A Glasgow Voice:

James Kelman's Literary Language

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ABSTRACT

This thesis examines Kelman's use of language in his literary works and how, in order to present a spoken Glasgow working-class voice in his stories, he breaks down the traditional distinction made between speech and writing in literature. Three main facets are explored: the use of Glaswegian/Scots language, the inclusion of working-class discourse features, and an expressive preference for language as it is spoken rather than written. The thesis approaches Kelman's writing by examining his use of punctuation, spelling, vocabulary, grammar, swearing, and body language. Punctuation is argued to be a key element in the enforcement of the authoritative voice in the literary text, creating a hierarchical framework for the language that appears within it. Kelman shifts this use of punctuation to one of prosodic performance. Spelling is shown to be a device that Kelman uses to hint at pronunciation. This strategy reveals the accent associated with the language depicted and firmly places the text in a particular geographical place. It is explained why Kelman refuses to adopt an established Scots orthography. Kelman's use of vocabulary is explored in the context of dialect and slang, and how it signals place, community, and social class. It is argued that Kelman's hybrid Glaswegian language poses a linguistic purity threat, both to English and traditional Scots alternatives. Grammar is analysed in terms of its contribution to both a Glasgow and working-class identity. There is a focus on Scotticisms, auxiliary verb negation, and other grammatical features. In the latter part of the thesis, the literal and non-literal use of swear words is explored. The thesis elucidates the significant expressive functions that non-literal swearing plays in Kelman's writing. Swearing is revealed to be an important way to articulate experiences and thoughts into words. The final part of the thesis deals with body language and reveals it to be a key element which allows the speech-based discourse to appear fully-formed in Kelman's writing. Throughout the thesis, examples from Kelman's writing are analysed and statistical comparisons are made between his writing and the language found in the Scots Corpus of Texts and Speech. In summary, this thesis provides a detailed and systematic analysis of Kelman's use of language in literature, pointing out linguistic patterns, identifying key textual strategies and features, and comparing it to the standards that precede him and those that surround his work.

DECLARATION

I certify that this thesis does not incorporate without acknowledgement any material previously submitted for a degree or diploma in any university; and that to the best of my knowledge and belief it does not contain any material previously published or written by another person except where due reference is made in the text.

Christine Amanda Müller

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CHAPTER ONE: INTRODUCTION

James Kelman's writing and aims

James Kelman is a Scottish author whose main subject matter is urban Glasgow life. He is notable for using innovative textual techniques to infuse Glasgow speech forms into his writing. Indeed, Kelman's self-stated aim is to write about experiences from his own community using the language of his home, his culture, and the Glaswegian working-class.[1]

Kelman has long been recognised as a prominent author in Scotland, as his literary honours and awards suggest: three *Scottish Arts Council Book Awards* (1983, 1987, and 1989), *James Tait Black Memorial Prize (Best Novel)* in 1989, the *Scotland on Sunday/Glenfiddich Spirit of Scotland Award* and *Stakis Prize for Scottish Writer of the Year* in 1998, and the *Saltire Society's Book of the Year Award* and *The Aye Write! Bank of Scotland Prize for Scottish Fiction* in 2008. Outside of Scotland, but still within Britain, he won the *Cheltenham Prize* in 1987, was shortlisted for the *Booker Prize* in 1989, and won the *Booker Prize* and the *Writers' Guild Award (Best Fiction)* in 1994. Despite the recognition given to Kelman's works, his literary career has been 'embattled', as Simon Kovesi observes in his book, *James Kelman*, and this conflict has been mostly produced 'by the huge gulf between the polite linguistic affectations of the literary establishment and the quotidian world and vernacular language of Kelman's work' (p. 3).

The key characteristic of Kelman's style is his creation of a Glasgow working-class voice that uses non-standard hybrid language, one which is characterised by careful and deliberate deviation from the standardising hierarchical norms of written English. Kelman's writing style developed through an exploration of how different types of language affect subject-object relations in narrative representation. His experimentation has extended to altering typographical features such as orthography, punctuation, and spacing on the page. He is

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[1] This sentiment is explicitly expressed in Kelman's *Some Recent Attacks* (p. 81) and 'And the Judges Said...' (pp. 17), and his interview with Ledbetter (p. 9).

particularly noted for matching the narrative language to that spoken and used by the characters.

Kelman's short stories have a geographical range which covers Glasgow and surrounding area (as far south as Ayr), London and various areas of England (including the Channel Islands and Manchester), and America. However, his short stories and novels can be described as primarily set in Glasgow and the surrounding south west Scotland, with some minor advances into England and even less so into America. Although other countries might be referred to in the short stories, there are no stories based in wider Europe, the Commonwealth, Latin America, or Africa. During the period of his work that this thesis examines, Kelman's novels are set exclusively in Glasgow.

Kelman's stories occur in a variety of places. The homes might be a tenement, housing estate, or bedsit. The workplaces are often the factory, warehouse, industrial site, farm, and transient workplaces involved with council work, gardening, and transport. Socialising occurs in places such as the pub and open air venues such as the park, the street, the riverside, the football field, disused industrial sites, and the countryside. Characters frequent gambling venues such as the betting shop, private casino, and greyhound racecourse, and they are seen in institutional settings such as the DHSS office, school, and the medical centre.

His subject matter is the ordinary daily working-class life, usually from a male point of view. Kelman's short stories are generally preoccupied with the inner lives of characters, following their discovery of self-knowledge and the social discourses that influence them. Their social relationships are examined, with Kelman studying interpersonal themes of friendship, marriage, family, management of conflict, and intergeneration relationships, as well as how strangers interact, the experience of dealing with institutions, the relationship between employee and employer and co-workers. Kelman also examines the lives of those with few significant social relationships, such as the single unemployed male, the vagrant, and tramp. Kelman's theme might be a childhood experience, an attempt to cope with circumstances, a family scandal, the loss of a significant other, or a criminal act.

The thematic concerns of his work are bleakness and alienation, the quotidian, the post-industrial and the urban and the disintegration of traditional class allegiances. Kelman frequently settles into an existential approach and focuses upon the relationship between the person and their social world, and the struggle with the self. His work studies how people relate to their family and friends, how free time is spent, and issues to do with limited employment or unemployment, dangerous workplaces, and problems with health. Thus, his characters are depicted in various stages of coping or falling apart, yet finding some joy in their lives, with a few gaining stability and even long-term satisfaction.

It is useful to understand the unique perspective and experiences of the author himself to understand the motivations that influence his stylistic choices. Indeed, Kelman's self-stated aims have acted as a touchstone during this analysis. His stance provided the impetus to analyse how the creation of Glasgow working-class voice is achieved in his work — how a traditionally speech-based form of language could be moulded to a literary format. Kelman's fundamental social position as an author can be found in this assertion made in an interview with Fabio Vericat:

> You have to remember that Scotland has existed as a sort of colony of England for the past three hundred years; its ruling class sold the country back in the early 18th century. Scottish children have been educated to recognize not only their own inferiority but the inferiority of their parents, community and wider culture, including language. (para 3)

He seeks a voice in literature for this marginalised people. Kelman's own generation were not allowed, by education policy, to use their own language, so he started writing during a time when Glasgow speech was officially denigrated. In an interview with Sarah Lyall, Kelman remembers the time when his two daughters were reprimanded in school for using the Scots *aye* instead of the English *yes* (pp. B1-B2). In his Booker Prize speech, published within a newspaper article called 'Elitist Slurs Are Racism by Another Name', Kelman comments that he expected his daughters to suffer reprimands such as that previously mentioned because

> as a white parent from an ordinary Glaswegian environment I expected my children to receive various intellectual humiliations and the attendant psychological abuse as they journeyed through the lower and higher educational system, this on account of the language and culture that was natural to them. (p. 2)

He reinforces this point in his article, 'And the Judges Said…', where he identifies the education system as 'a crucial instrument of the state', one which seeks to suppress and disenfranchise the language of working-class Glasgow (p. 18).

In the same article, Kelman further identifies prejudice in English literature against the working-class community:

> The English Literature I had access to through the normal channels is what you might call state-education-system-influenced reading material. People from communities like mine were rarely to be found on these pages. When they were they were usually categorised as servants, peasants, criminal 'elements', semi-literate drunken louts, and so on; shadowy presences left unspecified, often grouped under terms like 'uncouth rabble', 'vulgar mob', 'the great unwashed'; 'lumpen proletariat', even 'riotous assembly'. (p. 17)

His perception is that in the majority of nineteenth and twentieth century literature, the picture of working-class communities such as his has usually been disparaging, where the people are conceptualised as an undifferentiated homogenous unit and the individual lives as unworthy of deeper literary attention. Kelman argues this in his book of essays, *Some Recent Attacks*, where he asserts that when working-class individuals were included in literature they were unrecognisable from their real-life counterparts:

> Whenever I did find somebody from my own sort of background in English Literature there they were confined to the margins, kept in their place, stuck in dialogue. You only ever saw them or heard them. You never got into their mind. You did find them in the narrative but from without, seldom from within. And when you did see them or hear them they never rang true, they were never like anybody I ever met in real life. (p. 82)

Kelman would agree with Peter Keating's summation given in *The Working Classes in Victorian Fiction*, and presumably also apply it to some modern fiction:

> There are few English novels which deal with working-class characters in a working-class environment in the same sense as there are novels about the middle or upper classes in their own recognizably real settings: in other words, novels which treat of the working class as being composed of ordinary human beings who experience the range of feelings and emotions, social aspirations and physical relationships, that it is the special province of the novelist to explore. Most working-class novels are, in one way or another, propagandist. They are usually written by authors who are not working class, for an audience which is not working class, and character and environment are presented so as to contain, implicitly or explicitly, a class judgement. (p. 2)

More specifically, in *Some Recent Attacks*, Kelman outlines a predominant vision of the Glaswegian in English literature as an unreflective, inarticulate, one-dimensional 'hard man':

> How do you recognise a Glaswegian in English Literature? He — bearing in mind that in English Literature you don't get female Glaswegians, not even the women — he's the cut-out figure who wields a razor blade, gets moroculous drunk and never has a single solitary 'thought' in his entire life. He beats his wife and beats his kids and beats his next door neighbour. And another striking thing: everybody from a Glaswegian or working-class background, everybody in fact from any regional part of Britain — none of them knew how to talk! What larks! Every time they opened their mouth out came a stream of gobbledygook. Beautiful! their language a cross between semaphore and morse code; apostrophes here and apostrophes there; a strange hotchpotch of bad phonetics and horrendous spelling — unlike the nice stalwart upperclass English hero (occasionally Scottish but with no linguistic variation) whose words on the page were always absolutely splendidly proper and pure and pristinely accurate, whether in dialogue or without. And what grammar! Colons and semicolons! Straight out of their mouths! An incredible mastery of language. Most interesting of all, for myself as a writer, the narrative belonged to them and them alone. They owned it. The place where thought and spiritual life exists. Nobody outwith the parameters of their socio-cultural setting had a spiritual life. We all stumbled along in a series of behaviouristic activity; automatons, cardboard cut-outs, folk who could be scrutinised, whose existence could be verified in a sociological or anthropological context. In other words, in the society that is English Literature, some 80 to 85 percent of the population simply did not exist. (p. 82)

This is an image of the inarticulate drunken violent man who has no spiritual or inner life. This man is mentally void and speaks a contorted language that is contrasted against a Standard English narration. The use of such a stereotype produces supremely unsatisfactory literature for Kelman. Instead, as he says in an interview with Jenny Turner, he seeks to remedy this situation by producing imaginative writing that focuses on working-class characters who are articulate in their own terms and capable of abstract thought (p. 24).

The careful use of language is a key vehicle for achieving such a remedy. Critical to Kelman's overall philosophy, as he tells Duncan McLean, is a vision of language as both a basic element and expression of culture:

> language is the culture—if you lose your language you've lost your culture, so if you've lost the way your family talk, the way your friends talk, then you've lost your culture, and you're divorced from it. That's what happens with all these stupid fucking books by bad average writers because they've lost their culture, they've given it away. Not only that, what they're saying is it's inferior, because they make anybody who comes from that culture speak in a hybrid language, whereas they speak standard English. And their language is the superior one. So what they are doing, in effect, is castrating their parents, and their whole culture. (p. 112)

Kelman's notion of language as culture and his desire to write from within his culture is repeated in many interviews and essays.[2] This focus on language as a key component of culture means a Glaswegian-based voice is essential to his work, or 'the foundation of Kelman's artistic project' as Simon Kovesi aptly describes it in 'James Kelman Margarined' (p. 16).

Complementing the above observation, Kelman states in an interview with James Ledbetter that he is 'not content to take language as it's given through the structures of authority' (p. 9). This sentiment is found elsewhere in Kelman's article 'And the Judges Said...':

> I reached the age of 22 in the knowledge that certain rights were mine. It was up to me what I did. I had the right to create art. Not that I thought in these terms, I just wanted to write stories. But I didn't have to write as if I was somebody not myself (eg. an imagined member of the British upper-middle-classes). Nor did I have to write about characters striving to become other persons (eg. imagined members of the British upper-middle-classes). I could sit down with my pen and paper and start doing stories of my own, from myself, the everyday trials and tribulations; my family, my boss, the boy and girl next door; the old guy telling yarns at the factory; whatever. It was all there. I was privy to the lot. There was no obligation to describe, explain or define myself in terms of class, race or community. I didn't have to prove anything. And nor did I have to prove anything about the people roundabout me, my own culture and community. In spite of dehumanising authority they existed as entire human beings; they carried on with their lives as though 'the forces of evil' did not exist. My family and culture were valid in their own right, this was an intrinsic thing, they were not up for evaluation. And neither was my work, not unless I so choose. Self respect and the determination of self, for better or for worse. (p. 17)

Essentially, as Kelman says to Ledbetter: 'I have a right to write from my own experiences, from my own community' (p. 9). Kelman uses his written stories as a site for validation of his own working-class cultural background and addresses an omission in the imaginative world. Kelman's writing undermines middle-class views of the world by using one of their primary sources of imagination and symbolic dominance: formal written literature. Literature is a good choice for this because it is theorised as a place where the boundaries with other classes are more malleable than others.

Kelman's reflections in the quotation above raise a second issue to do with the role of literature as an expression of culture and a means to examine human experience. It can be argued that Scottish literature, which rejects the local or

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[2] Ledbetter (p. 9); Margetts (para 5); Kelman, 'And the Judges Said…' (p. 17); Walsh (p. 2); and Kelman, *Elitist Slurs* (p. 2).

national language when dealing with Scottish subjects — instead using Standard English as the main language of expression — is not only giving away an important part of Scottish culture, it allows a form of colonisation to take place in the literary text. This notion is bolstered by the historical evidence that the Scottish upper class and middle class adopted prestige English language varieties, whereas the lower classes were more likely to use local dialect. In this sense, Kelman's definition of the term 'colonisation' incorporates a class dimension that is based upon linguistic differentiation. Thus, not only was there the colonisation of Scotland which was essentially a stateless nation, there were also class tensions that contributed to the suppression of the Scottish working-class voice. In 'And the Judges Said...', Kelman concentrates on class as the more important problem for literature:

> How could I write from within my own place and time if I was forced to adopt the 'received' language of the ruling class? Not to challenge the rules of narrative was to be coerced into assimilation, I would be forced to write in the voice of an imagined member of the ruling class.... This meant I had to work my way through language, find a way of making it my own. (p. 17)

He resolves this issue of 'colonisation' by incorporating local language forms in his writing. He asserts to Helen Elliot, that 'I write exactly as I hear people speak' (p. 15) and he aims 'to give a translation of language as it is used orally', as he tells Luke Slattery (p. 5). However, Kelman's objectives are often obscured in the reception of his language, which, as he tells Laurence Chollet, is tarred by linguistic bigotry:

> The whole kind of simplistic criticism I received after the Booker took pains to evade the serious questions – like how would it be possible for this character to exist without the language he uses, which is the language of his culture? These arguments that say you can't use this kind of language are basically saying, 'We don't want to know of the existence of these people.' (p. 3)

Kelman's point is that an author who represents the reality of a character needs to also recognise the language used to express that character's experiences.

John Douglas Macarthur identifies the dignity and power inherent within Kelman's strategy of using the subject's language for their own literary representation: 'The fundamental principle of Kelman's writing is the democratic impulse that, as far as possible, the characters be allowed to speak for themselves' (p. 28). Macarthur also recognises the literary nature of the linguistic depiction that 'Kelman starts with the rhythms and power of everyday speech and

transforms them' (p. 85). While Kelman's writing is not a transcription of speech, in his interview with Duncan McLean, Kelman agrees that he is approaching language in a similar way to Lewis Grassic Gibbon — that is, 'to mould the English language into the rhythms and cadences of Scots spoken speech, and to inject into the English vocabulary such minimum number of words from Braid Scots as that remodelling requires' (p. 102).

In 'And the Judges Said...', Kelman outlines the rationale for his literary strategy:

> I had to work my way through language, find a way of making it my own. When I was making my first stories it didn't occur to me that I was breaching linguistic and social taboos. My only concern was how to enter into my own world, how to make use of myself, my own experience, my own culture and community, and so on. (p. 17)

His aim of using the Glaswegian language was aided by a focus on a Glasgow subject, providing a firm localised position that made this use of local language a logical option for his literature:

> Eventually I had as a project to write a group of stories set wholly in Glasgow, that self-contained Glasgow, not subject to the yays or nays of ruling authority. I got into the habit of evaluating my own work, training myself to recognise when a story was finished as well as it could be finished, when it was working and when it was not working. (p. 17)

This made it easier for Kelman to turn away from conventional literary language if a commonly-used local linguistic resource made more sense in the context of the story.

Kelman is clearly aware how the structure of authority in literature could disempower his linguistic and literary project. Kelman's plight might be situated within Pierre Bourdieu's theory of literary struggles outlined in *The Field of Cultural Production*:

> the fundamental stake in literary struggles is the monopoly of literary legitimacy […] the monopoly of the power to say with authority who are authorised to call themselves writers […] the monopoly of the power to consecrate producers or products. (p. 42)

In this debate about literary versus non-literary language, the dialect (local) language is the product. However, in Kelman's case, he does not seek consecration from outside authority. Instead, he makes a stand, as stated in an interview with Luke Slattery, using local language 'for standard literary purposes'

(p. 5). As explained earlier, Kelman feels unobliged to prove himself in literary terms in order to create what he feels is valid art.

Perhaps Kelman has had to persist so vehemently with his position of self-validation because non-standard language in literature often has a negative connotation, frequently viewed as an unedited transcription of speech which does not contribute serious intellectual content to written discourse. In an interview with *The Guardian*, Kelman recounts evidence of this assumption that his work is merely a transcription of speech rather than a crafted piece of literature:

> Occasionally textual suggestions were made as though they never would have occurred to me. There was a vague assumption that the stories had just come. All I did was write them down. It was weird. I sweated blood over the damn things. Seventeen years later my novel *A Disaffection* was shortlisted for prizes and a member of an adjudicating panel asked if I ever revised 'or did it just come out?'
> (p. 4)

What is particularly telling in this passage, and revealing of the misguided idea that Kelman's writing is a transcription rather than a crafting of language, is the question of whether he 'ever revised' his work. Kelman summarises the argument underlying this question in 'Elitist Slurs are Racism by Another Name':

> the gist of the argument amounts to the following, that vernaculars, patois, slangs, dialects, gutter-languages etc. […] are inferior linguistic forms and have no place in literature. And *a priori* any writer who engages in the use of such so-called language is not really engaged in literature at all. It's common to find well-meaning critics suffering from the same burden, while they strive to be kind they still cannot bring themselves to operate within a literary perspective; not only do they approach the work as though it were an oral text, they somehow assume it to be a literal transcription of recorded speech. (p. 2)

Essentially, he outlines the lack of recognition given to his crafting of local language for serious literary purposes. Despite this, Kelman constantly situates himself within a Glasgow context, repeatedly expressing the sentiment in *Some Recent Attacks* that 'I wanted to write as one of my own people, I wanted to write and remain a member of my own community' (p. 81). As a result, the use of the Glasgow language has become the central characteristic of Kelman's voice and writing style. Before Kelman's treatment of narrative can be examined further, a brief explanation needs to be made about how the term 'class' is used in the thesis.

Weber's notion of social class

The concept of class used in this thesis is not an oppositional concept of power based on the Marxian theme of the opposition between the bourgeoisie and the proletariat, where one class dominates the other due to its ownership of the means of production. Rather, the situation in Scotland is somewhat based on the differentials in power between those who own or control the means of cultural production and re-production, particularly the education system and the media. However, there are other factors involved in the struggle over language which are acted out in the social realm through groups based on occupational, geographical, and arguably, ethnic distinctions, in addition to the status held by these groups in the class hierarchy.

A more appropriate approach when examining the situation of language exclusion through power relations might be to use Max Weber's concept of social differentiation based on status groups. This conceptualization does not exclude class-based relations based on economic position in society. Frank Parkin, in *Max Weber,* argues that Weber's theory allows for class and status overlap because the people who have social prestige and honour also happen to be higher in the class hierarchy (p. 96). Status is not only derived from economic factors, instead it is a two-way relationship. As Parkin points out, 'sometimes, social honour flowed from material possessions, sometimes it was more like a springboard to the attainment of such possessions' (pp. 96-7). In Weber's conceptualisation, the fact that such groups may belong to the middle-class or even the upper-class is not based on the ownership of the means of production in the Marxian sense of the term. Parkin outlines how, for Weber, status is 'housed' in collectivities – social groups – which gain their status through their 'communal identity' which may be based on racial, religious, linguistic, occupational or a myriad of other possible commonalities that may bind a group together (p. 95).

For the purposes of this thesis, the Weberian characterisation of social division within a society being based on social status, and therefore on status groups as the social and collective manifestation of social status, is particularly powerful when analysed in terms of the actions of a status group. In *Economy and Society*, Weber argues that status groups act as collectivities that mobilise their members in order

to monopolise or exclude other groups from competitive struggles for social resources (p. 935).

This provides a highly flexible basis for a number of the arguments in this thesis. For example, there may be many people in Scottish society who are unconcerned about questions of language, regardless of their position in the class hierarchy. The interests in such debates are more centred in status groups based on occupation (journalists, educationalists, politicians, book-sellers, etc) and social prestige associated with geography and economy, and arguably, ethnicity (for example, a working-class Glaswegian Scot versus a middle-class Edinburgh 'Brit', and to some extent, the 'British' upper-class in the highlands).

As Parkin states, status groups are 'more likely to have a powerful sense of their own common identity and of the social boundary separating them off from others, especially if there is a racial, religious or ethnic component present. As a consequence, they can be more readily mobilized for collective ends' (pp. 97-8). Robert Holton and Bryan Turner argue in *Max Weber on Economy and Society* that this maintenance of boundaries and separation is based on what Weber calls 'social closure', where certain status groups gain social benefit through restricting opportunities to other groups (p. 136). Such practices are usually associated with occupational groups who exclude (or restrict) an outsider's entry into the group through examinations and certification. For the purposes of this thesis, the groups based on occupation, geography, and economy (and arguably, ethnicity) are the ones that seek to exclude, and to diminish, the status of the working-class language of Glasgow. This will become especially evident in the latter discussion of 'Bad Scots'. However, Kelman's treatment of narrative needs to be understood before a discussion of his linguistic preferences can take place.

Kelman's treatment of narrative

Kelman's use of the Glasgow voice, mixing Scots and English freely across narrative and dialogue, is his attempt to democratise the narrative. Kelman's two-year spell as an apprentice compositor between 1961-63 undoubtedly drew his attention to the visual presentation of words on the page and the type of language that made it into printed form. As already seen, Kelman tells McLean about the

act of telling a story in English literature and the common outcome of this process:

> You see, one of the things that goes on in say English Literature is the wee dialogue going on between author and reader about character. All the wee signals and codes. […] For instance, in the average novel written about a working-class character, the assumption is that the character doesn't know as much as the writer and the reader, and often you'll get all those wee things such as dialect, for instance, in phonetics. In other words, the person who speaks is not as good, or rather not as intellectually aware as the writer or reader. (p. 68)

In response to this problem, Kelman instead seeks to use the spoken Glasgow working-class language in his stories without these 'wee signals and codes'. Kelman attempts to address what Martha Nussbaum identifies as a long-standing imbalance of social class representation in the novel, one that presents a moral problem for literature:

> For generations, at least since Dickens, there have been gestures of inclusion, in which working-class characters figure in a literary novel; but their voices first had to be assimilated to a middle-class norm of literary discourse. (pp. 98-9)

Kelman addresses this moral issue by democratising the relationships between the different voices in his writing. This can only be achieved if some of the hierarchical structures involved in literature — in fact, many accepted English conventions of writing — are modified or removed. This would allow a non-standard voice to be used without being textually demoted in value against a Standard English norm. Scott Hames feels that a politics of form is found in Kelman, one that involves 'the dynamic negotiation of value and authority' enacted through 'structures of textural representation' (p. 10). Lee Spinks makes a similar point:

> It is the function of third-person narrative to stand behind and beyond the discourses it sets into play in order that the reader can make sense of them within a stable interpretative and ideological framework. But Kelman's prose challenges this formal economy by continually dissolving the meta-textual position of third person narratives into the novel's general play of discourses and by raising moments of dialogue and self-reflection to the status of third-person narrative. (p. 95)

Kovesi, in his book *James Kelman*, similarly makes a link between narrative and language in the process of marginalisation. He recognises that one of the main ways that the Glasgow voice has been marginalised is by presenting it in contrast to Standard English in narrative:

> When standard English surrounds and voices an omniscient narrative position, the contrasting non-standard varieties render their non-standard speakers 'other'; they

are made to seem unlike 'us' – that 'us' being the collusive narrator and reader. (p. 27)

Macarthur similarly focuses on the omniscient position:

> The fundamental principle of Kelman's writing is the democratic impulse that, as far as possible, the characters be allowed to speak for themselves. The narrative forms must therefore satisfy this principle. As a result, Kelman is dismissive of the omniscient third person narrator. (p. 28)

Kelman himself writes in 'And the Judges Said…' that he felt it was important to 'challenge the rules of narrative' (p. 17). He is keenly aware that language plays an important role in the 'othering' of the Glasgow voice, and writes:

> In prose fiction I saw the distinction between dialogue and narrative as a summation of the political system; it was simply another method of exclusion, of marginalising and disenfranchising different peoples, cultures and communities. (p. 17)

In response to the problem of marginalisation, Kelman uses a mix of language types in both dialogue and narrative, a quality of his writing often observed by critics.[3] Cairns Craig, in *The Modern Scottish Novel*, describes Kelman's strategy as resulting in:

> no distinction between the narrative voice and the character's speech or thoughts: no hierarchy of language is established which orders the value to be put on the characters' language in relation to any other mode of speech or writing within the text. The text is designed visually to resist the moment of arrest in which the reader switches between the narrative voice of the text and the represented speech of a character, and what this does is to create a linguistic equality between speech and narration which allows the narrator to adopt the speech idioms of his characters, or the characters to think or speak in 'standard English', with equal status. (p. 101)

Mary McGlynn makes the same point, and writes that in response to the problem of the structural dominance of English, Kelman 'disrupts narrative hierarchy' by reconfiguring 'conventional hierarchical distinctions between narrator and character, between educated and uneducated speech, and between written and spoken expression' (p. 61). This seems to be a strength of Kelman's work, as Craig writes in 'Resisting Arrest':

> The validity of Kelman's prose comes precisely from his refusal to accept any standard for the narrative voice in his novels: narrator, character, language—all explore what happens when you cease to accept fixed positions in a structure but move restlessly between them. (pp. 194-5)

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[3] Bernstein; Bohnke (pp. 66-78); Craig, *The Modern Scottish Novel*; Dixon (pp. 124-5); Gilbert; Hames; Klaus, *Kelman for Beginners*; Klaus, *James Kelman*; Kovesi, 'James Kelman Margarined'*;* Kovesi, *James Kelman;* McGlynn; Murphy; Nicoll, 'Gogol's Overcoat'; and Spinks.

Thus, the third-person narrative voice can be intermingled with that of the main character, which means, as Corbett notes, that 'the perspectives of narrator and character are merged' (p. 149).

Through his treatment of language and narrative position, Kelman further addresses traditional literature's tendency to establish binary oppositions in the novel. Kovesi notes in *James Kelman* that these binary oppositions are marked by 'a hard linguistic boundary' between the narrator and the narrated, between English and Scots, and between educated and uneducated (p. 18). Kovesi further explains that:

> [Kelman's] narrator's voice and character's voice are so intertwined that it is often impossible to separate the two; direct speech and indirect speech, speech and thoughts, have fuzzy borders in Kelman, as do subject-object relations. (p. 18)

Kovesi explains: 'Aesthetically the result is a fluidity of position for a merging voice which conjoins protagonist with narrator to the point where the first person is almost implicated, without the concurrent limitations of that first person' (p. 18). He argues that the result is a unified voice which is simultaneously based upon a consistent mixing of language types (p. 12).

The general consensus of the critics can be summarised in a quotation from Simon Baker, who feels that Kelman resists 'bourgeois fictional modes and devices' (p. 240):

> Kelman liberates the strictly third-person narrative voice and plunges it into the same world as his characters, denying the usual authoritative, pseudo-omniscient, 'standard English' voice its hegemony over his fiction. (p. 247)

Kelman's approach is revolutionary and, as Kovesi in 'James Kelman Margarined' concludes, Kelman's efforts 'to resist a largely unchallenged literary power structure' is groundbreaking (p. 16).

Traditional bourgeois basis of book publication

It is clear that Kelman objects to what he perceives as a middle-class bias in literature. This bias is complex in nature, and is a long-standing feature of the Scottish novel which uses Standard English as its main language. One of the factors that contributed to the dominance of English in the Scottish novel historically arose from the relationship between the bourgeois book publishers and the local popular presses. In Watt's *The Rise of the Novel*, his seminal study of the

emergent popularity of that particular literary form, he outlines the bourgeois roots of the novel genre and how it is accompanied by the establishment of capitalism and a liberal bourgeois ideology. This relationship does not necessarily mean that the modern novel is still controlled by the middle-class, but there is certainly some influence of the initial ideology which must be taken into account when assessing modern works. It should not be forgotten that the early development of the novel had firmly established Standard English as the expected medium for book publishing generally and the language of novels always pulls back to this starting point.

David McCrone writes that, in contrast to the book publishers in late nineteenth century, the popular press formed a significant part of the Scottish literary market, with an estimated two hundred weekly titles circulating over Scotland (p. 137). William Donaldson adds that Scotland was relatively insignificant in terms of the sale of novels, in comparison to England, with non-fiction books tending to top the best-selling charts in Scotland more than they did in England (p. 146). Donaldson contends that within Scotland itself, up until the early 1900s, the Scottish popular press supplied the local demand for both non-fiction and fiction:

> The significant part of the literary market in Scotland during most of the nineteenth century was not the middle class with its subscription libraries and imported English novels, but the Scots-speaking working class and the native writers who catered for it through the medium of the popular press. (p. 148)

The fictional works included serialised Scottish novels and short stories, all of which reflected the identity of the area each local publishing house served. It was here that local writers wrote for the local people, and they freely used the vernacular to do so. Donaldson estimates that, among the papers published between 1860 and 1900, 'more than five thousand full-length Scottish novels' were produced and thus much working-class-oriented Scottish writing is 'still largely unexplored' by academics (p. 148). Modern writers have not had access to this vast body of literature. Thus, a writer like Kelman should be seen against a trend of book publishing rather than the past dominant form of publication — serialisation in the popular press — which has largely disappeared.

English was the dominant language in published novels since there were economic advantages in using it as the main language. The Scottish book

publishing industry catered to an audience who were outside of the country. Knowles observe that the potential Scots-reading audience was much smaller than the potential English-reading bourgeois audience in Britain and America (p. 27). While initially this wider audience was not likely to be able to read Scots, the use of Scots to perform only a few functions in the novel, frequently accompanied by a glossary or in-text interpretation, was probably the best way to introduce new readers to this language. As Donaldson points out, the Scottish authors of this time, predominantly middle-class and already using English, were compelled to produce stories which would sell (p. 146). Furthermore, the Scottish writers who focused on English as the main language of the novel with Scots as the secondary voice found this strategy allowed a wider linguistic range to choose from and increased their literary options of expression. For example, the use of some Scots words allowed stories to attain a strong sense of locality and placed the novel firmly in Scotland.

Donaldson outlines how it was only after the introduction of public libraries, cheaper books, growing affluence, and paper shortages during World Was I that the role of the popular press as a source of fiction eventually diminished (pp. 149-50). The Scottish literary renaissance of the 1920s followed this change in relationship between the popular press and the book publishing industry, and the prevailing changes probably meant there was more to gain from using novels to write for an audience inside of Scotland. However, the downside was that writers who wrote for the book publishers had to conform to the expectations already established in novels, published as books, in which middle-class conventions and ideas about language had a firm hold.

Scottish literary renaissance

In the introduction to Volume IV of *The History of Scottish Literature: Twentieth Century*, Cairns Craig makes a telling comment on the predicament of Scottish writers: 'the issue of language has an overwhelming significance that sets their writing quite different problems from those posed to the English writer' (pp. 3-4). It is a problem not limited to Glasgow; Scottish writers have long grappled with the issue of balancing their local language with English. Despite the declining status of the Scots language, it has featured in literature for centuries. However,

the dominance of the English language in Scotland had implications for the use of Scots in Scottish literature. The Scottish novel followed the trend to use English as the main formal language of the text; however, in the process Scots became firmly established in novels as a medium for the depiction of character's speech, in contrast to the English used for narration. As J. Derrick McClure describes in 'Scots in Dialogue', this Scots voice was surrounded by English narrative and typically was only found in the speech of common folk or servants (p. 130). The division between narrative and dialogue, as a literary device, allowed the narrator to maintain status and credibility in front of the reader because it was made clear that although the regional language was represented, it was not the primary form of communication for the educated narrator. This allowed the narrator to appear authoritative because they used a voice with status and power — English — to tell the story.

Writers and poets during the Scottish literary renaissance of the 1920s responded to the long standing process by which the English language had comprehensively taken over literature, especially when works were published in book form. They attempted to revivify the presence of Scots in literature. In 'Nationalism and the Scots Renaissance Now' Macafee describes how Scottish Nationalism was an important element of the Scottish literary renaissance and significant authors publicly identified themselves as having Nationalistic aims (p. 7). In a summary of the environment surrounding this movement, Duncan Glen writes:

> The young Scots who returned to Scotland after the 1914-1918 war were concerned with reviving not only Scottish literature or the arts in Scotland but with reviving 'Scotland—the Nation'; Scotland which was culturally, economically, and socially bankrupt; Scotland which had lost not only its political independence but was being swallowed economically and culturally by its larger and controlling partner. (p. 52)

These poets and authors sought a voice in which to write about the Scottish nation.

A key figure of this time was Hugh MacDiarmid who tried to revive Scots vocabulary by mixing rural dialects, reinvigorating older words, and retrieving disused words from dictionaries and other literary sources. This artificial language was suitably named 'Synthetic Scots'. The writers of this literary movement were attempting to enrich the vocabulary of Scottish literature and thus reduce the

danger that the Scots language would fall into further disuse — an understandable fear, as Glen writes:

> By the end of the eighteenth century English was established not only as the proper language for all serious literary works, both in prose and verse, but also as the superior spoken tongue. (p. 21)

The language experimentation of Synthetic Scots worked particularly well for poetry because the tradition of using various forms of Scots was already established in, and expected of, poetic works.

Beth Dickson argues in 'Foundations of the Modern Scottish Novel' that the Scots Renaissance novelists influenced later literature in two main ways: their opposition to the preoccupation with myth, archaism, and symbolic ancestral historicism, and their exploration of language, nation and community (pp. 49-59). The novelists also tended to value rural society higher than urban society, and use rural forms of language. Christopher Whyte focuses upon MacDiarmid's 'In Glasgow' as an apt example of how the Scottish literary renaissance of the 1920s was preoccupied with rural life and displayed negative attitudes toward urban life:

> I'd rather cease from singing,
> Than make by singing wrong
> An ultimate Cowcaddens,
> Or Gorbals of a song.
>
> I'll call myself a poet,
> And know that I am fit
> When my eyes make glass of Glasgow,
> And foresee the end of it! (p. 319)

Large-scale language innovations would be difficult to introduce to the novel, unlike poetry, partly because of the likelihood that a sustained piece of writing with many innovations would become inaccessible to readers. In addition, this sort of language experimentation does not suit the traditional realist novel in that it reduces plausibility because large-scale language innovations draw attention to the writing as a literary exercise rather than being seen as a transparent medium meant to reflect an aspect of real life. The novel, particularly in the 1930s and 1940s, became innovative by shifting to urban themes, which in itself is a major turning point, but it rarely challenged the English narrative and Scots dialogue division. The issue of language choice and stratification continued to be a problem, and one largely unresolved until Kelman's time. A confounding issue

was the negative attitudes towards the varieties of Scots used in urban Scottish speech, which will be explored further in the next section.

It should be noted that, due to the focus on language as a medium for creating a Glasgow voice within a tradition of realism, I downplay the 'non-realist' aspects of Kelman's narrative technique. Furthermore, the thesis is focused on addressing Kelman in a Scottish context, even though there are other literary models against which he can be compared. Thus, while non-Scottish figures such as James Joyce and Franz Kafka have clearly had a large influence on the Kelman's development as an author, only the linguistic outcomes will be explored and these primarily relate to the Scottish tradition. Admittedly, it is probably true that figures such as Joyce have had a positive influence, but it is equally true that traditional Scottish literature has had a negative influence on Kelman. Thus, it is appropriate to assess Kelman against the Scottish literary landscape because he shares a desire to represent Scottish speech, but at the same time he offers literary techniques to address the inadequate presentation of Scots in the traditional novel. As a result, the subject of this thesis is less concerned with positive non-Scottish influences and more concerned with the long-term issues found within the Scottish literary scene and Kelman's position within it. None of this is to suggest that the representation of a Glasgow voice is Kelman's only concern orthat his language is simply a transcript of actual speech. As Hames points out in 'Kelman's Art-Speech' such a position is absurd. Kelman's language is clearly a literary creation but speech-realism (not speech transcription) is one of its aims.

The Glaswegian dialect and the notion of a 'Bad Scots'

The Glaswegian dialect is often defined as a hybrid based upon West Central Scots and some elements of other varieties of Central Scots, intermingled with Standard English, and influenced by Highland and Hibernian Englishes. The result is a vocabulary that is drawn from many sources used within a Scottish English syntax and includes elements of Scots grammar. The distinctive Glaswegian phonetic features are a combination of Scots dialect with Hibernian and Highland influences.

The hybrid status of Glaswegian has long caused negative reaction. In his article 'Bad Scots', Aitken reports criticisms of Glaswegian being a corrupt mixed

Scots appearing as early as 1768 (p. 34). Aitken cites R. de B. Trotter's description in 1901 as a clear record of the middle-class contempt of the Glaswegian dialect, when it was scathingly described as 'a certain wonderful gibberish which now passes current for Scots' (p. 32). Aitken further outlines how, in 1946, a Scottish Education Department (SED) Advisory Report writes of Scots as 'sadly degenerated and [having] become a worthless jumble of slipshod, ungrammatical and vulgar forms' and demands that 'the teacher is to wage unceasing war against these unlovely forms of speech masquerading as Scots' (p. 33). Later in 1952 the SED recommended, as Aitken notes, that 'Bad Scots' language be excluded from the classroom, labelling varieties such as Glaswegian as 'slovenly perversions of dialect' (p. 33). The acceptable variety of Scots, 'Good Scots', as Aitken labels it, typically incorporates the rural dialects and is assumed to be 'consistently and unvaryingly Scottish in its choice between linguistic options' (p. 35). Aitken argues that the effect of the education policy was long-lasting despite the Scottish Education Department changing position as early as 1976 (p. 33). The sustained attack on language varieties such as Glaswegian has often convinced its users to believe themselves inadequate (p. 41).

Another important part of the problem is that the Scots language has steadily lost its prestige status since 1603, when the monarchies of England and Scotland combined, a situation which was further exacerbated in 1707 when the Scottish parliament was abolished. During this time, the English language began to take precedence as the prestigious language over the whole of Britain. By the 1820s, as Tulloch explains in 'The search for a Scots narrative voice', English had emerged as the Scottish people's preferred language for use in formal situations (pp. 167-8). The Scots language in general, not only the Glasgow dialect, started to be seen as the language of the uneducated.

This use of language to represent moral, personal, and social qualities is key to understanding the importance of Kelman using Glaswegian in his writing. Deborah Cameron argues in *Verbal Hygiene* that 'linguistic conventions are quite possibly the last repository of unquestioned authority for educated people in secular society', while also noting that 'linguistic bigotry is among the last publicly expressible prejudices left to members of the western intelligentsia'

(p. 12). This is supports the notion proposed by Aitken in the article 'Bad Scots' that, especially until the mid-1990s, institutional and middle-class linguistic bigotry was openly expressed towards the Glasgow vernacular, and that this bigotry led Kelman's community to believe that they spoke a corrupted language (p. 32).

Aitken writes that the notion of a 'Bad Scots' assumes a pure Scots, rather than the existence of a continuum between Scots and English. He argues that pure Scots exists only in the imagination (p. 36). Thus, the notion of 'Bad Scots' is linguistically meaningless and its conception arises from a social judgement that masquerades as linguistic fact (p. 41). The reason for the objection to Glasgow's 'slum' Scots, as Aitken outlines, is merely an opinion based upon a disrespect or dislike of its speakers rather than anything involving the purity of language (pp. 34, 41).

Discourse of purity

The language one uses is a form of social capital. The underlying discourse of purity is used to differentiate between high and low status varieties. In Britain, the late 1600s and early 1700s were a time when the discourse of purity was constructed to help give identity and power to the emerging middle class. Anthony McEnery outlines, in *Swearing in English*, how this discourse of purity relied upon the differentiation between acceptable and unacceptable language, and how it served the interests of

> an aspiring middle class [who] actively sought to distinguish themselves from the lower orders by a process of 'purifying' the speech of the middle class while problematising the speech of the lower orders. (pp. 12-3)

This position was adopted because, as McEnery argues in his investigation of the bad language discourse, 'the middle class sought an identity for themselves predicated on asserting their social and moral superiority over the working classes' and it was achieved through their 'censorious view of bad language' (pp. 83-4). Thus, the attitudes about 'bad language' created a distinct identity for the middle class from the lower class, differentiating them in terms of what they were not.

Under the influence of this discourse of purity, 'bad language' was equated to 'bad thinking'. In *From Old English to Standard English*, Dennis Freeborn summarises the dichotomy that developed during the standardisation of English:

> Language was regarded as 'the dress of thought', or, to use another simple metaphor, 'the mirror of thought'. It was believed that there was a direct relationship between good language and good thinking. (p. 190)

Freeborn further exposes how the association of bad language and bad thought formed the basis for stereotypes about the different social classes:

> On the one hand was the dominant social class, the Gentry, whose language and way of life were variously described as polite, civilized, elegant, noble, refined, tasteful and pure. On the other hand were 'the laborious and mercantile part of the people', shopkeepers and hackney-coachmen, the rabble, whose language was vulgar, barbarous, contemptible, low, degenerate, profane, mean, abject and depraved. (p. 190)

Overall, the argument behind the discourse was that the purification of language prevented the degradation of thought and prevented barbarism while at the same time promoting refined spiritual ideals and civility.

All spheres of public life became imbued with this discourse of linguistic purity, with it even playing a central role within Scotland and Scottish literature. Glen outlines the situation:

> By the end of the eighteenth century English was established not only as the proper language for all serious literary works, both in prose and verse, but also as the superior spoken tongue. As always in the struggle for social position, the middle classes followed the example of their 'betters' and cleansed their tongues, as well as they were able, of the 'uncouth' and 'provincial' Scots which until today many middle class, and indeed some—perhaps many—working class, parents are horrified to hear a Scots word on their children's tongues. (p. 21)

The ideal of linguistic purity makes it difficult for an author to use the Glaswegian dialect because it is likely that its claims to be a literary language will be rejected. Indeed, the written medium is where linguistic purity is potentially at its strongest, because it allows for, and demands, an extensive revision process where the text can come to be dominated by notions of purification and selection. The result in literature is that many of the features stigmatised within the discourse of purity are rarely represented outside of the dialogue of lower-class speakers or the jokes of the middle class.

Within the Scottish context adopted in this thesis, it will be seen that Scottish Standard English is not the only comparison point for Kelman's language. The second standard which his dialect may be compared with is an ideal notion of

Auld Scots. Aitken's notion of Auld Scots is essentially a traditional rural Scots uncontaminated by urban influences, as embodied in literary texts such as the works of Scott. These are the two language forms best recognised as legitimate by middle class readers before the arrival of new hybrid forms of Scots in the work of Kelman and his inheritors (such as Irvine Welsh, Janice Galloway, and Alan Warner).[4] The notion of Auld Scots is mostly subconscious in readers but still influential in the purity discourse. While Scottish people use Standard English for their everyday writing, when a strong Scots voice is sought for fiction a favoured strategy is to avoid English as much as possible in order to achieve a strong sense of difference and Scottishness. What is sought in these situations is either a Standard English or Scots in their 'purified' forms, that is, clearly differentiated from one another. Both language standards are not found in everyday speech but their purified forms are valued in literature.

This evaluation of Glaswegian dialect against two standards is noted by Richard Todd in his interpretation of the reaction to Kelman's *How Late it Was, How Late* winning the Booker Prize:

> The language of Kelman's novels is, as a result, twice marginalised: first, by the dominance of Standard English and second, by the linguistic establishment in Scotland which refuses to validate it. (p. 62)

Essentially, Glaswegian has traditionally been viewed as either an inferior form of English or an impure 'Bad Scots', and this affects authors who attempt to use Glaswegian in their writing.

In *Verbal Hygiene*, Cameron argues that often when there is a major argument about language use it is a result of a deeper social issue. Such disputes over language provide:

> a symbolic way of addressing conflicts about race, class, culture and gender. It is true that this symbolic deployment of language tends to obscure the true sources of disagreement and discomfort. (pp. 216-7)

Cameron specifies that 'one common function of arguments about language is to stand in for arguments on subjects people are reluctant to broach more directly' (p. 217). This is reflected in Aitken's point made in the article 'Bad Scots' about how the label of 'Bad Scots' is an attack on the lower-class users of that language

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[4] Aitken, 'Bad Scots' (p. 31); Aitken, 'Scottish Speech' (p. 108); Macafee, 'The Demography of Scots' (p. 32).

variety. Cameron writes how that the notion of bad language becomes an important focal point when conceptualising the lower class and appealing to a 'maintenance of order and meaning' in wider society (p. 218). Cameron similarly recognises that when bad language becomes the focus of criticism, the desire for linguistic purity acts as a surrogate for exerting control over the social world, where popular notions of language mask deeper concerns about society in general. In this case, one of these deeper concerns is the push for Scottish nationalism.

The Scots language is instrumental to the cultural validation of Scotland's political differentiation as a nation. In 'Nationalism and the Scots Renaissance Now', Macafee writes that 'there is often a special link between nationalism and vernacular languages, because the vernacular itself serves as a symbol of nationalist aims' (p. 9). She also argues that the Scots language needs to be strengthened by establishing a standard Scots (p. 7), and she points out that the linguistic purity discourse that is used to distinguish between 'Good Scots' and 'Bad Scots' assists the perception that there is such a standard form (p. 13). The acceptance of the hybrid Glaswegian as Scots poses a linguistic purity threat because it blurs the distinction between the Scots and English languages. Macafee makes the point most strongly that:

> This preoccupation with correctness, even at the expense of autonomy, is consistent with the middle class social base of nationalism, and also with the inherent tendency of nationalism to gloss over differences between social classes in favour of a national interest and a national culture (defined by the national middle class). (p. 13)

Macafee's observations about sacrificing autonomy and downplaying class issues are shared by Kelman. In an interview with Andy Pederson, Kelman observes this relationship between nationalists and the purity discourse operating in the 'Good Scots' movement:

> I'm very wary of being called a nationalist because there's been such a poor history of nationalism over the past 180 years. Nationalists are the ones talking about pure Scots. (p. A13)

As this quotation makes very clear, Kelman rejects the linguistic purity ideals motivated by nationalism. Kelman seeks to write in a way that bypasses the literary tradition of marginalisation by attacking this tradition at its roots in the purity discourse, both for the English and Scots languages.

Cheshire and Milroy write that 'standardization is a process that is never complete, but it aims at uniformity and values this above all things' (p. 3). Standardisation is a process but also an ideology, one which incorporates a discourse of purity. Elaboration of function, codification, and prescription are important stages of standardisation, and these are the very ones that Kelman assaults. Kelman refuses to stick to the norms that require writers to consistently use particular forms of language for particular functions. Therefore, instead of using a consistent standardised language of any kind, Kelman bases his voice on the 'impure' communal language that comprises the Glaswegian vernacular.

In the study, *James Kelman*, Kovesi notes the important function of a deliberate avoidance of linguistic purity:

> Kelman's defence of linguistic inconsistency is evidently meant to be anarchically liberating while also keeping faith with his understanding of oral speech and 'real' thought patterns. His albeit limited inconsistency within English is meant to gesture towards a liberation of author, narrator, subject and reader from the shackles of a language system which carries with it both the burden of formula and the possibility that when it is printed, standard language is at an inherent distance from reality as experienced by those who do not live their lives through this accepted language of power. (pp. 26-7)

Instead, Kelman's voice bridges the gulf between spoken and written discourse, working within the written medium to embed the discursive features of speech throughout the fictional text. Kovesi feels that this is 'is one of the key problems on Kelman's stylistic agenda' (p. 26), and that it addresses what is ultimately a disparity based upon linguistic purity processes in writing:

> That print culture has not presented these linguistic variations is for Kelman testament to the neglect and dismissal of the material realities of people who speak non-standard English varieties, and the distance between oral and textual forms of the language. (p. 26)

In an examination of Kelman's cultural politics, Keith Dixon adopts a similar stance, asserting that Kelman denounces a standardised voice because Standard English acts as a 'conspicuous' sign of 'the possession of cultural capital', and is found in the recurrent narrator of mainstream British fiction, itself 'an ideological construct, containing in itself both a vision of culture and a vision of the world, those of the ruling orders' (pp. 124-5). A similar argument can be posed for the 'Good Scots' movement, which similarly dominates cultural products such as literary works while also being used to oppresses other voices such as the

Glaswegian dialect. In this context, Kelman's development of a new Glasgow narrative voice serves a political and ideological role and leads to an entirely different narrative strategy to that adopted in the traditional presentation of Scots in the novel. This thesis, however, is not primarily concerned with this narrative strategy as a means of reallocating narrative authority but with the voice that Kelman creates to achieve this narrative authority.

To summarise, the Glasgow working-class language is positioned as 'bad language' between the two standards of English and Scots. In literature the split between the use of Scots for dialogue and English for narrative places further pressure against adding a further non-standard variety of language to the text, particularly if it is low-status. The Scottish context which Kelman's work is positioned, which includes the nationalistic writing during the Scottish Literary Renaissance and the underdeveloped tradition of the Glasgow novel, has affected the creation and reception of his work, especially in regards to the cultural stereotypes and the differential treatment between narrative and dialogue which were yet unresolved. However, despite the influence of the discourse of purity, one which would be used in the popular press to devalue much of what Kelman produces, there are a large number of positive reviews and critical attention given to his work. These will be examined in the next section.

Stylistic research already conducted on Kelman's work

As Terence Patrick Murphy notes:

> a broad consensus exists that suggests that Kelman's attempts to rid himself of an entire value system have been bound up with his attempt to find a suitable voice for writing fiction. For the most part, however, there has been little attempt to try to move beyond this level of generality in order to describe the development of Kelman's authorial style in any serious detail. (p. 185)

The suggestion by Murphy that there has been little movement beyond generality of Kelman's work rings true and will be borne out in this literature review. For this reason, the review will concentrate on a selected group of comprehensive authorial works that focus wholly or mainly on Kelman's writing. Other sources that place Kelman in a comparative framework (which look at aspects of writing through a number of authors, of which Kelman is one), will be interwoven throughout the selected works as will the work of a number of other researchers

who have made comments or reviewed Kelman's work in order to place Kelman's work into a literary context.

General points can be made about the research and criticism of Kelman's work. Some consider the practical writing process that encodes a story into print onto the page, pointing to Kelman's voice being supported by very specific textual language choices and layout innovations. However, many of the authors cited in this review mention Kelman's language but are usually not comprehensive when outlining the particular stylistic techniques used by Kelman. This does not mean that they have not contributed to the debate on Kelman's work: these sources do assist greatly in providing a context into which the analysis put forward in this thesis can be applied.

Second, many researchers recognise that the Glasgow language is a prominent feature of Kelman's voice. Particular aspects of Kelman's language are explored in detail in some works, but this varies in scope. For example, Hagan is extremely thorough in identifying specific words while other critics such as Kovesi and McGlynn may focus on a small number of words, yet all make very important contributions to the debate. There are also many references to Kelman's language and these are found in a variety of publications, such as book reviews and other brief articles and interviews.[5] These play little role in this literature review because they understandably make less specific analysis of Kelman's work.

Finally, the range of written and linguistic features examined by the researchers varies greatly. On a few occasions, spelling has been the main focus when describing Kelman's work, since spelling is used to hint at the pronunciation of local speech.[6] Other authors have concentrated on Kelman's use of punctuation, and their analyses ranges from a mention of the feature through to a thorough examination.[7] The point here is that the authors presented in this review have had

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[5] Agate (p. 10); Chollet 1995 (p. 3); Cowley, 'A Search for Identity' (p. 28); Cryer 1994 (p. B06); Elliot (p. 15); Freely (p. 2); Gallacher (n.p.); Grant (pp. 34-5); Houston (para 2); Kuebler, 'Book Reviews – How Late' (pp. 199-200); Ledbetter (p. 9); Linklater; McRobbie (p. 40); Miller, 'Scot Free' (pp. 46-9); Morton, 'Out of Sight' (p. 56); Quinn (p. 26); Rendle (p. 5); Scott, 'Broken Class' (p. 64); Slattery (p. 5); Smothers 1999 (p. 1790); Turner (p. 24); and Weeks (p. 1C). See also Bernstein; Bohnke; Freeman; Freeman (p. 33); Gilbert (pp. 227-9); Hagan; Hames; Klaus, *James Kelman* (p. 2); Kovesi, *James Kelman;* Maley (pp. 105-8); McGlynn; Nicoll, 'Gogol's Overcoat'; and Pitchford.

[6] Such as those by Craig, *The Modern Scottish Novel*; Hagan; Klaus, *James Kelman* (pp. 17, 20); Kovesi, *James Kelman* (pp. 24-6); and to a lesser extent Burgess *Imagine a City* (p. 287); Kovesi, 'James Kelman Margarined' (p. 17); McMunigall and Carruthers (p. 58).

[7] Such as those by Hagan; Kovesi, *James Kelman* (pp. 12-21); Murphy. Those who either mention or discuss particular features include Baker (p. 247); Bernstein (p. 75); Craig, 'Resisting Arrest'; Dixon (p. 124); Freeman (p. 29); Klaus, *James Kelman* (pp. 30-1); Kovesi, 'James Kelman Margarined' (p. 17); McGlynn; Nicoll, 'This is Not a Nationalist Position'

a wide range of different foci and as such, this makes for a rich, if somewhat complex and problematic, tapestry of works on Kelman's writing.

One of the most instructive places to start in examining the work on Kelman is to look at an aspect of his writing that evokes a large amount of criticism: his impolite language. A typical example of this kind of criticism can be found in the article 'The Booker Prize: How Odd it Was' by *The Economist* which has a comment typical of the strong negative sentiment that Kelman's work often evokes: 'The rude, limited vocabulary is at first startling, then mesmerising, then numbing and, finally, borrrring [sic]' (p. 97). Some critics are more specific, such as Anthony Quinn who maintains that Kelman's 'sentences reach out to capture the elusive inflections and cadences of spoken language. They also tend to be strewn with swear words' (p. 26). Jason Cowley defines Kelman's language as 'a stylised vernacular' (p. 28). Robert Winder attempts to describe Kelman's language using metaphor: 'he has taken a hammer to the kneecaps of polite literary language' (p. 18). Others, such as Arnold Weinstein, are equally critical of Kelman's work: 'Mr. Kelman's eloquent thuggery can be dangerous. But obscenities are defanged by obsessive frequency; the poverty of vocabulary is an economic analogy' (p. 19). Despite these criticisms, comments such as these are useful in terms of providing the context within which Kelman's work can be examined. This clash between Kelman and some of the literary establishment mirrors the struggle against capital, the state, and state institutions that Kelman's characters face in his stories.

There are some works which go into great detail and make specific reference to particular linguistic or textual features but also comment on the role that these features play in Kelman's writing, often using examples of his work to make their point. This can be seen in some critiques produced by Gilbert, Bernstein, Burgess, Dixon, Freeman, Knights, Milne, McMunnigall & Curruthers, and Spinks. These critics provide excellent analyses of particular literary features such as the narrative technique used.

Geoff Gilbert argues in his piece 'Can Fiction Swear?' that in Kelman's writing Standard English must be repositioned as a sociolect. The reason for this

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(p. 81); and Spinks.

is that when Standard English is used alongside the Glaswegian: 'Dialect does not just "place" Sammy, but understands him as a place from which "Standard English" is revealed as sociolect' (p. 222). Gilbert goes on to provide an extended discussion of swearing. Gilbert argues that swearing enables emphasis, acts as a sign of affiliation, and replaces full stops. He also points out that swearing evokes a 'heightened awareness' and acts as an important social marker that serves to either affiliate or enlarge social gaps (pp. 227-8). Gilbert demonstrates this point using an example from Kelman's novel *How Late it Was, How Late* (p. 228):

> In respect of the visual stimuli presented you appeared unable to respond.
>   So ye're no saying I'm blind?
>   It isn't for me to say.
>   Aye but you're a doctor.
>   Yes.
>   So ye can give an opinion.
>   Anyone can give an opinion.
>   Aye but to do with medical things.
>   Mister Samuels, I have people waiting to see me.
>   Christ sake!
>   I find your language offensive.
>   Do ye. Ah well fuck ye then. Fuck ye! Sammy crumpled the prescription and
> flung it at him: Stick that up yer fucking arse!
>   Yes good morning. (p. 226)

Gilbert argues that the differences in attitudes about language reflect opposite class positions, one where the doctor has the power to regulate and expect that the patient will accommodate his language, but this is contrasted to the character's initially unselfconscious use of impolite language.

Stephen Bernstein comments in his lengthy article, 'James Kelman', on the importance of working-class language in Kelman's writing:

> Thus it is here that something must be said about one of the most immediately recognizable features of Kelman's fiction, the language in which much of it is written. As Kelman draws his characters almost without exception from the working class, he has found that letting these characters speak in the diction and cadences of their social milieu is the only strategy that makes sense. (pp. 46-7)

Bernstein also mentions Kelman's 'linguistic precision' and 'stylistic integrity', and makes allusions to how this is achieved in practice on the page through swearing, punctuation, and dialect (pp. 49-50).

In her book, *Imagine a City*, Moira Burgess observes that Kelman uses Glaswegian in his fiction and notes that he uses many spelling changes. She provides an interesting example of Kelman's spelling change of *doesni/doesnay* between two novels (pp. 286-7). Burgess relates spelling specifically to accent,

which provides some pointers to the argument in this thesis. However, a more complex application of this idea is required than that provided by Burgess, and this is an issue taken up in greater detail later in the Chapter Three of this thesis. Another important observation made by Burgess is that Kelman uses a wide geographical breadth for the vocabulary of his characters. This breadth encompasses a range of working-class usage as well as words from completely different languages which mirrors Glasgow working-class speech. Stylistic flexibility and word-play are significant features of Glasgow working-class speech just as, for example, rhyming slang is a feature of Cockney speech.

Keith Dixon believes that Kelman's literary politics results in a denouncing of a Standard English that denigrates non-standard voices (pp. 124-5). Dixon argues in the article 'Notes from the Underground' that apostrophe insertion is a way of validating the cultural and political suppression of non-standard and demotic voices. Dixon believes that Kelman denounces a standardised voice because Standard English functions as a sign 'of the possession of cultural capital' (p. 124), while reinforcing a vision of culture from the point of view of 'the ruling orders' (p. 125). Literary retaliation is presented as a means of attack on the dominant British elitist cultural values. Dixon looks at the interrelatedness of the Glasgow writers and the roots of the Scottish literary renaissance as partly attributable to its base of innovative working-class male and female writers. He also touches upon the political and cultural rationale that drives writers such as Kelman: the notion of the role of a good writer for them is partly a moral crusade against inequality and the innovations in voice address the problem of the disempowerment of the lower-class subject (p. 123).

Alan Freeman, in a discussion of narrative and polemics in 'The Humanist's Dilemma', offers a specific example relevant to Kelman's use of swearing. He identifies Kelman's voice as existing between 'standard and demotic forms of speech' (p. 29). He focuses on one word, *cunt*, as simultaneously 'liberating the demotic' while 'oppressing someone else' (p. 33). This apart, Freeman concentrates more on deconstructing Kelman's moral positioning as a writer which is a very different focus than the concentration on the nuts and bolts of Kelman's writing presented in this thesis.

In the book *Writing Masculinities*, Ben Knights explores Kelman's narrative themes such as victimhood and passivity, failure and survival, and domesticity. He provides an analysis of body language, in terms of masculinity: the more a man speaks the more he is feminised, so body language is an alternative, more masculinised form of communication (p. 15). Knights' analysis operates through a gender lens and is different from this thesis, but his work is instructive as he looks at the dominance of articulated language, such as speech, over other forms of communication, such as body language.

Allan McMunnigall and Gerard Carruthers, in 'Locating Kelman', position this author in a Scottish literary historical context. They argue that 'there is no shame in Kelman being situated within the Scottish context, one in which writers are interested in community, language, and literature as cornerstones of human relationships' (p. 67). They touch upon the fluidity of Kelman's spelling, citing *didni* and *didnay* as examples and point out that Kelman is 'more interested in speech than spelling' and as such, his language is 'never to be rendered with absolute certitude' (p. 58).

In the article 'In Juxtaposition to Which', Lee Spinks primarily examines narrative technique and uses many examples of Kelman's work. His work is instructive to this thesis, commenting on pragmatics as they are manifested in language use. Although his analysis of Kelman adopts a different focus to this thesis (which concentrates on the language and its role in the presentation of Glaswegian working-class speech), Spinks does occasionally venture outside of the analysis of meta-narrative, observing for instance that repetition is an important part of Kelman's work. Spinks also focuses on quotation marks, in the sense that their absence means speech and narrative can occupy each others' position, essentially supporting his discussion of Kelman's narrative technique (pp. 90-1). It is here that Spinks' work overlaps with the focus of this thesis.

Some works which focus to a greater extent on the themes of this thesis are the ones which examine Kelman's style and language in more detail, making specific reference to a small number of linguistic or textual features, citing examples of their use in Kelman's writing and providing some level of interpretation of their

role in the creation of his writing style. These are the studies by Klaus, Bohnke, and Maley which are outlined below.

Gustav Klaus's study *James Kelman* focuses on the narrative treatment of Kelman's subject matter in terms of stance, perspective, mood, pace, character, themes, mimicking of genre, and register. His work overlaps with this thesis in terms of his work on swearing, the vernacular, and punctuation. Klaus feels Kelman uses 'an inventive language that goes beyond a replication of real speech' (p. 7), and he notably writes about Kelman's 'speaker-narrator' (p.3). He focuses briefly on swearing, claiming that it draws 'attention to the importance of language in Kelman's work', and that it can 'help root a character in time, place, situation and mood' (p. 4). Klaus defines Kelman's language as the vernacular. He looks at passages of Kelman's work which allows him to list formal and informal vocabulary items (pp. 36-7). He examines some punctuation marks such as quotation marks, commas, semicolons, and hyphenation, each of which are illustrated using a sample passage (pp. 13, 73, 31, 35). Klaus' observations are useful in examining Kelman's work but, being part of a larger work, cannot provide the breadth and depth of analysis given in this thesis.

Dietmar Bohnke in his book *Kelman Writes Back* considers language 'above all' as 'the essence of Kelman's prose', where 'language' equates to vocabulary, grammar, and phonetically representative spellings (pp. 69-70). He argues that the use of swearing and phonetic renditions makes the text adopt an oral dimension. Bohnke examines a paragraph from *How Late it Was, How Late*, and then cites the instances of "regional words and devices" found in that passage, which include grammatical properties. Overall, Bohnke focuses on the postcolonial writer position and minority literature writer status as being the political positions for Kelman's fight for his own language, culture and history. This is highly informative for the themes of this thesis, particularly in examining how Kelman's techniques of representation enable this political empowerment to be achieved in his writing.

Willy Maley in 'Swearing Blind' recognises the range of functions that swearing can adopt in Kelman's work (pp. 105-8). Maley writes: 'The swearing is integral to Kelman's power as a writer. It is neither a vulgar and superfluous

supplement nor an offensive coating concealing shortcomings in narrative, dialogue, or characterisation' (p. 108). Maley constantly refers back to examples and quotes from Kelman's work while contextualising and theorising the use of swearing in the examples. He also briefly mentions Kelman's use of the sentence tag 'but', giving one example of it from Kelman's work, and relates it back to argument about swearing (p. 108).

Perhaps the most comprehensive analyses of a wide number of linguistic usages found in Kelman's work are provided in the works of Hames, McGlynn, Murphy, Craig, Kovesi, and Hagan. These researchers make multiple specific references to a wide range of linguistic or textual features, citing examples of their use in Kelman's writing and providing a sustained in-depth analysis of their role in the creation of Kelman's voice.

Scott Hames in his PhD Thesis *The Literary Politics of James Kelman* argues that Kelman fits within a modernist tradition, specifically 'demotic modernism', allowing him to situate Kelman's work within a literary context rather than a cultural one: 'with attention firstly to *form* rather than social content' (p. 13). He particularly focuses on the novels *How Late it Was, How Late* and *You Have to be Careful in the Land of the Free* (including its precursor short story 'More complaints from the American Correspondent' from *Greyhound for Breakfast*). Hames details the role of different registers and language sources in *How Late*, and explores Kelman's use of specific types of vocabulary and the spoken basis of his language choices (p. 184): conversational tags, imprecations, syntax, and lexis. For *Careful*, Hames compares the mixing of Scots and American accents and vocabulary, giving detailed examples and interpretations of particular types of words such as 'Uhmerka', 'sidewalks', and 'polis' (pp. 203-37).

Hames provides an excellent analysis of Kelman's narrative style and focalisation, and the use of particular language associated with this, such as the implications of using a particular pronoun over another, or the increased use of deictics. These are more complex forms of language that move beyond basic choices between an English word or a Glaswegian word, and point to the fact that Kelman's language choices are just as much for literary purposes as they are for the creation of a recognisably Glaswegian voice.

In 'Middle-Class Wankers and Working-Class Texts', Mary McGlynn recognises that Kelman challenges class systems that are manifested in literature, and she points to this as being achieved through swearing, lexis, and stylistics, providing examples of this throughout her entire article. McGlynn points out that Kelman's use of the colloquial speech markers *cannay* and *aye* imbues his work with a regional identity, enabling it to qualify as provincial literature. McGlynn covers the lack of quotation marks, speech attributions, and narrative tags, and feels that it allows the text to appear closer to its characters, meaning that speech is not anchored by narrative ownership (pp. 62, 69). She also looks at Kelman's innovations in punctuation. Her opinion is that Kelman's punctuation constructs the view 'that we are all, in fact, collections of voices and phrases…. Indeed, the idea of 'ownership' of sentences, even phrases or words, is what is being explicitly interrogated' (p. 63). McGlynn primarily concentrates on Kelman's narrative politics, his treatment of nationalism, and the idealisation of the working class in literature.

Terence Murphy also examines Kelman's stylistics, particularly the author's early uses of punctuation, paragraph blocking, and sentence structure. In his extended article, 'Getting Rid of that Standard Third Party Narrative Voice', Murphy moves beyond the oft-stated observation that Kelman rids himself of the value system inherent in the third person narrative voice (p. 185). His method involves investigating Kelman's early short stories from *An Old Pub near the Angel*, comparing the revisions made in the short stories that reappear in *Not Not While the Giro*, and asking what may have motivated Kelman to make these alterations. Thus, he draws his conclusions from Kelman's editorial changes. When Murphy traces the revisions, he argues that these leave a trail that demonstrates the maturation of Kelman's developing narrative technique and voice, not only in terms of language but also layout. Murphy conducts an extensive study of typographical re-blocking and its effects on interpretation and conceptualisation of what it refers to (p. 189). He also examines punctuation, such as question marks, exclamation marks, commas, and full stops, each accompanied by detailed examples of how they function in Kelman's writing (pp. 189-91, 196-7).

In an early research article on Kelman, 'Resisting Arrest', Cairns Craig looks at Kelman's use of Scots and slang for the character's voices, arguing that it seems to fuse narrative and dialogue, as well as a range of language varieties including Standard English (p. 102). He sees the removal of quotation marks as crucial to enabling this process (p. 103). In Craig's later work *The Modern Scottish Novel*, he explores both orthography and typography, although it is not a sustained focus on Kelman's work, since his overall study focuses on the interpretation of features of Scottish writing in general. Craig identifies the points of contact and difference between Kelman's prose and real-life language features but only in an examination of a single example. Craig points to Kelman's purposeful inconsistencies in writing, arguing that Kelman's characters 'inhabit a fragmented linguistic community' where 'the text is an inner dialogue of competing voices and language, a heterocentric space in which the self is defined not by its unity but by its multiplicity' (p. 103). Craig also goes on to point out that the mix of language types in Kelman's works means that:

> there is no distinction between the narrative voice and the character's speech or thoughts: no hierarchy of language is established which orders the value to be put on the characters' language in relation to any other mode of speech or writing within the text. The text is designed visually to resist the moment of arrest in which the reader switches between the narrative voice of the text and the represented speech of a character, and what this does is to create a linguistic equality between speech and narration which allows the narrator to adopt the speech idioms of his characters, or the characters to think or speak in 'standard English', with equal status. (p. 101)

He illustrates this with examples and specifies the parts which have become intertwined (pp. 99-106).

Kovesi has written two studies: a comprehensive book *James Kelman* which can essentially be seen as an analysis of the development of Kelman's subjects and themes and 'James Kelman Margarined' which is an earlier journal article limited to the study of a single novel. In *James Kelman*, Kovesi occasionally focuses on specific linguistic and stylistic features in Kelman's work as part of his larger aim and feels that Kelman is seeking a linguistically unified novel (pp. 16-8). Overall, Kovesi explores Kelman's use of vernacular language (p. 3), lexis (pp. 12, 23), spelling (pp. 12, 14, 25-6), and punctuation marks, including apostrophes and capitals (pp. 12, 24), inverted commas and quotation marks (pp. 12, 14-6, 18, 24), and ellipsis (p. 21). Kovesi observes how Kelman's work is not

marked by 'a hard linguistic boundary', suggesting that 'his narrators and protagonists use the same language in terms of spelling, punctuation, vocabulary and syntax' (p. 18).

In 'James Kelman Margarined' Kovesi makes a similar argument and comes to the same conclusion: 'In summary, the fronts on which he is defending his texts are layout, punctuation, capitalisation and orthography: the fundamentals of print presentation' (p. 21). In this article, Kovesi argues that the method that Kelman adopted 'to resist a largely unchallenged literary power structure was groundbreaking' (p. 16). He notes that Kelman does not enact this in a predictable or uniform manner, instead arguing that his work is infused with 'linguistic idiosyncrasy, the source of his abstruse difficulty' (p. 22). Moreover, Kelman is said to have actively discouraged standardisation, where 'the repeated order to the editors to "not seek consistency" reveals just how distant regularised standard print language is from the varying oral variety Kelman is defending' (p. 21).

Similarly in the book, *James Kelman*, Kovesi argues repeatedly that Kelman is consistently inconsistent and not purist in his choice of language options (pp. 7, 12, 24, 26). Kovesi also feels that there is a gulf between the language of text and speech, and that this is a driving force behind Kelman's purposeful inconsistency of style. Kovesi maintains that Kelman is a writer trying to achieve a realist effect rather than a realistic transcription of everyday language. He argues that '…what has often been neglected in the rush to praise or condemn Kelman's presentation of "real" worlds, is just how literary, how bookish, his work can be' (p. 30). He points to Kelman's use of the word 'margarined' as an example:

> So does its use as a verb come from 'real' life or from Kelman's personal politics? Where do we go for 'verification' of his language use? How do we test the verisimilitude, or veracity, of Kelman's fiction? Indeed, should we even be 'testing' his language use against 'real' life? [There is] an expectation that there will be a rationale for Kelman's change of 'buttered' to 'margarined' which is somehow coherent and consistent. But to require consistency in Kelman's language use, as some have done, is to ignore his intentions and systematic resistance to standard language practice. (p. 24)

Kovesi states that Kelman writes from within the language using that language to depict the people in their own words rather than the tradition of judging their experience from the outside:

> Determined to resist such romanticising, animalising, patronising stereotypes of a proletariat described and judged from *without*, Kelman claims to write from *within*

that 'ugly tongue of Clydeside'. This is the foundation of Kelman's artistic project. (p. 16)

Kovesi further argues that 'realism' — reference to real language as it is spoken — is not necessarily always Kelman's aim. Kovesi uses many examples to substantiate these claims and each time points out the features as found in Kelman's writing.

Finally, in *Urban Scots Dialect Writing*, Anette Hagan provides a highly informative linguistic and orthographic analysis, including lists of specific words. Hagan looks at syntax, Standard English versus dialect, spelling (pp. 129-58, 202, 227-32), punctuation (pp. 185-7, 190-3), gesture (pp. 183-4), grammar (pp. 215-7, 232-238), and lexis (p. 229), identifying linguistic features found in real life, and using the information to analyse Scottish fiction. However, Hagan's analysis examines a range of urban Scots dialect literature writing, of which Kelman's writing only forms a part. Thus, while Hagan devotes some time to Kelman as she explores his language and stylistics, her overall research is not specific to any author and she concentrates on urban fiction in general. As a result she provides a sustained analysis of only one piece of work written by Kelman. Nonetheless, she achieves a highly detailed examination of Kelman's language with her analysis of vocabulary, grammar, spelling, punctuation, and body language.

My thesis is positioned within the work of all of these major researchers. In particular, this thesis adopts a similar linguistic approach to literary language to that seen in Hagan, but with some expansion, since I examine Kelman's punctuation, spelling, vocabulary, grammar, swearing, and nonverbal representations. This thesis also enlarges upon Murphy's and Kovesi's investigations of textual stylistic issues. Murphy focused on Kelman's earlier work but I expand the study to later publications. Kovesi partly examined linguistic and stylistic issues as a part of a wider analysis of Kelman's literature whereas I have a sustained primary focus upon the language Kelman uses and how he presents it. Thus, just as Craig focused on stylistics to create a literary effect, I examine Kelman's own use of textual and stylistic techniques. Finally, while McGlynn made observations on class and style, I enlarge upon her project.

In *James Kelman*, Kovesi alludes to the 'huge gulf between the polite linguistic affectations of the literary establishment and the quotidian world and vernacular

language of Kelman's work' (p. 3). This study pursues the notion of Kelman's work being quite different to other Scottish literary works, and the intention is to specify exactly how Kelman creates his working-class Glasgow voice in a manner which is quite different to the Scottish literary precedents provided to him. To achieve this aim, this thesis outlines the points of contact between Kelman's writing and other literary and spoken language forms, pinpointing his position within these parameters.

The datasets used to support this thesis

An important part of this thesis is the evidence gathered from a corpus linguistic approach that provide frequencies and ratios which compares Kelman's writing to Scottish speech, Scottish writing, and any other linguistic information available. While this approach provides rich quantitative data, it is soundly underpinned by the traditional qualitative method of providing examples to illustrate the argument and findings.

In order to investigate Kelman's stylistic and linguistic features, a digital dataset of Kelman's writing needed to be composed. This was enabled by a scanning process using Optical Character Recognition (OCR) software. Kelman's stories were compiled into a dataset that can be compared to other Scottish fiction, speech, and general writing. I used ScanSoft's OmniPage SE text which uses recognition software to convert scanned pictures of document pages into an electronic text-based format. This allows the original text to be read by a word processing program: in this case I used Microsoft Word. The Microsoft Corporation website asserts that the program can be used for these purposes:

> Use Microsoft Word to find and replace text, formatting, paragraph marks, page breaks, and other items. You can extend your search by using wildcards and codes. […] You can quickly search for every occurrence of a specific word or phrase. [….] You can search for: singular and plural noun forms [….] all adjective forms [….and] all tenses of a root verb. (section 3)

Thus, there are many useful search functions available in the Microsoft Word program which allow the user to find and count individual words, letter clusters, phrases, and grammatical variations. This method of research allows some assumptions about the linguistic status of Kelman's work to be comprehensively tested instead of only being theorised and estimated. It also addresses a problem

posed by Walsh in 'It was Five Years Ago Today', about the language used by Kelman: that critics felt there was 'no way of assessing its authenticity' (p. 2). This thesis seeks to prove, at least in a small part, the authenticity of Kelman's language, contextualising it within other Scottish writing and speech. This approach provides quantitative and qualitative data which can dispel myths and support assertions made about Kelman's work. For example, Stuart Wavell, in 'Scots Bewail 4,000 Expletive Blot on the National Character', summarises the many objections to Kelman's work that are supported by the claim that *How Late it Was, How Late* contains 4,000 incidents of the 'f-words' (p. 3). Using the methodology in this thesis, the underpinning evidence is readily verified or, in this particular case, not.

Kelman's work is extensive. He has written seven novels: *The Busconductor Hines*; *A Chancer*; *A Disaffection*; *How Late it Was, How Late*; *Translated Accounts*; *You Have to be Careful in the Land of the Free*; and *Kieron Smith, Boy*. Between 1973-1999, Kelman published 147 short stories and these are found, sometimes in revised form or republished, among the following published collections: *An Old Pub Near the Angel, and Other Stories*; *Three Glasgow Writers*; *Short Tales from the Nightshift*; *James Kelman: Writers-in-Brief*; *Not Not While the Giro, and Other Stories*; *Lean Tales*; *Greyhound for Breakfast*; *The Burn*; *The Good Times*; *Busted Scotch: Selected Stories*; *Where I Was*; *Short Stories*; and *Selected Stories*. Some short stories and extracts from novels have been published in journals such as *The Glasgow Review*, *Edinburgh Review*, *Emergency*, *Magazing*, *A Fistful of Pens*, *Billy Liar*, *Ahead of its Time*, *Australian Short Stories*, *Scottish Arts Foundation*, *Paisley Writers Anthology*, *Bete Noir*, *Cencrastus*, *Chapman*, *The Guardian*, *New Statesman & Society*, *Not Poetry*, *Writing Together*, *Words*, *Glasgow Magazine*, and *Masque*. Kelman has also written three plays, *The Busker*, *In the Night*, and *Hardie and Baird*, and an adaptation of *Le Rodeur*. He has two books of essays, *Some Recent Attacks: Essays Critical and Political* and *And the Judges Said*. He has also published two essays in pamphlet form, *Fighting for Survival: The Steel Industry in Scotland* and *Tantalising Twinkles: Some Thoughts on a First Order Radical Thinker of European Standing*. He has edited *An East End Anthology* and *Born up a Close:*

Memoirs of a Brigton boy, produced an audio recording in *7 Stories*, and authored a television screenplay called *The Return*, while his short story accompanies Ken Grant's photographs in *The Close Season*.

I have included Kelman's work that was published from the start of his career until 1998, but not after this date. After this time Kelman departs from his usual topic of the everyday existence of the British urban inhabitant, usually from Glasgow, and his writing starts to take a radically different path. It is no longer relevant to my concern with Kelman's creation of a Glasgow voice.

Unfortunately, the OCR process is not foolproof and there are some technological constraints involving text recognition. Although it is theoretically possible to retain the original formatting and spacing of the page, this is the least successful feature of the OCR process and quite unreliable in its efficacy when translating the formatting, and it has the potential to create unmanageably large files with irregular spacings and layouts. Thus, I sacrificed the original formatting of the page in order to collect lexical data. This is not a serious problem as I have continued to corroborate my data with the printed copies of the texts.

A second problem is the OmniPage program has an English language recognition option but not a Scots one. The result is a minor degree of unavoidable lexis-recognition error because these programs rely partly on lexis matches to the program dictionary during the electronic encoding process. In preference to removing the lexis-recognition option, and the accuracy provided by its matching strategy, I allowed other European languages to be added to the program's dictionary in the hope that Scottish spellings would fall under the possibilities available in other languages. The test images and conversions proved this to be a wise strategy, with fewer recognition errors produced in the end product.

Finally, there were occasional character-recognition errors. Just like the early readers of pre-uncial writing, the reading process was made more difficult when recognising letters such 'n' and 'm' which might be read as 'ri', 'ir', or 'in'. There were other similar character recognition idiosyncrasies and I attempted to control for these errors by scanning new clean copies of Kelman's books and increasing the dots-per-inch in the original scanned picture beyond the default software

settings for this process. Subsequently, I used the spell-check function in Word on the electronic copies of Kelman's work and individually corrected any detected inconsistencies or patterns of error wherever possible. However, a greater problem was in detecting the differences between some punctuation marks, so I have placed a reduced amount of dependence on punctuation data in preference for theoretical perspectives on the topic, unless the punctuation mark in question was readily detected, such as apostrophes (which are contained between letters and could be easily recognised by the software).

KELMAN'S FICTION, SCOTS FICTION, SCOTS WRITTEN, and SCOTS SPOKEN

It is established that Kelman desires to use Glasgow working-class language as the basic medium for his stories, and the critics have identified Kelman as having a distinctively Glasgow voice, so this dataset of scanned stories can be used to provide evidence of how this voice is created by choices made at a linguistic level. The comparisons of the Kelman dataset against others' work should allow a greater certainty when considering how Kelman's use of language makes his texts Scottish, industrial, urban, working class, international, or uniquely Glaswegian in orientation. The dataset contains the following collections of published short stories: *An Old Pub Near the Angel*, *Not Not While the Giro*, *Lean Tales*, *Greyhound for Breakfast*, *The Burn*, and *The Good Times*. It also includes the following novels: *The Busconductor Hines*, *A Chancer*, *A Disaffection*, and *How Late it Was, How Late*. The reader should note that any repeated short stories among the collection have been deleted, such as 'The Hon' and 'Ten Guitars' which are rewritten in later works, and are do not make a repeat appearance in the KELMAN'S FICTION dataset. This has resulted in the removal of the short story collections, *Three Glasgow Writers* and *Busted Scotch*, which comprise entirely of short stories available among the other collections included in this study.

A set of texts was needed for comparison to Kelman's work, so I have chosen the online *Scottish Corpus of Texts and Speech* (SCOTS) created by the English Language Department & School of English and Scottish Language and Literature of Glasgow University. The corpus 'aims to cover the period from 1945 to the present day'. The *Scottish Corpus of Texts and Speech* has the following introduction:

> SCOTS has sought to do justice to the wide range of texts in varieties of Scots and Scottish English today: texts of different language varieties, genres and registers; speakers and writers from as wide a range of geographical locations as possible; speakers and writers of different backgrounds, ages, genders, occupations, and so on. Nevertheless, SCOTS is not a truly representative corpus. Issues of permissions, copyright and availability meant that certain types of texts were very difficult to obtain (for example, newspaper articles, personal diaries, business correspondence). (para 4)

The *Scottish Corpus of Texts and Speech* has a total of 4,028,792 words, comprising 3,212,811 words of written texts (80% of words in the corpus). These are varied in their language and spellings:

> The SCOTS Corpus contains documents in Scottish Standard English, documents in different varieties of Scots, and documents which may be described as lying somewhere between Scots and Scottish Standard English. While Scottish Standard English has a standard written form, Scots does not. This means that the corpus contains a wide range of variation in spelling. (para 11)

The remaining 815,981 words (20% of words in the corpus) of modern spoken texts were specifically recorded for the *Scottish Corpus of Texts and Speech* project and subsequently presented 'in the form of an orthographic transcription' using the variation of spellings found in the *Scots School Dictionary*. Published in 1996 by Polygon, this dictionary was created in collaboration with the Scottish National Dictionary Association and it allows translation from Scots to English and English to Scots.

This thesis does not use the entirety of the *Scottish Corpus of Texts and Speech*. Instead, particular sections are selected and compiled into three main datasets which will be called SCOTS FICTION, SCOTS WRITTEN, and SCOTS SPOKEN. In order to compare Kelman's fiction to equivalent text types, the SCOTS FICTION dataset was compiled. It is also important to understand the general context within which the fiction occurs, representing the entire spectrum of language that the Scottish person might be exposed to in writing. As a result, the SCOTS WRITTEN dataset was extracted in its entirety from the written section of the *Scottish Corpus of Texts and Speech*. Kelman's fiction is also said to draw heavily from features of Scottish speech as it is used in everyday life, so a comparative SCOTS SPOKEN dataset was drawn entirely from the spoken text type 'conversation' in the *Scottish Corpus of Texts and Speech*. Thus, each dataset has a different composition and particular purposes in this thesis. Their composition is summarised in Table 1.1 and discussed at length in the following section.

