Universitat Autònoma de Barcelona

Portraying Scots: Literary Dialect in Thom's *The Tin-kin*

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ABSTRACT: Dialects can be represented in written language by means of several techniques, such as literary dialect. The following paper examines whether the portrayal of the Scots variety in Eleanor Thom's literary piece, *The Tin-kin*, is accurate and consistent in terms of spelling. For the purpose of this essay, a selection of six linguistic features of Scots to be analyzed was performed, the final list of features being as follows: monophthongization of /aʊ/, vocalization of post-vocalic /l/ and cluster reduction as regards phonology; negation and usage of demonstratives concerning morphosyntax and finally use of Scots lexis. This paper also analyzes whether the age of the characters has an effect on the number of dialectal features the characters produce. The results show that the depiction of Scots in the novel is both consistent and accurate. Similarly, the results suggest that age seems to play a crucial role in the production of speakers, the older speakers being more prone to produce a greater number of non-standard traits than younger ones. The results also seem to indicate that there may be also more variables which affect speech, such as literacy.

1. Introduction

1.1. Representation of dialect in literature

Just as not every person in the world speaks the same language, not every person who speaks the same language does it in the same way. There are more than 360 million native English speakers and English is the official language in 67 countries. Taking these facts into account, it is expected that linguistic variation occurs. Different factors may affect language variation; they may be, for instance, geographical (varieties of language spoken in certain geographical areas are traditionally called dialects), social, generational, etc.

While varieties are quite noticeable in spoken language, in written language it is quite more complex to portray them. In literary pieces, characters may diverge in different aspects, e.g. age, personality, social status, gender, physical appearance; similarly, their speech may also diverge, even though this is not easy to represent. That is why many authors decide to represent the non-standard speech of their characters (or only of a few of them). Renowned writers such as Mark Twain, Charles Dickens or even Shakespeare have made use of techniques to represent non-standard forms.

Some authors group these techniques in what they call 'eye dialect' (a term coined by George P. Krapp), for instance Nuessel (1982) and Walpole (1974). Nuessel defines eye dialect as:

> "…a method employed by creative writers to delineate spoken language by utilizing conventional orthography. This approach may reflect a regional or social dialect somewhat accurately or it may merely be a literary subterfuge unrelated to linguistic reality. Common orthographic transformations such as deletion and substitution of typographical symbols are the formal processes systematically employed in literature to imitate typographical symbols are the formal processes systematically employed in literature to imitate so-called vertical or horizontal dialects." (1982: 350)

However, other authors consider eye dialect to be one among the several techniques that can represent non-standard varieties. This is the case of Preston who defines eye dialect "as respellings, which reflect no phonetic facts whatsoever, such as 'sez' for 'says' or 'wuz' for 'was'" (2000:615, cited in Beal, 2006: 532). Beal (2006) also makes reference to other methods that may illustrate non-standard varieties. These are semiphonetic respelling, regionalisms and allegro speech respellings. For the purpose of this paper, the focus will be on the first two.

Semiphonetic respelling is the written representation of a word according to its pronunciation, in this case, of the dialectal features. As Beal (2006: 531) points out, it is essential that the spelling conventions are shared by both author and reader. Then, since English-speaking people share the same orthographic conventions, they will understand that the spellings <sh> and <ch> are meant to be pronounced as /ʃ/ and /ʧ/ respectively. Semiphonetic spelling sometimes may be difficult to decode due to the fact that, as has been said, it requires a common knowledge by writer and readership.

On the other hand, regionalisms, as their name may imply, are words that are restricted to certain geographical areas and, then, dialects. Beal considers regionalisms to be words which "tend to represent lexical and morphosyntactic elements in the dialect, but in cases (…) the distinction between semiphonetic spelling and regionalism is not easily defined" (2006: 352). According to the author, these elements help the author to depend less on stereotypes when it comes to portraying a dialect.

Finally, another distinction must be made: literary dialect as opposed to dialect literature. The representation of dialects in a text in which the main body is written in Standard English is known by literary dialect, whereas dialect literature is a literary piece in which the whole text (or most of it) is written using dialectal representations (Shorrocks, 1996: 386, cited in Beal, 2006: 534).

In the field of dialectology, there have been several authors who have studied the portrayal of dialects in texts and its implications, African American Vernacular English (AAVE) being the object of study in most of the cases. Two examples are the studies carried out by Barry (2001) and Burkette (2001). These authors examine how AAVE is represented in two novels, namely Hurston's *Their Eyes were Watching God* and Stowe's *Uncle Tom's Cabin* respectively. Both Barry and Burkette found that, in these novels, AAVE was depicted with precision and accuracy. Additionally, Barry tested the consistency of the deviant spellings in Hurston's novel, and the findings she obtained suggest that that the writer represents "the southern African-American community in the text in both an accurate and consistent manner" (2001: 181).

1.2. The study

The novel *The Tin-Kin*, by Eleanor Thom, is a good example of literary dialect. The book centers on a middle-aged Scottish woman, Dawn, who investigates her relationship with a family of gypsy Travelers. The novel is divided in chapters which are narrated at two different diegetic levels: extradiegetic and intradiegetic level. The narrator in chapters about Dawn is extradiegetic, whereas chapters about the family of Travelers are narrated by three of its members – Auld Betsy, Jock and Wee Betsy –, that is, the narrator in these chapters is intradiegetic. It is worth mentioning that these three characters belong to different generations: Auld Betsy is the mother of Jock, first generation and second generation respectively, and Wee Betsy is Jock's niece, third generation. It is also noteworthy that the two narratives are not contemporary: regarding the location, the setting of both stories is the same, the city of Elgin, however Dawn's story takes place at the present time, whereas the events that affect the gypsy family occur during the nineteen-fifties.

