Language variation and the linguistic gap between Scots and Standard English in Irvine Welsh's Trainspotting

Visa Lukinmaa

Bachelor's seminar and thesis/682285A

English Philology

Faculty of Humanities

University of Oulu

Autumn 2019

ABSTRACT

This thesis will study language variation present in Scots through the lens of Irvine Welsh's novel *Trainspotting* using a cross-linguistic analysis that compares Scots with Standard English. It will look at the lexical, grammatical, and phonological elements and identify reasons behind certain types of variation. The thesis seeks to create a basis for further study into Scots, as well as for the usability of Variational Pragmatics in the study of written language.

The theory is an amalgamation of two pioneering fields of linguistics research, pragmatics and dialectology, through which the analysis seeks to attain a perspective of language as a communicative tool, as well as a measure of society.

Salience is defined as the reason for language variation, alongside speech acts which alter the language through its utilization in discourse between the characters, and within context. The thesis also highlights the importance of context and background information, together with individual forms in language variation.

TIIVISTELMÄ

Tässä kandidaatintutkielmassa tarkastellaan kielenvaihtelua skotin kielessä Irvine Welshin romaanissa *Trainspotting* käyttäen monitieteellistä analyysia. Kieltä verrataan englannin yleiskieleen, jonka sanastoa, kielioppia sekä fonologisia piirteitä tarkastellaan kielellisen variaation syiden havainnoimiseksi. Tutkielma pyrkii luomaan perustan syvemmällä skotin kielen tarkastelulle sekä testaamaan variaatiopragmatiikan soveltuvuutta kirjoitetun tekstin tarkasteluun.

Variaatiopragmatiikka on kahden kielitieteen uraauurtavan teorian yhdistelmä: pragmatiikan ja murteentutkimuksen, jonka kautta analyysi pyrkii muodostamaan kuvauksen kielestä kommunikaatiovälineenä, sekä yhteiskunnan kuvaajana.

Huomattavuusmallia sovelletaan yhdessä puheaktiteorian kanssa, joita käytetään selityksenä puhetavalle keskustelussa. Tutkielma myös nostaa esille kontekstin ja yksilöllisten käytänteiden merkityksen kielenvaihtelussa.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

1. Introduction

Language variation is common between regions and even within regions due to the social differences. Therefore, it should not come as a surprise that there may be certain fundamental gaps between these forms, created by social deviation, as well as historical evolution. This presence of variation can influence many parts of our understanding and interpretation, and thus its understanding plays an important role in linguistics.

This thesis will study Irvine Welsh's Scots in his 1993 novel, *Trainspotting* (1996, reprint) and establishes the variation that occurs within it, as well as the change that it possesses in relation to the norms of English as presented by Standard English. This thesis is proposed to answer a simple question: *why does it occur?*

A myriad of studies have been conducted to study the variation between standard and non-standard English, even within the framework of Scottish languages, such as Smith, Durham and Fortune (2007), Corbett, McClure and Stuart-Smith (2003), and Corbett and Stuart-Smith (2012). Similarly, studies have been conducted about the grammatical features of Scots, such as Miller (2004), Pust (1998), and Scobbie, Gordeeva and Matthews (2006). These have been used to create an accurate image of Scots grammar, as well as its use in writing. Furthermore, an open-source dictionary is used to separate between Welsh's forms and the common Scots forms. This dictionary is the *Dictionary of the Scots Language*, henceforth known and referenced as DSL.

Through the unification of pragmatics and dialectology, dubbed *Variational Pragmatics*, the forms and variation in Welsh's language are opened, and his language use and background analysed. The thesis begins with an in-depth look at Welsh' novel, and the world that it exhibits, as well as the characteristics of language change that Welsh's novel utilizes in its expression of the Scottish society.

2. Trainspotting: structure, history, and the lack of a plot

Trainspotting (Welsh 1996) is a novel built from a group of fragmented short stories structured beneath the singular title *Trainspotting*. There is no general overarching plot that these stories follow as they were made as such, as short snippets of the characters' lives through which the depiction of themes is accomplished. The narration between these stories is rotational, often intermixed one, where the characters and their subtle stylistics change rapidly, including their utilization of certain structures above others.

The focus of the novel is in the historical period of 1980s Scotland, and represents the difficulties of the time. The rampant problems caused by social issues and political decision. It is imperative for the understanding of the characters' backgrounds, as well for the social features behind it to understand this history, and therefore it will be briefly introduced alongside their thematic representations.

One of the constantly highlighted positions of the novel is the characters' poverty, and the lengths to which they are willing to go to remain in the dimension of unemployment and drug use. One of the short stories, *Speedy Recruitment* (Welsh 1996: 62) portrays this position in a linguistically diverse manner, depicting one of the main reasons for language variation within the novel.

The story follows two of the main cast, "Spud" Murphy, and Mark Renton into an interview. The interview itself can be viewed as a director of the social issue of the time, mass unemployment, and most importantly the shift in Renton's use of language portrays the differing views by which Scots is viewed in comparison to Standard English within Welsh's work. While Spud goes into the interview, to which they were both forced to go into by a government employment agency, and speaks in Scots the interview is much more rugged and often times confrontational. This is highlighted by the earlier interview by Renton, who utilizes Standard English in the dialogue, however Scots in the inner monologue which yet again is rugged and somewhat rude to the character being spoken to.