Table 1.1: Thesis datasets and their constituent elements from Kelman's writing and the *Scottish Corpus of Texts and Speech*

Datasets	Word count	Composition
KELMAN'S FICTION	779,611 words	Kelman's short stories and novels published up to 1998
SCOTS FICTION	526,411 words	*Scottish Corpus of Texts and Speech*: all short stories and novels
SCOTS WRITTEN	3,212,811 words	*Scottish Corpus of Texts and Speech*: all non-fiction and fiction written genres
SCOTS SPOKEN	635,638 words	*Scottish Corpus of Texts and Speech*: all conversational speech

Within the SCOTS online corpus, there are particular text types which are equivalent to Kelman's fiction. These are the *Scottish Corpus of Texts and Speech* categories of 'novel' (290,348 words), 'prose: fiction' (209,981 words), and 'short story' (141,589 words) texts, and they were chosen to form the SCOTS FICTION dataset for this thesis. These were the only text types that matched those in the Kelman dataset, so like is compared with like, in the sense that, though diverse, these texts are all concerned with the Scottish context and the presentation of Scots language in prose. In the SCOTS FICTION dataset, 'poetry, song and ballad' texts were excluded. Although Kelman has produced plays, they are not explored in this thesis and were not included in the SCOTS FICTION dataset either. There was some duplication (115,507 words) in the SCOTS corpus for the chosen three categories, (one document was positioned in all three categories!) but the duplicates were removed in the compilation of the texts into one large Word document of 526,411 words. Note that this strategy of removing duplicates (and alternative versions of the same story) was also used for the Kelman dataset.[8]

The SCOTS WRITTEN dataset is comprised of all the written genres available in the online *Scottish Corpus of Texts and Speech*. The SCOTS WRITTEN dataset includes text types such as nonfiction text types such as 'essay' (67,462 words), 'instructions' (12,039 words), 'invoice/bill/receipt' (244 words), 'review' (2,497

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[8] Please see Terence Murphy for further detail about these duplicated stories. He explains how Kelman introduces (sometimes seemingly minor) variations on already published short stories to great effect.

words), and other text types such as 'advertisement' (1,473 words), 'diary' (77,486 words), 'correspondence/letters' (61,926 words), 'poem/song/ballad' (198,226 words), or 'script' (232,252 words). It would have been possible to narrow the SCOTS WRITTEN dataset to include only nonfiction texts; however, the idea was to have the dataset represent various varieties of language encountered in written texts, so choosing only nonfiction texts would skew the dataset to contain predominantly English language formal register texts. However, this would not represent the rich array of writing found in the *Scottish Corpus of Texts and Speech*, so the complete set of diverse written texts were maintained. What was sought was a representative sample of the wide range of written genres to which the Scottish person is exposed. Note that the SCOTS WRITTEN dataset, by virtue of covering all nonfiction and fiction written texts, also contains all the texts that comprise the first comparative dataset of SCOTS FICTION.

The original spoken section of the *Scottish Corpus of Texts and Speech* is arranged according to spoken genre text types: 'conversation' (635,668 words), 'interview' (127,435 words), 'lecture' (48,279), 'poetry reading, song, or ballad' (7,405 words), and 'prose reading' (3,555 words). Thus the 'conversation' category is the overwhelmingly popular source of spoken data (note that the conversations were conducted, recorded, and transcribed from the year 2000 onwards). Although five spoken text types were available, the 'conversation' category was solely chosen in order to enhance the chances that it would capture the kind of spontaneous everyday language that Kelman seeks to represent, rather than the formal and non-spontaneous interview, university lecture, or public performance of a written text that is found in the other spoken text types. If a sample were to be gained that most closely represented the particular type of language Kelman sought to represent, then conversational speech would be the most likely to provide a real-life point of comparison. The resultant dataset was named SCOTS SPOKEN, numbering 635,668 words and comprised solely of 'conversation' documents.

A possible problem with the SCOTS SPOKEN data was that it is not restricted to Glasgow speech alone (since the *Scottish Corpus of Texts and Speech* texts are meant to represent general Scottish speech over the country). The conversations

themselves are conducted among mixed speakers, so it would be prohibitively time-consuming to prise apart the non-Glasgow speech, both in term of dataset size and the actual kind of Glasgow speech achieved (such as the language produced by a person originally from the area versus a resident who recently arrived). This could not be avoided, and the data must be interpreted with this issue in mind.

In terms of the anticipated differences between the datasets, research on the linguistic situation in Scotland consistently indicates that there will be a preference for English in writing and a preference for Scots in speech. Since Kelman seeks an approximation of the language used in speech, the dataset of his works should, if he has succeeded in his aim, be least like the SCOTS WRITTEN dataset while showing a strong tendency towards the patterns found in the SCOTS SPOKEN dataset. The Kelman dataset should have a reasonable degree of similarity to the SCOTS FICTION dataset, since they belong to the same genre. It is expected that the SCOTS FICTION dataset will display the largest degree of Scottish vocabulary and spellings because Scottish fiction has a tradition of paying special attention to distinctively Scottish content, and it represents a larger range of dialects than Kelman does. It is anticipated that SCOTS SPOKEN will show the largest degree of slang, swearing, and everyday Scots grammar, with KELMAN'S FICTION mimicking these trends. The conversations will have been produced with some degree of spontaneity, and thus produce the least approved elements of language. However, it is also expected that the speakers, being aware of their words' institutional destination may have self-censored and this may affect the outcome. Kelman purposely introduces these elements into his writing as a badge of identity, and they should appear regularly in his work. Moreover, since fictional writing often enlarges distinguishing features of language, both Kelman and SCOTS FICTION may show increased use of particular words where the other databases do not. In short, I expect some irregularity between the linguistic features that Kelman chooses to highlight and what other authors select and concentrate upon in their own writing.

Finally, in order to conduct the various searches, all three of the SCOTS datasets were converted into three large Word documents. Unfortunately, both the *Scottish*

Corpus of Texts and Speech search engine and the Microsoft Word 'Find' function do not detect variant spellings of individual words other than those selected manually, so only the common alternative spellings have been searched. To keep the process uniform, the Microsoft Word 'Find' function was selected as the search device because it allows a search for grammatical alternatives for some words and ensures that the same terms were being searched for with the same limitations and advantages. Some alternative search terms were used that circumvented the problem of alternative spellings. For example, the root of a word might be searched instead of the entire spelling, and the highlighted results checked by sight. Another method was to search for words by using a character space in front of, or following, the word, since this strategy eliminated other options. According to the situation, the most effective method possible was selected to produce the results found in this thesis. Nonetheless, the reader needs to be warned that there is some small degree of inaccuracy present in any figures presented in this thesis.

Before this analytical process could begin, a theoretical issue had to be addressed, namely that fiction should not be taken literally, nor should reality be used as the only yardstick to measure the worth of a fictional piece of writing. Geoffrey Leech and Michael Short argue that:

> The main problem […] is that talk of realism has always seemed to involve measuring a work against some absolute standard of reality – something 'out there' of which a writer could, if he wished, give an exact xerographic copy. (p. 151)

However, a completely realistic depiction is impossible, so 'whenever a writer uses language, he seizes on some features of "reality" which are crucial for his purpose and disregards others' (p. 151). Leech and Short further argue that 'The only thing which matters in fiction is the *illusion* of real experience, and a scientific description, if anything, distances us from that illusion' (p. 152). Furthermore, there is a particular problem in comparing Kelman's work to a specifically Scottish corpus. Referring to Kelman's writing, Hames points out that Scottish critics were only interested in its Scottishness rather than other important features (p. 14), and Drew Milne writes:

> The literary modernism of James Kelman's work has been obscured by critical emphases on its Scottishness or on its representation of language as it is spoken in Glasgow. (p. 106)

It is true that the comparison of a literary language to real-life speech cannot provide a totalising criterion of its literary success; nonetheless, Kelman's writing has an identifiably Glasgow urban working-class voice. Moreover, through comparison of different data from speech and writing, Kelman's choice of particular linguistic features over others can be illuminated. Furthermore, the validation of the Glaswegian language in literature is such an important self-stated feature of Kelman's writing that it would be difficult not to compare his work to speech and other written texts when investigating his voice. Language is inescapably tied to the social world and the literary text can be understood through an analysis of the language chosen to represent this social world. Moreover, to facilitate and maintain this concentration on language, I deliberately steer clear of literary and aesthetic issues.

The datasets are useful to fictional analysis because they allow a comparison of Kelman's language preferences against other Scottish writing and speech. For example, the different uses of the word *give* can reveal a lot about how Kelman's patterns differ from other Scottish novelists, writers, and speakers, since at a vocabulary level both the Scots *gie* and English *give* are used in Scotland. However, certain text types of texts demonstrate a preference for one over the other. Searching for and examining these patterns both adds to the data on any original theories about the words' distribution and situates Kelman's work against other text types. Thus, it both allows the verification of assertions and helps us learn about the differences between the datasets. For this thesis, such information can be used to present an argument that Kelman's writing does draw upon Glasgow working-class speech more than other Scottish writing and fictional prose. Furthermore, this claim can be verified in more than one way using the datasets. For example, a search can be conducted for grammatical forms which extend upon the basic *gie/give* dichotomy, such as the use of *gies* versus *give us*. The selection of one form over another may be purposeful or prescriptive, but both are meaningful to the study of literature and written texts. A search might also be conducted on the different spellings of *gies*, or it might focus on punctuation through an examination of the distribution of apostrophe use in the various forms *gi'e's*, *gie's*, *gies*, *geez* and *give us*. Thus, quantitative data such as

ratios and frequencies can be established, and this aids the identification of Kelman's language preferences and reinforces the qualitative data used to understand Kelman's writing technique.

Outline of the chapters in this thesis

This thesis is divided into various chapters which explore specific aspects of language in Kelman's voice. As already seen, particular themes recur through the critical research and literary reviews which explore Kelman's voice. These are Scots/English vocabulary, swearing, syntax/grammar, spelling, and punctuation. Drawing on this, the thesis is formed using the thematic chapters of punctuation, spelling, vocabulary, grammar, swearing, and body language. The chapter on body language is not usually part of the popular discourse about Kelman but we will find how key this topic is to Kelman's work.

Chapter Two examines the notion of punctuation as performance and how Kelman deviates from standard punctuation to achieve prosodic effects. It will be shown how punctuation acts to produce a hierarchical framework that indicates status and authority while demarcating non-standard elements. Within this chapter, the history of punctuation in Scottish literature is explored. In particular, there is a focus on the differences between prescriptive and prosodic approaches to punctuation, including an inspection of the dominant notions concerning correct punctuation and its relationship to the orthographic sentence and word. It will be argued that Kelman's texts are punctuated and segmented differently to a standard text because this allows him to prime the reader for non-standard language. Simultaneously, his changes from standard punctuation allow him to reduce the intrusive role of standard punctuation, one which indicates status and authority. Moreover, Kelman's changes are often based upon the function of punctuation to control stress and flow. It will be shown that he does this to evoke the prosody of speech, and in some cases, the cadences of thought patterns. Finally, some revealing quantitative data is gained from a comparison of the datasets, which tends to support the view that Kelman's use of punctuation is a means to evoke prosody rather than as a grammatical marker.

Chapter Three will argue that Kelman varies spelling in order to indicate accent and locality, and that these changes are generally small and infrequent but appear

regularly enough to maintain a sense of Glasgow phonology. The chapter will outline the various Scots spelling systems, including Standard English spelling, traditional literary spelling, Scots Style Sheet spelling, and the use of phonetic rendition. The relationship of spelling to sound is considered, including the different forms of eye dialect. It will be posited that Kelman's approach to spelling is primarily a series of small changes that hint at accent rather than provide a transcription of sound. The specific degrees of Kelman's spelling variations and the rationale for their use will be explored in detail. This chapter also compares a select number of spellings across the datasets and show that, in comparison to other Scottish writing, Kelman makes fewer changes to spelling than has been claimed in the critical reviews of his work.

Chapter Four generally investigates the use of dialect words as a signal of place, community, and social class. The main theoretical model used to locate the Scottishness of a text is Aitken's work on the Scots-English continuum and Scotticisms. More specifically, there is a heavy emphasis on the model of modern Scottish speech from Aitken's article 'Scots and English in Scotland' which takes into account 'the total body of vocabulary and morphology in principle available to all native Scottish speakers' (p. 519). The chapter commences with an examination of Glasgow dialect words, and the various sources of information about Glasgow language. It then examines Scots lexical density in various types of Glasgow writing. The same examples are re-examined in light of Aitken's proposal that there are patterns of use for particular types of vocabulary that vary according to social class. The reader will be presented with examples of style-switching in Kelman's work, and some data on his rate of use for various lexical types. The vocabulary chapter concludes with an excursus on the role of slang in the creation of a working-class identity for a fictional text.

Chapter Five examines the role of grammar in creating both a Glasgow and working-class identity in the text. It is a continuation of the vocabulary chapter because it also uses Aitken's model of Scottish speech and his work on Scotticisms. This chapter will also focus specifically on Scottish and English auxiliary verb negation, as well as examining class-based differences in use between the contracted negator of speech and the standard negator of formal

writing. There is an exploration of the various forms of *you* and *ye*, including its pluralisation, across the datasets. There will also be a investigation of Kelman's use of Glasgow dialect discourse features, in particular sentence tags. Throughout the chapter, comparisons are made across the datasets and used to evaluate the assertions regarding these grammatical features.

Chapter Six explores the role of swearing as a taboo element in general writing but a key element of Kelman's working-class prose. Initially, the chapter will outline the Booker Prize controversy over Kelman's use of swearing in *How Late it Was, How late*. Thereafter, there will be a contextualisation of the subject provided through a history of swearing in society and writing, particularly the terminology and scope. Although taboo language is usually prohibited in writing, it will be shown that Kelman's unusually frequent use of swearing helps create a sense of spoken language in his fiction. The nonliteral function of swearing is contrasted to literal swearing, highlighting the use of swearing for emphasis and modulated expression of emotion, depending on the context. Some quantitative data is provided about Kelman's use of swearing as compared to the other datasets, and it will be used to demonstrate how swearing remains a current concern in writing even though it seems to be less important issue in spoken language. The chapter concludes with a closer look at how social class is most clearly present in debates about swearing and its role in literature.

Chapter Seven of the thesis deals with a form of communication which is a constant companion to speech: body language. In a sense, punctuation is to the written text what body language is to spoken language. Thus, it will be argued that an attempt to portray language as it is used in the quotidian sense, must also depict the nonverbal channel of communication. While body language is a continuous entity, one which is much more difficult to capture in the discrete medium of words, this chapter will outline the ways in which it can be depicted in a literary text. A deep analysis of the use of body language in two of Kelman's stories is presented and there will also be comparison of the use of particular body language terms across the datasets. The results will demonstrate how Kelman's use of body language terms outnumber those of other texts. It will be argued that the imagination is focused on the body that produces the language, and this shift is

significant to Kelman's aims because it symbolically marries the mind with the body of the working-class character. The chapter concludes with an exploration of the link between constrained body language and how Kelman's extensive depiction of body language is a key way in which a working-class identity, and the speech associated with it, is imbedded into his writing.

Essentially then, this thesis gives a detailed and systematic analysis of Kelman's voice, pointing out linguistic patterns, clarifying important textual features of his style, and dispelling some myths about his writing, while focussing on the main question of how Kelman, in exploding the traditional approach of a rigid separation of Scots dialogue from English narrative, creates a new way of representing Glasgow working-class speech.

CHAPTER TWO: PUNCTUATION AS A CREATIVE EVOCATION OF PROSODIC FEATURES

In a personal interview conducted by the author with Kelman, a comment was made about Kelman's movement away from experimentation with spelling to a preoccupation with punctuation and syntax, to which Kelman replied:

> Yeah, maybe, in relation to spelling, I suppose earlier on I was doing more with spelling. Eventually I kinda started to go in other directions. So, I was more interested in phrasing and syntax rather than actual spelling that was phonetic. That no longer interested me as much. I found that it was not as important as phraseology, rhythms, and syntax. That was much more important.

He also made another comment in the same interview:

> I spent a couple of years as an apprentice compositor. I've always been keen on the visual arts. So the visual aspect of what's going on the page has always been a part of what I'm doing. So things like phonics and layout, they're important to me.[9]

This chapter explores Kelman's approach to punctuation as performance and discusses the context which he works within.

Kelman's treatment of narrative and dialogue

Traditionally, punctuation has been used to distinguish and maintain a hierarchy between Scottish and English voices in literature, particularly between narrative and dialogue. When Scots appears in the text, usually in dialogue, punctuation is used to act as a boundary marker. Not only do these markers visually demarcate the Scots dialogue, but punctuation is used to indicate that there is a difference in pronunciation between spoken English and Scots words. Thus, punctuation, in the past, has been a mechanism to tame and regulate the Scottish voice in the English text or, as Kelman summarises in 'And the Judges Said...', it is 'simply another method of exclusion, of marginalising and disenfranchising different peoples, cultures and communities' (p. 17). As a result, Kelman seeks to diminish the authoritative functions of punctuation, and this allows non-standard language to be imperceptibly included into the text. This chapter outlines how Kelman dismantles the narrative hierarchy established through punctuation. Instead, it will be seen that Kelman uses punctuation to democratise the relationship between standard and non-standard voices.

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[9] James Kelman, in a personal interview with the author.

When reported speech appears in a literary text it typically has quotation marks demarcating it from the narrator's voice. There may also be differences in the punctuation of English speakers compared to Scots speakers. For example, spoken English depictions often have fewer apostrophes and semicolons. This kind of differentiation is found in a typical early twentieth century Glasgow novel by John Bell, *Wee Macgreegor*. In this book, English and Scots speakers are controlled by a narrator using an English voice, and the punctuation differs according to the language being depicted:

> "Come on," said Macgregor with increasing eagerness. "You can be the captain, an' I'll be the sailor."
> Evidently overcome by the flattering proposal, the owner of the yacht nodded and allowed the proposer to take the craft from his hands.
> "My! It's an unco fine boat!" Macgregor observed admiringly. "Whaur got ye it?"
> "Uncle William gave me it," replied the other, beginning to find his tongue, "and it's called the 'Britannia.' "
> "It's no' an awfu' nice name, but it's a fine boat. I wisht I had as fine a boat…. Whit's yer name?" he inquired, wading into the water. "Mines is Macgreegor Robison."
> "Charlie Fortune."
> "That's a queer-like name. Whaur d'ye come frae?"
> Charlie looked puzzled.
> "D'ye come frae Glesca? Eh?"
> "Yes."
> "I never seen ye afore. Whaur d'ye bide in Glesca?"
> "Kelvinside. Royal Gardens, Kelvinside."
> "Aw, ye'll be gentry," said Macgreegor scornfully.
> "I don't know," said Charlie. "Are you—gentry?"
> "Nae fears! I wudna be gentry fur onythin'!"
> Charlie did not quite understand. Presently he asked shyly: "Has your mamma got a house at Rothesay?"
> "Naw. But Granpaw Purdie's got a hoose, an' I'm bidin' wi' him. Hoo lang are ye bidin' in Rothesay?"
> "Three months."
> "My! I wisht I wis you! I'm gaun hame next week…. But I'll be back again shin. Granpaw Purdie likes when I'm bidin' wi' him. Thon's him ower thonder." And Macgregor indicated the distant figure of the old man, who sat on a boulder reading a morning paper.
> Mr. Purdie reminded Charlie of an old gardener occasionally employed by his wealthy father, but he offered no remark, and Macgregor placed the boat in the water, crying out with delight as her sails caught a mild breeze. (pp. 238-40)

In this passage, all the dialogue is demarcated and distinguished from the narrator's voice by quotation marks. The narrator uses an English voice and there are also no contractions or colloquial terms which would relate this voice to speech. Within the dialogue, distinctions are made using punctuation between the Scots and English voices. For example, there are six exclamation marks in the Scots dialogue and none used for the English speaker. While there are 25

apostrophes used for the Scots speaker (15 for contractions and 10 to indicate omission of a consonant at the end of words), there are only two apostrophes used for contractions by the English speaker. The English speaker is given an em dash for his hesitation but he is shown to complete his sentence but the Scots speaker's hesitancy is portrayed by ellipses and he is depicted as having unfinished sentences. The effect of the above punctuation is to preserve the cultured status of English voices and to make Scots voices seem uneducated.[10] Indeed, the passage is humorous because it plays upon this typical literary distinction yet it unexpectedly shows the Scots speaker as more socially knowledgeable than the English speaker, despite the low-status language used.

It is texts such as *Wee Macgreegor* that have brought to attention the notion, as seen in Craig's *The Modern Scottish Novel*, that typography 'ceases to be the neutral medium through which meaning is conveyed and becomes itself one of the key components of meaning' (p. 168). Craig sees this experimentation with texture as a response to the problem of using special conventions to represent the Scottish voice in an English text:

> For a culture whose whole existence since 1707 has been shaped by the medium of a learned written language which displaced its own oral cultures, and whose native languages were never properly standardized within the domain of type, typography becomes the symbol of its own culturally repressed condition: to overthrow the rule of type is synonymous with overthrowing the type of the rule under which the culture has struggled for self-expression. (p. 181)

Such struggle for self-expression is evident in Kelman's overthrow of 'the rule of type'. In *Some Recent Attacks* he demonstrates that he is well aware of the role of punctuation in marginalising the Glasgow Scots voice in literature:

> everybody from a Glaswegian or working-class background, everybody in fact from any regional part of Britain — none of them knew how to talk! What larks! Every time they opened their mouth out came a stream of gobbledygook. Beautiful! their language a cross between semaphore and morse code; apostrophes here and apostrophes there. (p. 82)

Kelman highlights the problem as one related to class, and this seems to be contrary to Craig's suggestion that the repressed condition of punctuation could be solved if the Scots had a strong national culture. However, the two assertions

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[10] The differentiation of punctuation between the two speakers is exacerbated by the accompanying changes to spelling, such as that between words such as *house* and *hoose*, but this is an issue explored in Chapter Three which is devoted to spelling.

are complementary since Glasgow Scots characters are commonly regional lower class characters who are compared to an English standard.

One of the things that is clear in Kelman's writing is that he seeks to reform the patronising use of punctuation in the text. Spinks notes of this aim: 'Kelman's choice of 'devices' and 'compositional strategies' is designed to reflect on, and resist, the organisation of social and political discourse in his own society' (pp. 85-6). Essentially, as will be argued, Kelman's punctuation is a literary device that enables his Glasgow working-class voice rather than patronises it, and this is achieved by rethinking the role of punctuation in the literary text, particularly by reinventing the punctuation that stratifies rather than unifies.

The way in which Kelman unifies the voices of the text is to punctuate all voices equally, refusing to demarcate narrative from dialogue. This is a quality of his writing often observed by critics.[11] Craig, in *The Modern Scottish Novel*, describes Kelman's refusal to demarcate as resulting in:

> no distinction between the narrative voice and the character's speech or thoughts: no hierarchy of language is established which orders the value to be put on the characters' language in relation to any other mode of speech or writing within the text. The text is designed visually to resist the moment of arrest in which the reader switches between the narrative voice of the text and the represented speech of a character, and what this does is to create a linguistic equality between speech and narration which allows the narrator to adopt the speech idioms of his characters, or the characters to think or speak in 'standard English', with equal status. (p. 101)

On a fundamental level, removing quotation marks and resisting the 'arrest' of the Scots voice helps achieve this aim of democratising the text. Less obviously, but just as important, is the removal of other punctuation marks that prevent linguistic equality, such as the apostrophe to imply verbal omission or the ellipsis to indicate an incomplete utterance or thought.

Kelman shuns traditional literature's tendency to establish binary oppositions in the novel, particularly the signposts of punctuation used for dialogue which mark out 'a hard linguistic boundary', as Kovesi calls them in *James Kelman* (p. 18). Kovesi further points out that:

> [Kelman's] narrator's voice and character's voice are so intertwined that it is often impossible to separate the two; direct speech and indirect speech, speech and thoughts, have fuzzy borders in Kelman, as do subject-object relations. (p. 18)

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[11] Bernstein (p. 75); Bohnke (pp. 66-78); Dixon (p. 124); Hames (p. 10); Klaus, *James Kelman* (pp. 13-15); Kovesi, 'James Kelman Margarined' (p. 17)*;* McGlynn (p. 62); Murphy (p. 184); Nicoll, *This is not a Nationalist Position* (p. 83); and Spinks (p. 91).

These 'fuzzy borders' are aided by the removal of punctuation which would differentiate parts of the text and voices used in the text. As Kovesi explains, 'aesthetically the result is a fluidity of position' (p. 18). This produces a unified voice which is simultaneously based upon the removal of demarcating punctuation and a consistent mixing of languages.

As previously mentioned in the introductory chapter, Hames feels that Kelman engages in a politics of form that involves 'the dynamic negotiation of value and authority' enacted through 'structures of textual representation' (p. 10). The dissolving of 'the meta-textual position of third person narratives', as described by Spinks (p. 95), is partially enabled by Kelman's removal of the signposts of punctuation that demarcate parts of the text, particularly those that signal the changes in voice between narrative and dialogue. In response to the problem of the structural dominance of English, as previously quoted from McGlynn, Kelman reconfigures the 'conventional hierarchical distinctions between narrator and character, between educated and uneducated speech, and between written and spoken expression' (p. 61).

Kelman is not alone in his experimentation with punctuation. Returning to *The Modern Scottish Novel*, Craig has summarised other major authorial experimentations with the 'texture of the page' (p. 168). Craig points out that Lewis Grassic Gibbon's *A Scots Quair* attempts to integrate spoken language more closely into the narrative by refusing to use quotation marks and by removing apostrophes from depictions of speech (p. 167). Craig outlines how Muriel Spark's *The Comforters* explores typological fixity as a reflection of predestination and a lack of choice (p. 174). He claims that Alasdair Gray's *1982 Janine* has the main character seeking a life which has the control, neatness, and boundaries evoked by punctuation and typographical conventions, and that Gray uses typographic innovations to express chaos (p. 188). Finally, Craig explores how Janice Galloway's *The Trick is to Keep Breathing* uses typographic disjunctions to express the loss of control, psychological turmoil, and identity fragmentation of the protagonist, who is in the end saved by her own voice, an oral entity (p. 197). Thus, typography has clearly become a theme in modern Scottish literature and Kelman is not alone in his discontent with the traditional

punctuation of the Scottish voice. In order to understand the impact of such experiments with punctuation, the prevailing discourses of the area need to be understood.

An overview of prescriptivist and creative writing punctuation

The fundamental role of punctuation is to act as a signpost for readers. Robert De Beaugrande writes in his online book *A New Introduction to the Study of Text and Discourse:* 'Punctuation can be defined as the use of a modest sub-system of Grapheme symbols whose importance far exceeds their visual size' (5.V.H.40). Accordingly, modern punctuation has many uses in the text which stem from its basic role as a signpost, and these uses may act simultaneously in each instance of punctuation. The coordinating function of punctuation involves the joining and separation of the flow of written language into coherent parts, where punctuation is conceived primarily as a textual aid to understanding. The connotative function of punctuation involves its discursive purposes, such as its use for the establishment of authority and to indicate the status of the sentence and semantics of its parts. The prosodic function of punctuation, while evident in other types of writing, has a particularly important role in creatively written texts, and it involves the use of punctuation marks to control the pace of reading, lend weight to particular parts of the text, and to hint at prosody. The prosodic approach to punctuation in literary texts becomes especially evident when prescriptivist conventions are flouted and the reader is forced to interpret the variation in punctuation from the prescribed grammatically-based norm. These issues will be discussed in the following sections on how punctuation is understood within quite different frameworks of the prescriptivist discourse of style and the prosodic approach.

The prescriptivist approach to punctuation

The dominant approach to punctuation is drawn from the prescriptivist discourse of style. Prescriptivists often seek to restrict and eliminate particular kinds of language and punctuation usage from the written text. According to De Beaugrande, prescriptivism is a principle aimed at:

constructing and maintaining a more theoretical (ideal) variety for use in 'high culture' and distinct from the more practical (real) variety or varieties in everyday use. The distinguishing criteria have been partly theoretical, such as elegance, balance, and logic; and partly practical, such as observation of prestigious usage. Theory has understandably run well ahead of practice, and in some issues and approaches away from practice. (5.II.A.4)

The prescriptivist approach to punctuation is enforced through style guides and usage manuals that set the rules for, among many other things, what is felt to be correct punctuation technique. Granted, these style guides often have technical and professional writing in mind, and are not necessarily concerned with creative writing, and as such, the relationship of standard language to power in society is the main avenue through which class is affected by stylistic prescription. Examples of style guides include Henry Fowler's *A Dictionary of Modern English Usage* and William Strunk and Elwyn White's *Elements of Style*, in addition to institutionally-endorsed guides, such as Robert Ritter's *The Oxford Dictionary for Writers and Editors*. Through the use of style guides and the work of copy editors, the act of punctuating a text has become a stylistic strategy that, while operating within the basic range of punctuation usage, frequently seeks to restrict where and when each form of punctuation should be used. The aim is to standardise and unify punctuation techniques. For example, it is expected that a full stop will appear only when a grammatically-complete sentence has concluded, where that sentence contains at least one independent clause. Other rules depend on the style guide being used and the context, but there are shared common principles governing punctuation practices.

A transgression of a stylistic rule, such as separating two independent clauses with a comma, where there is no conjunction, would normally result in editorial censorship, and some amount of stigmatisation for the document or user within professional circles and among other prescriptivists. Examples of the negative reaction to stylistic errors can be found in Fowler, who comments on the use of a particular type of parenthesis as being 'as disconcerting as a pebble that jars one's teeth in a mouthful of plum pudding', too many exclamation marks as 'one of the things that betray the uneducated or unpractised writer', and italics as a 'primitive' method of 'soliciting attention' (pp. 421, 569, 304). Similarly, Strunk and White believe of an incorrect use of parenthetic commas that 'there is no

defence for such punctuation...' (p. 2). Likewise, the incorrect use of a full stop is seen as 'a blunder in syntax or in punctuation' (p. 7).

De Beaugrande regards some prescriptivist responses to stylistic violations as 'ferocious' and 'so far beyond all proportion and reason as to signal acute social stress being displaced onto spurious conflicts among language varieties' (5.II.A. 15-17). He labels these conflicts as spurious for good reason: despite the totalising and exacting approach of prescriptivist recommendations, it is surprising to realise that many stylistic edicts lack an objective rationale for their existence and their rules are based upon opinion or preference. Nonetheless, the violation of stylistic edicts causes an emotional reaction, and, as De Beaugrande notes, despite the tenuous basis for many prescriptivist recommendations, these style values are accepted widely among various groups in society, often along with the totalising attitudes found in the style manuals (5.II.A.18).

The following passage from Kelman's *A Disaffection* would be a stylistic violation of Strunk and White's sensibilities concerning the full stop:

> The poor old temporary English teacher; this poor old temporary English teacher who had lately come aboard, was making some kind of remark to the effect of its being a pity that Wilson's TALES OF THE BORDERS remained out of print. And Desmond had nearly fallen off his fucking chair. What do you mean? he cried, half smiling and half glowering i.e. a sneer, he was actually sneering at this poor guy who had lately been press-ganged into this so-called establishment of learning. (pp. 11-2)

Kelman violates a prescriptivist rule in each sentence. In the first sentence, the use of a semicolon after the subject and before both a further elaboration of the subject and the verb is not appropriate according to prescriptivists such as Fowler (p. 567), despite the comma accurately representing a significant prosodic break and change in intonation. He opens the second sentence with 'And', a usage regularly condemned in style books such as Strunk and White's (p. 7), when he should have connected it to the previous sentence (stylistically forgivable, since the sentence arguably stands as an emphatic statement despite not concluding with the usual exclamation mark). Finally, Kelman uses a comma where a full stop or semicolon was needed to separate two independent clauses in the final sentence, something which both Fowler (p. 568) and Strunk and White (pp. 5-6) advise against.

While it is true that the literary text is not the primary target of prescriptivist edicts, the style manuals have a connection to wider social discourses and this must have a significant effect on creative writing. As Cameron argues in *Verbal Hygiene*, stylistic values 'are symbolic of moral, social, ideological and political values' (p. 77). Cameron points out that often 'the arguments used to justify particular ideas about style are historically variable and contingent, and that they have frequently served vested interests class, professional and ideological' (p. 76). De Beaugrande similarly writes: 'Historically, the prescriptivism and purism of language guardians originated as a pre-modern project, which must grow more irrational and reactionary with the passage of time' (5.II.A.15-17). Cameron holds a similar view that style in writing has become increasingly politicised, with a move towards hyperstandardisation among competing authorities, with more severe sanctions given against minor offences. This situation in wider writing is a consideration for authors when they punctuate their work, and even more so when they choose to deviate from standard grammatically-based punctuation practices.

The prosodic approach to punctuation

> AM: There are two common ways to think about punctuation. The first is as a grammatical marker that marks the relationship between phrases, etc. The other way is to look at punctuation in the more traditional sense, as a marker that corresponds to speech, a marker of orality, such as pauses. On top of that, people mix the two usages. What about you?
> JK: Yeah, in that sense, I have used punctuation both in relation to the text as a whole, as a transcription, and for grammatical purposes, so I'm often working between the two, but that point doesn't come across to a lot of the academics. They don't see what is going on is both grammatical and oral transcription. [12]

Kelman's approach to punctuation is found among creative writers who use it not only as a basic textual and stylistic tool, but for a range of symbolic purposes and dramatic/performative functions. The creative writer can conceptualise punctuation as coordinating the flow of print, marking status and authority, indicating meaning and controlling the pace of reading. The creative writer may ask if the page's aesthetics are marred by too many punctuation marks or if the pauses and emphases correspond to those found in thought and speech. In literature, extra emphasis can be given to the semantic information conveyed via punctuation, so punctuation becomes a visual prompt that can give information

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[12] James Kelman, in a personal interview with the author.

about when to take a break in reading, to indicate how ideas are connected to each other, and to hint at prosody.

In *A Comprehensive Grammar of the English Language*, Randalph Quirk et al regard the link of punctuation to prosody as 'neither simple nor systematic'; instead, they argue that modern punctuation is predominantly governed by grammatical, semantic, or pragmatic considerations (pp. 1610-11). Despite their misgivings about the adequacy of punctuation to indicate prosodic features, Quirk et al add a cautionary note:

> it is vital to understand that aural reception is rarely if ever to be disregarded. We must insist afresh that even silent reading of a typically paper-originating text (such as an insurance document) demands the silent assignment of speech prosodies as an aid to understanding. […] The careful writer makes his punctuation choices in the hope of giving his reader the cues necessary to assign the prosody that the writer would himself have used. (p. 1494)

This point is especially true for the establishment of voice in literature. Although punctuation does not systematically represent prosody in literature, there is still some capacity to depict such features.

The urge to use punctuation to give clues about prosody is evident throughout the history of writing. Raymond Chapman explains in *The Treatment of Sounds in Language and Literature* that punctuation once played a significant declamatory role in texts (pp. 43-8). Since reading was an act predominantly carried out aloud, early punctuation indicated the different pauses and pitch of oratory. In *The Oxford English Grammar*, Sidney Greenbaum asserts:

> The earliest punctuation systems tended to reflect a division into sense units that were expected to correlate at their boundaries with pauses in speech. They provided an aid to reading aloud and for some religious texts a guide to chanting. (p. 507)

However, with access to printed books, the increased practice of silent reading, and the gradual imposition of prescriptive correctness upon written texts, the relationship between oratory and punctuation substantially broke apart. After the late seventeenth century, punctuation began to be used predominantly for the syntactic duties of distinguishing, separating, or joining grammatical units and words rather than aiding oratory (pp. 506-7). Nonetheless, modern punctuation may still perform a weak prosodic role alongside its primary textual duties of indicating boundaries, status, omission, and linkage.

What follows is an attempt at correlating prosodic uses of punctuation and its semantic functions, as presented in Table 2.1. This table is compiled from a number of linguistic and style resources: Huddleston and Pullum (pp. 1723-64), Quirk, et al (pp. 1610-39), Windschuttle and Elliott (pp. 514-9), and Wray, Trott, and Bloomer (pp. 201-212).

Table 2.1: Punctuation, semantic implications, and prosodic associations

Punctuation	Semantic Implication	Prosodic Associations
quotation marks, single or double	Borders, stratification, and 'arrest' of content: used for quoted, foreign, or notable words or language	change in tone, hyper-articulation
apostrophe	An omission of sound or letters, suspension, omission	clipping, syncopation, apocopation
hyphen	A connection of parts, linkage of content	controlled articulation, even pitch
space between words, sentences, paragraphs	Framing of page content, indication of time and episodic change	a permissible place to break in sound or change tempo
capital letters	Exceptional or unique content, status, emphasis	louder volume, change in pitch
question mark	Inquisition, interrogation, and questioning	change in pitch, rising tone
exclamation mark	Emphasis and emotion	articulatory tension, higher pitch, louder volume
full-stop	A finished idea, a signpost of completed content	brief stop in sound production
comma	Juncture, a small mental break in reading	pause, change in pitch
semicolon	Juncture, a larger mental break in reading	pause, change in pitch
colon	Juncture, an explanation or example follows	pause, change in pitch
ellipsis	Silence, absence, break in discourse	slower speed, waning volume, break induced by interruption

The above table outlines the wide range of semantic and prosodic associations available to the creative writer. Thus, the use of a mark such as the full stop to finalise a grammatical sentence may be taken to imply the end of a thought. However, it also has prosodic undertones that signal an important stop in sound production and probably a change in pitch. An author who seeks to evoke the spoken language in writing might well keep this possibility in mind. Punctuation in a creative literary text may be useful not only to fulfil grammatical and semantic functions, but also affect the voice heard in the reader's mind during the act of reading. Thus, while the role of a basic grammatical marker such as a full stop might seem unassailable, there is the possibility of changing its application in a text to bring out its prosodic value as a significant pause mark while reducing its

semantic implication of having finished a whole idea, as will be seen in the next section.

Kelman's use of punctuation

One of Kelman's main goals for punctuation is to use it to create connections between units of meaning while avoiding punctuation that stratifies (where a unit of meaning might be a word, clause, paragraph, section of dialogue, or narrative). As a result, he destabilises the narrative position within the literary hierarchy and instead opts for a democratic position for all parts of the text. Punctuation, through its very purpose of breaking up a stream of letters into words, clauses, sentences, and paragraphs, carries the inherent risk of becoming a marginalising force in the text. Essentially, punctuating a text can become a process of stratification, one which establishes hierarchies that reflect the ideological position of the author and/or the power structures of society. Since Kelman would rather avoid dividing swathes of text into neatly compartmentalised hierarchical units, preferring to maintain flow and unity, he rethinks the role of punctuation and is willing to break conventions if necessary. His strategy is explored in the following sections, beginning with an examination of the 'sentence' and Kelman's treatment of it.

The prescriptivist and orthographic sentence

While many take it for granted that a full stop merely appears at the end of a sentence, it does not occur to people that the full stop itself helps create the sense of completion. In objective terms, the sentence itself is not an easily identified entity, as Quirk et al comment: 'The sentence is an indeterminate unit in the sense it is often difficult to decide, particularly in spoken language, where one sentence ends and another begins' (p. 47). They come to the conclusion that the question of what constitutes an acceptable grammatical sentence is partly involved with issues of good or bad style (p. 47). Furthermore, punctuation is a key element in the identification of 'whole' sentences, as Quirk et al note, because 'punctuation itself imposes the impression of completeness and independence on units marked off as sentences' (p. 1624).

Fundamental differences exist in how the sentence is defined between the prescriptivist and other approaches, and these have an important impact on understanding what Kelman is and is not doing with his own punctuation strategies. The mainstream definition of a sentence is based upon prescriptivist principles derived from a traditional approach to grammar. Fowler succinctly describes the prescriptivist position of what constitutes a sentence:

> Sentence, in grammar, means a set of words complete in itself, having either expressed or understood in it a subject & a predicate, & conveying a statement or question or command or exclamation.[…] One sentence does not contain two or more subjects each with its separate predicate unless all but one of such subjects & predicates are clauses subordinate to the other. (p. 523)

However, some concession is paid to what is called the elliptical sentence 'if its subject or predicate or verb (or more) is understood', such as in the examples 'Well done!' and 'Who?' (p. 523).

Quirk et al use a descriptive conceptualisation of the sentence which is called the 'orthographic sentence'. An orthographic sentence is recognised by its use of a terminal full stop (or equivalent) where the content of the sentence may or may not match the parameters that define a grammatical sentence. Thus, the sentence such as the following from Kelman's *A Disaffection* would evoke strong negative reactions from stylistic purists:

> But no, it wasnt that either, there was no self-deceit going on there, he knew himself well enough for that. (p. 9)

The above sentence would not be a problem within the descriptive approach. While Kelman's sentence has two incorrectly used commas according to prescriptivist principles, this would be an irrelevant objection within the notion of the orthographic sentence because it contains the requisite initial capital and final full stop.

If what Kelman says is true, that he simulates a 'translation' of the language as 'it is used orally', then strict grammatical definitions of what comprises a proper sentence may be abandoned in the face of representing speech, which frequently has pauses on clause boundaries that do not match the placement and type of punctuation mark found in prescriptivist-styled writing. This is not to say that all punctuation is reassigned for symbolic and non-standard purposes in Kelman's work, as he notes in an interview with Luke Slattery:

> What is important to recognise is that writers like myself work in two ways. One is that we're using language for standard literary purposes. It's also true that we use punctuation and so on to give a translation of language as it is used orally. (p. 5)

Keeping this in mind, this chapter offers an interpretation of Kelman's punctuation that shows he has a combination of purposes: to control the flow of the writing, seeking to harness the semantic properties of particular types of punctuation marks and spaces, and to focus upon creating connections in the text, avoiding the stratification resulting from primarily using punctuation for separation purposes.

Kelman's punctuation choices may be based upon how phrases and words are clustered together to form meaningful links, and it seems he considers how prosodic features are most effectively evoked in the process. This may require the use of an alternative pause mark to the full stop such as a semicolon, colon, comma, etc. Furthermore, since prosodic features tend to correspond with the completion of thoughts and significant segments of communication, punctuation based upon spoken language is close to that of the grammatically-defined alternative, so that the differences between the punctuation of a syntactic and orthographic sentence can sometimes be slight. Kelman's *The Burn* has an example of this:

> He turned off the television. He never usually watched it, he had been out of the habit for a long time. Watching it in the morning was especially awful; it was only the Scottish accents made it interesting. (p. 195)

The above example starts with a grammatically-correct sentence. The second sentence is comprised of what is grammatically defined as two whole sentences, yet a comma is used to separate them when the grammatical convention is to use a semicolon or full stop. Notice that the third sentence has the same properties of the second sentence, but a semicolon is the grammatically-correct option used. The reason for this variation lies in the approach to punctuation. In Kelman's writing, if two sentences only have a minor degree of separation between them, then a semicolon or full stop would give the wrong impression of there being a significant break in discourse and it would change how the two ideas are related to each other in meaning. However, a coordinating conjunction is not appropriate to the context either. The use of a comma, through its conventional prosodic associations of representing a brief pause, change of pitch, and/or change in pace

in the delivery, allows the listener to understand that the second part of the sentence is inseparable from the first. This declamatory interpretation and application of punctuation used by Kelman puts the emphasis on how the ideas might be delivered in a way that draws upon the rhythms of thought and speech.

While the orthographic sentence seems extremely broad in scope, the creative writer may still feel restricted and feel the need to compose a sentence which may not have an initial capital or terminal full stop, and within creative writing circles it would still be recognised as a sentence. While Kelman breaks many rules found in the prescriptivist view of a sentence, he also violates the notion of an orthographic sentence. An example of this is from *How Late it Was, How Late*:

> So okay, ye've had this bad time. Ye've been blind. Ye've lost yer sight for a few days and it's been bad. Ye've coped but ye've fucking coped
>   I mean that was something about Sammy, yer man, know what I'm saying, a lot of cunts would have done their box. But he hadnay. He had survived it. He was sane. It had been bad. But now it was over. (p. 34)

Unorthodox punctuation such as found in the above passage only enhances the notion that his work should not be judged using a prescriptive approach. Rather, it indicates that he is using punctuation to evoke prosodic features of speech and, arguably, the semantic flow and rhythm of thoughts.

In summary, Kelman's punctuation acts not only in typical ways but also has its textual functions extended (and sometimes reduced) in ways that go beyond the norms of standard punctuation techniques. Kelman's sentence usually depicts a spoken or mental pause that would allow a moment to stop and digest what has been communicated before moving on.

The next section will focus on a particular set of punctuation marks, ones that reinforce authority and stratify the text, and how they are treated in Kelman's writing. It should be noted that searches of the differences between datasets for punctuation marks can only be regarded as broadly indicative given the technical difficulty in scanning the original punctuation marks in Kelman's fiction. Only a partial picture of his punctuation patterns can be provided. Also, SCOTS SPOKEN uses standard punctuation techniques for linguistic transcription, which do vary from standard punctuation, and this has made comparisons to the spoken dataset difficult for some punctuation marks.

Authority, stratification, and status

This section of the thesis explores authority, stratification, and status, and it is divided into three focal punctuation marks: quotation marks, apostrophes, and capitalisation. It will be shown that the authority of the narrator is at risk when quotation marks are removed from the text because quotation marks act as a boundary between the non-standard language of the characters and the standard language of the narrator, and how Kelman deals with this issue. Next it will be argued that Kelman greatly reduces his use of apostrophes in order to avoid 'othering' non-standard language sections of the text. Apostrophes, specifically those that indicate a perceived incompleteness of words, have traditionally been used in depictions of dialect speakers, and often this is contrasted against Standard English dialogue which has few apostrophes, so issues of stratification will come to the fore. Finally, to complement the above two points, Kelman's use of capital letters is explored in terms of reducing and redistributing status and authority. Thus, this section will demonstrate how the quotation marks, apostrophes, and capitalisation act together to establish and subvert the authority of the Standard English voice. At the same time, it will be questioned how Kelman deals with this in his fictional works, as compared to other writers. There will also be a brief venture into the notion of the orthographic word as a side issue related to authority and status for lexical items. The discussion will begin with quotation marks, since Kelman's treatment of quotation marks is particularly noticed by many critics.[13]

Quotation marks: authority and demarcation

As already mentioned at the start of this chapter, quotation marks are commonly used to mark off the beginning and end of a character's speech from the narration. Quotation marks are also used for some words or phrases that appear in the narrative, where the narrator wants to signal that it is quoted material. This might be because the quoted content is not Standard English or something the narrator would not normally use themself. In 'Resisting Arrest', an essay on the voice, resistance, and politics of Kelman's narrative, Craig focuses on the use of inverted

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[13] See Hagan; Kovesi, *James Kelman* (pp. 12-21); and Murphy. Others either mention or discuss particular features, such as Bernstein (p. 75); Kovesi, 'James Kelman Margarined' (p. 17); Baker (p. 247); Dixon (p. 124); Nicoll, 'This is Not a Nationalist Position' (p. 81); Craig, 'Resisting Arrest'; Klaus, *James Kelman* (pp. 30-1, McGlynn, Spinks, and Freeman (p. 29. See also Miller, 'Scot Free' (pp. 46-9); Quinn (p. 26); and Grant (pp. 34-5); and Kuebler (p. 199).

commas as an 'arrest' of the words it contains (p. 103). It is an arrest because the inverted commas visually enclose their content and separate it from the rest of the text. He argues that the removal of inverted commas allows a unified text to emerge because, when these grammatical speech markers are absent, it allows Kelman to inconspicuously move between speech, thought, and narration (p. 102).

This is not to suggest that Kelman avoids quotation marks altogether. For example, he uses them in the short stories of his first publication, but soon abandons them when his writing matures. However, the majority of Kelman's short stories and all his novels have almost nonexistent visual boundaries between sections of narrative and dialogue. Only sometimes will they appear, mostly in the form of single quotation marks, for clarification of words used within the story, such as in the following instance, 'too busy with their own wee worries – no that these worries are necessarily 'wee', cause we're talking about their actual lives', in which case it is made clear that a particular word is being identified. In this case, the narrator has displayed the Scottish habit of putting *wee* before all sorts of words, only to realise that it is not appropriate to use in that situation.

Although Kelman's mature work abandons quotation marks for dialogue, he retains the formatted line returns that are sometimes used with quotation marks. However, these line returns appear throughout the text and are not exclusively used to secure quoted content, as quotation marks do. Therefore, the line returns associated with quoted material appear congruous with those associated with non-quoted material, paragraphing, and section breaks. Furthermore, the aesthetic advantage for Kelman when he uses fewer quotation marks is that the page appears clearer of floating marks and sentences appear to flow into each other more easily.

In his book of essays *And the Judges Said…*, Kelman questions the demarcating function of quotation marks when he describes what he calls the third-party narrative:

> If somebody is giving us an opinion from within the narrative we are informed that this is what we are getting, an opinion; and by definition opinions are subjective. The traditional third-party narrative, as a general rule, takes the form of an 'unbiased', 'objective' voice that reports, depicts or describes reality in a way that allows the term 'God-voice' to appear valid. (pp. 268-9)

The removal of quotation marks presents a quandary for the reader who seeks to identify with an authoritative narrator in the story. Readers tend to interpret quotation marks to mean 'not narrator', 'biased', 'subjective', and even 'unreliable', because the narrator is seen as the source of objectivity and authority within a story. Kovesi, in *James Kelman*, repeatedly notes that Kelman's narrative is not made physically distinct from the dialogue; rather, the narrator is often in sympathy with the character and shares the same worldview (pp. 12, 14-6, 18, 24). McGlynn argues that the lack of quotation marks means dialogue is not anchored by narrative ownership (p. 69). This is disorienting for the reader who seeks a distinct objective narrator who supplies a definitive interpretation of the events. Spinks argues along these lines when he observes Kelman's refusal to distinguish clearly between narrative and dialogue in the expected literary manner, and how this disorientates the reader and thwarts any attempt to receive information from an authority figure outside of the characters' point of view:

> his refusal to make any fixed distinction between spoken and written modes of address, means that the reader is constantly displaced between possible interpretations of the text and unable to establish a secure point of identification between discourse and truth. (pp. 93-94)

Textually, this lack of fixed distinction between the voices of the narrator and the characters, aided by the removal of quotation marks, allows the different sources of information to become as authoritative as each other. Accordingly, Spinks points out that the absence of quotation marks means that speech and narrative can occupy each others' position (p. 91). Moreover, as Milne observes, Kelman's writing is essentially 'A broader attack on the claim to objectivity of the class which controls writing' (p. 396).

The advantage of Kelman's technique is that the narrator's voice does not act as a constant reminder of the low status of the working-class characters, because these are not placed in juxtaposition to each other. The removal of quotation marks allows him to avoid giving the impression that his narrator is outside of the social milieu depicted, a situation where an outside narrator gazes dispassionately upon the characters. What characters say and think is not elevated or subjugated, nor (seemingly) managed by the narrator; rather, the parts become integrated and intertwined with each other and often with the narrative. The apparent objectivity

of the narrator is diminished and the authority of the characters is increased. Furthermore, since Kelman's narrators often communicate with the same type of language as the characters, the reader is not assisted by variations in language to differentiate between the voice of the character and the voice of the narrator.

Kelman explains to McLean how he handled the punctuation in *The Busconductor Hines* to create a seamless transition between narrative and dialogue:

> Now if I had used quotations – inverted commas – for dialogue, it means I couldn't have done that the same. It would have been impossible because the transition has to be done through the narrative, right, and it has to sort of switch from one sort of dialogue into narrative voice without the reader being precisely aware of where it happened, OK? But I mean you couldn't do that with quotations because rightaway you'd see where the quotation ends and where the narrative begins, wouldn't you. (p. 102)

Kelman's point about the visual effect of quotation marks becomes clearer when a passage of his work is scrutinised. In this passage, from *The Burn*, dialogue appears unsignalled by quotation marks and mixed with narrative:

> After a moment I told him: That eedjit McCulloch. McCulloch! He laughed out loud then shook his head to put a check on himself. He calmed down and frowned man-to-man. James James James. But that's serious eh? And he winked to destroy any semblance of genuine sympathy. (p. 97)

The same passage appears stratified if quotation marks are inserted, as in:

> After a moment I told him: "That eedjit McCulloch." "McCulloch!" He laughed out loud then shook his head to put a check on himself. He calmed down and frowned man-to-man. "James James James. But that's serious eh?" And he winked to destroy any semblance of genuine sympathy.

The quotation marks are not particularly necessary, other than to demarcate, and merely clutter the page with extra markings. Note also that the textual 'partner' of quotation marks, narrator-based speech attributions, is also removed once an exchange between two speakers has been established.

The following passages further illustrate how Kelman's work appears with, and without, quotation marks. Here is the original passage from *The Burn*, without quotation marks:

> Chas was grinning. Sammy shook his head, he muttered: Goodsafuckingmaritans, I dont know what it is with yous at all.
> Ach come on.
> Sammy grunted: What d'you say Chas?
> Nothing to do with me, he grinned.
> Good on you Chas, I said.
> Ah! Sammy shook his head: The lassie'll never wear it.

> We'll see. (p. 164)

Here is the same passage if it had quotation marks:

> Chas was grinning. Sammy shook his head, he muttered: "Goodsafuckingmaritans, I dont know what it is with yous at all."
> "Ach come on."
> Sammy grunted: "What d'you say Chas?"
> "Nothing to do with me," he grinned.
> "Good on you Chas," I said.
> "Ah!" Sammy shook his head: "The lassie'll never wear it."
> "We'll see."

As can be seen, avoiding the use of quotation marks keeps the page visually clearer of extraneous floating marks above the printed line and allows the dialogue to merge with the narrative. Again, speech attributions are also occasionally removed. This passage also demonstrates that when quotation marks are used, the nonverbal becomes part of the narrative and the quoted sections of dialogue are set apart from this. Indeed, quotation marks force a distinction to be placed between speech as an overt communicative act from nonverbal signals as a covert communicative act, rather than recognising their symbiotic coexistent relationship. The removal of quotation marks reconnects the verbal with its nonverbal counterpart and allows the two to function as a combined communicative act. Thus, the removal of quotation marks from the text prevents this kind of fragmentation.

Sometimes, the merging of narrative and dialogue results in some confusion as to whether narrator or character is the source of the voice. This is found in the novel, *How Late it Was, How Late*:

> Just as well ye didnay ask for a beer cause I've nayn of them either!
> He heard Peter's pal chuckling. Probably just being polite, they were too auld for stupit patter. He had the teabags in the cups and he poured in the boiling water. Aw Jesus christ. There's nay bloody sugar, he said, can yez take it without? (p. 337)

The dialogue and the narrative meld in Kelman's example, so it is not clear if the sentence 'Aw Jesus christ' is a thought emerging from the mind of the character or the narrator. It is also possible that the character is speaking out loud.

Another instance of this ambiguity is found in a passage from *A Disaffection*:

> He's got a wee baldy heid and sometimes I feel like giving it a brush with a brillo pad.
> LOUD LAUGHING.
> In the name of christ. Pat clapped his hands very loudly; then he had to do it once again. They all stopped their laughing as soon as they could. (p. 194)

When the sentence 'In the name of christ.' appears it is not clear if Patrick is speaking or thinking. Although quotation marks would disambiguate the passage, Kelman tends to prefer a level of uncertainty.

In a comparison of the differences between the datasets, only the double quotation marks were included because single quotation marks are indistinguishable from apostrophes to the Word processor. The extra difficulty is that British publishers frequently use single quotation marks, so the SCOTS dataset counts are probably underestimated. It also must be remembered that of those that are used in Kelman's works, double quotation marks appear in his first publication *An Old Pub Near the Angel* and single quotation marks appear in a small number of short stories in *Greyhound for Breakfast*. While the above issues mean that the numbers given in Table 2.2 should be treated with caution, it still allows some discussion of the frequency of double quotation marks to take place. The SCOTS SPOKEN dataset was omitted entirely since it is wholly speech and requires no additional quotation marks; the indication of speech in this dataset is the colon at the start of each speaker's turn.

The use of quotation marks in Kelman's first work and later publications differs radically, so there are a total of 2824 quotation marks in *An Old Pub Near the Angel*, as compared to the remainder of his 9 publications which have a combined total of 20 quotation marks. The results are presented in the Table 2.2 below, with Kelman's first publication included:

Table 2.2: Quotation mark ratios and rates

	KELMAN'S FICTION to SCOTS FICTION ratio	KELMAN'S FICTION to SCOTS WRITTEN ratio	KELMAN'S FICTION rate per 1,000	SCOTS FICTION rate per 1,000	SCOTS WRITTEN rate per 1,000
quotation marks	1 : 3.7	1 : 1.8	2 pairs	6.5 pairs	3.5 pairs

The results show that SCOTS FICTION uses quotation marks over three and a half times more often than Kelman does, and from the wider point of view, the SCOTS WRITTEN dataset tends to show an exposure to quotation marks which is nearly twice that of Kelman's use. However, when the *An Old Pub Near the Angel* collection is removed, Kelman's rate of quotation marks plunges to less than 0.03 pairs per 1,000 words. Moreover, when Kelman's first collection is omitted, this

figure is enlarged to the point that SCOTS FICTION outnumbers Kelman's use of quotation marks by 503:1. This comparison between the two datasets of fiction reveals significantly different uses of quotation marks. Undoubtedly, the figure for SCOTS WRITTEN has been shaped by its one sixth composition of fiction, but the ratio is still high against Kelman's use of punctuation at 246:1. In real terms, Kelman would use one pair of quotation marks per 75,242 words, whereas SCOTS FICTION has one pair per 150 words and SCOTS WRITTEN one pair per 306 words. These figures tend to indicate that Kelman makes a notable removal of speech markers, even to the extent that the number of quotation marks surrounding his dialogue is fewer than the number found in other kinds of non-fiction writing, such as the quotation marks used found for academic citations, passages depicted in letters, or excerpts used in lectures. Ignoring his initial set of short stories, his established style relies upon the removal of quotation marks, and it is certainly one of the key features of his method of representation.

Overall, it can be seen that the removal of quotation marks is an important innovation in Kelman's work. The result is a democratised text where neither narrator nor character reigns supreme. However, some degree of ambiguity may arise in certain circumstances in terms of identifying the originator of a sentiment, but, as is evident from the above examples, this does not pose any major problems that would inhibit Kelman from continuing his removal of punctuation marks. A similar conclusion should be found in the examination of Kelman's apostrophe usage.

Apostrophes: stratification

In traditional Scottish literature, punctuation played a vital role in demarcating Scots dialect from the Standard English narration of the story. Punctuation is not a transparent or impartial writing tool: it can be used to both resist or comply with the expectations and values which already exist in conventional writing. As already seen, one form of demarcation was achieved through the use of quotation marks, but another important avenue was through the use of apostrophes where they visually indicated the points of difference between Scots and Standard English. While it is arguable that the apostrophes were an attempt to indicate local pronunciation, the application of apostrophes onto dialect tends to have the effect

of making that dialect seem imperfect, while simultaneously imposing a hierarchy of correctness and authority which privileges the unaltered standard language. Kelman's dislike of this effect gained from apostrophes has already been established by reference to *Some Recent Attacks*, where he writes of traditional depictions of dialect speakers: 'their language a cross between semaphore and morse code; apostrophes here and apostrophes there' (p. 82).

While one reason for the use of apostrophes in dialect passages is that it allows the author to hint at pronunciation, it also allow the author to appear literate while depicting Scots dialect. The use of apostrophes demonstrates knowledge of correct language forms, yet the author is still able to legitimately include Scots content. Thus, a writer's authority and credibility can be increased by their use of apostrophes to indicate the points of difference between Scots and English, such as found in the following example from Bell's *Wee Macgreegor*:

> "I'm no' wantin' to tak' aff ma bunnet, Maw," said Macgregor.
> "Dae whit ye're tell't. Ye can haud it in yer haun'."
> "Yes, just so. Hold your bonnet in your hand, my little man," said the photographer pleasantly.
> Macgregor obeyed sulkily.
> "Kindly undo all the buttons—all the buttons, please," said the photographer to John with great politeness, and turned to the camera. (p. 60)

Concentrating on apostrophes alone, since spelling issues are addressed in Chapter Three, the words *no'* and *tak'* appear as implied contracted forms of *not* and *take*. While it is not particularly unusual to find *no* used as a negator in Scots, the apostrophe encourages the reader relate the word *no'* to *not*, even though they are not grammatically equivalent forms. The term *no'* originates from Scots *nocht*. The spelling *tak* is a common older spelling, so the apostrophe in *tak'* also unnecessarily implies abbreviation. The apostrophes in both *no'* and *tak'* indicate linguistic distance from English. More importantly, they indicate the defectiveness of Scots. The strategy used in *no'* can be found for *tell't*, a depiction of the Scots word *tellt* which has no dropped 'e'. While a genuine Scots form is depicted, the apostrophe is used to both relate the word to the non-standard English word *telled* and to make the word appear grammatically incorrect by the standards of Standard English. Another word which has an apostrophe is *haun'* which represents *hand*. Again, a Scots feature is represented, in this case the vowel quality and lack of a final 'd', but the apostrophe is used to imply an

incompleteness when compared to the Standard English *hand*. Note that the Standard English dialogue that immediately follows has the word *hand* unaltered by an apostrophe. The effect of apostrophes, when used to indicate incomplete words, results in what Kelman describes in *Some Recent Attacks* as 'a cross between semaphore and morse code' (p. 82). More importantly, the apostrophes present Scots as defective.

A modern example of apostrophes used in Scots dialogue, despite there being no significant difference to the pronunciation of a Standard English speaker, follows in an extract from Christopher Brookmyre's *One Fine Day In The Middle Of The Night* found in the *Scottish Corpus of Texts and Speech*:

> "Hing on. I've got it. Was he the wan that got a doin' aff Davie Murdoch?"
> "Noo you're really takin' the piss. Every cunt got a doin' aff Davie Murdoch. I 'hink the Pope probably got his baws booted aff Davie when he came tae Bellahouston Park."
> "Well, in that case, as I says, I don't mind him at aw."
> "Actually, noo I come tae think of it, I'm no sure I mind him masel. I thought that was him wi' the Hound Henderson cairry-on but it wasnae. An' I thought mibbe it was him that spewed his ring in RE, mind, like the fuckin' Exorcist, but that was Ally McQuade. Fuck. Total blank."
> "Tell't you you were as bad as me." (paras 50-54)

This example shows the use of an apostrophe in *an'* for the word *and*, but also *tell't* for *tellt*, which was found previously in Bell's *Wee Macgreegor*. There is also the use of an apostrophe in *wi'* for *with* and *'hink* for *think*, indicating typical Scottish pronunciations, but the apostrophe is not also used for the word *masel*. While the loss of 'g' for '–ing' endings in the words *doin'*, *fuckin'* and *takin'* does represent a Scottish pronunciation, it is hardly an important feature to highlight. Later in the story in the dialogue of an English speaker the words *and*, *with*, *think*, and *myself* are used unaltered by an apostrophe, unlike the Scottish speaker, as are any words ending with *–ing*. Furthermore, the English narrator uses the words *told*, *and*, and *with*, as compared to the *tell't* and *wi'* of the above passage. Through these kinds of biased uses of the apostrophe throughout the history of Scottish literature, successive generations of Scottish readers have been inculcated with the idea that their speech was incomplete, so if their language did appear in written form, it needed modification to be intelligible. This impression is reinforced by the fact that the English speaker is not subjected to the same textual treatment as the Scots speaker.

Dixon sees apostrophe-insertion as a way of validating the cultural and political suppression of non-standard and demotic voices (pp. 124-5). Standard English becomes the measure of what is linguistically desirable, rather than a compromise being struck between English and Scots within the written text: Scots is the one that is automatically corrected. This point is further substantiated by instances of hypercorrection of non-standard forms. This hypercorrection is found in words such as 'tellt' without apostrophes, where other authors in traditional texts have felt the need to use apostrophes, as in 'tell't'. The Standard English form is 'told', not 'telled', and in any case *telled* would be pronounced [teld], so there is no particular need to indicate a missing 'e' with an apostrophe.

Kelman recognises that apostrophes used to indicate incompleteness are a primary way that stratification of the Scottish language and English is achieved in the literary text. Kelman does not apply apostrophes to words in the same manner that traditional, and some modern Scottish fiction might do because, as he writes in *Some Recent Attacks*, he feels that the apostrophes used in these two ways make the characters seem as if they speak 'gobbledygook' (p. 82). Unfortunately, no dataset counts can be provided for apostrophe usage because single quotation marks are indistinguishable from apostrophes to the Word processor. Furthermore, it is prohibitively difficult to separate these from single quotation marks and possessive apostrophes rather than apostrophes for omission.

The use of apostrophes to indicate the incompleteness of a word has slowly diminished over the years, since the Scots Style Sheet made the recommendation to avoid this usage. Despite this, the implementation of apostrophes remains a popular method of representation for non-standard voices in modern writing. However, Kelman also avoids this type of apostrophe usage, even when it might aid understanding for the non-Scots reader, because the resultant excess of apostrophes on the page is both aesthetically jarring and condescending to the Scots and English readers. Generally, Kelman retains the apostrophe when it is used for the possessive case, an example is *Mary's*, or to disambiguate particular plurals, an example is *mind your p's and q's*, and as this is not different to normal use, it will not be discussed in this chapter.

Although Kelman retains apostrophes for the possessive case, he may not retain them for grammatical contractions. Specifically, there is a special class of auxiliary verb negations, such as 'aren't' or 'won't', that are depicted without an apostrophe.[14] Kelman treats the contracted negative auxiliary as the form predominantly used in speech, unlike the uncontracted equivalent that the apostrophe refers to, thus Kelman sees no need to retain the apostrophe in his writing which aims to draw upon spoken conventions rather than adhering to conventions of written language. Using the apostrophe in the negative auxiliary form is similar to depicting the Scots word *haun'* to an imagined equivalent of *haund* or *no'* as an inferior form of *not*, although without a specific stigmatisation of Scottish usage. Therefore, he removes the apostrophes from these contracted negative auxiliaries and instead writes *arent*, *wont*, etc. An added advantage for Kelman, since contracted negative auxiliary verbs are very common in speech, is that he can remove further redundant apostrophes from the text. Visually, the removal of these apostrophes makes the written text flow because these floating marks appear less often as a result, and Kelman acknowledges in a personal interview with the author, 'it is the visual aspect on the page so important to me'. The exchange was as follows when the issue of apostrophe use for auxiliary verbs was raised:

> AM: So were you purposely thinking, these are auxiliary verbs, they don't get used in a lengthened form, people don't say, I did not go to the shop, they say I didn't.
> JK: Yeah.
> AM: You don't use did not, so didn't is used only as didn't…
> JK: Yeah, so it's not really a contraction at all.
> AM: I also wonder why the space between did and not doesn't attract an apostrophe too, like the 'o'. Did you know about the *-n't* form as a grammatical class of verbs and start from there, or was it intuitive?
> JK: It was intuitive, but intentional of course. […] I use it in that sense as a heightened thing that I wanted to try and convey.

The apostrophe is retained for other non-negative contractions, such as *I've* and *we'll*. These contractions appear reasonably frequently in speech also in their full forms. For these words, there are not particularly stigmatised variants, and their use is probably less likely to incur disapproval. Furthermore, in some cases there can be confusion between the words meant and the apostrophe acts to

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[14] These are contracted negative auxiliary and modal verbs. The entire set of such negations are: ain't, amn't, aren't, can't, couldn't, daren't, didn't, doesn't, don't, hadn't, hasn't, haven't, isn't, mayn't, mightn't, mustn't, needn't, oughtn't, shan't, shouldn't, usen't, wasn't, weren't, won't, wouldn't.

disambiguate the meaning, examples are *ye'll* which converts to *yell* and *we're* to *were* if the apostrophe is removed. This shows that Kelman's focus on the negated auxiliary is a targeted attack on a particular feature of language which acts as a 'hot spot' for social judgement.

Further reasons why Kelman focuses upon contracted negative auxiliary verbs are because of their link to the Scots treatment of negation and for their social class connotations. The contracted negative auxiliaries have two direct sets of alternatives in the fully-spelt *not* and *–na* varieties. The use of the *not* variation has associations with the middle-class, but as Kelman indicates with his use of apostrophes, the working class prefer *–n't* endings and the associated possibility of using a full spoken form of *not* is rare. Thus, the use of apostrophes in the enclitic negative auxiliaries has a social-class dimension that differentiates the voices of the text according to the level of formality. Furthermore, working-class speakers might be expected to rarely think of the *–n't* ending as an alternative to its fully-spelt proper English form, so it is logically viable to represent these words without an apostrophe because this reflects a state of mind in regards to this particular subset of verb use. Such an approach complements the Scottish negation system where the *–na* suffix, usually spelt without apostrophes, often has a parallel *–n't* suffix which alternates with it.[15] In an area of grammar where there are competing forms, both within English and between English and Scots, distinctions of both class and nationality can be asserted. To use *–n't* with an apostrophe signals and subjugates the position of the user as using both informal language and non-standard written English. However, removing the apostrophe asserts a validity of the *–n't* forms without implying it to be an inferior version of a better option.

Apostrophes are used in *How Late it Was, How Late* to bring the dialogue of the working-class Sammy and the middle-class doctor to the same hierarchical level in the text, since both are shown to lack apostrophes in the contraction of negative verbs:

> Are ye saying that you dont really think I'm blind?
> Of course not.

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[15] With the exception of *don't* and *won't*. Also note that the form *cannot* is the only example of 'not' attached to the word in full form as a suffix, as the Scottish enclitic –na.

> Well what are ye saying?
> I told you a minute ago.
> Could ye repeat it please?
> In respect of the visual stimuli presented you appeared unable to respond.
> So ye're no saying I'm blind?
> It isnt for me to say. (p. 226)

The democratisation of voice that critics refer to is achieved through an even-handed treatment of punctuation, and is found in the above example in the removal of apostrophes for *dont* and *isnt*. While the removal of these apostrophes in the working-class voice alone is significant, it becomes even more so when the middle-class voice is adjusted to suit Kelman's approach, pulled away from its usual method of representation and remodelled to suit a different system of punctuation. This method of applying apostrophes to the text is not the only manner by which Kelman dismantles the authority in the text, as will be seen in his approach to capitalisation in the next section.

Capitalisation: status

Capital letters, also known as 'majuscule' and 'upper case letters', were first combined with lower case letters in the Carolingian minuscule style of writing in the eighth century. Sampson writes that this combination became 'fully formalised' in the fifteenth century, where there was 'an upper case modelled upon monumental capitals with a lower case imitating minuscule handwriting' (p. 113). Capital letters have a formality and authority about them. This is partly as a legacy of the association of the majuscule style with formality, since it was used on Greek and Roman monuments and found in official documents. This type of capital lettering contrasted to the later more humble minuscule alphabet that was found in handwriting.

Later, when it became common to produce texts using a combination of upper and lower case letters, the upper case was still used for particular words within the sentence, such as proper nouns; thus, capital letters retained an ability to represent status. The initial capital letter to start a sentence is merely a useful textual device, but does not act as an authority/status marker, so it will not be discussed here. However, the use of capitals to indicate the status of a proper noun is much more interesting because it reveals how punctuation contributes to the stratification of words within a text. Consider, for instance, the use of a capital letter for proper

nouns, such as when referring to people, places, institutions, and organisations, for example James Kelman, Glasgow, the Department of Health and Social Security, and the Glasgow Chamber of Commerce. The problem with proper noun capitalisation is that it implies a position of respect, status, authority, or power that may not accurately reflect an individual's particular point of view on the matter.

Kelman comments on this issue in a personal interview with the author:

> JK: I try to not use any orthography that doesn't spring from the text itself. The most obvious example would be if the central characters are atheists, there is absolutely no reason for god to be in capital letters. So, to that extent, it depends on the perspective of the character so the value comes through the actual text itself and it is not imposed value. The same if there is any significance being given by any perspective, then maybe I would employ a capital whereas common orthography wouldn't – a conventional value wouldn't.
> AM: I'm thinking of a Busconductor, if you capitalise that, it is the profession. It is an occupation, like you'd say, Prime Minister, capital P and capital M, Busconductor, capital B. Whereas, depending on your point of view, the average middle-class administration put it down as a thing you do, not an occupation, so it is put down as a small b. We see it as a job title.
> JK: It's always a political thing. It is a supremely political thing to do. It annoys a lot of middle class people. It is asserting the primacy of the human being, whether it is the person who mops the floor or whatever, you know. Generally, the middle-class culture have difficulty with that because we are supposed to be a thing that is seen and not heard.

Kelman's response to the status afforded by capital letters, then, is to use them according to principle rather than prescription. Thus, as he notes, he capitalises proper nouns according to the point of view of the character. For example, in the story 'Forgetting to Mention Allende', the agnostic Tommy McGoldrick uses an uncapitalised 'christ' when he speaks and refers to 'christian stuff', but there is a capitalised 'God' in the dialogue of the characters who are nominated as being 'Mormons', which is also capitalised (pp. 49-55). In *A Disaffection*, Patrick Doyle imagines crying out to the headmaster:

> Your number's up auld yin! Say your prayers to the congregation and make your peace with the Christian God whom for the sake of common decency I'm begging the existence of this morning and just awarding the capital, 'G', as in 'God'. (p. 168)

Patrick Doyle is an atheist who normally does not have capitalised religious terms attributed to him, so words such as 'christ' and 'god' are depicted using the lower case. However, in the above passage, Patrick uses capitals to make a point about the status usually afforded religious words. The other time that capitalisation is given to religious entities in *A Disaffection* is when the words refer to a formal group or organisation.

Another illustration of this strategy of capitalisation can be found in *The Busconductor Hines* where the atheist Rab Hines always has an uncapitalised 'god' 'jesus' and 'christ', but other characters may be depicted using a capitalised 'God' 'Jesus' and 'Christ', depending on their own positions on the matter. Likewise, Edward in 'A Situation' from *The Burn* is religious and his speech is depicted as follows:

> I believe in God if that's what you mean.
> Do you? The invalid sat back on his chair and he studied Edward.
> Well I hope I do I mean I hope I do... And I'm no ashamed of it. I used to be an agnostic. But no now, I'm back to believing. (p. 45)

Kelman honours the worldview of the character, or context, by altering the capitals of proper nouns; in the above quotations, capitalisation indicates whether a religious entity is real to that character or not.

Kelman extends this consideration of a character's worldview when he capitalises names given to people. So while names such as Tammas, Rab, Patrick, or Sammy might retain the typical standard capitalisation when referring to a non-specific individual, such as Bob or Jim, there is no capital used to start the term. Instances of this are found in *The Busconductor Hines* 'help ma boab right enough' (p. 158), *Not Not While the Giro* 'dont worry about me, jim dandy' (p. 109), and *Greyhound for Breakfast* 'you got twenty pence there jim, for the busfare home?' (p. 2). On another occasion, in *Lean Tales*, a person who is on stage is said to be doing a 'scotchman' act (p. 10). The initial lower case letter on 'scotchman' is used to indicate that it is a non-Scottish person performing a stereotypical rendition of a Scottish person. Furthermore, when a generic name is used to address another character, but without any respect for that person, it may attract lower case treatment. The lower case is used in *Renee* from *Greyhound for Breakfast*: 'What d'you mean jock? she said' (p. 18). However, if a word is used as a proper noun, such *jock* as in *A Chancer*, it attracts capitalisation: 'Four days I been away Jock, four days – four days too long!' (p. 309).

Clearly, Kelman makes conscious use of capital letters for their ability to evoke status. This is further examined when the accuracy of ontology is addressed by Patrick Doyle in *A Disaffection*, while he clutches a table to steady himself and contemplates his situation:

> If it's magic it might rise up and carry ye home. That's what happens in certain tales from the Orient. Always allowing for the fact that the Arabian Nights arent Oriental. They're from the Middle East. Yes. Who gives it capital letters. The naming process and Imperialism. (p. 213)

Patrick Doyle is depicted as capitalising place names automatically, but the above extract highlights the problem of this habit. Patrick is shown to question the authority of the naming process only after first using the terms himself, and he realises that although the place names are given capital letters (even in the character's mind), they are regional labels used by the 'Imperialists' rather than being self-named and self-proclaimed entities. Further to this, Patrick questions the factual nature of the origins of the Arabian Nights stories, and critiques it by being more specific when rejecting the Orient in preference for the Middle East, because the Orient also refers to areas outside of the Middle East itself. Thus, he overtly questions the naming process and who has the power to bestow names upon others, and whether they are correct, despite their capitalisation.

Moving onto the other uses of capitalisation, occupations that usually gain no recognition or status may be elevated to capital status in Kelman's work. It addresses the imbalance in the convention of an initial capital letter being used for some occupations while others are not — for example, the occupations of Minister or Principal are capitalised as titles of honour but the occupations of boiler-man or bus conductor are not. Some of Kelman's stories break convention and capitalise job titles to indicate an honourable status where they are not usually viewed as such, and this is often applied when no personal name is used, such as the Nightboilerman or the Busconductor. Kelman's literary world also contains other capitalised occupations such as the Driver, Chefs, Dayboilerman, Shop Steward, Acting Secretary, and Newdrivers.[16] However, this particular type of capitalisation is inconsistently used in his writing.

Capital letters have a status that can be alluded to in the speech of characters, where they try to imbue their spoken words with the sense of importance that capital letters hold in the written medium. For example, in *The Burn* a character refers to the noun 'world' as follows: 'I want the world, the world, capital double-u' (p. 225). The status and authority of capital letters are transferred to a

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[16] 'Driver' see *Lean Tales* (p. 102); 'Chefs' see *Lean Tales* (p. 17); 'Dayboilerman' see *Lean Tales* (p. 93); 'Shop Steward' see *An Old Pub Near the Angel* (p. 81); 'Acting Secretary' see *An Old Pub Near the Angel* (p. 81); 'Newdrivers' see *The Busconductor Hines* (p. 154).

spoken word, and the idea is that the character refers not just to the 'world' but all the world including all its possibilities for that character. Another case in point is from *The Good Times* where importance is given to the adjective, *weird*: 'honest to jesus this was weird with a capital w' (p. 174). The notion of capitalisation is used to indicate that the weirdness is especially notable. Both uses of the figurative value inherent in capitalisation give a sense of certainty and emphasis to their words. Another illustration of this is as follows from *A Disaffection*: 'Some of what he has to say for himself is so positively disbelievably believable, disbelievably believable. Spell believable. Capital "b"' (p. 177). What is particularly ironic is that Kelman does not capitalise the letter which is being named as a capital, for that would upstage the sentiment being expressed in lower case elsewhere in the sentence. Furthermore, these cases are interesting because they draw on a popular consciousness of the power of capitals, and Kelman is showing that capitals do function to give importance even in ordinary people's thought and speech.

A related use of capital letters occurs when particular words and phrases have conceptual uses rather than solely literal meanings. This is similar to the older habit in pre-1900s writing where philosophical conceptualisations were capitalised. Thus, words in Kelman's passages may be highlighted by an initial capital, such as in the following from *The Busconductor Hines*: 'just a genuine answer to a genuine question being asked from an entire world. An Entire World' (p. 99). In this extract, the notion of 'An Entire World' gains importance and emphasis. A similar case in point from the same book is 'a childish dream, a romantic fancy, one which has long ceased to exist in the land of real items – Real Items' (p. 102). In this case, the land of lower case 'real items' is the real world which is compared to the concept of capitalised 'Real Items', that of fantasy. Similarly, capitalisation is used for phrases referring to common narrative topics, as if they were book or article titles, such as to 'Give Up The Ghost' in *Not Not While the Giro* (p. 198), the 'Games-I-Have-Played. Concerts-I-Have-Attended. Women-I-Have-Screwed. Jobs-I-Have-Fucking-Done' in *How Late it Was, How Late* (p. 194), and that 'Al Capone's Guns Dont Argue' in *A Disaffection* (p. 250).

Entire words written in capital letters are sometimes used if the original subject they represent also uses the same convention, such as the upper case writing of signs, headlines, and advertisements. Thus, in *A Disaffection*, an advertisement is depicted as follows, 'There was a SALE!! BIG REDUCTIONS!!', which is later referred to in the passage 'I prefer to march ever onwards getting bumped by folk rushing to the SALE!! BIG REDUCTIONS!!' (pp. 207, 211). Also, a newspaper headline appears as 'RANGERS SIGN EIRE WINGER!' and a book title is depicted within the text 'For christ sake! RECOLLECTIONS OF A FIRST LORD OF THE ADMIRALTY' and similarly in 'the full unexpurgated twenty-four volume edition of Wilson's TALES OF THE BORDERS. Tremendous' (pp. 212, 86). Another situation where entire words are capitalised is depicted in the government warning in *The Busconductor Hines*:

> the fingers twitching away, in their grasp at the lid, of the tin. DANGER: HM Govt. Health Depts' WARNING THE MORE YOU SMOKE THE MORE YOU RISK YOUR HEALTH. (p. 73).

Other signs which are represented in their capitalised state in Kelman's writing are 'POSITIVELY MEMBERS ONLY' in *A Chancer* (p. 68) and 'pedestrians walking at the CROSS NOW' in *A Disaffection* (p. 47). Kelman is expressing both cynicism and parody when he reproduces the capital letters of these signs, headlines, advertisements, and titles. This use of capitalisation is meant to grab attention and he is depicting them as achieving their aim by retaining their 'loud' status in his texts.

Capitals are also a stylistic device which Kelman harnesses for their association with authority. The short story 'ONE SUCH PREPARATION' in *Greyhound for Breakfast* is a rare example of his use of this textual strategy. Here is an excerpt of the story, which is written entirely in capital letters:

> THE INITIAL REBELLIOUS BEARING IS SEEMINGLY AN EFFECT OF THE UNIFORM'S IRRITATION OF WHICH AMPLE EVIDENCE IS ALREADY TO HAND. BUT THIS KNOWLEDGE MAY BE OFFSET BY THE POSSIBILITY OF BEING TOUCHED BY GLORY. AT THE STAGE WHERE THE INCLINE BECOMES STEEPER THE ONE IN QUESTION STARED STEADFASTLY TO THE FRONT. HIS BREATHING, HARSH AS BEFITS AN UNDERGOING OF THE EXTREME, NEVER BETRAYED THE LEAST HINT OF INTERIOR MONOLOGUE. THERE WAS NO SIGN OF A WISH TO PAUSE AND NOR WAS THERE ANY TO REDUCE OR TO INCREASE PACE. HIS CONTROL WAS APPROPRIATE. (p. 205)

In this story, the capital letters represent the power of the discourse involved in the military, police, or agent of social control, one which allows no variation or deviation from the regimented system. The capitals indicate, as does the narrative, that there is no internal conflict about the course of action about to be taken. The uniformed person is controlled and steady. Essentially, the story is metaphorically yelled in order to drown out other voices which might object.

In summary of Kelman's style of capitalisation, he tends to use capitals in some typical ways, such as to start sentences and for acronyms. He is also fairly consistent in the use of capitals for people's names, such as Ronnie and Vi, and for places, organisations, and institutions, such as Great Britain, Partick Thistle FC, and Glancy's Bar. However, if the primary reason is to indicate authority or status, then he is likely to carefully think about the contextual factors that surround the representation of the word on the page and decide if a word needs to be given upper case treatment.

Word spaces, hyphens, and compounds: the orthographic word

The insertion of spaces between words is a textual construct which has minimal correlation to spoken language. Quirk et al make this point:

> There are numerous respects in which we cannot reproduce in writing the distinctions made prosodically in speech…. In the visual indicators of word limits we have the converse. In informal speech, we do not normally attempt to make a difference in pronunciation between *a nice drink* and *an ice(d) drink*. In writing, such distinctions are absolute and must be regularly made. Similarly, irrespective of the sound we make in speech, we must indicate in writing what counts as an orthographic word. (p. 1614)

Quirk et al define the orthographic word as 'preceded or followed either by a space or by one or more punctuation marks and a space' (p. 1610). This may seem obvious, but it is important to understand that the choice of 'what counts as an orthographic word' has, in some cases, the stylistic potential to reflect attitudes to the concept represented by that word.

When there is an especially close relationship between two words, the writer may feel the need to indicate this. There are three options to deal with this situation: retain the space between the words; use a hyphen to connect the words; or remove the punctuation (a space or hyphen) between the words in order to form a single compound word. Usually, there will be a convention already established

which specifies the option to be used. However, as Quirk et al argue, in a system where 'consistency and regularity assume an importance', writers are placed in a situation where they 'have to reformulate their sentences to convey fully and successfully what they want to express within the orthographic system' (pp. 1614, 25).

While Kelman often adopts the conventional forms of orthographic words, he will occasionally make changes to words which transcend the standardised forms. The changes technically still operate within the orthographic system, but the established orthographic choice may be flouted in order to achieve greater expression in his writing. He recognises the orthographic word as a construct which has the capability for meaningful variation and artistic expression. An illustration of this is when Kelman produces a compound word, the verb 'truthtelling', out of what would typically be a hyphenated word, 'truth-telling', in order to express a particular concept in *A Disaffection*:

> truthtelling is the one word. Truthtelling is a verb. It is a doing thing or a not doing thing. I truthtell, do you. (p. 212).

The term 'truthtell' is not a word (and therefore not a verb) so Kelman is using orthography to emphasis his creation of a new word. In the above example, the fused word implies an absolute principle or concept which excludes the possibility of lying.

A more extensive illustration of the existential evocation of Kelman's language can be examined through his approach to the compounding of 'part' and 'time'. The first sentence is from *An Old Pub near the Angel*, the second and third sentences from *The Busconductor Hines*:

> Could take a couple of part time jobs. (p. 41)
> She works part-time in an office. (p. 89)
> She works parttime but hopes to go fulltime. (p. 89)

Each variation has subtle but important differences based upon the implied degrees of separation and conceptual connection. Kelman's variability in the orthographic depiction of part-time work reflects the existential situation of their production. In the case of the fused word 'parttime', Kelman elevates the common reference to 'part-time' work to a new level of meaning in the sentence 'She works parttime but hopes to go fulltime', one where the notion of being 'parttime'

has become the norm and is presented in contrast to the dream of going 'fulltime'. The fusion of 'parttime' represents a particular cultural internalisation of working-class people, where the compound word becomes a referent concept in the discourses of work of the underemployed and the working class — fulltime work is a reality only for some. The term 'part-time' is the standard form of the word and has no particular implication, other than being a standard form of employment which is less than full-time. When 'part time' is used, it draws attention to the fact that 'part' of the working week is used, rather than the standard full working week, and this is notable. The spaces between orthographic words help to maintain their independent status. The implication in the sentence 'Could take a couple of part time jobs' is that only part of the week is taken and the rest could be filled with other part time work. Kelman only uses the form 'part time' once in his works, in his first publication in 1973, a time when industry was in crisis but before complete de-industrialisation. The term 'parttime' is contrasted against its counterpart of 'fulltime' employment in *The Busconductor Hines* published in 1984, at the height of deindustrialisation with its resultant loss of full-time employment. Elsewhere, the standard form of the term 'part-time' is used throughout Kelman's works. The use of hyphens within an orthographic word indicates a coexistence or contextual status for the two composite words.

