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**Phonetic Study of Dialect Writing in Tom Leonard's *Six
Glasgow Poems***

Treball de Fi de Grau/ BA Dissertation

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Abstract

The following paper studies dialect writing in terms of its significance in society, the reception of its use in literature and the ways it represents an accent or dialect. In order to do so, the paper first examines the linguistic situation of Scotland, the literary tradition of which is famous for its dialect writing and a good example of how identity is conveyed through the language represented in a text. Secondly, the paper looks at research done on dialect writing in order to comprehend its relevance in literature and the reception it has had throughout the years. Finally, an analysis of Tom Leonard's *Six Glasgow Poems* that focuses on the representation of features of the poet's Glaswegian working-class accent is carried out. The results show that Leonard's dialect writing is successful in conveying an individual's speech and that dialect writing as a literary means is important for questioning the prestigious status of English standard accents and the political ideologies associated to them.

Keywords: Dialect writing, Glaswegian, Tom Leonard, non-standard accent, identity.

1. Introduction

Because of the significance of dialect writing in literature and in society, this paper aims to attain a better understanding of this style of writing by examining the poetry of Tom Leonard, who employs dialect writing in his work to capture his Glaswegian working-class dialect.

Dialect writing as a technique is not just done for aesthetic purposes, but also as a means to convey political messages not just through the content of the texts but also through their form. Therefore, this paper will first consider the linguistic situation in Scotland starting by looking at its history in order to understand the country's present conditions regarding language. It will then specifically focus on the city of Glasgow in order to be able to contextualise the poetry of Tom Leonard and understand the significance of the use of his dialect.

Secondly, the paper will delve into past research done on dialect writing in terms of its role in literature and its reception. This is of interest within the whole paper because it will later contribute to the analysis part of the selected poems that concentrates on the way the dialect in question is represented. One of the most relevant points mentioned in this section comes from McKay's (2010) work, where he states that there is no standardised way of writing in dialect, which is of crucial importance for the analysis. Thus, the analysis is not an examination based on established norms, meaning that there are no theses to be proven. Instead, the study will consider dialectal features that emerge in the text and it will look at the way they are represented.

As a result, the most substantial part of the paper is the analysis section of Tom Leonard's *Six Glasgow Poems* published in 1969. The analysis was carried out by first transcribing the poems into standard English with the guidance of recordings of the poet reciting the poems, and then looking for patterns of deviation from English standard

orthography. When a number of recurring patterns were found, research was done to see whether they accounted for actual features of the Glaswegian working-class dialect. As a result, this paper does not offer an exhaustive account of Glaswegian features, but only a selection of those which are repeatedly represented in the poems.

2. Scotland and Glasgow: The Linguistic Situation

2.1 Scotland

First and foremost, it is important to note that the linguistic situation in Scotland differs from the one in the rest of Great Britain. An example of Scotland's unique linguistic scene is offered by Wells (1982), who discusses the status Received Pronunciation has in Scotland in comparison to England, Wales and Northern Ireland. In England, especially, Received Pronunciation, also known as BBC English, enjoys a prestigious status which does not coincide with the status it has in Scotland, since "a Scottish accent can be prestigious in a way that a local English accent is not." (Wells, 1982: 393) This is a relevant example because it shows how language is laden with social and political connotations that are closely tied to a country's political and historical past and present.

Corbett, McClure and Stuart-Smith (2003) offer a brief account of the history of the languages in Scotland in *The Edinburgh Companion to Scots*, where they explain that Gaelic, a Celtic language, had spread into Scotland from Ireland and it had become the dominant language in Scotland for centuries, where it co-existed with Old English and Anglian dialects, one of which was Northumbrian Old English and was predominant in the south of Scotland. By 1400, a Norse-influenced variety of Middle English known as Inglis, or Early Scots, had become the lingua franca of urban lowland Scotland with the establishment of Scottish burghs, brought to Scotland by King David I and all the incoming settlers from England. Eventually,

Inglis replaced Scottish Gaelic both socially and geographically so that it was spoken throughout Lowland Scotland up to the Moray Firth and it went up the social hierarchy replacing Gaelic and French as the spoken language of the aristocracy and it became an emergent national language, that we nowadays know as Scots. As a result of close political ties with England during the sixteenth century, Scots started to show signs of anglicisation, which indicated the growing prestige of English and the decline of Scots as a national language. It was the Treaty of Union of 1707 that united the kingdoms of Scotland and England, with the parliament in Westminster, and from then onwards, English became the prestige language in Scotland (Corbett, McClure & Stuart-Smith, 2003: 4-15). Therefore, the spoken language in Scotland in the eighteenth century was “Standard English with a Scottish accent, that is, rather than Scots” (Wells, 1982: 394), which is what nowadays we know as Scottish Standard English (SSE), that is grammatically and lexically very similar to standard English found in the rest of Great Britain, but phonetically and phonemically like Scots, which was not completely replaced and it remained the language used in unofficial and domestic contexts (Corbett *et al.* 2003: 4-15).

Due to the close co-existence of Scots and Standard Scottish English, initially the two varieties were in a situation of diglossia, meaning that they were two separate yet related varieties with one variety (Scottish English) being the ‘high’ variety and the other (Scots), the ‘low’ variety. Each one was used in different social contexts and by different speakers of the community, usually those of upper and middle-classes speaking in the ‘high’ variety. This situation lasted approximately until the twentieth century in lowland Scotland, but from then onwards the relationship between Scottish English and Scots has shifted into one of diaglossia, because of the close contact the two varieties have found themselves in. This has led to the emergence of intermediate forms of speech which have features of both the ‘high’ and ‘low’

varieties, and most speakers in Scotland can drift, rather than shift, from one variety to the other depending on the conversational context (Corbett *et al.*: 4-15).

According to Wells (1982), in present-day Scotland we find a linguistic continuum throughout much of southern, central and north-eastern Scotland, although in some areas like the Shetlands the situation is still diglossic. In the case of the lowlands, where Glasgow is located, speakers situate themselves at some point along the continuum and drift from the more standard forms at one end, known as Standard Scottish English, to the least standard forms at the other end, which are known as (Broad) Scots (Wells, 1982: 395). This is why we find some Scots words in Standard Scottish English such as *bonny*, *dreich* or *loch*, and their use does not necessarily imply that their user is speaking a Scots variety.

The distinction between Scots and Scottish English, as aforementioned, is not always clear, with speakers shifting from one variety to the other according to the conversational situation. Even though this is the situation in most urban areas – especially industrial cities such as Glasgow, where “one cannot make a clear-cut distinction” (Wells, 1982: 395) – in some rural areas the distinction between both varieties is quite sharp with a “traditional-dialect set-up comparable with that found in the north of England” (Wells, 1982: 394).

