UNIVERSIDAD DE SALAMANCA

FACULTAD DE FILOLOGÍA

GRADO EN ESTUDIOS INGLESES

Trabajo de Fin de Grado

THE THISTLE ENREGISTERED
A Preliminary Approach to Linguistic Itemisation and Repertoire of Scots in 19th-Century British Literature

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Salamanca, 2018

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This thesis is submitted for the degree of English Studies

Date: July, 2018

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Vº Bº

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ABSTRACT

Standardisation of linguistic varieties implies a making of choices. By encouraging the use of a particular variety (due to a proven fuller functionality or political preference), those tangential ones which have been consequently discarded are exiled to the outskirts of recognition and reputation. The survival of such dialectal varieties in a given language is dependant on their cultural furtherance and the efforts of preservation carried out by their speakers. As a consequence, the aforementioned developments can result in the fixation of varieties as unique linguistic cases representative of non-standard language belonging to the cultural stock and idiosyncrasy of a specific community. This process of stabilisation of non-standard variations in a single language, characteristic of a people's history, has been recently tagged as enregisterment when the particularities of those varieties are recognised by speakers as traits conforming a sociocultural boundary. This work, therefore, addresses the issue of enregisterment in Scots identifiable in 19th-century British literature as a means of demonstrating how distinct traits of Scots enable readers to distinguish variation and subsequently determine the provenance of characters and their culture as opposed to the standard. In other words, to prove the existence of a level of enregisterment in Scots. In order to accomplish this goal, J. M. Barrie's *A Window in Thrums* and Ian Maclaren's *Beside the Bonnie Brier Bush* will subjected to analysis.

Keywords: enregisterment, constituents, energy, repertoire, catalogue, linguistic items, grammar, Scots, English, Kailyard

RESUMEN

La estandarización de variedades lingüísticas implica una toma de decisiones. Al incentivar el uso de una variedad particular (debido a una probada amplitud funcional o

preferencia política), aquellas otras tangenciales que han sido subsecuentemente descartadas se ven exiliadas a las afueras del reconocimiento y la reputación. La supervivencia de dichas variedades dialectales en una cierta lengua depende de su desarrollo cultural y los esfuerzos de sus hablantes por preservarlas. Como consecuencia, los antedichos desarrollos pueden resultar en la fijación de variedades como casos lingüísticos únicos representativos de lenguaje no estándar que pertenecen a un repertorio cultural y la idiosincrasia de una comunidad específica. Este proceso de estabilización de variaciones no-estándar en una sola lengua, características de la historia de un pueblo, ha sido recientemente definido como "enregisterment" cuando las particularidades de esas variedades son reconocidas por hablantes conformantes de una frontera sociocultural. Este trabajo, por lo tanto, aborda el tema del "enregisterment" del Scots apreciado en la literatura decimonónica británica como forma de demostrar cómo distintos aspectos del Scots permiten a los lectores distinguir la variación y consecuentemente determinar el origen de los personajes, así como su cultura en contraste con el estándar. En otras palabras, probar la existencia de un nivel de "enregisterment" en Scots. A efectos de lograr este objetivo, la obras *A Window in Thrums*, de J. M. Barrie, y *Beside the Bonnie Brier Bush*, de Ian Maclaren, serán sujetas a estudio.

Keywords: enregisterment, constituyentes, energía, repertorio, catálogo, ítems lingüísticos, gramática, Scots, Inglés, Kailyard

1. Introduction

Itemisation in linguistics can be considered as a means of developing a philological repertoire, a sociological inventory composed of a series of recorded linguistic phenomena. In order words, close observation of variation in languages may entail the creation of a construct, which implies the concurrence of several other scientific branches, such as semiology and psychology. Language history, a necessary foundation for the edification of a solid ground upon which assessments can be conducted satisfactorily, is in itself, together with literature, an evolutive almanac. There seems to be no possible way of fathoming the impact of language standardisation on societies without resorting to their written fictional stock. That is to say, transcription of language use in literature, virtually speaking, might be a source of influential information. A narrow study of linguistic features in literature, therefore, could presuppose the discovery of how auteurs filtered varieties and imprinted their works with the flavour of numerous distinguishable, non-standard voices that aided the reader classify certain characters according to their linguistic choices.

