Scottish, English, British?
coding for attitude in the UK

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attitudes

‘attitudes to language varieties underpin all manners of sociolinguistic and social psychological phenomena’ (Garrett et al., 2003: 12)

‘a psychological tendency that is expressed by evaluating a particular entity with some degree of favor or disfavor’ (Eagley & Chaiken, 1993: 1)

- components:

  - cognitive ——— beliefs
  - affective ——— feelings
  - behavioural ——— readiness for action

speaker-internal mental constructs - methodologically challenging

• direct and indirect observation:

  • explicit attitudes – e.g. interviews, self-completion written questionnaires
  • implicit attitudes – e.g. matched-guise technique, IATs
borders

- ideal test site for investigation of how variable linguistic behaviour is connected to attitudes – border area

- fluid and complex identity construction at such sites mean border regions have particular sociolinguistic relevance

- previous sociological research in and around Berwick-upon-Tweed (English town) (Kiely et al. 2000) – around half informants felt Scottish *some of the time*
the border

• Scottish~English border still seen as particularly divisive:
  
  What appears to be the most numerous bundle of dialect isoglosses in the English-speaking world runs along this border, effectively turning Scotland into a “dialect island”. (Aitken 1992:895)

• predicted to become more divisive still:

  the Border is becoming more and more distinct linguistically as the 20th century progresses. (Kay 1986:22)

  ... the dividing effect of the geographical border is bound to increase. (Glauser 2000: 70)

• AISEB tests these predictions by examining the linguistic and socio-psychological effects of the border
the team

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UK Economic & Social Research Council (RES-062-23-0525)
AISEB

three-pronged approach

**production**
- quantitative analysis of phonological variation and change

**attitude**
- cognitive vs. affective aspects of speakers’ attitudes
- overtly stated attitudes and implicit associations
- qualitative and quantitative analysis of answers to questions about
  - local language
  - political and socio-psychological influence of border
  - how identities are defined and delimited

**perception**
- implicit and explicit knowledge of linguistic variation across the Border
the context

- four Border communities:
  - Gretna (2,700)
  - Carlisle (101,000)
  - Eyemouth (3,400)
  - Berwick (26,000)

- on major N/S routes
- border historically fluid
phonological variables

vowels

- FACE and GOAT
- NURSE
- comma ~ letter
- MOUTH
- Scottish Vowel Length Rule

consonants

- (p t k)
- (r)
40 informants per location

stratified by
- age (older 65+ ; young 16-25)
- gender
- social class (working class vs. middle class)

speech styles elicited
- read (word list, text passage *Fern’s Star Turn*)
- spontaneous (responses to structured questionnaire)
coda (r)
(r) in coda position (‘rhoticity’)

– Scotland:
  • traditionally rhotic
  • non-rhoticity recently found in Edinburgh (Romaine, Scobbie), Glasgow (Stuart-Smith) - especially among WC
– Northern England:
  • almost completely derhotacised
  • process occurred later than in South

• (r) considered by some to be
  ‘the most important feature for defining the relationships between varieties of English’ (Maguire et al. 2008)
• informants’ overt comments suggest that (r) perceived as the major stereotype of ‘Scottishness’
### Sample (Coda (r) Tokens)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Location</th>
<th>Older</th>
<th>Younger</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>m</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gretna</td>
<td>1956</td>
<td>2130</td>
<td>2081</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Carlisle</td>
<td>2222</td>
<td>2180</td>
<td>2209</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Eyemouth</td>
<td>2149</td>
<td>1775</td>
<td>2061</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Berwick</td>
<td>2190</td>
<td>2147</td>
<td>2196</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

N = 33,175
# coda (r) variants

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>category</th>
<th>form</th>
<th>frequency (%)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>zero</td>
<td>[ V ]</td>
<td>‘girl’ 68</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>“central” approximants</td>
<td>[ ɹɻ Vɻ ]</td>
<td>‘girl’ 24</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>taps</td>
<td>[ ɾɽ ]</td>
<td>‘girl’ 6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>trills</td>
<td>[ ɾɽ ]</td>
<td>‘four’ &lt; 1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>“coalesced” sibilants</td>
<td>[ Vʂ Vʐ ]</td>
<td>‘Kirsty’ &lt; 1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>“back” approximants</td>
<td>[ βζ Vβ Vζ ]</td>
<td>‘however’ &lt; 1</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

N = 33,175
Coda (r) across localities

Coda (r) use in 4 Towns

Scottish

West

Gretna

VR.

VRC.

Eyemouth

VR.

VRC.

English

East

Carlisle

VR.

VRC.

Berwick

VR.

VRC.

Legend:
- zero
- trill
- tap
- coalesced
- central
- back
coda (r) in apparent time

Coda (r) use in 4 Towns in Apparent Time

- Gretna Old
- Gretna Young
- Eyemouth Old
- Eyemouth Young
- Carlisle Old
- Carlisle Young
- Berwick Old
- Berwick Young

Legend:
- zero
- trill
- tap
- coalesced
- central
- back
summary: (r)

- divergence wrt *rhoticity* on Scottish side
  - West end of border less rhotic
  - East end more realised coda (r)
- convergence wrt *realised coda* (r)
  - all Scottish young people use fewer taps
attitudinal strand

• qualitative data
  – targeted questions posed in the *Identity Questionnaire*
  – questions relating to
    • significance of border
    • description and evaluation of national identity and accent
    • perception and evaluation of inter- and intra-locality variation in linguistic behaviour etc.
      – cognitive component - identity and accent informant believes him/herself to have
      – affective component - evaluation of this identity and accent and how positively or negatively disposed towards this accent and identity informant feels

• quantitative data

• Implicit Association Tests (IAT) (Greenwald *et al.* 1998)
  – subjects’ association of positive and negative personality traits with ‘Scottish’ and ‘English’
quantitative measures