This short story does not only highlight the social attitude of the characters and the reality in which they utilize Scots, but also the issues in the real 1980s Scotland in which they lived in. During this time Margaret Thatcher's rule over Britain had tightened and her de-industrialization, and the following collapse, of the Scottish heavy industry upon which many of the people relied their lives upon led to

mass unemployment (Wormald 2005: 234-235). This in turn leads to the introduction of the main theme of the novel: drug abuse.

Most prominently present throughout it, drug abuse is described as a great suffering to the characters as they deteriorate throughout the novel, but as a relief from the world around them. This is collaborated by Parkinson, Minton, Lewsey, Bouttell and McCartney (2018) where they describe the generation and the huge effects that politics had to the welfare of the people in Scotland. They highlight the especial vulnerability among unemployed males of Scotland whose abuse of drugs was promoted by the depression and disassociation from society, as well as the sudden availability of hard drugs that flowed into the region.

It is this position in which Welsh's characters find themselves in, and it is their founding stance from which they view the world around them. This also functions as the main basis for their utilization of language and language variation; slang (Mattiello 2005), as well as a vernacular which is commonly found among low socioeconomic class.

2.1. Scots: the language of Scotland

Welsh changes the language he writes in a lot over the course of the novel. It shifts from a very heavy Scots vernacular and Standard Scottish English to Standard English and vice versa. However, what do these languages mean? This subsection is meant to open us the language continuum present in Welsh's novel, as well as the divide between them.

First of all, the term Scots should be defined. As the title of this subsection implies, Scots is not a singular language. It is a broad definition of all the languages spoken in Scotland, and their near infinite regional variety. As such, Scots in the scope of this thesis is more precisely narrowed to refer to Broad Scots, or Lowland Scots (McClure 1995: 5) which is most recognizable by its long vowels. Thus, Standard Scottish English (SSE; or ScStE, Scottish Standard English in some references) will be its opposite and closest form to Standard English in Scotland. (Scobbie et al. 2006; McClure 1995; Priimets 2017: 11-12.)

Standard Scottish English is the form most commonly accepted as the de facto language within Scotland's social institutions and education. Its origins is directly linked to the formation of the United

Kingdom and the unification of the kingdoms of Scotland and England under the Act of Union 1707, and the century prior as the change was already on-going by the time of the unification. Finalization of the treaty merely displaced Scots as the language of the Crown, however it was not replaced for the people who continue to use in their daily lives even after the transformation of power south to London (Wormald 2005: 156). After this change, English became the language of the elite and thus it remained until Scots resurgence in the past century. (McClure 1995: 5-6; Corbett et al. 2003: 12; Dossena 2002: 104-107.)

As the people's language, Scots is very similar to the form of English, at least orally, however different by its norms and relations. As such, a question that is prominent around Scots is its status as a language. Much has been written about its status, which also yielded much information about its origins and history, but nothing has truly been finalized. All studies have ended in a position that, yes, there is variation and it is significant, but it is not significant enough to constitute an independent language, though arguments can be heard of the opposite (McClure 1995: 5; Chambers & Trudgill 1998: 12, 35).

Scots bears its origins from the Anglo-Saxon ancestry that all variations of English do. However, over the course of the first half of the 2nd millennium, the two languages diverged drastically. During the 9th century (Corbett et al 2003) Danish and Scandinavian settlers arrived and conquered much of north and central England (Kearney 2012: 60), and Northumbria experienced a sudden shift in its languages. This led to the absorption much of the vocabulary of their new hosts (Corbett et al. 2003; Corbett & Stuart-Smith 2012). The Norman conquest of 1066 pushed the Scandinavian ancestral population north while introducing mainland Europe influences into the structures still present today. The north, influenced by this additional population, and a relative independent rule allowed for the creation of a separate form that amalgamated into Scots. However, similarities still persisted, though it is not known to what extent this change was diluted by the diplomatic and social interaction between north and south, as well as the lack of written record prior to the start of this interaction. (Corbett et al. 2003: 6; Corbett & Stuart-Smith 2012; Kearney 2012; McClure 1995: 6.)

Therefore, while the two existed in separate continuums for a time, the two have co-existed in Scotland, and beyond, for an equal length of time after the unification. As such, there is a fundamental issue in the perception of Scots as a language instead of another form of English, as has been established. A divergence in the two, though, is the existence of the vernacular form of Broad Scots,

which through its utilization of different orthography can appear drastically different from any other form of English.

2.2. Language variation as stigmatization

As mentioned earlier, the novel changes the forms of language quite frequently throughout the novel. The style of speech and narration, from Scots to Standard English, as during Renton's interview, can change depending on the character in question, or based on their situation. It is not always predictable how the language changes, and sometimes the forms mix.

In linguistics literature, this overall concept can be defined as *code-switching* (Wardhaugh 2005: 101), or as style shifting (19, 117) depending upon one's interpretation and scope of the term *code*. They are both the act of changing between two different forms of language, or dialect, within social interaction. This shifting in styles is deeply connected to Welsh's stigmatization of his characters, and can lead to inclusion of additional complexity into the language (Hermann, Jensen & Thiesson 2017: 37; Dossena 2002: 115-117) which increases variation between forms.

3. Theoretical framework

3.1. Terminology

Language comes in great variety of forms and styles through which it is expressed. Depending on the level of expression, the meaning and reference that the language connects to will differ. These differing definitions of language can be tricky to fully understand, especially when there are problematic questions that revolve around their concepts. Such definitions of the different forms of language are: *standard* and *non-standard*, as well as *vernacular* and *dialect*. The following section will unravel these definitions to pertain an accurate description of the different styles Welsh uses in his novel.

