



Facultade de Filoloxía

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Linguistic Diversity in
Scotland

Language distribution, social
attitudes and identity

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Xuño 2015

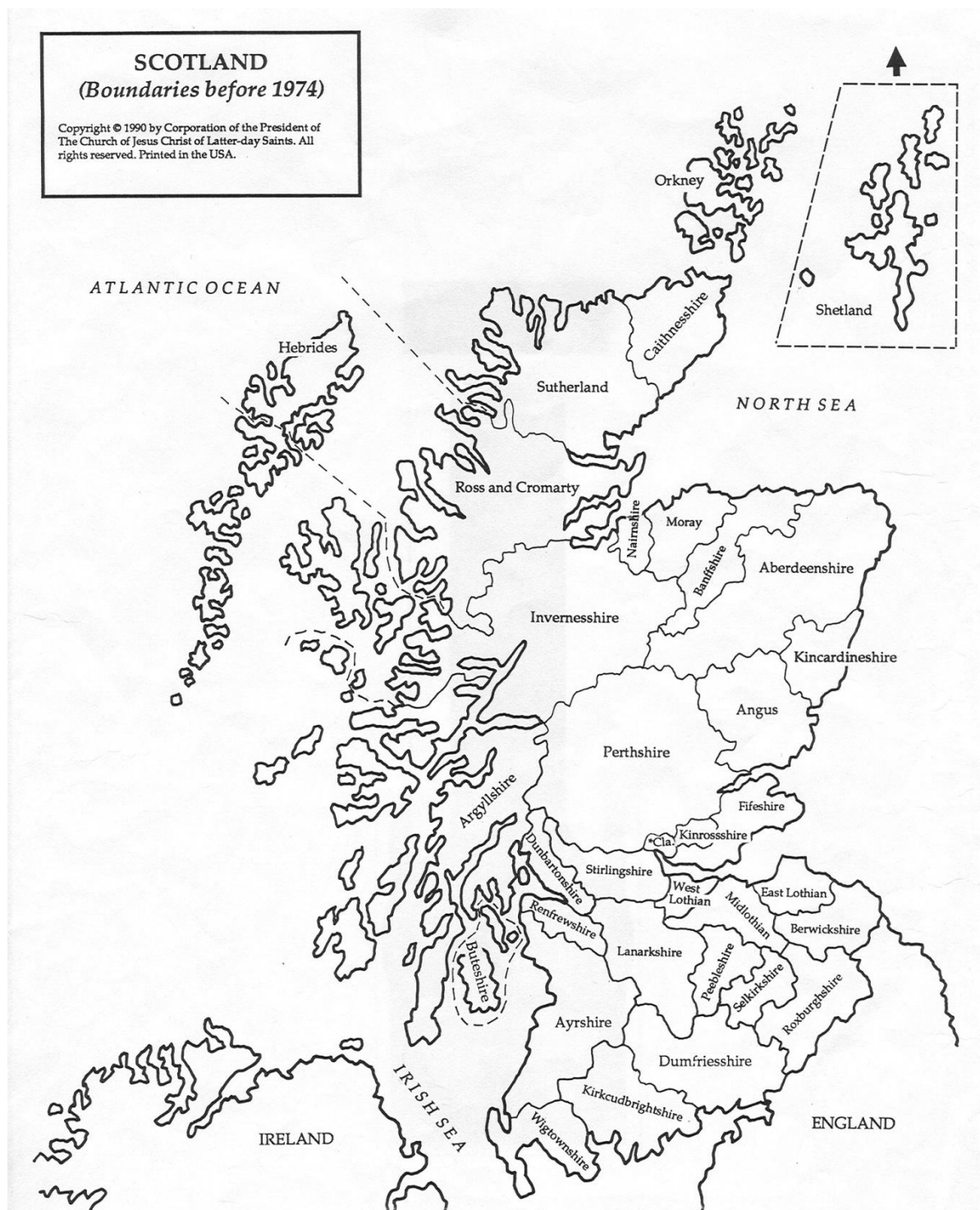
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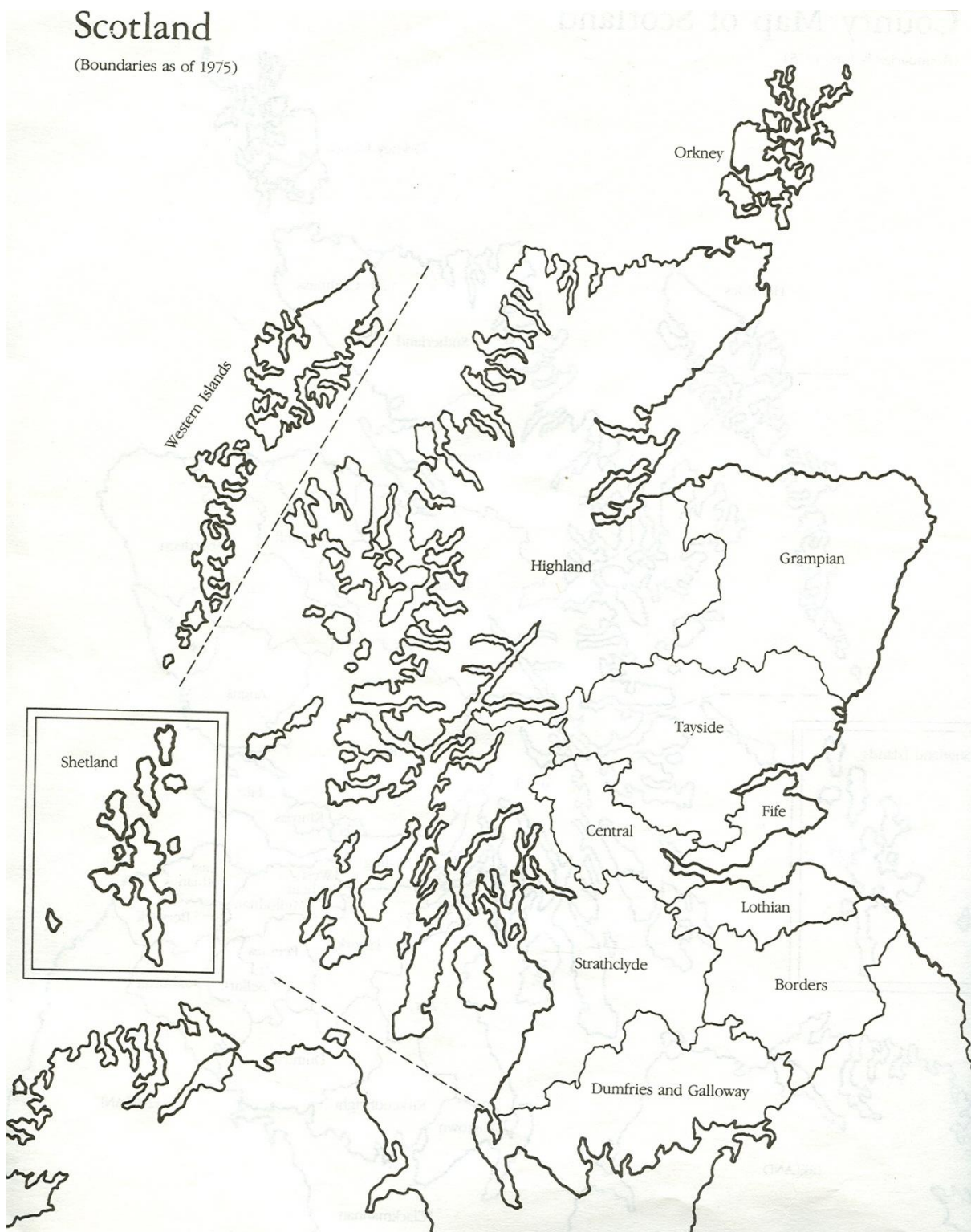
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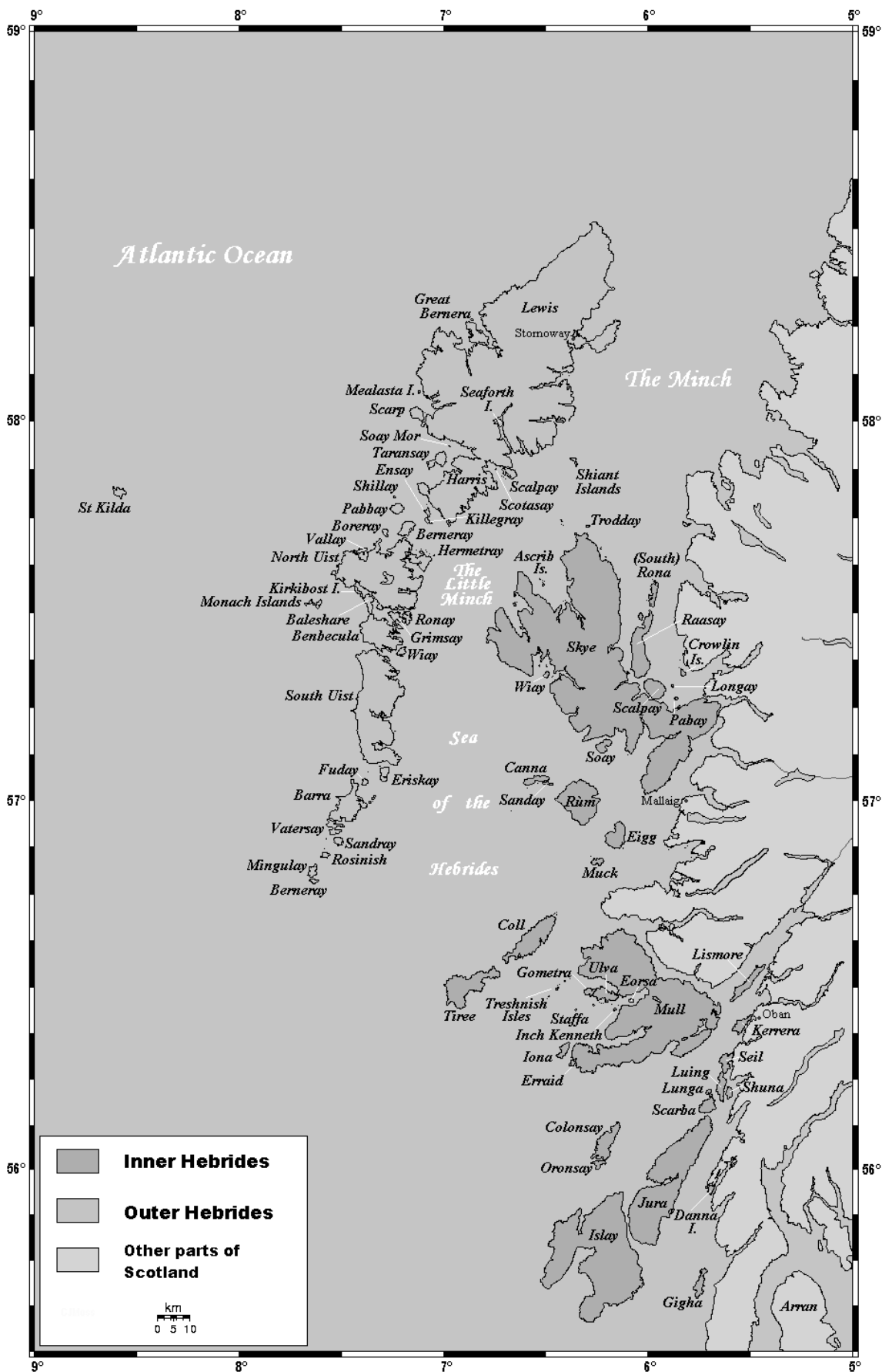


Map 1. Map of Scotland before the reorganization of counties in 1974. Source: https://familysearch.org/learn/wiki/en/images/2/28/Map_of_Scotland_Counties.jpg

¹ Since some of the sources used for this dissertation refer to the regions and counties of Scotland prior to the reorganization of 1974, a map before and after 1974 will be provided.

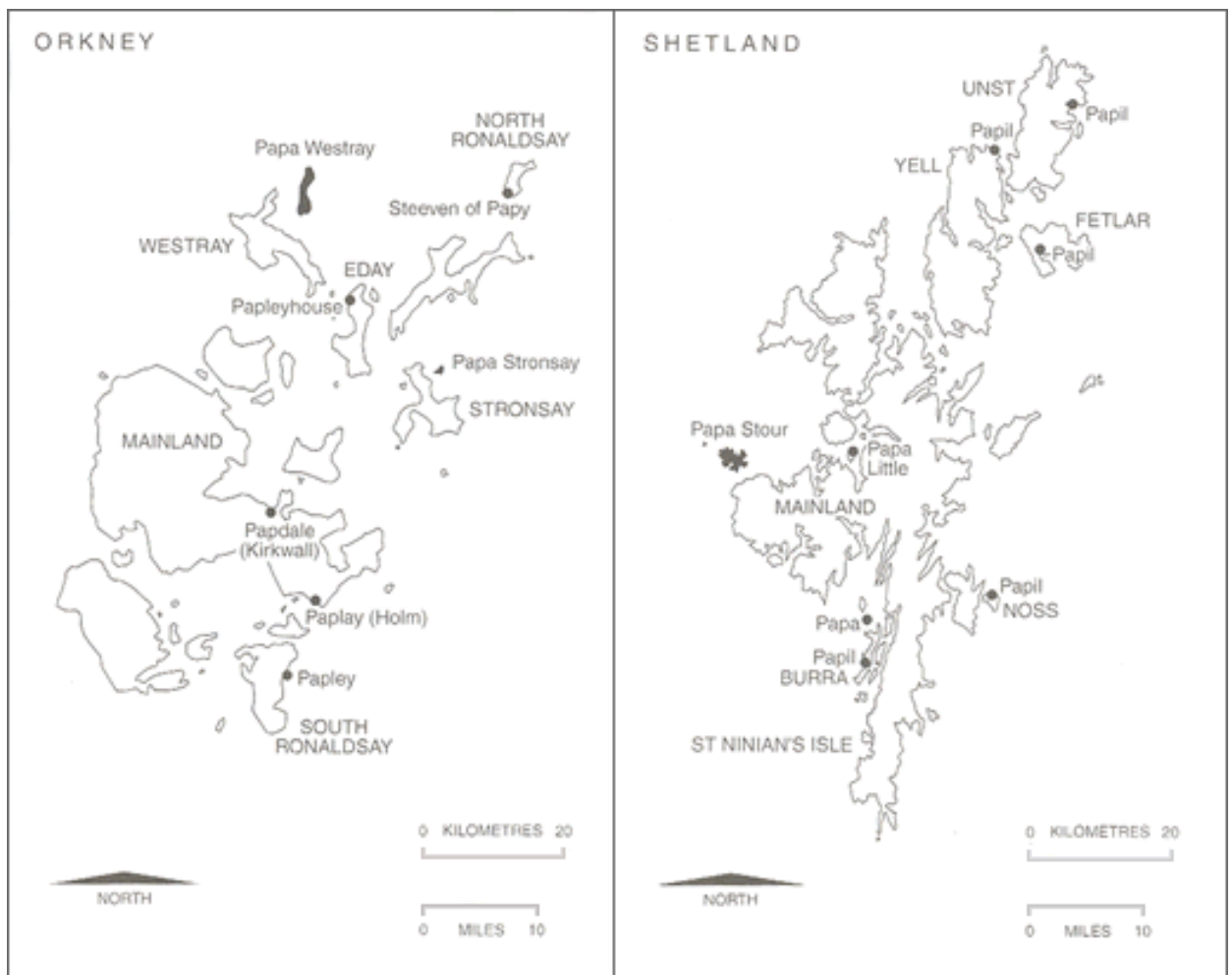


Map 2 Map of Scotland after 1974.
Source: <https://familysearch.org/learn/wiki/en/images/c/c3/Scotland1974%2B.jpg>



Map 3. Map of the Hebrides.

Source: <https://familysearch.org/learn/wiki/en/images/c/c3/Scotland1974%2B.jpg>



Map 4. Map of the islands of Orkney and Shetland.