In this novel, some chapters – namely Auld Betsy's, Jock's and Wee Betsy's – are written using literary dialect techniques to portray Scots. These techniques represent phonological processes as well as grammatical features characteristic of the Scots language. The usage of Scotticisms and distinctive words of the geographical area is also significant. Hence, the goal of this paper is to examine and provide an analysis of the accuracy and consistency of the representation of Scots as a literary dialect in the book, and it will aim to answer the following research questions:

1. In which way is Scots dialect depicted in the book? Is the usage of the representations of the Scots dialect consistent throughout the whole book?

2. How are generational factors related with the use, or non-use, of certain grammatical, phonological and lexical features typical of Scots?

3. Is there any evolution in the characters' speech, i.e. do the characters use different dialectal patterns throughout the book?

Taking into account the findings in the studies carried out by Barry (2001) and Burkette (2001), it is hypothesized that the variety represented in the book will be portrayed in an accurate and consistent manner throughout the whole piece. It is also predicted that generational factors will be significant, so that the older the characters are, the more dialectal features they will produce.

1.3. Scots features to be analyzed

The following features do not list the whole repertoire of Scots dialectal characteristics, but only the features which are going to be analyzed in this paper. Each relevant feature is discussed in a separate section.

1.3.1. Monophthongization of /aʊ/ to /u/

Jones (1997: 308 – 309) and Stuart-Smith (2004: 59) refer to the monophthongization of the Standard English diphthong [aʊ] in MOUTH to the vowel sound [u]. To account for this phenomenon we must go back to the Great Vowel Shift, when the vowel [u:] was first diphthongized, and later centralized and lowered, becoming [aʊ] (Algeo, 2010: 145). Even though this is one of the most characteristic features of the Scots language, both Jones and Stuart-Smith suggest that the production of [aʊ] as [u] may be socially stratified, lower classes being more prone to produce it than higher classes.

1.3.2. /l/-vocalization

Stuart-Smith (2004: 63) and Jones (1997: 319 - 320) allude to the lenition phenomenon by which the phoneme /l/ becomes a vowel or semi-vowel sound, called /l/-vocalization. This process was developed both in Middle English and Middle Scots respectively (Algeo, 2010: 149), and nowadays it is present in several dialects. Jones (1997: 320) suggests that this phonological phenomenon is not restricted to certain social classes. Instead he indicates that /l/-vocalization is present in 'almost all social classes'.

Johnston also cites Wilson (1915), who points out that this process is particularly common after post-back-vowels and mid-back-vowels, and Macaulay (1991) who proposes that /l/-vocalization is "lexically determined (restricted in the main to items such as *all*, *hold*, *roll*, *pull*, *soldier* and *fault*, with vocalization rarely, if ever, occurring in *always*, *bald*, *cold*, *doll* and *haul*)" (1997: 321).

1.3.3. Cluster reduction in coda position.

According to Jones (1997: 326 – 327), Scots may reduce consonant clusters in coda position, then pronouncing, for instance, *self* as *sel*. Johnston (1997: 502) points out that in some Scots varieties, and particularly in the one spoken in Morayshire, a

"simplification of the coda clusters [nd] and [ld] to [n] and [l]" respectively occurs. An example of this may be the world *old* which would become *ol*.

The substitution of a velar nasal [ŋ] with an alveolar nasal [n] in the morpheme <ing>, also called 'g-dropping', is a phonological phenomenon that may be present in several non-standard dialects, Scots being one of them. This phenomenon is often believed to denote a low social status or education (Johnston, 1997). However, no sound is omitted in this process, but substituted instead, and, thus, it would not be a case of cluster reduction. For the purpose of this paper, it will be included in this section.

1.3.4. Negation

The negation system in Scots is one of the most prominent characteristics of this language. In Scotland, negation may be performed by the standard form *not* and the suffix *-n't* and its Scots counterparts *no* and *-nae* (also spelled *-na*). Miller (2004: 50 – 51) accounts for the usage of the different forms: the independent words *not* and *no* usually go with the verbs *be*, *have* and *will* (and their respective contractions) and in negative interrogatives, whereas *-n't* and *nae* tend to accompany modal verbs and *do*.

1.3.5. Demonstratives

The system of demonstratives in Scots includes additional forms that are not found in standard varieties of English. Beal (1997: 350), McRae (2000: 67) and Miller (2004: 49) allude to plural demonstratives exclusive to Scots, which are *thir* for *'these'* and *thae* for *'those'*. These three authors also advert of the usage of the third person oblique pronoun *them*, present in other dialects of English. Additionally, Beal points out the existence of two other demonstratives that, as in other varieties of English, are "the remnants of an older, three-term deictic system" (Beal, 1997: 351). These are *thon* and *yon* which could be paraphrased as 'that one over there'. Finally, in her study, McRae

(2000) suggests that in the North-East of Scotland, native speakers – especially older ones – showed a tendency to use the demonstratives *this* and *that* for both singular and plural NPs.