Asif Agha's fertile dissertation on registers as well as the issue of enregisterment cannot be dismissed in the aforesaid circumstances. From it ensues a conception of linguistic varieties as isolated modules branded according to their peculiarities and dependant on location as well as the speaker's natural language use. Nevertheless, the matter of enregistered varieties, freighted with cultural implications, appears to have been lightly attended. Investigation on the subject has taken an exclusive interest in the Pittsburghese dialect and the one noted in the Northern areas of England to this date. In this context, a study of Scotland's vernacular language in 19th-Century British literature with views to analysing its level of sociolinguistic impingement could help expand this au courant line of research and regularise a preparatory catalogue of Scots realisations in fiction. Consequently,

the analysis of J. M. Barrie's *A Window in Thrums* and Ian Maclaren's *Beside the Bonnie Brier Bush* will be shown to render sufficient data so as to affirm that the Scots variety has reached some degree of sociologic recognition and identity solidity and thence assert it has become enregistered.

2. Enregisterment: Non-Standard English and Scotland

Recognition of certain modes of speech by members of society has been the focus of Agha's article "Voicing, Footing, Enregisterment". His words operate on a level whereon registers and indexicality are intermingled. In writing of "speaker attributes" (38), Agha theorises on the possibility of registers as "living social formations, susceptible to society-internal variation" (40), hence terming the "processes whereby distinct forms of speech come to be socially recognised" as enregisterment (38). The arising inference could consist of an understanding of language as a chain of secluded categories susceptible to interaction and variability, much alike influence amongst texts in Julia Kristeva's intertextual theory, yet in possession of distinct traits which seem to be more impregnable and resilient (hereon referred to as nuclear constituents in this work). By following Agha's findings in language use, a reasonable deduction implies the existence of fixated nuclear constituents in non-standard varieties whereby semiotic responses are provoked within the user's subconscious areas of neurolinguistic and sociological decoding. That is, an enregistered variety is recognised successfully by a user not belonging to the communal space wherein such variety develops.

However, awareness of nuclear constituents in speech has been widely identified in literature by virtue of truthful dialogue representation and in regional/dialectal dictionaries crafted for the sake of self-preservation. Norman F. Blake speculates that non-standard language in literature, as used by Geoffrey Chaucer in *The Canterbury Tales*, could be portrayed in order to "describe how people from different walks of life band together to form

a travelling party to Canterbury" (33). Although Blake also indicates that "low-class items" were employed as social markers, he, too, points out that "odd dialect words add an extra spice and interest to…language" (139) when alluding to Walter Scott's memorable stories. In them, dialectal voicing was depicted to fight against "the tide of the time which rejected provincial pronunciation". While Scott institutionalises a faithful rendering of Scots in the literary milieu, his goal being to deflate derisive commentary on provincial language, these transcriptional instances were also evidence of a preparatory level of enregisterment, if not actual proof of the process itself.

The recording in written form of a people's natural way of speech, along with the formalisation of linguistic rarities, however, also appears on a non-fictional level outside literature. Joan C. Beal's study "Enregisterment, Commodification, and Historical Context: 'Geordie versus 'Sheffieldish'" accentuates the significative cultural import inherent to the creation of dictionaries that reproduce attested occurrences in a given variety, providing examples such as a "folk dictionary of Derbyshire" (144) or "D. Whomersley's dictionary", published "as a humorous guide" (151). She regards these works as "attempts to preserve or at least record a moribund dialect", stressing "social [and] geographical mobility" as the foremost reason for linguistic mingling and/or decay (140). On the whole, one could affirm that any attempt to capture and desiccate the quid of a community's linguistic individuality assists in the development of this process (enregisterment) and the conservation of divergent particularities in communication.

