LOWLAND SCOTS:
LANGUAGE POLITICS AND IDENTITY

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ABSTRACT

This work looks at the present day situation of Scots language and whether or not there is a link between attitudes towards Scots and nationalism in Scotland.

An outline is given of the history of Scots, which was once the most widely used language for administrative as well as literary purposes in Scotland, indicating which factors contributed to its demise. The results of this demise is that today people are very uncertain about the status of Scots and whether to see it as a language or a dialect.

An investigation as carried out in Edinburgh to find out to what extent people are familiar with what is meant by Scots language and to see how important it is to the formation of a Scottish identity. The results of this investigation were very interesting as they showed a link between people's knowledge about the concept of Scots language and their political opinions on the Constitutional Question in Scotland. The results demonstrated a difference in attitude and perception between the group of informants classified as being in favour of Independence and those in favour of the Union. There was a clear discrepancy between the answers of the Independence group to the first part of the Questionnaire and the third part. This discrepancy was not as noticeable in the answers of the other two groups (Unionists and Devolutionists). It also seems to be linked to the perception of the identity of the concept "Scots language".

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INTRODUCTION.

The investigation described in this thesis was initiated by research carried out in 1992 in Brussels, Belgium. The research conducted then was aimed at establishing the attitudes of expatriate Scots living in Brussels towards the Scots language. It was a small-scale investigation covering 20 subjects, all living in Belgium and all professionals. They were presented with a questionnaire very similar to the one used in the present investigation (see Appendices). As a sideline, questions were asked as to the subjects' opinions on the Constitutional Question in Scotland.

During the analysis a pattern emerged between the subjects' attitudes towards Scots language and their political opinions; in particular it showed a difference between those in favour of the Union and those in favour of Independence for Scotland. It also became apparent that the concept "Scots language" was not very clear to all the informants. The main aim of the present research was to investigate these issues further by conducting a similar survey on a larger scale and in Scotland itself. The idea was proposed that there is a link between Scottish nationalism and attitudes towards the Scots language.

Scotland can be compared to several other nations that have a strong nationalist movement, such as Quebec, the Basque country, Catalonia, and Norway. However, whereas these examples all have language as one of their main focus points or as one of their main identity markers, Scotland ostensibly does not. Looking at the political campaigns and policies of Scotland's major parties, there is no focus on language in their programmes, and even though most of them (though not quite all) have a Gaelic language policy it can hardly be said that it forms the centre of their policies. This in itself is interesting enough, but in connection to this there is a separate cultural nationalism in Scotland which centres mainly on the language issues, especially the Scots language. The people involved in these cultural

organisations all very openly state that the status of the Scots language would only realistically improve once Scotland becomes an economic and political independent country, and this despite there being no proof of this happening judging by for the political parties' programmes.

This was the main reason for the present investigation, which involved a questionnaire being presented to 99 informants who were residents of Edinburgh and district. This time, however, the questionnaire was designed to cast light on two issues: * Is there a link between language and nationalism in Scotland and, *What exactly is meant by Scots language.

In order to achieve this objective the informants were presented with a "Matched Guise Test" audio tape containing extracts of conversation by 4 Scottish speakers, whose speech ranged from Standard Scottish English to the broadest of Scots dialects. The informants were asked to rate each voice on a continuum to indicate whether this voice was Standard Scottish English or Scots language or somewhere in between. The results of this part of the investigation were not surprising in one sense as they substantiated the findings of the Brussels investigation, but some other interesting results emerged not only relating to the confusion over the concept of Scots language, but on the political level as well. This led to the introduction of some possible explanations as to the importance, or lack of importance of language to the Scottish identity, the influence of language in Scottish nationalism and my development of the concept of Narrow and Wide Scots to shed some light on the hazy existence of Scots language.

Chapter 1 gives a clear outline of the issues that underpin this research. These issues include the problems of defining concepts like 'language', 'dialect', standardisation and spoken versus written language. We then give an overview of the Scots language, giving a brief history of the rise and decline of the language and

listing the major blows that were dealt to the language's status and the reactions against this. There is also a brief overview of literature in Scots.

The discussion on the status of Scots then moves on to the present day situation where we try to untangle the web of whether Scots today is a language or a dialect by discussing the ideas presented by William Stewart, Heinz Kloss and Morris Swadesh. We eventually come to the conclusion that Scots is today a set of dialects of a one-time language, which has resulted in a diglossic situation in the Lowlands of Scotland. This discussion of Scots, as a language or a dialect, ties up with the next section of this chapter: the comparison of the grammatical features of Scots dialects and English non-standard dialects. This is covered because, without close attention Scots is quite often seen as 'just another dialect of English' of equal status to Cockney and Geordie.

What this section shows is that there is indeed an enormous number of similarities between the Scots dialects and the northern non-standard dialects of English, but there is one major difference: acceptability. This topic is discussed in section 1.4. The final problem that is raised in this chapter is the matter of whether or not Scots as a language is dying (or has already died as some would say), and why has it persisted for so long especially after numerous people in history have pointed out that "Scots is dying" for the past 200 years, before assessing the chances of revitalising it.

As was mentioned above, this thesis is also concerned with politics and nationalism. Chapter 2 deals with the theoretical background of nationalism and identity and how these two concepts interact with language in general. First, a discussion is presented on the topic of identity, its definition, its core values. The discussion is elaborated by including the notion of ethnicity, which today is a very popular subject and is a widely used concept in the media. Here we try to outline the subtle

differences between ethnicity, identity, and nationalism and how these stand in relation to notions such as ethnic conflict and racism.

Section 2.2 deals in more detail with nationalism, looking at the history of the very word 'nationalism' and the philosophical ideology behind it, its rise and its spread across Europe and its meaning today. Finally, an overview is given of how these two concepts of nationalism and identity interact with language, citing examples from Norway, Canada and Wales.

All the elements discussed in Chapter 2 are then transposed to Chapter 3 which concentrates specifically on Scotland. An overview is presented of the types of nationalism we find in Scotland and how the cultural nationalism fits in with the political nationalism. The matter of culture and identity is handled with a specific mention of Smout's outline of what exactly constitutes a Scottish identity where we find that language has no major role to play. We introduce the concept of Narrow and Wide Scots and show how this idea fits into the overall picture of Scotland, its nationalisms and its identity. This chapter closes with an overview of previous surveys on language and politics in Scotland as a prelude to the final chapter.

Chapter 4 concentrates solely on the investigation carried out in Edinburgh and district, describing in detail how the questionnaire was devised, how the subjects were chosen and how the actual fieldwork was conducted. It explains what methods of analysis were used and describes the results of these analyses. Most of these results can be found in the Appendices. This chapter ends with a discussion of the results which attempts to explain them in the framework established in the earlier chapters.

Finally conclusions are given and suggestions are made of what is left to be done for further investigation.

CHAPTER 1:THE PROBLEMS.

1.0. INTRODUCTION.

In this chapter we tackle the following problems: what is a language, what is a dialect and to what extent do socio-economic factors play a role in the concepts of 'language' and 'dialect'. Other matters to be discussed are the relevance of mutual intelligibility, size and prestige, and the role played by standardisation and the distinction between spoken and written language. The discussion will then focus on the major topic of the present investigation: Scots language. We shall take a closer look at the history of Scots and the ambiguity that still surrounds the word 'Scots'. Its present status will be explored; in particular, in the sense that we will try to clarify whether it is a language or a dialect.

This question of whether Scots is a language or a dialect will be elaborated by a rather extensive account of the differences and similarities between the syntactic and morphological features of Scots. The last section in this chapter will look at language shift and language death, giving an introduction to this subject on the case of Scots. A more extensive account will be given in Chapter 3.

1.1. CONCEPTS.

1.1.1. LANGUAGE.

The concept of 'language' is a notoriously difficult one to pin down. The task of defining what is meant by language often appears impossible, since so many aspects need to be incorporated into a good definition.

Nonetheless, many distinguished scholars have attempted to define 'language'.

Lyons (1990: 1-8) gives an overview of the various definitions given, ranging from one of the very first by Sapir in 1921 (:8), through to those given by people

like Hall (1968:158) and Robbins (1979: 9-14) at the time when Behaviourism was at its peak, to the new breakthrough in linguistics with Chomsky (1957). To illustrate, three definitions covering the period from 1921 to 1979 will be given :

> Language is a purely human and non-instinctive method of communicating ideas, emotions and desires by means of voluntarily produced symbols.
> (Sapir 1921: 8)

> Language is the institution whereby humans communicate and interact with each other by means of habitually used oral-auditory arbitrary symbols.
> (Hall 1968: 158)

> Language is a set (finite or infinite) of sentences, each finite in length and constructed out of a finite set of elements.   (Chomsky 1957: 13)

Lyons goes on to criticise each of these definitions, stating how 'imprecise' the first is in its wording ('ideas, emotions and desires' and 'voluntarily produced symbols'); how the second one rightly uses the notion of 'interaction', but that the term 'habitually used' is inserted due to the popularity of the stimulus-response theories of the behaviourists. Lyons here contends that one of the most important facts about language is that in general there is no connection between words and the situations in which they are used such that the occurrence of particular words is predictable, as habitual behaviour is predictable, from the situations themselves (Lyons 1990: 5). The last definition - Chomsky's - is praised because it covers all natural languages, and because ' it is the task of the linguist describing some particular natural language to determine which of the finite sequences of elements in that language are sentences and which are not. ' (Lyons 1990: 7).

However, several aspects are left untouched by most of these definitions: the communicative side is mentioned, except in Chomsky's definition which only concentrates on the structural side of language, but there is no mention of the social implications that surround the use of language which stems from this interaction between people. Language invariably implies communication and interaction among people and this may involve matters other than linguistic ones which eventually may have an important influence on issues such as people's reactions to certain

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things, attitudes, stereotypes, etc. This side of language is not mentioned in any of the above definitions.

Of course the word 'language' has two meanings in English. In French these are conveyed via two different words: 'langue' and 'langage'. 'Langue' relates to the grouping together of all the knowledge held by the individual members of a particular speech community; 'Langage' relates to those general principles of language which are fundamental to all humans everywhere and are not determined by any particular language but are common to mankind. In English the best equivalents are probably 'language-system' and 'language-behaviour'. Lyons (1990: 10) explains how these two concepts work:

> The distinction between 'langue' and 'parole', as it was originally drawn by Saussure...[is about] the distinction between what is potential and what is actual, and between what is social and what is individual...
> A language-system is a social phenomenon, or institution, which of itself is purely abstract, in that it has no physical existence, but which is actualised on particular occasions in the language-behaviour of individual members of the language-community.

With 'language-community' is meant a community of people who are all acknowledged to be speaking the same language. But this definition of language-community presents the problems of establishing each language-community and of determining whether all the members of a certain language-community speak the same in every way or not.

1.1.2. DIALECT.

Here we come to another concept which is invariably tied up with 'language' : dialect.

Firstly, it is interesting to note the difference between 'accent' and 'dialect'. Accent refers only to the way in which a language is pronounced. Unlike 'dialect' accent has no implications for grammar or vocabulary. For instance, two people can speak the

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same dialect, but pronounce it with a different accent. The matter of speaking the same dialect with different accents is common especially when the dialect in question has become the standard dialect of a certain region or country. In Britain most educated speakers of English speak a certain dialect of English which is widely recognised as a standard, but they will mostly still retain an accent which reveals their social and geographical background. However, it is important not to confuse 'RP' with 'Standard English' - the first refers to the accent, the second to the dialect.

It is here that we come to the socio-economic factors related to defining 'language' and 'dialect'.

For linguists, as Lyons (1990:25) explains, the word dialect relates to language in the sense that a language can consist of several dialects. However, linguists do not accept the popular conception that any dialect of a certain region or one that is associated with any particular social class is a debased or unaccepted form of the standard dialect (often the word 'slang' is used in the popular mind to talk about these so-called debased forms). As Lyons continues, from a historical point of view the standard dialect is no different in kind and origin from any of the non-standard dialects. Neither are these non-standard dialects any different from the standard dialect in their functions or in their grammar .

Standard languages emerge from the initial set of dialects by different routes. Like Standard English and Standard French, some come about via the political and cultural dominance of a capital city in a particular country. Usually this implies that the standard is based on the speech used by the upper classes at court, or those people living in the capital. Standards can also be defined deliberately via policies and language planning (see section 2.3.3, page 80).

A standard spoken language is really based on the standard developed for writing. This then serves as a model of correctness of speech for the educated people in society which gives prestige and social standing to that particular dialect that has

been chosen as the standard. So, when we say someone speaks a standard language, we mean that s/he uses the dialect that is used in writing in formal situations. In informal situations, however, that same speaker may well use a local dialect which is less well accepted by society.

There are obviously advantages and disadvantages to having a standard language. It has advantages for official purposes which exist in a modern society, and is ideal for universal writing. So in general it offers advantages for writing, broadcasting, and official events where one is not confronted with the problem of having to deal with numerous dialects. Furthermore, it offers an advantage to the non-native speaker who wants to learn 'the language'. Presenting that learner with one standard is much easier than presenting him with a variety of dialects.

However, a standard language brings disadvantages such as the link between language, nationhood and ethnicity. Implementing a standard language involves selection among various dialects in the country which gives the chosen dialect a favourable position, socially, culturally and politically. This matter will be discussed in more depth at a later stage when we will be dealing with Language Planning (section 2.3.3, page105).

However, there is more to the distinction between 'language' and 'dialect' than meets the eye. Quite often the distinction in calling a variety of speech either a language or a dialect is political or cultural. Examples are abundant: Mandarin and Cantonese are seen as dialects of Chinese, whereas they are more distinct than, for instance, Danish and Norwegian, which are clearly regarded as separate languages. So, how do we go about establishing whether a variety of speech is a language in its own right, or whether it is actually to be considered a dialect of language X?

1.1.3. LANGUAGE vs DIALECT.

One much-invoked criterion is mutual intelligibility, which is neutral with respect to political and cultural implications. However, this test is not flawless. The first and major observation to make here is that dialect variation is gradual and continuous. Secondly, intelligibility is not necessarily symmetrical. For instance, it is quite possible for a speaker of variety A to be able to understand most of what a speaker of variety B says, but for speaker B not to understand a word of what speaker A says. Hudson (1990: 35) explains that there is a problem concerning the popular conception of what a language is. That is, some varieties which people may call different languages are mutually intelligible, whereas varieties they call dialects of the same languages are not. He adds:

> Popular usage tends to reflect the other definition of language, based on prestige, so that if two varieties are both standard languages, or are subordinate to different standards, they must be different languages, and conversely they must be the same language if they are both subordinate to the same standard.
>
> (Hudson 1990:35)

The Scandinavian languages are examples of varieties which are mutually intelligible but are regarded as different languages. Chinese is generally referred to as if it were all one language, whereas 'Chinese' is a cover term for a number of different languages: speakers from e.g. Peking and Canton, each speaking their own language, are mutually unintelligible unless they have learnt the other language. There would be no problem if both were to write down what they were saying as there is one written standard language.

Hudson emphasises that mutual intelligibility is a matter of relations not between the varieties but between the speakers of the varieties. The most important quality here is motivation, i.e. how well does speaker A want to understand speaker B, which in turn is connected to how much speaker A likes/dislikes speaker B. This is based on cultural similarities and differences. The greater the difference between two varieties, the more effort (i.e. motivation) will be needed from the speakers to

understand one another. This motivation is usually influenced by cultural, political and social likes and dislikes. But experience plays a role in mutual intelligibility too. How much exposure has speaker A had to variety B? Clearly, the more contact with a certain variety you have the easier it potentially becomes to understand it. However, as Hudson (1990: 36) points out, the degree of mutual intelligibility may not necessarily be reciprocal, as not all speakers of various varieties have the same motivation, or will have had the same amount of exposure as others. The example Hudson provides is that of a non-standard speaker who will usually have no difficulties in understanding the standard speaker, whereas the standard speaker will encounter problems in understanding the non-standard speaker. Hudson subsequently concludes that mutual intelligibility is not a useful criterion for differentiating between language and dialect

According to Hudson (1990:31-32), "there are two separate ways of distinguishing [between a language and a dialect], and this ambiguity is a great source of confusion". He explains that one criterion is size, "because a language is larger than a dialect. That is, a variety called a language contains more items than one called a dialect" (1990:31). What Hudson seems to be stating here is that basically a dialect is a sub-section of a language. A parallel of what Hudson is trying to point out here is that maybe a language is like a country and therefore has a larger population, whereas a dialect is like a region which would automatically imply it has a smaller population compared to the country. This notion does not necessarily hold very well, as there are problems with it: what is meant by 'items'? How do you measure the size of a variety in order to find out whether it is a language or a dialect? Also, Hudson does not seem to be very clear on how exactly a language would be larger in size than a dialect, for he does not illustrate this with examples such as the idea that a language has a wider range of functions than a dialect.

He continues by adding that by referring to English as a language, for instance, we mean the "total of all the terms in all its dialects, with 'Standard English' as one dialect among many others (Yorkshire English, Indian English,etc.)". It seems there is some ambiguity then in Hudson's usage of 'language'.

His second way of distinguishing a language from a dialect is the fact that a language has prestige which a dialect lacks (1990:32). He adds that "in this sense, Standard English is not a dialect at all, but a language, whereas the varieties which are not used in formal writing are dialects".

However, Hudson continues further on in his book to review the ideas put forward initially. The matter of prestige in deciding whether a variety is a language or a dialect remains and is a fairly absolute one: "a language is a standard language - either a variety is a standard language, or it is not." (Hudson 1990:34).

On the point of size, though, he says that:

> The variety containing all the items used in Britain looks large compared with, say, Standard English or Cockney, but only small compared with the variety which consists of all the items in any of the 'English-speaking' countries. This being so, the claim that a particular variety is a language, in the 'size' sense, amounts to very little.   (Hudson 1990: 35)

In fact, he continues (1990:37) that the only conclusion we can draw about finding the right way to identify language from dialect is :

> that there is no real distinction to be drawn between 'language' and 'dialect' (except with reference to prestige, where it would be better to use the term 'standard language' or just 'standard', rather than just 'language'). In other words, the concept 'language X' has no part to play in sociolinguistics - nor, for exactly the same reasons, can it have any place in linguistics. All we need is the notion 'variety X', and the obvious and unsurprising observation that a given variety may be relatively similar to some other varieties and relatively different from others.

When we look at the issue of standardisation, however, we find that it is bound up with the matter of prestige. Standardisation of a language is unmistakably brought about because of society. What must be borne in mind though is that:

> it is important to understand that, although the standard variety has achieved

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social prestige and importance, its linguistic forms are not necessarily better or more discriminating than those of other dialects...The chief differences between standard and non-standard varieties are not in their 'superior' or 'inferior' linguistic structures, but in the different level of social acceptability accorded to them and in the fact that non-standard varieties are not extensively codified or officially prescribed.   (Cheshire & Milroy 1993:6)

However it seems that there is another distinction that must be borne in mind: that between written and spoken language. Spoken and written language do differ in several respects. If we look at two examples mentioned by Cheshire and Milroy (1993:7):

    a. "These cats - they're hungry"
    b. "These cats are hungry"

then we see an immediate difference, in that informal spoken English does not give any sign as to what region the speaker might be from. Cheshire and Milroy say that "the interaction between what might be called 'informal spoken English' is complicated and the borderline between them not all that clear." The features that mark formal written English are the following:

a. high proportion of complex sentences with heavy subordinate clauses
b. usage of many subordinating conjunctions and adverbials to mark relations between clauses and sentences.
c. lots of pre-modified noun phrases [containing modifiers such as adjectives, prepositional phrases and relative clauses], frequently in subject position
d. frequent use of passive constructions.

Spoken language on the other hand will use clauses strung together without any marking as to the relation between them (e.g. "I'm tired - I had to walk all the way"). In spontaneous speech speakers tend to avoid pre-modifying adjectives, which may be put into phrases in opposition to e.g a noun, as in "It was a big dog - very dirty and mangy - a sort of brown colour". There is a lot of dislocation to the left or to the right in spoken language, such as: - "This house - Jack built it"
                                  - "Jack - he built this house".

These forms are predominant in spoken English and not found - or avoided - in written English. As Cheshire and Milroy (1993:8) comment:

Our point here is that, despite their unacceptibility in written English, such sentences are not ungrammatical - we can demonstrate that they are constructed by regular rules ...Although we may have the impression that speech is less tightly organised than written language, it nevertheless has its own grammar.

The major problem in describing spoken language is that it is not captured on the page and therefore ready for analysis. Life is a little bit easier nowadays with tape-recorders and it is now possible to collect extensive samples of speech and analyse them. We all use spoken English, and we are intuitively aware of its grammaticality, but less explicitly so than of our written grammar.

The matter of standardisation is a sociolinguistic issue. It immediately involves speaking of standard and sub/non-standard varieties and therefore implies judgements on other varieties and their speakers. Standardisation means uniformity and it is usually desired by those who are educated (enough) and/or who have power. It is they who decide what is correct usage and what is not. By doing so they suppress any form of variety outside their established norm. One note should be made however, that this uniformity has only succeeded in spelling (and succeeded brilliantly at that) and not in pronunciation. Hence the large (amount of) variety in accents. To realise how ingrained this idea of uniformity is, one need only consider all the 'letters to the editor' that appear in newspapers and magazines where people abhor "the abuse of the English language". These letters show exactly how little tolerance there is towards anything that falls outside of the norm of standardisation and uniformity. If one uses standard language nowadays then that is considered to be a signal of belonging to these 'educated' classes. In English this is usually revealed via the R.P. accent as opposed to the syntactic and morphological aspects of the standard language.

One other aspect should be mentioned concerning standard language: its functions. A standard language is seen as a 'language for wider communication', it is seen as a supervariety (i.e., a variety above all dialects of a particular speech community). It is a variety via which we can communicate internationally, in which literature

for general reading is written and for the purpose of education.   Eastman

(1983:59) points out that there is a wide choice in language, of which she lists the

following types:

1. Indigenous
2. Lingua Franca
3. Mother tongue/first language
4. National language
5. Official language
6. Pidgin
7. Regional language
8. Second language
9. Vernacular language
10. World language.

As far as functions of a language are concerned, she lists the following (Eastman

1983:59):

1. Official language
2. Provincial language
3. School-subject language
4. Group language
5. Language of Wider Communication
6. International language
7. Capital language
8. Literary language
9. Educational language
10. Religious language.

We will talk more about standardisation and functions of language below in section

1.3.1 and in Chapter two when we deal more extensively with Language Planning.

We shall discuss other ways of identifying a language and a dialect further when we

try to establish to what category Scots belongs.

1.2. SCOTS

In order to better understand and better explain the generalisation of the above to

Scots language, a clear picture is needed of what is meant by "Scots". This can

only be gained by looking at the history of Scots which involves the history of

Scotland itself.

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We shall therefore first take a look at the two distinctive societies that are present in Scotland, the Highlands and the Lowlands, in order to understand better how Scots became what it is today.

1.2.1. HIGHLANDS & LOWLANDS.

Scotland's inhabitants came from five different ethnic groups who occupied or invaded the country in the Dark Ages. The oldest people were of Celtic stock, known as **the Picts**. By the year 500 AD they were to be found to the north of the Forth-Clyde area. The second group were **the Britons**, who occupied lands from Cumbria to Dumbarton. They were the people whom the Angles had driven back into Wales and Scotland. The latter group, **the Angles**, had come up to Scotland from Northumberland in search of more fertile lands and had settled in the seventh century in Lothian. Another Celtic people, who called themselves **the Scotti**, had come over from Ireland and had taken over lands in Dalriada (today known as Argyllshire). Finally there were **the Vikings**, who had raided and settled in Scotland, particularly in the Northern and Western Isles up to the mainland of Sutherland. (Smout 1972: 18-20)

Each of these five peoples spoke a distinct language, each was *not* peaceful, and each had its own territory. Hardly anything is known about the Pictish language. The only thing we do know is that place names carrying the prefix Pit- (as in Pitlochry) are of Pictish origin.(Now it is thought that the Pictish language is part of the Celtic family). The Gaelic language came from the Scotti, whereas the Britons brought Welsh to Scotland (the Welsh language persisted well into the Middle Ages in Scotland and remains alive today in words such as *Aber*deen).
The Angles spoke Northumbrian (better known as Old English), whereas Norse was spoken by the Vikings. As the years passed these five peoples gradually stopped regarding themselves as distinct from one another and there emerged a

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new distinction which still exists today although it is slowly vanishing, namely the distinction between Highlanders and Lowlanders.

Highland society was organised into clans led by their chiefs, which meant that their society was a more militaristic organisation. A farmer would work on the lands owned by the chief of his clan, and he would be loyal to this chief and pay him rent. However, it was not a feudal society: if the chief wished to do battle with some warring clan he would have to give a reason for this to the people for whom he was responsible. But the chief did have the power of life and death over his people. This does not mean that the clanspeople had nothing to say either, for if they decided that their chief was unfair or tyrannised them, they would simply 'dismiss' him, as it were, and take on another chieftain (sometimes even from another clan, which over the centuries caused small clans or "septs" (i.e. branches of clans) to merge, giving rise to new clans).

As far as religion was concerned, Scotland was originally a pagean country that later converted to Catholicism. After the Reformation, the Calvinist church was slow to penetrate the Highlands, and Catholicism survived extensively there, although Catholicism was banned and only practised in secret. As Houston and Whyte (1989:13) argue, Catholicism survived because the Highlanders were not politically disadvantaged (as were the Irish Catholics) and social conditions were not worse because of the religious differences between lord and peasant, as was the case in Ireland. Next to these differences in religion there were economic and political differences between the Highlands and Lowlands as well.

The Lowlands were characterised by the establishment of burghs under the reign of David I (1124-1153). These burghs soon became centres of trade. Eventually, with the spread of these burghs royal authority also expanded, and by the day of Alexander III (1249-1286), the Lowlands had a stable government of the ordinary feudal kind. (Mackie 1978 : 53).

The distinction between Highlanders and Lowlanders was reinforced by the success of the Normans (the first lot of them had come over to England in 1066 with William the Conqueror, and a second group of Normans followed later on when they were invited to come over to Scotland at the request of David I who gave them lands so that ultimately he would have a body of landowners of whom he was sure they would remain loyal to the Crown) in the areas of the Lowlands where they governed. This caused the ultimate rift between Highlander and Lowlander.

The Highland Line between Lowlands and Highlands distinguished the region of largely Gaelic culture, where the king's writ did not run, from the Lowlands where the king ruled effectively and which were becoming more influenced by Europe and by feudalism. Scotland's kings at the time were willingly under English influence, which can be seen from the foundation of the burghs and the adoption of the feudal system. However, this willingness to accept English influence was found only in the Lowlands.

One should not, however, think that Scotland was, in the Lowlands, an all-Scottish region. The Lowlanders perceived themselves not as Scots, but as subjects of the Scottish King. Charters were still addressed to the king's faithful subjects, French (who came over with the Normans), English, Scots, Welsh and Gallovidian (another name for the Picts) (Smout 1972 : 23).

From about the 13th-14th century, Scotland in its more modern sense had two peoples living separate lives in separate cultures. This separation is marked by the Highland Line. Highland society was largely closed to the Lowlanders until well into the 18th century. This meant that the Lowlanders and the Highlanders had nothing in common except as neighbours, and, until recently, they were not at all neighbourly to each other. Some groups of people did venture into the Highlands, such as merchants, the clergy and military, and some Highlanders

crossed the Line south, where they were generally regarded with suspicion and mistrust.

The social differences on each side of the Highland Line were reinforced by linguistic separation : the Highlands were (and still are in the West Highlands and in the Western Isles) Gaelic speaking, while to the south and east of the Highland Line Scots was spoken. Smout (1972: 39) demonstrates this linguistic and social distinction by quoting John of Fordun, a Chronicler from Aberdeen, whose affinities are clearly marked when he wrote in 1380 :

> The manners and customs of the Scots vary with the diversity of their speech. For two languages are spoken amongst them, the Scottish (Gaelic) and the Teutonic (Lowland Scots): the latter of which is the language of those who occupy the seaboard and plains, while the race of Scottish speech inhabits the highlands and outlying islands. The people of the coast are of domestic and civilised habits, trusty, patient and urbane, decent in their attire, affable & peaceful, devout in Divine worship yet always prone to resist a wrong at the hand of their enemies. The Highlanders and people of the islands, on the other hand, are a savage and untamed nation, rude and independent, given to rapine, easy-living, of a docile and warm disposition, comely in person but unsightly in dress, hostile to the English people and language and owing to diversity of speech, even to their own nation, and exceedingly cruel.
> (Smout 1972:39)

The tension between England and Scotland began to build up when the Scottish King Alexander III died, and England's King Edward I wanted to force the Scottish King into being his vassal, and make Scotland a feudal appendage to England. Many years of conflict ended when King Robert Bruce led a victorious battle against the English army in the Battle of Bannockburn in 1314. This victory led to the emergence of Scotland as a unitary nation-state.

The Scottish makars (poets) also began to stress the fact that the Lowland tongue, once a sister language to the English of the south, and which had changed considerably, was now regarded as Scotland's own national language distinct from English. This is supported by the above quote from John of Fordun in 1380 who clearly states that Scots is different from English. It was from then onwards that

the word **Scots** began to be used, no longer to describe Gaelic, as had been the custom, but for Lowland Scots, which had been previously named Inglis.

The language which was now referred to as Scots belonged to the Germanic family of languages along with Dutch, German and English. The first traces of Scots or Northumbrian Old English are to be found on the cross found in Ruthwell Kirk circa 730, one of the Anglo-Saxons' most notable monuments, in which a few lines from a Northern Anglo-Saxon poem, *The Dream of the Rood* are carved. Before 800 the Scandinavians had come to Scotland, having a great influence linguistically on the Northern Anglo-Saxon tongue which incorporated Scandinavian elements.

By 1000 Scotland had three main languages, Gaelic spoken over most of the country, and Scots (or Inglis) in the south-east, with Norse spoken in Shetland, Orkney and Caithness. The Norman Conquests brought French-speaking Normans over to England and this eventually changed the situation in Scotland. The arrival of Normans and the French language was hastened by Malcolm Canmore who had married an English princess. They, and their sons later on, made grants of lands all over the Lowlands of Scotland to Normans (the Baliols, the Bruces, the Comyns, etc). While the barons spoke French, their households all spoke Anglo-Saxon, if one could still call it that, because it had become quite a mixed speech which, as David Murison (1984: 3) explains, :

> was still mainly Anglic in grammar but had a large and growing accretion of
> French vocabulary, and so was really Anglo-French, though it kept its
> national name 'English' or, as they pronounced it in Scotland, 'Inglis'.

After French had clearly left its mark on the Lowland Scots tongue, there followed settlers from the Low Countries to work as craftsmen in the newly established burghs whose native language was (Flemish) Dutch. Because the burghs were centres of trade, their importance spread to the surrounding districts, and the

Scots language along with it. This consequently caused Gaelic to recede by the end of the 13th century to the present Highland Line.

Until the 14th century the official language of administration had been Latin. However, when James I returned from his captivity in England in 1424, the laws which were in Latin and French were translated into Scots, which was also the language used to register the Scottish parliamentary records. In other words, Scots was becoming a standard language in Scotland.

1.2.2. LOWLAND SCOTS DECLINES : ANGLICISATION BEGINS.

THE THREE BLOWS.

Thus, over a gradual period, the Scots tongue became Scotland's national language, and nearly its apogee in the first half of the sixteenth century, when it was used in legal documents, in administration, at court and in literature (see below section 1.2.3, page 20), everywhere in the Lowlands.

This situation started to diminish from 1561 on, when the Bible was translated and printed in English, but not in Scots. As Billy Kay says: "From then on God spoke English" (1988: 59). The Reformation in the Lowlands took the form of Calvinistic Protestantism, which gave the Scottish Church its national character. (Today, Calvinism has been replaced by Presbyterianism (The Church of Scotland), and Calvinism now only survives in the Free Church.) The reformer, John Knox was the first notable figure to start anglicisation. He is often held to be responsible for using English rather than Scots in the Church of Scotland. David Murison mentions this episode of linguistic history in Scotland,

> Its language (English) became familiar to the people as the language of solemnity and abstract thought, of theological and philosophical disputation, while Scots remained as the language of ordinary life, of the domestic, sentimental and comic, and from here we can trace the split mind that Scots have had about their native language ever since.   (Murison 1984: 5)

The translation of the Bible into English did more to the language than one might think,

> ...since Scotland is reported to have had a higher rate of literacy than any other country in Europe at the time. Thus the development of Scots as a national standard was arrested, and from then on it remained only as a spoken vernacular.   (Sandred 1983:14)

This meant that the language had lost its spiritual prestige. The first blow to the status of the Scots language had been struck.

The second element that played an important part in the downfall of Lowland Scots was in 1603, when James VI of Scotland became James I of England and succeeded to the English crown after the death of Elizabeth I of England. Until then James had written books in Scots and he even wrote Scots poetry, but by moving south he adopted the English of the south. The consequence was that Scottish poets followed suit and also started writing in English. This resulted in the beginning of the slow anglicisation process of the social classes, starting with the Lowland aristocracy and on to the professional classes:

> Government from London also led to increasing anglicising of Scottish official documents and records, both central and local, private as well as public, as correspondence between the two capitals grew.   (Murison 1984: 6)

So, the Union of the Crowns dealt the second blow to what had been Scotland's national language. Scots now had lost its social prestige and was steadily but surely being replaced by the English of the South.

The last and ultimate blow for the Scots tongue was its loss of political prestige when the Union of Parliaments took place in 1707, which meant that English became the one and only official language of Scotland (or "the only official *written* language of the whole country", as Murison calls it (1984: 6)).

The process of anglicisation was aided by the fact that printing was done according to English norms. An illustration is given by Sandred (1983) on the prose written by King James VI:

The original MS in the King's hand from 1598 is in normal Scots of the period. In the first printed version of 1599 *ken* has been changed to *know*, *thir* to *these, mekill* to *much*. In the edition of 1603 the language is almost pure English.   (Sandred 1983 :15)

Obviously Scots lived on, but its context of speech had changed drastically. After a study of new evidence, Aitken (1979a: 91-93) concluded that, after the Reformation, Scots was identified with either conservatives and eccentrics or "the common people", "the vulgar". In the early 18th century it is said that Sir Robert Sibbald distinguished three sorts of Scottish speech :

> "That Language we call Broad Scots, which is yet used by the Vulgar... in distinction to the *Highlanders'* Language, and the refined Language of the Gentry, which the more Polite People among us do use." That 'refined language', however, was no longer Scots but the ancestor of *Scottish English*.
> (McArthur1992: 895)

The middle and upper classes spoke only English. The process of anglicisation was set in motion, along with that other notorious phenomenon called snobbery.

THE 18TH CENTURY.

The 18th century was an age of politeness and propriety. Scotland was not left untouched, for this was the moment in Scottish history when some ambitious Scots realized that they did not speak the same way as their southern neighbours, and began to envy them. They therefore decided to remedy the situation by changing their mode of speech as their native dialects and accents were considered boorish, parochial and crude by the English. The upper classes in Scotland and much later the middle classes tried to divest themselves of all traces of their native tongue. As Billy Kay mentions,

> "it was to take them a very long time and was certainly unsuccessful as far as speech was concerned until large numbers of wealthy Scots began sending their sons to be educated at English public schools towards the end of the 18th century. (Kay 1988:75)

In order to do this, i.e. to speak *properly,* the Scottish people needed to have elocution lessons before they could embark on their journey higher-up the social

scale, down in England. One of the more reknowned elocutionists was the Irishman, Thomas Sheridan, father of the famous playwright Richard. Some people think that Thomas Sheridan is responsible for the very 'quaint' accent in Edinburgh known to every Scot as "Morningside" (today, however, this accent is only really found among people of 60 and over). Among his pupils, Sheridan taught some very prominent Scots how 'to speak proper', e.g. Adam Smith, James Boswell, and David Hume. As Kay (1988:89) says, "the mind boggles as to what kind of English their pupils came out with."

Adam Smith (1723-1790), who wrote *The Wealth of Nations*, was one of the most aggressive towards the Scots language. Like most Scottish purists of those days, he was ashamed of the slightest trace of Scottishness about him. Along with some friends Smith established the *Edinburgh Review* in order to make Scottish Literature more respectable. According to Smith, there was no way that Scotland could become culturally progressive if it did not have a refined language. In other words, Adam Smith wanted a linguistically English Scotland.

Another memorable and internationally known figure from that period (and from Scotland) was James Boswell (1740-1795). He too realized that there was something shameful about not being English; in fact, one of his first words upon meeting Samuel Johnson, were " Indeed, I come from Scotland, but I cannot help it". It was that same man, Samuel Johnson, who predicted the fate the Scottish people would cast upon their native tongue, Scots. Prebble (1973:313) quotes Johnson as saying:

> The conversation of the Scots grows every day less unpleasing to the English; their peculiarities wear fast away, their dialect is likely to become in half a century provincial and rustick, even to themselves. The great, the learned, the ambitious, and the vain, all cultivate the English phrase, and the English pronunciation, and in splendid companies Scotch is not much heard, except now and then from an old lady.

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It must be noted, however, that Boswell's family were not too pleased with James' attachment to Johnson. Boswell's father in particular was not happy. He apparently said of Johnson :

> Jamie has gaen clean gyte...whae's tail dae ye think he has preened himsel tae noo? A dominie man! - an auld dominie, wha keepit a schule an caaed it an Acaademy! (Kay 1988: 83)

However, Boswell was bound to Johnson with affection and a sense of loyalty. Any praise that he received from his 'mentor' concerning his language and accent he put down in his diary, of which this part is an extract from 1772:

> Upon another occasion I talked to him [Johnson] on this subject, having myself taken some pains to improve my pronunciation, by the aid of the late Mr. Love, of Drury Lane theatre, when he was a player at Edinburgh, and also of old Mr. Sheridan. Johnson said to me, "Sir, your pronunciation is not offensive." With this concession I was pretty well satisfied; and let me give my countrymen of North Britain an advice not to aim at absolute perfection in this respect. A small intermixture of provincial peculiarities may, perhaps, have an agreeable effect. (Kay 1988:84)

The philosopher, David Hume, was not fundamentally opposed to the Scots language. In fact, he was one of many Scots who felt no personal affinity with the English. This did not prevent him following blindly the fashion of the age for respectable Scots to wipe out any trace of their roots in their speech. While praising Scotland's literature as the best in the whole of Europe at that time, he mentioned :

> Is it not strange that, at a time when we have lost our Princes, our Parliaments, our independent Government, even the Presence of our chief Nobility, we are unhappy in our Accent & Pronunciation, speak a very corrupt Dialect of the Tongue in which we make use of; is it not strange, I say, that, in these circumstances, we shou'd really be the People most distinguish'd for Literature in Europe ? (Maclean 1974 : 200)

Actually, Kay (1988:88) says of David Hume that he

> was so embarrassed with what he considered to be his inability to speak or write perfect English, that when he died he is said to have confessed, not his sins,but his Scotticisms! With Hume it appeared to be an idée fixe to out-English the English.

It is also said of him that he sent his manuscripts to 'experts' as diverse as a linen-draper in Bristol and a cobbler in Norwich in order to make sure that any

trace of Scotticism was taken out of the text before showing it to polite society. And as Kay (1988:88) notes, "this from a man who was proudly Scottish and whose sceptical view of religion enraged large sections of that 'polite' society, and who retained his principles till his dying day". However, the cobbler and the linen-draper must not have done a thorough job, for when Hume's *History of England* was published Dr Johnson saw a number of Scotticisms in it, which of course to his eyes was a fault, no matter how well the book was written.

This was also a successful time for books and articles on how to learn proper English, and how to avoid Scotticisms. In fact, most books and articles were equipped with a list of "Scotticisms liable to be mistaken for English in this country". The first of these was compiled by James Elphinstone and was added as an appendix to Hume's *Political Discourses* in 1752. Kay (1988:91) gives an example of what was featured in books like these and says:

> One can only smile today when one thinks of men of the stature of David Hume and Adam Smith being fashed with trivialities such as the following examples from the book:

SCOTS	ENGLISH		SCOTS	ENGLISH
a bit bread	a bit of bread		he has got the cold	he has got a cold
a sore head	a headache		where do you stay	where do you lodge, live or dwell?
to my bed	to bed			

REACTIONS AGAINST ANGLICISATION.

The reactions that followed and accompanied this process of snobbery and anglicisation were both linguistic and literary. While the culture of England in general, and its speech and writing in particular, held an ever firmer hold on the élite, there were still a great number of other Scots who thought Scottish culture was not all that bad, and in fact ascribed to it an important role alongside its English neighbour in the overall British culture. One of the foremost figures to talk about this shared union of British culture was Alexander Hume, Rector of

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Edinburgh High School, who belonged to a group of people who thought English could benefit from an influence from Scots. He did his best to create a grammar for the language of the United Kingdom, which he wrote in 1618 under the title *Of the Orthographie and Congruitie of the Britain Tongue.*

However, as the century progressed there was a heightening of contact between the two countries and along with it the mocking increased as well. It was supposed by the English in general that the Scots were the ones who had to do the adaptation to English culture (including speech). To even think of the reverse would be lunacy.

> Yet, running throughout the 18th century with its obsession to anglicise there arose the parallel cultural phenomenon of pride in Scots and the vigorous continuation of its tradition as both a medium for literature and speech. The motivation behind this was diverse and often surprising, taking in notions of national and religious identity; reaction against artificial gentility; the desire to prove that with a sprinkling of Scots a poet need not desert propriety; academic promotion of the Scottish past as a source of pride in Scottishness at a time when that identity was under threat; and the simple conclusion that, in Scots, Scottish people could communicate more effectively and writers write more relevantly of the Scottish experience.
>
> (Kay 1988:93-94)

The revolt against the downgrading of Scots came from the literary world in Scotland. People generally accept that the starting point of this so-called reactionary literature was Allan Ramsay (1686-1758) in the 1720s. Ramsay was one of Scotland's foremost poets, and very popular too. His most famous work was *The Gentle Shepherd* , a realistic picture of Scottish rural life as Ramsay knew it. With him, and his love for the old Scots life of good humour and liveliness, began the 'revival' of Scots poetry. He was the forerunner of such highly acclaimed and world-famous poets as Robert Fergusson and Robert Burns. Ramsay's restoration of Scots was only half a restoration because it was restricted to poetry. Printing used English spelling, which meant that official and formal prose were all in English. As far as prose was concerned, Scots became confined to dialogues in such masterpieces as Sir Walter Scott's novels, and only

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there by characters that were fitting to the language's status, i.e. farmers, fishermen, old ladies, gardeners, servant maids, old soldiers and beggars. Scott's narrative was all in English, as were those of several Scottish writers since: Hogg, Susan Ferrier, George MacDonald, R.L. Stevenson, J.M. Barrie, George Douglas Brown, Neil Munro, and even the modern ones such as Muriel Spark.

The only exception was John Galt (1779-1839). The work with which he always will be associated is *The Annals of the Parish.* It had been written twelve years before it finally came out, but publishers had always rejected it for one and the same reason: a novel entirely Scottish would not be acceptable to the public. Other works in the same genre were *Sir Andrew Wylie* and *The Entail* .

Before proceeding further with the linguistic problems in Scotland, we must look briefly at Scots Literature to see from what 'heights' the language has fallen.

1.2.3. SCOTS LITERATURE.

Scottish literature shows how Scots, contrary to what most people think, has a long and prestigious literary pedigree. It is divided into two periods: before the Union of the Crowns in 1603, when Scots was the accepted literary medium of non-Gaelic Scotland; and after 1603, when literature in Scots as a literary language coexists and in some sense competes with standard English.

BEFORE 1603.

The period from 1376 to 1560 is generally considered to be the finest in the whole history of Scots literature. The language allowed for a wide range of styles as they were used by the poets or "makars", such as John Barbour with his epic poem *The Brus* from the 14th century; King James I of Scotland (1394-1437) with his *The King's Quair*; Blind Harry (also known as Henry the Minstrel) with a poem of over 11,000 lines entitled *Wallace* ; Robert Henryson (1425-1506)

who was famous for his fables of animals and for his *Testament of Cresseid*;
William Dunbar (1460-1513) whose output varied from the religious, the
humorous, and the satirical, but whose most famous poem is undoubtledly *Lament
for the Makaris*; Gavin Douglas, who bravely translated Virgil's Aeneid into
Scots, which was the first classical Latin poem to be translated into 'English',
although it was written in Scots; and Sir David Lyndsay (1490-1555) who wrote
poems in which he satirised the failings of the Church and encouraged John Knox
to be a preacher. His most notable work still is a play called *Ane Pleasant Satyre
of the Thrie Estaites*, which was first performed in Linlithgow, Cupar and
Edinburgh in 1540 and is still performed today on a regular basis.

AFTER 1603.

The 17th century was a quiet period in Scots literature. It would have to wait till
Burns's day for its second bloom. It started, as was mentioned above, with Allan
Ramsay (1686-1758). Ramsay, born long after the crowns of England and
Scotland had united (1603) wrote his first poetry in English, but soon began to
write in the two languages, using English for his serious poetry and Scots for his
comic verses. Although modest, this use of Scots started a literary reaction
against the anglicisation of Scottish writing. He was followed by the likes of
Robert Fergusson (1750-1774), who tragically died very young but served as
an example to Robert Burns, who is hailed as Scotland's national poet although his
work is partly in English and partly in Scots.

With Burns we are of course in the 18th century which also produced Sir Walter
Scott (1771-1832). This was the start of a new wave: that of the romantic
interest in Scotland. Apparently, Queen Victoria, after having read one of Scott's
novels, was so curious to see this romantic and idyllic place that she decided to
take a trip North. The result was Balmoral and the restoration of the wearing of
the kilt, which had been forbidden ever since the rebellion of '45, although a first

step in that direction had already been taken when George IV was the first monarch to wear a kilt when he came up to visit Scotland in 1824.

THE 20TH CENTURY.

A revolution was launched in the 1920s by Hugh MacDiarmid (whose real name was Christopher Grieve (1892-1978)).

He first worked as a journalist in Montrose. Between 1920-1922 he edited three volumes of Northern Numbers. Up to 1922 he was opposed to writing in Scots, but then he changed his mind and started to write a remarkable series of lyrics with the use of evocative old Scots vocabulary. In 1926 he wrote what is often quoted as being his masterpiece, *A Drunk Man Looks at the Thistle*, a self-contradictory picture of Scotland set in time and place, and which is supposedly Grieve's own philosophy. He also wrote in English, but he is most noted for his usage of the Scots language, which is often far too rich and dense for any Scottish person to understand it. This is because he took words from various dialects or compiled self-invented words, which make his work incomprehensible without the help of dictionaries. His language-use is often referred to as 'plastic Scots', 'Synthetic Scots', or just plainly 'Lallans'.

What followed after MacDiarmid was a tradition of writing not in a standard form of Scots any more, but in all its various shapes and sizes,i.e. the tradition of local dialect writing which produced works from Ayrshire to Orkney. Next to this was a vigorous school of writing in the working-class dialect of Glasgow, and the flow of translations from major classic works, among which is W.L. Lorimer's translation of the New Testament into Scots in 1985.

1.3. THE STATUS OF SCOTS TODAY.

1.3.0. INTRODUCTION.

This section will deal with Scots as we find it today and the problems it poses to academics and laymen alike. We shall try to find out whether we can firmly establish it as a language or a dialect. A comparison will be made from a grammatical point of view between Scots and the non-standard Northern English dialects. This is mainly for two reasons: the first reason is that Scots is often consider to be a dialect of English similar to Geordie for instance. The second reason is that Scots did develop out of Northumbrian Old English so we will see if there are any features left which Scots shares with these Northern English dialects. After this we will try to diagnose whether Scots is shifting or dying, and whether it needs reviving - if indeed that is desirable and possible. This last topic will be handled in more depth in the second chapter.

1.3.1. SCOTS TODAY.

One thing should be clear from the start : the position of Scots has not always been nebulous. As we saw, it was clearly defined as a language up till the Augustan period of the 18th century. This change had already started in the 17th century, but it became more pronounced in the 18th century. The development of Scots as a language up till that period is given in the Concise Scots Dictionary (Robinson 1987: xiii) as follows: the principal chronological periods in the history of Scots and English:

the Main periods in the history of Scots:		Corresponding list of the periods for English:	
Old English:	to 1100	Old English	to 1100
Older Scots:	to 1700	Middle English	1100 to 1475
Pre-literary Scots:	to 1375	Early Middle English	1100 to 1250
Early Scots:	to 1450	Late Middle English	1400 to 1475
Middle Scots:	1450 to 1700		
Early Middle Scots:	1450 to 1550	Early Modern English	1475 to 1650
Late Middle Scots:	1550 to 1700	Modern English	1650 onwards
Modern Scots:	1700 onwards.		

After roughly the Middle Scots period, Scots lost its newly acquired status of Scotland's national and official language, although some say that it never really completed this process to its full potential. The result today has been that academics and laymen alike have been quarrelling and arguing about that very awkward question, "What is Scots?".

1.3.1.1. LANGUAGE?

Here we will be looking at three scholars and the way they deal in specifying whether a certain variety is a language, and if so, what type of language. These three scholars are William Stewart, Heinz Kloss and Morris Swadesh.

According to William Stewart (1968:531-545) it is important to find out what type of language a certain variety of speech is. For Stewart (1968:533) a language type is an:

> important factor in determining whether or not a particular linguistic system is likely to be accepted by the members of a national society (including its language planners) as suitable for some specific role, such as for use as an official language.