Hyphenated words are often used when creating adjectives, adverbs, and their grammatically related nouns. A hyphen connects two words, coordinating their simultaneous contribution to meaning. A hyphenated word indicates a meeting of concepts, being 'in context', as Nicoll describes it in *This is not a Nationalist Position* (p. 81). However, the constituent parts of the hyphenated word remain clearly delineated. Some examples of hyphenated words in Kelman's work are all-nighter, non-reflective, and early-warning. In other places in Kelman's work, he also forms compound words using the above hyphenated forms, thus completely melding the concepts into a new single word: allnighter, nonreflective, and earlywarning. This is a technique which is impractical for continued use but can be instrumental in drawing attention to particular concepts or in representing a particular point of view or discourse. The result is the occasional manifestation of this kind of melded word but with no obvious pattern to its usage. For instance, in

Greyhound for Breakfast this example appears: 'under my arms at the shoulder my armpits there are aches and I think what I know about earlywarning signs the early-warning signal of the dickey heart it feels like that' (p. 13). In this case, the variation between earlywarning and early-warning is about pace. If the reader is not accustomed to Kelman's total stream-of-consciousness, run-on style, they can begin to read his work very quickly. The hyphen slows the reader down briefly on reaching that word. This causes an interruption to the flow of the word itself, that increases the anticipation and makes the notion of a heart attack stand out. The deliberate variation of Kelman's writing ensures that there will be times when his work will contradict theories about the mechanics of his prose. The general trends remain the same, however, that the notions of orality, pace, and anti-authoritarianism are essential to his choices. This simultaneously allows him to change his style according to the context: he juggles between expressing the character's point of view, considering the relationship between spoken and written language, and taking into account literary concerns.

Often, there is some resistance to joining two words to make a new one, especially since the option of hyphenation is available. Moreover, it is usually only when hyphenation has been in use for a particular word for a long period or is used with great frequency that the hyphen is dropped to form an orthographic word. Whether already established with hyphens or not, Kelman will form a compound word for the purposes of making its concepts seem ordinary and already accepted, even when that compound word is not institutionally approved. The words 'capitalisticobliquesocialisticexploitative' and 'carassemblyman' are used in *A Disaffection* (pp. 220, 123), and 'pitchblack' is used in *Not Not While the Giro* (p. 175). These are some of the words which are not found hyphenated in any of Kelman's writing. An example is a sequence of words in *A Disaffection* that have no hyphenation but ought to, according to stylistic convention:

postindustrialised western capitalisticobliquesocialisticexploitative. (p. 220)

The manner of inscription of these words signal the character's point of view concerning the political state of Scotland. Admittedly, the use of the word 'oblique' in 'capitalisticobliquesocialisticexploitative' is a nod to the 'slash', an alternative to the hyphen; however, he still chooses to avoid the actual

punctuation mark and instead draws upon its imaginative function of referring to a fused form or uniquely combined ideas.

As with the other variations of spaces, hyphens, and fused words, the formation of compound words is variable in Kelman's stories. However, he seems especially likely to use fused words in *The Busconductor Hines*. There are no comparative dataset figures for hyphens because, similar to the problem found with apostrophes, hyphens are difficult to count in the datasets and they are also found not only within words but also at the end of lines to continue a word into the next line. Furthermore, the OCR to Word conversion of Kelman's documents resulted in the highest losses of data for hyphens, so a count of this punctuation mark was similarly abandoned.

Kelman occasionally uses compound words that were originally expressed through the use of a phrase of usually three or four words to explain a concept or situation. Demonstrations of this in Kelman's work are 'stabintheback', 'kicksintheteeth', and 'whatstheword'. There is a dual rationale for their use which is arguably also present in a lesser form in compound words. Not only are these phrasal words used to express concepts that are a frequent preoccupation of the speaker, they primarily represent the speed in which this phrase is spoken. The spoken delivery of 'What is the word?' is usually quick and it can seem at odds with the spaces between each of the words that indicate a separation where none exists in the oral delivery. The representation of this rushed speech, and perhaps thought, gives the impression of an immediacy of production. It can be thought of as a spoken filler, a variation of words such as 'er' and 'um', which serve to indicate that the speaker is trying to say something and has not yet finished but wants to remain uninterrupted. Since written narrative accounts allow the narrator time to review and clearly state thoughts and observations, the representation of fillers indicates the author's desire to locate the language as influenced by speech, using it to refer to the mental pause to be represented. As with many previously argued examples in this thesis, Kelman is not consistent in his alteration of these phrasal words, and other variations can be found in his work: 'whats the word' and 'what's-the-word'. Thus, the technique is only sometimes applied. However, this possibility of dual purposes for a single use of punctuation is important, and it

will now lead the discussion to flow and tempo. Thus, the discussion will now move away from the use of punctuation for authority, stratification, and status to examine its use to control flow, tempo, and finally, for general creative expression.

Indicating flow and stress

In this section I discuss how punctuation is used to manage the flow of narrative, such as found in punctuation which signposts tempo changes in consciousness and dialogue (pause marks and formatting spaces). De Beaugrande states that: 'The pacing principle is most firmly aligned with Prosody: you mark with punctuation the points where a hesitation or pause would occur in the implicit prosodic contour of the written text.' He goes on to point out that: 'Pauses can carry auxiliary functions, such as inviting hearers to draw ominous conclusions; allowing the speaker time to 'think' [and] could logically suggest varying strengths of Cohesion and Coherence' (§5.V.H.44-5). This signposting both orders the information and coordinates the ideas, with the intention that the reader takes cues from this punctuation when making sense of the text.

Commas, semicolons, colons, full stops: pauses in flow

Earlier, in the discussion of how the notion of a sentence is conceptualised, we noted how Kelman said to Slattery that writers such as himself 'use punctuation and so on to give a translation of language as it is used orally' (p. 5). This does not mean he uses punctuation to represent each possible prosodic feature. Instead, Kelman is willing to break the influence of prescriptive grammar upon punctuation practices by using punctuation for prosodic purposes, such as to control the flow of the reading of the text. He achieves this through careful attention to pauses and pace when rendering thought processes and speech rhythms. Kelman helps the reader feel the pace and flow of thought as much as 'hear' the delivery of the sentences of characters. The primary way this is achieved is through his treatment of pause marks, where he attempts to depict the cadences and flow of thoughts and speech on the written page. This is as much an aesthetic choice between punctuation marks for grammatical purposes or to depict

the mental rhythms (the shifts in the character's consciousness) they evoke and the spoken intervals they represent in the dialogue of characters.

Kelman uses punctuation in its capacity to indicate intervals, but this does not mean he discards its conventional uses. Often the grammatical and aesthetic approaches are congruous because, as Brian Butterworth points out, pauses occur at grammatical junctures and clauses (pp. 85-6). Similarly, small breaks in the reading process are often found in similar places to those where we normally expect punctuation marks. Thus, Kelman uses commas, full stops, semicolons, and colons as pause indicators, in addition to their related function of marking meaningful units. In the narrative, particularly when the indirect free mode is used to narrate the thoughts of the character, the pause marks are placed at intuitive junctures where change in speed, connection, or brief breaks in thought take place. In dialogue these pause marks are placed at the places where a person might make an intonation or pace change, or take a slight break in the production of speech. In Kelman's work, the semicolon has intermediate pause value between the short pause of the comma and the long pause of the full stop. This usage agrees with De Beaugrande who argues that 'among the more common usages, a Comma suggests a brief pause, the Semicolon a longer one at the end of a Clause, and a Period a still longer one at the end of a Sentence' (§5.V.H.45). Colons vary in pause length, depending on their communicative context but, as De Beaugrande notes, the 'look-ahead principle signals what to expect after the mark, the most distinctive being the Colon that looks ahead to a specification or explanation of what went shortly before' (§5.V.H.49).

In an interview cited in Macarthur, Kelman asserts that he carefully selects each punctuation mark that is found in his writing:

> I just take great pains with each story so that every comma is my comma, every full stop's mine…just so that everything is as precise as it should be, that's my only aim. (p. 83)

On occasion, Kelman's work may seem grammatically incorrect to the Standard English reader who expects the norms and values inherent in written discourse to remain unchallenged by unusual punctuation. However, since Kelman uses punctuation marks for aesthetic literary purposes, he cannot avoid this situation.

Murphy argues that Kelman displays an awareness 'of how phrase, clause, sentence and paragraph boundaries may be meaningfully used to signal conceptual and event boundaries'. Kelman has developed a form of typographical re-blocking that rearranges space and 'highlights the linked nature of the information presented'. Murphy also maintains that Kelman has developed an ability for textual re-blocking, a 'rearrangement within the linear flow of the narrative fiction of specific prepositional phrases, clauses or even whole sentences, together with all the necessary re-punctuation that this entails' (p. 189). Kelman himself has commented on the full stop in a personal interview with the author: 'I am using it for more than one purpose, two purposes really, given that one is literary and one is to do with the oral. I'll include that at the end of the thought, or if the thought hasn't ended, there'll be no full stop'. The result is that, as Murphy explains, Kelman has 'greater consistency in using the clause as the unit for linking related aspects of given actions, while reserving the sentence as the primary unit for the presentation of complete actions' (p. 190).

Kelman was questioned by McLean on the punctuation of the opening line of *The Busconductor Hines*, which was: 'Hines jumped up from the armchair, she was about to lift the huge soup-pot of boiling water.' In this example, a comma joins two whole sentences, rather than the prescribed colon (even a semi-colon or full stop) for this situation, and this particular use of a comma is a practice avoided in English writing because it has come to be seen as a sign of illiteracy. What follows is an extract from an interview with Duncan McLean where Kelman gives his rationale for using the comma in this manner:

> DM: Let's talk about the opening sentence of Hines – in particular about its punctuation. You know what I'm talking about – the fact that it's two sentences separated by a comma.
> JK: I know that opening sentence of Hines quite well and I do not accept that at all. I spent a lot of time on it. You cannot make it a semicolon; you can't make it a colon; it's got to be a comma, there's no question. The principal part of that sentence is the first one which is 'Hines jumps up'. There's no cause or effect: it's a picture of a fact; the fact is: somebody has jumped up. That begins the whole thing, the character jumps up, stands to attention – there is this movement going on. And then you start analysis, if you want to do that: Why did he jump up? It so happens he jumps up because his wife is about to lift over a pot of boiling water – an inadequate pot. That is the spark of life. In terms of drama that is all that is necessary, nothing else. It can't be a semicolon, cause that puts too much emphasis onto it. It's got to begin in a really unemphatic way; even a semicolon makes it emphatic, you know. It's got to be something that's so everyday. (p. 120)

Kelman assesses the value of the semicolon, colon, and comma for their dramatic impact at the moment they are being read. This is not only for their grammatical overtones, such as the colon as a marker of causality, but the sense that if one pauses too long when encountering the semicolon or colon, the impression of a continuing unfolding drama is lost: the reader is invited to contemplate the connection too soon. The comma is the least emphatic way to connect the two parts, and indicates the smallest pause interval, encouraging the reader to keep moving on for more information before stopping. This nuance is recognised by Quirk et al, who have noted that 'The comma in fact, provides considerable opportunity… for implying fine degrees of cohesion and separation' (p. 1611). The comma carries a diminished sense of carving up the text for grammatical purposes, unlike the colon or semicolon. The point Kelman makes is that he will not use a punctuation mark, even if it is prescriptively correct, if the dramatic effect during the process or the pace of reading is incongruous with the meaning he is creating and the realist effect he is trying to attain.

This is best demonstrated by examining the following variations of punctuation possible for the same opening sentence of *The Busconductor Hines*. It is important to observe the change in mental pause and pace when silently reading these sentences:

Hines jumped up, she was
Hines jumped up; she was
Hines jumped up: she was
Hines jumped up. She was

The action flows best with the comma, in the sense of conveying a simultaneous occurrence, whereas the sentence with the semicolon invokes a longer pause and a slower start when reading the second part. The full stop, according to De Beaugrande, invokes the 'look back principle', indicating that what is coming up looks back to what came before' (§5.V.H.48). The sentence with the colon invokes the 'look ahead principle' compelling the reader to the second part, and perhaps briefly returning to the start of the sentence to confirm what the second part of the sentence is demonstrating or explaining. Such sentence constructions are observed by Macarthur who remarks that Kelman 'uses punctuation unconventionally to avoid sharp breaks' (p. 39).

The essential point in the above series of variations is that in terms of flow, both the semicolon and colon significantly separate the two parts of the sentence whereas the comma does not. The comma is chosen because Kelman simultaneously wants to select the pause mark of least length while also removing the possibility of the grammatical overtones of the semicolon and colon intruding into the reading process (one which requires a narrator to interpret the causality to be able to correctly choose between a colon and semicolon). The semicolon is too emphatic and the colon is prematurely expository.

Kelman's stance on pause marks results in semicolons and commas being found in unexpected positions, such as in the sentence from *How Late it Was, How Late*: 'Here; just come to my voice, it's no far' (p. 92). Normally, within standard punctuation, the semicolon after 'here' is incorrect because what precedes it is not a whole sentence. Even if it was argued that the word 'here' is an interjection, the first semicolon is expected to replace a full stop, but not the exclamation mark required by an interjection. Complementary to this idea, if the author feels that the gap between the words 'here' and 'just' is longer than a comma, then they have to make a choice about how to express the difference. The comma after 'voice' should technically be a semicolon in order to avoid the error of the 'comma splice', since it separates two independent clauses without a conjunction. However, when this is compared to the previous semicolon in the sentence, the author may decide that the pause value is smaller than a semicolon, with a comma to be used instead. One might argue that 'here' is an exclamation, and in this situation the comma is acceptable.

Kelman often uses semicolons to avoid the premature finalisation of a sentence, so the semicolon probably has referents beyond mere pause value as well. The full stop signals the end of completed idea, accompanied by a longer pause or an inflectional change, even if it is not technically a grammatically correct sentence in the standard definition of the term. Thus, Kelman's decisions are hard to justify in grammatical terms, leaving the reader with a choice between deciding that Kelman is a bad writer or coming to the conclusion that incorrect stylistic criteria are being used to judge his work.

The following passage from *How Late it Was, How Late* uses a wide range of pace-controlling punctuation:

> Aye, fine, aye. Like I was telling yez, the guy that phoned, he's helping me sort it out, my accident, the claim and that. He's sharp, he knows the score. That's how we're getting the photos. Sammy was on his feet; he carried on talking: Trouble with the building game, ye're aye bloody falling – me anyway; accident-prone; that's my trouble, accident-prone! So… He took off the tee-shirt. Can ye take a couple Keith?
> (p. 345)

The passage uses many commas to indicate a halting production of speech where clauses are added after the speaker realises that further explanation might be useful. These frequent commas cause the full stops to have the sense of a complete break in sound. The frequent commas also make the ellipsis in the second-to-last sentence more significant, perhaps indicating a drawn out sound for the word 'so' followed by a gap or audible breath. The semicolons similarly adopt a sense of being a longer pause than the commas. The dash has a sense of changed tone in addition to the break in speech, and a similar vocalic change is implied in the sentences with the exclamation mark and question mark. The colon gives the impression of being primarily grammatically-based — to indicate the start of dialogue — but it has a secondary function to indicate a change in volume if it were spoken. Only after the colon appears might the reader look back to the preceding semicolon and place a strong grammatical value on it as well.

An interesting example of punctuation usage is found in 'of the spirit' from *Greyhound for Breakfast* because it is a one sentence story (technically only a single orthographical sentence rather than a single grammatical sentence). It has a single comma and full stop, but no other pause marks. The comma appears near the end to draw attention to the conclusion: physicality hinders the spirit. This is the story in its entirety:

> I SIT here you know I just sit here wondering what to do and my belly goes and my nerves are really on edge and I dont know what the fuck I'm to do it's something to think about I try to think about it while my head is going and sometimes this brings it back but only for a spell then suddenly I'm aware again of the feeling like a knife in the pit of my guts it's a worry I get worried about it because I know I should be doing things there are things needing doing I know I know I know it well but cant just bring myself to do them it isnt even as though there is that something that I can bring myself to do for if that was true it would be there I would be there and not having to worry about it at this stage my muscles go altogether and there's aches down the sides of my body they are actual aches and also under my arms at the shoulder my armpits there are aches and I think what I know about earlywarning signs the early-warning signal of the dickey heart it feels like that is what it is the warning about impending strokes and death because also my chest is like that the

> pains at each side and stretching from there down the sides of my body as if I'm hunched right over the workbench with a case of snapped digestion the kind that has dissolved from the centre but still is there round the edges and I try to take myself out of it I think about a hundred and one things all different things different sorts of things the sorts of things you can think about as an average adult human being with an ordinary job and family the countless things and doing this can ease the aches for a time it can make me feel calm a bit as though things are coming under control due to thinking it all through as if really I am in control and able to consider things objectively
>
> as if I'm going daft or something but this is what it's like as if just my head's packed it in and I'm stranded there with this head full of nothing and with all that sort of dithering it'd make you think about you've got it so that sometimes I wish my hands were clamps like the kind joiners use and I could fasten them onto the sides of my head and then apply the thumbscrews so everything starts squeezing and squeezing
>
> I try not to think about it too much because that doesnt pay you dont have to tell me I know it far too well already then I wouldnt be bothering otherwise I wouldnt be bothering but just sitting here and not bothering but just with my head all screwed up and not a single idea or thought but just maybe the aches and the pains, that physicality. (pp. 13-4)

The lack of full stops, semicolons, or colons (though admittedly there are line returns for paragraphs) represents the relentless pain and need for constant mental management on behalf of the character. This sense of relentlessness is implied through the lack of pause marks. The use of a single comma near the end is notable, as Macarthur observes: 'The unanticipated comma ensures that the final phrase is granted unusual significance' (pp. 64-6). Ultimately, what is 'of the spirit' must surely be affected by this continuous pain-induced physical and mental suffering.

Finally, this brings the discussion to another type of punctuation mark: the colon. Kelman does use the colon in its typically grammatical function to indicate an expository relationship between two sections of a sentence, an example of this in *Greyhound for Breakfast* is 'He made a face at me then laughed briefly: Tell me this, he says, how come you called me sir when you walked in that door?' (p. 125). In this case, the colon is used to coordinate and contextualise the behaviour and points to why the character laughed. The colon is also a pause marker which corresponds to different variations in length and tone, since vocally an explanation is accompanied by different tones and pauses to an introductory phrase or a coordinated grammatical sentence, yet the same colon marker can be used. It is also possible that a colon can act as an expository marker in its own

right, an ideograph, similar to the 'therefore' symbol in philosophy. This can be seen in *The Burn*:

> It was just an insect and he had squashed it with his thumb. Why worry? But why do it why did he do it, why did he do it? Why did he do it, in the first place, take away its life? The stain of it on his thumb, a brown brackeny coloured substance. Here he was having just had illicit sex with his girlfriend's sister
>   fiancée's sister. She was his fiancée's sister. Deborah was his fiancée's:
>   and now into the bargain he had squashed a living creature. (p. 27-8)

Since the colon is also a mark of specification an ideograph indicating the relationship between the two parts of the sentence — it cannot be contrasted to the comma, semicolon, or full stop which only indicate pause length and do not contain much information about the relationship between the sections within an orthographic sentence.

The comparison of the datasets provides some interesting results for the punctuation marks involved with flow and tempo. Once again, SCOTS SPOKEN is limited in its compatibility to this search method because it uses a combination of normal punctuation and linguistic transcription marks, specifically the use of colons for each speaker's turn and after descriptions of data types, the use of an opening and closing question mark, such as [?] and [/?], when the transcriber is unsure of the utterance, and the use of the double slash [//] to indicate gaps in and interruptions to speech. Nonetheless, the following count for question marks was made possibly by controlling for the use of [?] and [/?]. This extract from the SCOTS SPOKEN dataset should illustrate these limitations; note the question marks in square brackets, colons, and slashes:

> SCOTS Project - www.scottishcorpus.ac.uk
> Document: 26
> Title: Conversation 09: Two brothers on early memories
> Author(s): N/A
> Copyright holder(s): Prof John B Corbett
> SCOTS Project
> Audio transcription
>
> M608: Okay, I mean you both hit your seventieth birthdays this year, er so you were born, what? Nineteen thirty-three?
> M636: //Thirty-two.//
> M635: //[?]Have you[/?].// Two.
> M608: Thirty-two? Of course, this is now two thousand and two - I can't count. Erm, and you both born in Auchinleck, obviously, and you were twins in a family of, what, five?
> M636: That's right.
> M608: Hm and [?]dad[/?], [hm], I mean, what what is the earliest thing that you can remember? //[inaudible]//

> M635: //Well, the earliest// thing I can remember, or one of the earliest things I can remember, is the fact that we flitted er to 15 Hillside Crescent on the day that war was declared in 1939.
> M608: Oh right!
> M635: Third of December. //And the day//
> M608: //Oh right.//
> M635: after, the train brought eh evacuees from Glasgow,
> M608: uh-huh
> M635: to live in Ayr during the, eh, to live //rather in Auchinleck,//
> M636: //Auch- Auchinleck.//
> M635: during the time of the war.

Since the colon is used to indicate each speaker's turn in SCOTS SPOKEN and the plays of SCOTS WRITTEN, and the colon is found for title information in all *Scottish Corpus of Texts and Speech* documents, this punctuation mark has not been included in the analysis.

The SCOTS SPOKEN dataset is further differentiated by its punctuation techniques, which means other punctuation marks are not included in the counts. Since the punctuation of the SCOTS SPOKEN dataset is the choice of the transcribers rather than the speakers, unlike the conscious production of punctuation marks by authors in literature, the result of transcription is that semicolons, marks of authorial interpretation, are reasonably rare in the SCOTS SPOKEN dataset.

Table 2.3 shows the rate of use for punctuation marks which have a similar functions across the datasets and can be counted with confidence (thus, semicolons are absent in the speech dataset).

Table 2.3: Question mark, exclamation mark, full stop, and comma rates

	KELMAN'S FICTION rate per 1,000	SCOTS FICTION rate per 1,000	SCOTS WRITTEN rate per 1,000	SCOTS SPOKEN rate per 1,000
question mark	9.3	4.9	3.9	30.2
exclamation mark	6.0	3.5	2.2	8.6
full stop	79.8	48.1	44.0	99.8
comma	46.0	64.2	50.7	90.5
semicolon	5.9	0.9	2.6	n/a
Totals	147	122	103	229

The SCOTS WRITTEN and SCOTS SPOKEN datasets form the two extremes of punctuation for all but the comma. The rates of use for all punctuation marks in the SCOTS FICTION dataset inclines towards the lower rate found in SCOTS WRITTEN, while KELMAN'S FICTION moves towards the high rates found for the

SCOTS SPOKEN dataset. A direct comparison can be made between KELMAN'S FICTION and the SCOTS datasets in the Table 2.4 below.

Table 2.4: Comparison of pause indicators used in KELMAN'S FICTION and the SCOTS datasets

	KELMAN'S FICTION to SCOTS FICTION ratio	KELMAN'S FICTION to SCOTS WRITTEN ratio	KELMAN'S FICTION to SCOTS SPOKEN ratio
question mark	1.9 : 1	2.4 : 1	0.3 : 1
exclamation mark	1.7 : 1	2.7 : 1	0.7 : 1
full stop	1.7 : 1	1.8 : 1	0.8 : 1
comma	0.7 : 1	0.9 : 1	0.5 : 1
semicolon	6.9 : 1	2.3 : 1	n/a
Totals	1.2 : 1	1.4 : 1	0.6 : 1

Of all the pause type usage in the datasets, Kelman's use of the full stop comes closest to matching that of the SCOTS SPOKEN dataset, and overall he consistently produces the closest rates to speech. The SCOTS WRITTEN dataset use of the question mark has the greatest individual difference against the rate of use in the SCOTS SPOKEN dataset, and SCOTS WRITTEN is consistently least like SCOTS SPOKEN overall. Among the story and novel texts, KELMAN'S FICTION often uses between 1.7 to 1.9 times more of a type of punctuation mark than SCOTS FICTION; the two exceptions are Kelman's low use of a comma at 0.7:1, and his high use of the semicolon at 6.9:1. Importantly, Kelman's use of the semicolon is even higher than that of SCOTS WRITTEN at 2.3:1, but his use of the comma is nearly the same at 0.9:1.

In the above table, Kelman's use of commas is comparatively low when compared to the other datasets. The smaller use of commas contrasts with the significant overall rise in use of other punctuation marks in the Kelman dataset, especially when the popularity of the comma in SCOTS FICTION and SCOTS WRITTEN is considered.

Kelman might be able to provide a reason for this in the following excerpt from a personal interview with the author:

> JK: There is another thing to it is the visual aspect on the page so important to me. I'm kind of working to use punctuation in ways which are very difficult. So when you don't have to use something, don't use, because you never know when you'll be in trouble and you are going to need to use something. When I use a comma, for example, every single one is considered. They are all deliberate.
> AM: Do you put in a comma for a space or breather?

JK: For whatever reason. That means I can't use them willy nilly.

Punctuation needs to be examined in light of other punctuation marks that may reduce the need for a different type to be used. Thus, although the comma is used less, other punctuation is used more, possibly as a result of Kelman following the principle of depicting different kinds of intervals in speech and thought. He might be using the exact punctuation mark he feels is needed for signposting (see his use of semicolons), so there is an increased overall use of punctuation marks.

The use in SCOTS FICTION and SCOTS WRITTEN of the full stop and comma are those closest to Kelman's rate of use. Despite the lower number of commas, it is offset by a greater use of other types of pauses which may occupy the same position, as indicated by the higher number of related punctuation marks that can be used to replace those commas. Kelman's writing contains frequent use of grammatically incomplete sentences which often could be conceivably joined to the neighbouring sentence using a comma. His use of full stops is also altered by his use of the question mark, exclamation mark, and semicolon, since each occupies the same place in the text. Instead of restricting himself to the comma and full stop, Kelman opts to exploit the full range of punctuation marks for their ability to represent a range of prosodic features. This variety enriches his text and creates the effect noted by critics as the 'rhythm' of his prose. Kelman's use of punctuation helps him evoke the 'cadences of speech'.

Kelman's use of pause marks, although not matching the SCOTS SPOKEN dataset, evokes the features of speech. Furthermore, if the totals of his use of terminal punctuation marks such as the full stop, question mark, and exclamation mark are combined, it appears that Kelman's writing consists of shorter sentences, itself more typical of speech than writing. The number of times that Kelman finishes a sentence or paragraph hanging without using a full stop must be kept in mind, as much as the great number of times when he writes a grammatically run-on sentence (which might alternately be an orthographic sentence). These situations would normally require more full stops than he currently uses. Thus, if combined, his minimum number of complete grammatical sentences is as follows in Table 2.5, as compared to the other datasets.

Table 2.5: Terminal marks rates

Terminal Marks	KELMAN'S FICTION rate per 1,000	SCOTS FICTION rate per 1,000	SCOTS WRITTEN rate per 1,000	SCOTS SPOKEN rate per 1,000
question mark	9	5	4	30
exclamation mark	6	3	2	9
full stop	80	48	44	100
Totals	95	57	50	139

These figures mean that Kelman produces sentences at the rate of one per 11 words as compared to SCOTS SPOKEN at one per 7 words. SCOTS FICTION and SCOTS WRITTEN form longer sentences at an average of one per 18 and 20 words, respectively. Essentially then, the overall rates for all punctuation marks studied here reveal that, among the writing-based datasets, KELMAN'S FICTION use of prosodic marks most closely approximates that found for SCOTS SPOKEN. The discussion will now turn to an examination of other punctuation marks involved in breaking the flow of the text.

Line returns, paragraphing, and section breaks: breaks in the flow

In writing, space is used to manipulate the formatting of the print on the page in order to increase readability and convey information about the organisation of the content. Occasionally, formatted spaces and layout can replace the need for separating and defining marks, which mostly means the removal of punctuation marks. As already seen with our examination of Kelman's use (or non-use) of quotation marks, a return line space can indicate the start of a new turn in speech where quotation marks may have performed the same task. In discussing the use of spacing on the page, Quirk et al argue that:

> There are three stretches of written language formally recognised by name whose bounds are indicated visually: the WORD, the SENTENCE (consisting of one or more words), and the PARAGRAPH (consisting of one or more sentences). (p. 1610)

Quirk et al write of paragraphs, which are the primary reason for the use of a line return (for each passage of dialogue is considered a paragraph, in typographical terms):

> the paragraph enables the writer to show that a particular set of sentences should be considered as more closely related to each other, and that those grouped within one paragraph are to be seen as a whole in relation to those that are grouped in the paragraphs proceeding and following. (p. 1624)

Spaces physically affect the reading process. The use of a space on the page, particularly a significant one like a formatted line break or section break, enforces a momentary break in the reading process, however minute, and a small amount of time passes while the reader moves their eyes around to search for the next section. This principle is at work in the short story 'Cute Chick' from *Greyhound for Breakfast* (p. 71). The story itself consists only of a title and a paragraph followed by a single concluding line. In this story, the description of the punter's reaction to the Cute Chick is accentuated by the line return, which emphasises the punters' horror. Here is the story in its entirety pictured on the left and transcribed on the right:

CUTE CHICK!

There used to be this talkative old lady with a polite English accent who roamed the betting shops of Glasgow being avoided by everybody. Whenever she appeared the heavily backed favourite was just about to get beat by a big outsider. And she would always cry out in a surprised way about how she'd managed to choose it, before going to collect her dough at the pay-out window. And when asked for her non-de-plume she spoke loudly and clearly: Cute Chick!

It made the punters' blood run cold.

The spacing format of the page also resembles that of a moral tale, like Aesop's Fables, where the main point of the story is made at the end. In this case, the appearance of Cute Chick coincides with an outsider horse's win in the race, and this would mean the ruin of those many punters' betting systems that rely on the favourite finishing first. The winner being a female middle-class speaker of polite English probably makes this situation for many male Glasgow punters difficult to bear. The formatted line return makes the final statement stand out clearly as the focal point of the story. This use of formatted spacing is quite conventional; the point is that Kelman not only exploits the existing conventions but also introduces innovations.

In *A Disaffection*, it is shown that an extended section break, particularly if unexpected, can be an effective way of emphasising the final idea and feeling of a

section before the story moves on. The original page is pictured on the left with the quoted material, starting from the top of the page, on the right (p. 228):
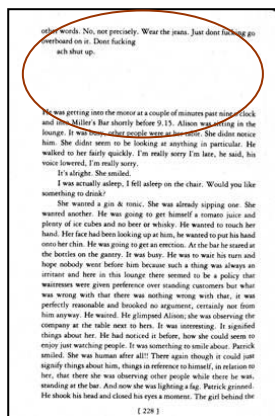
other words. No, not precisely. Wear the jeans. Just dont fucking go overboard on it. Don't fucking

ach shut up.

He was getting into the motor at a couple of minutes past nine o'clock and into Miller's Bar shortly before 9.15. Alison was sitting in the lounge. It was busy, other people were at her table. She didnt notice him. She didnt seem to be looking at anything in particular. He walked to her fairly quickly. I'm really sorry I'm late, he said, his voice lowered, I'm really sorry.

In the above example, a character is feeling anxious and interrupts himself, saying 'shut up', and both he and the text proceed to do just that. The large amount of space left after 'ach, shut up' contrasts significantly to the rest of the formatting on the page. The space visually demonstrates how successful the character was in silencing himself. This example also demonstrates Kelman's persistent interest in silence as a means of communication. The space also marks the change to a narrative of action rather than internal dialogue.

Kelman also makes sparing changes to spacing between words and paragraphs because it allows him to have a greater effect on the story. The use of a new line to interrupt a sentence in *Lean Tales*, is a particularly good illustration of how spacing can creatively contribute to a story (p. 92):

any canal). I wait on a few moments, before going to get the bogey. I like this last push up the incline, that rutted point near the top where the wheels seem to be jamming and the bogey halts and

       I cannot hold it any longer! All my strength's gone! The load's going to roll back down and crash into the canal!

       and then I grin; I breathe in and shove, continuing on up and through the swing doors into the corridor, still grinning.

In the above example, the sentence breaks off at one line to build the suspense and resumes at the same point on the next line. Furthermore, extending the word spacing at the end of the first paragraph is important because it graphically

represents the slowing down that accompanies the last push up an incline and the loss of momentum:

> near the top where the wheels seem to be jamming and the
> bogey halts and
>   I cannot hold it any longer! All my
> strength's gone! The load's going to roll back down and

The kerning also represents the strained slow pace of speech if the storyteller were speaking directly to the reader. Additionally, during the physical process of reading, the reader has to take a marginally longer amount of time to scan for and make sense of the words: their reading experience becomes temporarily halted. When the bogey seems to have stopped completely, the returned line space adds to the suspense. Then the reader is told that a disaster might happen and they are given another returned line space to allow them to digest this next piece of information.

>   I cannot hold it any longer! All my
> strength's gone! The load's going to roll back down and
> crash into the canal!
>   and then I grin; I breathe in and shove,
> continuing on up and through the swing doors into the
> corridor, still grinning.

When the reader finds the start of the next 'paragraph', they do not find the start of a new sentence, which is indicated by a capital letter. Instead, they are told that the character is grinning. What seemed to be a disaster is actually a small drama the character regularly encounters, rather than an event of singular significance.

The outline of a woman is another illustration of how Kelman might use space in *Lean Tales* to enhance the theme of a story. The story *dear o dear* appears on a single page that has neither a title nor a page number on the page (p. 186). This allows the shape of the text to be emphasised. The lack of a title makes the story unusual when compared to the other stories of the collection. This is the entire story, pictured below:

```
Dear
u dear u
dear. And
yet she must
have been near
about 30 years
of age. But
a certain
pair
of legs have
the following
shape: slim over
the knees with the
sloped move down to
the ankles which arent
thick. She was wearing a
miniskirt, and orange hair
with rollers stuck in; about
5'6"  in her red heels. And
this    voice of an amazing
kind   of hoarseness when
first   I heard her in the
shop   at the corner while
she    asked for a pound
of     brown sugar and 20
of     your kingsize tips
and    a box of cadbury's
as     well Archie if you
       dont mind. And pushing
       out through the door
       she let it swing back
       as if leaving it for
       me. Against the wall
       of her close she
       was leaning as I
       walked by clutch-
       ing my golden vir-
       ginia. And at 23
       years of age I was
       going through a bad
       patch with the
       wife but
       I did go
       on past.
       A couple
       of days
       later I
       saw her
       in the
       street
       bawling
       at some
       old timer:
       Ya  manky
       auld swine
       ye!   You
       still  owe
       two   quid
       from last
       week.
```

This format is used for a story about a man who is having difficulties with his wife and passes up an opportunity to pursue another woman. The short lines have an effect of being breathless, even distracted or hurried. It is not clear if the figure on the page represents the attractiveness of women generally, or if the woman is figuring in the story while literally forming the story itself. Furthermore, Kelman's evocation of pauses in speech production is his typical reason for applying unusual line returns (rather than to outline a shape using the text). This is also found in the following extract, taken from a short story called 'Pictures', where the return-line space indicates a mental blank. In this story from *The Burn*, a man is in a movie theatre watching a movie and the reader shares his thoughts. Instead of finishing the sentence with a full stop, which would indicate a completed segment of communication, the reader is presented with a paragraph space:

> He had been sitting there for two hours and it was fucking hopeless, you werent able to concentrate. You came to the pictures nowadays and you couldnt even get concentrating on the thing on the screen because
>
> because it wasnt worth watching, that was the basic fact, because something in it usually went wrong, it turned out wrong, and so you wound up you just sat thinking about your life for fuck sake (p. 9)

It is ironic that when the character's own attention temporarily lags, the reader is forced to have a similar break in concentration. The 'because' hangs in space, being pondered, and there is a sense of passing time before the reader sees what the 'because' refers to, being left hanging before the thought is completed. Gaps

such as this occur regularly in speech, where a speaker halts while forming the explanation in words. This is not to say that an explanation always follows, as it does not in *How Late it Was, How Late*:

> That was the fucking story. Just as well she had went afore this, afore this fucking shit man this fucking blind shit, fucking blind blind blind fucking blind man blind a fucking bastard, a walking fucking
> a walking fucking
> fuck knows what. (p. 173)

This time there is no explanation, and the reader is left to fill in the gaps, should they desire to do so.

The final title story of the collection, 'The Burn', achieves a sense of immediacy through its minimal insertions of space in the text. There are no spaces to indicate paragraphs or sections, just spaces between words and after punctuation marks, with a border between the edge of the page and the print. The minimal formatting floods the reader with information and mimics the flooding of the burn itself. There are no textual cues to say where the reader can take a break or to show where the topic shifts. Compare the original spacing of one section from *The Burn* with standard indented paragraph spacing imposed upon it in the second example:

> Aw dear. Aw dear. He stepped in near a big tree and leaned his arms against it, his forearms, crossed, them shielding his eyes, he was greeting without any sound, he just couldnt handle it. He couldnt. He had never been able to. It used to keep him awake at nights. For ages, fucking ages. He could never get it out his mind. For Christ sake bloody years ago it was, bloody years ago. Oh Christ. She was stronger than him. The wife. She was. She really was. She could handle it. He couldnt; he just couldnt handle it. He never could. He had never been able to, he had just never been able to. He opened his mouth to breathe fresh air. (p. 243)

The same extract looks like the following if proper paragraphing style is applied:

> Aw dear. Aw dear.
>   He stepped in near a big tree and leaned his arms against it, his forearms, crossed, them shielding his eyes, he was greeting without any sound, he just couldnt handle it. He couldnt. He had never been able to.
>   It used to keep him awake at nights. For ages, fucking ages. He could never get it out his mind. For Christ sake bloody years ago it was, bloody years ago. Oh Christ.
>   She was stronger than him. The wife. She was. She really was. She could handle it. He couldnt; he just couldnt handle it. He never could. He had never been able to, he had just never been able to.
>   He opened his mouth to breathe fresh air.

The paragraph spaces interrupt the flow of the story, destroying the single paragraph's analogous relationship to the heavily flowing burn, and removing the sense of overwhelming grief that the man feels. Also, the continuous block format

is analogous to the story's content: the man's emotional strain causes a heart attack while he tries to cross the swollen burn that has inundated his normal path with its torrent of water.

Ellipses: silent contributions to the flow

This section will explore another form of punctuation which silently contributes to the flow of a story: the ellipsis. The ellipsis was used in medieval times as a variant of the full-stop. In modern literature, ellipses indicate both hesitation and absence. De Beaugrande notes that the role of ellipsis in pacing is that it 'can signal a stronger hesitation or a postponement or break in Cohesion' (§5.V.H.46). An ellipsis is used to say that something has been omitted without revealing exactly what it was. Absences are expected within fiction because storytelling requires only the salient details and silences for nonessential information. One result of using ellipses is that the narrator does not act as an omniscient intermediary. The event is described in a way that allows the story to be revealed slowly rather than presented to the reader in a pre-digested form. This generates a sense of immediacy and drama. The lack of an omniscient narrator makes it less easy to understand and decode the silences exchanged between the characters. The ellipses are suitable in this situation because they reflect the same quality of information exchanged between the characters anyway: they do not communicate to each other, just as the narrator does not communicate to the reader. The ellipsis is a special mark to show a significant absence in discourse, one where the lack of speech is significant in itself, unlike the spaces between words or the full stop for a break of sound production in speech. The ellipsis is a punctuation mark which stands alone to ensure attention is given to something being excluded or removed. The ellipsis stands for the unsaid, where the expectation is that the space would be filled with something. Thus, the ellipsis can, amongst other things, act as an indicator of enforced silence, irrelevance, or hesitation.

In this passage from *A Disaffection*, the enforced silence indicated by the ellipses acts as both a form of question and reply and an indication of a number of silent exchanges that maintains the sequence of one speaker to the next:

> Just let's leave it.
> ...

> ...
> I think it's best I go.
> You can suit yourself what ye do.
> I think you're actually trying to tell me something.
> ...
> ...
> ...
> I think you're actually trying to tell me you want me to leave.
> That's right.
> You're wanting me to leave?
> Aye.
> Okay. Fine. (p. 308)

The reader sees that an important wordless interaction is part of the dialogue. The first set of ellipses form a question and answer, whereas the second set indicates a number of silent sequential exchanges. The ellipses are used to indicate the verbal conventions being violated when each of the speakers ignores the rules of turn-taking during their conversation. Their lack of speech is significant enough to create meaning and can be important to the story.

In the passage above, the characters do end up talking to each other. However, this sort of explication does not always follow in Kelman's stories, for example, earlier in the same novel (p. 160):
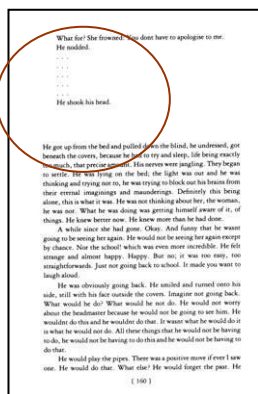
> What for? She frowned: you dont have to apologise to me.
> He nodded.
> ...
> ...
> ...
> ...
> ...
> He shook his head.

Again, the characters both remain wordless and this is significant, as the sequence of silent exchanges indicate. The narrator makes no further comment either, as evident from the large gap left between the final shake of the character's head and the start of a new section of narrative. The gap allows the text to record the event in a manner that reflects the characters' method of communication. Kelman's aim is to not use words because to do so would unnecessarily commit the characters to a specific articulated position rather than a general feeling of awkwardness.

Another illustration of the use of the ellipsis occurs in the middle of a block of text from in *How Late it Was, How Late*:

> Ye more or less says it was your colleagues gave ye the sightloss.
> ...
> Silence was the answer. (p. 164)

The ellipsis is a suitable alternative to indicate that there is nothing actually said, but a lot is being communicated. Essentially, the ellipsis is an effective way to observe and record, but not probe, the situation. The narrative comment about silence being the answer reinforces the point that no reply will be forthcoming. In another instance, the narrator seems unsure of the meaning of the ellipses in *The Burn*:

> …
> …
> Still silence. Had he finished? (p. 48)

Despite the lack of explanation, in many cases it can be imagined what the silent exchanges 'say'. This lack of narrative explication means the reader cannot rely upon the narrator to always interpret the meaning of the exchanges being depicted.

A difficulty arises from the figures found for ellipses in SCOTS SPOKEN as compared to the other datasets because the use of ellipses involves authorial interpretation. In the initial search of the SCOTS SPOKEN dataset I found an under-representation of ellipses, but as with the semicolon, the ellipsis involves editorial interpretation of the context, so is probably avoided when transcribing speech. More importantly, the transcription system of the SCOTS SPOKEN dataset uses the string of characters [,//] in similar function to the ellipsis, namely to express overlapped speech, interruption, and incompletion. In the SCOTS SPOKEN dataset, it is conceivable that a large number of ellipses are displaced by its near equivalent of [,//], especially since there is a near absence of the ellipsis in this dataset, so both forms were included in the count for the ellipsis punctuation mark.

Table 2.6: Ellipses rates

	KELMAN'S FICTION rate per 1,000	SCOTS FICTION rate per 1,000	SCOTS WRITTEN rate per 1,000	SCOTS SPOKEN rate per 1,000
ellipses	2.1	1.1	0.6	3.9

KELMAN'S FICTION uses the ellipsis twice as much as SCOTS FICTION and thrice that of SCOTS WRITTEN, but half that of SCOTS SPOKEN. This tends to support the idea that Kelman is attempting to use the ellipsis as a pause marker that evokes the cadences of speech. The fact that SCOTS FICTION also has a higher use of ellipsis than SCOTS WRITTEN indicates that the depiction of hesitancy and other spoken pauses is more likely to be a feature of fictional depictions, probably found in the dialogue sections. This precipitates a return to a type of punctuation already examined in terms of its status-endowing properties, capitalisation, but this time the ability of capitals to communicate emotive force will be investigated.

Capitalisation: emphasis and emotive force

While capitalisation has been analysed for its sense of authority, it has an equal role in the text to indicate loudness. Sustained full capitalisation commonly appears in one word utterances followed by an exclamation mark, such as 'WHAT!' in *A Disaffection* (p. 13), 'NO!' in *Greyhound for Breakfast* (p. 79), and 'PULL!' in *Greyhound for Breakfast* (p. 195), but unusual capitalisation also may be found dispersed among other lower case letters in a sentences, such as in *An Old Pub near the Angel*: 'Aye, aye. Aye! NOT like now. Not at all' and 'You mean THE 'Bill'?' (pp. 9, 86). The capitalised words are indicated to be quite louder and emphasised. A further demonstration of this occurs in *A Chancer* when a group of characters obviously are shouting 'HHUURREEHH' (p. 134). Some subtlety is possible using capitals, as displayed in the extract from *An Old Pub near the Angel*, 'Listen man. Man, Man, Man. Why do you say man all the time' (p. 19), where only the initial letter of the word 'man' is capitalised, thus given emphasis without implying that the word is yelled. A further complex use of capitals is found in *A Chancer*:

> He started walking quickly then began to trot, attempting to land each foot on the ground as flatly possible, his left arm swinging freely while his right hand gripped the cigarette packet in the pocket of his jerkin, and he was making a groaning noise which was gradually becoming louder till it changed into a continual grunt of Ya bastard Ya bastard Ya bastard Ya bastard, each Ya bastard simultaneous with his foot hitting the ground. (pp. 232-3)

Capitalisation emphasises the stress on 'Ya' and the rhythmic quality of the utterance.

Earlier in this thesis, Kelman's use of capitals was shown to vary according to status and authority. Thus, for Kelman, words that deserve no status in a particular context were not given capital letters. The same was found to be true if individual letter were named, as was found in the examples 'the world, capital double-u' and 'weird with a capital w' which show no capital letters for 'u' and 'w' but still drawing upon capitals as a means of emphasis (even if no authority is implied). However, if these same letters are emphasised or shouted, then they may be represented with capital letters, such as in the imagined utterance 'Aye, you heard alright – capital A R S E arse' and the spoken 'It is a load of dross. D R O S S' in *A Disaffection* (p. 186), or the internal thought representation 'the N.E.X.T., the next time' in *A Chancer* (p. 231).

It can be often found that an announcement in a noisy room is entirely capitalised, such the pub cry in *A Chancer*: 'TIME GENTLEMEN PLEASE' (p. 134). While it is less likely to find loudspeaker announcements capitalised, in *Lean Tales* this is precisely what Kelman does to indicate volume:

> OFF BRIGHTON: THEY'RE OFF BRIGHTON: RUNNING 2.17: AND ON THE OFF THEY BET FOUR TO NINE NUMBER THREE. FIVE TO TWO BAR.
> (p. 32)

This use of capitals extends to other loud amplified sounds in *Greyhound for Breakfast*:

> like the cars screeching in and out of the street, that ice-cream van which came shrieking I LOVE TO GO A WANDERING ten times a night including Sunday.
> (p. 50)

The same effect is found in *A Disaffection*: 'LOUD LAUGHING' (p. 194). All the above are illustrations of Kelman's representation of volume in his stories.

Not being restricted to the representation of a character's speech, the narrator in Kelman's stories may also choose to use capitals to indicate volume and emphasis in the representation of thought, such as the following from *How Late it Was, How Late*: 'Even going blind. Although it didnay just HAPPEN I mean it didnay just HAPPEN; fucking spontaneous' (p. 172), or the more obscure example in *A Disaffection*: 'He turns the tap and dashes out the water. EEEevilLLL. Evil is as evil does right enough' (p. 78). While it is obvious that the word 'HAPPEN' is louder and more emphasised, contrasting to the normal

intonation of the sentence, the other word 'EEEevilLLL' has a staggered set of loudly uttered sounds implicit in its representation.[17]

Conclusion

This chapter has examined Kelman's punctuation: both how he extends the application of standard punctuation and how he deviates from mainstream practices. It is clear that punctuation is used to tame and regulate the Scottish language in the English text and that, as Craig elucidates in *The Modern Scottish Novel*, typography 'ceases to be the neutral medium through which meaning is conveyed and becomes itself one of the key components of meaning' (p. 168). Kelman seems to have found a way of resolving this problem, with the result being, as Kovesi summarises in *James Kelman*, 'a fluidity of position for a merging voice which conjoins protagonist with narrator to the point where the first person is almost implicated, without the concurrent limitations of that first person' (p. 18).

It is also clear that Kelman is more than willing to make changes to punctuation despite the risk of appearing ill-educated and illiterate. However, the reward from altering the role of punctuation is that it helps the audience accept non-standard language, partly because punctuation can no longer reinforce the authority of Standard English in the text. If given careful treatment, punctuation does not need to be a visual marker that identifies non-standard from standard language forms, and it can allow non-standard language to merge seamlessly, and with seeming legitimacy, with Standard English in the text. As already mentioned in the introductory chapter, the effect of Kelman's innovations in punctuation is, as McGlynn argues, 'that we are all, in fact, collections of voices and phrases…. Indeed, the idea of 'ownership' of sentences, even phrases or words, is what is being explicitly interrogated' (p. 63).

This chapter has shown how Kelman retains the coordinative function of punctuation and how he extends punctuation's role as prosodic, referring to features that are part of the oral delivery of language. It has also been explored

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[17] The staggered spelling refers to the sound pattern of the stereotyped villainous laugh heard in films, which is often depicted in written form as 'Mwa-ha-ha-ha' and Kelman depicts this sound using staggered spelling onto the word 'evil' with the emphasis on the 'e' and 'l'. The use of the enunciation pattern of this stock phrase often indicates that there is a sense of superiority or victory by its user, and it often found in comic and informal contexts.

how Kelman re-established the orthographic sentence in preference to the traditional grammatically-defined sentence. These strategies have aided Kelman in breaking down the distinctions between literary language and spoken language, which in turn has allowed the speech-based Glasgow language to be integrated seamlessly into an English language-based written tradition.

CHAPTER THREE: SPELLING AS ACCENTING THE TEXT

Introduction

In literature, spelling is frequently the main way non-standard speech is depicted. This is because spelling is an effective means of signalling accent and regional identity. Alexandra Jaffe notes of the value of non-standard spelling:

> the use of non-standard orthography is a powerful expressive resource. Unlike standard orthographies, which render invisible many features of casual and 'non-standard' speech, non-standard orthographies can graphically capture some of the immediacy, the 'authenticity' and 'flavor' of the spoken word in all its diversity. In this respect, non-standard orthographies have the potential to challenge linguistic hierarchies, for they can make non-standard voices visible/audible in a medium that habitually does not recognize them. (p. 498)

This chapter focuses upon Kelman's spelling techniques and their importance to his working-class Glasgow voice. In addition, models of Scottish spelling will be explored for their effect on Kelman's spelling choices. It will be shown that spelling is one way that Kelman reduces distinctions between standard and non-standard language in literature, and ensures that the written mode of the story denotes a literary voice based upon features of Glasgow speech. This chapter will now outline the main spelling styles available to the Scottish author and then explore the differing degrees of variation used in Kelman's respellings.

Spelling styles

Jaffe outlines the role of the old spelling systems in the creation of new orthographies:

> When orthographies are created (as in minority language planning) or manipulated in non-standard ways, it is always within a comparative framework. That is, the 'new' and/or non-standard has meaning in comparison to and in contrast with the 'old' (other existing orthographies) and most importantly […] with 'standard' orthographies of dominant languages [… such as English]. New and non-standard orthographies thus always involve the management of 'sameness' and 'difference' in the representation of minority linguistic and cultural identities. (p. 502)

This section examines the influence of the various spelling systems on Kelman's own orthographic choices. There are a number of different spelling traditions and conventions which he could use to infuse his stories with a strong Scottish identity. These include the spelling styles found in English literature, traditional Scottish literature of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, the literature which

adheres to the Scots Style Sheet and its relatives, and the more recent stories written using a form of phonetic rendition. There are wider sociopolitical attitudes surrounding each style that place certain freedoms and restrictions upon Kelman's choices and it is necessary to examine each of the various spelling options open to him in greater detail.

English spelling

English has words and spellings adopted from many cultures and language sources. As a result, we have many different spellings for similar sounds. Dewey, an early researcher on this topic, estimated that English has 13.7 variant spellings per sound and 3.5 sounds per letter.[18] Moreover, according to Hagan, English spelling has a particular feature of being 'sufficiently distinct from pronunciation not to favour one accent over any other' (p. 137). Raymond Chapman, in his book *The Treatment of Sounds in Language and Literature*, has this to add on the same point:

> most of us unthinkingly believe that regular orthography has a real link with an acceptable form of pronunciation. In fact even the most precise and careful pronunciation cannot escape the fact that spelling is quite inadequate to represent speech. (p. 203)

English spelling is only loosely able to approximate speech. Importantly for the prospective writer of non-Standard English, this means that there is no spoken variety that has greater proprietary rights over English spelling than any other. Despite this, Received Pronunciation or 'BBC' English is popularly felt to be the closest spoken equivalent of written English and is often considered a prestige standard for comparison.

English spelling is the standard for writing in Scotland, and it is the written medium most familiar to the Glasgow working-class because it is used in the classroom, the media, and in written communication. The strategy of using English spelling to represent Scottish topics and themes is common, even in the early Glasgow novel. For example, in Douglas's *Eliza for Common*, published in 1928, Glasgow characters and their settings are represented without difficulty using English spelling:

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[18] cited in Crystal, p. 213

> Jim was expected home that evening after his first term at Oxford, and they were discussing possible changes in him.
>
> "If he speaks English," Geordie warned them, "I'll laugh—so will Rob."
>
> "Idiots!" Eliza withered her brothers with a glance, while Mrs. Laidlaw said, "Indeed, it will be a great pity if he hasn't taken on Oxford," a remark which made her husband chuckle and ask:
>
> "Now I wonder what, exactly, you mean by that, my dear?"
>
> "Well, I just mean that I hope he's getting all the good out of the place—culture, and an accent, and that sort of thing. Anything else would be most disappointing."
>
> (p. 21)

Phonological difference is a point of discussion by the characters and its mention reinforces the setting of the novel, and the distinctiveness of the local speech, yet there is no attempt to spell this speech in a distinctive fashion.

In a more recent example from Janice Galloway, in *The Trick is to Keep Breathing*, English is the primary spelling style and language used:

> The curtains are too wee to close properly so the draught from the attic filters right through to the chair and makes me cold. (p. 1)

However, the Scottish identity is not lost: the word *wee* is a well-known indicator of Scottishness, while the spelling of the word *draught* indicates British English rather than American English. If a whole passage is examined from Galloway's 1990 book *The Trick is to Keep Breathing* it is clear that English spelling can be used to voice Scottish themes:

> A fortnight before she left, Marianne took me out in the car. We had a huge bottle of cheap wine. I held it cooling out of the window while she drove. Irresponsible. It was very late: hardly any cars. We went for miles into the country past Kilmarnock till she cut the engine and we sat in the dark drinking the wine and looking up at half the moon. She was worried about going and wanted to make me think about lasting through. We drank lots of wine and decided it was all about lasting through, just getting on with the day to day till it got less terrible. I wanted to know what would happen if she hated the States.
>
> I'll come back, she said.
>
> Her shoulders tightened. She was being flippant because she was worried about lasting out at least a year in a strange place with people who would make a big thing out of not understanding her accent. Even if it was the worst job in the world she wouldn't be able to quit: she had signed contracts that said so.
>
> We had more wine.
>
> At least I'll be paid good money for hating it.
>
> This time it came out bitter. We ran out of things to say so we went home, weaving down the centreline on the road back, over the motorway and down onto the sand of Irvine shore. She stopped the car to look at the sea: there is no sea in Kentucky. Then she turned and looked at me.
>
> Just last out. Last out for me. It has to get better eventually.
>
> I know, I said. I know that.
>
> The sound of the waves carried all the way across the dunes.
>
> But what will I do while I'm lasting, Marianne? What will I do? (pp. 54-5)

The context of Scotland is established with the mention of Kilmarnock and Irvine shore. The sound of Scottish speech is established through their talk of how the Kentucky inhabitants in USA will react to a Scottish accent. Also this passage conveys Scottishness by drawing on the common Scottish themes of being poor, powerless, drunk, and a migrant. The huge bottle of cheap wine indicates the poverty and getting drunk, while the powerlessness and migration are conveyed by Marianne bitterly having to go overseas to find work and get better money. Although there is no explanation or impression of what these characters might sound like, their distinctiveness is somehow distinctive enough to warrant a mention and it therefore can be assumed both speakers have some degree of a Scottish accent despite the absence of any distinctive Scottish spelling.

Cameron draws attention to the problem of representative spellings in her book on linguistic transcription methods, *Working with Spoken Discourse*:

> Though standard English spelling is not a very exact representation of any kind of English pronunciation, its status as the default way of writing means it tends to bring to mind a 'standard' pronunciation (educated, belonging to no particular region) as opposed to anything else. So if you are working with a markedly non-standard or localized variety you may not want to transcribe it in a way that makes it look indistinguishable from standard English, thus misrepresenting your informants; but on the other hand you will not want to reinforce stereotypes of non-standard speakers as illiterate buffoons. (p. 41)

While respellings are technically viewed as somewhat unnecessary because no spoken variety is an exact counterpart of English spellings, Cameron points out that the sole use of standard spelling in a mixed language situation can be misrepresentative. While English spelling may seem sufficient for Scottish fiction, at first glance, for some authors it is inadequate to represent the distinctiveness of the Scots language and speech. Scottish speech varies on a continuum between Scots and English, and the written language does not reflect this when Standard English spelling is solely used in the text: the English spelling does not convey a voice distinctive enough to capture the variations of Scottish speech. The Glasgow working-class use a large amount of Scots for their daily interactions, yet stories with Glasgow themes told using a spelling system often linked to a Received Pronunciation in the reader's mind. It is little wonder that Scottish authors might feel alienated by the English spelling system and thus motivated to seek better representation of their local vernacular. One method of portraying spoken Scots

language in the text can be seen in the next section on the traditional literary spelling style.

Traditional literary style

There were many non-English spellings found in traditional Scottish prose from eighteenth and nineteenth centuries; nonetheless, this literature typically had English spelling as its main medium. The stories of this time were frequently spattered with alternative spellings that referred to Scottish accents and the Scots language. However, this Scottish content was mostly confined to sections of dialogue. This meant a dichotomy was established between the English narrator (who used English language and spelling) and the Scottish characters (who were depicted by using altered spellings and some features of the Scots language). A brief look at an example from Scott's novel *The Bride of Lammermoor* will demonstrate this point:

> 'Craigengelt is the fellow's name,' said the Master, 'at least that by which he passes at present.'
> 'Craig-in-guilt,' said Caleb, punning upon the word *craig*, which in Scotch signifies throat; 'if he is Craig-in-guilt just now, he is as likely to be Craig-in-peril as ony chield I ever saw—the loon has woodie written on his very visnomy, and I wad wager twa and a plack that hemp plaits his cravat yet.' (p. 176)

Scott is clearly using English for the narrative and some Scots in dialogue. The Scots word in the narrative, *craig*, is carefully italicised to remind the reader that the narrator's language is English and the word is non-standard. Indeed, the Master is given Standard English, which is historically unlikely for someone even of his birth in the early 1700s.

Another example of traditional literary spelling can be seen in this extract from Bell's *Wee Macgreegor*. Notice the contrasting spelling and expression between the narrative and dialogue:

> The Robinson family were spending the weekend at old Mr. Purdie's Rothesay residence, but, much to their disappointment, the weather had completely broken down an hour after their arrival. Macgregor stood at the window, gazing disconsolately at the misty bay, while his elders—wee Jeannie having been put to bed—talked of matters which seemed to him totally void of interest.
> "Can I get gaun ootbye noo?" he inquired at last of his mother, who was busily knitting and talking to Grandma Purdie.
> Lizzie glanced at the window. "Deed, Macgreegor, ye needna be speirin' aboot gaun oot the nicht."
> "It's no' sae wat noo, Maw."

> "I'm thinkin' it cudna be muckle waur, dearie. Ye wud be fair drookit in hauf a meenit. Jist content yersel' in the hoose, an' ye'll maybe get a fine day the morn."
>
> "I want to gang to the pier an' see the steamboats comin' in, Maw."
>
> "Aweel, I'm rale vexed fur ye, but ye're no' gaun ower the door the nicht. Whaur's yer graun' pictur'-book?"
>
> "I seen a' the pictur's."
>
> "Puir laddie," said Grandma Purdie, "it's no' vera cheery fur him sittin' in the hoose a' nicht. John, can ye no' divert the wean a wee? Gi'e him a bit ride on yer fit, man."
>
> "Come on, Macgreegor!" his father cried willingly. "come awa' and ha'e a ride on ma fit."
>
> "Ach, he's ower big fur that kin' o' gemm," said Grandpa Purdie, noticing that Macgregor did not appear to appreciate the invitation. (pp. 119-20)

The spelling of the Scots dialogue contrasts with the English of the narrator. In the *Wee Macgreegor* example, like many other stories written in this style, spelling is used as the primary means of identifying the Scottish characters. Over time, the differences between Scots and English were increasingly emphasised for stylistic effect in literature. At its peak in the early twentieth century, the Scottish voice was unnecessarily punctuated and respelled, italicised, caricatured, glossed, and contrasted to an English narrative voice. Sometimes the respellings represented genuine features of Scottish speech, with words such as *now*, *out*, *house*, and *about* spelt using an *oo*. Likewise, words such as *hauf*, *gi'e*, and *yersel'* also indicate a Scots pronunciation, and other words, such as *ower*, *muckle*, *drookit*, *wean*, and *speirin'*, are Scots words referenced in a four page glossary at the end of *Wee Macgreegor*. However, if the respellings of *wud* for *would*, *thinkin'* for *thinking*, *o'* for *of*, *aweel* for '*ah, well*', and *an'* for *and* are examined, there is not sufficient variation from other English dialect pronunciations to warrant the different spelling and use of apostrophes, especially when similar 'omissions' and variants go unnoticed in the rendering of English speech in the same text. This brings about the issue of 'eye dialect'.

The term 'eye dialect' was coined by George Krapp in 1925 to refer to non-standard spellings where 'the convention violated is one of the eyes, not of the ear' (pp. 522-527). Arnold Zwicky argues that there are two related concepts referred to by the term 'eye dialect'. The first (and rarer) connotation relates to the use of spelling changes to represent genuine dialect or colloquial pronunciations. The second connotation is the most common and relates to the use of spelling changes for 'perfectly ordinary pronunciations', an example being *enough* spelt as *enuff*, and this type of eye dialect is the one that Krapp originally referred to.

Hagan similarly notes the lack of distinctive pronunciation for some spellings and gives the example that 'the spelling <wot> for *what* represents the standard pronunciation of this word more accurately than its standard spelling; it does not suggest a non-standard pronunciation' (p. 158).

Jaffe notes that there are playful uses for the second type of eye dialect:

> Some forms of orthographic word play (notably advertising) almost exclusively with the written, visual form of the word. That is, non-standard spellings may be devoid of oral connotations. (p. 500)

Often, however, this type of eye dialect is used in order 'to suggest that the speaker is uneducated or crude.' Kelman refers to this negative aspect of altering spelling in *The Judges Said ...*:

> If Scottish the 'man' will speak with what is called a 'heavy burr'. This is what the general run of lower-order Scottish people have in English literature, 'heavy burrs'. The writers may highlight this within the text. [...] One such convention is the apparent attempt at phonetic transcription; I mean by that the spelling of words to give an impression of sound. I say 'apparent' because there is no authentic attempt going on. (pp. 60-1)

The two possible meanings of the term 'eye dialect' has caused much confusion and spurred Zwicky to suggest that the first connotation, to represent distinctive pronunciation, be renamed 'dialect spelling'. This would dignify genuine attempts at rendering local phonology features. Other linguists have also suggested 'phonetic spelling' and 'pronunciation respelling' to address the same issue. Jaffe has called the second term 'gratuitous respelling' (p. 508).

In her investigation of the orthography used to record participant's speech, Jaffe draws attention to the problem involved with spelling, noting that in linguistic studies:

> the way in which speech data is written down both reflects the transcriber's analytic or political biases and shapes the interpretation and evaluation of speakers, relationships and contexts depicted in the transcript. (p. 500)

Cameron is wary of dialect spelling because they are 'somewhat reminiscent of the sort of spelling used in comic strips, where the speakers are caricatures and their speech is supposed to be funny' (p. 41).

In *Working with Spoken Discourse*, Cameron alludes to another issue previously highlighted by Zwicky: that respellings may not represent significant or distinctive phonological variation from ordinary British speech, and the result is 'it tends to make non-standard speakers appear more different than they really

are' (p. 41). The value of eye dialect, when it does represent real differences, is capable of being degraded when it involves the depiction of spellings that do not correspond to a significant or important feature of a dialect. In 'Coz it izny spelt when they say it', Macaulay adds to the argument by pointing out that there is little value in representing predictable features of pronunciation of a dialect, but there is great value in respellings if the variation is significant and has a positive and meaningful role in the text (p. 287). Cameron agrees with this when she analyses a transcription of speech recorded by Macaulay:

> in his transcript Macaulay spells most words in the customary way. In a few cases he deviates from the standard spelling, but this is not just a random sprinkling of local colour. He writes 'thoosands' and 'hoose' because Scots speakers may alternate between English and Scots variants of the relevant vowel, and this is a meaningful choice. Macaulay wants to show that the speaker in this extract is asserting his identity as a Scot. His spellings of *nae* and *hae* are also motivated by the fact that these are not just Scots pronunciations of *not* and *have*, they are actually Scots *words*. (pp. 42-3)

Macaulay transcribes the real speech of his research with a strategy of constrained respellings, unlike the unconstrained traditional depictions of non-standard speech in fictional works. Kelman adopts the same strategy of minimal change. One spelling change is, as Jaffe and Walton note, sometimes 'enough to cue up a package of linguistic shifts' in the reading aloud of a text and its imagined pronunciation (p. 575).

Similarly, Jaffe and Walton's study has found 'how readily readers went from one small part of a text (orthography) to a complex whole (a 'voice')' (p. 580). The use of minimal change may be sufficient. Only presenting select features of a dialect can imply a whole dialect: 'some linguistic variables are much more socially salient than others,' such as a particular pronunciation of a vowel, but the 'conventional associations of linguistic variables and (stereotyped) identities do not determine or predict individual stylistic choices or their social effect – they merely serve as an interpretive backdrop' (p. 563). In effect, eye dialect is a form of spelling that was intended to give the impression of difference, often in contrast to an English narrator's voice which is written using standard spelling. However, the problem with eye-dialect spelling is that it turns Scots into the 'other' and depicts it as a quaint and amusing artefact rather than a living respectable language. Essentially, the changes in spelling in the traditional literary style and

its accompanying punctuation did not raise the profile of the Scots language nor the Scots people.

In modern times, many of the traditional literary spellings have become stigmatised. These spellings are often found on cheap Scottish tourist items such as tea towels, stickers, postcards, and so on, because they make these items 'look' Scottish. Due to their reduced literary status and their tendency to represent Scots as 'defective', traditional literary spellings are not a common choice for contemporary literary texts. One of its proposed remedies is described in the next section which outlines the movement towards older Scots spellings, with Lallans and the production of a Scots Style Sheet.

The Scots Style sheet and related innovations

The Scots Style Sheet arose out of the need to find a better way of representing the Scottish language than what circulated in fiction.[19] To understand the basis of the Scots Style Sheet and the related prose style called Lallans, the changing spellings for Scots words need to be retraced.

The Scots language with a distinctive spelling had been common in writing since the late fourteenth century. However, as Mairi Robinson notes in the introduction to *The Concise Scots Dictionary*, the tension between metropolitan Tudor English and metropolitan Older Scots in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, coupled with a dominant English literature, began to cause Scottish poetry and prose writers to be concerned by what they felt to be the inelegance of their own language. This was accompanied by a wider political movement where the lowland Scottish upper classes identified their interests strongly with the English. Scottish writers began to imitate English writers and used English spellings alongside their native Scots spellings, and thereafter there was a progressive Anglicisation of Scottish texts. Today, although English spelling has long been formalised, Scots spelling is still undergoing the process of codification. In essence, the codification of Scots spelling was thwarted due to the local attitudes about the language coupled with the overall dominance of written English.

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[19] See Makars Club, pp. 4-5

Despite the situation in written texts, the spoken form of Scots remained strong well into the seventeenth century, and this assisted the eighteenth century revival of Scots verse and later of prose; however, as a language, it was limited by its focus on colloquial Scots, while written Scots did not recapture the status it once had. Eventually spoken Scots started to become anglicised among the upper and middle classes, with polite society considering Scots as something spoken by the common people.

It was only in the nineteenth century that a wider movement to use the Scots language beyond literature became apparent, starting with Jamieson's etymological dictionary of Scots. Lallans is the older name of a text-based style of Scots which is an extension of this movement known for its spelling reform and lexical revival. Macafee points out in 'Nationalism' that the Lallans movement aimed to 'enlarge the lexicon while providing a new non-localised orthography' (p. 15). One of the noticeable achievements of this era was the removal of a stigmatising feature of traditional literary texts — the large number of apostrophes used to depict the Scottish vernacular.

Lallans, also known as synthetic or plastic Scots, first emerged during the 1920s Scottish literary renaissance and with it was a distinctive orthography was developed for spelling in modern Scots writing. The term *lallans* had been used by Burns and Stevenson to refer to lowland Scots language. This orthography was eventually codified into the Scots Style Sheet in 1947 by writers from the Makars Club in Edinburgh and was published in places such as Mackie's 1955 'The Spelling of Scots' article in the *Lines Review* and in 1974 in the *Lallans* magazine. The idea was to draw upon older Scottish spellings and to accommodate Scottish writing while facilitating language revival.

Here is an example of a text by Robert Garioch which follows the Scots Style Sheet recommendations:

> Let-na gude fortune raise the felloun Ammon
> till he grow insolent, nou that we are douncast,
> he wha pollutes your halie ritual;
> lest what your anger has wrocht for our undaein
> Ammon may turn til his ain vainglory,
> brenning up incense to please his wudden images;
> lest wi dementit lips he mak denial
> that ye had onie pouer to bield in safety
> your walit folk that sairved ye throu the ages,

when he fell upon them. (p. 16)

The noticeable aspects of this spelling style are the changes of: *ou* for *ow* in *power*, *downcast*, and *now*; *u*–consonant–*e* for *oo* in *gude*; *ie* for *y* in *holy* and *any*; and the *cht* cluster for *ght* in *wrocht*. Also apparent is the occasional dropping of letters, such as the *th* of *with*, *gh* in *through*, the *e* of *make*, and the *g* in *undoing*. These changes are conspicuous to the English reader and serve to clearly confirm the Scottishness of the text.

The Scots Style Sheet is not only a standardised system, but it also signifies the independence of the Scots language from English. However, the basic problem with Lallans and the Scots Style Sheet is that this spelling reform is strongly associated with a nationalist and linguistic agenda. Moreover, it is introduced to a population that has the English writing system as its standard. Macafee points out in 'Nationalism' that modern 'literacy in Scots is an extension of literacy in English' (p. 7). This refers to the problem that in order to appreciate the somewhat closer sound-to-letter relationships and the value of the Scots Style Sheet as a spelling system, people who read it also need to be literate in English and also feel sufficiently dissatisfied with the English writing system. Many arguments for a standard spelling system for Scots have been put forth, and some new spelling practices implemented, but the situation remains unresolved on a wider societal level.

Hagan argues that in terms of accommodating spoken language forms, the Scots Style Sheet was not designed with one-to-one sound representation in mind, and thus it has multiple spellings for the same sound (p. 142). It retains any pre-existing older established spellings, even if they are contradictory to other recommendations of the style sheet being adopted and it is willing to forego representations of modern pronunciation. For example, in 'The Debate on Scots Orthography', McClure criticises the recommendation that the terminal *–d* in the *–nd* cluster of the participle ending be retained and notes that the terminal *–d* is a literary artefact that does not reflect modern language. This is because the pronunciation of the terminal *–d* disappeared from Scots speech as early as the fifteenth century. Other representative spellings are overridden by older precedent (p. 206). This strategy is not unique to Scots, and Jaffe further points out that:

> Minority languages with a long literary tradition may retain historical spellings even if they are at odds with contemporary pronunciations or phonology, because of the prestige and legitimacy conferred by the literary history. (p. 505)

Thus, the history associated with a particular spelling style can be seen as quite valuable even if it does not adequately represent modern speech. Another problem for the author seeking to represent speech is that the Scots Style Sheet does not recognise the variations natural to spoken forms. An example of this is the second person pronoun where variations of *ye* and *you* are common forms, and others such as *yez* are not recognised because they are not traditional Scots. Finally, in an attempt to avoid stereotyped forms, *house* is written instead of *hoose*, despite the distinctiveness that the spelling with *oo* easily implies to the Scottish reader.

Kelman does not use the Scots Style Sheet when he deviates from Standard English spellings and it is reasonable to ask why. The answer probably lies in the problem that the Scots Style Sheet does not assist with pronunciation. It is a system of spelling with aims to codify rather than focus on closer sound approximations than those provided by English spellings. The Scots Style Sheet attempts to connect with literary traditions and precedent, and attain some form of standardisation. Such a system does not suit Kelman's purposes, since he does not aim to emphasise the written word over the spoken word. The Scots Style Sheet retains older spellings to make it seem like an extension of an older literary tradition in order to give the text a sense of history and validity. It is less concerned with representing variations in speech and dialect and more concerned with how it will appear on the page and the message it presents to the reader.

Furthermore, Kelman's own comments in *Some Recent Attacks* indicate that he sees his work as being that of an artist (p. 6). Since he aims to represent spoken forms of language, he requires more graphemic and lexical flexibility than what the Scots Style Sheet permits. Moreover, as Stephen Mulrine writes, 'Lallans seems wholly inappropriate to the Glasgow experience' because the spelling style itself has become strongly associated with a rural word hoard and 'the Lallans writer's community of speakers is notional, rather than real' (p. 227). Also, Kelman does not select this standardised spelling style if it compromises evoking the changing rhythms of Glasgow speech. The Scots Style Sheet and related spelling systems are not suitable for his needs because of a lack

of flexibility, unlike the phonetic style based on the English sound-to-spelling system which is examined in the next section.

The phonetic style

The 'phonetic style' is a term that can be used to refer to a system of spelling that is based on the English spelling-to-sound system. In the phonetic style, English graphemes and spelling rules are used to represent the sounds of Glasgow speech in writing. For example, words such as *but* or *always* actually sound like *bit* and *eywis* when spoken by a Glaswegian. The amount of phonetic rendering is at the discretion of each author and depends on the degree of foregrounding they desire.

This spelling system has a number of sounds related to each grapheme, but the phonetic style partly addresses English spelling's erratic and complicated relationship to pronunciation, while also recognising the primacy of speech over writing. It does not, however, attempt to account for the many problems that the precise representation of the sounds of speech would cause for written communication over time and place and between people. Neither the English, nor the Scots Style Sheet, seek to emphasise the sounds of words as they are spoken. However, the phonetic style is different because, despite the spelling irregularities that arise out of depicting the phonological variation of words in use, it does have a strength in its aim to closely correlate written language with spoken language. A subtext of the phonetic style is that, although it uses English spelling to render dialect, it highlights the twisted relationship English spelling has with English pronunciation.

The attempt to phonetically render speech has been a feature of Glasgow writing since the 1960s. The texts that use the phonetic style are those with working-class urban themes which seek to elevate the literary value of stigmatised Scots varieties of speech. A notable writer of the phonetic style is Tom Leonard and in this extract from 'Honest' in *Intimate Voices* he reflects on its use as a spelling system at the same time as writing with it:

> Yi write doon a wurd, nyi sayti yirsell, that's no thi way a say it. Nif yi tryti write it doon the way yi say it, yi end up wi thi page covered in letters stuck thigither, nwee dots above hof thi letters, in fact, yi end up wi wanna they thingz yid needti huv took a course in phonetics ti be able ti read. (p. 73)

Leonard recognises not only the problem of representing the variation in pronunciation but the alienation of reading a phonetic text, particularly if a minute rendering of each feature is sought. Also, unlike standardised spelling, phonetic spellings represent a restricted variety of language which only those with familiarity with that region's speech will be able to understand easily. In this sense, the phonetic style is an interesting choice of style by an author, both for its exclusion and in its difficulty for readers, especially for longer passages of writing.

Furthermore, the phonetic style is not technically 'phonetic' in the true sense of the word. A true phonetic rendition would theoretically require the representation of a single sound with only one letter, like the phonetic alphabet or where diagraphs were used with a single fixed sound attached to it. As Hagan comments, such spelling alterations as are found in the phonetic style are impressionistic rather than systematic (p. 157). Despite this inadequacy of spelling to represent sound, the phonetic style is popular because it makes the reader think about the relationship of language, speech, and writing. As Jaffe notes, respellings force people to 'step out of the framework of standard orthographies' and 'retrieve some of the expectations about the relationship between form and meaning that children bring to their early spelling' (p. 504).

The research on the mechanics of reading indicates, theoretically, that some interesting effects can be achieved through the use of phonetic transcription. David Crystal characterises reading as a complex activity which involves both sounding out the words and using non-phonological word recognition strategies (pp. 209-215). This means that readers both 'hear' the written words and draw upon their general experience of written texts (such as recognising a whole word at a time, or making instant semantic associations) to understand a text. Jaffe and Walton have noted that 'participants reading a non-standard text did indeed 'hear' embodied voices — whole personas — that weren't evoked by their readings of standard texts' (p. 562). Chapman comments on this relationship between sound and letters:

> The sight of printed words and structures deviant from the standard helps to suggest the dialect to anyone at all acquainted with it, and thus to cause a silent hearing of the sounds. Even a reader with little or no knowledge of the dialect will receive the

> impression of a marked deviation, and will extend it in his mind to matters of hearing. (p. 59)

The impressionistic value of the phonetic style depends on this function of phonic mediation, where readers sound out words in their mind as they read, because it 'approaches the ear through the eye' (p. 84). Thus, the phonetic style can symbolically embody local speech within the written text and become a valuable textual tool.

Another important feature of the phonetic style is its capacity to change the reader's expectations of a text by interfering with the mechanics of reading. Reading a text written in the phonetic style is a novel experience because a close similarity between spelling and pronunciation is unexpected in written English. Furthermore, when faced with alternative spellings, readers physically must slow down the reading process, and use the norms of English orthography to decipher the variant form. Jaffe writes of non-standard orthographies that they:

> interrupt the reader's habitual visual scanning and processing activity. In this respect, 'new' and non-standard orthographies change the relationship between reader and text. They interrupt (if only for a fraction of a second) the seamless experience of meaning through text. (p. 510)

Furthermore, readers may need to pronounce the words out loud in order to understand the text. The readers' strategy of recognising a whole written word is halted and readers must draw upon their graphemic awareness in a different way. This changes the attention allocated to reading and understanding. Hagan argues that, typically, a phonetic text cannot be read casually: it takes effort because of the constant demands placed upon its consumption (pp. 154-5). The phonetic style prevents readers, to some extent, from falling into habitual reading strategies. The effect of the spelling changes would probably last until the reader becomes fluent at reading this style or as long as it remains an unstandardised form of spelling which is closely related to changing speech patterns. On the other hand, standardisation presents its own problems. As Jaffe argues, the problem with standardised orthographies is they inherently 'underrepresent dialectal diversity' (p. 502).

It seems reasonable for Kelman to only use the phonetic style for his work, since he seeks to harness language as it is spoken among the Glasgow working class. However, Jaffe specifies that readability is an important concern for users of

non-standard orthography (p. 501). Jaffe and Walton further assert that respellings must be used with caution because:

> research suggests that it is almost impossible to avoid stigma in the non-standard orthographic representation of others' low-status speech varieties. *Light* orthography cues voice, but it does so by using stereotyped forms whose meanings are inescapably linked to their use in texts whose aim is to denigrate the speakers being represented. *Heavy* orthographies require too much investment and decoding to allow voice to come through; few readers are able or prepared to sustain the work of attending closely to spelling as a vehicle for voice. (pp. 582-3)

The heavy orthography of texts written in the phonetic style is exceptional in, rather than typical of, Kelman's main style of writing because of this impediment to his audience.

Indeed, Kelman wrote only two brief stories in the phonetic style just after he began writing, and abandoned this extreme kind of spelling thereafter. The first, 'Nice to be Nice', is eight pages long and initially appears in *An Old Pub Near the Angel* (pp. 97-103). The second, 'The Hon', is one page long and initially appears in *Short Tales from the Night Shift* (p. 2). The following is an extract from 'Nice to be Nice':

> Strange thing wis it stertit oan a Wedinsday, A mean nothin ever sterts oan a Wedinsday kis it's the day afore pay day an A'm ey skint. Mibby git a buckshee pint roon the Anchor, bit that's aboot it. Anywey it wis efter nine in A wis thinkin aboot gin hame kis A hidny a light whin Boab McCann threw is a dollir an A boat masel in auld Erchie a pint. The auld yin hid two boab ay his ain so A took it in won a couple a gemms a dominoes.

While the two phonetic stories are interesting forages into the style, they are not included in this thesis's analysis of Kelman's spelling because these stories are experimental anomalies which do not contribute much to the understanding of his typical spelling strategies. Kelman himself dismissed this style as a vehicle for his fiction, as he states in a personal interview with the author:

> earlier on I was doing more with spelling. Eventually I kind of started to go in other directions. So, I was more interested in phrasing and syntax rather than actual spelling that was phonetic. That no longer interested me as much. I found that it was not as important as phraseology, rhythms, and syntax. That was much more important.

Kelman further says about the phonetic 'Nice to be Nice' in an interview with Kirsty McNeill:

> It took 35 to 40 drafts for *Nice to be Nice*. I don't truly know what I would've done if I had known Tom Leonard's work first. At the time I wanted to handle the story from a certain individual perspective – a Glaswegian male in late middle age. And the way in for me was through phonetics, as well as phrasing, but for my own

> purposes in prose the conventional standard spelling turned out to be fair enough later. This question of 'phonetics' and so called standard spelling needs more space and time than currently available here. (p. 9)

He also says in an interview six years later with McLean:

> I'd never even heard of Tom Leonard and it was really good to get Tom's poetry, which was the *Six Glasgow Poems*. And I mean I stopped writing phonetic transcriptions of dialect after that because he was obviously much better than me, and much more involved, in ways different from me. (p. 104)

In light of Kelman's change in direction away from heavy orthography, it is more important to concentrate on the 'light orthography' aforementioned by Jaffe and Walton, and how it can be used to cue voice yet in a manner that does not denigrate.

It is possible that Kelman desired a light orthography because a heavy orthographic style taxes the reader and impinges upon the sense of transparency that he wants to attain. It is ironic that one of the aims of an author writing in the phonetic style is speech realism, yet the more deviant the spelling is, the more likely it is to draw attention to its presentation on the page. Furthermore, instead of clarifying language, phonetic spelling can obscure the content because it is difficult to understand, looks unusual, and requires a great deal of effort to decode, drawing attention to the act of reading itself. As Hagan points out, tedium arises from the 'constant demand involved' in transferring 'knowledge of standard spelling so as to decipher and interpret' (pp. 155-6). Furthermore, as Jaffe argues, unconventional orthography can be 'profoundly disruptive' because the more attention is paid to the oral features of speech, the less transparent the orthography makes the text — defeating its own purpose of maintaining a sense of immediacy (p. 510). Hence, the closer one gets to representing the speech of Glasgow in writing, the more the spelling changes draw attention to the written form of the story itself rather than being a transparent medium. This diminishes the sense of speech realism being sought in the first place and makes it seem over-constructed. Chapman writes of this kind of difficulty:

> A multiplicity of signals defeats the purpose and offends against the perpetual need of the artist to give the effect of reality by imposing upon the material of life economy and order which life itself does not present. (p. 232)

Fiction cannot be expected, nor is it economical, to give a representation of speech to portray each breath, rise in intonation, and utterance in detail. Sumner Ives asserts that

> Nearly all examples of literary dialect are deliberately incomplete; the author is an artist, not a linguist or a sociologist, and his purpose is literary rather than scientific. In working out his compromise between art and linguistics, each author has made his own decision as to how many of the peculiarities in his character's speech he can profitably represent. (p. 138)

Things of little significance, or even a hindrance to the story, are expected to be left out. Essentially, as Chapman writes in his study of the relationship between speech and literature,

> any representation of deviant speech through normal alphabetical writing must either give a general impression reinforced by a few accepted signals or becomes self-defeating in its complexity. (p. 237)

This means that the author must not over-complicate the text. When the changes to spelling are too complex, the text is not accessible for a non-specialist audience, and it detracts from the appearance of naturalness. Fundamentally, Kelman wants to given an impression of speech, which will be accepted as realistic by his readers rather than drawing his readers' attention to the literary artifice by which the language has been achieved.

A final problem with the phonetic style is that it risks appearing illiterate. Expectations of a single sound relating to a single letter are dashed at an early stage of reading, with the learner soon moving onto the more complex realities of English literacy. The average reader does not expect spelling to correspond exactly to speech, so when such spelling appears it might even appear regressive to that reader. It can look regressive because the reader might not consider it to be an innovation but instead as infantile and semi-literate, similar to the writing of people who misspell words by writing them as they sound rather than using their standardised form. Kelman does not want to make his writing seem infantile, nor its subjects and characters, so this adds a further rationale for avoiding a heavy phonetic style but also avoiding the stereotyped spellings of a light orthographic style. Instead, the occasional deviant spelling can establish the identity of the text as Glaswegian. The result is a kind of writing which gives an impression of Glasgow speech while mainly using an accessible standard spelling style.

To summarise, the more a text is accurate in its representation of speech, the more it loses its sense of fluency and speech realism. The more phonetic the spelling, the more the story itself starts to look like a written text which is heavily constructed, edited, and stylised. Often the aim of literary works is to seem fluent, natural, and spontaneous, rather than heavily controlled. Kelman seeks to convey a Glasgow narrative voice without distracting the reader's attention to its written format, and a strategy of minimal change allows Kelman to accommodate his readership (since both Scots and English speakers write in English), yet clearly mark the text as Glaswegian.

Kelman's relationship to each spelling style

Each spelling style discussed above has a set of advantages and Kelman makes varied use of these systems. However, since English spelling is the first form of writing encountered by working-class Glaswegians, Kelman's writing has extensive use of English spellings. There is another important reason for his choice: English spelling does not automatically indicate a Standard English pronunciation, it is merely assumed to do so. English spelling does not correspond exactly to any variety of English speech, and it is this feature of English writing which Kelman harnesses to form a Glasgow voice in his stories. The adoption of English as the 'base' voice can be found in traditional Scottish literature, so Kelman is not being radical in this choice. However, Kelman does depart from tradition by refusing to clearly mark and divide English from non-standard voices, instead blurring and removing these textual boundaries.

The Scots Style Sheet spellings emerged mainly as a response to the perceived negative effects of English spellings on Scots, but the Scots Style Sheet influence on Kelman has been limited, affecting his punctuation practices rather than suggesting alternative spellings. Finally, the phonetic style is based upon the English writing and sound system. Although Kelman may adopt specific spellings which draw upon phonetic strategies, he rarely uses a great number of different words spelt in the phonetic style throughout a story. Kelman also rarely runs words together or uses confusable spellings (with existing English words) like the radical phonetic texts tend to do. Overall, it is reasonable to state that Kelman adopts whatever spelling works in the context to impart a sense of speech realism.