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Source: <http://www.touristnetuk.com/northern-ireland/images/map-country.jpg>

Chapter 1. Introduction

After centuries of historical and political alliances, colonialism and emigration between different nations, most of today's speech communities can be considered multilingual. In most cases, the disparities in status and functions of these languages leads to their unbalanced distribution amongst speakers. This particular phenomenon is known as diglossia within the field of Sociolinguistics. Diglossia can be understood as the situation in which two varieties of the same language or two languages (the prestigious, or High, and the vernacular, or Low) are used in the same speech community, usually complementing each other in function (Holmes 1992:32; Meyerhoff 2011:108, 118). Up to this day, Scotland has been affected by diglossia in four different contexts: (i) Gaelic and Scots; (ii) Norn † and English; (iii) Scots and English; and (iv) Gaelic and English. As a consequence, the different speech communities in Scotland have been dissevered and stereotyped depending on the language that they spoke; hence, giving rise to very diverse and opposed attitudes towards language.

With three national languages in use (Scottish Standard English, Scottish Gaelic, and Scots), and many other non-native languages, multiculturalism and multilingualism are, to this day, two of the most salient characteristics of Scotland. Given the power and spread of the English language today, the survival of two minority languages like Gaelic and Scots presents itself as both unfathomable and intriguing. Although marginalized and in constant competition with the prestigious language, both indigenous varieties persist in a diglossic context with English, and are the perfect example to illustrate the influence that political, socio-economic and historical forces have on language. Scotland's linguistic ecology, thus, renders a very complex sociolinguistic map in which heritage, ethnicity, and power intertwine to yield the different constructions of the Scottish identity today. Paradoxically, in the advent of the 2014 Scottish Referendum, all independence claims seemed to focus on economic and political factors, leaving the notions of nationalism and linguistic independence aside. It is out of a desire to understand the role that the indigenous languages play on Scottish society, as well as the different relationships between these languages and their speakers, that this dissertation came into being.

In order to understand Scotland's current linguistic situation, it is important to comprehend the changes that the Scottish society has undergone in the past. With this purpose in mind, the following analysis has been divided into three different parts that address both historical and sociolinguistic matters, providing a complete overview of Scotland's past and present

linguistic ecologies: Chapter 2 approaches the historical development of the Scottish nation; Chapter 3 addresses the development of the main indigenous languages of the country; and Chapter 4 focuses on today's distribution of languages and the policies pertaining the two minority languages of Scotland. A set of conclusions to this study (Chapter 5) and two additional appendixes containing press articles on the opinions and attitudes towards Gaelic are also provided at the end of this dissertation.

In this study, a special emphasis has been placed on the case of Scots, with the biased perception that this particular language shares some historical and sociolinguistic features with Galician. From a more personal point of view, this study arises from my desire to grant a language, and its people, with the recognition and prestige that they deserve. From a linguistic point of view, however, my study also tries to address the ongoing debate surrounding the linguistic nature of Scots, as well as to shed some light onto the hypothesis that prestige and power can outshine ethnicity and belonging. In an attempt to understand the concepts of language, dialect, identity and nation within the Scottish debate, a brief overview of the speakers' attitudes is also provided to illustrate the arbitrariness behind the labels of language and dialect legitimizing Max Weinreich's famous statement that "a language is a dialect with an army and a navy".²

² It is believed that Weinreich first heard this quote from one of the students attending his lectures and incorporated it later on in one of his publications: "YIVO and the problems of our time" in 1947 (Notes in *Language in Society* 1997:469)

Chapter 2. The history of Scotland

To better understand Scotland's current linguistic ecology, one should first navigate through its history, for it is in the very roots of the nation that we can find an explanation to present day attitudes and power relations. In order to simplify the journey, this section will be divided into three historical periods corresponding with the three major speech communities through history: the Gaels, the Scots and the English. The first period, thus, comprises the first Gaelic invasions (fifth century) until the Norman Conquest in 1066; the second period, ranges from the twelfth to the fifteenth century and coincides with the heyday of the Scottish Nation; and finally, the last period goes from the early sixteenth century onwards.

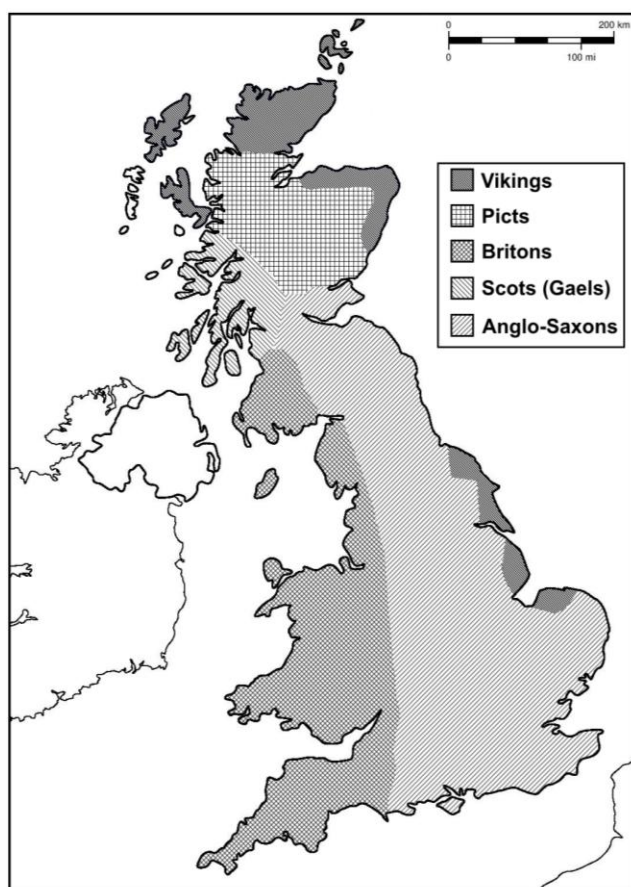
2.1. The Gaels

The first period in the history of Scotland encompasses the very first Celtic settlements during the times of Roman rule and the later era of Gaelic dynasty. Before the arrival of the Gaels,³ Britain was already home to different Celtic tribes of Belgium (the *Belgae*) and Gaul provenance, who later divided into different kingdoms and tribes across the entire territory (Chadwick 1986: 64-5; Rankin 1996:214; HÓgain 2003:155). Many of these tribes were subjected to Roman rule, leaving the land “divided into two sharply contrasted regions, the Latinized South and East, [and] the barbarian North and West” (Trevelyan 1964: 34). The territory north of Hadrian's Wall, also known as *Caledonia* by the Romans, was home to the Picts, or the ‘painted ones’ (HÓgain 2003:191; Mitchison 2000:6; Trevor-Roper 2008:4), who to this day are considered as one of the first peoples to have inhabited Scotland.

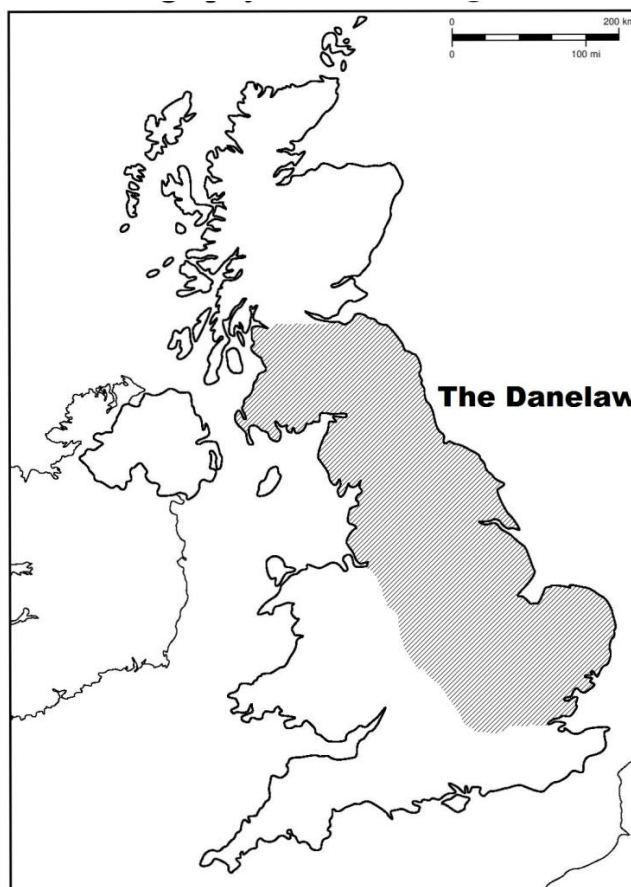
The first Scots settlements in Britain date from the fifth century, when the Celtic people from Northern Ireland invaded Scotland (Chadwick 1970:76). The period that followed this first invasion is marked by the ongoing confrontations between the Scots and the Picts, which will culminate in the absorption of the Picts, the creation of the unified Kingdom of Alba in 834, and the consequent spread of the Gaelic language and culture (Hearn 2010:101; McColl Millar 2012:1952). This period also witnessed the recurrent arrival of foreign peoples who shaped and changed the distribution of the land: the Anglo-Saxon Invasions (410 A.D) in the coastal regions of the South-East and eventually in the Lothian, and the later Scandinavian Invasion of the eighth century.

³ In this first section the terms Gaels and Scots are used indistinctively to refer to the same group of people (the *Scotti* from Northern Ireland, who invaded northern Scotland).

With the arrival of these tribes Scotland became home to many new different peoples that mixed with the locals and spread across the territory. By the end of the eighth century, the land encompassed five different cultural and political groups of old and new origins: the Scots in Argyll, in the west coast of the territory; the Britons (Celtic Welsh peoples), below the Forth and Clyde line and to the West; the Anglo-Saxons in the eastern coast, up to the Clyde and parts of the Lothian; the Picts, on the east to the north of the Clyde; and a few Scandinavian settlements in the Northern and Western Isles and intermittently down the western coast of Scotland (Hearn 2000:100). From the early nineteenth century onwards, England suffered a series of continuous Scandinavian Invasions (Trevelyan 1964:37-76) that culminated in the establishment of the Danelaw, a Viking settlement alongside the north and eastern coast of the archipelago (Baugh & Cable 2002:85) that divided the country into two important groups: Norn and Anglo-Saxons.⁴



Map 6. Distribution of England after the eighth century



Map 7. Map of the Danelaw.

⁴ All the maps and figures from this section onwards have been made by me.

2.2. The birth of the Scottish Nation

Until the eleventh century, Scotland held a Gaelic dynasty, spreading from the Highlands to the present border with England (Leith 1983:158). However, the nature of the Scottish territory changed drastically in the years following the Norman Invasion of 1066. Although there was no Norman Invasion north of the wall, the incursion of Norman forces in English territory had a significant effect on Scotland: the territories north of the border became a haven for all those escaping Norman rule, strengthening the ties between the English and the Scots and initiating a slow process of Anglicization of the Scottish crown and church (McClure 1994:27-28). It is during this second historical period that the Scottish language and people start to arise and distinguish themselves from their neighbours up north (in the Highlands) and south of the border.

By the thirteenth century a great number of Norman-English and Flemish nobles acquired lands in Scotland, setting up new religious and economic centres. These economic centres, the *burghs*, opened up Scotland to foreign markets, resulting in an increasing number of skilled handworkers migrating from England, Scandinavia, northern Germany and Holland (McClure 1994: 28; McColl Millar 2002:1953). In time, the Gaelic character of Scotland faded into the new religious, economic and political structures of the Norman feudal system (McColl Millar 200: 109) and the cohabitation of these different peoples brought about a slow process of assimilation. As Leith (1983:158) puts it, “[g]radually the influence of Gaelic contracted to the Highland area while southern Scotland developed a culture that was not Celtic, but Germanic, deriving primarily from Anglo-Saxon”. As such, the clan-based culture and traditions of Celtic Scotland were reduced to the most isolated northern and mountainous regions of the land –where burghs were also less frequent, and economic progress was scarce – outlining what is now one of the most fundamental characteristics of Scotland, the so-called “North and South divide” (McClure 1994:30; Hearn 2000:101).

The Golden Age of medieval Scotland, brought about by the new feudal system, saw its decline in 1286, with the death of Alexander III, the last of the Scottish Kings, and the later disappearance at sea of the new heir to the throne (the Maid of Norway) in 1290 (Trevelyan 1964:217). By the end of the thirteenth century the atmosphere was one of complete political instability. Subjected to the constant claims to the throne by the English King and the Scottish barons, the country started to fragment (Hearn 2000:102). The period from 1296 to 1371, also known as the ‘Wars of Independence’ marks the beginning of a long series of hostilities

between Scotland and England that will see the birth of Scottish Nationalism with the iconic figures of William Wallace and Robert the Bruce (Trevelyan 1964:218-19; Hearn 2000:102). It will be in 1314, with the defeat of the English at the Battle of Bannockburn, and the consequent signing of the Declaration of Arbroath in 1320, that the animosities between the two peoples will briefly come to an end, granting Scotland political autonomy.

Nevertheless, Scotland's Independence was won at a heavy price and for the next two centuries, Scotland remained "a desperately poor, savage, blood stained land of feudal anarchy, assassination, private war and public treason, with constant Border warfare against England" (Trevelyan 1987:220). Short after Bannockburn, the interests of the English king shifted towards the acquisition of French territories. The beginning of the Hundred Year's War between England and France, however, did not bring peace to Scotland. The Scots, loyal to the *Auld Alliance* established with France in 1295 to stop the incursions of the English King, Edward I, kept their hostilities with the English (Bonner 2002:5-6), either by sending men to support the French troops (Bonner 2002:19), or by invading English territory while the English troops were in France (Trevelyan 1964:185). The *Alliance* reached its zenith in 1558, with the union of the French and Scottish Crowns under the marriage of Mary, Queen of Scots, and King Francis II. Nevertheless, that was but the decline of the historical bond between the Scots and the French. The beginning of the Protestant Reformation in Scotland, and the later signing of the Anglo-Scottish peace treaty of Edinburgh in 1560 will see the end of the Franco-Scottish alliance (Trevelyan 1987:332-33; Bonner 2002:29).

2.3. The union with England

The year 1559 is considered the birthmark of both modern England and Scotland, and the threshold to the last historical period in which the Scottish nation is slowly assimilated by the English. The advent of the Reformation and the consequent break from the catholic rule drew Scotland and England together, putting an end to their long lasting hostilities and starting an alliance of mutual defence (Trevelyan 1987:237). The religious bond brought by the Reformation was later followed by a monarchic one, when in 1603 King James VI succeeded his cousin Elizabeth in the throne, becoming King of both England and Scotland and consequently moving the Court from Edinburgh to London (Trevelyan 1987:278; McColl Millar 2012:1956). In 1707 Scotland and England unified their Parliaments, resulting in the economic and colonial expansion of Scotland, albeit the economic benefits of the Union meant a loss of complete and total political independence. Even though Edinburgh kept its

position as the legal and cultural capital, it was no longer the seat of political power, for all governmental decisions and functions affecting Scotland were carried out in Westminster (Trevelyan 1987:358; Leith 1983:160; McColl Millar 2012:1957).

For the next three centuries, the Scottish Parliament remained under the control of Westminster, but during the twentieth and twenty first centuries the Scottish society starts to witness a change. The last few centuries have seen a recurrent increase in the claims for devolution and independence: in 1978, the UK Parliament passed a Bill on devolution, leading to a referendum in 1979. After this first plebiscite, and with the growth of support for devolution, a new referendum was held in 1977 resulting in a positive response for the establishment of an independent Scottish Parliament. In 1998, the UK Parliament passed the publication of the Scotland Bill and in 1999 both the Scottish Parliament and the Scottish Executive were officially created (Richard, Bechhofer & McCrone 2005:151, Web of the Scottish Government 2003). Most recently, the political and economic disagreements between England and Scotland have resulted in the Referendum for Independence celebrated in September of 2014. Although independence was not achieved at the referendum (with 55.25% of votes against it, according to the Scottish Government), the future of Scotland is still uncertain. The results of the last election (May 7, 2015), in which the Scottish National Party won 56 of the 59 seats in Scotland (*BBC News* May 8, 2015) sweeping away their Labour counterparts, has provided Scotland with a new and louder presence in the House of Commons. Although it is still soon to talk about the future of Scotland, it is safe to predict a more promising future for the territory, and maybe, in time, a new debate to revisit independence.

