literature, Coursebook for M.Phil in Literary Scots (Unit 3A: Modern Scots) p.6) notes that Burns has had a large influence on people's perceptions of Scots and has formed a "literary precedent". She goes on to argue that

> The most influential descendant of the Burnsian model is the Scots of the *Sunday Post* in 'Oor Wullie' and 'The Broons'. The majority of Scots speakers, if asked to write in the language, without any tutoring given, would probably produce something based on this familiar model, using similar spellings for instance and similar homely vocabulary.

Burns is considered to be Scotland's national bard, and it can be argued that the recognition of quotations from his works, or allusions made to them, is an integral part of being Scottish. Thus again, a linguistic tariff (or in this case a literary tariff) is being raised, which must be met if one is to be truly considered Scottish. Drakakis (1997, p.153) suggests that the Shakespeare canon can be used " as a resource for what Dr Johnson called 'practical axioms and domestick wisdom' and as a repository for universal truths"; i.e. Shakespearean quotations being used as out of context 'sound-bites' to comment on current events, thus either legitimising events or obscuring their reality. Corbett (1998, p.79-82) suggests that for Scots, Burns as a national bard may be an equally potent figure, and may be invoked in much the same way. Thus knowledge of the works of Burns helps to construct us as Scots.

The majority of these literary quotations are found in the Herald and Scotsman, with only a few entries in the Record. Once again, given the relative sizes of the newspapers in question we must temper any observations with caution, but it would seem reasonable to speculate that these broadsheets may make more use of such expressions, as this is more likely to be of interest to their readers, probably frequently in terms of self-congratulatory recognition of where the quotation comes from. Thus again it can be suggested that there is a tabloid/broadsheet split. This is considered further in the next section.

8.7.3   A middle-class sub-culture

Based on the sample results obtained we cannot say definitively that the broadsheets use more idiomatic and fixed expressions than the tabloids, or vice versa. However, as suggested above, there may be a case for attempting to distinguish in register between the expressions found in the tabloids and the broadsheets. This is a split which has been investigated throughout this study. Again, this is not an exact science, and there are colloquial expressions which are found in the broadsheets, and more 'learned' ones which are found in the tabloid Record. For example, "dinnae rax yer cackie" is found only in the Scotsman; the Record does include "Facts are chiels that winna ding." That proviso aside, there did seem to be some expressions which were exclusively found in the broadsheets which we would tend to associate with middle-class Scots speakers. Certain examples of these fixed expressions do seem to signal membership of the (middle-class) Scottish club. Expressions such as "lad o'pairts" and "frae/from a' the airts" seem to fall into this category, and are only found in the Herald and Scotsman, i.e. Scottish broadsheet newspapers. (Though obviously as I have already said we cannot make too many generalisations about these expressions due to the method of data collection.) Others falling into this category would perhaps be "God's braw birling world/earth"; "We're all Jack Tamson's bairns"; "birling in his grave" and possibly even the exaggerated "Help ma boab" of 'The Broons' and 'Oor Wullie'. Others which were exclusive to the broadsheets included some of the literary quotations. For example "best laid plans ...", "wee

sleekit, cowerin, timorous beastie", "Sic a wife as Wullie had …" which are all Burns quotations only appear in the Herald and Scotsman, and not in the Record. As was argued in chapter 6 at 6.4.1.2, this may be attributable to perceived differences in the educational background of the majority of the newspaper's readership.

The argument is more difficult to apply in the opposite direction, with many colloquial expressions being included in the broadsheets; however, a few expressions which are found only in the Record and seem to be quite colloquial in register are "on the bevvy" (also used south of the border); "to go one's dinger" which Aitken (1979a, p.109) cites as a predominantly working-class expression (see 6.4.1.3); "gies a break" and "fur coats and nae knickers", (presumably an attack on the more aspiring of the middle-classes), "Tak a dram wi' a trusty fiere" (slogan for Grant's whisky advertising campaign).

Thus once again, the data illustrate differences between the Scots expressions used by the tabloid and broadsheet newspapers. The contrast in the use of literary quotations, in particular, suggests that these differences can again be related to the social stratification of the target readerships.

8.8   Collocations, fixed expressions & idioms in the construction of Scottish identity

As discussed at the outset of the chapter, it was felt to be important to include analysis of fixed expressions, idioms and preferred collocations in the study as it helps to paint a picture of the extent of formulaic use of Scottish lexis by the newspapers. The main points arising from the analysis were as follows.

The use of fixed expressions, especially quotations, allusions and proverbs, by the newspapers often assumed shared knowledge on the part of the readership. Thus

the readership is constructed by the discourse as part of the wider shared Scottish community. It was argued that knowledge of these fixed expressions again raised a linguistic tariff which simultaneously included those who were familiar with the expression, and excluded those who were not. Thus it was presupposed that the newspapers and their readers shared a common Scottish culture and heritage. That shared culture and heritage as alluded to by these expressions, seemed to focus particularly on certain areas. The broadsheets in particular referred to a common literary culture, particularly a Burnsian one, in their use of literary quotations and allusions. Often these were unattributed, therefore again presuming shared knowledge on the part of the readership. Burns was also salient for the tabloid Record, although for fewer expressions, and thus his appeal as Scotland's national bard appears to transcend class boundaries. To some extent this may be due to his image as a working-class hero. Other important unifying influences were drawn from popular culture, in particular associations with music-hall routines and songs sung by such as Harry Lauder, and also sport. Interestingly many of these references are to historical, by which is meant of a previous era, works and influences. The importance of an appeal to historicity, discussed by Anderson as important in the construction of national identity, was also noted in this chapter. Many of the proverbs were glossed as "old Scottish sayings" etc., or described as "as my granny used to say", "a saying of my father's". It is important to note, however, that not all constructions of Scottish identity rely on historicity. Some of the more colloquial texts, such as illustrative Text 4 (Appendix 10) discussed in the previous chapter, do make reference to more recent cultural stereotypes such as the Rab C. Nesbitt character (the note "With apologies to Rab C." is given at the start of the article, and many of the expressions such as "see that bit aboot...", and "ma wee doll" are typical Rab C. language).

It was argued further that the exchanges of Scots proverbs and sayings in the broadsheets primarily functioned as language display, i.e. were more symbolic than communicative; and that the practice of readers being encouraged to 'write-in' with their own examples could be viewed as a feedback mechanism which strengthened and reaffirmed the discourse community. Evidently this can be

argued as strengthening the reader/writer bond; although again, this is only the case if the reader actually has knowledge of the old saying and can therefore appreciate and if necessary participate fully in the display of shared knowledge. Once again tariffs are being raised, and the fact that most of these exchanges take place in the broadsheets, may reflect perceived differences in the readerships of the tabloid and broadsheet newspapers.

This symbolic function of Scottish fixed expressions was also noted with respect to certain clichéd collocations, such as the close association of "bonnie" with elements of Tartanry. It was argued that many of these expressions and collocations functioned in a similar manner to the evocation of Scottish stereotypes discussed in chapter 6 at 6.4.2ff, triggering a whole series of Scottish associations. This quality was often seen where a Scottish fixed expression occurred in an otherwise English-English text; the expression triggering associations of Scottishness without compromising the register of the text, as it can be more easily compartmentalised by the reader as a Scottish saying, rather than being directly attributable to an individual's or the newspaper's language use. Thus in such contexts these expressions functioned very successfully as overt but acceptable acts of language display.

The chapter also gave information on the use of Scottish lexis generally, by suggesting that certain items such as "bonnie/bonny" and "agley" to take two examples from the data, tend to be used in fairly restricted contexts. This is information which may not necessarily be discernible from a dictionary, and /or may be subject to change over time. For example, with "bonnie/bonny" it seems quite likely that the range of collocates for which it is considered appropriate may have narrowed over time to give the present situation where many associations are disallowed, and many others seem very clichéd and formulaic. Thus analysis of such items in the context of the newspaper texts may give more general information on the present state of Scots and Scottish Standard English. It was also suggested that the data might suggest to what extent individual items of Scots lexis were still productive, or were restricted to formulaic contexts.

To conclude then, as was argued in previous chapters, the newspapers often seem to be using a variety of easily recognisable Scottish stereotypes as a shorthand method of constructing and maintaining a sense of Scottish identity. Furthermore, the use of well-worn formulaic content appears to form an important and highly salient part of the construction and maintenance of a shared Scottish identity by the newspapers.

The following concluding chapter draws together the observations which can be made from the study as a whole, and relates them to the general question of the construction and maintenance of Scottish identity by the Scottish newspapers.

9 CONCLUSION

This concluding chapter outlines the main problems encountered during the research and gives suggestions for further avenues of investigation. It then summarises the main points raised by the thesis and relates them to the question of a Scottish identity as constructed and maintained by the Scottish newspapers. Finally, the chapter briefly considers the position occupied by Scottish newspapers in Scotland today and asks whether the situation is likely to have changed from 1995 to the present.

9.1 Problems encountered during research

Problems which relate specifically to the corpus such as the unavailability of full data for the Sun have been outlined in the methodology chapter at 4.3.1.1. In addition, essential information such as headlines, by-lines etc. for those newspapers taken from the Daily Record database had to be manually typed into the database and painstakingly checked for errors. However, the biggest problem faced during this research was undoubtedly the amount of material. Running lexical searches and manually saving text files based on a full year's data for four newspapers, and partial data for two further newspapers, was a large undertaking. From the early stages it was clear that this amount of data would have to be managed in such a way as to allow easy access to the information contained therein, and I therefore decided to build a computerised corpus and construct the newspaper database. The reorganisation of the database as discussed in chapter 4 at 4.7.2, although necessary, and in the longer term beneficial, caused huge problems when trying to convert the old database to the new format without losing information.

Unfortunately I had no background in relational databases, and therefore had to learn the necessary skills as work progressed. In retrospect, perhaps this part of

the project should not have been undertaken without prior experience and the necessary specialised I.T. skills, and the project was probably over-ambitious for PhD research. However, it was impossible to contemplate the analysis of such a large quantity of information without building the database, and it does provide a unique resource for the study of the language of the Scottish newspapers which can be added to and developed further in the future. The project also illustrates the need for a cross-disciplinary approach, seeking advice from I.T. experts etc. as necessary, although it is also essential that the main researcher have at least a reasonable grasp of these matters to ensure that the I.T. solutions presented adequately address the research questions. The skills learned and experience gained from constructing this type of resource are likely to prove very useful in an academic environment where the use of large-scale computerised corpora is becoming increasingly common. Thus although the original aim of the research was not the construction of a database, its design and development formed an integral part of the research process, and thus it has been submitted for examination in conjunction with the main thesis.

As was also discussed briefly in chapter 4 at 4.2.3, the concordancing tool *Wordsmith* only became available about one year into the research. The initial data collection phase would have been made much easier and faster had this been available sooner. This is an example of an increasingly common problem, particularly in fields such as corpus linguistics, whereby the research is overtaken by new developments in technology. It demonstrates the need for keeping up-to-date with the latest developments, and if necessary adapting the research procedure to take account of recent advances.

With hindsight, the scope of the project was also probably too broad, as the three main data chapters (Lexis I-III) cover quite a large and varied range of material. However, such an approach does have the advantage of giving a wider perspective on the material than would otherwise be achieved.

9.2 Suggestions for future research

Clearly it would be interesting to investigate whether there have been changes in
the amount of Scots used by the Scottish newspapers post-devolution, and thus to
consider whether the Scottish identity and its construction/maintenance by the
press has altered in light of recent political changes in Scotland. The research
could be constructed along similar lines to that presented here, and the results
compared between 1995 and 2000. It would also perhaps be profitable to focus
particularly on articles concerned with the Scottish parliament, to see whether any
changes in usage can be discerned, such as an elevation of register for particular
Scots lexical items (one thinks of, for example, Scotland's First Minister
extending a "handsel" to the Queen at the opening of the parliament) or an
increase in the range of 'functional Scotticisms' (see 7.7.6 for definition).

The present research could also be profitably extended by a consideration of the
Scottish Sunday newspapers. As was suggested at sections 4.3 and 5.6, it is
anticipated that these titles would show a greater usage of Scottish lexis. Such a
study would also allow examination of the *Sunday Post*, a newspaper which has
for many years been well-known for its own distinctive and somewhat stereotyped
brand of Scottish language. Again it would be useful to relate Scottish lexical
usage to particular article types to build a picture of where and how Scots is used
in these newspapers.

It would also be helpful, particularly in light of the discussion in chapter 7 on the
use of grammatical items of Scots lexis, to extend the investigation of the
newspaper language to consider the use of identifiably Scottish grammar in the
press, using studies such as Miller (1993), Beal (1997), and Purves (1997) as
reference points. This would allow further investigation into the hegemonic
pressure exercised by written Standard English in public discourses such as the
newspapers, and further determination of the extent to which the newspapers use
Scottish Standard English rather than Scots. Such information could easily be
added into the database to complement the existing information, and to allow a
lexical/grammatical comparison.

As discussed in chapter 4 at section 4.3.2, I would have preferred to include other newspapers such as the *Aberdeen Press & Journal*, the *Dundee Courier* and the Glasgow *Evening Times* in the study, to allow greater consideration of how Scottish identity relates to local identity. These newspapers seem to be more locally focussed than titles such as the Herald, Scotsman and Record. These daily newspapers could also be profitably compared with weekly local titles such as the *Hamilton Advertiser*, the *Airdrie & Coatbridge Advertiser*, or the *West Highland Free Press*. Thus it would perhaps be possible to consider more fully the range of identities projected by the Scottish newspapers.

The present research and corpus could be usefully incorporated in a larger project studying the use of Scots across a range of different text types. Background reading for this study strongly suggested that very little work has been done on the use of Scots or Scottish Standard English in non-literary written texts. The observations made in this study suggest that the Scottish language used in non-literary contexts is of quite a different type to that more usually studied. Such research would complement existing studies on Scots, such as the research into spoken Scots carried out by those such as Macaulay, phonological research into Scottish accents and pronunciation, studies of lexical erosion such as that by Macafee, and sociolinguistic studies of different varieties of Scots, and attitudes to Scottish language (for example by Romaine and Johnston). Varieties towards the thinner end of the Scottish-English continuum in particular seem to have been largely ignored, except by the grammarians such as Miller; an omission which seems incongruous if one considers the relative quantities and status of the 'broad Scots' and Scottish Standard English used in Scotland today.

Perhaps a wider look at the use of Scots in the news media would give interesting results. For example, the news coverage surrounding the recent death of Donald Dewar, the First Minister for Scotland, was unashamedly Scottish, and often quite stereotypically so. He was naturally described in terms of his political achievements and important role in the bringing about of the Scottish parliament; but there was a recurring and somewhat sentimentalised theme that above all else he was a Scotsman who loved Scottish poetry and art, and walking in the Scottish countryside. Scottish adjectives such as "dour" and "canny" were widely used to

describe him, and frequent references were made to well-known Scottish quotations such as "a man's a man for aa that". He was constructed firstly as a Scot, and then as a politician and father. The example is reminiscent of that discussed briefly in chapter 5 at 5.7 on the coverage of the Dunblane shooting. On that occasion also, there was an increased use of Scottish vocabulary. It may be speculated that whilst in day-to-day life our consciousness of being Scottish may be somewhat marginalized; it comes to the fore and is highlighted by the media in the wake of such emotionally charged events which are very much seen and reported as Scottish tragedies.

The use of Scots in advertising, both TV and written advertisements, may also yield some interesting results, although some preliminary work has already been done by Roz Smith (Caledonian University). The Scottish Tourist Board in particular, has changed the tone and emphasis of its adverts over the years.

9.3   Summary of main points arising from research

The main points arising from the research are discussed in the following section. As outlined in the first chapter, the study had two main aims: to investigate the linguistic construction and/or maintenance of Scottish identity by the newspapers, and to examine the language varieties along the Scottish-English continuum in more detail. This section discusses the main observations and conclusions which can be drawn from the study to answer the original research questions (see 1.4ff).

The study argues that the Scottish newspapers linguistically construct and/or maintain Scottishness, and that this is an important part of their Scottish identity. It is essential that newspapers generally, construct their target readership as part of a shared community. In Scotland, it is important that the newspapers are identifiably Scottish, and demonstrate that they share a common culture with their Scottish readers.

One of the key concepts associated with the investigation of Scottish identity is that of the discourse community. It can be argued that the Scottish newspapers

construct or 'brand' their readerships as part of a shared Scottish discourse community. This is achieved in a variety of ways, such as the appeal to shared knowledge of a common Scottish culture by the use and exchange of Scots proverbs discussed in chapter 8, or the more general inclusion of items of Scottish lexis. These features raise linguistic tariffs which define the boundaries of the discourse community, simultaneously including those with shared knowledge, and excluding those outside the discourse community. The newspapers have feedback mechanisms in place, for example the exchanges of letters on Scots language issues, or the contribution of proverbs by readers, which serve to reaffirm and strengthen the discourse community.

However, it can be argued that Scotland is not one unified and coherent discourse community, but rather that it is composed of a series of interrelated discourse communities, stratified particularly by class divisions. The newspapers use Scottish language to construct their readers as Scottish, and as part of a shared discourse community; but the identity they construct is complex and multifaceted. The research illustrates a series of differences between the tabloid and broadsheet Scottish newspapers, such as differences in the use of lexical items, the use of Scots in headlines, the use of literary quotations, the coverage of Scots language articles, and the use of Scottish stereotypes. These contrasts reflect perceived differences in the social class and education of their target readerships. Thus Scottish identity enters into a complex relationship with class identity.

Following on from this, the study also notes the need for caution when associating the use of Scots with the construction of a shared identity. It argues that Scots can be used to signal outgroup in addition to ingroup membership, and that this is especially likely to be a consideration when focusing on the use of Scots in direct speech. It suggests that the use of Scots in narrative is more likely to be viewed as directly attributable to the newspaper itself, and hence subject to strong considerations of appropriacy, style and 'correctness'; whereas the use of Scots in direct speech is to some extent 'filtered' or distanced from the language of the newspaper. Thus for example, a text such as the Govan Gent's article (illustrative Text 4, Appendix 10, see 7.11ff) gains much of its humour by giving a representation of stereotypical Scottish working-class speech, secure in the

knowledge that this will be regarded as symbolising outgroup status by the majority of its target readership. The use of this type of Scots in a different, perhaps straightforward third person narrative context, would be more likely to be deemed unacceptable usage.

I suggest that much of the Scots lexis included in Scottish newspapers has a primarily symbolic significance, and that the situation can be compared with Cormack's study of the use of Gaelic in Scottish newspapers. I argue that the inclusion of many of the Scottish fixed expressions has a symbolic rather than a communicative function, with the emphasis on visibility rather than on comprehension. The newspapers also make use of Scottish stereotypes and well-worn formulaic content, again using shared knowledge to construct readers as part of the same discourse community. I suggest that much of the Scottish lexis used by the newspapers is a symbolic act of language display used to negotiate identity, and that certain items of Scots lexis are more likely to be used for language display than others. Thinner or Scottish Standard English contexts can have greater salience for language display than dense Scots, as they raise less problematic linguistic tariffs, and are subject to fewer register constraints. Thus they are less likely to exclude readers from fully participating in membership of the discourse community.

In chapter 6, I demonstrate that, with the exception of functional Scotticisms, Scots lexis is largely confined to certain parts of the newspapers where its use is considered to be more appropriate or acceptable. I argue that this is as a result of the ongoing hegemony of English in Scotland and the low status of Scots. However, it is important to recognise that these pressures come from readers as well as from the newspapers themselves, and that the style adopted by the newspapers is negotiated with the readership and therefore reflects the attitudes to Scots held by the wider discourse community. Scots is therefore restricted in its registers by general preconceptions of the situations in which its use is considered appropriate. The newspapers themselves have the potential to provide an influential arena where these notions of appropriacy could be challenged, and to some extent this is attempted by the Scots language activists in the Scots language articles discussed in chapter 5. However, given the observations made in chapter

6 on the diversity of Scots orthographic forms used, and the apparent lack of a unified in-house policy on the use of Scots by the newspapers; I consider it unlikely that the newspapers will act as a force for the standardisation and increased status of Scots. Scottish Standard English probably inhibits the development of a standard written Scots, as it is sufficiently Scottish to construct and maintain Scottish identity, but without the register constraints usually associated with the use of Scots.

Chapters 7 and 8 focus more closely on the surrounding contexts for items of Scottish lexis, and I argue that it is very important to consider Scottish lexis in context, in order to build an accurate and useful picture of the ways in which it is used. Analysis of the contexts of Scottish lexis shows that there are many complex constraints acting on its usage, and underlines the importance of a fully integrated approach when analysing Scottish texts. The Scottish newspapers have a wide range of linguistic options along the Scottish-English continuum from which to construct/maintain Scottish identity. Just as individuals make linguistic choices based on a complex series of interrelated factors, so too the newspapers write under complex linguistic constraints. Their language is ultimately negotiated with their readerships, and thus an analysis of the language of the Scottish newspapers gives valuable insights into how these Scottish language varieties are used and regarded in Scotland today.

9.4 The Scottish newspapers in 2000

In chapter 1 at section 1.1, I outlined the political changes which had taken place between the commencement of this study and its ultimate conclusion, with the founding of the new Scottish parliament in Edinburgh. This study has focused on the Scottish newspapers as they were in 1995, and it is quite possible that there may have been changes, particularly in light of the recent political developments, to those newspapers, and how they construct themselves and their readers as Scottish. To conclude the discussion, and to bring the study up-to-date, I would therefore like to briefly consider the situation facing the Scottish newspapers in 2000.