Kelman tries to avoid the problems inherent within each spelling system: divisive literary depictions, undesirable political subtexts, and undue distraction caused by spelling style. For example, although the traditional spelling system helps the English reader and provides a sense of otherness and difference, its downside is that it makes Scots look incomplete and deficient, elevating English as the sole voice of authority. Moreover, while the Scots Style Sheet and its counterparts has value to a writer because it uses older Scots spellings and asserts difference from English as a language, the downside is that it is difficult to read, appears overly constructed, and is tied in with Nationalist politics (something Kelman distances himself from). A further problem with the Scots Style Sheet and its later variations, is its association with the middle-class and a reluctance to incorporate urban varieties of Scots. Hagan discusses this when explaining how Glaswegian language made a late appearance in Scottish fiction:

> Glaswegian was marginalised by two dominant traditions: the literary tradition of Standard English, and the literary tradition that employs 'good' Scots. 'Good', strong, pure Scots was generally assumed to be synonymous with rural Scots, whereas urban varieties were spoken by people from different traditions and with different ethnic backgrounds who had mingled in the city and in the process had lost their separate identities. Accordingly, urban dialects were considered as corrupt and indeed as contaminated, and certainly unworthy of a literary status. Moreover, it can be surmised that the Scottish middle classes as well as the rural population considered it unlikely that anything of value could be created at all under the appalling living conditions city dwellers existed in. (pp. 120-1)

Therefore, it might look odd if the Scots Style Sheet or its counterparts, which traditionally avoid urban and low-status forms of language, are used to express a working-class Glasgow narrative. Finally, although phonetic rendering emphasises the local way of speaking and rejects the traditional spellings, Scots Style Sheet spelling, and English spellings (and avoids their ideological interference in the text), this phonetic rendering is hard to read and has a limited readership.

Kelman makes a political statement by not sticking to a single strategy for spelling. He probably senses that, as Hagan puts it, 'the literary representation of non-standard pronunciation by means of graphological patterns is not effective until the norm of standard spelling is honoured' (p. 154). This means that a standard spelling has to be acknowledged before its deviations from it are to be recognised as innovations. These spelling styles are positioned against the English

spelling system and, ultimately, the Scottish writer tries to reach an audience whose first written language is English. Until this changes, respellings must honour the standard and extend it in order to present a picture of Scottish speech.

To conclude, each spelling style has associated problems that Kelman wishes to avoid. English, on the other hand, has the widest readership and it is a standard for global communication. Kelman's use of English spelling is a wise choice because it is a medium which welcomes and easily embraces a small degree of language play and literary innovation without it seeming too out of the ordinary. It also enables an English-reading audience to access his stories. In addition, because of the relatively impartial sound relationship English has to its many varieties of English speech, only a few spelling changes are needed to give a distinctive identifying voice to the written text, as will be shown in the next section which outlines the alternative spelling strategies used by Kelman.

Kelman's spelling strategy

An advantage of English is that it is not unusual for the reader to encounter spelling changes in a creative text. English has a history of incorporating and representing other languages and language varieties, and it has alternative spellings, spelling irregularities, and other spelling anomalies as a result. There are legitimate alternative spellings such as *jail/gaol* and *grey/gray*, and there are the less accepted spellings such as *lite/light* and *gonna/going to*. Alternative spellings are regularly found in song lyrics, creative documents, advertising, and some theoretical writing. Examples of these include *muthafucka* in song lyrics, *hoose* in Scottish tourist brochures, *lite* in advertising, and *wimmin* in feminist academic writing. Typically, alternatively-spelled words are not overly frequent in a larger piece of writing; rather, a few innovations may be introduced and repeated throughout a particular text.

An oft-used method of impressing a sense of social identity and speech realism upon a story is to make a few changes to the spelling of select words. As Chapman writes in his study of the depiction of sound in literature: 'A few well-chosen signals are more effective than a large number' (p. 84). Chapman explains this idea further:

> As in the case of phonemic variation, the imaginative writer selects a few points from the great variety and complexity of auditory experience. He limits himself to that which will enhance the total effect without creating extra difficulty for the reader. (p. 102)

Thus the art lies in choosing a suggestive select set of phonological features that will enhance and further the story without needlessly complicating it.

Spelling changes best indicate social identity when there are distinctive pronunciations that circulate among that social group. Such auditory features might include changes in pronunciation for vowels and consonants, or other features of speech such as speed and word stress. These differences may be small but they allow an author such as Kelman to indicate a distinctive shared history and social experience. The inclusion of such features of speech is worthy of literary attention and altering the spelling is a way of achieving such a representation. However, as the phonetic style shows, too many changes make a text inaccessible or at best very difficult to read. Chapman warns that changes to standard spellings must be kept to a minimum for the maximum literary effect.

Since there can only be limited changes to the spelling of a text, the choice of which words to alter is important, as is the degree to which the spelling is changed. The chosen feature of speech has to be identifiable to the speech community represented. For example, if the word *the* was respelt as *thi* it might indicate a difference in pronunciation but it is not an important identifying phonological feature since the stressed and unstressed pronunciations of *the* do not vary much between English varieties. Furthermore, changing the spelling of such a common word unnecessarily complicates the look and consumption of the text while offering little value for its literary depiction. Likewise, words such as *a* and *an* are also likely to be unfruitful candidates for modification either.

One constraining factor for Kelman is to avoid spellings that could be mistaken for a real error, such as *frend* for *friend*. Misspellers come to their spellings by accident, illiteracy, or a lapse in memory, unlike the purposefully deviant spellings of literature. Moreover, a lack of education and mental faculty is conveyed by such misspellings. Using alternative spellings already runs the risk of looking illiterate, so Kelman must avoid using spellings which may appear accidental. He must make spelling changes appear deliberate, such as a change in a word like *stupit or cerried*, rather than common errors such as found in words

like *tomatos* or *accidently*. A writer who endeavours to use deviant spellings is seeking to appear distinctive, not illiterate.

Another type of spelling Kelman tends to avoid is the words that have become stigmatised or have a strong undesirable connotation, such as the *ra* for *the*, *'hink* for *think*, and *bo'l* for *bottle*. These spellings already circulate in comic sketches and humorous literature, and have gained such a strong association with this genre that they are unlikely to be taken seriously in a different context. Likewise, these spellings may have been used in older literature which contained offensive stereotypes and connotations that the author would be unwise to evoke by using them, such as in the case of *bo'l* where the glottal stop is taken as a key signal of 'bad' speech.

Alternative spellings, particularly those which only make a slight change to the English spelling, evoke the sound of a word. This puts a focus on the distinctive speech quality being signified by the particular spelling modification. Chapman observes that:

> The whole word is taken as a visual sign; if deviant spelling makes the reader focus on the individual letters, he will at the same time make a connection between those letters and the sounds which he is accustomed to regard them as representing. (p. 230)

Two good examples of a small but significant change to spelling are *blawing* for *blowing* and *stupit* for *stupid*. In *blawing*, the supporting English spelling is clearly identifiable within the alternative spelling, yet it draws attention to the use of an *a* instead of an *o* in *blowing*. The same attention is drawn to the *t* in *stupit*. Both these examples change the spelling to indicate distinctive features of Glasgow phonology. However, this is not to say that such pronunciation is limited to Glasgow.

It is common in Glasgow to pronounce certain types of words with *o* spellings with a variety of *a* sounds, such as indicated in *blaw*, *snaw*, *tae*, and *maist*. It is also common to transform the *d* into a *t* in words like *stupit*, such as with the past tense of verbs (this is discussed later in greater detail). The change of one letter makes the word become a marker of identity. Therefore, the task for the author is to pick key points of phonetic variation between Glasgow speech and other

varieties of English and use them to hint at and overall Glasgow pronunciation rather than give a comprehensive phonetic transcription.

Before this argument continues, it must be mentioned that other researchers such as Hagan and Corbett have previously demonstrated the technical linguistic correlations between Kelman's writing and Glasgow pronunciation and language; therefore, it is already established that Kelman is representing genuine features of Glasgow and Scottish speech. Moreover, it is irrelevant to my argument whether Kelman represents exclusively Glaswegian pronunciation in comparison to the general dialect area or Scottish pronunciation. Each pronunciation indicated by orthographic means accumulates into a larger picture which represents the spectrum of working-class Glasgow speech — a hybrid based upon West Central Scots and some elements of other varieties of Central Scots, intermingled with Standard English, and influenced by Highland and Hibernian Englishes.

The minimal changes are consistent with Kelman general tendency not to spell words so that they are unrecognisable from the standard spelling. Since the stories have English spelling as its basis, only a few important non-standard spellings are needed to accent and identify the text. For instance, only rarely will Kelman use radically different spellings such as *hon* for *hand* or *fitba* for *football*. Furthermore, there is a clear need for him to retain standard spelling to act as a foil for his alternative spellings. The changes both seem to give a closer representation of speech and act as a statement of not accepting the writing system as it stands.

Drawing this idea out further, one of the literary effects of alternative spelling is that it redefines the words (and the content) as being outside the immediate authority of Standard English and the people who use it, and refocuses the mind onto the sound of the Glaswegian language. This use of alternative spellings is what Chapman recognises as an 'element of protest against educated orthodoxy and the prestige of the written word' (p. 202), and this element is present in Kelman's spelling choices despite his base spelling system being English. Kelman highlights the tension between the word which is seen and the word which is heard, and to some extent alleviates it through the introduction of alternative spelling. Hagan similarly notes that a function of non-standard spelling is to

subvert both Standard English, and the Scots Style Sheet (p. 154), which is within Kelman's aims as an artist.

Here are two examples of Kelman's stories. The first is written entirely in Standard English and the second is not. The sense of speech realism is enhanced with the spelling alterations in the second example as compared to the first excerpt in Standard English from *Not Not While the Giro*:

> But he had forgotten to alter the usual going-off time on the alarm clock and it burst out at ten a.m. as normal. Recognising the severity of the situation he jumped out of bed at once and dressed rapidly. The landlady rose at dawn and would have cleaned and exorcised the rest of the house by this time. Fortunately she wouldn't come into the room unless the door was open which he had to do first thing upon leaving everyday. (p. 27)

Another example of Kelman's work shows what a story might look like if there is a greater degree of spelling innovation. This is from a short story called 'Then Later' in *The Good Times*:

> This is a point it can be tricky, ye can be too impatient, or else forgetful, ye think ye're hame and dry. I was doubly careful cause of it, I knew other cunts had fuckt up at that very moment. I didnay care how long it took, within reason. I had the message oot by the tip of the handle. I let it drap and it went plopping doon inti the rushes just oot frae the bank. I couldnay resist waiting an extra second. Even daeing it I knew how stupit it was but ye know the wey it goes, that funny feeling ye're gony see it bounce back oot again, then go jumping alang behind ye, and ye dont know it's there, no till whenever, whatever – stupit – but yer heid's gon in all directions, the closer ye get the merr nervous ye ur. (pp. 125-6)

There are more changes to spelling than the previous example, and it is notable that the speech realism is extended to the first-person narrative. Although this passage has a similar word count to the above passage the alternative spellings include *hame (home)*, *fuckt (fucked)*, *oot (out)*, *drap (drop)*, *doon (down)*, *inti (into)*, *daeing (doing)*, *stupit (stupid)*, *wey (way)*, *gony (going to)*, *alang (along)*, *dont (don't)*, *heid (head)*, *gon (going)*, *merr (more)*, and *ur (are)*. The amount of spelling change is large and makes the text start to seem more unusual to a reader expecting English, but it is reasonably easily deciphered because the English reader can easily guess at the possible meaning of respelled words, and this may be credited to Kelman's use of English spellings as a starting point for his spelling changes. Unsurprisingly, the earlier examples with fewer changes can be read with more certainty and speed than this paragraph.

In summary, it can be argued that small changes in spelling are sufficient to give an 'accent' to what can argued to be a neutral system of writing. When

Kelman spells the occasional word in an unusual manner, he reminds the reader of the sound of the word in Glaswegian. He gives the written word an accent, a phonological marker. At the same time, the non-phonological process is disrupted and the link based on the normal experience of reading is displaced sufficiently to allow phonological features of speech to integrate into the text and become naturalised.

A comparison of the use of spelling between the datasets

The following section explores the differences between Kelman's work and that of the datasets in terms of spelling preferences. A number of words were sampled through a variety of means. Initially, I simply tried to make a list of common Scots-spelt words. Hagan's research on spelling was also consulted for its focus on the use of spelling to represent the Glasgow vernacular. I also surveyed Andy Eagle's list of Scottish spellings in *Scots Orthography* which examines a variety of spellings for particular Scottish pronunciations and surveys the non-regional spellings based upon the traditional conventions of eighteenth and nineteenth century works (para 1). The result is a combination of somewhat commonly-used words which represent a wide range of Scottish phonology and have reasonably established spellings, and some which are used in more than one spelling system. An example is the word 'hame' which is a traditional spelling also advocated for use by the Scots Style Sheet and is suitable for use within phonetic spelling principles.

The 'Find Whole Word Only' search function was used so no plurals or other spelling variants were counted, but words may be followed by a punctuation mark, such as an apostrophe; thus the search for the spelling *pictur* will also count *pictur'* and even *pictur–* but not *pictures*. The results of this study are understandably limited, due to the search method used and the wide variety of spellings possible for certain words, including spellings which match those of existing English words, such as *there* which can be spelt *thair*, *ther*, *thar*, *thir* and so on. Even if all the varieties were established, it is prohibitive to examine each incident to decide if 'their' was not meant instead. Such a situation ruled out the search for the common Scots spelling of *an* to mean *and*, because *an* is a frequently-used English word and the basic word search cannot differentiate

between the two forms. The result is 30 words that are used in Table 3.1 to create respectably representative sized samples of 5.2% of the KELMAN'S FICTION dataset, 4.4% of the SCOTS FICTION dataset, and 3.6% of the SCOTS WRITTEN dataset.

Table 3.1: The distribution of alternate Scottish and English spellings in a 30 word sample

Scots Spellings	English Spelling	KELMAN'S FICTION'S use of the Scots spelling	SCOTS FICTION use of the Scots spelling	SCOTS WRITTEN use of the Scots spelling
wi/wi'	with	0.6%	63%	32%
aa (a')	all	none	53%	22%
ower	over	15%	67%	42%
oan	on	0.4%	2%	1%
jist	just	0.3%	57%	41%
dae	do	0.8%	59%	24%
heid	head	1.2%	69%	55%
hame	home	3.9%	68%	38%
guid	good	0.1%	65%	35%
ane/yin	one	9.3%	40%	19%
noo	now	0.3%	41%	32%
ither	other	none	45%	14%
gie	give	5.1%	76%	35%
hoose	house	2.5%	55%	40%
hauf	half	1.9%	41%	26%
puir	poor	none	69%	44%
cauld	cold	4.1%	60%	58%
masel (masel')	myself	0.3%	44%	35%
bluid	blood	none	64%	46%
windae	window	none	39%	34%
therr	there	0.3%	none	none
wummin	woman	1.2%	21%	13%
jaiket	jacket	0.9%	46%	35%
picture (pictur')	picture	none	32%	9%
nummer	number	none	17%	3%
sel (sel')	self	none	16%	8%
merr/mair	more	1.8%	66%	30%
doun/doon	down	0.6%	72%	54%
leuk/luik	look	none	28%	15%
smaw/sma/ sma'	small	none	31%	14%
Average use of Scottish spellings		**1.5%**	**45%**	**21%**

Within the sample, the KELMAN'S FICTION dataset prefers the English spelling to the Scots alternative(s) an average of 98.5% of the time (with a range of 90.7% to 100%). This is a much greater use of English spellings than the SCOTS WRITTEN dataset usage of 79% and the SCOTS FICTION dataset usage of 55%. This sample indicates that Kelman is inclined to use English spelling when there is a standard in Scottish fiction and a tendency in general Scottish writing to include some Scottish spellings. Indeed, while KELMAN'S FICTION has no individual words where the Scottish spelling is preferred, there are 10 words which are solely represented using English spelling. This is another point of difference to the other two datasets: 15 words in the SCOTS FICTION dataset have a Scottish spelling used more than its English variant and 3 words in the SCOTS WRITTEN dataset prefer the Scottish spellings, 'heid', 'cauld', and 'doun/doon', over the English equivalent.

In fiction, spelling often plays an important role in dialect writing to create a distinctive Scottish voice. However, Kelman seems to be more selective about which words will adopt a Scottish spelling instead of using the standard English spelling. Perhaps the most astonishing result is found in the SCOTS WRITTEN dataset where 3 Scottish spellings outnumber their English counterparts. It is a large dataset with a representation of many kinds of nonfiction, and granted, fiction texts, yet it is unexpected that any Scottish spelling would dominate when English spelling is the standard of the country. These findings emphasise the reluctance of Kelman to use Scottish spellings in the face of a greater acceptance of the alternative forms in wider Scottish writing. Thus, while the public seems to have wide exposure to and acceptance of at least some standard Scottish spellings, Kelman himself is disinclined to embrace these standardised Scots alternatives to the English spelling.

Evidence of Kelman's preference for the modern phonetic Glasgow style rather than the traditional Scots spellings can be found by investigating the breakdown of the search terms for the Scottish variants of words 'more', 'down', and 'one'. Table 3.2 shows the results.

Table 3.2: The distribution of alternate Scots spellings of the same word

Scots spelling choice		KELMAN'S FICTION	SCOTS FICTION	SCOTS WRITTEN
mair	(traditional)	7%	99.4%	99.7%
merr	(modern)	93%	0.6%	0.1%
doun	(traditional)	0%	48%	38%
doon	(modern)	100%	52%	62%
ane	(traditional)	3%	77%	67%
yin	(modern)	97%	23%	33%

The traditional spelling of *more* is *mair* and clearly preferred in the SCOTS FICTION and SCOTS WRITTEN datasets, yet KELMAN'S FICTION overwhelmingly prefers the Glasgow-oriented 'merr', a spelling innovation of the phonetic style. The results for 'down' are less clear cut, with an even division in the SCOTS FICTION dataset and a relatively even division in the SCOTS WRITTEN dataset between the traditional spelling of 'doun' and late nineteenth century 'doon', but a clear 100% preference by KELMAN'S FICTION for the latter spelling. Finally, in the case of 'ane' and 'yin', a similar situation is found for the SCOTS FICTION and SCOTS WRITTEN datasets which prefer the traditional spelling of 'ane' over the more modern 'yin', whereas KELMAN'S FICTION similarly prefers the latter innovation by 97%. In terms of Kelman's choice of spelling, he is at odds with the SCOTS datasets with these three words. Kelman shows a preference for the modern spellings, possibly because they have a stronger relationship with both modern pronunciation and the phonetic basis of the English spelling system. The SCOTS datasets waver between the traditional and 19th century varieties, and overall demonstrate a preference for Scottish spellings, except in the case of the modern spellings such as *merr*. Moreover, the very modern spelling of the word *therr* is absent in the SCOTS FICTION dataset and is extremely rare in the SCOTS WRITTEN dataset. Similarly, the word *oan* is disfavoured and comparatively rare in both the SCOTS datasets, but has a relatively good rate of use in KELMAN'S FICTION.

There are sufficient examples to show that Kelman retains some of the traditional spellings of Scott and Burns' time, such as *hame* (and note it is not for their iconic value) and the more modern spellings in the early Glasgow novel of the nineteenth century, such as *merr*. The alternative spellings he presents are not so radically different to the spelling conventions already circulating that they

make a statement in their own right. To illustrate this further, the words *hame* and *dae* are present in the first twenty lines of Burns' 'Tam O'Shanter', a popular and widely-read poem. Kelman has varying use of such spellings, depending on whether they coincide with the modern pronunciation and he feels that these spelling are sufficient for his work.

In conclusion, the results of this investigation of 30 words is not straightforward. Due to the search methods, caution must be taken when interpreting these results literally and extrapolating them as accurately comparable to the wider texts. For example, if one notes the word *windae*, Kelman does not use that exact term and spelling, he does use one *windy*, *windi*, and *windaes* each. It was prohibitive to search for every possible variant such as these and only the spellings actually listed in the tables were used. While I could not find plural forms for his work with the other words, I did notice that Kelman uses the *aa* spelling in *waantit*. While he was shown not to use *aa* for *all* he did use the alternative spelling *aw*, but this spelling was not included because it mimics an English exclamation, and could not reasonably be counted. This is not to discount the findings, since they gather a great deal of important information on the distribution of spellings for the words. Due the nature of spelling, many words do not have the many variants found for the word *look*, so the results that have been gathered are telling, but not absolutely precise in all cases. The results are best thought of as trends and indicators.

What these figures have shown, broadly, is the most important point to be made about Kelman's use of spelling: although he wrote two phonetic short stories and he liberally uses altered punctuation and spellings for his negative auxiliaries, he is the least likely to draw upon Scots spellings for the creation of identity, and if he does, it is with a select few words. When Kelman does choose to use Scottish spelling, it is with a preference for modern spellings created using the principles of the phonetic Glasgow spelling style, albeit not necessarily in its fully realised form. The next section provides an in-depth exploration of his particular patterns of spelling variance to argue this point.

Degrees of variance in Kelman's writing

As already revealed, Kelman uses English as first preference and subsequently makes small deviations from it. While he may adopt some traditional Scottish forms, and some established modern and phonetic spellings, he is often less likely to do so than other Scottish writing. A change in the occasional word reminds the reader of the Glasgow accent and focus. Kelman does not try to standardise his spelling, as explained in the following excerpt from a personal interview with the author:

> AM: I understand that you don't have consistency when you change your spelling. You have variations of the same words, depending on the story. Like with a word like eedjit, that would be the most radical respelling.
> JK: It depends on the story, the rhymes, and the character. Spelling in a story will alter. I would demand a writer alter every story. It is only an accident that there is consistency between the stories.

A survey of the distribution of Kelman's alternative spellings reveals the reservations he has about making a consistent switch in the presentation of a word. Furthermore, his choice of alternative spellings and their frequency are somewhat constrained by the length of his story, depending on how taxing it is on the readers' attention, with a lower ratio occurring in novels versus a higher ratio in some short stories.

Some alternative spellings might appear only in one story, such as the spelling of *sae* for *so* and *cerried* for *carried* in the short story 'Then Later', and then they are not used anywhere else among his other stories. A closer look at the varying frequency and range of Kelman's alternative spellings is required now, and their relationship to each of the established spelling styles will be discussed.

A change is made to a single letter

The mildest examples of spelling change can be found in the form of a single transformed letter in the original English spelling while the number of letters in the word remains the same. This sort of spelling change is common in Kelman's normal style of writing, and is evident in the vowels of words such as *aff* 'off', *cerried* 'carried', *chawing* 'chewing', *hame* 'home', *hoose* 'house', *merried* 'married', *heid* 'head', *stey* 'stay', *sploshing* 'splashing', *ithers* 'others', *gless* 'glass', *inti* 'into', *onti* 'onto', *wey* 'way', and *wur* 'our', and the consonants of words such as *stupit* 'stupid', *pish* 'piss', *skalp* 'scalp', and *ower* 'over'. Except

for *cerried* these variants have been recorded as older spellings in the CSD or DSL. Notice that the vowels are more likely to be changed than consonants, because of the role vowel quality plays in the identification of British accents. The unstressed schwa is also a likely candidate for change because it indicates a difference in stress and intonation, and thus the speech patterns of a particular region. However, Kelman is not limited to changing vowels, as demonstrated by *hisself*, *stupit*, *pish*, *skalp*, and *ower*.

The spelling of *cerried* is particularly interesting because the initial letter cluster of *ce* indicates a soft *s* rather than a hard *k* pronunciation, and its reading relies on the link to the original spelling with an initial *ca*. Usually the *k* would be a candidate for providing the transformation. However, as pointed out by Jaffe, a 'k' would provide 'a potent visual contrast with the way the sound is represented in the standard' (p. 510). Thus, the initial *ce*, despite its usual association with an initial *s* or *ch* sound for the word, is used instead of the *ke*. The initial *ca* usually only indicates a hard *k* sound, with the exception of *caesar*, but there is no precedent for *ce* to duplicate this hard *k* sound in an initial position. Nonetheless, it works because of the reference to (and dependence on) the original spelling of *carried*. So, in this use of the spelling *cerried*, the understanding is that only the sound represented by the *a* is changed to an *e* sound. Thus, it seems that Kelman avoids 'easy' respellings that would impart a sense of dialect and orality but not represent important features of local pronunciation. For example, using 'z' spellings is regarded as a cheap trick in orthography, as Jaffe and Walton point out: 'Several respondents pointed to 'wuz' (or having 'a lot of z's') as one of the clues that told them 'how the person talks.' This is an interesting illustration of how orthography and identity can be fused, since 'wuz' is an eye dialect form that reflects no regional pronunciation' (p. 572). Instead, Kelman carefully selects important sounds and represents them in spelling, such as the word *stupit*, where the final *d* is transformed into a *t* and is used in Glasgow speech.

The transformation of two letters

Two vowels may be transformed by Kelman in order to represent a particular pronunciation. These include the words *guid* 'good', and *geetar* 'guitar'. A traditional spelling such as *guid* is less likely to look out of place and the English

reader is likely to have experience with it. The first and last letters are sufficient to indicate the original English spelling. A similar case for *geetar* can be put forward since the *g* and *tar* provide enough information to help the reader decipher it.

Particular vowel and consonant combination changes can complement each other to give an increased effect. Examples include *faimly* 'family', *gemm* 'game', *merr* 'more', *eftir* 'after', *bastirt* 'bastard', *haud* 'hold', *haun* 'hand', *crookit* 'crooked' and the occasional past tense verb and past participle. The respelling of *family* as *faimly* is somewhat unusual because the same letters are kept, but the shift of the *a* and the *i* reduces the word to two syllables. This allows a stronger emphasis on the first syllable, which is complemented by the respelling of *a* as an *ai* grapheme, the letter *i* is removed from the word surreptitiously. Furthermore, it must be noted that the word ending of *ly* is retained in preference to *li* since it keeps the word consistent with the original English spelling, demonstrating how Kelman avoids unnecessary change. Likewise, the *ai* grapheme may just as easily have been spelt *ay*, to make *faymly*, but that would foreground the change more than using a letter that already exists within the words itself: it is less disruptive to readers and the whole word recognition strategy of the reading process.

In the words *gemm* and *merr*, the spelling change is more obvious and it visually foregrounds the elongated pronunciation of the final consonant. Word stress is altered slightly because attention is drawn to the consonants. A vowel change is also necessary in the case of *gemm*, because *gamm* could mislead the reader to imagine a short *a* and *m*. Similarly, *merr* cannot be *morr* because it indicates an overly-rounded pronunciation for Glasgow. It is possible that *merr* be spelt as *mare*, but that is a confusable spelling. Another option is *mair*, the traditional Scottish form of the word but the double vowel indicates a diphthong. However, both spellings draw the emphasis away from the Glaswegian *r* sound foregrounding which Kelman retains with the *merr* spelling. Furthermore, in both *gemm* and *merr* a consonant replaces the final *e* that indicates a longer vowel sound, so the vowel it would have modified needs to be changed in accordance with the new consonant configuration. The shift of the final *e* to replace the vowel it once modified is a similar strategy already found in the word *faimly* above,

where the minimum of new letters are added, and the vowel is shifted to a different place in the word.

In the word *bastirt*, the change of the *a* and the *d* to an *i* and a *t* is important in conveying the nature of pronunciation. It also transforms the pronunciation to *ba-stirt*. It the word was spelt *bastart* then the reader could erroneously read it as *ba-start* or *bas-tart*, and if it were *bastird* then the *i* may become more prominently pronounced before a heavily-voiced *d*. The combined change of the longer *a* and *d* to shorter sounds is the least ambiguous option, and puts the shape of the mouth in the right position to adopt a Glaswegian pronunciation.

The words *haud* and *haun* are fairly difficult to decipher without some prior knowledge of Glasgow or Scottish pronunciations. In both cases a consonant disappears altogether, so it removes an important bridge to its English spelling, unlike in the transformations of *d* to *t* or *c* to *k* in the examples above. The changes to the vowels are also necessary because they help the words retain their original letter length. In the case of *haud* for *hold*, the *l* is partially implied in the pronunciation of *au*. Also the reader may recall that elsewhere in Kelman's writing, they have also seen *cold* and *old* transformed into *cauld* and *auld*, although in this case the *l* is dropped. In the case of *haun* for *hand*, the related precedents found elsewhere in Kelman's stories are *grun* and *fun* for *ground* and *found*, but these are equally complex spellings and are less frequently used options.

A regular feature of Kelman's work is the transformation of the past tense and past participle, such as the *–ed* of *wanted* and *spotted* to *–it*, but not the rest of the word. The change is made only to the spelling representing the target morpheme. This transformation of the final *–ed* to *–it* is typical of Scots in speech, and this spelling makes regular appearances in literary Scots. According to Scots spelling conventions the past tense and the past perfect of weak verbs are as follows: verbs ending with *b*, *d*, *g*, *k*, *p*, or *t* are given an *–it*, while verbs ending with *il*, *en*, *ch*, *sh*, *ss* and *f* are given a *–t*, and verbs with *r* are given either *–t* or *–d* or *–ed*. Verbs ending with a vowel sound or silent *e* have an *–ed*. When dealing with past tense forms, such as *spottit* the schwa is treated in two different ways and probably affected by the unvoiced *d* at the end of the word. This means the schwa is either

transformed into a shorter vowel or removed entirely. The final –*it* form for a verb is an established Scots spelling representing the pronunciation of the word, so it makes it difficult to ascertain whether Kelman is inserting a Scots ending to an English word or is representing Scots pronunciation. However, for the sake of the argument, it is enough to merely note that the spelling is altered, moving the text away from a Standard English voice.

Changing the visual word length: one letter additions and removals

The adding or removing of a letter from a word makes a significant visual impact. Jaffe argues that literacy 'involves the development of a (culturally conditioned) graphic sensibility' where the 'how it looks' (length of word, etc) makes an impact along with other features of the spelling (p. 509). Normally there is no shift in syllabic emphasis as a result of the change, yet the new spelling gives an impression of elaboration. In terms of sound, the reader can easily recognise an 'accent' in the word being represented because the main part of the word remains unchanged and contrasts to the new letter. This means the changed letters highlight a particular sound and also draw attention to the overall pronunciation differences that may also exist.

However, adding or removing a letter from a word changes its physical length. Two letters may be required to give a better approximation of sound to measure up against the reader's own imagined pronunciation; likewise, one letter may need to be removed. The most evocative letters to adjust are vowels, since they are more prone to variation than consonants. The shape of the word becomes elongated with the addition of a letter, as does the vowel being indicated, so a sense of vowel length is conveyed through imagining its pronunciation and also visually seeing the longer physical length of the word as written on the page. The common words *oan*, *waant*, *fayther*, and *shite* are noticeably longer in length.

When Kelman makes a change to word length, it usually involves retaining most original letters of the word, perhaps adding or removing a vowel, and the syllabic stress remains the same. This is evidence of Kelman's intention to retain the English spelling as far as possible while focusing on key features that identify Glasgow speech but now it is clear the he is capable of going greater lengths in spelling changes in order to represent speech. Simple examples include *waant*

'want', *fayther 'father'*, *oan 'on'*, *shite 'shit'*, and *greegors 'Gregors'*, since they rely on a letter being added to the existing English spelling. The word *serjent 'serjeant'* is an example of letter removal. So although the 'base' English spelling remains the same, the local sound may be represented with some success through the spelling change. More complex examples involve both an additional letter and two transformed letters, such as in *maist* 'most', *baith* 'both', *auld* 'old', *cauld* 'cold', *dae* 'do', *tae* 'to', *feyther* 'father', *sterring* 'staring'. Examples of a letter deletion and a transformed letter include *shooder* 'shoulder', *feart* 'feared', *fuckt* 'fucked', *polis* 'police', *hursel* 'herself', *thaimsel* 'themself', *aw* 'all', *gie* 'give', and *yer* 'your'. It is significant that both a word length change occurs at the same time as a single letter change. Each change throws the reader off from an association with the English equivalent, and two changes increase this risk.

Complex changes to English spelling

Kelman does make complex changes to spelling of individual words by fully embracing the phonetic style, but this is rare outside of the two phonetically rendered short stories. Kelman's more extreme variations to spellings are when he adopts *craturs* 'creatures', *fitba* 'football', *fun* 'found', *grun* 'ground', *hon* 'hand', *telt* 'told', and *eedjit* 'idiot'. These are interesting because they not only significantly change the word length, they have few letters in common with the original English spelling. These words exemplify the notion that Jaffe observes as important to respellings: 'Writers and readers are presumed to share identities and values, to be intimate and complicit' (p. 508). The respellings rely upon complicity because they are fairly indecipherable to the outsider, but the reward lies in the recognition of the word and identification with the particular pronunciation evoked.

The first example of *craturs* is easy enough to decipher, for it merely involves the removal of two of the vowels and the consonants remain constant. In the case of *fitba* the only resemblance it has to the spelling of *football* is its use of an *f* to start the word and a *tba* in the middle. However, very few words have a cluster of letters like that in the centre while starting with an *f* and are not the word *football*: the OED provides only the following options of *fastball* (US), *fastback*, *footbag* (US), and *footballene* (US). Thus, a process of deduction can be used to assume

the word is actually meant as a parallel equivalent of *football*. Nevertheless, the absence of the final *ll* halves *ball* to *ba* and leaves the reader searching for another consonant before they feel certain. Furthermore, the use of the spelling *fit*, although appropriate to the subject matter it represents, confuses the interpretation from the singular word *foot* because *fit* is a separate word in its own right, having a robust independent meaning different from that of *foot*: there is little leeway for change without causing confusion. Thus, *fitba* is an example from Kelman that entirely embraces the practices of the phonetic style in its ability to simultaneously represent sound, play with words, and disturb the non-Glasgow reader.

The words *fun*, *grun*, and *hon* are other examples of difficult words to decipher. They look unlike the English spellings of *found*, *ground*, and *hand* and they are considerably shorter in length. The fact that both the vowels and consonants of these words are not reliable, in that some of both are included and omitted, makes it especially difficult to decipher if the reader is not alert to their spoken counterparts. In this context it is significant that, according to McClure in 'The Debate on Scots Orthography', the pronunciation of terminal *–nd* has not been a feature of Scottish speech since somewhere between the 15th or 16th century (p. 206).

The respelling of *idiot* as *eedjit* is a significant sociolinguistic choice because there are two connotations of the word in Glaswegian speech. The spelling of *eedjit* is directly associated with the phonetic style, and it not found prior to it. The first spelling holds a negative judgemental meaning. The second spelling, as representative of Glasgow pronunciation, with two elongated syllables, has a softer meaning and can be used affectionately.

A notable case: the spelling of negated auxiliary verbs

Kelman prefers his own spellings of the clitic *–na* as either *–nay* or *–ni*, whereas SCOTS FICTION and SCOTS WRITTEN generally prefer the traditional forms of *–na* or *–nae*. Table 3.3 summarises the differences.

Table 3.3: Spelling distributions of the Scottish cliticized negator _–na_

	KELMAN′S FICTION	SCOTS FICTION	SCOTS WRITTEN
–na	0%	78%	77%
–nae	0%	20%	19%
–ny	1%	2%	4%
–nay	79%	0%	0%
–ni	20%	0%	0%
_–na_ rate per 1,000 words	3.4 per 1,000 words	2.1 per 1,000 words	1.0 per 1,000 words

Kelman's use of the two spellings which are not normally found elsewhere shows that he is both committed to the local pronunciation conforms with the normal phonetic correspondence to letters within the English spelling system, such as _–nay_ for _–nae_.

Kelman's choice of _–nay_ instead of _–nae_ can be better understood if it is remembered that the Scottish reader is essentially a reader of English, due to the primacy that English spelling plays in the Scottish written texts. To the reader of the English spelling system, the words that end with the _–ae_ grapheme are associated with long Latin-based terms (such as _minutiae_, _curriculum vitae_, _dramatis personae_, _antennae_, _larvae_, _algae_, _vertebrae_, _laminae_, and _formulae_) and often associated with institutional authority via religious, legal, academic, and scientific texts. Contrast this to the commonly-used shorter words associated with endings of _–ay_ grapheme (such as _day_, _pay_, _way_, _nay_, _gay_, _say_, _tray_, _stay_, _away_, _replay_, _astray_, _dismay_, _anyway_, _display_, _yesterday_, and _hogmanay_). Kelman must have simply found the spelling of _–nay_ more amenable to the everyday topics of his writing, with the _–nay_ spelling more likely to be viewed as common rather than authoritative. The SCOTS dataset also tends to make less use of the _–nae_ spellings and prefers the _–na_ spelling four out of five times when faced with the option (probably because _–na_ is the historic spelling).

The _–ny_ spelling, even though all datasets use it, comprises only between 1%- 4% of the negative enclitic. This may be a result of a strong association of the English _–y_ suffix with adjectives and adverbs. The phonetic representation might look strange to a Scottish person when written down, with the _–nay_ ending looking less starkly different and the _–ni_ ending clearly being phonetically-based and asserting the local pronunciation.

Small but significant changes to spelling

Although Kelman has been influenced by each spelling system, he adheres to none. Todd speculates that:

> What may, at first, appear to be inconsistencies in spelling are actually a deliberate effort to reflect the sheer variety of spoken language itself. (p. 62)

It seems apt that a restless writer would refuse to be pinned down by a single spelling system. Thus, while elements of each spelling system appear in Kelman's work, none dominate. The main influence of the traditional Scottish text on Kelman's writing is to direct him to use English as a foundation while harnessing the ready adaptation of the English writing system to new forms and words. The difference between Kelman's texts and the traditional literary style is that the Scottish items are dispersed throughout the whole story, rather than confined to the dialogue and marked as the 'other'. Traditional literature was reluctant to change spelling outside of the dialogue sections, and alternative spelling was rarely found in first person narratives. Kelman does not adhere to such restrictions. Thus, although Kelman does not avoid English spelling, he is changing the practices associated with its use. He is also among company when he rejects the narrative dichotomy, with Lewis Grassic Gibbon and Alex Hamilton being among the Scottish authors who have chosen a similar path.

As previously discussed, Kelman's spelling changes are reminiscent of the phonetic style and vary in the number of changes required to foreground a word to represent sound. The small changes are significant in themselves, and may have unexpected value that goes beyond the text, as Chapman suggests:

> It may well be that the sight of any deviant spelling in print is a source of satisfaction to those who chafe against the orthographical demands of teachers and employers. There is perhaps a sense of freedom from such constraint, and of participation in a different culture from which the oppressor is excluded. (p. 202)

It seems that Kelman recognises the value in any deviant spelling as sufficient to alert the reader to pronunciation, orality, and cultural identity, but without obscuring the content with radical respellings. Many of Kelman's respellings have close representations of single-letters to sounds, and there is an emphasis on the sound length in certain words, such as *oo* in *oot* and *mm* in *gemm*. It is rare that the fully realised phonetic style can be found in Kelman's spelling, with some words such as *eedjit*, *eftir*, *gemm*, and *oot* being more decipherable and others

such as *fitba*, *hon*, and *grun*, being especially difficult for most Standard English readers to decode. As this section has indicated, this is because these words are not only different in printed length, but have consonants removed without indication and some vowels altered. Thus, Kelman recognises that spelling is a potent way to convey identity, but he prefers it to be in small but effective doses, reminding the reader of the Glasgow working-class voice that he bases his writing upon, the linguistic resource used to express the consciousness of the Glasgow working-class people.

Conclusion

The aim of alternative spelling is not to transcribe dialect scientifically, which would require a special phonetic alphabet complete with suprasegmental features such as stress and accent. The aim is to provide a distinctive narrative voice which encourages a sense of place and identity. The writer tries to include enough features of difference to identify the character's identity and context, and in a systematic way to show its purposeful application (rather than an accidental or unintended indicator of illiteracy).

Kelman's self-stated aim is to convey the language as it is used orally, as has been previously seen in his statement to Slattery that he wants 'to give a translation of language as it is used orally' (p. 5). He does this by seeking to create a literary voice which has recognisable roots in Glasgow working-class speech. Spelling is a way of hinting at and evoking the sounds of a language. So, in addition to drawing the reader to engage in thought about the content of the stories, the spelling also exposes them to the sounds of Glasgow speech. For those who like the Glasgow accent, this makes reading such literature a pleasure, because the process of reading requires sounding out in the head, especially so for alternative spellings. This strategy has an extra function of representing the speech continuum of Glasgow, where the fluidity of spelling is used to simulate the fluidity of speech with its style-switching, stress, and prosodic variations.

Metaphorically, the changes to spelling of ordinary items (such as a floor or chair) express the difference in reality of the ordinary life of the Glasgow working-class. The small changes only slightly disrupt habitual reading practices and expectations (this is a physical effect as much as a mental one). Thus, Kelman

makes the reader work a little harder than they normally would to read a story, but without the risk of alienating them. Kelman's occasional variations on spelling from the standard keeps the reader alert, and this heightened attention can contribute to people thinking more carefully about the language and subject matter being represented. The willingness to move away from authority (in this case, a single system of spelling), means the reader must actively participate in the communicative act to understand the message.

To conclude, alternative spelling can indicate both real and imagined difference. Sometimes people use alternative spelling because there is dissatisfaction with Standard English. Most of Kelman's stories tend to contain some level of alternative spelling, but it varies, and he rarely radically reinvents the spellings of words. There are only a few short stories with complete phonetic rendition, but they are uncommon because that would make them inaccessible to many readers and detract from the content. Instead, Kelman prefers to adjust the spelling of only a few words; however, these changes to spelling do not necessitate the complete absence of standard spelling from his work. Kelman knows he can give a sense of being distinctive through a contrast to the norm, so written English and the norms surrounding it provide a contrast from which to depart and compare. Essentially, English spelling becomes the foil for the variant forms.

CHAPTER FOUR: VOCABULARY AS SOCIAL IDENTITY

> What he could do was just throw it in the fucking Clyde! then it'd get bags of water! That old joke about falling into the river, you didnt drown, you died of diphtheria. It was true but you couldnt see into it. Ronnie minded well as a boy when he used to hang over the side and see if he could see any fish, and he couldnt see anything it was so cloudy, so fucking mawkit. Christ! And yet that smell, it was a great smell, and fresh and what else could it be but the sea air, the smell of the sea. Yes.

The above passage from Kelman's 'Greyhound for Breakfast' (p. 227) demonstrates a key aspect of his writing: a vocabulary that is drawn from many different linguistic resources. The Glaswegian *mawkit*, the General Scots *minded*, the Standard English *yes*, and the colloquial *bags of* are comfortably situated alongside each other. Kelman's mixture of language links the passage's cultural identity not only to Glasgow but beyond it, launching the working-class dialect into a more complex literary world. Faced with the presence of this varied lexis, this chapter asks how Kelman's eclectic choices assist the creation of a specifically working-class Glaswegian voice.

The first thing that needs to be established is an understanding of the type of lexis that might circulate among the Glasgow working-class population. As the introductory chapter outlined, Glaswegian can be described as a hybrid language variety based upon West Central Scots and Standard English, mixed with Highland and Hibernian Englishes. As Janet Menzies found in her study, faced with this mixture of language, the Glasgow speaker must constantly choose between competing synonyms such as *aye* or *yes* (p. 31). However, Maggie Scott points out in the online article 'The Scots Continuum' that even though Scots and English words may vary freely the tendency is for Scots words to be used in an informal context, such as on the street, and English words in formal contexts, including institutional and educational settings. In 'Ongoing Change in Modern Scots', Macafee comments that Scottish people are accustomed to style-drifting — a term she uses to refer to the mixing of items from either Scots or English in comparison to the style-switching that involves selecting Scots and English consistently (p. 518). It will become apparent that Kelman's choice of lexis strongly evokes the style-drifting aspect of Scottish speech.

Vocabulary plays an important role in the expression of group membership. Lexical items are the carriers of the semantic field and worldview of a language, culture, and its people. This means that an author might anchor a text to a particular socio-geographical identity by using vocabulary limited to a particular area or group of people. Thus, a word which is distinct to the Glasgow area, and found nowhere else, is a powerful method of identifying a story as Glaswegian. The Glasgow words unique to the Glasgow area are the topic of the next section, and this will be accompanied by an examination of the sources that provide information about Glasgow lexis.

Lexis unique to the Glasgow area

Glasgow has undergone significant loss of distinctive traditional lexis and few words unique to that area remain in current circulation, as Macafee finds in 'Glasgow Dialect in Literature' (p. 46) and 'Studying Scots Vocabulary' (p. 57). The distinctive traditional terms that referred to the housing, work, and lifestyle of early 1900s Glasgow, such as *jawbox*, *brace*, and *hippen*, are now obsolete as a result of demographic factors (such as changes in housing). Macafee's *Traditional Dialect in the Modern World* found that Glaswegian lexis has undergone significant changes in the currency of many words, and both her 'Studying Scots Vocabulary' (p. 53) and 'Ongoing Change in Modern Scots' (p. 541) envisions Scots vocabulary loss as a reflection of significant material and cultural change. Macafee argues in *Traditional Dialect in the Modern World* that 'the traditional dialect, especially the vocabulary, the stock of idioms and sayings, and the rules of linguistic decorum (since these encode a distinctive outlook and set of values) is part of this stock of moral capital' (p. 247). Despite this, both her 'Qualitative Insights into Working-class Language Attitudes' (pp. 193-4) and *Traditional Dialect in the Modern World* (pp. 70-2) show that dialect words are no longer being used around the children and grandchildren of those who know the traditional dialect. Therefore, it is difficult to create a Glasgow voice through the use of a legitimised set of clearly-defined and exclusive dialect vocabulary items because it would need to employ words in declining use after the 1950s, thus running the risk of appearing quaint.

The lack of a distinctive lexis may not be a significant obstacle to the creation of a Glasgow voice. In 'Lexis', a survey of the change in lexis in the Scottish language since 1700, Tulloch questions what qualifies as Scots words, and problematises this notion by arguing that there is no exclusive use of either Scots or English vocabulary in everyday Scottish speech (p. 378). Following the lead of the *Scottish National Dictionary*, Tulloch adopts a special definition for his research on Scots vocabulary to refer to the Scots words not shared with, or with a semantic difference to, England's Standard English. He notes that the interest in distinctive vocabulary enables readers to define 'Scots as a separate language even if the boundaries with English are not in all respects clearly defined' (p. 379). He also points to the colloquial register as the strongest source of Scots elements, such as vocabulary items, and points out that this will necessarily ensure its strong connections with colloquial and slang English (pp. 380, 384).

Tulloch's identification of the colloquial register as a source of distinctively Scots vocabulary helps to explain the major obstacle in identifying Glasgow lexis. Early Scots researchers did not prioritise the Glaswegian variety as an important subject for study because of its hybrid nature and the inclusion of non-Scots colloquialisms and slang. Due to the influence of large numbers of immigrants, and their languages which do not have roots in historical Scots, Glaswegian was considered a corrupt variety. Although attitudes have changed since the *Scottish National Dictionary* stated in their 1931 introduction that, 'owing to the influx of Irish and foreign immigrants in the industrial area near Glasgow the dialect has become hopelessly corrupt' (p. 18), Glasgow's large working-class population has meant that colloquial language and slang remain an identifying component of the Glaswegian vernacular. This, combined with a tradition of mixing language varieties, has caused the Glasgow dialect to be perceived as both linguistically impure and mere slang, rather than identified as a legitimate variety of the Scots language. In *Crossing the Border*, Edwin Morgan claims that 'reluctance to confer status on urban Scots has … excused itself mainly on the grounds that slang rather than dialect is involved' (p.313). Urban Scots and slang were largely undifferentiated by authorities such as the Education Department, as evident in the discussion of 'Bad Scots' in the introductory chapter of this thesis. Kelman's

generation, and the one after, grew up with the perception that they spoke a corrupted language. Macafee argues in 'Dialect Erosion' that it was only during the mid-1980s that people began to recognise a distinction between Glaswegian as a traditional dialect and its slang elements (§4.7). The effect of a conflation of dialect and slang will become prominent when the possible sources of information about Glaswegian lexis are examined.

Produced between 1931 and 1976, and edited by William Grant and David Murison, the *Scottish National Dictionary* (SND) provides Scottish words from the 1700s to 1970, as found in literature, public records, glossaries, dictionaries, private collections, and special dialect treatises, as well as some orally-based dialect words:

> The Scottish National Dictionary deals with (1) Scottish words in existence since c.1700 (a) in Scottish literature, (b) in public records, (c) in glossaries and in dictionaries, (d) in private collections, (e) in special dialect treatises, and (2) Scottish words gathered from the mouth of dialect speakers by competent observers. The general vocabulary will include (1) Scottish words that do not occur in St.Eng. except as acknowledged loan words; (2) Scottish words the cognates of which occur in St.Eng.; (3) words which have the same form in Sc. and St.Eng. but have a different meaning in Sc. — i.e. so-called Scotticisms; (4) legal, theological or ecclesiastical terms which, within our period, have been current in Scottish speech — e.g. liege pousté, avizandum, action sermon; (5) words borrowed since c.1700 (from other dialects or languages) which have become current in Gen.Sc., or in any of its dialects, especially Gaelic words in counties on or near the Sc.Western limit and Gipsy words in the Border counties. (p. 35)

The SND includes general vocabulary not found in Standard English (but which may have cognates in English), and words with particular Scottish meanings. This approach to lexis is problematic, as Macafee points out in 'Studying Scots Vocabulary', because the focus on exclusivity 'reinforces the impression that the shared vocabulary belongs to Standard English whereas Scots consists only of what is uniquely Scots' (p. 51). Furthermore, the dictionary is limited in scope. Tulloch writes that the SND is not a good guide to lexical currency because it is 'a survey of knowledge of lexis rather than active use' (p. 425). Moreover, Macafee in 'Studying Scots Vocabulary' and Corbett independently comment on a further limitation of the SND: that it is a poor source of information on Scottish slang (pp. 59 & 56). Macafee points to curious anomaly in the SND where a single literary portrayal of Glasgow slum life, McArthur and Kingsley's *No Mean City*, is the source of most of the SND slang lexis.

The 1985 *Concise Scots Dictionary* (CSD) is derived from the SND, *Dictionary of the Older Scottish Tongue* (DOST), and the *Oxford English Dictionary* (OED), and also uses other sources such as literary glossaries, SND etymologies, and expert advice. It lists words which are distinctive from English, or have specific usages which occurred in Scotland either 100 years earlier or later than they were recorded in the English of England (p. xvii). The CSD also has a political/cultural agenda so that it was intended to be:

> not only a record of the copiousness and variety of the resources of the Scots language, but also as a contribution to the self-assurance of the Scottish people about that language, which enshrines their past and lives in their daily speech. (p. xiii)

The SND and CSD list obsolete or rare Scots words among the current Scots vocabulary (although, since both include date ranges for use, they do indicate when words are no longer in use). Like other dictionaries, both the SND and CSD heavily depend upon written documentation of lexical items. Macafee points out in 'Studying Scots Vocabulary' that a further problem is that the SND is unreliable as a source of information on current regional distributions of lexis (p. 59), and in 'Ongoing Change in Modern Scots' that this is likely to remain so, given the modern rate of lexical change (p. 546).

Although the CSD does not include what is considered slang, it does acknowledge its existence when it identifies negative attitudes towards urban Scots and notes the threefold division of Scottish language into either English, 'good' Scots, or 'bad' Scots. This is a situation which the CSD states was established in the nineteenth century and continued well into the 1980s (p. xii). The CSD is heavily dependent on the SND and inherits some of its bias against Glaswegian, since the SND was initially compiled when Glaswegian was widely considered to be 'gutter Scots' or 'Bad Scots'. Macafee argues in 'Ongoing Change in Modern Scots' that the result of this omission of slang has serious repercussions for Glaswegian:

> the distinction between Scots and slang reshapes the semantic field so that it resembles the middle-class three-way distinction (Standard English, 'Good Scots' and 'Bad Scots') as described by Aitken [so that non-traditional dialect words] will come to be seen as simply the colourful and ephemeral slang of an older generation. (p. 518)

In the face of an inadequate record of Glaswegian lexis, Corbett suggests that other academic, quasi-academic, and literary points of reference might be more

helpful in lexical research, such as Munro's *The Patter* (p. 56). The second SND Supplement recently published in 2005 has since amended this situation somewhat, validating some lexis as dialect that was previously considered slang, but much work still needs to be done. Nevertheless, for this study, the second supplement has the advantage that, being published in 2005, it postdates the time slang appears in the works by Kelman.

As well as the above, academic research on linguistic geography, sociolinguistics, the literary use of dialect, and sociological studies may be fruitful sources of information of the lexis circulating in Glasgow at the time Kelman writes. These studies will be outlined below.

A national survey of the distribution of dialect words can be found in Mather and Speitel's *Linguistic Atlas of Scotland* (LAS), published in three volumes in 1975, 1977, and 1986. It is a modest source of information about twentieth century Scots lexis, as having been gathered from a small select number of respondents for each area of Scotland. Although it records some current words for the Glasgow area, such as *rone*, *corrie-fisted*, and *pinkie* (pp. 91, 162, 154), the LAS data tends to be antiquated, probably because the words were gained from informants who were already aged at the time of sampling. Also, due to the continuing changes in lexis, many words are likely to be outdated or close to obsolescence for the era in which Kelman writes. For example, it lists items, such as *netterie* and *sheuch* (pp. 317, 87), the currency of which is not corroborated by other studies detailed below. Macafee suggests in 'Studying Scots Vocabulary' that social class may also be a limiting factor for the value of the LAS findings because the informants were schoolteachers and prominent individuals and likely to know more arcane and old Scots words than a sample of working-class speakers (p. 64). This is especially significant considering Aitken's assertion in 'Scottish Speech' that Auld Scots is best recognised by the middle-class (p. 108).

An early study that focused solely on the Glasgow dialect was Macaulay and Trevelyan's *Language, Social Class, and Education* which investigated five phonological variable distributions in Glaswegian. It was complemented by a survey of general attitudes held about language use. In the process of this investigation, they asked about participant's knowledge of ten 'old Scots words':

blether 'a talkative person', *coup* 'to fall over' or 'a rubbish dump', *clype* 'to tell tales' or 'someone who tells tales', *scunner* 'disgust', *sneck* 'catch (on a door)', *fushionless* 'characterless', *oxter* 'armpit', *thole* 'endure', *blate* 'shy', and *tim* 'empty' (p. 55). They found that on average adults knew 7.8 of these words and 15 year olds only 3.3, resulting in the observation that 'This suggests that some of the words, e.g. *thole*, *tim*, and *sneck*, are being lost and this view was confirmed by the adult informants who often remarked that such words are rarely heard nowadays' (p. 56). As a result of their study, Macaulay and Trevelyan recorded the participants' use of what they felt to be eleven other notable local or Scots dialect words: *flit* 'move house', *chap the door* 'knock at the door', *ginger* 'soft drink', *check someone* 'scold', *birl* 'turn', *greet* 'weep', *wean* 'child', *a wee tait* 'a small amount', *jarries* 'marbles', *a whipping peerie* 'top', and *peevor* 'hopscotch' (p. 55). This is the only secondary source outlined in this chapter that records the word *sneck* being used in Glasgow.

In 'Changes in the Vocabulary of Lowland Scots Dialects', Agutter and Cowan also focused on Glaswegian in their investigation of vocabulary loss in rural and urban Scots. They presented a list of 32 words, compounds, and phrases for their survey of urban Scots use, the lexis being drawn from three sources: the SND, a sociological study of Glasgow gangs, and Agutter's 1979 doctoral thesis on modern British slang. Of these words, the ones Agutter and Cowan identified as Glaswegian include *boggin* (*bogan*), *chib*, *clatty*, (*wee*) *hairy*, *heid-banger*, *hingoot*, *huckle*, *lumber*, *malky*, and *stoater* (*stoatir*) (pp. 61-2). In their article, they argue that Glasgow's slang items should have been granted dialect status and they criticise the traditional guidelines that govern the recognition of dialect items. They highlight the minor attention given to urban Scots before the 1980s, with the bulk of the official and amateur research usually conducted on older and rural dialects. Furthermore, of the studies on urban Scots, they explain that much of the research has focused on phonology rather than lexis (pp. 53-5). A notable example of this is the Macaulay and Trevelyan already discussed above, regardless of its inclusion of a small amount of lexis.

Caroline Macafee, whose writing spans 1983 to 2008, is a major researcher of Glaswegian language. Her linguistic and literary studies are varied and plentiful.

For example, she has explored issues such as dialect erosion in *Traditional Dialect in the Modern World*, the role of Scots vocabulary in fiction in 'Dialect Vocabulary as a Source of Stylistic Effects in Scottish Literature', and perceptions of language in 'Qualitative Insights into Working-class Language Attitudes'. In the course of her study of the Glasgow dialect, many Glasgow vocabulary items are listed, both current and traditional, but these are limited to her research samples or vocabulary selected for her surveys. These vocabulary items include *brammed up* 'dressed up', *jawbox* 'sink', *well* 'water tap', *cludgie* 'toilet', *midden* 'rubbish area', *midgie* 'rubbish area', *boggin* 'something nasty', *bowfin* 'something nasty', *balloon* 'stupid person', and *sody-heidit* 'stupid person', among many others across her body of work. The most comprehensive lists of vocabulary from Macafee are found in the glossary of her *Glasgow* and the synonyms provided by respondents for each lexical item of her *Traditional Dialect in the Modern World* (1994). Her examples are sourced from fictional and non-fictional speech and writing, and sample items such as interviews, advertisements, songs, radio programmes, and literary texts.

Annette Hagan's *Urban Scots Dialect Writing* investigated the use of urban Scots in literature and the depiction of Glasgow dialect within this literary context. Although her primary aim was not to document lexis, she provides a list of non-standard English words that she feels exemplify the Glasgow voice in each of the Glasgow novels sampled in the process of her research. Some examples of the lexis nominated by Hagan include: *china* 'friend', *close* 'tenement entrance', *heidbanger* 'crazy person', *keelie* 'Glasgow native', *midden* 'rubbish area', *patter* 'talking style', *peely-wally* 'pale looking', *piece* 'sandwich', *skelly* 'cross-eyed', *wean* 'child', and many more (pp. 116-7). Hagan is the only secondary source outlined in this chapter that lists as Scots words such as *cahootchie balls* and *for crivven's sake* or slang words such as *skedaddled* and *struth*. Hagan's lists of non-standard words present a general picture of the vocabulary which might be found in Glasgow, but more importantly, they indicate the lexis already established for literary depictions of Glaswegian speech.

The above studies are patchy in their coverage of the lexis, but more Glaswegian vocabulary can be found by venturing beyond the traditional

academic sources of dictionaries and linguistic research. Items in this category are academic, quasi-academic, and literary in nature and include Baxter's pseudo-instructional humorous books on learning the Glasgow vernacular, Mackie's comic anecdotal stories about the comprehension and use of Glaswegian, and Munro's attempts to provide an informal dictionary of current-day Glasgow vocabulary. Each gives a different picture of Glaswegian lexis and allows a wider view of the vernacular than what the dictionaries provide, but each also has their weaknesses.

Baxter's *Parliamo Glasgow* and its sequel *Let's Parliamo Glasgow Again* present a number of lexical items and are meant to amuse rather than be comprehensive objective works on Glaswegian. In the quasi-instructional dialogues of this book, there is a tendency to exaggerate Glasgow's distinguishing phonological features and select only items on the basis of their performative purpose; examples of this are *TAKYURBAGAFFMAFIT* and *MERRORAPATTUR* (this capitalisation is always used for phonetic depictions within these two books). Instead of presenting distinctive lexis, Baxter's work often relies upon unusual spellings that merely disorient the reader until the 'professor' demystifies the depicted phrases, such as for *TAKYURBAGAFFMAFIT* meaning *take your bag off my foot* and *MERRORAPATTUR* meaning *more of the patter*.

Mackie's *Talking Glasgow* is similarly humorous in nature and gives anecdotes of Glasgow language and life. The comic effect is based upon the confusion caused by misleading quasi-phonetic spellings. Only sometimes does he present distinctive Glaswegian lexical items, despite providing a large glossary and stating that Glaswegian is a language of its own (p. 7). For example, he lists the distinctive Scots words *clart* and *shoogly* in the glossary alongside general shared English words which are respelt to depict Glasgow pronunciations such as *fun* 'found' and *rerr* 'rare'. Furthermore, of the distinctive Glasgow lexis presented by Mackie, the selection is not particularly modern. A fair number are listed in Macafee's study on older and often obsolescent dialect words.

Munro's *The Patter* and *The Patter: Another Blast* are more serious studies of Glasgow language than Mackie's or Baxter's. Although Munro chooses to list words in the form of a glossary or dictionary, he intentionally maintains a light

tone. He aims to represent vocabulary that is identified with Glasgow, was in current use around the mid 1980s, and is not duplicated in serious wider Scots research (pp. 3-4). His work includes references to words such as *Annacker's midden*, *banker*, *binger*, *bowly*, *gub*, *lanny*, *thingwy*, and many others, but also presents some entries based upon pronunciation alone, such as *oot*, *hud*, *hullo*, *caw*, and others. Munro seeks words which define the contemporary urban Scots dialect of Glasgow — found in homes, public places, television, radio, newspapers, magazines, and books, as well as on television and radio (p. 3). He also claims to include words exclusive to Glasgow, some more widely used Scots words which have a specifically Glasgow connotation, and those in everyday usage (regardless of where else they may occur). Munro is an excellent source of words not found in other publications on Glasgow language, such as the ones above, in addition to often encompassing the smaller number of words offered by other studies. It is no surprise that Munro's work is often quoted in the recently published second SND Supplement.

The above section asks what type of lexis Glaswegian might incorporate and found a mixed language situation where it is difficult to find words officially recognised as Glaswegian. In this context, researching Glasgow lexis is difficult because the sources are scattered, limited, and varied. Macafee similarly comments in *Traditional Dialect in the Modern World*:

> The Glasgow dialect remains poorly documented. […] Whether because of lack of interest or lack of suitable informants, the SND collected very little Glasgow vocabulary from oral sources, and then only erratically. (p. 29)

While distinctively Glasgow lexis is important in identifying speech as Glaswegian, it must be remembered that by nature this hybrid status means Glaswegian speech is not confined to purely Glasgow lexis. Nevertheless, examination of these sources of information produces a list of words which are either distinctive to Glasgow or strongly identified with the city, although not necessarily confined to it.

I have only included words which are both recognised by the SND Glaswegian in some way, and which the research around Kelman's time indicates are still in circulation. However, due to the limited documentation of Glasgow dialect, the following list is very limited.

Table 4.1: A selection of Glasgow words identified by the SND and found in the research on the area

Word	Sources	Definitions
Annacker's midden	SND; Munro 1985	Messy or disordered place
Barras, The	SND; Munro 1985	Informal shopping complex
Close	SND; Mackie 1978; Macafee 1983; Munro 1985	Entrance to a tenement
Dan	SND; Macafee 1983; Munro 1985	Catholic
Dog	SND; Macafee 1983; Munro 1985	Play truant
Dunny	SND; Macafee 1983; Munro 1985	Tenement cellar
Gallus	SND; Mackie 1978; Macafee 1983; Munro 1985	Excellent, reckless
Malky	SND; Agutter & Cowan 1981; Macafee 1983; Munro 1985	Weapon
Mawkit/mockit	SND; Munro 1985; Macafee 1994	Putrid or decayed
Midgie/midgy	SND; Macafee 1983; Munro 1985	Bin area
Stank	SND; Mackie 1978; LAS; Macafee 1983; Munro 1985	Grating over a drain

What follows is a table which shows Kelman's use of the above words. There is no information for the SCOTS datasets because the double meanings for many words makes it difficult to ascertain whether the exact Glasgow meaning is present in each instance. Thus, when compiling the count provided in Table 4.2, I have verified each of Kelman's uses of the words have the Glaswegian meanings associated with them.

Table 4.2: Kelman's use of Glasgow Dialect Words

Glasgow words	Number found in KELMAN'S FICTION (779,611 words)
Annacker's midden	1
Barras, The	2
Close	180
Dan	0
Dog	8
Dunny	4
Gallus	4
Malky	0
Mawkit/mockit	4
Midgie/midgy	13
Stank	1

This list shows that Kelman does not lean upon the above Glaswegian words to convey a sense of place for Glasgow. Only the word *close* can be considered significantly used by Kelman, 180 times in all, while two words *dan* and *malky* remain completely unused. The others are used between 1-4 times each, except for *dog* used 8 times and *midgy* used 13 times. The data essentially reveals that other than for *close*, Kelman is not repetitively using distinctive vocabulary to create his critically acclaimed Glasgow voice. This probably reflects a real decline in use of traditional dialect in Glasgow. In *Traditional Dialect in the Modern World*, Macafee's data indicates that Kelman's generation (he was born in 1946) and the generation before this, were on the edge of this lexical loss. Kelman's generation may have known these words, but were probably also aware of those words falling into disuse.

A decline in distinctive vocabulary is not a problem for the creation of a Glasgow voice which thrives on disunity of language, such as Kelman's does. While other Scottish literature may have revived disused words, combined a series of Scots dialect words and positioned them in opposition to English words, or depended upon repeated use of local dialect words to create a particular Scottish voice, Kelman creates a working-class Glaswegian voice based upon the hybridity of Glasgow speech. Instead, due to the hybrid status of Glaswegian, purity is not a distinguishing feature of the dialect; rather, it is recognised by its mix of varieties.

The Scots-English Continuum

If the study is not confined to words limited to Glasgow (or strongly associated with it), the wider range of Scots and English vocabulary available to Glasgow speakers (and thus Kelman's vocabulary) will need to be considered. In 'Scots and English in Scotland', Aitken proposed a model for classifying the different types of Scottish speech, taking into account 'the total body of vocabulary and morphology in principle available to all native Scottish speakers' (p. 519). His model assumes a continuum between Scots and English, and places Scots items in column 1 and the Standard English alternative to the Scots items in column 5. Invariant 'common core' language, the unopposed items shared by Scots and

English, are placed in column 3. Table 4.3 is a reproduction of Aitken's original table found in 'Scots and English in Scotland' (p. 520).

Table 4.3: Aitken's 'A model of modern Scottish speech'

'Scots'			'English'	
1	2	3	4	5
bairn	hame	name	home	child
brae	hale	hole	whole	slope
kirk	mare	before	more	church
ken	puir	soup	poor	know
darg	muin	room	moon	job of work
cuit	yuis (n.)	miss	use (n.)	ankle
kenspeckle	yaize (v.)	raise	use (v.)	conspicuous
birl	cauld		cold	spin
girn	auld	young	old	whine
mind	coo	row /rʌu/	cow	remember
sort	hoose	London	house	mend
	loose	winter	louse	
	louse /lʌus/	feckless	loose	
ay /əi/	pay /pəi/	bite /bəit/	pay	always
gey /gəi/	way /wəi/	tide /təid/	way	very
kye /ka'e/		tie /ta'e/		cows
een	deed /did/	feed	dead	eyes
shuin	dee /di:/	see	die	shoes
deave /di:v/	scart	leave	scratch	deafen, vex
gaed	twaw, twae	agree	two	went
ben the hoose	no /no:/	he	not	in or into the inner part of the house
	–na, –nae	his	–n't	
		they		
		some		
	/ʌ/ (= I)	I		
	/o/ (= of)	of /ʌv/		
		'Obligatory covert Scotticisms'		
		Most of word-order		
		Morphology		
		Syntax		
		Phonology (system and rules of realization)		

Aitken's model of speech focuses on Scots words, so column 5 entries are determined by the presence of an alternative item in column 1 while column 3 is determined by the lack of an alternative item in columns 1 and 5. Aitken writes that column 3 contains 'obligatory covert Scotticisms' where there is no English equivalent brought to mind, and so it is an invariant Scots form.

In order to classify the lexis of written language, this table needs to make the transition from identifying speech to identifying literary items, specifically those of Scottish literature. Reworked, Aitken's model translates into Table 4.4, which extends the original table and focuses on working-class Glasgow lexis. The reworked Table 4.4 subdivides columns 1 and 5 and accounts for regional variations that Aitken stated are not covered in his original model (p. 519). Column 1 refers to Scots words and column 5 refers to English lexical variants of column 1 items.

Table 4.4: A classification of lexis for Glasgow literature

1 Scots Lexis Scots lexical variant of the English word	2 Scots Spelling	3 Shared Lexis Invariant Scots and English lexis	4 English Spelling	5 English Lexis English lexical variant of the Scots word
Waggity-wa	Cloak, Clook, Clok	Time	Clock	Pendulum clock, Pendulum wall clock
Corrie-fistit	Left-haundit	Wrist	Left-handed	Left-handed, Sinistral
Greeting	Crayin, Cryin'	Bawling	Crying	Crying, Weeping
Bampot	Eedjit, Eedyit	Twit	Idiot	Idiot, Ignoramus
Variant has a column 5 equivalent	column 4 equivalent	Invariant has no column 1 equivalent	column 2 equivalent	Variant has a column 1 equivalent

In this table, issues of vocabulary involve items from columns 1, 3, and 5, while columns 2 and 4 have little relevance because they essentially deal with issues of spelling rather than lexis. Aitken's model analysed speech so that its adaptation to a written context has meant that column 3, in terms of spelling, does not necessarily correspond to items in column 3 for lexis. For example, while the word *was* is in column 3 (in terms of vocabulary), it may be shifted to column 2 if spelt *wiz*, but without any significant change to the status of the word as a shared item. Therefore, when analysing vocabulary, items that appear in column 3 involve 'common core' words which do not have a competing Scots word in column 1, regardless of spelling. Thus, a term such as *time* is common to both Scots and English, while the terms for a type of clock, *wag-at-the-wa*, might differ between Scots and English Standard English.

Type of Scottish Lexis that belong in Column 1

The writer who specifically seeks Scottish lexis, such as that which would belong in Aitken's column 1, has four main options to choose from: rural dialects, urban dialects, archaisms, and Scotticisms. These basic categories loosely correspond to Corbett's notion of present-day Scots being comprised of rural Scots (such as traditional dialect, including varieties such as Doric), urban Scots (such as Glaswegian), Lallans (Older Scots, archaisms, non-dialect-specific lexis, and a set spelling system), and Scottish Standard English which incorporates Scotticisms and other English varieties (pp. 10-18).

In traditional literature there was a tension in legitimately using what are now traditional Scots words in a literary text, words such as *haar* and *lugs*. According to Corbett, the advantage of traditional rural dialect words is that they provide a clear sense of Scottish identity in a text, carrying not only their uniquely Scottish worldview and meaning, but also a general sense of history and some degree of permanency that other types of language do not possess (p. 10). However, a problem with many Scottish words is that most of them have fallen into disuse outside of the rural dialects, and may even be increasingly replaced by other words, such as from the English word hoard, slang, and neologisms in the urban vernaculars.

The traditional rural Scots words play an important role in the definition of Scotland as a nation, since a distinctive language can be important when establishing difference from other nations. The use of traditional lexis is important to the heritage and tourism industries because of their national significance. However, because traditional words rarely appear in ordinary conversation they do not give the impression of currency and can appear quaint in a literary text; indeed, Corbett comments that 'they are peripheral' and 'a minority pursuit' (p. 13). An author such as Kelman will use these traditional words only if they are current — such as *yon*, *ye* and *wean* — and since there are far fewer of these words than previously, traditional words are difficult to find in Kelman's work when compared to other Scots texts which purposely seek this kind of vocabulary.

The next type of lexis, sometimes called Lallans, or alternatively 'Plastic Scots', is essentially an eclectic blend of various dialects, Older Scots, respellings,

and words which have been invented, revived, or extended — to use Corbett's examples, *siller* for *money*, *yeir* for *year*, *puirtith* for *poverty*, and *unthirldom* from *unthirled* for 'freedom' (pp. 14-6). Frequently, Lallans lexis is used unglossed in the text with the consequence that the reader may require a Scottish dictionary to understand some words even in the case of the educated Scots reader. The advantage of Lallans lexis is that it is seen as an expansion of the Scots language, which in turn contributes to the assertion of an independent Scottish nation and refers the reader's imagination to Scots linguistic history. Unsurprisingly then, Lallans is an important tool used by the Scottish nationalist movement.

There are a range of literary uses of Lallans for the creation of identity, and the *Lallans* magazine is an example of this. The problem with the use of Lallans lexis is that for many readers it is alienating because often the words are foreign to the average reader and they are not the type of words that have even a remote chance of being encountered in daily life. In 'Dialect Vocabulary as a Source of Stylistic Effects in Scottish Literature', Macafee notes that the obscure vocabulary can be used for literary effect to indicate 'the inwardness of the historical people' who are conceived as having used these words (p. 336). Corbett notes that Lallans has not had wide currency or public acceptance, and the revival of archaisms can cause controversy, even among those committed to the use of traditional Scots (pp. 14-6). Kelman is similarly unaccepting and highly unlikely to revive an archaism when he can choose a lexical equivalent from the pool of vernacular words. Consequently, he does not adopt words that essentially belong in the Plastic Scots category.

The third type of lexis, sourced from Urban Scots, is large in extent of use and commonly found in speech. Corbett writes that Urban Scots is mostly for informal purposes and used by the lower-classes (p. 13). Despite some words being older than some traditional Scots words, lexis belonging to the vernacular category is often popularly viewed as being short-lived and thus lacking the permanency required for written texts. On the other hand, the advantage of the vernacular is its currency and easy recognition by the readers who have contact with the terms. The use of vernacular vocabulary establishes a modern identity. However, the

problem with the vernacular is its stigmatisation because of its association with low 'vulgar' speech and a lack of education (pp. 13-4). Kelman's choice to use vernacular vocabulary is clearly based in his desire to represent language as it is spoken and his eagerness to assert the validity of the language of ordinary people as a means of communication.

Kelman's lexical range as compared to other Glasgow writing

Passages of writing emerging from Glasgow can be examined in light of Aitken's conceptualisation of language, and some interesting trends can be found. The first passage is from Alasdair Gray's short story 'The Grumbler', from *Lean Tales*:

> Several years after I had stopped visiting that pub I passed some other young people in the street, and an attractive girl left them and said, "Excuse me sire, may I kiss you on the mouth?"
> "Of course!" I said, and embraced her, but she got embarrassed and broke away and ran back to her friends, who were laughing heartily. They must have dared her to say that because I appeared to be a very respectable, easily shocked old chap. It was a great relief when something similar happened which looked like ending differently. Around closing time one night a girl ran out of a pub door, slipped her arm through mine and said, "You look sexy. Will you take me for an Indian meal?"
> I am sure she was not a prostitute. She looked dull, ordinary and overweight, but so do I, so I did not mind. I said, "Of course I'll buy you a meal," and led her to a place I know. (p. 270)

This passage is written in English and uses lexis from columns 3 and 5. It reveals a preference for Standard English words over Scottish options of column 1. The author, should he have desired a distinctively Scottish voice, could have used words such as *lass* and *ken* instead of *girl* and *know*; instead, he maintains a uniform English style. The word *sire* is very formal (though used here jocularly, perhaps) and the words *chap* and *pub* (public house) are the only colloquialisms in an otherwise formal Standard English text which include *may I kiss you on the mouth*, *embraced*, *laughing heartily*, *prostitute*, and *did not* (instead of using the contracted operator, such as *didn't* or the Scots *didny*). In the rest of the story, outside this passage, the vocabulary choices remain the same, with the only exception being the use of a single Scots word, *hirple*, which is possibly accepted within Scottish Standard English. Essentially, the lexis indicates a formal Standard English register with a small admixture of colloquial terms.

The second piece of Glasgow writing is Joan Queen's short story 'Januar'' from the *Scottish Corpus of Texts and Speech*:

Nae burds are singin' the day as the win' whissles roon the hoose. They're awa hidin' oot in the fir trees, that sway back and furth in the blast. The birk wi' its white bark gies the only glint o' pleesure. Ken, the spidery web o' twigs agin the grey sky weaves a pattern sae complex that the e'en canna travel frae tip tae stem an' back agin wi' oot won'er. But, nae burd is daft eneugh tae hing up there by its taes tae be blawn aboot willy-nilly in the cauld blast.

Ginger, the cat, is nae whar in sicht no even when I keek oot the door. An' Ginger can hear a door open awa doon the bottom o' the gairden an try tae slink by ma legs intae the warmth o' the hoose. He's sleekit.

Mind, Januar' has its joys tae: the rid hot coals blazin' in the grate, slices o' left-owre Christmas cake tae devour, the tick-tock o' the wag-at-the-wa' and the reglar patter o' rain on the windae-pane, no forgettin' the seed catalogues wi' a' the promise o' times tae come, whiles the weet claes birl roon an' roon on the whirligig.

The win' hurls roon the hoose an' moans doon the lum. Ache! [sic] I'm playin' at never-heed! (paras 1-4)

The text focuses on the Scots language, and all vocabulary comes from columns 1 and 3 (there is even use of Scots spelt words that belong in column 2). There is a preference for Scots words and spellings of columns 1 and 2 over shared English words from columns 3 and 4. The distinctive Scots lexis includes *ken*, *keek*, *sleekit*, *wag-at-the-wa'*, *lum*, *whiles*, and *never-heed*. The shared lexis of column 3 includes *cat*, *door*, *seed*, and other items. It might be argued that the word *spidery* could have been replaced by a traditional local word, but since many of these are now out of use, it is reasonably safe to assert that this text firmly chooses Scots over English vocabulary wherever possible.

The third passage of Glasgow writing is an anecdote in Mackie's *Talking Glasgow*:

'Awrasame, Ah hink Billy McNeill'll prove his-sel jiss as big a maun as Joak Steen.'

'At remains tae be Steen,' cracks the supporters' club comic, but the joke is considered in bad taste and does not get a laugh in this serious-minded circle: These Celtic supporters can be very solemn, even when they are on a winning streak:

'Look at Fir Park err! We blootett Murrawell, sure'n we did. Five-wan's no tae be sneezed at.'

'Ay, but thoan wiz nae walk-owre, wiz it noo? Ah didnae like ra wey ra Murrawell plerrs wiz getting through.'

'Right enough! Ah wiznae awfae happy masel, that first hauf. Ah felt like gaun hame at hauf-time whun Edvaldsson hung wan oan his ain goalie, an' gien Murrawell ra equalizer. It ferr pit ma watter aff ra bile, so it did.'

'Ah, but wizn' thoan a boaby-dazzler fae Glavin, right intae Alfie Conn's barra? An' ra wan he passed tae Aitken fur anurra wan, as shin as they goat stertit again?' (p. 59)

This passage has items primarily from column 3, such as *look* and *through*, and some items from column 1, such as *thoan*, *fae*, *didnae*, *wiznae*, *aye*, *ain*, *barra*, and *blootett*, and slang such as *hung wan oan*, *walk-owre*, and *boaby-dazzler*. A great deal of the distinctive Glasgow identity is achieved through a combination

of traditional Scots spellings and phonetic-style spellings that belong in column 2, such as *ra*, *wan*, *Ah*, *noo*, and *hame*, resulting in a rate of column 2 items that is similar to Queen's 'Januar'', but this passage has fewer traditional dialect words and more slang. Note that the dense Glaswegian dialogue is positioned within an English first-person narration, and there is no variation between Scottish and English options, an example is *tae* consistently used instead of *to*, even though this is unlikely in real speech (the same principle can be applied to *Ah* for *I*). Thus, it can be said that the author is seeking uniformity in the depiction of Glasgow speech at the cost of representing its real-life variation.

Having analysed the above texts, a context has been established to ascertain how Kelman fits into the literary picture (even if it is not necessarily the literary tradition to which Kelman addresses his work). A passage from his short story 'Gardens go on Forever' from *The Good Times* illustrates Kelman's vocabulary use:

> Naw but I have to confess I liked Sidney. Just as well. It must be a nightmare working beside somebody ye hate. I couldnay imagine that. Of course he had his bad points, a lot of bad points. He skived off half the time. Mind you that wasnay a problem because I was beginning to quite like the job's physicality factor. I hadnay at first, it took a bit of getting used to. But now! Well ... maybe I had found my metier, my life's thingwi, a reason to believe and all that shite, who knows. Just if I could have defined my own terms and conditions! Fucking hell! Because yes, I liked this physicality factor, it was having the opposite of a detrimental effect on my body. I looked in the mirror at night and sometimes did the muscle-flexing act with the upper arms. It was great as long as I avoided seeing myself too close, otherwise I could burst out with a weird sort of laugh, it wasnay really a laugh, it was more like a yowl, whatever that is. Nothing to do with an anguished soul. Nevertheless, I was quite happy when Sidney skived off to find a likely hidey-hole, it was like gon to an outdoor gymnasium and getting two workouts for the price of one. He had quite good patter as well – daft, it suited me. When I asked how come he was called Sidney he telt me his old man was a merchant sailor. That was that. I went to the pub and got drunk with him a few times. He could get steamboats just with the smell of the first pint. Then again he could go for hours, I would be a dribbling wreck. And he would still be sitting there, checking out whether or not he could with impunity steal my unfinished lager. That was the kind of bastard he was. He also had the habit of walking out on me! He would tell me he was gon for a slash then disappear. Two hours later I would remember he hadnay come back and still being an innocent I would have to go and check out the cludgie in case he had fallen asleep. I refused to believe a sane person could walk out on my company. So that was Sidney, an insane bastard. (pp. 11-2)

The passage involves a comprehensive mixture of vocabulary, similar to the features of the Glasgow hybrid Scots dialect. In the passage, the General Scots vocabulary of column 1 includes *telt*, *gon*, and *–nay* forms of negation, while the

specifically Glasgow vocabulary of column 1 includes *cludgie* and *patter*.[20] There is variation between the Scots form of *aye* and the English form of *yes* and between *naw* and the *no* found in *nothing*, yet there is exclusive use of the Scots *–nay* forms of negation over the English *–n't*, which is mirrored by the exclusive use of the English *to* over the Scots *tae*. Overall, the section contains predominantly shared English lexis of column 3. There is also some degree of formal English expression, as evident in the phrases and words: *a detrimental effect on my body*, *gymnasium* (rather than *gym*), *impunity*, and *I refused to believe a sane person could walk out on my company*. A comparison of Kelman's vocabulary choices with the other examples reveals that there is no systematic attempt by Kelman to achieve uniformity of lexis from any particular column in my adaptation of Aitken's model. Finally, swear words are found only in the Kelman passage, but this point will be dealt with at length in Chapter Six of this thesis.

Uniformity and the ideology of standardisation

One of the key operating motivations in each of the passages preceding Kelman's is the desire for uniformity in lexical choices from columns 1 and 3, or 3 and 5. As discussed in the introductory chapter, Cameron's *Verbal Hygiene* details the widespread and dominant discourse regarding 'good writing in English', particularly encapsulated in the belief that good writing 'should be *uniform*' (p. 38). This desire for uniformity can be related to the ideology of standardisation that, in *Authority in Language*, Milroy and Milroy argue involves 'the pursuit of uniformity at all levels of language' by the 'suppression of optional variability' (p. 26). Thus, uniformity is sought between the language source and register, and the corrupting influence of undesirable language is removed, resulting in the language being 'purified'. Uniformity is mostly achieved through the careful choice of words based upon their legitimacy for a particular purpose, and the result is a written text that presents an idealised language product.

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[20] Note that while the SND sources *cludgie* as WMd, the CSD lists the word as 'slang' found in fif-edb-WC. This indicates that the word has expanded in range and status. Note also that the word *patter* is included here because it has a strong reference to the speech of Glasgow (Macafee, *Traditional Dialect*, p.152).

Indeed, one of the few places where a pure standard language is found is in printed published writing, where it is the norm rather than the exception. The written form of English is central to the ideology, as Cameron asserts in *Verbal Hygiene*, because it persuades English speakers that variation is deviant and a result of 'carelessness, idleness or incompetence' (p. 39). In Scottish writing, despite the mixed language situation of Scottish speech, lexical uniformity is also often sought, but in a modified form. Since there is no single spelling for Scots and it comprises a range of different dialects, uniformity is often sought by focussing on one dialect and spelling system to avoid the writing being judged inferior or inauthentic. Thus, it can be argued that some element of the ideology of standardisation exists within Scottish writing, and as a result, the product is an 'Ideal Scots'. Aitken investigates this Ideal Scots in 'Scots and English in Scotland', noting that the preference is to use items from columns 1 and 2 whenever possible, but not column 4 or 5 items (p. 522). The Ideal Scots text typically maintains as many vocabulary distinctions from English as possible, with exclusively Scots lexical items chosen over synonyms shared with the English language. Furthermore, since column 3 has a close association with English spellings and by extension English, column 3 words may be altered in their identity by using a Scots spelling to change their categorisation into being a column 2 item which can be contrasted to an English spelling of column 4. Essentially, this 'Ideal Scots' text uses as many Scots words and spellings as possible in an attempt to look different from English wherever possible.

There are problems with this approach to lexis. Aitken points out that in reality this 'Ideal Scots' is not even matched in the broadest speech of the rural working-class (p. 522). Furthermore, as Macafee argues in 'Studying Scots Vocabulary', modern Scots writers end up 'seeking out or inventing distinctively Scots words, often wrenching the sense in the process' (p. 51). In the pursuit of uniformity, the idealised Scots text ignores the real linguistic situation of Scotland which ranges on a continuum between Scots and English. Moreover, the written text is one of the few instances where Scots and Standard English are found in their purified forms — that is, clearly differentiated from one another — and neither relates particularly well to Scottish speech. In this situation, as Macafee notes in 'The

Demography of Scots', Glaswegian is defined against two standards, 'proper English' and the 'auld Scots' such as that of Robert Burns (p. 32). The idealised Scots text sacrifices its relationship to spoken language in the pursuit of a purified product.

Uniformity is evident in the passage from Gray's story, where English forms are preferred where possible (see Gray's use of *girl* and *know* instead of *lass* and *ken*) and the Scottish options suppressed. The majority of the lexis comes from columns 3 and 5, while lexis from column 1 is avoided. When the focal language is English, Scots lexis needs to be carefully inserted and kept to minimum (see Gray's single use of a Scots word, *hirple*).

Related closely to the English text is the Glasgow passage by Mackie. Although there are two focal languages used, Glaswegian dialogue and English narrative, the dominant voice is English and the Glaswegian voice is encased within quotation marks. Within the dialogue sections, there is a process of textual purification being performed when the Glasgow form, *tae*, is unvaryingly depicted in place of *to*, even though speech varies between the two forms. Thus, the lexis of the dialogue gives the appearance of being uniform while being regulated within an overarching English voice.