Chapter 3. The languages of Scotland: a historical approach

Languages, like armies, spread relentlessly across territories and peoples, reducing the opposition to a minimum, sometimes even absorbing it completely. The advances of Gaelic—followed by Scots and eventually English over the centuries—, can clearly exemplify the army-like march of languages across Scotland. A close analysis of Scotland's linguistic history brings into light the underlying fact that socio-political and economic forces can overshadow the notions of ethnicity and heritage; thus making blood and belonging come second to prestige and power.

To better understand the distribution of languages in Scotland in the present day, one must first examine the linguistic situation preceding the imposition of English in the British Isles (Leith 1983:153-158). In like manner, this chapter will approach the linguistic development of Scotland from a three-fold perspective, dividing it according to the cultural and ethnic predominance in each region of the country: Scots (in the South East, or the Lowlands); Gaelic (in the North-West, encompassing both the Highlands and the Hebrides), and Norn † (in the North-Eastern Islands of Orkney and Shetland) (Corbett, McClure & Stuart-Smith 2003:5-7; McColl Millar 2007:1-5). Scottish Standard English (henceforth SSE), which is spoken across the entire country, will be included in the first section, for its closer proximity to Scots.

3.1. Scots and Scottish Standard English

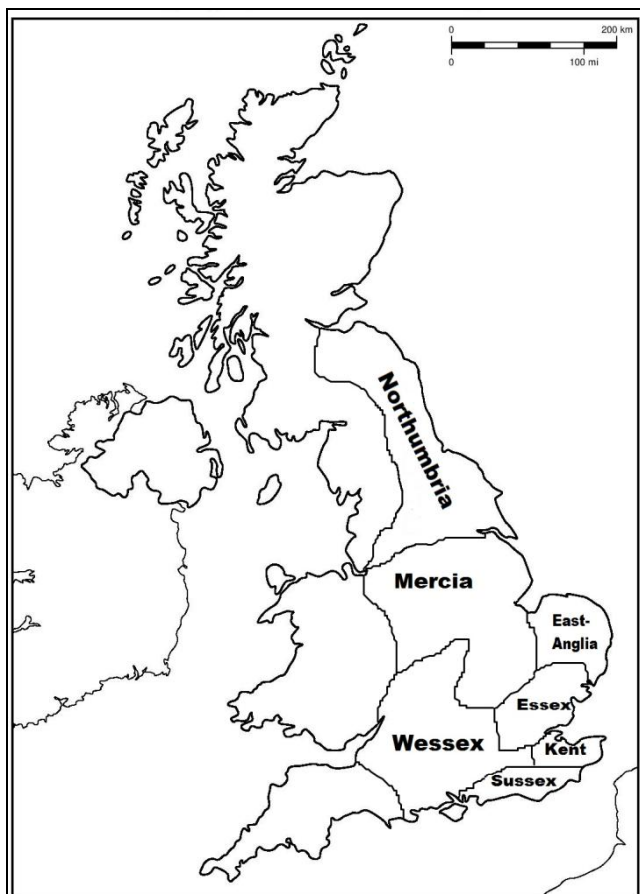
Present-day speakers tend to overlook and simplify the history of Scots, falling into the misconception of the language being a lesser or dialectal representation of English –or rather of Scottish Standard English (McClure 2009: 13). However, a close study of the linguistic characteristics and history of the language will prove that Scots and SSE are two equally important sister varieties; furthermore, as stated by Johnson (2007:105), the value of Scots has transcended to modern age, having no equal amongst the different Anglo-Saxon varieties:

Scots is the only Germanic variety in Britain besides Standard English ever to have functioned as a full language within an independent state (the Kingdom of Scotland) and to have been used for all domains that implies, including a good-sized and sometimes brilliant corpus of literature from the early fourteenth to the early

seventeenth centuries, exhibiting a range of genres, styles and registers comparable to any Western European national language.

3.1.1 Historical development

Scots is considered to be a descendant of the Northumbrian dialect of Old English (Leith 1983:154; McClure 1994:23; Johnston 2007:105) that originated in the territories north of the river Humber—encompassing both English and Scottish land—after the arrival of the Germanic tribes in 410 A.D. The establishment of Anglo-Saxon settlements in Britain, and the mixing of the invaders with the natives of the land, resulted in the creation of seven independent kingdoms (the Heptarchy) and four different dialects: Northumbrian, Mercian, Kentish, and West Saxon (Baugh & Cable 2002:47). It is between the years 525 and 633 A.D, with the establishment of the Kingdom of Bernicia, that the Northumbrian dialect starts to spread over the border and into the south-eastern region of Scotland, present-day Lothian (Corbett, McClure & Stuart-Smith 2003:5; Johnston 2007:105). By the end of the seventh century, the Anglo-Saxons in Northumbria had extended further north, reaching the region where Edinburgh stands now, absorbing the native Celtic population (Leith 1983:158), and creating what could be considered as one of the first non-Gaelic speaking pockets in Scotland at the time (Sandred 1983:13).



Map 8. Map of the Heptarchy

After the Scandinavian Invasions of the eighth century the linguistic situation of both Scotland and England suffered important changes. Following their first raids, the Vikings established what is now known as the Danelaw, a number of settlements along the Lothian and the north and eastern regions of England that followed the Scandinavian rule (Baugh & Cable 2002:85). The cohabitation of Anglian and Scandinavian peoples resulted in the hybridization of the two languages, and the consequent development of a heavily Norse influenced or “Anglo-Norse” dialect (McClure 2009:52). It is with the Norman Invasion of England, and the consequent wave of English immigration to Scotland, that the Anglo-Scandinavian dialects start to spread throughout lowland Scotland, gradually replacing the Celtic language:

At this period the language of the King of Scots and his courtiers was Q-Celtic, the ancestor of present-day Gaelic. When Norman French rule was established in England, the English princess, Margaret, fled to Scotland to marry the widower, King Malcolm III (...) [bringing] with her an entourage of English-speaking courtiers (Corbett, McClure & Stuart-Smith 2003:6-7).

Nevertheless, it is during the reign of one of Margaret's sons, David I (1124-1153), that the Anglo-Scandinavian dialect, already introduced in the church and the court, starts to make way into other public spheres. With the founding of the *burghs*, the newly established Germanic variety gains more and more significance among the Celtic-monolingual natives, and the first correlations between language, prestige and social standing start to arise (McCull Millar 2009:196; 2012:1954). Even though some nobles had possibly resolved to learn Gaelic to favour trade and communication with the locals, it was more common for the Scottish people to accommodate to the linguistic needs of the newcomers. Given the economic clout of the burghs, and the prestige attributed to those speaking the Germanic variety (the English nobles and their northern-dialect-speaking servants), the Gaelic speaking peasantry saw the transition into the new variety as a necessity, a way to ascend in the social ladder and provide a future for their children (McCull Millar 2007:109, 2012:1954). Hence, the distribution of languages in Scotland was not established on equal footing. This first associations of language with specific domains, social classes and activities lead to a diglossic distribution of languages with Gaelic as the Low variety and Scots (or Anglo-Scandinavian) as the High variety (Ferguson 1959, quoted in McCull Millar 2007:109). However, this uneven distribution did not last long, forasmuch as the central and lowland regions of Scotland soon became monolingual, adopting the early ancestor of Scots as their *lingua franca*:

[I]n a classic case of 'language shift' [Scots] began to spread into a broader range of communicative functions, written as well as spoken. It became the everyday language of the aristocracy as well as the bourgeoisie and the peasantry. It continued to spread north and west. Over time, it also gained a name, *Inglis* (Corbett, McClure & Stuart-Smith 2003:8).

The Scottish society, redefined by diglossia, underwent an important language shift that divided the country. Thus, the Lowlands, became Scots monolingual, as Gaelic started to be slowly replaced by Old Scots, both in the domestic and the public domains; the Highlands, although still Gaelic monolingual, also suffered from the spread of Scots, and started to retreat into smaller communities, eventually becoming the stereotypical image of the rural and traditional Low Language-speaking community. The progressive arrival of immigrants from England and other European regions—mainly speakers of cognate Germanic varieties such as Dutch and Low German—also heightened the linguistic disparities and contributed to the shift from Gaelic to the Anglo-Scandinavian variety in an attempt to facilitate communication (Unger 2008:94; McCull Millar 2009:197).

The period ranging from the thirteenth to the fifteenth centuries can be considered as the Golden Age of the Scots tongue. It is during this time that Scots acquires the dimension of “full national language, showing all the signs of rapidly developing all-purpose speech, as distinct from English as Portuguese from Spanish, Dutch from German or Swedish from Danish” (Murison 1979, quoted in Corbett, McClure & Stuart-Smith 2003:9). By the fourteenth century Scots reaches the highest and most prestigious spheres in the country, becoming the language of Parliament in 1390. In 1425, laws, which were traditionally written in Latin or French, start to be translated into the Germanic vernacular (Sandred 1983:14; Corbett, McClure & Stuart-Smith 2003:8) and by the beginning of the fifteenth century, Scots flourishes as the language of prose and poetry with propellant figures such as William Dunbar and Gavin Douglas.⁵

During the second half of the fifteenth century Scots became the main language of the Scottish nation, and by the turn of the century, Britain had already developed two distinct national languages: English in the Kingdom of England, and metropolitan Older Scots in the Kingdom of Scotland (Aitken 1984b:518). At the same time as English started to regain its status south of the border, recovering the prestige seized by the French language after 1066, Scots started to move towards a standardization process, taking the metropolitan norm of Edinburgh as model and implementing a highly distinctive spelling system (McColl Millar 2012:1956).

With the unfolding of the sixteenth century, Scots started a process of decline, eventually losing the opportunity to become the national emblem of Scotland. The introduction of printing in Scotland, in 1508, and the Reformation are considered to be the main triggering factors for the gradual weakening of Scots. The later Union of the Crowns, however, marks the complete decline of the language. The introduction of printing resulted in the dilution of Scots into English, inasmuch as mutual intelligibility between both languages in their written forms permitted printers to incorporate English spellings into Scots texts, starting a slow process of assimilation (McClure 1994:33-34; 2009:11). Additionally, the ongoing hostilities between England and Scotland after the Hundred Year’s War (1337-1453) and the consequent deaths of King James IV and James V in battle, lead to an important loss of social coherence and the decline of aristocratic power. As a result, the weakening of the crown brought about a

⁵ It is under the leading figure of Douglas that the language gets a name of its own (*Scottis*), claiming its independence from the term *Inglis*, which was used both to denote the English and Scottish language before (McClure 2009:8, 2012:32).

decline of aristocratic patronage and an important reduction in the production of literature in Scots (McColl Millar 2012:1956). By 1525, with the advent of the Protestant Reformation, Scots starts its unstoppable advance towards Anglicization (Corbett, McClure & Stuart-Smith 2003:11). With no Scottish translation of the Bible, English made its way into every school, church, and household of Scotland by means of the Authorized Version of the Bible of 1611. The consequence of this was that all literate Scots were able to read and write in English (Leith 1983:159).

The Union of the Crowns in 1603 and the departure of James VI, and most of his court poets to England, marks a point of no return for the Scots language. The lack of a stable and homogenous standard spelling in Scots prompted most Scottish writers to accommodate their language to the prescriptive canons of English (McClure 1994:35-6). By the end of the century, a large number of Scottish aristocrats started to move south of the border; inasmuch as Scots remained alive in its spoken form, it was completely replaced by English in writing, so that “[b]y the end of the 1600s, most texts in Scotland were written after the English fashion” (Corbett, McClure & Stuart-Smith 2003:11).

With the Parliamentary Union of 1707, English became the official language of the whole country in the fields of law, administration, education and church, both in its spoken and written forms (Murison 1979, quoted in Corbett, McClure & Stuart-Smith 2003:12). This change restricted the use of Scots, relegating it to the status of Low language. Thus: “[Scots] became a language which was widely suppressed. It continued to be used extensively in communities in spoken form, but not when communicating with outsiders or in formal or published writing” (Unger 2008:95). The changes in language use were followed by changes in the attitudes towards language. Not only did Scots lose its previous prestige, but it also started to be seen as a dialect, “not a separate language system, but rather a divergent and inferior form of English” (Corbett, McClure & Stuart-Smith 2003:12). By 1750 Scots started to be mocked and ridiculed within and without Scotland and, since the language was regarded as rustic, many members of the middle classes tried to eradicate all regional traces from their speech. In like manner, the philosopher David Hume, among other intellectuals of his time, started a compilation of ‘scotticisms’ to be avoided. At the same time, a wide number of dictionaries, grammars, pronunciation guides and spelling books started to arise, in an attempt to level out all regional characteristic and achieve a ‘refined’ Scottish pronunciation akin, but not identical, to the English one (Corbett, McClure & Stuart-Smith 2003:13; McColl Millar 2012:1955). The growing prejudice towards Scots resulted in an almost complete absence of

Scots in all literary publications. By that time, English was considered a more polite language than Scots; writing in Scots was an act with overt and inescapable cultural and political implications: a deliberate gesture of support for a denigrated tongue (McClure 2009:34). From the seventeenth century onwards, Scots ceases to be the prestigious or even national language of the country. The cultural predominance of English provides for the incorporation of a new inbetween variety, SSE, that will see its zenith with the Education Act of 1872 that abolishes the use of Scots and all other English varieties (Leith 1983:160).

Although Standard English made its way into Scotland by means of the Scottish elite, who followed the trends, norms and conventions used in the capital south of the border, it was under the form of SSE that the language managed to spread, both socially and geographically. SSE was, thus, created as a compromise between London Standard English and Scots, as a consequence of the natural interference of the former by means of religion, literature and politics (McClure 1994:79).

From the eighteenth century onwards, SSE started to position itself as the vernacular language of the country, favouring the increasing stigmatization of Scots. Although Scots had already lost its status as the national language, there were still important figures that advocated for the use of Scots and fought for its permanence and revival both in its literary and vernacular use. Robert Burns and Walter Scott stand out amongst the many writers who attempted to resurrect the language in this period. Their ongoing support to the traditional language made it possible for the later revival of old Scots ballads and folk-songs during the nineteenth century, and a more recent cultivation of poetry and prose in the twentieth century with authors such as MacDiarmid, Irvine Welsh, Robert Crawford or Lewis Grassie Gibbon (Leith 1983:1960; McClure 2009:41).

With the establishment of English as the global language of media and communication in the twentieth century, the presence of Scots in education and other areas of life became more and more reduced. However, the changing nature of culture and the pervasive influence of radio, cinema, television and the Internet is what poses the biggest threat to the revitalization and survival of traditional Broad Scots at the moment (Corbett, McClure & Stuart-Smith 2003:14). The nature of Scots has made little progress in the last few years. From the 1930s on there have been some attempts at language planning, but none of them have been especially successful. There is still no standard orthography for Scots and, it still does not benefit from the same support that Gaelic receives from the Scottish Government—as evinced

by the rejection to include a question on Scots in the Census of 2001 (McClure 2009:78-9)—. Despite the fact that Scots remains to be considered a dialect by a large portion of society, and that it has made very little progress in attaining any recognition as a national symbol, there is still hope for the revival of the language, as more research and private initiatives starts to arise. In addition, the adherence of Scots into *Europe's Charter for Regional or Minority Languages* in 2001 (McClure 2009:42-43; McColl Millar 2012:1959), the rise to power by the Scottish National Party in 2007, and its re-election in the latest poll of 2015 might, in the long run, bring some hope for the introduction of new linguistic policies and changes in education and culture

3.1.2 Linguistic features of Scots

Due to the many years of close contact between Scots and English and their shared origins as dialects of Anglo-Saxon languages, the lines that once distinguished Scots from English have now been blurred. Although there is considerable variation between Standard English and its different varieties, the relationship between Scots and Scottish Standard English is not that distant, and there is a wide number of similarities as regards syntax, grammar, phonology and morphology (McClure 1994:63, 75; Unger 2010:100-101). Consequently, a large number of linguists have placed Modern Scots at one end of a language continuum with Scottish Standard English (Catford 1975, quoted in Sandred 1983:20; Aitken 1984b:527; Unger 2008:91-92; Unger 2010:100).