Accordingly, a question transpires from this information: how does Scots and SSE (Scottish Standard English) co-exist as transversal varieties in a RP- (Received Pronunciation) favouring society? Even-Zohar brings about a discussion on progressive power exchange between what he interprets as "repertoires". In his article "The Making of Repertoire, Survival and Success under Heterogeneity",   Even-Zohar suggests that

"individuals are often willing to go a long way…in order to maintain the repertoire which may have become identical with their sense of orientation" (47), meaning that the creation of a political system of semiotic references inherent to a specific number of organised individuals may define their views and idiosyncrasy. In this framework, he further discusses the result of a clash between cultural forces, or repertoires. Even-Zohar affirms that "the making of new repertoires…creates…socio-cultural motion" (41), but that there also exists a struggle between disagreeing parties "about the desirable repertoires" (49). It could be conceded that standardisation of a particular variety entails the discrimination or marginalisation of those peripheral ones which differentiate themselves from the former. Thus, RP, in comparison with SSE or Scots, could trigger a state of continual degradation for Scotland's linguistic mélange. In an attempt to counterattack this process, Education Scotland, or "Foghlam Alba" (a branch of the Government of Scotland), offers a range of free documents whose contents deal with the history of Scots (later on commented) and the main features which characterise Scots-speaking individuals ("Features of Scots"). This, in Even-Zohar's terms, assists the Scottish repertoire in that it involves availability of resources for the furtherance of Scots' visibility and prevention of its possible downgrading and/or deterioration. Subsequently, an exemplifying collection of recorded grammatical instances, as provided by the aforementioned organisation, solidifies a sociolinguistic catalyst that crystallises spoken cases which otherwise would pass unnoticed. Archetypical features such as the forming of negatives (*dinna* 'don't', *canna* 'can't'), past tense weak verbs (*keepit* 'kept') and the frequent fricative sound (*loch* /lɒx/) would essentially perish under the aegis of an RP-reining community if not thus enlisted and published free of charge. In relation to this, Even-Zohar proposes that "the endeavours of distributing and inculcating of new repertoires may eventually have created a…high and intensive level of activity, which can be termed 'energy'" (44).

Nevertheless, Scotland seems to have endured a history of marginalisation from a specific point in the United Kingdom's linguistic background. Although contemporary measures have been taken with a view to demystifying erroneous conceptions and debunking opprobrious prejudices (as noted above), a worldwide bias is still felt when considering Scottish varieties outside Scotland.

3. History and Scots: a Proemial Memoir on Marginalisation

The arrival of Germanic tribes in the British Isles anticipated the creation of present-day English as is currently known. History documents note this episode "during the 5th century" (Machan 3), and approximately three centuries after this event Viking clans "occupied the northern and western isles of Scotland". Machan, in re-examining a definition for Scots, usually resorts to the notion of differences rather than risking an ambiguous or ineffective academic description. In simple terms, he asserts a basic though fundamental perception that cannot be discarded when underlining dissimilarities among varieties: "the difference between English and Scots is a result of   a standard situation in which a single language develops differently in two geographical areas" (1). Wolfgang Unger indicates that the origins of the Scots language "can be traced to the Northumbrian dialects of Anglo-Saxon" (11). The realm the inhabitants of this location occupied was "known to them as Alba", and were, on the whole, "Gaelic-speaking tribesmen from Ireland". Again, there seems to be a feeling of failure when attempting a definite description of Scots, for Unger speaks in terms of a "continuum" (10), the byproduct of "neither Standard English, Gaelic nor any immigrant language" (quoted in Unger 10). He thus distinguishes two branches of Scots (*Broad,* "more distant from SSE", and *Scottish*, "showing minor differences with English") as well as three separate linguistic levels, to wit: lexical, syntactic-morphological and phonetic-ortographical (10). In connection with Even-Zohar's previously mentioned

bond between cultural power and language, Robert Lawson writes in his *Sociolinguistics in Scotland* that the "issues of identity, culture, and heritage [are] important reasons for using Scots" (9).

In any case, one cannot possibly avoid the question of marginalisation when delving into the matter of Scots use degradation in British social history. How this process was started and sustained by a corrupted praxis in politics can only be understood by subjecting Scotland and England's relation to scrutiny. Lawson looks back in time to the Union of the Crowns in 1603 and the dissolution of the Scottish parliament (which would be restored in 1999) as a consequence of the creation of a single one whose headquarters were located in Westminster (6). He then continues classifying the principal situations and events that aided in the debasement of Scots, among which "the failed Jacobite Risings, the Battle of Culloden [and] the later Highland Clearances" are found. The hardships endured by the Scottish people impinged on their vernacular language as the English variety spoken in London was, in Lawson's words, "promoted as a 'proper' language…from 1700 onwards" (7). This precipitated Scots, its literature and lore into a catastrophic maelstrom it is starting to rise from nowadays. Lawson notes that Burns, Hogg and other literary figures were unable to bring pride and respectfulness back to Scotland and dissipate the consequent stereotypes, however canonical they became afterwards. In this manner, one could plausibly speak of enregisterment no matter how ill-bred and disdainful the conception generated by the matching of semiotic features in the hearer is. A conceptualisation of Scots people as crude, exaggerated rhotic-speakers wearing tartan kilts and leather sporrans tags along in response to the privatisation of English as "proper". Nonetheless, every stereotype seems to carry its own combative counter-stereotype, and while Scots and Scottish varieties were treated as comic persiflages, "Broad Scots became intimately associated with the idea of 'Ideal Scots'",