A recent article by Stephen McGinty published in the Scotsman on 29 September 00 gives 1995 and 2000 circulation figures for Scottish newspapers from the Audit Bureau of Circulation (ABC). (It should be noted that the 1993 figures quoted in chapter 5 are for readers, not numbers of newspapers sold, i.e. it is assumed that more than one person reads each newspaper.) The article quotes the Herald's circulation in 1995 as 108,165 falling to 95,493 in 2000; the Scotsman's as 79,267 in 1995 rising to 105,000 in 2000 following the relaunch in May this year after a four-year decline. The main point of the article is to show the Scotsman's own recovery following the recent relaunch and price-cut, but it puts forward some interesting points which are relevant to this study and the importance of a Scottish identity for the Scottish newspapers.

Firstly it shows a fairly sharp decline in the circulation figures for the other main Scottish newspapers from 1995 to the present, with the *Aberdeen Press & Journal* sustaining the smallest drop. Secondly, it argues that the creation of the Scottish parliament has not reversed the fortunes of the Scottish press as had been anticipated. Brian McNair (reader in Media Studies at Stirling University) suggests that the main factors in the declining fortunes of the Scottish newspapers have been the drop in price of their UK competitors and the Scottish launch of the free Metro newspaper. However, he makes an interesting comment on Scottish identity which makes an interesting addendum to the discussion above.

> In Scotland, the decline of the regionals can be attributed to the increased competition that has come from the UK papers that throughout the 1990s have beefed up their Scottish editions in an attempt to give them an *authentic Scottish identity*. (Scotsman, 29/09/00) (my emphasis)

Thus it can be argued that an identifiably Scottish identity is still seen as a necessary attribute of newspapers aimed at a Scottish readership. How it is constructed post-devolution, whether linguistically or by some other means, is a topic for another study.

APPENDIX 1   Instructions for use and retrieval of information from database

A1.1   Overall design

This is a relational database in Microsoft Access 97 format, and is write-protected to prevent any unintentional mistakes by the end-user, especially when opening and running queries. The database is composed of a series of tables (where the underlying data are held), forms (which display the data in a more user-friendly format), queries (some of which have been used to generate other forms and tables, and some of which simply extract requested data from the tables) and macros and modules (which instruct the database to carry out a series of automated tasks). This description will explain the functions of the parts of the database which are of interest to the end-user. Many tables and forms will not be described here as they were simply intermediate stages to create the finished product.

It should be noted that there is a separate database for each newspaper. This was a deliberate design feature to speed up the data retrieval, and also to avoid problems due to text files and concordances for different newspapers potentially having the same names. It is not possible to have more than one database open at a time; MS Access simply will not allow this. Thus, in order to compare results between newspapers it is necessary to open the required databases in turn.

A1.2   Using the database

IMPORTANT: Before attempting to run database, Open MS Access, go into the 'Tools' menu and select 'Options'. Select the 'General' tab, and in the default database box change the display to \ (i.e. a back-slash). Close and

reopen Access to save your changes. **This should ensure the database correctly**
recognises your CD-ROM drive.

To open the database, insert the CD-ROM in your CD-ROM drive, and double
click on your CD-ROM drive icon, and then double click on **idrive**, and then
newspaper.mdb in Windows Explorer. You will automatically be taken to the
front-end of the database. The introductory page gives submission details etc. To
enter the database itself, click on the **Newspaper database** button. You will then
be taken to the main navigational page for the database with 6 buttons, one for
each newspaper studied. (This screen also has an **Exit** button which closes down
the whole database and exits from MS Access.) Only one newspaper can be
examined at a time, and this screen is the gateway to each individual newspaper.
Select the newspaper you require by clicking on the named button. Once the
newspaper has been selected the database will automatically run a macro
command to open the main form 'SHOW Words'. This form is the main
navigational point for each individual newspaper. (If at any time you accidentally
close this form and do not want to have to close down and reopen the database,
simply go to the list of forms and select FORM 'SHOW Words'.)

A1.3 Form 'SHOW Words'

A1.3.1 Display

The drop-down box of search items at top left is the main pivot for this form, and
allows the user to select word or expression they wish to investigate and thereby
to navigate easily around the database. (Its navigational significance is discussed
below.) The information displayed for headlines, by-lines, page numbers etc. is
fairly self-explanatory and easily located. As discussed in the main thesis,
different newspapers gave different types of information about the articles;
therefore the form design has been modified for each newspaper to display the
maximum amount of information possible. Again any additional fields are clearly
labelled.

To the right of the drop-down word box there is a double display of the total number of stories/articles in which the search item was found, and the total frequency of the search word in that particular newspaper. There is a good reason for this double display, although it adds no further information for the end-user. One of the sets of information is obtained from underlying tables in the database. The other is a set of calculated fields which works out the numbers by performing calculations based on other related fields in the database; thus providing a useful check that everything was operating properly when the database was still under construction. In most cases these sets of figures are, as would be expected, identical. There are however, a very few incidences where the numbers differ by a small margin. This is due to very occasional discrepancies between the calculated field (based on a FIND Duplicates query in the database), and problems (especially for items such as "wee" which have very large numbers of occurrences) caused by duplicate entries not being spotted manually in the concordance displays. In the whole scheme of things this is unfortunate, but with a database of this size probably unavoidable. Most have been ironed out, but a very few remain. (By way of explanation, to change these few deviant displays each involves hours of work, checking and rechecking data, re-running queries and reformulating the final tables and forms.) Known problems with the database are discussed at section A1.8 below.

The other count displayed on this form (labelled 'Count' below the by-line field) gives the total number of occurrences of the search word in that particular article. Thus the figures for the 'Count' fields for each article should add up to give the total frequency figure displayed at the top of the form. The total number of articles displayed for the search word (i.e. in count given next to navigational arrows at the bottom of the form) should match the total stories display at the top.

The faded-out number displayed next to the page number or date field (depending on the newspaper) is the story ID. This simply gives each text article a unique ID number, which various tables and queries use to perform their operations. Although integral to the construction and updating of the database, it adds no particularly useful information for the end user; hence the faded-out display.

It will be noted that for some entries there are blank fields on the forms. This is simply because this information was not included on the original CD-ROMS / Daily Record database, or was not relevant for that particular article.

A1.3.2 Navigation

The main navigational point in this form is by the selection of the Scottish word or expression of interest from the drop-down box in the top left. Once a choice has been highlighted, the information in the rest of the form will automatically change to display the data relevant to that word. In order to move to other occurrences of the same word or expression which are not displayed on-screen, use the top set of navigational arrows located at the bottom left of the display. To scroll through the actual words themselves without using the drop-down word box, use the lower set of navigational arrows.

There are also a series of command buttons (with red text) on this form which lead to other forms and displays. The button marked **View** underneath the headline display will automatically open a notepad file of the whole article should the full context be desired. (Simply close this file in the usual Windows fashion to return to the database window.) The button marked **Wordsmith concordance** will automatically open Wordsmith (the concordancing tool) and display the relevant concordance. A message box saying **"overflow"** will appear. This is due to a software glitch between Access and Wordsmith and should be ignored. Simply press "OK" and the concordance can then be viewed. This also happens when you run text files from the database. (The concordance display itself is discussed below.) The button marked **Close** automatically closes down the subdatabase for that newspaper and takes you back to the main newspaper selection form. The button marked **Contexts** opens the summary form called FORM 'Contexts' discussed in chapter 7 of the main thesis. The button marked **Go To Word Occurrences** automatically opens another form called FORM 'Word Occurrences'. These other forms are described below.

A1.4 FORM 'Contexts'

FORM 'Contexts' gives information on contexts, unusual patterns, particular article types, part of speech etc. for the relevant word. This form was compiled at the very end of the research period to display outstanding information which had not been included in earlier versions of the database. The contents of this form were typed in manually, and therefore there may be a few typing errors. The contents of this form summarise the information discussed in chapter 7 and 8 of the main thesis. When finished viewing this form, simply close it using the usual windows crossed box.

A1.5 Form 'Word Occurrences'

As discussed in the main thesis at 4.10.1, it had originally been intended that information such as that contained in the summary "Contexts" form would be entered individually for every occurrence of every word/expression in the database. It soon became clear that this was not feasible in the time allotted, and probably not necessary. Thus the sub-form "Word occurrences in this story" should be ignored, as only a few entries have been made here. However, this form importantly contains another sub-form at bottom right which allows the old file names in the concordance display to be matched to the relevant files in the redesigned database called 'Concordance Link Check'. Entries in this sub-form can be scrolled through using the navigation arrows at the bottom. This is useful if it is wished to check a number of different concordance entries.

The main details are viewable from this form also, and again the full text file and relevant concordance can be opened using the command buttons as before. It is possible to scroll through the different articles containing the search word by using the navigation arrows at the bottom of the main part of the form. To return to the main form 'SHOW Words' in order to select another word for investigation, simply close this sub-form using the **Back to main form** button.

A1.6 Other relevant forms, tables and queries

If you wish to view other tables, forms or queries in the database, simply close down the form you are viewing using the Windows crossed box, and the internal menu will be revealed. Simply scroll between the entries using the selection tabs to view the items you wish.

TABLE 'Words & counts': shows total number of articles associated with each Scottish lexical type. (See 6.3.2)

TABLE 'Word level': gives total frequencies for items of search lexis. (See 6.3.2)

QUERY 'Article types summary' OR QUERY 'Features'/ 'Correspondence' etc. : Gives figures for different types of articles. (See 6.7.1.1)

QUERY 'By-lines': Gives information on journalists. (See 6.7.2.1)

QUERY 'Idioms & collocations': Gives information of idioms and fixed expressions. (See 8.5)

QUERY 'Orthography' OR REPORT 'Alternative orthographic forms': Gives information on alternative orthographic forms. (See 6.3.3)

A1.7 Concordance display

As described above, this can be accessed by selecting the **Wordsmith Concordance** button either on the main form, or on FORM 'Word Occurrences'. The database will automatically launch Wordsmith and open the correct concordance file for the lexical item you have chosen. This is a living concordance, and can be resorted or viewed according to your preferences. The Edit menu within Wordsmith allows you to view the filenames for the original

text files. This can be used in conjunction with the display in SUBFORM 'Concordance Link Check' to identify individual articles. The Edit menu also allows you to change the display from the default one-line entry to a three-line or one sentence entry. The Edit menu option 'resort' allows you to sort the concordance entries on the basis of words to the left or right of the node word, and also by filename or node word. The concordance display forms the basis for the data discussed in chapters 7 and 8 in the main thesis.

It is important to note that due to the design of the Daily Record database, unlike the other newspapers contained on CD-ROM, the saved text files of the articles did not display the headlines or subheadlines. (This is noted in the main thesis at 4.3.1.1, where it is noted that paper proformas had to be used to collect this information.) This means that Scottish lexical items which occurred in headlines or subheadlines in these articles are not contained in the concordance displays, as these have been generated from the article text files. Thus there will be occasions in, for example, the Daily Record, where the concordance display show fewer occurrences than are recorded in the total frequency figures in FORM 'SHOW words'. This was unfortunately unavoidable.

When you have finished viewing the concordance, close it down using the Windows crossed box. Ensure you also close down both the Concordance tool and the main Wordsmith Tools windows also, as this is necessary to ensure the database can open the next concordance file you choose. If at any time Wordsmith gives you error messages during this procedure, simply choose the 'close' option, and in most cases you should have no further problems. This is due to a glitch in Wordsmith, and has nothing to do with the general running of the newspaper database. If you are still experiencing problems, try exiting the database and re-entering. If all else fails, reboot your PC, and all problems should rectify themselves.

A1.8 Known problems with the database

There are a few known problems with the database which has been checked exhaustively, and these are summarised in the following. Given the overall size of the database, these were inevitable; but they were not felt to be significant, and do not alter the results discussed in the main part of the thesis.

- Results for "canny" are missing from the Times database. They are however included in the most frequent items section in chapter 6 .

- Concordances for "canny", "pairt" and "refreshment" are missing from the Times database. There are also problems with the "nae" concordance in the English Sun, and with the "blether" and "line" concordances in the Daily Record. This does not affect results in the thesis.

- Figures for "wee" are out by one or two entries in some newspapers. Due to the very large numbers of occurrences involved, this was inevitable and unimportant in terms of overall results.

- "Yin" (7 articles, 8 occurrences), "yon" (4 articles, 4 occurrences), "yous" (2 articles, 2 occurrences) and "youse" (1 article, 1 occurrence) have been omitted from the Scotsman database, but the results have been included in discussions of overall figures. Unfortunately this was discovered very late in the writing-up phase, and to enter these few items into the database would have entailed reconstructing the now finalised entire database. This was not felt to be a wise use of resources.

APPENDIX 2   Search list

Scots word	Meaning
A	
a' / aa / aw	all
ablow	below
aboot	about
abune / abeen	above
ach	expression of surprise, disgust, or resignation
ae	one or single
aff	off or from
afore	before or in front of
agley	squint or askew
ah	I
ahint / ahent	behind or at the back
aiblins	perhaps or possibly *(old-fashioned or literary)*
ain	own
aince	once *(NE)*
airt	direction or point of the compass
ane	one
anent	about or considering
ashet	large plate or shallow dish
atween	between
aucht	eight
aucht-day	ordinary or unremarkable
ava	at all
awa	away
awfy	awful or very
aye / ay	yes or always, constantly

B

ba / baw	ball
babby	baby
bachle / bauchle	ungainly, shabby-looking person
back court / back green	shared paved or grassy area behind tenement
baffie	slipper
baggie / baggie minnie	minnow
bahookie / behouchie	the backside *(informal, jocular)*
bairn	baby or young child
baith	both
baldie / bauldie	someone who is bald, or a very short haircut
ballop	fly of trousers
bampot	foolish, stupid or crazy person *(colloquial)*
bandit	thing, person or event which causes pain or outrage, esp. "ya bandit" *(Glasgow)*
banjo	to hit hard with a single blow *(Glasgow)*
barkit	very dirty *(NE)*
barley	truce term
barra / Barras	wheelbarrow; Glasgow market
bastartin	swear word to indicate dislike or annoyance
bate	beat or beaten
bawbee	small amount of money
bawface	round, chubby face
bawheid	same as "bawface" or cheeky form of address
beamer	red face *(chf. Glasgow)*
beastie	insect, small animal
beauty	"ya beauty": exclamation of delighted approval
beel	to fester/turn septic *(NE)*
beelin	furiously angry
beezer	extreme example of its kind, in particular, a cold but dry and sunny winter day
beltie	belted Galloway cattle *(informal)*

besom	derogatory term for woman or girl
bevvy	any alcoholic drink, a drinking session, to drink alcohol *(found in other parts of Britain)*
bide	to live, to remain, to tolerate
bidie-in	partner who lives with you as if husband/wife
bile	to boil
biling	enough vegetables, potatoes to do for one meal *(NE)*
bing	mound of waste from mine or quarry
binger	a losing bet *(WC slang)*
birk	birch tree
birl	to spin, revolve
birse	to become angry, annoyed
black-affrontit / black-affronted	very embarrassed or offended
blackening	pre-wedding ritual
blackie	blackbird *(informal)*
blae	dark blue colour with hints of grey and purple
blaeberry	bilberry
blaes	crushed hardened clay or shale used for sports pitches
blate	very timid, diffident *(old-fashioned, literary)*
blatherskate	someone who talks a lot, but rarely says anything sensible
blaud	to spoil, damage *(NE)*
bleezin / bleezin fou	very drunk *(current in NE, old-fashioned, literary elsewhere)*
blether	to talk, chatter; a conversation or chat; an overly talkative person
blooter	wild, directionless kick of a ball, or to perform this action
blootered	very drunk
boak / boke	to vomit, something unpleasant can be said to "give you the (dry) boak"

bocht	bought
body swerve	to avoid
boggin	very dirty
bogle	ghost *(old-fashioned)*; or shortened form of "tattie-bogle"
bonnet / bunnet	man's soft peaked cap; any male headgear
bonnie / bonny	attractive, pleasant to look at
boorach / bourach	group of assorted people, things *(NE)*; a mess, disorderly heap *(Highlands)*
bosie	cuddle, embrace *(NE)*
bothan	building where alcohol is illegally sold and drunk
bothy	hut used for shelter by hill walkers or workmen
bottling	pre-wedding ritual
bowff / bouff	to smell strongly and unpleasantly
bowly / bowlie	someone who is bow-legged
brammer	very good *(WC slang)*
brander	metal grating covering drain in street
braw	fine, excellent
bree	soup; "barley bree" is whisky *(old-fashioned, poetic)*
breeks	trousers or underpants
breenge	to go somewhere or do something in hasty, forceful manner
breenger	person who acts impetuously *(WC)*
breid	bread
brocht	brought
bumbaleerie	the backside *(jocular, informal)*
bumfle	wrinkle, crease, fold
buroo / broo	the dole
but-and-ben	old-fashioned rural cottage consisting of two rooms

C

cahoutchie / cahoochy	rubber
cairt	cart; playing card
canna / cannae	cannot
canny	astute, cautious with money *(in general usage throughout Britain)*; good, nice; lucky
carnaptious	grumpy, irritable
carry-out / cairry-oot	takeaway food or drink
cauld	cold
cauld-wind	of bagpipes, filled by bellows rather than blowing
champit / chappit	mashed vegetables
chanty	chamber pot
chauve / tyauve	struggle, strive
cheep	whisper
chiel	lad, young man *(common in N; literary, old-fashioned elsewhere)*
chuckie / chuckie stane	stone, pebble
clack / claik	gossip, chat
claes	clothes
clart / clort	lump of mud or something else unpleasant
clarty / clatty / clorty	messy, dirty
clipe / clype	person who, or act of telling tales
cloot	piece of cloth (used as duster)
cludgie	toilet *(C)*
coggle	to wobble, rock
contermacious	obstinate *(mainly NE)*
coo / coos / kye	cow
coorie / courie	nestle or snuggle
corrie-fisted	left-handed
crabbit	grumpy, bad-tempered
crannie	little finger *(NE)*

cratur	whisky; a person; creature
creeshie	greasy, dirty
cuddy / cuddie	donkey, horse
cutty	short, thickset girl; also short as in "cutty sark" (short skirt)

D

dae	do
dander / dauner	stroll
daud	lump, chunk of something
deid	dead
deif	deaf
dicht	to wipe clean
dinger	"to go one's dinger" to lose temper or do something enthusiastically
dinna / dinnae	do not
disnae	does not
doolie	foolish person
doon	down
dreich	dreary, tedious; wet dismal weather
drookit / droukit	drenched, soaked
drooth / drouth	thirst
droothy / drouthy	thirsty, esp. for alcohol
dunt	blow, thump
dwam / dwaum	daydream

E

easy-oasy	easy-going, laid-back
ee / een	eye
eejit	idiot
erse	arse

F

fae / frae	from
fankle	tangle
fantoosh	pretentious
fash	to trouble, bother
feart	afraid
feartie	coward
fechter	fighter
flakie	"to throw a flakie" to become extremely and demonstrably angry *(Glasgow)*
fleein	drunk; flying
flyte	to scold, rail
foosty / foostit	mouldy
footer / fouter	to potter, fiddle; someone who does this
footery / fouterie	awkward, fiddly
forby / forbye	besides, in addition; except
forenoon	late morning
fou / fu'	full; drunk
furth	outside

G

gadgie	man, lad, chap *(NE)*
gallus	self-confident, daring; stylish, impressive *(Glasgow)*
gaun	going
gaunae	going to
geggie	mouth *(Glasgow)*; go-kart
gey	very, exceptionally
gie / gied / gien	to give
gies	shortened form of "give us/me"

gigot	lamb chop
girn	moan, complain
girny / girnie	irritable, whinging
glaikit / glaiket	silly, foolish, thoughtless
goonie	nightdress
greet	cry, weep
grue	shudder, shiver from fear or disgust
gub	mouth; to hit or punch; to defeat heavily
guddle	messy place, state
guid	good
gushet	triangular piece of land between two roads
guttered	very drunk
gutties	plimsolls *(WC, SW)*

H

haar	East coast mist
hackit / hacket	ugly, usually of women
hae	have
haiver / haver	talk nonsense
hameldaeme	literally "home will do me", i.e. not going away on holiday
heid	head
heidbanger	wild, crazy person
hen	informal form of address to any female *(C, S)*
hinna / hinnae	have not
hoatching	very busy, crowded
homologate	to confirm, ratify at a later date

I

ilk	proprietor; each, every
ilka	each, every-one *(old-fashioned; literary)*

isnae / isna	is not
ither	other

J

jalouse	to suspect, infer
jiggered	exhausted, tired out
Jock Tamson's Bairns	we're all part of common humanity
jotter	school exercise book

K

kail / kale	cabbage *(also fig.)*
keelie	young working-class male from a city, large town
ken	to know; filler word
kenspeckle	familiar
kiltie	man wearing a kilt *(derogatory)*
kist	chest, wooden box
kittle / kittlie	capricious; puzzling; ticklish
knype on	to slog away *(NE)*
kye	plural of cow