Uniformity of choice in the Scots language in literature has specific significance for the creation of a Scottish identity and its contribution to a sense of nationhood. In the Scots passage by Queen, uniformity is evident both in lexis and spelling. It has a fairly dense focus on Scottish lexical forms from columns 1 and 3, and a strong preference for spellings from column 2. The Queen passage has many features shared among other Scots-focused texts, ones which are asserting their Scottishness. Although it does not necessarily follow that the author is taking a nationalistic stance, this kind of literature serves that very purpose.

In the Kelman passage, there is a wide range of items from columns 1 to 5. This indicates that Kelman is not producing an idealised text, thereby showing a preference for eclecticism that more closely reflects the linguistic reality of Glasgow. The academic discussion of Kelman's work acknowledges this point, such as in 'The Heteronomy of Scots with Standard English' when John Kirk recognises that writing from authors such as Kelman 'does not have a regular or

simplified system' and thus does not meet the norms of either Standard English or Traditional Scots writing styles (p. 178). Recent academic writing has been much less receptive to notions of linguistic purity: Kirk is quite willing to see it as a strength of the Glasgow Scots literary register that it represents variation and honours local dialect and conversational speech. However, acceptance of the use of a mixed language as a literary medium does not ensure that it is universally accepted as Scots. While noting that Kelman's 'sociolect represented in his writing is far more widely spoken and holds a more conspicuous place in national life, both as an actual speech form and as a literary medium', in 'Varieties of Scots' McClure nevertheless questions whether it is Scots writing if it resembles standard literary English and its Scots status is under question (p. 20). Kelman recognises this and has stated in an article on 'The Booker Prize' in *The Economist* that 'some Scots writers would even say I'm not Scottish enough' (p. 118). However, he refuses to adhere to an ideology of standardisation which involves lexical proscription, simply because that is the yardstick used to evaluate literature. As McMunnigall and Curruthers note, it is the representation of the mental space that Kelman desires to explore which requires the natural language of that person (p. 59). Most importantly, when Kelman freely varies his vocabulary, he breaks away from institutional processes and social convention. Through his refusal to standardise his lexical choices, Kelman avoids the trap described by Bourdieu in 'Language and Symbolic Power' where dialect speakers are induced to 'collaborate in the destruction of their instruments of expression' (p. 49). Instead, Kelman's diversification of lexis celebrates the style-shifting practices found among Glasgow dialect speakers.

Lexical variation in Kelman's work

Although an extended passage of Kelman's work has been presented, one which demonstrates his eclectic style, there are other passages which can be found that do favour the lexis belonging to a particular column. A further exposition of Kelman's varying use of vocabulary should enhance this analysis of how he varies and fluctuates in his choices. A starting point is a passage is from Kelman's short story 'The Small Family' from *Greyhound for Breakfast*, which involves the extended use of column 5 lexis. This passage provides an example of writing with

a Scottish Standard English voice, with a mock ceremonious tone, that prefers items from column 5.

> Another hallmark of the station, though the term is somewhat inappropriate, was the Small Family. As far as many people are concerned when we speak of the station we are speaking of them, the Small Family, but I am not alone in the belief that had the peculiar 'mound' or 'hill' not existed then the Small Family would have associated itself with another station. Individually members of the family were not especially small, rather was the phrase applied as a simplified form of reference by the regulars which in the first instance must have derived from the little mother. There was no father, no male parent, and the female – the little mother – was very small indeed, birdlike almost. Yet be that as it may this tiny woman most certainly was a parent who tended her young come hell or high water.
>
>   Of the four children in the family group I chiefly recall the eldest, a large boy or young man. (pp. 72-3)

The implied speaker of this passage is probably meant to imitate the middle-class, since he/she adopts an English voice and use lexis solely from columns 3 and 5, while avoiding column 1 items. There are at least four occasions where a common Scots word might have been used: *wee* for *small* and *little*, *weans* and *bairns* for *children*, *lad* for *boy*, and *mind* for *recall*. There are also further less common Scots words available for use in this passage: *brae* for *mound* and *hill*, and *unco* for *peculiar*. Instead, Kelman keeps a Standard English voice to match the formal nature of the descriptive stance adopted in the story.

The next example of Kelman's writing is an entire short story *Acid* from *Not Not While the Giro*, which provides an illustration of the sole use of column 3 'common core' lexis.

> In this factory in the north of England acid was essential. It was contained in large vats. Gangways were laid above them. Before these gangways were made completely safe a young man fell into a vat feet first. His screams of agony were heard all over the department. Except for one old fellow the large body of men was so horrified that for a time not one of them could move. In an instant this old fellow who was also the young man's father had clambered up and along the gangway carrying a big pole. Sorry Hughie, he said. And then ducked the young man below the surface. Obviously the old fellow had had to do this because only the head and shoulders – in fact, that which had been seen above the acid was all that remained of the young man. (p. 115)

This story does not adopt as formal a tone as the passage from 'The Small Family', and the single one colloquialism, *fellow*, is not sufficient to cause this change in formality. This passage is more straightforward in style and only uses column 3 lexis, so it is relatively unmarked between English or Scots in its linguistic allegiances. It might be argued that the column 3 term of *young man* is

capable of replacing the column 1 term of *lad*, but the character in question might be too old for this point to be valid.

This passage from the novel *How Late it Was, How Late* provides an example of a strong Glasgow voice in Kelman's writing which uses many column 1 items but is not limited to them.

> It was too tempting for a guy like Sammy. He wasnay a homebird. He wasnay used to it. So he liked going out, he liked the pub, no just for the bevy, he liked the crack as well, hearing the patter. Even considering ye were home three years, ye still enjoyed it.
> I'm no kidding ye, he said, even just out walking first thing in the morning, ye forget where ye are, then that first Glasgow voice hits ye; it makes ye smile, know what I'm saying, cause it's a real surprise.
> And ye feel good, ye know, ye feel good, cheery. Then in the pub christ ye dont mean to get drunk. Ye just go for a jar and ye wind up having one too many. An auld story but true. Ye meet guys and ye sit on blethering. (p. 160)

Generally, this extract has a strong Glasgow voice gained through the use of columns 1 and 3 lexis. Glasgow words which are from column 1 are *patter* and, arguably, the local colloquialisms *bevy* and *jar*, but also a Scots variation of a Gaelic word, *crack*, which has particular currency in Glasgow. General Scots words from column 1 are *blethering*, *ye*, *wasnay*, and *no*. Column 3 lexis includes *smile*, *morning*, *enjoyed*, etc. These words combine to give a distinctive Glasgow voice to the text which is unlike Queen's 'Januar'' because Kelman allows some column 5 words into the passage, *know* and *don't*, and he also does not use traditional and well-established Scots spellings from column 2, such as *guid*, *hame*, and *Glesga*.

The appearance of Scotticisms in the Scottish literary voice

Returning to the topic of vocabulary choices and the promotion of Scottish identity, it is important to also consider Aitken's notions of overt and covert Scotticisms, as found in 'Scottish Accents and Dialects'. These are special markers of Scottishness. Overt Scotticisms are intentionally-used markers of Scottish identification:

> Stylistic overt Scotticisms are used for special stylistic effect – as a deliberate deviation from normal style – by those whose regular or expected speech is Scottish Standard English […in order to] claim membership of the in-group of Scots. (pp. 107-8)

Aitken attributes the use of overt Scotticisms to both the working-class and middle-class, while noting the paradox that the middle class use Scotticisms to

give an impression of Scottishness but would otherwise avoid it in their normal speech (pp. 107-8). Overt Scotticisms usually involve traditional vernacular Scots words or Scottish-marked expressions and exclude the words thought of as 'Bad Scots' vulgarisms (p. 107). Overt Scotticisms fit into column 1 and contrast to column 5, with examples including the 'good' Scots *aye* for *yes*, *dinna* for *don't*, and *ben the hoose* (p. 107). Kelman uses some of the words identified by Aitken as overt Scotticisms, such as *aye* and *ben*, but he does not use *dinna* on any occasion.

Aitken identifies another category of overt Scotticisms used by the Educated English-speaking Scot 'whose habitual speech disfavours vernacular Scottish elements' (p. 107). This kind of stylistic overt Scotticism usually involves traditional vernacular Scots words which are somewhat archaic, such as *kenspeckle* for *conspicuous*, *darg* for *job or work, thrang* for *busy*, and *stravaig* for *wander aimlessly*. These words are adopted from Scottish literature, have become ritualised, and 'often display specifically local as well as simply Scottish allusion' (p. 108). Kelman uses none of the words Aitken identified as stylistic overt Scotticisms above, nor the phrases Aitken suggests — *to keep a calm sough* and *it's back to the auld claes and parritch tomorrow* (nor those phrases' nouns *sough*, *claes*, and *parritch*).

The second type identified by Aitken, covert Scotticisms, refers to particular types of Scottish vocabulary and grammatical constructions (pp. 106-7). These covert Scotticisms are unintentionally-used markers of Scottish identity:

> Expressions of this sort, which Scottish speakers use unselfconsciously, wholly or largely unaware that in doing so they are behaving peculiarly Scottishly or 'giving themselves away' as Scots, might be called 'unaware' or 'unmarked' Scotticisms: I have preferred 'covert Scotticism'. (p. 105)

Both the working and middle classes use covert Scotticisms. Covert Scotticisms are used outside of formal written English, and include words from columns 1 which contrast to column 5 items such as *to mind* for *to remember*, *to sort* for *to mend*, *I'll better* for *I'd better* (p. 106). Covert Scotticisms such as these are often found in Kelman's work. The point is that Covert Scotticisms are used without intending to create any special effect, that is, without affectation — they are just

their normal words for these things — and it would be expected that they would appear in Kelman's work because he is representing unaffected language.

Aitken argues for a further category of Scotticism which is the invariant Scottish terms he feels belong in column 3 (because the equivalent English lexis is rarely or never used in Scottish speech). Aitken describes these as 'obligatory covert Scotticisms' and his list of items includes the Scots *bramble* for the English *blackberry*, *rone* for *(horizontal roof) gutter*, *pinkie* for *little finger*, *to swither* for *to hesitate, burn* for *brook*, and *to jag* for *to prick* (p. 106). Table 4.5 summarises the use of these words in Kelman's work.

Table 4.5: Aitken's 'Obligatory Covert Scotticisms' in KELMAN'S FICTION

Aitken's column 3 'obligatory Scotticisms'	Appearances in KELMAN'S FICTION'S work	theorised 'unused' English equivalent	Appearances in KELMAN'S FICTION'S work
n	*779,611*	*n*	*779,611*
bramble	0	blackberry	0
burn	23	brook	0
I'm away to	6	I'm going to	12
pinkie	2	little finger	0
rone	5	[horizontal] gutter	8
to jag	2	to prick	0
to swither	0	to hesitate	49

Kelman's use of *gutter* alongside *rone* contradicts Aitken's assertion that this word is 'obligatory', and the word is moved from column 3 to column 1 when Kelman varies between these two words: 'I wasnay even sure I would find the rone-pipe. There was a lot of big weeds growing out the gutter.' Neither *bramble* nor *blackberry* are found in Kelman's stories, so no comparison can be made. The exclusive use of Scots for 'obligatory overt Scotticisms' is seen with the exclusive use of *pinkie*, *burn*, and *to jag* over the possible English equivalents, yet Kelman reverses this only when he uses the English *hesitate* rather than *swither*, which was Aitken's nominated obligatory covert Scotticism. The term *swither* does not appear in SCOTS SPOKEN section, but does in SCOTS WRITTEN, within Lallans-styled writing. Aitken's notions of obligatory covert Scotticisms have varying explanatory power for Kelman's choice of lexis.

Kelman's willingness to represent the frequent style-switching of the Scottish working-class speaker is evident in much of his writing. One example of this is

the following sentence where *aye* and *yes* are used in succession in *Not Not While the Giro*: 'What – aye, yes, aye, can you loan me it then? take it off the wages and that' (p. 119). Similarly, another covert Scotticism, *mind*, appears in the same sentence as its English variant *remember* in *How Late*, 'I just cannay remember; the guys I'm talking about, all I can mind is them talking about football' (p. 179). The use of variant lexis from different columns may be highlighted when they are used repetitively, such as *blether* and *chatter* in *The Burn*: 'they would talk about him, chatter chatter chatter, blether blether blether' (p. 92). A more subtle yet still reinforced manner, using synonyms, is seen in the handling of *scunnered* and *nausea* in *A Disaffection*: 'I become too quickly scunnered, feelings of nausea in the belly and so forth' (p. 208). Overall, this strategy of combining lexis is a defiant act against the linguistic purity seen in the passages by the other authors and provides a strong statement that reminds the reader of the real-life variation of language in common use.

Characters in the stories are shown to be aware not only of the differentiation between column 1 and 5 items but also of their significance in social exchanges. A common word, *aye*, figures in this exchange from where the column 1 form is deemed by one character, a parent, as inappropriate:

> Aye well you better because I'll be off my mark at half twelve pronto. Mind now.
>   Aye.
>   It's yes, said the mother while coming into the room, she was carrying two cups of fresh tea for herself and Uncle Archie. (p. 74)

Whereas another character who is also a parent takes the opposite position on the same word in a different story:

> Mummy'll be back soon; you hungry?
>   Yes.
>   Heh listen, how come you say yes instead of aye all the time? (p. 214)

The contrast of *aye* and *yes* shows how the words are charged with implications of level of politeness, distance, and social identity. In the first passage, the mother is correcting the use of *aye* for the purposes of respect towards adults and to enforce a recognition of the two forms of language that will later serve the child as an adult. In the second passage, the parent points out to the child the emotional distance of using *yes*; this is mentioned partly to play with the child and tease them but partly as a result of thinking about the language change in the next

generation. Whatever the motivation, the passage shows an awareness of the different connotations of the two terms.

Recognising the potential to make in-jokes about the Scottish and English alternatives of speech, Kelman experiments with more subtle contrasts of column 1 and 5 items. Consider this sentence where the column 1 word *burn* is set against the column 5 *stream*: 'I dont mind small streams burning through arable-land.' A similar effect is gained with column 1 *scratch* which is contrasted to column 5 *bed*: 'Of course it would mean having to leave this lovely, warm and tender, dirty, scratchy kip. Still it was worth it. He got out of bed.' It is a form of word play that adds another layer of significance to the text and it rests upon the portrayal of a mixed language situation in Scotland rather than attempting to purify the text of English forms.

Social-class-based differences in choice of lexis

In 'Scots and English in Scotland', Aitken uses his model of Scottish speech to differentiate between the class-based patterns of language choice. Aitken identifies four types of speakers who have different patterns of choice in language along the Scots/English continuum. These four types of speaker are as follows: educated middle-class, lower middle-class, working-class, and rural working-class (p. 521). Each is theorised to display different patterns of lexical choice, as indicated in Table 4.6.

Table 4.6: Aitken's proposed social-class-based patterns of language use, as mapped against each column type

	Column 1: Scots vocabulary or grammar	Column 2: Optional Scottish phonology	Column 3: Shared vocabulary or grammar	Column 4: Optional English phonology	Column 5: English vocabulary or grammar
educated middle-class	rare	rare	most	most	most
lower middle-class	rare	some	most	most	most
urban working-class	most	most	most	some	some
rural working-class	most	most	most	rare	rare

Aitken argues that the educated and lower middle-classes, whether they have a Scottish accent or not, are considered in Scotland as speaking English, while the working-class and rural working-class are generally thought to be speaking Scots (and may be called broad speakers). Aitken describes the lower three groups as capable of style drifting but only the working-class groups as dialect-switching (pp. 521-2).

According to Aitken's account, the educated middle class view items from columns 4 and 5 as unmarked in style and items from columns 1 and 2 as Scotticisms. The lower middle-class speakers have a Scottish accent and use Scottish Standard English, but they use a restricted number of features from column 2, such as *–na* for *–n't* and *–in* for *–ing*. This category may include 'respectable working-class' speakers. The working-class are inconsistent with their use of items across columns 1-5, but have a tendency towards using columns 1 to 3. This category is alternatively identified by Aitken as informal working-class speech. The rural working-class are most unlikely to adopt English pronunciation, and may be identified as mono-dialectal speakers (p. 521). Other studies in the area of class and language find similar patterns of differentiation, such as Murdoch's *Language Politics in Scotland* and Macaulay's 'Variation and Consistency in Glaswegian English' (p. 135).

Aitken's summaries of class-based lexical use can be applied to the patterns found in the literary passages already explored in this chapter. In the case of Gray's 'The Grumbler', which uses solely columns 3 and 5 lexis and column 4 spellings, the lexical distribution roughly correspond to the educated middle-class lexical patterns. In contrast, the column distributions of Kelman's 'Gardens go Forever' were a mix of vocabulary across the columns, with the inclusion of some Scottish spellings. This roughly corresponds to the working-class lexical patterns theorised by Aitken in his model of social class distributions. A different result can be found for Queen's 'Januar'' which sought to use as many column 1 items as possible and had a preference for Scottish spellings. The patterns indicate the use of an 'Ideal Scots' which, in itself, matches no particular speech distribution closely but more resembles that of the rural working-class because of the text's emphasis on columns 1 and 2. Similarly, despite being a urban anecdote,

Mackie's example in *Talking Glasgow* loosely matches the rural working-class distribution in addition to the urban working-class model. His passage has heavy use of columns 2 spellings and column 3 vocabulary but there are few column 1 dialect items. While Mackie uses spellings as a primary source of identification, Kelman uses slang. The reasons for Kelman's concentrated use of slang will become evident in the next section.

Kelman's use of slang

This section will deal with language that is not defined by location but by its low social status. Slang is a non-legitimised form of language which is typically associated with the lower classes. Slang is often conflated with the Glasgow dialect, as was outlined in the first part of this chapter and found by Macafee in *Traditional Dialect in the Modern World* (§4.7.2). As mentioned in the introduction, Kelman's generation, and the one after, grew up with the perception that they spoke a corrupted language where their urban Scots and slang were largely undifferentiated. To this day, the Glasgow dialect has a strong identification with the use of slang vocabulary.

Slang lexis must be investigated outside of the Scottish-English continuum because slang does not involve issues of regionality but of in-group identity. Slang is qualitatively different because, as Andersson and Trudgill argue, languages and dialects are complex linguistic systems and 'there are perhaps a handful of features which could be regarded as typical of slang grammar, but there are very few compared to the enormous number of words belonging to slang', with the result being that 'slang is first and foremost a question of vocabulary' (p. 73). Thus, slang cannot be confused with dialect or language, although it occurs within these linguistic systems. As Andersson and Trudgill point out in *Bad Language*, 'stylistic variation, including the use of slang, can take place *within* dialects' (p. 73). Slang words might have regional restrictions for use and meaning, similar to the words of a dialect. While Scottish, British, and American slang are common sources of vocabulary in working-class speech, only a certain range or type of slang might occur in regionally distributed speech, such as that occurring among specific social groups clustered in a particular area. In *The Language of British Industry*, Peter Wright explains that slang varies in each

industrial centre of Britain, and although there are many points of similarity, there are many unique words or different meanings for the shared words. Agutter and Cowan also argue for the notion of regionally-restricted slang, citing research on the words *boggin*, *malky*, *huckle*, *lumber*, and *hingoot* which identifies them as being peculiar to the Glasgow area (p. 54).

A problem with the term 'slang' is its frequent misapplication to refer to all kinds of informal language, with the exact scope of the term a point of contention. Andersson and Trudgill assert that 'There is no good definition of slang available in the literature' (p. 69). In *The Vocabulary of World English*, Gramley similarly notes the confusion about the range and scope of slang, pointing out that 'There is often little agreement on whether an item is colloquial or slang', and he explains further:

> The type of language referred to as slang is more than a level of formality. That is, slang cannot be understood simply as informal, colloquial, careless, sloppy language even though these notions are indelibly connected with the idea of slang in many people's minds. Slang is, rather, first and foremost, group language. This restriction – at least in its origins – is the key feature of slang. That is, slang has an extremely important social function to fulfil with regard to the groups that create it: it helps to establish solidarity and is associated with group identity. (p. 207f)

Essentially, Gramley's point is that slang is primarily created within a group, initially gaining validation within that group alone, and these shared words act as an affirmative cohesive device its members.

Eric Partridge gives many uses for slang in *Slang To-day and Yesterday*, among them being 'an exercise either in wit and ingenuity or in humour', 'to be brief and concise', 'to enrich the language', and 'to lend an air of solidity, concreteness, to the abstract' (p. 6). There is great value placed upon word play in Glasgow and the city is noted for its large slang vocabulary. Gramley and Patzold write:

> Glasgow speakers have lost much of the traditional vocabulary of Scots; in its place, so to speak, they have available an extensive slang vocabulary of varying provenience. (p. 238)

This range is probably due to the value placed upon words: for example, Munro notes in *The Patter: Another Blast* that the Glasgow patter:

> has an observation or comment on anything and everything. If you have nothing else going for you a witticism or piece of wry fatalistic humour will often get you out of a bad corner, scythe a bigger opponent to the ground, wreak a fierce revenge on

> someone who thought he was getting away with it, show anyone who cares to notice that although down you are not quite out. (p. vi)

Munro also writes:

> What we have here is a people who love talk for its own sake and consequently demand a high standard of entertainment value from the one doing the talking. If your patter's like watter [sic] you would do better to keep your mouth shut and just listen. (p. viii)

The point of Glasgow patter is to amuse and impress, acting as a form of social capital. An important part of this patter is slang. A similar sentiment is expressed of slang by Andersson and Trudgill who write that 'The creative aspect of slang is important. The point of slang words is often to be startling, amusing or shocking' (p. 78).

Another aspect of slang is that it has an important role in displaying a person's identification to peers and outsiders. Andersson and Trudgill state emphatically that slang is group-related: 'The language of a group functions as a kind of glue which maintains cohesion between the members of this group and acts as a wall between them and outsiders. By choosing the right words you show which group you belong to' (p. 79). They further write that 'one of the points of slang may be precisely to identify you as belonging to a particular social group' (p. 16). Andersson and Trudgill further comment that people may object to slang items 'because they happen to be associated with a social group of which they are *not* a member' (p. 16). Furthermore, the use of slang encourages the abandonment of formality and tends to oppose established authorities based upon hierarchical power relationships.

Attitudes towards slang can be related to Bourdieu's theory of the struggle between linguistic forms, as posed in 'Language and Symbolic Power'. He argues that vocabulary items may not be merely a 'pure instrument of communication' but instead can also act as '*signs of wealth*, intended to be evaluated and appreciated, and *signs of authority*, intended to be believed and obeyed' (pp. 66-7). Thus, the value of a vocabulary item will depend on the sender and receiver, and since people who use the words are aware that 'the whole social structure is present in each interaction', their choice of words is particularly telling of their social stance (p. 67). The attitude of one person towards another can be evident in use of slang. In *How Late it Was, How Late*, this is seen in the casual non-

deferential language adopted by Sammy towards a policeman, who in turn purposely pretends not to understand, in order to pull rank on Sammy:

> Is that about right? what I'm saying.
>   Yep.
>   Yep! What does that mean? Yep!
>   It means yes.
>   It means yes, mmhh. (p. 168)

Unfortunately though, vocabulary items, as linguistic signs, are goods evaluated by the powers already holding legitimacy, so a slang item has to be assessed within the Standard English discourse to gain popular acceptance as a valued form of language. Since slang is associated with attitudes that devalue it, this form of language is usually avoided by authors who are trying to maximise symbolic profit by choosing words that will be most readily received in their particular market or context. Nonetheless, slang is part of the social capital of its users, mostly lower class, and an author wishing to represent these kinds of characters will need to take the steps to include their language, at least in dialogue.

Macafee argues in *Traditional Dialect in the Modern World* that although social class factors contribute to the devaluation of slang words in Scotland, another reason for the lack of recognition is because slang words are seen as competing with a Scots lexis which is already battling against an encroaching Standard English (p. 33). The prestige of the English words places pressure on the Scots words, and the popularity of slang words in urban areas further threatens the social relevance of traditional Scots alternatives. However, this picture of slang competing with Scots words may not be as insidious as it seems. Macafee further claims that 'The SND idealises Scots by virtually excluding slang and urban dialect' (p. 32). She explains that the reluctance of authoritative works, such as the SND, to accept the local neologisms means that such texts not only idealise the Scots language, but, through the lack of new words to compensate for the older ones falling into disuse, paint a picture of dwindling vocabulary which ignores the modern forms. The words of a language change over time through innovation, extension, and coinage, and reference works must acknowledge the new forms as valid or they can only present a selection of words based upon an ideal notion that real Scots only involves traditional rather than modern forms, thus underestimating the robustness of local lexis. Fortunately, other publications,

although with less prestige, fill the gap left by the SND, such as Partridge's guide to British slang *A Dictionary of Slang and Unconventional English*. This sort of informal 'dictionary' provides a depth of knowledge about words which may not have official recognition elsewhere. On the other hand, the *Oxford English Dictionary*, while traditionally reluctant to include slang may sometimes be a source of information on words where other publications are silent, sometimes listing regional slang for Northern England and Scotland. Note that John Simpson of the OED has been undertaking 'The Revision Programme' since 1993 that aims 'to refine and expand the Dictionary's coverage of the formal, colloquial, slang, and dialect vocabulary of English since the twelfth century' (para 3).

An excellent resource that specifically includes Glaswegian slang is *The Patter*. The book's primary concern is with the words that have played an important role in building character in Glaswegian speech and it is not particularly concerned with where the words have come from or where else they might be found. Unlike the dictionaries which have the onus of identifying etymological roots, sorting and categorising words according to their pedigree, *The Patter* identifies words by their users as the words circulate among group members: in this case, it is the local language of working-class Glaswegians. Lexis that is popularly identified as Glaswegian merely requires recognition as such, even though a dictionary may be less conclusive about its uniqueness to Glasgow. Unlike Stanley Baxter or Albert Mackie, Michael Munro made a serious attempt to address what was a lack of printed information about the Glasgow vernacular which viewed it not only positively but also as a great source of artistic expression. This both reveals which words have a close association with the Glasgow area, and also helps to explain how they assist in the creation of a Glasgow identity for the text.

The Patter lists and glosses a wide variety of words which include contemporary 1980s Glasgow slang and dialect, as well as Scots words which are felt to have 'a Glasgow twist'. An acknowledgement is given of the ephemeral nature of slang, so *The Patter* defines itself as having the serious intention of recording words felt to be an essential part of Glasgow speech during that era (p. 3). Some of the slang words listed in *The Patter* have both a Standard English

meaning and a local one, such as *banjo* for *hit*, *pure* for *absolutely*, and *coupon* for *face*. Among the words listed, there is slang based upon brand names, such as the names for wine *lanny* and *L.D.* from *Lanliq* and *El Dorado,* and place names such as *Bar L* for *Barlinnie Prison* and *the Uni* for *Glasgow University*. Another type of slang involves local terms of reference to people, such as *da* for *father*, *mammy* for *mother*, *Jim* for a male, and *orange* for a Protestant. The audience must have felt reasonably engaged with the material presented in *The Patter* because enough people wrote to the author demanding other words be included too, as the second instalment of the book, *The Patter: Another Blast*, states.

Although it might be expected that a working-class text would seek to include as many slang words as possible, Kelman uses 46% of the words captured in *The Patter*, among which includes *annacker's midden*, *bampot*, *blether*, *boggin*, *bothy*, *clatty*, *Dan*, *dowp*, *gallus*, *huckled*, *keelie*, *lumber*, *mawkit*, *midgie*, *orange*, *scunner*, *sherricking*, *smash*, *stank*, *stoatir*, *teuchter*, *Tim*, and *winch*. Some of these words are traditional Scots, such as *blether*, *dowp*, and *scunner*. It is notable that in the SND Kelman is the first quoted as using *annacker's midden* and *lanny*, among others. Table 4.7 shows the words from *The Patter* with the highest use in Kelman's writing.

Table 4.7: Some words from *The Patter* frequently used by Kelman

Words from *The Patter*	KELMAN'S FICTION number of uses
n	*779,611*
Wee	1073
Naw	1040
Guy	672
Yous	337
Wean	268
Da	261
Yin	259
Ma	184
Close	180
Day, the	167
Telt	152
Night, the	151
Noo, the	101

Kelman does not saturate his texts with what Munro describes as slang words because it would make his work a parody, which *The Patter* is to some extent, with its self-proclaimed light-hearted approach to the definition of its words.

Compare this to the previous table of recognised Glasgow words where the number of uses averaged around 4 for each term, and it is apparent that the terms captured by *The Patter* are much more popular in Kelman's writing.

Kelman's characters vary in their use of slang, from a lot to a little, but it is not used at every occasion. Recall the opening passage, where the main character feels he has found his 'life's thingwi' in *The Good Times*:

> Nevertheless, I was quite happy when Sidney skived off to find a likely hidey-hole, it was like gon to an outdoor gymnasium and getting two workouts for the price of one. He had quite good patter as well – daft, it suited me. When I asked how come he was called Sidney he telt me his old man was a merchant sailor. That was that. I went to the pub and got drunk with him a few times. He could get steamboats just with the smell of the first pint. Then again he could go for hours, I would be a dribbling wreck. And he would still be sitting there, checking out whether or not he could with impunity steal my unfinished lager. That was the kind of bastard he was. He also had the habit of walking out on me! He would tell me he was gon for a slash then disappear. Two hours later I would remember he hadnay come back and still being an innocent I would have to go and check out the cludgie in case he had fallen asleep. (pp. 11-2)

In this passage there are slang items which include *skived* 'shirked', *hidey-hole* 'place to rest', *patter* 'conversation', *old man* 'father', *steamboats* 'drunk', *dribbling wreck* 'very inebriated', *slash* 'urinate', and *cludgie* 'toilet'. The SND lists *skive* as a Scots word meaning 'roam or prowl about', but also offers another meaning from military slang to mean 'dodge' or 'shirk' which suits Kelman's use of the word to describe a worker avoiding his duties. The term *old man* is not found in the SND but it is certainly a British colloquial word for 'father', according to the OED, and it is mixed in among Scottish/Glasgow slang. While the term *slash*, meaning 'to urinate', is felt to be slang by the OED, its meaning is analogous to a dialect usage of the word listed by the SND as referring to a wet substance thrown out with force. Although *slash* is not listed strictly as an act of urination, there is a similarity with the dialect usage of the word. Of particular interest is the word *cludgie* because the SND specifically defines it as a slang word. Unlike other words in this passage, *cludgie* is not listed in either Partridge's work or the OED. This is the only word used by Kelman that is officially described as slang in the older version of the SND (which was ambivalent about slang).

The notion of slang depends, in part, upon official record or recognition to continue its progress into standardisation. The term *steamboats* in the above

example is now acknowledged by the SND as meaning *drunk*, but this was not always the case. The second SND Supplement notes that the term arose 'from a time in Sc. when alcohol was sold on a Sunday only to *bona fide* travellers and people therefore took a steamer down the Clyde so that they could buy it.' Prior to the second supplement published in 2005, the closest reference to the term was *steam*, as in *steamin wi' drink*. Kelman used this word while it was still stigmatised as slang, or at least unrecognised by the SND. The other term, *dribbling wreck*, meaning *really drunk*, is not recognised in the SND but is partly alluded to in an analogous relationship to the Scots use of the word *dribble* which means *to tipple*. However, Munro's *The Patter* lists the term *wrecked* as *tired-out* or *exhausted* (p. 77). The point is that both *steamboats* and *dribbling wreck* were considered slang at the time Kelman used them, yet he persisted in using these words despite their marginal status and what is more notable is his willingness to mix these words with traditional Scots terms.

Here is another passage which provides a rich example of Kelman's use of slang, taken from *The Burn*:

> One time I turned round and gubbed a polis right on the mouth. I didnt even fucking notice he was there. He tapped me on the shoulder and I just turned round and fucking belted him one, right on the fucking kisser man and he dropped, out like a light, so I just gets off my mark immediately, out the door and away like the clappers, and poor auld Fergie – that was my mate – he wound up getting huckled; and what a beating he got off the polis once they got him into the station! (pp. 120-1)

The above passage has many slang items — *kisser*, *belt*, *off one's mark*, *like the clappers*, and *mate* — some which are general British slang, all of which are recognised in Eric Partridge's *Slang and Unconventional English* (p. 457, p. 46, p. 509, p. 1039, p. 512). Others such as *gub*, *polis*, and *huckle* are words identified as a part of the Glasgow slang, as recognised by *The Patter* (p. 30, p. 55, p. 36). The word *polis* is the Scottish form of *police*, as recognised by the SND. There are two colloquialisms that not referenced in any of these sources, *out like a light* to mean *unconscious* and *wind up* to mean *end up*, and they are referred to in the OED. This passage particularly demonstrates Kelman's non-compliance with the purity discourse of selecting one type of lexis consistently. He is certainly not a language purist.

Kelman is sometimes the first author cited to use a term when an unlisted slang words is newly included in a dictionary. An example of this is the words *thingwi*, a variant of *thingum* which was included in the SND Supplement 2 published in 2005, where Kelman is cited as the first author to use the word in 1983. This is an example of how *thingwi* might appear in his work:

> He laughed again. Heh man mind that baldy auld geography teacher!
>   O christ! I wouldnt say he was a thingwi but you should see the way he thingwis his thingwi. (p. 127)

What is interesting in Kelman's use of the word is that it is clearly is not limited to the role of a noun, as is stated in the SND Supplement 2. Kelman not only uses slang words, he extends the use of these words for creative purposes. This variation of the grammatical range of *thingwi* occurs on two other occasions in *The Busconductor Hines* 'Wish to christ I could George, that's the trouble with nowadays, you thingwy and then the thingwy thingwys' (p. 35) and 'I wouldnt call her a thingwi, but see when she thingwis her thingwi!' (p. 214).

An inherent difficulty in the research of slang is that many words are short-lived, and the consensus is that most words 'either make it into accepted neutral style or else die out rather quickly' (p. 78). Slang is often viewed as a form of language with rapid changes in nature or usage, and Gramley describes this process of acceptance in more detail:

> [Although slang] may drift upward into the language of the more powerful and outward into that of the out-group users, this is far from automatic; and by the time this happens, the original group will probably have long since turned to a different expression. (p. 207f)

This transience seems not only to make slang an unstable research subject but also to imply that its literary value might also be limited, perhaps because literature is associated with the notion of a pure stable language. However, Agutter and Cowan argue that the lifespan of some slang may follow a quite different trajectory, pointing out that some words may not only have a longer life than is generally expected but remain unaccepted by the mainstream despite this longevity. They cite *moll* as an example of a slang word that has 'for centuries retained essentially the same Slang usage', and form the argument that since they are used by a socially-restricted group, these words are likely to continue being

thought of as mere slang (p. 54). If this is true, the literary value of slang might be more potent and long-lasting than many assume.

It is significant that Kelman's narrator uses slang, since it poses a genuine risk of making the narrator of that story lose authority. Here are a range of examples of slang used by the third-person narrator:

> And here he was by the railing and pausing a few moments as if he was looking down at Maggie who was quite a nice woman but just didnt move in the same circle as he did thus they didnt really know each other although she was a single patty and would maybe be interested in going out for a meal or just to the Citz Theatre for a night for christ sake without any strings and not at all pressurised, without any worries about the future, just a night out together for a bit of company. She moved well Margaret, she was wearing a dark blue short skirt and her pair of trainer shoes and a thingwi top, one of these whatdyoucallits that you wear if you're out training for fuck sake. (*A Disaffection*, pp. 183-3)

> There was one Patrick scored when he was playing for the BB and it was a real fucking beauty although painful, a header, but him letting the ball bounce that wee bit instead of actually meeting it on the attack, which is the correct way of using the nut, you have to go and meet it and not let it come and crash against ye. (*A Disaffection*, pp. 101-2)

> Ye could picture him studying Sammy ower the top of his reading specs, an irritated frown on his coupon, thinking to himself. (*How Late it Was, How Late*, p. 217)

> Sammy's bottle went. For no reason. Just that sudden feeling man right in the gut, right in the fucking pit. He raised his head to listen. (*How Late it Was, How Late*, p. 156)

The slang words used are: *single patty*, *thingwi*, *whatdyoucallits*, *coupon*, *bottle*, *beauty*, *nut*, and *crash*. In selecting slang lexis in preference to other standard and more accepted language, the narrator shows a preference for the language that the characters might use when describing themselves and others. The language that belongs to the people is used to tell their stories.

Within Bourdieu's theoretical framework, the use of slang by the narrator reduces the incongruence, or struggle, between the social classes in the working-class literary text. There are no overt signs of outside authority found in the lexical choices, nor assertions of authority based upon etymological purity. Since slang is recognised by a group for use within that group among its members, the use of slang lexis throughout the whole of the story, by both narrator and characters, substantiates Kelman's claim to be a working-class writer who writes to his community and remains within it. Kelman's symbolic profit, in Bourdieu's terms, is gained by choosing language that circulates within that working-class

market. Just as Zola disoriented his bourgeois readers with an aggressive use of working-class language and urban slang,[21] Kelman socialises the language of his characters and narrators just as intrusively. This means he includes the language that marks the social position of those characters but also, unusually, extends this position to be occupied by the narrators who would normally use Standard English (in a Scottish literary text).

Conclusion

One means of creating a text with a Glasgow voice is to use distinctive local words, or at least those with a strong identification with the Glasgow area. Indeed, vocabulary selection in literature has the potential to create and assert identity, whether this be a sense of nation, region, or social class. The selection of Glaswegian lexis (dialect, Scots, Scotticisms, and slang) is an act of allegiance to the culture and people who continue to use this language variety.

During the exploration of lexis that is distinctive to the Glasgow area it became apparent that Kelman does not rely upon such words to create his Glaswegian voice. Nor was it found that his writing particularly resembled other models of English, Scots, or Glasgow writing. More specifically, the examination of Gray's English passage and Queen's Scots passage revealed a desire for uniformity in vocabulary choice that was not present in Kelman's work. Instead, Kelman tended to select vocabulary in terms of stylistic effect, varying the choice and mix of lexis as the situation demanded.

This chapter details how an important aspect of Glaswegian is the value placed upon good patter, which itself represent linguistic wealth. Good patter involves the ability to style-switch, use slang, and generally be creative in the act of language production. The lexical variation found in Kelman's writing appeals to this aspect of Glasgow spoken discourse. Furthermore, it was shown that slang was important to the creation of group identity and it worked in a literary context to imbue the text with a working-class identity. It is especially notable that Kelman uses dialect and slang within the third person narrative voice, despite any stigmatisation that may have resulted from doing so.

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[21] Nelson (p. 9).

Kelman refuses to adhere to the literary convention of idealising language, and this results in a more realistic portrayal of working-class language, validating its existence as a medium for writing. By refusing to censor the vernacular in serious writing, the 'mastery of Standard English as a sign of personal growth', as McGlynn puts it, is undermined and it demonstrates that 'educated speech is not unique in its access to complex ideas' (pp. 75-6). The reference to the many types of lexis available in Glaswegian speech within a literary medium problematises not only the artificial nature of the purified Scots and English discourse, but also raises the profile of vernacular vocabulary in the representation of ideas and thought.

CHAPTER FIVE: GRAMMAR AS SOCIAL DEMARCATION

Grammar can be a more fruitful feature to analyse in literature than vocabulary because individual grammatical features can occur more regularly than individual vocabulary items. Whereas there might only be one occasion where a specific lexical item might appear in a literary text (for example, occurring less than once per 100,000 words), there is a greater chance of repeated use of a specific grammatical item (for example, occurring more than once per 1,000 words) if that grammatical construction is appropriate to the context. This positions Scottish grammar as a potentially useful, and frequent, element of the Scottish voice in literature. Unfortunately for literature, Scots shares the majority of its grammatical features with English, and much of the Scots grammar is not distinct from its English counterpart. However, some points of difference do remain, and this scarcity of Scottish grammatical variants means that when they are used, they become an important aspect of the Scottish voice of the text.

In the previous chapter, there was a focus on the Scots-English continuum, the use of Scottish forms over English alternatives, Scotticisms, and various types of lexis occurring in the Glasgow language. As was discussed in Chapter Four, the Scots-English continuum often means that, even though Scots and English grammar may vary freely, the tendency is for Scots grammar to be used in informal contexts, such as speech, and English to be used in formal contexts, such as institutional and educational settings. Furthermore, as with vocabulary, grammatical style-drifting is common among Scottish speakers, an example being the varied use of cliticized negators *–na* and *–n't*. It will be found that Kelman's grammatical choices often reflect this spoken style-drifting in writing.

This chapter revisits Aitken's model of Scottish speech, as found in Table 4.3 of Chapter Four. This model is reworked to suit a study of grammar, and one which is used in a literary context. Please note that columns 2 and 4 are essentially only related to issues of spelling and remain in the table in order to acknowledge Aitken's original focus on phonology. The result is Table 5.1 below.

Table 5.1: A classification of grammar for Glasgow literature

1 Scots Grammar Scots variant of grammar	2 Scots Spelling	3 Shared Grammar Invariant Scots and English grammar	4 English Spelling	5 English Grammar English variant of Scots grammar
Prefers to reduce the operator for *will*, e.g. He'll no(t) go.	N/A	Shared positive form for *will* and *be*, e.g. He'll go.	N/A	Prefer to reduce the negative for *will*, e.g. He won't go.
Past tense –t and –it, e.g. killt, wantit	N/A	Shared past tense –ed verbs, e.g. cried	N/A	Past tense –ed, e.g. killed, wanted
Scottish cliticized negator –*na*	N/A	N/A	N/A	English contracted negative –*n't*
Variant has a column 5 equivalent	column 4 equivalent	Invariant has no column 1 equivalent	column 2 equivalent	Variant has a column 1 equivalent

As with Chapter Four, the focus is on the contrast between columns 1, 3, and 5, where a choice needed to be made between local grammatical preferences and Standard English. Items that appear in column 3 involve 'common core' grammar with no competing Scots form in column 1.

While Aitken asserts in 'Scottish Accents and Dialects' that covert grammatical Scotticisms belong in column 3 because he considers them to be 'mostly obligatory' (p. 106), this thesis takes the stance that it is more fruitful to place covert grammatical Scotticisms within column 1. The reason, as will be shown later in the chapter, is that the datasets assembled for this thesis show a variance between the Scottish form and its English equivalent. This finding is similar to that of covert lexical Scotticisms in Chapter Four. Aitken acknowledges that covert grammatical Scotticisms are not necessarily obligatory, so while it is common for Scottish people to use covert Scotticisms without realising it, they will also use the English equivalent as well. An example of this is found in 'Scottish Accents and Dialects' where Aitken claims that 'Scots often reduces the operator rather than the negative' (p. 106). Note that he writes 'often' and not 'always' which means there is some variance to be found. If one grammatical component is identified as a Scottish preference which has an English contrast, then it can tentatively be placed in columns 1 and 5.

Some examples of Glasgow writing

Since this chapter is closely related to Chapter Four, some of the passages already analysed for lexical content will be revisited in this chapter and examined for grammatical content. It is reasonable to expect that some congruence between vocabulary and grammar choices would be found, since these are important complementary aspects of language.

The first example to be revisited from Chapter Four is Alasdair Gray's short story 'The Grumbler' which was found to be English-oriented in vocabulary. We would expect it also to prefer Standard English grammar to complement the lexical preference:

> Several years after I had stopped visiting that pub I passed some other young people in the street, and an attractive girl left them and said, "Excuse me sire, may I kiss you on the mouth?"
> "Of course!" I said, and embraced her, but she got embarrassed and broke away and ran back to her friends, who were laughing heartily. They must have dared her to say that because I appeared to be a very respectable, easily shocked old chap. It was a great relief when something similar happened which looked like ending differently. Around closing time one night a girl ran out of a pub door, slipped her arm through mine and said, "You look sexy. Will you take me for an Indian meal?"
> I am sure she was not a prostitute. She looked dull, ordinary and overweight, but so do I, so I did not mind. I said, "Of course I'll buy you a meal," and led her to a place I know. (p. 270)

The grammatical features, like the vocabulary, reflect a preference for Standard English words over Scottish options. The English *may* is used instead of the Scottish *can*, English *who* instead of the Glaswegian *that*, English *which* instead of the Glaswegian *that*, and the English adverb *easily* instead of the Glaswegian *easy*.[22] Gray's example shows congruence between the English lexis and grammatical choices.

The short story by Joan Queen, 'Januar'', had a great deal of Scots vocabulary preferences so it is expected the grammatical choices would follow suit:

> Nae burds are singin' the day as the win' whissles roon the hoose. They're awa hidin' oot in the fir trees, that sway back and furth in the blast. The birk wi' its white bark gies the only glint o' pleesure. Ken, the spidery web o' twigs agin the grey sky weaves a pattern sae complex that the e'en canna travel frae tip tae stem an' back agin wi' oot won'er. But, nae burd is daft eneugh tae hing up there by its taes tae be blawn aboot willy-nilly in the cauld blast.

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[22] Information on each pair is as follows: 'may/can' see Hagan (p. 108); 'who/that' see Macafee, *Glasgow* (p. 52); 'which/that' see Hagan (pp. 111-2); 'easily/easy' see Hagan (p. 106).

> Ginger, the cat, is nae whar in sicht no even when I keek oot the door. An' Ginger can hear a door open awa doon the bottom o' the gairden an try tae slink by ma legs intae the warmth o' the hoose. He's sleekit.
>
> Mind, Januar' has its joys tae: the rid hot coals blazin' in the grate, slices o' left-owre Christmas cake tae devour, the tick-tock o' the wag-at-the-wa' and the reglar patter o' rain on the windae-pane, no forgettin' the seed catalogues wi' a' the promise o' times tae come, whiles the weet claes birl roon an' roon on the whirligig.
>
> The win' hurls roon the hoose an' moans doon the lum. Ache! [sic] I'm playin' at never-heed! (paras 1-4)

Just as the vocabulary was found to have many items drawn from columns 1 and 3, a similar trend is found for grammatical forms. The Scottish sentence tag of *but* is used to mean *though*, and *tae* is used for affirmation, and there is also the use of the Scottish *away* in *They're awa hidin' oot in the fir trees*, and *Ginger can hear a door open awa doon the bottom o' the gairden*.[23] She also uses the common Scots tag *ken* as an alternative to the English *you know*. The passage has the irregular plural *e'en* instead of the English *eyes*, the Scottish application of *the* in *the day* for the English preposition *to* in *today*, and the use of the Scottish isolate negative particle of *no* in *no forgettin'* instead of the English *not*.[24] Queen also uses a grammatical archaism *whiles*, which is neither British English nor modern Scots but is an old form of Scots which was an equivalent of the English *whilst*.

In Chapter Four, a specifically Glasgow piece of writing by Mackie was inspected. Most vocabulary items of the passage were column 3 items, and a great deal of the distinctive Glasgow identity is achieved mainly through spellings that belong in column 2. It is difficult to predict what its grammatical orientation would be because of the reliance upon spelling rather than vocabulary to convey its Glasgow identity:

> 'Awrasame, Ah hink Billy McNeill'll prove his-sel jiss as big a maun as Joak Steen.'
>
> 'At remains tae be Steen,' cracks the supporters' club comic, but the joke is considered in bad taste and does not get a laugh in this serious-minded circle: These Celtic supporters can be very solemn, even when they are on a winning streak:
>
> 'Look at Fir Park err! We blootett Murrawell, sure'n we did. Five-wan's no tae be sneezed at.'
>
> 'Ay, but thoan wiz nae walk-owre, wiz it noo? Ah didnae like ra wey ra Murrawell plerrs wiz getting through.'

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[23] For information on sentence tags 'but' and 'tae' see Hagan (p. 115). For 'away' see Macafee, *Glasgow*, who writes 'Verbs of motion are frequently elided, giving quasi-verbal uses of prepositional adverbs, especially *away*' (p. 49) and Hagan, who writes 'It is very common to omit a verb of motion either in imperatives such as 'away hame' and 'away ye big black cunt', or where an auxiliary precedes the (elided) verb and an adverb follows it, as in 'Ah'll away' and 'she's away a visit', or before prepositional phrases as in 'Maw was away tae work' and 'he's awa doon they stairs' (p. 107).
[24] For information on these features, see CSD (p. xiv); Macafee, *Glasgow* (pp. 51, 47).

'Right enough! Ah wiznae awfae happy masel, that first hauf. Ah felt like gaun hame at hauf-time whun Edvaldsson hung wan oan his ain goalie, an' gien Murrawell ra equalizer. It ferr pit ma watter aff ra bile, so it did.'

'Ah, but wizn' thoan a boaby-dazzler fae Glavin, right intae Alfie Conn's barra? An' ra wan he passed tae Aitken fur anurra wan, as shin as they goat stertit again?'
(p. 59)

The grammar reveals a distinct preference for column 1 items whenever they are available. There is use of the Scots reflexive pronoun *his-sel* and *masel* where the possessive form has *–sel* added, and use of the Scots past tense variant *–it* instead of the English *–ed*, as seen in *blootett* and *stertit*, and *gien* instead of *gave*. The Scots isolate negative particle *no* is used in *no tae be* and there is also the use of the Scots negative article *–nay* instead of the English *–n't* forms in *wiznae* and *didnae*. The Scottish *thoan* is used to express a more specific degree of distance than the English *that* usually conveys. The stigmatised feature *awfae* is used for English *awfully*.[25] So, the Scots tag, *so it did* is used as a reinforcement.[25] So, although the amount of distinctively Scots vocabulary is sparse in this piece, the grammar and references to pronunciations are dense.

The passage from Kelman's short story 'Gardens go on forever' in *The Good Times*, had broad use of vocabulary from columns 1, 3, and 5, and the spelling is not exclusively English in orientation. It would be logical to expect that Kelman would be similarly eclectic in his grammatical choices:

Naw but I have to confess I liked Sidney. Just as well. It must be a nightmare working beside somebody ye hate. I couldnay imagine that. Of course he had his bad points, a lot of bad points. He skived off half the time. Mind you that wasnay a problem because I was beginning to quite like the job's physicality factor. I hadnay at first, it took a bit of getting used to. But now! Well ... maybe I had found my metier, my life's thingwi, a reason to believe and all that shite, who knows. Just if I could have defined my own terms and conditions! Fucking hell! Because yes, I liked this physicality factor, it was having the opposite of a detrimental effect on my body. I looked in the mirror at night and sometimes did the muscle-flexing act with the upper arms. It was great as long as I avoided seeing myself too close, otherwise I could burst out with a weird sort of laugh, it wasnay really a laugh, it was more like a yowl, whatever that is. Nothing to do with an anguished soul. Nevertheless, I was quite happy when Sidney skived off to find a likely hidey-hole, it was like gon to an outdoor gymnasium and getting two workouts for the price of one. He had quite good patter as well – daft, it suited me. When I asked how come he was called Sidney he telt me his old man was a merchant sailor. That was that. I went to the pub and got drunk with him a few times. He could get steamboats just with the smell of the first pint. Then again he could go for hours, I would be a dribbling wreck. And he would still be sitting there, checking out whether or not he could with impunity steal my unfinished lager. That was the kind of bastard he was. He also had the habit of walking out on me! He would tell me he was gon for a slash then disappear. Two

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[25] For information on 'so it did' see Hagan (p. 115).

> hours later I would remember he hadnay come back and still being an innocent I would have to go and check out the cludgie in case he had fallen asleep. I refused to believe a sane person could walk out on my company. So that was Sidney, an insane bastard. (pp. 11-12)

The surprising feature of Kelman's example is that unlike the vocabulary in this piece, there is sometimes exclusive use of particular column 1 grammatical forms over column 5 — for example, the use of –*nay* instead of –*n't* forms — but none the other way round. There are other examples of this grammatical bias towards column 1 options: the use of past tense –*t* for *telt*, *gon* for *going*, and *I have to* for obligation instead of *I must* and the Scottish expression to show external compulsion in *I would have to go*. Other forms included in the passage the Scottish tendency to use *yes* (or *aye*) for emphasis and *how come* for *why*.[26] It is to be expected that there are also many grammatical features that are drawn from the shared column 3.

Essentially, Kelman's grammatical choices reveal a preference for Scots, when the occasion allows, and an aversion to the English grammatical forms of column 5. In Chapter Four it was found that Kelman tended not to 'purify' his text, and this contrasted to the other passages which, outside of column 3 vocabulary, sought to suppress optional variability by selecting items from either columns 1 or 5. While Kelman is seen to freely choose between column 1 and 5 lexis, his grammatical choices are certainly biased toward the Scottish column 1 preferences. This point will be returned to later in the chapter.

In Chapter Four, it was established that a desire for linguistic purity influenced lexical choice. A similar process of uniformity seems to be in operation for grammar. In grammatical terms, the English lexis-oriented passage is entirely consistent in its use of English grammar, as is the Scots lexis-oriented example which consistently uses Scottish grammar. The two Glasgow examples provide a surprising outcome. Mackie's Glaswegian anecdote is grammatically Scots, matching the Scots identity asserted through column 2 spellings, yet with only limited Scots lexis. Kelman's grammatical orientation is similarly Scottish despite showing an eclecticism that displayed no preference for Scots lexis. The question remains — does each of Kelman's examples already analysed in the Chapter Four

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[26] For more information on '-t' see Hagan (p. 106); 'have to' see Hagan (p. 109); 'how come' see Hagan (p. 114).

follow the same trends of lexis and grammar found the examples above? This will be examined in the following section.

Grammatical variation in Kelman's work

Previously, in Chapter Four, a demonstration was given of various passages of Kelman's work which differed in their density of English lexis, shared lexis, and Glaswegian/Scots lexis. In this chapter, these passages are revisited to see if there is a corresponding difference in terms of grammar — one that matches the lexical bias of each example.

In the passage from Kelman's short story 'The Small Family' from *Greyhound for Breakfast*, there was an extended use of column 5 English lexis:

> Another hallmark of the station, though the term is somewhat inappropriate, was the Small Family. As far as many people are concerned when we speak of the station we are speaking of them, the Small Family, but I am not alone in the belief that had the peculiar 'mound' or 'hill' not existed then the Small Family would have associated itself with another station. Individually members of the family were not especially small, rather was the phrase applied as a simplified form of reference by the regulars which in the first instance must have derived from the little mother. There was no father, no male parent, and the female – the little mother – was very small indeed, birdlike almost. Yet be that as it may this tiny woman most certainly was a parent who tended her young come hell or high water. Of the four children in the family group I chiefly recall the eldest, a large boy or young man. (pp. 72-3)

The term 'small family' traditionally refers to a family of young children, and Kelman may be engaging in a play on words in naming this story, and in his description of the family's characteristics. The grammatical choices help match the English lexis to produce an English voice. It is a formal English voice because the sentences contain no contractions, sentence tags, or Scottish reductions and Scottish negations. Quite unlike many sentences produced in spoken discourse, each of the sentences in the example is grammatically complete.

Kelman's short story 'Acid' in *Not Not While the Giro*, was offered as an illustration of a passage that preferred column 3 'common core' lexis, and it is expected that the passage will contain only some obligatory covert Scotticisms, if any Scottish forms at all. Since English and Scottish grammar has many similarities, and this is meant to be an 'unmarked' passage, Scottish Standard English grammar is expected in this passage:

> In this factory in the north of England acid was essential. It was contained in large vats. Gangways were laid above them. Before these gangways were made completely safe a young man fell into a vat feet first. His screams of agony were

> heard all over the department. Except for one old fellow the large body of men was so horrified that for a time not one of them could move. In an instant this old fellow who was also the young man's father had clambered up and along the gangway carrying a big pole. Sorry Hughie, he said. And then ducked the young man below the surface. Obviously the old fellow had had to do this because only the head and shoulders – in fact, that which had been seen above the acid was all that remained of the young man. (p. 115)

Even though this piece of writing also contains no contractions, sentence tags, or Scottish reductions and Scottish negations, it differs from the previous example because it contains a grammatically incomplete sentence. However, this example hints at working-class spoken discourse rather than a particularly Scottish one. Given the many similarities between Scottish and English grammar, it is no surprise that the grammar is very similar to the previous English example. However, at no stage is there the use of an optional English variant over a Scottish one, or vice-versa.

Finally, the Kelman passage with a Glasgow lexical focus from *How Late it Was, How Late* should reveal the use of some Scotticisms and the Scottish grammar mostly found in spoken discourse:

> It was too tempting for a guy like Sammy. He wasnay a homebird. He wasnay used to it. So he liked going out, he liked the pub, no just for the bevy, he liked the crack as well, hearing the patter. Even considering ye were home three years, ye still enjoyed it.
> I'm no kidding ye, he said, even just out walking first thing in the morning, ye forget where ye are, then that first Glasgow voice hits ye; it makes ye smile, know what I'm saying, cause it's a real surprise.
> And ye feel good, ye know, ye feel good, cheery. Then in the pub christ ye dont mean to get drunk. Ye just go for a jar and ye wind up having one too many. An auld story but true. Ye meet guys and ye sit on blethering. (p. 160)

This passage shows the use of Scottish grammatical preferences, such as the use of Scottish negation in *no just for* and the reduction of the operator and in *I'm no*. The Scottish *–nay* ending is used instead of *–n't*. There is a possibility that the Scots *dinna* could be used for *don't*, although this is unlikely in a Glasgow text — in reality the word *dinna* is virtually unused by Glaswegians. There are two grammatically incomplete sentences and use of a contraction in the positive grammatical form, such as found in *I'm* and *it's*, both which are indicative of spoken discourse (because writing tends to avoid contractions of this sort). A large component of the Scots content is the use of *ye*, which occurs repeatedly and stamps the text with a Scottish identity. Essentially then, it seems that Kelman will vary his use of grammar to suit the voice required of the story, and while he

does not aim for lexical purity for his more dense Glaswegian passages, in that they still contain some English-oriented lexis, he is emphatically Scottish when choosing between Scots and English grammatical options.

To summarise, among the non-Kelman examples, the Gray passage with an English lexis-orientation has strictly column 5 English grammar, and the Queen passage with a Scots lexis-orientation uses column 1 Scots grammar whenever possible. The Glaswegian Mackie and Kelman passages have no particular lexical preference for Scots but does display a strong inclination to use Scottish grammar. This is particularly the case for the Kelman passage which exclusively uses some column 1 Scots grammar. In an exploration of Kelman's use of language, as further examples of his work revealed, Kelman is open to using exclusively column 5 English grammar to match the English lexis when he sought an English voice, or column 3 grammar to match his use of the shared lexis of column 3 when he sought an impartial voice; moreover, his Glasgow voice, while column 1 lexis is not always present, displays a distinct allegiance to Scottish grammar. This focus on grammar over lexis or even spelling is unusual considering that the research by Cheshire and Milroy indicates that syntactic (including grammatical) forms of non-standard varieties of English are often devalued more than non-standard vocabulary (p. 15). Despite the greater devaluation of non-standard grammar, Kelman displays a definite disposition for this option. It may be the case that deviating from the standard English option is more important when played out in grammar rather than lexis, and this is certainly an option explored later in this chapter.

Scotticisms

In Chapter Four, an application of Aitken's 'Scottish Accents and Dialects' was used in my analysis. The question was asked whether Scotticisms, both covert and overt, help an author to imbue their voice with a Scottish identity to their voice. Aitken also outlines some grammar-based Scotticisms that distinguish Scottish speakers from Standard English speakers, arguing that:

> there are many peculiarities of Scots syntax which differ rather strikingly from Anglo-English usage, yet operate as covert, and mostly obligatory, Scotticisms. (pp. 106-8)

Furthermore, Aitken recognises that grammatical Scotticisms are somewhat limited in function, occurring mostly in informal speech, and 'as a rule Scots WRITE (and speak formally) standard literary English' where Scotticisms have 'at most only a very occasional' presence (p. 106). Unlike lexical items, most grammatical Scotticisms are used unconsciously (covertly) rather than intentionally (overtly). Thus, grammatical Scotticisms are Scots syntax forms which are mostly obligatory, covert (unintentional markers of Scottishness), and occur mostly in speech and rarely in writing. It is important to note that, while a number of the grammatical Scotticisms identified are not unique to Scotland, and they are shared with other dialects and styles, for the purpose of this thesis the grammatical Scotticisms will only be considered in the Scottish context, regardless of where else they might occur.

Since Scotticisms occur more often in speech than in writing, Kelman's use of these identity markers can be compared to the various SCOTS datasets to ascertain whether Kelman's work matches the patterns of any particular dataset, and reveal any bias for one dataset over another. So, for example, if Kelman's patterns match the general usage trends in writing, this could cast some doubt, in linguistic terms, on his claim to represent oral language of the Glasgow working-class. The reason for this is that Kelman would be expected to retain some of the Glaswegian working-class speech markers considering his self-stated literary project is to depict this kind of language.[27]

It is important to remember that Aitken's original claims about grammatical Scotticisms were made with Scottish speech in mind, so while Kelman's work is being examined for Scotticisms, Aitken's own terms are investigated in order to ascertain their role in the datasets of this thesis. Therefore, this section partly tests Aitken's ideas against datasets drawn from the *Scottish Corpus of Texts and Speech*. The basic questions are: Is the assertion about Scotticisms borne out in a comparison between speech and writing? Is Kelman closer to speech or writing in his patterns? Does Kelman have any significant exaggerations or omissions? Is Kelman's work different to other Scottish fiction in his use of Scotticisms?

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[27] One of Aitken's covert Scotticisms is the Scottish modal idiom *I'll better* used instead of the English variant *I'd better* (p. 106), but since Kelman does not use either form, it was not included in this study.

Grammatical Scotticisms often involve a choice to be made when negating auxiliary verbs. The full array of auxiliary verbs are detailed below in Table 5.2.

Table 5.2: Auxiliary verbs

BE	am, are, is, was, were
HAVE	have, has, had
WILL	will, would
CAN	can, could
DO	do, does, did
MUST	must
SHOULD	should
MIGHT	might
SHALL	shall
MAY	may
OUGHT	ought
NEED	need
DARE	dare

I will use the entire auxiliary group as a point of reference to gain greater knowledge of the frequency of various Scotticisms. A word search of the various datasets will allow general trends to be extrapolated. These counts will be converted into ranks, rates, and ratios because each type of statistic is used for a particular purpose. Rates express how often a feature appears within a dataset, and these can be compared to the rates found in other datasets. Ratios express the preference for one grammatical feature over another, revealing which choice of two comparable options is more popular, and by how much. Finally, ranks indicate which auxiliaries are the most frequently used in the dataset compared to other auxiliaries. The rank of an auxiliary reveals its relative popularity and allows a comparison of how frequently, in relative terms, that same auxiliary appears in another dataset.

Covert Scotticism: a preference for the contracted operator in negation

The first grammatical Scotticism proposed by Aitken involves negative constructions where 'Scots often reduces the operator rather than the negative', encompassing the various negative forms: *no*, *nae*, or *not*. This phenomenon is also recorded in Quirk, Greenbaum, Leech, and Svartvik who note that contracting the operator for negation is preferred in Scotland, and this is also observed by Miller in a study of Scottish conversations, where the reduced

operator is found most frequently in forms of *be*, *–'ll* and *–'ve*.[28] Aitken asserts that the strongest presence of this covert Scotticism will be found for *will* and *be* verbs (thus *I'll no(t) go* should be more commonly used than *I won't go* or *I willnae go*, and *she's no(t) well* should be more commonly used than *she isn't well* or *she isnae well*). Theoretically, in this thesis, considering that Aitken's research focused on Scottish speech, it is expected that the SCOTS SPOKEN dataset will show the least use of *won't/willnae* and the forms of *be*: *amn't/amnae*, *aren't/arenay*, and *isn't/isnae*.

When the negations of *will* and the frequencies are compared across the datasets in this thesis, the SCOTS SPOKEN dataset does not confirm Aitken's assertion that Scottish people prefer a contracted operator over a contracted negative. The data reveals a ratio of 1:29 between the two options, so Scottish people are much more likely to use *won't/willnae* than *–'ll no(t)*. The preference for the non-Scottish option is less obvious in the SCOTS WRITTEN and SCOTS FICTION datasets which share the ratio of 1:1.3. However, the Scotticism is present in KELMAN'S FICTION which has a ratio of 1:0.5. The results are given in Table 5.3.

Table 5.3: Covert Scotticism – a preference for the contracted operator when negating WILL

Negation of WILL	KELMAN'S FICTION ratio	SCOTS FICTION ratio	SCOTS WRITTEN ratio	SCOTS SPOKEN ratio
a preference for *–'ll no(t)* over *won't/willnae*	1 : 0.5	1 : 1.3	1 : 1.3	1 : 29

This puzzling set of results will perhaps be resolved by an examination of various forms of *be*. The data is presented in Table 5.4.

Unlike with WILL, the figures for BE confirm Aitken's assertion. The negations of BE present a more unified picture across the datasets, with variations of *I'm no*, and *you/they/we're no* consistently preferred over *amn't/amnae*, and

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[28] Quirk, et al (p. 123) and Miller, 'Syntax and Discourse in Modern Scots' (p. 87). Miller's data comprised 220,000 words from the Edinburgh Corpus of Spoken Scottish English (ECOSSE); see also Miller 'The Grammar of Scottish English' (p. 114) for another example of the same finding, this time from the Brown-Miller corpus.

Table 5.4: Covert Scotticism – a preference for the contracted operator when negating BE

Negation of BE	KELMAN'S FICTION ratio	SCOTS FICTION ratio	SCOTS WRITTEN ratio	SCOTS SPOKEN ratio
a preference for –'m no(t) and –'re no(t) over *amn't/amnae, aren't/arenae weren't/werenae*	3 : 1	1.6 : 1	2.3 : 1	1.4 : 1

covert Scotticism than SCOTS SPOKEN. SCOTS FICTION's ratio of 1.6:1 is higher than the SCOTS WRITTEN ratio of 2.3:1, but half that of KELMAN'S FICTION which has the highest ratio of a 3:1 preference for the Scottish-marked option. This identifier of Scottish speech is emphasised in Kelman's work to achieve a Scottish identity for his literary voice.

The results for WILL and BE reveal the general trend that the SCOTS SPEECH dataset is the least likely to use this kind of covert Scotticism, while KELMAN'S FICTION is significantly more likely to prefer the Scottish form over the English variant. The finding for SCOTS SPEECH contradicts that of previous research on Scottish speech. An argument might be that this covert Scotticism, instead of being the case where the speaker unwittingly gives away their Scottish identity, is in the process of becoming an overt feature of Scottishness. Also, it might be possible that Scottish speech is moving towards using English grammar, that the SCOTS SPOKEN dataset used in this thesis has a middle-class bias, or that the speakers who contributed to the *Scottish Corpus of Texts and Speech* suppressed these covert Scotticisms because they knew their speech was being formally recorded.

Covert Scotticism: restricted range of *should*, *might*, and *must*, and rare use of *shall*, *may*, and *ought*

Aitken asserts that one feature of the use of Scotticisms involves the terms *should*, *might*, and *must* having a limited range of uses in Scotland. Miller also finds that *must* has a restricted function. Hagan's research also provides information about

should in Scottish speech as not having the same sense of expressing advice or necessity as English; rather, it is used for tentative interrogation.[29]

Since Aitken theorised that general Scottish writing has rare inadvertent Scotticisms, it is expected that there would be a lower incidence of these auxiliaries in KELMAN'S FICTION and SCOTS FICTION, and a higher use of the English forms in SCOTS WRITTEN. Aitken's idea can be tested by searching for differences in rankings of the frequency of the occurrence of these auxiliaries between speech and writing. The ranks can be used to ascertain the popularity of an auxiliary verb in comparison to others in that dataset; thus, it is expected that the words *should*, *might*, and *must* will have lower ranks than the English-oriented general writing. A second expectation is that Kelman will show a bias towards the pattern found in speech. The individual rankings of each word within their own dataset are documented in Table 5.5, and the rates of use are provided in Table 5.6.

Table 5.5: Covert Scotticism – restricted range for *should*, *might*, and *must*

Covert Scotticism	KELMAN'S FICTION	SCOTS FICTION	SCOTS WRITTEN	SCOTS SPOKEN
should has a smaller range	12th of 21	16th of 21	11th of 21	17th of 21
might has a smaller range	13th of 21	17th of 21	18th of 21	16th of 21
must has a smaller range	16th of 21	14th of 21	17th of 21	15th of 21

Table 5.6: *Should*, *might*, and *must* rates

Rate per 1000 words	KELMAN'S FICTION	SCOTS FICTION	SCOTS WRITTEN	SCOTS SPOKEN
should	0.7	0.4	1.3	0.4
might	0.6	0.3	0.5	0.4
must	0.4	0.4	0.6	0.4

Aitken is reasonably correct in his assessment of the use of *should*, *might*, and *must* in SCOTS SPOKEN but this does not always translate to the writing-based communication. As expected, the term *should* is clearly less popular in SCOTS SPOKEN than SCOTS WRITTEN. This tends to support Aitken's assertion that Scottish writing will have fewer Scotticisms than speech. What is surprising is how SCOTS FICTION tends toward SCOTS SPOKEN while Kelman is closer to SCOTS

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[29] For more information on 'should', 'might', and 'must' see Aitken, 'Scottish Accents and Dialects' (p. 107) and note that Miller and Brown also found that *must* and *might* has limited use in Scottish English syntax (p. 11); for 'must' see Miller, 'Syntax and Discourse in Modern Scots' (p. 89); for 'should' see Hagan (p. 108).

WRITTEN, which contradicts other results. However, it was found in Chapter Four that the Kelman does not always use the Scottish word as vigilantly as found in SCOTS FICTION and this may be in effect for his use of *should* and *might*.

Aitken writes that another group of covert Scotticisms is the infrequent use of *shall*, *may*, and *ought*. This has already been verified by the Miller and Brown study that found *shall* and *may* were absent among their data, and Miller later found the same for *ought*.[30] Aitken further asserts that *shall*, *may*, and *ought* appear less than their related modal auxiliaries *should*, *might*, and *must*. What should be found is that the latter group outranks and outnumbers their related terms in each dataset. The individual rankings of each word within their own dataset are documented in Table 5.7, and the rates of use are provided in Table 5.8.

Table 5.7: Covert Scotticism – rare use of *shall*, *may*, and *ought*

Covert Scotticism	KELMAN'S FICTION	SCOTS FICTION	SCOTS WRITTEN	SCOTS SPOKEN
shall is rare	20th of 21	20th of 21	20th of 21	20th of 21
may is rare	19th of 21	18th of 21	14th of 21	19h of 21
ought is rare	21st of 21	21st of 21	21st of 21	21st of 21

Table 5.8: *Shall*, *may*, and *ought* rates

Rate per 1000 words	KELMAN'S FICTION	SCOTS FICTION	SCOTS WRITTEN	SCOTS SPOKEN
shall	0.1	0.1	0.2	0.0
may	0.1	0.2	0.9	0.1
ought	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0

The counts indicate that Aitken's assertions are correct in each dataset, an example being in SCOTS SPOKEN where *should* outnumbers *shall* by nine times; *might* outnumbers *may* by six times; and *must* outnumbers *ought* by sixty-eight times. The ranking reflects similar trends for other datasets. Overall, the general patterns between datasets are reasonably similar, with comparatively equal or less use of *shall*, *may*, and *ought* in SCOTS SPOKEN than SCOTS WRITTEN. Both SCOTS FICTION and KELMAN'S FICTION mirror the rankings of SCOTS SPOKEN, with the exception of a more frequent use of *may* in SCOTS FICTION. The word *may* also

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[30] For more information on 'shall', 'may' and 'ought' see Aitken, *Scots Accents*, where he writes that they 'hardly occur' (p. 107); 'shall' and 'may' see Miller and Brown (pp. 6-7); 'ought' see Miller, 'The Grammar of Scottish English' (p. 116)

happens to be the point of greatest deviance between SCOTS SPOKEN and SCOTS WRITTEN. Nonetheless, across the datasets, all six words are infrequent, as Aitken predicted. Corroborating this finding, in another study of Scottish speech, 'Syntax and Discourse in Modern Scots', Miller found that no participant used *shall*, *may*, or *ought* (p. 89), so in this case Kelman seems to prefer what seems to be a proven feature of spoken discourse.

Covert Scotticism: the frequent use of *have (got) to*

Aitken claims in 'Scottish Accents and Dialects' that Scottish people choose the modal idioms of *have to* or *have got to* in order to express obligation. He suggests that *should*, *might*, and *must* are relatively restricted in Scots compared to English (p. 107), so theoretically *have (got) to* should appear more frequently than *should*, *might*, or *must*. Miller and Brown also found that *have (got) to* is used to express necessity among speakers in their study.[31] The rankings should reveal the comparative place of *have (got) to* among the general auxiliaries. The individual rankings of each word within their own dataset are documented in Table 5.9, and the rates of use are provided in Table 5.10.

Table 5.9: Covert Scotticisms by rank – *have (got) to* is more frequent than *should*, *might*, and *must*

	KELMAN'S FICTION	SCOTS FICTION	SCOTS WRITTEN	SCOTS SPOKEN
have (got) to position among the ranks	Usage rate falls between ranks 12th and 13th	Usage rate falls between ranks 17th and 18th	Usage rate falls between ranks 19th and 20th	Usage rate falls between ranks 13th and 14th
should	12th of 21	16th of 21	11th of 21	17th of 21
might	13th of 21	17th of 21	18th of 21	16th of 21
must	16th of 21	14th of 21	17th of 21	15th of 21

Table 5.10: *Have (got) to* rates compared to *should*, *might*, and *must*

Rate per 1000 words	KELMAN'S FICTION	SCOTS FICTION	SCOTS WRITTEN	SCOTS SPOKEN
have (got) to	0.7	0.2	0.3	0.7
should	0.7	0.4	1.3	0.4
might	0.6	0.3	0.5	0.4
must	0.4	0.4	0.6	0.4

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[31] Miller and Brown (pp. 8-11); see also Miller 'The Grammar of Scottish English' (pp. 117-8).

The results show that *have (got) to* outranks the obligation auxiliaries, but not by much, and this covert Scotticism is arguably more of a spoken than written form of language since it ranks between 13th-14th place for SCOTS SPOKEN and between 19th-20th place in SCOTS WRITTEN. Kelman is the most frequent user of *have (got) to*, with a higher ranked use of this Scotticism than SCOTS SPOKEN, but this is also true of the related terms *should* and *might*, so it may not be an important difference, especially when both occur at a rate of 0.7 per 1,000 words. Nonetheless, Aitken's notion that *have (got) to* is more common in speech than writing seems to be true because it is much less common in SCOTS FICTION and SCOTS WRITTEN at rates of 0.2 and 0.3 per 1,000 words, which is under half the rate found in SCOTS SPOKEN, which KELMAN'S FICTION matches.

Covert Scotticism: *can* replaces *may* for permission

Aitken asserts in 'Scottish Accents and Dialects' that 'the only modal of permission, for most Scots in informal speech (including many habitual Scottish Standard English speakers) is the verb *can*; *may* is not an option for them' (p. 106). One way to test this idea is to provide ratios of use between *can* and *may* within and between the various datasets. However, it must be noted that a possible confounding factor is that the verb *can* has other commonly-used meanings beyond acting as a modal of permission; however, this can be partially offset by collating the findings against the ratios of the ranking of the word *may* against other auxiliary verbs generally. After cross-checking the data, it seems that the confounding factor seems to have little effect because *may* usually ranks very low in the datasets. Table 5.11 shows the results.

Table 5.11: A comparison of *can* and *may*

Scotticism	KELMAN'S FICTION	SCOTS FICTION	SCOTS WRITTEN	SCOTS SPOKEN
can versus *may*	10 : 1	8 : 1	1.8 : 1	54 : 1
may	19th of 21	18th of 21	14th of 21	19th of 21

The figures confirm that *can* is used more often than *may* in SCOTS SPOKEN (with a ratio of 54:1) than in SCOTS WRITTEN (with a much lower ratio of 1.8:1). These results tend to indicate that speech is the most likely candidate for providing

tentative support of Aitken's notion. KELMAN'S FICTION has a ratio of 10:1 and SCOTS FICTION has a ratio of 8:1, which are not as large as the ratio found in SCOTS SPOKEN. Nonetheless, both datasets move away from the trends of SCOTS WRITTEN towards spoken discourse, with KELMAN'S FICTION closest to SCOTS SPOKEN.

Overt Scotticism: *dinna* is a conscious symbol of Scottishness

To reiterate a point made earlier, in 'Scottish Accents and Dialects' Aitken asserts that there are Scottish Standard English speakers who 'intentionally depart from their regular 'English' by selecting Scottish-marked expressions' (p. 107). He names these expressions 'overt Scotticisms', and nominates the use of *dinna* for *don't* as an example of this. The term *dinna* is the only grammatical Scotticism nominated by Aitken which is focused on auxiliary use. Table 5.12 shows their ratios of use in each of the datasets.

Table 5.12: Scotticism – overt use of *dinna* in preference to *don't*

Scotticism	KELMAN'S FICTION	SCOTS FICTION	SCOTS WRITTEN	SCOTS SPOKEN
dinna versus *don't*	0 : 1993	1 : 1.1	1 : 0.9	1 : 3.3

A search of the SCOTS datasets reveal that this is certainly true for SCOTS FICTION and SCOTS WRITTEN, where *dinna* is used at a ratio of about 1:1 with *don't*. However, SCOTS SPOKEN has fewer incidents of *dinna* at a ratio of 1:3.3 to *don't*. Ideally, the term *dinna* should be more prevalent when a Scottish identity is required, and Aitken particularly predicted this in a middle-class or Scottish Standard English context; however, it is not found for Kelman. The very premise of the overt Scotticisms, as proposed by Aitken, is that they are found mostly in formal occasions particularly by Standard English speakers 'as a deliberate deviation from normal style'. That Kelman makes no use of *dinna* is unsurprising, especially if it is remembered that he feels no need to use Scottish words over English ones. Furthermore, *don't* is the preferred form for Glaswegians. It is important to note that *dinna* has been proposed by some researchers to be a non-Glaswegian term. In *Traditional Dialect in the Modern World*, Macafee modifies her use of data involving *dinna* for her own study of Glaswegian because, as she explains '*dinnae* is quantified separately, because this was quite rare, *don't* being

usual' (p. 223). Miller and Brown likewise found that *don't* is more frequent than other *–n't* forms.[32] Kelman, in his aim to represent Glasgow speech is thus unlikely to use *dinna*, and the results show this.

Summary of Scotticisms

The SCOTS SPOKEN dataset displays mixed evidence for and against Aitken's assertions about specific Scotticisms. Nonetheless, some significant differences has been identified between SCOTS SPOKEN and SCOTS WRITTEN which tend to support Aitken's overall notions. The comparison of Kelman's data to other data provides important information about where Kelman's writing fits within the Scottish context and about how he creates a Glasgow identity through the use of Scotticisms.

Aitken originally asserts in 'Scottish Accents and Dialects' that covert Scotticisms occur in informal speech, particularly working-class speech, and should be found 'only occasionally' in formal speech and writing (p. 106-7). The basic idea upon which this analysis is based is that Scottish speech demonstrates more covert Scotticisms than writing. Nearly all Scotticisms are shown to be present when SCOTS SPOKEN is compared against SCOTS WRITTEN. The strength of the evidence varies and it is apparent that there are more Scotticisms in SCOTS WRITTEN than might be expected, but some of this is due to the creative writing sections of that dataset.

Except for the uses of *might* and *don't*, Kelman's work falls within the range between speech and writing. The KELMAN'S FICTION dataset does not always veer towards speech in its trends, but often it is true that his patterns are closer to SCOTS SPOKEN than other writers in the SCOTS FICTION dataset, (except for the underuse of *dinna* and the overuse of contracted operators), but the notable examples of closeness to speech are *can*, and *have (got) to*. Of the few times that Kelman deviates from the trends of spoken discourse, he matches the patterns found in SCOTS FICTION. An example is his use of *might*, perhaps reflecting the use of past tense *may* for narrative, and another example is that he matches the pattern of general writing for *should*.

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[32] Their explanation is that *dinnae*, combining a stem and a bound morpheme, both in Scots forms, is particularly susceptible to correction.

The major difference between Kelman's work and other Scottish fiction is the general orientations: SCOTS FICTION overall inclines towards the patterns of SCOTS WRITTEN whereas KELMAN'S FICTION often falls much closer to the patterns found SCOTS SPOKEN. Moreover, Kelman sometimes amplifies some Scotticisms above their frequency of use in speech, such as found for the reduction of the operator *have*, the use of *have (got) to*, and the avoidance of *dinna*.

While SCOTS SPOKEN and SCOTS WRITTEN are sometimes evenly distributed in their use of Scotticisms, there are few instances where SCOTS SPOKEN is outnumbered by SCOTS WRITTEN. Indeed, the most unexpected finding is that general writing has a greater use of the contracted operator Scotticisms involved in the negation of *will* and *be*. An advantage of using a contracted operator is it avoids the problem of choosing between a *–n't* and *–na* affix — in other words, choosing between an English or Scottish identity; however, the user is then faced with a further problem of using the English standard negator *not* or the Scots standard negator *no*. This discrepancy will be explained in depth in the next section on negation.

Kelman's use of *–n't* contractions to align the text with spoken discourse

Quirk et al describe the contracted negative *–n't* as an informal enclitic, and note that it is not often found in formal English (pp. 80, 777). When the informal enclitic does appear in writing it is most commonly used for the purpose of representing informal speech. Since phonetic elision is largely irrelevant to written language, it is of interest when the informal enclitic appears, since it shows an attempt to shift the language focus onto spoken discourse. If the notion of the contracted negative being both informal and speech-based is correct, with regard to English in general, then it might be expected to be true of Scots also and that, if so, the SCOTS datasets should produce supporting evidence. This was found to be correct. The individual figures are presented in Table 5.13.

The SCOTS datasets show there are strong patterns that emerge in the use of *–n't* forms in Scottish speech and writing. Among the auxiliaries used in this study, speech has a word ending in *–n't* 7.9 times per 1,000 words, contrasting to writing

Table 5.13: Contracted negative _–n't_ rates (with or without apostrophes)

Contracted negative	KELMAN'S FICTION rate per 1,000	SCOTS FICTION rate per 1,000	SCOTS WRITTEN rate per 1,000	SCOTS SPOKEN rate per 1,000
amn't	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0
aren't	0.1	0.1	0.0	0.2
isn't	0.1	0.2	0.1	0.7
wasn't	0.6	0.2	0.1	0.4
weren't	0.1	0.0	0.0	0.1
haven't	0.0	0.1	0.0	0.3
hasn't	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.1
hadn't	0.2	0.1	0.0	0.1
don't	2.6	0.5	0.2	3.2
doesn't	0.2	0.2	0.1	0.3
didn't	0.8	0.3	0.1	1.0
can't	0.3	0.3	0.1	0.6
couldn't	0.3	0.1	0.1	0.2
won't	0.1	0.1	0.0	0.2
wouldn't	0.3	0.1	0.0	0.4
mustn't	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0
shouldn't	0.1	0.0	0.0	0.0
mayn't	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0
mightn't	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0
shan't	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0
Combined rate of _–n't_	5.8	2.4	0.9	7.9

which registers it 0.9 times per 1,000 words. This tends to indicate that _–n't_ forms are associated with speech and avoided in writing, at least within the SCOTS datasets. Essentially then, the combined totals for the contracted negative involve SCOTS SPOKEN and SCOTS WRITTEN forming two poles which SCOTS FICTION and KELMAN'S FICTION falling between.

Although SCOTS WRITTEN contains formal written documents, SCOTS FICTION includes frequent representations of speech and should be more likely to use contracted negatives. This is evident in the rate of use — 2.4 times per 1,000 words — which is two and a half times that of SCOTS WRITTEN rate of 0.9. It would be expected that KELMAN'S FICTION, with Kelman's self-stated aim being to shape writing by encompassing features of spoken language, would have a greater use of the informal enclitic. This is true since he has a word ending in _–n't_ 5.8 times per 1,000 words. This rate is two and a half times more than SCOTS FICTION and six and a half times more than SCOTS WRITTEN. The KELMAN'S FICTION dataset clearly aligns closely to the rate of contracted negatives found in

SCOTS SPOKEN. The frequency of this speech-based form in Kelman reinforces the speech-based nature of all his writing – dialogue and narrative. In comparison, it is typical for SCOTS FICTION to incline towards the general patterns of written language.

There are some notable exceptions to the trend of negation among the datasets. One example is *amn't* where neither KELMAN'S FICTION nor SCOTS FICTION uses this form although it is found in both SCOTS SPOKEN and SCOTS WRITTEN. In 'Syntax and Discourse in Modern Scots', Miller identifies educated speakers as occasionally using *amn't* (p. 87). This could explain why Kelman treats it as an inappropriate form. However, *amn't* is rare even in speech and writing, and only occurs twice in the SCOTS FICTION dataset in dialect dialogues, and although *amn't* is recorded as a Scottish/Irish form by Quirk et al (p. 129), it seems not only out of favour in imaginative prose but also falling into disuse in speech and writing. Another deviation from the general trends of negation is that KELMAN'S FICTION records higher use of *hadn't* (0.2 per 1,000 words) than that found in SCOTS SPOKEN or SCOTS FICTION (both 0.1 times per 1,000 words). This may be a result of a tense orientation preference in Kelman's fiction. Kelman's tense orientation might also explain why KELMAN'S FICTION uses the word *wasn't* more than SCOTS SPOKEN: 0.6 times per 1,000 words compared to 0.4 times per 1,000 words, and much greater than SCOTS WRITTEN with 0.1 incidents per 1,000 words. A further deviation from the pattern of negation occurs with use of the word *mustn't* KELMAN'S FICTION, where he nearly matches the rate found in SCOTS WRITTEN. However, in Kelman's work, the word *mustn't* appears only in the dialogue of medical professionals, not the average person, and probably indicates a class difference in language.

In conclusion, Kelman's use of *–n't* is significantly greater than the other writing-based datasets. This possibly due to Kelman's tendency to conflate dialogue and narrative, which leads to an overall greater use of *–n't* forms than in SCOTS FICTION and SCOTS WRITTEN which tend to restrict the use of *–n't* forms to depictions of speech.

Kelman's use of *–na* aligns the text with spoken discourse

A way to show Scottish allegiance and identity is through the use of the Scottish cliticized negator *–na*, also spelt *–nae*, *–ny*, *–nay*, and *–ni*. The method of negation changes between register and dataset, so it also serves a social class function. In *Negation in Non-Standard British English: Gaps, Regularizations and Asymmetries*, Anderwald considers the Scottish negative forms and finds that: 'the choice of a more standard form is typically governed by the formality of the situation and the higher social class of the speaker' (p. 54). Macaulay found in *Locating Dialect* that, apart from phonology, 'negation is the feature that shows the most salient social class differentiation' (p. 50). He discovered that the working-class speakers in Ayr used the Scottish *–na* forms, and rarely used *–n't* forms (except for the special case of *don't* which has nearly replaced *dinnae* in Glasgow). He also found that middle-class speakers tend to cliticize the operator primarily for *is*, *are*, and *will*, or avoid contracted forms altogether.