To begin with Standard and non-standard language, Peter Trudgill (2000: 5-6) describes Standard English as "[a] variety of English which is usually used in print, and which is normally taught in schools and to non-native speakers learning the language." Therefore, the one differing aspect between standard and non-standard appears to be on the level of usage that a language possesses. Standard English is considered standard because of its utilization in teaching and appearance outside the society of origin. Trudgill (2000: 7) defies this earlier definition swiftly, by highlighting Standard English as a nationwide phenomenon that cannot be inseparable from the non-standard forms. He instead identifies Standard English as a language "[with] a widely accepted and codified grammar."

Oppositely, Pahta, Melchers and Taavitsainen (1999: 14-15) note that there are commonalities in the appearance of non-standard language and its formation within the society that uses it. As non-standard language is mostly created through idiosyncrasies of an entire society, instead of a grammatical rules, they possess stereotypical features of said society (such as *aye*, which is immediately recognizable as Scottish in origin). This also means that non-standard language is in constant flux, changing with the people that possess it and therefore change appears in higher frequency than in standard forms.

As such, the two can be separated from each other by two basic principles: grammar and style. While standard language is an accepted form with an established grammar, non-standard language utilizes stereotypical forms, as well as form which is inherent to a specific region. However, as is the case with Scots and Standard English, there is not always an appropriate distinction to be made through this broad definition. As Trudgill (2000) mentioned, Standard English is only different from non-standard form through its overall acceptance as standard as both Scots and Standard Scottish English possess

their own codified grammar, though looser in compliance as it may be. Therefore, another distinction has to be made, a deeper distinction which separates the forms.

An overall separation can be gained through the definition of *dialect*. Any language, independent of its disposition as a language's standard, is a dialect at its core, though in certain languages the definition of the term removes the standardized variant from its meaning, e.g. French *dialecte* and the German *dialekt* (Wardhaugh 2005: 28). At the core, definitions for both language and dialect are a means of communication within a society, however language functions at a bigger regional level than a dialect. (Wardhaugh 2005: 27, 51.) As such, dialect is similar to the definition of a language, but possess a more accurate description of locality. This leads to yet another issue, as dialects must possess the same fundamentals of grammar, lest they become independent form, something that Scots is argued to be, as well as not to be (Priimets 2017: 17). However, as Chambers and Trudgill (1998: 3) argue, the relationship between a language and a dialect is mutual intelligibility, which the two forms, though with some difficulty, are.

Welsh's language, however, is deeper still. While it follows certain principles of Scots grammar, he also utilizes a different styles in many sections. This is mainly due to the literary language (Honeybone & Watson 2013: 313), which Welsh uses to highlight the societal background of the novel's characters, as well as their identity (sometimes referred to as *literary language*). This final level, through which Welsh's language can be best described, is *vernacular*.

Labov (1972: 208; 2006: 86), collaborated by Smith, Durham and Fortune (2007: 63-64), vernacular language exists as the most fundamental structure of language formed during childhood. It contains the perceptions made by a child, and the minute characteristics that they detect in a language. It is the form to which each child is grown into, and thus the society that they live within. Therefore, vernacular form of a language is most defining form of the characteristics behind a character. Such is portrayed through Welsh's novel, as utilizes language that is characteristically Scottish, and forms that are common to Scots. This description of vernacular language as the means through which Welsh's delivers information is fundamental for the study of the variation present in the novel. This, included with the description of societal usage, leads to a narrowed linguistic approach through which the subject can be studied.

3.2.Pragmatics

Griffiths (2006: 1) defines pragmatics as a study of meaning. Its sole purpose is to explore language use within situations, identify certain features within language use that isolate languages, or language groups, and then extrapolate what their position in that language is. Therefore, pragmatics is focused upon minute aspects of a language within action. It incorporates in itself *speech acts*, *implicatures* of speech, *social behaviors* and *relationships*, as well as other deictic information, or *contextual information* given during an act of speech. This includes physical actions, such as pointing, or referencing to objects or people only conceivable to those able to observe their presence. (Horn & Ward 2004: 109; Griffiths 2006.)

Huang (2007: 1-4), is quick to point out the relative modernity of this pragmatic point of view, where pragmatics explores components of language use, and not the language use alone. They add that there is a sociolinguistic background to the origins of pragmatics that implies that everything in language behavior and expression is connected to the cultural and social background of the speaker.

3.2.1.   Speech acts

Speech acts are at the core of pragmatics as they represent, not only the fundamental action of speaking to another person, but because it allows pragmatics to include within it a study of the social relationships, utterance meaning and intent (Horn & Ward 2004: 53-54). At their core, speech acts attempt to achieve something, to commit an action. In Welsh's novel, a common speech act is the usage of *ken*, or *likesay*, which calls back upon the listener to gain their attention. Because of their inherent intent, and interaction with another person upon which they attempt to interlay their own intent, speech acts are also very connected to the second pragmatics feature: implicatures. (Horn & Ward 2004: 54-72.)

3.2.2.   Implicatures

As the name suggests, implicatures are a part of speech that implicate something. However, much more deeply, they are the underlying meaning delivered through the act of communication. This is reliant upon the mutual intelligibility of the participants, and their rational and comprehensive cooperation, and ability to function together, meaning that implicatures are not always effective in their delivery. (Horn & Ward 2004: 2-24.)

11

Most heavily implicatures have been by Grice (1989), whose theory of conversational implicature is defined by this ability to cooperate, as well as the maxims of information delivery (e.g. quality, quantity, relation and manner), which attempt to transmit information in the most efficient way possible (Horn & Ward 2004: 6-7). As implicatures are defined by the commonality between forms, there is an inherent gap produced by variation in the meaning of certain words, or lexical items, defined by our context.