The most salient characteristics of Scots (and as an extent SSE) can be found in its phonology and morphology; as a matter of fact, it is in its sound system (encompassing both pronunciation and prosody) that Scots presents its biggest variation. As McColl Millar puts it, “[i]n their ‘broadest’ forms, these varieties are not intelligible to monodialectal speakers of any English variety spoken outside Scotland or Ulster” (2007:1). Notwithstanding the considerable variation within each dialect and accent of Scots, there are also some common denominators, or shared features, in all varieties: (i) all Scots accents are rhotic, and realize the /r/ sounds in postvocalic position (as compared to English RP); (ii) all Scots varieties present a slight variation in both the vocalic and consonantal systems, with the addition of substantial monophthongization (Unger 2010:11).

Based on Aitken’s model of the Scot’s vocalic scheme of 1977 (Aitken 1977 in McClure 1994:63-64), later on refined by McClure in 1992 (Bergs 2001:11), the Scots’ Vowel System today can be described under the following categorization:

	Modern Scots	Examples/ Classes
Long vowels	/ʌi / and /aː e/ /i/ /e/ and /i/ /e/ /o/ /ɪ /and /eː/ /(w)i/, /e/, /ø/	buy meet gate – meet hame coat use, fruit, mune, do
Short vowels	/ɪ/ /ɛ/ /a/ /o/ /ʌ/	bit get, bird cat coch cut
i-diphthongs	/i/ /ʌi/-/e/ /oi/-/ɔi/ /ʌi/	meet wait boy bite
u-diphthongs	/ju/ /a/, /ɔ/, /o/ /ʌu/	few caught louse

The consonantal system of Scots, however, does not differ much from Present-day Standard English; and only two items have been added to the inventory of Scots: “/x/ and /ʌ/ (or /hw/ as it is sometimes transcribed). /x/, the voiceless velar fricative, occurs mainly in native Scots words such as *loch* [lox] (‘lake’) and *daughter* [doxtɪr], in personal names, i.e.: *Lachlan* [laxlən], *Brenchin* [brexin] and sometimes in analogy, also in Greek or Latin words, i.e.: *epoch* [ipɔx], *parochial* [paroxiəl]” (McMahon 2000, quoted in Bergs 2001:13).

Another identifying trace of Scots is its distinct and variable orthography, which can also be considered as important setback for its consideration as a fully-fledged national language. The lack of an officially recognized standard whether in its spoken or written form, results in an increasingly anarchic spelling. A clear example of this can be found in the *The Concise Scots Dictionary*, where it is common to find multiple spelling options under every entry, “frequent variants would include: <ou, ow, ol, oul, oo, u, o, ue> <ch, th, cht, tht, chtht, tch, ch, gh, ght>, <au, aw, al, aul, a> etc. (McClure 1994:63-4)

When it comes to grammar, Scots also follows different patterns. Amongst the many singularities of the language, we can highlight a few salient characteristics: (i) the use of the

negative marker *na* or *nae*, instead of *not*, in clitic position (i.e. *canna* ‘cannot’; *willna* ‘will not’) (McClure 1994:70-3; Unger 2010:100-1); (ii) the preservation of the traditional second person pronoun *thou*, in most Scots dialects; (iii) the general preference for invariable –s endings in all forms, including the first person singular, and particularly in narratives, as in example (1), statements of general or universal truth, as in (2), or with third person plural subjects, as in (3):

(1) *When I tells him* (McClure 1994:70)

(2) *And I says to John* (Unger 2001:26)

(3) *Whit fowk speaks Scots* (‘which people speaks Scots’) (Unger 2010: 92)

And, (vi) the use of the modal *can* with other modal verbs in periphrastic constructions:

(4) *I’ll no can come.* (ibid.:72)

(5) *Do they need to can do it?* (ibid.:73)

In addition to its particular grammar features, Scot is known to have a very rich and varied vocabulary that makes the language stand out among its sister Germanic varieties. The different languages and cultures with which Scots came into contact through the years resulted in an important number of changes and borrowings that are unique and exclusive of this particular language (McClure 1994:75; Corbett, McClure & Stuart-Smith 2003:4-5).

Of all the languages that have influenced Scots over the years, French can be regarded as one of the biggest contributors. Due to the longstanding alliance that both countries shared until the late sixteenth century the contact between French and Scots spanned for more than four centuries. This results in borrowings in different semantic fields. Some examples include: *ashet* ‘plate’, *bien* ‘good’, *braw* ‘brave’, *douce* ‘quiet’, *dour* ‘hard’, *fash* ‘to enrage’, *gigot* ‘a leg of mutton’ and *tass* ‘cup’.

There is also considerable influence of Dutch in the vocabulary of Modern Scots, due to the trading partnership that Scotland and the Netherlands had throughout the Middle Ages. Therefore, words like *craig* ‘neck’, *cuit* ‘ankle’, and *dowp* ‘bakside’, *callant* ‘fellow’, etc. are of Dutch origin.

The Scandinavian tongue also had a strong impact on Scots, especially on the dialects of the Northern Isles and Caithness, leaving some very basic words of Norse origin in present-day Scots (i.e.: *gar* ‘make’, *maun* ‘must’, *tyne* ‘lose’, *big* ‘build’, *hing* ‘hang’, *lass*, ‘girl’, *nowt* ‘cattle’ and *kilt*. (McClure 2009:50-2)

3.1.3. Linguistic features of Scottish Standard English

As was mentioned in the previous section the close contact between Scots and Scottish Standard English has led both languages to share some basic phonological characteristics: (i) Scottish English, like Scots, is rhotic. In addition, as a consequence of rhoticity, both varieties present a shortening of the vowels preceding the <r> sound; (ii) speakers of Scots and SSE also have the same vocalic system (/ i, e, ɛ, ɪ, ʌ, a, u, o, ɔ, ai au, ɔi/), and do not make the distinction that RP speakers make between /æ/ and /a:/, /ɒ/ and /u:/ or /ɒ/ and /ɔ:/; (iii) in addition, SSE as well as Scots, keeps the traditional velar fricative /x/ (Trudgill & Hannah 1994:93-95).

The differences between English Standard English (ESE) and Scottish English are particularly salient in phonology. However, there are also important differences affecting both grammar and lexis. It is mainly the use of idiomatic expressions, vocabulary and other grammatical uses that distinguishes SSE from the written form of Standard English south of the border or across the Atlantic (Corbett, McClure and Stuart-Smith 2003:2). Some of these examples, which are usually more frequent in conversational and colloquial form, are: (i) the use of *have* as an auxiliary verb, replacing *do* in yes-no questions when *do*-support is usually required:

(6) SSE: *Had you a good time last night?*

ESE: *Did you have a good time last night?* (Trudgill & Hannah 1994:97)

(ii) the scarcity of *shall*, *may*, *ought* (McClure 1994:88) and the tendency for *will* to replace *shall* in most contexts:

(7) SSE: *Will I put out the light?*

Others: *Shall/Should I put out the light?* (Trudgill & Hannah 1994:97)

(iii) or the recessiveness of the negative clitic: *it's not*, *you'll not* rather than *it isn't*, *you won't* (McClure 1994:88).

The differences between Scots and Scottish Standard English seem to become less noticeable with the passing of time, a fact that had already become noticeable more than fifty years ago:

The distinction between Scots and English is not always so clear-cut or so easy to maintain as might appear. The terms Scots and English refer to two linguistic poles

between which there is an almost infinite possibility of dialect mixture. (Catford 1957, quoted in Sandred 1983:20).

3.1.4 Scots and Scottish Standard English. The hypothesis of a language continuum

The creation of Scottish Standard English has had a very negative impact on the Scots language over time, its homogeneity and overall prestige has lead speakers to move gradually towards it in almost every context, relegating Scots to a secondary and even almost inexistent usage (Aitken 1984b:519). From its early incursion in the country, Scottish English was linked with the ideas of progress and prestige, whereas Scots was downgraded to the archaic and traditional representation of rural life and folk literature (McColl Millar 2012:1959). This early example of diglossia has prevailed until the present day, although predisposition towards Scots and SSE is subject to other factors like context, register and setting.

The uneven presence of both languages in everyday speech is reinforced by the fact that, to this day, Scots does not count with either a unified orthography, a standard form, an academy of the language, nor enough governmental support (McClure 2009:42-43). Therefore, the awareness, recognition and acceptance of this particular variety is rather limited (Nihtinen 2008:71). Conversely, SSE is recognized as an autonomous variety of English within the United Kingdom, while also benefiting from the additional status of national standard throughout the English-speaking world (McClure 1994:79). As a consequence SSE has gradually outshone Scots as the main national language, and deprived it from any possible recognition as a symbol of nationalism and ethnicity.

Opinions about the status and prestige of Scots seem to be very polarized, with a wide variety of speakers being unaware or reluctant to accept its nature as a different variety (Nihtinen 2008:71; McClure 2009:13). In like manner, the tendency in the last decades has been for speakers to ponder over the notion of Scots being a vulgar, slovenly or bad way of speaking English (Aitken 1984b:529), and SSE being the prestigious or correct variety. Although there is considerable literature advocating the individuality and value of the Scots language (McClure 2009; Glen 2010; McColl Millar 2011), proving its independence from a linguistic rather than historical standpoint has been rather difficult; as a matter of fact, linguists like Görlach (1998) and Falconer (2007) have considered the language to have been dialectalized by English (Kirk 2011:193). Although there is support for the idea of the linguistic independence of Scots based on its display of local variation (McClure 2009: 14) and its distinct and very rich vocabulary (Unger 2010:100), most problems in classifying it as

either language or dialect arise from the fact that Scots does not follow Heinz Kloss' criteria or classification of languages. According to Kloss, languages can be usually classified as either *abstand* languages (or languages by 'disparity') or *ausbau* languages (or languages by 'development'). The former term makes reference to the degree of difference or separation between languages; the latter to the degree of uniformity or standardization undergone by the language (Kloss 1967:29-41; McColl Millar 2009:13-17). As seen before, Scots does not fall into any of these two categories: it does not have a unified and regularized orthography, or any attempts of a language planning in the coming future; and as stated by Görlach (1998:58) Scots is losing its individuality and being gradually absorbed by English: "[w]hereas Gaelic remains undoubtedly Gaelic however much influenced by English, Scots can die an unperceived death by becoming more English all the time".

The high convergence of Scots and English forms in the average Scottish speaker, however, has led an increasing number of scholars to opt for a third option. Thus, escaping from the previous perceptions, many linguists have opted to claim that Scots is, in fact, part of a language continuum with SSE and Scots at both ends of the same spectrum (Catford 1975, quoted in Sandred 1983:20; Aitken 1984b:527; Corbett, McClure & Stuart-Smith 2003:2; Unger 2008:91-2, 2010:100). One support argument for this theory is that most speakers can purposely switch from one variety to the other depending on different sociolinguistic variables (Aitken 1984b:523; McClure Millar 2009:17), showing a higher or lower predominance of Scots forms according to register, region and style. A passive and unconscious use of Scots forms (*covert Scotticisms*) is usually more frequent in familiar and informal contexts; with the same forms being replaced by their English counterparts in formal or academic contexts – and even more prominently within specific social classes-. The active or intentional use of Scots expressions with a complete awareness of their Scottishness (*overt Scotticisms*) is, paradoxically, restricted to formal context and, more particularly to those who would classify themselves as Scottish Standard Speakers on a regular basis (Aitken 1984a:107).

As stated by Aitken (1984) and Johnston (2007), in the last centuries Scots has moved from occupying a position of fully-fledged vernacular language to a more intimate or domestic variety that has been partially diluted with English. The increasing prestige and linguistic advantage of English in the territory, which in the 2011 Census reached a total of 98.6% speakers, attests to the very unbalanced distribution of both languages in everyday communicative contexts. The overall presence of English in education, politics, the media and

pop culture, and the limited scope of Scots –mostly used in traditional literature and poetry (Nihtinen 2008:79)-, explains the disparate competences in both languages, and illustrates why speakers from Scotland tend to be more prone to use non-Scots forms. As a result, due to lack of knowledge and/or encouragement, more often than not, Scots is completely relegated to a mere symbolic enticement with touristic, political or ethnic connotations:

[W]hen it seems desirable to claim membership of the in group of Scots, at a Burns Society meeting, let us say –Scottish Standard English speakers will intentionally depart from their regular ‘English’ by selecting Scottish-marked expressions” (Aitken 1984a:107).

In its formal and public use, the Scots language seems to have been relegated to a romanticized position, either acting as a symbol of its historical past, or highlighting the distinctive nature and sense of belonging of their speakers. In its informal, every day private interactions, Scots is usually intertwined with SSE, and does not seem to have a specific symbolic value, fulfilling most of the time a utilitarian function. The systematic neglect and lack of public and governmental support over the last few years has rendered speakers to a state of unawareness and disinformation regarding the nature and uses of their own language, while hindering many attempts of data recollection and linguistic revitalization. In order to understand the complexity surrounding the political and social situation of Scots, a more detailed analysis of the language policies in Scotland, as well as the different attitudes of speakers will be provided in Chapter 4.

3.2 Scottish Gaelic

Scottish Gaelic is a Celtic language that can be classified within the Goidelic⁶ or ‘Q-Celtic branch’ of the Celtic family, together with other sister tongues such as Irish and Manx †. The Gaelic language arrived in Scotland around the year 500 A.D, with the relocation of the Kingdom of the Dál Ríata from present day County Antrim (north-east Ireland), in the Western Highlands of Argyll, and the islands of Scotland (McCauly 1992:137; McKinnon 2007:200). In the centuries that followed, the Gaels expanded rapidly from their kingdom in

⁶ The Goidelic group, in opposition to the Brythonic or ‘P-Celtic’ (where languages such as Welsh, Cornish and Breton† are found) is characterised by retaining the original Indo European / k^w/ sound, later becoming /k/ or /q/; whilst the Brythonic group, on the contrary, turned the IE /q/ into a /p/ (Chadwick 1991:44; McKinnon 2007:202).

Dál Ríata towards the northern and eastern parts of the territory. Propelled by the Columban Church, the Gaelic language also managed to gain ground, eventually replacing the other tongues that were spoken in Britain at the time. The Pict-Scot Union of 843 resulted in the assimilation of the “Irish language” by the Picts. Ultimately, the Gaelic *Scotti* moved into Pictland territory, expelling the natives, and proceeded to expand into other areas of the territory.

Unlike the western and insular regions of the territory, Scotland’s hinterland was not subjected to long-term Scandinavian settlement, which provided for the growth and expansion of Gaelic culture from the ninth century onwards. By the eleventh century the north-east of Scotland had become the heartland of Gaelic language and culture (Gillies 1993:145; McColl Millar 2007:108). The expansionist phase of Gaelic, however, only lasted until the twelfth century, a time when Celtic language and culture had already started to lose ground to Scots with the early annexation of the Anglian Kingdom of Northumbria and the British Kingdom of Strathclyde in the ninth and tenth centuries respectively (McCauly 1992:138). It was in the newly acquired English-speaking territory that “the Scottish Kingship, which had been Celtic tribal, and north-western in origin, became Anglo-Norman, feudal, and south-eastern by choice” (Trevelyan 1987:173).