A language is 'typed' according to four attributes that range along a continuum. In all he recognises seven types of languages: Standard, Classical, Artificial, Vernacular, Dialect, Creole, and Pidgin Languages. The four attributes he uses to categorise these types are:

- degree of standardisation, which refers to whether a language has one set of norms of "correct" usage (monocentric) or has alternative sets of criteria of what is "correct" (polycentric).

- degree of autonomy refers to whether the language is related to other languages in the area while still remaining sociologically distinct. If so, then it is autonomous. It is possible for a language to be close to others in the area but be used only in certain sociolinguistic situations while not in others. In this case a language would have little autonomy. An autonomous language is one that is

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sufficient for all situations in a speech community and distinct from the language of a neighbouring speech community.

- degree of historicity refers to whether a language is natural in origin and whether it is associated with a national or ethnic tradition. Lingua francas and pidgins as well as fabricated and artificial languages are low on the scale of historicity.

- degree of vitality refers to whether or not a language is used by an un-isolated community of native speakers; if so, it is a vital language. If it is used by an isolated community of non-native speakers it is not vital. For instance the clergy at the Vatican who speak Latin.

If one applies all these criteria to Scots, one sees that it lacks 'standardisation' as a spoken language (there is more or less a standardised literary form, but not a non-literary one). Furthermore, Scots is indeed closely related to Standard English as it is used in England, but is only used in certain sociolinguistic circumstances, which gives it little autonomy. It does possess historicity and vitality, but this gives us an end result of two out of four. This then, following Stewart's model, would make Scots a dialect.

The problem with this model for helping us define a certain speech form is that the categories are sometimes rigid. In other instances, the terminology used is somewhat vague.

Consider for instance the part in 'degree of autonomy' where it is stated that the variety of speech has to be "distinct from the language of a neighbouring speech community" - how do you measure this distinctiveness? This is exactly the problem that Scots is confronted with: how distinct is it from English?

As far as the degree of historicity is concerned, how far back does one go in history to determine whether a certain variety of speech has historicity? Stewart has excluded lingua francas and pidgins, but they are not artificial

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languages. They live and evolve like any of the other languages. One major example is Afrikaans. Does that mean that Afrikaans is less of a language than say German? The example Stewart gives of the Vatican is a very special situation. Finding an isolated community of non-native speakers is not exactly the norm, so he seems to be catering more for abnormal situations as opposed to the wide range of variety of language situations that are around in the world and could be seen as more normal than this example of Latin-speaking priests in the Vatican. It seems that Stewart's model is usable, but it is certainly not ideal. He is too vague in his use of terminology and too rigid for the model to be adapted to any situation that does not fit the bill properly.

We now take a closer look by the ideas suggested by the German Scholar, Heinz Kloss. Kloss's model is based on the viewpoint of a language planner. For a language planner the difficult point is always the choice of a national language, especially when you are dealing with a number of 'indigenous' languages, and the option of taking a language for wider communication. The main task is to find out what the different linguistic groups are in a country and what their various linguistic functions are. Kloss (1968:71) sees four variables which can help determine the relationship of language to nation:

1. the type of nation
2. the status of specific languages in the nation.
3. the juridical (official, legal) status of the linguistic groups in the nation.
4. the relative numerical strength of the nation's different linguistic groups.

Kloss differs between nations that are endoglossic and the ones that are exoglossic. The endoglossic nation has national official languages that are indigenous to the nation, whereas the exoglossic ones have their national official languages imported. A nation can of course be partly exoglossic if one or more of

the indigenous languages are designated as being national or official or both.

Kloss (1968:78) continues by saying that:

> Linguistic groups in a nation are categorized not only with regard to their legal, specialized roles and relative numbers of speakers...but also with regard to where they may be located on a 'standardization continuum'. The continuum ranges from 'mature' use of a group's language to 'preliterate' use.

A 'mature' use of a language implies its usage in science, technology and higher education. Kloss's continuum is the following:

mature   small-group   archaic   young   alphabetized   preliterate.

- -|- - - - - - - | - - - - - - - -| - - - - - | - - - - - - - | - - - - - - - - - -|- - -

The 'small-group' languages are those associated with fewer than 200,000 speakers. 'Archaic' implies those languages which are used only for "great poetry and deep-searching religious and philosophical treatises...They may as yet be unfit for the teaching of modern biology and modern physics" (Kloss 1968:78). 'Young' languages are generally used in primary education , whereas 'alphabetized' languages have only recently been put into writing and have new orthographies (for instance the American Indian languages).

Kloss also mentions a juridical status of a language which refers to its recognised situational role in business and daily life of the nation. This juridical status of a language can again be determined along a continuum

official   regional   promotional   vernacular   proscribed

- -|- - - - - - - -| - - - - - - - - - - -| - - - - - - - - - |- - - - - - - - -|- - - -

The 'official' languages are those used in government. 'Regional' languages are used by people of different linguistic backgrounds in places where communication among groups is needed. The 'promotional' languages have neither official nor regional status but are sanctioned by the governmental,

municipal and other public authorities. Then we move on to the 'vernacular' languages which have no real legal status, although they are recognised as the mother tongue of a certain group of people who are politically dominated by another group with a different language. The last group of languages are those that are 'proscribed'. (An example would be Kurdish). They are the opposite of the official languages and speakers are therefore,

> not permitted to use it [their language] in their communal life, in their religious congregations, or in their secular clubs, nor may they do any printing in it, let alone to cultivate it in schools. Even its use among members of...families may be restricted to the four walls of their homes, it conceivably being dangerous to use it in the streets or over the telephone.
> (Kloss 1968:79)

All of this permits us to consider the case for Scots. As far as the Standardisation Continuum is concerned we encounter problems when we try to classify Scots in any of these slots. It is definitely not a mature language, but it is also not preliterate; neither is it alphabetized. The matter of whether it is a small-group language is tricky as there are no census reports on exactly how many speakers there are of Scots. That leaves us with the options 'archaic' and 'young'. Scots is definitively a language of great poetry (and of "deep-searching religious and philosophical treatises") it is to some degree unfit for the teaching of modern biology and modern physics. It might be classified as a 'young' language in the sense that plans are being set up at the moment of bringing Scots into primary education - although that has in practice not yet taken place.

On the juridical continuum Scots is even more difficult to classify. It is not a proscribed language in the sense that it would "dangerous to use it in the streets or over the telephone", but neither is it a vernacular as it is not recognised as being the mother tongue of a group of people who are being dominated politically by another group with another language. One could say that the Scots speakers are being dominated by an English speaking majority which holds power, but politically this would be a fatal statement, as so many Scots do not speak the

Scots language - rather, so many Scots speak English as their mother tongue (Although it is still used today in the technical vocabulary of the legal system and of the local authorities). The best description that can be found as regards this juridical continuum for Scots would be to classify it as a promotional language, i.e. a language that is not officially recognised or has no regional status, but that is at least approved by municipal and other public authorities. We do find courses in higher education in Scots so it must therefore be approved to some degree, although it has no official status or recognition whatsoever.

Scots, therefore, can be classified as an archaic promotional language in Kloss's model.

Thirdly there is the method used by Morris Swadesh where he compares two languages. He takes a list of 100 concepts which are fundamental to all human cultures, i.e. people, animals, weather, food, the body, elementary numbers, etc. He then looks at these words in either language and verifies how much these concepts coincide. As McClure comments on this test:

> The theoretical presumption on which Swadesh's system is based, ...is probably unwarranted and certainly unverifiable; but the results of applying the test can be quite striking...In Swadesh's terms this (the test for Scots and English) results in an 89% coincidence between the basic vocabularies...and according to him, the coincidence between Czech and Slovak, German and Dutch, and Danish, Norwegian and Swedish, are in all cases over 90%. Certainly, not much weight can be put on this result; yet it does show that a form of Scots can at least be conceived of which is less closely related to English than Norwegian is to Danish. (McClure1988:23)

The position of Scots in comparison to other "Anglo-Saxon derived speech-forms except standard literary English itself" (McClure 1988:23) or compared to any English dialect, English-based pidgin or creole is unique.

1.3.1.2. DIALECT?

McClure remarks on this possibility:

> Certainly Scots is not a dialect of English, for Scots itself is not uniform but shows considerable local and social variations; but are the dialects of Buchan, Fife, Shetland, the Glasgow conurbation and other areas to be considered as being in the same category as those of Yorkshire or Devonshire? (McClure 1988:18)

As mentioned earlier, the pride in what once was the national language of Scotland clearly diminished under English influence, and the Scottish people conceived that there was something shameful about their tongue. The consequence was that most lost any perception of Scots as a distinct speech-form. As McClure, Aitken, Kay and many others have pointed out, what is left is a set of dialects of the former national language. The traditional division of Scots dialects falls into four major categories: 1) Insular (i.e. Shetland and Orkney), 2) Northern, 3) Central and 4) Southern. One additional dialect is the Ulster Scots, spoken in Northern Ireland.

These dialects themselves are progressively being intermixed with English, to the desperate agony of some but to the relief of others. With this intermixing, the variety has come to be seen no longer as an autonomous one, but as a flawed attempt at 'proper English'. As the author William McIlvanney mentioned in an interview with Billy Kay for the latter's television adaptation of the book "The Mither Tongue" (BBC Scotland, 1985),

> ...in those times [the 18th-19th century] the divide was clear, you could choose a side, you either wrote in Scots or in English. The kind of erosion that has taken place in the language since then means that you're frequently going on two horses at once - you may not yourself know what you speak...there's a dichotomy...all you can do is inhabit the paradox.

What is clear is that Scots must be something very peculiar because in quite a number of books dealing with varieties of English over the world Scots is treated in a separate chapter, and not alongside the 'other dialects of English'. Glanville Price explains the problem he had in handling Scots:

> In planning and writing this book, I have changed my mind four times, and, in the end, I devote a separate chapter to Scots not because I necessarily accept that it is a 'language' rather than a 'dialect' but because it has proved

> to be more convenient to handle it thus rather than include some treatment
> of it in the chapter on English.   (Price 1984: 186)

This shows the predicament for anyone attempting to discuss Scots while not being able to say clearly whether it is a language or a dialect.

The question, then, of calling Scots a dialect is what is it a dialect of? It is certainly not a dialect of English, as Yorkshire, Scouse or Cockney are. In fact, Görlach says that while:

> some other Caribbean creoles may be substituted for Jamaican ... the
> case of Scots is unique, it being the only Germanic dialect of the British Isles
> outside English that developed into a historical standard language.
>   (Görlach 1991: 73)

As was clear from above, the situation for Scots has been that of a language not reduced to a dialect, but to a set of dialects. Furthermore, such situations involving genetically related languages or dialects tend to be unstable, since the two varieties can either move away from each other (divergence) or, as is the case with Scots and English, become more similar (convergence).

Aitken explains that having established this does not clarify the position of Scots, for we are left with a whole range of possibilities. According to him (1990:74), there is a continuum which reflects the speech along varieties of Standard English, with RP at one pole and non-standard Scottish dialects at the other. All that lies in between are the varieties as they are used by various people in Scottish society. RP-accented Standard English is used in Scotland by what Aitken calls "the upper class of the Scottish landed gentry", i.e. the lairds and clan chiefs and the Queen Mother (the Scottish member of the Royal family), since these people are accustomed to educating their children at English public schools.

Most middle-class Scots have an accent of their own which shares many features with the local working-class speech, such as various Scotticisms of vocabulary, syntax and idiom. However, these Scotticisms remain interlopers in the main

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stream of spoken Standard English. At the opposite pole are the working-class

Scots speakers with a very high type and token frequency of lexical Scotticisms.

They speak in accents marked by stigmatised features. In short,

> Many Scots speakers also operate the Scots and English bases as different
> registers, using one or the other under different social circumstances. Some
> such speakers can switch quite cleanly from one to the other - these people
> have been called dialect-switchers. Others again either cannot or do not
> choose to control their styles in this way, but they do shift styles in a less
> predictable and more fluctuating way - these people we may call style-
> drifters. The actual practice of such speakers is governed by the expectation
> that the higher social status of particular speakers or the greater
> formality of style of any speaker is normally accompanied by a shift towards
> the English pole of the system.   (Aitken,1979a: 85)

Before continuing, a note of explanation may be required on Aitken's use of the

word 'Scotticisms' (1984 a:105-109). He recognises two kinds: covert and

overt Scotticisms. In general most Scottish people are aware of some

characteristic northern or typical Scottish locutions, which are called either

Slang or Scots, whichever serves their opinion. There are, however, a number

of typical Scottish expressions which seldom evoke any reaction from Scots

people. The main common core of such expressions are used by a very wide social

range of people, including the upper middle class. These expressions are used

unselfconsciously, meaning that the speaker is (wholly or largely) unaware that

he or she is behaving in a peculiarly Scottish way. These have been labelled

"Covert Scotticisms" by Aitken, or unmarked Scotticisms. Some examples are

the use of 'can' as the only modal of permission for informal speech; the

pronunciation of 'lenth', 'strenth' instead of 'length' , 'strength' ; the use of

such words as 'ashet' (large serving plate), 'bramble', 'haar' (sea-mist), 'to

jag' (to prick), 'to swither' (to hesitate), etc; constructions like, 'I'm away to

my bed', 'How's he keeping ?' (how is his health?), 'to miss oneself' (to miss a

treat). More examples can be found in Aitken (1979a: 105).

The second group are the "Overt Scotticisms". These are used for special effect,

as a deliberate deviation from the normal style, and are used by those whose

regular speech is Scottish Standard English. They also occur on occasions when one wants to claim membership with the in-group of Scots, at for instance a Burns society meeting. Examples of overt Scotticisms are a large number of traditional vernacular words (i.e. from the Scots 'language'): 'aye' for 'yes', 'dinna' for 'don't', 'hame' for 'home', and so on; the use of expressions such as : 'to keep a calm sough' (not to get excited), 'it's back to the auld claes and parritch the morn' (back to the daily routine), 'kenspeckle' (conspicuous), 'thrang' (busy), and 'stravaig' (wander aimlessly).

Both the overt and covert Scotticisms are not homogeneous, but they display variation according to the local dialects. What should also be noted is that these Scotticisms are only present in spoken informal speech. In formal written English the Scotticisms only rarely occur. When they do occur, especially the overt ones, it can be seen as a political statement almost of insisting on wanting to use Scots elements in a normal flow of Standard English.

Continuing the idea of the continuum put forward by Aitken, the speech one hears regularly in the Lowlands is a dialect mixture as has been described by William McIlvanney (cf.page 34). Some regret this, saying that Scots in its classical form has virtually disappeared, surviving only in literature. It is this classical form Aitken calls "Ideal Scots", which in fact is not to be found anywhere in Scotland today. Two kinds of 'dialects' can be distinguished of this so-called 'Ideal Scots', which Aitken labels 'good Scots' and 'bad Scots' (Aitken 1984 b: 529). They respectively refer to the Scots dialects of the rural parts of the Lowlands, and to the urban dialects of the big cities. The reason for categorising them as 'good' and 'bad', is explained by McClure in an interview with Billy Kay ("The Mither Tongue", BBC Scotland, 1985)

First of all, the city dialects are recent and they are usually an intermingling of English and Scots. Secondly, there is still, according to McClure, a romantic

tendency towards the rural dialects, to associate them with the nostalgic, the pure and the past. What is more, some people do not even consider urban Scots to be Scots at all. They find that these dialects are a 'hotchpotch' of Scots and English, but not enough of either, and they are sometimes even mixed with Irish English and with Gaelic. As David Murison said in an interview with Billy Kay ("The Mither Tongue, BBC Scotland, 1985) concerning the urban dialects, notably Glaswegian: it is basically English with a strong, broad accent and with some Scotticisms, but it is not Scots.

However, both 'good' and 'bad' Scots are the forms of Scots we find at the other end of the continuum which Aitken has presented, and the so-called linguistic distance between both poles is 'greater' than in any comparable case in the English-speaking world. Furthermore, the distinctively Scottish elements are in more frequent spoken use over a socially much more widely dispersed range. This means that a large number of Scotticisms is used, either overt or covert, as much by upper middle class speakers as by lower working class speakers. There were however the exceptions such as the word dreich, which Sandred (1983:57) noted:

> according to UMC [Upper Middle Class] informants dreich is a "classless" word. This does not seem to be a correct description. It seems to be a favourite middle-class word, and it is generally accepted also by the UWC [Upper Working Class], but is often unknown or looked upon with suspicion in the LWC [Lower Working Class].

1.3.1.3. DIGLOSSIA?.

If we take the notion of diglossia, we see that certain problems arise in connection with Scots. That is, we have difficulties if we take the definition of diglossia as presented by Ferguson in 1959. His formulation is the following:

> Diglossia is a relatively stable language situation in which, in addition to the primary dialects of the language (which may include a standard or regional standards), there is a very divergent, highly codified (often grammatically more complex) superposed variety, the vehicle of a large and respected body of

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written literature, either of an earlier period or in another speech community, which is learned largely by formal education and is used for most written and formal purposes but is not used by any sector of the community for ordinary conversation.   (Baetens Beardsmore, 1986:38-39)

As Fasold explains (1991:34), this definition is accompanied by nine features: function, prestige, literary heritage, acquisition, standardisation, stability, grammar, lexicon, and phonology. Without going into too much depth, Scots does not fit this picture. This becomes evident from certain 'criteria' which Ferguson finds significant, such as the argument that H is often restricted to a small elite, whereas everyone in the community speaks L (Fasold 1991: 35) Not everyone in Lowland Scotland speaks Scots, some only know Scottish Standard English.

There is also a problem in defining the H-variety if one follows Ferguson's definition. In the Lowlands this H-variety could either be RP or Scottish Standard English. Another point mentioned by Fasold is that 'H and L are to be taken as varieties of the same language', and that H is not used in conversation by 'any sector of the community'. This last point, as it turns out, is crucial in distinguishing diglossia from the standard dialect-regional dialects situation. So, in that case it seems as if Lowland Scotland's 'linguistic battlefield' is that of a Standard versus regional dialects.

However, after an examination of the additional remarks to Ferguson's idea of diglossia made by Fishman, there seems to be more of a possibility of including Scotland in the list of countries with a diglossic situation. Fishman, explains Fasold, made two major modifications:

1) he put less emphasis on the only 'two language-variety'-situation, and he presented the possibility of having several separate codes along the lines of a H-language and a L-language.

2) the term diglossia was expanded to include dialects, registers, etc. What mattered to Fishman was that the differences were of a functional nature in society, whatever H and L were.

Fasold expands on the Fishman-Ferguson proposal of diglossia by adding four questions in which he demonstrates how Fishman's supplement works alongside Ferguson's original idea. One of these four questions is the binarity question (Fasold 1991: 44-50). Fasold distinguishes three types of 'polyglossia':

a) Double overlapping diglossia (or triglossia) as is the case in Tanzania, where English is the H-variety to Swahili and the vernaculars, Swahili is the H-variety to the vernaculars, but the L-variety to English and the vernaculars are the L-variety to English and Swahili.

b) Linear Polyglossia, which Fasold illustrates by explaining the situation in Singapore and Malaysia, where the verbal repertoire of both communities consists of a series of diglossic pairs (dominant vs non-dominant Chinese languages, standard vs bazaar Malaym, etc). This would require that the Low form of any of these languages be 'higher' than the High form of the next language in the series. However, in Malay, the High form of Malay, Bahasa Malaysia, is the second-highest linguistic variety used (after English), but the Low form, Bazaar Malay, is NOT the next-highest, but rather the lowest of the whole series, with both forms of English and Chinese exceeding it. This actual arrangement then is called linear polyglossia. (Fasold 1991:48).

c) Double-nested Diglossia. This third option can more or less be adjusted to the situation in Lowland Scotland, which makes Scotland an unlikely comparison at first sight to Khalapur in India. Khalapur is a rural village, north of Delhi. The H-variety is Hindi and the L is the local dialect, referred to as 'Khalapur'. It is one of the unnamed varieties of Hindi. The differences between Hindi and Khalapur are of the sort that Ferguson would call characteristic of diglossia. Khalapur is spoken by everyone in the village and is always used in local relationships.Hindi is superposed in the way typical of an H-variety in a diglossic situation.

It is spoken by the better educated and socially prominent villagers for dealing
with matters like commerce and politics, that go beyond village concerns.
Villagers who do not speak Hindi none the less modify their speech in its
direction when the occasion makes it appropriate...The striking fact about
Khalapur is a second level of diglossic relationships that appear within both
the main High and Low varieties. Within the Khalapur dialect there are two
sub-varieties, which have local names: moti boli and saf boli .

(Fasold, 1991: 47)

The moti boli, says Fasold, is used in informal relationships such as with family

members and close relatives, children, animals and untouchable servants. It has

few minor features not characteristic with the Khalapur dialect as a whole, and the

most distinctive features of the local vernacular are very frequent. Saf boli is used

with relatively more distant acquaintances and to show respect for elders. Saf boli

avoids the features characteristic of moti boli and leans in the direction of Hindi

with respect to the other Khalapur-Hindi contrast. As Fasold explains,

The picture we get of the Khalapur diglossic community is of a continuum from
the superHigh oratorical style of village Hindi to the superLow moti boli variety
of the Khalapur vernacular. Within the High and the Low varieties can be
distinguished a higher and lower Low and a higher and lower High, which
appear, in form and function, to be microcosms of the larger diglossic contrast.

(Fasold 1991: 47)

If we apply this situation and Figure 1.2 to the position of Scots in Lowland Scotland,

we get something quite similar, certain modifications taken into account of course.

What we have in Lowland Scotland is a High variety RP-English. As is mentioned

above, it is spoken by the landed gentry and certain members of the aristocracy in

Scotland. The Low variety is what Tom McArthur calls "Scots English" [1] , of which

he says:

This is the term by which I shall refer to all the varieties of speech in Scotland
that derive (ultimately) from Anglo-Saxon, including the localised forms
known as 'Broad Scots' and 'dialect Scots'. It will also include, necessarily,
something that I shall call 'Scottish Standard English', a more or less
homogeneous range of nationally acceptable norms of spelling, grammar,
vocabulary and pronunciation, which is in turn one variety of World Standard
English.   (McArthur 1979: 50)

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[1] This is what will be called "Wide Scots" later on in Chapter 3, page....

```
  h          ┌─────────────────────────┐
             │     oratorical style    │
             │                         │
             │          HINDI          │      H
  I          │   conversational style  │
             ┣━━━━━━━━━━━━━━━━━━━━━━━━━━┫
             │                         │
  h          │       Saf    Boli       │
             │                         │
             │        KHALAPUR         │      L
             │                         │
  I          │       Moti   Boli       │
             └─────────────────────────┘
```

Double-nested diglossia in Khalapur, India.
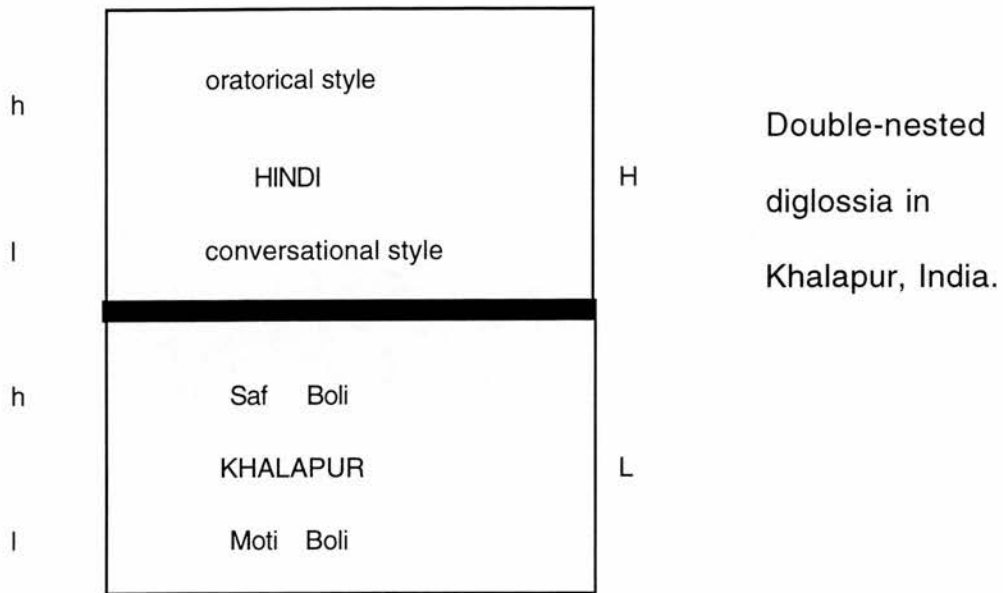
Figure 1.2., from Fasold, 1991: 48.

Scots English then, splits up into two varieties, in a way similar to how Khalapur did, i.e. it comprises, following McArthur's definition, Scottish Standard English and Lowland Scots. To follow up on Figure 1.2, as set out above, we can now project a similar sketch for the various. speech forms in Lowland Scotland:

```
             ┌─────────────────────────┐
             │       RP-English        │      H
             ┣━━━━━━━━━━━━━━━━━━━━━━━━━━┫
  h          │ Scottish Standard English│
             │      SCOTS ENGLISH      │      L
  I          │   Lowland Scots dialects │
             └─────────────────────────┘
```
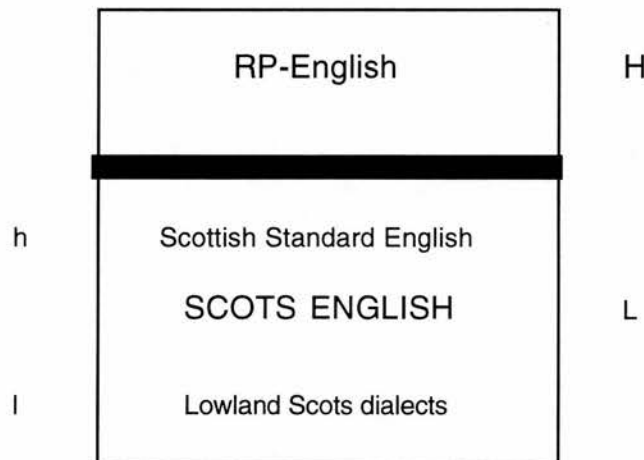
Figure 1.3, Double-nested diglossia in Lowland Scotland.

There are of course differences, the first one being that the situation in India in Khalapur was restricted to a village, whereas here we are dealing with a region comprising more than half of the Scottish population (the total of which is 5 million). The second difference is that in the case of Khalapur we had the High

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variety, Hindi, dividing up into a high and a low sub-variety, which is not the case in Scotland. In the Lowlands this is only restricted to Scots English, but, as we have seen, Scottish Standard English has its varieties as well, as does Lowland Scots.

This outline, however, is called in McArthur's terms bipolarism because it envolves Aitken's presentation of the above continuum. What we finally get as a linguistic presentation of the whole of Scotland is given in the following figure,

SCOTLAND'S LANGUAGES.		
	SCOTS ENGLISH	
GAELIC	scots	scottish standard English

Figure 1.4, from McArthur, 1979: 59.

Now that we have discussed the situation we can more or less say that Scots is a set of dialects from an original language ("Ideal Scots") which now survives not only in the form of two groups ("good Scots" and "bad Scots"), but also in the number of Scotticisms (overt and covert) in the range of varieties possible in Scottish Standard English.

1.4. SCOTS DIALECTS AND ENGLISH NON-STANDARD DIALECTS COMPARED.

Here we shall take a look at the comparison one could make between the grammatical features of the Scots dialects and the non-standard English dialects, especially those of Northern England. We are taking a closer look here at this topic because it is often stated that Scots is 'just a dialect' on the same levels as the 'other' dialects of English, esp. the non-standard northern English dialects. We now take a closer look at comparing the features of both the non-standard English dialects of the North of England to those of Scots and conclude whether or not the comments that Scots is just like a northern English dialect are justified.

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1.4.1.PRONOUNS.

In the Northern dialects - especially in Tyneside and Northumbria - the personal pronoun system is so different that, according to Joan Beal (1993:205) it is best to present it in the form of a table (see below Table 1.1). The most notable feature and difference from standard English is the change in functions between **we** and **us.** Furthermore, Beal claims the younger generation tend to use the second person plural form for subject also for the singular.   However, other speakers maintain the difference.

Table 1.1.personal pronouns in Standard [st] English and in Tyneside dialect [ty].

	subject		object		possessive	
	st	ty	st	ty	st	ty
	1	2	3	4	5	6
1sg	I	I	me	us	my	me
pl	we	us	us	we	our	wor
2sg	you	ye	you	you	your	your
pl	you	yous	you	yous/yee	your	your
3sg m	he	he	him	him	his	his
f	she	she	her	her	her	her
n	it	it	it	it	its	its
Pl	they	they	them	them	their	their

Source: Beal 1993:205

Parts of this table are also found in other dialects, while having **us** as a first person singular object is typical for all dialects throughout the north.

Reflexive pronouns in Standard English are based on taking the pronouns from column 3 or column 2 in table 1, and the suffix -self/-selves. In non-standard dialects, however, the reflexive pronouns are formed by taking only the forms from column 3, the possessive pronouns (Trudgill,1992:82):

singular:	myself	plural:	ourselves
	yourself		yourselves
	hisself		**theirselves**

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herself
itself

In the Tyneside dialect the pattern here is slightly different, in that myself and ourselves, respectively become **meself** and **worselves.** Apart from that it is the same.

In the more typical traditional dialects we find differences in the possessive pronouns (column 4). In the standard forms all, except **mine** have the suffix -s. In the non-standard dialects, however, the system has been adapted to follow the pattern of **mine.** (In Scottish English 'That's mines' is used). This gives us,

singular	That's **mine**	plural	That's **ourn**
	That's **hisn**		That's **yourn**
	That's **hern**		That's **theirn**

Another distinction between pronoun-usage in the non-standard dialects is that the difference between singular and plural for **you** is kept, whereas in the standard it disappeared. In French the distinction was held with *tu* for singular and *vous* for the plural. At one stage all dialects of English distinguished between the singular and the plural; **thou** and **thee** were used for the singular and **ye** and **you** were used in the plural. Now, only the traditional dialects keep the difference between thee/thou and ye/you alive.

The third person singular of the **demonstrative pronouns** seems to have different forms too. Phrases such as, 'That's raining', 'I don't like it - that's no good', for instance, where in East-Anglia **it** only occurs as an object pronoun and where third person neuter singular is indicated by **that.** The system of the demonstrative pronouns in standard English is as follows:

	singular	plural
Close	**this**	**these**
Distant	**that**	**those**

In the non-standard dialects there is the use of **them** and **they** in stead of 'those', and of **here** and **there** in combination with the demonstratives. For instance:

(1). '**Them** books on the table'

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'**Them there** boys'
'**They** books over **there**'
'**These here** people'

Next to these there are other systems at work, such as the three-way system in some south-western dialects of English, and which is also to be found in quite a few of the Scots English dialects (although in Scottish English 'yon' is used):

singular	**thease**	**that**	**thicky**
plural	**theys**	**they**	**thicky**

These are probably remnants from Old English which had a three-way system, which disappeared over the course of the Middle English period. It is a distinction which is very common in the languages of the world.

Standard English has five different forms of the **relative pronoun**:
who (reference to people), *which* (reference to things), *whose* (possession), *whom* (only used in formal writing). All of these relative pronouns occur in the southern dialects as well with the addition of **what** or in other dialects, **as**. Both refer to people and things,

(2):   'The girl **what's** coming over'
'The car **what** I saw'
'The boy **as** I asked'
'The food **as** I bought'

Edwards (1993: 228-231) continues by adding that unlike standard English, non-standard dialects do omit the relative pronoun in subject position, which is clear from the examples he gives:

(3):   'There's a train goes through without stopping'
'It ain't the best ones finish first'

It is a feature that occurs in different dialects, including the Scots English dialects (see below). In the northern dialects, Beal (1993:207) remarks that **which** can occur with a personal antecedent where in standard English it would only come after an impersonal referent:

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(4): "The ladies **which** accompanied him.'

However, this is not only typical of Tyneside but of most non-standard dialects of English. Furthermore, there are two characteristics of the non-standard dialectal pronoun system to note: pronoun exchange and pronouns in the gender system.

Pronoun exchange, as Trudgill (1991:9) remarks,

> refers to the fact that pronouns that are nominative in mainstream
> dialects can function as objects, and visa versa, in the south-west
> of England...it is perhaps at least sometimes the case that the 'nomi-
> native' pronouns occur stressed and the 'oblique' pronouns occur un-
> stressed.

He then continues by giving the following example: 'Give it to he, not they - her don't need it'. So, to summarise, in the case of pronouns exchange, the pronouns **he, she, we, they, him, her, us** can occur as objects as well as subjects of verbs.

One last comment about the pronouns concerning the northern dialects (i.e.Tyneside and Northumbrian) is that it is permissible to end a sentence with a pronoun. For this an objective pronoun is used. (Other dialects would repeat the pronoun with the verb, as in 'they're useless, them are'):

(5):   'They're useless, them'
         'My skirt's too short, this'
         'I could just go a toasted sandwich, me' (Beal,1993:211).

As far as Scots is concerned, the second personal pronoun plural in Scots is 'yous' or 'yous yins', which corresponds with the northern dialect of Tyneside, where the second person plural is 'yous'. Also in Scots, as in the non-standard dialects of English 'us' is used regularly instead of 'me' - a usage which is found among educated speakers in informal situations too.

Possessives are slightly different from the non-standard English dialects in that the first person singular possessive is *mines* instead of *'mine'*. As a result all of the possessive pronouns in Scots have the -s ending: yours, his, hers, ours, theirs, mines.

Reflexive pronouns are also regularised in the same way as the non-standard English ones are: 'myself', 'yourself', 'hisself', 'herself', 'itself', 'ourselves', 'yourselves' and 'theirselves'. Here there is no difference with the non-standard English dialects then. The suffix part -self in Scots is usually reduced to '-sel', which is sometimes replaced by 'lane', which would give: 'him/his lane', 'their lane(s)' (this is now archaic or only used in poetic language).

With the demonstrative pronouns only one aspect differs: instead of using 'those', Scots uses 'thae'. Scots has a three-way system:

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Sg  this              Pl  thir   [N-E:this]
    that                  thae   [N-E:that]
    Yon [East:thon]       Yonder [East: thonder]
```

Relative pronoun use in Scots is very simple, for it is reduced to the use of 'that' [or 'at' in Shetland and in N-Eastern dialects of Scots]. The forms 'what', 'wham' (i.e. who and whom) are only used today in literary writing in Scots. 'Whose' is not used in Scots but is replaced by 'that his', 'that her'. The general tendency in Scots is to avoid using wh-forms in favour of 'that'.

(6):   The man that i used tae work wi his son
         the woman that her bairn's no weel

1.4.2. VERBS.

PAST TENSE

Edwards (1993:220) remarks on the past tense usage in southern dialects in comparison with the past tense system in standard English. In standard English the past tense is formed in two ways: weak verbs take the ending '-ed' to the stem of the verb in question; strong verbs in their past tense change infix. In standard English the conjugation of verbs into the past tense is dominated by the weak verbs. The move away from the strong verbs is especially noticeable in the southern dialects of English, where forms such as 'growed', 'throwed' and 'builded' are not rare at all. As Edwards points out, however, the movement is not always the same; sometimes

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the present tense form is the same as the past tense and the past participle. He demonstrates this in a table (Edwards,1993:220-221):

Table 1.2: past tense verbs in southern dialects.

Present	Past	Past Participle
come	come	come
give	give	give
run	run	run

Source: Edwards 1993:220-221.

In other cases the past tense is extended on to the past participle, as in

Table 1.3: past tense verbs in southern dialects.

Present	past	past participle
drive	drove	drove
forget	forgot	forgot
speak	spoke	spoke
steal	stole	stole
take	took	took
do	done	done

Source: Edwards 1993:220-221.

There is however, quite an amount of space reserved for variations in the past tenses and past participles in common verbs such as 'know-knowed/knew-knowed/knew', 'break-breaked/broke', 'eat-ate/eated-ate/eated'.

IRREGULAR VERB FORMS

We will here look at two dialects with respect to the formation of irregular verbs: northern and southern dialects. Beal (1993:192) mentions one instance which is peculiar to Tyneside English: 'go' may be substituted by the lexically distinct verb *gan* which is obsolete in standard English. Furthermore, it also uses a substitute for the negative of 'do', which is *divvent*. For instance:

(7):   'Ye divvent knaa, div ye?' [you don't know, do you?]
        'Ye div, divvent ye?'

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However, this is only for the auxiliary verb 'do'; the full verb 'do' meaning to perform remains the same as in standard English. For 'do' the same rule so to speak applies for the southern dialects as for the northern ones. One addition: 'does' is used for all persons except the third person singular, where mainly 'dos' is used. (Edwards,1993: 225-226).

In Scots the past form of regular verbs ends in '-it', '-t' or '-(e)d', according to the preceding consonant or vowel, as in: 'hurtit', 'skelpit', 'mendit', 'kent-kenned', 'cleant-cleaned', 'tellt-tauld', 'deed'. The irregular verbs have past participles that end in '-(e)n', as in : 'sitten', 'putten', 'bidden', 'hauden', 'strucken', 'fochten', which occur in the non-standard dialects of English too. A complete list of the conjugation of verbs in Scots is given in Murison (1984:45-46).

On the whole there is a general tendency to generalise the past participle form to the past tense - a procedure which is also common in the non-standard dialects of English. The progressive form is very popular in Scots - it is used as often as possible. As Miller (1993:121) points out, "in descriptions of Standard English it is usually said that certain verbs, such as KNOW and LIKE, do not occur in the progressive, and that other verbs such as SEE and HEAR, occur rarely in the progressive". In Scots many such verbs (but not KNOW) occur in the progressive.

(8) :   He's not understanding a single thing you say.
          They're not intending opening the bottle tonight surely.

The last sentence is an example of a double progressive, a construction which may sound a bit odd in Standard English, but which is quite acceptable in Scots.

1.4.3. NEGATION.

As Trudgill and Chambers (1991:49-50) note: "negation in dialects of English shows a considerable amount of variation, with even standard English having variant forms:

you're not	you aren't
he's not	he isn't
we'd not	we hadn't
they'd not	they wouldn't
I'll not	I won't

Non-standard dialects show an even wider range of possibilities as far as negation is concerned. In the north-eastern dialects of English people use **nae/na** as indications of negation (also see Scots English below), and in the north-western dialects we find the enclitic **no** as in, 'I shanno' for 'I shan't'. Another common form of negation is **ain't** which is a present tense negative form of the verb 'to be', as in :

(9) :   'I ain't telling you'
         'You ain't coming'

Other familiar features of negation in the non-standard dialects are multiple negation, contracted and uncontracted negation and **never** as a negative marker.

Multiple negation means that "more than one element in a phrase has been eradicated from standard English over the last two hundred years or so on the linguistically spurious grounds that 'two negatives make a positive'." (Beal,1993:198). It is very common in all English dialects, including urban, rural, southern and northern ones. A survey conducted by Cheshire, Edwards and Whyte (1993:76) shows that the majority of the speakers using multiple negation occurred more in the South than in the North. They do mention that although it is present in the urban dialects of English it is nevertheless recessive in some of them. In the northern dialects it is still very common. Again the examples below are taken from McDonald (1980:13):

(1 1) :   'You couldn't say nothing bad about it'
           'You bring it up or I won't have none'

Beal (1993:198) also mentions another feature of negation:

> In standard English there is a rule, known as 'negative attraction', whereby,
> if a sentence has an indefinite element such as *any, either, ever*, and it is
> negated, the negative particle is 'attracted' to that indefinite element. Thus
> *not.....ever* becomes *never, not....any* becomes *no* and so on.

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In the northern dialects, however, this does not work; take for instance the following examples:

(12): 'Everyone didn't want to hear them'
'Another house wasn't to be seen for miles around' (Beal,1993:198)

Next to these contracted negations, Beal (1993:199) points out that the uncontracted negatives also have a specific function. In standard English they are used for emphasis only. In the non-standard dialects (and in Scots English) this is slightly different. Uncontracted forms are used in the negative interrogative with a specific function in tags, such as:

(13): 'He cannot get a job"
'Have you not got it?'
'Is he not there?'

She continues by adding that specific to Tyneside there is the peculiar case of the negation of 'will'. In standard English the negation of 'will' is 'won't'. In northern dialects the are two possibilities: "'ll not" and 'winnet', as in :

(14): 'He'll not come tomorrow'
'I winnet empty the pedal bin'

Negation in Scots is done via the independent words **no** and **not** or via the dependent words **nae** and **n't.** Usually, when combined with an auxiliary verb it is not the negation which is contracted, but the auxiliary, as in:

(15): 'she'll no be coming to the party'
'I've no seen him the day'
'She's no phoned yet'

Another feature which can be noticed in Scots English, and more specifically in Educated Scots English speakers is the use of the full negation **not** in negative interrogatives, such as:

(16): 'Are you not coming with us?'
'that's miles away, is it no'

The negation 'nae' is added to modal verbs when nae applies to modal verbs, as in :

(17): 'He cannae come to the party'   can be paraphrased as
'he is unable to come to the party'

No and **not** also occur with modal verbs but they then apply only to a piece of the sentence that follows the modal, for instance:

(18): 'you can no come to the party if you dinnae want tae'
can be paraphrased as,

       'you are able not to come/you are permitted not to come...
(taken from Miller,1993:115).

Never is used as well, even in the speech of educated Scottish English speakers. Here, as in the no-standard English dialects, it is not used for emphatic reasons.

1.4.4. MODAL VERBS.

Modal verbs are discussed by Joan Beal (1993:194-197) in her account of the Tyneside dialect. She inevitably makes comparisons with Scots English, which will be avoided here as that particular subject will be discussed more extensively below. She mentions the low usage of the modals 'may' and 'shall'. To express permission 'can' is used instead, and possibility is expressed via 'might', as in:

(19): 'Mind, it looks as though it **might** rain, doesn't it?'

In the events that 'may' and/or 'shall' are used, then it will inevitably be in very formal contexts. 'Shall' is usually replaced by 'will'.

Next to these differences from standard English there is one very blatant difference: the use of double modals, where a sentence like the following one is ungrammatical in standard English, but is perfectly possible in Tyneside dialect grammar:

(20): 'He **must can** do it'
'I can't play on Friday. I work late. I **might could** get it changed, though'
'The girls usually make me some (toasted sandwiches) but they **musn't could have** made any today'

Beal (1993:196) continues by listing other differences in the use of modals in comparison to standard English. For instance, the use of 'can' and 'could' in perfective constructions where standard English would use 'be able to', such as in :

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(21): 'He cannot get a job since he'll left school'
'I says it's a bit of a disappointment, nurse. I thought I could've brought it back again.'

which in standard English would be the following:

'He has not been able to get a job since he left school'
'I thought I would have been able to bring it back again'

The last feature of modal usage in Tyneside listed by Beal is the one where a similar syntactic structure has a different meaning. Examples of this are:

(22): standard English: 'the lift can't be working'
Tyneside English: 'the lift mustn't be working'.

Beal finishes her section on modals by saying that sometimes "where standard English uses 'mustn't' to mean 'it is necessary not to....', Tyneside uses 'haven't got to'. Here, misunderstandings could easily arise: a Tynesider, saying:

(23): You haven't got to do that!

means, not that you are not obliged to do it, but that you are obliged *not* to do it."

We will now continue by looking at the grammatical features of Scots English and the specific vocabulary of Scots English. Later we will draw parallels between the non-standard (northern) English dialects and Scots English features.

Here lies the area where the main differences are between Scots English and standard English. The following is based on Miller's article in Milroy & Milroy's Real English: the grammar of English dialects in the British Isles. Miller (1993:116-117) lists the major differences as follows:

(1) Broad Scots lacks 'shall', 'may' and 'ought'. ... 'shall' is missing both as a marker of future tense (cf. standard we shall arrive in the morning) and as the expression of a promise You shall have the money tomorrow (I promise you). MAY is not used to express permission. This is expressed by 'can', 'get to', and 'get + gerund' as in : (24): (a) you an have this afternoon off
(b) the pupils get to come inside in rainy weather...

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The Equivalent of the standard English 'ought' is 'should', but 'want' is often used, as
in: (25):   "You want to come out and attack right away."
This type of construction is avoided by educated speakers in formal situations.

(2) 'Must' is in the Scots system but is restricted in meaning. Two major meanings
are expressed by 'must' in standard English: the interpretation of " you must be
exhausted (judging by your appearance)" and the interpretation of "you must be at
the airport by nine (or your ticket will be given to a standby passenger)". 'Must'
in Broad Scots does not express obligation; that is done via 'have to' and 'need to'. In
standard English 'must' can be negated by replacing it with 'can', as in : e.g.: "This
must be the place", and "This can't be the place". In Scots English, however, we have
mustn't : "This musn't be the place".

(3) 'Need' behaves like a main verb in Scots. In standard English 'need' is used as
follows: "Need you leave immediately?", "You needn't come leave immediately",
whereas in Scots English it would be more commonly phrased as: " Do you need to
leave immediately?", and "You don't need to leave immediately". 'Need' also occurs in
the progressive, as in " They're needing to paint the windows". According to Miller
'need' occurs more frequently than 'have to' (this is only based on observation and
not supported by the data-collection).

(4) For standard English it is claimed that in e.g. "you may not come to the party",
the not can apply to 'may' or 'come to the party'. 'May' is missing in Scots English,
and can't, cannot and cannae all express 'not have permission to'. To express 'have
permission to' speakers of Scots English use 'don't need to', ' don't have to' and 'are
allowed not to'.

(5) Furthermore, in standard English there can only be one modal at a time in a
given clause, whereas in Scots English it is perfectly possible to have double modal
constructions, as in :   (26): 'He'll can help us the morn.

'They might could be working in the shop'
'She might can get away early'

'Might' can combine with *should* and *would,* as in : "You might would like to come with us", although, as Miller states, this construction might be less frequent.

The double modal construction *will can* is relatively old, whereas the others seem to be newer, but most of them together date back to last century and it sometimes occurs in non-standard dialects of English too.

(6) In standard English modal verbs do not occur after the infinitive marker to, but they do in Scots English. For instance,

(27): "You have to can drive a car to get that job"
"I'd like to could do that"

We have now looked in a fair amount of detail at the features involving non-standard dialects of English and at the features of Scots. What remains to be done now is to work out to what extent these two linguistic groups overlap and have elements in common, and furthermore, to decide if Scots stands out as separate or not. The initial reaction is that there are indeed a number of elements that both Northern English dialects and Scots have in common. We have seen this pointed out when discussing the pronoun system of both varieties, the negation system, the verbs and the modal verbs.

However, this is not enough material to base a theory on which would state whether or not Scots belongs to the same category as Geordie or Scouse or Cockney. Nonetheless, there is one major factor which is different between these features described above for Scots and for the non-standard northern English dialects: prestige. It is fairly safe to say that the majority of highly educated speakers in England will not use any of the above features concerning non-standard English dialects, especially the ones on negation and double modals. In Scotland, this is different. Although we do not often find any of these features in formal talk or in

formal writings, they are used by highly educated speakers of Standard Scottish English. A reason of why these features are accepted in this way in Scotland may be that they are from Scots, which used to be the national language of Scotland, and although speaking Scots itself is nowadays maybe associated with non-standard speech and has a low prestige, it is however allowed (in the social sense of the word) to use such features as described above as interlopers in the normal Standard Scottish English flow of speech. The reason why this is 'allowed' is probably because of the process described above in section 1.2.2 concerning the decline of the prestige of Scots language; a process away from speaking Scots towards more Standard English by the aristocracy and middle classes, but one which has failed to erradicate all those elements, which is why we today speak of Standard Scottish English, and why the features described above are found to be acceptable in Scottish society.

We will now take a closer look at the present state of affairs concerning Scots language in light of any possible favourable shift or revival.

1.5. SCOTS: LIVE AND LET DIE?

The question now is, what is the present state of affairs of Scots: a dead language, a dialect under threat of dying, a minority language in need of reviving? One thing is clear, Scots, in either its 'ideal'-form or in its 'good' and 'bad' guise, still has a low-prestige status. Various scholars concerned with Scots have argued about whether or not Scots has been/is dying, and about its potential revival. The whole theory behind the 'dying' of a language has been entangled with emotions and ideological leanings. In that sense, writers have talked about the 'murder' of a language, or the 'suicide' of a language, or have come forward with a 'persecution' theory. The idea of a murder of a language is often hailed by those who support any encouragement and revival of a threatened language which

can easily lead to an oversimplification of matters to us-the-good-ones and a them-the-bad-ones. However, it is never just the one factor that is responsible for a language 'dying' or it can never be brought back to either being the fault of 'those who speak the new language' or of 'those who stopped speaking the old language and surrendered to the new one'. It is in actual fact not just a linguistic factor that causes language shift and which could ultimately lead to language death; it is a myriad of elements which all interplay to lead to the eventual judgement. The initial situation is usually that in one stated region/country two languages come into contact, and one of them has to give way. If this is not the case then you have stable diglossia or balanced bilingualism. The usual procedure is that prestige shifts from the first language to the newly arrived language, which eventually leads to a social downhill slide for the first language. Death sets in when the speakers of language 1 eventually completely adopt language 2 for all functions in society, leaving no use for language 1.

Nancy Dorian (1982) has talked extensively about the reasons that lie behind this language shift and possible language death which we will briefly discuss here before moving on to the specific situation of Scots. She describes language shift as "the gradual displacement of one language by another in the lives of the community members" (Dorian 1982:44). The major element at work is, as mentioned before, prestige, which affects the amount of official support a language receives. This prestige, or the rise and demise of prestige for a given language is strongly linked to the economic and political (mis)fortunes of a region/country to which a particular language is connected. "Where an empire appears, it is almost certain that the official language of that empire will spread at the expense of the languages of lesser powers which are absorbed by, or even just administered by, the imperial power" (Dorian 1982:45). The only way to combat this language shift happening is when the language community whose language is under threat has an extremely strong cultural tradition that ensures

its language survives. One example of a language surviving a conquering power, as given by Dorian (1982:46) is Greek against the domination of the Romans. A more recent example is the Welsh language against English. However, economic and social conditions are vital to the position of a certain language. As Dorian points out here, language loyalty is not a certain bet either:

> Language loyalty persists as long as the economic and social circumstances are conductive to it, but if some other language proves to have greater value, a shift to that other language begins. (Dorian 1982:47)

To counteract any act of shift leading to death, there are many examples around the world of language revivals going on. Most of them are linked with politics, and in particular with nationalism. There are very few success stories. Among them Finnish, which managed to regain prestige against Swedish, and Czech which managed to do the same against the German from the Austro-Hungarian Empire once Czechoslovakia became independent. There are however more stories about the failure to do the same for other languages, one of them being Irish.

We will now take a closer look at the notion that Scots is a language under threat. We have already demonstrated how and why the shift from Scots towards English took place, but we will now look at why some people reckon Scots is dying out and whether there is any potential to revitalise the language to its former glory.

The idea of Scots 'dying out' started in the first half of the 18th century. The earliest mention of this thought was made by Lord Cockburn, a celebrated Edinburgh judge and raconteur, who declared in 1838 that Scots was "going out as a spoken tongue every year" (Robinson 1987: xii). To him this was an exclamation of nostalgic regret at the demise of so rich and expressive a tongue. In 1786, however, other voices had already been raised in support of the total extinction of Scots, a phenomenon which has been called The Pinkerton Syndrome by J.D.McClure, after an 18th century Scottish historian, John Pinkerton, who

stated in a preface to a collection called Ancient Scottish Poems, never before in print, that:

> ...none can more sincerely wish a total extinction of the Scottish colloquial dialect than I do, for there are few modern scotticisms which are not barbarisms...Yet I believe, no man of either kingdom would wish an extinction of the Scottish dialect in poetry.   (Kay 1988: 106)

In other words, Scots was put inside a cupboard only to be taken out for the use of poetry. McClure explains that :

> The Pinkerton Syndrome is ...an attempt to retain traces of a Scottish identity without disturbing the 'British' status quo. The study of the things that once gave Scotland its distinctive national character but are now safely consigned to the past is permissible or even meritorious...
> (Kay1988:106)

At the same moment that these statements (Cockburn's and Pinkerton's) were made, suggestions arose for restoring or reviving Scots. The first steps in that direction were the notion of establishing a body for writing of prose. This never really succeeded, although contributions were made in the 1970s and 1980s with the translation of the New Testament into Scots by W.L. Lorimer in 1983 as one of the highest achievements. Billy Kay places the moment of the Scots tongue 'dying' at the time of Burns and Allan Ramsay, when he mentions:

> Lacking the support of the establishment, the survival of the Scots tradition now depended on individuals going against their socialisation and saving Scots from the imminent death the establishment wished on the language and to a lesser extent its literature. This had been the case from Ramsay through to MacDiarmid.   (Kay 1988: 96)

Kay continues that the 18th and 19th century so-called revivalists of Scots wrote in Scots but in such a way that it reflected English ascendency. They dropped the old ways of spelling and based themselves on the English spelling system, which gave the false impression that Scots was derived from English, and, as Kay says, "in those days of ignorance about how languages evolve, this became the accepted myth. In other words, Scots came to be seen as a debased dialect of English, rather than the dialect remnants of what was once the national language of Stewart Scotland." (Kay 1988: 103). But as Kay reminds us, despite

the pressures against the language, and all the talk about it 'dying out', "the thrawn auld raucle tongue" was still very much in use at the turn of the 19th century:

> The working class spoke nothing else, the upper class was now admitting that they had spoken it until recently and the only section which now stood as a bulwark against the 'barbaric dialect' was the expanding middle class, who again would have spoken Scots against their better wishes. (Kay 1988: 109)

One could say that when people were remarking that the Lowland Scots tongue was on the brink of death, what they meant was that the pure and the 'Ideal' Scots (as Aitken called it) was disappearing. Because of its loss of prestige it became, as mentioned above, a set of dialects divided into rural and urban ones. The idea of Scots disappearing was reinforced by the role the schools played in not only its presumed death, but also in its fall from grace.

In the next two chapters we will be looking at how nationalism and notions of identity interact with language, and specifically with language maintenance, and how all this works in Scotland, especially the role of nationalism in function of the revival process for the Scots language.

1.6. SUMMARY.

What we have discussed in this chapter is the meaning of the word 'Scots', what we imply by it and what it refers to. We have seen how difficult it is to give an exact definition, mainly because a definition is supposed to please everyone. In the matter of Scots it is very difficult to please everyone, because it is a sensitive subject. We have tried to decide what label to attach to Scots - 'language' or 'dialect' - but

have failed miserably. Most, if not all, academics will agree that Scots today is a set of dialects - not of English, but of a one-time Scots language.

From what we have seen there seems to be support for the re-establishment of Scots as a 'national language'. This is especially mentioned by Kay, McClure, and others who are nationalists, and see an improvement in the status of Scots only happening in an Independent Scotland. Whether this implies that there is a link between language and nationalism in Scotland is what we shall look into in the next two chapters.

CHAPTER 2: IDENTITY AND NATIONALISM:
THE INTERACTION WITH LANGUAGE.

2.0. INTRODUCTION.

In this chapter we shall look at the concepts of identity and nationalism in a general context. We shall try to define them, explain them and illustrate with examples. We shall then proceed to examine the role of language in relation to identity and nationalism, giving examples of where this interaction exists and how the relationship functions, while also taking a closer look at Language Planning. We shall consider three examples of places and peoples where language, identity and nationalism do form a strong link (Canada, Wales and Norway) to be able to compare better in the next chapter the situation concerning the language, identity and nationalism relationship in Scotland and to find a reason for the existence of the notion that Scottish Independence will lead to a re-evaluation of the status of Scots.

All this is seen in the light of recent developments in the EU, where the desire to deal with regions rather than with 'whole countries' is becoming greater, as is the number of regions that want to opt for federalism.

First we will study the notion of identity, including the different types of identity such as group identity, national identity and ethnic identity.

2.1. IDENTITY.

Before we take a closer look at what the specialised literature says about the notion of identity, we shall consider what the dictionary says on the subject. The following is taken from the Longman Dictionary of Contemporary English (1989: 517):

> **i-den-ti-ty** n.1.[C;U] who or what a particular person or thing is...I *she experienced a* **loss of identity** I *an* **identity crisis** *after giving up her career to get married.* (= felt as if she lacked self-confidence and had no particular purpose in life) **2**. [U] sameness; exact likeness.

And the following definition is a translation from the Dutch dictionary Koenen Handwoordenboek (1979:554)[2] :

> **identity** 1. equality; unity of being: *to prove his* ~ to prove that one is the person one claims to be...2. own character/personality; the individual distinguishing mark...~ **loss** the loss of one's own personality/character.

Both these definitions concentrate on the individual, as indicated by words such as 'own character/personality' and 'of a particular person or thing', but both definitions also point towards the aspect of 'sameness', 'equality', 'exact likeness' and 'unity of being'. However, there is no mention of a group's identity, or a national identity. In fact, a group's or a nation's identity could easily be attributed the characteristics given in both these definitions, such as 'sameness', 'equality' and 'exact likeness'. Nevertheless, there is more to the group's and nation's identity than that. We shall not consider the individual's identity *per se* anymore, as that would lead us too much into the realm of psycho-analysis and psychology and it is not of interest to us here. But we do need to say a little about the formation of an individual's identity as it is inextricably bound together with the formation of a group's identity.

We can definitively state that a person's identity is partly innate and that there are processes we cannot avoid which contribute to the formation of someone's identity. Certain things about us are unavoidable and unchangeable: genetic structure, sex and skin (although modern science has made it possible to alter these to some extent), and where and when we are born. The very fact that some people would want to change these so-called unchangeable facts (such as genderchange, etc) is already part of a process of identity formation. But these are extreme cases. In most instances the formation of an individual's identity is predominantly done through identification with a group of people with similar characteristics and by distancing

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2 Original version: **Identiteit**' v (Fr.) 1. gelijkheid; eenheid van wezen: zijn ~ bewijzen bewijzen dat men de persoon is voor wie men zich uitgeeft; ...2. eigen karakter; het individuele kenmerk. ...~**sverlies** o het teloorgaan van het eigen karakter.

themselves from groups of people which show differences from that individual's characteristics. As Penrose explains, it is all a matter of degree, it envolves partial similarity and it is a temporary thing:

> The similarity...is partial because it is based on a few characteristics of the individuals concerned. It is temporary because the individual members change over time and ...they may alter the prioritisation of characteristics which shape their personal identity and their group memberships may change accordingly. ...The similarity is a matter of degree because it is contingent on the designation of difference between the group which it defines and individuals or groups from which it is distinguished. (Penrose 1995:402)

A group's identity is about 'distinguishing marks' which are selected and which are changeable. Fishman (1991:30) remarks that like virtually all animal species who naturally live primarily among their own, humans are raised in a particular society and culture and are taught to behave following its norms. Fishman states that :

> it is only natural to come to prefer one's kith and kin , to feel more comfortable in their company, to appeal to them for help and to help them in return, to be concerned for the continuity of the practices and values that are shared with them. ...It [values] is their guide to life, and when it is threatened they tend to come to its defence or assistance. ...These beliefs, convictions and attitudes may vary somewhat from person to person and from period to period, within a culture, but without their consistency and coherence the culture itself can have no intergenerational continuity.

This would then be the basis of that group's identity: the 'sameness' between a number of people, an 'equality' and 'exact likeness'. One could also say that a group's identity is based not only on the sameness between its members, but also on how one group is different from other groups. The 'distinguishing marks' are different according to different groups of people, but the basics are the same, i.e. there are a number of elements which incorporate those distinguishing marks: age, sex, social class, geography, language, religion, etc. Not all groups find all of these features fundamental to their group identity, but several of these features will be a part of that identity.

These distinguishing marks have been called 'core values' by Smolicz (1981:104-124). He defines them as follows:

> Core values can be regarded as forming one of the most fundamental components of a group's culture. They generally represent its very heartland and act as identifying values which are symbolic of the group and its membership. Rejection of core values carries with it the threat of exclusion from the group. ...Core values are singled out for special attention because they provide the indispensable link between the group's cultural and social systems. Indeed, it is through core values that social groups can be identified as distinctive ethnic, religious, scientific or other cultural communities.

Smolicz continues by adding that core values are inextricably linked to the concept of identity. Either the core values are defined in terms of the social system or the social system is defined in terms of the core values of the group members. The link between the two is provided by the notion of solidarity, contends Smolicz, which differentiates between the members and the non-members of a group and its identity. Parsons (1973:34) makes a distinction between collective identification and one that binds the individual to the group and its main values via a personal sense of 'belonging' which he calls 'loyalty' (we shall see in the next chapter how this sense of 'belonging' is portrayed in Scotland and how 'loyalty' is expressed when it comes to being identified as being Scottish). Here we come to the matter of personal values, which are tied up in the core values of a group. The individual selects values from the group's core values and organises them according to his/her own interests. As far as identity is concerned, says Smolicz (1981:114), we are really dealing with a person's attitudes towards the core values of a particular social group. In this sense, the attitudes of individuals within a group towards the group's core values are important. For if several individuals no longer find a certain core value to be of importance then what we see is the disintegration of that particular core value leading to its eventual loss as part of the set of core values of a group.

The importance of a core value is ultimately decided by the people in the group, which in turn depends on their attitude towards the identity markers of their group.

2.1.1. ETHNICITY.

The subject of ethnicity is very intricate, and needs proper definition. This, however, seems to be a problem if one scans through the literature on this topic. Nowhere is there a useful definition of 'ethnicity'. This is somewhat surprising if one considers the fact that the idea of ethnicity is as old as human kind. As Edwards (1994: 125) points out, most attempts at defining ethnicity resulted in something close to "a sense of group identity deriving from real or perceived common bonds such as language, race or religion". This is of no assistance whatsoever, as the definition leaves more questions unanswered than it tries to answers. What are the most 'common bonds'? What does 'real or perceived common bonds' mean?

The only help we have is an enumeration of themes that recurs throughout the literature concerning ethnicity. The best example of such an enumeration is given by Fishman (1989:5-8, 10-20, 23-47), who has written several remarkable and invaluable essays on the matter but without giving a precise definition of ethnicity, or examining the relationship between ethnicity, identity and nationalism.

Fishman (1989:5) mentions about definitions:

> I do not believe in worrying endlessly about definitions, but some preliminary demarcation of the field of discourse is, obviously, both necessary and desirable.

He then continues by identifying the characteristics of ethnicity by demonstrating what ethnicity is not and by examining how it links with other concepts such as language, racism and religion. These characteristics are what we shall explore now. From them we shall derive the definition of ethnicity as it is presented by Edwards (1994: 128) which is given below (page 72).

Fishman (1989:5) begins by stating some themes which belong to ethnicity. Ethnicity is concerned with the self-and-other; it is a total of units which can

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comprise the smallest units and the largest ones from bands, clans and settlements to entire regions or countries; ethnicity is self-contained, self-sufficient, culturally autonomous and societally complete inter-generationally continuous and historically deep. Ethnicity exists as it is recognized, interpreted and experienced. It is recognised bodily, implemented behaviourally and evaluated emotionally. It is subjective, a cultural construct that "fills and directs the hearts and minds and daily rounds of human beings....It provides a distinctive way of understanding life, history, the world, the universe." (Fishman 1989:6). To give it all a clearer picture, Edwards (1994: 125-127) lists about 6 themes which are integral parts of a definition of ethnicity. All items relate back to what Fishman noted in 1989.

Firstly, there is the mistake of equating ethnicity with minority groups. As Fishman states:

> The pan-Western tendency to equate the two is merely the result of the disadvantages of minority ethnic groups, indigenous or immigrant, on the one hand, and a carry over of the older pejorative equation between ethnicity and lack of 'Christian civility', on the other hand.   (Fishman 1989:7)

The original meaning of ethnicity comes from the Greek Ethnos, meaning nation. It implied the idea of a common-descent group. Historically however it has always been associated with pagans, heathens, un-christianity and non-jewishness. It was stigmatised as being associated with barbarians, outsiders, misfits, and with the unknown. Even today it is often used in the sense of a minority group. If people talk about the music of the aboriginals in Australia, they will often refer to it as 'ethnic music'. Nevertheless, ethnicity refers to dominant groups as well as to minority groups, although the former will probably not consider themselves as being an ethnic group at all, but they can be seen in this way. We deal here with universal features of human life - which are, naturally, emphasised more in some contexts than in others. Minority-group members, whose identity appears at risk, are thus

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much more likely to stress their groupness than are majority-group members, many of whom will find nationalism and its agitations foreign and disturbing.

Secondly there is the existence of ethnic boundaries. This is something of an abstract notion, introduced by Barth (1969), who perceived ethnicity to mean a 'self-recognition [which] contains within itself a recognition that there are other collectivities whose ethnicity is different' (Fishman 1977: 26). According to Barth the boundaries that encompass cultures may change but the actual existence of those boundaries will outlive those changes. Barth maintains that when trying to pin down an ideal definition of ethnicity, this type of definition:

> prevents us from understanding the phenomenon of ethnic groups and their place in human society and culture. This is because it begs all the critical questions, and implies a preconceived view of what are the significant factors in the genesis, structure, and function of such groups. ...It allows us to assume that boundary maintenance is unproblematic and follows from the isolation which the itemized characteristics imply: racial difference, cultural difference, etc.
>
> (Barth 1969:10-11)

What Barth says makes sense, but we must recognise that people do actually believe that they live in a distinct ethnic or racial group. This belief is based on identity. Every group agrees on the terms and norms of that identity and how to use it. As Le Page & Tabouret-Keller (1985: 208) explain,

> words that are used in discourse illuminate the concept each user attaches to each term. Such terms function as symbols ready at hand for identities to hang on, providing the links between individuals and groups, the instruments therefore of identification. They allow the members of a group to achieve unity by 'focusing' their use of the terms; at the same time they mediate the concepts of differences between (perhaps also of barriers between) individuals, and between groups.

Edwards (1994:126) points out that the cultural content within the boundaries is still very important. Examining the characteristics which have disappeared or become less obvious (as opposed to looking at those that are still there) shows not only how content may change over the course of time but may also "elucidate the ways in which boundaries are maintained in the face of changing circumstances. As a

more specific instance we might consider that the decline of an original group language represents a change in cultural content - the loss of that language as a regular communicative instrument, and the adoption of another." But, Edwards adds, "to the extent to which language remains as a valued symbolic feature of group life, it may yet contribute to the maintenance of boundaries."

A third feature of ethnic identity mentioned by Edwards is the character of the definitions, i.e. they are either objective or subjective. The objective ones concern such features as linguistic, racial, geographical, religious, ancestral, etc. Ethnicity is here seen as an historical certainty giving enough ground to distinguish between groups involuntarily (as opposed to clubs and societies where membership occurs on a voluntary basis). Edwards, however, points to the difficulties that lie in this objective definition of ethnicity. This aspect of involuntary approach does not explain why people cling to their ethnic group generation after generation even though the contents change over time. As Barth said, the continuity of group boundaries tends to outlive the cultural contents.

Only the subjective definition can tackle this problem. Shibutani and Kwan (1965: 40-41) identify an ethnic group as "consisting of people who conceive of themselves as being of a kind ... united by emotional bonds. ...Far more important however is their belief that they are of common descent." Weber (1968:389) said "we shall call 'ethnic groups' those human groups that entertain a subjective belief in their common descent...it does not matter whether or not an objective blood relationship exists. Ethnic membership ...differs from the kinship group precisely by being a presumed identity." Here, ethnicity is a matter of belief supported by a sense of peoplehood and shared values. Again, however, this subjective definition seems to be based on ancestry. In the end, Edwards proposes to fuse the two types of definitions. This means that although the objective definitions try and refrain from touching the emotional side of ethnic identity by concentrating on the linguistic,

racial, geographical items, the subjective definitions add a sense of emotion to why people after generations still cling to their ethnic identity. The idea is then that the emotional bond people have, the belief in and sense of a shared ancestry and value-system is maintained via the objective features such as the preservation of the language, the religion and the geographical area. Basically, Edwards suggests that both definitions should go hand in hand. He adds that this mix is not paradoxical. As Barth mentioned with his boundaries: the contents may change over time, but the boundaries remain. Here Edwards draws the parallel that the subjective matter may change over time but the essence of the group still remains.

Eventually, Edwards feels he has enough to attempt a definition of ethnic identity:

> Ethnic identity is allegiance to a group - large or small, socially dominant or subordinate - with which one has ancestral links. There is no necessity for a continuation, over generations, of the same socialization or cultural patterns, but some sense of a group boundary must persist. This can be sustained by shared objective characteristics (language, religion, etc.), or by more subjective contributions to a sense of 'groupness', or by some combination of both. Symbolic or subjective attachments must relate, at however distant a remove, to an observably real past. (Edwards 1994: 128)

This shall be our working definition of ethnic identity. This definition will be important to our discussion later of Scottish identity and ethnicity, as we will be looking at what determines a person as 'being Scottish' where we will be evaluating what objective and subjective characteristics contribute to the formation of Scottish identity. From what we shall see in Chapter 3, the 'observably real past' is a major issue for sociologists and anthropologists who deal with matters such as 'Scotch Myths', and Scotland's history as either being important to being Scottish or to Scottish Culture or not.

There are certain concepts to which ethnicity is usually linked. These include racism, ethnic conflict and nationalism. We shall briefly discuss the first two here; the matter of nationalism will be handled in the second part of this chapter below.

2.1.1.1. ETHNIC CONFLICT.

Fishman (1989:6) mentions that ethnicity is not distinctly related to inter-group conflict, although it may become the basis of such conflict but,

> similar bases can develop from any and all other aggregative principles, be they religious, economic, occupational, residential, political, ideological, etc.

This darker side of ethnicity is not unique. The idea of the negative side of nationalism was first suggested by Plato and carried on through centuries of intellectuals' opinions such as Lord Acton and John Stuart Mill. For them, as Fishman (1989:13) points out, "state-forming ethnicity was nothing but the disrupter of civility, a base passion, a nightmare, a wild evil that still lurked in the backward parts of Europe but that had, thank God, already been tamed and superseded in Great Britain, France, Spain , Holland and in the other early and enlightened beneficiaries of political consolidating and econo-technical growth." At the same time there was a rise of opinions which suggested that there were 'legitimate' and 'illegitimate' language movements. It was considered benign when such language movements were by-products of continuous governmental, commercial, military and religious stability. If on the other hand, it involved some 'group' [or a nationality as Fishman calls it-1989:13] which had the aim of creating a state of its own and using the ethnic dimension as one of the motivations, then this was seen as being "unnatural, unjust, unwise, and simply a wild and wanton disruption of peace and civility." This was very much the way it was seen when any rebellions or uprisings [1715, 1745] were likely to disrupt the 'peace and tranquillity' of the Union between Scotland and England.

> ... Indeed, the evil, instinctual penchant of 'illegitimate' language-and-ethnicity movements to undertake disruptive state-formation was thought to be the basic negative dynamic of minority ethnicity with politically troublesome collectivities, with rambunctious minorities, with 'difficult' peripheral and vestigial populations, began long ago.   (Fishman 1989:13)

One example of this one-sided view are the problems in the former Yugoslavia today. They are invariably held up as examples of the 'dangers' of ethnicity and of

nationalism . Fishman asserts that even today the supporters of those opinions are still very much alive. They mostly deny any subjective use or functional need for ethnicity and only see the negative side of it.

2.1.1.2. RACISM.

The matter of ethnicity and racism also bears the same complications as the notion 'ethnic conflict' related to mismanagement of the words. Fishman explains the difficulty today in talking about racism:

> Racism is one of many words that have been so broadened in modern, popular usage as to have lost their utility. Democracy and socialism are two other such terms, but whereas the latter have become all-purpose terms of approbation ..., the former has become an all-purpose put-down. (Fishman 1989:17)

Fishman continues to add that he shall limit the semantic range of 'racism'. The distinction between racism and ethnicity is that racism focuses more on the being and on the matter of respect between ethnic groups.

> Ethnicity is an enactment (often unconscious) and a celebration of authenticity. Racism inevitably involves more heightened consciousness than does ethnicity, not only because it is an 'ism', but because its focus is not merely on authenticity and the celebration of difference or collective individuality, but on the evaluation of difference in terms of inherent better or worse, higher or lower, entirely acceptable and utterly objectionable.

Racism involves hierarchy, dominance, superiority over races, and mastery over other people. There is of course, as was the case with ethnic conflict, a risk that ethnicity develops into ethnocentrism which would then be regarded as a form of racism, and maybe one could state that some degree of ethnocentrism is found in most cultures, but this is not the norm. If it was the norm there would be cases like Yugoslavia every single day and there would be constant fighting everywhere. The fact that this ethnocentrism never takes on the proportions of leading to a full-scale war is due to cross-ethnic knowledge and experience of other cultures. As Fishman states: "Characteristic of postmodern ethnicity is the stance of simultaneously transcending ethnicity as a complete, self-contained system, but of retaining it as a

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selectively preferred, evolving, participatory system. This leads to a kind of self-correction from within and from without, which extreme nationalism and racism do not permit." (Fishman 1989:18). Recently, the use of the word 'racism' has expanded by being used for white people as well. It is not a word that is necessarily restricted to the so-called 'ethnic minorities' in 'White Europe'. There was a case reported in the media of an Irishman who took his British colleagues to court on the grounds of racism. Racism is a concept which applies to all people and all races. It is invariably held to be only committed by whites towards blacks, but groups in Asia and The Middle East are far from immune to racism. We shall discuss the matters of ethnicity and identity in more detail as we come to the third section in this chapter which deals with the relationship of identity and nationalism with language.

From ethnicity we now pass on to nationalism. This subject invariably rouses people's sentiments as it is a fairly 'touchy' subject to handle. Especially today with the rise of nationalism in Europe and with the situation today in the former Yugoslavia the misunderstandings, misinterpretations and misconceptions about nationalism are abundant. We shall now look into the matter of nationalism and define its link with ethnicity .

2.2. NATIONALISM

Nationalism is a controversial subject to discuss. It evokes a range of emotions going from hostile to positive reactions. The semantic range of some words needs to be redefined, as we saw when handling the topic of 'racism'. The same holds true for the notion 'nationalism'. Just like 'ethnicity', 'ethnic conflict' and 'racism', the word 'nationalism' has been mistreated and misused. It has even come this far that this misusage is now printed in dictionaries, as the following excerpt demonstrates from Longman's Dictionary of Contemporary English (1989:692):

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na.tion.al.ism ...*n* [U] **1.** *sometimes derog* love of and pride in one's own country, esp. believing it to be better than any other country **2** desire by a NATIONALITY (2) to form an independent country: *Scottish nationalism.*

In the introduction to their book entitled <u>Nationalism,</u> Hutchinson and Smith

(1994:3) say:

> It [nationalism] spills over into any number of cognate subjects: race and racism, fascism, language development, political religion, communalism, ethnic conflict, international law, protectionism, minorities, gender, immigration, genocide. The forms that nationalism takes have been kaleidoscopic: religious, conservative, liberal, fascist, communist, cultural, political, protectionist, integrationist, separatist, irredentist, diaspora, pan, etc. The fluidity and variety of national sentiments, national aspirations, and national cultural values create another obstacle to systematic research, as do the many differences in national identities.

As Hutchinson & Smith (1994:4-13) explain, the notion of nationalism comprises several concepts: nation, autonomy, unity and identity. We shall not try to give detailed accounts of each of these concepts, but a general overview will be given of how they link to make up nationalism. We shall then continue to give a very brief overview of how nationalism has evolved, and to see how it has become associated primarily with the 'supremacy of nations'-idea.

The idea of 'nation' is a complex one. It entails collective identity, but one of a different nature to class, region, gender and race. There seems to be disagreement among scholars dealing with the concept of 'nation' about the balance between subjective and objective elements and about the role of ethnic and national identity. In extrapolating this then to the notion of 'nationalism' we encounter the same problem: some say nationalism means 'national sentiment', others equate it with 'nationalist ideology and language' or with 'nationalist movements'. It seems that the answer is an amalgam of these ideas with a balance created between the cultural and political aspects of nationalism. In its early footsteps, nationalism was a mere ideological movement. For Rousseau, Herder, Fichte, Korais and Mazzini nationalism was all about autonomy, self-government, unity and authentic identity. It was

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mostly a doctrine of popular freedom and sovereignty (Hutchinson & Smith 1994:4). It was mostly manifested by intellectuals in society who would draw comparisons with the Ancient Greeks and Romans, such as Jonathan Richardson did for the English, when he claimed: "There is a haughty Courage, an Elevation of Thought, a Greatness of Taste, a Love of Liberty, a Simplicity and Honesty among us, which we inherit from our Ancestors, and which belongs to us as Englishmen: and 'tis in These this Resemblance consists" (Richardson 1725: 222-224, as quoted in Smith 1991:85). This outlook was later adopted in Germany and influenced the ideas of writers such as Herder and Goethe.

Nationalism became explicitly obvious politically in for instance 1775 with the First Partition of Poland. This was followed in 1776 by the signing of the American Declaration of Independence and in 1789 by the French Revolution (Hutchinson & Smith 1994:6). Before that there had been 'acts of nationalism' in the course of history such as the unending wars between France and England, and between Spain and the Dutch, but these, although very obvious nationalistic in essence too, were predominantly religious wars. The nationalist cause was not put to the forefront of the reasons given to declare war; religion was. The first real mention of nationalism on paper was in 1807 when Fichte wrote his Addresses to the German Nation. It was a nationalism based on that of the ancient Greek and Roman models especially the patriotism of the polis and its emphasis on civic virtue and solidarity. It was during the above mentioned revolutions that nationalism underwent social, political and intellectual developments which led to radical politics. Most nationalist ideas started with the aristocracy which were then followed by a romantic movement of intellectuals. Examples since the American and French revolutions of nationalism leading to the existing states of today are abundant and too numerous to mention here. One sort of nationalistic movement was the 'anti-colonial' one which led to the creation of new states independent from Imperial Rulers. This brought about Arab Indian, Jewish and African nationalisms, often

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developing to Pan-Arabism, Pan-Jewish (the Diaspora), Pan-Africanism and Hindu nationalism.

With the emergence of racism into nationalism many historians and political scientists started to attribute a derogatory meaning to 'nationalism'. As Hutchinson & Smith (1994:9) mention:

> They have tended to see in fascism and especially Nazism the logical culmination of nationalist ideas and practices; common to both were a belief in heroic struggle, the idea of the Volk, racial imperialism and agrarian settlement, the appeal to collective will and brutal instincts, and obedience to charismatic leaders.

But, as the authors add,

> These are the nationalisms of late development, and they mark the evolution of the inner 'subjective' tendencies inherent in nationalism as it interacts with a modern political economy. For other scholars, fascism and Nazism were products of a specific phase of modern European history; they were essentially totalitarian movements, tied to a particular period of industrialization and democratization. Though they had nationalist harbingers and historical links with specific nationalisms, fascist movements and Nazism owed more to social Darwinian ideas of racial struggle and eugenics and to doctrines of state power and authoritarian militarism, which flourished especially among the lower middle classes in the wake of the Great War and the failures of orthodox nationalisms and parliamentary democracy after 1918.

It must be remembered that the rise of Nazism had fertile ground to grow on. The German economy was at a very low ebb, with large numbers of the population unemployed and starving. The Treaty of Versailles had placed unrealistic demands on Germany with the results that when Hitler proposed to revive the economy, his proposal was readily accepted. The scene was set for Nazism to grow, with its emotional appeal to the hurt pride of the Germans after WWI caused partly by the defeat but primarily by the Treaty of Versailles.

Besides the influence of Nazism, the Second World War had also underlined the existence of nationalism with the European and non-European Resistance movements against the German and Japanese aspirations for an Empire. Due to the horrors of Nazism, ethnic and nationalist ideas were now obsolete and became stigmatised, especially since people associated it with racism (and its link to Nazism). However,

the demands since the 1950s for ethnic autonomy in Quebec, Scotland, Wales, Flanders, Brittany, Catalonia, etc made many people react negatively towards any ideas of nationalism. No matter how 'tame' these nationalisms are, with the outbreak of the war in the former Yugoslavia, the dark side of nationalism (which many people consider to be the whole of nationalism) has been associated with the rise of neo-Nazism and anti-Semitism both in Western and Eastern European states. This had led people to over-generalise and consider all forms of nationalism bad. They are all seen as dangers to regional and global peace and security.