3.2.3. Context and society

Context within pragmatics is society, and therefore society provides context for the interactions that two participants of a conversation experience. The information present within context pre-exists in the knowledge of both participants, allowing them to decipher the meaning from the other's words and utterances. This can also include interpretations of signals, physical changes of expression, as well as conversational elements that define pacing, or shifts in discourse that are ubiquitous for a certain society, or *stereotypical*, such as the aforementioned *ken* and *likesay*. (Huang 2007: 4; Horn & Ward 2004.)

3.3. Dialectology

Originating from the study of social languages: sociolinguistics, dialectology has an immediate recognisability in its name structure, unifying the words *dialect* and the suffix –*logy*. Therefore, dialectology can simply be identified as a study of dialects. It focuses upon the exploration of language variation within a language continuum, therefore extrapolating the qualities that define a language. The two main approaches to dialectology are *traditional* and *urban* dialectology (Chambers & Trudgill 1998: 32-53), both of which possess different approaches to the study of variation. Traditional dialectologist may look at variation through a structuralist method, in which regional variation is studied in contrast to another, or a generative means in which the structure is compared based upon mutual intelligibility. An urban dialectologist, however, would look at a singular region, and focus upon the variation within it. (Chambers & Trudgill 1998.)

3.4. Method

The main theories used in the analysis of this novel, then, are dialectology and pragmatics in their respective environments of study, however combined to cover the overlap that occurs through language

variation. Pragmatics allows for the analysis of language use, as well as the connection between form and function. Meanwhile, dialectology opens for study the subtle differences in linguistic forms that are present between differing dialects of English. Alone, these two fields lack the necessary depth through which analysis can be completed, however a combine of the two was created by Schneider and Barron (2008) called *Variational Pragmatics*, in which dialectology and pragmatics are used to full effect in the comparative study of the internal variation of a language in use.

This variational approach has been used to great effect by Hickey (2015) in a study into language variation and the salient qualities of Irish English. Furthermore, variational pragmatics has been a staple in the study of regional qualities intertwined with the macro-social features presented by pragmatics, allowing for the construction of an overall view of a language use based upon the sex, social status and age of the speaker as portrayed by Dossena (2002) in her study into the language use variation in private correspondences written in Scots, as well as Honeybone and Watson (2013) in their exploration of literature in Liverpool and the important features of a language. Additionally, variation can be seen in Welsh's novel in the Scots utilization of wh-questions (1), in which referring to an argumentation of reason, where the speaker is the active participant to the action, changes the output:

(1) "—How should ah go n see her? It's goat nowt tae dae wi me, ah sais defensively.

—Yir her friend, ur ye no?" (Welsh 1996: 11.)

Furthermore, based upon the lives and situation experienced in a moment in history, the novel is heavily influenced by factors that highlight their position. This is referred to as "Scotticism" by Corbett and Stuart-Smith (2012) in their study about the Scottish identity and change in the utilization of the Scots forms in Scotland and Scottish Standard English over time. Labov (1972) described this as *salience*, or the importance of characteristics to a language. He divided the subject into three different levels: *indicators, markers* and stereotypes, indicators being the social features expressed by the word, but which lack a style shift that differentiates it from other forms. Markers are more stylistic variants that portray some social features, the middle-ground between the extremes, which in Welsh's novel is portrayed through orthography and interactional features, i.e. discourse elements. The last level, stereotypes, are the socially stylized words that are most prominent for a society, and thus most affiliated with the language. As aforementioned, one such word would be the commonly Scottish attributed word: *aye*, which carries with it a Scottish identity, as well as the meaning of an affirmation.

Silverstein (2003) offers a similar translation of these levels to express them though pragmatism, as relatability of expression to a certain society. (Labov 1972: 314; Silverstein 2003.)

This thesis utilizes the overall qualities defined through salience, or the prominence of lexical units within a certain society, which rise according to their social qualities and distinctness (Honeybone & Watson 2013: 309-310, 334), to express a certain detachment between different forms of a language. In addition, linguistic variation based upon the change in language use, as well as orthography and lexical duality, and the complexity they add, will be studied to provide an insight to the gap that exists between Scots and Standard English.

4. Analysis

Analysing dialects can be a complicated matter due to their non-specified mannerisms. Vernacular most so, as it possesses no inherent structural grammar, spelling, or vocabulary of its own, but instead is an amalgamation of the different structures present within the society. Therefore, the vernacular is of its own to produce variation of the norms. This analysis will look at Welsh's Scots lexicon, grammar and spelling to identify features that possess an inherent difference to Standard English.

4.1. Lexicon

Lexicon is a linguistic term referring to the vocabulary of something. In the case of a novel, lexicon refers to the words that its fictional characters utilize to form sentences and express themselves to the full extent of those words. In short, this analysis will look at the vocabulary of *Trainspotting*, and identify aspects that vary greatly from Standard English., and create an image whence this change comes from. As the lexicon can also include grammatical elements, e.g. negation, this section is continued further in section 5.2. *Grammar*, in which certain words and their linguistic features are analysed.

As Scots and Standard English are part of the same language continuum, and have a long history of interaction with one another (Wormald 2005), it is only rational that they share a myriad of words. Some may appear different due to their appearance, called cognate (Hermann et al 2017: 38) which share a base form, but adapt to a different form of pronunciation and spelling within a dialect. However, sometimes, as in Welsh's novel, the pronunciation may be adapted to a literary form which is not based on any dialect, but the expression of the author, or an already established, yet unrecognized, form in the vernacular (Honeybone & Watson 2013: 313).