1.3.6. Lexicon

Even though Scots and English share a vast number of lexical items, their lexicons diverge significantly from each other. Tulloch (1997) states that there is no exact delimitation which separates Scots from English lexis. Then, Scots lexicon may be defined as "the elements in Scots and English in Scotland which are not shared with English Standard English. This includes some words which are not exclusive to Scotland, such as words shared with Northern English dialects" (Grant, 1931: xlv; Robinson, 1985: xvii, cited in Tulloch, 1997: 379). The Concise Scots Dictionary (CSD) proposes Scandinavian, through Northern English, to be the major source of borrowings, but it also accounts for different sources of loanwords such as Gaelic, French, Dutch and Flemish, Anglo-Saxon and Latin (Robinson, 1985). Another remarkable source – which even though not being extensively present in Scots vocabulary, is of extreme importance for the purpose of this paper – is Romany language, spoken by Gypsies and some Scottish Travelers (Tulloch, 1997: 390).

The language spoken by Scottish Travelers is analyzed in-depth by Douglas (1995), who, as a part of her research study, provides a comprehensive list of vocabulary and expressions which are typically used by Scottish Travelers. Some of the lexical items in this list are *gadgie* and *barrie*, which are part of their cant and have recently entered into the Scots lexicon (Douglas, 1995; Tulloch, 1997).

Finally, it is worth taking into consideration the spelling variation found in Scots words, or Scotticisms. A possible explanation that may account for this phenomenon may be the following:

> "The Scots diction and vocabulary were felt to be provincial and quaint. As mass communication and mass printing improved, this trend intensified until Scots as a written language fell into disuse. Because of this, there was no process of standardization of the spelling of Scots, with the result that there is no recognized orthography and many words have variant forms." (Ross and Smith, 1999: 2)

2. Methodology

As has been previously mentioned, the novel is divided into chapters that recount the stories of the different characters. The chapters on Dawn's narrative were not examined, as they are narrated from a third-person perspective and they are written in Standard English. Thus, the chapters that were analyzed are Jock's, Auld Betsy's and Wee Betsy's, since they are narrated by the main characters themselves and are the ones that are likely to contain dialectal features. Firstly, a tally of the pages of each character was carried out, the results being as follows: Auld Betsy, 32 pages; Jock, 36 pages; and Wee Betsy, 71 pages. As the analysis of the whole aggregate of pages would have been quite time-consuming as well as unnecessary, a fifty percent of the total pages of these three characters, i.e. a sum of 70 pages, was considered a sufficient sample size. In order to select this percentage of pages, a randomization of the page numbers was performed. This random selection ensures that the sample chosen was representative, and it is supposed to include pages from the beginning, the middle and the end of the book.

Secondly, a selection of the features to be analyzed was carried out. This selection was subject to certain criteria. In the first place, features may be unique to Scots or they may be used in Scots as well as in other English varieties. Similarly, some phenomena are difficult – even impossible in some cases – to analyze only by looking at spelling.

This is the case, for instance, of the velarization of /l/ (also called 'dark l' [ɫ]) in all positions in Scottish, in contrast with the velarized /l/ found only in coda positions in standard varieties of English. Hence, the final selection of features attempted to include, on the one hand, both structures unique to Scots, e.g. the system of negation, and structures which were shared with other dialects, e.g. /l/-vocalization, and on the other hand, processes in which deviant orthography was perceptible, e.g. /aʊ/ to /u/. Finally, the list of features that was examined is as follows: regarding phonological processes, the analysis was centered on cluster reduction in coda position (in this aspect, the so-called 'g-dropping' was also included, in spite of it not being an instance of cluster reduction), as well as /l/-vocalization and monophthongization of /aʊ/ to /u/. Concerning grammatical structures, this paper examined the system of negation and the usage of demonstratives; finally, this paper also studied the use of some lexical items such as regionalisms and Travelers Cant.

Additionally, in order to facilitate the analysis of the spelling, the pages selected were transcribed into an electronic copy, so that a search engine could be run and some features might be quickly located. The rest of the features was detected by means of an in-depth examination of the text. Finally, the results were quantified and presented.
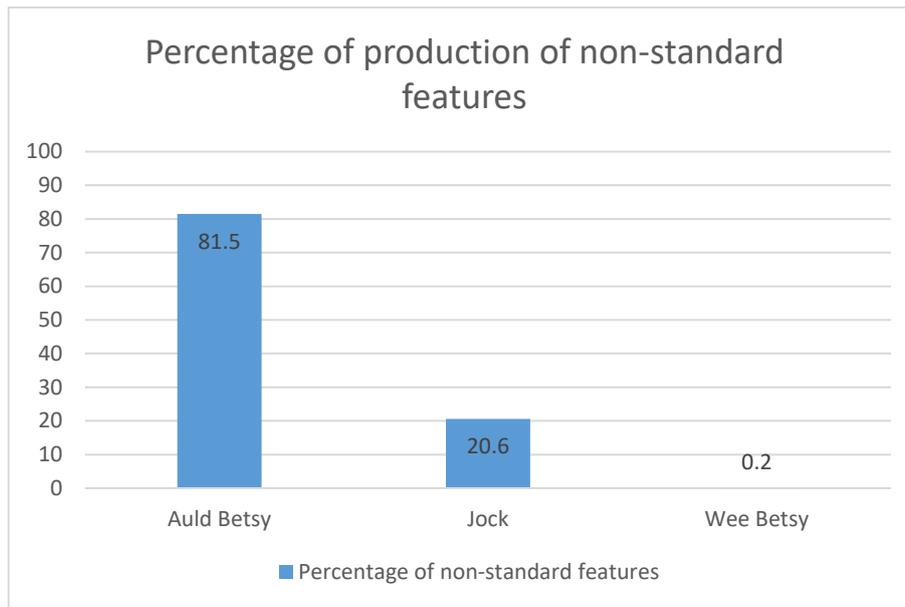
3. Results