which Lawson also categorises as "synthetic" Scots ", used by members of the 'Lallands movement" (7).

In short, the history of Scots seems to be freighted with a backstory of marginalisation, categorisation and misunderstanding. As it has been exposed, the proclamation of South-Eastern English as the preferred variety brought alienation and mockery to Scots. The consequent response was the creation of an artificial (or, as named above, synthetic) dialectal class used in literary works to produce a bogus emotion of poignancy or nostalgia in the reader. It is thus how marked attributes of the Scots variety were suspended and extracted from the diachronic development underwent by any variety in use so as to employ it in literary oeuvres and be recognised as pertaining to a social situation, location, period or status (enregisterment). This detachment process can also be interpreted as a means of decoupling watertight linguistic units enclosing what has been referred to before as nuclear constituents from the active, mutable Scots variety. Examples of this treatment of the language will be explored in the following sections, taking J. M. Barrie's *A Window in Thrums* and Ian MaClaren's *Beside the Bonnie Brier Bush* as representative instances.

4. Varieties of Scots in Literature: Examples from the Kailyard School

The 19th century has been widely considered a period of relevant oeuvre-creation in the English language. From the earliest vestiges at the beginning of the Romantic era to the dying embers of a dawning pre-Edwardian age, this interval begot several examples of representative literature that portrayed manifold values of the British lifestyle. In relation to Scottish literature, Ian Duncan states that "Lowland Scotland became one of the advanced centres of European and North Atlantic literary culture" (159). Names such as Hume, Galt, as well as the previously mentioned Scott and Hogg, are part of the heterogeneous scaffolding that sustains Duncan's affirmation. Later on, however, a feeling of sharp decline after 1830

following an unfortunate series of "political, economic and social transformations" (162), along with a financial crash that made book trade "London-based", seemed to obliterate whatever sense of prosperity that could have been assumed up to that point. The last decade of the 19th century witnessed the creation of a new literary current in Scotland that looked back at an idyllic, unrecoverable picture of the past that drew parallels with the Romantic tradition: the Kailyard school. *The Encyclopædia Britannica* describes it as a "movement characterised by a sentimental idealisation of humble village life". A summary look at *The Edinburgh History of Scottish Literature* reveals a chapter dedicated to this matter by Andrew Nash, in which Kailyard is described as a "key term in literature and culture". As such, it "was first applied to Scottish literature by J. H. Millar in an article in the *New Review*" which "identified [J. M.] Barrie as the founder of a special…department in the parochial school of fiction" (317). This school was heavily criticised because of its preference for "rural settings, parochial outlook, nostalgic tone, exaggerated pathos". Nash also points out that the literature this school produced was "eagerly devoured outside Scotland", which "meant that a partial… view of Scottish life was being marketed to an international audience" (319).

4.1. Lalands Represented: "Gaen Doon the Brae"

One cannot proceed any further without resorting to the concept of enregisterment to justify this favourable marketing of an artificial recreation of bucolic Scottish villages. The dialect employed mainly in dialogues uttered by denizens of those rural areas was aimed at the production of a recognisable identity. J. M. Barrie's *A Window in Thrums* (1889) succeeds in composing an effective reconstruction of Scots as spoken by the inhabitants of the fictional village of Thrums to generate a melancholic pathos of a bygone era. With the aid of a first-person voice which narrates a variegated array of instances picturing a facsimile of provincial life, this collection of intertwined stories presents several instances in which Scots

distinctiveness is noted. Table 1 displays a selection of features which corroborates this usage

of non-standard English in the interest of virtualising Scottish agrarian communities.