It is important to note that the views on the status of Scots as a dialect may vary, and for some people it is considered a separate language. However, for others, it is considered a group of dialects of English which are often described as “traditional” or “broad” (Wells, 1982: 393).

As for the official literary language of Scotland, it “has for three centuries been Standard English – pronounced, though, with a Scottish accent and retaining a few scotticisms in vocabulary” (Wells, 1982: 394). However, Scotland has a long literary tradition in Scots going all the way back to the fourteenth century with John Barbour’s *Brus* (Corbett *et al.* 2003:

8). Despite the later anglicisation of Scots, well-known writers like Robert Burns and Sir Walter Scott continued to write wholly in Scots or use it in dialogue. This tradition has continued until the present day with important figures of the twentieth century Scottish Renaissance such as Hugh MacDiarmid, writing in a ‘partly synthetic form of Scots’ known as Lallans (Wells, 1982: 396). The poems this paper focuses on were written in the nineteen sixties when a new “urban phonetic speech” (Muñoz, 2015:7) emerged and which differs from the more traditional Lallans poetry.

Therefore, despite the fact that English has been the official spoken and written language for education, religion and government in Scotland, the use of Scots in written form has continued well into the present as an artistic medium of expression that is closely tied to Scottish identity.

2.2 Glasgow

The city of Glasgow, or *Glesga* in Scots, was once a royal burgh that, after its rapid expansion during the Industrial revolution, became the largest city in Scotland and the third most populated in the whole of the United Kingdom. This expansion was in part due to it being one of the largest seaports in Britain, which meant that its thriving shipbuilding and marine engineering industry attracted many incomers and its population grew immensely during the nineteenth and twentieth centuries which led to large-scale relocation projects that established the urban area of Greater Glasgow.

Despite its incredible contribution to Scotland’s economy, Glasgow is well-known for its overcrowding, tenements, unemployment and violence (Macaulay, 1977: 7). It has been called “forever Edinburgh’s poor relation” by Kevin McKenna in *The Guardian*, despite

acknowledging that it is “grossly undervalued and underappreciated by the rest of the country” even though it is Scotland’s “powerhouse” (McKenna, 2016).

The population of Glasgow is a heterogeneous one that grew rapidly in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, with most of its incomers from the West central region, the Highlands and Ireland (Macaulay, 1977: 14), all of which have contributed to the famous dialect of the city known as Glaswegian or Glasgow patter. The Glasgow patter is a Scots dialect that has many Hiberno-English and Irish influences and it is known for being difficult to understand as well as unique within Scotland.

As above-mentioned, in urban areas, and specifically in industrial cities such as Glasgow, the dialect continuum is very noticeable in that we find two co-existing varieties that are closely intertwined. Stuart-Smith (1999), in one of her chapters in *Urban Voices*, acknowledges the two varieties “each with a characteristic accent” (Stuart-Smith, 1999: 203) which are “Glasgow Standard English (GSE), the Glaswegian form of SSE, spoken by most (middle-class) MC speakers [and] Glasgow vernacular (GV), the dialect of many (working-class) WC speakers, which is historically based on West-Central Scots, but which shows strong influences from Irish English, [and] its own distinctive slang” (Macafee 1983; 1994, cited in Stuart-Smith, 1999: 203-204). Therefore, Glasgow can be regarded as a characteristic example of the linguistic continuum found in, especially, lowland and western Scotland.

These dialectal features found in Glaswegian (vernacular) or Glasgow patter may be lexical, morphological, syntactical or phonological, (Wells, 1982: 395) and are closely tied to the city’s strong sense of identity, specifically Glaswegian identity. Therefore, even though we find that the use of dialect differs in terms of class, education or other social aspects, “(s)tylе-drifting is very common in speakers (...) in Glasgow in particular” (Stuart-Smith, 1999: 203),

because of this strong sense of identity the citizens have which is reinforced by their use of the city's characteristic dialect.

3. Dialect in literature

Understanding the historical process that shaped the English language is essential to appreciate the role of dialect writing. Tony Crowley (1989), in *The Politics of Discourse*, explains how the 'standard' came to be. It resulted from a period of social unrest in the nineteenth century after the Indian Rebellion against the British East India Company, and it was thought that a way of ensuring national unity was to "encourage pride in the language" (Crowley, 1989: 79). Because the only reference of the English language was The English Bible, linguists were interested in finding a standard that "would be a focus of unity" (Crowley: 92) and would hopefully work as an authority for uniformity. Eventually, the *New/Oxford English Dictionary* was produced and all non-standard dialects were relegated to the *English Dialect Dictionary*. This separation inherently was one of the first ways of officiating prejudices that consequently discriminated against speakers of 'non-standard English'. In the case of the written language, the language of excellence was also the standard, and dialectal speakers in literature were relegated to the comical domain. Just two examples would be Shakespeare's Fluellen, a Welsh captain that appears in *Henry V* and the character from Dickens' *The Pickwick Papers*, Sam Weller, who is known for his cockney accent.

Because English orthography allows for many different pronunciations to be accommodated in the spelling (Macaulay, 1998: 152-153), in general, writers have used standard orthography even though they might have had a non-standard accent or dialect themselves. Macaulay (1991), explains that, in most cases, readers will interpret the text in their own dialect or accent. In some cases, however, a problem with the standard orthography

arises when writers want to express their own voice and make their accent or dialect come across in their writing in order to assert their identity. The problem is that standard orthography does not indicate specific features of the writer's speech (Macaulay, 1991: 281). This is when the need for dialect writing emerges, when a writer wants to explicitly express his or her own voice as a means to bring across their identity.

The fact that dialects are forms of speech means that there is no definite consensus or standardised way of writing them (McKay, 2010: 116), and thus there is much variation within a single writer's work and across the board, which hinders the acceptance and appreciation of non-standard dialects in mainstream literature and society. Furthermore, according to McKay (2010), "promoting a standardised form of Scots inadvertently creates a hierarchy, with the accepted standardised form being held in higher regard than the variations that are spoken" (McKay: 117). This is exactly what writers who employ dialect writing are fighting against. They are trying to assert that their voice, despite being non-standard, is just as worthy of representation as anyone else's. McKay goes on to state that Scots "has to reflect the language and voices that are actually being spoken within the society that its literature represents" (McKay: 117), and that "writing in an accent, whether urban or regional is an acceptable ingredient that makes up the larger entirety of the Scots Language" (McKay: 118), showing that the unpredictable way in which Scots dialects are written in, is an integral aspect of these dialects and a characteristic that should be celebrated.

The case of Scottish literature is relevant because it shows that it is not enough for orthography to accommodate all dialects so that each reader can interpret the text with their own voice. It shows how connected speech and identity are; and that one's own voice, in some cases, is so indicative of their identity that it must be made explicit. Therefore, many poets have resorted to producing a phonetic transcription of their accent or dialect which is what Tom Leonard does in his poems.