In describing nationalism we can draw parallels to ethnicity, which we have discussed before. What is the difference between nationalism and ethnicity - if there is any?

Edwards (1994:129) asserts that they are not identical, even though they have much in common such as the idea of belonging to a group. He argues that nationalism can be seen as an extension of ethnicity with the addition of the desire for political autonomy and self-government. So, it seems then that nationalism is ethnicity with the political dimensions added to it.

Edwards (1994:130) concludes that:

> consequently, it is prudent to add that nationalism - with its associated desires for sovereignty, autonomy and so on - essentially grew out of existing ethnicities. One might say that it was in the rhetoric surrounding the French Revolution in 1789 that nationalism, national loyalty, the notion of the 'fatherland' [la patrie] and, above all, the belief in unity and autonomy first found forceful expression.

From this we conclude that the French Revolution was the end of Regionalism and the beginning of *Nation*alism. It was the start of the idea of a *unified* France, where everyone spoke French - this replacing the erstwhile division into regions where instead of saying 'We are French' people would say 'I am from Provence, Languedoc, Normandy, etc'.

We now come to the point where we can make a distinction between nationalism, nationalist sentiment and nationalist movement.

As we saw earlier, the concept of 'nation' is an old term with a varied pedigree whereas the word 'nationalism' is a fairly recent one, dating back to the end of the 18th century.

Today we find a variety of (usually negative) attitudes towards nationalism, which as we saw has a lot to do with the 'darker side' of nationalism which is generally regarded as its main feature. This can easily be traced back to the Second World War and the influence of Nazism. Today in Western Europe it is not advisable to call oneself a nationalist, for as we saw the word is regarded to imply a connection to extreme right-wing movements such as Le Pen's 'Front National' in France or the Flemish independent movement 'Vlaams Blok' (both known for their fascist ideas). The situation in the former Yugoslavia has only reinforced this misconstrued idea that nationalism and fascism are the same. The cause of the confusion and the reason for the negative attitudes towards the term 'nationalism' can be found in the 18th century. It was used as a synonym for chauvinism and national egotism. This can be found even today in the dictionary definitions of the word nationalism as we saw at the beginning of this section. It is often equated to 'Ueberwertung der eigenen Nation'[3] as Smith (1973:21) puts it. One dictionary which gave the subtle difference between the layers of nationalism is Robert's Dictionnaire Alphabetique (Smith 1973:21). Although it also mentions xenophobia as one of the features of nationalism, it states that:

> Nationalism: (1) Exaltation of the national sentiment; a passionate attachement to what makes up the singular character, the traditions of a nation to which one belongs, accompanied sometimes by xenophobia and of a certain voluntary isolation. (2) Doctrine, political movement which claims the right for a nationality to form a nation which is more or less autonomous.[4]

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3 Translation: the overvaluation of one's own nation.
4 Original: Nationalisme: (1) Exaltation du sentiment national; attachement passione a ce qui constitue le caractere singulier, les traditions de la nation a laquelle on appartient, accompagne parfois de xenophobie et d'une certaine volonte d'isolement. (2) Doctrine, mouvement politique qui revendique pour une nationalite le droit de former une nation plus au moins autonome.

This points out the difference between what is called a 'nationalist movement' and 'nationalist sentiment'. The former is a number of activities and programmes of a political movement, whereas the latter is a bundle of sentiments and attitudes which are often passive and latent. This political movement of course makes use of nationalist sentiment, but there is a good deal more to these movements than merely that, and besides, one can have an intense national sentiment individually or as a group without having to be politically involved. National sentiment can be equated to the word 'patriotism', meaning :"love of one's country and readiness to defend it" (Oxford Advanced Learner's Dictionary 1989: 907).

Edwards in 1989 (:44) had said the following about nationalism after then having weighed the positive and the negative aspects of it:

> It [nationalism] shares with other varieties of groupness the following potential perils: a promotion and maintenance of 'us-and-them' boundaries, a de-emphasis of individual rights and interests, and a hardening of group interest into perceived superiority and racism. Nationalist identity also comprises romanticised yearnings for a past which, suitably interpreted and restructured, is seen as a bulwark against present inequalities or indignities. It can change quickly from a radical ideology to a reactionary one. It can be static or regressive in the face of unpalatable aspects of modernity.

Fishman (1977) and Smith (1973) both point out that statements like the above are not necessarily true, and that nationalism and ethnicity are not inherently negative phenomena: "It is unfortunate to confuse the exploitation of ethnicity with the phenomenon of ethnicity per se" (Fishman 1977:43). As far as its 'yearning for the past' is concerned, Fishman comments: "Nationalism is not so much backward-oriented as much as it seeks to derive unifying and energising power from widely held images of the past in order to overcome a quite modern kind of fragmentation and loss of identity" (Fishman, 1972:9).

Finally we shall take the definition given by Smith of nationalism and national sentiment as the ones we shall work with, just as we took Edwards' definition of ethnicity as the one we will use here too.

National Sentiment: a consciousness of belonging to a nation and feeling of solidarity with its members; also aspirations for the nation's strength, liberty and unity.
Nationalism: an ideological movement for the attainment and maintenance of autonomy and individuality for a social group, some of whose members conceive it to constitute an actual or potential nation.   (Smith   1973:26)

We shall now take a closer look to the role of language in matters of nationalism and identity to see if there is a connection, whether or not language is an integral part of nationalism and of identity, or whether it is merely used as such by the nationalist movements to stir emotions and thus rally people to the cause. As we shall see this subject can become quite complex, but it needs explanation as we shall later on try to relate all this to the specific matter of Scotland , Scottish Nationalism and the Scots language (see Chapter 3, page 85)

2.3.   LANGUAGE AND THE INTERACTION WITH IDENTITY AND   NATIONALISM.

In this section we shall consider what we mentioned about identity and nationalism and relate what we found to the notion of language. We shall look into the background of the connection between language and nationalism and identity, finding its roots as a philosophy in German Romanticism. An overview will be given of people and places where strong links exist between language, nationalism and identity. This will be followed by an outline of what constitutes a minority group/language, and how they survive, bringing us into the areas of language shift/maintenance and eventually to the process of Language Planning.

To many people it seems impossible to imagine nationalism without it having some kind of relationship with language. Language is seen as an "outward sign of a group's peculiar identity and a significant means of ensuring its continuation." (Kedourie 1961:71).

The identity of a nation seems to be bound especially with individual and collective memory. Burke (1782, as mentioned in Williams 1993:5) thought that historical continuity was expressed mostly through the (legal and political) institutions and is one of the main methods of national identification (he cites France and Scotland as examples of this). However,

> for peoples without a separate institutional state apparatus, such as the Germans, Welsh, Slavs, Basques...this attempt to make state and nation co-terminous was not possible....they had to exploit other resources and appeal to different norms...A prime element in this form of identity is of course language. Linguistic self-determination was to become the classic form of political revolution in the next century. (Williams 1993:5)

This idea of linking language with identity and with the nation started (in its philosophical form at least) in the late 18th century with German Romanticism, and more specifically with Herder, who posed the question:" Has a nation anything more precious than the language of its fathers?" (cited in Berlin 1976:165), and went on to say:

> What a treasure language is when kinship groups grow into tribes and nations. Even the smallest of nations...cherishes in and through its language the history, the poetry and songs about the great deeds of its forefathers. The language is its collective treasure.   (cited in Barnard 1969:165)

For Herder the loss of language was equal to the loss of identity. It was during this period of German Romanticism that there came about this notion of a Volk, of a mystical connection between nation and language. For Herder language was central to everything because language was what made us part of the human race.

> Language has endowed us with the capacity to relate to others over space and through time. In that sense language is society. Yet each community has a unique contribution to make to the common fund of human experience and values. If we move beyond the conventional association of language with words, verbs, nouns, construction of sentences and interpret language in a wider sense as the iconography of a people together with their form of dress, music, architecture and law ...then we conceive of a 'community' as the sum total of these modes of expression.   (Williams 1993:6)

As Edwards (1994:130) explains, the dialects of Europe which had survived the Enlightenment were idealised by those Romantics. This idealisation was then

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responsible for the revival movements of the 19th century. It was then that this concern for dialects and minority languages started. Before the Romantic era dialects and minority languages were not well thought of or prestigious. The language of the people in power mattered, not the language of the masses. This is clearly illustrated in 1830's Belgium, where in Flanders the common people spoke Flemish dialects (derived from Dutch) whereas the ruling classes spoke French. This corresponded to an old and general belief among the ruling classes in Europe that in a given place the language of the rulers was superior to any other language and was to be adopted by everyone else. They neglected the 'inferior' languages of the common people which were not considered adequate as a language for education or for government. This situation and perception of 'minority' languages subsequently changed with the emergence of the Romantic movement which forged a link between language and nation. As Edwards (1994:131) states: "Now, languages became a rallying-point, something to galvanize the downtrodden and to alarm the rulers."

The first to proclaim this link between nationalism and language was Johan Gottlieb Fichte who in 1807 declared that language was one of the foundations of nationalism. It has to be remembered that this was at the time when the map of Europe was changing dramatically. The beginning of the 19th century was the start of the unification of Germany. It was the beginning of the forging of a new German identity. This was the century of the first and second German Empires of William I, William II and Bismarck.

Fichte said that "it is true beyond doubt that wherever a separate language is found there a separate nation exists which has the right to take independent charge of its affairs and to govern itself" (Fichte 1922, as quoted in Williams 1993:5). He managed to dissipate any of the 'dark sides' of nationalism by emphasising not only the importance of his own language, but that of others too. However, he also wrote that:

> The German speaks a language which has been alive ever since it first issued
> from the force of nature, whereas the other Teutonic races speak a language
> which has movement on the surface only but is dead at the root.
>
> (Fichte   1968:58-59)

This does not make much sense linguistically speaking, but it does illustrate how sentiment, and especially linguistic sentiment, became one of the central points of nationalism.

These ideas stood central to the general description of nationalism as a doctrine with three major assumptions underlying it: 1) there is a natural division of humanity into nations, 2) these nations have identifiable characteristics and, 3) the only legitimate form of government is self-government (Edwards 1994:132). Kedourie (1969:68) stated that nationalism implied that "a group speaking the same language is known as a nation, and a nation ought to constitute a state." For Kedourie there were no various kinds of nationalism. The so-called different forms of nationalism were all essentially the same but they would embrace different features, or put a different emphasis on different features (such as language, race, religion, etc.). Edwards goes on to state Kedourie's own view on the concept of language and nationalism, i.e. he thought that possession of the same language should *not* entitle people to governmental autonomy. Political matters should not be based upon cultural criteria (Edwards 1994: 132).

Here we come to the word 'culture' and how we can identify a nation's culture. 'Culture' must be one of the most complicated words in the English language. Substantiating this notion is Wuthnow et al (1984:71) who remark on the word 'culture':

> Culture is, assuredly, a perplexing phenomenon - ubiquitous in presence,
> complex in detail, and as such overwhelming and incomprehensible in its
> totality and in its intricacy. Any attempts to grasp it all in analysis will,
> therefore, be frustrated from beginning to end.

Williams (1976:90) argues that there are three possible ways to explain culture: (1) the description of a "general process of intellectual, spiritual and aesthetic

development"; (2) general and specific reference to "a particular way of life"; (3) "the works and practices of intellectual and especially artistic activity". It is the second description by Williams that is important to nationalism according to Penrose (1995:398). Penrose argues that the main concept of nation in the Enlightenment and Romantic period was connected to three elements:

(1)   a distinctive group of people;
(2)   territory of this group of people;
(3)   the mystical bond that exists between the territory and the people.

> However, to claim a right to 'their territory', let alone a right to self-determination, a group of people must first demonstrate convincingly that they constitute a distinctive people.   (Penrose 1995:398)

For this they use cultural bases of which, Penrose claims, there are three: language, religion and tradition, along with two less "tangible" elements: history (or collective memory) and symbols with their shared meanings. (Penrose 1995:398-399).   If these cultural bases seem to be ebbing away slowly, especially if this is seen to be caused by an external force (i.e. an enemy towards the group), then they become the basis for nationalist movements. Penrose even goes as far as to state: "To my mind, it is impossible to conceive of a nationalist movement that does not, in some way, base its claim of a right to self-determination on language, religion, traditions, history, collective memory, symbols and/or shared meanings", and she continues to say,

> I think that 'cultural bases' are powerful legitimators of nationalism because they are constructed, promoted and perceived as essential to human beings and to the organisation of human society.   (Penrose 1995:400)

However, there are flaws in Kedourie's earlier argument that language is an essential part of nationalism and thus with Penrose's statement that language is one of the essential cultural bases which could ultimately become a ground for nationalism (see Chapter 3). There are in fact instances where language is not important to the national sentiment. Smith (1971:18-19) claims that in Africa

language is not at all seen as a nationalistic factor as it could easily lead to division in stead of unity. The same holds true in a country like Pakistan, where religion is much more important than language. He argues that the linguistic element is only of importance in Europe and to some extent in the Middle East and this in its turn is based on the German Romanticism we have discussed previously. Here we come to Smith's ideas of nationalism and how it ties in with the concept of ethnicity we described earlier. According to Smith's views the 'core doctrine' of nationalism does not prescribe its characteristics. Ethnicity can be seen as a larger form of nationalism which then includes the desire for self government in some form. And just as ethnicity does not necessarily require language at its core, neither does nationalism. This idea that there should not be any prerequisite for nationalism was suggested by Renan (Pischari 1947:899):" Il y a dans l'homme quelque chose de supérieur à la langue; c'est la volonté. ... Une nation est une âme, un principe spirituel"[5] .

However, it is clear that whatever criticisms may be made of ethnicity and nationalism they remain vital forces in group identity .

So, we come to the crucial question: what role does language play in (group) identity and nationalism? We shall now consider three examples of places and peoples where language, identity and nationalism do form a strong link to be able to compare better in the next chapter what exactly the situation is in Scotland and to find a reason for the existence of the notion that Scottish Independence will lead to a re-evaluation of the status of Scots.

2.3.1. EXAMPLES.

A. CANADA.

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[5] There is in man something superior to language; it is will...A nation is a soul, a spiritual prinicple

Nationalism and ethnicity are commonly associated only with minority groups under threat. That is not necessarily so. As Edwards (1994:134) points out:

> Just as the communicative-symbolic distinction applies to all languages, but is of greater interest when, under pressure, the elements threaten to split, so larger matters of group identity have a special piquancy when that identity is being assailed. The clash here, between a threatened ethnolinguistic group and some overarching mainstream or neighbour can often become on one of philosophies too.

One example that springs to mind is the Canadian one which tries to unite the English and French nations within itself. The major issue is the collective rights of semi-autonomous Canadian states that still preserve the individual rights. For the Quebecois this is represented by legislation to protect the French language and culture. Edwards (1994:134) quotes a Canadian lawyer as saying:" language implies a sense of community and in this sense language rights are not individual rights... They are exercised by individuals only as part of a collectivity or a group. Legal protection of language rights, therefore, means protection of that linguistic community."

The constitutional problems in Canada concerning Quebec have changed over the last twenty years. The matter of where Quebec stands in Canada has developed into a movement for Quebec Independence. As Keating (1995: 15) suggests:"Quebec and the rest of Canada are both seeking a formula for asserting their national identity in a changing and interdependent world. These nation-building projects are increasingly in conflict." Ever since the emergence of Canada as a separate nation there has been a Quebec 'problem' which was managed by a form of devolution. Quebec had its own government with extensive powers in matters of a cultural and social nature. As Keating (1995:16) adds, "it retained its educational system, its religious settlement, its language and its own civil code. At federal level, Quebec politicians occupied prominent positions in the main Canadian parties."

However, this system broke down during the 1960s when under the Liberal government reforms were suggested. The changes introduced during the 60s and 70s by the Liberal and the PQ [Parti Québecois] governments did not entail a loss of Quebec's francophone identity. In fact, this identity was updated and remoulded and became one of the main features of the new Quebec, whose slogan was 'Maitres Chez Nous' (Masters in our own house). This was accompanied by new language laws in the 1970s which wanted to promote the use of French in business. Its provisions were:

> a requirement for firms to use French in their business activities; a restriction on the ability of parents to send their children to English schools, with a view to ensuring the assimilation of immigrants into the French culture; a restriction on the use of languages other than French in commercial advertising.
>
> (Keating 1995:17)

As Williams (1993:189) explains there were four factors which made the Quebecois feel that their French culture was under threat: Firstly, there was the industrial and economic structure of Quebec which was largely dominated by an Anglicised elite of British and American origins. These anglophones are mostly to be found in the urban areas around Montreal. This economic success was always equated with the Anglophone community in Quebec, and therefore English became the language for upward mobility and for business, whereas French was confined to religion, law and politics.

Secondly there was the problem of the birthrates in Quebec. Until the 1960s religion (Catholicism) had always been a cornerstone of Quebec life - now this Roman Catholic yoke was thrown off followed by what Williams (1993:191) describes as "the dropping of the messianistic French-Canadian world view 'la revanche des berceaux' as the solution to the outmigration of francophones to other parts of Canada". The other problem was of course immigration, and how these immigrants assimilated with the anglophone society instead of with the French one.

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As Williams (1993:191) points out the proportion of Canadian citizens with French as their mother tongue declined from 29.2% in 1941 to 26.9% in 1971.

A third factor that threatened French culture in Quebec was the "increased penetration of English, Canadian and US media pressure in all its complex forms." (Williams 1993: 191) As Bourhis (1984) adds:

> ...though French continued to be the primary language of the community many younger people were switching languages and/or adopting English idioms and style in their spoken French. This caused the Office de la Langue Française to emphasise corpus planning and to introduce ...a wider technical vocabulary for the traditional speechdomains normally dominated by anglophones and now opened to francophones' for example business, commerce and public administration.

The fourth factor was the conviction that the federal government was not taking on responsibilities for the francophones in the rest of Canada. A Linguistics Rights of Minorities report meant to introduce bilingualism and biculturalism in 1967, but many in Quebec saw bilingualism as a way to isolate Quebec and to "guarantee federally backed language rights to the large anglophone community within Quebec, thereby institutionalising their position as the representatives of the majority culture within Canada." (Williams 1993:194). All of these factors helped to bring about a rise in Quebecois nationalism and especially these four factors fed the programmes of the Parti Québecois.

How exactly did the Parti Québecois use language in its campaigns? It tried to enlarge the idea of a national identity beyond the traditional identity of Quebec's majority francophone population. It wanted to establish a new language regime by introducing a French Language Charter in 1977. In the same year the Minister of State for Cultural Affairs in Quebec, Camille Laurin, dismissed the idea of bilingualism, saying it did not alter the fact that Canada was predominantly an English-speaking state. He wanted to have a new provincial programme which would give Quebec a distinct French character.

> The Quebec we wish to build will be essentially French. The fact that the majority of its population is French will be clearly visible - at work, in communications and in the countryside. It will also be a country in which the traditional balance of power will be altered, especially in regard to the economy; the use of French will not merely be universalised to hide the predominance of foreign powers from the French-speaking population; this will accompany, symbolize and support a reconquest by the French-speaking majority in Quebec of that control over the economy which it ought to have. To sum up, the Quebec whose features are sketched in the Charter (of the French Language) is a French-language society.
>
> (Laurin 1977, as quoted in Williams 1993:196).

As Williams comments on this statement, it is a quest for national identity but not without difficulties, and is "a common predicament for many nationalist movements who find themselves in power." (Williams 1993:196)

The nationalism in Quebec changed from an ethnic one to a territorial type of nationalism. Quebec became outward looking, and less resistant to change. It wanted to promote Quebec outside Canada, rather than always focusing on the Francophones in Canada. The way they viewed themselves changed as well, as Keating (1995:17) explains:

> Canadians, who in the nineteenth century came to identify themselves as French-Canadiens, now see themselves as Quebecois. Surveys have shown that the percentage of francophones identifying themselves as Quebecois increased between 1970 and 1990 from 21 to 59, while the proportion identifying themselves as Canadians fell from 34 per cent to 9 per cent.

Quebec nationalism then is in the process of changing from an ethnic oriented form of nationalism to a more civic one, but only partly so. Although the political parties in Quebec now include non-Francophones, the PQ-programme of 1991 defines being Quebecois clearly as being Francophones, and "the PQ leader Jacques Parizeau has declared that independence is possible merely with the support of the old stock Quebecois...Support for Quebec nationalism of any sort is almost entirely confined to Francophones." (Keating 1995:18)

In 1969 the Official Languages Act ensured Canada's national policy was for bilingualism so that Francophones feel at home anywhere in Canada. It was intended to forge a national Canadian identity, but this clashed dramatically with the self-

image of Quebec. For the Quebecois Canadian bilingualism was seen as a way of weakening French language and culture.

An example of how language can become a political issue is the passing of the 'sign law' in 1988 which required that all outside signs should only be in French. In the other areas of Canada there was no law stating that the same should be true of all English signs. The consequence was that 3 English-speaking cabinet ministers resigned from provincial government. This had to do with the problem of majorities and minorities in Canada: the French-speakers were only a majority within Quebec - elsewhere they were a minority. There were two points of view taken. One suggested that individual rights were important and that this sign law suppressed the individual rights of the English-speaking minority in Quebec, whereas the other view held that although this was true, the English-speakers should understand that this law was for the good of the preservation of the French language and culture. The matter is very complicated. The reaction of the Quebec government was that the French in Quebec have rights because they are a minority in an overall English-speaking North America. Edwards (1994:135) asserts that "it is possible that a radical reshaping of the Canadian state will occur, or even a divorce between the 'two solitudes' of French and English Canada." It seems that none of these problems (such as the linguistic ones) can be settled unless the Quebecois have achieved national independence. It is the idea that the language under threat (if one could call French in Quebec under threat) will only live on if economic and political independence is reached. However, it seems that most of the Quebecois want Quebec to have full powers in the area of language, culture and education, but they seem less concerned about having responsibilities in matters such as defense and foreign affairs. They essentially want to protect their cultural and national identity, but have little interests in economic policies. Keating (1995:28) concludes his article on Quebec with the following remarks:

Nationalism has traditionally been sustained by ethnic identity, the state, and the institutions, traditions and practices of civil society. As it shifted from its basis in ethnic particularism, the state became more important as the expression of identity. Yet, as the state retreats in the face of neo-liberal ideology and continental integration, it is less able to sustain this role. More of a burden then falls on civil society to maintain national identity in the face of weakened ethnic identity and a retreating state. This is true of Canada as much as for Quebec.

B. WALES

The rise of nationalism in Wales can be seen from various points of view. Some have attributed it to the decline of traditions in Wales and the loss of language, culture and religion, others have seen it purely from a social structural and economic side, whereas others again see the rise in Welsh nationalism coming at the end of Colonialism when India was seen as the Jewel in the Crown, and Wales as the rivets and studs that held that crown together. We will not go into the exact history of the rise of Welsh nationalism, as this is not the main issue of our discussion at present. What is of importance is that the role of language in the Welsh nationalist programmes is vital. As Williams (1993:120) explains:

> Inspired by events in Ireland, Italy and Hungary, early Plaid Cymru leaders took the linguistic definition of nationality as their central axiom for political agitation. The initial trigger was the declining fortune of the Welsh language, as revealed by the 1921 Census and the postwar climate which has so ravaged the culture and social life of Wales. It was language survival not self-government which prompted the previously disparate regional groups....Its twin aims were to make Welsh the only official language of Wales and a medium of education from elementary school through to university.

Self-government however, was promoted but in the context of giving a political guarantee for the language to survive in the early days of Plaid Cymru. Williams (1993:121) points out that there are 6 issues related to language in this overall nationalist concern for self-government: equality of status, state education, access to government services, bilingual employment in the public sector, control of the media and territorial language planning.

The Welsh language was banned from usage in any public instances since 1536. It was still used since the majority of people in Wales were still monoglot Welsh speakers. It was restricted to its own domains though: home, social entertainment, literature and religion. One event that helped keep the language alive and going was the translation of the Bible in 1588 into Welsh, which also helped to create a Standard Welsh.

The most significant development since was the establishment in 1963 of the Committee on the Legal Status of the Welsh Language. It was one of the first results achieved by Plaid Cymru's campaign, which was followed in 1967 by the passing of the Welsh Language Act. This act defined Welsh as having equal validity with English in Wales, but it was a first step in the right direction.

Despite all the problems, there has recently been more of an equality between English and Welsh in public life. "Welsh has moved from the realm of conflict politics into the compromise politics of administrative execution, with varying degrees of success." (Williams 1993:122)

A New Welsh Language Act was passed in 1993 strengthening the role of government in acquiring a bilingual society in Wales. A plan was set up under the Chairmanship of Lord Dafydd Elis Thomas of the Welsh Language Board to achieve rights and obligations of those citizens who wish to use Welsh in as many public domains as they want. We will discuss these elements in more detail when we handle the matter of language planning later on.

As Williams (1993:129) says: "Nationalist activists have long advocated a close relationship between cultural maintenance and territorial control...Language is thus the key to meaning and identity, to interpreting place within an historical consciousness". He goes on to add that Welsh identity could never be substituted by a British Identity.

> It is the Welsh language and all that it represents which symbolises the continuing struggle for separateness. Without it the Welsh would have been absorbed into the English state centuries ago. Britishness thus is a myth, a

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self-deception, beguiling and pernicious because it is reproduced systematically and absorbed unconsciously.

C. NORWAY

The third example we will look at is Norway, which is invariably held up as the prime example where independence and language reinstatement go hand in hand. Norway became an independent country in 1814 after being dominated by Denmark for the past four centuries. As Haugen (1970:675) explains, "Norwegians began searching for the cultural roots that had been cut over in the Middle Ages. Among the several symbols of national individuality and independence, language was hit upon as one of the most important." As Haugen continues to explain in a footnote in the text,

> The arguments of German romanticists from Herder on were repeated in Norway, but most arguments advanced were of a more practical nature: that schoolchildren were being seriously penalized in their education by the wide gulf between Danish writing and Norwegian speech, particularly in the countryside. This motivation has been important for the widespread support language reform has won among schoolteachers. The growth of democratic political movements was also significant, since the 'folk language' was conceived as a means of diminishing the prestige and power of the official class.

The aspect of language continued to dominate the political world in Norway as decisions had to be made about the new Norwegian language. Two forms were suggested in 1884, and both were accepted by the political party then in power, the liberal-nationalistic party of the Left (Venstre). As Haugen (1970:677) specifies, "since 1900 the language issue has been firmly intertwined with the political and social life of the country."

> The process that was begun in the 1880s, when the Venstre Party made language reform a plank in its platform, has engulfed all parties, above all the Labor Party which has ruled the country since 1935. Being a socialist party, it could not at first embrace the nationalistic aspects of language reform, but brought to the discussion an emphasis on its democratic aspects.

Again, we will handle the matter of how the Norwegians went about selecting their language below when dealing with Language Planning.

2.3.2. MINORITY GROUPS/LANGUAGES

We have mentioned above that the link between language, nationalism and identity is not a matter solely of minority groups. We have just looked at an example of French in Quebec, where the francophones are a majority in their own province. However, it is a fact that matters of language and nationalism, of maintaining languages and of reviving them are especially important to minority groups and minority languages. Edwards (1994:136) gives us three reasons why they should be given special attention:

> (a) because they highlight for us matters which, at one time or another, have affected all groups; (b) because it is appropriate to pay special attention to those in struggle; (c) because on purely practical grounds we see a modern swelling in minority movement.

The first problem we encounter is the word 'minority'. As we saw in the case of Quebec, French is a minority language in the Canadian sense but not in the Quebecois sense. But is it a minority language? As we also showed it depended on whether we were looking at Quebec or at Canada as a whole. It involves a problem of political boundaries, of differences between the state and the nation and the differences between state and national borders which do not necessarily coincide. "Even where they do, minority status may attach to the group's language, usually indicating previous historical movement (e.g. Irish in Ireland)" (Edwards 1994:139). Then there are those languages, which have a majority status in the state, but which are definitively not languages of wider communication and which have the role of a minority language (e.g. Bulgarian). It does not necessarily involve the matter of how many speakers there are of a particular language, it is a matter of politics, power, and prestige (a very important social factor as we saw in Chapter 1 when discussing standardisation).

Edwards goes on to say that of course some minorities are indigenous languages such as the speakers of Celtic languages in Britain and France, while in other cases they are immigrant workers' language as is the case in Germany, Belgium and France with the Turkish, Moroccan and Algerian speakers.

Edwards (1994:139) suggests to follow a model proposed by Paul White in 1987 which makes three distinctions when it comes to minority languages:

> minority languages which are unique to one state, those which are non-unique but which are still minority languages in the contexts in which they occur and those which are minorities in one context but majority in all other.

There seems to be an increasing interest within countries in federalism alongside a deep concern for the minority languages and their preservation (cf. the European Bureau for Lesser-used Languages). There are quite a few examples in the present EU of countries where this federalisation has taken place, such as Belgium, or where there is a deep interest (others would say concern) in federalism, for instance the United Kingdom, where the Labour Party promises Federalism for Scotland and Wales. In almost every corner of the world language and identity are gaining importance. This in its turn brings about an increase in interest in language planning, language maintenance, language shift and language revival.

As was mentioned before, the fate of core values is determined by the group members of a certain community/society. If we now assume that one core value is language, then we can say that the fate of a language in this situation is determined by its speakers. At one time people like Thomas Jones and Franz Bopp thought languages were organic, that they had a natural lifespan. This idea has been refuted by Aitchison (1991:208) who tells us that "languages (do not) behave like beans and chrysanthemums, living out their allotted life, and fading away in due course". They do have an allotted life, but this is granted to them not by nature but by their speakers. If a language declines or 'dies' it is because the circumstances of the speakers have changed. This is mostly due to language contact/conflict, where one

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language takes over from another. This process is called language shift, which can ultimately result in language death. Heinz Kloss (1984:65) talks about three forms of language death:

(1) there is language death without language shift, i.e. the speech community dies out;

(2) language death because of language shift, i.e. the speech community does not exist within a 'compact speech area', or the language succumbs to the "intrinsic hostility of the technology-based infrastructure of modern civilisation";

(3) language death through a metamorphosis for instance a language is downgraded to dialect status when the speech community stops writing it and starts using another language, which often is a closely related variety. If, however, a community decides to continue using a particular language then that is called language maintenance.

Fasold (1991:240) gives an outline of what the main causes for language shift could be:

> Language shift will occur only if, and to the extent that, a community desires to give up its identity as an identifiable sociocultural group in favor of an identity as a part of some other community. Very often the other community is the larger social group which controls a society where the first group is a minority.

One sign that a community is *not* in the process of language shift is when the members continue to make the distinction between 'us' and 'them' (as we saw earlier, a major point of ethnicity). If this distinction is renounced then the group is vulnerable to shift. Fasold adds that one of the most prominent characteristics of language shift in its later stages is that the language being shifted will probably be regarded as inferior to the new language. In other words, when speakers of Language A come into a country/region where there are speakers of Language B. Speakers of Language A are the dominant group, which makes the speakers of Language B realise that they need knowledge of Language A in order to get on in the world. The

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consequence is that the attitudes of the speakers of Language B may easily change and they might regard their language as inferior to Language A.

Another 'prerequisite', as Fasold calls it (1991: 240), is bilingualism, but only in the sense that shift will occur when one language moves into the domain that was formerly only used by the other language.

Furthermore, "if religion is one of the ways in which the shifting group contrasts with the other community, then the shift will be nearly complete when religious activity is conducted in the new language." (Fasold 1991: 241). This is of course what happened to Scots in 1561, when the Bible was translated into English, but not into Scots, as we saw earlier on. In the situation of Scots though, it did not bring about an immediate change. The major change from using Scots to replacing it with English actually only took place in the 17th century. The fact that the Bible was not translated into Scots was the beginning of other changes to come, but the actual shift took several decades to complete, and was principally caused by a political change.

One of the more prevalant characteristics of shift is when bilingual parents decide that they will only transmit one language to their children, and this is usually not the low-prestige language. This lack of transmission is often seen as one of the most familiar processes which ultimately lead to language death. This is stated by MacKinnon (1974) in his research regarding Gaelic, where he noted that parents showed an unwillingness to transmit the Gaelic language to their children.

There are of course other factors that play a role in the possibilities of language shift, such as a "population transfer and voluntary or involuntary out-migration" (Fishman 1991: 57). Another element which furthers language shift is urbanization:

> Urbanization of hitherto rural newcomers involves interacting with
> strangers at almost every step: in the neighborhood, at work, at school, in
> shopping...on the one hand; and a greatly increased density of communication,

on the other hand. The result of this co-occurrence is an endless deluge of ethnolinguistic messages in the lingua franca which any urban environment either develops or adopts, a language which is different from that of most Xish (i.e. the threatened language) homes and families and which easily comes to rival and displace the language of dislocated home and family, particularly for the young.   (Fishman 1991: 58)

However, these large-scale socio-economic conditions do favour shift, but do not guarantee it. (Fasold 1991: 241). The social factors probably have the largest impact on the possibility of language shift taking place.

It has been found that language change is closely related to social values. People adopt forms that have prestige...If prestige is attached to a form, it is adopted, otherwise it dies out. Prestige forms picked up by one group are then generalized throughout the speech community. (Eastman 1983: 103)

Ryan points out that as far as the term 'prestige' is concerned she will follow Weinreich's recommendation that the notion 'prestige' refers to the 'advantage for social advancement'. (Ryan 1979: 147). According to Ryan one of the elements in the persistence of low-prestige language varieties (also referred to as minority languages) is that,

if the people in a minority group feel as though their freedom to continue using their style of speech is threatened, they might exhibit reactance by using their distinctive speech. Furthermore, in reaction to the perceived threat, they would be likely to intensify their performance of the threatened behaviour by using the style more frequently and/or by increasing its distinctiveness from the 'preferred' style.   (Ryan 1979: 149)

This connects with Giles's Accommodation Theory, especially the concept of 'divergence', i.e. that the low-prestige language can be important for a group's identity (more on this below). Furthermore, Ryan mentions that there are within-group differences on the attitudes towards low-prestige varieties of speech: individuals who enjoy favoured social status and who indulge in ethnic preservation activities tend to look favourably towards the low-prestige language, and people who are in more subordinate social positions are usually eager to assimilate. Ryan continues with two subgroups that are likely to be favourable towards the 'ethnic speech':

those who are no longer trying to move up in society and the younger generation, who have been most influenced by social movements declaring 'Ethnic is beautiful'.   (Ryan 1979: 155)

All in all, low-prestige varieties persist because the speakers do not want to give them up. A lot of the attitudes towards these 'ethnic speeches' have to do with status or prestige, social advancement, solidarity and group identification. On the whole, the high prestige language is related to status, high culture, and social mobility, but the reason why the low-prestige languages refuse to die is because they are connected with values such as solidarity, comradeship, and intimacy within the low status group. (Ryan 1979: 151)

Ryan makes one final remark: the question still remains of "whether a standard speaker is preferred because of the speech characteristics themselves or because of the inferences about the speaker made on the basis of the speech characteristics" (Ryan 1979: 156).

GILES'S ACCOMMODATION THEORY.

The notion of continuing to use a particular language is probably politically loaded in the sense that a certain speech community has decided not to give in to the pressures of the other language it is in contact/conflict with. However, if one is in the situation where diglossia (see Chapter 1, section 1.3.1.3, page 32) is predominant, then there are certain ways of speaking (or of not speaking) which have a political/nationalistic flavour to it as well. Giles' accommodation theory is one such example.

Giles explains that the term accommodation refers to the tendency a speaker may have to accommodate his listener(s). He will do so by converging his speech style to that of his interlocutor. "The term 'convergence' has been coined to refer to the processes whereby individuals shift their speech styles to become more like that of those with whom they are interacting" (Giles 1979: 46). To Giles, convergence is

one of the elements in the similarity-attraction theory, which proposes that a person may adopt several devices in order to become similar to another person.

However, Giles notes that this similarity-attraction model does not only have so-called 'rewards'. In fact, "as an increased effort is made to converge, a loss of perceived integrity and personal (and sometimes group) identity may occur" (Giles 1979: 48).

In the framework of 18th century Scotland one could easily state that convergence on a national scale took place as the Scottish people began to see the English language as the vehicle for upward social mobility and prestige. Scots, on the other hand, became a downgraded set of dialects. However, a speaker may also decide not to converge but to diverge, i.e. a person might deliberately make his speech as much different as possible from that of his interlocutor. As Fasold points out, this will happen when the speaker wants to emphasise his loyalty to his own group and dissociate himself from his interlocutor's group. (Fasold 1991: 188).

Here we come to the element of nationalism again. An example of divergence would be for instance, a Scotsman refusing to converge to an Englishman's speech. He can do this by either deliberately speaking Scots, or by strengthening his accent. Both can be seen as a definite endorsement of the Scotsman's national identity.

However, convergence and divergence are not necessarily the selection of one choice only, i.e. convergence, non-convergence or divergence. The speaker is able to make numerous choices. Fasold (1991: 189) presents table 2.1 to clarify the options which are open to a speaker.

Fasold states that convergence and divergence occur depending on whether the speaker is a member of a dominant or subordinate socio-cultural group, or whether he has a favourable or unfavourable attitude towards social change (i.e. in terms of improving the position of the subordinate group).

> If the dominant group expects to remain dominant, then its members will assume, without even thinking about it, that subordinate-group members will make any necessary linguistic adjustments. As a result, they will speak their

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own prestige language or dialect in the normal fashion without attempting any convergence...'downward' convergence is scarcely possible.(Fasold, 1991: 190)

Table 2.1 Some increasing variants of convergence and divergence.		
Linguistic dimensions	Increasing convergence	Increasing divergence.
1. Outgroup language with native-like pronunciation 2. Outgroup language with features of ingroup pronunciation 3. Ingroup language with slow speech rate 4. Ingroup language with normal speech rate.	↑	↓

In fact, the only occasion when a dominant group-member would use 'downward convergence' would be in comedy, when, for instance, an Englishman will try to imitate a Scotsman. Of course, the inverse also happens when Scottish comedians will use convergence towards RP in order to make fun of the English.

However, if a subordinate group member sees no other possibility of social change, then he can but accept the situation and try his best in the direction of acceptance by the dominant group. Acceptance also includes convergence. For Scottish immigrants into England it is often the case that they will 'adapt' to their new linguistic surroundings. Sometimes a mild accent is all they have left to characterise them as Scots. At other times even the accent has converged, or sometimes the speaker has assimilated completely.

We have talked about divergence, which as Giles mentioned, can "act as a powerful symbol whereby members of an ethnic group would display their intention of maintaining their identity and cultural distinctiveness" (Giles, 1979: 51).

The minority or low-prestige language is at that point a core value, part of the group identity. If need be, it will also become a main feature in the nationalist movement of such a minority group.

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2.3.3. LANGUAGE ATTITUDES.

John Edwards opens his article concerning *Language attitudes and their implications among English speakers*, (1982) with the following sentence: "The concept of attitude, though widespread in social psychology, is not one about which there has been universal agreement." (Edwards, 1982: 20). He continues by citing Sarnoff's definition of attitude as, "a disposition to react favourably or unfavourably to a class of objects" (Sarnoff, 1970:279). According to Lambert and Lambert (1973), "attitude" is defined as:

> an organized and consistent manner of thinking, feeling and reacting with regard to people, groups, social issues, or, more generally, to any event in one's environment. The essential components of attitudes are thoughts and beliefs, feelings or emotions, and tendencies to react...an attitude is formed when these components are so interrelated that specific feelings and reaction tendencies become   associated with the attitude object.Our attitudes develop in the course of coping with and adjusting to our social environments.   (Lambert and Lambert 1973: 72)

Fishbein and Ajzen (1975) agree with Lambert and Lambert that attitudes are assessed by a person's beliefs. "Belief refers to a person's subjective probability of a relation between the object and some other object, value, concept or attribute." (Fishbein and Azjen 1975: 131). Edwards comments that there are two notions that should be kept in mind when dealing with attitudes:

> The first is that there often exists inconsistency between assessed attitudes and actions presumably related to these attitudes...The second is that there is sometimes confusion between belief and attitude; this is particularly so in the domain of language attitudes. *Attitude* includes *belief* as one of its components. Thus, a subject's responses to, 'Is a knowledge of French important for your children, yes or no?' indicates a belief.   (Edwards, 1982: 20)

In the field of social psychology there are generally speaking two major views concerning attitudes.The mentalist view sees attitude as a state of readiness, i.e. "an internal state aroused by stimulation of some type and which may mediate the organism's subsequent response" (Williams, 1974: 21). The other view of

attitude is the behaviourist view, which contends that attitudes are to be found in the responses people make to social situations. This view also regards attitude as consisting of single units, whereas the mentalist view considers that attitudes have various sub-parts, i.e. cognitive (knowledge), affective (feeling), and connotative (action) components (Fasold, 1991: 147-148).

When people react to certain language varieties they usually reveal their perceptions of the speakers of those varieties. In other words, they evaluate the speakers of a certain speech variety. These kinds of evaluations of language varieties might reflect intrinsic linguistic inferiorities/superiorities, intrinsic aesthetic differences or social convention and preference. As Edwards (1982: 21) points out, many studies on language attitudes,

> ...suggest that judgements of the quality and prestige of language varieties are dependent upon a knowledge of the social connotations which they possess for those familiar with them. Thus, we are on a fairly safe footing if we consider that evaluations of language varieties - dialects and accents -do not reflect either linguistic or aesthetic quality *per se,* but rather are expressions of social convention and preference which, in turn, reflect an awareness of the status and prestige accorded to the speakers of these varieties.

According to Ryan, Giles and Sebastian (1982:3), researchers have identified several attributes of language varieties that relate to how these language varieties are perceived within the speech community of that particular language or by the larger social group. There are two main determinants: standardisation and vitality. The first is a codified form of a language variety, which is usually accepted by the speech community as being associated with the dominant social groups. Vitality refers to the number and importance of functions for which a certain language variety is used. The more numerous and the more important the functions for which the variety is used the greater its vitality.

Other aspects liable to determine people's attitudes towards a speech variety are social status, solidarity, demography (i.e. number, concentration and proportion

of speakers), and institutional support (i.e. use of the language in education, government, religion, etc.). All in all, Ryan *et al* (1982) state,

> the influence of standardization and vitality upon language attitudes is mediated by respondents' perceptions of these two sociostructural factors. Clearly, then, *perception* of these attributes is more important for attitudes than their actual existence. (Ryan, Giles and Sebastian, 1982: 5)

This means that due to these perceptions language evaluation can evoke stereotyped reactions. The implication is that standard accents and dialects are usually connected to high status and competence, whereas regional, ethnic and lower-class varieties are commonly associated with greater speaker integrity and attractiveness.

Here we come to the categorisation put forward by Lambert (1967). The categorisations represent personality dimensions on which judges typically rate speech and speakers, fall into three groups, i.e. a speaker's *competence* is rated, which means his intelligence and his level of education; the second category is that of *personal integrity*, i.e. helpfulness, sincerity and responsibility; and the third category, *social attractiveness*, meaning friendliness, refinement and emotions.

It is generally accepted that RP will score very high in terms of the first category, i.e. competence, but that regional accents/dialects will receive higher ratings in the two other categories.

To give a summary of what we have so far discussed, we can look at the following diagram, which shows that the attitude of one social or ethnic group towards another can influence the attitudes towards the language that group uses, which can define an attitude towards the speakers of that language:

attitudes towards a social or ethnic group	→	attitudes towards the language of that group	→	attitudes towards individual speakers of that language
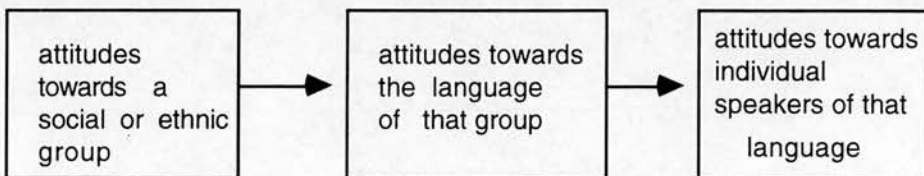
Figure 2.1, from Appel and Muysken, 1987:16

Obviously, the Accommodation Theory put forward by Giles was already an instance of language attitude, which can, as we saw, eventually lead to language shift or maintenance. The study of language accommodation is important for it presents insights into the perception and presentation of identity, which is revealed through dialect or accent loyalty and retention.

2.3.4. LANGUAGE PLANNING.

We will now consider language planning, what it is and what it involves and how it is an interaction of language, identity and nationalism. We shall be dealing with language planning specifically for Scotland in the next chapter where we will point out that attempts at language planning for Scots have been made or are being planned, and how these plans do or do not involve the Scottish National Party. But first we look at examples where language was a core value to an ethnic group which later on through nationalist movements and through language planning moved on to become the major issue in that group's identity.

There are several examples of this type of situation. To begin with there is the language situation in Canada, which as we saw centres around Quebec where the Parti Quebecois campaigns for independence from the rest of Canada. It states language as one of its main nationalist markers, as French language and culture are the predominant markers of the Quebecois identity.