Table 1 — Selection of linguistic features from Barrie's A Window in Thrums

	Adjectives	Prepositions	Verbs	Nouns	Adverbs
/u:/ instead of /aʊ/		*aboot* 'about'	*doobt* 'doubt'		*doon* 'down'
Long /i:/			*diveenity* 'divinity'		
Northern development of OE 'ā'		*frae* 'from'	*didnae* 'didn't'	*naething* 'nothing'	
/χ/			*brocht* 'brought'	'night'	
L-dropping			*haud* 'hold'		
Lowering: /ɒ/ > /a/	*wrang* 'wrong'				*alang* 'along'
Scottish Vowel-Length Rule				*wark* 'work'	*warst* 'worst'
Northern oo-fronting	*guid* 'gud'				*juist* 'just'
Scots lexis	*kyowowy, silvendy*		*hod, blatter, grat*	*keeks, pirly*	*muckle, ben, but*

Certain phonological features abounding in Kailyard works conform in Barrie's novel

a descried pattern which has also been noted across Scotland as characteristic of the kingdom

and definite areas. Words presenting near-close near-front unrounded /ɪ/ are represented with

<ee>, suggesting front unrounded /i:/ in the Scottish variety (e.g. *diveenity*, 'divinity'). On

the same level, words manifesting the diphthong /aʊ/ are in turn spelt with <oo>, suggesting

the monophthong /u:/ has prevailed in this variety (e.g. *aboot* 'about', *doobt* 'doubt', *doon*

'down'). Other features of Scots phonology/spelling noted in Barrie's work include the following:

I.   northern (instead of standard southern) development of Old English ā in words such as *frae*, *didnae* and *naething*, where the digraph <ae> is shared as the aftermath of the same process;

II.   preservation of the phoneme /χ/ before front and back vowels, graphically represented as <ch> (*brocht* 'brought', *nicht* 'night'), instead of h-gliding;

III.   l-dropping (also known as vocalisation) in words like *haud* 'hold';

IV.   lowering of /ɒ/ to /a/: e.g. *wrang* 'wrong', *alang* 'along';

V.   Aitkin's Scottish Vowel-length Rule (a phenomenon which signals difference in vowel length between SSE and RP), as seen in '*wark*' work, *warst* 'worst';

VI.   northern oo-fronting or northern development of Middle English /o:/, attested in forms such as *guid* or *juist*, where diacritic <i> is added to indicate vowel length.

A superlatively appropriate instance in which some of these peculiarities are noted appears in chapter 2, when one of the recurrent characters, Leeby, states: "Ou, ay. . .they're expectin' veesitors at the lawyer's, for I could see twa o' the bairns dressed up to the nines, an' Mistress Ogilvy doesna dress at them in that wy for naething."

Lexical items such as *brae* 'valley', *ben* 'into', *lassie* 'little girl', along with some peculiarities in grammar (e.g. use of the definite article before the different divisions of a day: *the morn*, *the noon*) are also basic Scots particularities which are available in any representation of Scottish writing to the point of being seemingly enregistered as everyday items noticed in average SSE speakers. However, Barrie delivers his own stock of idiomatic particles or lexical stock along with the above-said conjunction of standard Scots words. When referring to a specific number of days, he uses "a curran days"[1] (chapter 2);

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[1] Every definition provided heretofore is taken from the Dictionary of the Scots Language (DSL)

Concerning verbs, one may refer to *to hod* which is synonymous of 'to hide' as a variant of 'to hold' (chapter 6), *to blatter* is understood as rattling or beating with violence, and *to grat* could be understood as 'to weep'; As far as adjectives are concerned, *silvendy* means 'safe' (chapter 14), while *kyowowy* refers to something inconsequential; with regard to nouns, a *keek* is a malicious glance (chapter 16) and *pirly* refers to a 'something small' (a 'money-box' in chapter 18). Finally, the text likewise attest to some adverbs, including *muckle*, *ben* and *but*, which in standard English mean 'much', 'within' (or into an inner part of the house) and 'out', correspondingly. These examples are noted in Barrie's recreated Angus region, which, according to the Scots Language website, is "largely rural … stretching down from Kincardineshire [to] … Dundee", and presents in its dialectal variety roundness in long-u monosyllables and Doric Scotch variation in words such as "how, what, where", which are pronounced as "hoo, whit, whaur" (the former and latter observable in Barrie's novel in chapters 3 and 4).