However, more than just cognates, Welsh expressed his characters through slang (Hermann et al 2017: 37), which unlike vernacular does not portray the environment, society, class, or situation, but is instead a broader hybrid used by groups of people whom pertain common aspects of life, and wish to maintain a modicum of secrecy in their discourse (Mattiello 2005: 12-15).

Most of the forms used by Welsh are recognized in the DSL, or at least recorded. However, simply their appearance pronounces the great variation, regional variety of Scots and the commonality of the

vernacular. An example of such great variation, is the appearance of /yis/, or *you* in Standard English, which is a variation of the Scots pronoun *ye* ("ye" 2005).

In addition, Welsh utilizes inherited forms from past influences. These inherited forms are often entangled to the Northern Germanic language family, and often mimics them in appearance in Scots. An instance of such inherited loan words is the use of *bairn* instead of *child* or *baby*. It bears a significant resemblance with the common Northern Germanic languages (Danish, Swedish, Norwegian and Icelandic) from which it originates from (barn). This word has been in use in Scots for centuries, and can pertain multiple meanings as either the noun for child, or as a verb for rendering someone pregnant ("bairn" 2005), both of which are used over the course of the novel. More similar historically inherited words are *eftir* and *brar*, for *after* and *brother*, respectively.

Among these inherited forms, there are lexical items that possess orthological conundrums through the phonological representation of the items around them, and the familiarity of the form to Standard English. One such lexical item is /greetin/. Taken out of context, the forms orthography can be misleading. It could mean *to greet*, as there is a common change in Scots where the final glottal /g/ is removed from a progressive verb, which upon the introduction of context will become inevitably clear that it is not the case:

(2) "Now ah feel really sair, aw ower, n ah'm sortay greetin like tears ay anger n fear but maistly frustration." (Welsh 1996: 128-129.)

From the context, it can be realized that the correlation with *to greet* is illogical, and when deciphered in the context of the whole clause, it can be attached to a more logical translation: *cry/crying* (Swedish: gråta; Danish: græde). This definition can be further supported by its appearance as an adjective, and as a later usage as a verb in a relatable scenario:

(3) "Venters could have babbled for forgiveness like a greetin-faced bairn"; and "Ah jump, n the wee boy screams, n starts greetin hysterically [...]" (Welsh 1996: 246, 285.)

As for Welsh's use of slang during the novel, it is most prominent in the aspects of crime, as well as social deviance. For instance, it utilizes a couple of different terms for heroin, the substance the characters are addicted to: *smack* and *skag*.

16

(4)

      a. "All they had to do was to convert the smack into hard cash […]" (Welsh 1996: 329.)

      b. "Ah bought a nice wee bit ay skag oafay […]" (202.)

These two terms appear relatively intertwined with each other throughout the novel, however certain qualities can be discovered from their usage. *Skag*, appears more in Scots excerpts, while *smack* crosses between the extremes and is used in Scots, Standard English as well as Scottish Standard English. However, of the two forms, only *smack* is utilized in Standard English, and more commonly in SSE. As Mattiello (2005: 13) notes, slang can often times appear cryptic. Since its occurrence is defined by the intimacy and commonality of a group, there is an inherent distance between these forms. This is highlighted by the different meanings these words can take, similarly to /greetin/:

(5)

      a. "A rage gripped us n ah smacked the wee cunt in the mooth n pulled um […]" (Welsh 1996: 235.)

      b. "They were obviously smacked out of their eyeballs." (328.)

As some may have already realized, there is another definition in Standard English for *smack*: *to strike*. They utilize the same base form, which produces a lexical divergence of the form.

In conclusion, there is a lexical difference between the vernacular forms used by Welsh, and their Standard English counterparts produced by their phonological appearance, which will be covered later on, variation in form based upon the regional differentials as presented by the DSL, inherited forms which are detached from the Standard English ancestry, and slang.

4.2. Grammar

Scots and Standard Scottish English are near indistinguishable by grammar, and are thus very similar to Standard English in their apparent structure. They follow a similar word order, though Scots shows a preference towards progressive verb forms (Corbett & Stuart-Smith 2012: 90), and syntax when it

comes to fulfilling common positions. They differ by certain functions which allow certain features, e.g. negation, to function independently (Miller 2004: 50) from a host.

Welsh does not deviate much from these patterns in his novel, and does portray them accurately when it comes to individual grammatical positions. However, there appears a variation and intermixing of grammar when these forms intertwine within the same environment. The grammar and established paradigm changes to conform to one or the other, and thus loses its cohesion.

4.2.1. Verb conjugation

When it comes to verbs, Scots has a preference towards the progressive, as well as weak (regular) verbal forms (Corbett & Stuart-Smith 2012: 87; Miller 2004: 47), except when it comes to certain, often used discourse items, e.g. *ken* or *like* (Miller 2004: 53). The verbal weakening, an act in which an irregular form is transformed to a regular one, is common in Scots (Miller 2004: 47-48; Corbett & Stuart-Smith 2012: 87) and occurs in a complex paradigm within Welsh's novel. The past tense for the word *tell*, for instance, can be found in two forms: *told* and *telt*. By meaning and base morphology, they are exactly the same, but the latter is used exclusively in Scots. This form comes from the final *–ed* of the Standard English regular past after it has been devoiced in *–t* before an l or n (Miller 2004: 48). A similar weak form can be found from the verb *know*, which appeas in Welsh's novel as *kent*. However, consider the two following excerpts from Welsh's (1996) work:

(6)

    a. "Whin ah telt this tae Rents […]" (62.)

    b. "Whaes's tae say it wisnae that thit killed um?" (104.)