The shift from Gaelic to English in Lowland Scotland started in 1057, with the dethronement of Macbeth. The new monarch, Malcolm III, who had spent his boyhood exiled in England, and his English wife Margaret, thus started to discard the Celtic character of the monarchy and introduced English language in the Court. The Norman Conquest of England, that followed short after, acted as a reinforcement of this new principle, having a very positive impact on the developing of the incoming new language (Scots) and a negative one on the indigenous culture: Celtic tribalism started a gradual decline and Gaelic eventually retreated into the higher and more marginal areas (McKinnon 1993:491-492; McColl Millar 2007:108-109). The higher presence of *burghs* in the Lowlands prompted a faster acquisition of Anglo-Scandinavian by the higher classes (c.f. Section 2.2.1), making Gaelic lose its pre-eminence both at court and in everyday life. Regarded as “the language of peasantry” (McColl Millar 2007:110), Gaelic began to rapidly lose prestige, initiating a process of language shift that will culminate with the establishment of Scots as the new national language of the country (Corbett, McClure & Stuart-Smith 2003:9)

From the fifteenth to the eighteenth century, both the Scottish and the British Parliaments approved a number of acts aimed at promoting English literacy amongst the Gaelic population. Their anti-Gaelic campaigns resulted in a gradual spread of English, the subsequent disarming of the clans and the prohibition of Highland dress and music. As a result, by the seventeenth century Gaelic had retreated into the Highlands, the Hebrides and the Clyde Islands —what is now known as the Scottish *Gaidhealtachd*, or the Gaelic-speaking area (McKinnon 2007:200). Notwithstanding, it was the Reformation what prompted the decline of Gaelic language and culture. One of the most illustrative attacks of the time, aimed both at the language and its speakers, is found in the Statutes of Iona of 1609, whereby the nobility was encouraged to provide their children with an education in English, so that “the Irish language,⁷ whilk is one of the chief and principall causes of the continewance of barbaritie and incivilitie amongis the inhabitantis of the Isles and Heylandis, may be abolishet and removit” (“the Irish language, which is one of the chief and principal causes of the continuance of barbarity and incivility amongst the inhabitants of the Isles and Highlands, may be abolished and removed”) (McKinnon 2007:144).

The Statutes of Iona set the tone for the years that followed and those early sentiments of rejection spread rapidly among the whole of the population, reaching its most critical moment with the Education Act of 1872, when English was imposed in all Britain. This enforcement resulted in the application of an Anglocentric model of education, leading to a complete break of the Scottish youth from their Celtic roots; thus, “children learned about the history and culture, not of their own societies, but of the English and their empire, in the English language” (Leith 1983:167). The loss of prestige, added to its exclusion from the curriculum, rendered Gaelic to an almost exclusive oral use (McKinnon 1993:493); consequently, the language decreased in number of speakers, and increased exponentially in age, making the threat of language death more present (McKinnon 2007:205).

Although from the nineteenth century onwards Gaelic has slowly made its way back in Scottish education (since 1882 it is possible to take Gaelic in universities as part of a Celtic degree; and there have been several initiatives to promote primary bilingual and monolingual Gaelic schooling in Highland regions like Skye and cities like Glasgow), its presence in familial and daily life has not been able to surmount the dramatic decline propitiated by the imposition of English in the early seventeenth century. A survey conducted by the EU

⁷ Gaelic was sometimes described as the Irish language, due to the fact that Gaelic was brought from Ireland by the *Scotti*.

Euromosaic Project in 1994/5 shed some light into this phenomenon, stating that: “[c]ompared to the use of Gaelic to and between grandparents in previous generations, the use of Gaelic by parents to children was reducing sharply, and between children themselves was becoming minimal” (McKinnon 2007:215). A survey conducted by the Scottish Government in 2011 seems to echo this tendency, reporting only a 2% of fluent Gaelic speakers in the whole country, and a total of 64% amongst them admitting to use the language at home.

The accelerated decrease in the number of speakers from the nineteenth century onwards has been accompanied by a marked geographical redistribution: in 1891 Gaelic reached a total of 254,415 speakers and, in 2011, this figure was reduced to 58,000. The geographical scattering of Gaelic speakers, leading to a decrease from a 89% of speakers residing in the Hebrides in 1981, to a 55% of 2001, can be accounted to three main historical facts: the Highland Clearances of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, by which thousands of Gaelic speakers were evicted from their lands, and forced to migrate to the more industrialized regions of southern Scotland and overseas, like Cape Breton in Nova Scotia (Leith 1983:167; McKinnon 2007:201); the loss of men following the outbreak of World War I; and the increase in education and employment in the Lowlands after World War II that lead to the relocation of speakers (McKinnon 2007:201).

The changes over the last few years have given hope for a slight recovery of the language: in 2006 the newly appointed Gaelic language board, *Bòrd na Gàidhlig*, gave official recognition to Gaelic, and constituted the Gaelic Language Board as a statutory public board and several language plans, with the main objective of enhancing the status of Gaelic, promoting the acquisition and learning of the Celtic language, and encouraging its use, have been approved by the Bòrd (a complete list of all these plans can be found in the following domain: <http://gaeliclanguageplansscotland.org.uk/en/tools-resources/development/plan-portfolio>).

3.3 Norn

Norn, the descendant of the Scandinavian dialect spoken by the early Norwegian settlers, arrived in the northernmost part of the territory and the western isles, with the first Viking raiders (in the late eight century) (Geipel 1971:56). After these first invasions, Norwegian settlements spread all over the north and west of the territory, encompassing Caithness, Sutherland and the Islands of Shetland, Orkney, the Hebrides and Man. Consequently, the

Hebrides belonged to the kingdom of Norway until the middle of the thirteenth century and the Northern Isles (Orkney and Shetland) until the fifteenth century (McCauly 1992:138). While the Hebrides became Gaelic speaking after the disintegration of the Norse Kingdom (in the fifteenth century), the Northern Isles and the north-eastern part of Caithness have never shown any evidence of Gaelic occupation. In these latter territories, however, Norn also succumbed to the pressures of Scots, and the Scandinavian language ceased to be spoken around the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries respectively. Orkney, being closer to the Scottish mainland, was the first one to experience language shift; in the remoter Shetlands, however, the Scandinavian dialects remained to be spoken even after the end of the eighteenth century (Geipel 1971:92-93).

At present, both archipelagos display prosodic features of Scots “with more of the Norwegian than any other accent” (Murdoch 1969, quoted in Geipel 1971:104) and a very specific and particular Scandinavian-based lexis that is strongly related to local and formerly dominant occupations (farming and fishing), elements of everyday life (i.e. flora and fauna), and even cultural and local folklore (McColl Millar 2007:87-88). Amongst some of the linguistic peculiarities of these dialects, it is particularly interesting the variety of euphemisms and *taboo* language that speakers have developed around the fisher folk. This lexis, known as *haaf*-language (from *haaf* < Old Norse *haf* ‘sea’), was used as a secret code to avoid designating specific objects or animals related to seafaring by their names (Konoohuizen 2008:107; McColl Millar 2008:252). Some of these words have prevailed till today, becoming part of their local shibboleth, or forms expressing identity, belonging and distinctiveness among the islanders (McColl Millar 2007:92-93).

Although Scandinavian vocabulary still has an important presence in both insular and northern Scottish English, the cultural and economic pressures exerted from English speaking Scotland, favoured the transition into the neighbouring language. As happened with other languages of the territory (Gaelic first, and then, Scots), the connection between language, power and social class involved the spread of a stigma that linked the usage of Norn with the peasantry; thus, to many speakers, the change towards the English language was seen as a necessity, “a passport towards a more prosperous future” (McColl Millar 2007:128). Inasmuch as English has become the main official language of the British Isles, leaving little space and recognition for minor varieties, it is important to remark that the dialects of northern and insular Scotland have prevailed longer and with less erosion than the varieties of central and southern Scotland (McColl Millar 2007:135). In addition, as noted by Geipel

(1971:107-8), the last decades of the twentieth century have seen an important movement of language revitalization in both Shetland and Orkney, with the political movements of ‘Republic of Shetland’ and ‘Back to Denmark’ (the latter one in the Islands of Orkney). Nevertheless, the prospect of a revival of the Scandinavian vernacular seems very unlikely, especially considering the strong influence that English language and culture has had in all the varieties escaping the norm. The effects of this growing need for homogeneity have already been pointed out by scholars like McColl Millar:

[t]he effects of the inclusion of these areas into a globalised culture and economy have been considerable and have already led to a significant loss of traditional usage – in sound, lexis and structure – which was in daily use until recently (2007:135).

The gradual loss of the distinctive features of these dialects seems to follow a slow but steady pace. An escape from English and a revival of the vernacular Scandinavian varieties seems to be very a farfetched outcome at the moment.

3.4 *Outwith*⁸ Scots: speech communities outside the Scottish heartland

The last two centuries have witnessed an important number of migratory movements from homeland Scotland to different foreign countries, resulting in the transplantation of the Scottish culture and heritage outwards. The Scottish diaspora must be addressed from a two-fold perspective: a first one, going back to the reign of James VI in the seventeenth century, that focuses on the Scots-speaking communities resulting from colonial expansion; and a second one, coinciding with the aftermath of the Highland Clearances of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, which is more closely linked with the displacement of the Gaelic speech communities.

Ulster Scots, or *Ullans*, is the only recognized international form of the Scots language. It was introduced by the Scottish people in the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries, coinciding with the plantations initiated during the first years of King James’ VI/I reign (Montgomery & Gregg 1997:572; Görlach 2002:76). The case of Northern Ireland is remarkably special, for it is the only other region (outside of Scotland) where the Scots language is spoken in the present. Furthermore, it is also remarkable, because it seems to retrace history, going back to the historical link that both countries had established in the fifth century, with the first invasions of the *Scotti* (cf. Section 2.2.1). It was across the same

⁸ *Outwith* is a Scots preposition, meaning ‘outside’ or ‘beyond’ in Standard English.

channel that brought the Celtic language from Northern Ireland into Scotland (the Moyle) that the Scots brought their ‘West-Mid Scots’ to Irish land (Montgomery & Gregg 1997:569).

Ullans has been spoken in the counties of Down, Antrim, Derry and Donegal for more than 400 years (Montgomery and Gregg 1997:569). Its cohabitation with English has rendered the language to a position that resembles that of heartland Scots, in which the notions of language and dialect have been questioned, and brought into debate, giving rise to the notion of a language continuum:

Ulster Scots tends to give way to English today, the logical result of a process of status differentiation that began in the early seventeenth century. This contrasting prestige may be the most prominent fact about their relationship in modern society [...] Through much of Ulster, the two have penetrated one another in innumerable and subtle ways (as Irish Gaelic has penetrated both), and they form a continuum, at one end of which is form a version of tradition Scots that is fully comprehensible only to native speakers (Montgomery & Gregg 1997:570).

Since the 1990s Ulster Scots has become one of the forty languages that was recognized by the European Charter of Regional or Minority Languages. The consequent founding of the Ulster Language Society and the 1998 Good Friday Agreement have also rendered more relevance to the language, increasing its recognition among speakers and favouring governmental support (Görlach 2002:69-70).

As happened with Scots in Northern Ireland, Gaelic found important support far from its heartland. With the increase in emigration following the Highland Clearances, an important part of the Scottish population re-located at the other side of the Atlantic Ocean, bringing with them both their language and traditions. Although the use of Gaelic outside Scotland is still scant, the relevance of heritage and the importance of community and belonging have favoured the maintenance of in-group communities overseas. Nova Scotia (Canada) and Argentina hold two of the most well-known communities of Gaelic, where the language has survived for seven generations now. Other smaller communities, where remnants of Gaelic vocabulary can still be found in the folkspeech of the territory, can be found in New Zealand and disperse regions of eastern North America (e.g. traces of Scots Gaelic language and culture can still be found in the Eastern or Atlantic regions of New Brunswick, Newfoundland and Prince Edward Island), (Foster 1988:112; Dunbar 2005:20; McClure 2009:71; Montgomery 2015).

Chapter 4. Language ecology in present-day Scotland

As seen in preceding chapters, Scotland's multicultural nature has been one of its most salient characteristics through history. The vast diversity of peoples inhabiting the country since its early days has resulted in the formation of a rich and diverse society (according to a study of the Migration Observatory in 2013, 7% of Scotland's population today is from outside of the United Kingdom), with the addition of a very complex linguistic ecology. As a result, the indigenous languages of the land (Scottish English, Scottish Gaelic and Scots) have been cohabitating with the different languages of the non-UK residents for decades now. The open mindedness of the Scottish society towards emigration, being more welcoming than the English and the Welsh, (49% of the Scots are in favour of emigration, whereas 49% and 35% of the English and Welsh are against) has favoured the ongoing arrival of international handworkers, from the UK and other European and non-European countries. The last fifteen years have been particularly relevant inasmuch as they have witnessed the arrival of 63% of today's total number of non-UK immigrants in the territory (Krausova & Vargas-Silva 2013:2). As a consequence of this ongoing immigration, cities like Glasgow or Edinburgh have seen an important increase in the establishment of new speech communities; and non-native languages such as Polish, Urdu and Punjabi have come to form an important part of Scotland's linguistic ecology today, sharing the spotlight with the indigenous languages and their different regional varieties.

When studying the distribution and number of speakers of the national languages, the almost omnipresent nature of English stands out as both an important sociolinguistic fact and a linguistic handicap. Although Gaelic keeps loosing speakers due to the expansion of English, the distinctive nature of the Celtic language has made it possible to maintain accurate and periodical surveys throughout the years. Scots, on the other hand, being so closely related to the dominant variety (Scottish Standard English), has suffered from systematic indifference and concealment. Scots, hence, runs the risk of being completely assimilated by English, both in linguistic nature and in use, presenting an arbitrary and sporadic presence in the polls.

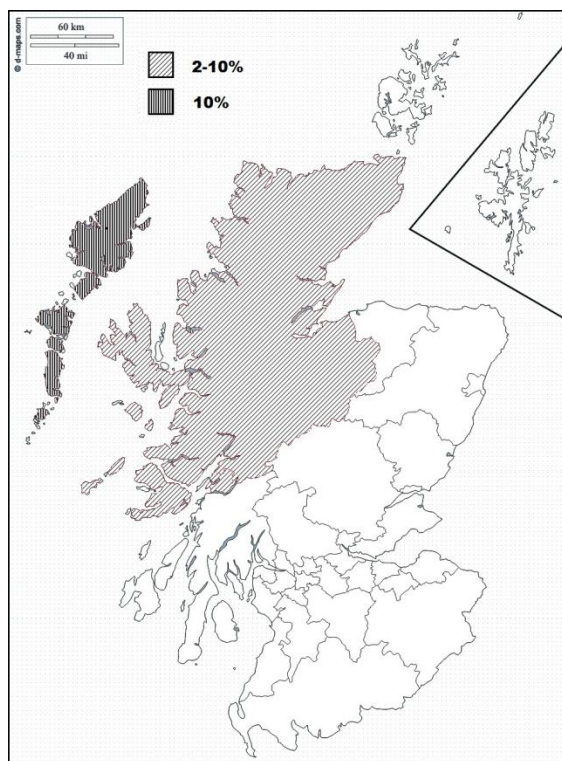
4.1 Language distribution

As history has shown, the tendency in Scotland has been for English to spread across the territory and for Scots and Gaelic to gradually retreat northwards, contracting into smaller speech communities (cf. Chapter 3). The pervasive nature of English, inside and outside Scotland, has overshadowed the interest and usage of other minority languages. According to the 2011 Census the number of people speaking English in Scotland was of 5,044,683 out of 5,118,223, and only a 1.4% (73,000 people) was reported as not being able to speak it well or at all.

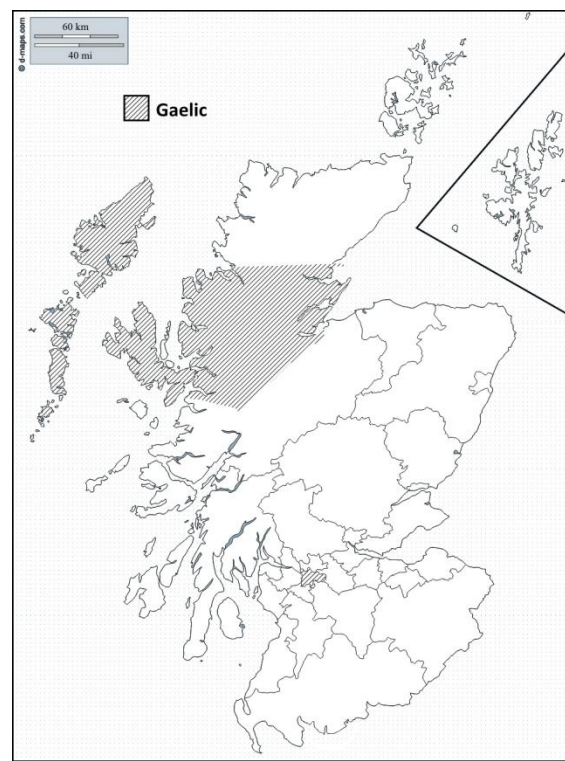
Additionally, the scarce amount of information concerning language use in Scotland has made it very difficult to draw an accurate picture of the current language distribution. The absence of an updated edition of *The Linguistic Atlas of Scotland* (Mather 1977), and the heterogeneous nature of the data provided by sources like the *Ethnologue*, *EWave* and the Scottish Census of 2011, makes it difficult to portray a consistent and up-to-date image on the matter. Both Mather's work and the *EWave* have drawn attention to the fact that Scots is not perceived as a language. The former, specifically, only regards Gaelic and English as fully-fledged languages in Scotland, and considers Scots as a dialect spreading north, east and south of the country (1977:9). This disparity in perception adds complexity to the matter, for not all the surveys work according to the same standards.