Attention must be brought to the fact that non-Scottish interest in Kailyardism seems to be based on a notion of exoticism, a concept mentioned earlier when quoting Blake's inspection of non-standard language in literature. The identity distilled from confluent consonances as will be noticed in Maclaren's novel appears to provide battleground for a discussion on enregisterment. However intricate some of the words particular to Barrie's fictionalisation of the Angus region are, the over-all impression, supported by nuclear constituents of Scots as discerned by non-speakers of Scots (conceivable as outsiders in geographic and sociologic terms), reveals an exceptional personality built on perception: that of a rural village populated by impecunious peasants pertaining to a pastoral, unreal depiction of Scotland. The fact that Barrie's performance is successful in conjuring up these images in the reader's imagination justifies the affirmation that Scots, as found in dialogue representation, has been enregistered.

4.2. Highland Ruminations: Rural Perthshire virtualised

English-born writer John Watson, whose pen name Ian Maclaren became one of singular import in the formulation of the Kailyard school's basic tenets, is a suitable example of how nuclear constituents, if used with dexterity, can work as proficient impressionist brushstrokes in the production of an artificial recreation of a Scots-speaking village. Alike Monet's superficial colourist touches in hinting the Levant sun rising and pouring sanguine light on a night-cold river, Maclaren's reproduction of a Scottish hamlet in his *Beside the Bonnie Brier Bush* (1894) based on his experiences as pastor in Perthshire, demonstrates how adroitness in the portrayal of salient traits and distinct ones can suffice to appeal to the enregistered notion of Scottishness in non-Scottish peoples through the former and lure them into the idea of authenticity by the latter. A sign of utmost love for the kingdom he was educated in, Watson adopted Ian Maclaren as a pseudonym for the production of literary works in which dialectal-based conversations pepper the narration as a form of alluding to simpler times in a period long gone.

Reference to Maclaren in this examination of inscribed Scots varieties in literature is fundamental when delving into similarities and dissimilarities with Barrie's *A Window in Thrums*. One could affirm that those aspects hereon singled out for inspection that actually coincide with Barrie's have been enregistered as distinctive of the general assumption of Scottishness fancied by outsiders (non-Scottish people), while divergent ones (presumably Highlander stock) produce a sentiment of familiarity that could stir emotions in residents intimate to the uniqueness of Perthshire speakers. As done in Barrie's sketchy analysis, table 2 provides another selection of features with an interest to upholding previous deductions.

Table 2 — Selection of linguistic features from Maclaren's Beside the Bonnie Brier

	Adjectives	Prepositions	Verbs	Nouns	Adverbs
/u:/ instead of /aʊ/		*aboot* 'about'	*soond* 'sound'	*goon* 'gown'	*doon* 'down'
Long /i:/		*meenisters* 'ministers'	*viseetin'* 'visiting'		
Northern development of OE 'ā'		*frae* 'from'	*didnae* 'didn't'	*noebody* 'nobody'	
/χ/	*richt* 'right'			*loch* 'lake'	
L-dropping			*haud*, 'hold'		
Lowering: /ɒ/ > /a/	*wrang* 'wrong'				*alang* 'along'
Scottish Vowel-length Rule				*wark* 'work', *warld* 'world'	*warst* 'worst'
Scots lexis	*sonsie*		*to thole, to be sib*	*mannie, fikes, tawse*	

In terms of phonology, Maclaren introduces new examples for the same processes mentioned before:

I. words presenting the diphthong <ou> (*soond* 'sound', *goon* 'gown') are indicative of lack of Great Vowel Shift in Middle English /u:/, which remained so;

II. substitution of /ɪ/ for /i:/ ('meenister' minister);

III. retention of the phoneme /χ/ (*richt* 'right', *loch* 'lake');

IV. application of Aitken's Scottish Vowel-length Rule (*warld* 'world');

V. as for the northern development of OE ā, l-dropping and lowering of /ɒ/ to /a/, the same instances are provided as proof of confluent traits.