L

laddie	boy, young man
lad o' pairts	youth, particularly from humble origins, who is considered talented or promising
laldie / laldy	to so something vigorously
Lallans	literary Scots; variety of Scots spoken in Lowlands
lang-luggit	someone who eavesdrops
lassie	young girl

lea'	to leave
leet	list of candidates for job
licht	light
line	various written notes, authorisations
lintie	linnet
lippen	to trust, depend on
long lie	staying in bed later than usual
loon / loun	boy, lad *(NE)*
loupin / lowpin	very sore; infested by
lowse	loose; to finish work
lucky bag	sealed selection bag containing sweets, toys
lug	ear
lum	chimney
lumber	a date, someone with whom you establish an amorous relationship *(Glasgow)*

M

ma	my
maindoor	flat with front door onto street
mair	more
maist	most
mak	make
makar	poet *(old-fashioned, literary)*
malky	razor used as a weapon; to slash
mannie	man *(NE)*
masel	myself
maun	must
maw	mother *(CS)*
mawkit	dirty
meikle / muckle	big, large
menage	savings club
messages	grocery shopping

micht	might
mickle	small amount
midden	where dustbins are kept; dirty, untidy person, thing
midgie	midge
minding	small gift as token of goodwill
ming	to smell strongly and unpleasantly
mingin	smelly; of poor quality
mony	many
moo / mou / mooth	mouth
morn / morra	tomorrow
murder polis	cry for help in confused situation *(jocular)*

N

nabbler	fast, skilful worker *(NE)*
nae	no, not
nane	none
neb	nose
nebby / nebbie	nosey, inquisitive; sharp-tongued
ned	young hooligan, petty criminal *(Glasgow)*
nicht	night
nippy sweetie	irritable, sharp-tongued person
nocht	nothing
noo	now
numpty	stupid person *(Glasgow)*
nyaff	worthless person

O

obligement	a favour
och	expression of surprise, annoyance, impatience
offski	leaving *(Glasgow slang)*

ony	any
oor	our
oot	out
outwith	outside, beyond
ower	over
oxter	armpit

P

Paddy's Market	untidy, confused person *(WC)*
pairt	part
pan loaf	bread with light crust; posh accent
pauchle / pochle	to dishonestly rig something
paw	father *(C)*
pawkie / pawky	dry sense of humour
pech	to pant for breath from exertion
peely-wally / peelie-wallie	pale, unhealthy looking
peenge	to moan, complain
peep	lowest level of gas flame
perjink	neat, precise, fussy, prim
pinkie	little finger
plain loaf	loaf with crust
plank	to hide away
plook / plouk	pimple
plouter	splash, play in water, mud
plunk	to play truant
poke	bag
pokey-hat	ice-cream cone
polis	police
puggled	extremely tired, drunk
puggy / puggie	fruit machine; drunk
purvey	food and drink provided after a funeral

Q

queerie	strange person, thing
quine	young, unmarried woman, girl *(NE)*

R

ra	the *(Broad Glaswegian)*
rammy	noisy fight, brawl
ramstam	to do in a hurried, clumsy way
randan	on a spree, often involving a lot of alcohol
rax	to stretch, wrench
redd	to clear up, tidy
reek	to give off smoke
reekin	very angry
refreshment	euphemism for alcoholic drink
rerr	rare, great, excellent *(broad Glaswegian)*
retiral	retirement from job etc.
rhone/rhonepipe/rone/ronepipe	gutter, drainpipe
richt	right
rummle	rumble; to go through in hurried, clumsy manner
runkle	crease, crumple

S

sae	so
saft / saftie	soft; soft-hearted person
sair	sore
Sassenach	English person *(informal, jocular)*
scoosh / skoosh	squirt, spurt; easy
Scotticism	distinctively Scottish word or expression
scratcher	bed *(slang)*

scunner	sickened, disgusted
sharger	puny person, animal *(NE)*
shauchle	walk slowly and awkwardly not lifting feet properly
shenachie	Gaelic storyteller
sherrackin / shirrackin	severe scolding
shilpit	thin, unhealthy
shoogle	shake, sway, rock
shoogly	shaky, unsteady, wobbly
sic	such *(old-fashioned, literary)*
siccar / sicker	sure, certain *(old-fashioned, literary)*
sic-like	such-like *(old-fashioned, literary)*
single end	house or flat with only one room
skellie / skelly	having a squint in eye
skelp	smack, slap
skiddle	splash, spill water; mess around, busy with trivial tasks
skite	slip, slide
skliff / scliff	walk without lifting feet properly
sleekit	sly, but superficially charming
smeddum	common sense, resourcefulness
smirr	drizzly rain
smowt / smout	small child, person
snash	cheeky, impudent talk
snaw	snow
snell	bitingly cold
sonsie / sonsy	plump, cheerful, attractive woman, child
sook / souk	a sycophant; to do this; to suck
split-new	brand-new
stank	drain, gutter at side of road
steamin	drunk
stoat / stot	bounce
stoater	exceptional example of its kind

stoatin / stottin	very drunk
stoor / stoorie / stour / stourie	dust; dusty
stooshie / stushie	uproar
stotter	stagger, stumble
stowed out	too busy (of a place)
stramash	disorderly commotion, argument
stravaig	wander, roam aimlessly
sumph	stupid person
swally / swallie	drink of alcohol; swallow
sweetiewife	person, esp. a man, who is very gossipy
sweir	reluctant
swither	unable to decide, choose

T

tae	to
tak	take
tak tent	take heed
tapsalteerie	upside-down
tattie / tottie / totty	potato
tattie-bogle	scarecrow *(Gen. except NE)*
tattie-boodie	scarecrow *(NE)*
tattie-peelin	affectedly posh, pretentious
telt	told
terr	period, event of great fun
teuchter	Lowland name for a Highlander
thae	those
thegither	together
thon	that, those
thrapple	throat
thrawn	obstinate, awkward
timeous	timely
totie / tottie	very small

trauchle	walk slowly, wearily; tiresome task
tumshie	turnip *(C, S)*
twa / twae	two

U

unco	very, extremely
uplift	collect, pick up
ur	are *(Glasgow, WC spoken)*
urnae	am not *(Glasgow, WC spoken)*

V

vennel	lane, alley
vratch	despicable, pitiable person *(NE)*

W

wa	wall
wabbit	tired, lacking in energy
wallie / wally	made of china (e.g. of "close", "dug")
wallies	dentures
wan	one *(WC, S)*
wance	once *(WC)*
warsle	struggle through life *(NE)*
watter	water
wean	child *(WC)*
wee	small, little
weel	well
weel-kent	familiar
well-fired	well baked roll etc
wersh	bland; bitter – of taste
wha	who

whaur	where
wheen	indeterminate but reasonably large number
wheesht / wheesh	interjection meaning "Be quiet"
whit	what
wi	with
widna / widnae	would not
wifie	woman, esp. middle-aged
winch	to snog; to date
winna / winnae	will not
wrang	wrong
wurnae	were not

X

Y

yatter	chatter
ye	you
yestreen	last night; yesterday
yin	one
yon	that, those
youse / yous	you (plural) *(C)*

Z

APPENDIX 3   Scots language articles

A3.1   Scots language articles in the Herald

1. "A language beyond the pail" – This is a feature article in the Weekend Extra by Dr Anne King, a lecturer in English language at Edinburgh University who specialises in Scots. The article discusses the origins and status of Scots, and is generally written in English or Scottish Standard English. There are a few dense Scots phrases, but these are generally enclosed within quotation marks e.g. "mither tongue" and thus are separated to some extent from the rest of the text.

2. "Is Rab leading a rabble of dialects" – This is an article written by David Purves, then editor of 'Lallans', in which he argues for the adoption of standard written Scots. The article is generally written in Standard English, but the Scots word "kist" meaning 'a collection of something' is used, although this is what the anthology was actually called, and we have the spelling "poetrie" for 'poetry', although again I suspect this is lifted directly from the anthology itself. Otherwise the only incidences of Scots are his illustrative examples taken from Scots poems.

3. "Scots language debate – the merits of speaking in tongues" – This is an feature article in the Education Appointments section written by Stuart McHardy who was then director of The Scots Language Resource Centre in Perth. This article is written in response to another, and argues in favour of Scots being used in the classroom. It is generally written in Scottish Standard English, that is to say, the grammatical forms are those generally associated with Standard English, but it includes some Scots vocabulary, and some Scots turns of phrase. Examples are as follows: (my italics)

> "Last week on this page David Purves set out a case for using Standard Scots based on literary sources to teach *the auld leid, the mither tongue* of the majority of Scots."

"We're entering a new era as far as the *auld leid* is concerned and we must *ca cannie*."

"We are at the dawn of major new developments for Scots and *we maun learn tae walk afore we cin run*."

"As David Purves said last week, a serious start has been made and *gin we aa tak oor time, an mak siccar we aye speak tae each ither, we'll get tae whaur we want tae be*".

4. "Speaking of Standard Scots" – This is an feature article written by Sheila Douglas, then chair of the Scots Language Society in which she argues against the adoption of a standard variety of Scots. Again, there is one phrase in particular which stands out from most of the rest of the article, which is generally written in Standard English, except for a quotation from a Doric poem by Sheena Blackhall. The phrase in context is;

"In the ongoing debate about the Scots language, *folk are aye threipin on aboot* a standard literary Scots, as well as a standard spoken Scots."

5. "Let us speak in tongues" – This article in the Education section (25 November 1995) is by John Hodgart and is written entirely in Scots. It discusses attitudes to the Scots language, and the question of how it relates to Scottish national identity.

6. "Time tae cure oor cultural cringe aboot native tungs" – This article in the Education section (12 September 1995) is by John Hodgart and is written entirely in Scots. It discusses attitudes to the use of Scots in schools.

7. "Playground voices in class" – This is an article in the Education section by Dick Loudon. It discusses the introduction of Scots into the classroom as a medium of communication. The general article is written in Standard English, but

is interspersed with quotations in broad Scots from some of the pupils, on the topic of the Scots language.

8. "Teaching dialect" – The first of these is a letter from Neil MacCallum disagreeing with Stuart McHardy's article of 7 March 1995 "Scots language debate – the merits of speaking in tongues". It is written in Standard (Scottish) English. The second letter (25 March 1995) is a response to the letter by Neil MacCallum on 20 March, and argues that children should not be corrected for using dialectal forms. It is generally written in a thin but less formal variety. Thus we appear to have an ongoing debate on the topic conducted in the letters page.

9. "Standard spoken Scots" – This is a letter from Neil MacCallum (28 March) in response to Sheila Douglas' article "Speaking of standard Scots" (21 March) in which he disagrees with her use of the term Standard spoken Scots. It is written in Scottish Standard English.

10. "Braidth o vision in baith Scots an English" – This is a letter from Dr James A Begg written entirely in Scots. It takes issue with David Wilson's letter of 9 December 1995, and praises John Hodgart's approach. It is pro Scots.

11. "TV tales in the mother tongue" – This is an article in the Education section on a BBC series of five stories reflecting the speech of different parts of Scotland. It is written in Scottish Standard English.

12. "The cultural deficit is much more serious" – This is a letter from Richard Heinsar (Convener of 'Scots Tung') (2 December) written entirely in Scots. Firstly it agrees with John Hodgart's article of 25 November, and then it takes issue with letters from David Wilson and Ian Donnelly (29 November) again in response to Hodgart's article.

13. "Burns spoken in Scots" – This is a letter from a reader campaigning for the correct pronunciation used for the Scots poems and songs of Robert Burns. It is written in Standard English, except for the song titles, which are in Scots.

14. "Diverse dialects" – This is a letter in response to Hodgart's essay of November 25, which draws attention to the lack of uniformity in pronunciation and hence spelling in present-day Scots.

15. "All this and a didgeridoo" – This is an eclectic article within the Schools Herald which focuses on Scots week "an exploration of Scots language and culture". The main text is written in Scottish Standard English, but contained within it are various contributions by schoolchildren from Dumfries Academy. Some of the topics covered are prose discussions on language and nationhood, and the case for Scottish independence. There are also several poems written in Scots. A general observation would be that the Schools Herald and Education pages are often the site of this material on all things Scots.

16. "Equipped with a host of new publications in Scots" – In the Education section, this article by Dick Loudon discusses the increase in the teaching of Scots in schools through innovations in the 5-14 syllabus, and its effect on a sense of national identity. The article is generally written in English, but has a few token sentences in Scots, which generally purport to be quotes. The article also includes 2 poems written in Scots.

17. "The Scots Tung" – This is a letter from David Wilson (9 December 1995), in which he takes issue with Messrs. Hodgart and Heinsar.

18. "To drag us into the eighteenth century" – This is a letter from David Wilson on 29 November against the article by John Hodgart on 25 November.

19. No headline – A letter from Ian Donnelly (29 November) against John Hodgart's Herald Essay of 25 November. It is written in a fairly thin variety.

20. "It would have been the talk o Bannockburn" – This is a weekender feature article about which language(s) Robert the Bruce spoke. Would it have been Gaelic, Auld Scots, Norse or Norman French?

21. No headline present – This a letter from Jean Montgomerie (22 September) which praises David Hall's essay of September 16th and argues that whilst it is all very well to learn Scots, children must be properly educated in English if they are to succeed in the world today.

22. "Lack of clarity" – A letter in response to David Stewart's letter ('Language problem for the Scots – 3 May) bewails the lack of 'good' grammar in present-day Scotland.

23. "Literary feuds" – This is a short feature article in the weekender about the dispute between Edwin Muir and Hugh MacDiarmid over Muir's comments on the Scots language.

24. "Barmaid who puts the accent on discipline" – This is part of Tom Shield's Diary and gives a short series of Doric phrases taken from the 'A-Z of Scots Words for Young Readers'. It gives translations, and most of the phrases are quite lighthearted.

In addition, there is an article "A Scots mosaic" which discusses the broad topic of Scottish national identity. There is also an article entitled "London's bright lights don't look so good from a cardboard box" which describes the experiences of a young homeless Scot living in London, and is written in a way that it looks like his own words and pronunciation. Get a lot of spellings which seem to reflect urban speech.

A3.2 Scots language articles in the Scotsman

1. "The mither tongue tied to the English myth" – This is an article by Sheila Douglas (Chair of the Scots Language Society) The article is written in Scottish Standard English and argues for the importance and unique identity of Scots, and calls for the greater use of it in schools. Appears to be contained in the Education section.

2. "Strands spliced into a common thread" – This article by Tom Pow (a teacher at Dumfries Academy, and a poet) is in response to that by Sheila Douglas above. He argues that many pupils already incorporate Scots into their written and spoken work. (Indeed, some of this work was showcased in the Herald.) Again, it appears to be contained in the Education section.

3. "Scots language" – This is a letter from R Fairnie (Secretary 'Scots Tung'). Much of the article is written in what looks like Standard English, but every so often, there are slightly incongruous inworkings of Scottish turns of phrase. For example: (my italics)

> Sir, - Ootside o Gaeldom, the Scots language is the keystane that hauds oor Scottish identitie thegither. "Scots Tung feels that saving the spoken Scots language from extinction is essential...

> Scots Tung aims to provide, at its *forgaitherins*, an atmosphere where members can speak their own *Mither Tung* without embarrassment.

The second article with this title is again from R. Fairnie, written entirely in Scots, and is in response to A. Mackie's letter (10 March). It defends the use of Scots in such diverse areas as politics and philosophy.

4. No headline – A letter from R Fairnie written entirely in Scots which defends Scots spellings he used in a previous article about Robert Burns (Heist yer gless tae oor National Bard).

5. "Heist yer gless tae oor National Bard" – This is a letter from R Fairnie about Burns written entirely in Scots.

6. "Bravely tongue-twisting in the cause of Gaelic" – This is an article by Alan Massie in response to letter from a Miss Macleod in which she claims that Gaelic is the only true language of Scotland, and denounces Scots. He defends Scots and gives some of its history. It is written in Standard English except for a few quotations.

7. "Dictionary wraps up gems of language" – This is an article heralding the arrival of the Collins Gem Scots Dictionary. It is written in a fairly thin variety, as it discusses some of the words found in the dictionary, within an overall framework of English. Many of the words are given with their meanings.

8. "Building site language for the truly gritty" – This article looks at the book *Glossary of Scottish Building* and laments the fact that many of these highly descriptive terms are no longer in use. It is written in Scottish Standard English as it discusses many of the words from the book.

9. "Beer adverts hark back to the kaleyard" – This article looks at the use of spoken Scots in an advert for Tennants Lager, and gives the Scots quotations. The main body of the text is discussed in English.

10. "Court's language" – This is a letter from a playwright in which he defends himself against criticism received in another letter to the newspaper over his use of Scots for the language at court of James VI, citing history as the source. It is written in Scottish Standard English.

11. "An A-Z of Scottish authors" – The first part of this article reviews the contribution made to Scots by Billy Kay. It is written in English.

12. "Ca' the Yowes to the Knowes" – This article is written entirely in Scots, and is a review of a one-woman musical about a Scottish singer/songwriter.

13. "Burning out settlers who aren't in the clan" – This is a lighthearted feature article about what it means to be Scottish, and the prejudice of the Scots against the English. It is mostly written in English, but there are a few Scots phrases.

A3.3 Scots language articles in the Record

1. 'A wee stoatir' ('Scots say new dictionary is just a rerr terr') – This is a fairly lighthearted article by Nicola Tennant which discusses the launch of the Collins Gem Scots Dictionary. It is written in a fairly informal but thin variety, and contains quite a few Scots words, many of them quite colloquial in register, in the course of the text. Some of these are given explanations in the text. The headline and subheadline are in a similar style, and no translation is given. It does not really discuss the language; instead it takes the dictionary to people like Rikki Fulton and ordinary Glaswegians to get their opinions on it.

2. 'Charlie looks a fallen star' – This is a Record TV article by John Millar, and part of it discusses Jack Docherty's look at "marvellous sounding words like stoor, scunnered, loup and skirl…". It claims that part of the programme's success was due to the fact that "this was no po-faced look at the Scots language".

APPENDIX 4 Comparison of English & Scottish Sun

ENGLISH EDITION: 11 MARCH 1996			SCOTTISH EDITION: 11 MARCH 1996		
PAGE	HEADLINE	NOTES	PAGE	HEADLINE	NOTES
1	Husband divorces wife for getting too fat	Main story	1	Husband divorces wife for getting too fat	Main story
1	RAF flog secret IRA files	Small story	1	Salmond in devo 'sell-out' *	Small story
1	Hijacker flying to Brit love	Small story	1	See the Old Firm live on Sky and save *	Flier
1	Captain Carling – Four page tribute inside	Flier	1	Murphy's	Advertisement
1	Murphy's	Advertisement			
2	We Ken not afford election tax cuts	Main story	2	Blair is rapped: you don't listen	Main story
2	IRA timebomb may have been planted under …	Small story	2	We Ken not afford to take 2p off tax before …	Small story
2	Maggie wins backing on Star Wars alert	Small story	2	(continuation of 'Salmond 'sell-out'')	Small story
2	US warships tackle China	Sub-column	2	Maggie wins backing on Star Wars	Small story

Table A4.1   11 March 1996 editions

	ENGLISH EDITION: 11 MARCH 1996			SCOTTISH EDITION: 11 MARCH 1996	
PAGE	HEADLINE	NOTES	PAGE	HEADLINE	NOTES
2	Storm over train safety	Sub-column	2	US warships tackle China alert	Sub-column
2	Killer blast hits Israelis	Sub-column	2	Docs in new jobs crisis *	Small story
2	Tories in new Euro threat	Sub-column	2	Killer blast hits Israelis	Small story
2	Sophie takes Royal reins	Picture story	2	Tories in new Euro threat	Small story
2	RAC cover	Advertisement	2	Sophie takes royal reins	Small story
			2	Seamen agony *	Picture story
			2	RAC	Advertisement
3	Man with a wooden leg is nailed to floor as his ..	Main story	3	*Exactly same as for English edition*	
3	Samantha's navel idea	Picture story			
3	Street Reg is Tango'd	Small story			
3	Keegan a cereal killer!	Small story			
3	I'll pay the Lott	Small story			
3		Sun Spot			

Table A4.1   11 March 1996 editions (Continued)

ENGLISH EDITION: 11 MARCH 1996			SCOTTISH EDITION: 11 MARCH 1996		
PAGE	HEADLINE	NOTES	PAGE	HEADLINE	NOTES
4,5	Any bloke would be turned off sex by my fat ...	Main story	4,5	*Exactly same content as English edition, except for address in 'What do you think?'. Also some formatting differences e.g. in font*	
4,5	Flab (continued from p1)	Small story			
4,5	Slim for yourself	Small story			
4,5	Don't tear kids apart	Small story			
4,5	What do you think?	Small story			
4,5	Nationwide mortgages	Advertisement			
4,5	Olbas oil	Advertisement			
6	Fortress USA	Main story	6	Clint's mission to trace Scots roots *	Main story
6	If you can't tell the time don't do the crime	Small story	6	Fortress USA – Millions flock to self-rule towns	Small story
6	Tedly enemies	Small story	6	Kennedy 2 are Ted-ly enemies	Small story
6	Maggie's so right on Europe	Small story	6	Maggie's so right on Europe	Small story
6		Sporting Life	6	In the cage	Small story

Table A4.1   11 March 1996 editions (Continued)

ENGLISH EDITION: 11 MARCH 1996			SCOTTISH EDITION: 11 MARCH 1996		
PAGE	HEADLINE	NOTES	PAGE	HEADLINE	NOTES
			6	Fat's the limit	Small story
			6	Cut the 'English' *	Small story
			6	Sean seals date *	Small story
7	RAF sell filing cabinet full of IRA bomb plans	Main story	7	Rail survivor told Dad died in horror *	Main story
7	Murdered woman in river as dogs pine	Small story	7	Mum goes missing on bike jaunt *	Small story
7	Base has key role	Small story	7	New blow to Hindley's parole bid	Small story
7	Gill's gotta hol lot more family	Small story	7	Cam on down *	Small story
7	Direct Line	Advertisement	7	Oil to last 25 years *	Small story
			7	Hijack for love	Small story
			7	Direct Line	Advertisement
8	Peugeot	Full page advertisement	8	Peugeot	Full page advertisement
9	Charlie bedded me then sneaked off to	Main story	9	Charlie bedded me …	Main story
…					

Table A4.1   11 March 1996 editions (Continued)

ENGLISH EDITION: 11 MARCH 1996			SCOTTISH EDITION: 11 MARCH 1996		
PAGE	HEADLINE	NOTES	PAGE	HEADLINE	NOTES
9	Chicken boy dies in dash over M-way	Small story	9	Too shy to talk back to TV Clive *	Small story
9	It's a splatellite	Small story	9	Poached eggs *	Small story
9	Royal Insurance	Advertisement	9	Royal Insurance	Advertisement
10	Abbey National	Full page advertisement	10	Abbey National	Full page advertisement
11	The free tenners	Main story	11	The free tenners	Main story
11	Waiter hijacks plane to visit Brit hols girl	Main story	11	RAF flog secret IRA bomb files	Small story (*shorter than in English edition p7 story*)
11	Squaddie is shot in bar brawl	Small story	11	Dealer's home is sold off *	Small story
11	Tears at tall tales	Small story	11	Farewell to tragic gran *	Small story
11	£20,000 syndicates replay	Small story	11	I'm gunning for beadle *	Small story
11	Territorial Army	Advertisement	11	£20,000 syndicate replay	Small story
			11	Territorial Army	Advertisement
12	Tesco	Full page advertisement	12	Tesco	Full page advertisement

Table A4.1   11 March 1996 editions (Continued)

ENGLISH EDITION: 11 MARCH 1996			SCOTTISH EDITION: 11 MARCH 1996		
PAGE	HEADLINE	NOTES	PAGE	HEADLINE	NOTES
13	Hello Son, I'm your Dad and I butchered your ...	Main story	13	Toff stripper cut out of £½m will *	Main story
13	Watch my lips, TV star tells blind MP Blunkett	Small story	13	No takers – so cop chief must stay on *	Small story
13	*	Sun Spot	13	Blaze riddle *	Small story
13	Relaxyl	Advertisement	13	Relaxyl	Advertisement
13			13		Advertisement
14	Super Kings cigarettes	Full page advertisement	14	Super Kings cigarettes	Full page advertisement
15	Bizarre	Main story	15	Bizarre	Sun Spot (*1 is same as English edition; other is about 'The Bruce' film.*)
					Exactly same as English edition.