Belgium is another example of how language determines the political life. Belgian political life is dominated by language issues since Belgium became independent in 1830. There it was the Flemish Movement (Vlaamse Beweging) which started campaigns in the new independent country for recognition of its language. French was the language of the ruling classes, Flemish a dialect of Dutch with no status or formal presence what so ever. Gradually language laws came into existence which made sure Flemish Dutch was allowed in the Court rooms and the schools. The first Flemish-Dutch speaking university was founded in 1930 in Gent. Gradually, as

over the past 20 years Flanders became the economic stronghold in Belgium (as opposed to Wallonia before), the Flemish-Dutch language gained prestige. There also developed gradually a Flemish Independence movement (Vlaams Blok) which fed on all the linguistic quarrels in Belgium. Language is one of their main emotional markers of nationalism, especially when it comes to the bilingual region of Brussels, which although it is officially bilingual, has a tendency towards a majority of French only-speakers.

Both these examples have to do with one language being in the position of a minority language. The Belgian example illustrates for instance how such a minority language can fight its way to the top and become a prestigious language in its own country. Language planning constitutes looking at the position of the minority language in question, deciding on what kind of situation the language is in, and subsequently setting up a strategy for the recovery of this language until the ultimate aim of bilingualism or multilingualism is reached. In some cases this language planning process has happened after the ethnic group in question has reached political and economic independence, in which case we will almost certainly find that there is a recent history of (linguistic) nationalism involved.

However, this language planning process is not always easy. Definitively not when we see how varied the situations are all over the world when it comes to the minority languages. Edwards (1994: 138) suggests setting up a typology of language situations. This implies imposing an order of some kind and means codifying cross-community comparisons. A typology of this kind is useful in many ways, especially in the sense that:

> people will continue to interest themselves in language situations, and wish to describe and account for their dynamics, since it makes no sense to assume that different contexts are unique in every element, and since we are rightly drawn to the task of theory construction ...Cross-context comparisons might well be facilitated ...if attention was given to the same variables in all settings; any student in the area will have experienced frustration in attempting comparisons and contrasts where this sort of attention has not been paid.

We therefore need an adequate classification of various languages.

One scholar who has attempted to do this is William Stewart who specifies seven categories: P pidgin, K creole, V vernacular (= an unstandardised native language of a speech community), S standard, C classical (= a standard which has died out as a native language), A artificial, D dialect (= to cover situations in which a particular dialect enjoys special status). This would ultimately help in the classification of minority languages. All this eventually helps in the Language planning process which can lead to language revival or the restoration of a low-prestige language's status.

Language planning

> focuses on the decision-making that goes into determining what language use is appropriate in particular speech communities. Language planning is concerned with how language can be conducted and interpreted successfully in a speech community, given the language goals of that community. The study of language planning looks at the choices available to a speech community and at possible recommendations of language policy for adoption by that community.
>
> (Eastman 1983:1-2)

Eastman goes on to continue saying how this choice of language which is made by a state/nation is often tied to nationalism. Some thirty years ago UNESCO set up a report which outlined the use of vernacular languages in education. It listed ten options of language choice:

1. **Indigenous languages** - language of the original inhabitants of an area
2. **Lingua Franca** - a language used habitually by people who have different first languages so they can communicate for certain specific purposes.
3. **Mother Tongue** - the language one acquires as a child
4. **National Language** - the language of a political, social and cultural entity
5. **Official Language** - language used to do government business
6. **Pidgin** - a language (formed by mixing languages) used regularly by people of different language backgrounds
7. **Regional Language** - a common language used by people of different language backgrounds who live in a particular area.
8. **Second Language** - a language acquired in addition to one's first language

9. **Vernacular Language** - the first language of a group socially or politically dominated by a group with a different language

10. **World Language** - a language used over wide areas of the world; a Language of Wider Communication.

There are two major elements in a language plan: (1) the policy and (2) the choice of the language. A third element would be the evaluation of the policy and the choice. The policy is made up of four strands: Formulation, Codification, Elaboration and Implementation.

Formulation means that the goal or aim of the policy making body should be outlined, taking into account all the social, economic and political factors.

Codification refers to the technical preparation of the policy. "It also means paying attention to the feelings, attitudes, values, loyalties, preferences and practices of both the policy-makers and the recipients of the policy. When a language policy is codified, the planner should remember that people in modern speech communities want their language 'to be more than neat and trim and handy'(Fishman 1974a:23)" (Eastman 1983:7)

Elaboration implies the extension of the chosen languages to all functions in society. It involves looking at the linguistic aspects of the language chosen and see if it should be updated, elaborated, etc. This is usually done by a language academy of some sort.

Implementation is the procedure to bring about the change of language to its realisation.

The example of Norway, as described by Oftedal (1990:120-129) illustrates well how difficult it is to have success in Language Planning. Upon gaining its independence from Denmark, the newly established Norwegian Government set about formulating a language policy for Norwegian. It seems that even the choice of labels for the languages involved (i.e. the Dano-Norwegian language, also known as Bokmal, and the language that evolved from the Norwegian dialects that were around, known landsmal or Nynorsk) was a very sensitive issue, which to this day is not

entirely resolved. Today both varieties are associated in people's minds with class, wealth, political colour and (lack of) prestige. Bokmal is today viewed as the Standard Language, spoken by educated people in the middle classes and by conservatives. It enjoys high prestige, whereas Nynorsk -although officially recognised by the State - has low prestige and is associated with uneducated, working classes and political leftists, communists and revolutionary extremists.

What must be borne in mind however is that language planning is at the service of non-academics, and has to adhere to the social and political rules of the country the language planner is working in. As Edwards (1994:174) points out,

> It is not language planners themselves, not the results of academic argument, which sway the real policy-makers. As in other areas of public life, 'experts' are called as needed, and their recommendations are either implemented or gather dust according to how well they support or justify desired positions.

Furthermore, language planning will be successful only if it is approved by those whose language is affected. As Edwards adds, "even the most dictatorial policies may result in social upheavals if they are repressive and/or unpopular enough, and many tensions in the world today can be seen as manifestations, often violent, of concern with language policy and practice (among other things of course)". Eastman corroborates these views expressed by Edwards, by pointing out that language, when it is a core value to a people, and even more so when language becomes a nationalist issue, is a very sensitive subject. "The cohesive non-differentiated segments of primordial ethnicity come apart during sociocultural change. People begin to articulate religion, class, and political institutions, and language is one tool they use to do this. Language planners need to consider where on the continuum - moving from primordial ethnicity to nationality - different groups in a society are situated when they formulate plans involving particular languages" (Eastman 1983:45-46). Besides this, language planners also need to be fully aware of how a language is used, for instance as a marker for sex, class, locality, etc.

All of these issues tie into the interaction between language, identity and nationalism, and the language planner plays a major part in it when it comes to setting up a language policy and certainly while implementing one.

2.4. SUMMARY.

We have seen how difficult it is to specify exactly what identity and ethnicity constitute. We have seen how misconceptions are easily formed but how it makes things difficult when we come to the point of analysing a situation where we have to be aware of the real meaning of words. This was the case with 'ethnicity', 'racism', 'ethnic conflict' and especially so for 'nationalism'.

The main point about nationalism is that there are various forms of nationalism which are fundamentally the same but their emphasis differs, which is of great importance, for it will direct the contents of nationalism from positive to negative (from patriotism to fascism). We have looked at how these misunderstandings and the confusion came about, and we have looked at the role of language in that process.

We have also seen how language actually does play an important role in the concepts of identity and nationalism, especially when it comes to minority languages and groups, although as we pointed out, the meaning of minority is not always unambiguous either. The relationship between language, identity and nationalism is important in various processes which are gaining more and more importance in today's world, especially in the domains of language revival and language planning. We have seen how in some cases of minority languages gaining prestige this was backed up by a nationalist movement (and in some cases with complete economic and political independence), but how in other cases this nationalist back up was not present or not needed.

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CHAPTER 3: LANGUAGE, NATIONALISM AND IDENTITY - THE CASE OF SCOTLAND.

3.0 INTRODUCTION

In this chapter we shall deal with the issues we have so far discussed, i.e. language, nationalism and identity, and relating it specifically to the case of Scotland and its languages.

In the first section of this chapter we shall look into the concept of 'Scottish Nationalism' and find out exactly what it means in its restricted (i.e. referring only to Scotland's Nationalist Party which advocates independence) and in its extended sense (meaning not only the SNP necessarily but also the Labour Party and the Liberal-Democrats who both support the idea of Home-Rule for Scotland, and is therefore also a form of nationalism though it does not go as far as demanding independence), after which we will examine the policies of the various Scottish parties on the languages of Scotland.

In the second part we take a closer look at the words 'Scottish identity', and we will look at what it means 'to be Scottish in Scotland' and how this stands in relation to Scottish culture. We will deal with the issues of whether there is such a thing as a 'Scottish culture' and we will review the existence of the 'Scotch Myths' and how they fit in with the general picture of 'what does it mean to be Scottish'. We shall also concentrate on the role of the languages of Scotland in the formation of this Scottish identity, and more specifically on the role of the Scots language. We will then discuss the future prospects of the Scots language and its relation to nationalism in Scotland (whether that be political or cultural nationalism) and introduce two new terms: Wide Scots and Narrow Scots.

We will eventually proceed to look at surveys conducted in the area of language and nationalism that set out to pin down proof for the existence of a possible link

between Scots and/or Gaelic language with nationalism, before moving on to the next chapter which will deal with the author's survey conducted in Edinburgh.

But first, we will concentrate on the words 'Scottish Nationalism'.

3.1. SCOTTISH NATIONALISM

It can easily be said in the case of Scotland, that there is *a* Scottish nationalism, but it might just as easily be said that Scotland also has Scottish nationalism*s*.

This is because the matter of nationalism is not a straightforward one in Scotland. If one concentrates on the first point (that of *a* Scottish Nationalism) then that would make life easy : Scotland has one nationalist party, the SNP (Scottish National Party) and that is where the issue would end. However, that would be denying the existence of the other 'nationalisms' also existing in Scotland. The reason for this complexity is explained by Murdoch (1995:4), who points to the complex voting system in the United Kingdom where, in the case of Scotland at least, the party that is in charge in its government is not necessarily the one that has won the elections in Scotland. Because of this it seems that Scotland will be ruled by that particular government that it did not vote for, but which it cannot vote out either. He argues that this situation has resulted in :

> the adoption, in a variety of guises, of 'nationalism' by Scotland's politicians and cultural activists. They have adapted and manipulated it to such an extent that fundamentally 'nationalist' ideology is even promoted by those who overtly profess to finding 'nationalism' repugnant.   (Murdoch 1995:4)

This means that although Scotland has one nationalist party (SNP), it has in reality an additional surreptitiously nationalistically inclined party: Labour. They are nationalist in the sense that they want a Scottish parliament, and advocating home-rule is by all means a form of nationalism (See Chapter 2). The Liberal-Democrats, a fourth party in Scotland, have been advocating this idea of home-rule since the late 19th century, and have therefore been 'nationalist' ever since. The Scottish

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Green Party is completely independent from the English Green Party and seeks a completely independent Scotland outwith the EU. It is actually more nationalistic than the SNP.

3.1.1. SCOTTISH NATIONAL PARTY (SNP)

Although there have been quite a few discussions on the matter of whether or not the Union in 1707 was approved by the Scottish people as a whole, there were no serious signs of any nationalist or separatist movements in Scotland at the time, although the rebellions of 1715 and 1745 were attempts to restore the Scottish monarchy and to dissolve the Union with England.

(For a better and more detailed account of the circumstances and emotions in Scotland concerning the Union, see Scott 1995).

The first notion of nationalism in the political sense came in 1853 with the foundation of the National Association for the Vindication of Scottish Rights, and by 1880 voices were raised in support of home-rule, 173 years after the Union of Parliaments had taken place. As Maclean states, the demand for home-rule was so distinctly mentioned, "that the London government thought it advisable to appoint a special minister with the title of Secretary for Scotland to take charge of Scottish affairs" (Maclean 1974:207).

From the turn of the century onwards, each time dissatisfaction in Scotland was expressed through threats of home-rule, the London government answered by extending the powers of the Secretary of State. In 1934, however, certain groups were no longer content with the 'occasional' demands for home-rule, and wanted more. The result was the creation of the SNP from two movements that had joined forces: The Pro-Home Rule Scottish Party and The National Party of Scotland, which promoted separatism and was founded by John McCormick. During World War II, a surge took place to the advantage of the Nationalists, for, due to the war,

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the power of the U.K. was even more centralised (in London). In Scotland, as Maclean argues, this resulted in:

> a fresh wave of Scottish Nationalist feeling and culminated in the launching of a Scottish covenant, calling for a Scottish Parliament within the framework of the U.K., to which hundreds of thousands of signatures were appended all over Scotland. In 1950 the successful removal by the Nationalists of the stone of Scone to Scotland from Westminster Abbey aroused grudging admiration even in England. And two years later the next reign was heralded all over Scotland by the merry crack of exploding pillarboxes in protest against the new Royal Cypher, ERII, held by many to be insulting to Scotland.   (Maclean 1974:209)

In 1967, the SNP won an overwhelming victory in the Hamilton by-election, and one the SNP-candidates declared that her aim was to see Scotland seated in the United Nations between Saudi Arabia and Senegal. The SNP's top-of-the-bill programme issue from then onwards was independence, nothing more and nothing less. (This is now 'independence in Europe' for Scotland of course).

The other parties in Scotland, like Labour either changed their opinions on the constitutional matter in Scotland, or like the Conservatives, remained staunch opponents to the whole devolution matter and firmly kept their belief in the Union. As Roger Levy demonstrates,

> since 1979, a new separatist coalition has been in the making in Scotland. Comprised of the SNP , the Labour Party, and assorted pressure groups ranging in size from the Scottish Trades Union Congress S.T.U.C., to the Campaign for a Scottish Assembly (C.S.A.), it now represents a powerful consensus among the opinion-forming classes in Scotland. There are disagreements on the specifics, but the coalition is defined by its unambiguously nationalist orientation on the constitutional issue and its socialistic ideology.   (Levy 1990:110)

One of the disagreements mentioned by Levy is that the SNP want only independence and see devolution as neither here nor there. The rise of the SNP, or better the emergence of the SNP as one of Scotland's main parties today, is connected with economic features. In the 1970s Scotland underwent economic changes conducted by the Scottish Office which was supposed to bring about direct employment and bring foreign capital to be invested in Scotland. As McCrone (1992:163) states on this matter at the time: "In its desire to act as the midwife of economic regeneration, the

state devolved a significant part of its administrative resources to Scotland. In the absence of a devolved government, the Scottish Office provided a powerful administrative apparatus." He continues by adding that this idea of economic management had already started in the 1950s/1960s through the Labour Party in Scotland , when

> Labour's attitude to the Scottish question was based upon the assumptions that the basis of any discontent was economic, and that the electorate were more concerned about the economic goods which they received than with the constitutional mechanism by which they were delivered.
> (Keating & Bleiman 1979:151, as quoted in McCrone 1992:163)

The main change from seeing Scotland as separate only on economic grounds took place with the discovery of oil in the North Sea and with the SNP. Scotland now became different politically and economically, and the SNP had a great chance to exploit the idea that Scotland was losing out on its fair share of the oil found in its waters.

> The post-war belief in 'equal citizenship' was mobilised as equal citizenship for Scots within the UK in such a way that the (British) nationalist assumptions built into the Welfare State could be transferred easily in the rhetorical form of Scottish nationalism.   (McCrone 1992:164)

This transfer was easily made by the SNP and the Scottish voters. As McCrone says, the SNP was "in the right place at the right time". The SNP was seen as the only party that could "deliver the economic goods", and subsequently the SNP "acted as an electoral catalyst for change, and provided a political home for the socially mobile and the young, in search of a new political identity in a rapidly changing Scotland" (McCrone 1992:164).

THE SNP'S SOCIAL BASE

The social groups played a role in the rise of the SNP. The SNP has a social base to it, even though it does not seem to be have a clear-cut class base. In the 1970s it seems that the SNP gained most of its support from the young and the socially

mobile. McCrone (1992:165) describes the party's performance in October 1974 when the SNP gained 30 % of electoral support in Scotland. The SNP had voters from all strands of society, but especially from skilled manual and non-manual workers (Davis 1979, as mentioned in McCrone 1992:165), and apparently it had received support from the 'new' working classes - i.e. technicians and craftspeople. McCrone (1992:165) presents what proportion of each economic group voted for the SNP in the October 1974 election. The analysis demonstrates the classless appeal of the SNP.

Table 3.1. Percentage of each socio-economic group voting SNP in October 1974.

Employers and managers	2 7
Professionals	3 0
Intermediate	4 0
Junior non-manual	2 6
Foremen and supervisors	1 8
Skilled manual	3 5
Semi-skilled manual	2 3
Unskilled manual	2 3

Source: Scottish Election Survey, October 1974.
From: McCrone 1992:165.

With respect to age, 42% of the SNP voters in the 1970s were aged between 18 and 24 (whereas the Conservatives only had 10% of this age group) and only 16% belonged to the +65 age group. McCrone bases himself on a study done by Kendrick (1983) on the social side of the SNP which pointed out that the SNP's appeal was towards the young and, although the SNP seems to be classless, towards the non-manual workers who had been upwardly socially mobile from the working class. The people who seemed most attracted to the SNP were those who renounced their class background before they entered the middle class (i.e. those one-time socially mobile working class people). Although the SNP had a classless image, it was that image that appealed to this socially mobile group.

McCrone (1995:144) presents table 3.2 showing Constitutional preferences between 1985 and 1995.

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McCrone goes on to talk about the social break down of the support for constitutional

change, where he points out that

> men are more likely than women to support Independence (between 8 and 8 %
> points), young people more than older people (around 10 % points), and
> working class more than middle class by between 10 and 20 % points.
>
> (McCrone 1995:144)

	A Completely Independent Scottish Parliament Separate from England	A Scottish Parliament with substantial powers but within the framework of British Government	No Change	Don't know
Table 3.2 : Constitutional preferences, 1985-1995.				
1985	29	44	21	6
1986	34	46	15	5
1988	33	42	20	6
1989	33	46	17	3
1990	33	44	18	4
1991	35	43	18	4
1993	31	50	16	2
1995	29	47	2	3

Source: System Three; the sample sizes were all around 1000.
From: McCrone 1995: 144.

McCrone also points out that if we want to find out people's opinions about the

constitutional question it is better to ask them what they are in favour of instead of

asking them what party they vote for. This is because finding out what party people

vote for does not always coincide with their views on Scotland's constitution:

McCrone points out that from the above mentioned survey, 25 to 30% of Tories

agreed to Devolution; 25 to 30% of people voting Labour wanted Independence and

about 30 to 35% of SNP-voters preferred a Scottish parliament within the UK.

These results were corroborated in the survey conducted in Edinburgh which will be

discussed in detail in Chapter 4.

We will now take a closer look at those other 'nationalisms' that exist in Scotland,

and more specifically at cultural nationalism.

3.1.2. CULTURAL NATIONALISM

Scotland has a number of cultural movements who all want to promote various cultural activities such as dance, music, theatre, literature, and who play quite an important role in what we might call Scotland's 'political' life. Political is put between inverted commas here, because although the cultural movements in Scotland have a political dimension, it does not relate to any particular political party (although most would be almost unanimously against the present party in power). Rather, they are 'political' in that most of them seem to want to promote the nationalist causes to some degree or another (that is to say, either the straight-forward SNP Independence kind of nationalism, or the more indirect Labour/Liberal Democrats Devolution type nationalism).

One element in all this has been the various language societies and organisations, for Gaelic as well as Scots. One remarkable fact is that most of the Political Parties remain fairly quiet about these linguistic issues, whereas these cultural movements do their best to attract attention to the situation of Scotland's languages. As Murdoch shows us,

> While exclusively political groups focus on the debate over a Scottish Parliament, cultural groups have elevated the question of language policy to a significantly higher profile within the political agenda. (Murdoch 1995:5).

This statement is followed by one made by Sobey (as quoted in Murdoch 1995:19), who says:

> Scottish writers, individuals and indeed cultural organisations have been strident in their defense of Scots but this has not been matched by a like commitment on the part of Scottish political parties.

In actual fact, some of the founders or early members of what is today the SNP were authors. Amongst those who were avid campaigners were famous writers such as Hugh McDiarmid, Compton MacKenzie and Neil Gunn. They were semi-politicians

who advocated cultural issues. Andrew Marr (1992:82) reports Compton MacKenzie as saying in the 1930s:

> All the dreams that haunt us - the salvation of Gaelic, the revival of Braid Scots, a Gaelic university in Inverness, the repopulation of the Glens, a Celtic federation and a hundred other things, will only embody themselves when we have a Scottish Free State under the Crown.

This was true at the time, as well as today, but still the SNP does not really mention the language issues clearly in its policy - certainly not that of the Scots language. The result of this is that today some works are political not only in content but in their medium of writing too, as writing in Scots and/or Gaelic has become a political statement in itself. This development really found its roots in the 1920s with Hugh Macdiarmid (a.k.a. C.M. Grieve) who was one of the main activists to connect nationalism with the act of writing in Scots. This connection between Scots writing and nationalism is elaborated on by Macafee, who explains the link in Scotland between Scots language and nationalism [resulting in what is here called 'Cultural Nationalism"]:

> Any impetus to extend the use of Scots to the level of mass communications comes from within Scottish nationalism, and postulates the creation of a separate Scottish state in which Scots (along with Gaelic) could be advanced as the appropriate medium for administration, education, journalism, etc.
> (Macafee 1985:7)

One important question concerns the source of the notion that the "impetus to extend the use of Scots ...comes from within Scottish nationalism"? Obviously by "Scottish Nationalism" here is meant at least home-rule, if not the full-scale independence programme of the SNP. However, as we shall see below, the SNP - or any other of Scotland's major political parties - does not promise this, and indeed does not even mention Scots in any of its documents on language policy.

Macafee does point out that there is indeed a problem concerning the absence of a link between Scotland's vernacular languages and the Scottish political programmes. She explains this by stating that the Scottish population was already mobilised as

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"an electorate which enjoyed the normal standard of literacy ...-in St.E", which meant that:

> the part played by Scots and Gaelic even in nationalist politics is therefore negligible, and it seems unlikely that constitutional changes in Scotland could have any significant effect on this. It follows that Scots and Gaelic are unlikely to undergo any further expansion at the expense of St E. (Macafee 1985:9)

This meant that the link with nationalism and the vernacular languages of Scotland has worked its way across to the cultural levels of Scottish society. However, it still seems like a contradiction that these 'cultural organisations' promote Scots and only see change occurring for the Scots language in an independent Scotland, when Macafee clearly states that this goal seems very unlikely to be achieved. There is no real reason why these cultural organisations still think that constitutional change in Scotland will ultimately save Scots, since none of the possible future governments of Scotland seem to have it on their agendas.

We shall now take a closer look at what exactly Scotland's political parties have to say about Scotland's languages.

3.1.3. POLITICAL PARTIES' LANGUAGE POLICIES.

In the early stages of the research for this dissertation the four major political parties in Scotland (SNP, Labour, Conservatives and the Liberal Democrats) were approached and asked for copies of their latest policy documents on Scotland's languages. Strangely, the same answer was given by the research persons of each party concerned except the SNP: they could provide documentation on Gaelic, but they were not too sure if they had anything on Scots. The research assistant of the SNP stated that a pamphlet/article on Scots had been written but at that time had not been officially approved. Consequently the only 'language policies' received from Scotland's four major parties were on Gaelic only.

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The Conservative and Unionist Party never did send out their documentation. Their researcher said that they did not really have any language policy but promised to find out what material was available. Apparently there was no material. The same silence was experienced by Steven Murdoch, when he contacted the Conservative and Unionist Party asking for their language policy for Scotland in 1995. He states on the matter that,

> The Conservative and Unionist Party declined to respond to repeated requests to provide a copy of their language policy document or information relating to it. No Conservative MP responded to my letters ...   (Murdoch 1995: 22)

It seems pretty clear that the Conservative and Unionist Party has no real language policies, although recently the Scottish Office has said that: "Government support for Scots and Gaelic is based on an appreciation of the need to preserve important elements of Scottish culture and heritage" (Fenton & Macdonald 1994:175). This appears to be more than mere lip-service, since in a statement released by the Scottish Office education department in 1991 states that there should be inclusion of

> the Scots language within the curriculum for children aged 5-14. The Scots language in its various forms and Scottish literature are seen as part of the heritage and entitlement of pupils at all stages.
> (Fenton & Macdonald 1994:175).

Fenton and Macdonald continue to add that the Government also provides support financially for the Scottish National Dictionary Association and to the Friends of the Dictionary of the Older Scottish Tongue, an amount which in 1993/1994 totalled £39,425. The Scottish Arts Council also gives a certain amount of money towards festivals, poetry, publication, magazines, etc all in Scots, as well as for music, songs and drama. The fact that the support for Gaelic is much greater than that for Scots is because " it [the support] should be seen within the context of the present-day status of these languages [i.e. Scots and Gaelic]... The relationship between Scots and English is very different from that of Gaelic and English".

The Labour Party sent photocopies of their ideas on Gaelic with a note attached which stated "Sorry, nothing on the Scots Language". The photocopies were made of "Extracts from 'The New Scotland' Document, 1992" (pages 31, 39 and 40) along with one page (page 15) from an "Education Document approved at a Scottish Conference, 1990" although no exact mention was given of precisely which conference this was. In the photocopies of the first document on 'The New Scotland' there was no special section devoted only to Gaelic. Points were made about Gaelic interspersed among other issues, which gave the impression that the status and use of Gaelic was a secondary issue. We found one mention of Gaelic under the section headed "Parents and children", and another mention in the section "Opportunities for all", which was immediately followed by two paragraphs headed "Ethnic minority communities", giving the feeling that Gaelic is something of a non-indigenous language - and a last reference to Gaelic in the section on "Media". Gaelic therefore is definitively NOT considered to be a major issue for the Scottish Labour Party and they obviously do not have a fully fledged language policy on Gaelic apart from the mention in the "Education Document" (1990:15), which says:

> Gaelic is the native language of many Scots and education is a major element in ensuring it flourishes. No child or parent who wishes Gaelic education should be denied it if at all feasible. In the traditional Gaelic speaking areas there should be an absolute right to Gaelic medium education. Gaelic pre-5 provision will be given special priority. Elsewhere, wherever there is a clear demand for Gaelic a serious attempt must be made to provide it.

It seems somewhat odd to state here how "Gaelic is the native language of many Scots", but then to go on treating it as if it is a non-indigenous language by putting a rare mention of it under the "Opportunities for all" section which is then followed by "Ethnic minority communities".

Although Labour has no policies on Scots, George Robertson MP has stated in a letter to Steven Murdoch (1995:25) that "Labour is keen to preserve our Scottish cultural diversity and to encourage the wider use of Scots and Gaelic".

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The same holds true for the Liberal Democrats: they have no policy on Scots language, although they do have something on Gaelic. Their policy states "we firmly support the development of Gaelic as a working language rather than merely preserving it as a cultural language." Again in a letter to Steven Murdoch, Malcolm Bruce MP wrote concerning Scots: "although we have no written policy directly for Scots, we do recognise an individual's right to employ it and not to be penalised because of it" (Murdoch 1995:24-25).

The SNP has a Gaelic Policy, but also mentions Scots, although it does not have a policy on Scots language.[6] They have a document entitled "Gaelic - providing real equality of opportunity". It is wholly devoted to Gaelic and it sets out the party's principles concerning Gaelic, how it should have an equal status by law to English, how bilingual roadsigns and signs in the workplace will be enforced in an independent Scotland, how there should be a Gaelic equivalent to the Welsh S4C channel, etc. The SNP's Gaelic Policy concentrates specifically on education where it insists that all children between 5-14 should have exposure to Gaelic language education, a statement which was not exactly welcomed by Comhairle nan Sgoiltean Araich (CNSA) who do not believe in making Gaelic compulsory. They refer to the situation of Ireland as an example of how making a language compulsory ends up working against that language.

At the end of the Gaelic document, under point 7.4 , it says the following:

The SNP is committed to the progressive development of Lallans as a compliment to and not as a rival to Gaelic.

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[6] I was told by both the president of the Scots Language Society, John Law, and by Paul H.Scott of the SNP, that a Scots Language Policy document is 'in the making'. However, at the time of writing this document has not been ratified by the SNP party. I was given a chance of looking at the original draft of the document (which was actually written by John Law) and reading it and it is set out in very much the same way as the SNP's document on Gaelic only it has less detail in it as far as Scots in education is concerned for instance.

This is the only mention of Scots (in the form of the word 'lallans') in this document.

However, the SNP also sent out two more documents: one was their Broadcasting Policy and the other their Arts Policy. Section 4, page 8 of the Culture and Broadcasting Policy mentions the following:

> Scots Language Broadcasting
> Suitable assistance will be provided to the Scots language and its use in broadcasting

This was preceded by a whole paragraph on Gaelic broadcasting. Section 4, page 5 (version 2) of the Culture and Broadcasting document mentions the following on Cultural Aims:

> Scotland's traditionally distinctive arts - literature composed in the Scots and Gaelic languages, musical composition and performance, song and dance - must be made the subjects of special care and given their rightful places in relevant institutions of learning by proper public funding.

This is all the SNP mentions about the Scots language - and it is the only political party in Scotland to do so, and even they do not have a policy outline for Scots. All parties seem to admit to the existence of the Scots language, and do not seem to have a problem in recognising it as a distinctive language. The SNP even mentions that for instance literature in Scots should deserve funding (amongst other things), yet there is no document set up specifically devoted to Scots.

In general though very little can be said about Scotland's political parties and their language policies. They have little or nothing on Scots, although improvement has come in that at least the members of the parties mention the existence of Scots eventhough they do not include it in their documents on language. Billy Kay mentions on a hopeful note that

> in all of these developments, the approval and support of a broad section of local politicians has been established. When there is a change in the air, the politicians will sense it and act upon it if they feel it will do them, their party or the country...some good. (Kay, 1993:13)

3.2. SCOTTISH IDENTITY: DOES IT EXIST AND WHAT IS IT?

We shall now examine what it means when people say "I am Scottish". This look at the Scottish psyche will involve a closer examination of Scottish culture which will eventually lead us to draw some conclusions about Scottish Identity and where language stands in the great jigsaw of Scottish life.

First we will therefore try and shed some light on the various aspects of Scottish culture.

3.2.1. THE DEFINITION OF SCOTTISH CULTURE

If we search in the dictionary for the meaning of the word 'culture', we find the following:

> n 1 the customs, beliefs, art, music, and all the other products of human thought made by a particular group of people at a particular time...
> 2. artistic and other activity of the mind and the works produced by this.
> (Longman Dictionary of Contemporary English1989:251)

> n 1 (a) refined understanding and appreciation of art, literature, etc....(b) (often derog) art, literature, etc collectively   2 state of intellectual development of a society   3 particular form of intellectual expression...4 customs, arts, social institutions, etc of a particular group or people.
> (Oxford Advanced Learner's dictionary, 1989:290)

Both definitions are fairly vague when we are trying to pinpoint one country's specific culture.

The word 'culture' must surely be one of the more difficult words to describe in the lexicon of the English language. Williams (1976:90) attempts to explain how the word 'culture' is used in three ways:(1) the description of a "general process of intellectual, spiritual and aesthetic development"; (2) general references to "a particular way of life, whether of a people, a period, a group, or humanity in general"; (3) "the works and practices of intellectual and especially artistic activity", to which he adds: "in general, it is the range and overlap of meanings that

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is significant" (Williams 1976:91). Following Penrose's reasonings (1995:394) the term 'culture' will be used here in the second of Williams' interpretations but in its broadest sense, i.e. culture meaning a particular way of life. Penrose comments that,

> This refers to the assumption that commonly held values exist and, more importantly ...to the outward manifestations of these values... In contrast, I will use the term 'intellectual culture' to connote groups of people who are defined by broadly shared scholastic works and practices..., but who contribute to this body of thought from varied ways of life (i.e. from different cultural backgrounds).
> (Penrose, 1995:394)

Applying all these ideas to the case of Scotland shows us that scholars and laymen alike do not even agree about the existence of a specific Scottish culture, and if they do confirm its existence they quarrel endlessly about its specifications. We shall take a brief look at what has been said on the matter of Scottish culture, while bearing in mind that we will try and establish (if that is possible) what the elements are that make up the Scottish identity.

3.2.2. SCOTTISH IDENTITY

Everyone in the world knows Scotland. The images the word "Scotland" conjures up are very familiar to us all and hence very predictable: kilts, bagpipes, whisky, tartan, the Loch Ness Monster and meanness are just a few of the stereotypical characteristics of the "dour Scotsman on top of a hill clutching his claymore and shouting 'Wha's like us? Damn few an' they're a' deid!'" This is the type of image usually associated in Scotland with shortbread tins and Bonnie Prince Charlie.

It is not how the Scots would describe themselves, so sociologists tell us. Tom Nairn (1977:150) describes Scottish culture as being divided between the heart and the head, where the heart is directed towards romanticism, the past and where the head means the present, and reason. The past is often associated with "culture" in general, and is usually referred to in terms of some Golden Era that epitomises all

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that that country stands for. In the case of Scotland it is a very tumultuous past, strewn with negative images, mistakes and shameful deeds. This darker side of Scotland's past has often been held up as the main reason why political nationalism in Scotland does not incorporate this cultural strand, which has lead to the development of a cultural nationalism (as we just saw above). Another plausible reason why the cultural aspects have never made it on to the political territory in Scotland is that there is this indecisiveness about how to handle this 'tourist-identity' that Scotland definitively has alongside its present cultural scene and the inevitable past.

This tourist-image of tartanry and shortbread tins collapses with what McCrone calls "The Gaelic Vision" (1992:17):

> Just as the idealised England is essentially a rural idyll, a place where country and Country come together, so the 'real' Scotland ..is essentially rural - 'Welsh Wales', the Gaeltachd in both Scotland and Ireland, the heartland of the culture. ... Scottish culture   has adopted a "Gaelic vision" ...as...its lowlands became much like other urbanised and industrialised regions, so the symbols, myths and tartans of the Highlands of Scotland were appropriated by lowland Scots in a bid to cling on to some distinct culture. The irony was that the part of Scotland which had been reviled as barbarian, backward and savage found itself extolled as the 'real' Scotland - land of tartan, kilts, heather.

McCrone continues to add that Scotland as a country is a "landscape of the mind, a place of the imagination", and that these ideas of the 'essential Scotland are what people want it to be", which is completely tied up with Scotland's past, in other words: the real Scotland is history. It is exactly this image that now keeps Scotland's tourist industry going.

This 'tourist-identity' has been symbolised by what McCrone (1989:161) calls the two mythic structures of 'Tartanry' and 'Kailyardism'. Kailyard refers back to the popular late 19th century literary tradition "with its petty obsessions and meanminded parochial jealousies" (McCrone 1989:163). It consisted of "minor writers who pursued Scottish country quaintness into whimsical middens" (Nairn 1977:158). It was not necessarily a purely Scottish 'tradition' - we for instance

find the same type of literature in other countries such as Belgium and France. The Scottish Kailyardism was mostly directed at those expatriate Scots who at the time were forced to emigrate and live the greatest part of their lives in distant corners of the Empire. Tartanry, according to McCrone (1989:164)

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

McCrone then continues to explain how the Lowlanders in the 19th century started wearing tartan as well, even though it had no significance to them. McCrone (1989:165) explains the wearing of the tartan by Lowlanders as a form of anxiety and a desire to "claim some distinctive aspect of culture at a time when the economic, social and cultural identity was ebbing away".

In the end he comes to the conclusion that we need not bother with the question: what is Scottish culture? as this would make us focus on the trivial and the "epiphenominal" (1989:172) which is only found in the past.

> The search for a distinct identity is likely to degenerate into a pessimistic conclusion that none is possible because we are prevented from seeing it by the power of the regressive Scotch Myths, rather than because in modern, pluralistic societies no single 'national' culture is to be found. In other words, the argument has been that we cannot find it precisely because the myths are hegemonic, when the real answer should be that the search itself is illegitimate.
> (McCrone 1989:172)

What McCrone means is that those who look for what constitutes a national culture have suggested that this is impossible because of the all empowering domination of those Scotch Myths, whereas McCrone contends that in fact we should not be searching for a national culture at all.

This is not the way Dickson perceives things concerning Scottish identity/culture. Culture and identity are tied together, and therefore finding out what one of them means will possibly help us to find out more about what the other aspect implies.

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Dickson concentrates mostly on pinpointing the nature of Scottish identity. He (1989:58-59) explains that the Union in 1707 was economic in nature, and that Scotland still very much retained its identity via the major social institutions which remained very Scottish. These social institutions are: the legal system, the education system and religion. As Dickson (1989:59) says, "they are an illustration of the way in which Scottish society has retained a core of distinctive everyday life that has helped to define the image that Scots have of themselves".

The main reason why many Scots would look for an identity (which would then contradict McCrone's statement that this search is futile and impossible) is because of the political and economic situation of Scotland: in many ways the Scottish people are dependent on their English neighbours. And because this dependency only started after the Union of 1707 there has been a stronger desire amongst the Scots to retain or stress their identity. In other words, it seems almost like when the Union of 1707 was signed, the Scottish identity was signed away as well, being engulfed by an overall British identity which most Scottish people could not identify with.

As Dickson (1989:61) emphasises, "they are acutely aware of the country's dependence on the outside world". Dickson continues to expand on this idea by adding that this dependence explains the schizophrenic nature of many Scots:

> aggressively asserting the superiority of their country whilst hiding a deep-seated feeling of inferiority. Over the years this cultural identity has developed, as part of its self-definition, a caricature of the 'English' that functions as a target for the resentments implicit in the notion of external control.　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　(Dickson 1989:61)

In other words, disliking the English is an essential part to being Scottish almost. This comes out mostly during rugby games for instance and centres around a stereotypical/caricatural image of the Englishman: "a Home Counties accent, a natural arrogance, a taken-for-granted superiority, an uncaring disregard for others, and some degree of affluence." (Dickson 1989:61).

This schizophrenic nature of the Scottish identity is made even clearer by T.C.Smout (1994:102-103), who presents us with his view of the make-up of Scottish identity, which incorporates Dickson's view as well. Smout states that Scottish identity is very complex, in that there exists a wide variety of layers: "How can a person in the Outer Hebrides, speaking Gaelic, crofting, a member of the Free Church, have a common identity with a person in Glasgow, speaking a Lowland dialect, working as a software engineer, a follower of no religion save Rangers football club?". He points out that it is confusing the issue, and basically it implies that we have posed the wrong question: it is not a matter of determining the/a Scottish identity, but the various identities that exist in Scotland, which he explains via figure 3.1 below.

The dot in the centre of the first concentric circle, explains Smout (1994:102) is the individual. The first circle therefore that surrounds that individual is the family, which incorporates the "immediate context of our social identification as human beings". The second circle is the family or the clan, the surname, which to most Scots has no real importance any more (says Smout), but which used to carry an enormous importance. The third ring is that of locality, which Smout suggests is today "singularly powerful in Scotland". The fourth circle is that of nationality, where the individual identifies with Scotland, "since from the Outer Hebrides to Fife and from Thurso to the Border, there will be an unequivocal answer 'yes' to the question 'are you Scottish?'". However, as Smout rightly points out, this is not the case for Shetland and Orkney where you cross the water to the Pentland Firth towards 'Scotland'. The fifth circle is that of the State, which basically implies Britishness, incorporating the whole of Scotland alongside the Orkneys and the Shetlands. The sixth ring refers to the Empire, which has now become an archaic loyalty but "had great meaning for two hundred years".

The last and seventh line refers to "merely hypothetical loyalties, which Scots (and other nationalities) are sometimes encouraged to have but probably do not have in reality...- for example, as Europeans, as members of the UN" (Smout 1994:104).

To examine this with reference to what Dickson points out as the Scots' schizophrenic identity and to what McCrone calls a "stateless nation', it means basically that the fourth and fifth ring do not coincide according to those two theories - i.e. as Smout suggests,

> that loyalty to the nation and the state are not the same thing. It would be impossible to imagine a Margaret Thatcher,...to whom a loyalty to a smaller England was distinguishable from that to a larger Britain, or an English population that did not take the Union Jack to be the national flag: but every Scot habitually distinguishes between a smaller Scotland and a larger Britain, and knows that the national flags are the Saltire and the Lion Rampant.
>
> (Smout 1994:104)

This is in agreement with what Smith (1991:74) mentions about nationalism in general, i.e. "nationalism is an ideology of the nation, not the state. It places the nations at the centre of its concerns, and its description of the world and its prescriptions for collective action are concerned only with the nation and its members". McCrone (1992:24) substantiates this view by explaining how in an opinion poll in *The Scotsman*, 40% of the Scottish people considered themselves to be Scottish and not British, and another 29% more Scottish than British, with only 21% saying they thought themselves equally British and Scottish. (This view is supported by the survey conducted in Edinburgh as part of the research for this dissertation. See Chapter 4).

Figure 3.1: Scottish Identity according to Smout (1994:103)

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Concentric loyaltie
1. Family
2. Kin or clan
3. Locality
4. Nation
5. State
6. Empire
7. Supranational

a. gender
b. class
c. occupation
d. colour
e. language
f. religion
g. sport
h. military culture

Social characteristic loyalties.
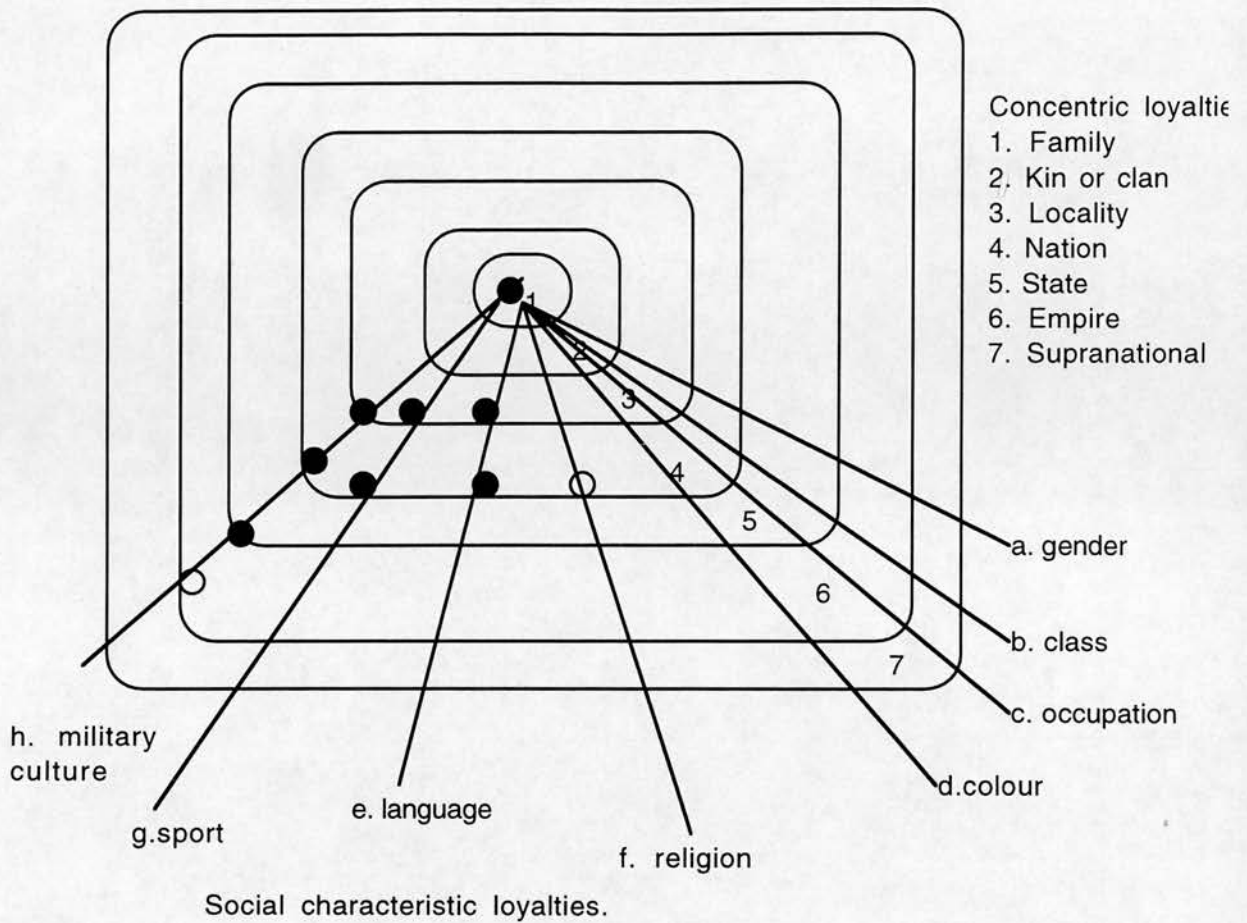
While such data tell us little about the depth of such feelings, or about their political implications, they do seem to confirm a powerful source of alternative aspirations. In the last decade or so Scottish politics appear to have become more 'Scottish' in their agenda.   (McCrone 1992:24)

In this light, what Smout suggests about Scottish identity consisting of two different levels appears very plausible. Smout then continues to explain what in figure 3.1 are indicated as being social characteristic loyalties: some of these are directly connected to the formation of Scottish identity, but others do not really influence the Scottish identity.   Smout (1994:104-105) explains how the matter of class, gender, and occupation do not really matter to being Scottish. Colour he points out is slightly different in that most Scots are white, and that like most other European societies Scotland too has its problems of accepting Asian Scots for instance as being true Scots. However, the fact has no real importance to being Scottish.

The characteristics he lists as important are the following: military culture, sport, language and religion. (One could probably include in that list literature and art, which would be important to a cultural elite in Scotland, but it is not mentioned by Smout). On the diagram there are certain dots that intersect with the line denoting the characteristic and one or several of the circles. This indicates whether the importance of this characteristic is still alive today or whether it is mainly a historical one, which has now all but ceased to remain important. Religion has united and divided Scots for centuries: the 16th century arrival of Protestantism fast became one of the most potent indicators of Scottishness. This distinctiveness was even preserved in 1707 where a legislation made sure of the independence of the separate presbyterian church, which helped maintain a separate Scottish national identity that fitted in well with the overall British Protestant one.

> Therefore, to be a Scottish presbyterian in the eighteenth and nineteenth
> centuries, and indeed today, was to be strongly conscious both of being Scottish
> and of being British, and above all to know that the two were not identical.
>   (Smout 1994:105)

For many Scots, sport has taken over from religion. It enforces the locality circle as someone from Glasgow supports Glasgow Rangers (or Glasgow Celtic or Partick Thistle) as opposed to someone from Dundee who supports Dundee United. But it is also important to mark Scottish identity in general and mainly to show its distinctiveness from British identity. This is something typically Scottish, says Smout:

> A Scot would cheer for Scotland in a contest with England, but if England won and
> went on to play Belgium, all the Scottish cheers in the next round would be for
> Belgium. It would be unthinkable that an English team could ever represent 'his
> country'.   (Smout 1994:106)

The matter of military culture was very important to the Scots for many centuries. It both reinforces a sense of locality (as in for instance the Argyll and Sutherland Regiment), a sense of Scottish identity, but also again part of an overall British identity. This duality among military people in Scotland is illustrated by Scott

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(1992:60-61) who comments on what Smout here calls the two circles: i.e. the British one of the State and the Scottish one of the Nation: "...I think that it is very doubtful that the Scots who took part thought of themselves as wholly, or predominantly, British. Helen Bannerman spent years in India as the wife of a Scottish officer in the Victorian heyday of the British Raj. From their letters, it is clear that they thought of themselves as Scots, and of Scotland first and the Empire second. This was probably typical and I have little doubt that Scots in the British army to this day have the same sense of priorities."

The last issue that forms part of the social characteristic loyalties is that of language. Here Smout is not very elaborate and basically only concentrates on Gaelic (and what he calls "the English-speaking' part of Scotland), saying how it was once a more divisive issue than it is now as there used to be a higher percentage of Gaelic speakers in the Highlands.

> Today it [Gaelic] serves to reinforce locality, at least in the sense that Gaelic-speaking Highlanders feel a strong tie to a Gaelic cultural world, but it does not destroy a sense of Scottishness, but rather also reinforces it, as in some nationalist traditions to be a Gaelic Scot is to be quintessentially Scottish.
> (Smout 1994:105)

It seems then looking at Smout's ideas on Scottish identity that what looks to be the most important element in the formation of Scottish identity is that whoever claims to be Scottish and was not born and bred in Scotland is not considered Scottish at all. That is, locality has become very important and seems to have taken over from the importance the clans and family once had. As Smout (1994:107) points out, "'I'm a real Scot from Bathgate' has much more resonance than 'I'm a real Scot because my granny was a real Scot'".[7] He continues to explain via this matter of locality the attitudes of Scots living in Scotland towards the expatriate Scots :

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[7] As a half-Scot, half-Belgian I perfectly agree with this statement made by Smout. I was born and raised in Belgium and lived there for the first 21 years of my life. At the time of writing I have only lived in Scotland for 3 years, but eventhough I have a Scottish accent and have enough knowledge of folklore and history of the country, I am not perceived as being Scottish for just one reason: I was not born and raised in Scotland, therefore I am 'a continental person' with a Scottish accent and background, but I am not seen as a "real" Scottish person.