The previous sections have highlighted that Scotland has a long-lasting literary tradition in Scots, which shows the connection between identity and one's way of speaking. Therefore, due to the new reality generated by the appearance of industrial centres in Scotland, a distinctive urban dialect emerged and started to develop its own new form of poetry that departed from the prestigious Lallans. The new way of life in the urban centres called for a new type of poetry that conveyed this new existence. Among the noticeable poets that belonged to this "new and radical poetic movement" (McClure 2000, cited in Muñoz, 2015:9) we find Finlay, Mulrine and Leonard, whose "integration of working-class speech and the literary representation of orality was a significant turning point for Scottish poetry in the 1960s and the dawn of a new poetry with artistic representation of a speech which included that of the working-classes." (Muñoz: 9). Therefore, "a new style of poetry written in Glaswegian dialect was being formed, and (...) it often focused on the phonetic transcription of working-class language and humour." (Muñoz :11). Thus, Leonard's poetry, as well as some of his contemporaries', was not just radical in making working-class people the centre of the poetic content, but, moreover, it was the "integration of the oral properties of speech into written text" that distinguished their poetry from the rest of Scottish literary tradition (Muñoz :16).

This need for the appearance of a distinctive Glaswegian working-class voice that Leonard stands for, arises from the need of representation, which Leonard mentions in an interview where he explains that he rejected MacDiarmid's modernist Scots revival of poetry because he states that "(t)he culture was steeped in an amount of snobbishness, and the snobbishness around Lallans was palpable" (Dosa 2013, cited in Muñoz 2015:10). Instead, Leonard says: "I wanted to put forward a language specific to the West Coast of Scotland. I knew some Lallans people who would deride my language as 'slang' and 'patter', so I didn't feel very sympathetic to them in return." (Dosa 2013, cited in Muñoz 2015:10). Furthermore, in another interview, Leonard explicitly states that "I just felt that the voice in my mouth wasn't

being represented” (Boddy 1985, cited in Muñoz 2015:15), most likely showing how a clear majority of people felt because their voices were never featured in mainstream literature, unless it was for comedic purposes.

Even though nowadays Leonard’s ability to represent his dialect in his poems is highly acclaimed, his poems were not always celebrated, and influential figures such as himself and novelist James Kelman encountered heavy criticism that described their language as vulgar and one that “could be overheard on any night in a Glasgow pub” (McGlynn, 2002:53). Furthermore, due to the stereotypes associated with Glasgow, the vernacular accent of the city is often stigmatized due to its association with unemployment, tenements and violence.

Despite these negative perceptions of the dialect and the poetry that represented it, what was of importance at the time was that “(d)iasporic voices and those rejecting metropolitan norms have sprung to the forefront of global literature; the work of the Glasgow school, including Tom Leonard, Alasdair Gray, and Janice Galloway, epitomizes this move to the local, the nonstandard, the fractured” (McGlynn:52) and thus, created a new literature that was more representative of society as a whole and more inclusive of all its members.

McKay (2010) gives an account of Leonard’s work which is of prime interest for the analysis section because it mentions some of the aspects of the poet’s work that are observed in the analysis, such as the fact that he is rather unpredictable in the way that he represents the dialect. He states that:

Leonard’s work is less about how the work is written on the page than how it sounds when read out loud. To this end he continually transcribes words on the page in a variety of ways. On the one hand this can often provide the reader with double meanings, while on the other it seems as if Leonard is consciously making the decision not to worry about inconsistencies when the words are written down. (McKay, 2010:120-121).

This can be seen in the poems selected, and furthermore, shows how representative Leonard’s work is of dialect literature in general because its main focus is to represent the

spoken word and also, the conveying of the message in the poem highly depends on, and is reinforced by, the representation of the dialect in question.

Thus, dialect writing's role in literature is to strengthen political messages through the form in which the content is presented. As Leonard mentioned, his particular need for writing in his dialect was because of the lack of representation he felt his community had in the mainstream literature of the time. Furthermore, by choosing to write poems, often seen as the purest form of the English language in his stigmatised Glaswegian working-class accent, he is defying the established hierarchy the English language has.

4. Features analysed and procedure

The selection of features analysed results from those features found in the poems that are characteristic of Glaswegian, which means that this is not an exhaustive account of all distinctive features of this dialect, but only those that appear in *Six Glasgow Poems* in a consistent way. Furthermore, there are features that are not accounted for in the analysis due to the fact that they were not as recurrent as those which have been selected, or because their representation does not require an alteration of standard orthography.

The analysis of features is divided into three sections: 'segmental features', 'grammatical features' and 'lexical features'. The first section is further divided into two groups: 'consonants' and 'vowels'. In 'consonants', the features under discussion are L-vocalization, rhoticity and H-dropping. In the case of 'vowels', the study will analyse the vowels of Wells' lexical sets KIT, DRESS, LOT, THOUGHT and NORTH, as well as the NURSE Merger, unstressed vowels and the realisation of diphthongs. The section on grammatical features will exclusively focus on the characteristic case of verbal negation and finally, the last section, 'lexical features' will focus and comment on unique lexical items found

in Glasgow patter. Furthermore, a list of common slang and Scottish words issued by the University of Strathclyde, Glasgow, is provided in the appendix for the understanding of the unique lexical items.

These features have been chosen because during the transcription into Standard English and close analysis of the poems, they were the ones that clearly stood out in the way they are represented. Furthermore, once a number of alterations in the orthography were recorded, research was done in order to see whether they corresponded to characteristic features of the Glaswegian dialect of Tom Leonard. The dialect writing in these poems is interesting because the orthographic transcription employed by the poet is done in order to reflect Leonard's own pronunciation and thus, allows a phonetic analysis to take place.

It is important to note that the analysis does not follow a prescriptive method in the way it discusses each feature since, as has been previously mentioned, there is no definite way of writing in dialect. Therefore, the analysis mainly consists of recording the instances in which a specific feature is captured and looking at its representation. Each feature is presented by first looking at previous phonetic research that has studied the feature in question and defined as characteristic of Glaswegian, and then discussing how it is represented in the poems.

5. Analysis

The analysis of the features listed in section 4 is presented in three separate sections below: segmental features (5.1.), grammatical features (5.2) and lexical features (5.3). The tokens illustrating each of the features are identified in the poems in appendix I by a superscript number. In order to maintain the same reference number as in the appendix, the features will be numbered consecutively in the following sections with the number corresponding to the one found in the appendix (rather than, e.g., 5.1.1., 5.1.2).