Table A4.1   11 March 1996 editions (Continued)

ENGLISH EDITION: 11 MARCH 1996			SCOTTISH EDITION: 11 MARCH 1996		
PAGE	HEADLINE	NOTES	PAGE	HEADLINE	NOTES
16,17	I pulled my gloves on again when Sir Jimmy …	Main story	16,17	I pulled my gloves on again when Sir Jimmy …	Main story
16,17	Are you a pantomime fairy or a champ?	Main story	16,17	Doug milks bridge for free trips *	Small story
16,17	Twin blow to killer Hindley's parole bid	Small story	16,17	Royal Hotel Deal *	Small story
16,17	Sun Mum's off to the Costa Lot	Small story			
16,17	Interflora	Advertisement			
18		Dear Sun, Dear Deirdre	18	Dear Sun, Dear Deirdre	Dear Sun, Dear Deirdre *Contains more letters from Scottish readers – 1 column substituted. Otherwise same as English edition.*
19	Why I put my Trust in the Prince	Main story	19	Why I put my Trust in the Prince	Main story

Table A4.1   11 March 1996 editions (Continued)

ENGLISH EDITION: 11 MARCH 1996			SCOTTISH EDITION: 11 MARCH 1996		
PAGE	HEADLINE	NOTES	PAGE	HEADLINE	NOTES
28-32	Sport	Have "Gaz-gow kiss"	28-32	Sport	*Many stories different from English edition, esp. football stories.*
			Supp.	GOALS SUPPLEMENT	*P1 – same basic story in English edition, but it doesn't contain Scots words. P3 "wee" in DS.*

Table A4.1   11 March 1996 editions (Continued)

ENGLISH EDITION: 12 MARCH 1996			SCOTTISH EDITION: 12 MARCH 1996		
PAGE	HEADLINE	NOTES	PAGE	HEADLINE	NOTES
1	Carling slept with Diana	Main story	1	Carling slept with Diana	Main story *(Same story as English edition, with some minor differences.)*
1	Free bottle of Murphy's	Flier	1	Free bottle of Murphy's	Fliers
1	Cheltenham champion hurdle	Flier			
1	Bruno poster	Flier	1	Bruno poster	Fliers
2,3	Their affair made me sick	Main story	2,3	Will was unfaithful …then just lied and lied …	Main story *Similar story to that in English edition, but told differently.)*
2,3	Tycoon's poll blow to Major	Small story	2,3		Small story
2,3	Tories face new revolt in fish row	Small story	2,3	5 hunks in the life of flirty Diana	Small story
2,3	By-Election date	Small story			
2,3	Flirting threatened wedding	Small story			
2,3	Carling	Small story	2,3	Carling affair	Small story

Table A4.2   12 March 1996 editions

ENGLISH EDITION: 12 MARCH 1996			SCOTTISH EDITION: 12 MARCH 1996		
PAGE	HEADLINE	NOTES	PAGE	HEADLINE	NOTES
4,5	Pat can lose weight mate, but you'll still need …	Main story	4,5	I will stop wedding	Main story
4,5	Key base secrets in dumped files	Small story	4,5	Key base secrets in dumped files	Main story *Same as in English edition*
4,5	Fat lasses need to be put down	Small story	4,5	Sun panel of experts give their views	Small story
4,5	The Sun will get me slim, but not for him	Small story	4,5	Carling – Why I dated Diana	Small story
			4,5	Disaster for Queen of Hearts	Small story
4,5	Abbey National peps	Advertisement	4,5	Autodirect insurance	Advertisement
4,5	Autodirect insurance	Advertisement	4,5	Abbey National peps	Advertisement
			4,5	…	Advertisement
6	The feelgood factor is here	Main story	6	George and the Dragon *	Main story
6	Fudge off	The Sun says	6	MP silly on drugs *	Small story
6	Banged up	The Sun says	6	A slick in the teeth *	Small story
6	Firing line	The Sun says	6	Peres the thought of Hamas win	Small story

Table A4.2   12 March 1996 editions (Continued)

ENGLISH EDITION: 12 MARCH 1996			SCOTTISH EDITION: 12 MARCH 1996		
PAGE	HEADLINE	NOTES	PAGE	HEADLINE	NOTES
6	And finally	The Sun says	6	Firing line	The Scottish Sun says *same as English edition*
			6	Banged up	The Scottish Sun says *same as English edition*
			6	And finally	The Scottish Sun says *very similar to English edition*
7	It could be vroom	Main story	7	11 lost adventure kids hid in bush and burned *	Main story
7	Dry clean-up	Small story	7	Pals missing all night *	Small story
7	Cruise is hero in hit-run horror	Small story	7	I 'saw' train crash *	Small story
7	1m castle payout	Small story	7	Hundreds in dust danger *	Small story
7	Penny's off on her money-moon	Small story	7	Prize lighter *	Small story
7	AA	Advertisement	7	Dial-a-phone	Advertisement
8	Vauxhall	Full page advertisement	8	Vauxhall	Full page advertisement

Table A4.2   12 March 1996 editions (Continued)

ENGLISH EDITION: 12 MARCH 1996			SCOTTISH EDITION: 12 MARCH 1996		
PAGE	HEADLINE	NOTES	PAGE	HEADLINE	NOTES
9	Paula Yates	Main story	9	Paula Yates	Main story *Exactly same as English edition)*
9	Prudential	Advertisement	9	Eagle Star Direct	Advertisement
10	Kwik Save	Full page advertisement	10	Kwik Save	Full page advertisement
11	Tied up with a dog lead and left to drown	Main story	11	Wait till your Dad gets home, my boy *	Main story
11	4 month lag out in only 3 days	Small story	11	Jarvie case is pulped	Small story *See English edition p13.*
11	Killer free	Small story	11	Killers are nailed by the victim *	Small story
11	Royal fear	Small story	11	Con freed in 3 days	Small story *Same story as English edition, but told differently.*
			11	Shetland smiles *	Small story
11	Dial-a-phone	Advertisement	11	Paul goes car-azy with win *	Small story

Table A4.2   12 March 1996 editions (Continued)

ENGLISH EDITION: 12 MARCH 1996			SCOTTISH EDITION: 12 MARCH 1996		
PAGE	HEADLINE	NOTES	PAGE	HEADLINE	NOTES
			11	AA	Advertisement
			11	Thanks a lot	Small story
12	LEOS	Full page advertisement	12	Fallen tycoon caught smuggling 64,000 fags *	Main story
			12	Bank raid mongrel is released *	Small story
			12	Tennis catch	Small story
			12	£100,000 Birthday Game	Small story
			12		Sun Spot *
13	... celebrates as he's cleared over Jacko	Main (different from Scottish edition)	13	Terror of jail union chief sent to prison *	Main story
13	Lovesick hijacker ditched by angry Brit girl	Small story	13	I'm a sheepdog *	Small story
13	Mum's £400 ...	Small story	13	Mum's £400 ...	Small story Same as English edition.

Table A4.2   12 March 1996 editions (Continued)

ENGLISH EDITION: 12 MARCH 1996			SCOTTISH EDITION: 12 MARCH 1996		
PAGE	HEADLINE	NOTES	PAGE	HEADLINE	NOTES
13	Taxi gun terror	Small story	13	Taxi gun terror	Small story *Same as English edition.*
			13	Painter preyed on kids *	Small story
			13	Yard death plunge *	Small story
14	Royal Insurance	Full page advertisement	14	Royal Insurance	Full page advertisement
15	Murphy's & Somerfield	Main advertisements	15	Murphy's & Somerfield	Main Advertisements
15	Bomb dad to be telly host	Small story	15	Lad's agony over Mum *	Small story
15	PM Harold's high honour	Small story	15	Bus dodges bridge terror *	Small story
15	Lover in car plunge dies	Small story	15	Taxi beast is back at work *	Small story
16	Fools in the fog	Main story	16	TIED by dog leash and drowned	Main story *Similar but shorter than English edition – see p11.*
16	£20,000 syndicates	Small story	16	£20,000 syndicates	Small story
16	TESCO petrol war	Small story	16		Sun Spot x 2

Table A4.2   12 March 1996 editions (Continued)

ENGLISH EDITION: 12 MARCH 1996			SCOTTISH EDITION: 12 MARCH 1996		
PAGE	**HEADLINE**	**NOTES**	**PAGE**	**HEADLINE**	**NOTES**
16	Royal Bank of Scotland	Advertisement	16	Bad	Small story
			16	Royal Bank of Scotland	Advertisement
17	Bizarre	Main story	17	Bizarre	Main story *Same as English edition.*
18,19	Doctor-Patient partnership	Full page advertisement	18,19	Doctor-Patient Partnership	Full page advertisement
20	Bruno poster	Full page	20	Bruno poster	

Table A4.2   12 March 1996 editions (Continued)

ENGLISH EDITION: 14 MARCH 1996			SCOTTISH EDITION: 14 MARCH 1996		
PAGE	HEADLINE	NOTES	PAGE	HEADLINE	NOTES
1	Pray for them	Main story *English edition locates Dunblane in Central Scotland.*	1	Pray for them	Main story *(Extra bit "Thought: Unspeakable")*
1	Nation mourns as 16 children are murdered …	Flier			
1	Massacre of the little ones	Flier			
2,3	I saw vision from hell	Main story	2,3	I saw vision from hell	Main stories *Slightly different from English edition.*
4,5	The Devil of Dunblane	Main story	4,5	The Devil of Dunblane	Main story *More or less the same, but some differences in ordering.*
4,5	Mum: My horror at weirdo's boys picnics	Small story	4,5	Gun fiend believed Mum was his sister	Small story

Table A4.3   14 March 1996 editions

ENGLISH EDITION: 14 MARCH 1996			SCOTTISH EDITION: 14 MARCH 1996		
PAGE	HEADLINE	NOTES	PAGE	HEADLINE	NOTES
6,7	Robbie 5, survives beneath body of best pal	Main story	6,7		*Same content as English version; DS "wee fella"; "wee children"*
6,7	Pervert's sick letter to Mum who warned he ...	Small story			
6,7	Shot lad: I watched as my friends were killed	Small story			
8,9	They went off to school today ...	Main story	8,9	They went off to school today ...	*Main story*
8,9		The Sun says	8,9		*The Sun says*
8,9	Message from Editor	Small story	8,9	Message from Editor	*Small story*
8,9	Stunned world sobs as horror unfolds	Small story	8,9	The world is weeping	*Small story Similar to English edition 'Stunned world' story*
10,11	Sue died for her kids	Main story	10,11		*Main story Same as English edition.*

Table A4.3   14 March 1996 editions (Continued)

ENGLISH EDITION: 14 MARCH 1996			SCOTTISH EDITION: 14 MARCH 1996		
PAGE	HEADLINE	NOTES	PAGE	HEADLINE	NOTES
10,11	Bloodbath video is held back	Small story			
10,11	Our tears – by readers of the Sun	Small story			
12,13	Wails as kid's names are called one by one	Main story	12,13	Lucky ones came back with their kids	Main story Similar to English edition – some differences. Contains "wee bairns" in quote marks, and "wee boy" in DS.
14	SKY boxing	Full page advertisement	14	Mobile phones	Full page advertisement
15	Deirdre Sanders	Main story	15	Deirdre Sanders	Main story (same as English edition)
16,17	If your children can't be safe in a town	Main story	16,17		Largely same as English

Table A4.3   14 March 1996 editions (Continued)

ENGLISH EDITION: 14 MARCH 1996			SCOTTISH EDITION: 14 MARCH 1996		
PAGE	HEADLINE	NOTES	PAGE	HEADLINE	NOTES
	like …				*edition with a few small differences.*
18,19, 20			18,19, 20	Damon's Bar Belle	Main story
21	Damon's Bar Belle	Main story	21	Liam lands his own pad	Small story (longer version than English edition)
21	Liam lands his own pad	Small story			
21	Fan's Mick Huck-call	Small story	21	Michael Balls up	Small story
22,23, 24,25			22,23, 24,25		*Same as English edition.*
26	My child still alive	Main story *(Same as p28 in Scottish*	26	SKY Boxing	Full page advertisement *(Not displayed next to*

Table A4.3   14 March 1996 editions (Continued)

ENGLISH EDITION: 14 MARCH 1996			SCOTTISH EDITION: 14 MARCH 1996		
PAGE	HEADLINE	NOTES	PAGE	HEADLINE	NOTES
		edition)			*Dunblane story in Scottish edition – significant?)*
			27	If you want to get on, get it on with boss *	Main story
			27	Fancy a drop of the kid's stuff *	Small story
			27	Plunge tragedy *	Small story
			27	Scottish Life Assurance	Advertisement
28,29	Randy wren pinched my hubby on the Ark Royal	Main story	28	Is my child still alive	*Same as English edition p26. Thereafter format of pages follows that of English edition p26ff.*

Table A4.3   14 March 1996 editions (Continued)

(N.B Scottish stories and features are marked by *)

APPENDIX 5   List of lexis missing from all newspapers

aucht

aucht-day

babby

ballop

barkit

bastartin

beel or beelin

biling

blae

blatherskate

blaud

boorach or bourach

bosie

bothan

bottling

bowff or bouff

bowly or bowlie

brammer

brander

breenger

breid

bumbaleerie

bumfle

but-and-ben

carnaptious

contermacious

creeshie

deif

doolie

fantoosh

flakie

fleein

gaunae

geggie

goonie

hameldaeme

hoatching

homologate

kittle or kittlie

knype on

lang-luggit

lippen

malky

mawkit

nabbler

obligement

peenge

plouter

queerie

ramstam

runkle

scratcher

shauchle

shenachie

sherrackin or
shirrackin

sic-like

skliff or scliff

smowt or smout

sweetiewife

tapsalteerie

tattie-boodie

tattie-peelin

trauchle

urnae

vratch

wance

wurnae

yatter

APPENDIX 6   Words occurring in all three Scottish newspapers

aa / aw

aboot

ach

ae

aff

afore

ah

ain

awfy / awfu

aye / ay

bachle / bauchle

backcourt

bairn

baldie

bampot

bandit

banjo

Barras

bawbee

beastie

bevvy

bide

bidie-in

bing

birl

blaeberry

blether

blooter

bodyswerve

bonnet / bunnet

bonnie / bonny

bothy

braw

breeks

breenge

buroo / broo

canna / cannae

canny

carry-out /cairry-oot

cauld

chanty

cheep

chiel

clipe / clype

cloot

cludgie

coo

crabbit

cratur

cuddy / cuddie

dae

deid

dinna / dinnae

disnae / disna

doon

dreich

drookit

dunt

eejit

fae / frae

fankle

feart

feartie*

fechter

fou / fu

gallus

gaun

gey

gie*

girn

glaikit / glaiket

greet

gub

guddle

guid

haar

hae

haver

heid

hen

ilk

isnae

jalouse

jotter

kail / kale	outwith	swither
ken	ower	tae
kiltie	oxter	tak
laddie	Paddy's market	tattie / tottie / totty *
laldie / laldy	paw	telt
lassie	peep	teuchter
leet	perjink	thae
line	pinkie	thrapple
loon	poke	tumshie
loupin	polis	uplift
lucky bag	purvey	vennel
lum	quine	wally / wallie
ma	rammy	wan
mair	reek	watter
maw	refreshment	wean
midden	rerr	wee
midgie	retiral	weel
ming	sae	weel-kent
morn / morra	Sassenach	wha / whae
nae	scoosh / skoosh	wheen
ned	scunner	wheesht
nicht	shoogle	whit
noo	skelp	wi
numpty	sonsie	widna / widnae
nyaff	stoat / stot	wifie
och	stoor / stour (etc.)	yin
offski	stooshie / stushie	yous / youse
oor	stramash	
oot	swally / swallie	

APPENDIX 7 Broadsheet vs. tabloid split (i.e. words appearing in Herald & Scotsman, but not in Daily Record)

Word	Herald (total frequency)	Scotsman (total frequency)
agley	4	7
airt	9	6
ane	15	12
anent	12	7
ashet	6	4
ava	1	2
awa	13	8
beezer	6	1
blaes	6	1
blate	6	1
bleezin	1	1
bocht	1	2
bogle	2	1
bree	4	1
brocht	4	1
clack	1	2
claes	3	2
clarty	2	2
drouth	11	3
dwam	3	5
ee	1	2
erse	13	44
fash	1	3
flyte	13	3
foosty	1	2
forby / forbye	5	1

Table A7.1   Words appearing in Herald & Scotsman, but not Daily Record

Word	Herald (total frequency)	Scotsman (total frequency)
forenoon	4	1
furth	24	9
gigot	5	4
glaur ?	16	7
ither	30	1
Jock Tamson's Bairns	10	3
keelie	3	1
kenspeckle	15	5
kist	11	1
lad o'pairts	9	2
Lallans	8	7
maist	12	2
mak	19	8
makar	7	6
mannie	3	5
maun	6	4
micht	9	4
mickle/muckle/meikle	16	20
mony	10	4
morn /morra	2	2
nane	4	3
neb	2	3
nocht	2	2
ony	10	2
pairt	20	5
pan loaf	2	3
pawky	21	13
pech	3	3
rax	1	4
richt	10	2
rone	1	2
sair	12	6
shilpit	2	1

Table A7.1   Words appearing in Herald & Scotsman, but not Daily
Record (Continued)

Word	Herald (total frequency)	Scotsman (total frequency)
sic	5	6
skite	13	4
sleekit	12	8
smeddum	12	2
smirr	2	2
snell	2	2
sook	12	2
stoater	3	1
tattie-bogle	1	1
thegither	2	4
thon	3	4
thrawn	14	3
timeous	4	4
twa / twae	18	15
unco	7	3
ur	7	1
whaur	12	5
winch	5	2
winna / winnae	5	3
wrang	10	1
ye	173	12
yous/youse	19	3

Table A7.1   Words appearing in Herald & Scotsman, but not Daily

Record (Continued)

APPENDIX 8   Stereotypes & lexical items

A8.1   Lexical items which trigger the Tartanry stereotype

Herald: "bonnie" (23 stories, 43 occurrences)	
File name	**Context**
bonnie 1	6 entries. Song 'Bonnie Lassie O'
bonnie 2	4 entries. 1 is headline "not so bonnie banks" ... of Clydebank. Discussing picturesque qualities of Loch Lomond.
bonnie 3	3 entries. 1 is headline "By Bonnie Doon" – i.e. Burns, poetry etc.
bonnie 4	3 entries. Conservation and Loch Lomond - "once an international byword for tranquil beauty ... the exile's nostalgic Scottish ideal".
bonnie 5	2 entries. Selling cattle.
bonnie 6	2 entries. Scots language. Written in Scots. "bonnie wee purple flooers"; the thistle as "a bonnie symbol".
bonnie 7	2 entries. Ferries, ruins, pretty villages.
bonnie 8	2 entries. Golf.
bonnie 9	2 entries. Loch Lomond, regeneration, visitor attractions.
bonnie 10	2 entries. 1 is headline. Loch Lomond, job creation, restoration, replanting.
bonnie 11	Bonnie Prince Charlie, physical description of drawing.
bonnie 12	3 entries. 1 is headline. "Speed the search for a bonnie boat" – i.e. pun on song. Scenic ferry, the Highlands, tourists.
bonnie 13	2 entries. Description of Galloway, scenery etc.
bonnie 14	Jazz festival.
bonnie 15	bonnie heather
bonnie16	Band 'Coelbeg', pipe tunes, bonnie sounds.
bonnie 17	Headline – "By yon bonnie bunkers" – i.e. pun on song. Loch Lomond, golf.
bonnie 18	Bonnie babies.
bonnie 19	Burns festival.
bonnie 20	TV programme 'High Road', Luss.
bonnie 21	Fruit & veg. stalls in Paris.
bonnie 22	Naming competition for Dunbartonshire & Clydebank councils.
bonnie 23	Loch Lomond, speed boats, "bonnie summer nights".