> This is at least part of the explanation as to why Scots in Scotland often find Scots in America embarrassing: the latter are emphasising a tribal identity, divorced from every aspect of place and modern Scottish popular culture; their ethnic consciousness based on genealogy seems a false consciousness in Scotland.
>
> (Smout 1994:107)

This importance attached not to tribe/clan/race but to locality implies that it will be unlikely that there will ever be any ethnic cleansing in Scotland, according to Smout. Of course, it has to be remembered that things can change, without wanting to seem pessimistic: if once tribe/race/clan was important to the Scots, and now it is not, then surely it is possible for that to change round again. However, this is not the matter under consideration here.

The main issue here is that Scotland is unusual in its identity in that it is an identity separate from its state identity, which is British. Similar cases are Bavaria in Germany, Flanders in Belgium, Catalonia in Spain and the Bretons in France. The main way in Scotland to transmit this distinctiveness within the British State is mostly via its separate institutions: the church, the law and the education system which were kept distinct form their Welsh/English counterparts through the Union of Parliaments in 1707. This is (as we saw earlier in Chapter 2, section 2.3) exactly what Burke said in 1782 (as quoted in Williams 1993:5) concerning Scotland, i.e. that the institutions are the main example of national identification.

We have already briefly looked at the aspect of religion earlier on. The legal system has also managed to maintain its independence and has kept most of its liberties. Another way of looking at this autonomy of Scotland's legal system is that Scottish lawyers do face competition professionally, but what is amazing is that this competition will never come from English lawyers, because, as Hechter and Levi (1994:188) point out, "the two types of law are incommensurable". The education system is also distinct from the one in England and Wales, although it has been said

that some schools and especially some universities have become more and more anglicised. However, Scottish universities still preserve their four-year degree.

All these aspects point towards a real existence of a Scottish culture, but this culture exists at various levels. One of those levels is the much hated tourist-identity the Scots have abroad, but which does help the economic situation of Scotland via the tourist industry. However, as Smith (1991:77) points out, a country's cultural icons live under our very noses but we are so unaware of them that we no longer see them:

> They include the obvious attributes of nations - flags, anthems, parades, coinage, capital cities, oaths, folk customs, museums of folklore, war memorials, ceremonies of remembrance for the national dead, passports, frontiers - as well as more hidden aspects, such as national recreations, the countryside, popular heroes and heroines, fairy tales, forms of etiquette, styles of architecture, arts and crafts, modes of town planning, legal procedures, educational practices and military codes - all those distinctive customs, mores, styles and ways of actings and feeling that are shared by the members of a community of historical culture.

Smith carries on to say how the national symbols and customs and ceremonies are the most potent aspects in nationalism. This is also true for a country's identity. These symbols, customs and ceremonies are what makes one country obviously and immediately distinct from another. For Scotland this is the kilt, the bagpipe, the Loch Ness Monster, haggis and whisky. It is unique to Scotland in the minds of the outsiders, of the non-Scots. It is a veneer under which a much richer culture and a less flamboyant identity exists (as described by Smout), but this image of tartanry and of shortbread tins is what catches the eye.

As was mentioned before, Smout in his identity diagram (figure 3.1 above) does not deal with the issue of language very elaborately. He merely mentions the Gaelic language, and even then only in a way that it reinforces locality [i.e. the highlands], and it contributes to McCrone's idea of "The Gaelic Vision" of the imaginary Scotland

where the 'real' Scot is a highlander who obviously speaks Gaelic, i.e. "to be a Gaelic Scots is to be quintessentially Scottish" (Smout 1994:105).

McCrone (1192:28-29) argues that when a people want to make a point of showing their own distinctiveness, i.e. stressing their separate identity, they use certain attributes (cf the core-values we discussed earlier in Chapter 2, page 67). He illustrates this with the example of the Welsh, where in the 19th century an "ideological device" was used for "rousing 'the people' against the dominant foreigner - the English who were 'stealing the land'":

> Seen as both a historical fatality and as a community imagined through language, the nation presents itself as simultaneously open and closed
> (Anderson 1983:133)

McCrone adds that it is not a prerequisite of nations to show linguistic divergence, but there seem to be quite a number of examples where nations have set about reviving their languages in view of political changes (e.g. Israel with Hebrew, Ireland with Irish, Norway with Norwegian (as is shown in Chapter 2, page 95)). The reason why this has not really occurred claims McCrone is because of "the hegemony of 'English' in lowland Scotland", which according to Anderson (1983:86) "eliminated any possibility of a European-style vernacular-specific nationalist movement". However, Scots is supported by the middle classes in Scotland but only in its literary form, whereas this form is regarded suspiciously by the working classes (except maybe the popular literary forms used by Burns). It demonstrates a certain class division in Scotland towards Scots.

This nevertheless does not explain why the political parties in Scotland, especially the SNP have not made use of the Scots language to counteract this 'Englishness' as an aide to promote the nationalist cause. McCrone (1992:29) argues that a linguistic nationalism, as is the case in Wales, can have its disadvantages too:

> Perhaps the strength of nationalism in Scotland vis-a-vis that of Wales reflects the fact that, despite (or because of) a lack of linguistic differentiation, nationalism can present itself as more than protecting a cultural past under threat.

The main way to explain this matter of language and its relation to nationalism in Scotland is to refer back to Chapter 2 (page 82), where we looked at Smith's definitions of 'national sentiment' and 'nationalism', which basically just demonstrated the difference between national sentiment and national movements. As we mentioned then, a 'nationalist movement' is a number of activities and programmes of a political movement, whereas 'national sentiment' is a bundle of sentiments and attitudes which are often passive and latent.

It seems that in the case of Scotland, language is present only on the level of national sentiment among the public/voters (see Chapter 4), but not on the level of nationalist movements or political parties. The general public so to speak is on the whole very positive towards Scots and finds it valuable enough to want the language to be kept alive. This would explain the concern that exists among those involved in Scotland's cultural life for the Scots and Gaelic language. But this concern is most definitively not reflected on any political party platform, not even those with a nationalist stance. Especially in view of other countries such as Norway where the resurrection of the Norwegian language from a set of dialects did go hand in hand with political independence, it is not surprising that this sentiment thrives amongst the Scottish public. However, the absence of language on the political agendas of Scotland's parties, especially that of the SNP is strange. It can be explained that Scottish Nationalism is one step ahead of most nationalisms in that in most cases the nationalist movements strive to acquire separate institutions. In order to justify this demand they specify their distinctiveness through cultural issues, among which language is usually the main factor. In Scotland however, history has played a trick on this cultural side in that Scotland already has its separate institutions, and it therefore has no real need to point to its cultural distinctiveness. All that Scotland's nationalist parties need to point out to their potential voters is that they have a right to political and economic independence by referring to the oil in their waters,

etc. The cultural side one could say has been skipped as far as Scottish Nationalism is concerned.

3.2.3. SCOTS LANGUAGE: NARROW AND WIDE.

We shall now take a closer look at the situation of Scots today. We have so far seen how Scots does not have much status in Scotland, although there are a number of groups and organisations who are trying their utmost to change this state of affairs for the Scots language. The media is slowly contributing to this by highlighting the latest endeavours of organisations like the Scottish National Dictionary Association which has been doing tremendous work for the Scots language. However, it was exactly one of those reports in the media which led to the following review of the Scots Language situation.

As we discussed throughout Chapter 1, the main problem concerning Scots language is exactly the label 'Scots Language'. It does not evoke the same images to everyone in the country. The main problem, as will be pointed out in Chapter 4 as well, is the lack of awareness by what exactly is meant by those two words 'Scots Language'. The following is a quote from an article by Jim Gilchrist in *The Scotsman* on Wednesday 24 April 1996 which was entitled, "Minding our own language". It reports on the commendable work done by the Scottish National Dictionary Association with their launch of the Scots School Dictionary. The article's second paragraph reads:

> ...an estimated five million people still speak Scots to some degree, ranging from Scottish standard English, through urban "demotic" to the rumbustious dialects of the north-east or the Border country.

The whole article mentioned 'Scots', 'Lowland Scots' or 'Scots Language'. The same as the above quote was also heard that same day in a report on the BBC's Reporting Scotland. What is clear is that what Jim Gilchrist and the reporter on Reporting Scotland meant by 'Scots' is not what some of the activists on Scots Language mean by

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Scots. It therefore seems like we have two types of definitions of 'Scots Language': that of a Narrow Scots and of a Wide Scots. As figure 3.2 below shows, Wide Scots incorporates the definition of Narrow Scots. Wide Scots would basically refer to what we have previously called the Continuum as suggested by Aitken (see Chapter 1 page 35, and what Tom McArthur called 'Scots English' - see Chapter 1 page 41) only the Wide Scots definition incorporates the whole of that continuum including Scots language and any English spoken with a Scottish accent. The whole linguistic spectrum of Scotland would be included in this definition of Wide Scots.
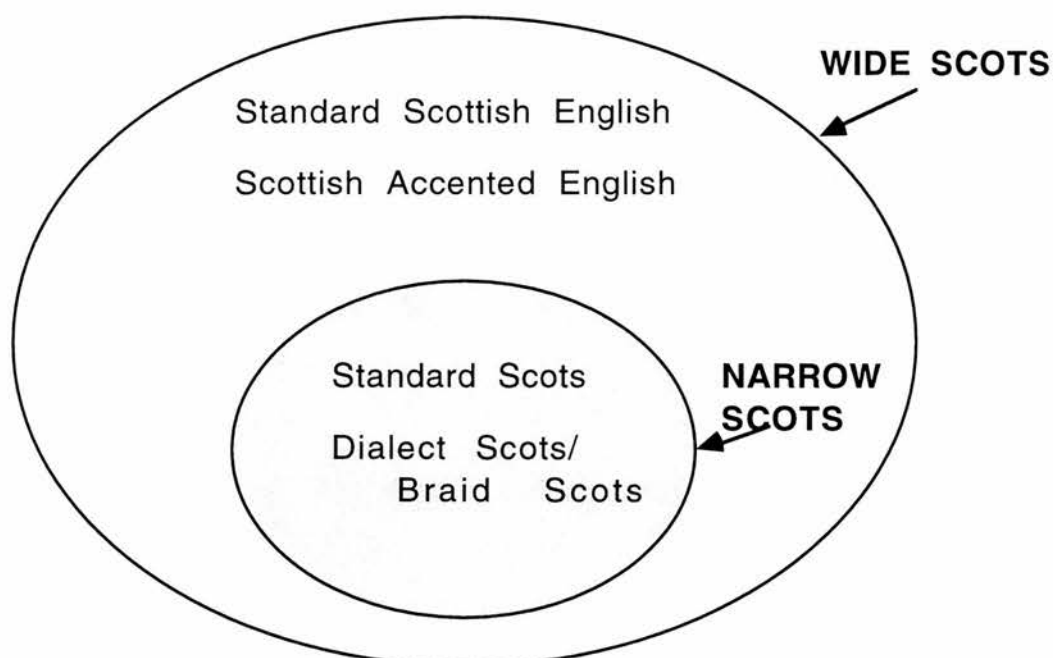
Figure 3.2: Wide Scots and Narrow Scots definitions.

Narrow Scots on the other hand, refers to what we have called Scots in this dissertation all along: the Scots language today in its form of a set of dialects without a standard. The best example of one of the dialects of Scots language in its Narrow sense would be Voice 4 on the tape used for the research undertaken in Edinburgh (which will be discussed in Chapter 4), which was the voice of an Aberdeenshire speaker of Doric, or the North-East dialect of Scots.

The way the reporters of both Reporting Scotland and The Scotsman used the definition was in the Wide Scots sense. Hence the 5 million speakers of Scots. This,

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however, is not necessarily an ideal way of creating an awareness for Scots in its Narrow sense. Ultimately one might suggest that there are two ways of restoring Scots Language to its 'former glory' and have it accepted once again as one of Scotland's languages: one way of doing this is by improving the status the language has among the people after which the number of speakers will follow as well as learners of the language. A second way is by suggesting to the general public that there already is a large number of speakers and by doing so the status would eventually rise because it would become acceptable to speak Scots. It seems that the reporters, to continue our example, have followed the second way.

However, by doing so, what we call Narrow Scots is just part and parcel of a Wide Scots whereby the Narrow Scots - the language which ultimately needs a rebooting in its acceptance and in its identity as a language - looses its status as a language, as it is put on a par with 'a Scottish accent'. Surely the best way forward would be to create a realistic understanding of what is meant by Scots Language in its Narrow sense rather than by confusing the issue further by promoting Scots Language as being the various dialects as well as Standard English with a Scottish accent or Standard Scottish English. This statement has to be qualified, however, because there are certain organisations and individuals who do a great deal of work in favour of the Scots language in its Narrow sense, but who find that they have to publicly promote Scots in its Wide sense for financial purposes. Sometimes it seems the only way of getting any changes in the education system is to suggest an insertion of classes in Scots language but in its Wide sense. The organisations who do this are however fully aware of the difference between Wide and Narrow Scots, but find that if they do not adopt the Wide sense when dealing with money matters or when they are relating to Government instances nothing happens.

This notion of Wide and Narrow Scots will be discussed further in Chapter 4 when we come to the discussion of the results of the research undertaken in Edinburgh which will demonstrate this confusion concerning 'Scots Language' even further.

Before looking at this research conducted in Edinburgh we shall first take a closer look at previous surveys that have been undertaken to investigate possible links between the politics of Scotland and the linguistics of the country.

3.3. PREVIOUS SURVEYS ON LANGUAGE AND NATIONALISM IN SCOTLAND.

We shall now focus our attention to previous studies that have been conducted which tried to provide a link between language and nationalism in Scotland. Most of these were done because it was found necessary to explain the link that does exist between the cultural organisations (and languages in Scotland) and their support for home-rule/independence for Scotland.

Although extremely little has been done in the area of language and nationalism in Scotland, some surveys along those lines have been conducted. One survey that was undertaken was by F. Iacuaniello in 1992 among native speakers of Scots at Aberdeen University. It showed that

> 63% of informants acknowledged support for a party. Most responses were given for the Scottish National Party but the Labour Party and Liberal Democrats followed closely. (Iacuaniello 1992:66)

And 62% of Scots speakers in the survey stated that they wanted a link between political independence and an improvement in the status of Scots. This survey was conducted in Aberdeen where the status of the variety of Scots spoken is different to the status of other varieties of Scots spoken, for instance in the Borders. 'Doric' has quite a high status in Aberdeen and therefore we could safely say that the speakers of this type of variety of Scots would do their best to promote that language to every means possible.

A similar study was conducted by Professor Kenneth Mackinnon reporting on a national sample of 1117 respondents undertaken in 1981. He came to the same conclusion for support for Gaelic:

> In every area the highest support came from Nationalist voters [SNP] even in Skye where the typical voter had been Liberal, and the Western Isles where there was a higher proportion of Gaelic speakers amongst Labour voters. Conservative voters were everywhere the least supportive...Overall, as in the Lowland sample, political support for Gaelic policies fell on a continuum from most supportive to least supportive from SNP, Minority Parties, Alliance parties [now Liberal Democrats], Labour, No clear voting intention, to Conservative.   (Mackinnon 1991:176)

A more recent survey is that conducted by Murdoch in 1995. He conducted a Language in Politics survey in order to establish the role of language within the politics of Scotland. As Murdoch points out : "The L.I.P. Survey was conducted with the hope of providing a basic indication of the condition of the Scots speaking community as well as indicating the way the various communities view each other". (Murdoch 1995:33). One major inadequacy in Murdoch's survey is that nowhere does the author acknowledge the problem of defining Scots, especially not when he talks about his survey, where one of the questions is "Do you speak Scots?" and "Have you ever studied Scots?". He mentions that there might have been an "unknown proportion of Scots speakers in the survey stating they were native English speakers...[but that] despite this, outside the central urban areas, the survey gives a broad indication of the strengths of each language in each given area". This is a fairly bold statement to make, considering the serious problems that exist in defining Scots. We have already discussed these problems in Chapter 1, and, as we shall see in the next Chapter, it is definitely not a straightforward matter. In the present situation - considering the present status and position of Scots language - no interviewer may pre-suppose that the interviewee knows exactly what Scots is; eventhough there might be cases where the interviewee states that s/he knows what is meant by Scots, it is always advisable to double-check with the interviewee, as it might be a different perception than that of the interviewer. Considering this

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'flaw' in the fieldwork, we have to be wary when we consider the interpretations of the findings of this survey. However, some very useful results and conclusions have been made in this survey, which allow us to be more confident about the research undertaken in Edinburgh, which will be explained in the next chapter. Although we have to be wary about any connections to Scots language speakers (for the reasons mentioned above), we can find a parallel of what has previously been mentioned about the social base of the SNP. We mentioned that although the SNP has a classless appeal to it, McCrone did point out that it tends to attract voters among the non-manual workers (section 3.1.1). It seems according to Murdoch's findings that this social base is also found among the linguistic groupings in Scotland: "It is also interesting to note that both Scots and Gaelic speakers are strongly represented in the skilled workforce while Scots speakers form the largest component of the unskilled manual category" (Murdoch 1995:39). However, there were more interesting points to Murdoch's survey related to people's attitudes and opinions towards language issues in political parties' programmes: although only 11% of the informants indicated that language policy issues would be a major factor in their choice of candidate, 245 people (out of 450) did state that it would change their choice of candidate when the question was asked more indirectly, i.e. in the form of a pro/anti Scots and Gaelic language policy. This tendency to change opinion does indicate that it is not considered to be *that* important an issue. In fact, from Murdoch's study it became clear that the four most important issues for the voters in an election campaign were: the National Health Service, Employment, Scottish Home Rule and Education. Language was only mentioned once as an important political issue says Murdoch (1995:42). (Although, via Education it would be almost impossible to in the long run avoid the issue of language). He does show one interesting connection regarding the SNP:

> ...between the location of the three Scottish National Party-held parliamentary constituencies and the linguistic construction of the electorate within them.
> Two are in Grampian Region which contained the largest group of resident Scots

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speakers. The other is in Tayside where 30% of the electorate were native Scots speakers and a further 40% were Scots learners. All three constituencies are rural constituencies in the North-East of Scotland.   (Murdoch 1995:48)

What this shows is that again amongst the voters of the SNP there are a majority of Scots speakers or learners of Scots. That the party they vote for does not actively promote their language is very interesting considering the fact that a substantial majority of their voters are Scots speakers in some form or another (native speakers or learners that is). It already suggests that there is indeed a link between Scots language and nationalism in Scotland, albeit at the moment only on the level of the actual voters and not on that of the politicians themselves.

3.4. SUMMARY

We have now considered in this chapter what Scottish nationalism means, whereby we made a difference between a Scottish nationalism in the guise of the SNP, and of Scottish nationalisms in the form of the other political parties in Scotland (apart from the Conservative Party) who advocate Home Rule for Scotland. We have also taken a closer look at their programmes and found that Murdoch's findings were corroborated in that none of Scotland's political parties had a policy on the Scots language, not even the SNP (which did mention Scots now and again in its Gaelic policy and its Arts &Broadcasting policies). However, we did find that there was a deep concern from the side of cultural groupings in Scotland, who do express a desire to have Scots language 'revitalised' as it were, but only in connection to Scottish Independence. The matter of Scottish identity and culture was then investigated where we found that language does indeed not play a major role, although it probably did so in the past. This was backed up by the study carried out by Murdoch who found similar results in his survey. However, language is an important class issue, which is exemplified by the difference between the Literary

Scots of the cultural elites and their cultural groupings who aim to promote this in schools, and the so called 'Broad Scots' as it is spoken by the working classes.

We also found that while looking at the attention Scots language is getting in the media, that there seems to be a handling of two definitions of 'Scots language': a Wide Scots definition and a Narrow Scots definition. Initially this method of promoting Scots in its Wide sense seems like a good idea, but it will ultimately add to the confusion surrounding what Narrow Scots is eventually, but will also lead to a watering down of the now accepted position of Narrow Scots as a language to 'merely an accent or dialect'.

We shall now look into more depth at the present survey, conducted in Edinburgh, and see how all these findings relate to our own.

CHAPTER 4: RESEARCH AND FIELDWORK.

4.0 INTRODUCTION

In this chapter we shall be looking at the research that has been undertaken to find out more about the existence of a possible link between language in Scotland and Scottish Nationalism.

We shall look into the theoretical aspects that precede the start of any fieldwork and look at the decisions that were taken at every level of the fieldwork. We start with the decision to opt for research conducted via surveys, and more specifically at questionnaire design and the different techniques of administering these questionnaires. All this will be put in relation to the investigation that was undertaken in Edinburgh. We then proceed to discuss in more depth the questionnaire that was used in the fieldwork, its setup and the method of administering the questionnaire.

This is followed by a section dealing with the analysis of the questionnaire, including the codification and input of the data, and its initial analysis where we gradually go through the initial results. We then look at the in-depth analysis with its results, concluding with a short summary of the results obtained.

First, however, a theoretical outline is given which is fundamental to the start of any fieldwork. The first sections will give a brief overview of the theoretical constraints which are essential to choosing the type of survey, what format and types of questions exist and how to best go about administering these questionnaires.

4.1. PREPARATIONS FOR FIELDWORK

4.1.1. THEORY FORMATION.

The following pages will look more closely at the theory and methods of conducting fieldwork. Most of the information presented here is based on D.A.de Vaus's book *Surveys in Social Research* (1991). Parallels will be drawn with the current investigation. The main idea behind this investigation is to find out people's attitudes concerning the future of Scots language in relation to their political opinions. The hypothesis being tested is that there is a difference in attitude between those people who are in favour of independence for Scotland and those people who support the union between Scotland and England. Before starting the actual research decisions had to be made about how to go about conducting this research, which involved looking at the various methods and techniques that exist in order to find the one that would present us with the best results as far as our investigation was concerned.

4.1.2. VARIOUS METHODS FOR DATA COLLECTION.

There are different ways of conducting research and of collecting data. According to de Vaus (1991:6) there are three different methods and techniques - see the table in Figure 4.1. The methodology begins with the research question, which can be handled in three ways, depending on the nature of the results we are looking for. As Figure 4.1 shows there are several techniques which can be used in order to obtain the desired results, whether one is conducting a Case Study, a Survey or an Experiment. The boxes containing these various techniques can be used more or less together, but this is not always necessary. An experiment may just involve a questionnaire and nothing more, whereas a case study may need a questionnaire followed by an in-depth interview and with observation and content analysis carried out as well.

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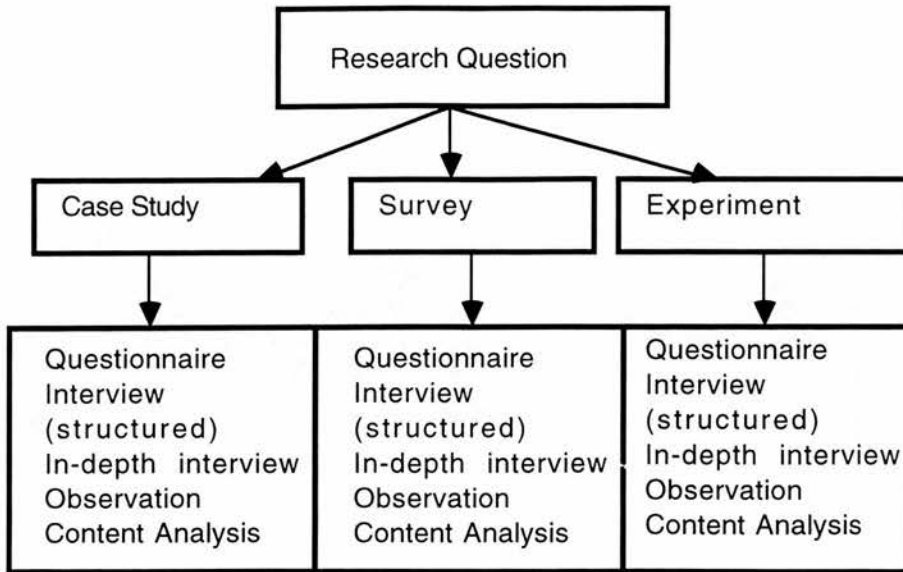
Figure 4.1: Range of methods and techniques for data collection.

Surveys are not identical to questionnaires, although it is a general misconception among the public that they are similar. Questionnaires are one particular technique of collecting information, whereas surveys in general are a collection of such techniques, of which questionnaires are just one example. According to de Vaus, a prime characteristic of surveys is the structured set of data which he calls a "variable by case data matrix":

> All this means is that we collect information about the same variables or characteristics from at least two (normally far more) cases and end up with a data matrix" (de Vaus 1991:3).

An example of such a matrix as we would for instance encounter in our investigation is presented in Table 4.1 below, where the cases (i.e the people interviewed here mentioned as 'person 1', 'person 2' etc) are listed at the top and the variables (i.e. the items we are interested in finding more about; in this case Sex, Age and people's opinions on the constitutional question indicated here by Pro) are listed in the first column.

Table 4.1: an example of a data matrix.
CASES

	Person1	Person2	Person3	Person4
SEX	male	male	female	male
AGE	2 5	4 1	5 7	4 5
PRO:	independence	devolution	union	devolution

Source: de Vaus 1991: 4.

It is exactly this variable by case matrix which is fundamental to surveys: it is based on comparing cases.

One of the most useful ways of obtaining an attribute for each variable is via a questionnaire, but, as de Vaus points out, this is not a necessary connection - there are other ways. The survey is used to describe the characteristics of a set of cases (subjects), but it also seeks to find explanations for these characteristics.

> Survey research seeks an understanding of what causes some phenomenon by looking at variation in that variable across cases, and by looking for other characteristics which are systematically linked with it. As such it aims to draw causal inferences by a careful comparison of the various characteristics of cases. The next step is to ask why...   (de Vaus 1991:5)

The method of the case study and of the experiment are different from a survey in that for a case study only the data of one case is collected. This requires different strategies of analysis whereas the experimental method is similar to the survey method but different in that "the variation between the attributes of people is created by intervention from an experimenter" (de Vaus 1991:6). In our own research the survey was used, as a case study would not have provided enough data to give us the results we wanted, and an experiment did not seem very appropriate in so far as we were mainly looking into attitudes, which cannot be adequately established by experiment. It was therefore decided to do a survey amongst the general public, using questionnaires and interviews.

4.1.3. MEASUREMENT OF ATTITUDES.

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There are three assessment techniques used in studying language attitudes: content analysis of societal treatment, direct measurement and indirect measurement. The first method is one in which information is sought via surveys investigating the way language varieties are treated in public institutions, such as, what official language policies exist and what language varieties are used in government, business, mass media, education and the church. One of the best illustrations of this form of approach is Fishman's (1966) *Language Loyalty in the United States,* which looks at the trends in maintenance and shift of ethnic languages by looking into laws and policies regarding language use, etc.

The second way of investigating language attitudes is via a series of direct methods, which usually involve questionnaires containing questions on how a certain language variety is viewed, language preference, desire and reasons for learning a particular language, evaluation of social groups who use a particular variety, opinions on bilingualism and bilingual education, and ideas concerning the maintenance or shift of certain language varieties and language policies. The problem that poses itself here is that people may respond in a way which hides their true feelings, either because they want to sustain their ideological beliefs, or because they want to disassociate themselves from their social group, and so on. In other words, these direct methods reveal beliefs more than they reveal attitudes.

The third method is the indirect approach. This means that attitudes are assessed from reactions to stimuli where it is not clear what the focus of the investigation is. The best-known technique used in this method is the matched guise technique, which was developed by Lambert, Hodgson, Gardner and Fillenbaum in 1960. The method consisted of extracts being played to subjects under investigation who were not aware that they were listening to one and the same speaker or set of speakers. The subjects were then requested to evaluate the speaker they heard on several attributes such as friendliness, intelligence, etc. This technique enables the

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investigator to discover the hidden attitudes towards the users of a certain language and to note what stereotypes emerged. These attributes were ranked according to the categories set forward by Lambert (1967): competence, personal integrity and social attractiveness. As Ryan, Giles and Sebastian (1982: 8) point out:

> ...some projects have also obtained behavioural indices of attitude, either in the form of a listener's accommodations of his/her own speech style in response to a speaker or in the form of non-speech behaviours such as attitude change, attendance at a meeting, or completion of a questionnaire.

In general, the technique presents the listener with samples of speech which are thought to act as identifiers allowing the expression of social stereotypes. (Edwards, 1989:147).The matched guise technique revealed ideas on the relationship between language and status and, in studies carried out by Labov (1966) and Trudgill (1972), the concept of covert attitudes became clear. As Edwards reports, it is a phenomenon which seems to cross class lines and apparently is of greater relevance for males than for females. The implication is that non-standard speech forms sometimes possess more status than standard variants. This means that "attitudes towards language varieties may be more subtle than had hitherto been thought; in particular, overt downgrading of non-standard varieties may coexist with more latent, positive connotations." (Edwards 1982:27).

One last note should be made on the importance of attitudes in the field of education. Teachers' attitudes towards non-standard varieties of speech and their appreciation of non-standard speech in their pupils can greatly affect children's learning. In general, the school encourages the use of Standard English. Trudgill argues that teachers have not particularly kept quiet about their ideas on lower-prestige or non-standard varieties of speech, labelling them as "bad English", "deviant speech", "wrong", and "gibberish". Edwards (1982) notes, on a study undertaken by Seligman, Tucker and Lambert (1972), that speech style was "an

important cue to the teachers in their evaluations of students. " (Seligman, Tucker and Lambert, 1972:141, as quoted in Edwards, 1982:28). However, as Edwards mentions,

> teachers more than other individuals, are in a position directly to hinder a child's early success if they hold and act upon overly generalized views. It also follows, of course, that teachers are well placed to help children overcome the negative evaluations made of them by others and, in some cases, by themselves. (Edwards, 1982:30)

To sum up the possibility of measuring attitudes, Thurstone (1964) claims that attitudes can indeed be presented and measured on a scale via selected variables, but, as he adds, one can never be completely sure of the findings of the attitude research since one never knows whether the opinions expressed by the subjects are consistent with their professed opinions:

> All that we can do with an attitude scale is to measure the attitude actually expressed with the full realization that the subject may be consciously hiding his true attitude or that the social pressure of the situation has made him really believe what he expresses. This is a matter for interpretation. (Thurstone,1964: 79)

We shall now look at these questionnaire and interview techniques in more detail.

4.1.4. QUESTIONNAIRES.

Data can be collected in various ways: by observation, via in-depth interviews, questionnaires, etc. As de Vaus remarks on the use of questionnaires:

> Questionnaires can be filled out by the respondent and returned to the researcher or administered by interviewers. The questionnaire is a highly structured data collection technique whereby each respondent is asked much the same set of questions. (de Vaus 1991:80)

The setting up of a questionnaire is influenced by a number of elements: Firstly there is the research problem, which plays a major role in the formulation of the questions, the structure of the questionnaire and the layout. It is important that the goals of the research are clearly identified before designing the questionnaire. The

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fundamental research question in this work is: "does political opinion have a role to play in the way people stand vis-a-vis the future of Scots language?".

It is very important to be clear about the types of variables under observation, specifically to identify the dependent and the independent variables. de Vaus (1991:27) gives us a good explanation of what a variable is and what types exist:

> A variable is a characteristic which has more than one category (or value). Thus sex is a variable with the categories male and female. ...A variable then is a characteristic on which people can differ from one another. In cause and effect terms we can distinguish between *dependent*, *independent* and intervening variables. The *effect* is called a dependent variable (symbolised Y): it is the variable which is dependent on something else. The assumed *cause* is called the independent variable (symbolised X).

In this work, the independent variable is the way people answer question B3 (see page 122, parqgraph 4.2.2): whether people are in favour of Independence, Devolution or the Union. The dependent variables are the attitudes towards the Scots language.

How the questionnaire is to be analysed and administered is also important, as different methods of analysis require different layout and different types of questions. In the present investigation it was decided to analyse the questionnaire via the computer statistical package, SPSS.

How the questionnaire is to be administered is important, as this determines the types of questions in the questionnaire. As we shall see later in section 4.1.4 for instance, if the questionnaire is to be administered via a face to face interview then the questionnaire can have more complex questions, whereas a questionnaire sent out by post requires simpler and clearer questions, as there is no interviewer to provide help.

Dillman (1978:80) distinguishes four types of questions in a questionnaire: behaviour, beliefs, attitudes and attributes. A 'behaviour' question helps to establish what people 'do'. An example of a 'behaviour' question might be asking

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some Edinburgh residents whether they ever use Scots language in their daily lives. This might be a very good question in the sense that it might well give us a detailed account of who speaks Scots, when, why and to whom. However, on sensitive issues such as language, the informants cannot always be relied on to give fully consistent rational answers. People often do not always behave as they think they do or as they want to, which means that there is a real danger of misinterpreting people's beliefs and attitudes on the basis of answers about their behaviour. In a belief question the emphasis is on finding out what people think is either true or false, right or wrong. An example of this kind of question would for instance be "Do you believe in the existence of a God?". This type of question is to be distinguished from an 'attitude' question which concentrates on what people want; the belief questions focus on what people think. The last type of question is the 'attribute' question which is meant to extract information out of the subjects about themselves. This would include questions on age, sex, education, occupation, etc.

Our investigation focuses on questions relating to belief and attitude but attribute questions are also included in the questionnaire in order to establish the background of each subject interviewed. The questions were formulated in such a way as to avoid confusion, ambiguity and jargon. More will be said on this matter later when we will take a closer look as to how the questionnaire was set up.

In addition to the type of question, the investigator must decide on the question format. Questions can be 'open' or 'closed' format. Open-ended questions are ones to which respondents can write down their own answers in as many words as they like without any real constraints. The closed questions are the ones where respondents are presented with a set of possible answers (known as 'forced-choice response formats').

The open-ended questions are better from the respondents' view in that they can formulate their own answers, but from the researcher's point of view these formats

are much more difficult to code and analyse. For any type of questions the answers need to be grouped into categories in order to be analysed. This is often difficult with open questions because the researchers run the risk of incorrectly categorising the answers and thereby distorting the analysis. Moreover, if the analysis is to be done by computer then the answers need to be codified, which in the case of open questions can be extremely difficult. Another difficulty is that the open questions can easily give an advantage to talkative people, whereas a quiet person might not say very much at all. This is undesirable given the possibility of bias towards responses which are very articulate and well expressed and against those that are less articulate.

In contrast, closed formats carry the risk of an insufficient range of alternatives in the answers the respondents are provided with. However, if the range of answers is well-developed then the 'forced-choice questions' (de Vaus 1991:86) have quite a number of advantages, especially when it comes to long questionnaires, or when the respondents are not highly motivated.

There are five different types of 'forced-choice response formats' which are listed by de Vaus (1991:88-89):

(1) The Likert-style formats which make use of the rating scales, which means that the informant is presented with a number of statements to which the respondent replies by indicating their opinion on a scale ranging from Strongly Disagree to Strongly Agree with an option in the middle of 'Neutral' or 'Don't Know'. An example of a Likert format is for instance figure 4.2. below, which shows two ways of presenting a scale ranging from Strongly disagree to Strongly agree.

eg: Speaking Scots is very important to being Scottish.

1. [ ] strongly agree
   [ ] agree
   [ ] cannot decide
   [ ] disagree
   [ ] strongly disagree

Figure 4.2.: two types of Likert Scales

This method of Likert Scale response format was the one used in the present investigation.

(2) The second type of response format is that of a Semantic Differential Scale, which involves choosing an adjective to represent the two extremes of a continuum by marking a number on the continuum. Usually these scales contain 7 points with number 4 in the middle serving as the 'neutral' option, as is shown in figure 4.3:

How do you describe your mother?

Warm	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	Cold
Lonely	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	Not at all lonely
Dominant	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	Submissive

Figure 4.3.: A Semantic Differential Scale.
Source: de Vaus 1991:88

(3) The checklist is another option, which consists of a list of items in which the respondent is asked to indicate which ones are relevant to him/her, as presented in figure 4.4.

What things do you talk to your mother about?

Sport	religion	t v	food
relatives	neighbours	feelings	books/films

figure 4.4: Example of a checklist.
Source: de Vaus 1991:88

(4) Another format is that of ranking where the informant is again given a list but this time the informant is asked to rank the items on the list in order of preference or importance.

(5) The last method of responding is the "attitude choices" (de Vaus 1991:89). Here instead of asking the subjects to agree or disagree with a statement they are provided with a number of views and they are then asked to select the one which is closest to their own view, as is shown in figure 4.5 taken from de Vaus (1991:89) Here the Likert Scale statement might have been: "The government should provide

financial grants to help students whose parents have a low income to attend university", but here the question is re-formulated so that the informant expresses their view by selecting which view is closest to their opinion.

which option do you favour?   [   ]   Government give grants
                                [   ]   Government make loans
                                [   ]   No government assistance
                                [   ]   Cannot choose.

figure 4.5 Example of Attitude Choices format.
Source: de Vaus 1991:89

Another element that needs to be considered when dealing with questionnaires is their layout. This basically means the ways in which you present the questions to the informant and the presentation of the response procedure. These answering procedures can take on different forms. Obviously when one deals with open-format questions the main consideration should be to leave enough space for the informant to write the answers. However, when it comes to closed questions people can be asked to either tick the appropriate boxes or brackets or circle the relevant numbers next to the responses. In the case of Likert-type questions it might be efficient to use a matrix format to present the strongly agree to strongly disagree answers to the informant, as is done in the example given below in figure 4.6.

Statement: Scots language is an important part of being Scottish.

1	2	3	4	5

Strongly Disagree   neutral   Strongly Agree
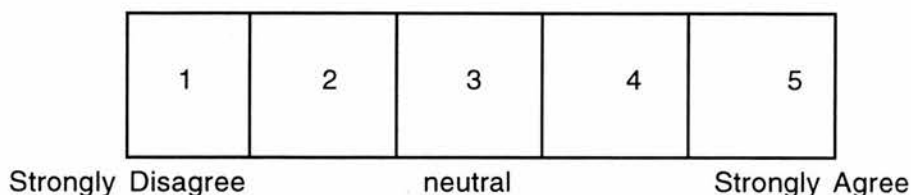
figure 4.6: matrix representation of Likert Scale response format

The ordering of the questions also needs to be considered. As de Vaus (1991:94-95) explains, logic and the putting at ease of the respondent are prime concerns when

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setting up a questionnaire. De Vaus gives eight points which should be considered. These eight points are summarised here into six:

1 start with the questions the respondent will enjoy answering, which usually means the easy questions, but the ones that are clearly relevant to the research. Demographic and personal questions should be kept till the last part of the questionnaire.

2 Questions should go from easy to gradually more difficult questions, and from concrete to more abstract ones.

3 The open-ended questions should be kept to a minimum and should be put towards the end of the questionnaire.

4 Questions should be grouped into sections which will help the structure and the flow of the questions.

5 If positive and negative items are used in the shape of a scale, they should be mixed up to avoid acquiescent answers.

6 A variety of answer formats should be encouraged to keep the questionnaire interesting.

The final step in setting up the questionnaire is testing it. This is called pilot testing or pretesting the questionnaire. Basically the purpose of testing the questionnaire is to verify whether or not all the questions work well, to see if the researcher is getting the sort of answers he/she wants and to look out for any questions that are not in the right place, that are ambiguous or badly formulated. The people to use for this pilot testing of the questionnaire should ideally be a subgroup of the type of people that will be used for the actual fieldwork. The number of people to use for this pretesting should remain small since pretesting can sometimes be very intensive, as the pilot-informants should be asked whether they found any problems with the questions, etc. Once this pilot testing of the questionnaire has been done, the questionnaire can then be revised (if needed) and the actual work can begin.

The way the questionnaires are administered is also important. There are three main ways of doing this, all of which have their advantages and disadvantages. They

are: personal interviewing, postal surveys and telephone surveys. We will now briefly look at all three of these methods .

4.1.5. ADMINISTERING QUESTIONNAIRES.

The method and technique chosen in this investigation was that of a survey by means of a questionnaire which was to be administered via personal interviews. However, there are other methods besides the face to face one: the postal survey and the telephone survey. The pros and cons of those three methods are presented below in Table 4.2 taken from de Vaus (1991:113).

Table 4.2: Advantages and disadvantages of mail, personal and telephone surveys

	Face to face	Telephone	Mail
Response Rates			
General samples	good	good	good
Specialised samples	good	good	good
Representative Samples			
Avoidance of refusal bias	good	good	poor
Control over who completes the questionnaire	good	satisfactory	good
Gaining access to selected person	satisfactory	good	good
Locating the selected person	satisfactory	good	good
Effects on Questionnaire design			
Ability to handle:			
Long questionnaires	good	satisfactory	satisfactory
Complex questions	good	poor	satisfactory
Boring questions	good	satisfactory	poor
Item non-response	good	good	satisfactory
Filter questions	good	good	satisfactory
Question sequence control	good	good	poor
Open-ended questions	good	good	poor
Quality of Answers			
Minimise social desirability of responses	poor	satisfactory	good
Ability to avoid distortion due to:			
Interviewer characteristics	poor	satisfactory	good
Interviewer's opinions	satisfactory	satisfactory	good
Influence of other people	satisfactory	good	poor
Allows opportunities to consult	satisfactory	poor	good
Avoids subversion	poor	satisfactory	good
Implementing the survey			
Ease of finding suitable staff	poor	good	good

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Speed	poor	good	satisfactory
Cost	poor	satisfactory	good

The face to face method was decided upon for various reasons which we will look into here. A search into the attitudes of Scottish people in Scotland towards the Scots language and putting this in relation to their opinions on the constitutional question in Scotland seemed to be best investigated via the means of a questionnaire and interview. This was primarily because the issue in question, i.e. that of the Scots language, is rather unclear in the minds of most people. As we saw in Chapter 1, giving a definition of Scots language is anything but easy, and therefore it was thought that the method of personal interviewing might avoid any form of confusion involving the question 'what is Scots language' as the researcher would be present to answer and explain this issue. This idea was sustained in the event of carrying out the pilot study to test out the questionnaire. The need then for the questionnaire to be followed by an interview was clear.

This difficulty in defining what Scots is was really the main reason for opting for the personal interviewing technique rather than deciding on postal questionnaires. The method of telephone surveys would have been another option here, but it was decided to use a tape recorder and to play a tape with accents and dialects to the informants and to ask them to fill in some questions concerning this tape. Clearly tape recordings can only be used with personal interviewing.

One advantage of conducting a survey either by telephone or by post is that you might get a much greater response rate and hence a much greater sample which in turn would be more representative and lead to better results. The personal interview method on the other hand, is very time-consuming, elaborate and requires careful planning and organising.

The personal interview method also carries problems relating to the interaction between interviewer and interviewee. As de Vaus (1991:110) puts it:

Responses to sensitive or controversial questions can be affected by social desirability considerations: giving acceptable rather than true opinions. While this danger exists regardless of the administration method, it will increase with increasing personalisation. Another problem that is especially evident in face-to-face interviews is that the observable characteristics (e.g. gender, race, class) of even the best-trained interviewer can affect the way people answer questions.

There are advantages with personal interviews in that it will become immediately obvious to the researcher whether or not the informant is eligible for the survey, whether the hand-writing of the respondent is legible, whether the informant understands the questions presented to him/her. (In case he does not, the researcher is there to explain or clarify any problems that may appear).

Because it was decided to use the method of face-to-face interviews which requires visiting the informants, the choice of respondents was limited to people resident in Edinburgh and district, including Dalkeith. The pilot test showed that the interviews would take at least 20 minutes and probably as long as 30 minutes. This meant that interviewing a really large sample of people even in one selected area would be a huge task that was beyond the scope of this investigation. This is why the sample consists of only 99 people.

4.2. THE INVESTIGATION
4.2.1. AIMS AND IDEAS

This investigation explores questions raised by research carried out in 1992 in Brussels. The research conducted there was to establish the attitudes of expatriate Scottish people living in Brussels towards the Scots language. It was a small-scale investigation covering only 20 subjects all in professional occupations in Brussels. They were presented with a questionnaire similar to the one used in the present research (which can be seen in the Appendices).

The results from this pilot study carried out in Brussels formed the basis of the present investigation, which not only wanted to establish the attitudes of people living in Scotland, but also to find out whether or not there existed a relationship between these attitudes and the subjects' political opinions. The study conducted in Brussels seemed to indicate that Unionists and Independence people have different attitudes towards Scots. The main aim of the present investigation is to support or counter this by conducting a similar investigation on a larger scale, conducted in Scotland itself. The research carried out in Brussels had the disadvantage that it dealt with ex-patriates, who are a group of people prone to having distorted views of their home countries and who often show a very specific type of patriotism which is characterised by nostalgia and sentimentality.

To summarize the main aim of the present investigation was to establish whether or not political opinions concerning the constitutional question in Scotland have a role to play in the way people perceive the situation of the Scots language, and its future as a potential national/official language of Scotland.

4.2.2. THE QUESTIONNAIRE

The questionnaire consists of three parts, each of which will be examined more closely below in section 4.2.3. As far as the setting-up of the questionnaire was concerned, it was decided to use a closed format of questions. The types of question were mostly 'belief' and 'attitude' (see section 4.1.3 above), since the main aim of the research was to determine the attitudes of Scottish people towards the Scots language in relation to their political convictions. Three of the 47 questions were multiple choice questions related to the political dimension of the research. These questions were:

(1) You consider yourself to be
1. British
2. Scottish
3. British and Scottish at the same time

(2) For what political party did you vote last time you voted?
1. Conservatives
2. Labour

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4. something else, if so what: 3.Liberal Democrats
                                                  4. SNP
                                                  5. other
                                                  6. None

(3) <u>Are you in favour of:</u>   1. Independence for Scotland
                                   2. Devolution/Home-Rule for Scotland within the UK
                                   3. the Union as it is
                                   4. No opinion

It was considered that this format was the best way to handle these types of questions, because political questions are usually sensitive by nature, and because the Likert Scale format would have resulted in an attitude-type statement/answer which was not the type of answer that was wanted. At the end of the questionnaire attribute questions were given to the informants in order to receive more information as to their backgrounds and to be able to categorise them according to age, sex and occupation.

The forced-choice response format selected was the Likert-style format, i.e. rating scales. This involves giving the respondents a set of statements and then asking them to indicate their opinion on a 5-point scale ranging from (1) Strongly disagree to (5) Strongly agree, with (3) Neutral/don't know in the middle. Most of the questions in the questionnaire used were of this type. The layout of the response format was in the form of a matrix presentation of the Likert Scale.

4.2.3. ORDERING OF QUESTIONS

The ordering of the questions was very much dependent on the contents of the questionnaire which consisted of three parts, each part aimed at 'measuring' a different aspect of the informants' attitudes towards the Scots language and towards the constitutional question in Scotland.

PART A: THE VOICES

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Part A was directed at investigating how Scottish people classify and rate the accents and dialects of Lowland Scotland. The main idea behind this section was to see if the informants would recognise the Scots dialects as being different from Scottish English accents and dialects. The Glaswegian voice was of particular interest in light of the generally negative attitudes towards Glasgow speech reported in the literature. An audio-tape was made up of four voices each representing a different accent/dialect from the Lowlands of Scotland. The voices were obtained from various sources. The first voice was that of a Standard Scottish English speaker, namely Dr J.E.Miller from the Linguistics department of the University of Edinburgh. The second and third voices were obtained from a tape provided by Professor A.J. Aitken and represented Glaswegian and the Scots dialect from Largo in Fife (respectively). The Glaswegian voice was of a working class middle-aged market sales assistant, whereas the Scots dialect speaker from Largo in Fife was of an old lady (this voice was obtained in the 1950s by Professor Aitken so the dialect may have been slightly out of date or old-fashioned). The last voice was selected from a tape of Dr J.E.Miller and represented the Scots dialect from Aberdeen (also known as 'Doric'). Here too the speaker was an old man. All four speakers talked about some childhood recollection.

Although the informants were told emphatically that there were no right or wrong answers and that what counted was their opinion, some assumptions were made with regard to the voices on the tape. The 'defining' of the voices was done according to the common terminology adopted by academics working on Scottish English and Scots dialects. That is, the examples that were chosen to represent the Scots language are rural dialects from Fife and Aberdeen, both of which are widely accepted as being examples of the Scots language[8]. Voice 1 also follows the norms of what a 'Standard

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[8]   More information on the description of the Glasgow speech and the Standard Scottish English speech are given in Steele 1996.   Steele's work also concentrates more on education and the Scots language and attitudes towards the use of the language in education in Glasgow and Edinburgh.

Scottish English' voice is according to the scholars in the field. Voice 2 was chosen in order to widen the scope of the survey to include an urban dialect. As we saw in Chapter 1, these urban dialects pose a problem to many researchers and scholars of the Scots language in that it is difficult to classify as either belonging under the label 'Scots language' or 'Scottish English dialect'. It was therefore included in the present investigation in the hope that more light would be shed on this complicated matter by letting the informants state their opinion as to what Glaswegian is and where it should/could be classified. It is precisely because of such problems that on the continuum in the forced-choice response formats the notion of 'Half Way' was inserted. If most of the informants did classify Glaswegian as being 'Half Way' between Scottish English and Scots language, then perhaps a third category should be defined to include the urban dialects of Lowland Scotland. This, it turned, is exactly what happened: a majority of the answers giving classified Glaswegian as half way between Scottish English and Scots language.