Oppositely, toponyms would prove worth mentioning as divergent phonological mannerisms in that characters in *Beside the Bonnie Brier Bush* refer to Edinburgh and Glasgow as *Edinboro* (chapter 1) and *Glesgie* (chapter 3), while those in *A Window in Thrums* alluded to the cities in terms of *Edinbory* and *Glesca* (chapter 2)).

Hitherto alluded traits in the common stock of lexical items noticeable in literature produced across Scotland are found in Maclaren's work. Typical Scots words including 'bairn', 'glen' and 'bonnie' are repeated in Maclaren 48, 59 and 26 times in chapters 1, 2 and 3, respectively, while these show up in Barrie's novel 23, 10 and 7 times (*bonnie* spelt *bonny*). It would be unbecomingly tedious to reproduce and record all those words ascribable to the Scottish repertoire which are found in both works, but the fact that everyday words as the counted above emerge so naturally in the course of the narration should be sufficient to acknowledge those constituents of the Scottish variety as highly prominent. Nonetheless, Maclaren, in the same vein as Barrie, proffers a certain amount of idiomatic stock. Thus, lexical items like *fikes*, *sonsie*, *tawse*, *mannie* (meaning 'commotion', 'lucky', 'thong' and 'little man' respectively) and verbal ones including *to thole* ('to bear') and *to be sib* ('to be akin') are noted as Maclaren's differentiating linguistic attributes.

The foremost conclusion drawn from these data (consisting of a compilation of both Barrie's and Maclaren's particularities and distinctness in their choice of register) implies a degree of enregisterment which accounts for two main policies. The first one would refer to the customary or frequent linguistic material available to any writer whose interest lies in the creation of a superficial Scottish pastiche; conversely, the second one insinuates a type of intimation only detected in those works whose dialectal mimicry in dialogue establishes itself within the vicinity of authenticity and which presents a shade of strangeness to readers already acquainted with the most salients aspects of Scots. These two policies will be considered in the next section.

4.3. From Similarities to the Construction of Methodic Scots-dialogue Writing

An enregistered variety denotes a ratification of its community's idiosyncratic ethos. Accordingly, the adoption of such variety will inevitably redirect the individual in contact with its representation to a set of sociological and cultural markers inscribed in the general mentality as features pertaining to that variety. Anyone whose command of the variety proves efficient could create a competent personification of the people it belongs to, be it literarily or cinematographically. While the author, whose interest guides him/her to the formulation, in this case, of a Scottish character, applies a given proficiency to appropriately organising nuclear constituents of Scots in storytelling or scriptwriting, the theoretical background for enregisterment as noted in fictional dialogue, whatever its ultimate goal, could be synopsised in the following dictum: methodic dialectal dialogue-writing depends upon the nimble usage of nuclear constituents (notable traits which produce an illusion of authenticity) and their implementation through singular (linguistic) items collected from a localised regional repertoire. In plainer words, the decision taken by a writer or scriptwriter to create a Scots-speaking character would be determined by a conscious decision in proceeding according to one of the two policies previously stated, and would have as a result a more or less satisfactory effect on the outcome's receiver. In this manner, the similarities found in the works examined above contribute to the construction of a method in Scots-dialogue writing in that common linguistic traits constitute a public resource which has become, however synthetically, enregistered as characteristically Scots, whilst associated to a specific identity and community. Both Barrie's and Maclaren's novels present a juxtaposition of both policies, giving way to an efficient configuration of dialectal dialogue-writing which accomplishes its goal in creating a poignant pathos (ultimate goal for the Kailyard school). Although present-day representations of Scots accommodate themselves under the egis of the first policy

(giving birth to dispassionate impersonations, i.e. Willie the Groundkeeper in *The Simpsons*), there are many others whose authors pay tribute to the identity they are conjuring up in the interlocutor's mind and who exert themselves in the furtherance of Scots dialogue-writing as a self-defining birthmark, sociologically speaking, by accompanying common Scots constituents with "restricted [linguistic] corpora" (Corbett and Stuart-Smith 76). In short, the application of one of the two policies commented above depends on how enregistered a variety is. The fact that both policies, in correlation with nuclear constituents, work to respond to a sociological and cultural imagery of Scots could be seen as definite proof of its being enregistered.