Herald: "bonny" (22 stories, 27 occurrences)	
File name	Context
bonny 1	3 entries. 1 is headline. Loch Lomond, 'bonny, bonny banks'.
bonny 2	Burns' poem 'Bonny Wee Thing'.
bonny 3	2 entries. Poem/song.
bonny 4	Bonny Prince Charlie, Scottish royal history.
bonny 5	Heather, Gaelic.
bonny 6	"flowers".
bonny 7	Loch Lomond, destruction of the landscape.
bonny 8	"bonny fighter", war.
bonny 9	"bonny town".
bonny 10	Flora & fauna.
bonny 11	Picture of Burns, Ian McIntyre – "man o'pairts".
bonny 12	Song 'My Bonny lies over the ocean'.
bonny 13	Proverbial Scottish saying.
bonny 14	Song title.
bonny 15	Scenery, "picturesque village of Plockton" etc.
bonny 16	Scottish rugby, "bonny fechters".
bonny 17	Loch Lomond, landscape.
bonny 18	woman.
bonny 19	Bonny Prince Charlie.
bonnie 20	Royalty, "bonny Scots lassie".
bonny 21	Direct speech – Doric. Attractive teacher.
bonny 22	Children born out of wedlock, "bonny wee flower girl".

Scotsman: "bonnie" (22 stories, 25 occurrences)	
File name	Context
bonnie 1	Headline. Folk music.
bonnie 2	2 entries. 1 is headline. Bonnie Prince Charlie, pipe band.
bonnie 3	Loch Lomond golf club.
bonnie 4	Loch Lomond.
bonnie 5	Song.

Scotsman: "bonnie" (22 stories, 25 occurrences)	
File name	**Context**
bonnie 6	Song 'Bonnie Dundee'.
bonnie 7	Scenery, tartan tammy, Scots songs.
bonnie 8	Written in Scots, bonnie song.
bonnie 9	Burns' song.
bonnie 10	RSAMD, "tam-o-shanter", "niblick", "for auld … syne".
bonnie 11	Refers to above article.
bonnie 12	Bonnie Dundee, post.
bonnie 13	Bonnie Prince Charlie, statue of David Niven.
bonnie 14	Bonnie Dundee, golf.
bonnie 15	Lamb show.
bonnie 16	Bonnie Dundee, history.
bonnie 17	2 entries. Bonnie Argylls, Highland regiment.
bonnie 18	Bonnie Nancy, Scots airs, review.
bonnie 19	Shetland, golf.
bonnie 20	Loch Lomond, bonnie banks.
bonnie 21	"bonnie wee haggis" – i.e. Scottish stereotypes.
bonnie 22	2 entries. Bonnie Dundee, football.

Scotsman: "bonny" (13 stories, 17 occurrences)	
File name	**Context**
bonny 1	TV review, bonny baby.
bonny 2	Roget's synonyms.
bonny 3	Performances, wearing cocked bonnets, singing 'Bonny Hielan' Lassie'.
bonny 4	"bonny fighter", golf.
bonny 5	Show, sentimentality, bonny Scotland.
bonny 6	Menstruation.
bonny 7	2 entries. Scots ballads.
bonny 8	Scottish proverb.
bonny 9	4 entries. Tennants ad "bonny wee brew", Wullie, history, heritage.

Scotsman: "bonny" (13 stories, 17 occurrences)	
File name	**Context**
bonny 10	Labour party, "bonny fechters" in quote marks.
bonny 11	Obituary, bonny daughters.
bonny 12	Headline. "… yon bonny banks of the Danube".
bonny 13	Headline. "bonny banks", golf.

Record: "bonnie" (32 stories, 44 occurrences)	
File name	**Context**
bonnie 1	Musician, "bonnie Edinburgh lassie".
bonnie 2	2 entries. "bonnie, bonnie banks", Loch Lomond golf course.
bonnie 4	Fishing, Loch Lomond.
bonnie 5	Tourism.
bonnie 6	Scotland, holidays.
bonnie 7	"bonnie Jean".
bonnie 8	Skye Bridge, Flora McDonald, bonnie boat.
bonnie 10	Bonnie Scotland, boot camps.
bonnie 11	Version of 'All for Mhairi's wedding'.
bonnie 14	"bonnie Hotland" – pun, weather.
bonnie 15	"bonnie Scotland", tourism.
bonnie 17	Loch Lomond, 'High Road'.
bonnie 18	"bonnie fechter" – direct speech, Leith MP.
bonnie 19	Loch Lomond, drunk boatmen.
bonnie 20	Film 'The Bruce', "bonnie Hielan' lads", proud Edward's army.
bonnie 21	Bonnie Beth – TV.
bonnie 24	Direct speech by German "bonnie Scots lassie".
bonnie 25	Supermodels, "bonnie Scots lassies".
bonnie 26	Prince (the popstar), Cameron House Hotel, Loch Lomond.
bonnie 27	Loch Lomond, conservation.
bonnie 31	bonnie bundle – i.e. child.
bonnie 32	Burns' poem.

Record: "bonny" (6 stories, 6 occurrences)	
File name	**Context**
bonny 1	Song, banks of Loch Lomond, piper, Hibs football club.
bonny 2	Heather, tartan, tweeds, fashion.
bonny 3	Football, direct speech from Charleton re Gazza.
bonny 5	Bonny Scotland, letter complaining about rubbish and pollution.
bonny 6	Ref. to toasting the lassies, Tory MP as a "bonny wee fechter".

(NB All direct references to "Bonnie Prince Charlie" were omitted from these figures. File names omitted from Record as Bonnie Prince Charlie figures were removed later.)

A8.2 Lexical items which trigger the Kailyard stereotype

Herald: "lad o'pairts" (9 stories, 9 occurrences)	
File name	**Context**
lado 1	Sunday Times, Catholics, Herald Diary.
lado 2	Conservative candidate, merchant banker.
lado 3	Tony Blair, Fettes education.
lado 4	Herald Diary, surviving at university, poor student, porridge.
lado 5	Scottish educational system.
lado 6	Son of a shepherd, great scholar, sent to Rome to study for priesthood.
lado 7	Prominent Glasgow lawyer, humble origins.
lado 8	Ministers, very good jobs, private means.
lado 9	Herald Diary, presenter of Radio 4 Today programme.

Scotsman: "lad o'pairts" (2 stories, 2 occurrences)	
File name	**Context**
pairt 3	Scottish education, well-paid jobs.
pairt 4	Head of Dundee Training college, Freuchie cricket team.

("Lad o'pairts" was not found in the Record.)

Herald: "pawky" (18 stories, 21 occurrences)	
File name	**Context**
pawky 1	2 entries. Novel, lower-class Len is perky, pawky ..."perky pawkiness".
pawky 2	2 entries. Church of Scotland, "mixture of canny conservatism and pawky wit".
pawky 3	Poems and poets, "pawky about pawkies".
pawky 4	Artist, author, book, "pawky rendering".
pawky 5	'Para Handy', "pawky Highland humour".
pawky 6	Poems, rhymes, straightforward style.

Herald: "pawky" (18 stories, 21 occurrences)	
File name	**Context**
pawky 7	"pawkily tight-fisted entrepreneur", owner of Scotsman.
pawky 8	Novel, "pawky Glaswegian wisdom".
pawky 9	Film/play, "pawkily humorous".
pawky 10	"pawky Scots humour is spledidily displayed".
pawky 11	Autobiography, pawky history.
pawky 12	Autobiography, "pawky little Glaswegian".
pawky 13	Music, pawky bravado, sentimentality.
pawky 14	MPs, pawky wit.
pawky 15	Pawky Scot.
pawky 16	Policeman.
pawky 17	After-dinner speech, pawky sense of humour, simple down-to-earth approach.
pawky 18	Classical music, pawky smirk of the finale.

Scotsman: "pawky" (12 stories, 13 occurrences)	
File name	**Context**
pawky 1	Obituary, "utter integrity and sincerity, and a pawky sense of humour".
pawky 2	Novelist, "pawky Scottish writers".
pawky 3	North-East humour, "Scotland the pawky".
pawky 4	Balmoral bunnets, old Scots songs, "a pawky sentimental waving at the door".
pawky 5	Drama, "pawky Scots comedies".
pawky 6	Cricket, Graham Atherton, "Pawky way".
pawky 7	Scottish Pride shareholders meeting, "a wee joke here, a pawky aside there".
pawky 8	2 entries. Obituary, direct speech.
pawky 9	MP, "pawky, wicked waste".
pawky 10	Classical music, "pawky form".
pawky 11	Pawky response, "open, honest, witty … brewer".
pawky 12	Obituary, "integrity, his pawky sense of humour".

(The Record has no entries for "pawky". Also note no examples of "pawkie"
form in either Herald or Scotsman.)

A8.3 Lexical items which trigger the Clydeside stereotype

(NB Blooter has been split into its two meanings: i.e. drunkenness and violent/strong blow)

Herald: "blooter*" meaning "drunkenness" (7 stories, 7 occurrences)	
File name	Context
bloot 4	Discussion of Scots words, "another beauty is blootered", "stotious", "steamboats", refreshment and booze. "doon the watter" argued not to be an authentic construction.
bloot 5	Tom Shields Diary, Bonnie Prince Charlie, "tearing down the goalposts at Wembley and lying blootered in a fountain".
bloot 6	Drunk MPs, lots of taboo words like "bullshit", "shit".
bloot 7	Tom Shields Diary, "awfy", "hairy-arsed"..
bloot 8	Dog on sedatives.
bloot 9	Tom Shields Diary, Scot in Paris, night on the town, arrested by police, didn't recognise the Eiffel Tower.

Herald: "blooter*" meaning "violent blow" (3 stories, 4 occurrences)	
File name	Context
bloot 1	2 entries. Football, "goalie", "Haw Jock".
bloot 2	Glasgow accent, "Button yer lip or Ah'll blooter ye".
bloot 3	Football
bloot 10	Football, English team, "baggie minnie".

(There is also 1 occurrence in the Herald which means "beaten", in context of a football match.)

Scotsman: "blooter*" meaning "violent blow" (1 story, 1 occurrence)	
File name	**Context**
blooter 1	Scotsman Diary, High Constables of Perth, blootering (running over in car) a pheasant, Rob Roy.

Record: "blooter*" meaning "drunkenness" (5 stories, 5 occurrences)	
File name	**Context**
blooter 2	Football teams getting drunk.
blooter 3	Brewers, drink ads.
blooter 4	Staff at Aberdeen Journals, boozing.
blooter 5	"Telly licence fee", pub crawl, "shabeens".
blooter 6	Blackpool and Glasgow, "light in the heid".

Record: "blooter*" meaning "violent blow" (1 story, 1 occurrence)	
File name	**Context**
blooter 1	"bidey-ins" and violence, "weans", young mothers.

Herald: "bunnet" (19 stories, 23 occurrences)	
File name	**Context**
bunnet 1	2 entries. Both football, Partick Thistle, pie supper.
bunnet 2	Bird watching, "Tommy o' Maybo's shiny broon check bunnet".
bunnet 3	"MC in jammies, baffies and tartan-toorie bunnet.
bunnet 4	"those whose idea of a Highland crofter is an old man in a bunnet, smoking a pipe".
bunnet 5	Kilsyth, Celtic FC, "tweed skip bunnet".
bunnet 6	Airdrie and Scottishness of the people, "out in his bunnet on Graham Street".
bunnet 7	Cricket, "eating my hat", "need to order another bunnet".

Herald: "bunnet" (19 stories, 23 occurrences)	
File name	**Context**
bunnet 8	Buying briquettes from "Wee Dobbie", "too large buunet", chimney sweep.
bunnet 9	"dry-stone dyke", "oilskins and woolen bunnet", the islands.
bunnet 10	2 entries. Collection of headgear, also "tammies", "balaclavas", "postie", "brown checked bunnet".
bunnet 11	Fishing.
bunnet 12	Clause 4 becoming "as distant a memory as Keir Hardie's bunnet", Scottish subject.
bunnet 13	Dennistoun, "archetypal wee man in a bunnet".
bunnet 14	McCann's (Celtic FC) wedding, "trademark bunnet was missing".
bunnet 15	"When is a cap a bunnet"
bunnet 16	3 entries. "Stewarton. The bunnet town", making ceremonial bunnets fo Scottish regiments.
bunnet 17	"baseball bunnet".
bunnet 18	Scotland being a nation, Herald as a national newspaper, "chap in the peaked bunnet".
bunnet 19	"knees-up", "wee man in the bunnet, clutching a frothy pint".

Scotsman: "bunnet" (9 stories, 10 occurrences)	
File name	**Context**
bunnet 1	Farmers, "PC Murdoch in mufti".
bunnet 2	Old woman weaing a bunnet. Interesting as they're usually worn by men.
bunnet 3	"checked bunnet".
bunnet 4	"Yank in a tartan bunnet, as he staggered towards the bar".
bunnet 5	2 entries. Jacobite tendency, Rob Roy, kilt, bunnet, white heather, tartan army, Bonnie Prince Charlie, Scotland football supporters.
bunnet 6	Golf club.
bunnet 7	"west Lothian", "claes".
bunnet 8	Football, "senior citizen in a bunnet" in the crowd.
bunnet 9	"the main man", pin stripes, mid-Atlantic.

Record: "bunnet" (13 stories, 13 occurrences)	
File name	Context
bunnet 1	"tartan bunnet", "heids", Scottish football.
bunnet 2	Road rage, "man with a go-slow bunnet in the car in front".
bunnet 3	" a man scared to come out of the bunnet".
bunnet 4	Highland signalman, "they couldna pu' yer bunnet aff" (direct speech).
bunnet 5	Unashamed punter, Sam Torrance, archtypal Scottish working class hero, "local boy made good".
bunnet 6	Football quiz, "out of the Sport's Editor's bunnet".
bunnet 7	Luciano Pavarotti meeting Princess Diana, "kept his red velvet bunnet on as he embraced ...".
bunnet 8	Danni Minogue in Glasgow, sporting a tartan bunnet. Sig.as is a girl.
bunnet 9	Football, "first chosen out of the bunnet".
bunnet 10	Football, "out of the keeper's bunnet".
bunnet 11	Animal activist's bunnet.
bunnet 12	Dance bands, "trying to hide under a bunnet".
bunnet 13	McCann (Celtic FC), minus his trademark bunnet at his wedding.

Herald: "broo" (3 stories, 3 occurrences)	
File name	Context
broo 1	Unemployed, DSS.
broo 2	n/a
broo 3	Kelman's language, "skint", "cludgie", "broo", "tim", "smash".

(1 occurrence means "brow" therefore not included here.)

Herald: "buroo" (4 stories, 5 occurrences)	
File name	Context
buroo 1	2 entries. Very colloquial working class language, hard man act in Govan gents.
buroo 2	Rangers FC signing.
buroo 3	Direct speech, colloquial language, "Springburn buroo".
buroo 4	Miner, youth education.

Scotsman: "broo" (1 story, 1 occurrence)	
File name	Context
broo 1	Scotland, North Sea, the dole, Trident.

Scotsman: "buroo" (1 story, 1 occurrence)	
File name	Context
buroo 1	Direct speech, people on benefits.

Record: "broo" (2 stories, 2 occurrences)	
File name	Context
broo 1	Lottery tickets as part of benefits, "punters" etc., quite colloquial.
broo 2	Guy on dole and drinking at local pub.

(NB "Buroo" form was not found in the Record.)

Herald: "bevvy" (23 stories, 23 occurrences)	
File name	**Context**
bevvy 1	Scottish football.
bevvy 2	Malt whisky vs. Monklands buckfast.
bevvy 3	Re songs.
bevvy 4	Golf champion, a bit wild, casino, "puggie" etc.
bevvy 5	Bonnie Prince Charlie, "farts", "a hell of a lot", colloquial language.
bevvy 6	Fried eggs, colloquial direct speech.
bevvy 7	MPs drunkenness, "blootered by bevvy".
bevvy 8	Govan.
bevvy 9	Labour party, George Foulkes.
bevvy 10	Pub darts.
bevvy 11	Left wing, New Labour, Jimmy Reid, "nae bevvying".
bevvy 12	Rugby referee, "bevvy multi-national" drinks firm.
bevvy 13	Sport, tug-of-war, especially Scottish.
bevvy 14	Describing group of Scottish football writers.
bevvy 15	Very colloquial, man centred, unemployment etc.
bevvy 16	Betting, racing etc.
bevvy 17	Peeing in roadside, avoiding police.
bevvy 18	"looked like karaoke night" .. "bevvied bravado of wee hairies".
bevvy 19	Bevvy in film. Jack McLean, pubs etc.
bevvy 20	Tony Blair anecdote, "Smith getting bevvied...".
bevvy 21	Drunkenness.
bevvy 22	Football fixture.
bevvy 23	Rod Stewart, direct speech.

Scotsman: "bevvy" (7 stories, 7 occurrences)	
File name	**Context**
bevvy 1	"A chancer", "building site", "plasterer".
bevvy 2	"these bevvying, hard-smoking, bookie-visiting men ..."
bevvy 3	Joke – The 3 Gazzas (vs 3 Graces) – Joy, passion and bevvy.

Scotsman: "bevvy" (7 stories, 7 occurrences)	
File name	**Context**
bevvy 4	Gordon Brown, direct speech, Scottish.
bevvy 5	Rod Stewart.
bevvy 6	Rod Stewart.
bevvy 7	Homelessness, drunken violence, drug abuse, unemployment etc.

Record: "bevvy" (45 stories, 50 occurrences)	
File name	**Context**
bevvy 1	Rab C. Nesbitt.
bevvy 2	Aberdeen idol, Dean Windass, footballer.
bevvy 3	"Bevvy merchant Chris Evans.."
bevvy 4	Food and drink.
bevvy 5	Safe drinking limits.
bevvy 6	Christmas Day.
bevvy 7	Bootleg booze and tobacco ("baccy").
bevvy 8	"a good bevvy in her", "got the hots", colloquial language.
bevvy 9	Football.
bevvy 10	Football.
bevvy 11	n/a
bevvy 12	Underage drinking.
bevvy 13	Drunk driving murder.
bevvy 14	"Scots are sinking more bevvy at home" ... pubs.
bevvy 15	"Duke's bevvy jibe at Oban" – subhead.
bevvy 16	n/a
bevvy 17	Boat cruise, drink and pies.
bevvy 18	Wild golfers.
bevvy 19	"Island ban on bevvy" – Headline.

Record: "bevvy" (45 stories, 50 occurrences)	
File name	**Context**
bevvy 20	Sam Torrence – golfer, "body-swerved", he wasn't the one drinking.
bevvy 21	Paisley Sheriff Court, underages buying drink.
bevvy 22	n/a
bevvy 23	n/a
bevvy 24	Edinburgh vs Glasgow. Edinburgh more posh – no fighting, swearing or boaking in the fountain.
bevvy 25	Del Amitri.
bevvy 26	Footballer.
bevvy 27	Mel Gibson, Braveheart.
bevvy 28	Alcoholism, "booze hell" etc.
bevvy 29	"cheap bevvy, karaoke and a chance to meet English football fans".
bevvy 30	Name of an English ale.
bevvy 31	Pub – "pioneer boozer".
bevvy 32	Pigs at stately home, "swine got sozzled".
bevvy 33	2 entries. Rod Stewart.
bevvy 34	Rod Stewart.
bevvy 35	"minted meanie" David Copperfield wouldn't buy drinks.
bevvy 36	Uni bars / student unions.
bevvy 37	Blood transfusions.
bevvy 38	Scotland football fans, "bovver".
bevvy 39	"Dundee United think we're bevvy merchants", football.
bevvy 40	Over-indulgence, drinking and Dutch courage.
bevvy 41	Strong drink.
bevvy 42	"Bevvy merchant Rab C. Nesbitt".
bevvy 43	Women's football.
bevvy 44	"boozy Aussies", drunk driving.
bevvy 45	"passion pill to beat brewer's droop. Now bevvy merchants who fail to rise to the occasion...".