• two measures applied in AISEB:
  – agreement indices
  – relational clines

• agreement indices:
  – levels of agreement with authentic attitude statements grouped into
    • significance of the border
    • importance of national identity
    • link between accent and identity

• relational clines:
  – national and regional identity labels placed on same cline
  – distance represents relative importance
measurement tool

- attitude measurement

attempt ‘to place a person’s attitude on the straight line or linear continuum in such a way that it can be described as mildly positive, strongly negative and so on’ (Oppenheim, 1992: 175)

- methodologically challenging

- conventional 5-point Likert Scale

- intervals unknown

  - strongly disagree
  - disagree
  - neither agree nor disagree
  - agree
  - strongly agree

  intervals unknown
‘There is no way of knowing in advance if our sensitivities are limited to a five-way distinction any more than a four-way distinction’ (Bard et al., 1996: 35)

- limited freedom of expression for the informant
- impossible to detect fine-grained attitudinal differences
- central tendency bias

Strongly disagree  Disagree  Neither agree nor disagree  Agree  Strongly agree

Reduced to 2-point scale?
measurement tools

visual analogue scale
(agreement indices)

disagree ------- agree

- accurate fast measurement of informants’ self-positioning through use of digital image processing software, e.g., ImageJ
- agreement not limited to predetermined answering points
- increased freedom of expression for informant
- fine-grained continuous data for analyst
- mixed effects modelling retains detail than summated scores can lose
measurement tools

magnitude continuum (Redinger and Llamas 2010) (relational clines)

- accurate fast measurement of informants’ self-positioning through use of digital image processing software
- measurement of relative distance between relevant identity categories
agreement indices

Please mark a point anywhere along the lines below indicating how far you would agree or disagree with the opinions.

e.g., agree ___________________________________________________________________________ disagree

I think:

"The Scots are different people than the English...we have a different religion, we have different money, we have a different school system...the border is a technical border but really, it's a cultural border as well."

agree ___________________________________________________________________________ disagree

"I've been abroad and everybody thinks about Britain as England so when they're talking about Britain, they're really talking about England"

agree ___________________________________________________________________________ disagree

"I feel British but I'm definitely more English than anything else"

agree ___________________________________________________________________________ disagree

"I would say it [Berwick accent] is a mixture between Scottish and English...it's certainly not really English"

agree ___________________________________________________________________________ disagree

'I think the nearer the border you are, the more you are either one or the other' [Scottish or English]

agree ___________________________________________________________________________ disagree

'I'm just English -- you don't need to sound English. You don't need to sound summat to be summat, do you?'

agree ___________________________________________________________________________ disagree

'Everything should just be Britain. Football -- England and Scotland. What's the point? Kick out the border. England, Scotland, Wales -- just have it as the United Kingdom'
significance of the border
Please mark a point anywhere along the line below indicating where you would place these words in terms of how important you think they are to who you are (please also write each word underneath the line). You may also add other words that aren’t listed here if you feel they are important to who you are.

I am:

Borderer      British      English      European      Berwicker      Scottish

most important __________________________________________________ least important
Please mark a point anywhere along the line below indicating where you would place these words in terms of how important you think they are to who you are (please also write each word underneath the line). You may also add other words that aren't listed here if you feel they are important to who you are.

**I am:**

Borderer  British  English  European  from Carlisle  Scottish

**most important**  Borderer  British  from Carlisle  Scottish  English  European

**least important**  English  British  Borderer  Scottish  European

---

Please mark a point anywhere along the line below indicating where you would place these words in terms of how important you think they are to who you are (please also write each word underneath the line). You may also add other words that aren't listed here if you feel they are important to who you are.

**I am:**

Borderer  British  English  European  Eyemouther  Scottish

**most important**  Scottish  Eyemouther  Borderer  British  European  English

**least important**  English  British  Borderer  Scottish  European

---

Please mark a point anywhere along the line below indicating where you would place these words in terms of how important you think they are to who you are (please also write each word underneath the line). You may also add other words that aren't listed here if you feel they are important to who you are.

**I am:**

Borderer  British  English  European  from Gretna  Scottish

**most important**  Scottish  from Gretna  Borderer

**least important**  Borderer  British  from Gretna  Scottish  English  European

---

Please mark a point anywhere along the line below indicating where you would place these words in terms of how important you think they are to who you are (please also write each word underneath the line). You may also add other words that aren't listed here if you feel they are important to who you are.

**I am:**

Borderer  British  English  European  Berwickier  Scottish

**most important**  Scottish  Berwickier  Borderer  British  European

**least important**  English  Scottish  Borderer  European  Scottish
Eyemouth Older 81%

Eyemouth Young 84%

Berwick Older 35%

Berwick Young 50%
summary

• British identity
  – least important in Eyemouth

• national vs British
  – increase in shared preference for British identity in west (young speakers converging)
  – decrease in east (more stable divide)
synthesis and future questions

• clear connection between production data and attitudinal data *wrt* use of coda (r) and positive orientation towards Scottishness

• (r) has unusually high socioindexical meaning in region

• other variables doing less identity work? why?

• connections established between strands at group level

• how does this work at the individual level?

• is the individual’s attitudinal positioning a better predictor of production patterns than the global categories used?
conclusions

• border and identities implicated in patterns of phonological variation
• relationships between border localities - might expect to see:
  – heightened sense of separateness, or
  – sense of affinity (part of separate border region)
• both strategies in operation at either end of a border of c. 100 miles

• systematic examination of attitudes (and perception of variation) offers more empirically-grounded account of speakers' motives for maintaining local norms versus adopting diffusing changes
thank you

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ESRC RES-062-23-0525

www.york.ac.uk/res/aiseb

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