The differences between speech and writing in the use or avoidance of the informal English contracted negative *–n't* has been established, so in this section there will be an exploration of how the Scottish forms add to the identification of the text. This involves an examination of the various Scottish enclitic negative particles and their distribution across the SCOTS datasets and KELMAN'S FICTION, and this should allow insight into the extent of the informality, social class orientation, and Scottishness of the different datasets.

In terms of range, Anderwald has found that *–n't* forms are not equivalent to *–na* forms:

> the cliticized negator *–nae* behaves in a strikingly different way from the clitic *–n't* in standard English. Auxiliary verbs which are negated with *–nae* cannot invert with the subject. Forms in *–nae* can therefore never occur in full interrogatives or in tag questions. (p. 55)

Another point to be taken into account is that the full inventory of negative contracted verbs in Scottish English, as presented in Anderwald, does not include the *–na* form of the following words: *may, might, need, ought, shall*, despite there being possible *–n't* equivalents (p. 55). Although *dare* is not listed by Anderwald for either the *–n't* or *–na* it is a marginal modal and so *dare* can also be added to the inventory of verbs that do not currently attract a cliticized negator. Therefore,

a search for all *–na* variations involves the words *am*, *are*, *can*, *could*, *did*, *do*, *does*, *had*, *has*, *have*, *is*, *must*, *should*, *was*, *were*, *will*, and *would*. Macafee states in *Glasgow* that the two main pronunciations of the enclitic negative particle of the West Mid dialect traditionally appear in three different spellings in writing: *–na*, *–nae*, and *–ny* (p. 47).[33] The selection of one or other of these spellings is commonly found Scottish writing; however, it becomes clear from a survey of Kelman's writing that he avoids these spellings altogether even though the pronunciations are the same and he uses *–nay* and *–ni* spellings instead. The word forms are listed in Table 5.14 and the rates in Table 5.15.

Table 5.14: Positive auxiliaries and their *–na* variants

Positive Forms	Possible forms of the Scottish cliticized operator in writing
am	amnae, amnay, amny, amni, amna
are	arenae, arenay, areny, areni, arena
is	isnae, isnay, isny, isni, isna
was	wasnae, wasnay, wasny, wasni, wasna
were	werenae, werenay, wereny, wereni, werena
have	havenae, havenay, haveny, haveni, havena
has	hasnae, hasnay, hasny, hasni, hasna
had	hadnae, hadnay, hadny, hadni, hadna
do	dinnae, dinnay, dinny, dinni, dinna
does	doesnae, doesnay, doesny, doesni, doesna
did	didnae, didnay, didny, didni, didna
can	cannae, cannay, canny, canni, canna
could	couldnae, couldnay, couldny, couldni, couldna
will	willnae, willnay, willny, willni, willna
would	wouldnae, wouldnay, wouldny, wouldni, wouldna
must	mustnae, mustnay, mustny, mustni, mustna
should	shouldnae, shouldnay, shouldny, shouldni, shouldna

The results show that the patterns of *–na* are different to those found for *–n't*. The SCOTS SPOKEN and SCOTS WRITTEN datasets show much smaller differences in their application of the various Scots cliticized negators, with 2.8 versus 1.0 uses per 1,000 words. This could be because the formality level of this negation is not as significant as perhaps predicted, but nonetheless there remains a divide between SCOTS SPOKEN and SCOTS WRITTEN. Another difference is the great variation displayed in SCOTS FICTION, which although it overall maintains a frequency that sits between SCOTS SPOKEN and SCOTS WRITTEN overall, 2.2 per

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[33] The traditional Standard Scots spelling *-na* and continues to be used even though it does not represent phonetically either of the two main pronunciations found in the West Central dialect area.

Table 5.15: Scottish cliticized negator rates –na

Rate per 1000 words	KELMAN'S FICTION	SCOTS FICTION	SCOTS WRITTEN	SCOTS SPOKEN
amna	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0
arena	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0
isna	0.2	0.1	0.0	0.0
wasna	0.7	0.0	0.0	0.1
werena	0.1	0.0	0.0	0.0
havena	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.1
hasna	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0
hadna	0.2	0.0	0.0	0.0
dinna	0.0	0.5	0.3	1.0
doesna	0.2	0.0	0.0	0.1
didna	0.9	0.9	0.3	0.4
canna	0.3	0.4	0.2	0.5
couldna	0.5	0.2	0.1	0.1
winna	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.1
wouldna	0.3	0.0	0.0	0.2
musna	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0
shouldna	0.1	0.0	0.0	0.0
Combined rate of –na	3.4	2.2	1.0	2.8

1,000 words, has unexpected exceptions for particular words. Finally, KELMAN'S FICTION is of most interest, since it has a tendency to use the Scots cliticized negator more frequently than any category in the SCOTS datasets, 3.4 per 1,000 words, and appears to be giving more emphasis to this part of grammar than in the SCOTS SPOKEN dataset.

While it seems that Kelman uses the cliticized negator more than that of everyday speech, there is the possibility that, as pointed out in the discussion of –n't patterns, the speech samples may be produced in a formal setting with self-conscious speakers and thus fewer of these informal –na forms are used. This level of formality can alter the participants' grammatical choices. Miller's research would indicate this to be the case, since he found a contradictory result among Scottish speakers where the –na forms are more popular form of negation among the modals. However, this is not the case for the SCOTS SPOKEN dataset used in this thesis.

Furthermore, in terms of overall negation rates, Kelman may not be exaggerating the rate of –na and –n't beyond that used in Scottish speech, as the results in Table 5.16 demonstrate.

Table 5.16: Combined Scottish cliticized negator *–na* and English contracted negative *–n't* rates

Copula	KELMAN'S FICTION *–na* and *–n't*	SCOTS FICTION *–na* and *–n't*	SCOTS WRITTEN *–na* and *–n't*	SCOTS SPOKEN *–na* and *–n't*
am	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0
are	0.1	0.1	0.0	0.2
is	0.3	0.2	0.1	0.7
was	1.3	0.2	0.1	0.5
were	0.2	0.1	0.0	0.2
have	0.0	0.1	0.0	0.3
has	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.1
had	0.4	0.1	0.0	0.1
do	2.6	1.0	0.5	4.2
does	0.4	0.2	0.1	0.5
did	1.7	1.2	0.4	1.4
can	0.6	0.6	0.3	1.1
could	0.8	0.3	0.1	0.3
will	0.1	0.1	0.0	0.4
would	0.6	0.2	0.1	0.5
must	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0
should	0.1	0.0	0.0	0.1
may	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0
might	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0
shall	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0
Total *–n't* and *–na*	9.2	4.5	1.8	10.7

When examining total negation rates (of the cliticized negator *–na* and contracted negative *–n't*) the SCOTS SPOKEN dataset registers 10.7 per 1,000 words and KELMAN'S FICTION 9.2 per 1,000 words, unlike the SCOTS FICTION and SCOTS WRITTEN datasets with rates of 4.5 and 1.8 per 1,000 words respectively. Against this broader perspective, Kelman displays a pattern of negation that clearly reflects spoken discourse.

Summary of *–n't* and *–na*

Kelman's writing, by virtue of requiring both a working-class and Scottish identity, needs to use both *–n't* and *–na*. His use of these forms contrast to SCOTS WRITTEN which is least likely to use *–n't* and SCOTS SPOKEN which has the highest rate. The figures are recapped in Table 5.17.

Table 5.17: Total negation among the datasets

Totals	KELMAN'S FICTION rate per 1,000	SCOTS FICTION rate per 1,000	SCOTS WRITTEN rate per 1,000	SCOTS SPOKEN rate per 1,000
total –n't	5.8	2.4	0.9	7.9
total –na	3.4	2.2	1.0	2.8
combined totals	9.2	4.5	1.8	10.7

Within these figures for –n't, SCOTS FICTION tended towards SCOTS WRITTEN and KELMAN'S FICTION came closest to the rate found in SCOTS SPOKEN. In terms of fictional depiction, where –n't evokes a sense of spoken discourse, Kelman is over twice as likely to use this grammatical form as other Scottish fiction. While some might argue that this result is a function of Kelman seeking to express his subject in negative terms, rather than an actual comparative emphasis on using –n't, the fact remains that rate of negation in KELMAN'S FICITON approaches that of SCOTS SPEECH. This means that Kelman's use of –n't is not unrealistic, rather, that he attempts to evoke the expressive choices found in spoken discourse. Furthermore, While it might first appear that Kelman has an unusually large rate of negation involving –na forms, even above that of spoken discourse, when the two rates of –n't and –na are combined, the rates of negation in KELMAN'S FICTION remain lower than those of SCOTS SPOKEN. It is true, however, that he uses –na forms of negation more than any SCOTS dataset for the purpose of imprinting his writing with a Scottish identity. Not even SCOTS FICTION takes advantage of this opportunity to use this distinct feature of the Scots language. This discussion will now move onto another set of grammatical options Kelman uses to allude to spoken discourse, this time through the inclusion of common and identifiably Glaswegian pronominal and syntactic forms.

Scottish *ye* versus English *you* as a feature of spoken discourse

The Booker Prize Panel chairman Richard Cobb rejected *The Busconductor Hines* because it was 'written entirely in Glaswegian'.[34] He further commented 'it was in dialect, like Burns's poems' and 'lacking a dictionary, I soon gave up'.[35] While the use of Scottish negation (use of –na and a preference for the contracted

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[34] P.H.S., p. 18.
[35] P.H.S., p. 18; cited in Klaus *James Kelman*, p. 1.

operator) contributes heavily to this sense of dialect, is not the only grammatical feature that is used in Kelman's work to create this impression, as the opening paragraph of *How Late it Was, How Late* will reveal:

> Ye wake in a corner and stay there hoping yer body will disappear, the thoughts smothering ye; these thoughts; but ye want to remember and face up to things, just something keeps ye from doing it, why can ye no do it; the words filling yer head: then the other words; there's something wrong; there's something far far wrong; ye're no a good man, ye're just no a good man. Edging back into awareness, of where ye are: here, slumped in this corner, with these thoughts filling ye. And oh christ his back was sore; stiff, and the head pounding. He shivered and hunched up his shoulders, shut his eyes, rubbed into the corners with his fingertips; seeing all kinds of spots and lights. Where in the name of fuck... (p. 1)

A particularly noticeable feature of this opening paragraph is Kelman's extensive use of the word *ye*. The effect is to immediately locate the character as a non-Standard English speaker in a regional area. However, the question is how much Kelman's use of the traditional Scottish *ye* over the English *you* compares to the other datasets. The word *ye* is not a neutral word and if Aitken's model of Scottish speech and its social class-based distributions is correct, *ye* would be most found in working-class speech and least in writing. Thus, the distribution of *ye* and *you* will differ among the datasets.

A further contributing factor to the rate of pronoun use is that it varies by social class, regardless of the form adopted being either *ye* or *you*. Macaulay in *Locating Dialect*, a study of class-based language differences, notes that second person pronouns are more frequent among the lower class (p. 78). Argyle also notes that working-class speech has more personal pronouns (p. 129). A summary of the ratios and rates for *ye* and *you* are given in Tables 5.18 and 5.19.

Table 5.18: *you* and *ye* ratios

Ratio	KELMAN'S FICTION	SCOTS FICTION	SCOTS WRITTEN	SCOTS SPOKEN
ye : *you* ratio	1 : 1.5	1 : 0.6	1 : 1.1	1 : 6.8

Table 5.19: *you* and *ye* rates

Rate per 1,000 words	KELMAN'S FICTION	SCOTS FICTION	SCOTS WRITTEN	SCOTS SPOKEN
ye rate	7.3	6.4	2.8	3.9
you rate	11.1	4.0	3.1	26.8
Totals	18.4	10.5	5.9	30.8

As expected, SCOTS SPOKEN has a higher rate of use than SCOTS WRITTEN for second-person pronouns. Kelman, with his desire to render a spoken working-

class language, has a rate of use two thirds less than SCOTS SPOKEN, two thirds more second-person pronouns than SCOTS FICTION, and over three times more than SCOTS WRITTEN. It could be argued that Kelman shapes his writing to adopt the features of spoken discourse, which in this case means a greater use of second-person pronouns. However, this is also partly true of SCOTS FICTION, which also has a higher use of second-person pronouns than SCOTS WRITTEN. The KELMAN'S FICTION and SCOTS FICTION datasets also have lower ratios of difference between the use of these words than SCOTS SPOKEN, suggesting that *ye* is being exploited by both datasets, particularly SCOTS FICTION, for its Scottishness and its ability to indicate a feature of Scottish spoken discourse. Nonetheless, KELMAN'S FICTION overall rate of second-person pronouns is much higher than SCOTS FICTION, and this indicates a special attempt to incorporate working-class spoken discourse practices in his writing.

In terms of using the Scottish *ye* over the English *you*, the results for both SCOTS WRITTEN and SCOTS SPOKEN are unusual. It is expected that speech would use *ye* more than it does, and writing would avoid *ye* as much as possible unless it is representing Scots, but this is not the case. It might be that the speakers in the SCOTS SPOKEN corpus felt self-conscious and reduced their use of *ye* in preference for a perceived 'proper' *you*. It also might be that the speech transcription process under-represented the use of *ye* because its unstressed pronunciation is close to that of *you*. The high ratio of *ye* to *you* in SCOTS WRITING has likely been skewed by the high rate of use of *ye* in the composite imaginative writing texts of the dataset, and there are fewer uses of both *ye* or *you* overall in this dataset to counteract the effects of the large number of uses in fiction, poems, and plays which would generally seek the Scottish identity imparted through the use of *ye*.

The picture of second-person pronouns may change when the related forms *yer* and *your* are involved. Listed as a Scottish form under the heading *your* in the SND, *yer* is first seen in Renfrew around 1810. The spellings of *yer* and *yir* are popular in West Mid and Mid Scots areas in later examples from the SND, so a search of *yer*, *yir*, and *yur* was conducted alongside *your*, and presented in the data in Tables 5.20 and 5.21.

Table 5.20: *yer* and *your* ratios

Ratio	KELMAN'S FICTION	SCOTS FICTION	SCOTS WRITTEN	SCOTS SPOKEN
yer : *your* ratio	1 : 2.0	1 : 0.8	1 : 1.4	1 : 7.3

Table 5.21: *yer* and *your* rates

Rate per 1,000 words	KELMAN'S FICTION	SCOTS FICTION	SCOTS WRITTEN	SCOTS SPOKEN
yer rate	0.8	1.2	0.5	0.6
your rate	1.6	0.9	0.7	4.1
Totals	2.4	2.1	1.2	4.7

All datasets display an increased preference for the English *your* over the Scottish *yer* when the above figures are compared to the ratios found for English and Scottish *you* of Tables 5.18 and 5.19. While SCOTS SPOKEN and KELMAN'S FICTION show the same large preference for using English *your*, these datasets already had shown greater preference for English *you*. An important influence on the rate of *yer* and *your* in KELMAN'S FICTION is his frequent use of the second-person narrative style. The least movement between the ratio of the Scottish form to the English form is found in SCOTS FICTION, which most preferred the Scottish *yer* over the English *your*, though not by as large a ratio as found for the use of *ye* over *you*. SCOTS WRITTEN shows a slight increase in its ratio of use of *your* instead of *yer* but it is smaller than the change seen in SCOTS SPOKEN and KELMAN'S FICTION. However, both KELMAN'S FICTION and SCOTS FICTION have a rate of use for *ye* that still greatly outnumbers SCOTS SPOKEN and SCOTS WRITTEN. In terms of Kelman's usage of pronouns, the overall rate of *yer* and *your* tends to support the notion that KELMAN'S FICTION use of second-person pronouns is much higher than SCOTS FICTION, partly due to his attempt to incorporate working-class speech in his writing regardless of the Scottishness of that writing.

A special case: *yous*

While *ye* is now used as a single-person pronoun, it was the originally the plural form. Under the entry for *ye*, the SND describes the 20th century development of the 'distinctive plural forms' of *yez* and *yous* [jiz, juz], noting that these plural forms 'have spread, especially in illiterate use in mid Scots'. The first citation is given from West Mid Scots in 1921 and most of the subsequent SND citations are sourced from the West Mid and Mid Scots dialect areas that Glasgow falls within.

In ''Glasgow Dialect in Literature', Macafee writes that this non-traditional second person plural pronoun 'is now general in Glasgow dialect, and apparently spreading from there into other central dialects' (p. 45). Miller and Brown also mentions the use of *yous* in urban Scottish English syntax (p. 16). In *Non-Standard English and Dialect Levelling*,[36] Jenny Cheshire et al reveal that *youse* is more frequently reported for Glasgow (and North England) than other areas of British dialect (p. 72).

Macaulay notes in *Locating Dialect* that *youse* 'occurs sporadically in the lower-class interviews' (pp. 73-4), and in 'The Grammar of Scottish English' Miller writes that 'Scots has a second person plural *yous* or *yous yins*, very frequent and assiduously avoided by educated speakers even in informal situations' (p. 108). According to the SND, *yous* is of Irish influence, and in *Locating Dialect* Macaulay postulates Northern Ireland specifically (pp. 73-4). In contrast to the traditional plural form *ye*, the modern *yous* forms are heavily stigmatised, probably because of its urban lower-class and Irish associations. Similarly, with the above in mind, there should be rare use of *yous* and *yez* found for all datasets except for KELMAN'S FICTION, which seeks a working-class Glaswegian voice. The search terms used in creating Table 5.22 were *yez*, *yiz*, *yous*, and *youse*, since these are the main spellings used in the literature.[37]

Table 5.22: All *yous* rate per 1,000 words

Rate per 1,000 words	KELMAN'S FICTION	SCOTS FICTION	SCOTS WRITTEN	SCOTS SPOKEN
All *yous* rate	0.50	0.04	0.01	0.06

Surprisingly, there is no use of the spelling *yiz* found in any dataset, even though it is signalled as a regular spelling in the SND. In *Glasgow*, Macafee notes of the spelling of *youse* is 'often written yiz when unstressed' (p. 51). More importantly, there are no instances of *youse* in SCOTS SPOKEN. One reason might be that the speakers who contributed the data to the *Scottish Corpus of Texts and Speech* were self-consciously monitoring their language production and avoiding stigmatised forms.

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[36] Cheshire's study of urban dialect was based upon The Survey of British Dialect Grammar
[37] For examples of these spellings see: SND; Macafee, *Glasgow* (p. 51); Miller and Brown (p. 16); Macafee, *Glasgow* (p. 45); Macaulay, *Locating Dialect* (pp. 73-4).

The rate of use for *yous* in KELMAN'S FICTION is much higher than other datasets, 8 times greater than SCOTS SPOKEN and 50 times greater than SCOTS WRITTEN. Kelman includes a form of *yous* around every 2,000 words whereas SCOTS FICTION has one around every 25,000 words. Kelman seems to have chosen this form as a strong marker of class and for its association with Glasgow. This is a significant choice considering that *yous* seems to be avoided in the other datasets.

Summary of *ye* usage among the datasets

If only the rates of use are counted, then SCOTS SPOKEN greatly outnumbers the other datasets in its use of all variations of the second-person pronoun, except for the plural forms of *yez* where is has the second highest rate. As predicted, SCOTS WRITTEN always has the lowest rates of use for all forms. KELMAN'S FICTION often matches the trends found in SCOTS SPOKEN, but is often lower both than SCOTS FICTION and SCOTS WRITTEN in the ratio of use of Scottish forms over English options. Thus, SCOTS FICTION outnumbers SCOTS SPOKEN (and KELMAN'S FICTION to a lesser extent) for its rate of Scottish forms *ye* and *yer*, but not for the English *you* and *your* or the stigmatised *yez* forms. Both SCOTS FICTION and KELMAN'S FICTION seem to have elevated rates of the Scottish *ye* and *yer* because these words indicate a Scottish identity for the texts. Furthermore, KELMAN'S FICTION increased rate of *yez* indicates a deliberate selection of this feature for its working-class identification, despite the accompanying stigmatisation.

Glaswegian dialect discourse features

There are a number of urban Scottish syntactic forms centred on Glasgow outlined by Macafee in her study 'Glasgow Dialect in Literature' (pp. 43-7). Some important features of urban Scots syntax, many of which are used in the Glaswegian hybrid are also found in Miller's 'Aspects of Scottish English' (pp. 3-16) and later Hagan's *Urban Scots Dialect Writing* (pp. 107-116). The use of these forms can be investigated among the datasets to ascertain the degree to which a urban Scots identity is associated with its content. Three specific syntactic forms are examined in this section: *out the*, *the morrow/the day/the night*, and the tags *but/and (all) that/eh*.

Urban Scots: *out the*

The results found for the grammatical form *out the* in comparison to *out of the* must be treated carefully because these forms only sometimes freely vary. In other cases, Hagan writes that there may not be a substitute for *out the*, such as when a verb of motion precedes it (p. 114). An illustration of this is in the example *she is out the front* which cannot be replaced with *she is out of the front*. Thus, only in some cases is there a varying Scottish and English form. In this section, however, there is an assumption that the datasets will have similar distributions of use for *out the*, and if so, a careful interpretation can be made of the variation between the datasets, but it must be kept in mind that there is parallel grammatically standard form for *out the*. Table 5.23 displays the rates and Table 5.24 indicates the ratios of the urban Scots form to the English form.

Table 5.23: Urban Scots *out the* versus English *out of the*

rate per 1,000 words	KELMAN'S FICTION	SCOTS FICTION	SCOTS WRITTEN	SCOTS SPOKEN
out the (urban Scots)	0.72	0.39	0.19	0.24
out of the (English)	0.09	0.11	0.07	0.06

Table 5.24: *out the* and *out of the* ratios

ratio	KELMAN'S FICTION	SCOTS FICTION	SCOTS WRITTEN	SCOTS SPOKEN
out the/ out of the ratio	7.6 : 1	3.5 : 1	2.6 : 1	3.9 : 1

No dataset shows a preference for the English *out of the* over the Scottish *out the*, but there is certainly some amount of the non-variable incidents of *out the* affecting this finding. Of the datasets, both KELMAN'S FICTION and SCOTS FICTION have elevated use of the urban Scots *out the*, which indicates either an enlarged preponderance in the fiction genre to discuss spatial and relational positions or an actual preference for Scottish forms over an English variant. Furthermore, it seems significant that Kelman uses the urban Scots form at three times the rate of the other fiction, which either indicates a quality of description that resembles the instruction genre (such as an operating manual) or a marked preference for what is seen as a local urban Scots form. Both KELMAN'S FICTION and SCOTS FICTION also have elevated use for the English *out of the* over the other datasets, with SCOTS FICTION using the English form *out of the* at twice the rate of SCOTS SPOKEN.

The ratios are the most telling. SCOTS WRITTEN has the lowest difference between the use of Scots and English forms, while KELMAN'S FICTION has the highest. SCOTS FICTION sits between the ratio found for SCOTS WRITTEN and the higher SCOTS SPOKEN, whereas KELMAN'S FICTION nearly doubles SCOTS SPOKEN in his preference for the Scots form over English. This, at least, indicates that KELMAN'S FICTION is using a greater amount of the urban Scots form over the English form compared to the other datasets, and his figures most closely resemble and magnify the proportions of use found in SCOTS SPOKEN.

Urban Scots: *the morrow*, *the day*, *the night*

The next identified feature of urban Scots is the use of *the* in front of periods of time, such as *the morrow*, *the day*, *the night*, and *the now*.[38] These terms correspond to the English words *tomorrow*, *today*, *tonight*, and (*just*) *now*. However, there is some difficulty searching for these forms among the datasets because the search engine looks only for word clusters rather than grammatical classification. Thus, although the term *the morrow* has an extremely low chance of being used in a Standard English grammatical function, the terms *the day* and *the night* are very common, and an example from Kelman's work is the use of Standard English 'the rest of the night' and Scots 'some fucking luck I'm carrying the night' on the same page in *Not Not While the Giro* (p. 53). This means the results, outside of *the morrow*, need careful treatment. Furthermore, the term *the now* is not examined here because not only does it have a much more common English counterpart of *now,* with many alternative meanings than 'just now' or 'at the moment', it does not have a *to–* prefix that clearly distinguishes it as a variant of one particular meaning. Table 5.25 reveals the differences between the datasets.

All but SCOTS WRITTEN has a lower use of the English forms. Speech has the greatest rate of both urban Scots and English forms, but KELMAN'S FICTION and SCOTS FICTION are close in their rate of use of the urban Scots forms and drop their rate of use by half for the English form. SCOTS WRITTEN increases in its use of the

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[38] For more information see Miller and Brown, p. 16; Hagan, p. 113; Macafee *Glasgow*, p. 51.

Table 5.25: Urban Scots *the morrow*, *the day*, and *the night* rates per 1,000 words

Rate per 1,000 words	KELMAN'S FICTION	SCOTS FICTION	SCOTS WRITTEN	SCOTS SPOKEN
Urban Scots				
The morrow	0.09	0	0.0003	0.01
The day	0.21	0.30	0.24	0.45
The night	0.19	0.11	0.04	0.08
Total	**0.49**	**0.41**	**0.28**	**0.54**
English				
Tomorrow	0.11	0.04	0.05	0.10
Today	0.07	0.13	0.29	0.23
Tonight	0.05	0.06	0.04	0.07
Total	**0.23**	**0.23**	**0.37**	**0.40**

English form. It is also interesting that KELMAN'S FICTION shows such a large use of urban Scots *the morrow*, which is nine times that of the rate found in SCOTS SPOKEN. The Scottish form appears once only in SCOTS WRITTEN and is nonexistent in SCOTS FICTION. This indicates a willingness by Kelman to use the urban Scots form, and although his rates of use for *the day* are lower than all other datasets (but so is his use of the word *today*), his use of *the night* also outnumbers the rates found in the other dataset (while his use of the word *tonight* is second lowest). Table 5.26 reveals the ratios.

Table 5.26: Urban Scots *the morrow*, *the day*, and *the night* ratios

	KELMAN'S FICTION	SCOTS FICTION	SCOTS WRITTEN	SCOTS SPOKEN
The morrow/ tomorrow	0.8 : 1	0.1 : 1	0.04 : 1	0.1 : 1
The day/today	3.2 : 1	2.2 : 1	0.8 : 1	1.9 : 1
The night/tonight	3.9 : 1	1.8 : 1	0.8 : 1	1.3 : 1
Total Ratios of Scots to English	2.2 : 1	1.3 : 1	0.8 : 1	1.8 : 1

The overall picture, including the ratios of use, is that KELMAN'S FICTION demonstrates a willingness to use the Scottish forms where the other datasets are more reluctant, particularly for *the morrow*, and SCOTS WRITTEN is the closest to showing signs of preferring the English forms.

Glaswegian tags: *but*, *and (all) that*, and *eh*

Hagan asserts that the frequent use of tags is one characteristic of Glasgow speech, citing *but*, *and (all) that*, and *eh* as specific to the area (p. 115).[39] Furthermore, the use of tags can be a function of social class. For the Glasgow area, Macaulay found in *Locating Dialect* that that working-class speech generally includes more tags (p. 170), and Argyle reported a similar result in wider English language usage (p. 129). Given the working-class Glaswegian identity of Kelman's writing, it would be expected that these tags figure more prominently in his work than other written texts, and since tags are mostly found in speech then the SCOTS SPOKEN dataset should also register a high rate of use.

Hagan writes of the Glaswegian tags *and all that* or *and that* or *and all*:

> These tags serve as discourse markers which slow down the pace of narration; at the same time, they indicate that the preceding statement implies more than is actually said, assuming that the listener is familiar with the details and will fill in the blanks himself. (p. 115)

Although Hagan is referring to speech, the use of tags may have a similar function in writing, controlling the pace of the information presented by the author. The counts presented below are lower than the actual rate of use because of the search method used. As a part of the search process of the datasets, since these tags occur at the end of a clause, I placed a full stop, semicolon, question mark, or exclamation mark after the word in order to guarantee their use in a tag function. I did not include tags followed by a comma because they are often followed by a parenthetic comma, such as in the case of *but* when used a conjunction and *eh* as a pause filler, so only the ones which occur before a comma were counted. Nonetheless, some telling results were found, as seen in Table 5.27.

Table 5.27: Glaswegian tags *but*, a*nd (all) that*, and *eh* rates

Rate per 1,000 words	KELMAN'S FICTION	SCOTS FICTION	SCOTS WRITTEN	SCOTS SPOKEN
but	0.09	0.02	0.01	0.06
and (all) that	0.19	0.004	0.001	0.06
eh	0.60	0.05	0.02	0.90
Totals	**0.88**	**0.08**	**0.04**	**1.05**

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[39] see also Miller and Brown (pp. 3-16); Macafee *Glasgow*, p. 49.

The results are fairly conclusive, with the largest rates of the three tags found in both the KELMAN'S FICTION and SCOTS SPOKEN datasets. The SCOTS FICTION and SCOTS WRITTEN datasets show rare use of these tags, particularly for *and (all) that*. At a 22 times greater rate of use than SCOTS WRITTEN, KELMAN'S FICTION indicates a choice of voice which evokes language as it is spoken, especially because tags are often most prolific in speech and both redundant and rare in writing. Since KELMAN'S FICTION also outnumbers SCOTS FICTION by 10 times in the use of tags, it indicates an unusual propensity to draw upon not only a Glasgow-identified speech form, but also a working-class one. The rate at which KELMAN'S FICTION uses tags is unusual for writing and gives his work a connotation of spontaneity. The downside is that such a decision carries the risk of the story looking like there has been no crafting or revision of the writing process, and this is probably the factor affecting the SCOTS FICTION writers who seem to be much more reluctant to adopt tags even though they use them at double the rate found in SCOTS WRITTEN.

If the individual rates of use for each tag are examined, some important differences emerge. Already it was anticipated that there would be frequent use of *eh* as a regularly used pause filler and verbal sign of hesitation. Although neither of these datasets use *eh* as much as KELMAN'S FICTION and SCOTS SPOKEN, SCOTS FICTION and SCOTS WRITTEN use this tag the most. In Miller's 'The Grammar of Scottish English', he observes that *eh* is a general feature of Scottish English (p. 127). The rates are reasonably high probably because *eh* is the least stigmatised or ambiguous of the three options when selecting a feature of speech to represent in writing. Furthermore, the word *eh* can easily be used alone in a dialogue passage as an answer to a question, to show hesitation, to indicate imminent interruption, or as a pause filler, but the words *but* and *and (all) that* cannot be used in the same way. Note also that KELMAN'S FICTION outnumbers SCOTS SPOKEN in the use of *but* and *and (all) that* but since his rate of the tag *eh* is lower, it causes his overall rate to drop below that of SCOTS SPOKEN. Had a search conducted for the spelling 'e' or other variants been reliably representative of *eh* alone, the results might be different.

The tag *but* is a somewhat stigmatised form of language associated with the lower class. It occurs at the greatest rate in KELMAN'S FICTION, nine times greater

than SCOTS WRITTEN, and this tag also occurs at a high rate in SCOTS SPOKEN. While SCOTS WRITTEN is the least likely to show uses of this tag, SCOTS FICTION similarly tended to avoid *but* as a tag.

An interesting finding in the data is that KELMAN'S FICTION uses *but* alongside all four types of punctuation in reasonably equal amounts, whereas SCOTS SPOKEN and SCOTS FICTION never used a semicolon and prefer a full stop. This indicates an attitude, in encoding and the creative process, that the tag is seen as a final point in speech, but Kelman risks using it as a valid ending of the first among two independent clauses in a sentence. In spontaneous speech, the tag *but* occurs in any sentence during a communication of thought, but in writing, there seems to be a restriction on its proper representation, one that involves marking it off with a comma at the end of a sentence.

Finally, turning to the tag phrase *and (all) that*, it should come as no surprise that yet again KELMAN'S FICTION and SCOTS SPOKEN are at the forefront of its use, with KELMAN'S FICTION using *and (all) that* three times the amount found in SCOTS SPOKEN which in turn is 15 times greater than the rate found in SCOTS FICTION and 60 times greater than the rate found in SCOTS WRITTEN. This is the least popular of the Glaswegian tags found in SCOTS FICTION and SCOTS WRITTEN, but clearly the most popular choice for KELMAN'S FICTION. While SCOTS SPOKEN outnumbered KELMAN'S FICTION rate for *eh*, the situation is reversed for *but* and *and (all) that*. It is significant that the feature most avoided in other written genres is most likely to be found in KELMAN'S FICTION. It is a sign of a deliberate use of a term which is seen as of little use in writing and is mostly restricted to speech. This kind of feature is the sort that would appeal to Kelman for its representation of speech in a voice that seeks to evoke everyday working-class Glaswegian language.

Summary of Glaswegian and urban Scots features

The section has explored a number of urban Scottish syntactic forms that are centred on Glasgow and their use in the datasets. It has often been found that KELMAN'S FICTION has the higher rate of use and ratio of urban Scots over English forms, and that the dataset closest to his proportions of use is SCOTS SPEECH. I have shown that Kelman has an elevated use of the urban Scots *out the*, a rate of

urban Scots use of *the* in front of periods of time that nearly reached the level in SCOTS SPOKEN, and a particularly high use of tags (especially high for *and (all) that*). Kelman often has a willingness to use the urban Scottish forms where other authors and speakers are more reluctant. Moreover, this strategy has some literary benefits. The tags are important to Kelman's work because, like in speech, tags control the pace of communication, and they work in writing to provide a sense of small pockets of time passing before the next piece of information is conveyed. Since frequent use of tags is one characteristic of Glasgow speech and that working-class speech generally includes more tags, Kelman's focus on including tags in his writing produces a strong effect of making the text seem speech-based.

Conclusion

In this chapter, some important distinctions between the grammar of Kelman's work and other Scottish writing have been observed. When the examples of Glasgow writing first presented in the Chapter Four were revisited, it was found that in grammatical terms, Gray's English lexis-oriented passage is entirely consistent in its use of English grammar, as is Queen's Scots lexis-oriented example which consistently used Scottish grammar. In contrast, the two Glasgow examples presented a surprising outcome: Mackie's Glaswegian anecdote is grammatically Scots, matching the Scots identity asserted through column 2 spellings that was not matched by column 1 Scots lexis and Kelman's grammatical orientation is similarly Scottish, unlike its vocabulary, with sometimes exclusive use of column 1 grammatical forms over column 5, or at least a grammatical bias towards column 1. It has also been established that Kelman's writing, when an English or neutral voice was sought, is capable of variation in its grammatical choices to suit the circumstances, which is entirely expected of the style-switching Glasgow dialect.

This chapter has continued the search for Scotticisms in Kelman's work and compared the findings to the SCOTS datasets. These Scotticisms are theorised to be largely obligatory unintentional markers of Scottishness found in speech so their presence in Kelman's writing would reveal both a local identity and a use of language based upon speech. Covert Scotticisms are found in much of Kelman's writing, with an overwhelming use by Kelman of the preference for the contracted

operator in negation. There is a weaker, but still prominent, presence of other covert Scotticisms that are based upon restricted uses of particular verbs. Importantly, Kelman generally most resembled the patterns and ratios found in SCOTS SPOKEN. The prominent exception is his refusal to use the only overt Scotticism, *dinna*, which is consciously used as a symbol of Scottishness, often by the middle-class.

The chapter has examined Kelman's use of the informal enclitic –*n't* which is associated with speech and not often found in formal English. While Kelman's use of the informal enclitic is smaller than SCOTS SPOKEN, his is significantly greater than that of SCOTS FICTION and SCOTS WRITTEN. This is an important piece of evidence demonstrating how Kelman's writing aligns itself to spoken discourse, much more than other Scottish writing. Furthermore, when the Scottish enclitic –*na* is investigated, it was found that Kelman used it the most, even more than found for SCOTS SPOKEN. Thus, through his use of negation, Kelman not only captures the informality associated with –*n't*, he similarly establishes a Scottish identity through the concurrent use of –*na*. The research indicated that negation, after phonology, is the leading feature of social-class differentiation in Scottish speech. Since Kelman outnumbers the rate found in speech for –*na* it that he concentrates on this aspect of grammar to simultaneously identify his writing with both Scottishness and the working class.

The working-class identity of Kelman writing is further established through his rates of the second person pronoun use. The research has indicated that the rate of pronoun use varies by social class, regardless of the form adopted being either *ye* or *you*: that second person pronouns are more frequent among the lower class and that working-class speech has more personal pronouns. Kelman's use of the second person pronouns is lower than SCOTS SPOKEN but higher than SCOTS FICTION and much greater than SCOTS WRITTEN. Of particularly interest is the rate of use for *yous* in KELMAN'S FICTION being much higher than all SCOTS datasets. Kelman seems to have chosen this form as a strong marker of class and for its association with Glasgow.

This chapter has also considered a number of urban Scottish syntactic forms specifically centred on Glasgow, mostly in the form of tags. Frequently,

KELMAN'S FICTION showed the higher rate of use and ratio of urban Scots over English forms, and that the dataset closest to his proportions of use is SCOTS SPEECH. The frequent use of tags is one characteristic of Glasgow speech, and combined with the research that working-class speech generally includes more tags, it indicates that Kelman's focus on tags is evidence of this effort to produce a text that seem speech-based and Glasgow working-class in identity.

Overall, the results reveal that that the local grammar is a key feature of Kelman's writing, where spelling and vocabulary are not, and that grammar plays an important role in the creation of his working-class Glasgow voice. While other writers have avoided non-standard grammar because it is the least accepted non-standard element in the written text, Kelman actively seeks to represent this negative symbol of speech and class. Where other writers have preferred to use spelling and vocabulary to create a non-standard voice, Kelman has deliberately avoided uniformity and instead sought eclecticism. Grammar, then, seems essential to his writing and the creation of a Glasgow working-class voice.

CHAPTER SIX: WHAT THE FUCK?

> I'm no kidding ye, he said, even just out walking first thing in the morning, ye forget where ye are, then that first Glasgow voice hits ye; it makes ye smile, know what I'm saying, cause it's a real surprise. And ye feel good, ye know, ye feel good, cheery. Then in the pub christ ye dont mean to get drunk. Ye just go for a jar and ye wind up having one too many. An auld story but true. Ye meet guys and ye sit on blethering. That Glasgow scene man cunts buy ye drink and ye have to buy them one back.
>   Dont use the word 'cunts' again, it doesnay fit in the computer.
>   … [40]

No aspect of Kelman's writing has engendered so much controversy as his use of swearing. Swearing is a hotly-debated public issue and is often subject to severe negative reaction. So far, this thesis has observed how Kelman's divergences from traditional Glasgow literary practices help minimise textual demarcation between speech and writing, conveying an impression of speech realism while reducing the dominance of English as a literary voice. In this chapter, swearing is understood as an important contributor to a working-class literary voice because there are strong associations between swearing and social class. In *An Encyclopedia of Swearing*, Geoffrey Hughes writes:

> According to notions of 'received wisdom' concerning the sociolinguistic modes of English society, which still preserves its traditional class structure to a surprising degree, swearing is a low-class habit. Phrases like 'the language of the gutter' can still be heard. (p. 331)

This popular notion of swearing being a 'low-class habit' is borne out by McEnery's research in *Swearing in English* which reveals that working-class people overwhelmingly swear more than people in other classes (p. 48). Thus, perception and reality both support the notion of a special working-class connotation of swearing. In such a context, it is likely that the use of frequent swearing in a novel helps to create a working-class voice, and if it is used within a supportive and positive framework, swearing can be a powerful tool for cultural identity and political commentary rather than as an indication of stigmatisation or ignorance. With this in mind, the examination of swearing will further the understanding of Kelman's literary strategies and techniques.

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[40] Kelman, *How Late it Was, How Late* (p. 160).

The Booker Prize controversy

As noted above, swearing is a contentious issue with regard to the reception of Kelman's work. From the late 1970s to the late 1990s, the frequent use of swearing in Kelman's writing was the main source of hostile reaction. This negative response peaked in 1994 when Kelman's novel, *How Late it Was, How Late*, won the Booker Prize. Notably, the novel has the highest ratio of *fuck* and its variants among his works, three times more than his previous writing. As Ros Wynne-Jones recalls when summarising notable Booker Prize events, *How Late it Was, How Late* is most remembered for the controversy over its swearing:

> Then there was 1994, the 'Kelman year', the Booker row of Booker rows [….] Dr Julia Neuberger, a rabbi and one of the judges, broke the panel's traditional silence by using her own vernacular to publicly declare the book 'crap'. (p. 9)

Neuberger was only one of many who were outraged by Kelman's novel winning the award. Simon Jenkins, editor of the *Sunday Times* 'Books' section, was instrumental in the ensuing protest when he accused Kelman of 'acting the part of an illiterate savage' and claimed that giving the Booker Prize to Kelman was an act of 'literary vandalism' (p. 20). This is quite a charge and came from a position of authority considering that Simon Jenkins was the founder and then editor of the *Sunday Times* 'Books' section, previous editor of *The Times* and *The Economist*, in addition to being the 1993 Columnist of the Year. Four years later, Gerald Warner of *Scotland on Sunday* was still describing Kelman's writing as 'the language of the gutter about the unimaginably witless preoccupations of the dregs of society' (p. 17). An American journalist, David Mehegan, wryly noted that 'One might imagine, from all the publicity and the outrage, that James Kelman is an illiterate vulgarian and his book is a piece of worthless garbage' (p. 65).

The theme of the novel exacerbated the negative response to its swear words. *How Late it Was, How Late* is written in non-Standard English and is a politically-sensitive story that narrates the plight of a poverty-stricken man who is arrested after a fight with two policemen and becomes blind from being beaten, only to be denied access to welfare support because of bureaucratic interference. During the lead up to the 1994 Booker Prize Award, *The Economist* wrote an article, the *Booker Form Guide*, that gave a less generous synopsis:

> Mr Kelman's ear is attuned to the speech of Scotland's lumpen proletariat. In his novel an ex-convict who has been blinded by the sodjers (the police) pluckily swears and blasphemes through 373 pages that are supposed to expose the rottenness of England's apparatchiks in Scotland. The crude, limited vocabulary is at first startling, then mesmerising, then numbing and, finally, borrrring. (pp. 97-8)

Other Booker Prize winning novels have used swear words without this kind of objection because the context or manner of their use was acceptable. Journalist Robert Winder writes of the discrepancy between the reception of *How Late it Was, How Late* and *Paddy Clarke Ha Ha Ha*:

> it is noticeable that Roddy Doyle, whose novel *Paddy Clarke Ha Ha Ha* is the biggest-selling Booker winner ever (320,000 copies in paperback) has not attracted the least opprobrium for his benign love of earthy slang [….] It is not merely a coincidence that this impish and good-humoured variety of swearing goes down more easily than Kelman's harsher, less transigent and much more politicised version. (p. 18)

Essentially, the frequent swearing became a problem for literary critics because it occurred in a novel that expressed serious political themes. This is an important point explored later in the section on literary politics at the end of the chapter.

Kelman does not follow the literary practice of confining swearing to the dialogue so the scope of the swearing in *How Late it Was, How Late* presents a further problem which adds to its contentious political overtones. Swear words such as *fuck* are unexpectedly used in the narrative space of *How Late it Was, How Late*. For example, the narrator swears when describing a character's situation: 'Okay; so that was him fuckt' and 'The posture: on the couch with the radio on, the hand under the chin and hunched forward, thinking about fuck all really except all these stupit memories out of nowhere' (pp. 111, 113). Furthermore, the narrator makes observations such as 'Ach who cares, who gives a fuck, who fucking gives a fuck. Come on, ye're allowed to get weary…' and reflecting the character's point of view 'Ye look around and ye see if it's this way or that way or what the fuck, so it gets worked out' (pp. 113, 35). In Kelman the narrator is not always articulate, and does not claim to be, such as in *The Busconductor Hines*:

> Wait a minute. One wee fucking minute. To get it straight – just to get it straight. Right then, now: here he is in conditions, certain conditions, the astounding circumstances of which is the eh o jesus jesus dont let it be lost dont let it be lost dont he is true, he is true, he is true under certain conditions that can have come to pass, that they would be being at large. He is dependent. He is a thing that comes to life under certain conditions for if they do not obtain then he is to be being false i.e.

> unalive. He would be an unalive bastard, for whom death is the probable second step.
>
> Well well well, I mean he was fucking knowing that, the Busconductor Hines, he has always been knowing that, for years; years are not fucking minutes.
>
> He had been getting himself into a state; and it is daft getting yourself into a state. You sit there getting worse and worse. What is the unnameable. That which is not to be articulated. Some things are not articulately. (p. 100)

Combined with a political context, Kelman's unrestricted swearing in novels such as *How Late it Was, How Late* and *The Busconductor Hines* may evoke images of an anarchist literary uprising where valued literary and stylistic practices are discarded — usurped by an inferior lower order. This is quite a disturbing thought for some literary critics and the response to Kelman's work seem to represent this fear.

Blake Morrison, literary editor of the *Independent on Sunday*, played an important role in the controversy when he estimated in 'Spelling Glasgow in Four Letters' that there were 4,000 instances of *fuck* in the novel. This is the context of Morrison's original count and statement of interpretation:

> a random sampling of James Kelman's new novel suggests that the word occurs on average a mere 10 times a page – fewer than 4,000 occurrences in all. It's true that the main character, Sammy, sometimes gives way to a vernacular of spectacular indignation ('Fuck yer coffee and fuck yer tea and fuck yer fucking milk if yer fucking lucky enough to fucking have fucking any of the fucking stuff man know what I'm saying'). But many pubs in Britain would furnish a similarly vertiginous four-letter-count.
>
> Kelman's method has been compared to that of the camera, but a tape-recorder would be nearer the mark: he writes what he hears, without judgment or condescension; what we dislike is the sound of our own voices on the tape. (paras 1-2)

Despite the qualifications provided by Morrison, the estimated count he provided was touted by other critics until the book became infamous for this 'fact' alone. Long after the original public controversy over the Booker Prize had passed, critics were still focused upon Kelman's use of swearing and people still wrote about him and his novel in terms of the number of times *fuck* was used.[41] This caused Grant to write of Kelman's work: 'The most famous fact about him is that the word 'fuck' appeared 4,000 times in his Booker Prize-winning novel How Late it Was, How Late' (pp. 34-5). David Robson is less generous when he gives the opinion that the main character Sammy is 'a narrator with a minuscule vocabulary, mainly consisting of expletives' (p. 18). Joan McAlpine writes of

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[41] Examples of this can be found in Warner (p. 17); Klaus, *James Kelman* (p. 2), Walsh (p. 2), Weeks (p. 1C), and Slattery (p. 5).

How Late it Was, How Late: 'The drunken protagonist famously cannot speak a sentence without one or two swear words' (p. 14). In 2002, nearly a decade later, Ismail Talib gives this estimate of the amount of swearing in *How Late it Was, How Late*:

> In an extract of one hundred and ninety words, the root word [sic] 'fuck' appears seventeen times, which means that it makes its appearance in every eleven words, which is probably reflective of the novel as a whole. If the words 'bastard' (thrice in the extract) and 'cunt' (once) are added, scatological words or root words appear once in every ten words, which is very frequent indeed. (p. 34)

Although many believed that Morrison's figure of 4,000 uses of *fuck* was correct, others like Talib recalculated this estimation to make it an even larger amount. So, from the above quotation, Talib estimated that a variation of the word *fuck* occurs in the novel at a frequency of 9%, which is a 125% increase on Morrison's original estimate of about 4,000 instances of *fuck* (or 4% of the average 100,000 word novel).

What is surprising to learn is that both Morrison's initial and Talib's later estimates are significantly inaccurate. A basic count conducted on the entire novel, rather than a generated estimate from a sample, reveals *How Late it Was, How Late* has 2114 occurrences of *fuck* and its variants, representing 1.8% of the total words, not 4% or 9%.[42] Morrison and Talib's overestimations, and the critical response to the swearing in general, demonstrate the hysteria surrounding the word *fuck* in Kelman's work. The grounds for this hysteria will be discussed at the end of this chapter in the section on literary politics, but it should be kept in mind when considering the response that swear words evokes in the mind of the reader.

During the Booker row, the literary critics and journalists were not the only public figures to attack Kelman's work. Helen Eliot points to a notable large British book chain that involved itself in the logomachy when they refused to stock *How Late it Was, How Late* in their stores (p. 15). Another influential critic of the novel, cited by Maeve Walsh, was W.H. Smith's marketing manager who made the extraordinary claim that the award for *How Late it Was, How Late* was 'an embarrassment to the whole book trade' (p. 2). When discussing the actions of

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[42] This figure was reached by counting 2114 individual instances of *fuck* out a total of 117,927 words in the novel, equalling 1.79%.

a director of another British bookselling chain in an interview with Michael Gardiner, Kelman had this to say of the matter, relating it to his writing career in general:

> one of the heaviest critics was the director of Dillons, and at that time they were competing with Waterstone's. So here I had this guy, director of the second largest bookshop group, attacking me publicly, saying my book shouldn't be stocked, and if you've got to have this book it shouldn't be in our bookshop, which means our chain of bookshops throughout the UK. […] That was a throwback for me to *The Busconductor Hines*, when they said take the book out the shop window. These people take away your living. (p. 109)

The actions of booksellers indicate that Kelman's complaints about censoring are reasonable.

Stuart Wavell writes about Scottish politicians, the Scottish media, and Scottish educationalists becoming involved in the debate (p. 3). For example, many members of the Scottish Labor Party protested against the win and denounced Kelman, as he points out in the following extract from an interview with William Clark:

> WC: Maybe you didn't really see it but at the time of the Booker Prize a lot of the coverage—like the Times and so on—would say it's an insult to the Booker Prize, you get Waugh or Julia Neuberger or Greer, somebody like that and their tirade of gibberish. But it must be quite effective. In some ways it colours some people's views of your work.
> JK: Yeah. . . well it did up here too, MPs obviously, they took the Neuberger line and supported the hostility against me. Brian Wilson and other ones, Donald Dewar, they attacked, every Labour MP who opened his mouth—apart from Gordon Brown, he was the only one I saw that came out in print without attacking me. Like The Glasgow Herald as well, after I won the thing just about the entire bunch that write for it came out and attacked, they all found their own wee way of doing it, it was like tossing coconuts, it was so bad the fucking editor was reduced to defending me, Arnold Kemp. What was interesting too was that bodies like the Saltire Society attacked. They just took the Neuberger line on language as having some truth in it. I remember the quote from the Saltire Society was something like "Oh yes, Scottish writers tend to shoot themselves in the foot." Something like that. So here you've got people who are directly associated with contemporary writing in Scotland just taking up that uncritical hostile position to a Scottish writer, basically on the word of an English tabloid, and you would have that hostility from a lot of the Scottish educational system, yeah, and people involved with the SNP of course, they came out and attacked the novel as well. (p. 5)

In a radio interview with Ramona Koval, Kelman revealed that he was not particularly surprised by the negative reaction to his novel. He had been through similar situations previously:

> That first novel of mine published here in Edinburgh, *The Busconductor Hines…* Now, when that novel came out, it was published by the Edinburgh Student's Union Press at that time, Polygon, and the old Tory MP in Edinburgh, Alex McCall Smith, he asked questions in parliament about why the Scottish Arts Council should support

this work that was both blasphemous and full of bad language, et cetera. And he also tried to get it taken out of the shops in Edinburgh, and the publisher, in fact, didn't get any Arts Council funding for my next novel. (para 29)

In the media, only BBC Radio 3 would air readings of Kelman's works, whereas other stations would not. Kelman notes of the BBC reading of *How Late it Was, How Late*:

There were only a limited number of sections I could read because of what media people describe as 'the sweary-word problem'. They use infantile phrases like that to dismiss 'the problem', suggesting that people like me are being childish for insisting on using language we know to be offensive to other people. [….] The trouble is that media people in general deny that the issue is important; some even deny that the suppression of 'sweary-words' is suppression. They are surprised when people take the matter seriously and regard them as a bit silly, which is consistent with their use of childish language, downgrading the issue as one unworthy of mature debate. (p. 363)

According to David Harrison, at the height of the controversy, the word *fuck* was renamed 'the Kelman word' (p. 9). Andy Pederson reports that comedians were using Kelman's name to replace *fuck*, such as in the phrase *Kelman* off! (p. A13). To top it all, Gerald Warner points out that the Scottish education system banned Kelman's books from the classroom and that this decision was reversed in 1998 (p. 17).

Essentially, Kelman was attacked by parties with a strong investment in British literature and culture. In the interview with McLean, Kelman identifies the response to his work as one of cultural imperialism:

You see, one of the things that I know has been said about the way I use language is that it's a kind of attack on literature or somehow a negation. But it isn't at all, it's just an attack on the values of the people who own literature – or the people who think they own literature. So when I use the word 'fuck' all the time, that is in fact attacking their values. (p. 107)

Kelman's use of swearing in literature challenges opinions about swearing and language issues generally. This is one focal point among others explored in more depth later. First, the term 'swearing' needs a clear definition of its scope and it needs to be established that the term is appropriate when discussing Kelman's use of language, especially since he has already problematised the use of the term to McLean:

what makes you think it's swearing? You see when you use the term 'swearing' it's a value; I don't accept that it is swearing at all you see…. I mean basically it's a linguistic argument, it's an argument about how language is used. (p. 109)

In saying this, Kelman anticipates some of the issues that will be discussed in the following section on the definition of the terms 'swearing' and 'swear words'.

Problems with terminology, definition, and scope

Swearing is a complicated concept involving significant historical transformations. Geoffrey Hughes in *Swearing: A Social History of Foul Language, Oaths and Profanity in English* raises the point that:

> Swearing now encompasses so many disparate forms that some broad distinctions need to be made at the outset. We swear by, we swear that (something is so), we swear to (do something), we swear at (somebody or something), and sometimes we swear simply out of exasperation. […] They represent an agglomeration of various linguistic modes which have evolved over centuries. (p. 4)

The differences in people's ideas about swearing and what constitutes a swear word are as much a historical product as they are dependent on context or individual opinion. The notion of swearing can be both general and precise, and there are many terms to choose from when discussing swearing and swear words: oath, curse, four-letter words, effing and blinding, obscenity, insult, cussing, expletive, vulgarities, crude language, abusive language, bad language, and more. Likewise, the range of corresponding swear words extends from a few to many. The term *swear word* can mean the specific words *shit*, *fuck*, and *cunt*, but can also be used to refer to a more general range of words such as *arse*, *bastard*, *bloody*, *bugger*, *bollocks*, *christ*, *cock*, *god*, *jesus*, *piss*, *prick*, and *wanker*.

The scope of swearing is wide and Hughes considers the mode of swearing in classical terms to encompass:

> asseveration, invocation, imprecation, malediction, blasphemy, profanity and ejaculation, with an admixture of that most complex and unstable category, obscenity. (p. 4)

Semantically speaking, the topics drawn upon when swearing have also changed with social shifts in attitudes about religion, sex, politics, racism, and society.

In this chapter, a term needs to be adopted that will accommodate Kelman's predominantly nonliteral use of swearing, yet allow an operational definition that will help the selection of lexis that is applicable to this study. However, the term 'swearing' seems to be inherently resistant to a single definition that encompasses changes in use, referent, and meaning, so the term may have limited utility within academic discussion if it is not defined with caution. As a result, researchers have

used this term with some reservation and differ in their treatment of it in their studies. For example, in McEnery's study, *Swearing in English: Bad Language, Purity, and Power from 1586 to the Present*, which investigates the roots of modern attitudes to bad language, the term 'swearing' is only employed as part of the more comprehensive term of 'bad language'. However, swearing is described as the best example of 'bad language', itself defined as 'any word or phrase which, when used in what one might call polite conversation, is likely to cause offence' (p. 2).

McEnery's approach to the terminology is preceded by Andersson and Trudgill's book, *Bad Language* that contains a whole chapter devoted to swearing. The definition that Andersson and Trudgill offer for the term 'swearing', acknowledging their difficulty in doing so, is based on the properties of the words involved: there must be taboo or stigmatised referents and, despite this, the words must have a nonliteral interpretation when used (pp. 53, 55). Already, two contrasting operational definitions for swearing have been presented based upon the status of words versus the status of the referents of those words. McEnery bases his definition of a swear word upon social convention in the use of language, whereas Andersson and Trudgill base their definition of swearing upon taboo, semantic and, thereafter, linguistic factors.

Andersson and Trudgill's approach of defining swear words on the basis of taboo referents has generally been more popular among researchers. The result is that the taboo literal referents play a predominant role in the academic analysis of swearing. Important studies in this area, Ashley Montagu's *Anatomy of Swearing* and Geoffrey Hughes' *Swearing: A Social History* both focus on the changes in literal referents of swear words throughout history, and analyse this relationship to help make sense of swearing. They are not alone in this approach and much of the academic analysis of swearing is grounded in literal references to sex and sexuality, gods, body parts and functions, ethnicity, and personal attributes.

These taboo referents are social artefacts, not linguistic abstractions, where concrete objects and physical acts are the focus of investigation rather than the theorising about the nature and currency of swearing. The focus on literal meaning obscures the complexity inherent to the nonliteral communicative

purposes of swearing. If swearing is conceptualised primarily in terms of taboo literal referents, the academic understanding of swearing contains the basic premise that the literal meanings are the continuing source of people's disapproval of these words. Ultimately, the focus on taboo referents draws attention away from the fact that swear words are predominantly used for nonliteral purposes, such as those found in Kelman's work. Kelman is well aware of the taboo status of the literal referents and is particularly careful not to use the words *fuck* and *cunt* for their literal meanings. He sometimes contrasts these two words against related words which contain the same literal meaning, such as seen in this example from *A Disaffection*:

> Gone ya fucking dumpling ye ya cunt ye couldni score in a barrel of fannies!
> (p. 101)

A literal interpretation of the word *cunt* does not work for this sentence because the word 'fannies' operates as a reference to a vagina. Therefore, *cunt* adopts a nonliteral function, and it is established in the novel that the word is not used to make a taboo reference. Kelman consistently uses swearing for nonliteral functions, and this problematises the typical academic approach when understanding his use of swear words.

A further problem with the term 'swearing' is that there are many words that it might refer to. In the Montagu and Hughes texts, the term 'swearing' is synonymous with the general term 'bad language', which itself encompasses many forms of language outside of swearing. Another researcher, Millwood-Hargrave, in *Delete Expletives*, avoids using the term 'swearing' and instead groups and labels words according to semantic or grammatical properties, such as blasphemy, racial abuse, and expletives. Similar to the term 'bad language', a great number of words are incorporated within the definition which cannot be considered swear words. Moreover, the Millwood-Hargrave approach still adopts the primary position of associating the words with their literal referents, thus positioning nonliteral swearing as being of secondary importance.

The issue of terminology may be resolved by defining the swear words and the scope of the words examined in the current study. This would allow the term 'swearing' to apply to the main words specifically and other forms of swearing more generally. To identify the scope of this study, it would be sensible to identify

and select archetypal swear words. These would be key words that epitomise the notion of swearing and provoke powerful censure on their use. For example, it would be unsuitable to pick a word such as *cock* because it can be used in polite conversation to refer to a rooster even though it also literally refers to a penis, so it has limited nonliteral uses, and may not be particularly offensive in taboo terms. Rather, these archetypal swear words would need to have endured longer than ordinary slang, maintained their taboo status for many centuries, be internationally recognised among English speakers as swear words (in contrast to impolite, profane, and racist language), be unacceptable in polite conversation, and be current at the time of Kelman's writing.

Three possible archetypal swear words fulfil the abovementioned criteria: *shit*, *fuck*, and *cunt*. In 1785, these words appear in censored form in Francis Grose's dictionary of slang, *The Vulgar Tongue*. They are the only entries which are not spelt out in full, unlike the other milder swearing terms of *bastard*, *arse*, and *piss*. The dictionary's treatment of these archetypal words reflect the strength of the taboo because their indexed titles are *sh–t*, *f—k*, and *c**t*. Of the three words, *cunt* is notably unmentionable because it is the only word that appears as **** in other entries without any letters.

Eric Partridge's *Dictionary of Slang and Unconventional English* similarly censors the entries for *fuck* and *cunt* by recording these words as *f*ck* and *c*nt*, and while the headword entry for *shit* is initially spelt out in full, subsequent references to the word are spelt in the form of *sh**** (pp. 305, 198, 759-9). This occurs in all four editions published between 1936-1961. In another of Partridge's publications, *Origins: A Short Etymological Dictionary of Modern English*, he outlines the particularly offensive swear words under the entry for *fuck*:

> F**k shares with c**t two distinctions: they are the only two SE words excluded from all general and etym dictionaries since C18 and the only two SE words that, outside of medical and other official or semi-official reports and learned papers, still cannot be printed in full anywhere within the British Commonwealth of Nations. (p. 239)

Similarly, in 1968, Montagu asserts that *fuck* and *cunt* belong 'to a different class' from the other words, even though his own study nominates the principal swear words to be *fuck*, *cunt*, *cock*, *arse*, *shit*, *piss*, and *fart* (p. 303). Montagu

specifically writes that the word *fuck* is 'the foulest and most inadmissible of all swear words' (p. 303), and in *An Encyclopedia of Swearing* Hughes agrees:

> The most powerfully taboo term for copulation over several centuries, *fuck* is still regarded as unmentionable by the vast majority of middle-class people. (p. 188)

Indeed, as recently as 2002, Millwood-Hargrave found that *fuck* and *cunt* maintained the top two places as the most offensive swear words, while *shit* had fallen in rank considerably over time and continues to do so (p. 9). This is reflected in the modern British Board of Film Classification, cited in McEnery's *Swearing in English*, which lists *fuck* as 'strong' and *cunt* as 'very strong' on their scale of offence, but *shit* is considered 'mild' (p. 36).

In this light, it seems sensible to focus on both *fuck* and *cunt* as archetypal words to which the terms *swearing* and *swear word* clearly apply. There will be little focus on *shit* for many reasons. First, it is waning in its offensiveness and an increasing number of people now think it is not a swear word. As Millwood-Hargrave found, nearly half of respondents feel it is mild swearing, and around a further 10% of respondents report it is not swearing at all (p. 13). Second, it is competing with the Scottish equivalent of *shite*.[43] Third, it is considerably less frequent than *fuck* and *cunt* in Kelman's work which has 58 instances of *shit* as compared to 6523 instances of *fuck* and 556 instances of *cunt*. Fourth, Kelman's use of *shit* is qualitatively different to *fuck* and *cunt* because a quarter of his uses of *shit* are literal references to excrement. There are 138 instances of *shite*, with 24 clearly literal uses, so 83% of the word's total usage is nonliteral. In contrast, neither *fuck* nor *cunt* is ever used literally in Kelman's writing. Combined with the relatively minor use of the word form *shit*/*shite*, its inclusion needlessly complicates a study of the nonliteral use of swear words in Kelman's work. Thus, in order to examine swearing in its truly nonliteral capacity, the word *shit*/*shite* will be omitted from my analysis to avoid any confusion.

Since Kelman's use of *fuck* has been singled out by critics and subject to public outcry, there will be a greater focus on this particular word in the chapter. The grammatically versatile *fuck* has a wider range of uses and appearances in Kelman's work and will provide more points for discussion where the

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[43] There is also an alternative for *fuck*, which is *footer*, but many Scots are either not aware of, nor use or define, *footer* as a swear word.

grammatically limited *cunt* cannot. This primary focus on the word *fuck* mimics the approach adopted in McEnery's 2004 article, 'Swearing in modern British English: The case of fuck in the BNC', where *fuck* is felt to epitomise swearing. In that article, McEnery solely focuses on the word *fuck* as a method of extrapolating wider trends of swearing in modern British society. In this discussion, *fuck* and *cunt* often will encompass all variants of the word, rather than a specific reference to the particular form of the word involved, unless the text indicates otherwise.

Fuck and *cunt* in the history of literature

Swearing, in its various forms, has a discontinuous presence in literature throughout history, according to Hughes in *An Encyclopedia of Swearing* (p. 295). The records indicate swearing was absent in Anglo-Saxon literature, openly used in Medieval literature, and disguised or omitted in much of the literature thereafter. Of course, it cannot be known if any relevant texts have been destroyed, damaged, lost, or were in clandestine circulation. When the swear words *fuck* and *cunt* appeared openly, they were used for their literal meanings. For example, in the work of Geoffrey Chaucer (c1340-1400), *cunt* is found in the Wife of Bath's prologue and in the Miller's Tale, in the form of *queynte*: 'And privily he caughte her by the queynte'. Later, in Scotland the poet William Dunbar (c1456-1513) heralded one of the first uses of *fuck* in literature. In *Ane Brash of Wowing*, it is used literally in a flyting text which has the line 'he wald have fukkit'. Moreover, in *The Flyting of Dunbar and Kennedy*, he also uses the word *cunt* in the line 'cunt-bitten crawdon'.[44]

Despite the early use of these words in literature, both *fuck* and *cunt* were later to undergo censorship in literary texts. Hughes writes in *Swearing* that post-Restoration 'few English poets after Rochester dared to use the 'four-letter' words or the crude argot of the street' (p. 188). Montagu comments on *fuck* in particular:

> by the end of the third quarter of the sixteenth century the word had ceased to appear in print, except in the clandestine literature, not making its serious reappearance in that medium till the second quarter of the twentieth century. (p. 308)

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[44] Hughes, *An Encyclopedia of Swearing* (p. 113); Montagu (p. 308); Hughes, *An Encyclopedia of Swearing* (p. 111).

Instead of using swear words outright, it became commonplace to use various disguise mechanisms such as euphemism and coded references involving asterisks, blanks, dashes, letter omissions, and lexical substitutions. For example, the disguised words of b*****d and f___ mean *bastard* and *fuck*, the word *beggar* stands for similarly-sounding *bugger*, the word *zero* is a coded reference to *cunt*, and other terms such as *my word*, *dash it*, or *adjectival idiot* leave the relevant swear word to the imagination.

The Scottish dialect writings of Robert Burns (1759-1795) clearly reflect this era of censure on swearing. Disguise mechanisms are used in 'Ellibanks':

> There's no a lass in a' the land,
> Can f—k sae weel as I can
> Louse down your breeks, lug out your wand,
> Hae ye nae mind to try, man:
> For ye're the lad that wears the breeks,
> And I'm the lass that loes ye;
> Deil rive my c—t to candle-wicks,
> Gif ever I refuse ye!!! (p. 139)

Note also, as with Chaucer and Dunbar, that Burns uses the swear words with their literal meaning in mind.

In modern times, authors still treat swear words cautiously even though the notions about swearing in literature have relaxed somewhat. This is partly a result of legal shifts. The key legal change occurred in 1960 in a pilot trial that tested an important revision in Britain's Obscenity Act. D.H. Lawrence's 1928 novel, *Lady Chatterley's Lover*, was the main text used in this case. Hughes, in *An Encyclopedia of Swearing*, summarises the defence of using swear words as lying in the intention to give 'a voice to phallic reality' in the novel (p. 284). Thus, swear words served a literal function where they made direct reference to their taboo objects, as a short example from *Lady Chatterley's Lover* illustrates:

> Nay nay! Fuck's only what you do. Animals fuck. But cunt's a lot more than that.
> It's thee, dost see: an' th'art a lot besides an animal, aren't ter—even ter fuck? Cunt!
> Eh, that's the beauty o' thee, lass! (p. 185)

Thirty-two years after *Lady Chatterley's Lover*'s initial release, the court ruled against the obscene libel charge and allowed publication of the book. This was not a victory for swearing, as Hughes argues, because ultimately it was explicit sexuality that was championed by Lawrence, rather than the right to swear for nonliteral purposes (p. 289).

In an interview with McLean, Kelman comments on this acceptance of only literal swearing in the novel:

> Another thing is you see, usually the use of those four letter words – I'll call them that – is a really middle class way of using literature because... say about 15 years ago you had this stupid carry on where you weren't allowed to use 'fuck' unless you were talking about the act of screwing, you know. Now, it was never ever used, I never ever heard it used that way in my life until I started hearing Kenneth Tynan talking on television about D.H. Lawrence. I'd never ever heard that. In my experience no one ever used the word 'fuck' in that way. But suddenly people would say 'I don't mind you using "fuck" as long as you use it properly' which is an absurd way to talk about language altogether. It's almost the type of thing that someone involved in Scottish Literature would say, you know! It's totally absurd. But that became the way of talking about swear words, you know, which again was a real class thing – a real cultural thing. (p. 110)

This makes it clear that Kelman's nonliteral use of swear words differs from the traditional literary habit of these words for their literal taboo meanings.

Swearing serves a variety of nonliteral functions: scope and rates of use

Thus far, the chapter has outlined the controversy that can be caused by the frequent use of swear words in literature, and who might be offended. The problem of terminology has been resolved and the result was an operational definition using two archetypal swear words. The range of uses for *fuck* are many. To illustrate, Table 6.1 is a rearrangement of the classification system used in McEnery's corpus analysis of the BNC in *Swearing in English* (p. 32).

Table 6.1: Functional uses of fuck

Description of Use in Context	Example
Emphatic adverb/adjective	It's in the fucking car.
General expletive	Oh, fuck!
Premodifying intensifying negative adjective	The fucking idiot!
Personal insult referring to a defined entity	You fucker!
Adverbial booster	It's fucking awful.
Cursing expletive	Fuck you!
Idiomatic 'set phrase'	I don't give a fuck.
Destinational usage	Fuck off!
Predicative negative adjective	This film is fucked.
'Pronominal' form with undefined referent	I've got fuck-all to do.
Literal usage denoting taboo referent	We fucked all night.
Figurative extension of literal meaning	Don't fuck about.
Imagery based on literal meaning	I kicked the fuck out of it.
'Reclaimed' usage – no negative intent	Muthafuckers

This demonstrates the wide range of functions that swearing can serve. Summarised into broader categories, the table shows how swearing mainly has non-literal, emphatic, and idiomatic uses. In the study from which the table was adapted, it was found that swearing had a non-literal function for lower-class people, with the first four categories being the most commonly used. In the same study, it was found that upper class people use swearing for its sexual referents (pp. 49-50).

Now that the wide range of uses have been established, this section seeks to examine the scope and rates of use in Kelman's work as compared to other literary and nonliterary linguistic sources. Kelman has already commented to McLean about how swear words have nonliteral meaning in working-class usage and that there is a need to recognise this:

> the use of four letter words, eh — fuck, cunt, bastard, and shite — they're part of language, and they have to be treated in the same way that the study of language treats other words. You can't sort of separate them off and say 'Well these are swear words, they're outwith the argument.' They're not, they're part, you know. So when we talk about language, we include them, they're part of language, so we have to talk about things, verbal acts, you know, things like ... an action ... we have to be much more systematic, we have to be really serious about it and say ... Obviously if I say 'Look at that sun — it's fucking beautiful,' obviously I'm not swearing, I'm doing the exact opposite, you know. (p. 110)

The above statement made by Kelman problematises the dismissal of swear words as improper or degraded language. Instead, he argues, swear words should be considered in their full function as a part of everyday language. Kelman's attitude on this matter is reflected in the treatment of swearing in his writing. The form and scope of swearing in Kelman's stories bear a closer resemblance to that used in everyday speech because his usage is nonliteral, as commonly found in working-class speech, in contrast to the traditional literal approach adopted in literature. One way to understand Kelman's use of swearing is to conduct a search of the SCOTS datasets and review McEnery's study of *fuck* in the BNC, comparing these against the Kelman dataset, which is in the following section.

The notion that Kelman's use of *fuck* seems more evocative of speech becomes more marked when a consideration is made of the historical use of *fuck* as a noun and verb referring to coitus. Kelman's nonliteral use of *fuck* delineates his writing as different and distances it from historical literary conventions. This point is made clearly in Kelman's comment to Quinn:

> The real issue is to do with suppression, the standard English literary voice won't allow it. I mean, the term 'fuck' can be used in about 17 different ways, one of which is the cause of its exclusion. (p. 26)

Kelman does not relate the word *fuck* primarily to its sexual meaning, and the above quotation shows that he objects to the censorship of *fuck* for a statistically minor meaning that rarely appears in general working-class use. His reaction is to assert his right to use *fuck* as he knows it — nonliterally — and he commits himself to this cause.

Since the scope of the word *fuck* can be quite varied, not all its forms have the same functions and meanings. Therefore, the first step is to identify the grammatical forms of the word *fuck* most associated with nonliteral or literal use. In McEnery's corpus study, 'Swearing in modern British English: The case of fuck in the BNC', he makes an important distinction between literal and nonliteral forms of *fuck*. McEnery found that the forms of *fuck* most likely to evoke a literal sexual meaning are *fucks* and then *fucked*. McEnery's study identifies *fucking* as the predominant form of *fuck*, and it 'is used most frequently for emphasis but least frequently as a personal insult or destinational expletive'. He identifies the next most commonly used form as *fuck*, which is most likely to be employed idiomatically with nonliteral meanings, and to appear as a general nonliteral expletive or curse (pp. 258-9). The distributions among the datasets, and the results extracted from the information supplied by McEnery, are summarised in Tables 6.2 and 6.3. The particular speech and writing statistics have been chosen from McEnery's work to match those of the SCOTS datasets and are useful as an extra point of comparison for KELMAN'S FICTION.

Table 6.2: Literal *fuck* in the datasets and the BNC

Word	KELMAN'S FICTION	SCOTS FICTION	SCOTS WRITTEN	SCOTS SPOKEN	McEnery's BNC Speech statistics	McEnery's BNC Writing statistics
fucks	0.03%	-	-	-	0.4%	0.9%
fucked (fuckt)	2.0%	2.7%	1.5%	-	2.2%	6.6%

Before presenting the next table on the non-literal forms of *fuck*, it should be noted that all uses of *fucked/fuckt* are nonliteral in the SCOTS datasets and KELMAN'S FICTION, despite their 'literal' classification in McEnery's work.

Table 6.3: Non-literal *fuck* in the datasets and the BNC

Word	KELMAN'S FICTION	SCOTS FICTION	SCOTS WRITTEN	SCOTS SPOKEN	McEnery's BNC Speech statistics	McEnery's BNC Writing statistics
fuck	21%	29%	37%	41%	20%	41%
fuckin(g)	76%	63%	60%	60%	76%	49%
fucker	0.02%	1.4%	0.6%	-	0.9%	2.5%

McEnery describes the differences in swearing between speech and writing in the BNC as follows:

> Fuck occurs 12 times more frequently in speech than in writing. The greatest contrast is found for fucking, which was used nearly 20 times as frequently in the spoken as in the written section of the corpus. (p. 236)

The figures given above tend to support the idea that Kelman's use of *fuck* is more evocative of spoken than written use. McEnery offers an account of how speech and writing differ in their use of *fuck* in the BNC, noting that in writing there is a preference for literal uses and in speech for emphatic functions (p. 260). Kelman's writing does not display this characteristic of literal swearing, and this is partly attributable to the fact that he is drawing upon spoken rather than written language for his inspiration. This preference for recognising the primacy of spoken language reduces the stark differences found between spoken and written forms of language.

If an investigation is made of the different datasets' use of *fucks* – the form of *fuck* that McEnery identified as most likely to have a literal meaning – the finding is that the SCOTS datasets have no instances of the word and Kelman alone uses *fucks* (twice, both times nonliterally). The BNC WRITING section has double the proportion of the word compared to BNC SPEECH. The proportion of the word *fucks* in Kelman's work is closest to that of BNC SPEECH. Similarly, the form *fucked*, also likely to be used literally according to McEnery, was found to be nonliteral in all uses of the word in the SCOTS WRITTEN, SCOTS FICTION, and KELMAN'S FICTION datasets. While the proportion of *fucked* used in KELMAN'S FICTION was halfway between SCOTS WRITTEN and SCOTS FICTION, the only proportion higher than the BNC SPEECH statistic of 2.2% was SCOTS FICTION's 2.7%, and all were much lower than the BNC WRITING statistic of 6.6%.

Among the nonliteral forms of *fuck*, the basic form of *fuck* in the BNC Writing section accounts for 41% of all instances, which is similar to SCOTS WRITTEN and

SCOTS SPOKEN proportions of 37% and 41% respectively. In contrast, the SCOTS FICTION dataset has *fuck* accounting for a proportion of only 29% of all *fuck*, and Kelman's use is even lower at only 21%, which makes his writing quite different to SCOTS SPOKEN. However, the BNC Speech proportion of 20% is at the opposite end of the scale to SCOTS SPOKEN and nearly matches Kelman's use of the word *fuck*. It is also very important to note that, after checking each instance of the SCOTS datasets and Kelman's fiction by sight, nearly all instances of *fuck* were nonliteral. The single literal use of *fuck* occurred in SCOTS WRITTEN, in a poem, which had taboo themes that required a literal use of the word.

The other nonliteral form identified by McEnery, *fucking*, accounts for around 54% of all uses of *fuck* in the BNC Fiction section (pp. 240, 261). In the SCOTS datasets, *fuckin(g)* is also the dominant form of the word, at around 60% of all uses. In the BNC, speech has 76% of all uses of the word *fuck* as *fucking*, the form of *fuck* already identified as an emphatic intensifier (p. 263). Kelman's stories contain an overall figure of 76% for *fucking*, the same proportion found in the spoken section of the BNC, and it is consistently greater than found in SCOTS WRITTEN, SCOTS FICTION, and BNC written texts. While it is not evident in the table, it needs to be noted that 0.7% of *fucking* is used as an affix in Kelman's work.

Turning to the SCOTS SPOKEN dataset, 44 instances of *fuck* are found, an example being that found in Conversation 03:

> I don't know what that means in pounds; what does that mean in pounds?
> Can I swear? Fuckin heavy. Aye. Two hundred and twenty kilos.

There are 336 instances of *fuck* found in the SCOTS WRITTEN dataset. There are four cases of *fuck* in nonfiction prose: one in each of the two essays, and two in a lecture. In the essays, *fuck* only appears in the epigraph of a Tom Leonard poem, not the main part of the writing. In Document 23, a lecture, the word appears because it is required to expand the popular culture acronyms FUBAR and SNAFU:

> It means, of course, 'Fucked Up Beyond All Recognition' and it is one of various military slang items of this sort, some of which now enjoy wider usage (eg SNAFU — Situation Normal: All Fucked Up).

In the formal nonfiction texts, *fuck* appears only in quotations or parentheses rather than belonging to the author's own expressive arsenal.

In contrast, the informal nonfiction weblog in document 1523 contains eight instances of *fuck* yet does not use any textual devices to separate the word from the other words. Considering that weblogs are meant to have little institutional censorship, despite their public issue, it is not surprising to find this use of *fuck*. Document 1523 even uses *fuck* in a serious context, as follows:

> No, is the straight answer to that. The fact is, they don't give a flying fuck. What our Great British and American companies do in these countries doesn't concern us.

For this weblog author, serious issues can be addressed using taboo language, and this is quite different from the essays and lecture examined above.

The *Scottish Corpus of Texts and Speech* reveals an interesting feature of *fuck* in Scottish writing: swearing seems to be a form of language that is thought to belong only in speech. Thus, when *fuck* appears in writing, it is in sections that represent speech, such as dialogue passages, the speech of characters in a play, and dialogue in poetry. This is curious because *fuck* is used with a distinct lack of sexual connotation in nearly all of these documents (in contrast to the historical use of this word in literature), yet there is still resistance to the open use of the word. This will be demonstrated further in extracts from three poems and two texts from the SCOTS FICTION dataset.

Among the poetry documents, there are four instances of *fuck*, but of these, three appear in quotation marks. This is a surprising outcome, considering the openness of poetry to divergent forms of language. Of these, two cases of *fuck* are found in quoted dialogue in Document 1497:

> Across their faces. Veterans of vandal wars
> To shouts of 'Fuck it! Fuck it!

The other *fuck* is separated off by quotation marks in Document 507:

> 'Fuck offs' were soaped from tongues by green carbolic.

Finally, the only *fuck* not separated from the main text is found in Document 509, a poem that adopts a particular spelling style that signals its spoken dialect status:

> I am a mythical Scot, sae mind yer fuckin langwitch!
> Wi smack in ma stream o consciousness, I'll gie ye a knuckle sandwitch!

Even in poetry, the *Scottish Corpus of Texts and Speech* indicates that *fuck* belongs in speech rather than writing.

Similar to the trend found in poetry, the 52 instances of *fuck* in the fictional texts are both captured within quotation marks and associated with dialect users. Document 589 demonstrates this point:

> 'We're a club, ye see,' said the giant, clutching Maconochie's shoulder as if he were crushing a nut. 'We ken there's aw these gentlemen's clubs, the this and the that and the God kens whit club, and the fuckin gentlemen winna let us in, so we thocht we'd hae oor ain.'

This trend is duplicated in the plays of the *Scottish Corpus of Texts and Speech*, where *fuck* appears in the characters' speech but not in the playwrights' directions, as seen in Document 61:

> Pat appears; he can't stand still
> BJ throws his arms up; sits down
> PAT. Awright Beej? Awright Jilly? Some fuckin buzz the night.

It becomes clear that merely counting instances of *fuck* masks the real attitudes about swearing and differences in use.

While it is important to understand that Kelman does not use swear words literally, except for the rare literal use of *shit*, it is also necessary to point out that he is also unlikely to use it for personal abuse. This reflects the trends of working-class swearing that were found in McEnery's *Swearing in English*, where the top three uses are emphatic adverb/adjective, general expletive, and then premodifying negative adjective (p. 50). Swearing is largely used for intensification purposes, although occasionally with a negative connotation. McEnery also notes of the male experience of swearing that 'The typical male usages are also, interestingly, not linked to abuse as such — they are both associated with intensification' (p. 36). Accordingly, males overwhelmingly use swear words as an emphatic adverb/adjective or an adverbial booster. Finally, although he is unusual in his frequent deployment of swear words when compared to the near absence of swear words in Scottish literature, Kelman is similar to modern trends of using swearing for nonliteral purposes.

The next issue to be discussed is the frequency of swear words in Kelman's writing in contrast to the proportion of individual forms of *fuck* that comprise its total instances. More data is included from McEnery, this time from his article

'Swearing in modern British English' where he provides summative data from the BNC for the working-class speaker, spoken dialogue, and written register (p. 244, p. 239, p. 237). Such data provides a further point of comparison for the rates found in KELMAN'S FICTION. Tables 6.4 and 6.5 below shows the rates at which each dataset uses the word *fuck*:

Table 6.4: Literal *fuck* in the datasets and the BNC (instances per 1,000 words)

Word	KELMAN'S FICTION	SCOTS WRITTEN	SCOTS FICTION	SCOTS SPOKEN	McEnery's BNC working-class speaker	McEnery's BNC spoken dialogue	McEnery's BNC Written register
Corpus n	*779,611*	*3,212,811*	*526,411*	*635,668*	*126,512*	*7,622,718*	*89,740,543*
fucks	0.003	-	-	-	0.004	0.001	<0.001
fucked	0.171	0.002	0.004	-	0.007	0.008	0.001
Totals	**0.173**	**0.002**	**0.004**	**-**	**0.011**	**0.009**	**0.001**

Table 6.5: Nonliteral *fuck* in the datasets and the BNC

Word	KELMAN'S FICTION	SCOTS WRITTEN	SCOTS FICTION	SCOTS SPOKEN	McEnery's BNC working-class speaker	McEnery's BNC spoken dialogue	McEnery's BNC Written register
Corpus n	*779,611*	*3,212,811*	*526,411*	*635,668*	*126,512*	*7,622,718*	*89,740,543*
fuck	1.797	0.039	0.040	0.028	0.205	0.076	0.009
fuckin(g)	6.353	0.063	0.087	0.041	0.739	0.282	0.011
fucker	0.053	<0.001	0.002	-	0.015	0.003	<0.001
Totals	**8.153**	**0.102**	**0.129**	**0.069**	**0.959**	**0.361**	**0.020**

Overall, SCOTS SPOKEN has an average frequency of 0.07 instances of the word *fuck* per thousand words, while SCOTS WRITTEN has a frequency of 0.10. These figures need to be treated with caution, however, because the SCOTS WRITTEN rate is considerably boosted by Document 600, a play, which alone accounts for 190 of the 336 instances of *fuck*. If this exceptional document is removed from the equation, then the spoken parts of the corpus outnumber the frequency of *fuck* in the remaining written parts of the corpus (0.07 compared to 0.05 per 1,000 words). The SCOTS FICTION dataset doubles the rate of use for *fuck* over SCOTS SPOKEN. Kelman's frequency is so much greater than any of the datasets that it is approximately 80 times greater than SCOTS WRITTEN, 60 times greater than SCOTS FICTION, and 120 times greater than SCOTS SPOKEN.

It is this last figure that appears to undermine the argument that Kelman bases his writing on Scottish speech, since SCOTS SPOKEN is the least likely place to find swearing. However, it is very likely that the contexts of the conversations were not those that induced the manner of speech that would contain swearing (recall how one speaker asked if it was okay that they swore while being taped). Moreover, the BNC Spoken Dialogue section has a rate of over five times greater than the SCOTS SPOKEN dataset. This result problematises the low level of swearing found in the SCOTS SPOKEN dataset and suggests that it is unrepresentative. It appears that the SCOTS SPOKEN dataset, although useful for other aspects of Scottish language, may very well be an inaccurate indicator of swearing.

Furthermore, in his discussion of how *fuck* changes in use between private and public contexts, McEnery's 'Swearing in modern British English' details an almost complete absence of *fuck* in public situations. Where an instance is found, it is used for emphatic and idiomatic purposes (p. 264). The *Scottish Corpus of Texts and Speech* contributing speakers knew their words were being recorded for posterity. It must not be overlooked that the rate of one *fuck* per 14,447 words in SCOTS SPOKEN is a low figure for a word that Montagu speculates as being among the most frequently used in the language (p. 306). In the SCOTS SPOKEN dataset, even a word such as *tree* registers 70 appearances as compared to the 44 instances of *fuck*. It seems that the very public nature of the language produced by the participants in the SCOTS SPOKEN dataset resulted in a greater use of polite language that largely excluded swearing.

Moreover, if the subset of working-class speech in the BNC is considered, important comparative data emerges. While the rate of *fuck* in the BNC Spoken Dialogue is five times greater than Scots speech, if working-class speech is isolated from the BNC Spoken Dialogue category it is clear that *fuck* is used at an increased rate of over 2.5 times greater frequency. This heightened rate of swearing by working-class people is replicated in Kelman's work with a 9 times amplification of use. This thesis contends that both the SCOTS SPOKEN dataset and the BNC Spoken Dialogue dataset are unusually low for their rate of *fuck* and therefore may not be representative of working-class swearing patterns. The

working-class speakers' rate of *fuck* in the BNC is significant and it seems that Kelman intuitively latched onto this difference and amplified it to make a point about the working-class nature of his writing. This is not incongruent with the practice of working-class speakers purposeful and repeatedly employing swear words in their speech in order to verbally differentiate themselves from non-swearers. The frequent use of swearing can convey a strong sense of in-group affiliation and is a defiant act against middle-class values and their construction of politeness. McArthur notes of the use of swearing that it 'has a great deal to do with self-assertion and denial of imposed hierarchies' (p. 78).