APPENDIX 9   Direct speech & language variety of contexts

Term	No. of occurrences: / No. of stories:			Direct speech/thought/first person narrative (%)			Language varieties of context (S/SE/E)		
	Herald	Scotsman	Record	Herald	Scotsman	Record	Herald	Scotsman	Record
aa [2]	11 / 7	2 / 2	0 / 0	36	0	-	S	S	-
aboot [2]	46 / 17	14 / 13	2 / 2	24	28	50	S	S	S
ah [2]	118 / 33	15 / 10	4 / 4	96	100	100	S	S/SE	SE
aye [1]	163 / 134	96 / 72	38 / 34	42	66	53	E/SE	E/SE	E/SE
dae [2]	40 / 25	7 / 6	2 / 2	58	86	100	S	S	SE
dinna [2]	17 / 13	9 / 8	0 / 0	76	44	-	mixed	S/SE	-
dinnae [2]	11 / 8	12 / 11	5 / 5	64	67	60	S	E/SE	SE

Table A9.1   Closed class lexis: occurrences, stories, direct speech, language varieties

Term	No. of occurrences: / No. of stories:			Direct speech/thought/first person narrative (%)			Language varieties of context (S/SE/E)		
	Herald	Scotsman	Record	Herald	Scotsman	Record	Herald	Scotsman	Record
doon (2)	72 / 40	17 / 14	11 / 10	7	29	12	SE/E for idiom, S for rest	S/SE/E	E
furth (1)	24 / 22	9 / 9		4	0		E/SE	E	-
hae (2)	68 / 29	20 / 15	4 / 4	4	40	0	S	S/SE	SE
ma (2)	84 / 56	21 / 18	19 / 12	25	52	26	S	S	S/SE
maist (2)	12 / 5	2 / 2	0 / 0	8	0	-	S	S	-
mony (2)	10 / 5	4 / 3	0 / 0	0	50	-	S/SE	S/SE	-
ony (2)	10 / 7	2 / 2	0 / 0	20	100	-	S/SE	S/SE	-
oot (2)	64 / 46	17 / 17	15 / 14	19	24	20	S/SE	S/SE	mixed

Table A9.1   Closed class lexis: occurrences, stories, direct speech, language varieties (Continued)

Term	No. of occurrences: No. of stories:			Direct speech/thought/first person narrative (%)			Language varieties of context (S/SE/E)		
	Herald	Scotsman	Record	Herald	Scotsman	Record	Herald	Scotsman	Record
outwith [1]	396 / 376	223 / 211	31 / 31	4	2	26	E	E	E
ower [2]	15 / 15	14 / 9	1 / 1	40	21	0	S/SE	S/SE	S/SE
thae [2]	12 / 11	5 / 5	2 / 2	42	20	100	S/SE	S	S/SE
twa [2]	14 / 8	15 / 13	0 / 0	0	13	-	S	E	-
whaur [2]	12 / 9	5 / 5	0 / 0	8	40	-	S/SE	S/SE	-
wi [2]	76 / 51	35 / 26	11 / 10	14	23	27	S/SE	S/SE	SE
ye [2]	173 / 108	12 / 9	0 / 0	57	67	-	S/SE	mixed	-

Table A9.1   Closed class lexis: occurrences, stories, direct speech, language varieties

([1] and [2] denote classification as column 1 or column 2 lexis in Aitken's model of Scottish speech)

Term	No. of occurrences: / No. of stories:			Direct speech/thought/first person narrative (%)			Language varieties of context (S/SE/E)		
	Herald	Scotsman	Record	Herald	Scotsman	Record	Herald	Scotsman	Record
blaes [1]	6 / 6	1 / 1	0 / 0	33	0	-	E	E	-
bothy [1]	88 / 39	33 / 19	22 / 14	2	6	5	E	E	E
canny [3]	106 / 98	66 / 60	22 / 14	9	8	18	E/SE	E/SE	E
gallus [1]	28 / 28	12 / 12	8 / 8	0	17	0	SE/E	E	E
haar [1]	6 / 5	40 / 9	1 / 1	0	18	0	E	E/SE	E
ilk [3]	66 / 66	23 / 23	7 / 7	3	4	29	E	E	E
Jock Tamson's [1]	10 / 7	3 / 3	0 / 0	10	0	-	E/SE/S	E	-
lad o'pairs [1]	9 / 9	2 / 2	0 / 0	0	0	-	E	E	-

Table A9.2   Open class lexis which increases semantic range: occurrences, stories, direct speech, language varieties

Term	No. of occurrences: No. of stories:			Direct speech/thought/first person narrative (%)			Language varieties of context (S/SE/E)		
	Herald	Scotsman	Record	Herald	Scotsman	Record	Herald	Scotsman	Record
pawky [1]	21	13	0	0	8	-	E	E/SE	-
	18	12	0						

Table A9.2   Open class lexis which increases semantic range: occurrences, stories, direct speech, language varieties   (Continued)

([1] and [2] denote classification as column 1 or column 2 lexis in Aitken's model of Scottish speech)

Term	No. of occurrences:			No. of stories:			Direct speech/thought/first person narrative (%)			Language varieties of context (S/SE/E)		
	Herald	Scotsman	Record	Herald	Scotsman	Record	Herald	Scotsman	Record	Herald	Scotsman	Record
backcourt [1]	12	2	13	8	2	10	0	0	8	E	E	E
bawbee [1]	13	6	7	6	5	7	8	0	0	E/SE	E	E
bing [1]	3	17	5	3	8	4	0	0	0	E	E	E/SE
birl [1]	29	7	1	27	7	1	14	0	0	E/SE	E/SE	E
blether [1]	26	10	20	26	9	18	8	10	5	SE/E	SE/E	E
bodyswerve [1]	7	6	14	7	6	13	0	0	0	E	E	E
bonnet [3]	13	15	0	12	13	0	0	7	-	E/SE	E	-
bonnet [1]	12	13	13	7	13	13	0	0	0	E/SE	E	E
bunnet [2]	23	10	13	19	9	13	4	10	15	E/SE	E/SE	E/SE

Table A9.3   Open class lexis which increases semantic density: occurrences, stories, direct speech, language varieties

Term	No. of occurrences: No. of stories:			Direct speech/thought/first person narrative (%)			Language varieties of context (S/SE/E)		
	Herald	Scotsman	Record	Herald	Scotsman	Record	Herald	Scotsman	Record
bonnie [1]	44	25	34	2	4	6	E/S	E/SE	SE/E
	23	22	32						
bonny [1]	27	17	6	11	18	20	mixed	mixed	SE/E
	22	13	6						
carry-out [1]	23	10	22	9	0	23	E	E	E
	8	10	22						
dreich [1]	27	8	4	4	0	25	E/SE	E/SE	E/SE
	25	8	4						
drouth* [1]	11	4	0	0	33	-	E/SE	E/SE	-
	9	4	0						
dunt [1]	12	9	1	0	33	0	E	E/SE	E
	12	9	1						
girn [1]	12	13	4	0	8	0	E	E	E/SE
	12	11	4						
gub [1]	13	10	33	23	10	3	E	E/SE	E/SE
	13	9	28						

Table A9.3   Open class lexis which increases semantic density: occurrences, stories, direct speech, language varieties (Continued)

Term	No. of occurrences: / No. of stories:			Direct speech/thought/first person narrative (%)			Language varieties of context (S/SE/E)		
	Herald	Scotsman	Record	Herald	Scotsman	Record	Herald	Scotsman	Record
guddle [1]	15 / 14	9 / 9	2 / 2	0	0	0	E/SE	E	E
hen [1]	24 / 18	2 / 1	8 / 8	75	100	75	SE/S	E	E/SE
jotters [1]	19 / 18	6 / 6	7 / 7	5	0	0	E	E	E/SE
ken [1]	12 / 10	16 / 12	3 / 3	50	44	0	SE/S	SE/S	SE/S
kenspeckle [1]	15 / 15	5 / 5	0 / 0	7	0	-	E	E	-
leet [2]	107 / 72	19 / 13	6 / 6	5	5	0	E	E	E
mak [2]	19 / 11	8 / 7	0 / 0	5	12	-	S/SE	S/SE	-
midgie [2]	6 / 6	4 / 3	1 / 1	0	0	0	E	E	E

Table A9.3   Open class lexis which increases semantic density: occurrences, stories, direct speech, language varieties (Continued)

Term	No. of occurrences: / No. of stories:			Direct speech/thought/first person narrative (%)			Language varieties of context (S/SE/E)		
	Herald	Scotsman	Record	Herald	Scotsman	Record	Herald	Scotsman	Record
noo [2] (occ.)	27	13	2	18	62	0	S/SE	S/SE	S/E
noo [2] (stories)	26	13	2						
numpty [1] (occ.)	6	2	4	33	0	0	E	E	E
numpty [1] (stories)	6	2	4						
peep [1] (occ.)	7	3	6	0	0	0	E	E	E
peep [1] (stories)	7	3	6						
poke [1] (occ.)	27	7	9	4	29	0	E	E	E
poke [1] (stories)	26	7	8						
polis [2] (occ.)	63	5	12	5	20	33	E/SE	E	E
polis [2] (stories)	53	5	10						
rammy [1] (occ.)	23	6	19	4	0	0	E	E	E
rammy [1] (stories)	19	5	18						
refreshment [1] (occ.)	20	15	4	0	0	25	E/SE	E	E/SE
refreshment [1] (stories)	19	15	4						
retiral [1] (occ.)	69	20	10	5	0	20	E	E	E
retiral [1] (stories)	64	19	8						

Table A9.3   Open class lexis which increases semantic density: occurrences, stories, direct speech, language varieties (Continued)

Term	No. of occurrences: / No. of stories:			Direct speech/thought/first person narrative (%)			Language varieties of context (S/SE/E)		
	Herald	Scotsman	Record	Herald	Scotsman	Record	Herald	Scotsman	Record
sae [2]	25 / 13	6 / 5	1 / 1	0	0	0	S	S	S
sassenach [1]	20 / 20	11 / 11	1 / 1	0	9	0	E/SE	E	E
scunner [1]	15 / 13	7 / 6	6 / 5	8	0	0	E	E	E
shoogle [1]	30 / 18	5 / 5	3 / 3	3	40	0	E/SE	E	E
skite [1]	13 / 10	4 / 3	0 / 0	0	0	-	E	E	-
skoosh [1]	10 / 7	3 / 3	1 / 1	20	33	0	E/SE	E/SE	E
stooshie [1]	10 / 9	0 / 0	5 / 5	0	-	0	E	-	E
stushie [1]	11 / 10	10 / 8	7 / 6	0	0	0	E	E/SE	E/SE

Table A9.3   Open class lexis which increases semantic density: occurrences, stories, direct speech, language varieties (Continued)

Term	No. of occurrences: / No. of stories:						Direct speech/thought/first person narrative (%)			Language varieties of context (S/SE/E)		
	Herald occ	Herald st	Scotsman occ	Scotsman st	Record occ	Record st	Herald	Scotsman	Record	Herald	Scotsman	Record
stramash [1]	9	9	8	7	4	4	11	0	33	E	E	E/SE
swither [1]	10	10	13	13	5	4	10	0	0	E	E	E
teuchter [1]	7	6	4	4	8	5	0	50	17	E/SE	E	E/SE
thrawn [1]	14	14	3	3	0	0	0	0	-	E/SE	E	E/SE
timeous [1]	4	4	4	4	0	0	0	0	-	E	E	-
uplift [1]	25	22	5	5	3	3	0	20	33	E	E	E
vennel [1]	8	7	4	3	2	2	0	25	50	E	E	E
watter [2]	48	22	5	3	9	8	2	0	11	E/SE	E/SE	E/SE

Table A9.3   Open class lexis which increases semantic density: occurrences, stories, direct speech, language varieties (Continued)

Term	No. of occurrences: / No. of stories:			Direct speech/thought/first person narrative (%)			Language varieties of context (S/SE/E)		
	Herald	Scotsman	Record	Herald	Scotsman	Record	Herald	Scotsman	Record
wean [1]	139 / 116	20 / 20	67 / 64	9	20	25	SE/E	E	E/SE
wee [1]	1428 / 1042	437 / 358	1013 / 830	11	10	22	E/SE	E/SE	E/SE
weel [2]	18 / 11	14 / 11	2 / 2	11	7	0	S	S/SE	S/SE
weel-kent [1]	13 / 13	4 / 4	3 / 3	0	0	0	E	E	E
winch [1]	5 / 5	2 / 2	0 / 0	0	0	-	E	E	-
wrang [2]	10 / 9	1 / 1	0 / 0	20	0	-	S/SE	S	-

Table A9.3 Open class lexis which increases semantic density: occurrences, stories, direct speech, language varieties (Continued)

(* denotes lexeme, i.e. drouth/drouthy)

([1] and [2] denote classification as column 1 or column 2 lexis in Aitken's model of Scottish speech)

APPENDIX 10 Illustrative texts discussed in chapter 7

A10.1   Text 1: Scotsman (twa13.txt), 20/01/1995

Headline: Heist yer gless tae oor Naitional Bard

Byline: Letters

Sir, - Wi the oncome o the 25 Januar, thoosans o Scots o aw walks o life, wull forgaither tae mind the burth o Robert Burns, oor Naitional Bard. Fowk micht scart thair heids an wunner whit wey it is that this hummle fermer an leeterarie genius suid be traitit as sic a hero bi sae monie Scots. Wha, bit historie collegians, cuin mind the burthdays o Wallace an Bruce? Wha ivver heard tell o a Shakespeare Supper? Born in 1759 an deein in 1796, Burns leeved at a time whan the Scottish estaiblishment an poleeticallie acteeve clesses hid gien up their Scots identitie in a muckle breenge tae be "British" - a concep whilk wisnae echoed sooth o the mairches. Nelson's fawmous signal at Trafalgar stertit wi, "England expects..." Tae say, "Britain expects..." wad nivver hae intilt his heid. Scotland, lik ither airts o England whilk yaised tae be kinricks in thair ain richt, sic as Mercia, Bernicia, Wessex an Northumbria etc wis weel on the wey tae being swallaed up as pairt o a "Greater England" an the ordinar Scottish fowk wur left athoot a poleetical vice. It wis intae this vaucuum that the leeterarie genius o Robert Burns kythed tae cled the thochts an greenins o the ordnar fowk in hamelt wirds, an kennle a fire o pride in thair Scottish nationheid an cultur that his brunt bricht fur ower twa hunder year. The day, amaist two hunder year efter the daith o Burns an in spite o an unco onding agin oor language an cultur ower thae years, we hae seen the furst student takin a universitie degree in Scots Language an the Scottish Office pittin its hauns intae its weel gairded pootches tae gie 50,000 tae the Scots Language Resource Centre o Perth. Scottish Eddication's "Scots Language Project", based on the "Kist", is set tae be lenched in Aprile, whan aw the five tae 14- year-aulds wull be learned Scots in the scuil fur the furst time. This year, whan ye heist yer gless o John Barleycorn tae toast the "Immortal Memorie," juist gie a thocht tae whit we micht no hae hit the day, gin Robert Burns hid nivver

been born. R Fairnie SECRETAR, SCOTS TUNG STONEYHILL AVENUE MUSSELBURGH

A10.2   Text 2: Herald (wee715.txt), 12/09/95

Headline: Time tae cure oor cultural cringe aboot native tungs
Byline: John Hodgart
John Hodgart makes an impassioned plea for linguistic diversity in our clasrooms and culture.

'HERE's tae us -- wha's like us?" Gey few it wid seem, judgin bi the attitude o maist Scots tae their mither tungs.

Shairly ane o the weirdest contradictions o Scottish culture is that while we're often fond o crawin aboot oor mony claims tae fame, we often hae nae mair confidence than wee coorin timorous tung-tied beasties when it comes tae expressin oorsels in oor ain native Lowland Scots. We pey respectfu homage tae oor great national Bard aince a year, but for the rest o the time leuk doun oor snoots at onybody that actually tries tae yaise the very tung that Burns immortalised. In maist Scottish schuils, the annual Burns' Competition has been the only time o year when ony kinna Scots wis tholed.

Thus the paradox o oor independent Scottish educational system that we are sae prood o, a system that has played a major pairt in pitten doun the native tungs o Scotland an inflictin nearhaun fatal damage tae oor ability tae express oorsels in Scots wi ony real confidence. Sadly we are socially an educationally conditioned tae accept that there's only ane "correct" way for educatit folk tae speak an write, an it certainly isnae in oor mither tungs.

An imperialistic mono-lingualism o "correct" English has aye ruled in oor schuils an in the past it wis enforced bi a muckle dod o Lochgelly leather, an instrument pairtly uised tae enforce a linguistic reign o terror, mainly against workin class

·weans that couldnae or widnae conform tae their middle class teachers' concept o "educatit" speech.

Yet in spite o aw the educational an social prejudices tryin tae kill aff Scots, it thrawnly refuses tae wither awa, for its roots are teuch an deep, as maist Scots continue yaisin it in some form, or at least unnerstaun it, whether in oor ain local dialects or in a maist distinctive variety o Standard English, nou referred tae as Standard Scots English. An even mair hopefu sign is that a lot o folk are nou waukenin up tae the fact that tryin tae develop oor weans' confidence in English bi rootin oot their local dialect is actually linguistically counter-productive, educationally hermfu, culturally destructive, an is in fact a form o racism that shoud be tolerated nae langer.

It wid seem that Scottish education is mibbie beginnin tae realise that in being bi-lingual, we actually hae a great cultural asset, through bein able tae express oorsels in equal confidence in baith Scots and English. However that can only happen if oor mither tungs are gien equal respect in oor schuils alangside Scots Standard English. Nae greater pruif o a linguistic revolution in official thinkin is the fact that it is noo official policy tae encourage Scots an Gaelic in oor schuils, fae 5-14 through tae the new Highers.

However, guid intentions need pittin intae practice an we hae tae ask whit we really need in the short term bi wey o teacher-support, an in the langer term teacher-trainin, tae mak this kinna policy a reality at the chalk-face? Clearly it has tae be supportit bi adequate in-service, furstly for primary an "English" teachers but eventually for aw teachers, in aw subjects.

We hae tae stert somewhaur an nae doot the first thing we'll still need tae dae is convince mony teachers o the educational advantages o a positive policy towards Scots. While there is nae doot that mony teachers, especially teachers o ither subjects in saicondary schuil, badly need tae develop a faur greater degree o linguistic awareness than their ain education has providit, primary or English teachers shoudnae think that, tae cope wi some form o bi-dialectism, they necessarily need a mair sophisticatit level o linguistic skill an knowledge than

maist already hae. Aw that language teachers really need is a guid grasp o the concepts o linguistic diversity an flexibility, a reasonable familiarity wi the features o the local dialect, an how it differs fae the standard variety, as weill as an ability tae teach weans how tae yaise a variety o different language registers in speech an writin. No aw that faur awa shairly fae whit mony are already attemptin?

In the langer term tho, we hae tae leuk at teacher trainin an ask if we can really gae on acceptin it as the norm that maist teachers learn virtually nuthin at college aboot ane o the maist vital aspects of teachin, the nature o language, an especially their pupils' language, while plenty o "English" teachers still enter Scottish classrooms withoot haein studied ony Scottish literature or language.

Shairly it shoud be an essential pairt o aw teachers' training that they shoud dae a short course on linguistic variety an diversity in Scottish culture, while it shoud be obligatory for primary an saicondary English teachers tae hae duin at least a basic university course on Scottish literature an language, an possibly tae hae duin a short course on actually yaisin the language, tae improve their bi-lingual confidence. While a teacher's education disnae end at the college, it wid certainly mak them a lot better qualified tae teach the subject, an hopefully a lot mair enthusiastic aboot it.

The Scottish Office has giein us a clear statement o the richt o Scots tae an important place in the curriculum an spellt oot that teachers hae a duty tae develop an unnerstaunin an appreciation o its literature amang their pupils. Thus folk in posts o senior management at regional an local level hae a public responsibility tae see that this is in fact bein taen seriously, an no jist left tae enthusiastic individuals guddlin awa on their ain. Indeed, schuils an teachers that fail tae ensure that oor ain culture has a key role in the curriculum are no only failin tae implement their employer's policy, but are failin in their duty as Scottish teachers.

If we really are serious aboot defendin oor diverse cultural identity, an mibbie tryin tae cure oor perverse cultural cringe, we need tae mak siccar that aw weans

lea the schuil literate in their ain native tungs as weill as oor ain distinctive form o standard English.

* John Hodgart is Principal Teacher of English at Garnock Academy, Kilbirnie, Ayrshire.

A10.3　　Text 3: Herald (wi41.txt), 13/06/95

Headline: London's bright lights don't look so good from a cardboard box
Byline: Gerard Seenan
MOST Scottish young people who go to London to see the bright lights of the big city have their wish granted. Because cardboard boxes don't have any roofs.

Borderline, a Scottish homeless organisation based in London, is doing all it can to prevent young Scots ending up on the streets and to take those who are on the streets off them. Last year alone they saw 557 clients, 43% of whom were aged between 16 and 25.