5.1 Segmental features:

A. Consonants

1. L-vocalization

Wells (1982) claims that there is no alternation between clear and dark /l/ in Scotland, but that most speakers use the same variant in all contexts. Usually, the variant Scottish speakers use would be the velarized [ɫ], but in Glasgow, speakers use the pharyngealized variety “with a sort of [ɸ]-coloured resonance” (Wells, 1982: 411). Stuart-Smith (1999) further acknowledges this realisation by saying that /l/ articulation is usually dark in all positions in the word and that recent L-vocalization exhibits a high back rounded vowel [ɤ] or [o], which could be attributed to a historical process of Scots called L-deletion, in which common words such as *hauf* ‘half’ lost the /l/. (Macafee, 1983 cited in Stuart-Smith, 1999: 210).

L-vocalization in postvocalic position is indicated by the use of ‘w’ in Leonard’s poems. He uses ‘w’ for /l/ when preceded by /a/, as in ‘yawright’ *you are alright*, ‘aw’ *all*, ‘wirraw’ *we are all*, and ‘hawf’ *half*. We find seven instances of L-vocalization throughout all the poems except for *Good Style*, and it is interesting to note that, the only words that display l-vocalization are highly frequent words such as *all* and *half*. If a different vowel precedes, the lateral remains and is represented by ‘l’, suggesting maintenance of the tongue-tip contact and a lesser degree of velarization, found in words such as ‘stull’ *still*, ‘ahll’ *I ll*, ‘hole’ *whole*, ‘Yirsell’ *yourself* and ‘skool’ *school*. The lack of l-vocalisation in these words could be attributed to coarticulatory effects. For example, in the case of *all*, which would be pronounced as [ɔ:l] in most occasions, the vowel is closer in terms of backness to the pharyngealized variety of /l/ that the Glaswegian non-standard variety employs, and hence makes the transition from one sound to another more natural than the vowel in *will* which is more front and raised.

The sound of the voiced labio-velar approximant /w/ is similar to the “sort of [ɒ]-coloured resonance” (Wells, 1982: 411), due to lip rounding and backness that velarized /l/ in this context is characteristic for. Therefore, the use of ‘w’ seems to be an accurate symbol to portray l-vocalization.

As aforementioned, the reason why we find L-vocalization represented with a ‘w’ in only certain words could be a matter of usage frequency, which could also be why these words have become established in the dialect as noticeable lexical items, and in the case of ‘aw’ *all*, appear in the list of common slang issued by the University of Strathclyde in Glasgow (see Appendix II).

2. Rhoticity

Scottish dialects are widely rhotic, since the /r/ is retained in those positions in which it occurred historically. Its realization is one which has become stereotypical with the claim that Scotsmen “roll their r’s” (Wells, 1982: 410). However, there is noticeable variation in the realizations of /r/. The most usual realizations of /r/ in Scottish English are the alveolar tap [ɾ], found in V_V and C_V environments, and the post-alveolar or retroflex fricative or approximant [ɹ ~ɻ] found in V_C and V_# environments. Both variants appear frequently in initial position before a vowel (Wells: 411). Stuart-Smith also mentions the commonality of the post-alveolar, retroflex and tap varieties, and confirms that there is “rarely a trill” (Stuart-Smith, 1999:210), adding to the discarding of the stereotyped Scottish rolled ‘r’.

The pronunciation of postvocalic /r/ is indicated by the spelling ‘r’ in cases that would not have an /r/ in non-rhotic dialects. Some examples found in the poems are: ‘yirwan’ *you are one*, ‘wirgonny’ *we are going to*, ‘dork’ *dark* and ‘geezyir kross’ *give us your cross*.

Rhoticity is mostly reflected in the orthography of the poems by retaining the standard spelling of the words as the previous examples show and, therefore, the analysis does not take

into account the cases in which the ‘r’s are not modified even though the rest of the word might be altered. For example, in the case of ‘yirwan’, because there is no noticeable alteration of the orthography concerning rhoticity, it has not been recorded.

However, we do find ten occasions in which the ‘r’ is doubled in the spelling in words such as ‘yirra’ *you’re a*, ‘rrose’ *Rose*, ‘urryi’ *are you* or ‘merr’ *more*, presumably to emphasise that the /r/ is pronounced. In words like *Rose* or phrases like *you’re a*, the /r/ would be pronounced in non-rhotic accents, since the former example is one of prevocalic-r, present in all English accents, and the latter example is of linking r, which occurs in non-rhotic accents such as RP as well as rhotic ones. Moreover, the double /r/s could indicate a difference in the pronunciation, where instead of being pronounced with the typical [ɹ], it is pronounced with one of the variants that Wells (1982) acknowledges, possibly the trill, the tap [ɾ] or the retroflex approximant [ɻ], which are more characteristic of the Glaswegian vernacular. In the case of ‘urryi’ and ‘merr’, because both have post-vocalic /r/ before a consonant, the ‘r’ would appear in the spelling yet it would not be pronounced, so by doubling the ‘r’s in the spelling, Leonard is evoking in the reader a rhotic accent.

3. H-dropping

Although it has been claimed that h-dropping is not a common feature of Scottish English and the /h/ is retained in all strong forms “even in the lowest-class urban casual speech” (Wells, 1982: 412), it does happen in “unstressed pronouns and auxiliaries” (Wells: 412) and is thus represented in some of the poems in words such as ‘backit im’ *back at him*, ‘gee im’ *give him*, ‘dayniz’ *doing his*, ‘seeniz’ *seen his* and ‘getiz’ *get his*.

There are eight examples where the absence of the /h/ sound is indicated in words like *him*, *his* or *her* spelt as ‘im’, ‘iz’ *seen his* or, ‘luvur’ *love her*. H-dropping is also represented

by reassembling words; thus, in phrases such as *with him*, *doing his* and *seen his*, the words are interestingly separated in a way that would reflect their pronunciation. In the phrase *with him*, which is spelt as ‘wi thim’, the separating of the word *with* into two, and the attachment of the [ð] sound to *him*, reflects the pronunciation of the phrase as well as H-dropping. A similar mechanism of reassembling words in a non-standard way appears in the phrases spelt as ‘dayniz’ *doing his*, ‘seeniz’ *seen his* and ‘luvur’ *love her* where both words of each phrase are brought together and the ‘h’ is not present. This shows that the poet not only focuses on single and isolated features of the accent, but that his dialect writing also operates at phrase-level.

B. Vowels

4. Unstressed vowels

Unstressed schwa is commonly transcribed as a high front vowel in Leonard’s poems. For example, ‘thi’ *the*, ‘jis’ *just*, ‘arryi’ *are you* [A:rjI], ‘yirra’ *you are a* [jIrə] or ‘wizza’ *was a* [wIzə]. This feature is noted by Wells (1982) who states that “in many places where RP has /ə/, it seems correct to regard Scottish English as having /ɪ/ or /ɪr/” (Wells, 1982: 405).