These are good reasons for Kelman to amplify his swearing, but this does not necessarily mean that his depiction of the amount of swearing is exaggerated, especially if it is conducted by working-class males in their private interactions. It is likely that a greater amount of swearing is found among friends in pubs, factories, betting venues, and other casual social situations than is depicted in the BNC for working-class speech. Kelman's rate of swearing reflects this feature of working class spoken discourse. Thus, while the formal figures may refute the notion that Kelman depicts swearing rates found in working-class speech, there are indications in the BNC (such as a higher rate than Scots speech, and a higher rate of working-class swearing than the general population, including the telling statistic that nearly all swearing occurs in private contexts) that endorse the probability that Kelman's depictions of swearing are not far-fetched.

Nonliteral swearing in Kelman's writing

The non-literal nature of Kelman's swearing is best explored through a closer analysis of examples of his work. This is perhaps one situation where it might be more helpful to focus on the word *cunt* instead of *fuck* in order to definitively show that Kelman does not use swear words literally. Ruth Wajnryb points out in *Language Most Foul* that, unlike the multiple uses for the word *fuck*, *cunt* is a noun with limited grammatical applications (p. 48). She also argues that, if the dictionaries are an indication, *cunt* has also been the most offensive word in the English language for nearly three centuries (p. 42). As already mentioned, the British Board of Film Classification lists *cunt* as 'very strong' as compared to *fuck* as 'strong' on their scale of offence. Depending on the situation, *cunt* can act as an

intimate, disparaging or neutral term, to refer to a person. It has a similar meaning to *bastard* and can be used in the same way, as in the examples *you old cunt*, *you stupid cunt*, or *some cunt must have done it*. Kelman's practice is to only use the word *cunt* nonliterally in his stories. As shown in an earlier discussion of this example, a nonliteral use of the *cunt* occurs in a portrayal of a football player being mocked, in *A Disaffection*:

> Beautiful cries from the heart. Gone ya fucking dumpling ye ya cunt ye couldni score in a barrel of fannies! (p. 101)

The juxtaposition of the word *cunt* against *fanny* in the same sentence reinforces the nonliteral meaning of *cunt*. The colloquialism *fanny* displaces the literal meaning of the word *cunt* and leaves the reader with a certainty that *cunt* is being used nonliterally. Note that the word *fuck* also appears in the story, nonliterally, for emphasis of a relatively innocuous disparaging term, *dumpling*. The story continues as follows:

> It had taken him another couple of years to work that yin out and he would have been best left in ignorance. A barrel of fannies. It was enough to put ye off sex for the rest of your life. (p. 101)

This tends to reflect the primary use of *cunt* as commonly having a nonliteral meaning in working-class Glasgow usage.

Even without the contrast of a literal reference by a word such as *fanny*, the context is sufficient for the word *cunt* to have a clearly nonliteral meaning. This is found in the following passage from *The Burn*, where the use of *cunt* conveys a sense of compassion:

> the streets were full of cunts needing looked after, folk that should have been in nursing homes getting cared for. (p. 5)

If anything at all, there is sympathy for the cunts in question, and there is no intention to be literal or insulting. Indeed, in Kelman's work, swearing can be used to express a sense of humanity and it asks the reader to share the sympathy the story has for the people who need to be looked after.

Finally, emphasis is gained through the pronominal use of *cunt*, in this case to substitute for the word *feet* in *The Busconductor Hines*:

> Imagine being too lazy to wash your feet when you've gone and prepared everything, when you've sat for quarter of an hour with the cunts suspended above the bastarn basin. (p. 164)

Once again, the term *cunts* is not used in a literal manner. It functions as a method of not only referring to the unwashed feet but also as a way of conveying the attitude that the whole foot-washing exercise has somehow become a bit of a burden to carry out. It is no longer enough to refer to the feet by their proper name because that term does not impart the sense of irritation conveyed when the word *cunts* is used instead.

Millwood-Hargrave found that *cunt* is a much more offensive word than *fuck* (p. 9), so it is surprising that critics did not complain about the 194 instances of *cunt* in *How Late it Was, How Late* during the Booker Prize fiasco. Perhaps it was taboo to even indirectly discuss Kelman's use of the word in the novel. It is surprising that the 194 instances of *cunt* greatly outnumber the 117 instances of *bastard* and 62 instances of *shit* in the novel. All instances of *cunt* were nonliteral, indicating that Kelman is making an explicit point about the predominantly non-sexual and nonliteral uses of the word.

Referring back to the previous discussion of the use of swearing in the BNC, McEnery research in *Swearing in English* showed that the working class tend to use swear words in four ways: emphatic adverb or adjective, as in 'It's in the fucking car', general expletive, as in 'Oh, fuck!', premodifying intensifying negative adjective, as in 'The fucking idiot', and personal insult referring to a defined entity, as in 'You fuck!' (pp. 32-51). However, the predominant use of *fuck* is as an emphatic adverb or adjective, which according to McEnery can account for up to 55% of its use. It was shown that typical male uses of swear words are largely associated with intensification purposes, rather than abuse. Also, males swear more in the company of other males (pp. 33-42). It was interesting to note that the working class are unlikely to use swear words in a literal sense, such is found in 'Let's fuck', which is a use preferred by the upper class (pp. 48-51). Overall, McEnery found distinct class preferences in swear words and their grammatical role in communication.

Since the working class prefers to use *fuck* as an emphatic adverb or adjective, this should be replicated in Kelman's stories. The intensity and emphasis of swearing can subtly combine with the surrounding context to help express emotions. This is understandable since emotions are a combined state of mental

and physiological arousal, and are evident through particular behaviours. In its emphatic role, the word *fuck* can imply changes in arousal states. Swearing can denote the emotional investment in a situation being presented in the story. Lawrence Schourup is quoted in Andersson and Trudgill for his explanation of the expressive function of swear words:

> They help to give indications to do with surprise, irritation, insecurity, and so on, about the relationship between the private world and the shared worlds without forcing us to spell out the whole story word for word. (p. 105)

The meaning of the swearing can be understood in the context of the setting, characters involved, dialogue, tone, and social scripts. Andersson and Trudgill state that:

> Swearing expressions do not add anything to the content of sentences. Instead, and in this way they are like small words, they perform two functions. First, they signal something about what is happening in the mind of the speaker. In this way they are expressive. Second, they say something about how the listener should receive and/or react to the sentence. (p. 96)

They also describe swear words as analogous to filler words which 'give signals and hints to listeners of speakers' meanings and intentions' (p. 31). Swearing can indicate interest and interaction, and has many different applications in conversational exchange, such as to indicate formality, emotion, and intimacy. Combined with information about behaviour or thoughts, swearing can denote the presence of emotions such as anger, panic, confidence, and dissatisfaction. Even though this is an imprecise method of indicating emotion, the swearing expresses and magnifies the personal experience of a character's situation and individual reactions. For example, in the following phrase from *Not Not While the Giro*, the swearing demonstrates dismissive conviction: 'you dont need no fucking luck — why you think we got the fucking system!' (p. 132). The swearing adds an emotionally expressive dimension that the sentence cannot do without. Consider the sentence without the swear words: you dont need no luck — why you think we got the system!

A swear word such as *fuck* allows an author to highlight a subject, part of a statement, or a thought. Swearing directs attention to, and intensifies, parts of a sentence. As already identified, the word *fuck* most commonly takes the form of *fucking* when it is used for emphasis in real life. When this practice is combined with Kelman's position against using the word *fuck* to refer to sexual intercourse,

the consequence is that at least 76% of the total instances of *fuck* in Kelman's writing are used for emotional emphasis of some kind. This use of the word is seen in Kelman's *The Burn*: 'all the stuff he had, it was just junk, fucking junk' (p. 197). In this instance *fucking* is used as a premodifying intensifying negative adjective, itself a use of *fuck* commonly found amongst the working-class in McEnery's data in *Swearing in English* (pp. 48-57). Furthermore, the percentage of *fucking* recorded in the conversational component of the BNC reveals that the average working-class speaker will use this term 0.07% of the time; however this does not match Kelman's rate of 0.65% for *fucking*.

Kelman uses *fucking* in a way not found in the SCOTS datasets: as an infix in 0.7% of all uses for *fuck*. Kelman's use of *fucking* as an infix increases the grammatical integration of swear words into everyday vocabulary. Andersson and Trudgill describe the infix as the deepest level of grammatical use for swear words because it forms a grammatical part of the basic word itself (pp. 62-3). In *The Busconductor Hines*, the word *fucking* appears as an infix and makes the emphasis inherent in the very idea of the word:

> You talking about conductors?
> Course I'm talking about confuckingductors. (p. 40)

Using an infix is the most intimate way a word can be emphasised and is also the most obviously nonliteral way to use the word. The range of Kelman's use of *fucking* as an infix include words such as: *anyfuckingbody*, *anyfuckingthing*, *anyfuckingwhere*, *everyfuckingthing*, *everyfuckingwhere*, and *somefuckingthing*. Adjectives and adverbs have infixes: *defuckingplorable*, *disfuckinggusting*, and *unbefuckinglievable*. Proper nouns such as *Bufuckingcanan*, *Ecclefuckingfehen*, *Lesmafuckinghagow*, *Goodsafuckingmaritans*, and the *Dysfuckingfunctional Benefit* are given the treatment, as are common nouns such as *exploifuckingtation*, *malnufuckingtrition*, *prifuckingority*, *testifuckingmonial*, *vegefuckingtarians*, and *yourfuckingself*.

John McCarthy writes in 'Prosodic Structure and Expletive Infixation' that 'the metrical stress tree of the host is minimally restructured to accommodate the stress tree of the infix' (p. 587). He gives the examples of *unbelievable* and *irresponsible* which have identical stress patterns and where the first syllable of each is a separate morpheme, but the preferred insertion points are different: *un-*

fuckin'-believable, but *irre-fuckin'-sponsible*. McCarthy explains this by saying they have different prosodic structures: for example, the infix cannot fall between the syllables *ir* and *re* because they form a single prosodic foot (pp. 586-7).

In *Infixing and Interposing in English* James McMillan defines infixes as an 'emotive stress amplifier' which does not add semantic value to the word (p. 165). However, Michael Adams argues in *Infixing and Interposing in English: A New Direction* that an infix using a swear word in 'fairly complex rhetorical situations' can contain simultaneous functions of adding meaning and emotional intensity, for example, eliciting humour while acting as an intensifier (pp. 327, 329). In this example from *How Late it Was, How Late*, the reader is presented with a particularly weary Sammy who is dreaming of rest:

> Fuck it but he was tired, he was just bloody tired; knackered and drained, knackered and drained; nay energy; nay fuck all; he just wanted to sleep, to sleep and then wake up; refreshed and fucking enerfuckinggetic, enerfuckinggenetised. (p. 174)

The infixing conveys a sense of joy over the idea of being energetic, and its intensity is increased by the infixing of not only the adjective but also its past participle version. Thus, there is an intensity accompanied by a clarification of the attitude held towards the idea of feeling refreshed. The intensity is still present in the next example from *The Busconductor Hines*, but the attitude it simultaneously indicates is different:

> Then he roared: Fuck off.
>   What d'you expect? shouted Reilly.
>   What do I expect! fucking farce: last time I'll ever be caught afuckingpologising.
>   That was never an apology.
>   Course it was.
>   Was it fuck.
>   It was fuck.
>   Shite. (p. 61)

In the above passage, the infixed *fucking* expresses a sense of outrage over a snubbed apology while emphasising that it is the main point of contention in the sentence. While the ideas of expectations, farces, and repeated actions are referred to in the sentence, only the word *apology* attracts the infix because this is where the real intensity comes from (even if the word *farce* also attracts some attention). Furthermore, in the subsequent sentences, the *fuck* of 'Was it fuck' and 'It was fuck' is anchored by its relationship to the *fucking* originally infixed into

'apology'. Thus, the use of *fuck* acts not only to intensify and express outrage, it further anchors the latter utterances directly to the issue of apologising.

A common use of swearing as an infix is to embed humour into the situation. Often, this humour involves sarcasm, parody, self-deprecation, or slapstick-styled imagery. This situation which Adams would identify as a 'simultaneous pressure of dual rhetorical forces' (p. 329) is found in the following passage from *A Chancer*:

> See son the canal's stowed out with fish. They're no like us at all I mean fuck sake if we fell in we wouldnt fucking drown, we'd die of dipfuckingtheria, but no the fish, not only do they survive they fucking thrive. That right Ralph? (p. 24)

In this example, the infixing emphasises the punchline, dypfuckingtheria, while it imparts a sense of wry humour at the idea of surviving an immediate threat of drowning only to die from getting diphtheria from contact with the water. The humour lies in the notion that drowning, a more obvious threat, is not your biggest problem if you fall into the canal. The further irony is that fish would survive whereas you would not. This infixing to convey wry humour can easily be used for sarcasm, as seen in an example from *The Busconductor Hines*:

> she was continuing on about this, the Cleaner Being Sent For The Cream Doughnuts And Not The Cakes while Mr the erstwhile fucking Buchanan was off down in London on a Brief Business Trip very strictly speaking in all probability not playing about at all, no, just being forced into it of course, he would much rather be staying at home in the nice Suburbs having by no means any notion of gallivanting about the place, yes, 1 thing about auld Bufuckingcanan, he's the salt of the bastarn Earth. (p. 73)

The tale of the cleaner being recalled by the wife triggers a response from Hines who frames an innocent event into a send-up of the pithy episodic nature of kailyard genre, highlighted by the use of capitalisation. In this scenario, his wife's boss, 'Mr the erstwhile fucking Buchanan' or 'auld Bufuckingcanan' is positioned as a middle-class figure of the Victorian era. However, since the name Buchanan is only used with swearing accompanying it, this 'salt of the bastarn Earth' is stripped of his authority and reframed in terms of a lower-class perspective. Additionally, the infixing of a swear word concisely focuses the paragraph onto Buchanan and what he represents. Later in the book, Hines considers the possibility of starting his own business selling stew, but he immediately thinks 'Christ, before you know it I'd be a captain of industry — me and auld Bufuckingcanan, knights of the regalled empire, by appointment to the majestic

imperials' (p. 32). This contemplation involves the sarcastic notion of teaming up with Buchanan, his wife's boss, and the irony of becoming like that boss, whose name and what he represents is again highlighted with an infix.

Swearing has a particular advantage in writing because it does not imply a dissection of experience that highly articulated language tends to require. Intricately-articulated depictions of emotional states convey a sense of being constructed rather than real, a sense of having been identified, processed, and translated. The use of swearing to convey emotional states allows a lower level of explication and self-disclosure — conveying a sense of immediacy — which also allows a degree of ambiguity, emotional expression, and an immediate reflection of a character's own mental state. The use of swearing makes the reader play a more active role in the creation of meaning, such as spoken interactions often require.

On the other hand, the use of swear words may cause problems for those who expect varied and well-chosen words in literature. They may find it hard to believe that expressiveness can be gained from what they perceive to be a limited vocabulary. A typical notion of a sentence containing swearing is that the ideas must be very limited if they can all be expressed by the one word. For example, Brian Morton writes in 'Greater expectations' that Kelman's use of *fuck* serves as a kind of mental punctuation for 'stultified lives and minds' (p. 38). While Morton's assertion may be partly correct, in that swearing can be a vehicle for the expression of the stultified mind, there remains a strongly expressive aspect to swearing. Kelman's use of a single word, *fuck*, does not result in sameness of meaning; rather, it allows a multitude of uses and applications that reflect its use in working-class speech.

This feature will be elaborated upon in Kelman's use of the phrases *how the fuck* and *what the fuck*. This involves the practice of syntactic interposing which is, according to McMillan in 'Infixing and Interposing in English', related to lexical infixing because it involves 'the insertion of emotive intensifiers into collocations that are normally not interruptible' (p. 167). Interposing is also a common use for the word *fucking*. A notable instance of interposed *fuck* occurs between 'WH forms and predicates in questions and derived predications and

exclamations', such as in 'what the fuck happened here!' or 'where the fuck could he be?' (p. 168). This is, according to McMillan, a very old construction (p. 167). This idiomatic use of the word in the BNC was noticed by McEnery in 'Swearing in modern British English' as having a significant increase in use between 1975-1992 as compared to the previous era of 1960-1974, whereas the emphatic use of *fucking* has remained stable (p. 265).

A consideration of the phrase *how the fuck* reveals that its meaning changes in the following two excerpts, the first from *A Chancer* and the second from *A Disaffection*:

> How the fuck do I know! Billy grinned and shook his head. (p. 19)
> How the fuck do I know, muttered Gavin. (p. 261)

The same phrase is grinned rather than muttered, exclaimed rather than stated, and the meaning switches from good humour to displeasure, so the phrase 'how the fuck' means different things depending on the context.

Similarly, *what the fuck* can express variations in emotional state, depending on the surrounding context. If the phrase is only viewed within a single sentence, with no other context, it is difficult to discern the mood behind it. Taken out of context, the use of *what the fuck* in the sentences below is inadequate to express much other than that the person is emotional, but information about the internal state of the character is absent. The following is a set of examples taken from Kelman's work that use the phrase 'what the fuck':

> They dont know what the fuck they're doing.
> What the fuck happened?
> What the fuck's this for?
> What the fuck's that got to do with it?
> What the fuck age was she?
> What the fuck time was it?
> What the fucking hell time was it!

The picture is quite different when the use of *what the fuck* is considered in context, and in relation to how the swearing is able to indicate emotional states. The sentences from the above examples will be described in turn.

In the first example of *what the fuck* the character's sense of superiority and confidence are conveyed by the insertion of this phrase into the sentence, as part of a conversation between two characters in *Not Not While the Giro*:

> Most of them the cunts, they dont even know that, they dont know what the fuck they're doing! (p. 132)

The phrase expresses both a certainty on behalf of the user and an assumption that the speaker and listener share a similar point of view. However, in another sentence, the swearing expresses angry surprise after the main characters have been unexpectedly interrogated by two policemen in *A Chancer*:

> Just keep walking, grunted the policeman, just keep walking. And yous go with him, and dont stop, dont even look back.
> Tammas nudged Rab with his elbow and the five of them continued on along the street in silence. It was Donnie who spoke first. What the fuck happened? (p. 21)

In this situation, the character expresses surprise and is seeking confirmation that an unbelievable event just occurred. The use of *what the fuck* also expresses the shared anger between the friends at a perplexing and insulting event.

In the next example from *A Chancer*, Kelman uses swearing for a similar purpose in a very different situation. In the following passage, Billy has lent money to Tammas, who uses it to make a bet, something that Billy is wary of doing, and when Tammas wins he tries to share the dividends with Billy:

> Billy nodded. As they entered the doorway of the betting shop Tammas palmed him a £5 note but he frowned and muttered, What the fuck's this for? (p. 305)

In this passage, one friend uses *what the fuck* towards another friend in order to both question the action and give a warning not to do it. The phrase expresses anger or annoyance because it is muttered and accompanied by a frown, and reflects Kelman's writing technique where words do not constitute meaning in isolation from their context. It seems that instead of feeling gratitude, Billy is insulted by the offer of any part of the winnings.

Not all the person-directed comments of this sort are a warning, because in the next example from *A Chancer*, the swearing conveys familiarity between friends as they engage in banter about someone they both know:

> I dont know, a change I think – he's married.
> He's married! What the fuck's that got to do with it? Billy laughed. (p. 99)

Thus, the character uses *what the fuck* to good-humouredly challenge his friend's assumptions. The example shows how there can be an absence of negativity or aggression when swearing is used. This is also seen in the next example from *The Burn*, where *what the fuck* is used for contemplative surprised wondering:

> Expensive and fashionable for somebody that knew the score, somebody the same age as herself [….] What the fuck age was she? At a guess, late forties – maybe even younger. (p. 178)

The use of the phrase indicates a sudden realisation that the character is lacking in knowledge, in this case, the woman's age. A similar application for *what the fuck* is found in *How Late it Was, How Late*:

> He tapped his way down to Argyle Street and headed east. What the fuck time was it? Who knows. (p. 272)

By showing how the character has just realised that they have no idea of the time, the swearing here conveys a heightened sense of disorientation that the sentence 'What time was it?' cannot convey. This usage of the phrase is extended by Kelman in the following example also from *How Late it Was, How Late*:

> And things aye work out. It's just whether it's for the best or the worst. But they do work out, in the long run.
> What the fucking hell time was it! (p. 66)

This time it conveys surprise without a sense of feeling lost, partly because there is an exclamation mark at the end and partly because the character seems to be feeling positive about his future. It is especially significant that this pointed questioning of the time occurs in the aptly named novel *How Late it Was, How Late*. Sammy is trying to be proactive with his life's prospects when it is so late in the day, his own life, and in making changes to his life for the better. Thus, yet again, the meaning is subtly different from the other uses already considered. This examination of a series of examples in context illustrates how *what the fuck*, far from being uniform in meaning and expressing a sameness of ideas, is used to convey such varied and conflicting emotions as uncertainty, certainty, anger, annoyance, good-humour, disorientation, surprise, and introspection.

This examination of the varied meanings associated with the one word can be further enhanced by a comparison of two more passages. This will both extend the idea of swearing as conveying a range of emotions, and demonstrate how swear words contribute to Kelman's work. The first extract is from *How Late it Was, How Late* and is meant to express the frustration of the character in jail who is thinking of his girlfriend:

> That was the fucking story. Just as well she had went afore this, afore this fucking shit man this fucking blind shit, fucking blind blind blind fucking blind man blind a fucking bastard, a walking fucking
> a walking fucking

> fuck knows what. (p. 173)

Removing the 21% of the paragraph comprising swear words (9 *fuck* in among 42 words), and remodelling the narrative to Standard English, here is a non-offensive and grammatically-correct alternative:

> That was the story. It was just as well she went before this frustrating situation. The blindness had left him in an unsure state.

Quite clearly, in terms of expressive worth, Kelman's version is superior to the remodelled version because although they contain the same information, the reader finds it harder to share the character's frustration. This sense of frustration is enhanced by some key textual differences between the two examples. Firstly, *fucking* emphasises the word *story* in the first sentence, and the subsequent words *blind*, *shit* and *bastard* thus picking out the key words in the passage. Secondly, the swearing conveys emotion without resorting to a rational voice, as compared to the use of an objective calm tone which would negate the strength of the emotional experience. Finally, the use of swear words allows for some ambiguity which avoids exposing the character's responses to objective dissection which would distract the reader from the immediacy of the emotional experience. The swearing helps convey and emphasise the progressive emotional states which are depicted as moving through disdain, dismissiveness, anger, frustration, and then to uncertainty and contempt. What is noteworthy in the above example is the use of the unfinished sentence 'a walking fucking' to close the paragraph. Here, *fucking* is an adjective qualifying a noun the narrator is unable to find and for which he substitutes 'fuck knows what', where the lack of conclusion is knowingly indicated by the swear word.

Swearing is a restless form of language useful for drawing attention to the subjective nature of the human experience. The nonliteral semantics of the word *fuck* are especially prone to change due to varying contextual influences; thus, it is dependent upon the subject matter for meaning. This will be illustrated by the shifting meanings and roles of the word as found in the following passage taken from *How Late it Was, How Late*, where *fuck* is used to help express a wide variety of attitudes and emotions. In this passage, Sammy is trying to find his way home after being released from detention for a fight with the police that he initiated. Despite his claims of becoming blind as a result of the beating he

received in detention, the police release and abandon him penniless in the street. Sammy's movements are as follows when he blindly makes his way along a crowded road.

> Aye. And Sammy was on the pavement and he didnay stop till he made it to the tenement wall; it was a shop window, his hand on the glass; he was breathing fast; fuckt, drained, knackt, totally, felt like he had ran a marathon. Fucking tension, tension. When ye done something. Every fucking time. Strain into the muscles; everything, every time; just so fucking tense, every part of yer fucking body. And he needed across the new street, he knew where he was, he thought he did, and there was another street now round the corner round this corner, where he was standing jesus christ alfuckingmighty. The traffic was roaring. Oh my my my my, fuck sake, my fucking
>   jesus, alright
>   Mutter mutter. Somebody next to him. People going by. Fuck the people going by.
>   Dear o dear he was stranded he was just bloody stranded. Bastards. Fucking bastards. Fucking joke. Fucking bastards. Sodjer fucking bastards. Sammy knew the fucking score. He knew the fucking score. He gulped; his mouth was dry, he coughed; catarrh; he bent his head and let it spill out his mouth to the pavement. He was still leaning against the window, now he pushed himself away. A groaning sound from the glass. He stepped sideways. He needed a fucking smoke, he needed a seat, a rest. This was crazy man it was fucking diabolical.
>   Was it his fault it was his fault it was his, naybody else, naybody else; him, it was fucking him. (pp. 54-5)

The overall impression of the passage is that the swearing expresses desperation, which is unsurprising since this is the theme of the entire novel. The saturation of *fuck* throughout the entire novel serves to convey this sense of desperation. Beyond this general impression of desperation, each instance of *fuck* has a meaning peculiar to its immediate context. In the sentence 'he was breathing fast; fuckt, drained, knackt, totally' the word *fuckt* means 'exhausted' and the other words reinforce this impression. The second instance of *fuck* in 'Fucking tension, tension.' is one of amplification with an equivalent meaning of 'awful' or 'terrible'. Unlike the first instance, where 'fuckt' describes a state of being, the second use is adjectival and meant to express an attitude towards the tension, giving an impression of the stress that he is feeling. The third *fuck* found in 'Every fucking time' has no direct equivalent outside of swearing. Only words such as 'bloody' or 'sodding' could replace *fuck* in the sentence 'Every fucking time.' Of the next two instances in 'just so fucking tense, every part of yer fucking body', the second use, 'yer fucking body', reflects the same usage found in 'Every fucking time'; however, the first use in this sentence differs because it can alternate with the non-swear word of *very*. Although *very* could replace *fucking* in 'just so fucking tense' it would lose the emotive force and sense of suffering that

results from this tension. Therefore there are already four different uses of the word *fuck*: to reinforce the impression of exhaustion, to personalise the suffering, to curse, and to emphasise the topic.

Continuing the analysis of the same paragraph from the passage, the next three uses of *fuck* similarly vary in meaning and function. The first is 'jesus christ alfuckingmighty' where *fuck* occurs as an infix to stretch out the blasphemous phrase and add two beats to the metre. This use of *fuck* expresses a sense of frustration, but with some degree of dark humour. The use of the infix reflects Sammy's perception that the situation, being so unbelievable, seems like a joke. Further in the paragraph, the unfinished sentence 'Oh my my my my, fuck sake, my fucking' uses *fuck sake* to act as the spoken equivalent of an exclamation mark, because it is a phrase with no literal meaning in itself but its application in this particular context assists with the expression of surprise and disbelief. The use of *fuck* in 'my fucking', which concludes the unfinished part of the sentence, may have meant 'oh my fucking god' but the fact that 'my fucking' is used without completion expresses a helplessness and hopelessness that goes beyond frustration: a wordless silence that reflects an overwhelming emotional reaction.

In the sentence 'Fuck the people going by', *fuck* expresses an attitude of dismissal towards what the people might think about Sammy. He has heard someone muttering and realises that although he cannot see them, they can see him, and he knows he resembles a homeless vagrant. Indications elsewhere in the novel tell the reader that Sammy smells bad because he is unwashed, looks terrible because he is beaten up and bruised, and now he is feeling his way around the street like a drunk. Sammy's main concern is to concentrate on getting home and not to be distracted from this task. Since he has to take control of the situation, the statement 'fuck the people going by' expresses a clear dismissal of even contemplating the disapproval that others may be expressing towards him. Note that 'fuck the people going by' is a nonliteral use of *fuck*.

The next four uses of the word *fuck* in 'Fucking bastards. Fucking joke. Fucking bastards. Sodjer fucking bastards' form a combined deictic function which roughly translates as 'They are bastards. This is a joke. They are such bastards, the police are bastards.' The repeated use of *fuck* links the initial

reference to 'bastards' (the police) with the following reference to a 'joke', forming the notion of the terrible 'joke' of the police leaving Sammy blind on the street. The second two instances of *fuck* in 'Fucking bastards. Sodjer fucking bastards' are essentially a reinforcement of this idea, while cursing their actions. If the word *fuck* was removed from the sentences, an important deictic device would be lost in the process, one that embeds the attitude of the character towards his predicament.

Sammy's attitude towards the police and their treatment of him is important when understanding the next two uses of *fuck* that follow: 'Sammy knew the fucking score. He knew the fucking score.' Here the word is used to express a change in attitude because it indicates a resigned acceptance of responsibility for the situation, perhaps even a catastrophising approach to life. Sammy realises that he exposed himself to the risk of serious harm when he took the first punch at the police. Although it seemed incomprehensible at the time, the reader learns that it was essentially a pre-emptive strike towards an establishment that has a long history with Sammy. Nonetheless, the use of *fuck* in knowing 'the fucking score' shows that Sammy has a resigned acceptance that there was going to be retribution for his violent act. If *fucking* was removed and the sentence instead read 'Sammy knew the score. He knew the score.', it would give the impression of being an outsider's comment on Sammy, perhaps by the police. Retaining the word *fucking* in the sentence personalises the statement as originating from Sammy's mind.

The next use of *fuck* in 'He needed a fucking smoke' adopts a similar function as previously discussed for 'every part of yer fucking body' because the word provides emphasis. However, this instance also indicates a cursing attitude, one which responds to the situation of needing a smoke but not having one to light up. Thus, the word *fuck* is used to both curse and highlight the key item simultaneously. While the sentence that follows also uses the same form of *fucking* in 'it was fucking diabolical', it does not have the same desperation inherent in its use when it was applied to needing a cigarette. Instead, the use of *fuck* not only emphasises and curses, it playfully hints at an evil in action without losing the seriousness of his predicament.

The final use of *fuck* in the passage is a double entendre: 'Was it his fault it was his fault it was his, naybody else, naybody else; him, it was fucking him'. Neither of the alternate meanings for 'it was fucking him' involve a literal sex-based interpretation. Instead, *fucking* acts as both a verb in the sense that it was 'disturbing' and an adjective in the sense that it was 'just' him. Although the latter is a more likely interpretation ('it was just him') there is an ambiguity implied that he might feel terribly guilty in addition to identifying himself as the source of his problems, such as 'it was greatly disturbing him.' Kelman may well intend to convey both meanings at the same time. Thus, Sammy feels a sense of self-loathing and disgust at his actions, and this is an undercurrent to the idea that he knows his basic responsibility for the situation.

In summary, within a single passage it is clear how the word *fuck* has the capacity to express a great number of nuances, meanings, emotions, and attitudes. It is not a word which merely emphasises or curses. Some ways in which the meanings change depend on an understanding of the character's point of view, a knowledge of working-class cultural assumptions, and the reader's own attitudinal and empathetic responses to the situation presented. Rather than being a repetitive word with a singular meaning, *fuck* is a flexible nonliteral word in Kelman's work which attaches itself to the topic at hand and has seemingly limitless applications. The intention of the analysis of this passage has been to demonstrate that swearing draws attention to the subjective nature of the human experience because the nonliteral semantics, particularly of *fuck*, are dependant upon the immediate context for interpretation. Often not containing a certain and objective definition alone, swear words can still convey concrete meanings. An appropriate conclusion to this section is Willy Maley's summary of the importance of swearing to Kelman's writing:

> The swearing is integral to Kelman's power as a writer. It is neither a vulgar and superfluous supplement nor an offensive coating concealing shortcomings in narrative, dialogue, or characterisation. (p. 108)

If the above statement is correct, it leads to the question of exactly what was the literary politics involved with the objection to Kelman's Booker Prize win. The next section deals with this very issue.

Literary politics

Now that there has been a identification of the usefulness of swearing in a literary context, the discussion will return to an examination of the hostility towards Kelman's literary works and his Booker Prize award. This section will argue that Kelman's detractors maintained a particular tradition of thought regarding language that Kelman has consistently railed against. The negative critical response to Kelman's work is partly a result of the linguistic discourse of purity combined with basic language prejudice, initially used to establish a distinction between the lower and middle classes. In *Swearing in English*, McEnery convincingly argues that modern attitudes to swearing and bad language are evidence of the widespread presence of the discourse of purity (p. 3). Outlined below are examples that epitomise the range of media responses to *How Late it Was, How Late*. These powerfully demonstrate the presence of the linguistic discourse of purity, particularly the media commentaries concerning civility and articulation.

One objection to the swearing in Kelman's work revolves around the idea that it lacks culture and civility. Kelman's work is often criticised using this objection, despite his general literary acclaim. An example of this concern with civility is provided in an article by Simon Jenkins, who wrote that the judge's awarding of the Booker prize to Kelman merely acted to 'patronise the savage' (p. 20). Gerald Warner feels the acclaim given to Kelman 'testifies to the poverty of contemporary Scottish letters' (p. 17). Another critic, Robert Crawford, labelled Kelman's style as barbarian, and others were quick to add that Kelman's writing was uncivilised and shabby.[45] In an interview with Clark, Kelman himself states that others have regarded him as 'primitive', 'preculture', and a 'savage' (p. 4). In a literary review, Katie Grant, observed that Kelman is someone who 'does not pretend gentility' (pp. 34-5). These responses are not unexpected. Both language and the novel are thought to play an important role in the maintenance of a just and orderly society. This idea came to its zenith in the Victorian era, as discussed in the introductory chapter. The bourgeoisie sought to impose order upon lower-class cultural forms and promote what is judged to be polite, moral, and good

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[45] 'barbarian' see Crawford (p. 285); 'uncivilised' see Grant (pp. 34-5); 'shabby' see Biswell 1996 (n.p.).

social behaviour. Censorship and exclusion of swearing is one way in which this sense of order is maintained, so literature which has swearing in it becomes problematic.

A secondary theme accompanying this idea of literature as promoting civility is the notion that swearing is violent in some way. Swearing is strongly associated with taboo subjects and considered to have no place in polite society, so its use is both negative and felt to be a violation of the rules. Furthermore, strong negative emotions expressed in language are usually associated with degeneracy and civil unrest. Cameron argues in *Verbal Hygiene* that this builds on the idea of language as a control mechanism that acts as a civilising force in society: 'The most fundamental desire to which verbal hygiene appeals is this desire for order, and the most fundamental fear it is used to ward off is the corresponding fear of disorder' (p. 218). Cameron suggests that 'there is a symbolic connection which is deeply embedded in human culture between exerting control over language and exerting control over things and events in the world' (p. 219). Due to the prolific swearing, Kelman's writing is seen as anarchistic, violating the reader's sense of what good English language and thus good civic behaviour should be. An example of this has already been cited in a statement by Simon Jenkins, who wrote that the awarding of the Booker prize to Kelman was 'literary vandalism'. Other critics have said that Kelman's writing style is 'harsh', 'sickeningly brutal', stylistically and linguistically 'violent', 'a sustained assault on social politeness', and 'degenerate', with the language being written with 'unremitting grit'.[46] Kelman's writing is said to be 'crude', 'dense', 'not refined', and 'littered' with expletives, with one critic even refers to the characters in Kelman's stories as the 'Bash Street Gang'.[47] Macdonald Daly describes a character in *A Disaffection* as 'the example par excellence of the kind of wanker and misfit who lives in this city… An evry bastart swears every fuckin second sentence' (p. 14).

The next major set of criticisms of Kelman's writing is based upon the concept of articulateness and its role in the production of literature. Lind and O'Barr, cited in Giles and Street, assert that swearing is 'inversely related' to 'perceived

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[46] For 'harsh' see Winder (p. 18); 'brutal' see Walden (n.p.); 'violent' see Talib (p. 33); 'assault' see Ledbetter (p. 9); 'degenerate' see Pitchford (p. 712); 'grit' see Rendle (p. 5).
[47] For 'crude' *The Economist*, 'Booker Form Guide' (p. 97); 'dense' see Pederson (p. A13); 'not refined' see Mehegan (p. 65); 'expletive-littered' see Freely (n.p.), J.C. (para 4).

competence' (p. 226). It is believed that swearing should be kept to a minimum because swearing is assumed to reduce rather than improve communication and the language arts. Even D.H. Lawrence, the person often thought to champion swearing, only used swear words for their literal value, a use common to the upper class but uncommon in working-class speech. Swearing is seen as inarticulate because it is thought to replace superior and more exact words from the Standard English word hoard. Andersson and Trudgill observe how swear words are seen as 'easy' words that you use when you cannot express yourself (pp. 63-4). Associated with this idea is the notion that a person who uses swear words is being lazy because they have not taken the trouble to formulate the specific words in their mind before they start to speak. They see swearing as an all-purpose type of language that merely replaces more accurate and representative words. However, as McArthur argues, 'One argument mustered against swearing is that it represents some kind of impoverished language of linguistic deprivation', but, he also observes, that taboo words 'are not used as substitutes but as an enrichment' (pp. 77-8). Indeed, McGlynn asserts that through the prolific use of swear words, Kelman undermines the notion of the 'mastery of Standard English as a sign of personal growth' (pp. 75-6).

This notion of articulateness underpins a particular type of critical response to Kelman's work which equates language to thought processes.[48] For example, critics feel that Kelman writes 'a torrent of rough recorded vernacular, and not literature'. His characters are considered to be engaging in 'unselfconscious muttering'. Kelman's style is thought to be 'colloquially cataracting', 'unreadable', and 'borrring [sic]'. He is said to use 'morbidly inchoate language', and the reader is apparently presented with a 'limited vocabulary'.[49] Robson asserts that Sammy is 'a narrator with a minuscule vocabulary, mainly consisting of expletives' (n.p.). McAlpine complains of *How Late it Was, How Late* 'The drunken protagonist famously cannot speak a sentence without one or two swear

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[48] This idea is appears in McAlpine, Clee, Robson, Pizzichini, McRae, Evaristi, Cosgrove, Baker, and Gray, 'Dewar Told to Take Walk'.

[49] For 'unselfconscious' see Williams (p. 17); 'cataracting' see Kennedy (pp. 28-33); 'unreadable' see Mehegan (p. 65); 'boring' see *The Economist*, 'The Booker Prize' (pp. 97-98); 'inchoate' see Morton, 'Out of Sight' (p. 56); 'limited' see *The Economist*, 'The Booker Form Guide' (p. 118).

words. His language is repetitive and his vocabulary frustratingly limited' (online). An online critic, Alex Good, wrote of Kelman's style generally:

> It is as though Kelman has become one of his own characters – trapped in a mental box while struggling to say something that never quite gets expressed. (online)

Nicola Pitchford remarks that Alan Clark even refused to call Kelman an author (p. 711). Gallacher claims that Kelman 'postures and pleads to cover bad writing', and 'insures himself against technical criticism by claiming to speak for the working-class and community' (online). Even his supporters draw upon this sense of being inarticulate. McRobbie cites Andrew O'Hagan as complimenting Kelman for a 'near perfect grasp of the thought processes of Scottish masculinity, with its stray words, half-baked ideas, fragments of memory, and explosions of feeling' (p. 40). Brian Morton, in 'Greater Expectations', praises Kelman for successfully representing a stultified life and mind (p. 38). Weinstein admiringly writes that Kelman's 'obscenities are defanged by obsessive frequency; the poverty of vocabulary is an economic analogy'.

Linguistic Hygiene and Swearing

In *Linguistic Hygiene*, Cameron writes that often, when there is a major argument about language use, it is a result of a deeper problem that the social referents have not been dealt with properly (p. 221). Cameron hypothesises that the desire for linguistic purity that is inherent in verbal hygiene practices acts as a surrogate for exerting control over the social world and commonly-held notions of language mask deeper concerns about society in general. In short, language is a form of social capital. Furthermore, swearing in literature undermines the power generated by the discourse of purity, one of the foundations for linguistic prejudice practices against low-status language users (as discussed earlier in the chapter).

Cameron asserts that not only is there a desire for language purity, the motivation for this desire lies in a fear of communication breakdown, civil disorder, and a succumbing to superstitious notions of word magic where the mere use of the word invokes some form of metaphysical retribution, such as found in the notion of bad karma (p. 219). The discourse of purity is clearly evident in the media responses to Kelman's swearing. For Kelman, however, the problem is that the political and cultural reasons for not swearing have resulted in the continued

suppression of the working-class voice. This is why Kelman's swearing is both politically and culturally subversive.

Swearing is a type of language with deep connections to power, politics, and the suppression of discordant voices. This issue informs Kelman's determination to continue using swear words despite the attacks on him and his writing. As already quoted, Kelman states in the article 'And the Judges Said...':

> How could I write from within my own place and time if I was forced to adopt the 'received' language of the ruling class? Not to challenge the rules of narrative was to be coerced into assimilation, I would be forced to write in the voice of an imagined member of the ruling class. I saw the struggle as towards a self-contained world. This meant I had to work my way through language, find a way of making it my own. When I was making my first stories it didn't occur to me that I was breaching linguistic and social taboos. (p. 17)

In addition, his use of swearing is defiant, as evident in his interview with McLean:

> They think it attacks literature, because they assume that they own literature, but it's not, because literature doesn't belong to anybody at all. (p. 107)

Moreover, in an interview with Pederson, Kelman asserts that he has achieved a positive outcome as a result of his approach to literature and language:

> It don't really matter what their position is… What's important is that they now have to talk about it. I'm thrilled of that. And once you start dismantling language like this, you start to dismantle all the power they hold over you. (p. A13)

Indeed, the percentages for Kelman's use of *fuck* and *cunt* indicate that he progressively used these words to a greater extent in each novel until he won the internationally acclaimed Booker Prize. A brief picture of this phenomenon is found in Table 6.6 below (note that each percentage is individually calculated from raw figures, so totals may be slightly incongruous with the count of their parts):

Table 6.6: Individual *fuck* and *cunt* percentages among four of Kelman's novels

Swear words	A Chancer	The Busconductor Hines	A Disaffection	How Late it Was, How Late
	%	%	%	%
All *fuck* forms	0.67%	0.63%	0.88%	1.79%
All *cunt* forms	0.07%	0.13%	0.01%	0.17%
Total swear words	0.73%	0.76%	0.90%	1.96%

The increasing number of swear words used by an apathetic youth, a despairing bus conductor, a disaffected working-class teacher, and finally an unemployed underclass male indicate that Kelman was willing to push the point until his use of swearing was accepted. Interestingly, the novel which succeeded the notorious *How Late it Was, How Late* contained no swearing whatsoever, but this is in part due to a significant change in focus for his writing in *Translated Accounts*.

Essentially, as evident in Kelman's increasing use of swear words, he refuses to acknowledge the dominant discourse that labels (and differentiates between) 'good' and 'bad' language. Kelman is cited by Jenny Turner as saying: 'I wanted to help ordinary people become aware that books and writers are not sacred and unapproachable' (p. 24). He comments to Christopher Bantick about his aim:

> When I read my first stories in public I was about 25 and I received tremendous hostility. Then at about the same time, when I went to publish my first story, the printer refused to print it. I wasn't aware that my work was in itself political. What I was doing aggravated people. In a sense, this is the way it has always been all my writing life. The establishment have marginalised my work and are still doing it. (p. 8)

His politics lie in the assertion of identity and the refusal to cooperate with literary and language conventions which disadvantage people of his local language group. His basic premise, as put forward to Jerome Weeks, is that Glaswegian exists as a language in its own right (p. 1C). As a result, he freely mixes varieties of language, from formal to stigmatised registers and Glaswegian to foreign words, depicting them just as they might be found in his language community. McGlynn argues that when Kelman mixes registers and allows this mixture to escape from dialogue into narrative, he demonstrates that 'educated speech is not unique in its access to complex ideas' (pp. 75-6). Therefore, contrary to the discourse of purity in language and its relationship to thought, Kelman 'dares to use this expletive-littered dialect as a route to higher things'.[50] Swearing is the point at which Kelman's wider political project becomes most visible.

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[50] Freely (n.p.).

Conclusion

> Profanity is, by definition, a revolt against authority, the expression of contempt or disregard of things sacred; it is irreverent. Swearers, therefore, are subversive of existing institutions.[51]

In this chapter, I have discussed the difficulty in defining swearing and have provided a literary and social history of swearing to contextualise Kelman's use of this form of language. Although the scope of the terms *swearing* and *swear word* is capable of being either specific or general, the argument in this chapter began from a narrow archetypal definition of swear words. This approach allowed the contrast between the literal and nonliteral uses of swearing to become apparent when it was shown how literature traditionally used swear words for their literal capacity, in contrast to Kelman's nonliteral uses.

Through the analysis of KELMAN'S FICTION and the SCOTS datasets, I have shown that, although it had a predominantly nonliteral use of swear words, modern literature was unlikely to contain much swearing in formal contexts (such as formal speech or fiction submitted for academic analysis). This contrasts to Kelman's writing because of the frequency of swearing in his stories.

Kelman's struggle for legitimacy was exposed most clearly in the reactions to his 1994 Booker Prize win for *How Late it Was, How Late*. Through the award of the prize, the long-held attitudes towards swear words were challenged, and the discourse of purity lost some of its power to legitimise negative evaluations of Kelman's language. Thus, by winning a place in serious literature, Kelman won a victory for Glasgow working-class language. From a textual point of view, the use of swearing in literature allows Kelman both to distance his stories from the middle-class literary tradition and to build verisimilitude.

It was found that Kelman uses swearing for its powerful potential for self-expression. Referring again to Hughes' observation, 'swearing is not only something you swear at and swear about but also an attestation of what you swear by.' The use of swear words is a device which allows for a short, sharp form of communicative economy. They may be ambiguous, if used alone, but there is great potential for them to emphasise and act as a deictic device when read in context. Maley notes:

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[51] Montagu (p. 233).

> Kelman not only swears like fuck, in the name of fuck, and for fuck's sake, but he can swear like fuck. It's a question not just of frequency, or inclination, but of ability, range and intensity. On the whole, when it comes to swearing, Kelman is unbeatable. (p. 105)

Kelman needs swearing for its literary potential to convey emotions and thoughts in an indirect manner, but he also uses swearing because it identifies class position and is a protest against the linguistic prejudice that allows class suppression. Kelman's use of swearing acts simultaneously to remove the barriers between speech and writing while reducing language-based class differences.

CHAPTER SEVEN: BODY LANGUAGE AS COMMUNICATION AND CLASS CONSCIOUSNESS

Introduction

Kelman stated in a personal interview with the author that nonverbal communication, such as gaze, is 'as important as a unit of dialogue or a verbal unit' to his work. This sentiment is echoed by Barbara Korte in her comprehensive book *Body Language in Literature*. Korte similarly argues that body language is essential to a writer's art, because nonverbal communication 'constitutes one subsystem of the text's entire sign repertoire' (p. 4). While body language plays an important role in the literary text, is it even more essential to spoken exchanges. Spoken language relies heavily upon nonverbal communication, especially in the communication of feelings and attitudes. In *Silent Messages,* Mehrabian found that body language alone, and excluding vocal qualities, accounts for up to 55% of the message (pp. 75-80). Considering all the above, it would be logical to assume that a literary voice based upon speech would especially seek to represent its symbiotic counterpart of body language to complete the communication.

Here is a brief example of how body language appears in Kelman's writing, taken from 'The paperbag' in *Lean Tales*:

> Then she had dropped a paperbag and was bending down to retrieve it; and once she had retrieved it she opened it and peered inside.
> And so did I!
> I just fucking stretched forwards and poked my head next to hers – not in any sort of ambiguous way but just to peer into the bag same as her. She glanced at me, quite surprised. Then we smiled at each other as though in appreciation of the absurdity of my reaction. (p. 57)

In the above example, the woman's concern about the contents of the paperbag is expressed by the body language of 'once she had retrieved it she opened it and peered inside'. Body language also signals the interest of the man in the welfare of the contents of the paperbag, 'I just fucking stretched forwards and poked my head next to hers – not in any sort of ambiguous way but just to peer into the bag same as her'. The body language also represents her reaction, without dialogue, that she did not expect him to do that — 'She glanced at me, quite surprised' —

and when they smile at each other he interprets it as them both finding his behaviour amusing — 'Then we smiled at each other'.

The above passage also demonstrates an important dimension of body language — the lack of volition. Body language is mostly unintentional and produced in an almost automatic way because body language, like speech, is so internalised that it is not particularly thought about or produced in a deliberate manner. In literature, though, it must be remembered that both language and depictions of body language will necessarily be deliberate acts, but depictions of body language need to retain a sense of being produced unconsciously by these characters. This is a challenging balancing act faced by the author. Nevertheless, the representation of body language can thus add a dimension of verity to an utterance when it nonverbally corroborates or adds emotional depth to the speech content. In the above example, body language is used to communicate the relationship developing between the characters, and the spontaneity and unintentional nature of their responses.

Judee Burgoon demonstrates in *Nonverbal Signals* that, far from being simplistic, nonverbal communication manifests 'many of the same properties as verbal language (such as rule structures, discrete units, multiple meanings, and transformation)' (p. 381). Furthermore, in real life, body language contributes greatly to the meaning of spoken exchanges. Burgoon conducted a survey of nonverbal studies and found that around 60-65% of meaning is communicated nonverbally (p. 346). However, the interpretation of body language is highly dependent on the context in which it occurs, which can make nonverbals somewhat more prone to ambiguity than spoken language. Burgoon observes of the context-dependence of body language:

> This leads to the frequent but mistaken claim that nonverbal behaviors are inherently ambiguous or unpredictable in meaning; when the behaviors are viewed as part of a collective, regular and meaningful patterns become apparent. (p. 382)

Korte further argues that it is possible that nonverbals have a wider range of nuance because of their analogous (continuous) intrinsic nature, as compared to spoken words which are digital (discrete) and extrinsic in nature (p. 42). Admittedly, this can also make body language more difficult to use in literature because the appearance of each individual body language signal cannot be

concurrently positioned against other body language and speech in the text, which is quite unlike real life where many signals occur simultaneously. However, this is usually alleviated by surrounding dialogue or narrative comment. In order to understand this wide range of nuances afforded by body language, an examination of its different functions is presented in the next section.

Five main types of body language

Five main functional classifications of body language are outlined by Korte: emblems, illustrators, regulators, emotional displays, and externalisers (pp. 39-56). They function to replace words, coordinate speech, and convey inner states. Sometimes, nonverbals are multifunctional; for example, an emotional display might simultaneously be an illustrator. The different body language types are briefly explained in the following paragraphs.

Some types of body language have a standardised conventional meaning and are strongly associated with specific words or phrases; thus, they have the ability to replace speech altogether. This is a particular type of body language known as an 'emblem', and when this type of gesture is used, a verbal translation is automatically called to mind. An example of a common emblem is a nodding of the head, which immediately brings to mind the word 'yes'. Many emblems are culturally specific.[52] An occurrence of such an emblem can be found in Kelman's story, 'The Hitchhiker' in *Not Not While the Giro*:

> She tapped 1 finger to her temple and went on her way without hesitation. (p. 165)

The French character uses the temple-tapping emblem to say 'you are crazy' to the other character with whom she is communicating. It is important to note the nationality of the user because an emblem may only have meaning within the speech community that uses it (but may appear in other speech communities with either the same or another meaning). However, when used in their own social context, emblems can be interpreted with confidence because of their specific

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[52] Desmond Morris et al, used Glasgow as one of the sample points for their study of the distribution of European gestures. Two gestures turned up mainly in Glasgow rather than London: the nose tap to mean 'complicity' or 'alertness', and the head toss to 'beckon' another (pp. 166, 222). Kelman has 5 instances of the phrases 'jerked his head' and 2 instances of 'inclined his head' used to beckon, and only 1 instance of an older man who 'tapped the side of his nose' to indicate complicity. An example of Kelman's portrayal of the head toss is in *Greyhound for Breakfast*: 'Gary got in nearer to Big Hammy and he jerked his head at the cigarette he was smoking: Eh Hammy, any chance of a fag?' (p. 143).

community-wide meanings (p. 49). In the case of the above emblem, the French and Scottish characters have the same understanding of the gesture.

Some types of body language cannot entirely replace words and instead play an important complementary role alongside speech. Korte calls these types of body language 'constant companions' to speech and divides them into two categories: illustrators and regulators (p. 44). Illustrators are produced by speakers to clarify meaning and add emphasis to what is said, for example a glance sideways at the object being discussed, or a strong tapping of the finger to highlight particular words. The gaze of the character in the *An Old Pub near the Angel* is an example of how illustrators can clarify the meaning of what is spoken:

> Sanderson stared curiously up at Duncan, taking in the semi-long hair and then, lowering his gaze, noticing the crew neck sweater under the uniform jacket, said: 'I don't think you were suited for this type of job from the start you know.' (p. 8)

Sanderson's gaze at Duncan's semi-long hair and crew neck sweater, which he interprets as the dress of a rebellious person, enhances the statement that Duncan seemed unsuited to the job.

Regulators assist the turn-taking process in conversations, and may have other discursive functions. Examples of regulators include giving a look to encourage someone to talk, or standing up to signal the end of a conversation. Korte writes that regulators are generally neutral to the message, adding no meaning to the utterance, and thus are usually rare in literary texts (pp. 47-8). This is an example of regulator body language in Kelman's *An Old Pub Near the Angel*:

> The door had barely closed when Alice snorted loudly, 'Good bloody riddance!' I half expected him to come back. He must have heard her. 'I don't know Joanie,' Alice continued, 'I really don't. He expects too much. Far too much.' She looked across at me. 'Too bloody much. So he does.' I sipped the sherry. Never seen the bloke before and yet he had to be the pimp. 'Anyway,' Alice stood up and drained her glass, 'I'm off to do some shopping.' (p.48)

The regulator behaviour involves Alice looking away from Joanie and across to him as an encouragement for him to react, and then standing up and draining her glass, which signals the close of the conversation to them both. Although both illustrators and regulators structure spoken exchanges, illustrators can only be sent by the speaker whereas regulators can be used by both parties simultaneously to provide feedback and aid continuity during an interaction.

There are two more types of body language which are important when communicating inner states. These are emotional displays and externalisers, both of which Korte describes as 'usually serv[ing] an independent purpose of expression, even when they are accompanied by speech' (p. 44). Emotional displays are often the unconscious nonverbal 'leakage' of temporary inner states, such as the smile of joy, the wide eyes of shock, and the frown of anger. Emotional displays express an individual's short-term affectual states and moods and essentially are a subset of externalisers. Externalisers indicate long-term inner states, such as a character's personality, disposition, attitudes, or values. Externalisers are expressions of social relationships, such as the unequal gaze of the powerful on the powerless. Another example of an externaliser is the nervous tic of an anxiety-prone character.

Three types of encoding body language into a written form

Korte states that all nonverbals in literature undergo a translation into a secondary semiotic code. It is important to ask how the 'continuous' action of body language is converted into the 'discrete' words of literature. Korte adopts Harald Burger's taxonomy and proposes three categorisations of how nonverbals are encoded into words: described, lexicalised, and glossed (pp. 93-4). Described encoding is where literal descriptions are made, such as in the example from Kelman's *Greyhound for Breakfast*: 'There was one wee bit of bread left on his serviette and his fingers just picked it up and let it fall, picked it up and let it fall' (pp. 121-2). Lexicalised encoding is where standardised names are given to widely-recognised behaviours, for example a glare, stare, and glance. Glossed encoding is where a narrator or character's comment implies a set of nonverbal activities but does not describe the actual gesture in explicit detail, so the reader is expected to guess what the body language looks like, an example from *Greyhound for Breakfast* being 'a look of an almost sickening resignation' that involves a range of facial and body language cues which are not mentioned in detail (p. 160).

It is important to understand the narrative implications of each type of encoding. Glossed encoding does not focus on the body language and its principal intent is to provide a psychological interpretation of the nonverbal sign. In contrast, described and lexicalised encoding focus on the nonverbal sign as a

behaviour that the reader is able to interpret for themself. Further to this point, described encoding converts action directly into words and as a result the ambiguity of the nonverbal sign is retained. Described encoding allows foregrounding and imagery, and helps narrative continuity but without necessarily committing to a particular meaning or exact psychological or emotional state. This is quite different to glossed encoding which is presented as a completed interpretation of meaning requiring no decoding on behalf of the reader. Lexicalised encoding is a compromise between these two positions.

The external point of view of described and lexicalised encoding, combined with the degree of ambiguity inherent in described encoding (and to some extent lexicalised encoding) allows an author to reduce the authority of the narrator. Later, it will be shown that Kelman prefers to use these two types of encoding, and for the very reasons just stated. Bonke has observed the result of Kelman's strategy as follows:

> Partly, the ambivalence of Kelman's characters is due to his narrative technique of not allowing the reader or author more knowledge of his protagonists than they themselves disclose. (p. 63)

In this way, the use of body language helps Kelman to promote the reduction of authority usually found by an interpreting narrator.

Closer analysis of two short stories

This chapter will now move on to a closer analysis of two short stories which both employ a significant use of body language. I chose short stories because Stephen Portch theorises in *Literature's Silent Language* that they are more dependent on body language than novels (p. 37). Similarly, Korte argues that nonverbals gain brevity by sacrificing overt lexical articulation and short stories are often more dense with nonverbal information (p. 163). The following stories provide ample demonstrations of how Kelman uses body language as a central part of his literary art. The first story, one which Bernstein describes as one of Kelman's finest (p. 59), 'A Greyhound for Breakfast', is a good case of a work that uses a wide range of body language. The second story, 'A Decision', one that focuses heavily on the single nonverbal mode of gaze. In both stories, it can be demonstrated that body language is essential to Kelman's writing, and once this has been

established, the chapter will theorise what effect this may have on the identification of his writing as working class.

Greyhound for Breakfast

The story, 'A Greyhound for Breakfast' in the collection of the same title (pp. 206-230), shows the movements of the main character, Ronnie, the day he buys a greyhound, first parading it to his friends and then delaying taking it home to his unsuspecting wife. The story can be broken into some basic episodes: Ronnie takes the dog into the pub and raises the ire of the barman; Ronnie argues with his friends and takes the dog for a walk in the park before returning to the pub; Ronnie resolves the argument with his friends and takes the dog for a walk near the river while he does some thinking. The story initially has a heavy focus on body language to establish mood, psychological situation, and social relationships, but then shifts to introspection so that Ronnie's thoughts dominate in the latter part of the story.

Right from the start of the story, the characters' body language shows what others think of Ronnie's newly-purchased greyhound:

> At a close near the corner of the street two women he knew were standing chatting. They paused, watching his approach. Hullo, he said. When they peered at the greyhound and back to him he grinned and raised his eyebrows; and he shrugged, continuing along and into the pub. (p. 206)

The dialogue consists of one word spoken by Ronnie, and the description of the women's body language is sufficient to communicate that they are surprised by the dog. Ronnie tries to say hello again, this time nonverbally with eyebrows and smile, but the women still do not respond. He indicates that he is not bothered, by using a dismissive shrug, and moves past the women to the pub. Having the two women watching Ronnie's approach might not seem important at first, but considering that they know Ronnie, their lack of acknowledgment or greeting, such as an eyebrow flash, head nod, or smile, is significant. They barely acknowledge him; rather, they just look at the dog and back to him again without saying anything. Their gaze tells the reader that they are shocked and the objects they look at reveal what is causing this. Nonetheless, according to his body language, Ronnie seems to cope with their reactions. The reader does not know precisely if the women are hostile, impartial, or amused. Not enough context has

been imparted to fully give meaning to these behaviours. Still, it is important to note that their interaction is conveyed to the reader through a description of body language and no explicit interpretation is offered.

The first serious confrontation starts when Ronnie brings the dog into the bar and asks for a beer. The barman is disconcerted by the greyhound being inside, and this is conveyed through his body language:

> The barman stared while pouring the pint of heavy but made no comment. He took the money and returned the change, moved to serve somebody else. Ronnie gazed after him for a moment then lifted the pint (p. 206)

What the barman is staring at is not specified: Ronnie, the dog, or the beer he is pulling. Nonetheless, it is probably safe to assume that his reaction is caused by the greyhound, and the focus on his body language lays down a precedent for a stand-off later in the story. Ronnie is aware of the barman's reaction to the greyhound because he gazes 'after him for a moment'.

Furthermore, it is interesting that the barman uses nonverbal communication when attempting to regulate Ronnie's behaviour. It is an excellent way to indicate that the barman is trying to be non-confrontational and friendly. Again this effect is achieved without explicit clarification. The barman's unusual reaction indicates that he probably disapproves of the dog in the bar, but he politely seeks to avoid a direct verbal confrontation with Ronnie. This kind of use for body language is detailed by Nancy Henley in *Body Politics* who argues that nonverbals are a part of a power continuum which has varying degrees of applied force and sanctions on the individual (pp. 189-90). Henley asserts that:

> Nonverbal behaviour occupies a crucial point in the continuum, between covert and overt control (and between covert and overt resistance). (p. 191)

Essentially, nonverbal behaviour is the first point of overt sanction on the individual, where people are made 'aware of [their] place' by others. Such is the case in the story, where the barman is displaying warning signals, but has not moved to the next point of the power continuum by committing his misgivings to words.

When Ronnie takes the greyhound to where his friends are seated, the friends' body language indicates their surprise and uncertainty. The friends pointedly do

not greet Ronnie when he first arrives, similar to the women at the start, and just carry on with their game:

> four mates of his were sitting playing Shoot Pontoon. He sat on a vacant chair, bending to tuck the leash beneath his right shoe. He swallowed about a quarter of the beer in the first go and then sighed. I needed that, he said, leaning sideways a little, to grasp the dog's ears; he patted its head. He manoeuvred his chair so he could watch two hands of cards being played. The game continued in silence. (p. 206)

The friends act cautiously in this situation and they wait for someone else to be the first to question Ronnie about the greyhound. In the meantime, the friends continue playing their card game and do not look at Ronnie or engage in conversation, even though Ronnie addresses them verbally. Ronnie plays along with their avoidance strategies and makes an effort to watch the card game, as if nothing was out of place.

Eventually, one of the four friends asks Ronnie about the dog, but without making eye contact, indicating either caginess, feigned nonchalance, or lack of engagement, and as a result Ronnie does not reply:

> You looking after it for somebody? he asked without taking his gaze from the thirteen cards he was holding and sorting through. Ronnie did not reply. The other three were smiling; they were also sorting through their cards. He carried on watching the game until it ended and the cards were being shuffled for the next. And he yawned; but the yawn was a false one and he sniffed and glanced towards the bar. (p. 206)

The lack of eye contact is significant in this passage. In *Gaze and Mutual Gaze*, Argyle and Cook found that people tend to look at others (regulator body language) during crucial points in a conversation such as when information is needed, at the end of utterances, and when there are changes in activity (p. 170). They also found that speakers usually look up at grammatical pauses to obtain feedback about how utterances are being received and to see if they should continue speaking (pp. 114-22). The friends' lack of eye contact flouts these conventions. In reaction to the friends' smiling response to the dog and their attempts to pretend that nothing is different, Ronnie shows nonverbal signs of being bored by their line of enquiry and even demonstrates a false yawn to tell them so. In the story, the friends realise he is sending them a signal of impatience and they soon make up for it by offering tobacco after Ronnie gestures for it, and they start asking about the dog.

Later, Jimmy Peters uses a type of gaze, the line of regard, to ask for a reply from Ronnie:

> Are you telling us you've bought it? asked Kelly.
>   Ronnie did not reply.
>   Are you?
>   Ronnie dragged on the cigarette, having to squeeze the end of it so he could get a proper draw. He exhaled the smoke away from where the greyhound was lying. Jimmy Peters was looking at him. Ronnie looked back. After a moment Jimmy Peters said, I mean are you actually going to race it? (p. 207)

Kelly has verbally asked for information and does not get a reply. Jimmy Peters, at first, remains silent and encourages Ronnie to speak by looking at him (to show he is paying attention). Jimmy Peters leaves a gap in the conversation so that Ronnie can have his say. Argyle and Cook detail how, particularly in groups, the 'line of regard' is used as a 'visual finger' to suggest who should speak next and a short glance by the speaker is used to persuade and emphasise words and phrases (pp. 114-22). Eventually, since Ronnie ignores the nonverbal prompts by looking back and saying nothing, Jimmy Peters is also forced to ask for information verbally.

The friends will have noticed that Ronnie keeps focusing on and fiddling with his cigarette (and he continues to do this throughout the whole story). This nonverbal signal is an externaliser, indicating that he is preoccupied and anxious. The significance of the externaliser body language is made more apparent when the cigarette keeps extinguishing through disuse. This indicates that Ronnie is not smoking for its nicotine, but because it primarily gives him something to fiddle with and look at instead of maintaining eye contact with his friends. Ronnie's behaviour allows him to disengage from others, even if temporarily, but without the offence caused by stating this desire.

Thereafter, in the passage, Ronnie's returned look at Jimmy Peters could even be considered a challenge of sorts. Whereas Kelly looks to show interest, Ronnie's body language is negative and combines with his replies to indicate his unwillingness to engage in a conversation about the purchase of the greyhound. The friends and even the reader will not be told why he bought it, at least until Ronnie wants to reveal this information. Ronnie cannot hold off for long though, and eventually he has to reply when his friends also ignore his nonverbal cues and switch to direct speech as the main channel of communication:

> Jimmy Peters was looking at him. Ronnie looked back. After a moment Jimmy Peters said, I mean are you actually going to race it?
> Naw Jimmy I'm just going to take it for walks.
> The other three laughed loudly. Ronnie shook his head at Peters. (p. 207)

The friends' laughter could mean they are uncomfortable with Ronnie's sarcasm and are trying to calm things down, just following the consensus, or genuinely think it is funny that Ronnie might have bought the dog to race, since he is both unemployed and treating it like a pet. Ronnie's shake of the head at Jimmy Peters is a way of chastising him for being so intrusive. It is important to notice the encoding of the nonverbal behaviour, which merely describes, without glossing. The rest of the story also has frequently unexplained body language. This preference for described and lexicalised encoding means, as Korte postulates, that the physical reality of the story is highlighted (p. 94).

This is not to say that glossing is entirely absent from the story and that interpretations are not given for the body language. Sometimes narrative comment is used to add meaning and provide clarification, or even to negate the meaning of the nonverbal behaviour, such as already seen in one of the examples 'And he yawned; but the yawn was a false one ...' (p. 206). So, although there is an emphasis on the reader interpreting the story, some glossing by the narrator is used to modify or clarify the possible meaning gained from the body language.

Returning to the story, the laughing about the greyhound turns into an argument, and other body language signals alert the reader that there is trouble brewing. For example, Ronnie frowns at something he has noticed in Kelly's expression. It is later revealed that Kelly knows the most about greyhound racing and has contacts in the industry, and Ronnie's frown probably means he realises he paid too much for a dog that is unlikely to win a race. After this, when Kelly makes a joke about the racing value of the dog and all the friends laugh, Ronnie performs the cigarette externaliser nonverbal signal, which conveys his discomfort.

Characters are also shown to read body language. For example, even though Ronnie says nothing about leaving, when he reaches for the leash his intention to leave is read by McInnes and he tells Ronnie to sit down again. Jimmy Peters lets Ronnie know that they are just kidding around, but Ronnie refuses to believe it, and when Kelly laughs again at Ronnie, this is the result:

> Aye, said Ronnie, on ye go ya fucking stupid bastard.
>   Kelly stopped laughing.
>   Heh you! said McInnes to Ronnie.
>   Ah well no fucking wonder!
>   Kelly was still looking at him. Ronnie looked back. (p. 209)

Ronnie feels that Kelly has had one joke too many at his expense. Although Kelly is no longer laughing, he has been looking at Ronnie the entire time, expressing his surprise and perhaps anger.

After further exchanges with the other two friends, Ronnie backs off and exhibits the following body language:

> Ronnie shook his head at him; he withdrew the dowp from his inside ticket pocket and reached for the box of matches again; but he put it back untouched, returned the dowp to the ticket pocket, lifted the empty beer glass and studied it for a moment. He sniffed and returned it to the table. (p. 209)

A first externaliser is accompanied by a second one, which involves lifting the beer glass. The glass gives Ronnie something else to look at and occupies his hands while he breaks eye contact. Like the cigarette, it gives him the opportunity to temporarily avoid interacting with others. Up to this stage in the story, it has seemed that thirst has determined his beer-drinking, as he states at the outset of the story. However, he has been unconsciously sipping this beer and only realises the glass is empty once he lifts it. If he was genuinely thirsty, he would have known he had already finished the first beer and needed a refill. Like the fiddling with the cigarette, the sipping of the beer is a prop which acts as a distraction. This is confirmed very soon in the story when the beer glass makes another appearance, while Ronnie is stalling for time:

> He lifted his empty beer glass and swirled the drop at the bottom about, put the glass to his mouth and attempted to drink, but the drop got lost somewhere along the way. (p. 211)

The drop getting 'lost somewhere along the way' highlights the externaliser nature of this nonverbal signal and the redundancy of the beer glass as a drinking vessel is made obvious.

The friends eventually start to make light conversation again, and Ronnie makes 'a show of listening' to keep the peace:

> Ronnie made a show of listening to what McColl was saying, it was some sort of shite about cops and robbers that was beyond even talking about. Ronnie shook his head. It was unbelievable. He stared at the cards on the table then he stared in the direction of the bar, a few young guys were over at the jukebox. (p. 209)

His gaze pattern of staring at objects around the room reveals he is distracted. Presented with Ronnie's body language, the friends elicit enough information to surmise that he is really disturbed about something. After things calm down, they learn his young son has left home and Ronnie intends to house the greyhound in his son's old room. They guess that the greyhound was an impulsive purchase meant to take Ronnie's mind off his son or to act as a substitution. While Ronnie talks about his son, he displays the cigarette externaliser again. The friends feel they have reached the crux of the issue that caused their argument. Unfortunately, after this, Kelly keeps asking questions about the dog's credentials and does not read Ronnie's pointed looks and lack of reply to him. Ronnie's response is to stand up and jerk at the leash, abruptly walking the dog 'straight out the pub, not looking back' (p. 212). This is not a polite exit, since Ronnie even refuses to give the parting glance required when leaving friends.

Later in the day, when Ronnie returns to the pub with the greyhound, he encounters the barman again:

> The same guy served him as at dinnertime but this occasion he did speak; he frowned and he muttered, They'll no like you bringing it in too much. (p. 219)

In the context of Henley's description of the exertion of sanction (and the progressive steps taken to avoid physical force), it becomes clear that the barman applies greater power to his message by moving into speech. Furthermore, the emotional display, a frown, adds emotive force to his words, which themselves are sufficiently indirect to allow Ronnie to save face. Moreover, Ronnie is alerted to the message even before it is spoken since the nonverbal signals appear before the dialogue. This is an instance where body language is presented to let the reader know a character's reaction before comment or dialogue is given. The reader, like Ronnie, knows what the barman thinks before he speaks, and the utterance is secondary to the body language. This is quite unlike when the same nonverbal is placed at the end of a sentence and merely acts as an illustrative device, such as if it was written as 'They'll no like you bringing it in too much, he muttered and then frowned'.

The barman is then challenged to give further verbal sanction when Ronnie questions the warning. The barman replies with a minimal number of words and tries to keep the peace with a nod, courteous look, and slight smile:

> The barman nodded, looking up from the pint he was pouring: A lot of folk bring in theirs as well Ronnie, know what I mean? Just ordinary pets I'm talking about – in other words, wee yins!
> Dont give us that, replied Ronnie. What about these big fucking alsatians! You're feart to walk in here sometimes in case you step on a tail and get fucking swallowed.
> The barman nodded, smiled slightly. (pp. 219-20)

The body language of the barman shows he is trying to avoid an argument. However, if the barman is correct in his assertions, Ronnie is in danger of receiving disapproval from a crowd of people. Ronnie glances around the room for evidence of this possibility:

> He glanced about; a couple of curious stares at the dog. Fuck them all. The dog wouldnt harm a flea. It was just a big – Christ! it was just a big pet. (p. 220)

Other people in the pub are staring, but not yet complaining. The fact that they are looking means it is unusual to have a greyhound in the pub. The curious stares violate the norm that Erving Goffman describes in *Behaviour in Public Places* as 'civil inattention', where a person does not gaze at strangers in public places (pp. 198-215). Argyle and Cook writes that this civil inattention is achieved by attending to objects and other activities (pp. 110-14). Furthermore, the focus on the nonverbal behaviour of the characters who are strangers illustrates the normative pressure that Ronnie must bow to. Thus, their nonverbals are not only a communicative signal, but also a sign of their power as a group. The use of nonverbals allows a different feeling for the narrative from what might have been achieved through a summary such as 'They didn't approve of the dog in the pub, but Ronnie was defiant.'

While he is being stared at, Ronnie has to walk the greyhound in front of the others until he reaches the furthest table away from the entrance of the pub where he can join two of his friends still there from earlier in the day. When Ronnie complains about the barman's comments, his friends merely nod and give short replies without really committing to Ronnie's views. Faced with this flat response, in a display of bravado, Ronnie lies about the dog having just won a race:

> Ronnie stopped and shook his head, he grinned. He brought out his fags and gave to each: It's just won its first race!
> Fucking must've! chuckled Jimmy Peters, taking the cigarette and looking at it.
> But it didn't stretch to a pint! added McInnes.
> Ronnie nodded. It was a wee race! (p. 220)

Nonverbally, he backs up the claim of winning by offering a cigarette to his friends, which is meant to demonstrate that the greyhound has really won him

money. The friends' responses show they do not believe him, with one just looking at the cigarette offered and chuckling, and the other joking it was not enough money for a pint of beer as well. The friends are not displaying the congratulatory body language expected in this situation, such as back-slapping or hand-shaking. Instead, they merely play along with the lie and let Ronnie save face.

Ronnie does not avoid trouble and soon returns to the earlier argument. He fails to read the disapproving pursing of the lips by McInnes and even cuts off Jimmy Peters' defensive protest with his own shrug and a look, as a way of dismissing their opinions. When his body language does not incur an argument, Ronnie verbally goads them. Here is their response:

> Jimmy Peters stared at him then looked away. But McInnes sniffed and leaned closer to Ronnie, and he said: I'll tell you something man you better screw the fucking nut cause the way it's going you're going to wind up bad news, bad news. I'm no fucking kidding ye either. (p. 221)

Jimmy Peters gives Ronnie a significant stare to show his displeasure and then uses regulator body language, looking away, to show his unwillingness to engage in further discussion on the matter. The second character, McInnes, chooses to not only stare but lean closer to add intensity and personal force to his spoken message.

Unfortunately, just as he did with the barman, Ronnie tries to force more speech out of McInnes, who refuses to discuss the matter:

> McInnes sat back and grunted, That's all I'm saying.
>   What're you meaning but?
>   McInnes shook his head.
>   Eh?
>   I'm no saying anything more Ronnie; you fucking know what I'm meaning.
> (p. 221)

McInnes refuses to speak about the issue and presents Ronnie with strong body language to reinforce this point. McInnes sits back to show that he is withdrawing from further conversation, and he uses an emblem, the shake of his head, to avoid speaking. Very soon, Ronnie reads their cues and retreats into silence as well:

> Ronnie continued to gaze at him, then he frowned at Jimmy Peters and reached for the beer, sipped at it and put it down, lifted it again and sipped some more, gulping it down this time. He inhaled on the cigarette and stared towards the clock. (p. 221)

In response to being told off, Ronnie engages in the externaliser nonverbals of playing with the cigarette and with his beer. McInnes once again reads Ronnie's externaliser body language and realises that Ronnie has taken the argument badly. He addresses Ronnie verbally to relieve any ill feeling: 'Dont take it personally for God sake' (p. 222).

Thereafter, they all attempt to mend the situation by making verbal concessions. However, the body language does not reflect this change in the relationship, and there is a mere shrug on behalf of Ronnie and a nod by Jimmy Peters during these verbal concessions. Their body language shows they are still tense and the reader should not be surprised to see Ronnie soon causing another argument:

> Ronnie shook his head: I mean I've got to laugh at yous cunts. All talk. All fucking talk. (p. 222)

The communication becomes nonverbal again. McInnes shows a distinct lack of desire to exchange more words, but Ronnie pushes him by giving McInnes the visual finger and asking questions:

> McInnes was looking at him. Ronnie looked back. McInnes said, This is you out of order again.
>   What?
>   This is you fucking out of order, again.
>   What d'you mean?
>   They way you go on… McInnes shook his head and stared at the floor.
>   Ronnie stared at him.
>   Aye, God sake, the way you go on!
>   What! Ronnie's face screwed into a glare.
>   Leave it.
>   Leave it?
>   McInnes looked at him then looked away. Jimmy Peters was looking away too.
> (p. 222)

In this passage that McInnes initially tries to stop Ronnie with a look, but Ronnie defiantly looks back as a challenge to the warning. Then McInnes stands his ground verbally against Ronnie's questioning. When Ronnie seems to be losing control, as the body language indicates with his face screwing up into a glare, McInnes tells him to stop. McInnes's command is reinforced by pointedly looking at Ronnie. Then Ronnie's two friends both look away to send a clear nonverbal message that they are not going to have further involvement in the conversation.

Thereafter, Jimmy Peters changes the topic away from greyhounds altogether, and although Ronnie nods and shows his interest, his thoughts are preoccupied

with how he will afford to feed the greyhound. When Ronnie engages in the changed conversation, Peters smiles in reply and McInnes gives a nod which is eventually followed by a smile. These nonverbal signals indicate that they are all genuinely starting to relax this time. Eventually all of them even end up laughing together. However, Ronnie remains somewhat distracted and at one point, he emerges from his thoughts to realise that he has been making rudimentary regulator nonverbal displays and that he was not really listening to the conversation. Nonetheless, he continues to use these regulators to pretend that he is listening:

> Ronnie nodded, acknowledging something; he didnt know what the fuck it was he was acknowledging but he was acknowledging something! He smiled, he raised the pint to his lips and swallowed beer. Jimmy pushed the tobacco pouch towards him and he rolled himself a smoke. (p. 224)

Jimmy notices that Ronnie has been displaying his nervous externaliser nonverbals again, and helps him cope by offering a smoke. This gesture of offering a smoke also lets Ronnie know that they are aware he lied before, since Ronnie was supposed to have won money and have his own already. Ronnie wordlessly accepts the offer and soon after this he leaves the bar, but this time his friendships are mended and he has serious doubts about having bought the dog.

After both times that Ronnie leaves the bar, he goes walking in public areas with his greyhound to the park, river, and through the streets. Infrequent body language is found in these passages which follow Ronnie's solitary walks, other than a smile to himself. However, at one stage in his solitary walk, Ronnie contemplates a memory of the Partick leather workers' body language when they leave work:

> What a fucking job; that twice-daily journey six days a week and the rain pelting down, and the wind biting your ears going across in the ferry; walking up the steps at the other side and then the cobbles, that terrible monotony, the wooden fence, spar after spar. The good bit about it was the race, every cunt racing each other but kidding on they were just walking fast. Maybe they were walking fast. Maybe he was the only person racing. Not at all. Everybody was at it, seeing who'd be the first to reach Dumbarton Road. And anybody who ran was fucking cheating! (p. 227)

Ronnie clearly considers the possibility that the fast pace was natural, but then reaches the conclusion that it was a kind of race between desperate workers rushing home. No words have passed between the characters, but the nonverbals

indicate that there was a race. Through reading their body language, Ronnie reaches a tenable conclusion about their motivations.

Another instance of Ronnie reading others' body language is when he contemplates what his wife is doing at home, and guesses that she is worrying about their son. Once again, body language plays a central role in representing a character's state of mind:

> And the lassies, they'd know something was up because they'd see the way she was looking; if they were watching the telly, they'd see she wasnt really seeing what was on, her attention would be fucking, it would be nowhere near it, wondering if the phone was going to ring; and the boy as well, if he was okay (p. 230)

The mother's distant stares indicate her continued worry and her distracted state of mind as she hopes for a long-distance phone call from her young son in London. Ronnie does not imagine her saying anything, but he sees her body language as revealing her mental state. The story closes with Ronnie considering his family and gasping on his cigarette, feeling that there is little he can do.

To summarise, this analysis of body language's role demonstrates its importance to Kelman's literary voice. It has highlighted the important contribution of the characters' bodies in their capacity to communicate meaning, as validly as dialogue or narrative comment might do. This is important because it provides a response to the claim that the working classes are inarticulate. The discussion will now move to the second story, 'A Decision', which is shorter in length than 'A Greyhound for Breakfast' but is significant for its focus on one mode of body language: gaze.

A Decision

The story, 'A Decision' in *The Burn* (pp. 163-7), is about a man being told by his girlfriend that she is leaving him. The setting is a room in their home and the reader sees their interactions until she leaves, perhaps only five minutes later. There are significant phases in the story: the boyfriend learning that she is leaving, her explanation for this, an argument about it, and her exit. In 'A Decision', nonverbal signals, in particular gaze, are the main way that the personal dynamics between two characters are expressed, and about half of the body language is based upon gaze (oculesic body language). The dialogue mainly occurs in the second half of the story, but ceases two paragraphs from its close. It is notable that

the main character, the boyfriend, consciously interprets his girlfriend's body language throughout the story. The narrative focus on nonverbals invites the reader to see the characters as people, replete with bodies, emotions, and human reactions.

There is a long-held belief that emotions leave a person wordless, and in a highly-charged emotional situation nonverbals will take precedence. Body language appears in the initial sentence of the story:

> When she told him she was going he stared at her, stupefied. (p. 163)

The cause, the reaction, and the interpretation are positioned in the sentence so that the gaze description acts as an illustrative device that rests between what the girlfriend says and the boyfriend's internal reaction. The narrative comment interprets the gaze signal, but this does not distract from the stare itself as an important sign of shock. Narrative explanation is more frequent in this story than it was in 'A Greyhound for Breakfast'. Even though body language can accurately display a wide range of singular and mixed emotional states through its kinemes and kinemic combinations, nonverbal signals are less precise than words, so narrative comment helps clarify the message contained in the body language. The man's original stare may easily indicate anger or aggression rather than shock, but the glossing clarifies it to be the latter.

In the next two sentences, the boyfriend's reaction shows he is making an effort to control himself:

> Instead of shouting and bawling he asked her to repeat what she had just said. She did so, stepping back a yard, though by the set of her face and demeanour generally she wasnt at all scared for any physical reason. (p. 163)

The idea that the man is shocked is further emphasised when the reader is told that the girlfriend is not scared 'for any physical reason'. The reader is not told why she stepped back, but it can be guessed that she feels psychologically uncomfortable rather than frightened. Moreover, her proxemic body language indicates that the man is probably still directly staring at her for too long, and this makes her nervous enough to step away.

Indeed, throughout the entire story, the boyfriend's gaze is only described as staring; for example, he is fixated when he looks around him, whether this be at the girlfriend, the ashtray, or the suitcase. When he looks at the ashtray, he gazes

at it long enough to ascertain what type of cigarette she is smoking, and when she gets her suitcase, he looks long enough to notice quite irrelevant details about it. These indicate that he is looking intensely at objects around him. The girlfriend is quite different and she graduates from gaze avoidance, to a look, and then to stares. The progression of their gaze behaviour tells the reader that the boyfriend is fairly fixed in his shocked state whereas the girlfriend initially is reluctant to deliver her decision but grows stronger and more resolute as the story progresses.

One way to ascertain the importance of nonverbals to the narrative technique, not only to convey a sense of immediacy but also to be concise, is to give an example of what the story might have looked like without nonverbals. This passage was the original opening paragraph of Kelman's story:

> When she told him she was going he stared at her, stupefied. Instead of shouting and bawling he asked her to repeat what she had just said. She did so, stepping back a yard, though by the set of her face and demeanour generally she wasnt at all scared for any physical reason. He looked at the carpet and frowned. (p. 163)

Here is an interpretation of what it would look like if the paragraph was more explicit:

> When she told him she was going, he went into shock and was stupefied into disbelief as he replayed the event in his mind to check that he did not mishear her. Instead of acting in a manner that others may have in the same situation, he maintained his sense of control and asked her to repeat what she had said. She did so, ashamedly but determined. She was not frightened of him because she guessed that he would not be violent over the decision, and this helped her remain resolute. Nonetheless, she felt troubled by his questioning and his reaction to her news seemed too calm. There was a certain something about him that made her think he really was going to give her a hard time, and she suspected that he was displeased. He was clearly having difficulty with her decision.

This exercise should show that nonverbals have the capacity to convey meaning in a concise, though perhaps less precise, manner.

In the next sentence, the reader finds out more about the attitude of the girlfriend through her oculesic body language:

> And she was taking care not to meet his gaze. What did that mean? (p. 163)

The use of glossed encoding means that the reader can only guess how she avoids his gaze. However, her gaze avoidance is significant, especially considering that, as Martin Remland stresses in *Nonverbal Communication in Everyday Life*, people manage their gaze for social purposes and mutual eye contact itself is relatively easy to avoid and control (p. 277). It is not obvious whether the man or

the narrator is unsure of the meaning of her gaze avoidance, but since the man is known to be staring, he is likely to notice when she is not looking back, and the narrator would normally have given an interpretation. Since there is no opinion given, the lack of explanation puts the reader, character, and narrator in a similar position of contemplating what her oculesic body language means.

The lack of a definitive interpretation does not mean that nothing can be inferred from her gaze avoidance; rather, there is a limited set of meanings available in this context. People view mutual gaze as an invitation for further social interaction, so the woman might be reluctant to look at the man because it would encourage him to think there is some feeling left between them. Argyle and Cook recognise this problem when they make the connection between a 'high level of gaze and high personal evaluation creating too much intimacy' (p. 90). It also may be that her motivation is to reduce his discomfort. Argyle and Cook point out that it is typical to look away when giving a confrontational message that makes the other person lose face (pp. 90, 81). Similarly, she might just be feeling shame, embarrassment, and nervousness, and looks away accordingly. From his viewpoint, her gaze avoidance might mean she was ashamed because she had replaced him with someone else. He may also interpret it as a sign that she unsure of her decision. He probably wants to argue with her, and notices that she has blocked discussion by avoiding eye contact. The real meaning may involve a combination of any of the above.