4.1.2 Distribution of Scottish Gaelic

According to the 2001 Census, a total of 58,700 people (63,130 when adding those outside the UK) were able to speak Gaelic in the United Kingdom. In 2011, this figure decreased to 57,600 (1.1% within the totality of the UK); out of these speakers, only 32,191 spoke, read and wrote in Gaelic, and the remaining 23,357 were only able to understand it. According to this same Census the Outer Hebrides (with a 10% of speakers) and the Highlands (between 2-10%) held the biggest concentration of Gaelic speakers in the territory. This distribution, however, varies depending on the source; as a matter of fact, the *Ethnologue* lists the north and central regions of the county of Ross and Cromarty, the islands of the Hebrides and Skye, and the city of Glasgow as the main hubs of the Gaelic language.



Map 10 Distribution of Gaelic according to the 2011 Census



Map 9 Distribution of Gaelic according to the Ethnologue Census

A survey conducted by the Scottish Government in 2011 entitled *Attitudes towards the Gaelic Language*,⁹ noted that the use of Gaelic was not strictly correlated with socio-economic group (2011:12). However, it did display some correlation with age, showing that speakers aged 45-54 (49%) are the most likely to come into contact with Gaelic, followed by the ones ranging from 25 to 34 (31%), and those aged 16 to 24 (24%). As for the domains in which Gaelic is more widely used, the norm seems to be the informal setting of the home (64%) and with friends (83%), with a more limited occurrence in more formal environments (28% used Gaelic out and about or at work). Equally important was the information given concerning the presence of Gaelic in everyday life and the impact that this had on society: a 61% of the Scottish population were aware of the usage of Gaelic in the media, and a further 39% in education; a 30% were aware of Gaelic in the music/arts, and 27% in transportation and travel signage. In total around a 39% of the total sample indicated that they came into

⁹ For this research, fieldwork took place during the period 9th to 18th March 2011 and a total of 1,009 interviews were achieved. Interviewing was carried out in 61 of the 73 Scottish Parliament constituencies across Scotland. (Attitudes Gaelic 2010:9).

contact with the Gaelic language nowadays, with most citing television (21%), followed by music (9%), the radio (6%), and others (3%).

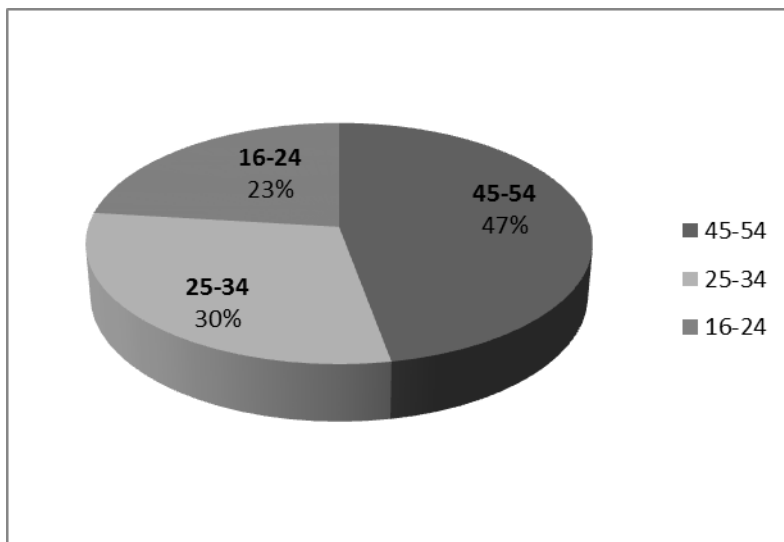


Figure 1. Age groups most likely to come into contact with Gaelic. Data extracted from the 2011 Census

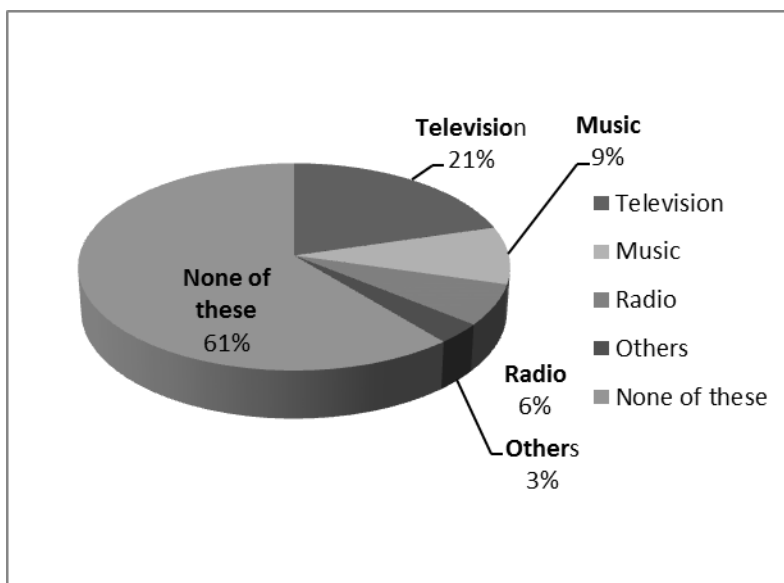


Figure 2 Ways in which speakers came into contact with Gaelic

Although Scottish Gaelic is not recognized as one of the fourteen official languages of the European Union (unlike its sister variety, Irish Gaelic), it has been listed as one of the 40 endangered languages in the *European Charter for Regional or Minority Languages* since 2001; and has had its own language board (the *Bòrd na Gàidhlig*) since 2003. Furthermore, according to the *Ethnologue*, Gaelic has been a Statutory Provincial language since 2005, and

its current status is that of educational, which –according to their own rubric-, means that “it is in vigorous use, with standardization and literature being sustained through a widespread system of institutionally supported education”.

4.1.3 Distribution of Scots

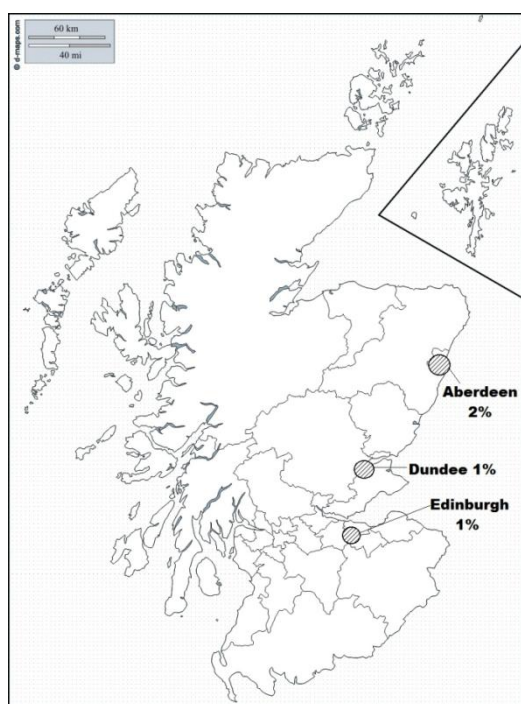
The complex position of Scots within society, having not yet attained enough support from either both governmental and international institutions, nor from its own speakers, makes it even more difficult to trace its use within the boundaries of the territory. Seen by many as part of a continuum resulting from dialect contact over the centuries, Scots does not always stand out as a fully-fledged variety, but rather as a form of “slang” (Paisley 2013), or a compound of vocabulary and phrases that have prevailed from earlier times. As such, and since Scots has only recently been included in the Census questionnaires, it would not be entirely far-fetched to assume that the data that has been made available until very recently provides an inaccurate portrayal of the usage and distribution of Scots within the country, due to a possible and genuine lack of self-awareness from its own speakers:

It is probably fair to say that a good proportion of the population of Scotland, now estimated at some 5,060,000, are potential speakers of Scottish Standard English. Defining the number of speakers of Scots in Scotland, however, is extremely difficult (Smith 2013 in EWave).

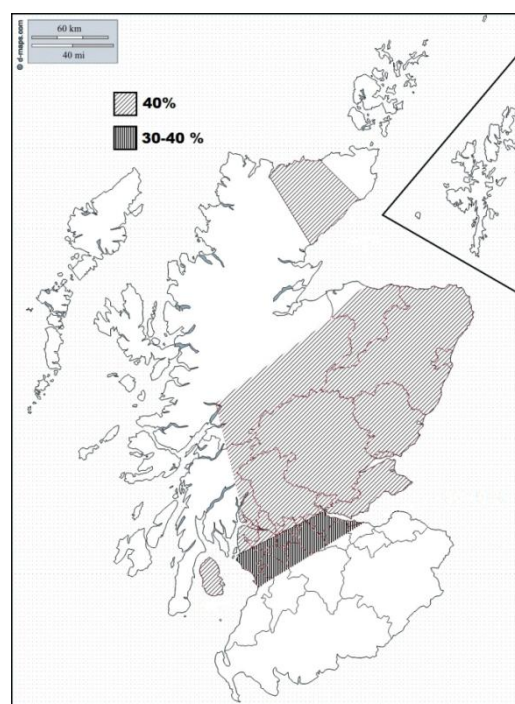
As stated in the *Ethnologue*, in 1999 the total of Scots speakers in the UK was off 90,000 (60,000 in the Lowlands, and 30,000 in Doric, north eastern Scotland); in over a decade, according to the data gathered in the 2011 survey, the number of people who could read, write and speak Scots ascended to 1,224,622 (with only 267,412 out of this total not using it at all). Whether this sudden growth is due to the recent insertion of Scots in the *European Charter for Regional or Minority Languages* in 2001, or the even more recent presence of Scots in the 2011 Census is still debatable. However, it seems that the embryonic recognition of the language as an independent variety has started to have an impact on speakers, rising awareness of the different nature of Scots; and, thus, adding to the prospect for a systematic presence in future surveys, and potentially expanding the use of the language into future generations.

As for its present day distribution, the closeness with Scottish Standard English and the tendency of speakers to code- switch depending on context and situation (cf. Section 3.1.4)

can sometimes make the task of narrowing its use to a specific region difficult. Nevertheless, the data provided by the 2011 Census is a good start to mapping the spread of the language: from a first and superficial approach, the charts on language use list the regions of Aberdeen (2%), Dundee (1%) and Edinburgh (1%) as the ones with a higher number of speakers. A more specific and detailed analysis, provided by the same source, focusing on the percentages of people who *can* use Scots, however, broadens the scope to the regions of Sutherland (40% or more), the Southern Highlands (including the city of Edinburgh, and the Isle of Arran), and the central Lowlands, including the cities of Perth and Dundee (30-40%). Similarly, Scots speakers can also be found in the regions of Ulster (Northern Ireland). The data published in the *Ethnologue* provides an estimate of 10,000 speakers in Ulster; by contrast, the total number of Ulster-Scots speakers registered in the Northern Ireland Census of 2011¹⁰ was of 16,373. As stated by the data on this same Census, an 8.1% of the total of speakers has some competence of Ulster-Scots, while only 0.94% can read, understand the language and speak it on a daily basis.



Map 11. Regions with the highest percentage of Scots speakers according to the 2011 Census



Map 12. Percentages of people who can speak Scots according to the 2011 Census

¹⁰ The most recent Census in Northern Ireland took place on Sunday 27 March 2011, covering an estimate of 14,000 households.

According to a survey called *Public Attitudes toward Scots*,¹¹ published by the Scottish Government in 2010, the domains in which Scots seems to be more present are: (i) at home and with family (67%), (ii) out and about (31%), and (iii) at work (25%). The age group that presents a higher use of Scots in its spoken form, with an 89%, is the one ranging between 55 and 64 years old; conversely, younger groups are more likely to use Scots when writing. As for socio-economic distribution, the survey pointed to the fact that those belonging to higher socio-economic groups were more likely to avoid Scots in speaking, yet more likely to read it. The exact opposite phenomenon was perceived with those belonging to lower socio economic groups. An important observation that was provided in the conclusions of the aforementioned census is that whether spoken or not, the general opinion towards Scots is that it has played an important part in the history and culture of the nation; furthermore:

The focus on the spoken word arguably partly explains why its usage tends to be unconscious with many simply not registering Scots as a language, but regarding it simply as the way they express themselves. For the frequent user though, Scots is very much a language (Public Attitudes 2010:36).

According to the *Ethnologue* the Scots language is still in a developing point, that is: “in vigorous use, with literature in a standardized form being used by some though this is not yet widespread or sustainable”. Paradoxically, no official standardized form of Scots has been registered yet. The officialdom of Scots, claimed in the country’s main website (<http://www.scotland.org>), alongside English and Gaelic, is also to be doubted. An overview of both the Government’s initiatives and the works of scholars on the matter (cf. Section 4.2.2) would easily deny such assumption; had the language been considered official, the thread of its disappearance would have not been a reality. Quoting Derrick McClure’s words: “[t]hough Scots lays claim to the national adjective, it has never been universally recognised as a national language, or as a language at all” (2009: Introduction).

¹¹ Fieldwork for this research was carried out during the period 23rd September and 2nd October 2009 and a total of 1,020 interviews were achieved. Interviewing was carried out across 72 constituencies across Scotland. (Attitudes Scots 2009:6).

4.2 Language Planning

For the last four centuries, English has held a privileged position both in Europe and overseas, spreading especially thanks to the overwhelming power of the U.S in matters of economy and pop culture. In Scotland, as in the rest of the British archipelago, English has acquired the position of dominant and mainstream language. The prestige and power held by English in these territories makes unnecessary the creation and implementation of a Language Planning to ensure the use and protection of the language. This, however, cannot be said of the other indigenous languages of the country; Scottish Gaelic and Scots do not benefit from the same advantages. Governmental recognition and social support has been rather limited in the case of Scots, and relatively new and dubious in both cases:

[a]lthough Gaelic has benefited from considerable promotion and status, Gaelic-related issues have nevertheless remained at the margins of Scottish life. Scots, on the other hand is either heard or spoken in one form or another by a large percentage of Scotland's population, but has remained marginal in the context of political decisions (Nihtinen 2008:69)

4.2.1 Brief theoretical overview

From a broad perspective, Language Planning can be most simply understood as the set of activities and steps taken in order to achieve language change (Holmes 1992:374). From a more practical and specific point of view, language planning “refers to deliberate efforts to influence the behaviour of others with respect to the acquisition, structure and functional allocation of their language codes” (Deumert 2009:386). Language Planning can be sometimes considered a synonym of Language Policy, however these two processes, although interdependent, constitute two different types of activities; thus, whereas Language Planning refers to the efforts taken to change the language, Language Policy has to do with the actual social, political and linguistic goals underlying the specific strategies developed by language planners (Deumert 2009: 371).