5. Conclusion: Linguistic Scottishness — an Evolutive Continuum Settled

In attempting to discern the origins of Scots orthography, Veronika Kniezsa describes it as "a blending of Middle English spelling, special northern English scribal traditions, and…native innovations", with a peripheral allusion to its formulation as a combination of "manifold subsystems resulting from regional and stylistic variation" (46). As mentioned before, such orthography and many other linguistic aspects have become recognisable as a result of a process of synthesis which littérateurs have preserved in the interest of penning works which would take the mind of readers back to a bygone period of naïve felicity. The ideal outcome for the evidence purveyed above should be the production of a proficient dissertation capable of authorising the average English speaker to identify those features of Scots as inherent to a community and its particularities, as intended by auteurs and other fiction contributors. This perception being paraphrased earlier as enregisterment, the works of J.M. Barrie and Ian Maclaren have been adopted as pillars to exemplify its manifestation in dialogues noted in 19th-century novels which showed a relevant number of dialectal singularities. A previous inquiry into the basest surmises on the subject of enregisterment and

linguistic constructs linked to a unique relation between language and society as a psychological concoction was provided together with a brief introduction to the history of Scots and its eventful relation with English from the time of the arrival of Germanic groups to the small hours preceding the dawn of the 20th century. This served the purpose of laying down the foundations for a more prolix incursion into the matter of Scottishness as a sociologic-cultural composite apropos of the production of energy, as interpreted by Even-Zohar, and the conceptualisation of Scots in terms of a linguistic repertoire.

Consequently, the data collected earlier in this work cast a series of results abridged hereon: in the first place, literary dialects seem to manage to present an idealised or exaggerated depiction of non-standard language in the interest of delivering an exotic combination of characters and remote manners of speech (this conjecture is followed by the assumption that language and society are yoked together as concerns identity). In the second place, Scots as a dialect has arguably been portrayed successfully in literary works and therefore its degree of enregisterment is proved in its recognition by non-native speaker of Scots (hence it has been *enregistered* if one considers the selection of linguistic items sketched in the tables above true and sound). In the third and final place, it could be assumed, according to the examined material, that anybody who endeavours to represent Scots or any other non-standard variety in fiction is entitled to choose between two methods or policies, and that such a choice is made on his/her own volition as a consequence of his/her intentions. This ultimate inference is supported by the coincidences and divergences in linguistic items in the works contemplated, since those traits which are coincidental contribute to the creation of a shallow embodiment of a given culture, while the divaricating ones equip the narration with a deeper insight of the aforesaid sociological attributes.

Linguistic Scottishness, however prominent in 19th-century literature as a means of limning Scots people and their disparaging characteristics in comparison with other English

speakers, could be envisioned as a continuum whose evolutive direction has been settled towards a synthetic conglomerate of multifarious philological properties. In writing on the language of Welsh's *Trainspotting* (1993), Zikmundová alludes to Aitken's "table of the Scots speech where the vocabulary ranges from the broadest Scots to what would be considered 'speaking English'" (22). Although allusions to this distinction in Scots has been made above, Zikmundova's taking *Trainspotting* as a case study on the usage of Scots and her cataloguing it as "Dense Colloquial" reveals the fate of synthetic Scots in literature from the literary dialects examined earlier in this work to the present day. Reference to McClure is made when quoting that "to what extent a text is colloquial is…defined by its closeness to actual speech" (23). It could be conjectured that Scots writing as a way of inscribing a people's idiosyncrasy in fictional compositions has redefined itself as well as developed into many disparate modes throughout history. Although Kailyardism's popularity deflated, it was a precursor of Welsh dialectal literature or Hugh MacDiarmid's poetry in that it promoted linguistic Scottishness and what it involved. Of course many other examples, unconsidered in this work for briefness's sake, remain as paramount embodiments of Scots-writing (i.e. *Johnny Gibb of Gushetneuk*), but the Scottish opera explored here are part of the dialectal continuum that seems to have become enregistered overtime so as to be recognised world-widely as belonging to a Scots-speaking voice.

Naturally, the ideas disclosed throughout this dissertation are liable to be contested and disproved by better informed researchers, for debate on sociolinguistic issues seem to always depend on perception and ideology. The aim of this study has been directed to the demonstration of a correlation between language and identity in Scots dialogue in 19th-century British literature, dependant on its linguistic itemisation and repertoire. Whether or not the thistle has been enregistered as postulated heretofore is open to discussion.

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