Figure 1: Percentage of production of non-standard features

As can be seen in Figure 1, the number of non-standard features produced differs significantly from one character to another. The total number of tokens analyzed is 1943: 622 produced by Auld Betsy, 423 by Jock and 828 by Wee Betsy. The non-standard tokens produced by the latter are only 2 (0.2%), whereas her grandmother produces 507 non-standard elements (81.5%). In a middle position is Jock, who makes use of non-standard features in 87 occasions (20.6%). Hereunder, a detailed description of the results of each feature will be provided.
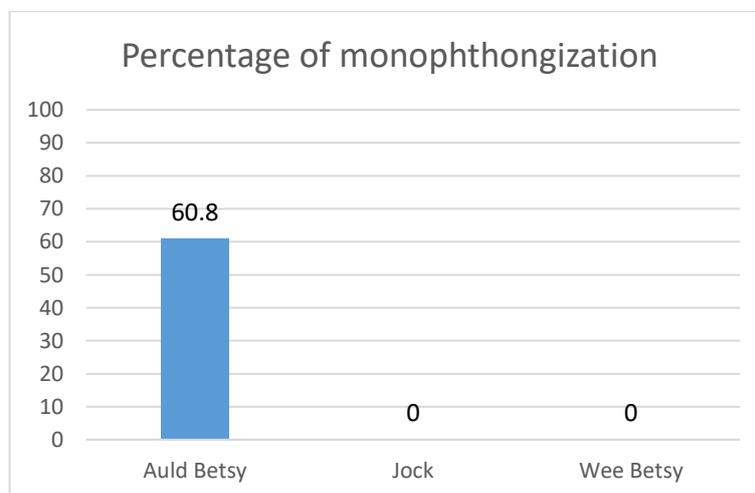
3.1. Monophthongization

Figure 2: Percentage of production of monophthongization of /aʊ/ to /u/

As shown in Figure 2, the only character who monophthongizes the diphthong /aʊ/ is Auld Betsy, doing it 60.8% of the times. It is important to mention, that the lexical items which undergo monophthongization in Auld Betsy's speech are words of everyday speech: *oor¸ oot*, *aboot*, *hoose(s)*, *noo*, *coo*, *ootside*. A detailed analysis of Auld Betsy's production of monophthongized items will be carried out in the discussion section. In contrast, Jock and her niece, Wee Betsy, do not present any instances of this process in their speech.
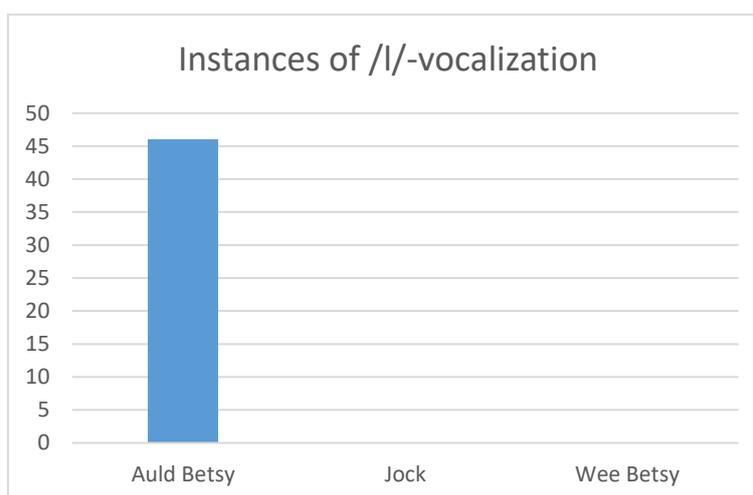
3.2. /l/-vocalization