Language planners perceive languages from both a linguistic and a sociolinguistic point of view. They consider them as instruments, communicative tools that need to be ‘polished’, ‘perfected’ and ‘corrected’, but also as social and political weapons, aimed at either emphasizing the linguistic unity and power of the nation, or, conversely, at promoting their

unique and distinctive identity (Holmes 1992:105; Ager 2007:378; Deumert 2009:386). It could be said that, depending on whether a variety is perceived from an ‘official’ (utilitarian) or ‘national’ (symbolic) point of view, the actions taken by the government or other institutions will be different. As such, Language Planning has been defined by some linguists like Kloss (1967,1969), or Haarman (1990) as an activity that can be divided into different types: Kloss, falling more into the official and utilitarian side, distinguished between *corpus planning*, encompassing all those decisions concerning the internal structure of the language (i.e. spelling reforms, standardization, elaboration of dictionaries and linguistic norms, etc.), and *status planning*, referring to the efforts and attempts taken to change the use and function of the language within the given speech community (i.e. allocating new functions to the language) (Deumert 2009:372). On the other hand, Haarman, in a more recent approach, acknowledged two other subcategories: *prestige planning* (which can be seen as a prerequisite to Kloss’ status planning), dealing with the promotion of a language previously limited to low-culture functions, especially in diglossic communities, and *acquisition planning*, aimed at the promotion of language learning (Deumert 2009:374).

Following this premise, and depending on who is taking action and the goals that they have in mind, Language Planning can be seen as a top-down (involving governmental action) or a bottom-up activity (promoted by non-governmental institutions). Some of the most common non-governmental organizations include “language academies, ministries of education, churches, language societies, pressure groups and even individuals” (Haugen 1966, quoted in Deumert 2009:385). It is important to note, however, that this dichotomous categorization (instrumental versus symbolic) is not an exclusive one. There are speech communities in which both an official and a national status are sought, and thus all efforts act in a complementary way; Swahili, Hebrew or Maori are just some examples of this specific model (Holmes 1992:116-118). In multilingual speech communities such as these, Language Planning is more than a set of rules and laws aimed at unifying the language; in these particular cases, this activity is also regarded as the combination of actions designed to ensure the acquisition, preservation and/or revitalization of the given language.

Regardless of who is implementing or promoting these actions, Language Planning is an activity that typically consists of four different stages that can (but need not) be consequential. These stages usually relate with the already mentioned different types or subcategories of Language Planning. According to Haugen these stages would be: (i) selection of the specific code or variety; (ii) codification and standardization by means of grammar books,

orthographies and dictionaries; (iii) elaboration (also known as modernization) or development of the language in order to meet the continuing changes in modern life (iv) implementation of the new variety, by means of enhancing the use and prestige of the variety amongst its speakers (Deumert 2009:375-379). Other scholars, however, have opted for a different classification where the needs for the linguistic engineering of the variety and its societal acceptance meet. Holmes, thus, distinguishes the following steps: selection, codification, elaboration (which would also include implementation) and acceptance—this last step focussing more on the society’s attitudes towards the new form and on the notions of status and prestige (Holmes 1992:112-113).

4.2.2 Language Planning in Scotland. The case of Gaelic and Scots

Scottish Gaelic has been in unstoppable decline since the seventeenth century, when the incursion of English in Scotland had already become irreversible, and the Celtic language had been sentenced to a future of stigmatization and repression, starting in the educational system and spreading into all other spheres of public life. The dramatic economic changes and increasing migratory movements of the eighteenth century were crucial in the process of language shift from Gaelic to English (McLeod 2001:2). Soon after, just like with Scots, Gaelic was relegated to a second position, becoming more of a token, kept alive for symbolic reasons rather than for its linguistic value (McCrone 1992:18). From this moment on, the language has continued to recede, undergoing a state of political neglect that lasted until the 1960s, when the first attempts at language planning started to arise. In the last thirty years, Gaelic has found support in areas such as education, broadcasting and public life (McLeod 2001:1-3; Nihtinen 2008:72).

The period preceding and following Scottish devolution (1999) has been coined by some scholars as the “Gaelic Renaissance”, due to the increase in initiatives aimed at raising the language’s visibility and public profile (Rogweson & Gloyer 1995, quoted in McLeod 2001:1; Dunbar 2005:5). In 1980, the Education Act provided for the teaching of Gaelic in Gaelic speaking areas; and in 1984 the Scottish Office established the *Comunn na Gàidhlich* to promote Gaelic language and culture, and ensure the coordination and implementation of a language policy. In 1990, the Broadcasting Act saw the founding of the Gaelic Television Committee, which was responsible for financing Gaelic-medium broadcasting, increasing programming hours and broadening geographical range – Gaelic radio reached a total of forty hours per week in the early nineties, and television expanded to a total of 350 hours a year

after the Act (McLeod 2001:4). In 2001 both Gaelic and Scots were ratified by the UK as part of the *European Charter for Regional or Minority Languages*; and in 2005, the Scottish Parliament approved the Gaelic Language Act, which gave Gaelic the recognition of national language within its own country. Additionally, the Act established the creation of the *Bòrd na Gàidhlig*, a non-departmental public body responsible for encouraging the use and understanding of the Gaelic language, facilitating access to the language in Scotland and abroad, and giving advice to Scottish Ministers on Gaelic matters (Glen 2010:49; *Bòrd web*). With this purpose in mind, the board was commanded the task of preparing the National Gaelic Language Plan, a responsibility that has been taking on every five years since 2005.

While the Government has taken important steps forward in their attempt to revitalize the Gaelic culture –especially through the media–, the Gaelic language, on the other hand, is still being held back. Even though the Celtic language has clearly been favoured by the increase in governmental attention over the last few decades, this recent emergence in the political and social spheres, however, does not mean that the language stands in a better position. The disperse distribution of the speech communities and the underlying stigmatization of the language amongst some fractions of the Scottish population has made Gaelic undergo a continuing loss of speakers; moreover, its partial and superficial representation in Parliament (present in the bilingual signage of the buildings, but having no actual slot in day-to-day interactions or public parliamentary proceedings), reflects its gradual loss of prestige: “[a]t present Gaelic is effectively excluded from public administration and enjoys no meaningful protection in law, other than a few relatively tokenistic provisions relating to certain minor public appointments and to immigration rules” (McLeod 2001:5).

This initial neglect, however, has been slightly reduced after the ratification of the *European Charter*, whereby important changes have affected the Gaelic language. The most salient one being that, albeit the Scottish Parliament Corporate Body’s Language Policy of 2004 stated that English was the only legislative language in Parliament, Members of the Scottish Parliament are invited to participate in any of the three languages of the nation; if this be Gaelic, interpretation will be arranged (McCull Millar 2010:75).

As some scholars have pointed out, the limited, ‘cosmetic’ or symbolic (Nihtinen 2006:34), presence of Gaelic in political discourse to this day can be easily explained as the result of public interest being only directed to Gaelic culture as part of the national heritage, and not as a valuable language *per se* (McCrone 1992:18, 50; Barbour 2000:32; McLeod

2001:11). It is, perhaps, due to the historical tendency to stereotype and chastise Highland language and culture that Gaelic has not managed to recover yet; and it is probably due to this latent social stigmatization that the Celtic language will never manage to reach a prestigious position again:

[t]he position of Gaelic in Scottish public life and discourse is contradictory: a dominant soft-core, romanticized support coexists with a residual contemptuousness that borders on racism. Gaelic is low on the political agenda and tends to be dealt with as an afterthought —if at all (McColl Millar 2001:27).

Despite its stronger presence in both political discourse and the media, stereotyped and very negative attitudes towards Gaelic are still held by society today. An analysis conducted by McLeod (2001:11-12), which gathered articles dating from 1995, 1998 and 2000 (cf. Appendix I),¹² provides clear references of the stigmatization of both the language and its speakers: in these examples labels such as “peasantish”, “Teuchters¹³”, “alcoholics” and “brutes” stand out amongst the many attacks. A more recent article published in *The Guardian* (Jack 2010), addressing the North-South divide of the country, and the imposition of Gaelic with historical and touristic purposes, seems to add to the apparent ongoing resentment towards the language (cf. Appendix II). The fact that these views have not yet disappeared, after the exponential increase in governmental support since devolution, reinforces the pessimism towards any recovery, and raises the question of whether prejudice has moved from a generational stand point (having its base on those older generations who suffered first-hand repression), to a or cultural phenomenon, perpetuated and passed on by new generations. A survey conducted by the Scottish Government and published under the title *Public Attitudes towards the Gaelic Language*, seems to corroborate the fact that Gaelic, although more present today, does not seem to progress in such a favourable way. Some of the conclusions obtained in this study were that: (a) people aged 65 or more hold the most negative attitudes towards the language; (b) there is moderate support for the Gaelic language and for its use in Scotland; (c) support for the language is weaker than support for Gaelic traditions, which “should not be lost”; and (d) there is a generalized idea that “Gaels do not

¹² Appendix I and Appendix II contain news articles on reflecting generalized attitudes of speakers towards Gaelic.

¹³ According to the Collins Dictionary, ‘Teuchter’ is a derogatory word used for Highlanders by Lowlanders.

represent modern Scotland”, and less agreement on the contribution of Gaelic to the promotion of Scotland’s identity abroad (2010: 53-54).

Inasmuch as provision for Gaelic has been very prolific in the last few years, positive results are yet to be found. One of the main obstacles for the revitalization of the language lays in the fact that emphasis is being constantly —and almost exclusively— placed on education. However, progress on this front has slowed down in recent years: “the numbers of pupils enrolling in Gaelic-medium primary education rose at a rate of 15.2% each year between 1993/94 and 1997/78, but only 2.4% between 1997/98 and 2000/01” (McLeod 2001:4). Figures do not predict better prospects and long-term improvement seems very unlikely, if no other action is taken. According to linguist Joshua Fishman, and especially when dealing with minority-language education, the emphasis must be equally placed both inside and outside of school, focusing predominantly on “intergenerational mother-tongue transmission in the home” (Fishman 1991, quoted in McLeod 2001:15). Failing to do so, as seems to be the case with Gaelic, would mean that “deep-rooted revitalization will not be possible, and the best that can be achieved is an Irish-style success: expensive, inefficient, and limited” (Ó Riagáin 1997, quoted in McLeod 2001:15).

Although previous models of Language Planning have proved to be rather inefficient, Gaelic does benefit from both recognition and support from government and society. Conversely, when it comes to Scots, Language Planning is non-existent, and it is only thanks to the constant effort of individual action that the language has attained some public recognition. The fact that no Language Policy has been drafted for Scots thus far may be interpreted as a lack of interest on the matter from the political point of view. The precarious image held by the language within its own speakers, and the strong influence from and resemblance to English can be considered as two of the main reasons behind the aforementioned inaction.

Whereas Scottish Gaelic has been recognized an official language of Scotland in 2005, Scots remains overlooked and uncategorized by a large proportion of the nation’s population, occupying a midway position that oscillates between the notions of language and dialect (Smith 2000 in McLeod 2001:13; McClure 2009:79). Given that not even linguists seem to be able to reach an agreement regarding the nature and status of Scots, it is not surprising to see confusion expand amongst the Scottish society (McLeod 2001:74; Nihtinen 2008:78; McClure 2009: 13-14; Glen 2010:50). This struggle to label and describe Scots has, in a way,

impeded its progress in the present day. The inability of speakers to identify their own language as such is regarded as one of the main problems in the process of data collection, and the reason why census results are still slightly inaccurate at present day (Nihtinen 2006:34, 2008:71; McClure 2009: 78-79; Public Attitudes Scots 2010:36) Arguably, this lack of consensus and recognition could be seen as a strong enough reason not to invest in any political or social initiatives.

In like manner, Scots' proximity to English can be pointed out as one of the reasons behind the ineffective Language Policy of the variety. Such proximity, being one of the language's most pivotal characteristics, is regarded as both a "blessing and a curse" (McColl Millar 2010:76): on the one hand, and contrary to Gaelic, Scots is perceived by non-speakers as a less hermetic and foreign language (compared to the 99% of the Scots who neither speak nor understand Gaelic today), thus making its comprehension and learning more feasible. On the other hand, all speakers, whether using it in an overt or covert way, tend to switch frequently from one variety to the other (cf. Section 3.1.4) and therefore, can be said to possess an innate ability to understand the language, leading to the assumption that translation or instruction in the aforesaid variety is superfluous, even unnecessary —a simple look at the treatment received by both languages in Parliament would justify such a bold statement: Gaelic usage is favoured by the provision of interpreters and translators, Scots on the other hand is deprived of these privileges and equated to English every time (McColl Millar 2010:76).

In the context of a divided nation, where each one of the three different languages has a its own regional use, and a presumably ascribed contextual niche (Scots is mostly accepted at home or in contexts where cultural differentiation is being emphasized), it is also this proximity and apparent assimilation into English (Macafee 1997 in Nihtinen 2005:128) what could arguably be said to have stopped any attempts to extol the distinctive nature of the language, let alone connect it to a specific nationalist movement. Too close to English to be considered completely independent, yet different enough to stand out, Scots does not benefit with the same advantages as Gaelic; far from being recognized as a valuable and distinctive trait, it is seen by many as "a mere dialect, which in popular thought means an inferior or corrupt form, of English: an aberration which any self-respecting person would naturally wish to avoid" (McClure 2009: Introduction). At the core of these attitudes lays the reason why the language lacks any strong social or political support. Thus, it is this inherent stigmatization, coined by McClure as the "Scottish cringe" (2009:77), what has hindered the language from attaining a more prestigious position. Ironically, when comparing Scotland to Northern

Ireland in language matters, Ulster Scots does not seem so suffer the same stigmatization or political neglect. What is more, the Irish variety is largely supported by both Belfast and Westminster governments (McClure 2009:75). In Northern Ireland, this support comes from the connection that the language has with British Unionism (McLeod 2001:75). In Scotland, by contrast, it is due to the desire to dissociate from any nationalism that Scots is not being promoted (McClure 2009:82).

While Gaelic is being constantly described as a severely endangered language (Nihtinen 2008:73, 79; Glenn 2010:51), attitudes towards Scots have been, in general, quite apathetic. Far from claiming the importance of the language as a communicative tool, or a living and endangered entity like Gaelic, most recent political action has approached the Scottish language from an “outside looking in” perspective; that is, focusing on either its literary use, or its historical trajectory and more recent decline (McColl Millar 2010:73, 82). Any attempts to direct funds into broadcasting or the education system, so as to provide regularized, supraregional and homogenous access to the language, have been limited or non-existent:

[...] the national guidelines are not compulsory and teachers are not obliged to include the Scots language in their programme, even if it has been encouraged officially through these guidelines. The Committee of Experts has been informed that there are no Scots classes in primary or secondary schools, and, in the few cases where the language is taught, the teaching relies on the initiatives of individual teachers. (Committee of Experts, 2004: Section 29 in McColl Millar 2010:70).

Most of the activity directed to the promotion and revitalization of Scots can be classified, largely and almost exclusively, as bottom-up, arising from the hard work of associations and individuals such as the Scots Language Society (creators of *The Concise Scots Dictionary* 1985), the Scots Resource Centre and the all-Scots publishing imprint, Itchy Coo (Glen 2010:51, 56). Support for Gaelic, by contrast, has been predominantly top-down. As if embedded in a vicious cycle, the lack of any recognition or interest amongst speakers justifies the Government’s reluctance to invest or risk implementing a policy that may not be accepted by the whole of the Scottish population. Just in the same way, speaker’s unawareness of the status and perception of their own variety cannot change without the support, recognition and prestige that these actions may grant the language. Accordingly, and as pointed out by Unger (2010:108), “[t]he highly ambivalent attitudes to Scots from official bodies are matched by ambivalent attitudes among Scots speakers themselves”. All in all, the lack of any official

Language Planning or Policy can be regarded, in itself, as today's political stance and Scot's current Language Plan. The passivity with which the Government treats the language can only mean that no recognition, nor interest, is being placed on Scots as a language.

The attention acquired by Scots in the most recent years has been precarious and partial, being perceived as an addendum to Gaelic in almost all public documents (Millar 2010: 68). In addition, the recognition of Scots by the UK authorities through the ratification of the *Charter for Regional or Minority Languages* is not only vague but empty: a comparison between the approaches taken towards Scottish Gaelic and those towards Scots, clearly demonstrates that the latter is being severely overlooked, and "treated perfunctorily" (McColl Millar 2010:67). Part II of the Charter consists on general principles and applies to all minority languages within the member state. Part III, however, is more detailed and contains all the specific policy obligations aimed at the preservation and promotion of minority languages. It is the responsibility of the charter members to choose the languages to be covered in each of the Parts of the Charter; Scots, being a minority language, was automatically included in Part II, but it was not chosen to for Part III, Gaelic, nonetheless, was indeed chosen by the members (Glen 2010:52).