The above speculations demonstrate that a great deal of information and a range of possibilities are capable of being portrayed with a single description of body language. Kelman may have wanted a range of possible meanings conveyed simultaneously, especially since the story is about the man's uncertainty about what the girlfriend means and his attempt to read her body language. This would make it a kind of communicative economy, because there is an intentional adoption of the ambiguity made possible with depictions of body language and a whole set of possibilities can be conveyed by the single nonverbal signal. A mixed emotional situation can be reflected without describing each part of it at length. In this case, the general sense of disarray caused by an inexact description also illustrates the emotional upheaval of the situation. Importantly, Kelman does not

limit the meanings by explaining or elaborating on what the body language means, and instead allows a proliferation of possible interpretations that are likely to apply in this context.

After the boyfriend considers his girlfriend's announcement of her intention to leave, this begins the explanation phase of the story where he develops a vague idea that her decision has been engineered by others. Once he seems completely convinced of this theory and tells her so, this is her response:

> She didnt answer. She was looking at him in a way hard to describe. It was probably a mixture of things, feeling worry of him was one, feeling disloyal would be another. What else? Oh she was just fucking probably feeling sick, sick in the belly. He nodded and inhaled on his cigarette. (p. 164)

This passage involves a complex range of body language encoding. There are three different levels of encoding that offer quite different outcomes. Although the reader is already aware of a nod being an emblem, the term 'nod' itself involves the lexical encoding of body language. Lexical encoding involves descriptions of body language that offer a concrete image of what it looks like in the mind of the reader, and since it is standardised, it also has a definite meaning or set of meanings attached to it. Kelman may have chosen two other ways of referring to the boyfriend's actions: the phrase 'he slowly moved his head up and down', which uses described encoding, or the phrase 'he knew that he was right', which uses glossed encoding. The fact that the man is said to nod to himself produces a concrete image of that action yet still retains a precise meaning. In the passage, the boyfriend speculates that the girlfriend is feeling mixed emotions, and when he feels he has reached the correct conclusion he nods in agreement to himself.

The above passage also contains described encoding of the boyfriend's body language, 'He nodded and inhaled on his cigarette.' The description of inhaling the cigarette focuses on the execution of the body language rather than its meaning. The alternatives to this described encoding might be the lexical encoding of 'he gasped' or the glossed encoding of 'he showed his understanding'. Considering these alternatives, either option would involve placing extra meaning on the action, whereas Kelman focuses only on the action of the man taking in some cigarette smoke without imposing any particular meaning upon the nature of the breath itself.

Returning to the story, the reader finds that the characters are slowly adjusting to the situation. This is indicated by an increase in mutual gaze when she no longer avoids eye contact and he seems to be staring less intensely. To explain her decision to the boyfriend, she establishes mutual gaze (note that the point of view is the boyfriend's):

> I've been growing away from you, she was telling him.
>   God! She was sounding like she was bloody pleading! He felt like bursting into floods of tears. She was pleading. He could see it in her eyes.
>   I have been for a while, she said.
>   Jesus Christ she was going to break his heart at this rate because she was telling what was the whole truth and nothing but the truth and he sucked on his fag once again, getting the smoke and holding it and sucking on it again and shutting his eyes, clenching the lids shut for Christ sake. (p. 164)

By telling the man face-to-face, making eye contact, she is shown to use body language to reinforce the credibility of what she is saying. The man clearly sees it as the truth when he reads her body language as confirming her words. Her gaze asks him to understand that she has made a decision, and he simultaneously asks her to rethink the decision by his gaze back to her. When he realises her sincerity, his resistance to the idea of her leaving is evident in his body language, particularly when he clenches his eyelids closed. It signifies that he cannot face the situation.

Later, the boyfriend's body language is transparent when he attempts to persuade her not to go. In the argument phase of the story, he challenges her decision and threatens her with words, while also employing body language for its emphatic and interrogative functions. Body language can be very powerful in highly-charged emotional situations, and in the next passage the boyfriend uses a dismissive head-shake and interrogative stare to add emphasis to his words. At first, it is not entirely clear that the boyfriend is actually speaking since the narrator may be providing a gloss on the stare:

> He shook his head and sighed. He stared at her: Do you expect me to take ye back if you decide you want to come back? (p. 165)

The boyfriend's body language makes the accusation that she is being flippant and his words imply that she is likely to change her mind. Her response is conveyed only through body language, but it is translated into an utterance by the narrator:

> She just stared at him and the implication was: Have we sunk to this? that you could accuse me of that? (p. 165)

It is important to note that the body language is mentioned before the interpretation. Dialogue would steal the power of the nonverbal message by robbing it of its primacy as a communicative tool. The emphasis is placed upon her saying nothing, that there is no real verbalisation of the situation. Typically, when one medium of communication is being used, the other person follows suit. By refusing to talk, she prompts him to stop talking to her. Thus, she not only avoids replying verbally, she also gets her message across in a less intrusive yet powerful manner.

Ignoring her nonverbal protest, the boyfriend remains on the same line of questioning. However, she refuses to be swayed and she starts to use nonverbal signals even while he is talking:

> She was already shaking her head but he continued on, okay, a stubborn bastard: No but how do you know? (p. 165)

This is a good but rare example of nonverbal signals being used concurrently with dialogue in a written text. This particular depiction of body language implies that her simultaneous communication is occurring while the boyfriend speaks. She is shown to violate the strict turn-taking rules of spoken conversation by shaking her head even while the man talks.

Considering the story's emphasis on nonverbals, it is unsurprising that body language marks another turning point in the story. In the exit phase of the story, the girlfriend gives a nonverbal reply to the final question about how long she has known she will definitely leave:

> For one isolated moment in time she stared straight at him, then she sighed and it was a sigh of pure relief. It was a sigh of pure relief. There she was. That was her. (p. 166)

That moment in time is when she knows for sure that she has made the right decision, and he realises that he has been part of this resolution. Her stare followed by a sigh of relief tells him so. It also demonstrates her resolve and feeling of release. The reader sees that she has made her point and the boyfriend has little else to say that might even remotely change her mind. It is important that the sigh was glossed as one of relief, since it may have meant impatience or sadness. Equally important is to depict her as staring straight at him, since that demonstrates her control of the situation and her emotional resolve.

After she walks out the door, the story closes with a description of the boyfriend's body language:

> The door had closed. He studied it and thought about it, her leaving.…he thought of running to the window to maybe shout down at her but what was the point of that, it just wasnt him, it wasnt the sort of thing he did; he looked at the door, he studied it. (pp. 166-7)

It is obvious that the boyfriend is still in deep shock (and note that he is still staring). The closed door that ends the story symbolises the end of the relationship, while his continuing to stare (just as he did at the beginning) shows that it is not through verbalisation that he comes to terms with the situation.

Essentially, the dramatic impact of 'A Decision' is enhanced by the use of body language to signify the diminished relationship, which merges for one last moment of mutual gaze, only to end with the man still gazing long after she leaves. Nonverbals open this story, negotiate a passage through the key points, and punctuate its conclusion. This contrasts to the strategy in 'A Greyhound for Breakfast' where the body language is left untranslated and mostly ignored by the main character. The narrator and others 'watch' Ronnie from the outside, and his thoughts are mostly seen in his solitary episodes. In 'A Decision', body language is at the forefront of the boyfriend's mind as he actively interprets the body language of both the girlfriend and himself. However, both these stories rely on body language to convey the inner lives and relationships of the characters. This reliance on body language for its potential to communicate thoughts, feelings, and attitudes is important, and in a later section there will be a presentation of the theories about the socioeconomic identity of such body language. However, before this can be done, the discussion will consider the numerical frequencies of some common body language terms.

A comparison of body language in Kelman's work and Scottish fiction

While a search for all body language is prohibitive, a search for a small sample of terms that refer to particular types of body language can be conducted for KELMAN'S FICTION and SCOTS FICTION. These terms are drawn from the three types of body language summarised earlier in this chapter: the word-replacing body language emblems, the speech-enhancing illustrators and regulators, and the

inner-state revealing emotional displays and externalisers. From a larger pool of words available for each type, five terms were selected for their anticipated frequency of use for their corresponding group.[53] Although this selection is somewhat arbitrarily chosen, the process of identification contained some degree of intuition that is seemingly borne out by the results.

It must also be noted that only the KELMAN'S FICTION and SCOTS FICTION datasets are compared because the focus is on the representation of body language as a literary device. The SCOTS SPOKEN dataset is a transcript and rarely notes body language. The SCOTS WRITTEN dataset often contains formal nonfiction texts which are highly unlikely to depict body language. Furthermore, the SCOTS WRITTEN dataset would contain the three main sources of fictional body language depictions: that already counted in the SCOTS FICTION dataset, poetry (which focuses on language use rather than nonverbals) and plays (which might contain stage directions, but they are qualitatively different, in terms of genre, to body language depicted in a short story or novel). Thus, by evaluating only the KELMAN'S FICTION and SCOTS FICTION datasets for their specific uses of body language, there is a comparison of similar qualitative entities.

In order to conduct a search for body language terms, I have selected 15 particular words out of a multitude of terms that might depict a great variety of body language. Of these, I tried to collect a cross section of terms that would coincide with three key types of body language for literature. These types include the word-replacing emblems, speech coordinating illustrators and regulators, and lexical-based emotional displays and externalisers. While this survey is fairly limited in scope as a result of the small number of terms explored, some differences between the datasets should emerge. The results for these 15 search terms are found in Table 7.1 below:

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[53] Some of the search terms used in each category are also used for non-body language meanings; however, this occurs only a small amount of the time. An example can be found for the count of the word 'shrug': it may have included uses of the word which had no reference to body language, such as 'she wore a shrug' or the more difficult semantic distinctions between the word 'shrug' which occurs in 'I asked her and she shrugged at me' versus 'she shrugged me off'. Thus, it is inevitable that some counts have included words that are not used to represent body language. However, since the same search method is used across the datasets, it is likely that a similar proportion of error will be found in the other datasets. Furthermore, since the search terms used do not exhaust all possible body laguage terms, the results are understated in terms of body language references, but overstated in their counts of occurence. Finally, every attempt was made to search for both English and SCOTS spellings, e.g. the seach for the body language term 'look at' involved a search for 'look at', 'looking at', 'looks at', and 'looked at', and the process repeated for the Scots 'leuk, luik, luk, luck, luke' and grammatical variants such as 'luikin, leukin, luikit, leuked, leukt, lukt' etc.

Table 7.1: Five examples of each of the three types of body language

Types of body language	KELMAN'S FICTION to SCOTS FICTION ratio	KELMAN'S FICTION rate per 1,000	SCOTS FICTION rate per 1,000
emblems	12.9 : 1	2.92	0.23
illustrators/ regulators	6.4 : 1	3.13	0.49
emotional displays/ externalisers	8.1 : 1	2.55	0.31
Totals	8.4 : 1	8.60	1.03

Overall, it can seen that KELMAN'S FICTION makes use of body language more frequently than SCOTS FICTION. KELMAN'S FICTION has one of these 15 body language terms per 116 words in comparison to SCOTS FICTION with one per 975 words. The results show that KELMAN'S FICTION uses 12.9 times more emblems, 6.4 times more illustrators/regulators, and 8.1 times more emotional display/externalisers. Among these categories, some terms had particularly high rates, such as 'shrug', 'grin', and 'nod'. These appeared in KELMAN'S FICTION 22.1, 14.7, and 16.6 times more than in the SCOTS FICTION dataset. These individual sets of body language will now be explored in turn: emblems, then illustrators/regulators, and finally emotional displays/externalisers.

For this study, I selected what I thought to be five common emblems: nod of the head, shake of the head, shrug of the shoulders, wave of the hand, and wink of the eye. A nod can mean 'yes' or 'hello', and its opposite, a shake of the head, means 'no', while its related emblem, the shrug of the shoulders, means 'I don't know' or 'whatever'. Related to these is the 'wink' which means 'you know what I mean', 'I'm playing/I'm not serious' and 'keep it quiet'. The final emblem I selected was the wave of the hand, which refers to two different emblems. The held up front-on waving hand means 'hello' or 'goodbye' and may be used to say 'notice me'. The waist-height beckoning/directing wave is used to mean 'go away' or 'come over', with the destination depending on the context and direction in which the wave occurs. It takes little change in movement to hold the palm facing away from you and wave it side to side, only to immediately face the palm towards yourself and wave it towards you, so the term 'wave' is appropriate to the type of action described. The results are in Table 7.2 below:

Table 7.2: Emblems

Terms	KELMAN'S FICTION to SCOTS FICTION ratio	KELMAN'S FICTION rate per 1,000	SCOTS FICTION rate per 1,000
Nod	16.6 : 1	1.32	0.08
Shake [his/her] head	29.7 : 1	0.73	0.02
Shrug	22.1 : 1	0.55	0.02
Wave	2.1 : 1	0.16	0.08
Wink	7.8 : 1	0.16	0.02
Total emblems	12.9 : 1	2.92	0.23

Kelman's use of emblems — body language that replaces words — produces the greatest difference out of the three main body language categories researched. It is remarkable that one of these five emblems will occur every 342 words in KELMAN'S FICTION, whereas SCOTS FICTION has only any one occur per 4,424 words. The following passage, from 'The Hitchhiker', contains four of the five emblems:

> Eventually she nodded, without speaking. She'll go, he said to me.
> I told him to tell her I would carry her rucksacks if she wanted. But she shook her head. He shrugged, and the two of us watched her hitch them up onto her shoulders; then she spoke very seriously with him, he smiled and patted her arm. And she was off.
> I nodded to him and followed.
> She stared directly in front of her thick hiking boots. We passed over the bridge and on to the turnoff for the site. A rumble from the mountains across the loch was followed by a strike of lightning that brightened the length of the bogging track. A crack of thunder. Look, I said, I might as well get a hold of your rucksacks along here, it's hell of a muddy ... I pointed to the rucksacks indicating I should carry them. I helped them from her. She swung them down and I put one over each of my shoulders. Setting off on the grass verge I then heard her coming splashing along in the middle of the bog, not bothering at all.
> The light was out in our caravan. I showed her to the one next, and opened the door for her, standing back to let her enter but she waved me inside first. (pp. 168-9)

The woman nods to say 'yes', shakes her head to say 'no', and waves to the man to say 'you go inside first'. The protagonist also nods to say 'yes' and the other man shrugs his shoulders to say 'whatever' when the woman disagrees with him, but he also uses another emblem, patting her arm, which means 'it's okay', 'relax', or 'everything will be alright'.

The three basic emblems to say yes, no, and I don't know were the most common out of the five search terms, and seemed to appear when the other two search terms were not present. For example, the nod in 'a few of the members nodded their agreement', the shake of the head in 'she shook her head. He had gone over to her; and he clasped both her hands. Again she shook her head', and

the shrug in 'I just want to see how it works, shrugged Williams'.[54] They often seem to be used independently of each other.

In the following passage, another common emblem used by Kelman is the 'wink', such as that in *An Old Pub near the Angel*:

> Oh quite a nice looking chick over there. Hullo there she's looking across. Wink at her, no response. Yeah thanks for returning it, nice of you to acknowledge it with a quirk of the lips or friendly smile. (p. 25)

The wink shows a cheeky attempt to engage in an interaction with the woman, essentially meaning 'how about it?'. The notion is that if she smiles, that is an invitation for him to approach her. In another example from *The Burn*, a narrator makes the meaning of the 'wink' clearer in order to enhance the interpretation:

> He laughed out loud then shook his head to put a check on himself. He calmed down and frowned man-to-man. James James James. But that's serious eh? And he winked to destroy any semblance of genuine sympathy. (p. 97)

Instead of just leaving the wink to be self-explanatory, Kelman ensures that the reader knows that it indicates mockery rather than reassurance.

The wave, to mean 'hello' will replace that word in Kelman's writing, such as in *A Chancer*: 'Tammas stepped out from the row of spectators and gave him a wave. Joe grinned. How you doing Tammas?' (p. 278). The wave similarly is used to replace 'goodbye', such as in *The Busconductor Hines* 'they waved to her as the bus moved off from the kerb' (p. 229). When multiple meanings of the term 'wave' might cause confusion, one of the two body language references is described using a different term, such as in *A Chancer*:

> It was Erskine. And he was looking over, Tammas waved and he stared back, then he smiled and waved in reply, gesturing at him to come across. (p. 121)

In this extract, Tammas waves to say 'hello' and Erskine similarly waves back to return the greeting; however, when Erskine beckons Tammas to his table by 'waved in reply, gesturing at him to come across', it may instead have been expressed as 'waved in reply, waving at him to come across'. The reader already has the greeting wave in their minds and to refer to the beckoning wave this soon after its use would cause temporary confusion about which particular body movement is attached to the word 'wave'.

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[54] *An Old Pub Near the Angel* p. 85, *The Busconductor Hines* p. 217, *Not Not While the Giro* p. 46.

The next set of body language terms investigated is illustrators and regulators. The most accessible types of illustrators and regulators are based upon gaze, since eye contact is so important to Western culture. Thus, gaze is an important form of nonverbal communication, and much is interpreted from the gaze behaviour of others as they speak. Table 7.3 reveals the presence of these illustrators and regulators in the datasets.

Table 7.3: Illustrators and regulators

Term	KELMAN'S FICTION to SCOTS FICTION ratio	KELMAN'S FICTION rate per 1,000	SCOTS FICTION rate per 1,000
Gaze	9.2 : 1	0.50	0.06
Glance	14.9 : 1	0.91	0.06
Look at	3.5 : 1	0.96	0.27
Look away	11.5 : 1	0.04	0.00
Stare	7.7 : 1	0.71	0.09
Total illustrators and regulators	6.4 : 1	3.13	0.49

The difference in ratio is lower between KELMAN'S FICTION and SCOTS FICTION because much more illustrator/regulator body language appears in the SCOTS FICTION dataset than it did for emblems. Nonetheless, KELMAN'S FICTION uses one of these five illustrators/regulators every 319 words, which is still much greater than SCOTS FICTION with one per 2,056 words. A possible reason for the increase in illustrator/regulator body language in SCOTS FICTION is that it does not replace speech, unlike emblems, and instead allows the narrator to illustrate dialogue and helps indicate turn-taking between characters. By contrast, within KELMAN'S FICTION, the rate of these five gaze referents is only slightly more frequent than his use of the five emblem referents.

These gaze signals have an important role in illustrating what is being said and regulating the initiation of speech, the turn-taking process, and the closure of a conversation. Thus, when the character's behaviour is described with the words 'and I stared at him so he knew I was not kidding' in *The Burn* (p. 98), the stare reinforces the statement that the man makes, and closes the conversation revolving around that topic. Two of the terms searched in this study, 'glance' and 'look away', appear in the following passage as regulators. In this exchange, the

description of McKechnie's body language demonstrates his desire to disengage from the conversation, without the need for a narrative interpretation:

> What… He looked at me. My name's no John. He sniffed and glanced sideways, then muttered: McKechnie.
> McKechnie! Christ. Aye… I thought you were in Manchester? How you doing man?
> He looked away from me. I've no been in Manchester for years. (p. 28)

Two uses of gaze demonstrate McKechnie's lack of interest, glancing sideways and looking away. Argyle and Cook explain that a gaze exchanged between two people often indicates an interaction is being initiated or something is going to happen (p. 85). In the above passage, gaze behaviour is mentioned because it serves to give the other man cues about McKechnie's lack of interest (and perhaps annoyance because this other man barely knows the basics about McKechnie). McKechnie is clearly trying to regulate the possibility of a conversation by not engaging in meaningful eye contact. When the body language and dialogue is combined, it seems possible that the other man is only pretending to know McKechnie although he does correctly associate him with Manchester.

As outlined by Argyle and Cook, people tend to avoid initiating mutual gaze with strangers because it can be interpreted as the invitation to enter into a social encounter, such as a conversation (pp. 110-14). Moreover, an unsolicited gaze from a stranger is often disliked by people (pp. 86-91). This is probably because, as Argyle and Cook explain, the role of gaze to initiate contact, so unsolicited gaze is unwelcome (pp. 95-6, 110-14). In the following passage, the gaze of two strangers often is annoying the protagonist, Patrick, in *A Disaffection*:

> There are two guys staring at Patrick, that's what I want to know. He got up off his seat and he walked to them. He said: Is there something up?
> They glanced at each other.
> Naw it's just eh, the way I keep catching your eye and all that. I'm wondering how come I mean if we know each other or somebloodything.
> What ye talking about?
> Patrick nodded. He gazed at the two of them. What's up?
> Nothing's up with me, said Pat. I thought there might be something up with yous. The way yous were looking at me.
> Who was looking at ye? said one of the guys. Ye kidding? He shook his head and he said to the bartender: He thinks we were fucking looking at him!
> Hh! The bartender frowned. (pp. 214-5)

In this passage, the men are violating the 'civil inattention' norm, and it is offensive to Patrick. Kelman portrays another character acting upon this norm in

the following sentence from *Lean Tales*, where the search terms 'glance' and 'gaze' are used:

> At intervals I was obliged to glance to the ground when a gaze was directed towards me. (p. 19)

This description makes it clear that the man glances down to achieve civic inattention. This differs from a stare which can be a sign of disapproval, such as that found in *A Disaffection*: 'She was staring straight at him. What a look! It was straight. It was a straight look she was giving him; it was dislike.' (p. 147).

A similar awareness of regulator body language is found in the following passage, where the avoidance of mutual gaze, even the possibility of it, is seen as a gift given to others when sitting in a crowded bus:

> Incredible the power of one individual, to force others into psychic turmoil; simply by looking somebody up and down, even while letting it be known that it – the look in question – is merely a look, performed unintentionally; wholly without malice and, on the available evidence, done in a wholly absentminded manner. [....] I would just sidle by people, not looking into their eyes; I would gaze at the ground, a person who just gazes at the ground; I had done it before and would do it again, I could always do it again. There are these amazing escapes and we give them to each other, despite everything. (pp. 183-4, 187)

The significance of this quotation is found in the context in which the character's behaviour takes place. He lives in a situation where there are many people and little privacy outside of the home, and it is problematic to engage meaningfully with each person you encounter. City life would be impossible if everyone engaged those around them in conversation, amongst other demands, in order to maintain politeness. Making mutual eye contact is a demand for attention, one that might be unreasonably asked of others. More importantly, this passage illustrates Kelman's awareness of body language and how it plays an essential role in character development.

In the examples above, the line between gaze being used as an illustrator/externaliser and its additional role as an indication of emotion was blurred. Nonverbal behaviour often plays more than one role, but it will also be used to read other's internal states. It is clear that nonverbals can be used to convey emotional states without the need for narrative explication (highly articulated summative description). This next section examines Kelman's use of terms that function as emotional displays and externalisers. To avoid confusion, I have not counted gaze terms in this table, since the object was to use terms that

had little correlation to illustrators, regulators, and emblems that have already been searched.

The emotional displayed/externalisers I selected were ones that appear on the face, in the form of common facial expressions. These include the expressions of fundamental emotions: 'smile' (happiness), 'grin' (toothy smile of happiness), and 'frown' (unhappiness). I also included words which represented multifaceted inner states and had more complex facial expressions such as a 'grimace' (pained or disapproving), and 'pursed [his/her] lips' (disapproval or worry). These terms are shown in Table 7.4 below:

Table 7.4: Emotional displays and externalisers

Term	KELMAN'S FICTION to SCOTS FICTION ratio	KELMAN'S FICTION rate per 1,000	SCOTS FICTION rate per 1,000
Frown	9.6 : 1	0.36	0.04
Grimace	1.1 : 1	0.02	0.02
Grin	14.7 : 1	0.70	0.05
Pursed [his/her] lips	n/a	0.03	none
Smile	6.8 : 1	1.44	0.21
Total emotional displays and externalisers	8.1 : 1	2.55	0.31

In KELMAN'S FICTION one of these five emotional displays/externalisers appear every 392 words, whereas SCOTS FICTION has one per 3,190 words. Emotional displays/externalisers may be used to support the verity of narrative observations of a character. Furthermore, since they essentially involve only a depiction of the character's body language, this reduces the sense of an intervening narrator. Emotional displays/externalisers allow the reader to 'see' the state of the character as much as 'hear' the comments of the narrator. The figures indicate that terms such as 'smile', 'grin', and 'frown' enjoy popularity among both datasets, although KELMAN'S FICTION clearly outnumbers that found in SCOTS FICTION, which is once per 695 words, 1,433 words, and 2,745 words respectively as compared to once per 4,700 words, 21,056 words, and 26,321 words respectively in SCOTS FICTION. This equates to ratios of use between KELMAN'S FICTION and SCOTS FICTION of 6.8:1 for 'smile', 14.7:1 for grin, and 9.6:1 for frown.

There was one type of body language represented only in KELMAN'S FICTION and not found in the SCOTS FICTION dataset: pursed lips. Kelman's use of the body

language, pursing the lips, shows its potential for depicting a character's inner struggle in the following instance from *The Busconductor Hines*:

> The silence continued. Sammy was pursing his lips and had folded his arms and then unfolded them. (p. 211)

The description of 'pursing his lips' is enhanced by the other body language of folding and unfolding the arms; taken together these indicate a changing state between either disapproval and openness or resolution and uncertainty. It is surprising that there is no use of pursing of the lips in the SCOTS FICTION dataset because KELMAN'S FICTION makes significant use of this term, to the extent of once per 31,184 words.

The term, 'smile', may appear many times in a single paragraph, especially when it replaces dialogue during communication difficulties between characters. What follows is an illustration of this point in *A Disaffection*:

> She smiled and said something. He missed what it was. She said something but he couldnt make out what it was. He laughed a moment. He shook his head to clear or settle his brains. She smiled and said something, he missed it. Their hands were not touching now. He said, I appreciate what ye did there. He smiled at her. He raised his hand to cover his eyes, but he just smoothed his forehead instead and he smiled and shook his head. (p. 231)

This passage shows a combination of happiness, as seen by their smiles, and the narrator does not need to state this. The smiles are combined with his shaking of the head to not only clear his head but to indicate he is enchanted by her. Often, due to the multiple possible meanings represented by a smile, additional information in the form of other body language, narrative comment, or dialogue is used to provide depth. Examples taken from Kelman's writing are 'smiled wryly', 'smiled contemptuously', 'he smiled and shook his head at us', and 'Betty smiled and linked arms with him'.[55] In the following exchange from *A Disaffection*, the smile is accompanied by narrative comment on its falseness:

> I'll tell ye something else, he said, that boss of yours, he's in for a rude awakening –
> and I'm no joking.
>   He's your boss as well as mine.
>   Aw is he!
>   Aye. Patrick smiled a very false smile.
>   I see, said the janitor. His mouth set, his gaze shifted away from Patrick and became a scowl; immediately he walked off in the direction of the lower ground.
>   (p. 22)

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[55] *An Old Pub Near the Angel* p. 11, *An Old Pub Near the Angel* p. 19, *Not Not While the Giro* p. 47, *A Chancer* p. 39.

Within the exchange, there is much body language, including another type of emotional display, the scowl. Combined with the hard set mouth, the shifted gaze, and the turning of his back, the janitor is showing clear emotional displays of anger and disapproval. There is no need for a narrative comment that states this point outright.

Sometimes, a smile is meant to soften the disapproval of another who frowns, such as found in *The Busconductor Hines*:

> He smiled at the Inspector. But the deepest form of frown screwed the Inspector's eyebrows. (p. 76)

From the description of the frown, the body language is emphatic and expresses extreme anger, so it is no surprise that the man tried to smile to soften the Inspector's attitude.

Frowning does not need to be as emphatic as this, as is evident in *The Busconductor Hines*:

> Meanwhile Fairlie seemed at great odds with himself, alternately frowning and not frowning at the floor. (p. 211)

The alternate frowning indicates a changing of Fairlie's mind as he internally debates an issue. This frown is not directed at another character, and its description is instead used to indicate an internal interaction.

Kelman's use of the term 'grin' is slightly different because it seems to be something more associated with dialogue. While it is less common to find the independent use of 'grin' without dialogue there are examples of it in Kelman's work, such as in *The Busconductor Hines*: 'He grinned, then relaxed to be smiling, an encouraging kind of a smile' and 'Paul – bouncing on the edge of the settee and grinning at him' where the body language has a self-evident meaning (pp. 150, 56). Instead, it is more common to find passages with the word 'grin' immediately accompanied by speech, such as found in *Greyhound for Breakfast*: 'Oanny looked at him and grinned. Fuck off!' where the grin clarifies the speech as jocular and familiar (p. 94). Other examples from Kelman's writing are 'Paul grinned at the cigarette: Give us a drag eh?', 'Cathy grinned at Kirsty: Silly man! Isnt he?', and 'He glanced at her and grinned: Only kidding'.[56]

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[56] *A Chancer* p. 89, *A Chancer* p. 259, *The Busconductor Hines* p. 72.

The grin accompanies another of the search terms, 'grimace' in the following sentence from *A Disaffection*:

> He grinned and raised his glass of tomato juice: Slàinte! He tasted it and grimaced.
> (p. 40)

Here the two closely connected but semantically quite different actions of grinning and grimacing make a sudden change of feeling. In this sentence, the 'grimace' is purposely enacted to display displeasure:

> We're just heading up the Royal, he said, this place gets too noisy sometimes. Eric grimaced, shaking his head. (p. 278)

The body language is used to reinforce the notion already expressed in words. The shaking of the head further reinforces the point.

To summarise the chapter up to this point, among the types of body language investigated, emblems was the greatest point of difference between KELMAN'S FICTION and SCOTS FICTION. Kelman uses considerably more emblems: the traditional type of gesture with specific words and phrases attached to them. The second largest difference was found for emotional displays/externalisers. Despite only focusing on conventionalised facial emotional displays/externalisers, the analysis showed that the rate of use for this type of body language in KELMAN'S FICTION was also significantly larger than that of SCOTS FICTION. In the case of 'pursed lips', SCOTS FICTION did not use the term even once. The smallest yet still significant difference between the two datasets was found for illustrators/regulators expressed through gaze, possibly because gaze is a popular channel of body language portrayed in most literature. This popularity is reflected in both datasets where the highest rates of use were found for this particular type of body language.

It is apparent from the large numerical differences between the KELMAN'S FICTION and SCOTS FICTION datasets that Kelman has a special focus on body language to communicate meaning in his stories. Furthermore, the previous examination of Kelman's short stories demonstrated how body language is not only a narrative tool but also key to the understanding of dialogue and actions of characters. It was also speculated be a manifestation of Kelman's working-class allegiance, particularly since the extensive use of body language fixes the imagination on the body. The next section discusses the role of the body in the

creation of 'civilised behaviour', and how body language itself differs between the social classes.

Extensive depictions of body language as part of a working-class literary style

All literature uses body language signals, but the degree to which a story depends upon it can vary enormously. Social class may be a factor determining the amount of the imaginative world which will be represented by body language, and this section explores this class perspective and the issues it raises. Kelman's literary preoccupations with the body and the use of body language are important to his writing. An important aspect of Kelman's working-class voice is based upon this use of the body as a valid medium for the communication of thought. In order to understand the mechanisms that allow body language to indicate a working-class position, an understanding needs to be established of the class identification of different codes of body language in society. A further theoretical and historical examination of the role of the body in class relations and the civilising process will follow.

History of 'civilised' body language

Studies suggest that the middle class use body language in a particular way to convey a certain image. The middle class use their body to send signals, but it is one of constraint which is not usually thought of as body language and instead is considered to be purposeful polite non-gesturing. This bodily constraint is a lynchpin of what distinguishes the middle class from the working class, and it is an essential part of the middle-class identity.

This argument is based primarily upon the work of Norbert Elias who identified a process of 'change in human conduct and sentiment' that was first evident in the courtly behaviour of the 1500s (pp. 47-9). From that time, there became established an increasing desire, as a part of what Elias calls the 'civilizing process', to control the body's ability to be read by others. It required a measured constraint of the body that prevented affect and inner states 'from manifesting themselves directly and motorically in action' (p. 479). The intention in such bodily forms of constraint is to create an 'invisible wall':

dividing the 'inner world' of the individual from the 'external world' or, in different versions of this theme, the subject of cognition from its object, the 'ego' from the 'other', the 'individual' from 'society'. (p. 479)

The method Elias used to research part two of his first volume *Civilization as a Specific Transformation of Human Behaviour* was to examine a range of etiquette books sampled from the medieval era onwards, usually ones which discussed table manners and choice of utensils for dining. Elias goes into great detail documenting particular trends and changes in social behaviour: such as the increasing control of bodily manifestations and their ability to reveal inner states.

Elias traced early evidence of the upper class distaste for gesture in 1530, when Erasmus wrote about particular forms of bodily carriage, gestures, and facial expressions that revealed an uncomposed mind and a lack of learnedness (pp. 47-9). Erasmus had described body movements such as head scratching, gesticulation with the hands, sniffing and coughing as a 'rustic embarrassment and [looking] like a form of madness' (p. 51). Despite this early record of bias against particular common gestures, the spread of the body-constraining civilizing process was relatively limited to courtly circles and only started to become widespread when adopted (and adapted) by the 'aspiring bourgeois classes' around the 1700s and 1800s, thereafter becoming widespread throughout Western civilisation (pp. 422-3).

This change in attitude toward body language ties in with Korte's observation that in the 1800s there was a change in the role of body language in literature, one where it was less an enforcement of statement and, instead, started to serve the literary function of reflecting character and emotional states. Indeed, during this time there was also a widespread increase in the study of manners and deportment. In a study of manners found in Victorian etiquette books, Michael Curtin found that the 'inferiors showed less civility and restraint than their superiors would have liked' (p. 164). These 'inferiors' are the 'working-class rowdies, who made the public arena sometimes dangerous and disagreeable to their superiors' and the disagreeable conduct was the 'spirited exuberance of working-class public behavior' (p. 164). Later, the influential etiquette writer, Emily Post, had this to say of public manners:

Do not attract attention to yourself in public. This is one the fundamental rules of good breeding. […] do not attract attention to yourself. Do not expose your private

affairs, feelings or innermost thoughts in public. You are knocking down the walls
of your house when you do. (pp. 28-9)

Works such as these focused the readers' imaginations on how others revealed themselves through their body's movements.

Bourdieu discusses in 'Language and Symbolic Power' how the deportment of one's body, as well as its physiological features and dress, is a strong indicator of group membership and social class. He summarises how deportment involves:

the domestication of the body which excludes all excessive manifestations of appetites or feelings (exclamations as much as tears or sweeping gestures), and which subjects the body to all kinds of discipline and censorship aimed at denaturalizing it. (p. 87)

The middle class tend to minimise body language and demonstrate constraint over their bodies, thus reserving body language for the purpose of demonstrating continuous control through a deportment of restraint and a deliberate lack of excess, which was initially juxtaposed against the unconstrained lower-class body, and later also came to be compared to an unconstrained mental conduct.

Bourdieu wrote of this desire for constrained body image, and ways of conducting oneself, as something that becomes inculcated, signalling a person's social class background. In an overview of Bourdieu's 'Language and Symbolic Power', the editor John Thompson focuses on the importance of constraint in the construction of class identity:

The dispositions which constitute the habitus are inculcated, structured, durable, generative and transposable – features that each deserve a brief explanation. Dispositions are acquired through a gradual process of *inculcation* in which early childhood experiences are particularly important. Through a myriad of mundane processes of training and learning, such as those involved in the inculcation of table manners ('sit up straight', 'don't eat with your mouth full', etc.), the individual acquires a set of dispositions which literally mould the body and become second nature. The dispositions produced thereby are also *structured* in the sense that they unavoidably reflect the social conditions within which they were acquired. An individual from a working-class background, for instance, will have acquired dispositions which are different in certain respects from those acquired by individuals who were brought up in a middle-class milieu. (p. 12)

Bourdieu also describes a related concept, bodily or corporeal 'hexis', in another book, *The Logic of Practice* (pp. 69-70). Within this concept of corporeal 'hexis' the deportment is further discussed in terms of a certain durable organisation of one's body and of its deployment in the world:

Bodily hexis is a political mythology realized, em-bodied, turned into a permanent disposition, a durable way of standing, speaking, walking, and thereby of feeling and thinking. (pp. 69-70)

In 'Leisure, Symbolic Power, and the Life Course', Mike Featherstone puts forward the same sentiment:

> Classes reproduce themselves by their members' internalization and display of certain tastes [….] Taste 'is *embodied* being inscribed onto the body and made apparent in body size, volume, demeanour, ways of eating and drinking, walking, sitting, speaking, making gestures, etc.' (p. 123)

Bourdieu further argues in 'Language and Symbolic Power' that particular forms of deportment of the body can be conceptualised as a form of social capital:

> the seemingly insignificant constraints and controls of politeness which, by means of the stylistic variations in ways of talking (the formulae of politeness) or of bodily deportment in relation to the degree of objective tension of the market, exacts recognition of the hierarchical differences between the classes. (p. 88)

He expands on the dimension of social class in the nonverbal world in another study, *Distinction: A Social Critique of the Judgement of Taste* writing of:

> the set of distinctive features, bearing, posture, presence, diction and pronunciation, manners and usages, without which in these [legitimate culture] markets at least, all scholastic knowledge is worth little or nothing and which, partly because schools never, or never fully, teach them, define the essence of bourgeois distinction. (p. 91)

Elias similarly notes an association of social capital with economic capital:

> the waves of expansion of the standards of civilized conduct to a new class went hand in hand with an increase in the social power of that class, and a raising of its standard of living to that of the class above it, or at least in that direction. (p. 426)

Elias argues that the middle class, who have long had the standard of living and security required to achieve this form of conduct, use their deportment to distinguish themselves from the working class (p. 429). This avoidance is in itself a gesture, since it is a constant monitoring against body expressiveness.

Bourdieu's work in *Distinction* is relevant to literary studies because, as he claims, art offers the greatest scope for 'purifying, refining and sublimating facile impulses and primary needs' (p. 176). If it is true that bearing, manner, and gesture are distributed unevenly, certainly qualitatively and perhaps quantitatively, then body language can become a key method of representing the class status of characters and speech.

Public looseness

The working class demonstrate more of what Goffman calls 'public looseness' rather than 'public tightness' which is associated with the middle class (pp. 198-215). The working classes are often in the presence of their peers and in informal

situations, and they are less self-conscious about their bodies. Public looseness is alternatively known as informality, with the understanding that this informality is dependent on context for definition and extends beyond clothing to general behaviour and other objects.

The working classes, particularly labourers and service industry workers, use and read body language in their crowded housing areas, noisy streets, busy factories and loud workplaces. Remland argues that the working classes make use of body language in situations where their talk is restricted in some way (p. 220). Likewise, they also need to rely on body language in the quiet service-based workplaces and reduced-noise situations where they need to be seen but not heard. Goffman argues in *Behaviour in Public Places* that the use of everyday gestures, such as pointing, are displays of public looseness, while the use of formal gestures, such as a salute, are displays of public tightness (pp. 198-215). An illustration of public looseness can be seen in Kelman's *The Busconductor Hines*:

> He waved his arms till the platform was clear and turned to the newdriver. Come on, get moving.
>   The newdriver gestured at the doors and Hines glanced round. (p. 27)

The characters are comfortable with using their bodies to communicate and are accustomed to observing and being observed.

Empirical studies of body language and social class

There are a range of empirical studies that examine the relationship between body language and class. In an extensive survey of the distribution of key gestures in Western Europe and the Mediterranean, Desmond Morris et al note class restrictions on certain types of body language (p. 266). In a handbook of interpersonal communication, Burgoon surveys the nonverbal literature and observes that norms for nonverbal behaviour differ according to socioeconomic status (p. 381). However, the definitive study is Halberstadt's work on the differences in nonverbal communication between the working class and the middle class.

In 'Race, socioeconomic status, and nonverbal behaviour', Amy Halberstadt surveyed 58 empirical studies for the effect of class as a moderating variable on nonverbal skill and nonverbal behaviour. Halberstadt explored the difference

between the classes and their use of nonverbal communication, concentrating on sensitivity to signals, frequency of use, decoding capabilities, preference for the verbal or nonverbal, and nonverbal encoding systems. She found that working-class subjects used a greater amount of body language, and 'lower class children place greater emphasis on and are more responsive to communications in the nonverbal domain' (pp. 229, 259). Halberstadt discovered that 'lower class individuals were relatively more responsive to or used more specific nonverbal cues than verbal cues' when compared to middle-class individuals (p. 256).

When comparing nonverbal and verbal competence, Halberstadt argues that 'there are class differences in usage and responsivity to nonverbal relative to verbal behaviors' and that the working class employ an elaborate nonverbal code, in comparison to a restricted middle-class counterpart (pp. 258-60). She also notes these differences are found early in life:

> Not only are lower class children more responsive to and more frequent senders of nonverbal communication than middle class children, but their patterns of usage of nonverbal regulators [such as intonation, pauses, nonverbal feedback behaviours] appear to be quite different. (p. 258)

A similar conclusion, that there are class differences in nonverbal codes, is repeated in Argyle's study, *The Psychology of Social Class*, which examines speech within and between social classes. Argyle notes that different styles of nonverbal communication 'may well be important sources of misunderstanding' in breakdowns of communication between classes (p. 145). This tends to support the ideas put forward by Halberstadt that the working class have an elaborate nonverbal code. If she is accurate, it would help explain Kelman's unusual emphasis on body language.

In Kelman's work, body language is used to communicate the inner life of the characters. The focus on communication using the body violates not only the value of not revealing inner states through the body, but also the etiquette rule of not drawing attention to one's body at all. Body language, unless appearing in a codified acceptable form, shows a lack of constraint. The working class are characterised as lacking constraint and not exercising control over their bodies. Adam Kendon points out in *Gesture: Visible Action as Utterance* that a drawback of using nonverbal signs in writing is the risk of appearing inarticulate because

some people think that gesture is 'something to be avoided, its use betraying a lack of proper self-control or an inadequate command of spoken language' (p. 355).

Due to the importance of bodily constraint to (and adoption of a bodily hexis by) the middle class, a focus on the body to communicate inner states can indicate a working-class position in literature. If the text uses plentiful body language to produce meaning and convey emotion or thoughts, that text separates itself from the middle-class tradition of not letting the body reveal a person's inner states. This is reinforced when an articulate narrator is displaced in the text, since the use of body language involves thoughts and feelings being expressed through the body, just like the body finds expression in the characters' thoughts during sections of interior monologue. Kelman's stories can be argued to be aligned against what Elias defines as middle-class notions of proper deportment which uses the body to act as an invisible barrier to 'the true self, the core of individuality' (p. 479).

The extensive depiction of body language acts to reduce the strength of the traditional middle-class communicative values that have imbued the printed word, such as being adroit with language, explicit in articulation, and marking non-standard language forms. Kelman's use of body language, even to replace a more articulate equivalent, means his stories will be less identified with the middle class and their values, including the way they conceptualise the place of the body in the world. This highlights the devalued role of gesture in the imagination. Kendon writes of this issue:

> Language in its written form, perhaps, above all, in its printed form, came finally to be fixed as the true form of expression, certainly as the form of expression that had the greatest prestige, and it set the standard for expression for anyone who claimed to be or wished to become a member of the educated classes. To the extent that language as a form of human communication was taken as an object for academic analysis, such as other modes of expression as gesture were, increasingly, ignored. (p. 357)

Kelman's technique closely aligns the printed word, despite its middle-class dominance, to the working-class language and topics of his stories. Furthermore, Kelman's dialogue is usually accompanied by a significant depiction of body language. His non-standard language is naturalised when it appears in this

nonverbal framework. Thus, it can be said that Kelman finds a literary voice to match the working-class subject rather than to subjugate it.

Conclusion

Literature involves a selection process that makes any body language it depicts more significant in its meaning. Korte maintains that 'Just the fact that body language occurs in a narrative text gives it a certain semiotic importance' (pp. 83-4). The anatomy class, as the working class are sometimes called, are identified by their physical presence. Furthermore, within a working-class point of view the use of nonverbals draws the readers' attention to the body which communicates, as well as the corporeality of the characters. Remland asserts that this ensures that nonverbals are tied inextricably to the corporeality of the imagined story (p. 220), which is intriguing because if nonverbals are firmly located in the characters' bodies then nonverbals can help the character gain a strong corporeal and human presence in the mind of the reader.

Nonverbals can be used to smooth the transition between narrative comments because they illustrate and clarify meaning, and mark important turning points in the story. Further to this, Korte writes that a key function of literary body language is to communicate both information about, and the relationship between, the characters (p. 10). Nonverbal signals have the capacity to emphasise and have a dramatic effect that is direct and immediate, concisely communicating a situation. This is an important point because, on a narrative level, body language can also be used to 'push forward' the action of the story, change its direction, or complement a theme. Korte believes that nonverbals help to coordinate the story's parts while providing authenticity and subtlety (pp. 128, 152, 87).

Finally, the relationship of the writer and reader is affected when a story uses abundant body language because it allows the author to vary the way in which a story is both encoded and consumed. The use of body language can deeply involve the reader by encouraging them to decode each incident in the text. The reader cannot passively receive the story if nonverbals are used to sketch a picture of the story and of characters, especially when there is no interpretation or authoritative opinion given about what is happening. From a literary point of view, the intellectual interaction between the author and reader is significantly

different from that achieved through other kinds of narration. The lack of interpretation from an all-seeing narrator must change the reading process of Kelman's texts. The reliance upon the reader to interpret nonverbal information reduces their dependence upon a narrator's interpretations, and makes it harder to use literary devices to marginalise the Glasgow working-class voice as the 'other'.

CHAPTER EIGHT: CONCLUSION

This thesis has detailed the textual features and techniques of Kelman's writing which allow him to incorporate Glasgow working-class language into fiction, and more specifically how he breaks down the distinction between literary and spoken language in the process. Kelman's work often contrasts to that of his Scottish literary precedents, and this thesis has outlined the points of contact between Kelman's writing and other literary and spoken language forms, pinpointing his position within these parameters. The thesis gave a detailed and systematic analysis of the elements of Kelman's writing, isolating the linguistic patterns and clarifying important textual features throughout the chapters.

This thesis builds upon other research already conducted on Kelman's work, expanding upon the breadth of items and placing a sustained focus upon his written style. Complementing this, the thesis has been informed by corpus linguistic data and interpretations have been aided by sociological and linguistic theory. Furthermore, a new advance was made into the analysis of Kelman's writing technique by studying nonverbal communication as an element of his work. Overall, the thesis created a picture of Kelman's writing that revealed how his textual strategies do, indeed, serve to break down the distinction between literary and spoken language and allow Kelman to create a working-class Glasgow voice in literature.

Summary of the Chapters

The first aim of the thesis was to specify the textual strategies adopted by Kelman in his creation of a working-class Glasgow voice. This required an explanation of how Kelman brings together the different linguistic styles found in speech and writing. It was also necessary to identify the techniques that Kelman employs to dismantle the authority structures in literature, and how he also established textual strategies would that empower his own linguistic and literary aims. Each textual strategy had a significant historical and social discourse associated with it, so each chapter gave an analysis of how, when, and where particular features appeared, and the typical attributions of meaning.

In Chapter Two, punctuation was viewed as a means of enforcing authority in the text. It was shown how punctuation can produce a hierarchical framework that indicates status and authority while demarcating non-standard elements. It was revealed that, partly through his movement away from a system of grammatically determined punctuation, Kelman reduced the patronising use of punctuation to demarcate the non-standard voice from the Standard English narration. Chapter Two focused on the differences between the prescriptive and creative approaches to punctuation, including an inspection of the dominant notions concerning correct punctuation and their relationship to the orthographic sentence and word. Instead, it was found that Kelman alters the role of punctuation from a grammatical marker to one of stress and flow, evoking the prosody of speech, and in some cases, the cadences of thought patterns. It was demonstrated that Kelman's changes allow him to reduce the intrusive role of standard punctuation, one which minimalises the ability of punctuation to indicate status and authority.

Related to the problem of punctuation acting as a stratifying element in the text is the use of eye-dialect spelling, as discussed in Chapter Three. Eye-dialect spelling, of the kind which indicates no or insignificant differences in pronunciation between the standard and the non-standard voice, is avoided by Kelman. A surprising result was that the other datasets in this thesis routinely used many more non-standard English spellings than Kelman did. It was found that his dataset was least likely to implement spelling changes among a sample of 30 words. The argument in this chapter was that, even though other Scottish writers were doing otherwise, Kelman preferred to hint at pronunciation rather than create an outright distinctiveness.

Chapter Four put forward that idea that an important factor of Kelman's voice involved his disregard for particular literary conventions when it came to vocabulary choice. The chapter on vocabulary also explored the process of standardisation and its related ideology of linguistic purity. Kelman's eclecticism, or linguistic impurity, avoids the problems associated with a purified strategy for vocabulary choice where the writer selects one type of vocabulary whenever possible. In its pursuit of uniformity, this kind of idealised text was shown to ignore the real linguistic situation of Scotland which ranges on a continuum

between Scots and English. It was found that, instead, Kelman favoured lexical eclecticism. Indeed, the ability to code-switch and play with language is seen as a sign of linguistic talent in Glasgow, where value is placed upon a person's clever language use: their 'patter'. Kelman's playfulness with language reflects the value placed upon linguistic experimentation in Glasgow.

It was also argued that the acceptance of Kelman's hybrid Glaswegian posed a linguistic purity threat. This 'Bad Scots', including the slang vocabulary, used in urban areas was felt by critics to threaten the social relevance of traditional Scots alternatives. Traditionally, the central rural dialect has been the main source of dialect for Scottish literature, not Kelman's urban dialect which has been popularly viewed as being corrupt. Kelman's use of urban dialect in literature raises the status of this form of language to being a serious medium for intellectual inquiry.

Another literary convention Kelman departed from was the practice of avoiding non-standard grammar. Chapter Five addressed the issue of grammar and its role in providing not only working-class identity but also Scottish identity. It was found that Kelman was the highest producer of Scottish grammar and working-class negation among the four datasets. However, he was also least likely to choose the overt Scotticisms which act as a badge of identity when produced by Scottish speakers. Instead, he selected the non-standard forms of negation, non-standard transcriptions of negation, and used Glaswegian linguistic items that were less popular in the other datasets and perhaps considered to be 'Bad Scots'.

Chapter Six extended this examination of stigmatised vocabulary and grammar and outlined how swear words have been thought to threaten a person's ability to articulate experiences and thoughts into words. Swearing is seen as inarticulate because it is thought to replace superior and more exact words from the Standard English word hoard. Swear words are popularly argued to be easy words that a person uses when they cannot express themself. McArthur has written that 'one argument mustered against swearing is that it represents some kind of impoverished language of linguistic deprivation', but he also observes that taboo words 'are not used as substitutes but as an enrichment' (pp. 77-8). The chapter on swearing sought to demonstrate that swearing has important functions and a large

expressive capacity, and that the common perceptions and arguments about swearing are perhaps not as well-founded as some might claim. Instead, if the Booker Prize hysteria is an indication, the negative reaction to Kelman's language is in fact overinflated. Indeed, some quantitative data was presented to demonstrate that, while swearing remains a current concern in writing, the picture is very different in everyday working-class speech.

In Chapter Seven, articulation was further explored through an examination of body language. Body language was revealed to be a key element which allowed the speech-based discourse to appear fully-formed in Kelman's writing. This contrasts to the social convention which expects the 'polite' person not to communicate using unconstrained body language. However, this is a middle-class value and the thesis explored the link between constrained body language and the middle class, explaining that Kelman's extensive depiction of body language is a key way in which a working-class identity, and the speech associated with it, is inscribed into his writing. It was argued that the imagination is focused on the body that produces the language, and this shift is significant to Kelman's aims because it symbolically marries the language of the mind with the body of the working-class character.

Key Facets of Kelman's Voice

Kelman can be considered as having three main facets to his voice: the use of Glaswegian and Scots language forms, the focus on working-class discourse styles, and the strong link to spoken language. Throughout the thesis, one or more of the three facets of voice predominated, depending on the textual feature being discussed in each chapter. The three key facets will be summarised in turn, in the following sections.

Key Facet One: The Use of Glaswegian and Scots Language

The Glaswegian facet of Kelman's voice was predominantly explored through grammar, vocabulary, and spelling. Grammar was found to be particularly important in the creation of both the Glasgow and Scots characteristic of Kelman's voice, as the data concerning covert Scotticisms, second person pronouns, and Scottish and English auxiliary verb negation showed. It was further

found that there was high prevalence of Glasgow dialect discourse features, particularly sentence tags, which lead to the conclusion that these play an important role in locating his voice to the Glasgow area and its working-class inhabitants.

It became evident that Kelman strategically selected his vocabulary in a way that did not follow conventions found in other Scottish writing. This is an important departure because vocabulary acts as a signal of place, community, and social class. However, it was found that Kelman has sparing use of the formally identified Glasgow dialect words. Instead, Kelman adopted an eclectic approach to his vocabulary choice, as indicated by a comparison between his and the other examples of writing. Where other texts sought purity, Kelman sought diversity. This is not to say that Kelman consistently chose to juxtapose varying lexical types against each other; on the contrary, it was instead found that he would style-switch and select vocabulary for stylistic effect, varying the mix of lexis as the context of the story demanded.

Finally, a surprising finding emerged from this thesis: Kelman is conservative in his changes to spelling. Outside of his two short stories written in the phonetic-style, Kelman's spelling changes were small and infrequent but found to be significant in reminding the reader of the Glasgow voice. This contrasted with a greater use of alternative spelling in the other two writing-based datasets, one where there seemed to be an attempt to transcribe the Scottish tongue and use Scottish spellings over English ones. Of note, in terms of spelling, was Kelman's representation of the Scottish cliticized negator as either *–ni* or *–nay*, which had the effect of locating his work as Glaswegian, and these spellings were rarely found in the other datasets.

Key Facet Two: Working-Class Discourse Features

Throughout the thesis it became evident that the working-class facet of Kelman's voice was depicted by a few key features. This working-class orientation was often found expressed through grammar, slang, swearing, and body language. In terms of grammar, there was an examination of class-based differences in the contracted negator of speech and the standard negator of formal writing, and the analysis revealed a greater tendency for Kelman to adopt the informal means of

negation. Another grammatical feature was the frequent use of second-person pronouns, which was found in Kelman's work. The patterns of negation and pronouns indicated the working-class nature of his voice (in addition to the particularly Scottish sentence tags and idioms).

Vocabulary was also found to be important in the creation of the working-class facet of Kelman's voice, with slang being the most notable category discussed. It was found that Kelman had, compared to other types of vocabulary, a high rate of use of slang in his writing. The transience of slang also closely linked his language to that of speech rather than writing, and this tended to enhance the sense of working-class communication in the minds of the reader. This contrasted to bucolic association of Scots vocabulary found in the other datasets.

Complementing the slang element in his working-class voice was Kelman's frequent use of swearing, despite the sanctions against its use in writing. Moreover, Kelman was found to use swearing in a manner that matched the working-class patterns rather than the middle- and upper-class patterns. The nonliteral function of swearing was contrasted to its literal application, and the use of swearing for emphasis and modulation of emotion was examined. Kelman's rate of swearing was shown to resemble that found for real working-class speech in the British National Corpus, so it was concluded that his swear words contributed to the working-class identity of his voice.

Another important textual feature contributing to Kelman's working-class voice was his use of body language to communicate meaning. In this part of the analysis, it was found that Kelman's use of body language terms outnumbered that of other Scottish fiction. It became apparent from the large numerical differences between the KELMAN'S FICTION and SCOTS FICTION datasets that Kelman has a special focus on body language to communicate meaning in his stories. The working-class identity conveyed through body language was explained in an exploration of the notions of 'constraint' and 'civilisation'. It was concluded that Kelman's extensive depiction of body language is a key way in which a working-class identity, and the speech associated with it, is embedded into his writing.

Key Facet Three: A Strong Link to Spoken Language

The final and third facet of Kelman's writing that was explored in this thesis is the impression of speech evoked by his writing. If we recall, Kelman asserted to Elliot that 'I write exactly as I hear people speak' (p. 15) and he aims 'to give a translation of language as it is used orally', as he told Slattery (p. 5). The allusion to spoken language is the most recognised feature observed of Kelman's voice, and each chapter found similarities between Kelman's writing and Scottish speech — in some cases this was substantiated with dataset counts. For example, in grammar, covert Scotticisms were found in Kelman's writing at a proportion often closer to speech than in the other datasets, and Kelman has the highest use of Glasgow dialect discourse features, particularly sentence tags. In terms of spelling, Kelman was found to use the style-neutral spelling system of English or the speech-referential Glasgow phonetic style in preference to the constructed Scots Style Sheet spellings or the literary traditional Scots spellings. Kelman's approach to spelling primarily involved hinting at spoken accent rather than providing a complete transcription of sound, yet the spelling changes appeared regularly enough to firmly maintain a sense of Glasgow phonology in the story. In terms of vocabulary, slang was shown to be most likely to indicate that Kelman harnesses spoken discourse for his voice. Swearing functioned in a similar manner to slang in its ability to create a voice that evokes a sense of speech rather than seeming to be a consciously crafted piece of writing. However, punctuation and body language were the key elements that helped create the third facet of Kelman's voice as appearing to be speech-based.

Kelman's preference for using spoken language as a touchstone in his writing is particularly expressed through his choice of punctuation. Punctuation is to the written text what body language is to spoken language, and Kelman carefully uses punctuation in a manner which calls forth the cadences and rhythms of speech and thought. Thus, punctuation was found to be a prosodic device in Kelman's writing. It became evident that Kelman was basing his punctuation upon the notion of an orthographic sentence, and this change resulted in an average sentence length which resembled that of speech, which in turn could partly explain how his literary voice seems to echo spoken language.

The other important textual feature that conveyed the relationship between Kelman's writing and spoken discourse was his frequent use of body language. Body language is a constant companion to face-to-face speech. It was found, through a close analysis of two of Kelman's stories, that body language is used to replace articulated language in a way that mimics the displacement of speech by gesture. Furthermore, Kelman was shown to use body language to aid meaning and support the interpretation of dialogue and narration.

Some final words

A piece of writing must be examined not only in terms of its textual features, but also in terms of the social practices which are associated with it. Since literature has been dominated by middle-class values and cultural practices, and reinforced by the academy, press, and political institutions, Kelman had a significant task in depicting working-class language. Yet, despite literature being strongly linked to middle-class values, social practices, and ways of knowing, Kelman nevertheless manages to use his written stories as a site for validation of his own working-class cultural background. Thus, Kelman's work addresses an omission in the imaginative world. In terms of social capital, Kelman's writing undermines middle-class views of the world through literature, which is their primary source of imagination and symbolic dominance.

John Douglas Macarthur identifies the dignity and power inherent within Kelman's strategy of using the subject's language for their own literary representation: 'The fundamental principle of Kelman's writing is the democratic impulse that, as far as possible, the characters be allowed to speak for themselves' (p. 28). Macarthur also recognises the literary nature of the linguistic depiction that 'Kelman starts with the rhythms and power of everyday speech and transforms them' (p. 85). While Kelman's writing is not a transcription of speech, in his interview with Duncan McLean Kelman agrees that he is approaching language in a similar way to Lewis Grassic Gibbon — that is, 'to mould the English language into the rhythms and cadences of Scots spoken speech, and to inject into the English vocabulary such minimum number of words from Braid Scots as that remodelling requires' (p. 102).

Critical to Kelman's overall philosophy, as he tells Duncan McLean, is a vision of language as both a basic element and expression of culture:

> language is the culture—if you lose your language you've lost your culture, so if you've lost the way your family talk, the way your friends talk, then you've lost your culture, and you're divorced from it. That's what happens with all these stupid fucking books by bad average writers because they've lost their culture, they've given it away. Not only that, what they're saying is it's inferior, because they make anybody who comes from that culture speak in a hybrid language, whereas they speak standard English. And their language is the superior one. So what they are doing, in effect, is castrating their parents, and their whole culture. (p. 112)

Kelman's notion of language as representative of culture and his desire to write from within his culture is repeated in many interviews and essays. This focus on language as a key component of culture means a working-class Glasgow voice is essential to his work. This thesis has shown how Kelman achieves his aim of presenting an authentic Glasgow working-class voice as the medium for his novels and short stories.

APPENDIX: RAW DATA

Table 1.1: Datasets used in this thesis

Datasets	Word count	Composition
KELMAN'S FICTION	779,611 words	Kelman's pre-1998 short stories and novels
SCOTS FICTION	526,411 words	*Scottish Corpus of Texts and Speech* short stories and novels
SCOTS WRITTEN	3,212,811 words	*Scottish Corpus of Texts and Speech* all non-fiction and fiction written genres
SCOTS SPOKEN	635,638 words	*Scottish Corpus of Texts and Speech* conversational speech

Table 2.2: Quotation mark raw counts

KELMAN'S FICTION	SCOTS FICTION	SCOTS WRITTEN	KELMAN'S FICTION without his first collection
2,844	7,036	20,995	20

Tables 2.3, 2.4, 2.5, and 2.6: Question marks, exclamation marks, full stops, commas, and ellipses raw counts

	KELMAN'S FICTION	SCOTS FICTION	SCOTS WRITTEN	SCOTS SPOKEN
question mark	7,259	2,587	12,468	19,211
exclamation mark	4,649	1,834	7,221	5,481
full stop	62,188	25,323	141,400	63,469
comma	35,836	33,799	162,758	57,548
semicolon	4,567	448	8,220	268
ellipses	1,620	579	2,032	2,518

Table 3.2: English and Scottish spellings – raw counts

Scots Spelling	KELMAN'S FICTION	SCOTS FICTION	SCOTS WRITTEN
wi/wi'	23	2816	6420
aa	0	859	1518
ower	120	725	1604
oan	28	90	414
jist	13	521	1322
dae	15	399	1254
heid	18	396	879
hame	18	373	865
guid	1	365	916
ane/yin	266	462	1066
noo	5	324	1057
ither	0	262	597

gie	25	259	648
hoose	8	248	668
hauf	7	129	203
puir	0	111	211
cauld	9	104	391
masel/masel'	1	85	150
bluid	0	68	131
windae	0	49	113
therr	11	0	3
wummin	5	28	47
jaiket	1	16	29
pictur pictur'	0	11	14
nummer	0	10	33
sel/sel'	0	7	24
merr/mair	14	659	1505
doun/doon	12	1030	2137
leuk/luik	0	109	203
smaw sma/ sma'	0	54	129
Totals	**600**	**10569**	**24551**

English Spelling	KELMAN'S FICTION	SCOTS FICTION	SCOTS WRITTEN
with	3745	1663	13933
all	3382	774	5428
over	667	364	2203
on	6595	3908	28347
just	4243	395	1894
do	1979	280	4038
head	1480	179	713
home	438	176	1404
good	1360	199	1690
one	2593	692	4600
now	1574	459	2290
other	1199	314	3532
give	470	84	1222
house	309	205	1012
half	371	186	592
poor	197	51	273
cold	213	69	289
myself	323	110	279
blood	65	39	154
window	347	78	216
there	3783	1183	8414
woman	427	108	322
jacket	108	19	53
picture	48	23	136
number	75	50	1263
self	62	37	265
more	744	339	3479
down	1911	397	1808
look	710	284	1139
small	155	121	778
Totals	**39573**	**12786**	**91766**

Table 3.2: Breakdown of choice between two Scots spellings of the same word, raw counts

Breakdown of doubled Scots spellings	KELMAN'S FICTION	SCOTS FICTION	SCOTS WRITTEN
mair	1	655	1501
merr	13	4	4
doun	0	491	846
doon	12	539	1391
leuk	0	13	32
luik	0	96	171
smaw	0	29	52
sma/sma'	0	25	77
ane	7	357	714
yin	259	105	352

Table 3.3: Different spellings of the Scottish cliticized negator –na raw counts

All –na	KELMAN'S FICTION	SCOTS FICTION	SCOTS WRITTEN
Na	0	867	2384
Nae	0	219	584
Ny	26	27	132
Nay	2076	0	0
Ni	535	0	0
Totals	**2637**	**1113**	**3100**

Table 3.3a: KELMAN'S FICTION **spellings of the Scottish cliticized negator** *–na* **raw counts**

Kelman raw counts	-nae	-na	-ny	-ni	-nay
Am	0	0	0	0	0
Are	0	0	0	15	23
Is	0	0	1	34	100
Was	0	0	1	72	438
Were	0	0	0	16	48
have	0	0	0	3	8
Has	0	0	0	3	2
Had	0	0	0	33	113
Do	0	0	0	0	0
Does	0	0	0	50	93
Did	0	0	14	125	530
Can	0	0	5	52	175
Could	0	0	5	45	322
Will	0	0	0	5	4
Would	0	0	0	69	193
Must	0	0	0	0	0
Should	0	0	0	13	27
Totals	**0**	**0**	**26**	**535**	**2076**

Table 3.3b: SCOTS FICTION **spellings of the Scottish cliticized negator** *–na* **raw counts**

SCOTS FICTION	–nae	–na	–ni	–ny	–nay
Am	0	0	0	0	0
Are	1	3	0	0	0
Is	10	34	0	0	0
Was	9	0	0	0	0
Were	4	16	0	1	0
have	5	0	0	0	0
Has	1	2	0	0	0
Had	9	7	0	1	0
Do	36	206	0	0	0
Does	6	0	0	0	0
Did	71	379	0	9	0
Can	47	109	0	11	0
Could	11	81	0	5	0
Will	3	4	0	0	0
Would	4	17	0	0	0
Must	0	0	0	0	0
Should	2	9	0	0	0
Totals	**219**	**867**	**0**	**27**	**0**

Table 3.3c: SCOTS WRITTEN spellings of the Scottish cliticized negator –*na* raw counts

SCOTS WRITTEN	–nae	–na	–ni	–ny	–nay
am	0	1	0	0	0
are	6	17	0	0	0
is	67	71	0	1	0
was	12	50	0	0	0
were	11	31	0	2	0
have	6	1	0	2	0
has	3	15	0	2	0
had	9	16	0	3	0
do	0	831	0	0	0
does	9	42	0	2	0
did	199	606	0	34	0
can	182	504	0	58	0
could	50	125	0	13	0
will	12	7	0	0	0
would	9	43	0	11	0
must	0	1	0	0	0
should	9	23	0	4	0
Totals	**584**	**2384**	**0**	**132**	**0**

Table 4.1: Glasgow Words and their sources

Word	Sources	Definitions
Annacker's midden	SND; Munro 1985	Messy or disordered place
Barras, The	SND; Munro 1985	Informal shopping complex
Close	SND; Mackie 1978; Macafee 1983; Munro 1985	Entrance to a tenement
Dan	SND; Macafee 1983; Munro 1985	Catholic
Dog	SND; Macafee 1983; Munro 1985	Play truant
Dunny	SND; Macafee 1983; Munro 1985	Tenement cellar
Gallus	SND; Mackie 1978; Macafee 1983; Munro 1985	Excellent, reckless
Malky	SND; Agutter & Cowan 1981; Macafee 1983; Munro 1985	Weapon
Mawkit/mockit	SND; Munro 1985; Macafee 1994	Putrid or decayed
Midgie/midgy	SND; Macafee 1983; Munro 1985	Bin area
Stank	SND; Mackie 1978; LAS; Macafee 1983; Munro 1985	Grating over a drain

Table 4.5: Aitken's 'Obligatory Covert Scotticisms' in KELMAN'S FICTION texts raw counts

Aitken's column 3 'obligatory Scotticisms'	Appearances in KELMAN'S FICTION	the 'unused' English equivalent	Appearances in KELMAN'S FICTION
bramble	0	blackberry	0
burn	23	brook	0
I'm away to	6	I'm going to[57]	12
pinkie	2	little finger	0
rone	5	[horizontal] gutter	8
to jag	2	to prick	0
to swither	0	to hesitate	49

Table 4.7: Some words listed by *The Patter* and found in KELMAN'S FICTION's writing raw counts

Words from *The Patter*	KELMAN'S FICTION raw count
Wee	1073
Naw	1040
Guy	672
Yous	337
wean	268
Da	261
Yin[58]	259
Ma	184
Close	180
Day, the	167
Telt	152
Night, the	151
Noo, the	101

Tables 5.3, 5.4, 5.11 and 5.12: Scotticisms

	KELMAN'S FICTION	SCOTS FICTION	SCOTS WRITTEN	SCOTS SPOKEN
I'll no(t)	132	52	116	8
I wont	71	69	153	234
m 're no(t)	751	128	385	374
amnt arent	244	80	167	264
I'll better	0	0	1	3
I'd better	0	15	75	31
dinna	0	242	831	630
don't	1993	273	755	2057
can	1052	766	5292	2496
may	110	96	2913	46
have got to	512	104	889	464
should	516	187	4079	230
might	454	172	1657	258

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[57] Each 'I'm going to' is checked by sight.
[58] This count includes all uses and variations of *yin* unchecked.

must	344	208	1903	272
shall	75	33	654	27
may	110	96	2913	46
ought	3	6	68	4

Tables 5.3, 5.4, 5.11 and 5.12a: Scotticisms - negation search terms

Positive Forms	English subject cliticized	English operator cliticized	Scots subject cliticized	Scots operator cliticized
am	–'m not	amn't	–'m no	amnae, amnay, amny, amni, amna
are	–'re not	aren't	–'re no	arenae, arenay, areny, areni, arena
were	–'re not	weren't	–'re no	werenae, werenay, wereny, wereni, werena
have	–'ve not	haven't	–'ve no	havenae, havenay, haveny, haveni, havena
will	–'ll not	won't	–'ll no	willnae, willnay, willny, willni, willna
would	–'d not	wouldn't	–'d no	wouldnae, wouldnay, wouldny, wouldni, wouldna

Tables 5.3, 5.4, 5.11 and 5.12b: Scotticisms - KELMAN'S FICTION raw counts [61]

	' no_	' not	nae1	nt 1	Nae2	nt 2	operator	negative
am	495	54	0	0			549	0
are/were	164	38	38	62	64	80	202	244
							751	244
have	87	6	11	27			93	38
had/would	2	1	146	155	256	224	3	781
will	129	3	9	62			132	71
I'll better	0							0
I'd better	0							0
have to_	503						12th- 13th	0.7
have got to_	9							
dinna	0							
dont	1993							

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[59] A slight problem was inherent in the methodology used to calculate the distributions of the enclitic subject versus enclitic operator. The issue lies with the search method that looks for instances of variations using 'no' such as the search term "-'s no". The search would identify both "He's no going" and 'He's no idiot' as equivalent terms. However, there is a grammatical difference between the English use of 'no' (which relates loosely to the Scots 'nae'), and the use of the Scots 'no' (which relates closely to the English 'not'). The methodology probably results in a slight inflation of any counts involving Scots 'no' because the program searches only for words (regardless of the grammatical qualities the word may possess or language that the word is affiliated with).

[60] Note that I do not search for –'s forms because it stands for three verbs and a possessive apostrophe.

[61] Note that I do not search for –'s forms because it stands for three verbs and a possessive apostrophe.

Tables 5.3, 5.4, 5.11 and 5.12c: Scotticisms - SCOTS FICTION raw counts

	' no_	' not	nae1	nt 1	nae2	nt 2	operator	negative
am	43	39	0	2			82	2
are/were	25	21	4	31	21	22	46	78
							128	80
have	6	1	5	36			8	41
had/would	4	2	17	44	21	74	6	156
will	45	7	7	62			52	69
I'll better								rate
I'd better	0							
have to_	15							
have got	104						17th-18th	0.2
to_								
dinna	0							
dont	242							

Tables 5.3, 5.4, 5.11 and 5.12d: Scotticisms - SCOTS WRITTEN raw counts

	' no_	' not	nae1	Nt 1	nae2	nt 2	operator	negative
am	180	93	1	2			273	3
are/were	66	46	23	52	44	45	112	164
							385	167
have	16	7	10	104			23	114
had/would	11	3	28	77	63	147	14	315
will	109	7	19	134			116	153
I'll better	1							
I'd better	75							
have to_	882						19th-20th	0.3
have got	7							
to_								
dinna	831							
dont	755							

Tables 5.3, 5.4, 5.11 and 5.12e: Scotticisms - SCOTS SPOKEN raw counts

	' no_	' not	nae1	nt 1	nae2	nt 2	operator	negative
am	50	139	3	5			am	189
are/were	32	153	8	136	30	82	are/were	185
							TOTAL	374
have	39	48	52	162			have	87
had/would	0	0	15	41	114	235	had/would	0
will	6	2	79	155			will	8
I'll better								
I'd better	3							
have to_	31							
have got	459						464	13th-14th
to_								
dinna	5							
dont	630							

Table 5.5 and 5.7: *Should*, *might*, **and** *must* **&** *shall*, *may*, **and** *ought* **rankings within each dataset and their raw counts**

RANK	KELMAN'S FICTION	Raw Counts
1.	was	15682
2.	had	5308
3.	are	4308
4.	is	3297
5.	have	2998
6.	would	2836
7.	were	2834
8.	could	2083
9.	do	1979
10.	did	1336
11.	can	1052
12.	should	516
13.	might	454
14.	will	422
15.	has	405
16.	must	344
17.	am	327
18.	does	299
19.	may	110
20.	shall	75
21.	ought	3
Total		**46668**
RANK	**SCOTS FICTION**	**Raw Counts**
1.	was	2748
2.	is	1952
3.	had	1475
4.	were	861
5.	have	789
6.	can	766
7.	are	702
8.	would	665
9.	did	585
10.	could	565
11.	will	452
12.	has	358
13.	do	280
14.	must	208
15.	am	191
16.	should	187
17.	might	172
18.	may	96
19.	does	85
20.	shall	33
21.	ought	6
Total		13176
RANK	**SCOTS WRITTEN**	**Raw Counts**
1.	is	29045
2.	was	13781
3.	are	12591
4.	will	12117
5.	have	11916
6.	has	7700

7.	would	6536
8.	were	6002
9.	had	5668
10.	can	5292
11.	should	4079
12.	do	4036
13.	could	3119
14.	may	2913
15.	am	2799
16.	did	2212
17.	must	1903
18.	might	1657
19.	does	1388
20.	shall	654
21.	ought	68
Total		**135476**

RANK	SCOTS SPOKEN	Raw Counts
1.	was	7439
2.	is	4560
3.	do	3404
4.	have	2755
5.	can	2496
6.	would	2149
7.	are	1982
8.	were	1794
9.	had	1708
10.	did	1589
11.	will	911
12.	could	703
13.	does	638
14.	has	361
15.	must	272
16.	might	258
17.	should	230
18.	am	229
19.	may	46
20.	shall	27
21.	ought	4
Total		**33555**

Table 5.9: *Have (got) to* **as compared to** *should, might,* **and** *must*
raw counts

KELMAN'S FICTION	SCOTS FICTION	SCOTS WRITTEN	SCOTS SPOKEN
512	104	889	464
The raw number falls between *should* at 12th place with a count of 516 and *might* at 13th place with a count of 454	The raw number falls between *might* at 17th place with a count of 172 and *may* at 18th place with a count of 96	The raw number falls between *does* at 19th place with a count of 1388 and *shall* at 20th place with a count of 654	The raw number falls between *does* at 13th place with a count of 638 and *has* at 14th place with a count of 361

Table 5.13: The contracted negative with and without apostrophes raw counts

copula	KELMAN'S FICTION	SCOTS FICTION	SCOTS WRITEN	SCOTS SPOKEN
am	0	2	2	5
are	62	31	52	136
is	106	79	172	444
was	472	111	200	260
were	80	22	45	82
have	27	36	104	162
has	10	17	45	38
had	155	44	77	41
do	1993	273	755	2057
does	168	88	196	199
did	657	173	380	664
can	202	135	286	403
could	239	77	162	129
will	62	62	134	155
would	224	74	147	235
must	2	4	9	1
should	61	14	35	29
may	0	0	0	0
might	0	3	4	0
shall	0	0	3	0
ought	0	0	0	0
Total	**4520**	**1245**	**2808**	**5040**

Table 5.15: Scottish cliticized negator raw counts

copula	KELMAN'S FICTION	SCOTS FICTION	SCOTS WRITTEN	SCOTS SPOKEN
am	0	0	1	3
are	38	4	23	8
is	135	44	139	29
was	511	9	62	81
were	64	21	44	30
have	11	5	9	52
has	5	3	20	13
had	146	17	28	15
do	0	242	831	630
does	143	6	53	95
did	669	459	839	230
can	232	191	770	314
could	372	97	188	86
will	9	7	19	79
would	256	21	63	114
must	0	0	1	0
should	40	11	36	13
Total	**2631**	**1137**	**3126**	**1792**

Table 5.16: Combined cliticized negator *–na* and contracted negative *–n't* raw counts

copula	KELMAN'S FICTION	SCOTS FICTION	SCOTS WRITTEN	SCOTS SPOKEN
am	0	2	3	8
are	100	35	75	144
is	241	123	311	473
was	983	120	262	341
were	144	43	89	112
have	38	41	113	214
has	15	20	65	51
had	301	61	105	56
do	1993	515	1586	2687
does	311	94	249	294
did	1326	632	1219	894
can	434	326	1056	717
could	611	174	350	215
will	71	69	153	234
would	480	95	210	349
must	2	4	10	1
should	101	25	71	42
may	0	0	0	0
might	0	3	4	0
shall	0	0	3	0
Total	7151	2382	5934	6832

Tables 5.18 and 5.19: *you* and *ye* raw counts

	KELMAN'S FICTION	SCOTS FICTION	SCOTS WRITTEN	SCOTS SPOKEN
ye	5670	3389	8460	2503
yi	0	0	481	1
ye and yi	5670	3389	8941	2504
you	8686	2115	10023	17066
Total	14356	5504	18964	19570

Table 5.20 and 5.21: *yer* and *your* raw counts

	KELMAN'S FICTION	SCOTS FICTION	SCOTS WRITTEN	SCOTS SPOKEN
yer	632	467	1289	363
yir	2	151	162	0
yur	0	1	248	0
yer all	634	619	1699	363
your	1249	490	2312	2635
Total	1883	1109	4011	2998

Table 5.22: *yous* raw counts

	KELMAN'S FICTION	SCOTS FICTION	SCOTS WRITTEN	SCOTS SPOKEN
yez	55	7	10	0
yiz	0	0	0	0
yous	337	2	13	6
youse	0	12	15	30
Total	392	21	38	36

Table 5.23: *Out the* and *out of the* raw counts

Word	KELMAN'S FICTION	SCOTS FICTION	SCOTS WRITTEN	SCOTS SPOKEN
Out (Glaswegian)				
out the	558	110	364	70
oot the	6	93	231	81
Total	564	203	595	151
Out (English)				
out of the	74	58	228	38
oot of the	0	0	0	1
Total	74	58	228	39

Table 5.25: *The morrow*, *the day*, and *the night* raw counts

Word	KELMAN'S FICTION	SCOTS FICTION	SCOTS WRITTEN	SCOTS SPOKEN
The (Glaswegian)				
The morrow	67	2	7	5
The day	167	157	774	283
The night	151	59	136	54
Total	385	218	917	342
The (English)				
Tomorrow	85	22	158	64
Today	52	71	923	148
Tonight	39	29	114	44
Total	176	122	1195	256

Table 5.27: *But*, *And (all) that*, and *eh* tags, including those occuring before commas rates

Word	KELMAN'S FICTION	SCOTS FICTION	SCOTS WRITTEN	SCOTS SPOKEN
Eh (Glaswegian)	0.600	0.051	0.022	0.925
But (Glaswegian)	0.285	0.099	0.066	0.507
And (all) that	0.327	0.009	0.013	0.126
Sum of eh but all that plus commas	**1.212**	**0.160**	**0.101**	**1.557**

Table 5.27a: *but*, *and (all) that*, and *eh* tags, including those occuring before commas, raw counts

Word	KELMAN'S FICTION	SCOTS FICTION	SCOTS WRITTEN	SCOTS SPOKEN
Eh (Glaswegian)				
_eh.	54	0	3	80
_eh;	2	0	0	0
_eh?	287	27	68	507
_eh!	125	0	1	1
Total	468	27	72	588
But (Glaswegian)				
_but,	152	40	172	281
_but.	14	11	35	38
_but;	16	0	2	0
_but?	25	0	0	1
_but!	15	1	2	2
Total	222	52	211	322
And (all) that				
_and that,	75	3	41	30
_and that.	90	0	0	16
_and that;	6	0	0	0
_and that?	10	0	0	7
_and that!	0	0	0	1
_and all that,	29	0	0	11
_and all that.	33	2	2	7
_and all that;	2	0	0	0
_and all that?	10	0	0	7
_and all that!	0	0	0	1
Total	255	5	43	80
Grand Total	945	84	326	990

Tables 6.2, 6.3, 6.4, and 6.5: Proportions of different forms of *fuck* in each dataset, including those reconstructed from McEnery's work on the BNC, raw counts

Literal or Nonliteral usage	Word	KELMAN'S FICTION	SCOTS WRITTEN	SCOTS FICTION	SCOTS SPOKEN
n		635,668	3,212,811	526,411	779,611
literal	**fucks**	2	-	10	-
literal (not)[62]	**fucked**	45[63]	5[64]	62	-
nonliteral	**fuckt**	88	-	-	-
nonliteral	**fuck**	1401	125	583	18
nonliteral	**fucking**	4902	16	2164	-
nonliteral	**fuckin**	5	185	-	26
nonliteral	**fucking affix**	46	-	-	-
nonliteral	**fucker**	41	2	25	-
All fuck[65]		**6534**	**336**	**2844**	**44[66]**

Literal or Nonliteral usage	Word	McEnery's BNC Spoken	McEnery's BNC Written
n		10,365,464	89,740,543
literal	**fucks**	-	18
literal[67] (supposedly)	**fucked**	-	130
nonliteral	**fuckt**	-	-
nonliteral	**fuck**	18	795
nonliteral	**fucking**	-	969
nonliteral	**fuckin**	26	-
nonliteral	**fucking affix**	-	-
nonliteral	**fucker**	-	50
All fuck[68]		**44[69]**	**1962**

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[62] All instances were checked by sight and found not to be literal in meaning, rather, they had nonliteral meanings.

[63] All nonliteral usage.

[64] All nonliteral usage.

[65] Search critera used: [fuck] [untick 'find whole words only'] allowed the count to include affixes and unusual spellings.

[66] 1 fuck per 14447 words.

[67] Aall instances were checked by sight and found not to be literally meant, rather, had nonliteral meaning.

[68] Search critera used: [fuck] [untick 'find whole words only'] allowed the count to include affixes and unusual spellings.

[69] 1 fuck per 14447 words.

Table 6.6: *Fuck* and *cunt* in KELMAN'S FICTION four novels, raw counts

Swear words	A Chancer	The Busconduct or Hines	A Disaffection	How Late it Was, How Late
Word count for each novel	111,130 words	86,071 words	128,278 words	117,927 words
Fucks	1	1	0	0
Fucked/t	4	9	7	82
Fuck	144	107	222	522
Fucking	585	409	880	1491
All fuck[70]	**741**	**540**	**1133**	**2114**
All Cunt[71]	**74**	**115**	**19**	**195**
Totals	815	655	1152	2309

Table 7.1: Selected body language terms by category – total raw counts[72]

Type	KELMAN'S FICTION rate per 1,000	SCOTS FICTION rate per 1,000	difference ratio	KELMAN'S FICTION raw counts	SCOTS FICTION raw counts
Emblems	2.92	0.23	12.9:1	2,277	119
Illustrators And Regulators	3.13	0.49	6.4:1	2,442	256
Emotional Displays, Externalizers	2.55	0.31	8.1:1	1,987	165
Total	**8.60**	**1.03**	**8.4 : 1**	**6,706**	**540**

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[70] Search critera used: [fuck] [untick 'find whole words only'] allowed the count to include affixes and unusual spellings.

[71] Search criteria used: [cunt]; with Scunthorpe removed.

[72] Three points need to be taken into account when reading this data:

(1) Some of these words also appear in non-body language contexts. Since this occurs only a small amount of the time, I have ignored this as a problem and avoided searching for terms which have large amount of non-body language reference. It is prohibitive to look at each of the 415 incidents of 'shrugged' to make sure it doesn't really involve 'I asked her but she shrugged me off' rather than 'I asked her and she shrugged at me'. Furthermore, there are multiple uses for words such as 'point', so in order to find a whole lot more body language to talk about I could search such a term but it would involve a visual survey and count of each incident that deviates from being body language. Considering this, there will be some totals that have included words that are not used to represent body language. However, since the same search method is used across the datasets, if a word that is not referring to body language is counted from one dataset, it is likely that a similar proportion of error will be found in the other datasets. Furthermore, this is not a detailed search which exhausts all the body language terms anyway. Thus, the results found here are understated in terms of body language references, but overstated in each documented case for their representation of body language for every use of each term.

(2) Another problem is the Scottish Corpus of Texts and Speech contains stories in Scots, and the Scots spellings. Thus, the entire word count for SCOTS encompasses a degree of words taken from a different language, and this may be a source of the skewed figures. However, words such as 'grin' and 'shrug' are unlikely to be transformed into another spelling in Scots, so this too may not be much of a problem.

(3) Spelling is in English but the equivalent Scots spellings, and sometimes alternative names, are searched as well.

Table 7.2: Emblems: rates, ratios, and raw counts

	KELMAN'S FICTION rate per 1,000	SCOTS FICTION rate per 1,000	difference ratio	KELMAN'S FICTION raw counts	SCOTS FICTION raw counts
Nod	1.32	0.08	**16.6**	1030	42
'Shook her/his head'	0.73	0.02	**29.7**	572	13
Shrug	0.55	0.02	**22.1**	426	13
Wave	0.16	0.08	**2.1**	122	40
Wink	0.16	0.02	**7.8**	127	11
Total	**2.92**	**0.23**	**12.9:1**	**2,277**	**119**

Table 7.3: Illustrators and regulators: gaze rates, ratios, and raw counts

	KELMAN'S FICTION rate per 1,000	SCOTS FICTION rate per 1,000	difference ratio	KELMAN'S FICTION raw counts	SCOTS FICTION raw counts
Gaze	0.50	0.06	**9.2**	393	29
Glance	0.91	0.06	**14.9**	708	32
Look at	0.96	0.27	**3.5**	751	144
Look away	0.04	0.00	**11.5**	34	2
Stare	0.71	0.09	**7.7**	556	49
Total	**3.13**	**0.49**	**6.4:1**	**2,442**	**256**

Table 7.4: Emotional displays and externalisers: rates, ratios, and raw counts

Emotional displays and externalisers	KELMAN'S FICTION per 1,000	SCOTS FICTION per 1,000	difference ratio	KELMAN'S FICTION raw counts	SCOTS FICTION raw counts
Frown	0.36	0.04	**9.6**	284	20
Grimace	0.02	0.02	**1.1**	13	8
Grin	0.70	0.05	**14.7**	544	25
Pursed lips	0.03	0.00		25	0
Smile	1.44	0.21	**6.8**	1121	112
Total	**2.55**	**0.31**	**8.1:1**	**1,987**	**165**

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