This feature is the most recurrent and consistent throughout the poems and we find sixty-three examples of it. The focus is on those tokens that are in unstressed position; therefore, even though there might be some words that are spelt with an ‘i’ instead of what their usual spelling would be, they have not been considered in this part of the analysis because they are in stressed position.

The most recurrent words that bear this change of spelling are unstressed function words such as *the* spelt as ‘thi’ (13 instances), *just* spelt as ‘jiss’ (5 instances), *them* as ‘thim’ (3 instances), *you* as ‘yi’ (10 instances) and *you’re* as ‘yir’ (8 instances). The word *the* is in all cases in a _C environment, which means that in RP it would be pronounced with a schwa [ə].

Nevertheless, in Leonard's poems the article is always spelt with an 'i' to indicate that the vowel is more raised. In the case of *you*, the vowel would be unstressed and reduced so we would expect it to sound as [jə] in RP, but once again the vowel is indicated to be higher. In the case of *just* and *them*, we would also expect them to have a schwa in unstressed position in RP, but just like the previous two examples, they seem to have a higher vowel, indicated with an 'i'. Other words or phrases that also seem to show this higher vowel typical of Glaswegian working-class accent are 'wirraw' *we are all*, 'backit' *back at*, 'penshin' *pension*, 'shoutit' and *shouted*.

One of the most striking cases in which this phonetic spelling is employed is in the word *what*, that we find spelt as 'whit'. Usually, in stressed position *what* would be pronounced as [wɒt] but seeing that it is in a seemingly unstressed position ' _thats whit it _iz' *that's what it is*, 'ah _no whit ahm _dayn' *I know what I'm doing*, it also undergoes the process. Furthermore, the word 'whit' *what* appears as common slang in the list of words in appendix II, indicating that it has become a characteristic lexical item in the city. This could be a result of high usage frequency, like in the case of the words 'aw' *all* and 'hawf' *half*, which are also recognised as words that pertain to the Glasgow patter.

5. NURSE Merger

The NURSE Merger (Wells, 1982) is found in most dialects of English where the vowels that appeared before an /r/ and that were once different from each other in words like *fir*, *fur*, *fern* all merged into [ɜ:] or [ə:] in some accents like Received Pronunciation. In the case of the vernacular speech of Glasgow, there is a partial merger where words like *dirt* and *hurt* pair together and both have [ʌr], whereas other words like *heard* preserve [ɛr] (Wells, 1982: 407). This is not the case for all Scottish accents, since a few have merged completely, like middle-class Edinburgh speech, whereas others retain the three-way contrast (Wells, 1982:

407). Some of the examples of the partial merger are found in the poems in words such as ‘Thurteen’ *thirteen*, ‘luvur’ *love her* or ‘burd’ *bird*. These words are spelt with ‘u’ instead of ‘i’, suggesting that in the Glaswegian working-class environment, they would be pronounced as [ʌr].

Although we only find three words that are characteristic of the NURSE Merger in the poems, the tokens that are relevant do reflect the feature in question. In *Simple Simon*, we find that the first word, *thirteen*, spelt as ‘thurteen’, acknowledges the pronunciation of words like *fir* as [ʌr]. Leonard uses the spelling ‘u’ each time to reflect the low-mid back unrounded vowel [ʌ], as is usual the case in English (e.g., *bug*, *nut*, *shutter*, *dump*). The same strategy takes place in the spelling of *bird*, which even appears in the title *The Miracle of The Burd and The Fishes*, showing that it has become a characteristic word of the city commonly used to refer to women. The fact that *bird* is noted in the list in appendix II, shows that the pronunciation of words that used to belong to the *fir* category, are now pronounced as [ʌr], and that this is a widely recognised feature of Glasgow.

6. KIT and DRESS lexical sets

The vowel [ɪ] has several variants in Glaswegian accents – [ɪ, ɛ̃, ẽ, ɛ̃, ɛ̃] (Macaulay & Trevelyan, 1973; Macaulay, 1977, cited in Stuart-Smith, 1999: 207) – which vary substantially depending on class, with working-class speakers using the lower and more backed variants (Stuart-Smith, 1999: 208). Stuart-Smith and Eremeeva (2003), in a sociophonetic study of the vowels in BIT and OUT in Glasgow, provide further support to these findings. Their results corroborate that working-class speakers use the lower and more retracted variants, with [ẽ] being the most common. (Stuart-Smith & Eremeeva, 2003: 1207).

Most of the tokens that have the KIT vowel [ɪ], are spelt with the letter ‘i’ in the poems, in accordance with standard orthography. Therefore, only those examples that depart from the

common spelling have been noted for the purpose of discussing the depiction of the lower and more backed variant.

We find that often Leonard writes words like *still* as ‘stull’, to capture the [ʌ] vowel, emphasizing this backness and lower height in the otherwise [ɪ] vowel. A similar strategy is used in the case of the word *give*, which we find two examples of in the form of ‘gee im’ *give him* and ‘geezyir’ *give us your*, spelt as ‘gee’, which can be seen as an attempt at capturing the sound [ɛ̃] rather than [ɪ].

According to Wells (1982), the DRESS lexical set, that typically corresponds to [e ~ ε] in Scots “may have any of nine or more vowels” (Wells, 1982: 396). The options range from /ɪ/ in words like *egg*; /i/ in *well* or *friend*, or more commonly in *deaf* and *head*, to the most typical possibility which is [ε] in words like *bed* or *bell* (Wells: 396). Moreover, Kohler (1964) explains that in some Scots dialects the [ɛ̃] is used in many words that belong to the lexical set KIT, because of a historical process that eventually acquired the [ɪ] for KIT words in English accents. Furthermore, some words that would belong to the DRESS category in standard accents, in Scots they belong to the KIT vowel and retain the [ɛ̃] (Kohler 1964, cited in Wells, 1982: 404). This is probably why the word *together* in the poem *Cold, Isn't It* is spelt with an ‘i’ in ‘thigithir’, and even though in the standard it would have an [e] as in DRESS, here, the ‘i’ could be an indicator of this more open and centralized vowel, [ɛ̃]. There are no more noticeable examples of the DRESS vowel in the poems which could be because of the unclear categorisation of the vowels in KIT and DRESS in Scots accents which seems to be more blurred than in standard accents.