The ambiguous treatment of Scots in public and legal documents, added to the marked differences regarding funding and political strategies behind both languages has provided for the distorted depiction of Scotland as a English-Gaelic bilingual nation, rather than a trilingual one (Scottish Language Center Response :1). The most recent Celtic revival in Scotland is a clear example of how culture has been endorsed over language. Symbols such as the tartans and the kilts have become the emblem of a whole nation, taking over the Lowland non-Gaelic population. While some indigenous cultural aspects are being imposed nationwide, indigenous languages are still not being promoted enough (Barbour 2000:32).

A close analysis of both languages and their consequent language policies –if any at all– is indicative enough of the precarious situation in which Scots is immersed: "Gaelic is promoted, institutionalized and supported both as a national and cultural issue and as an endangered minority language" (Nihtinen 2008:73), Scots, by contrast, is only supported as a cultural asset. Its value resides on its historical and literary past, and its present image in society pushes the limits of diglossia, since it is perceived by many as inferior, corrupted or, simply, a form of slang. Both Gaelic and Scots show a rather weak connection to the ideas of

nation and nationalism, and are only promoted from a marketable, cultural and ‘exotic’ point of view.

4.2.3 A brief look to Scottish Nationalism and Scottish Identity

With the shift towards English in the late sixteenth century, and the later Union of Parliaments (1707), Scottish nationalism fell into a process of dilution and assimilation under the hegemony of the English Empire (McCrone 1992:29). To this day, Scottish nationalism seems to focus more on common citizenship and political rights, rather than on heritage, language or culture. Hence, Scottish nationalism is considered as civic or territorial nationalism, rather than ethnic: “Scotland represents the case of a non-independent nation in which the distinct national identity is nevertheless seen to a great extent in institutional terms, with distinct culture playing a lesser role, and a distinct language being of only limited importance” (Barbour 2000:32)

For the Scottish society language is not at the core of the Scottish identity anymore, and it has been replaced by institutions like the Presbyterian Kirk or the legal system (Hoffman 1996:68). Whereas ancestry, culture, language and territorial belonging are all important elements in the construction of individual identities, their weigh and value differs from speaker to speaker, and the general tendency of the nation as a whole has been to place language at the end of their list (Barbour 2000:32; Kiley, Bechhofer & McCrone 2005:150; Zwet 2015:70). Given this premise, and the conflict and confusion surrounding the different languages of the country, it is not surprising to see how political parties may opt to promote other aspects of Scottish culture in their running campaigns and later strategies:

Unlike many forms of nationalism, the cultural content of the Scottish variety is relatively weak. Compared to Welsh, Irish, Catalan, Breton or Quebec nationalism, it is less ready to call up the ancient ghosts of the nation, its symbols and motifs, in its quest for independence (McCrone 1992:174).

When it comes to the speaker’s attitudes, opinions seem to differ, and their constructions of identity vary from national to local levels, and even more so depending on their language. According to the survey *Public Attitudes Towards the Gaelic Language* two fifths of the

sample considered language as a very important element of their construction of national identity, however, at a more personal and local level, only one fifth of the sample considered it relevant (2010:6). For those speaking Scots, results seemed to be less favourable:

Whilst most would agree on the important contribution of Scots in terms of how the language has shaped [their] culture, history and identity, opinion is more divided on its role and value to Scotland today. On balance, views are more positive than negative, but a substantial proportion are simply not engaged with the Scots language. For this group it is irrelevant and unnecessary (Public Attitudes Scots 2010:36).

All in all the concept of Scottish identity seems too abstract and variable to define, especially when applied to a nation which has been historically divided into three. Although both languages seem to be valued at a certain extent, the dominance of English is irrefutable. Seeing the marginalized presence of Gaelic, it is difficult to foretell a full revival of the language in the near future. However, Gaelic's univocal distinction from English, and the popularity attained by Highland culture as a strong touristic enticement in the last years, is warrantee enough that the language will still benefit from political and social support in the years to come. A future for Scots, however, is more difficult to predict, as both society and government seem to be more reticent towards change. As stated by McClure, only when speakers manage to disencumber themselves from their own prejudices and shame, will the language start to prosper (McClure 2009:76-77). It is, therefore, in the hands of the Scottish people to change their future.

Chapter 5. Conclusions

The linguistic situation in Scotland is significantly interesting because there seems to be no strong connection between the ideas of national identity and language, but rather a strong emphasis on regional or civic identity, which can justify the small progress in the maintenance and revitalization of both indigenous varieties. The Gaelic language at present is geographically marginalized to the northernmost and island regions, and spoken by roughly a 1.2% of the total population. Scots, on the other hand, although more present in social life, and spread across a wider portion of the territory, suffers from a lack of recognition and generalized ambivalence regarding its own linguistic nature. The majority of Scots natives either consider it a “way of speaking” or a dialect all along. The reduced governmental recognition—or lack thereof— of Scots can also be regarded as a cause for gradual language loss: the limited initiatives to promote and maintain the language, which is best exemplified by the lack of any language planning, reinforces the difficulty of speakers to identify and perceive the Scots language as such, adding more support to the idea that Scottish Standard English is the only “proper” variety in Scotland.

As shown in this study, diglossia has been an important constant in the past of the Scottish country, which justifies the patterns that the indigenous languages follow today. The Scottish society has been subject to several changes in power over the years, thus surrendering, accordingly, from Gaelic to Scots, and eventually to English. It is because of the class-related stereotypes that were nourished in the past and the strong anti-minority language propaganda of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries that both Gaelic and Scots are in such bad shape nowadays. Whereas Gaelic speakers seem more aware of their identity, and share pride in their own language, the negative views towards Scots have not yet overcome time, and are at the centre of today’s so-called Scottish Fringe.

Although both Scots and Gaelic have considerably gained more attention after Devolution (1999), and more emphasis on their preservation and well-being seems to have been put since the come into power of the Scottish National Party, most of this protagonism has been placed on their value as touristic tokens and symbols of the nation’s past, rather than actual communicative tools. Consequently, a generalized shift from English to any of these two varieties seems very unlikely, and the threat of linguistic assimilation is still perceived as the more probable outcome.

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Appendix I

The following appendix contains different news articles and comments reflecting a stereotyped and pejorative view towards Gaelic speakers. These fragments have been extracted from McLeod's *Gaelic in the New Scotland: Politics, Rhetoric and Public Discourse* (2001:11-12):

There is nothing in Gaelic that is worth passing on to the rest of mankind. In the history of ideas or of invention Gaeldom is a desert. No philosopher, no insight, not even any joke illuminates us non-Gaels from the body of Gaelic literature. . . . Day to day vernacular Gaelic is a low level peasantish sort of debris that we need not be the least reverential about. (Peter Clarke, "Who needs the Gaelic?", *The Scotsman*, Weekend magazine, 11 March 1995.)

Grampian Television has the exclusive and highly valuable right to produce programmes in Gaelic, a language spoken by almost a hundred people dotted around the country. The fact that these people generally spend their time eating, drinking and supporting their ailing fish-farm by making sure it doesn't fall under the jurisdiction of the Inland Revenue matters not a jot. These people represent our National Heritage, and this must be protected at all costs. Because the English find it rather amusing to imply that Scots are descended from a rabble of fat taxdodging alcoholics, and the majority of executive decisions regarding television funding are made in London, the government is willing to pump a great deal of money into the creation of programmes aimed at the Gaelic-speaking viewer. (Chris Rae, "My Observations on Gaelic TV in Scotland" (1997) (available on the Internet at <http://www.chrisrae.com/gaelictv.html> [23 March 2001])

It's less the aesthetics of the Gaelic language than the methodology of the Gaelic lobby that has come to earn Gaeldom its sceptical press. Image problem would be putting it mildly. Subsidy-abuse; persecution mania; rampant inferiority complex – to the Lowlander, a well-balanced Gael is one with a chip on both shoulders. Recently I was in a television studio where 13 offices were occupied by Gaelic 12 broadcasters: 'You can barely hear the telephones for the clinking of tumblers', said a sceptical member of staff. For most, this encapsulates the black art of the Gael; sodden in whisky, puffed with self-righteousness, oblivious to his comic tweekness, the Gael has a fathomless thirst for taxpayers' cash and is barely accountable for the nebulous benefits the spending of it achieves. . . . Gaelic is a zombie language. (Allan Brown, "Gael warning", *The Sunday Times*, 18 October 1998.)

Our politicians can't stand up in public and speak English without making fools of themselves. Kids pour out of schools no better than semi-literate. And what does the Government do? It kow-tows to a bunch of troublesome Teuchters who want to force every council, court and hospital to start speaking Gaelic. Gaels may even get their own TV station. What's the point of encouraging people to blabber away in a redundant tongue? Let's put more money into teaching our kids to speak the Queen's English. Gaelic should be allowed to die a quiet, dignified death. (Gary Keown, "Foolish, at Gael force. . ." *Sunday Mail*, 13 June 1999. "Teuchter" is a moderately abusive term for a Highlander or Gaelic speaker.) It really does beggar belief. Picture it: a chamberful of political representatives, every one of whom speaks English, sitting with their hands clamped to their ears, struggling to keep up as a stream of Hebridean twittering assails their senses, all for the sake of a handful of over-indulged zealots. . . . Curiously this comes in the same week as health workers in the land where sheep are gods have issued a pamphlet full of handy Gaelic phrases for the bracken-munchers to use when they find themselves in hospitals staffed by heathen English-speakers. It is sure to prove an invaluable aid when Gaels go to report their maladies, given that the [National Health Service] has never had the foresight to school its practitioners in obscure prehistoric dialects. (Allan Brown, "A tongue lashing from the Gaels", *The Sunday Times*, 20 February 2000.)

When those children unfortunate enough to endure 'Gaelic immersion' schooling reach adulthood, they will find that having Gaelic as a second language will add about as much value to their employability in the world market as chronic halitosis. I hope these children will then have the courage to sue the education authorities responsible for this ongoing child abuse. (Letter to the Editor, *The Scotsman*, 7 March 2000.)

Appendix II

The following appendix contains an article by Ian Jack (*The Guardian* 11 December, 2010) addressing the author's opinion and critique on the spread of the Gaelic culture across Scotland. This piece also addresses the main sociolinguistic characteristics of present-day Scotland (multiculturalism, multilingualism and language policies) as well as providing an overview of the historic past of both the land and its languages.

My new passport arrived the other day: my pasbort, my cead-siubhail. Inspecting it, I discovered myself to be a citizen of Teyrnas Gyfunol Prydain Fawr a Gogledd Iwerddon as well as of Rioghachd Aonaichte Bhreatainn is Eireann a Tuath – what tricky words these are to type – which is how the United Kingdom translates into Welsh and Scottish Gaelic on the passport's title page (the days of the French alternative are long gone). Anyone who lives in a big British city got used long ago to the idea of English as one local language among many: the opening hours of the radiotherapy unit posted in Punjabi, Turkish, Somali and Bengali, the mobile callers on the bus who speak to fellow migrants from Tirana, Vilnius, Lagos and Kraków, or to their families who still live there. But the Welsh and Gaelic phrases on the passport are surprising. They don't answer to this present Britain. They exist in a more historical landscape, to redress old rural grievances rather than to express new metropolitan demands.

The European charter for regional or minority languages calls them "autochthonous", which strictly means native, but now also carries the suggestion of a language that's been displaced in importance by a more popular newcomer. Within the United Kingdom, the charter also recognises Cornish, Scots (aka Lallans), Irish Gaelic and Ulster Scots. The charter, which the UK ratified in 2001, asks that all be encouraged to survive. Two of them, Scots and Ulster Scots (aka Ullans), would be contested as languages separate from English or each other, and some might argue that Ullans was invented for purely political reasons, as a Protestant counterweight to the Irish Gaelic that was recognized by Northern Ireland's peace agreement. But then most language lobbies are as much political as cultural: at their most powerful, they have helped break up polyglot empires and kingdoms, and redrawn the boundaries of nation states.

Of this particular kingdom's minority languages, I can understand Scots and Ulster Scots – if languages, and not dialects, are what they are. With a little practice and recollection, remembering the words and expressions my parents and grandparents used and looking up others in a dictionary, I might even be able to speak the first, while a reasonable impersonation of Ian Paisley would bring me within shouting reach of the second. All the Celtic languages are a mystery. How far would I need to reach back to discover an ancestor who spoke Gaelic? Perhaps to what in England would be called the Chaucerian era, perhaps to never: Scotland has a complicated and sometimes uncertain linguistic story that includes Norse and the Northumbrian variant of Old English in the east, as well as the Gaelic that arrived with Irish migrants in the south-west, all of them eventually replacing a form of Celtic or Brittonic language that still survives in contemporary Welsh.

For five or six hundred years Gaelic did well and expanded aggressively across most of Scotland, but it began to lose the competition with Scots-English as early as the 13th century, and then began its long retreat to the Highlands. By 1755, Gaelic speakers numbered only 23% of the Scottish population, which had shrunk by 1901 to 4.5% and 100 years later to 1.2%. Today about 60,000 people speak it, most of them concentrated in the Western Isles, and all of them bilingual in English. Multiply that figure by five to get the number of Cantonese speakers in the UK, by 10 to reach Punjabi, by 20 to those who use Bengali, Urdu and Sylheti. These are conservative estimates for the UK as a whole, and take no account of many other migrant languages, including those from eastern Europe; but even if the comparison is confined to Scotland, it looks likely that the number of citizens who speak South Asian languages at least equal those who speak Gaelic. And yet, unlike Gaelic and Welsh, none of them has the protection of parliamentary acts and an expanding bureaucracy, nor has any been rewarded by a publicly subsidised television channel of its own.

The Gaelic lobbyist has a reasonable argument. Whatever happens in Britain, these other languages will continue to thrive in their original homelands. They aren't in danger of extinction, whereas, in the words of John Angus Mackay, the chief executive of the Gaelic development board (Bòrd na Gàidhlig): "If Gaelic is to survive, it will only survive in Scotland." But cultural preservation comes at an expense. The Scottish Review, a brave and lively online magazine, recently calculated that the annual £17m cost of the Gaelic channel, BBC Alba, meant that almost 30% of BBC Scotland's programme budget was devoted to slightly more than 1% of the Scottish population. People grumble about the BBC Scotland's "Teuchter [Highland] mafia" – four of its eight senior managers are Gaelic speakers – but the

resentment is generally muted. Successive Scottish governments, anxious to stress an independent national identity, have made Gaelic a key feature of difference to England, and many would agree with Mackay that to care for a language that emigration and industrial economics so nearly wiped out is the mark of a civilised country.

And so Scotland is being Gaelicised, superficially and quite literally by tokens. The new Gaelic signs are what one notices most. For several years I thought they were merely local events, each individually explicable by their presence in or near the present boundaries of Gaeldom, or where tourists might see them ("Alba", for instance, on the boards at the border). But the plan is national because Gaelic has been designated a national language. Dual-language station nameboards, for example: eventually every Scottish station will have one, no matter how little the place was touched by Gaelic at any time in its history.

Recently, rattling through the Glasgow suburb of Cardonald, I noticed a new name on its austere platforms: Cair Dhòmhnail. Which traveller would this help? None. Is it historically appropriate? No. In the 15th century, a Norman-sounding gentleman owned the lands of Cardownalde, which almost certainly derives from P-Celtic rather than Gaelic. Does any of this matter? Yes and no. According to Mackay, the sight of a Gaelic nameboard far from his home in Lewis "refreshes a part of my soul" and reminds him of Gaelic's fullest extent. More materially, it helps the tourist trade by rewarding visitors with the sense of the difference that all tourists seek; Mackay says the translated Gaelic menus in his local Indian restaurant in Inbhir Nis (Inverness) vanish for this very reason.

But I feel saddened by it. What I remember of Cardonald is the old Flamingo ballroom and council estates that were well thought of. To me, Cair Dhòmhnail is a kind of instruction to focus on a far more distant history, like one slice of a many-banded core sample pulled from the earth, which has an arguable usefulness, and may very well be false.