The informants were asked to listen to voice 1 on the tape (Standard Scottish English speaker) and then to indicate on the continuum in the questionnaire where they would place this voice. The continuum is shown below in figure 4.7. The informants were told to regard the boxes as a continuum going from Scottish English to Scots language. If the informants had problems understanding the concepts of Scottish English and Scots language these concepts were explained: Scottish English was illustrated by the newsreaders on television of Reporting Scotland on BBC1, and Scots language was explained as being the set of Scots dialects. Understanding the notion 'Scots language' was never much of a problem; quite a few people inquired about the meaning of 'Scottish English' and understood the explanation given for its meaning.

1	2	3	4	5
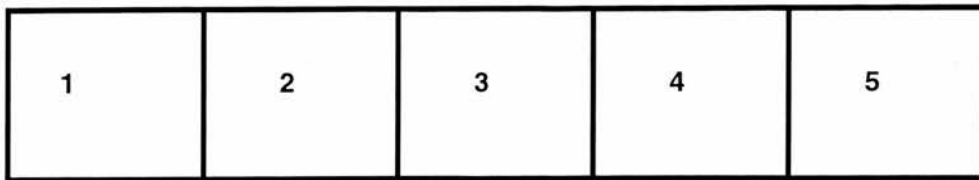
Scottish English   Half Way   Scots Language

figure 4.7: Scottish English/Scots language continuum.

The voices on the tape were ordered in the same way for all interviews. The order was (1) Standard Scottish English, (2) Glaswegian, (3) Fife Scots and (4) Doric or Aberdeen Scots. It is well understood that the order of the voices on this tape probably does influence the way the respondents classify the voices. However, it was thought to be too complicated and too time-consuming if a different order was put forward to every group of for instance 20 informants. Therefore, the voices were labelled with numbers and the numbers were randomly selected, which eventually gave the following order: (1) Scottish Standard English voice; (2) Glaswegian voice; (3) Fife Largo voice and (4) Aberdeenshire voice.

Firstly we have Voice 1 - an example of Standard Scottish English. As far as the phonetics of Voice 1 are concerned they fit the description given by Abercrombie (1979:71-72) of Standard Scottish English. Voice one has all the vowel features presented below in Table 4.3. From a consonantal point of view there are some features present in Voice 1 that are distinct from RP, such as /hw/ as in 'which' contrasting with /w/ as in 'witch' Furthermore, Standard Scottish English does not aspirate final /-p, -t , -k/ as RP does.

Table 4.3: vowels of Standard Scottish English and RP

	ST.Sc.English	RP
bead	1 . i	1 . i
bid	2. ɩ	2. ɩ
bay	3. e	3. e ɩ
bed	4. ɛ	4. ɛ

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(never	4a. ë̆	)
bad	5. a	5. a
balm		6. ɑ
not	8. ɔ	7. ɒ
nought		8. ɔ
no	9. o	9. oɷ
pull	11. u	10. ɷ
pool		11. u
bud	12. ʌ	12. ʌ
side	13. ʌi	14. aɿ
sighed	14. ae	
now	15. ʌu	15. aɷ
boy	16. ɔe	16. ɒɿ

From a lexical point of view there are no real differences here between Voice 1 and RP. But as far as syntax is concerned there are some features which stand out as being typical of Standard Scottish English, although none are present in this excerpt, which basically distinguishes itself from Standard English via its accent and nothing more.

Voice 2 is an example of Glaswegian, one of Scotland's urban dialects.

From a phonetical point of view Voice 2 differs from Voice 1 for instance in its realisation of vowel 11 in Table 4.3, /u/. In Glaswegian this is more to the front and shorter than in RP - and occurs in lexical items where RP has vowel 15a, as Standard Scottish English has vowel 15. Also, there is a more half-open peripheral realisation of what is labelled vowel 4 /   /, which is demonstrated in the excerpt with the word 'thirty' (pronounced more like 'therty'). We also find that there is an /e/ sound present where in Standard Scottish English we find /   /, as in for instance 'nae'.

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Note also the RP vowel /ow/, compared to /o/ in Standard Scottish English and to /e/ in a number of lexical items in Scots - e.g. 'dae' /de/, 'tae' /te/ (= do, to/too). The Glasgow excerpt has 'oot' /ut/ and 'intae' /inte/ (=out, into).

Another feature of the Glaswegian excerpt, which it shares with most non-standard accents/dialects of English is the use of singular nouns after numerals, as in 'year' instead of 'years', and the extensive use of glottalisation in words such as 'shopping centre'.

Voice 3 was produced by an old lady from Largo in Fife. The recording dates back to the 1950s. Here we find that although the phonetics of her speech are not radically different from what we had already pointed out in the Glasgow excerpt, her grammar and vocabulary are quite distinct. We find expressions such as 'at the heid o the brae' (at the top of the hill), 'brig'(bridge), 'fit'(foot), 'hoo'(how), etc. She also used past tense and past participle forms typical of Scots such as, 'stoppit' (stop), 'gaun'(gone), 'gaen awa'(gone away), etc.

Voice number 4 was the Aberdonian speaker. Grammatically he basically had all the same characteristics as the Fife speaker but a larger range of Scots lexical items, such as 'twa' (two), 'wheel' (for the discourse particle 'well'), 'playgreen' (for playground), 'oot o the hoose', 'onywey' (for anyway), 'kent' (knew), 'aboot', 'didnae' and 'gar' (make, force). He alsu used /hw/ in words such as 'which'.

For each of the four excerpts on the tape, the informants were presented with one page of the questionnaire. They were asked first to rate the voice on the continuum and then to answer the questions that followed on the scales presented to them. The questions were in the form of statements and the response-scales in the Likert format. The statements were the same for all four voices, and were meant to measure the respondent's affinity towards the voice. For voice 1 this included questions A11 to A14, for voice 2 questions A21 to A24, for voice 3 questions A31 to A34 and for the final voice questions A41 to A44. (These questions can be found in the Appendices).

PART B: POLITICAL AND IDENTITY QUESTIONS.

This category of questions consisted of 3 multiple choice questions (mentioned above) followed by one statement asking the informants to rate the importance of the 7 items listed below on each of the scales provided next to them. The statement was:

B4. What is esssential to Scottishness? (1=most important; 5= least important). Indicate by placing a circle round one of the numbers on the scale.
$$| -- 1 -- | -- 2 -- | -- 3 -- | -- 4 -- | -- 5 -- |$$

The seven items listed were:(1) be born in Scotland
                            (2) Gaelic language
                            (3) Tartan, kilt, eating haggis and playing the bagpipe
                            (4) the institutions:education, law and the Kirk
                            (5) a Scottish accent
                            (6) Scots tongue
                            (7) Football.

The scale provided next to each item ranged from 1 to 5, and, as mentioned in the statement, 1=very important and 5=least important/not important. These questions were intended to elicit what the informants considered important to being Scottish. The items listed are related to some extent to what we have discussed in Chapter 3 in section 3.2.1, where a discussion was presented to what 'being Scottish' meant and what the role was of elements such as locality, language, sport, the Institutions and the Scotch Myths. These items were incorporated into B4 so that we could ultimately find out what the 'public' thought of these.

The first question in the section (i.e. **B1. You consider yourself to be: British; Scottish; British and Scottish at the same time; something else**) was a two-fold question as it relates to both identity and politics, in the sense that to say you are specifically Scottish carries a different meaning than saying you are British (see chapter 4). Obviously the most important question here was **B3** (**Are you in favour of: Independence for Scotland; Devolution/Home-Rule within the UK; The Union as it is; No opinion**). This was to be the independent variable against which all the other variables were to be measured in

order to come to a conclusion about the attitude of these groups of people towards the Scots language.

PART C: ATTITUDES QUESTIONS ON ACCENT, GAELIC AND SCOTS LANGUAGE

This section of the questionnaire was in three parts: a part on attitudes towards accents in general and more specifically on Scottish accents; a part concerned with the attitudes towards the Gaelic language and the last part which concentrated on measuring the attitudes towards the Scots language and the potential improvement of its status.

PART C: 1-4:

C1: Having a Scottish accent is a very important part of being Scottish.

C2: A Scottish person has a better chance for promotion if s/he adopts an English accent.

C3: In order to be universally understood you should speak standard English without any Scottish words or expressions.

C4: A Scottish person speaking with an English accent is not a real Scot.

These were the four questions involved in the first section of Part C. These questions were mainly intended to find out how important a Scottish accent is to Scottish people, and whether it has a role to play in the formation of Scottish identity. The main idea here was that even though the Scots language might not be an identity marker (core value) to Scottish people, accent might be seen as one. Question C2 proved to be difficult for the informants because the context of this 'promotion' could be seen in various settings. That is, a job promotion in Scotland alone would mean (according to some subjects) that a Scottish accent is definitely better than an English one. If, however, that suggested job promotion were set in England some informants mentioned an English accent might well lead to better

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chances of promotion. It was generally suggested to the informants that this question should be seen as relating to the UK on the whole and not specifically Scotland or England.

The questions in this section of Part C related to attitudes towards the Gaelic language. This was done to see if any parallels could be drawn between questions related to Scots language and to Gaelic. It was also thought that even if there were no relationship between the political groupings of the respondents and their attitudes towards the Scots language there might still be some relationship between the attitudes toward Gaelic and the political opinions of the respondents.

Two of the questions were phrased in a negative way: **C5 - Gaelic is only used by uneducated people in the rural areas in the Highlands of Scotland; C8 - There is no room for Gaelic in a future Scotland.** The three other questions were related to improving the status of Gaelic by for instance having more prime-time programmes on television and radio. Two out of the five questions put negatively was to prevent acquiesence in the responses.

The last section of Part C concentrated on the Scots language. Again, two of the nine questions were put in a negative way for the same reason as the Gaelic questions. The other statements, however, were concerned with the promotion of the Scots language in all areas of everyday life: use of Scots in daily life, in schools, on television and radio and with the local authorities. Four statements were of particular concern here as they related to certain issues that have been raised by scholars trying to develop a Language Planning Policy for the Scots language. These questions were:

C13: Scots language should become an optional subject in school like French.

C14: A standard Scots should be developed (equivalent to standard English) for use in schools, local authorities, on television and in newspapers.

C16: There should be more government support for the Scots tongue.

C17: The political parties (in Scotland) should talk more about their ideas concerning Scots.

It was thought that if these questions elicit a positive response then the idea of setting up a Language Planning Policy would receive at least some public support. If however negative reactions were established then that would prove more difficult to effectively implement any form of change in favour of the Scots language. Also the possible link with the three opinions on the constitutional question in Scotland would be exemplified by the responses to these questions. For if a link were found - i.e. if some groups showed a positive standpoint and others a negative one - that might indicate a connection between nationalism in Scotland and its languages (whether that link would then be positive or negative is another matter to be discussed if a correlation *is* established).

PART D: BACKGROUND INFORMATION.

This part consisted of attribute questions related to the subject's background. This was needed in order to classify the informants on variables such as age, sex, class and place of education as these might ultimately have an effect of some kind on attitudes towards what we are investigating here. Social class is a very difficult concept to tackle. As Milroy (1992: 13-14) points out about class:

> the idea is that people can be ordered with respect to the rest of society by quantifiable characteristics like income, education, occupation, residence or life-style. All these characteristics can be ordered in accordance with the way they are evaluated by society at large - for example a clergyman would be rated higher than a plumber, a college graduate higher than a non-graduate clerk.

It does reflect social reality to some degree at least, and it is a useful way of ordering and classifying people, but, as Milroy adds,

> we must not lose sight of the fact that the groups we end up with by segmenting our scale - such as 'lower class', 'working class', 'middle class' - do not necessarily have any kind of objective, or even inter-subjective, reality.   (Milroy 1992:14)

Class would be determined by the informant's occupation and level of education. In conjunction with this the Hope-Goldthorpe scale was used as a guide to classify people according to the broad classes of Middle and Working class. Althought the Hope-Goldthorpe scale originally distinguishes between 36 classes, the classification used here is based on the schema used by Goldthorpe and Llewellyn which simplifies the 36-category schema into a 7-category one.

We shall, in turn, simplify it even further towards a 3-category one, because our sample is not big enough to allow for a broad categorisation and because our main research question is not the class-connection with attitudes towards the Scots language, but a political one - hence the equally balanced B3-groups. (For more information on what these various Classes (from I to VII) include, the reader is referred to Goldthorpe, J.H. 1980)

The line between Middle Class (MC) and Working Class (WC) in our investigation runs parallel to the division line in Goldthorpe-Llewellyn's 7-fold occupational scale between Class IV and Class V. They arrived at a division into three: Class I and II were the Middle Classes, Class III, IV and V were the Intermediate Classes and Class VI and VII were the Working Classes. The same categorisation was used in our investigation, although the numbers of those three classes are not equally balanced. There are various reasons for this, primarily that class was not our main issue under investigation. However, as was also mentioned (and is elaborated on in Chapter 3, section 3.1.1 page 113) there is definitively a connection between class and the groups of attitudes towards the constitutional question. The following are the numbers of informants from each class:

Middle Class: 5 1
Working Class: 2 7
Intermediate Class: 2 1

Other questions that were asked in the background information page were related to the place of birth, place of birth of mother and father, and the place of education. This was done in order to establish any regionalisms. For instance, if the informant was originally from Glasgow with parents from Glasgow and was educated in Glasgow then that might influence the perception of Voice 2 on the tape (i.e. the Glaswegian voice). These attributes of place were not codified for computer analysis as this proved to be too difficult for reasons similar as to why open-ended questions are difficult to codify; they were therefore analysed by hand. The last two questions concerning the background information were: **(8) Did/do you ever speak Scots and to whom?** and **(9) Did/do you ever speak Gaelic and to whom?** These questions were kept at the end because if any confusion existed in the respondent's mind concerning what Scots meant, then the process of answering the questionnaire would probably sharpen the concept in their minds. Also it was thought interesting to see what the subjects replied to these questions and to then correlate this with their attitudes towards the respective languages.

4.2.4. PILOT TESTING OF QUESTIONNAIRE

It was found during the pilot testing of the questionnaire (see below) that it seemed very useful to start the questionnaire with the section containing the tapes. This was primarily because this part was immediately relevant to the purpose of the research. When the informants were contacted they were told that this was a survey about people's opinions on the accents and dialects of Scotland. So it seemed that starting with the tape was the best way to make the survey relevant to them. It was also found during the pilot testing of the questionnaire (and also during the actual survey itself) that people were immediately put at ease with this tape, and many

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informants found it very amusing and interesting to hear the different accents and dialects.

Part B (with the political and identity questions) came next because most informants were relaxed by this time and were keen to proceed with the rest of the questionnaire. These questions and answers were given in multiple choice format, which made replying easier, although the topic of the questions were more tricky due to their political nature. Then came the actual attitude questions on accent, Gaelic and Scots. Especially the questions on Scots were put last so as to avoid any confusion the informant might have had concerning the meaning of the concept 'Scots language'. The final part were the attribute questions which are put last as these are personal questions and easy ones as well, so that the informant finds the end of completing the questionnaire straightforward.

There were no real questions which posed problems of any degree to the informants, apart from the word 'slang' in Part A relating to the voices (i.e. questions A11, A21, A31 and A41 - Do you think this voice could be called slang?). Especially the working class informants did not always understand what exactly was meant by slang, but they eventually understood by discussing the matter with me. The other question which had minor problems was C2 (A Scottish person has a better chance for promotion if s/he adopts an English accent). This only caused problems for the intermediate and middle classes (although not all of them) because they made a distinction in where the person was living, i.e. in either England or Scotland or abroad.

4.2.5. SUBJECTS

It was decided to restrict the sampling to the region of Edinburgh. Although a comparative study between the opinions of, for instance, the people of Edinburgh and Glasgow would have been interesting, it was thought not feasible due to time

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constraints. Once the decision had been taken to limit the study to Edinburgh, a further decision had to be taken as to the type of informants. The first option considered was to select certain 'professions', such as teachers, clergymen, politicians, businessmen, etc, but it was decided first find out what the mood was among the 'general' public before going into specific layers of society.

An outline of the various sampling methods used is provided in Appendix E. The actual methods of sampling used in the present investigation are a mix of these various methods This is because of the nature of the hypothesis under scrutiny here: the attitudes towards the Scots language of the groups of people representing the three main constitutional opinions in Scotland. This is why there is a need for three representative groups which are based on these three main constitutional opinions in Scotland. These groups, however, need to be balanced in age, class and party allegience.

The best way to select members of 'the general public' was to choose names randomly from the Voters' Roll. The number of respondents required was initially estimated as 50. This number afterwards rose, as the way the people were chosen changed. At first the people were chosen randomly. It was decided to go for a split in social background for which certain areas of Edinburgh and surroundings were pinpointed, such as areas of Leith, Dalkeith, Central Edinburgh, etc. The first 30 people were found in this manner: an area was pinpointed and then every 5th person was selected. Their address was noted and they were sent a letter explaining to them what the survey was about and how it would be conducted. They were asked whether they were interested in participating in the survey. It was stressed that the survey was anonymous. They were told that they would be contacted by telephone (those without telephone were left out as well, which represented another pre-selection making the sample less random), when an appointment could be made to see them. After the first 30 people were selected it was aimed to have a more or less balanced

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distribution of social background, but - most importantly - it was found desirable to have an equal distribution of political opinions. As the main aim of the survey would be to investigate whether a link existed between political opinions and attitudes towards the Scots language, there was a need to have an equal spread of the three suggested groups. These three groups were:

1. People in favour of Independence for Scotland
2. People in favour of Devolution for Scotland (within the UK)
3. People in favour of the Union between Scotland and England.

The nature of the selection of the subjects therefore changed as well, as it no longer concentrated on the "general" public, but rather more specifically on the three political opinion groups.

It was therefore decided no longer to aim for a randomly chosen sample, but instead to find equal numbers of all three groups. This meant that our sample was **not** representative of the population of Edinburgh but that it was biased, meaning it would be difficult to generalise our results to the population of Scotland. Obtaining valid results for the population of Scotland as a whole requires more manpower, time and resources than were available for this investigation.

After the initial 30 people were interviewed the search started for people who would fill in the numbers for the three groups. The target was set at finding on average about 30 people in each group, if possible in each case 15 of the middle classes and 15 of the working classes. This proved to be somewhat difficult, as it was found that the political opinions also tended to correspond roughly with class differences. This was discussed previously in Chapter 3, section 3.1.1, where a study by McCrone showed the SNP's classless image was not entirely classless. The majority of the voters belonged to the skilled manual and non-manual workers, as well as from the so-called 'new' working classes: technicians and craftspeople. The best presentation of this is Table 3.1 (page 116 above).

These people were eventually found by contacting the Conservative and Unionist Association in Edinburgh, by putting postings on the Edinburgh Newsgroup on Internet and by asking people if they knew others who were similarly politically inclined. All these methods eventually gave the following end result :

1	People in favour of Independence for Scotland	**3 2**
2	People in favour of Devolution for Scotland (within the UK)	**3 3**
3	People in favour of the Union between England and Scotland	**3 0**
4	People with no opinion	**4**

4.3. THE ANALYSIS
4.3.1. CODIFICATION AND INPUT.

The stastical package SPSS was used to analyse the results. The answers were codified in the following way: the continua were codified in the same way as they were presented to the informants, i.e. the scale went from 1 to 5 which meant that if the informant indicated that for instance voice 1 was Scottish English then that response would be coded as 1. All the Likert Scales were codified in a similar manner to the continuums. The range on the Likert scales went from 1 to 5: (1) Strongly Disagree, (2) Disagree, (3) Neutral, (4) Agree and (5) Strongly Agree. Other codifications that needed to be done included the background information: sex, age and class. Age was later recoded and was arranged in the following way:

Table 4.4.: Recoding of age.

Age Group	Ages
1	18-30
2	31-45
3	46-60
4	61-75
5	76-90

Information from 99 cases (or informants) had been collected. In order to set up the plan of how to go about analysing the data, we need to be clear about how we will measure the variables. This depends on how the different categories of the variables

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relate to each other. The three main levels of measurement are: nominal, ordinal and interval. "A nominal variable is where we can distinguish between categories of a variable but cannot rank the categories in any order....An ordinal variable is one where it is meaningful to rank the categories: there is some justifiable order between the categories. However, it is not possible to quantify precisely how much difference there is between the categories. ...An interval/ratio variable is one in which the categories have a natural ranking and it is possible to quantify precisely the differences between the categories. Age, if measured in years, is an interval variable" (de Vaus 1991:130-131).

Table 4.5 is the best method of finding out what variables we are dealing with. It is essential to establish the types of variables before starting the analysis, as the type of analysis will depend on the types of variables.

Table 4.5:   The levels of measurement of variables.

	LEVEL OF MEASUREMENT		
	NOMINAL	ORDINAL	INTERVAL
Are there difference categories?	YES	YES	YES
Can I rank the categories?	NO	YES	YES
Can I specify the differences between categories numerically?	NO	NO	YES

Source: de Vaus (1991:131)

Looking at the variables we have in our Questionnaire, it seems that a majority of them are definitively on an ordinal scale. That includes all of the questions/statements where the responses are set out to the informant in the form of Likert Scales.   There are, however, some nominal variables. As we saw earlier, this meant that the variables were categorised,   but there was no ranking of those categories, or no numerical differences between the categories.   The first two of these nominal variables were questions - B1 and B2 respectively - asking the informant how s/he considers himself to be classified regarding his/her

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'nationality', and what political party the informant last voted for (if any). The answers provided were multiple choice without any ranking or numerical difference between them. The question of B3 on the constitutional opinions however posed a problem. This question could be seen as either nominal or ordinal. B3 could be seen as an ordinal variable in that the given categories could be seen to include some form of ranking. For instance, we could see the answers provided as being on a scale which has complete 'independence' for Scotland at one end, and the 'union' as it is (i.e. no change at all to the present situation) at the other end, with the option of 'devolution' somewhere half way. However, after some consideration it was thought that this would ultimately change the implicit meaning of the question. It was therefore taken that B3 was a nominal scale. The age factor was on an interval scale, while sex and class were both nominal variables.

4.3.2. INITIAL ANALYSIS.
FREQUENCIES

The first thing that was done on SPSS was to get a file out containing all the general frequency distribution to all the questions (which can be found in the Appendices). Here we will present the frequency distribution to the attribute questions concerning Age, Sex and Class, and we will present the table of distribution concerning the independent variable in our research, i.e. question B3 on the Constitutional Matter. As mentioned, the other frequency distributions will be presented in the Appendices, and we will come back to those later on when we come to the discussion of the analysis and the research in general.

Table 4.6. gives us an idea of the distribution of our sample as far as age, sex and class is concerned. The majority of people in the sample were between 31 and 45 years old, were predominantly female (57.6% vs 42.4% male) and belonged primarily to the Middle Class (51.5%).

Table 4.6. Frequency distribution of the attribute question

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AGE			SEX			CLASS		
Answer	N	%	Answer	N	%	Answer	N	%
1. 18-30	27	27.3%	Male	42	42.4%	WC	27	27.3%
2. 31-45	30	30.3	Female	57	57.6	MC	51	51.5
3. 46-60	18	18.2				IC	21	21.2
4. 61-75	19	19.2	Total	99	100			
5. 76-90	5	5.1				Total	99	100
Total	99	100						

Notes: *WC= working class; MC= middle class; IC= intermediate Class.*
1= ages between 18-30; 2=ages between 31-45; 3=ages between 46-60; 4=ages between 61-75; 5=ages between 76-90 .

In Table 4.7. we see how the distribution is spread as far as the answers to the Constitutional Questions is concerned. Although the sample was biased towards an equal distribution in this variable, the numbers were not completely equal, as can be seen from the table below. There were 4 people who answered 'No Opinion', which in the SPSS program were calculated as being 'missing cases', as in general we were only interested in the three groups of Independence, Devolution and the Union.

Table 4.7. Frequency distribution of B3 - Constitutional Question.

ARE YOU IN FAVOUR OF:

Answer		N	%
1	Independence for Scotland	32	32.3
2	Devolution/Home-rule within the UK	33	33.3
3	The Union as it is	30	30.3
4	No Opinion	4	4.1
	Total	99	100

Note: the "No Opinion" answers were recoded in the SPSS programm
as being 'missing cases', as these answers could not be used in the analysis.

CROSSTABULATIONS

It was decided to concentrate the analysis on the variable B3 (relating to the constitutional questions) in relation to all other variables and to see if any links existed. However, a break-down of the demographics in relation to the three groups in B3 was necessary to have a clearer view on the background of the respondents who were classified according to their answers to B3, as is shown in Table 4.8. below. As the sample was known to be biased, it was important to find out the demographic breakdown of these three groups of people because, as was mentioned before, there are connections between these groupings of political opinion and age, sex and especially class. As can be seen from Table 4.8., the age distribution was not equal for the three groups of B3. What seems to be the most striking characteristic is the fact that the IND and the DEV groups have a majority of younger members, whereas the UNI group clearly has a dominant 'older' membership of between 46 and 75. (As was mentioned before in Chapter 3). The male/female-distribution is not balanced along the three groups either (53 women and 42 men).

However, the class element shows some interesting characteristics. There seems to be a dominant number of middle class people in the UNI group and an equally dominant number of working class people in the IND group. The Devolutionists seem to be approximately equally spread out.

Table 4.8.: Demographic Variables and B3

DEMOGRAPHIC VARIABLES		B3-GROUPS		
		IND	DEV	UNI
AGE	(1)	12	7	6
	(2)	11	17	2
	(3)	4	4	9
	(4)	3	3	12
	(5)	2	1	1
SEX	FEMALE	20	18	15
	MALE	12	15	15

CLASS	MC	10	19	22
	IC	7	7	6
	WC	15	7	2

_____

All this meant that great care must be taken when proceeding with the analysis, for it might easily be that we could be measuring a class association with any of the variables instead of a political association. As a consequence all the analyses that were undertaken between any variable and B3 were also done with the demographic variables such as class, age and sex instead of B3.

Initially all the variables were cross-tabulated with B3 and were then scrutinised to see if anything stood out among the results . If any peculiarities were to be found these were then verified by doing a cross-tabulation with the demographic factors (class, age and sex).

B3 was cross-tabulated with all the other variables in the questionnaire, as crosstabulation presents us with a better way of displaying the data so that we can detect any association between the two variables. All of the cross-tabulations were conducted in percentages as these tend to be much easier to interpret than the actual raw numbers from the data. The graphic representation of some of these crosstabulations are presented below in section 4.3.3.

A further method of analysis was needed to find out more details about the possible relationship between the dependent variables and the independent ones. Several options were considered, such as chi-square but as this does not acknowledge the ordering of the Likert scale levels it was found not to be a good idea. Correlations were not found to be a good idea either as our independent variable (B3) was not really ordered. It was therefore decided to regard the Likert Scale not necessarily as a categorical response scale, but as a continuous one. The best method of dealing

with the nominal variable and a continuous response scale was seen to be the One-Way ANOVA.

4.3.3. ONE-WAY ANOVA.

ANOVA stands for "analysis of variance". The One-Way ANOVA is an inferential statistical technique which specifies "whether the differences between our observed sample means are likely to exist in the population from which the sample was drawn" (de Vaus 1991:186). The end results of a One-Way ANOVA are an F-statistic and a significance level. If the significance level is low (for example 0.05 or 5%) it tells us that the variations between the sample means are 'real', i.e. they are likely to occur in the population. When three or more means at a time are compared (as is the case in our investigation which deals with 3 groups: IND, DEV and UNI) an F-test only indicates that at least two means show a real difference from each other. That is why it is useful to conduct a Scheffé test which specifies which means differ from which. This test (and other similar tests) compare each possible pair of means and then tells us which ones show statistically significant differences. (More information on F-Tests and ANOVA can be found in Fasold 1991:99-102, and Butler 1985).

A One-Way ANOVA was conducted on all items in the questionnaire in relation to B3. All the ANOVA results can be found in a table in the Appendices, but only 12 questions turned out to give a significant difference. It is those 12 questions that are presented here below in Table 4.9, and in subsequent graphs.

TABLE 4.9.: SIGNIFICANT RESULTS OF THE FIRST ONE-WAY ANOVA

QUESTIONS	F Ratio	Degrees of Freedom.	F Proba-bility
A10	3.9956	2, 92	P .0217
A11	5.3966	2, 92	P .0061

A21	4.7694	2, 92	P .0107
A22	8.6359	2, 92	P .0004
B46	3.1097	2, 92	P .0493
C3	3.8204	2, 92	P .0255
C10	12.2467	2, 92	P .00001
C11	15.4361	2, 92	P .00001
C13	7.1595	2, 92	P .0013
C15	13.3093	2, 92	P .00001
C16	9.3558	2, 92	P .0002
C17	4.3121	2, 92	P .0162

It was decided to continue probing these results and for the moment cast aside those questions that did not show any significance. None of the questions relating to voices 3 and 4 showed any significance with B3. The immediate answer to that is that there is an overall uniformity among all the informants concerning the identity of voices 3 and 4 (i.e. this is clearly Scots Language), as well as a uniformity in the other replies (could it be called slang? Do I speak like this? Do I know anyone who speaks like this? Do I understand what is being said?). It seems then that the informants recognise (in general) 3 groups or categories as far as the Linguistic Continuum is concerned in Lowland Scotland: there is the group of Standard Scottish English voices/speakers, the set of Scots Language dialects (voices 3 and 4) and the third category which incorporates the urban dialects, which are situated half way between Standard Scottish English and the dialects of Scots language, which is the way the second voice - the Glaswegian one - was categorised.

At the moment we will concentrate on those 12 questions from the questionnaire that did show a significance in the first One-Way ANOVA. We shall now take a closer look at these 12 questions in terms of the crosstabulation done on them and the One-Way ANOVA that was conducted on them.

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Figure 4.8. gives us the percentages of the answers to question A10 (Where do you situate Voice 1 on the Continuum presented?) according to our three interest groups (IND, DEV and UNI). As can be seen from the graph below, a majority of 65% of UNI say that Voice 1 is an example of Scottish English, whereas only 25% of IND do the same. There is more of a tendency among the IND's to be spread out accross the continuum, which stands in contrast to the way most of the UNI's answered. The DEV's answered in a pattern similar to that of the UNI's - for instance half of them (53%) agreed with the UNI's by saying Voice 1 was an example of Scottish English. There was however, no association in these answers with any social groupings (age, sex or class). At first sight at least, this seemed to point towards some kind of relationship between people's opinions on the Constitutional Question and views on what could be classified as Scots Language or Scottish English.

Figure 4.9., where the question of whether we could call Voice 1 'slang' seems to indicate differences between the three groups as well. Here a clear majority of almost 80% of UNIs disagree strongly with the statement that Voice 1 could be called slang, with the DEVs following close behind with 70% disagreeing strongly, and another 25% of them disagreeing. The INDs on the other hand, seem to be less determined with 42% disagreeing, but with a 15% of them agreeing with the statement. We will discuss this result in more detail in section 4.4.

A10 - Voice 1= Scottish English or Scots language?
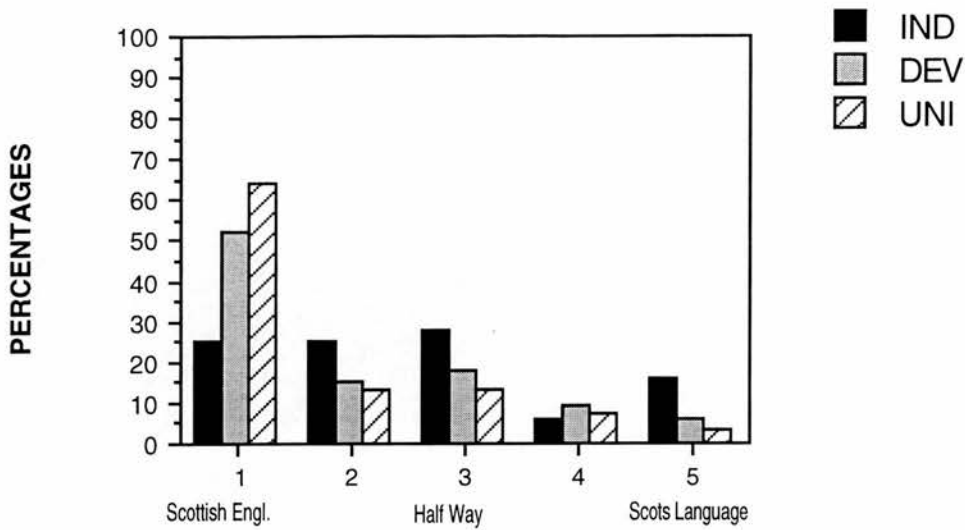
figure 4.8.: One-Way ANOVA: F(2,92)=3.9956; P<.0217

Voice 2 concerned the Glaswegian voice on the tape. Again the matter of calling this voice slang evoked some interesting reactions. Almost 45% of the UNIs disagreed with the statement, whereas 31% of INDs agreed strongly with it (an almost equal number of INDs agreed with the statement). The DEVs were very much spread across the spectrum, with 28% of them disagreeing with the statement, but a pronounced 25% of them remained neutral on the subject.

A11 - Voice 1 "could be called slang".
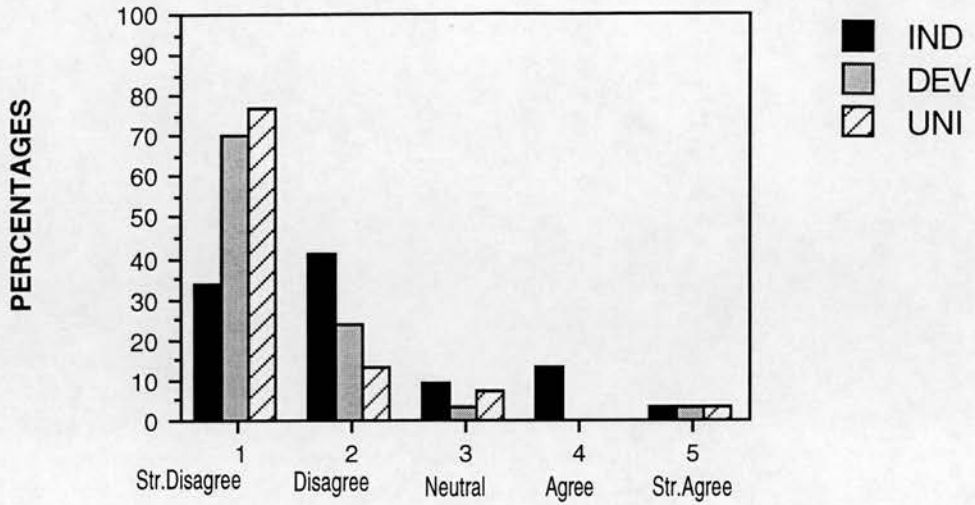
figure 4.9: One-Way ANOVA $F(2,92)=5.3966$; $P< .0061$

A21 - Voice 2 "could be called slang."
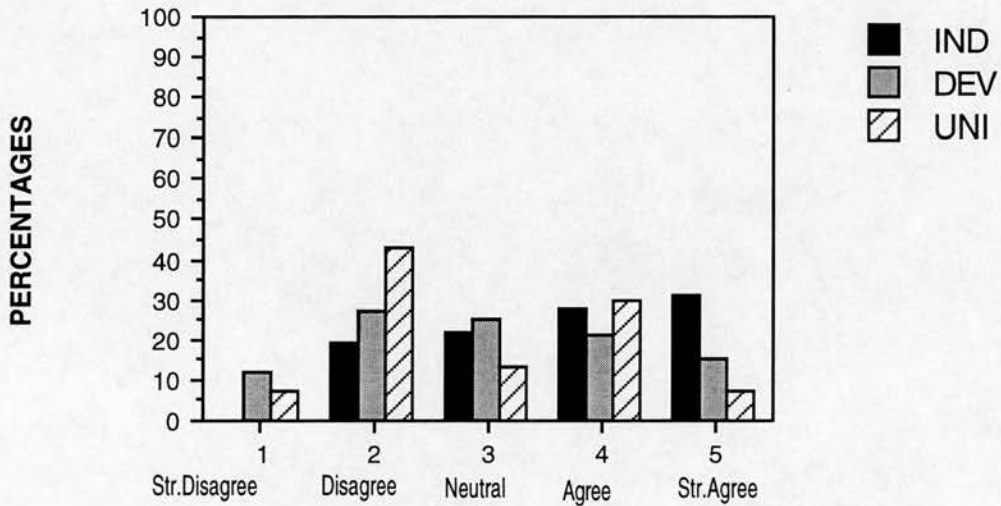
figure 4.10: One-Way ANOVA $F(2,92)=4.7694$; $P< .0107$

The next question, as show in figure 4.11, gave a more unified answer from all three groups, although the INDs again stood out. 60% of UNIs strongly disagreed with the statement that they spoke like the speaker of Voice 2, with almost 40% of them disagreeing. The DEVs answered in a very similar manner, but the INDs,

although disagreeing almost 45% with the statement, did 21% of them agreeing with the statement that they spoke like Voice 2. 16% of the INDs remained neutral on this question.

We now turn to Part B, and we look at question B46 - How important is Scots Language to Scottishness in general? Figure 4.12 shows us a different pattern to what we have so far seen. A majority of INDs and of DEVs answered in a very neutral manner (44% and 45% respectively). This time it is the UNIs who are more spread out, with a majority of them replying that Scots Language is not important to Scottish Identity (almost 35%).

A22 - Voice 2 "I speak like this".
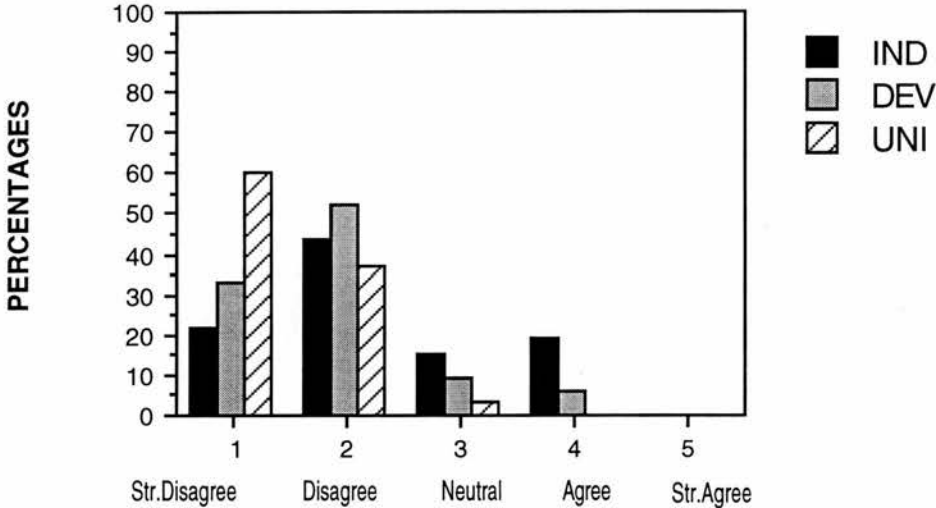
figure 4.11: One-Way ANOVA   F(2,92)=8.6359; P< .0004

In Part C we start with question C3 - To be universally understood you should speak standard English without any Scottish words or expressions.

B46"What is essential to Scottishness? Scots Language."

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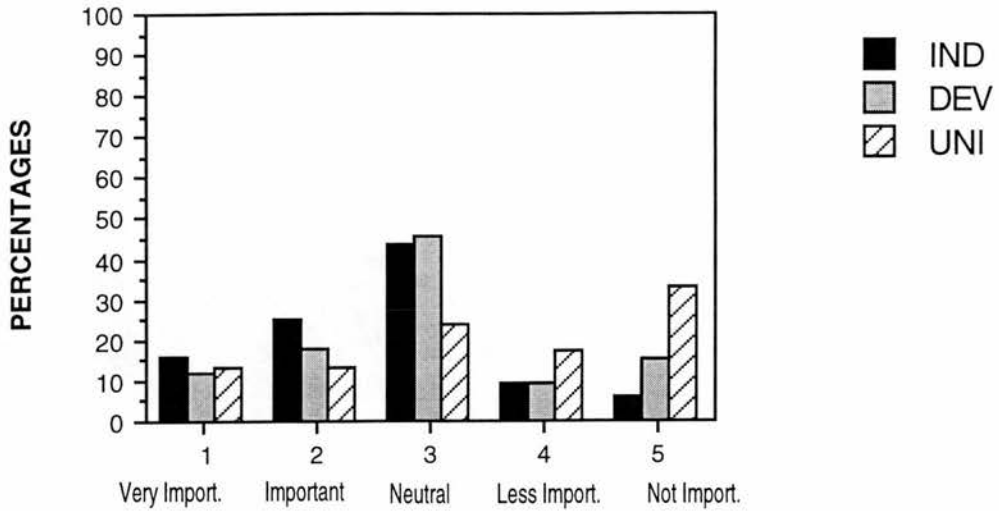
figure 4.12: One-Way ANOVA   F(2,92)=3.1097; P< .0493.

Here in figure 4.13. we find a similar pattern as in figure 4.12. where the UNIs seem more divided on the subjects, but the INDs are more unified over the matter.

C3 - "To be universally understood you should speak standard English without any Scottish words or expressions."
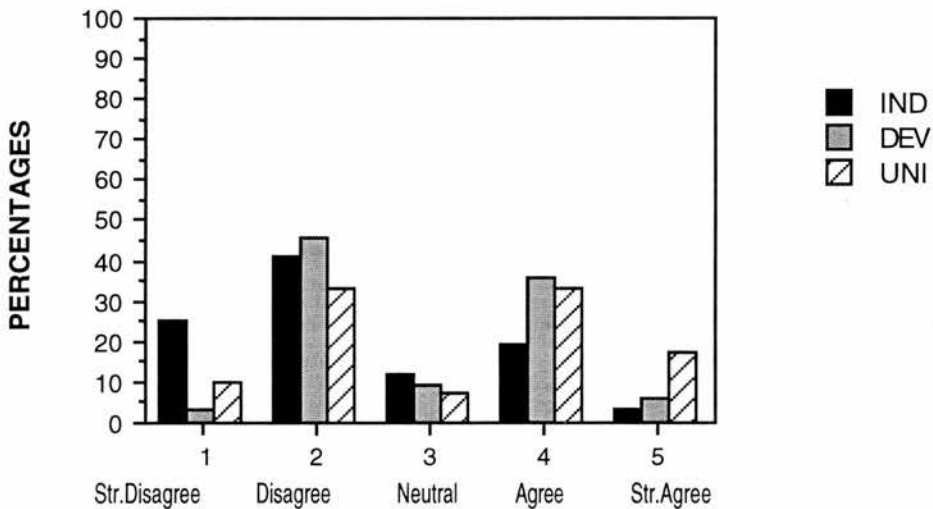
figure 4.13: One-Way ANOVAF(2,92)=3.8204; P< .0255.

Most of the INDs disagree with this statement (41% disagree, 25% of them disagree strongly), whereas the UNIs seem equally divided into a group of them who disagree (33%) and a group of them who agree (33%). The DEVs are divided as well, but here there is a majority of them who disagree (45%) with 35% of them agreeing.

Question C10 (Scots needs to be used in daily life in schools, on tv, in newspapers and in shops) as presented in figure 4.14. shows how 50% of INDs agree with the statement, with another 35% of them agreeing strongly. 55% of DEVs agreed as well, with another 21% of them staying neutral. A majority of UNIs(32%) also agreed with the statement, but this was followed by a very close 30% of them disagreeing and even 7% strongly disagreeing. 23% of them, however, remained neutral.

In figure 4.15, which shows the answers to question C11 - there should be programmes on television and radio in Scots - presents a majority of both DEVs and INDs agreeing with this statement (65% and 56% respectivily), with a further 32% of INDs agreeing strongly. The majority of UNIs (40%) remained neutral, and tended for the rest to be divided between agreeing (21%) and disagreeing (17%- with 14% disagreeing strongly).

Question C13 (and Figure 4.16) concerned itself with the introduction of Scots into schools as an optional subject like French. Reactions to this statement from INDs was 46% agreement and a further 28% strong agreement. The UNIs and the DEVs on the other hand seem to be less decisive with 38% of DEVs agreeing, but 27% disagreeing and 25% of them staying neutral. The UNIs were clearly against the idea of introducing Scots as an optional subject in schools, as 30% of them disagreed and 18% of them strongly disagreed. A further 24% stayed neutral. 20% of UNIs did agree (with 10% agreeing strongly), but obviously this group was less uniform than the INDs was.

C10 - "Scots needs to be used in daily life in schools, o n tv, in newspapers, and in shops"
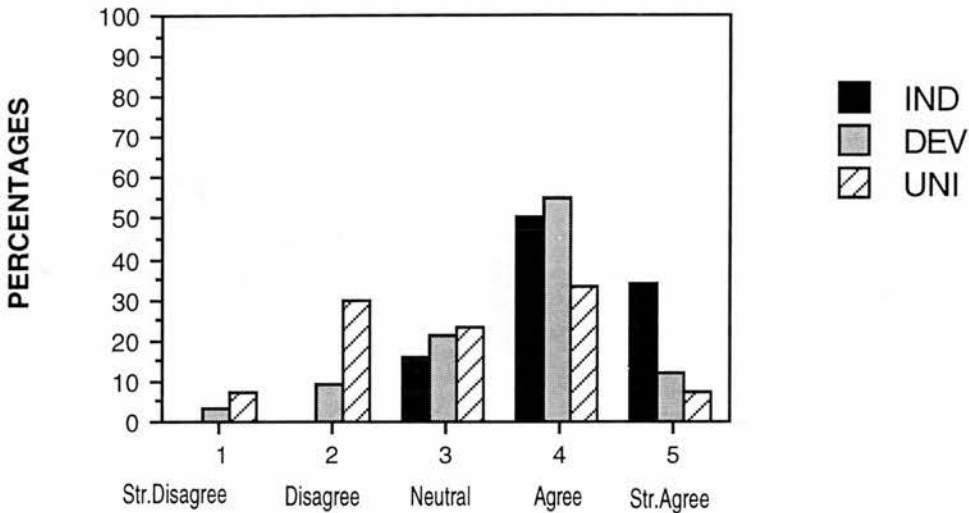
figure 4.14: One-Way ANOVA   F(2,92)=12.2467; P< .00001

C11 - "There should be programmes on television and radio in Scots"
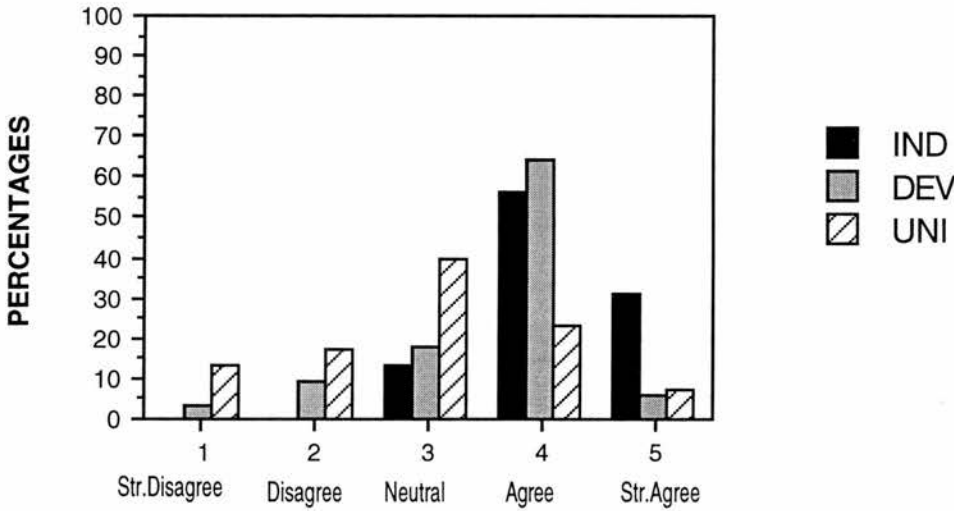
figure 4.15: One-Way ANOVA   F(2,92)=15.4362; P< .00001.

"The Scots tongue should be better represented in schools and in the media" belonged

to the same type of question as question C10. A similar set of answers was expected,

and was given, as can be seen in figure 4.17: the INDs were almost unanimous in their general agreement with this statement - 94% of them, of which 25% agreed strongly. The DEVs followed a same pattern with 65% of them agreeing to the statement (with 24% abstaining). The UNIs agreed to stay neutral on the matter with almost 45%, while the remainder of them agreed (23%) or disagreed (20%).

The next and last two questions had a political slant to them. C16 asked whether the subjects agreed or disagreed with the statement that 'there should be government support for the Scots tongue".

C13 - "Scots language should become an optional subject in school like French."
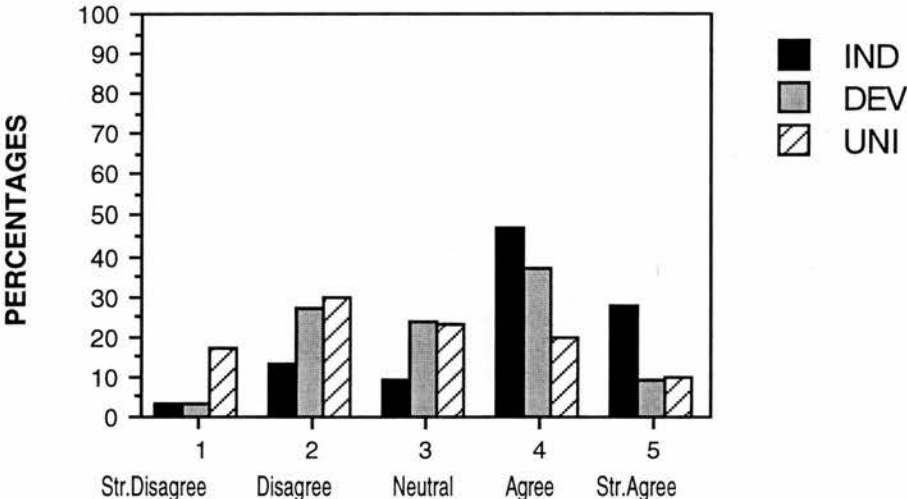
Figure 4.16: One-Way ANOVA   F(2,92)=7.1595; P< .0013.

As can be seen in figure 4.18, there is a majority of INDs who agree with the statement (45% and 20% who strongly agree), as well as of DEVs (53%), but again the UNIs seem to be keeping themselves neutral (30%) or disagreeing with the statement (37%).

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<u>**C15** - "The Scots tongue should be better represented in</u>
<u>schools and in the media</u>."
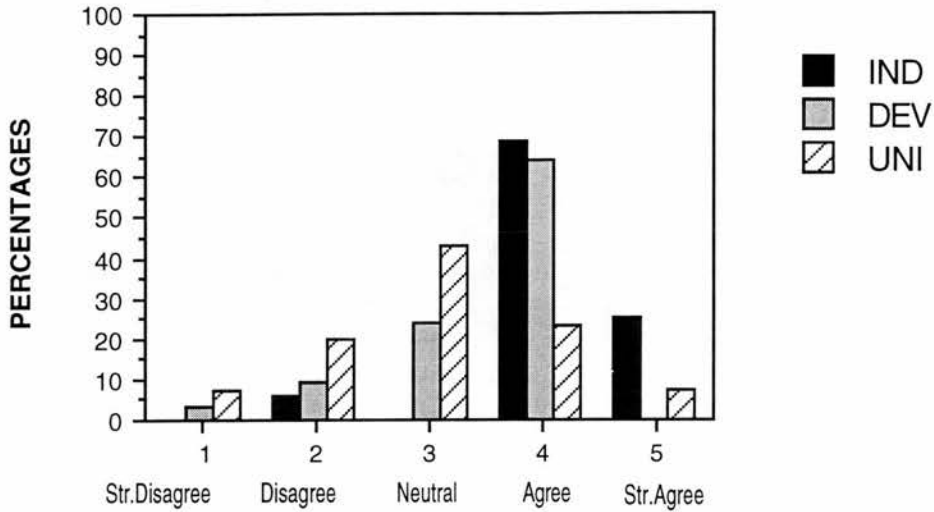
Figure 4.17: One-Way ANOVA   F(2,92)=13.3093;P<   .00001

<u>**C16** - "There should be government support for the Scots</u>
<u>tongue</u>".
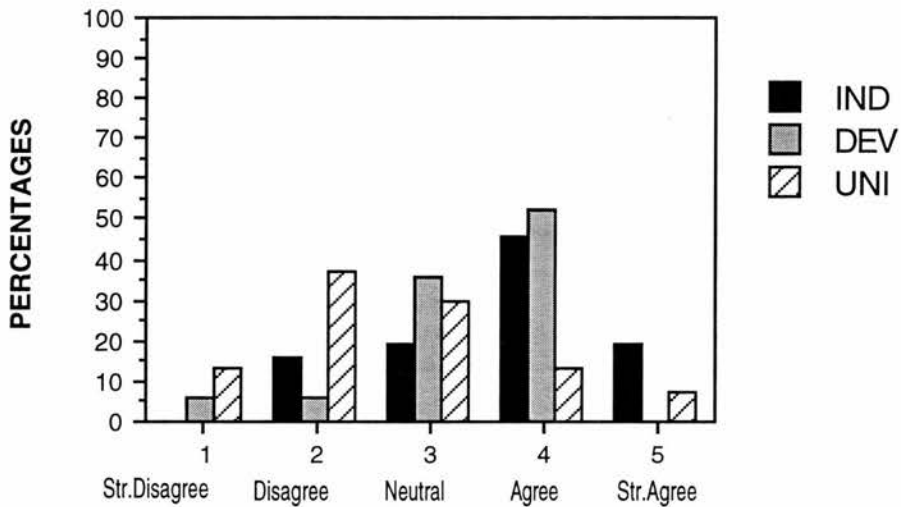
Figure 4.18: One-Way ANOVA   F(2,92)=9.3558; P<   .0002

<u>**C17** - "The Political parties (in Scotland) should talk</u>
<u>more about their ideas concerning Scots</u>."
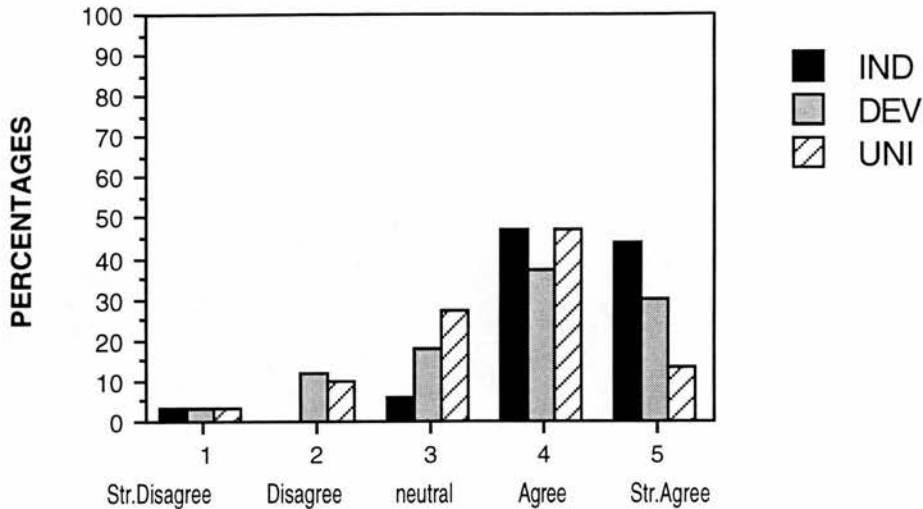
Figure 4.19: One-Way ANOVA   F(2,92)=4.3121;   P< .0162.

In figure 4.19 we can see a similar picture, although in this case the UNIs seem less extreme in their responses. The INDs seem to united again in agreement with the statement that "political parties should talk more about their ideas concerning Scots" by 92% (if which 45% strongly agreed). Although 47% of the UNIs also agreed with the statement, 26% of them did remain neutral and 13 % generally stated to be disagreeing with the statement.

The next step was to find a more powerful method that could be used to help us to specify or prove that the above results were really due to the groupings of B3 and not just coincidence. It was decided to use Cluster Analysis.

4.3.4. CLUSTER ANALYSIS.

Cluster analysis is about classification. It involves forming groups (or clusters) of "highly similar entities" (Aldenderfer 1984:7).

> More specifically, a clustering method is a multivariate statistical procedure that starts with a data set containing information about a sample of entities and attempts to reorganize those entities into relatively homogeneous groups.
> (Aldenderfer 1984:7)

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The variables that were going to be used were as follows: B3 was going to be our independent variable, as our main aim in conducting this investigation was concerned with finding if there is indeed a link between political opinions in Scotland towards the Constitutional Question and attitudes towards the future of Scots language. This meant that we would put B3 against the other questions in the questionnaire and see if in the end the cluster analysis gave us a set of clusters that would match B3 somehow.

There are two major concepts that cluster analysis works with: distance and similarity. Distance is a measure of how far apart two objects are and similarity measures how close they are. This is important, since cluster analysis is all about classifying groups according to their 'nearness'. In our case, we used the method of complete linkage in order to classify, which means that "any candidate for inclusion into an existing cluster must be within a certain level of similarity to all members of that cluster"(Aldenderfer 1984:40). In other words, the distance is measured between two clusters as the distance between their two furthest points. The other method (not used here) of combining clusters is that of single linkage. (For more information on this, and any other aspects of cluster analysis see Aldenderfer 1984 and Nourusis 1990).

Once the clustering begins we have to take a closer look at the way the clusters are being formed. This is done primarily by looking at the Agglomeration schedule which gives us an idea of the clusters are being formed at each stage of the process. The main way to do this is to look at the coefficients table.

> Small coefficients indicate that fairly homogeneous clusters are being merged. Large coefficients indicate that clusters containing quite dissimilar members are being combined. These coefficients are eventually also a guidance in order to decide how many clusters will be needed to represent the date. Agglomeration is usually stopped once an increase between two adjacent steps becomes large.
> (Nourusis 1990:355-356)

The end result is that you are left with a number of clusters (which SPSS calls Clusmems). In our case we ended up a possibility of 3, 4 or 5 clusters. Those results are presented below in figure 4.6 where a cross-tabulation is given of each set of clusters with B3, in order to have a clearer view of what might be the best option. In order to test the selected number of clusters chosen, tests need to be done in order to validate the decision. One way of doing this is by conducting a One-Way ANOVA on the selected clusters. In our investigation it was found that there are 3 possibilities as far as the selected number of clusters is concerned, so it was decided to run a One-Way ANOVA on all three possibilities together with B3 to see if there was any significant association between the number of clusters and the variable B3.

Tables 4.10: Cross-tabulation of B3 with CLUSMEM3, 4 and 5.

CLUSMEM3

		1	2	3
B3:	INDEPENDENCE	20	11	1
	DEVOLUTION	20	9	4
	UNION	18	3	9

Table 4.10.a: B3 by CLUSMEM3

CLUSMEM4

		1	2	3	4
B3	INDEPENDENCE	5	11	15	1
	DEVOLUTION	14	9	6	4
	UNION	15	3	3	9

Table 4.10.b: B3 by CLUSMEM4

CLUSMEM5

		1	2	3	4	5
B3	INDEPENDENCE	4	11	1	15	1
	DEVOLUTION	7	9	7	6	4
	UNION	5	3	10	3	9

Table 4.10.c: B3 by CLUSMEM5

It was found that only the CLUSMEM5 showed any significance (Table 4.10c) and therefore 5 items were selected out of the clusteranalysis which seemed to have a

relation to the groups of B3 (the constitutional question). The results of the second One-Way ANOVA on B3 in relation to CLUSMEM5 is shown below in Table 4.11.

Table 4.11: One-Way ANOVA on B3 and CLUSMEM5.

B3/CLUSMEM5:	F Ratio	Degrees of Freedom	F Probability
	11.5553	2, 92	P .00001

In order to make sure that we were indeed measuring B3 and not class, age or sex, the same procedure was run with those variables and CLUSMEM5. These were then tested by also conducting a One-Way ANOVA on them. It turned out that none of these proved to be significant, so that we are sure that those 5 items out of the clusteranalysis do indeed overlap with B3.

This, however, means that we have to re-organise/re-label our groupings in B3. If we retake table 4.10c, we can observe how our initial 3 groups from B3 expand into 5 groups:

		1	2	3	4	5
B3	INDEPENDENCE	4	11	1	15	1
	DEVOLUTION	7	9	7	6	4
	UNION	5	3	10	3	9

Table 4.10.c   clusmem 5 with B3.

From this table we can immediately notice two clear groups: those of the determined Unionists (represented in table 4.10c by column 5) and the determined Independence supporters (represented by column 4). There are also two groups which are still dominated to some extent by either the Independence supporters or by the Unionists, but more importantly, they have been joined by a substantial number of Devolutionists. This gives us a third group (from column 3) being Devolutionists leaning towards towards the Unionists, and a fourth group (column 2) of Devolutionists leaning towards the Independence supporters. The last group is those of mostly Devolutionists, but it also contains some fringes of Unionists and

Independence supporters. To look at the table in a slightly different light we now present table 4.11:

Table 4.11. Clusmem5 by B3 - revised.

	1	2	3	4	5
INDEPENDENCE	1	1	4	1 1	1 5
DEVOLUTION	4	7	7	9	6
UNION	9	1 0	5	3	3

Following this table we now take a closer look at presenting this table in figure 4.20 below, which might make it easier to understand the grouping of B3 into 5 groups:
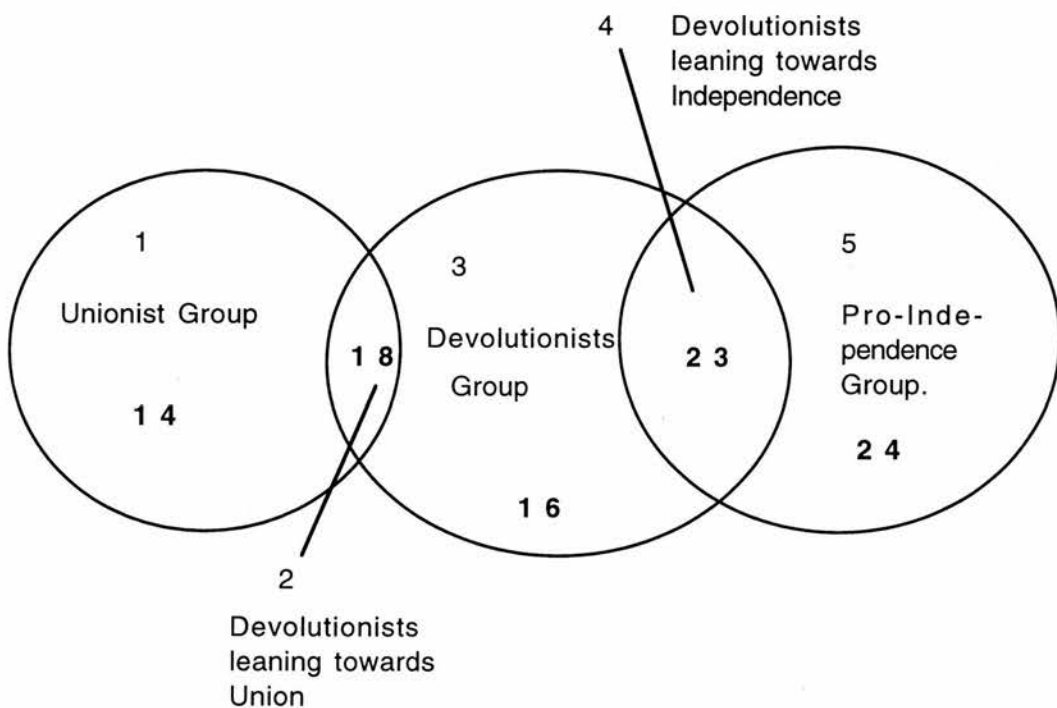
Figure 4.20: showing how we finally obtain 5 groups out of the initial B3 via Cluster Analysis, corresponding to Table 4.11 above.

The figure and the Table both show how we end up with 5 groups from our original 3 groups in B3. As we see, it is mainly the group of the Devolutionists which has split into three sets, although it could easily be viewed in a different way, i.e. that we still have one group of Devolutionists, but that we have two groups of Unionists and two groups of Pro-Independence people. In other words, what is labelled '1' in

figure 4.20 could be called the 'determined Unionists' and '2' could be called the 'moderate Unionists' whose ideas are more closely related to those of the Devolutionist group. The same would then be true for the Pro-Independence group, which would split in a 'determined Independence group' and a more 'moderate' group which leans more towards the Devolution idea.

Whichever way it stands, neither of those ideas is incompatible with the realistic political scene in Scotland today. This was sustained while talking to the various informants throughout the course of conducting the interviews: there were some Unionists who said that although they were for the Union, they would not object to move towards a Scottish parliament, and the same was true for those who claimed to be in favour of independence for Scotland, who would then add to that statement that a separate parliament for Scotland would already make them very happy.

Like the linguistic situation in Scotland, the political scene is not a simple and straightforward one.

4.4. DISCUSSION

We shall now proceed to take a closer look at these results especially in view of what has been said previously in Chapter 3 about Scotland in terms of its politics, its identity and how the languages of Scotland relate to these two issues of identity and nationalism.

First of all, we can safely say that the social base of this research relates very much to that discussed in Chapter 3. The demographic variables of our three main interest groups (as shown in Table 4.8) more or less substantiate what McCrone (1992) had said before, and what Murdoch (1995) had found in his similar study on the connections between language and politics in Scotland. Both support the view that although the SNP has a classless image, it does seem to attract more 'working class' voters. In our investigation we did not concentrate on the breakdown into the various

political parties that people would vote for as there proved to be too many inconsistencies. This view was substantiated by McCrone who acutally points out that asking people what party they vote for does not always coincide with their view on the Constitutional question: 25 to 30% of Tories agreed with Devolution; 25 to 30% of Labour voters wanted Independence and 30 to 35 % of SNP voters preferred a Scottish Parliament within the UK.

We therefore concentrated our results on B3 (asking informants their view on the Constitutional question), where most of the people in favour of independence, seemed to belong to the working classes, and a majority of the Unionists belong to the middle classes. This is what McCrone (1992:165) mentioned, i.e. that the majority of SNP support was coming from the 'new' working classes - the technicians and craftspeople.

More women than men seemed to be inclined to vote in favour of independence. This seemed to be contradictory to what McCrone (1995:144) points out when he says:"men are more likely than women to support Independence (between 8 and 8% points)...", but this may be due to the fact that we had more women in our investigation than men.

Also, more young people (between the ages of 18 and 45) definitively want change by opting for either devolution of complete independence, whereas a majority of the informants who expressed a preference for the political status quo consisted of 61 to 75 year olds.

In all, these findings corroborate what McCrone had mentioned earlier (see Chapter 3, pages 115-117). Aithough the image of not being tied specifically to one class (like the Unionists are usually referred to as being predominantly Middle Class for instance) that the independence supporters have gains some support, with 31% of their informants being middle class and 47% working class, this distribution is clearly not found among those in favour of devolution (58% middle class versus 21% working class), or of the union (73% middle class versus 6% working class)

- see Table 4.12. At least compared to these figures the Pro-independence group seems "classless" indeed.

Table 4.12: Class by B3

CLASS   **B3** - **Constitutional Question**

	UNION	DEVOLUTION	INDEPENDENCE
Middle	7 3	5 8	3 1
Working	6	2 1	4 7

We now take a closer look at how this political level interacts with the linguistic one in our questionnaire, where discrepancies were found between the B3-groups' answers to Part A (i.e. the identification of the voices) and Part C (attitudes and beliefs concerning language issues).

These discrepancies are mostly related to the Pro-independence group. As can be seen from the results of question A10 (the identification of Voice 1 as standard Scottish English or Scots language - see figure 4.8), the independence people are not at all clear (as a group) as to whether Voice 1 is Scottish English or Scots language. This pattern of answering stands in sharp contrast to the answers given by the Devolutionists and the Unionists who both seem to agree that Voice 1 is indeed an example of Scottish English (which is the description agreed on and which is given for Voice 1 on page 123).

This uncertainty concerning the answers of the Independence group in Part A is contrasted by the very positive reactions and attitudes from that same group to the statements given in Part C. There the answers indicate a clear desire among the Pro-independence group to promote Scots, to have it as an optional subject in schools and to have more Scots on radio and television. This is in contrast to the replies given by the Unionists group who are either against such statements/proposals concerning Scots or at least are indifferent to them.

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There are different explanations to this pattern of answers on the part of the Pro-independence group, which we will discuss here. This pattern of answers does seem to indicate that the informants belonging to the Pro-independence group either do not understand the notions of 'Scottish English' or of 'Scots language', which would explain their vagueness in Part A, or that they are unclear about the notions of 'Scottish English/Scots language', but are very favourable towards promoting anything that carries the label 'Scots' or 'Scottish'. We shall return to this problem in a minute. As far as the Unionists are concerned, they seem to have a very good idea as to what exactly is Scottish English and Scots language, and therefore their indifferent to negative answering in Part C towards promoting the Scots language can be interpreted that they have no strong feelings as to whether Scots survives or not. This is a view which is supported by the complete absence of any language policy for either Gaelic or Scots in the Conservative and Unionist Party programme.

The most plausible explanation behind the seemly confusing manner in which the pro-Independence supporters reacted to Part A and Part C, lies in Chapter 3, where we introduced two new concepts: Wide and Narrow Scots. As we saw in Chapter 3 (pages 139-142), Wide Scots incorporates the whole of the Continuum ranging from Standard Scottish English to Scots Language, whereas Narrow Scots refers specifically to the Scots language today in its form of a set of dialects without a standard. As examples we could use Voice 4 as a good representation of the Narrow Scots definition, whereas Wide Scots would refer to the whole of the tape used in the investigation.