7. LOT, THOUGHT, NORTH lexical sets

In RP, the vowels of the lexical sets LOT and THOUGHT are [ɒ] and [ɔ:], respectively. However, it is not always the case that there is a distinction between both lexical sets in other accents, like in the case of some accents of Scottish English, which only have the phoneme [ɔ]. Others do bear a distinction, with the open-mid back rounded vowel in THOUGHT, and an opener vowel for LOT, similar to [ɒ] (Wells, 1982: 402). In the case of Glasgow, Stuart-Smith (1999) in her table of Glaswegian vowels notes a distinction in all three categories that depends on social class. Glasgow Standard accent has a [ɔ] in LOT, which corresponds to the aforementioned lack of distinction between this lexical set and THOUGHT. On the other hand, Glasgow Vernacular has an [o] in LOT, which is higher and more closed than the phoneme the Glasgow Standard has. The same distinction is noted in THOUGHT, where again, the variant depends on social status, with [ɔ] in Glasgow Standard and [o] in the vernacular. Although the lexical set NORTH is not usually paired with THOUGHT and LOT, in this case it is useful to consider them together since they all have the same phonemes and we find more NORTH words in the poem than THOUGHT words (Stuart-Smith, 1999:206).

Throughout the poems we find nine occasions where phonemes from these lexical sets appear. Two of the examples are the words *off* and *more*, that are spelt as ‘aff’ and ‘merr’. ‘Aff’ is pronounced with an [A:] in a recording of the writer reciting the poems. This pronunciation is represented by ‘a’ in the spelling instead of an ‘o’. Even though the vowel in the word *off* would correspond to LOT words, [A:f] has become an established pronunciation as well as the typical spelling of the word (‘aff’) in Glasgow probably due to its highly frequent use, and furthermore, it figures in the list of lexical items of Glasgow patter. The same case can be made for ‘merr’ *more*, that belongs to the NORTH category. Leonard’s spelling with an ‘e’ may be an attempt to reflect the mid front vowel in the established Glaswegian word *mair* (see appendix II).

In the poems, the words that belong to the LOT lexical set are *clock*, *job*, *got* and *lot*, and are spelt as ‘cloke’, ‘jobe’, ‘gote’ and ‘loat’. The final /e/ might have been employed to denote a more closed quality and longer vowel, like the one we would find in words like *Goethe*, conveying that the vowel is more like a mid-open rounded [o], than the lower [ɒ], as well as an indicator for length, which can be noted in the recordings of the poems.

8. Diphthongs

The diphthong in the MOUTH lexical set (Wells, 1982) in Scottish accents has become quite a stereotypical feature outside of Scotland, since one of its varieties noticeably differs from the [au] diphthong of RP. In some popular, working-class Scottish dialects, like Glaswegian vernacular, we find that the diphthong did not undergo the Great Vowel Shift and therefore, there was no diphthongization, which means that the sound we find in words like *mouth* or *house* are pronounced with the popular [±u] (Wells, 1982: 406). In Glasgow, there is significant variation in the use of the variants and it correlates with social class. Speakers that belong to areas where both Scots and Scottish English are spoken have two possibilities, [ʌu] and the more cliché [u+], usually the /ʌu/ used in English and the /u/ in Scots, (Wells, 1982: 406) the latter case being that of Glaswegian vernacular, the sound that Stuart-Smith classifies as “[ɥ]” (Stuart-Smith, 1999: 206) in MOUTH words.

Along with the MOUTH vowel, the FACE and GOAT vowels did not undergo the Great Vowel Shift either, which is why [eɪ] and [əʊ] are typically monophthongs in Glaswegian Standard and especially in Glaswegian vernacular. In Stuart-Smith’s (1999: 208) data from her Glasgow study on accent and voice quality, the vowels she registers for both standard and vernacular accents in the mentioned lexical sets are [e] and [o], respectively. Wells, however, says that “diphthongal realisations are spreading [...] presumably due to English influence”

(Wells, 1982: 407). The poems analysed here are from 1969, which is earlier than the date Wells noted this change.

In the case of MOUTH, the three instances in which a token of the vowel appears have been spelt as ‘oo’, as we see in the words *the now* (‘thinoo’), *going about like a* (‘gonabootlika’) and *out of my* (‘ootma’). The choice of spelling is reasonable in that it matches the sound that we would attribute to the ‘oo’ in words like *loose*, *moose* or *choose* in RP. Therefore, by employing this spelling, the poet is indicating that the word must be read with the sound [±u].

Regarding the [eɪ] diphthong found in the FACE lexical set in RP, the diphthongized pronunciation does not appear in these poems, and a monophthong [e] (as acknowledged by Stuart-Smith) is indicated by recurrently spelling words like *hey* as ‘heh’, or *game* as ‘gemm’. However, words with the same sound, such as the word /'peɪn/ which would usually be spelt as *paying*, here is spelt as ‘PINE’, and *in saying* is spelt ‘insane’, which evidences the noted variation and inconsistencies in his attempt to represent his dialect with a phonetic spelling.

There are two different spellings that indicate that what appears in GOAT words is a monophthong [ɔ] rather than the diphthong [əʊ] that we would find in RP. An ‘o’ is employed in words like *going about like a* ‘gonabootlika’, *cosy* ‘coozy’ and *know* ‘no’ to indicate that it is a monophthong, and other times the spelling consists of ‘aw’, as can be seen in the words *I know* ‘inaw’ and *go on* ‘gawn’. The difference between the spellings could be to suggest the length of the vowel, although it seems unlikely since the word *know* is spelt in the two different ways, ‘no’ and ‘naw’. Thus, he appears to be using the two alternatives interchangeably to indicate a monophthong.

5.2. Grammatical features:

9. Verbal negation

Scots uses -nae or -na to indicate negation instead of the Standard English negative suffix *not* or *-n't*. Therefore, for negative auxiliaries and modals Scots has words like *isnae*, *havenae/hanna*, *wisnae*, *didnae*, *couldnae* and *wouldnae*. This is not an exclusive feature of the city of Glasgow but, since this variant occurs more often in those accents that have more features of Scots, its use in Glaswegian vernacular, in contrast to Scottish Standard English, is higher, and therefore more characteristic. As we can see in the poems, it is a recurrent feature in the dialect and therefore any time there is verbal negation in the poem, it shows this form of negation.

We find five examples of verbal negation in the last three poems, which are *wouldn't* as 'widny', *didn't* as 'didny', *won't* as 'wullny', *doesn't* as 'dizny' and finally, *can't* as 'canny'. The most striking difference between the way Leonard spells the word and the usual spelling in Scottish slang or Scots, is that instead of having 'nae' at the end, the poet uses 'ny' which more closely reflects the actual pronunciation [nɪ]. This could be so that the reader knows that the vowel is the front close-mid vowel [ɪ], and does not confuse it with a more open one which the spelling /ae/ could suggest.

5.3. Lexical features:

10. Lexical items

Scots dialects have many non-standard words of everyday use and technical terms derived from Old English, Old Norse and Old French, among others. Its lexical items are a relevant characteristic that differentiate Scots dialects from other regional dialects of English,

and even Standard Scottish English, which does have a considerable number of words that come from Scots such as *loch* or *dreich*.