As Miller (2004: 48) defined, the change from the regular *–ed* to *–t* occurs before l, which occurs in the example 5a verb *telt*, but does not occur within the example 5b verb *killed*, even though they share a similar environment. Based on the presented paradigm, and Scots transformation rules, the verb *killed* should appear in its regular, devoiced past form: *kil(l)t* ("kill" 2005; Miller 2004: 47), though Labov (1972: 224) notes that this may not always be the case, depending on the general state of the paradigm's transformation in the region. As such, the variation could be explained by the regional rules of the vernacular. However, such variation may also be explained by pragmatics and the change which

occurs in usage of the word, and a break in the paradigm which seeks to draw attention to the change, as it does with the verb *to know* (ken):

(7) "[…] they **ken** thit somethin really bad's happened. Ah **kent**. Christ, ah fuckin **knew** awright." (Welsh 1996: 51; bolds are my inclusions to highlight the verbs) – They **know** that something really bad has happened. I **knew**. Christ, I fucking **knew** alright.

In the example above, the verb *know* is used three times in quick succession. Firth, it appears in the present tense as two of the characters react to something happening at the very moment, before turning into inner monologue expressed in the past tense as the narrator recalls a momentary thought, and through a weak form of the verb *know* ("ken" 2005), and lastly as an expression which recalls the moment from the past. There is a subtle difference in the meaning of each of these forms, and thus their usage, and the break in the paradigm could be explained through a speech act, in which each variable form is used in a specific environment: the basic form as a Scots variant as it is a current, moment and location specific form, and its past tense equivalent. The SE variant is an expression of a more open, widespread expression of the moment and thus distant to the location, causing a shift in its form.

4.2.2. Negation

In Standard English, negation exists in two main forms: as an independent lexical unit: *no(t)*, or as a morphological suffix for the auxiliary verb *–n't*. Furthermore, negation can appear as a prefix in certain lexicalized items, such as *nobody, none, etc*. Scots utilizes a similar construct for its main negation, however expresses it through different orthography: *no*, without the final /t/, and *(-)nae* (Hermann et al 2017: 38), which according to Pust (1998: 21), can appear as both a suffix and an independent clitic that can appear independently in-text, but not without a host to which it is attached to. However, as can be seen from (8a), Scots negation can exist without a verb to which it is an auxiliary to.

(8)

      a.   "The next morning there still **no** sign of Granty […]" (Welsh 1996: 97.)

      b.   "At the Fit ay the Walk thir wir **nae** taxis. They only congregated here when ye did**nae** need them." (4; bolds are my highlight of the negations in the sentence.)

4.2.3. Elements of discourse

Scots has many features that function to modify the pragmatic elements within the language. It allows for the pacing and characteristics to differ between the different characters. As such, these forms are not uncommon, but they do possess certain vernacular variation caused by regional shifts in Welsh's text.

(9) "Ah thoat it wis oan satellite, likesay." (42.)

Likesay is a variant of the form *like*, which also occurs often throughout the novel. Similarly to *wee* and *ken*, used as conversation tools (Miller 2004: 63), it possess an inherent Scottish quality to it, and thus this variation can be explained through *salience*. The change is also highly regional as it occurs in the vernacular, as is show by the DSL.

In addition, Scots still possess a directional element to its conversations with another person, which is highlighted by the written nature of the text. This is evident from the narration in example (10).

(10) "Ah go ben the livin-room." (Welsh 1996, 58; "ben" 2005.)

These speech directional adverbs are quite unordinary, and occur only in few positions throughout the novel. However, they are ubiquitous to Scots, as they refer the speaker towards the direction of their conversation partner. This makes them highly salient to Scots, and their lack appearance in SE generates a gap between the forms.

4.3. Phonology and the orthography of Scots

Phonology, as described by Odden (2005: 2) is an "abstract cognitive system dealing with rules in a mental grammar: principles of subconscious 'thought' as they relate to language sound". Taken this description and applying it into Scots will reveal a nature in which sounds, and certain forms of those sounds, have become naturalized into the written form. In this sense, the orthography of Scots can be directly derived from the pronounced forms, which in the case of Welsh's novel, is true. Furthermore, due to the naturalization of these forms, salience can be used to explain the variation which occurs within, and between Scots and Standard English.

4.3.1. Orthography

Scots orthography is very different from Standard English. It utilizes phonology in its expression of the language, such as the diphthong /ae/ in <dae>, SE *do*, but some are also more vernacular in nature. Some of these vernacular forms are Welsh's own depictions, not formally recognized by the DSL as Scots, and thus much more likely to be of a certain regional variant (such as the Edinburgh dialect the characters speak) that have been used by other writers. These are what Honeybone and Watson (2013: 313) describe as *literary dialects*, and are quite common within socially expressive writing.

These unstapled words can be pronouns, such as *ah* and *yis*, which are *I* and *you*, respectively. However, while the former is in agreement with the DSL, the latter is not ("ye" 2005). Other orthographically different forms can be the previously mentioned *ken*, or adjectives such as *wee*, which are lexically ubiquitous to Scots, as well as slang words, such as *fitba*, a vernacular form for *football* not officially recognized by the DSL, but noted as being present in other literary works. Lastly, there are words which are in agreement with Scots grammar, but not noted as being official in the DSL, such as *naemair*, which is an amalgamation of a negation and the adverb *more*.