The uncertainty concerning the definition of Voice 1 seems to indicate that the pro-Independence supporters are thinking in terms of Wide Scots rather than Narrow Scots. This would explain the categorisation of Voice 1 as Scots Language, and it would also explain the very positive attitude towards any favourable action towards Scots. They therefore give the impression that they know what is meant by Scots

Language whereas in actual fact they show that they do not, because the adoption of the Wide Scots definition to the words Scots Language is too all-encompassing. We are left finally with the notion that the pro-Independence supporters might very well not know the difference between Wide and Narrow Scots and that they will just promote anything carrying the label 'Scottish'. However, here again we have to tread carefully. As we pointed out in Chapter 3, there are several organisations in Scotland who actively promote Scots in its Wide sense, eventhough they are fully aware of the differences between Wide and Narrow Scots. They do this for reasons of obtaining Government support (a Government consisting of Unionists), which would probably not support a positive development in education for Scots in its Narrow sense, which is not only reflected in the attitudes of the Unionists in our investigation, but also in the non-existence of Conservative and Unionist pamphlets or policies concerning the Scots language. Therefore it seems understandable that these organisations, which are doing their utmost to promote Scots in its Narrow sense, need to adopt a Wide Scots stance in order to obtain funds.

In Part D of the questionnaire, the part dealing with the subject's background, the informants were asked whether or not they spoke Scots, and if so to whom. This was the last question of the questionnaire. Some informants put down yes or no, but about 20 of them noted comments to this question. After closer examination, it turned out that those people who made comments were three-quarter women, were all middle class, three-quarter of them had a neutral to negative attitude towards Scots and most of them were in favour of Devolution (with some pro-Union). What was peculiar was that they all stated that yes, they spoke Scots. However, some put down some very interesting comments:

> As a child I was brought up speaking Scots to family, friends but you were supposed to speak 'properly' to authority figures.

This was written down by informant 026 who turned out to be a 27 year old male in favour of Devolution and quite negatively oriented towards Scots. Since he shows an anti-Scots attitude we can say that he probably voluntarily gave up speaking Scots finding it not a 'proper' way of speaking. This view is also given by subject 006, who says that she

> occasionally use[s] Scots to a friend who speaks Scots naturally - perhaps I'm patronising her

This was a 49 year old female from Edinburgh also in favour of Devolution and anti-Scots - not surprisingly as she seems to associate speaking the language with patronising someone. She generally had an anti-Scots language attitude. One other comment noted by a 72 year old male from Inverness was that he acknowledged speaking Scots but "my version - to other Scots". He did not seem to be able to clarify the 'my version' bit . He had a neutral attitude towards Scots.

It must be remembered that these informants were Middle Class. What must be borne in mind is that these people have the benefits of an elaborate education. No note was made of whether these informants attended public schools or not, but the fact that they have had the privilige of attending school until 18 at least (and almost all of them attended university or some other form of higher education), means that we must take this into account when we read their comments. Education (less so maybe these days, but certainly when it comes to those who are now 40 and older) has a way of enforcing an opinion of what is presumed correct and incorrect, or of what is seen as proper or improper, especially when it comes to language. It can safely be said that these Middle Class informants have all enjoyed an elaborate education which undoubtedly told them what was acceptable English and what was not. Although some might well have been taught Scottish Literature (in Scots) of Ramsay, Ferguson, Burns and the like, it is a form of Scots language that was cultivated as being Literary Scots. Aitken (1984b:522) refers to this type of Scots as 'Ideal Scots' and defines it as follows:

> This [...] imaginary 'Ideal Scots' ...stands as an ideal of perfect performance in 'Scots' for the 'best' speakers and writers. A performer in this variety would select columns 1 and 2 items with total consistency, never permitting his discourse to be diluted with column 4 and 5 options. It need hardly be added that, a few literary tours de force apart, this variety exists only in the imagination of its advocates, who are however, more often than not themselves Educated Scottish Standard English sepakers: no one actually speaks, and few even write, with this consistency to the Scottish options...

(A model of modern Scottish speech (including the columns referred to in this quote), as presented by Aitken 1984b:520, can be found in Appendix C).

It was not to be compared to that of the Scots spoken by people in Easterhouse or Pilton. This is the root of the remarks made by those informants above: their education. There is a distinctive difference between the Scots language used in literature and spoken Scots. Most of those who have passed through the education system have been told perpetually by teachers that *this* is not the correct way of speaking, that *that* is not proper English, while at the same time the works of for instance Lewis Grassic Gibbon are hailed as wonderful examples of a Scots that *no longer exists*.

The best example of this difference in acceptancy between the Middle and Working Class users of Scots can be taken from the work carried out in Edinburgh by Dr Karl Inge Sandred who in 1983 did a study of lexical and grammatical usages in Edinburgh divided among the various classes, ages and the sexes. One example of one of those usages was the word *dreich* in the phrase 'It was a very dreich sermon' (Sandred 1983:57). The word was generally regarded as a Scotticism by all the informants who knew the word. Surprisingly enough, "half of the number of the LWC [lower working class] informants did not know the word. None of the four LWC informants who were familiar with it rated it very high, but it was never classed as "slang"." Sandred continues to add: "In rating this item low the LWC differed from all the other social-class groups, who rated it very high, considerably higher than traipse." Apparently the informants quite often associated the word with an older generation and especially the members of the UMC [upper middle class] had an

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extremely high opinion of the word, saying it was "very expressive" and "an expressive, good word". Sandred mentions that:

> two UMC informants [said] dreich is a "classless" word. This does not seem to be a correct description. It seems to be a favourite middle-class word, and it is generally accepted also by the UWC [upper working class], but it is often unknown or looked upon with suspicion in the LWC. (Sandred 1983:57)

This is an example of the difference between the classes when it comes to Literary Scots (which is deemed as acceptable by Middle Class people and regarded suspiciously by the Working Classes) and the everyday spoken Scots of today (which is regarded as slang by the Middle Classes, and quite often not seen as "real Scots" compared to the Literary Scots). This influence of education is obviously not unique to the situation of Scotland and the Scots language. As Edwards (1994:190-196) explains,

> certain groups of children whose language is not the standard variety typically taught and encouraged at school - lower-class children and ethnic minority-group members in particular - have been seen as linguistically disadvantaged and in need of remedial or compensatory attention. The aim here has often been to replace their allegedly flawed maternal variety with a 'correct' form

Edwards refers to a study he undertook in Nova Scotia among a group of 100 primary and secondary teachers whose pupils included Black and French Acadian children. Some of these children came from a non-standard language family background, but unfortunately this was seen as a language-deficit. Edwards lists some of the teachers' comments:

> [Disadvantaged children have] lack of experiencs, poor language development... usually disorganised.
> [Children often cannot] articulate their thoughts and feelings in such a way that they satisfy both themselves and their audience. Both receptive and expressive skills seem to have low levels of value and priority when it comes to developing accuracy and fluency. Blacks have a slang language all their own. They will not use proper English when opporunity arises. (Edwards 1994:191)

The problems that the teachers pointed out were poor vocabulary and grammar, mispronunciation, regional dialects and accents, slang and foul language, according to Edwards. These are again not unique and we can clearly see a pattern here with

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those Canadian teachers towards these non-standard speech varieties and past and present attitudes towards Scots language. The comments expressed by the Canadian teachers as described by Edwards, are remarkably familiar to a Report on Primary Education from 1946 (taken from Kay 1988:126), which describes Scots as:

> the homely, natural and pithy everyday speech of country and small-town folk in Aberdeenshire and adjacent counties, and to a lesser extent in other parts outside the great industrial areas. But it is not the language of 'educated' people anywhere, and could not be described as a suitable medium of education or culture. Elsewhere because of extraneous influences it has sadly degenerated and become a worthless jumble of slipshod ungrammatical and vulgar forms, still further debased by the intrusion of the less desirable Americanisms of Hollywood...Against such unlovely forms of speech masquerading as Scots we recommend that the schools should wage a planned and unrelenting campaign.

Even to this day, we hear comments such as those given above by the informants from our investigation, which were instilled by the education they underwent and which has resulted in an indifferent, and quite often negative stance towards Scots today.

We shall now consider the matter of the position of the urban dialects - for instance Glaswegian - on the Scottish English/Scots Language continuum. These urban dialects have always enjoyed a not very favourable opinion in the minds of people or in the minds of scholars working on Scots. In connection to this we can refer of the concepts introduced by Aitken on 'Good' and 'Bad' Scots (Aitken 1984b:529):

> The components of this trinary model are (approvable) 'Scots-English' (i.e. Educated Scottish Standard English), (said to be approvable) 'genuine Scots' or 'Good Scots' and (not approvable) 'slovenly corruptions of Scots' or 'Bad Scots. 'Good Scots' is commenly identified with archaic and rural varieties 'whether of the Borders or of Buchan', and is believed to approximate to 'Ideal Scots'; 'Bad Scots' is the variety of Scots common among the working classes of urbanized Central Scotland - 'Urban Demotic' - marked by free use of those 'vulgarisms' of accent ...

It is not just the situation of the Scottish urban dialects who receive this bad press. It is a common characteristic of most urban dialects that they have a low prestige. It is usually the case - as it is with Scots - that the rural varieties of the language are regarded highly whereas the urban ones are quite often dismissed as just corrupt

forms of the rural dialects. A lot of people may well argue that for instance Glaswegian cannot be a dialect of Scots as it has too many influences from outside, such as from Irish, from Gaelic and from English. It is therefore not an example of 'Good Scots'. This notion of urban dialects being worthless almost is linked to the romantic notion that rural dialects are connected to the Past and to all things 'bright and beautiful', whereas the urban dialects are associated with progress, bit cities and with the future which is often feared and disliked as it does away with the old traditions. It is well know that language attitudes are often attitudes not towards the language or dialects in specific but towards the language communities, the speakers of those languages and dialects themselves. As Macafee says about the Glasgow dialect,

> Part of the character of the urban dialect is negative, i.e. the erosion of tradi-
> tional Scots lexis, apparently more quickly than in rural areas. The mingling
> of different speech varieties no doubt exercised a levelling influence. The
> abrupt changes in material and social culture must also be taken into account.
> (Macafee 1983:11-12)

The situation of Glaswegian then, and of other city dialects, has been conflicting: is a dialect of Scots, is it a dialect of Scottish English or is it just slang and therefore bad Scots and bad English? Those were the type of questions that were set out to be answered in our questionnaire.

The majority of the general answers (i.e. without a break-down in to the B3-groups) put the Glaswegian Voice 2 as being 'Half Way' between Scottish English and Scots language. It seems then that the urban dialects (at least the Glaswegian one) are in a class of their own, not belonging to either the Scottish English or to the Scots language group, implying that they have come to incorporate an equal amount of characteristics from both ends of the continuum. About 45.5% of the answer did categorise the Glaswegian voice as being slang whereas 34.4% thought it was not slang. It seems then that the prestige of Glaswegian is balanced out, although it is definitely not seen as either a dialect of Scottish English or of Scots language.

We now move on to Part B, where we have the question about the importance of the Scots language to the general formation of Scottish identity. It seems that from a Constitutional point of view it is not clear to the independence people and the devolutionists whether or not the Scots language is important - hence 44% and 45% of both groups respectively remaining neutral on the matter. The Unionists, however, were more spread out this time, but almost 35% of them did not think Scots language was important. It does seem that, from the nationalist point of view, there is uncertainty as to whether the Scots language should be part of the Scottish identity or not. These views again corroborate what we saw earlier in Chapter 3, i.e. that language is not a vital element in Scottish identity *yet*. In fact, there is no one specific element which would sum up Scottish identity; it basically consists of several items, in which language does not appear very prominently. The main characteristics for Scotland today are definitively Locality and Nation: the fact that Scotland is a nation in its own right (symbolised by its separate institutions from those of England and Wales) and has a separate state identity is quite unique. Our investigation seems to corroborate what was mentioned before in Chapter 3: that language in Scotland is only important on the level of national sentiment, i.e. among the public/voters, but obviously not on the level of nationalist movements. Generally speaking the general public is positive towards Scots, and would want it to be kept alive, but this is a concern or an affection which is not carried through to the political forum, which must mean that it is not important enough to the formation of the overall Scottish identity.

Something that does seem to be important to being Scottish, however, is accent. The four questions related to accent gave some interesting results in general without any political break down. First of all, the question B45, asking the informants to rate the importance of a Scottish accent to being Scottish, gave an overall 34.3% saying

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that they were neutral on the subject. This was followed by 48.5% saying it was important/very important.

The first four questions of Part C were concerned with accent too. Question C1, "having a Scottish accent is important to being Scottish", was met with 34.5% of the informants agreeing, and with addition of the Strongly Agreed-scores, the general agreement to this statement went up to 52.5% and 'only' 29.3% remained neutral. Obviously this result forms a contrast to the one mentioned of B45. It generally suggests that the idea of accent is quite important, and probably more so than the informants show, hence their change in attitudes in the C1 question. Anecdotal evidence of this is the attention in the media whenever there is yet another 'Scottish' film with non-Scottish actors in it. The amount of judging and evaluating of accents that is done then, is astounding. One Scottish national newspaper devoted a whole page on Scottish accents in films when the film Braveheart was released in Edinburgh in 1995, and quite a few of the films' quality seems to be based almost soley on the quality of the Scottish accents donned by the mostly American actors. It does show that accent *is* important to some degree at least to Scottish people.

Question C2, "a Scottish person has a better chance for promotion with an English accent", was met with agreement of about 31.3% (or 37.4% if you add on the 6.1% of the strongly agreed scores). However, 40.4% disagreed with the statement, and 22.2.% remained neutral. This question caused some mixed reactions, most of them being that this was probably true that you had more chance of promotion if you had an English accent, but this was then followed in virtually all the cases by the informant adding that this should not really be so and that you should not change your accent in any circumstances as this is an integral part of your personal identity. This then again adds to the main idea that accent does matter.

Question C4 suggested that a Scottish person with an English accent was not Scottish, and was met with an overall disagreement of 66.7% with most informants saying

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that a child can not choose where it really goes to school and that peer pressure plays a major role, in that the child must adapt to its surrounding area and therefore in those cases the child cannot help having an English accent even though s/he is Scottish.

These questions did not show any association with the political break-down as presented in B3. This, as for all other questions that did not display any such associations, was probably due to the fact that it concerned matters on which most of the population as a whole agreed/disagreed, no matter what their political affiliations (i.e. the population in this case being our sample from Edinburgh and district). This political link was found, however, in the one remaining question on accent, i.e. "To be universally understood one must avoid the use of Scottish words or expressions". On the whole , this statement met with a 40.4% disagreement (or 53.5% if the Strongly disagreed scores are added on as well), followed by a general agreement score of 37.4%. In general, the disagreement was mostly expressed by those in favour of independence, whereas the unionists were equally divided between those who disagreed (33%) and those who agreed (33%). However, it does point to some link between the desire for independence, the importance of a Scottish accent in the overall Scottish identity and the desire to hold on to that identity, especially by means of a Scottish accent.

It seems then that accent for the nationalists especially in this case, is the unifying linguistic aspect to the nationalistic cause. We look at what Fasold says about attitudes and their social structures, specifically for diglossic situations, as is Lowland Scotland:

> Where a society has linguistic varieties in diglossic relationship, the usual attitude is that the High language is a purer and better language than the Low language. Of course, the unifying and separatist functions are most likely to be fulfilled by the *Low* language. If High language varieties are generally more highly valued than Low varieties, you might be led to exactly the opposite conclusion; a linguistic symbol of contrastive self-identification is likely to be *poorly* evaluated by its speakers.   (Fasold 1991:158)

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In the case of Lowland Scotland there are two High languages: the Standard English and the Scottish Standard English. The Low language is obviously Scots, but - and this is the main hypothesis - due to the decline of Scots from a one time national language to its present status, i.e. a very unclear status of a set of dialects, this Low language has no real prestige either; not even as a "lingustic symbol of contrastive self-identification" with a "unifying and separatist function". This is due to the general unawareness that exists in Scotland of the precise identity of Scots and the confusion between what has here been called the Narrow and Wide Scots usage. In stead, this "linguistic symbol of contrastive self-identification" has been taken over by the stress on the importance of the Scottish accent. It seems that there is a linguistic factor among the voters that is very clearly defined with Scottish identity and is deemed important in even a nationalistic sense, but it is not on a political platform because it is an accent, and *not* a language. This prestige of accent and its connection to group identity has been the research topic of many investigations carried out by such prominent scholars as Lambert, Giles and Bourhis. All undertook research into the status of various degrees of accents and measured attitutes towards convergence and divergence. The research was measured via matched guised tests, which have proved to give the expected result that for instance someone with an RP accent will be deemed more intelligent and richer than someone with a very broad Welsh accent who would be considered to be more kind-hearted and more trustworthy, although less intelligent.

It is the matter of divergence and convergence that becomes political in Scotland. When meeting an English person from the South and the Scottish accented speaker would make his/her accent even stronger than s/he would normally do when meeting another Scottish person, than this act of divergence could be seen in a nationalistic light. This is, however, based on purely anecdotal evidence, and as yet, no research has really been conducted in this area, so there are no real figures to back this statement up. However, it would definitely be worthwhile investigating the degree

of divergence and convergence among Scottish people as far as their accent is concerned when they do meet non-Scottish people.

As we mentioned above, there are of course all those questions in the questionnaire that do not bring out any correlation between the political ideas of the informants and their opinions on the linguistic situation in Scotland. As we had already explained, this means that whatever the opinions expressed by the informants it surpasses (or does not attain) the levels of politics.

The full frequency results to all questions are presented in table format in the appendices, and the reader can view them him/herself. In general though, as far as Part A is concerned, the responses were according to what could be predicted: Voice 1 was clearly categorised as Scottish English, and Voices 3 and 4 were very clearly labelled Scots Language. The Glaswegian Voice 2, interestingly enough, was classified by a slight majority as being Scots Language (38.4%), followed up with 28.3% saying it was close to Scots language but not quite there.

Part B, which dealt with the political type questions and those concerning Scottish identity, gave the following patterns: more than half of the respondents considered themselves to be 'Scottish' (52.5%), followed by 38.4% considering themselves to 'British and Scottish'.

28.3% of the informants voted for the Conservatives, followed by 26.3 % voting Labour and 22.2 % voting for the SNP. As was mentioned before in Chapter 3, the political parties people vote for does not necessarily point to anything as it often happens that people are in favour of for instance independence for Scotland, but they still vote Labour.

The matter of what was important to being Scottish gave interesting but again not very surprising results. 'Being born in Scotland' seemed be extremely important - a fact which is corroborates Smout's ideas on Scottish identity in Chapter 3 that locality is now far more important to being Scottish than for instance having a

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Scottish grandmother - with 61.6% of the informants rating it as being 'very important' and a further 8.1 % saying it is 'important'.

The stereotypical picture of the Scotsman abroad - i.e. the kilt, tartan, haggis, shortbread tin-image of Scotland - was rated as not important by 42.4 % of the respondents, followed by 23.2% finding it neutral. Some of those 18.2% who did say it was (very) important, did add that it was mostly important for the sake of the Tourist industry, and for historical reasons (remembering the Past for instance). The Institutions won on the important/not important scale by 64.6% (of both important and very important votes). In the area of sport, football lost out on importance all together by being considered not important by 78.8% of the respondents. The matter of the importance of Gaelic was not good either: 42.4% of respondents thought it not important at all, with 23.3% remaining neutral. The majority of answers for the same question on the Scots language went to neutral (37.4%), followed by 33.3% saying it was important (including the very important scores too). The matter of accent we have discussed above.

Finally we come to the matter of Part C - those questions that did show an association between B3 (the constitutional opinions) and the attitudes towards the statements put forward concerning the future of the Scots language.

As we have already mentioned, there is clearly a difference between the answers given by those in favour of independence and those in favour of the Union as it stands. This, in general, means for the Scots language, that its future will be guaranteed to be better once Scotland gains independence, if the very positive attitudes of those Pro-independence voters are anything to go by. However, the fact that in Part A (the identification of the voices) we saw that those same people do not seem to have a very clear idea of what the Scots language constitutes, does involve some problems.

The major one of those problems is the lack of awareness and the difference between Wide and Narrow Scots which needs to be clarified if Scots in its Narrow sense, as we mean it here, is to survive.

4.5. SUMMARY

We have now looked in more depth at how a survey is conducted and what exactly it involves when a questionnaire is being compiled. We have also looked more specifically at the research conducted in Edinburgh with 99 informants concerning the matter of attitudes towards Scots language in relation to attitudes towards the political question in Scotland. This eventually led us to make some remarks concerning the link between language and nationalism in Scotland.

We took a closer look at how the collected data was handled and analysed on SPSS using various types of statistics. The end result as we just saw was a set of 5 clusters which proved to be significant in relation to B3, and which led to the redefinition of B3 from 3 to 5 groups on the basis of our informants.

We shall now proceed to drawing some conclusions out of what we have discussed here in relation to the previous chapters on Scots language, Scottish nationalism and on the formation of identity in Scotland.

CONCLUSIONS:

The situation of the Scots language is a complex one. It was not the intention of this dissertation to give a definition of Scots; only to shed some more light on its possible identification and the circumstances surrounding its hazy existence.

Lowland Scotland is can be seen as a diglossic area where Standard English and Standard Scottish English both exist as High languages within a situation of double-nested diglossia, and with Scots as the Low variety. We have looked at the history of Scots, its glory years and how it was brought to its knees as far as its status was concerned. We have taken a closer in-depth look at the present situation of Scots, where it faces the problems of identification. In the light of it being equalled in status to the non-standard dialects of (especially Northern) English, we have compared the linguistic features of both Scots to those of the northern English dialects where the result was that they do indeed share quite a few characteristics, but with one major difference: prestige. Scots today still enjoys a prestige, but it is not the spoken Scots of the working classes. It is what Aitken (1984b) has called "ideal Scots" - the type of Scots only found in the minds of mostly middle class speakers of Standard Scottish English who dream of a variety of Scots that only really existed in Literature and that is not found today. This was corroborated by the work carried out by Sandred (1983) who clearly showed the differences between the sort of Scots that was deemed 'Good' and 'Bad' which matched the differences in acceptance of Scotticisms by the middle and the working classes. The conclusion we can now come to concerning a definition of Scots is to say merely that it is a set of dialects spoken in the rural and urban areas of the Lowlands of Scotland. Some might even object to the insertion of the 'urban' element by stating this is not 'pure Scots' - in other words that this is 'bad Scots'. It was not the intention of this work to resolve this problem of the identity of Scots per se.

What we set out to do was to investigate the relationship between the attitudes towards Scots language and Scottish Nationalism. This was discussed in chapters 2 and 3. In Chapter 2 we dealt with the theoretical constraints of nationalism and identity and the connection with language, and by illustrating this with various examples from Norway, Canada and Wales. These are examples of nations which use(d) the linguistic element directly in their campaigns for independence or where language figures or has figured prominently as an identity marker. In Chapter 3 we then shifted our attention solely on Scotland.

It proved to be interesting to see the reactions from the various political parties in Scotland when asked for their policies on Scots and Gaelic: The Conservative and Unionist Party failed to respond to any requests or failed to send anything; the Labour and the Liberal-Democrats sent their policies on Gaelic, but acknowledged not having anything on Scots and the SNP promptly sent out their Gaelic policy, also stating that they did not possess a Scots language policy (although one is in the making). The most surprising factor in this, especially in view of the examples given in Chapter 2, was that the SNP as a nationalist party did not have any expanded cultural or linguistic plans for an independent Scotland. They are mostly an economic and political nationalist party. The fact that they do not have a prominent cultural and linguistic platform to speak from must indicate that they do not need one. As we explained in Chapter 3, this is due to a quirk of history in that Scotland already possesses that what most nationalist parties seek: autonomous institutions. The only real thing that Scotland - in the eyes of all the nationalist parties in Scotland - needs now is its own Parliament.

However, this does not explain why there are numerous cultural organisations, who clearly state that the status of Scots would most definitely improve and that its future would be safeguarded in an independent Scotland, while at the same time Scotland's political parties or politicians are not saying anything on the matter at

all. This was the reason for conducting the investigation which is explained in Chapter 4.

The research demonstrated that there is a link between Scots language attitudes and nationalism in Scotland among the public. This was shown in the different answers given by the independence group and the unionist group within our informants. The most striking result was not necessarily the difference in reaction to the Part C section of the questionnaire - the part proposing statements on Scots in order to elicit reaction on them - between the independence group, who were clearly very positive minded towards Scots, and the unionist group who were at most very indifferent towards the language. This was not entirely a surprise result, as this was an expected result based on a pilot study carried out in Brussels in 1992/1993. The surprise was to be found in the answers to Part A of the questionnaire - the part where the informants listened to a tape of 4 voices and were asked to identify these voices on a continuum ranging from Standard Scottish English to Scots language. The majority of the unionists and devolutionist groups identified Voice 1 as being standard Scottish English, but half of the informants of the independence group classified Voice 1 as being Scots language.

The only possible explanation for this pattern is that we are dealing with a confusion of terminology within Scotland. It seems that the independence group are very keen to promote anything that is called 'Scots' or 'Scottish', without drawing too fine a line between what is Scottish English and what is Scots language.

This was the point at which we re-introduced the concept of Wide and Narrow Scots, as we had previously explained in Chapter 3. Wide Scots refers to the whole of the linguistic spectrum of the Lowlands of Scotland, including Standard Scottish English and the broadest of Scots language dialects, whereas Narrow Scots refers only to the set of dialects derived from this one time national language, as we mentioned above. As we demonstrated in Chapter 3, these two concepts are incorporated into the one term: Scots language, which obviously spreads a lot of confusion as to what this term

actually refers to. This confusion has been sustained by the media who have used the term Scots language in its Wide sense, while at the same time the academics and supporters of Scots language in its Narrow sense have been talking about something different. It is probably due to this confusion that there are no exact language policies for Scots, and also why the Scots language does not feature as a core value to the Scottish people. In this light it is accent that has taken over. Accent seems to be the only linguistic feature that would not ultimately end up being divisive in Scotland, and therefore it has an importance that has as yet not been measured.

In other words, there is room here for further research to be conducted within Scotland, and not necessarily only on the matter of Gaelic and Scots. The behaviour and attitude of the Scottish people when it comes to their accent would be very interesting indeed to observe and look into.

As to the matter of the Scots language, there is more than enough research left to be done. At the moment of writing, Scotland has a considerable number of excellent scholars and academics researching on the topic of the Scots language, and that number is rising steadily with young people becoming more and more interested. Commendable work has already been carried out by Stuart McHardy, director of the Scots Language Resource Centre in Perth and Robbie Robertson of the SCCC, both of whom have been promoting the Scots language. However, there is considerable room for improvement, especially in the more pragmatic sense. At the moment there is a lot of talking and writing on the subject of Scots, but not much action. For any realistic improvement to the status and situation of the Scots language, there needs to be a firm plan of action set up, preferably in the form of a Language Committee of some sort. This Language Committee should not only consist of academics and scholars specialising in Scots language, but should include people representing the main layers of society, including businessmen, teachers, politicians, the media, etc. Language planners should be called in, as well as experts from countries in similar

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situations can be sought out for advice (similar situations are for instance, Norway and Flanders). The matter of what this Language Committee should decide on regarding the Scots language, would have to include issues such as standardisation of Scots, corpus planning and status planning. The matter of standardisation has so far received a lukewarm response. Many people are against it: some see it as being a threat to the diversity of the Scots dialects, while others see it as bringing Scots language too close to English as far as orthography is concerned. Standardisation does not necessarily have to be full-scale standardisation. In Flanders, Belgium, standardisation of the Flemish dialects exists only in the written form, and has only very recently been advanced into the spoken form for formal speech. In all other instances, regionalects are used, which very much maintain the dialect flavour of the region of the speaker. The same can be applied to Scots: a standard Scots can be developed merely for the purpose of writing formally, and in newspapers and also as a guideline. There can still be room for dialect writing and speaking. This will be the job of the corpus planners.

The status of Scots will also have to be looked into: the relationship that exists between English-Scots and Gaelic-Scots will have to be improved. Ultimately the aim of the Language Committee should be territorial bilingualism: the Highlands are bilingual in Gaelic and English and the Lowlands bilingual in English and Scots. Some areas in Scotland, where the three overlap might have to resort to multilingualism, but basically Scotland could follow to a certain extent the examples of Switzerland and Belgium. The objective of the Language Committee should be the insertion of Scots and Gaelic alongside English in education, media and all levels of public life. This goal, however, is currently out of reach.

If anyone is to be realistic about keeping Scots alive and well and bringing Scots into the next millenium, they will have to tackle the obstacles of confusion and bewilderment concerning the identity of Scots and set up language planning policies

that have a chance to work. Starting any language planning at this stage for Scots will meet scepticism and confusion if the matter of specifying what is meant by 'Scots language' is not addressed.

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APPENDIX A:

FREQUENCY RESULTS ON ALL QUESTIONS.

1. BACKGROUND INFORMATION RESULTS:

AGE

Value	Frequency	Percent
1 (18-30)	27	27.3%
2 (31-45)	30	30.3
3 (46-60)	18	18.2
4 (61-75)	19	19.2
5 (76-90)	5	5.1

SEX

Value	Frequency	Percent
male	42	42.4%
female	57	57.6

CLASS

Value	Frequency	Percent
WC	27	27.3%
IC	21	21.2
MC	51	51.5

2. PART A - THE VOICES.
A10 - Voice 1(Standard Scottish English speaker) Scottish English or Scots Language?

Value	Frequency	Percent
1. Scottish English	46	46.5%
2.	17	17.2
3. Half Way	19	19.2
4.	8	8.1
5. Scots Language	9	9.1

A11 - Voice 1: Could be called Slang?

Value	Frequency	Percent
1. Str.Disagree	58	58.6%
2. Disagree	26	26.3
3. Neutral	8	8.1
4. Agree	4	4.0

5. Str. Agree   3   3.0

A12 - Voice 1: "This is the way I speak"

Value	Frequency	Percent
1. Str. Disagree	1 0	10.1%
2. Disagree	2 9	29.3
3. Neutral	2 0	20.2
4. Agree	3 4	34.3
5. Str. Agree	6	6.1

A13 - Voice 1: "I know people who speak like this"

Value	Frequencey	Percent
1. Str.Disagree	1	1.0%
2. Disagree	1	1.0
3. Neutral	4	4.0
4. Agree	5 3	53.5
5. Str.Agree	4 0	40.4

A14 - Voice 1: "I understand what this person is saying"

Value	Frequency	Percent
1. Str.Disagree	0	0%
2. Disagree	0	0
3. Neutral	1	1.0
4. Agree	3 5	35.4
5. Str. Agree	6 3	63.6

A20 - Voice 2 (Urban Scots - Glaswegian) Scottish English or Scots language?

Value	Frequency	Percent
1. Scottish English	3	3.0%
2.	8	8.1
3. Half Way	2 2	22.2
4.	2 8	28.3
5. Scots Language	3 8	38.4

A21 - Voice 2: Could be called Slang?

Value	Frequency	Percent
1.Str. Disagree	6	6.1%
2. Disagree	2 8	28.3
3. Neutral	2 0	20.2
4. Agree	2 6	26.3

5. Str. Agree   1 9   19.2

A22 - Voice 2: "This is the way I speak."

Value	Frequency	Percent
1.Str.Disagree	3 8	38.4%
2.Disagree	4 3	43.4
3. Neutral	9	9.1
4.Agree	9	9.1
5. Str. Agree	0	0

A23 - Voice 2: "I know people who speak like this"

Value	Frequency	Percent
1.Str.Disagree	4	4.0%
2. Disagree	6	6.1
3. Neutral	9	9.1
4. Agree	5 1	51.5
5. Str.Agree	2 9	29.3

A24 - Voice 2: "I understand what this person is saying"

Value	Frequency	Percent
1.Str.Disagree	1	0%
2. Disagree	2	2.0
3. Neutral	6	6.1
4. Agree	5 6	56.6
5. Str.Agree	3 5	35.4

A30 - Voice 3 (Fife Scots)
Scottish English or Scots language?

Value	Frequency	Percent
1. Scottish English	1	1.0%
2.	2	2.0
3. Half Way	5	5.1
4.	1 7	17.2
5. Scots language	7 4	74.7

A 31 - Voice 3: Could be called Slang?

Value	Frequency	Percent
1.Str. Disagree	2 5	25.3%
2. Disagree	3 1	31.3
3. Neutral	1 2	12.1

Value	Frequency	Percent
4. Agree	1 2	12.1
5. Str.Agree	1 9	19.2

A32 - Voice 3: "This is the way I speak"

Value	Frequency	Percent
1. Str.Disagree	5 6	56.6%
2.Disagree	4 1	41.4
3. Neutral	0	0
4. Agree	1	1.0
5. Str. Disagree	1	1.0

A33 - Voice 3: "I know people who speak like this"

Value	Frequency	Percent
1.Str.Disagree	1 7	17.2%
2. Disagree	1 9	19.2
3. Neutral	1 2	12.1
4. Agree	3 8	38.4
5. Str.Agree	1 3	13.1

A34 - Voice 3:" I understand what this person is saying"

Value	Frequency	Percent
1. Str.Disagree	1 1	11.1%
2. Disagree	2 0	20.2
3. Neutral	2 2	22.2
4. Agree	3 5	35.4
5. Str.Agree	1 1	11.1

A40 - Voice4 (Aberdeen/Doric Scots) Scottish English or Scots language?

Value	Frequency	Percent
1. Scottish English	0	0%
2.	5	5.1
3. Half Way	3	3.0
4.	1 3	13.1
5. Scots Language	7 8	78.8

A41 - Voice4: could be called slang?

Value	Frequency	Percent
1. Str.Disagree	2 0	20.2%
2. Disagree	4 3	43.4

Value	Frequency	Percent
3. Neutral	1 4	14.1
4. Agree	1 1	11.1
5. Str.Agree	1 1	11.1

A42 - Voice 4: "This is the way I speak"

Value	Frequency	Percent
1.Str.Disagree	5 5	55.6%
2. Disagree	4 0	40.4
3. Neutral	1	1.0
4. Agree	1	1.0
5. Str.Agree	2	2.0

A43 - Voice 4: "I know people who speak like this"

Value	Frequency	Percent
1. Str.Disagree	1 9	19.2%
2. Disagree	2 0	20.2
3. Neutral	1 4	14.1
4. Agree	3 4	34.3
5. Str. Agree	1 2	12.1

A44 - Voice 4: "I understand what this person is saying"

Value	Frequency	Percent
1.Str.Disagree	1 0	10.1%
2. Disagree	2 3	23.2
3. Neutral	2 2	22.2
4. Agree	3 7	37.4
5. Str.Agree	7	7.1

3. PART B - NATIONALITY AND IDENTITY.

B1 - Do you consider yourself to be:

Value	Frequency	Percent
1. British	5	5.1%
2. Scottish	5 2	52.5
3. British + Scottish	3 8	38.4
4. Something else	4	4.0 *

(* refers to those answers that were indicated as 'missing cases' as they were not useful to the investigation).

B2 - What political party did you last vote for?

Value	Frequency	Percent
1. Conservatives	2 8	28.3%
2. Labour	2 6	26.3
3. Lib Dem	1 2	12.1
4. SNP	2 2	22.2
5. Other	0	0
6. None	1 1	11.1

B3 - You are in favour of:

Value	Frequency	Percent
1. Independence	3 2	32.3%
2. Devolution	3 3	33.3
3. Union	3 0	30.3
4. No opinion	4	4.0*

(* refers to those answers that were indicated as 'missing cases' as they were not useful to the investigation).

B41 - The importance to Scottish idenity of: to be born in Scotland:

Value	Frequency	Percent
1. Very important	6 1	61.6%
2. Important	8	8.1
3. Neutral	1 3	13.1
4. less Important	6	6.1
5. Not important	1 1	11.1

B42 - The importance to Scottish identity of: Gaelic:

Value	Frequency	Percent
1. Very Important	1 1	11.1%
2. Important	7	7.1
3.Neutral	2 3	23.2
4. Less Important	1 6	26.2
5. Not important	4 2	42.4

B43 - The importance to Scottish identity of: Tartan, kilt, haggis,etc.

Value	Frequency	Percent
1. Very Important	1 6	16.2%
2. Important	7	7.1
3. Neutral	1 7	17.2
4. Less Important	1 7	17.2
5. Not important	4 2	42.4

B44 - The importance to Scottish identity of:the Institutions

Value	Frequency	Percent
1. Very Important	43	43.4%
2. Important	21	21.2
3. Neutral	20	20.2
4. Less Important	4	4.0
5. Not important	11	11.1

B45 - The importance to Scottish identity of: Scottish accent:

Value	Frequency	Percent
1. Very important	27	27.3%
2. Important	21	21.2
3. Neutral	34	34.3
4. Less important	8	8.1
5. Not important	9	9.1

B46 - The importance to Scottish Identity of: Scots language:

Value	Frequency	Percent
1. Very important	14	14.1%
2. Important	19	19.2
3.Neutral	37	37.4
4. Less important	11	11.1
5. Not important	18	18.2

B47 - The importance to Scottish Identity of: Football:

Value	Frequency	Percent
1.Very Important	8	8.1%
2. Important	4	4.0
3. Neutral	9	9.1
4. Less important	11	11.1
5. Not important	67	67.7

4. PART C - ATTITUDES TO ACCENT, GAELIC AND SCOTS.

C1- Having a Scottish accent is an important part of being Scottish:

Value	Frequency	Percent
1.Str.Disagree	5	5.1%
2. Disagree	13	13.1
3. Neutral	29	29.3
4. Agree	34	34.3
5. Str. Agree	18	18.2

C2 - A Scottish person has a better chance for promotion if s/he adopts an English accent.

Value	Frequency	Percent
1. Str. Disagree	16	16.2%
2. Disagree	24	24.2
3. Neutral	22	22.2
4. Agree	31	31.3
5. Str.Agree	6	6.1

C3 - To be universally understood you should speak standard English without any Scottish words or expressions.

Value	Frequency	Percent
1.Str. Disagree	13	13.1%
2. Disagree	40	40.4
3. Neutral	9	9.1
4. Agree	29	29.3
5. Str. Agree	8	8.1

C4 - A Scottish person speaking with an English accent is not a real Scots:

Value	Frequency	Percent
1. Str. Disagree	21	21.2%
2. Disagree	45	45.5
3. Neutral	10	10.1
4. Agree	13	13.1
5. Str Agree	10	10.1

C5 - Gaelic is only used by uneducated people in rural areas in the Highlands of Scotland.

Value	Frequency	Percent
1.Str. Disagree	58	58.6%
2. Disagree	31	31.3
3. Neutral	3	3.0
4. Agree	2	2.0
5. Str. Agree	5	5.1

C6 - It is a good thing that so much is being done to make Gaelic popular again.

Value	Frequency	Percent
1. Str. Disagree	7	7.1%
2. Disagree	7	7.1
3. Neutral	23	23.2
4. Agree	43	43.4
5.Str. Agree	19	19.2

C7 - There should be more prime time programmes on television and radio in Gaelic

Value	Frequency	Percent
1.Str. Disagree	1 2	12.1%
2. Disagree	2 6	26.3
3. Neutral	3 4	34.3
4. Agree	2 0	20.2
5. Str. Agree	7	7.1

C8 - There is no room for Gaelic in a future Scotland

Value	Frequency	Percent
1. Str.Disagree	2 9	29.3%
2. Disagree	3 9	39.4
3. Neutral	2 0	20.2
4. Agree	9	9.1
5. Str. Agree	2	2.0

C9 - Scots is only used by uneducated people in rural areas of Lowland Scotland

Value	Frequency	Percent
1. Str. Disagree	4 8	48.5%
2. Disagree	3 9	39.4
3. Neutral	5	5.1
4. Agree	6	6.1
5. Str. Agree	1	1.0

C10 - Scots needs to be used in daily life in schools, on tv, in newspapers and in shops.

Value	Frequency	Percent
1.Str. Disagree	3	3.0%
2. Disagree	1 3	13.1
3. Neutral	2 0	20.2
4. Agree	4 6	46.5
5. Str. Agree	1 7	17.2

C11 - There should be more programmes on television and radio in Scots

Value	Frequency	Percent
1. Str. Disagree	5	5.1%
2. Disagree	9	9.1
3. Neutral	2 4	24.2
4. Agree	4 7	47.5
5. Str. Agree	1 4	14.1

C12 - There is no room for the Scots tongue in a future Scotland

Value	Frequency	Percent
1.Str. Disagree	38	38.4%
2. Disagree	39	39.4
3. Neutral	12	12.1
4. Agree	8	8.1
5. Str. Agree	2	2.0

C13 - Scots language should become an optional subject in school like French

Value	Frequency	Percent
1.Str. Disagree	7	7.1%
2. Disagree	24	24.2
3. Neutral	20	20.2
4. Agree	33	33.3
5. Str. Agree	15	15.2

C14 - A standard Scots should be developed (equivalent to Standard English) for use in Schools, local authorities, on television and in newspapers.

Value	Frequency	Percent
1. Str. Disagree	8	8.1%
2. Disagree	34	34.3
3. Neutral	28	28.3
4. Agree	24	24.2
5. Str. Agree	5	5.1

C15 - The Scots tongue should be better represented in schools and in the media

Value	Frequency	Percent
1. Str. disagree	3	3.0%
2. Disagree	11	11.1
3. Neutral	21	21.2
4. Agree	54	54.5
5. Str. Agree	10	10.1

C16 - There should be government support of the Scots tongue

Value	Frequencey	Percent
1.Str. Disagree	6	6.1%
2. Disagree	19	19.2
3. Neutral	28	28.3
4.Agree	38	38.4
5. Str. Agree	8	8.1

C17 - The political Parties should talk more about their ideas concerning Scots

Value	Frequency	Percent
1.Str. Disagree	3	3.0%
2. Disagree	8	8.1
3. Neutral	16	16.2
4. Agree	43	43.4
5. Str. Agree	29	29.3

The frequency results to Part D on age, sex and occupation are given in section 4.3.2. The frequency results to all other questions in this part were too diverse to allow for frequency results to be made.

APPENDIX B:

RESULTS FROM THE FIRST ONE WAY-ANOVA ON ALL VARIABLES.

QUESTIONS	F RATIO	D.o.F.	F PROB.	SIGNIFICANT
A10	3.9956	2, 92	P .0217	*
A11	5.3966	2, 92	P .0061	*
A12	2.8208	2, 92	P .0653	
A13	2.2965	2, 92	P .1064	
A14	2.8562	2, 92	P .0626	
A20	.2023	2, 92	P .8172	
A21	4.7694	2, 92	P .0107	*
A22	8.6359	2, 92	P .0004	*
A23	.7059	2, 92	P .4963	
A24	1.2411	2, 92	P .2939	
A30	.3612	2, 92	P .6978	
A31	.8794	2 , 92	P .4185	
A32	1.886	2, 92	P .3410	
A33	.0177	2, 92	P .9825	
A34	.8133	2, 92	P .4466	
A40	.2050	2, 92	P .8150	
A41	.0074	2, 92	P .9927	
A42	.4369	2, 92	P .6474	
A43	.6263	2, 92	P .5368	
A44	.6787	2, 92	P .5098	
B1	6.1557	2, 92	P .0031	
B2	9.2649	2, 92	P .0002	
B41	.4709	2, 92	P .6259	
B42	1.2298	2, 92	P .2971	
B43	2.0020	2, 92	P .1409	
B44	3.0047	2, 92	P .0544	
B45	.4629	2, 92	P .6309	
B46	3.1097	2, 92	P .0493	*
B47	.0894	2, 92	P .9146	
C1	2.5238	2, 92	P .0857	

C 2	1.1261	2, 92	P .3287	
C 3	3.8204	2, 92	P .0255	*
C 4	2.5967	2, 92	P .0800	
C 5	1.7233	2, 92	P .1842	
C 6	1.1821	2, 92	P .3113	
C 7	1.3819	2, 92	P .2563	
C 8	1.1119	2, 92	P .3333	
C 9	1.5670	2, 92	P .2142	
C 10	12.2467	2, 92	P .00001	*
C 11	15.4361	2, 92	P .00001	*
C 12	.9815	2, 92	P .3786	
C 13	7.1595	2, 92	P .0013	*
C 14	.3853	2, 92	P .6819	
C 15	13.3093	2, 92	P .00001	*
C 16	9.3558	2, 92	P .0002	*
C 17	4.3121	2, 92	P .0162	*

APPENDIX C :

Model of Modern Scottish speech:

Taken from Aitken 1984b:520.

	'Scots'		'English'	
1	2	3	4	5
bairn	hame	name	home	child
brae	hale	hole	whole	slope
kirk	mare	before	more	church
ken	puir	soup	poor	know
darg	muin	room	moon	job of work
cuit	yuis (n.)	miss	use (n.)	ankle
kenspeckle	yaize (v.)	raise	use (v.)	conspicuous
birl	cauld		cold	spin
girn	auld	young	old	whine
mind	∞	row /r^u/	cow	remember
sort	hoose	Loudon	house	mend
	loose	winter	louse	
	louse /l^us/	feckless	loose	
ay / i/	pay /p i/	bite /b it/	pay	always
gey /g i/	way /w i/	tide /t id/	way	very
kye /ka e/		tie /ta e/		cows
een	deed /did/	feed	dead	eyes
shuin	dee /di:/	see	die	shoes
deave /di:v/	scart	leave	scratch	deafen, vex
gaed	twaw, twae	agree	two	went
ben the hoose	no /no:/	he	not	in or into the inner part of the house
	-na, -nae	his	-n't	
		they		
		some		
	/^/ (=I)	I		
	/o/ (=of)	of /^v/		

'Obligatory covert Scotticisms'
Most of word-order
Morphology
Syntax
Phonology (system and rules of realisation)

APPENDIX D: Questionnaire:

PART A: INDICATE WHAT YOU HEAR BY PUTTING A CROSS AT THE APPROPRIATE PLACE ON THE SCALE SET OUT BELOW.

▼ VOICE 1:

Scots English	1	2	3	4	5	Scots Lang.

0. Could you give a description (name or phrase) for the variety of speech you heard?

1. What you heard could be called "Slang".

strongly disagree	disagree	neutral	agree	strongly agree

2. This is the way I speak.

strongly disagree	disagree	neutral	agree	strongly agree

3. I know people who speak like this.

strongly disagree	disagree	neutral	agree	strongly agree

4. I understand what this person is saying.

strongly disagree	disagree	neutral	agree	strongly agree

▼ VOICE 2:

Scots English	1	2	3	4	5	Scots Lang.

0. Could you give a description (name or phrase) for the variety of speech you heard?

1. What you heard could be called "Slang".

strongly disagree	disagree	neutral	agree	strongly agree

2. This is the way I speak.

strongly disagree	disagree	neutral	agree	strongly agree

3. I know people who speak like this.

strongly disagree	disagree	neutral	agree	strongly agree

4. I understand what this person is saying.

strongly disagree	disagree	neutral	agree	strongly agree

▼ VOICE 3:

Scots English	1	2	3	4	5	Scots Lang.

0. Could you give a description (name or phrase) for the variety of speech you heard?

1. What you heard could be called "Slang".

strongly disagree	disagree	neutral	agree	strongly agree

2. This is the way I speak.

strongly disagree	disagree	neutral	agree	strongly agree

3. I know people who speak like this.

strongly disagree	disagree	neutral	agree	strongly agree

4. I understand what this person is saying.

strongly disagree	disagree	neutral	agree	strongly agree

▼ VOICE 4:

Scots English	1	2	3	4	5	Scots Lang.

0. Could you give a description (name or phrase) for the variety of speech you heard?

1. What you heard could be called "Slang".

strongly disagree	disagree	neutral	agree	strongly agree

2. This is the way I speak.

strongly disagree	disagree	neutral	agree	strongly agree

3. I know people who speak like this.

strongly disagree	disagree	neutral	agree	strongly agree

4. I understand what this person is saying.

strongly disagree	disagree	neutral	agree	strongly agree

PART B: place a circle round ONE of the numbers listed as possible answers.

1. You consider yourself to be:
1. British.
2. Scottish
3 British and Scottish at the same time
4. something else, if so, what:

2. For what political party did you vote last time you voted?
1. Conservatives
2. Labour
3. Liberal-Democrats
4. SNP
5. other
6. None

3. Are you in favour of:
1. Independence for Scotland
2. Devolution/Home-Rule within the UK.
3. The Union as it is
4. No opinion.

4. What is essential to Scottishness? (1=most important; 5= least important). **Indicate by placing a circle round one of the numbers on the scale.**

1. be born in Scotland	| -- 1 -- | -- 2 -- | -- 3 -- | -- 4 -- | -- 5 -- |
2. Gaelic language.	| -- 1 -- | -- 2 -- | -- 3 -- | -- 4 -- | -- 5 -- |
3. tartan, kilt, eating haggis and playing the bagpipe.	| -- 1 -- | -- 2 -- | -- 3 -- | -- 4 -- | -- 5 -- |
4. the institutions: education, Law and Kirk	| -- 1 -- | -- 2 -- | -- 3 -- | -- 4 -- | -- 5 -- |
5. a Scottish accent.	| -- 1 -- | -- 2 -- | -- 3 -- | -- 4 -- | -- 5 -- |
6. Scots tongue.	| -- 1 -- | -- 2 -- | -- 3 -- | -- 4 -- | -- 5 -- |
7. Football	| -- 1 -- | -- 2 -- | -- 3 -- | -- 4 -- | -- 5 -- |

PART C: statement ranking: Place a cross in one of the boxes put out below which best matches your views and ideas.

1. Having a Scottish accent is a very important part of being Scottish.

strongly disagree	disagree	neutral	agree	strongly agree

2. A Scottish person has a better chance for promotion if s/he adopts an English accent.

strongly disagree	disagree	neutral	agree	strongly agree

3. In order to be universally understood you should speak standard English without any Scottish words or expressions.

strongly disagree	disagree	neutral	agree	strongly agree

4. A Scottish person speaking with an English accent is not a real Scot.

strongly disagree	disagree	neutral	agree	strongly agree

5. Gaelic is only used by uneducated people in rural areas in the Highlands of Scotland.

strongly disagree	disagree	neutral	agree	strongly agree

6. It is a good thing that so much is being done to make Gaelic popular again.

strongly disagree	disagree	neutral	agree	strongly agree

7. There should be more prime-time programmes on television and radio in Gaelic.

strongly disagree	disagree	neutral	agree	strongly agree

8. There is no room for Gaelic in a future Scotland.

strongly disagree	disagree	neutral	agree	strongly agree

9. Scots is only used by uneducated people in rural areas of Lowland Scotland.

strongly disagree	disagree	neutral	agree	strongly agree

10. Scots needs to be used in daily life in schools, on tv, in newspapers, and shops.

strongly disagree	disagree	neutral	agree	strongly agree

11. There should be programmes on television and radio in Scots.

strongly disagree	disagree	neutral	agree	strongly agree

12. There is no room for the Scots tongue in a future Scotland.

strongly disagree	disagree	neutral	agree	strongly agree

13. Scots language should become an optional subject in school like French.

strongly disagree	disagree	neutral	agree	strongly agree

14. A standard Scots should be developed (equivalent to standard English) for use in schools, local authorities, on television and in newspapers.

strongly disagree	disagree	neutral	agree	strongly agree

15. The Scots tongue should be better represented in schools and in the media

strongly disagree	disagree	neutral	agree	strongly agree

16. There should be government support for the Scots tongue.

strongly disagree	disagree	neutral	agree	strongly agree

17. The Political parties should talk more about their ideas concerning Scots.

strongly disagree	disagree	neutral	agree	strongly agree

PART D: BACKGROUND INFORMATION:

1. AGE:

2. SEX:

3. OCCUPATION:

4. PLACE OF BIRTH:

5. MOTHER'S PLACE OF BIRTH:

6. FATHER'S PLACE OF BIRTH:

7. WHERE DID YOU GO TO SCHOOL:

    1. from 5-11:

    2. from 11-16:

    3. from 16-18:

    4. higher education:

8. DID/DO YOU EVER SPEAK SCOTS AND TO WHOM?

9. DID/DO YOU EVER SPEAK GAELIC AND TO WHOM?

APPENDIX E: Sampling Methods

The following is an outline of sampling methods used in this investigation. This overview is based on de Vaus 1991:61-67. Other methods exist but are not discussed here. The methods described here have all been used in our present investigation but have been intermixed, which means that they have not always been used exactly as described here, but have been adapted as was seen fit to the situation of the research.

1. Simple Random Sampling:

Random Sampling can best be explained via an example: if we are working with a sample frame for a population of 50 people, every person gets a number between 1 and 50. If the target is a sample of 10 people then we select 10 numbers from our table of random numbers. As 50 is the hightest number we will ever get, we decide to select only two-digit numbers. We then choose at random a column and row to start selecting from. After this initial decision-making, we need to select the other numbers by following a pattern. One example could be selecting every fifth row of numbers and keep to that selection.

2.Systematic Sampling:

As de Vaus (1991:64) explains, "to obtain a systematic sample work out a sampling fraction by dividing the population size by the required sample size. For a population of 50 and a sample of 10 the sampling fraction is 1/5: we will select one person for every five in the population". The problem of where to start is again the same as with the Simple Random Sampling: pick a column or row and keep to it. There is the problem of what de Vaus calls "periodicity of the sampling frames" (de Vause 1991:65), i.e. the sampling fraction might only select the same type of person and thereby exclude others de Vaus lists the example of a sample frame where it provides a list of married couples and every first person is the husband and every second one is the wife. If a sample fraction of four is used, it would only provided us with the husbands. This is a problem connected to Systematic Sampling.

3. Stratified Sampling:

Stratified Sampling works with different categories. For this, we need to pin point a variable on which we will be concentrating; in other words this variable is the one we want to be reliable. A stratifying variable needs to be selected - it is the characteristic of which we want correct representation. (In the present investigation this would be the category B3, i.e. the constitutional opnions of our informants). We then order our sample into groups according to each category of the stratifying variable and then apply systematic sampling to select the appropriate proportion of people in each level.

that have a chance to work. Starting any language planning at this stage for Scots will meet scepticism and confusion if the matter of specifying what is meant by 'Scots language' is not addressed.