The initiative was set up in 1991 by the Church of Scotland London Advisory Service (COSLAS) to combat the growing problem of homeless Scots in London. Project administrator Donna Flemming explains: "In the 80s COSLAS realised that there were more and more young Scots coming down unprepared to London and ending up on the streets so they formed Borderline."

Borderline has identified the major reasons why young Scots come to London. "The main reason that we see is the 'streets are paved with gold' scenario," says Donna. "They think they'll come down here and get a big job with big money and that's unrealistic.

"They come down here to find work and often find that they have left school without adequate qualifications, for whatever reason, possibly because of family problems.

"'Then it goes down to categories," she says. "Abuse in the family, people fleeing violence, and then there's those who know the services for homeless people are better than those in Scotland, which is a bit of a scary notion because people are thinking, 'Well I'm homeless in Scotland so I might as well go to London'."

To combat this problem Borderline runs the Returning Home Initiative (RHI) in conjunction with Shelter which aims to bring Scots who are homeless in London back to Scotland. "We are not a repatriation organisation. We advertise a range of services and people come to us and say they want to go back home," says Donna.

"If they are between 16 and 25 and they don't have any family or friends to stay with we'll try and get them home through the RHI. It can be done in a day in somewhere like Glasgow, and in a few days in, say, Aberdeen."

For those who do have someone to stay with the process can be even more simple. "Through the travel warrant scheme, if someone comes and says to me, 'I've had enough, I want to go back home and I can stay with whoever', we can have them home that night.

"But we make sure that they've got somewhere to go to once they get off the bus. We don't take them from the streets of London and shove them on the streets of Edinburgh."

If you are determined to move to London, Donna has some advice. "People who want to move to London should contact us first. They should bring some identification and money down with them. If you've got family or friends in London, speak to them first and try and stay with them for a few days. If not, phone us before you come down and we can see about the possibility, if any, of getting you accommodation."

Borderline is at 127 Wilton Road (just round the corner from Victoria) and can be contacted on 0171 828 8502.

TONY'S STORY

Ah've jist been drinkin' and sleepin' rough.

-- THE VOICE OF A YOUNG DREAMER WHO NOW CALLS BEGGING HIS 'WORK'

AH jist goat up one mornin' an' left. Ah wiz 18 at the time. Ah didnae plan it or anythin'. Ah came doon tae London aboot a year ago cause ah hud drug problems an' cause it's easier tae find work in London an' you get better money here. Ah don't huv any contact wae ma family any more except ma sister, ah still hear fae her.

When ah first got doon ah arrived at Victoria an' then a walked fae Victoria intae the West End and a met a couple o' pals fae ma home toon. Ah didnae know they wur doon here, ah just seen them by chance. Ah wiz walkin' by Westminster an' ah heard somebdae shoutin' "Tony!" an' ah turned roon' an' it wiz them shoutin' oan me. Ah've spent most o' ma time wae them since.

Since ah've been doon here ah've jist been drinkin' an' sleepin' rough aw the time. Ah slept rough in the West End, Ah hud a place where ah slept every night, it wiz jist a doorway. I wouldnae ask anybdae else tae sleep rough, bit you get used tae it after a while, it disnae seem so bad.

When I came doon tae London at first ah didnae get any benefit or anythin' so ah hud tae survive, well, way beggin'. If ah did an early mornin' beg, fae say half-past seven tae half-past eight, ah'd make aboot a tenner, an' if ah worked right through ah'd make roon about a hundred quid a day. Ah'd jist drink this an' buy food and that an' some o' it wid go on drugs as well, like Temazepam and heroin tae -- but ah didnae inject it, ah jist smoked it.

Now ah've been sleepin' in a hostel fir about the last three weeks, bit that's aboot it. The rest o' the time, fir the last year , ah've been sleepin' rough in doorways an' stuff. Ah got ma place in the hostel through Borderline. First ah went tae a place

called London Connection an' they said ma best bet would be to go tae Borderline cause they'd be able tae help me better because they're a Scottish organisation.

Borderline huv helped me a lot an' they've sorted oot ma benefit for me cause ah forgot tae take identification doon tae London wae me an' you need that tae get benefit, so Borderline got ma birth certificate for me.

Ah don't plan tae go back tae Scotland, ah'm happy in London. In London there's mair people tae help you, an' ah think ah've got a better chance o' gettin' a job than ah huv in Scotland, ah mean it's very poor there.

Ah left school when ah wiz young so ah've no really got a lot o' qualifications or anythin', but ah think ah'll be able to find work in London anyway. Ah've no really been lookin' fir work jist now, but ah go in tae day centres a lot an' gie them a hon wi different things.

Ah've been trying tae sort oot ma drug problem. Am oaf a lot o' them an' ah jist take the odd bag of heroin the odd time. Ah'm tryin tae come aff it, an' ah'm gonnae try an find work.

* Gerard Seenan is a post-graduate student of journalism in Glasgow.

A10.4   Text 4: Herald (widane1.txt), 31/01/95

Headline: Genteel disclosures in Govan 'Gents'
With apologies to Rab C.
SEE that bit aboot gatherin' her brows an' nursin' her wrath? Funny, the things that creep into yir thick skull when yir stoatin' along the road in the direction a' her indoors, wonderin' whit species o' warm, affectionate welcome she'll hae in store. Biled tatties wi' yir T-bone, ma beloved? Bile yir heid, mair like.

If wummen could jist see things the right way, oor way. Whit's wrang wi' an innocent bevvy an' a blether wi' yir mates, like commiseratin' wi' big daft Tammy Lafferty cos his missus has found him a job? That's a' there is to it. I'm no' on the temazepam, I dinnae chase skirts up close. It's straight fur hame an' ma wee doll.

Nearly straight, anyroads. Sometimes yi cannae make it back to base frae the McCoist Arms withoot unfuellin' in mid-air. So I stagger through this door wi' Gentlemen on it an' there's wan o' them staunin next tae me. I ken he's a gent cos there's a black briefcase at his feet, gettin' a tad moist.

"Nice to see a new face in here," sez I, causin' him to zip up in panic. "No' often yi find a higher class o' person alleviatin' himsel' in this shunk."

"Actually," sez he, in a voice like that eejit the Prince o' Wails, "I was brought up in these parts. Round the corner from Ibrox Stadium. I was born in Mafeking Street."

"An' I wis born in mine," sez I, fair let doon. The royal tumshie widnae talk like that, so he widnae.

He soaps his manicured mitts an' hauds them, palms up, under the rubber machine, thinkin' it's the dryer. "So it's buyin' in bulk, are we?" sez I. "Busy night comin' up, eh?"

He glares at ma designer semmit ower his multifocals, then pokes a gold comb through his long an' curlies.

"So it's aff to the buroo, is it?" sez I, aye wan fur the friendly patter.

"Indeed not," sez he. "I'm a civil servant from Edinburgh. I'm here to check on the ongoing progress of a local secondary school which survived a threat of closure."

"Yi've no' come to shut poor wee St Gerard's?" sez I, fair affronted. "The MP, wee Harley Davidson, wid be a mite miffed, I jalouse."

The gink's flabber is fair gasted. "Why do you call him Harley Davidson?"

"Cos he's har'ly got a hair on his napper, that's why! An' if yi get by wee Harley, yi've still got to face up to the new cooncillor, big Deirdre. She scared the jacksies aff the SNP."

"I do not intend to close the school," sez he, a' starchy. "The Scottish Office is not in the habit of taking on unpleasant tasks like school closures itself. It leaves them to education authorities, which are best placed to evaluate the local circumstances in implementing their rationalisation programmes."

I gie him a connivin' nudge an' wink. "I admire youse high heid bummers," sez I. "Yi're great at lookin' efter number wan. Yi're no' hauf fly. Except that, when yi drew up the law aboot closures, yi made a right St Rollox o' it. Whit dae yi employ fur lawyers -- ravin' numpties?"

He hauf opens his gob to gie me laldy, then shuts it. That's whit separates educated sheep like him frae gormless goats like me. See when yi get right doon to it, the classless society is a meringue. It disnae exist. This po-faced geezer has the breedin' to haud himsel' back where I wid huv spewed oot some auld load o' horse droppin'.

He picks up his briefcase, which is dryin' oot in the heat o' the intellectual discussion, sez "I wish you a good day" -- noo, is that no' class fur yi? -- an' minces to the door.

"Let me tell yi this, boy," I shout efter him. "Education has a bliddy lot to answer fur. Thae schools huv far too many holidays, fur a start."

"I don't think I follow your drift," sez he, wi' a face like Tam Dalyell at a funeral.

Follow yir drift! That kind o' lingo gets right on ma threepenny bits. It taks a' ma class fur me no' to gie him whit fur. "That's a' we need roon' here," sez I. "Weans

'clutterin' up the entrance to the buroo an' the waterin'-holes an' dominies hangin' aboot street corners, bawlin' obscenities at oor wummen."

He shakes his heid an' slopes aff. Wid yi credit it? Yi show a bit o' social conscience an' yi get the bum's rush. It's enough to make yi bitter an' heavy -- talkin' o' which, by the way . . .

A10.5   Text 5: Herald, (wee852.txt), 07/10/95

Headline: A language beyond the pail
Byline: Dr Anne King
The 'mither tongue' has had a rough ride over Scotland's centuries of nationhood, but Dr Anne KIng argues that a new breed of writers may succeed in shifting it from the realms of Oor Wullie's bucket and out into the world

SCOTS has of late been hitting the headlines. James Kelman and the Booker (how late it was, how late it was indeed!). Trainspotting at last released by Irvine Welsh from its associations of coorying in with notebook, pencil, and flask and happing up with anorak hood. People write about Scots in the papers. They proclaim its "mither tongue" status and its fitness for all linguistic purposes -- or they deny its relevance, or even existence.

Sometimes they wax vitriolic about the gobfuls of Glasgow "slang" that assault viewers from TV screens and sometimes they wax lyrical about the lilting "good Scots" in North-east fishing villages. This "good" Scots, and its synthetic "Lallans" relative, do receive some (all too) serious media attention: usually in the context of a heritage industry which wants to preserve demotic speech in some kind of linguistic aspic.

Everybody seems to feel strongly about Scots, whatever their view, but very few know much about its history or character, even those who speak it.

First things first. Scots is not linguistically related to Gaelic. Indeed, in the medieval period Gaelic was held in very low esteem by speakers of Scots -- Dunbar in his Flyting of Kennedie (who spoke Gaelic) claimed: "A lawland erse wald mak a bettir nois!" Neither is Scots a corrupt form of Standard English.

True, it began life in the eighth century as the most northerly branch of Northumbrian Old English at a time when Scotland was a multi-lingual country populated by Picts, Cumbrians, and Gaels. But from its first toehold in the South-east of Scotland, brute force and negotiation allowed Scots to become, by the mid-fourteenth century, the dominant language spoken in Lowland and North-east Scotland by everyone from the king downwards.

From then on, Scots was culturally sophisticated and linguistically independent -- a standard language. It possessed, and still does, many linguistic characteristics that distinguished it from the standard Southern English contemporary in grammar, vocabulary, and pronunciation (so hoose and not house, gie and not give).

Scots was a potent symbol of national identity -- "the language of Scottis natioun". Like the culture and society it served, till the seventeenth century, Scots was outward-looking and eclectic in its make-up. Much of its vocabulary, for instance, was borrowed from European languages like French, Norse, Dutch and, peculiarly to Scots, Gaelic. This includes surprises like those culturally-iconic words Hogmanay, tartan, and haggis (from French), kilt (Norse) and whisky (Gaelic) -- particularly apt since most of today's malt whisky distilleries are to be found in the North-east of Scotland, which was originally Gaelic-speaking territory).

Events of the next two centuries were to blur this linguistic picture considerably. After the Reformation, Scottish people learnt to read and heard sermons from the Geneva Bible in Southern English -- there was no Scots translation in print.

The Union of the Crowns (that apparent lifeline for famine-ridden and war-torn seventeenth-century Scotland) presented irresistible opportunities for enterprising Scots businessmen and would-be social climbers. It meant, however, familiarising

themselves with English, to the detriment of Scots. Where literature was concerned, the Union opened up a wider market for the writings of Scottish poets if they wrote in English and not Scots.

By means such as these, the previously strong links between the Scots language, Scottish culture, and national identity were weakened. No longer was it the language used by all classes in all circumstances; English started to take its place as the formal, most prestigious language, and the status of Scots in society was correspondingly lowered.

Because most Scots had never seen their language written down, those few who now learnt to read for the first time had little inkling that it was English, and not Scots, they were being taught. Most of the books available in print -- formal works like histories, religious writings, poetry -- were in English, or, at best, rather heavily anglicised Scots. So began the dissociation of Scots from an all-purpose, standard written language.

Scots had hit the headlines for the first time in the eighteenth century -- quite spectacularly. The Union of the Parliaments, the Enlightenment, "Augustanism", "Sentimentality" and "Romanticism" forced Scots to confront the issues of national identity and good, and society and the individual. Language use was salient to these difficult questions, and was also much affected by them.

Burns, archetypical eighteenth-century figure and "SuperScot", astutely kept a foot in both linguistic camps that sprang up. He wrote sometimes in Augustan English. This fitted the linguistic prescriptions of purity, correctness, refinement, and propriety which, adopted from Southern England, were promoted by the aristocrats and intellectuals who peopled the socially and culturally brilliant circles of the Enlightenment. "Augustan" tenets had persuaded these "improvers" that Scots was barbarous, "vulgar", and provincial.

So, subjecting themselves to elocutionary tortures and hard linguistic labour, they tried to rid their speech and writing of giveaway Scots features and replace them with English ones. Their attempts met with only partial success: spoken Standard

English was rarely heard in Scotland and visiting elocution teachers commonly had regional accents (like the actor Sheridan's father who spoke with a strong Dublin accent). Inadequate descriptions in books meant the affected (in both senses) Scots frequently blundered by hyper-correcting, and produced surrealistic statements such as "McTavish was seen in the High Street carrying a clock (cloak!) on his arm."

Writing was more easily anglicised, though books listing Scotticisms of vocabulary and grammar and their Standard English substitutes often gave poor recommendations. Genuine Scots usages, like What's yon? ("asked in allusion to something in the distance"), to be replaced with What is that distant object?, appear beside non-Scots ones: Give me a clean glass -- this earns the author's scornful reproach: "Leave out clean which is unnecessary, as you would scarcely ask for a 'dirty' glass".

As will be obvious to anyone listening to speakers in Scotland today, this attempted "linguicide" of Scots was not entirely successful. It gave rise to Scottish Standard English -- a blend of Standard English and Scots -- which has, since the eighteenth century, been spoken by the "middle" classes (and now too by Scots dialect speakers who code-drift into it when formal circumstances require).

For writing, Standard English is used with various Scots grammatical features and vocabulary (The glaikit lassie had a wee greet to herself when the tattie-bogle she had made cowped and crashed in the rowan tree). The "linguicide" also failed because most of the Scottish population were largely untouched by the linguistic "improvements" -- they carried on speaking their variations of regional dialects of Scots -- and still do.

Burns wrote only one letter (that survives) in Scots. Both this and the "samzidat" The Merry Muses of Caledonia are in a broader, racier, and more sustained Scots than we find in his poems. This, and the "sprinkling" of Scots in his songs, was, however, sufficient to align his outlook with those who were influenced by the "Sentimental" and "Romantic" movements and ensure that his other foot was placed in the remains of the second camp.

These campers had been happier than the "improvers". They too were culturally and politically powerful, but had Episcopalian, Jacobite, and antiquarian leanings and included the writer Allan Ramsay, the printer Thomas Ruddiman, and James Watson, who collected medieval Scots poetry and traditional songs.

Burns had inherited from this proudly Scottish circle one model of literary Scots (his other came from Fergusson) as well as a tradition of written Scots, albeit one confined to song or poetry in lowly, comic, or sentimental genres.

A diminished Scots shuffled its way through the nineteenth century. Stevenson carried on the Burnsian written tradition in his poetry but, along with Scott, extended its use to set pieces in prose fiction, usually spoken by old, uneducated, rural, comic, and often female, characters. Kailyard authors confined their implausible, synthetic Scots to dialogue, parentheses, and glosses.

Scotland under the Empire no longer had its own independent culture, but an "official" one had been imposed on it based on English ideas of Scottishness, its icons Balmorality, tartanry, militarism, bagpipes, and blended whisky. Mainstream Scots poetry and prose, steeped in maudlin nostalgia, complacency, and banality, pandered to this image.

The low status of Scots persisted -- it was fit only for sentimental and couthy subjects or for poking fun at. Witness Harry Lauder's phenomenal success in the next century as the professional, red-nosed, whisky-sodden, bekilted Scotsman singing mawkish Scottish songs.

But Scots, people and language, still possessed several vital sparks. The local (identity and speech) now began asserting itself under threat of extinction by officialdom -- Empire and attitudes, the Scottish Education Department's promotion, from the 1870s, of English (and definitely not Scots) in the classrooms -- industrialisation and urbanisation.

Scots bounced again into the headlines and journals that printed articles and poems by "working" and "lower middle" class male -- and female writers. This Scots was new and (more) "real". Closely reflecting local rural and -- a new development -- urban dialect, it showed itself capable of describing actuality -- contemporary social and industrial change, science, love and philosophy. There were other reactions to the perceived threat: linguists recorded dialect speech (before it disappeared!) and dictionaries of Scots were published.

This linguistic "lepidoptery" caught the attention of writers like Hugh MacDiarmid who responded by creating a synthetic Scots -- "Lallans" -- intended as a classical, standard Scots for a world-class literature. Its ingredients, obsolete words trawled for in dictionaries and medieval Scots literature, words and grammar from several rural dialects, made it artificial, remote from real life -- a kind of "cuddly toy" Scots -- and unsuitable really for anything other than poetry (its main use today).

Headline-hitting continues. It is pleasing to see that Scots is now being acknowledged as vital -- in both senses -- and that the outrage of Scots like the poet Tom Leonard ("I just felt that the voice in my mouth wasn't being represented") is being responded to. The Concise Scots Dictionary is a best-seller. Scots is officially registered as a lesser-used language with the European Bureau for Lesser Used Languages, which has commissioned a booklet on Scots for distribution throughout the EU countries.

Interest in Scots is high in the United States, Germany, Italy, and Japan. Recent Scottish Office Education Department 5-14 Guidelines recommend teachers to encourage an awareness and use of Scots by school children. To help with this, the Scottish Consultative Council on the Curriculum is producing a resource package of teaching materials (The Kist). In Edinburgh University, the first ever first-level course on Scots and Scottish English (taught in the Department of English Language) is now in its third successful year. The department also organises an annual lecture on Scots, sponsored by the Scotch Malt Whisky Society -- past speakers have included Jack Aitken and William McIlvanney. This year's speaker is Liz Lochhead.

There is still a long way to go, however. The acknowledgement of Scots needs now to be followed by an acceptance of it for what it is -- a language without official status, but with at least nine different dialect areas; several written varieties -- Lallans, Sunday Post Scots, and Central Scots dialect (Liz Lochhead, Bill Herbert); a tremendously flexible, vigorous language whose speakers drift into English and back to Scots with ease.

Scots, like all minority languages, is affected by media and American English influence, but is thriving. While maintaining its base, it loses and acquires words as all living languages do. Not many Scots these days have, or even want, to know what 'a daimen icker in a thrave' is, but they create new words where needed, eg: sitooterie (patio), cahoutchie-padlock (condom), and gouchin or vegging (sitting about hungover and tired in a pub).

The work of writers like Tom Leonard and James Kelman has raised public awareness of Scots and done a lot to move it beyond "Oor Wullie's" pail and out into today's Scotland. But perceptions of Scots will only change with wider public access to it, and a greater appreciation of it in all its variety and vitality.

* Dr Anne King is Lecturer in English Language at Edinburgh University, specialising in Scots.

A10.6   Text 6: Record (ma12.txt), 05/01/95

Headline: Scotland's biggest male chauvinist lets rip: Gie these wimmin a New Year kiss off
Byline: Scottie McClue
I've had it up to New Year with yer so called liberated wimmin. No man was safe over the Hogmanay party season from this new breed of the unfairer sex. It seems we men can't even partake of a New Year kiss without some desperate woman - usually a nurse or a care assistant - trying to get the tongue in the

mooth a la French. Most men would quite happily settle for a polite peck on the cheek. I personally prefer to kiss hands, which often serves to drive the women wild. Wild to the extent that they would probably prefer an Italian kiss (same as French but further South). But what of the battle casualties from the onward march of this rampant monstrous regiment of women? The people I feel most sorry for are the husbands and male partners who wrongly agree to allow their spouses more freedom.

Now I reckon the monstrous regiment needs a male CO, myself perhaps, to take charge. My first duty would be to sort out the sex thing. There should be a return to the wearing of chastity belts to which only the husband has the key. Married women should look and behave like married women. If this is proving difficult then an M should be tattooed on their foreheads. I also think we want to wave bye bye to the creeping parisitical institution of the eighties and nineties - the child minder. Think about it. When we grow old if we haven't shown our kids enough attention when they were young, they are going to think nothing of shoving us in a home to be handled by some nurse or care assistant who's only real interest in life is wanting to give up work, settle doon and have a family. And how does she achieve this? Simple. Out she goes - dressed to thrill - seeking and hopefully getting a man at a Ne'erday party.