4.3.2. <caw> *call*, <aw> *all*

Phonological variation in Scots can be found in change called /l/-vocalization, which Hermann et al. (2017: 38) define as the disappearance of /l/ in place of a vowel, or a semi-vowel. The change commonly occurs in the final position of the stem, though can also occur in compounds in the middle position, though these are most likely due to the /l/-vocalization occurring before compounding in the derivation. In Welsh's text, and Scots in general, this change is represented by a /w/, as in <caw> for *call*, <awright> for *allright*, or <waws> for *walls*.

(11) "An ah caw Kevin Danny n aw." (Welsh 1996: 124.)

This change can be inconsistent throughout the novel, however, as presented best by the different forms for *ball*: <baw> and <ball>, the latter of which is certainly more used in SE environments, but can also be found from Scots and Standard Scottish English environments:

(12) "[…] he believes in what Begbie caws the discipline ay the baseball bat." (315.)

21

While both <basebaw> and <baseball> can be found from the text, the former can only be found from Scots, or from imitations where Scots is the main narrative style of the character in question. Thus, the variation can be explained through the phonological gap between Scots and Standard Scottish English, form which most commonly imitates SE in style.

4.3.3.   <mooth> for *mouth* and *do* to <dae>

Further phonological variation occurs from Scots utilization of monophthongs. Being a change from a double vowel, such as in the case for the /ou/ in <mouth>, a monophthong is a singular representation of that soud, presented in Welsh's novel as /oo/, or a long vowel /o:/ when pronounced. Sometimes, however, the opposite occurs, as was seen in certain phonemes being transformed into diphthongs, as in the case of /o/ transforming into /ae/ in <tae>, or <do>. (Hermann et al 2017: 38; Scobbie et al 2006: 5-6.)

While these are not all the phonetic changes that occur in the phonological orthography of Scots, it shows a picture of the kinds of variation that occurs between the forms, as well as the distance that Scots creates between SSE and SE through its orthography, and not through grammar. A simple explanation for these changes is the Scottish thrive for independence, as well as the uniqueness of their tongue. Therefore, it is no wonder that these changes occur specifically in the positions where their forms are most prominent in-text.

Such variation can be explained through salience, but it is the form that this salience takes that is of note. As is the case with forms such as *doon* and *waw*, which are formed through monophthongs and /l/-vocalization mentioned earlier, they possess an inherent Scottish quality to them, but not the most radical kind that Labov (1972) described as a *stereotype*. They are more subtle *markers* of Scottish identity. Similarly, Scots words, which are not recognizably Scottish in origin include words like *love*:

(13) "There goes ma first lurve." (Welsh 1996: 197.)

As well as the slang word for heroin: *skag*, which is regionally used more commonly in Scotland, however is not ubiquitously used in the region as it appears alongside the SSE variant *smack*. The difference between these forms are situational and social understanding of the features beyond language, as well as the fundamentals of vernacular formation as the difference between a marker and an indicator is formed through the vernacular language growth process described by Labov (1972;

2006). Furthermore, as Honeybone and Watson (2013: 309-310, 334) expressed: the pertinence of salient structures to a language by individuality, or in this scenario phonological distinction, allows for an increase in salience. Therefore, variation is produced by the uniqueness of the words, as well as their representation in Welsh's novel.

5. Conclusion

This thesis has found a multitude of variables that cause variation within Scots form that can be explained through their importance to the language in question, as well as through their usage as speech acts. While there are a myriad of structures present in Welsh's novel, the overall language represent the whole of Scots language continuum by keeping in mind the social qualities, character backgrounds, as well as the common stylistics to fully represent the broad variation within the language.

Through pragmatics, it was found that certain positions, as well as their inherent meaning and purpose in-text, can modify verbs within Scots. The background of a language was found to feed the lexicon through inherited loan words that have been lexicalized into the language. In addition, an orthographic representation of certain lexical items were found to create lexical duality within the language where a phonological rule was not proven to have happened, but was instead a fully independent lexical item. The social qualities of the language were also found to influence variation through salience, which can be used to explain the overall variation of forms independent of their position, as well as their utilization within the novel.

Orthography is most notable difference that can be spotted from Scots immediately. Its changes and the variation present is heavily based upon Scots phonology, which modified many of the words to better represent the Scottish identity. This was the main point that proved the function salience possesses within a language, as through the definitions proposed by Lavov (1972) it can be deduced that markers possess a quality to them that is inherently individual to a language, but also stylized to best appropriate the spoken form of the language.

In conclusion, a multitude of variation was discovered from Scots that differs it greatly from Standard English. Furthermore, the cause for variation was adequately proven through salience, and social influence, therefore proving that there is an inherent gap between Standard English and Scots. This research allows for a better inspection of the vernacular language and variation that occurs within Scots. In addition, Variational Pragmatics was found to function as an excellent tool to inspect written language, if proposed in co-operation with linguistic variation.

References

"bairn", n. (2005). In *Dictionary of the Scots Language*. Scottish Language Dictionaries. Retrieved from https://dsl.ac.uk/entry/snd/bairn. [Retrieved 12 July 2019].

"ben", adverb. (2005). In *Dictionary of the Scots Language.* Scottish Language Dictionaries. Retrieved from https://dsl.ac.uk/entry/snd/ben_adv_prep_adj_n1. [Retrieved 25 July 2019].