Figure 3: Instances of vocalized /l/ produced by the characters

As happens with monophthongization, the only character who vocalizes post-vocalic /l/ is the oldest, Auld Betsy. Notice that this chart does not display percentages, but number of instances. This is due to the vast number of words containing a post-vocalic /l/. Thus, analyzing every single word which contains that phoneme in that given position would be utterly time-consuming and, perhaps, even unnecessary. Instead, for the purpose of this analysis, it has been decided to display only the number of instances which undergo /l/-vocalization. As Figure 3 reflects, Auld Betsy produces 46 instances of vocalized /l/, whereas Jock and Wee Betsy produce none.
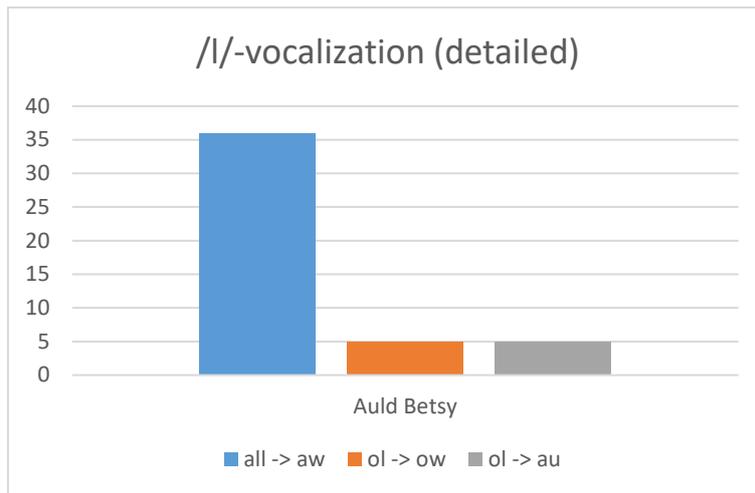
Figure 4: Spellings in which Auld Betsy vocalized /l/

Figure 4 displays an itemized analysis of the instances in which /l/-vocalization occurs. Out of the 46 aforementioned occurrences of this process, 36 are examples of the pronoun and determiner *all*, which becomes *aw*. It is worthy to mention that there are two cases in which *all* maintains its standard form. The remaining occurrences are instances of the spelling <ol> in *folk* and *hold* (and its verbal forms) which become *fowk* and *haud* (*hauds,* etc.) respectively.

3.3. Cluster Reduction

Figure 5: Percentage of production of cluster reduction

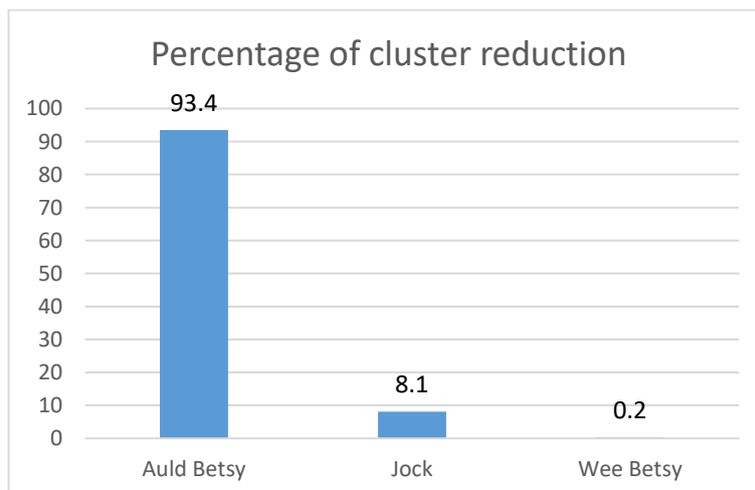As can be seen in Figure 5, the results seem to adopt the distribution in the previous features. That is, Auld Betsy seems to produce a significant greater number of non-standard elements than the other characters. Apart from devocalization of /ŋ/, the characters also produce reduction of the consonant clusters /nd/ to /n/ and /lf/ to /l/ in the case of Auld Betsy, e.g. *roun* and *masel*, and of /ld/ to /d/ in the case of Jock. On the contrary, Wee Betsy devocalizes the phoneme /ŋ/ only once throughout the novel.

3.4. Negation
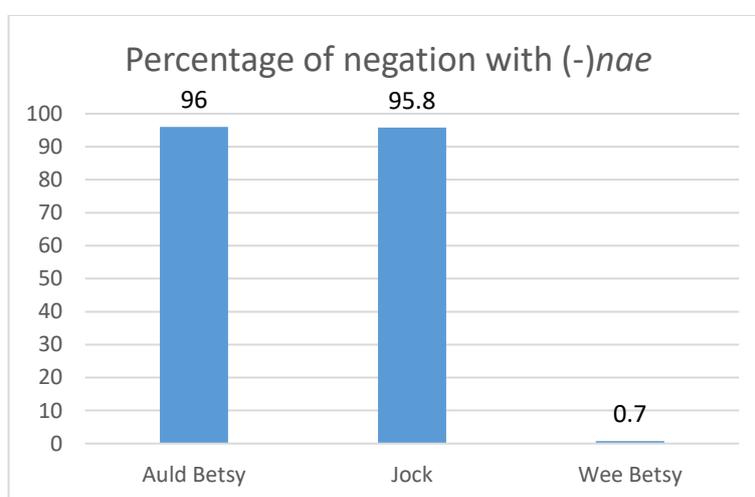
Figure 6: Percentage of production of (-)*nae*

In contrast with the production of the previous features, non-standard negation is more frequent among the characters. In this case, not only Auld Betsy tends to negate propositions using the Scots (-)*nae*, but also Jock uses regularly this negator. Both mother and son make use of this element more than 90% of the times. They negate all the modals and the auxiliary *do* with the suffix -*nae* and use the word *nae* with the auxiliaries *be* and *have* and everywhere else where standard English would use *not*, even though Auld Betsy occasionally attaches the suffix to *have* and the past forms of *be*. Conversely, Wee Betsy produces just one instance of the non-standard form: *hadnae*.