These supermodels, aren't you sick and fed up to the back teeth of them. Let's hope this is the last year that we will be getting them paraded in front of us. If no then I'll consider sticking ma heid in the soup pot. These skinny malinky long legs, big banana feet have been held up in front of us for years now as what women should be like locally with their washboard chests and wishbone legs. They should get real. When do we ever see women like that in Scotland. Let's be honest, we are used to a more different look altogether, ie, the Scottish supermodel, in like everyone's average bird. They tend to be ideally suited to modelling a tattie sack with their duddies that would look more at home on nuclear warheads, and their bums that would serve as a mould for Big Ben standing on axle stands. So what is the point in supermodels when almost nothing modelled would suit our Scottish women, I ask you?

What are we going to do about our national disease that allows Scottish people
to commit suicide and do their best at taking the rest of us with them? I
really think we should ban smoking in all public places and instigate a state
of citizen's arrest, whereby members of the public can pull fags oot o'
smokers' mooths and stand on them. The fags I mean. Failing that we should
consider locking smokers up in asylums or residential camps as we would with
any other lunatic with suicidal tendencies until they have stopped. This would be
a suitable alternative use to the money we spend treating them on the NHS. Of
course we could prevent all this if smokers would make it their primary New
Year's resolution to pack it in sticking by it. Smokers should get a life. Remember
a life is for life and not just for Ne'erday. A guid New Year to yeeze a'.

Scottie McClue can be spoken to personally on Scot FM's night line 100.3FM in
the west, 101.1FM in the east from 10pm to 1am, Monday to Friday.

Expression *(meaning)*	Type	Cited	Newspapers	Versions	Contexts	Analysis
The best laid plans of mice and men gang aft agley	quotation *To a Mouse* (Burns)	MacGregor Murison	Herald	1. as cited 2. the best laid plans o' mice and **homebuyers go desperately** agley 3. the experiment has gone agley 4. **like all the best laid plans, this one went** agley	SE/E	Interchange "o'" and "of". Substitutions/ additions to "mice and men" (specific to context). Different forms of verb "to go". "Aft" is optional. "Plans" or "schemes". Syntactic changes. Can be modified quite easily and extensively.
			Scotsman	1. 2 x as cited 2. the best laid plans of mice, men and **families** go aft agley 3. **MP joins row as Burns festival** plans gang agley (headline) 4. best laid scheme gone spectacularly agley 5. things can go agley 6. something has gone agley		
Wee, sleekit, cowrin' tim'rous beastie	quotation *To a Mouse* (Burns)		Herald	1. 2 x as cited 2. sleekit, cowerin', tim'rous beastie 3. ya wee sleekit, timrous, cowerin' bassstart	E (no.2 in Herald is colloquial DS)	Reversal: "timrous" & "cowerin" + "bassstart" pun.
			Scotsman	1. as cited		
Facts are chiels that winna ding	quotation *A dream iv*	Murison	Herald	1. 2 x chiels that winna ding 2. 1 x Facts may be chiels that	SE/E	Minor changes: sing./pl.; "that"/"which"; omission of

Table A11.1   Fixed expressions & idioms

Expression *(meaning)*	Type	Cited	Newspapers	Versions	Contexts	Analysis
	(Burns)			winna ding 3. **Scots know this is a chiel** which winna ding		"facts"
Unco guid	quotation Address to the Unco Guid or the Rigidly Righteous (Burns)	S.N.D.	Scotsman Record Herald Scotsman	1. as cited 1. as cited 1. 3 x as cited 1. as cited	SE/E	Probably better considered under collocations as very short quotation.
Sent hameward tae think again	quotation *Flower of Scotland*		Record Herald Scotsman	1. 3 x as cited 1. At **Bannockburn we sent** them homeward tae think again 1. **Proud Edward's army is** **about to be sent homewards tae** think again	SE/E	Association with Scotland vs. England rugby (is often sung at rugby matches).
Scots wha hae	quotation Scots wha hae	S.N.D.	Herald Scotsman Record	1. 8 x as cited (title) 1. 2 x as cited (title) 1. 2 x as cited 2. Scots wham **Malcolm Bruce** has aften led	E/SE	Addition of "Malcolm", word play and specific.
We're no awa tae bide awa	quotation		Scotsman	1. as cited	list of songs	
Thou need na start awa sae hasty	quotation *To a Mouse* (Burns)		Scotsman	1. as cited	E	
Dance awa wi' the excise man	quotation The deil's awa wi the Excise Man (Burns)	S.N.D.	Herald Scotsman	1. as title 1. as title	E	Article refers to end of financial year, therefore apt word play.

Table A11.1   Fixed expressions & idioms (Continued)

Expression (meaning)	Type	Cited	Newspapers	Versions	Contexts	Analysis
Sic a wife as Wullie had, I widnae gie a button for her	quotation *Willie Wastle* (Burns)		Herald Scotsman	1. as cited (title) 1. 2 x as cited	E	Uses vocabulary from Burns corpus; not actual quote.
Tak a dram wi a trusty fiere	pseudo-quotation	Grant's whisky slogan	Record	1. as cited	E	In a literary discussion.
Ay, whaur's the snaws o lang syne	quotation (Scott)		Times	1. as cited	E	
And gie's a hand o thine	quotation *Auld lang syne* (Burns)		Times	1. as cited	E	Discussion of Scots language: "archaic delights of Scots English"
God's "braw birling earth"	quotation *Gin I were God* (Murray)		Herald Scotsman	1. as cited 1. God's braw birling world	E	Substitution of "earth" for "world"
Ne'er cast a cloot 'til May is oot *Don't be too hasty to get rid of winter clothes until end of May*	proverb	Walker MacGregor Donald Cheviot	Herald Record	1. as cited (glossed as old saying) 2. Where, come to that, are all those cloots actually cast when May is "oot"? 3. MAY: Cloots officially oot 1. Talk about "nae cast a cloot"	E	"Ne'er" to "nae" in Record – misquote? Tolerates fair amount of variation.
If it's no bugs, the lum reeks *If it's not one misfortune, it's another*	proverb		Scotsman	1. as cited (glossed as nearly qualifying as proverb)	list of proverbs	
Many a mickle maks a muckle	proverb	Walker CSD	Herald Scotsman	1. as cited (glossed as maxim) 1. mony a mickle maks a muckle	E	Minor orthographic variations. Debate over

Table A11.1   Fixed expressions & idioms (Continued)

Expression (*meaning*)	Type	Cited	Newspapers	Versions	Contexts	Analysis
Every little helps/lots of little things can make a great thing		Murison	Times	(glossed as "the good old") 2. mony a pickle, or puckle maks a muckle or mickle (glossed as World War II exhortation) 1. as cited (glossed as Scottish saying)		which is correct form of proverb (also in citation entries).
A fat soo's erse is aye weel greased / *Things go to where there is plenty already*	proverb	S.N.D.	Scotsman	1. as cited (glossed as saying of writer's father) 2. a fat sow's erse is aye well greased (glossed as proverb) 3. mair creash for the fat soo's erse	E	Orthographic variation. Third example substantially changed
A gaun fit's aye getting / *Reward for enterprise and industry*	proverb	MacGregor Cheviot Murison	Scotsman	1. as cited 2. a gaun fit's aye getting, were it but a thorn or a broken tae	E/S (1 in proverb list)	Fixed.
If you burn your erse you maun sit on the blister / *If you get involved and get fingers burned, you must live with the consequences*	proverb		Scotsman	1. as cited 2. them that burn their erse must sit on the blister (glossed as NE saying)	E/SE	Change of person. Anglicisation of "maun" to "must".
A fair maid tocherless will get mair wooers than husbands / *A pretty girl without a dowry will have more suitors than husbands*	proverb	MacGregor Walker	Scotsman	1. as cited (explanation attached)	list of proverbs	
A bonny gryce may	proverb	MacGregor	Scotsman	1. as cited (glossed as old	E	

Table A11.1 Fixed expressions & idioms (Continued)

Expression *(meaning)*	Type	Cited	Newspapers	Versions	Contexts	Analysis
mak an ugly sow *Reminder to young girls or what old age brings*		Walker Cheviot		Scottish proverb)		
A bairn maun creep afore it gangs *You must master the basics before trying something more difficult*	proverb	Walker	Scotsman	1. as cited 2. ye maun creep afore ye gang		Change of person to make specific.
A close mouth catches nae flees *Exhortation for prudence in conversation*	proverb	Walker Cheviot	Scotsman	1. as cited	list of proverbs	
A craw is nae whiter for being washed *Equivalent of leopard changing spots.*	proverb	Walker	Scotsman	1. as cited	list of proverbs	
There's nae place like hame	proverb		Record	1. as cited	E	Scotticisation of English proverb.
We maun dree our weird *We must endure our fate.*	proverb	C.S.D.	Herald	1. as cited	S (Scots language article)	
Ah dinnae ken whether to hing masel, droon masel, or gang tae fate.	popular wisdom/ sayings		Herald	1. as cited (glossed as old saying)	E	

Table A11.1   Fixed expressions & idioms (Continued)

Table A11.1 Fixed expressions & idioms (Continued)

Expression (meaning)	Type	Cited	Newspapers	Versions	Contexts	Analysis
Paisley / Things are so bad, it's the best of a poor choice	popular wisdom/ sayings		Herald	1. your lum need not reek missus (pun)	E	Changes in person. Differences in negation. Quite productive.
Lang may your lum reek / Wishing plenty and prosperity	popular wisdom/ sayings		Scotsman / Record	1. lang may his lum reek / 2. lang may your lum no reik / peat / 1. as cited	E	
Hauf past ten and/an no/not an erse skelpt / Time is passing and so much still undone	popular wisdom/ sayings		Herald	1. 2 x as cited (glossed as old saying)	E list of proverbs	
Fur coats and nae knickers / People who concentrate on outward show	popular wisdom/ sayings		Record	1. 2 x as cited	E	Probably quite fixed.
Auld claes and porridge / A return to normality after period of festivity	popular wisdom/ sayings	Murison C.S.D. S.N.D.	Herald Scotsman	1. as cited / 2. auld claes and parritch / 1. back to parritch and auld claes, my grandmother used to declare	SE/E	Scotticised vs. anglicised versions. Reversal of order.
Couldnae run a menage / Is hopelessly inept	popular wisdom/ sayings		Herald	1. as cited	E	
Afore ye go	popular wisdom/ sayings		Herald Scotsman	1. 2 x as cited (1 is name) / 1. as cited	mixed	Bell's whisky ad "Bell's afore ye go". Also music hall song

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Expression (meaning)	Type	Cited	Newspapers	Versions	Contexts	Analysis
We're all Jock Tamson's bairns *We're all part of same humanity*	popular wisdom/ sayings	S.N.D. Murison	Herald Scotsman	1. 9 x as cited 2. Jock Tamson's enfants 1. 3 x as cited	E	Substitution of "enfants" for "bairns". Article is written in Franglaise.
To put one's gas at a peep *To put someone in their place*	idiom	C.S.D. S.N.D.	Herald Scotsman Record	1. Putting the flame of greed on a peep (headline) 2. Referees at a low peep (headline) 3. when daylights reduces to a peep 4. only to have his non-Nigerian gas put at a peep by his trenchant colleague 5. Saltcoats may have put the city's lights at a peep 6. shareholders' complaints were put at a peep 7. put the film noir's gas on a peep 1. British gas directors for whose gas was at lowest peep 2. Gas at a peep ... A Reader got his gas bill ... 3. Gas at a peep and tail between his legs 1. Paul Gascoigne really puts your Gaz at a peep 2. he puts every other managing director's gas at a peep 3. It's time to put their gas at a	E	Ample scope for variation. Used in puns for people who work for British Gas. Also phonological word play with "Gaz" for Paul Gascoigne.

Table A11.1   Fixed expressions & idioms (Continued)

Table A11.1   Fixed expressions & idioms (Continued)

Expression (*meaning*)	Type	Cited	Newspapers	Versions	Contexts	Analysis
Birling in his grave *Would not approve*	idiom		Herald	peep 4. that put your gas at a peep 5. Nothing, nut nothing seems to put Ivan Golac's gas at a peep 1. 3 x will be birlin(g) in their graves 2. 1 x will/would/must be birling in his grave 1. 3 x as cited	E	Acceptable to modify person. Variable modal auxiliary. Scotticised version of English "turning in grave".
			Scotsman			
Cauld kale (het up) *A stale story*	idiom	C.S.D. S.N.D. Murison	Herald	1. 2 x as cited 2. cauld kale prerecorded interviews 3. Forsyth's cauld kail (headline)	E	Record's entry defamiliarises expression.
			Scotsman	4. caul kale		
			Record	1. as cited 1. cauld kail followed by mince!		
To get your jotters *To be sacked*	idiom		Herald	1. 4 x getting … his/your etc. jotters 2. 2 x get/got …jotters 3. giving out jotters 4. picking up … jotters	E	Some variation in verb choice within limited range. Person can be changed. Scottish version of English "to get your books", although more productive cf. picking, handed + books
			Scotsman	1. handed back the jotters		
			Record	1. 2 x give/given … her jotters 2. handed in his jotters		
Jackets being on a shoogly nail/peg *One's job is insecure*	idiom	C.S.D. S.N.D.	Herald	1. 7 x coat/jacket/jaikit(s) are/is on a … shoogly/shooglie nail	E	Restricted lexical variation. Anglicisation of some orthographies.
			Scotsman	1. the peg on which Quinn's coat hangs is shoogly		Other orthographic variation.
			Record	1. 2 x on a (very) shoogly peg		

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Expression *(meaning)*	Type	Cited	Newspapers	Versions	Contexts	Analysis
From/frae a the airts *from all over*	semi-idiom		Herald Scotsman	1. 3 x as cited 1. 4 x as cited	E	Archaic, middle-class. Reversal of syntax.
Airts and pairts *from all places*	semi-idiom	S.N.D.	Herald	1. 3 x as cited	SE	
Lad o'pairts	semi-idiom	C.S.D. S.N.D.	Herald Scotsman	1. 9 x as cited 2. man o'pairts 1. 2 x as cited 2. man o'pairts	E	Middle-class phrase.
Doon the watter *pleasure trips on the Clyde*	semi-idiom	C.S.D. S.N.D.	Herald Scotsman Record	1. 31 x as cited 2. 3 x doon the water 1. 5 x as cited (few in headlines) 2. doon the wattery experience 1. 6 x as cited	SE/E	"Doon the water" seems to miss original meaning. More entries in Herald, WC term.
A face like a skelpit erse *red-faced*	simile		Scotsman	1. as cited	list	
As red-faced as a skelpit erse *red-faced*	simile		Scotsman	1. as cited	E	
As ticht ersed as a fusslebare binkie *mean / parsimonious*	simile	C.S.D.	Scotsman	1. as cited (glossed as possibly spurious)	list	
As obvious as clabber on a coo's erse *blatantly obvious*	simile		Herald	1. as cited	S (Scots language article)	

Table A11.1 Fixed expressions & idioms (Continued)

Expression *(meaning)*	Type	Cited	Newspapers	Versions	Contexts	Analysis
C'moan/come on get aff	colloquial imperative		Herald	1. 3 x as cited 2. come oan, aff	S/SE	Music hall representation of a clippie.
			Record	1. 2 x as cited		
Bile/boil yer/yir heid *get lost!*	colloquial imperative	C.S.D.	Herald	1. as cited	E	Orthographic variation. Change in person.
			Record	1. bile yer heids the lot of yous 2. boil her heid 3. boil my heid		
Gaun yersel (wee man) *Go for it!*	colloquial imperative		Herald	1. 4 x as cited 2. gaun yirsel hen	E/S	Orthographic variation. Change in person
			Scotsman Record	1. 2 x as cited 1. 3 x as cited		
Gies a break *Leave me alone*	colloquial imperative		Record	1. as cited	E	Colloquial expression
Haud yer wheesht *Be quiet*	colloquial imperative	C.S.D.	Herald	1. as cited 2. haud their wheesht	S/E	
			Scotsman	1. Gaby Roslin to hold her wheesht for one minute.		
Dinnae rax yer cackie *Don't upset yourself*	colloquial imperative		Scotsman	1. 3 x as cited (1 glossed as an admonition)	E	
Dae fit yer telt *Do as you're told*	colloquial imperative		Herald	1. 2 x as cited 2. dae as ye're telt 3. 2 x do as she's/is telt	mixed	NE form
Gie it laldy/laldie *Do something vigorously*	colloquial imperative/ common colloquialism	C.S.D.	Herald	1. 16 x as cited 2. taking the laldy out	mixed	Quite a lot are associated with music.
			Scotsman Record	1. 6 x as cited 1. 3 x as cited (2 are name of festival)		

Table A11.1 Fixed expressions & idioms (Continued)

Expression (meaning)	Type	Cited	Newspapers	Versions	Contexts	Analysis
On the bevvy *drinking alcohol*	common colloquialism	Record		1. 4 x as cited	E	Colloquial expression, also in English.
Whaur's your/yer Wullie Shakespeare now?	common colloquialism		Herald Scotsman Record Times	1. 5 x various versions 1. 2 x Where's/whaur's yer ... noo? 1. Where's your digeridoo now? 1. Whaur's your Toremolinous now? (glossed as "as the locals put it")	E	Ref. to events at opening night of John Hume's play *Douglas.* Herald has 1 x original version. Others allow quite a lot of variation.
To go/do one's dinger *To get very upset with.*	common colloquialism	S.N.D.	Record	1. as cited (pun)	E	Word play as article is about a man awakened by church bells.
Guid conceit of/o himself/itself/ themselves etc. *To think well of oneself*	common colloquialism		Herald	1. 5 x as cited	E	
Wad/wid be nane the waur o/of a guid hangin *Strong disapproval*	common colloquialism		Herald Scotsman	1. 2 x in the manner of a guid hangin 1. as cited 2. ... o a guid deselection	E	
Help ma boab *humorous "oh my goodness"*	common colloquialism		Herald Scotsman	1. 4 x as cited (1 is "hulp", 1 has Jings, crivvens) 1. 2 x as cited (associated with Jings crivvens) 2. help ma boabery	E	"Jings, crivvens, help ma boab" – used in the *Broons* and *Oor Wullie*

Table A11.1   Fixed expressions & idioms (Continued)

APPENDIX 12 Common & preferred collocations

Node word	Collocates	Herald	Scotsman	Record
ain	folk	9	5	1
	volk	2	-	-
blate	arena blate	-	1	-
	isnae blate	1	-	-
	is no blate	1	-	-
	widnae blate	1	-	-
	ower blate	2	-	-
bonnie/bonny	baby/babies	1	1	-
	(bonnie) banks	15	5	6
	Doon	3	-	-
	(wee) fechter	1	1	2
	(purple/blooming) heather	1	-	1
	(Scots) lassie(s)	2	1	2
	Scotland	1	3	4

Table A12.1   Common & preferred collocations

Node word	Collocates	Herald	Scotsman	Record
	son	2	-	-
canny	wee brew	-	4	-
	Ken	4	2	-
	lad(s)	2	-	2
	man	2	-	-
	Scot(s)	10	8	3
	Scottish	3	-	-
	shopper(s)	2	2	1
	ca' canny	5	-	-
furth	of Scotland	14	6	-?
gey	auld	2	-	-
	few	4	2	-
	hard (tae bate)	4	-	-
	hacket	-	-	1
	ill tae bate	1	-	-
	queer	-	1	-
	weird	1	-	-
heid	ba' heids	1	-	-
	baw-heided	1	-	-

Table A12.1   Common & preferred collocations (Continued)

Node word	Collocates	Herald	Scotsman	Record
	heid banger	4	1	1
	heid the ba'	-	-	2
	(high) heid bummers	3	2	-
	high heid yins	9	4	-
	stair heid mentality	-	2	-
laddie	daft/deft (wee) laddie	4	3	3
	wee laddie	12	-	4
lassie	Heilan/Highland lassie(s)	1	2	3
	wee lassie	16	3	12
	young lassie	1	3	-
nae	bother	8	-	2
	chance	2	1	-
	danger	2	-	-
	doot/dout	5	-	-
	problem/probs	3	2	-
	wonder/wunner	4	-	-
	worries	1	-	-
wally	close	5	-	-
	dugs	6	3	-

Table A12.1   Common & preferred collocations (Continued)

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

Language variety label abbreviations

S	*Scots*
S/SE	Mostly *Scots*, but with a significant minority of *Scottish-English* entries.
S/SE/E	Mostly *Scots*, but with significant minorities of *Scottish-English* and *English* contexts (in order of quantity).
S/E	Mostly *Scots*, but with a significant minority of *English* contexts.
SE	*Scottish-English*
SE/S	Mostly *Scottish-English*, but with a significant minority of *Scots* contexts.
SE/E	Mostly *Scottish-English*, but with a significant minority of *English* contexts.
E/S	A mixture of *English* and *Scots* contexts.
E/SE	Mostly *English*, but with a significant minority of *Scottish-English* entries.
E/SE/S	Mostly *English*, but with significant minorities of *Scottish-English* and *Scots* contexts (in order of quantity).
mixed	A mixture of contexts.
other	Other more complex mixtures.
E	*English*

Other abbreviations

ABC	Audit Bureau of Circulation
CSD	Concise Scots Dictionary
ESSD	Electronic Scots Schools Dictionary
OED	Oxford English Dictionary
SLRC	Scots Language Resource Centre
SND	Scottish National Dictionary
SNDA	Scottish National Dictionary Association

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