"ken", supplementary 2005 v., n. (2005). In *Dictionary of the Scots Language.* Scottish Language Dictionaries. Retrieved from https://dsl.ac.uk/entry/snd/sndns2248. [Retrieved 20 July 2019].

"kill", supplementary 2005 v., n. (2005). In *Dictionary of the Scots Language.* Scottish Language Dictionaries. Retrieved from https://dsl.ac.uk/entry/snd/sndns2260. [Retrieved 20 July 2019].

"ye", pron., n. (2005). In *Dictionary of the Scots Language.* Scottish Language Dictionaries. Retrieved from https://dsl.ac.uk/entry/snd/ye. [Retrieved 21 July 2019].

Chambers, J. K. & Trudgill, P. (1998). *Dialectology* (Vol. 2nd ed). Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Corbett, J. & Stuart-Smith, J. (2012). Standard English in Scotland. In: Hickey, R. (ed.) *Standards of English: Codified standards around the World*. Series: Studies in English Language. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press: 72-95.

Corbett, J., McClure, D. & Stuart-Smith, J. (2003). A brief history of Scots. In Corbett, J., McClure, D., & Stuart-Smith, J. (eds.) *The Edinburgh companions to Scots*. Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press: 1-16.

Dossena, M. (2002). "A strong Scots accent of the mind": The pragmatic value of code-switching between English and Scots in private correspondence – A historical overview*. *Linguistica e Filologia* 14: 103-127

DSL: Dictionary of the Scots Language. (2019). Retrieved from https://dsl.ac.uk.

Grice, H. P. (1989). *Studies in the Way of Words.* Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.

Griffiths, P. (2006). *An Introduction to English Semantics and Pragmatics.* Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press.

Herrmann, C., Jensen, M. M. & Thiesson T. M. (2017). The foregrounding of place in Trainspotting: A discourse-stylistic analysis. *Globe: A journal of Language, Culture and Communication* 5: 32-47.

Hickey, R. (2015). The pragmatics of Irish English and Irish. In Moreno, C., McCafferty, K. & Vaughan, E. (eds.) *Pragmatic Markers in Irish English*: 17-36. Amsterdam: John Benjamins.

Honeybone, P. & Watson, K. (2013). Salience and the sociolinguistics of Scouse spelling: Exploring the phonology of the contemporary humorous localised dialect literature of Liverpool. *English World-Wide: A Journal of Varieties of English*. 34(3): 305-340. doi:10.1075/eww.34.3.03hon.

Horn, L., R. & Ward, G. (Eds.) (2004). *The Handbook of Pragmatics.* Oxford: Blackwell Publishing.

Huang, Y. (2007). *Pragmatics.* Oxford; New York: Oxford University Press.

Kearney, H. F. (2012). *The British Isles : A History of Four Nations.* Canto Classics Edition, 2nd ed. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press.

Labov, W. (1972). *Sociolinguistic Patterns.* Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press.

Labov, W. (2006). *The Social Stratification of English in New York City*. 2nd ed. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Mattiello, E. (2005). The pervasiveness of slang in Standard and Non-Standard English. *Mots Palabras Words* 6: 7-41.

McClure, J. D. (1995). *Scots and Its Literature*. Philadelphia; Amsterdam: John Benjamins Publishing Company.

Miller, J. (2004). Scottish English: Morphology and syntax. In Kortmann, B. & Schneider, E. (eds.) *A Handbook of Varieties of English.* Berlin; Boston: De Gruyter Mouton: 47-72.

Odden, D. A. (2005). *Introducing Phonology.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Pahta, P., Melchers, G., & Taavitsainen, I. (1999). *Writing in Nonstandard English*. Amsterdam: John Benjamins Publishing Co.

Parkinson, J., Minton, J., Lewsey, J., Bouttell, J., & McCartney, G. (2018). Drug-related deaths in Scotland 1979-2013: Evidence of a vulnerable cohort of young men living in deprived areas. *BMC Public Health* 19: 357. https://doi.org/10.1186/s12889-018-5267-2

Priimets, H. (2017). Non-standard language in Irvine Welsh's Trainspotting and in Olavi Teppan's translation of the novel into Estonian. (Master's Thesis, University of Tartu). https://dspace.ut.ee/handle/10062/57592.

Pust, L. (1998). "I cannae see it": Negation in Scottish English and dialect data from the British National Corpus. *AAA: Arbeiten Aus Anglistik Und Amerikanistik* 23(1): 17-30.

Schneider, K. P. & Barron, A. (2008). *Variational Pragmatics: A Focus on Regional Varieties in Pluricentric Languages*. Amsterdam; Philadelphia: John Benjamins.

Scobbie, J. Gordeeva, O. & Matthews, B. (2006). Acquisition of Scottish English phonology: An overview. *QMUC Speech Science Research Centre*. Working Papers WP-7.

Silverstein, M. (2003). Indexical order and the dialectics of sociolinguistic life. *Language and Communication* 23: 193-229.

Smith, J., Durham, M. & Fortune, L. (2007) "Mam, ma troosers is fa'in doon!" Community, caregiver and child in the acquisition of variation in Scottish dialect. *Language Variation and Change,* 19 (1): 63-99.

Trudgill, P. (2000). *Sociolinguistics: An Introduction to Language and Society*. 4th ed. London: Penguin Books

Wardhaugh, R. (2005). *An Introduction to Sociolinguistics*. 5th. ed. Oxford: Blackwell.

Welsh, I. (1996). *Trainspotting* (repr.). London: Minerva.

Wormald, J. (2005). *Scotland: A History*. New York: Oxford University Press.