In the case of Glasgow, Glaswegian or Glasgow patter is highly influenced by Scots in comparison to Scottish Standard English, and therefore, many of the common slang or Scottish words that are found in the city are characteristic of the broader Scottish dialect.

The poems reflect the presence of unique lexical items in Glaswegian, which is why there are many local terms in the poems. Even though those words already differ in their spelling from Standard Scottish English, Leonard, occasionally, changes their spelling to capture their pronunciation.

The following list consists of first Leonard's idiosyncratic spelling of the term, followed by the standard English spelling and an occasional comment on the colloquial spelling registered in the list of words of the Glasgow patter (see appendix II). '(A)h' *I* in its many forms ('ahd' *I'd* or 'ahmaz' *I'm as*), 'ah no' *I know* usually spelt as 'anno', 'geezyir' usually spelt as 'geesa' meaning *give me a* and in the case of the poem meaning *give me your*; 'yirsell' *yourself* usually 'yersel'; 'YIZIR' *you(s) are* usually spelt as 'youse' meaning *you all* which also appears in the poem as 'yiz' *you(s)*; 'THIMORRA' *tomorrow* usually 'the morra'; 'tay' *to* usually 'tae'; 'nay' *no*; 'burd' *girl or woman (bird)*; 'day' *do*; 'wee' *small or little*; 'merr' *more* usually 'mair'; 'ootma' in the poem *out of my*; 'whit' *what*; 'dayn' *doing* from 'dae' *do*; 'yir' *your* usually spelt as 'yer', and finally 'patir' *patter* which can be spelt in different ways in Glaswegian.

The peculiar spelling of these lexical items in Glasgow further indicates how standard English orthography does not explicitly reflect the pronunciation of some words in certain accents or dialects, resulting in speakers adapting the spelling in order to reflect the way they speak in the written form.

6. Conclusions

As the background literature (section 3) of the paper shows, dialect writing has been highly present in English literature for many centuries and is highly connected to the linguistic scene of the country. Its frequent use as a means to convey a stereotypical and humorous role in a character, reflects the political and social connotations language bears in British society. The division between standard and non-standard dialects or accents not only distinguishes people's geographical origin but also their social status. Thus, this situation is reflected in artistic products such as literature, which has also been used to challenge the prestigious versus non-prestigious connotations of language and the people they are associated to.

The case of Scottish literature is a relevant example of this pronouncement against this linguistic hierarchy, since Scottish writers have used dialect writing not as a means to represent a humorous character, but as a way of conveying their identity which is highly connected to their language. This shows how closely related a person's speech and their identity are, not only in terms of the language they speak that being English, French or Catalan, but also the different dialects or accents within one language which are highly indicative of a person's individuality.

The analysis section of the paper examines a way in which writers portray their own dialect. It is by manipulating the standard orthography that one can achieve remarkable phonetic representations of their speech. One of the questions mentioned in the 'Dialect in Literature' section addresses the inconsistency and variability found in dialect writing. In *Six Glasgow Poems*, there are many inconsistencies, of which one example is 'no' being used in the poem to represent both *no* and *know*. These inconsistencies are one more way of depicting people's speech which, unlike written language, is filled with diversity and variation, and

therefore it can be argued that the dialect writing in these poems successfully reflects the spoken word of an individual.

Furthermore, Tom Leonard's poems reflect the poet's high sensitivity towards language, shown in the way in which he portrays characteristic features of his dialect, for which he has received such admiration throughout the years. Leonard's accurate representation of Glaswegian and a consequential successful representation of his voice, indicates that anybody's voice, whether standard or not, is worthy of being represented and is capable of producing an artistic product as well as claiming that his background is as valid as any other source of inspiration to come up with something as beautiful and as highly respected as poetry is.

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Appendix I. Original poems by Tom Leonard and their transcription into Standard English. The superscript numbers indicate the sections in which these spellings are analysed in the paper.

The poems

THE GOOD THIEF

heh⁸ jimmy
yaw¹right ih
stull⁶ wayiz urryi⁴
ih

heh⁸ jimmy
ma right insane yirra⁴ pape
ma right insane yirwanny^{4x2} us jimmy
see it nyir⁴ eyes
wanny⁴ uz

heh

heh⁸ jimmy
looklik⁸ wirgonny^{4x2} miss thi⁴ gemm⁸
gonny⁴ miss thi⁴ GEMM⁸ jimmy
nearly three a cloke⁷ thinoo^{4,8,10}

dor²k init
good jobe⁷ theyve gote⁷ the lights

hey Jimmy
you're alright, eh?
still with us, are you?
eh

hey Jimmy
am I right in saying you're a Pape
am I right in saying you're one of us Jimmy
see it in your eyes
one of us

(interjection)

hey Jimmy
looks like we're going to miss the game
going to miss the GAME Jimmy
nearly three o'clock the now

dark isn't it
good job they've got the lights

SIMPLE SIMON

thirteen⁵ bluddy years wi thim³ ih
no even a day aff^{7,10}
jiss⁴ gee⁶ im³ thi⁴ fuckin heave
weeks noatiss nur⁷ nuthin
gee⁶ im³ thi⁴ heave
thats aw¹

ahll¹⁰ tellyi⁴ sun
see if ah¹⁰ wiz⁴ Scot Symon
ahd¹⁰ tell thim⁴ wherry² stuff thir team
thi⁴ hole fuckin lota thim⁴
thats right

thirteen bloody years with him eh
not even a day off
just give him the fucking heave
weeks' notice and you are nothing
give him the heave
that's all

I'll tell you son
see if I was Scott Simon
I'd tell them where to stuff their team
the whole fucking lot of them
that's right

a bluddy skandal thats whit⁴ it iz
a bluddy skandal

sicken yi⁴

a bloody scandal that's what it is
a bloody scandal

(it would) sicken you

COLD, ISN'T IT

wirraw¹ init thigithir^{4x2,6} missyz
geezyir^{2,4,6,10} kross

we are all in it together missis
give me/us your cross

A SCREAM

yi⁴ mist yirsell^{4,10} so yi⁴ did
we aw¹ skiptwirr^{2,4} ferz njumptaffit^{4,7,10} thi⁴ lights
YIZIR¹⁰ AW¹ PINE⁸ THEY FERZ THIMORRA^{4,10}
o it wizza⁴ scream
thaht big shite wiz⁴ dayniz³ nut

you missed yourself so you did
we all skipped our fares and jumped off at the lights
you(s) are all paying these fares the morra (tomorrow)
ah it was a scream
that big shite was doing his nut

tellnyi⁴ jean
we wirraw^{1,2,4} shoutn backit⁴ im³
rose² shoutit⁴ shi widny⁹ puhllit furra² penshin⁴
o yi⁴ shooda seeniz³ face
hi didny⁹ no wherry^{2,4} look

telling you, Jean
we were all shouting back at him
Rose shouted she wouldn't pull it for a pension
oh you should've seen his face
he didn't know where to look

thing iz tay¹⁰
thirz nay¹⁰ skool thimorra^{4,10}
thi⁴ daft kunt wullny⁹ even getiz³ bluddy ferz

the thing is too
there's no school the morrow (tomorrow)
the daft cunt will not even get his bloody fares