3.5. Demonstratives

Figure 7: Percentage of production of non-standard demonstratives

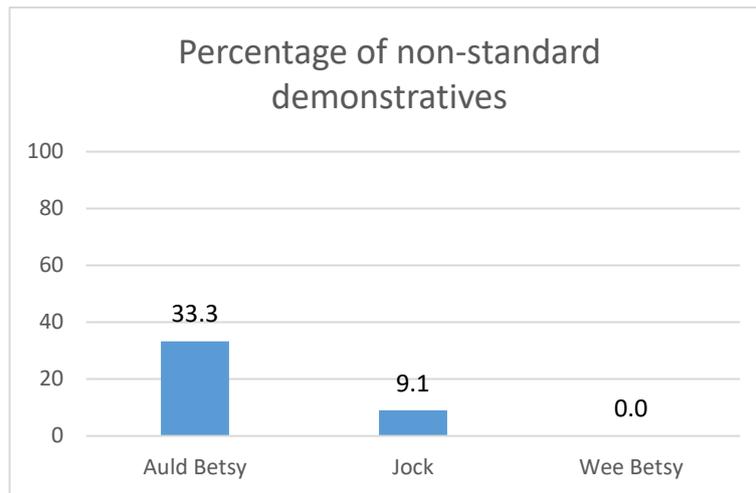When it comes to demonstratives, however, characters tend to produce fewer non-standard forms. Out of the total number of demonstratives produced by Auld Betsy (51), only a third of them are non-standard. Nevertheless, any character uses the Gaelic demonstratives, *thir* and *thae*, mentioned in the literature. Instead, Auld Betsy produces the non-standard *thon* a total of 17 times, Jock 3 and Wee Betsy none. It may be worth mentioning that when using *thon*, Auld Betsy uses it 13 times with a singular noun phrase and 4 times with a plural noun phrase. However, *that* and *this* are used in a standard-like manner, that is, there is agreement between the specifier and the head of the NP, the opposite to what McRae (2000) suggests. *That* and *this* always go with singular NPs, whereas *those* and *these* only refer to plural NPs.

3.6. Lexicon

The usage of Scots lexis seems to follow the same distribution of the grammatical and phonological features. Auld Betsy is the character who produces the greatest number of lexical items not present in Standard English dictionaries, whereas Wee Betsy uses the fewest number. Jock, again, would stand in a middle position, using more instances than Wee Betsy, but fewer than Auld Betsy.

The nature of these words is also different: the three characters produce Scotticisms, such as *wee* or *bairn*. However, when it comes to words of Romani origin, Wee Betsy produces none; Jock uses the word *gadgie* (whose use is now widespread in Scotland) whereas Auld Betsy utters several words which, according to the literature, are of gypsy origin, e.g. *pannie* ('water'), *fammel* ('finger'), *manishee* ('woman'), etc.

Additionally, some words have been found, whose meaning does not appear in any dictionary, neither of Scottish lexis, nor of Standard English. However, the meaning of these words can be understood in context. These words are *toby* (n.), *quad* (v.) and *dancers* (n.). Their meaning would be 'police', 'imprison' and 'stairs' respectively. These lexical items are used by all the members of the family and as they do not appear in any dictionary, it may be speculated that they are colloquial words in that particular region.

4. Discussion

4.1. General discussion

As shown in the results section, the hypothesis concerning production as related to age is supported by the data. Then, older characters do produce more dialectal features than the younger ones. It could be expressed as a continuum in which the oldest character, that is Auld Betsy, would be at one end, her being the character with the greatest number of dialectal features in her speech. In the middle, we would find Jock, who produces some of the typical features of Scots such as negation, but not others, for instance, monophthongization of /aʊ/. Finally, at the other end of the continuum would be Wee Betsy, the youngest character under analysis, who tends to produce a more standard-like speech than the rest, except for the usage of some Scotticisms.

As regards the consistency of the spelling, the other element under investigation, it can be argued that the spelling is, in fact, quite consistent. The features which seem to

contain more spelling variation are monophthongization of /aʊ/ to /u/ and cluster reduction. However, it cannot be asserted that this is due to inconsistent spelling, as it may be due to intra-speaker variation. It can be argued that Auld Betsy produces monophthongization in certain words, but not in others.

However, the incidence of spelling inconsistency is minimal, and besides, as mentioned above, it may not be claimed that that inconsistency is the author's fault, as she may be only trying to depict a real example of Scots usage, which may include intra-speaker variation. Nevertheless, there are instances of Scottish lexical items in which the spelling does not seem to follow the conventions adopted by the author, e.g. *loun* /lun/. Here the spelling <ou> represents the vowel sound /u/, which is normally portrayed by the author with the digraph <oo>. However, as this is a Scottish word, the spelling used by the author may be the one used in Scotland or the same region.