THE MIRACLE OF THE BURD⁵ AND THE FISHES

ach sun
jiss⁴ keepyir⁴ chin up
dizny⁹ day gonabootlika^{8x} hawf¹ shut knife
inaw⁸ jiss⁴ cozy⁸ a burd^{5,10}

luvur^{3,5} day¹⁰ yi⁴
ach well
gee⁶ it a wee¹⁰ while sun
thirz a loat⁷ merr^{2,7,10} fish in thi⁴ sea

Ah son
just keep your chin up
doesn't this day going about like a half shut knife
I know just cosy (cuddle) a bird

love her, do you?
ah well
give it a short while, son
there's a lot more fish in the sea

GOOD STYLE

helluva hard tay read theez init
stull⁶
if yi⁴ canny⁹ unnirston⁴ thim⁴ jiss⁴ clear aff^{7,10} then
gawn⁸
get tay¹⁰ fuck ootma^{8,10} road

ahmaz^{8,10} goodiz⁴ thi⁴ lota yiz^{4,10} so ah^{8,10} um
ah⁸ no^{8,10} whit^{4,10} ahm^{8,10} dayn¹⁰
tellnyi⁴
jiss⁴ try enny a yir^{4,10} fly patir^{4,10} wi me
stick thi⁴ bootnyi⁴ good style
so ah^{8,10} wull⁶

'helluva' hard to read these isn't it
still
if you can't understand them just clear off then
go on
get the fuck out of my road (way)

I'm as good as the lot of you so I am
I know what I'm doing
telling you
Just try any of your fly patter with me
stick the boot in your good style
so I will

Appendix II. List of common slang and Scottish words found in Glasgow issued by the University of Strathclyde, Glasgow.

Glasgow Patter (Glaswegian)

Here are some common slang and Scottish words that you may encounter during your time here:

Scottish Slang	English
A wiz like	I was like
Aff	Off
Ah am/ no	I am/ no
Anaw	As Well
Anno	I know
Aw	All
Awfie	Awful
Aye	Yes
Aye Right	Expression of disbelief
Baltic	Very cold; describing the day
Banter	Lively, humorous conversation, with teasing remarks
Batter	To beat up
Belter	To be great, fantastic
Bevvy	Drink
Bit	A place; often somebodies house
Blether	A chat
Boak	Vomit
Bolt	Go/run away
Bonnie	Pretty, Beautiful
Burd	Female
Cannae	Can't
Cauld	Cold
Ceilidh	A social event involving Scottish music and country dancing.
Chancer	A person who takes risks and is cheeky
Chankin'	Cold
Claes	Clothes
Coo	Cow
Crabbit	Bad-tempered, angry
Da	Dad, father
Dae	Do
Daftie	Idiot
Didnae	Didn't
Dinghy/ied	To ignore or ignored by someone
Diz(nie)	Does(n't)
Donner	A walk
Doon	Down
Drap	Drop
Drookit	Soaking wet
Dug	Dog
Eh	What?
Eejit	Silly Person

Emdy	Anybody
Fae	From
Feart	Scared
Fitba	Football
Fiver	Five pound note
Footie	Football
Fur	For
Gaun	Going
Geesa	Give me a
Geggie	Mouth
Gies	Give
Ginger	Referring to Irn Bru
Glaikit	Clueless, stupid
Glesgae/Glesga	Glasgow
Gonnae	Will/can you
Goat	Got
Gob	Mouth
Grannied	Scored no points (in a game)
Greet(in)	Cry(ing)/moan(ing)
Hame	Home
Haud(in')	Hold(ing)
Haud yer wheesht	Stop talking
Hawn	Hand
Heid	Head
Heavy	Used to emphasis
Hee Haw	Nothing/ empty
Hen	Girl/woman
Hing	Thing
Honkin	Smelly/ dirty
How (no)?	Why (not)?
Hud(nae)	Had(n't)
Hunner(s)	Hundred(s)
Intae	Into
Intit (no)?	Isn't it?
Isnae	Isn't
Jammie	Lucky
Jannie	Janitor
Jist	Just
Kin	Can
Ken	Know
Laddie	Boy, male
Lassie	Girl, female
Loch	Lake
Loupin	Very sore

Lugs	Ears
Mad wae it	drunk
Ma(ssehl)	My(self)
Maw	Mum
Mair	More
Maist	Most
Manky	Dirty
Mental	Insane, wild
Messages	Grocery items
Mibbe	Maybe
Mind	Remember
Mince	Rubbish/ nonsense
Mingin'	Horrible, disgusting
Minted	Rich/ wealthy
Mockit	Horrible, disgusting
Mon then	A challenge to a fight
Motor	Car
Muppet	Idiot
Nae	No
Nae danger	No bother/ way/ chance
Naw	No
Numpty	Idiot (endearing)
Oaf	Off
Oot	Out
Patter	Banter
Peely-Wally	Looking pale
Piece	Sandwich
(That's) Plenty	(That's) Enough
Poke	Paper Bag
Polis	Police
Pure	Really (descriptive emphasis)
Quality	Great/ excellent
Ragin'	Very angry
Scooby	Clue
Scran	Food
Sesh	A night out drinking
Simmer Down	Calm down
Skedaddle Aff	Scurry away
Skelp	To hit/ smack something/one
Skint	No money/ poor
Solid	Hard, difficult, tough
Square go	Asking for a fight
Steamin'	Drunk
Swallie	Swallow
Tad	A little
Tae	To
Tan	Drink quickly
Taps Aff	Tops off (due to heat)
Tatties	Potatoes
Telt	Told

The day/ morra/ night/ noo	Today/ Tomorrow/ Tonight/ right now
Tidy	Beautiful/ stunning/ lovely
Toaty	Small
Toon	Town
Troops	Friends
Tube	Idiot
Wabbit	Tired
Wan	One
Wallap	To hit something/one
Wee	Small/ little
Wee man	Mate, friend
Wean (Wayne)	Child
Well	Very
Whit	What
Whitey	Sick
Windae	Window
Wis(nae)	Was(n't)
Wit ye like	What are you like
Ya Dancer	An expression of joy
Yaks	Eyes
Yaldi	An expression of joy
Ye(rsel)	You(rself)
Yer	Your
Yin	One
Youse	You all