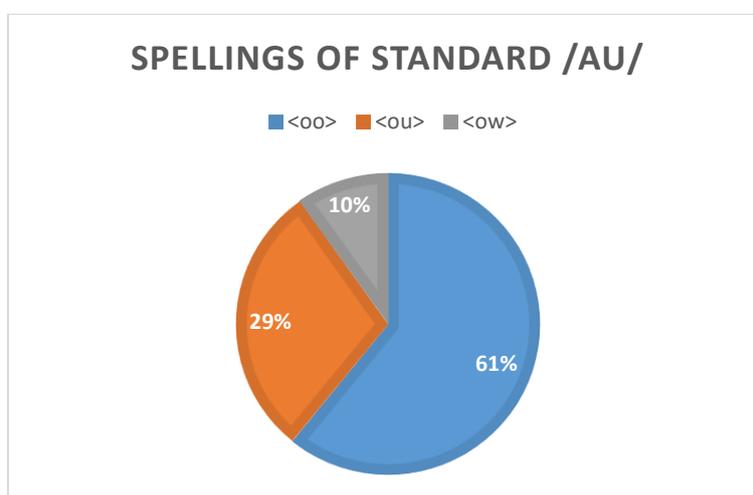### 4.2. Monophthongization

Figure 8: Itemized analysis of the spellings of the words in Auld Betsy's speech which contain /aʊ/ in Standard English.

The process of monophthongization in Auld Betsy's speech requires special attention. In Figure 8, a detailed analysis of this feature as produced by Auld Betsy can be found. She produces a monophthong instead of a diphthong 60% of the times. This

percentage is made up by only seven words of frequent usage: *oor¸ oot*, *aboot*, *hoose(s)*, *noo*, *coo*, *ootside*. Thus, she maintains the diphthong /aʊ/ in the remaining instances (40%). Nevertheless, even though the diphthong is maintained, some spellings are still deviant. This is the case of the words *doun* and *toun*, which in standard English would be spelled as follows: *down* and *town*. This divergent spelling seems to imply that even though the diphthong is maintained, it is not pronounced in a standard-like manner. Then, this diphthong may possibly be an intermediate state (something like /əʊ/) in the transition from /aʊ/ to /u/, which has not been monophthongized yet, but its first vowel has already been reduced.

It is also worth mentioning that Auld Betsy produces a few instances of standard words which have been previously monophthongized. In other words, she frequently produces *aboot*, but there is one instance of *about*. The same happens with the word *now*, which appears normally monophthongized into *noo*, although there are several instances of *now*, specifically seven. Taking this evidence into account, the following question arises: Are the spelling conventions used inconsistent? Or is it Auld Betsy's speech which is inconsistent?

To answer this question, we may take a look back to the literature. Stuart-Smith (2004) sheds some light on this matter. According to the author, the monophthongized /u/ is normally produced only by working-classes as higher social classes try to avert this alternative. She also reports that the production of this Scots variant is subject to variation as "speakers will use [it] to differing degrees depending on the alternating vowel and even the word involved" (2004: 59). Additionally, Stuart-Smith acknowledges that in previous research "sole use of Scots /u/ is not attested" (p. 59).

One variable that seems to affect the production of the characters is literacy. That is, it may be hypothesized that literate characters would produce fewer dialectal features than illiterate characters. Consider the following passages:

(1) Jock of Wee Betsy: "She writes already, left-handed just like her granny. Nae that Ma (Auld Betsy) can write, mind. I'm the one that writes her letters, and she just signs her name with a cross." (p. 41)

(2) Curly to Wee Betsy: "Will you read for your granny, Wee Betsy? There's my clever one,' Mammy goes." (p. 279)

(3) Duncan to Jock: "'JOCKY, GIE US A HAUND WI SOMETHIN HERE, WOULD YE?' Uncle Jock takes a seat at the head of the table and holds the leaflet up to read." (p. 121)

In these passages we come up with two additional characters: Martha, nicknamed Curly, and Duncan, Wee Betsy's parents. Duncan is Jock's brother and Auld Betsy's son, and Curly is his wife. Then, they are approximately Jock's age (slightly older though), that is, second generation. Therefore, it might be predicted that if they occupy a middle position in the hypothetical generational continuum, they will produce only a few non-standard features. Notwithstanding, this is not the case. The speech of Duncan and Curly is more similar to that of Auld Betsy than to Jock's.

(4) Curly: "Come and sit yersels here and buckle that howlin. Yer like a pack ae wolves." (p.121)

(5) Curly :"Duncan, (...) it's you gies them that habit, shoutin doun the dancers like thon Tarzan ae the bloody jungle." (p.121)

(6) Duncan: "A dram, Ma. Dae ye want it? Help ye rest a wee bit." (p. 241)

(7) Duncan: "We've gied some tae the girls. They were sair fae greetin." (p. 241)

After having had a look at passages (4), (5), (6) and (7), it can be assumed that, on the one hand, Auld Betsy is illiterate and, on the other hand, Jock and Betsy are literate (as they are the ones that read and write for their family). Similarly, although it is not explicitly mentioned, the text implies that Duncan and Curly are illiterate, since they bring texts and ask either Jock or Wee Betsy to read them. Therefore, literacy may play a role in the speakers' speech.

Additionally, there may be other factors which could have an effect on the speakers' production. One example may be schooling. Wee Betsy was born when the family was already settled in Lady Lane and attends school. Then, since she started going to school she has received a diary amount of standard input, whereas her grandmother Auld Betsy and her father received no formal education and lived a nomadic life, so that the input they received may not have been standard. Similarly, it could be argued that Wee Betsy has been exposed to standard input through the radio, whereas their family possibly did not have this opportunity. At the beginning, this passage is produced by Wee Betsy.

(8) "The posh voice is doing the introduction. 'The BBC presents Jet Morgan in *Journeeey intoooo Space*.'" (p. 52)

These conjectures seem to be supported by Douglas (2006). Douglas argues that the linguistic choices of Scottish speakers may also depend on extraneous circumstances: "Individuals, taking account of external factors such as context of situation, education, social class, etc., can move along the continuum in either direction, but some individuals will inevitably have a stronger attraction to one pole than the other." (pp. 45-46)
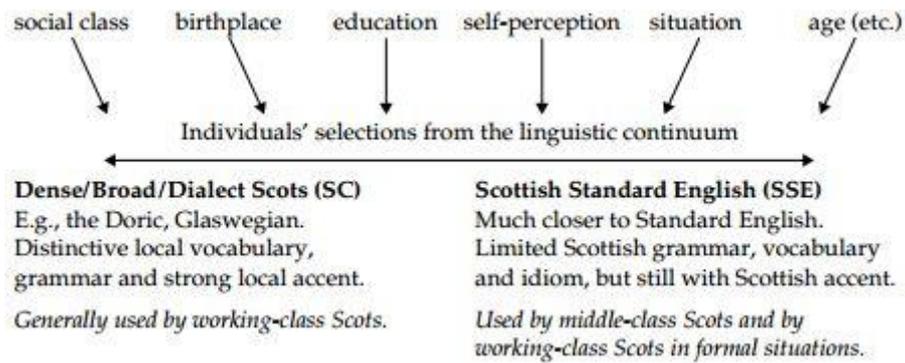
| social class | birthplace | education | self-perception | situation | age (etc.) |

Individuals' selections from the linguistic continuum

Dense/Broad/Dialect Scots (SC)
E.g., the Doric, Glaswegian.
Distinctive local vocabulary,
grammar and strong local accent.

Generally used by working-class Scots.

Scottish Standard English (SSE)
Much closer to Standard English.
Limited Scottish grammar, vocabulary
and idiom, but still with Scottish accent.

*Used by middle-class Scots and by
working-class Scots in formal situations.*

Figure 9: The Scottish English linguistic continuum. (Douglas, 2006: 45)

For example, Auld Betsy being old, born while "being on the road" (that is, being raised in a nomadic life-style) and illiterate (i.e. non-educated) will likely produce a different speech (probably containing a great number of dialectal features) from that of Wee Betsy, who is young, was born while the family was settled and attends school and is more likely to produce a more standard-like speech.

5. Limitations of the study

As regards the limitations of the study, no difficulties concerning methodology were encountered. This is because there were no participants, treatments or tasks to be carried out.

However, even though the analysis of a book may have its advantages concerning methodology, it also has disadvantages regarding the amount of data available. Albeit the quantity of data is plentiful and sufficient, it is limited. Therefore, although some hypotheses can be formulated, the researcher cannot gather more data, which could be useful when looking at some features or some results that are not clear enough (or examining sociolinguistic reasons behind this linguistic behavior). Similarly, despite the fact that the author of the novel tries to depict a real linguistic behavior (and it could be

argued that she succeeds in doing so), the data available is fictitious. Thus, every conclusion drawn in this study is nothing but a hypothesis on the portrayal of a dialect.

6. Suggestions for further research

There are some research lines that this paper does not explore, but which could be investigated in the future. First, an exhaustive analysis of other dialectal features could be carried out. In other words, a comprehensive list of typical Scots structures and phonological processes could be provided and, consequently, analyzed. Similarly, other characters' speech could be studied, for example, Duncan's and Curly's. This would help the researcher to obtain a full picture of the linguistic usage of the speakers in the book.

Secondly, the speech of characters could be examined in other characters' chapter. That is, to examine, for example, how the linguistic behavior of Wee Betsy is represented in Jock's or Auld Betsy's chapters. Let's take the following excerpt produced by Wee Betsy (in Auld Betsy's chapter) into consideration:

(9) Wee Betsy: "She's got fuckin beasts crawlin in her hair, Granny! And now I've got them an all!" (p. 106)

Here, Wee Betsy shows some instances of cluster reduction, *an* instead of 'and', and devocalization of /ŋ/, *fuckin* and *crawlin*. Conversely, she does not produce these processes in her own chapters.

Last but not least, the sociolinguistic reasons behind the usage of certain structures could also be explored. For example, further research may try to answer the following questions: what do the characters intend (or not intend) by producing certain features? Do they change their speech depending on who the listener is?

7. Conclusions

In conclusion, the intention of this paper was to provide an in-depth analysis of the representation of Scots in a literary piece, namely *The Tin-kin* by Eleanor Thom. The results suggest that the usage of Scots is accurate and subject to certain variables such as age and literacy.

Firstly, this paper aimed to examine whether the spelling adopted in order to represent Scots was consistent or not. The data collected suggests that, even though there are some instances in which spelling may not seem completely consistent, in general the spelling conventions adopted are consistent throughout the whole novel. However, the abovementioned instances that seem inconsistent may be due to intra-speaker variation instead of being due to the author's inaccuracy.

As an answer to the second research question, the data gathered shows that there is a difference in the usage of dialectal features between the characters, Auld Betsy being the oldest and the character that produces the greatest number of non-standard items, and Wee Betsy being the youngest and the character which includes the fewest number of dialectal traits in her speech. Then, it can be concluded that age plays a crucial role in the characters' linguistic production, and it can be argued that the older the character is, the greater local features s/he will utter. However, age may not be the only factor that affects production, although further research must be carried out in order to explore other factors.

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