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**‘Cin u get aff my facebook hen?’: Variation and Identity
Marking in Adolescent Glaswegian Girls**

Sadie Durkacz Ryan, MA (Hons)

Submitted in fulfilment of the requirements of the Degree of M.Phil (R)

English Language and Linguistics

School of Critical Studies

College of Arts

University of Glasgow

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Abstract

Chambers asserts that ‘adolescence requires a purposeful divergence from adult norms in favour of alternative norms instituted and reinforced by age-mates’ (2009:184).

Adolescents need to distinguish themselves from children and from adults. This manifests itself in language use which ‘differs from their parents in the frequency of certain variants’ (ibid:187). I look for evidence of divergence from adult norms in the spontaneous spoken interactions of adolescent females in dance classes and youth club sessions; does this pattern of divergence emerge in the data observed? I also supplement my quantitative analysis of this spoken data with a qualitative analysis of the participants’ writing on Facebook, in order to further investigate how variables are used in marking adolescent identity.

The literature shows evidence of the use of certain types of variable in identity marking (e.g. phonetic variables in Stuart-Smith et al. 2007), but there is also evidence that some types of variable do not participate (e.g. morphosyntactic variables in Macafee 1994). This may be because variables from different levels of the grammar exist at different levels of speaker awareness (Trudgill 1986, Cutler 1999, Kerswill & Williams 2002). To test this, I analyse a range of variables from different levels of the grammar. I find evidence that the adolescents are diverging from the adult norms of their speech community at the lexical level, at the morphophonological level and at the phonetic level. The morphosyntactic variable which I analyse does not appear to participate in this pattern of divergence. I suggest that this may be because it is below the level of consciousness for these speakers.

Although all of the speakers show a pattern of divergence from adult norms, their language use is not homogenous; there is evidence of individual stylistic choices being made both in the spoken data and the written data.

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Introduction

Chambers asserts that ‘adolescence requires a purposeful divergence from adult norms in favour of alternative norms instituted and reinforced by age-mates’ (2009:184).

Adolescents need to distinguish themselves from children and from adults. Socially, this need manifests itself in distinctively adolescent practices, and fashions such as ‘green-dyed hair, nose-rings, and ripped jeans’ (ibid:183). Linguistically, it manifests itself in speech which ‘differs from their parents in the frequency of certain variants’ (ibid:187). Eckert calls this ‘the use of language to create boundaries’ (2003:113).

When using linguistic variables, adolescents show ‘a preference for variants not favored by adults’ (Chambers 2009:184). This often means that adolescents show high rates of vernacular variants, as observed by Labov (1972). In this case, the adult norms which they diverge from are the norms of the standard language. But what happens when the adults in question are themselves speakers of a local vernacular? What do adolescents then choose to do?

To contribute to these questions, this research focuses on the speech of adolescent females from Glasgow in interaction during dance classes and youth club sessions, as in (1), (2), (3) and (4):

- 1) Yes I can. [...] Yeah other people might not but I can. [...] Aye!
Emma, 11
- 2) Haha. It was her that writ Tulisa [no] me! [...] [wɔzni] me who writ Tulisa, so haha. I writ Justine.
Tulisa, 12
- 3) Is anyone going to z- wink at me? I would like to be winked at. [...] D- you [hɪŋk] I never even blinked at you!
Nicki, 13
- 4) I had Katie and everyone. [...] Gimme Chris. [...] Yeah you do, I just seen him. [...] Look, go back. I just seen him!
Frankie, 11

I compare the patterns which emerge across the variables. Specifically:

- Are representations of the variables in the written data reflective of their use in the spoken data?
- How are the variables from different levels of the grammar represented?

This will shed light on which variables are used to signal adolescent identity in Glasgow, and why.

In Chapter 1, I review the literature on adolescent language use in Glasgow. In Chapter 2, I outline the literature on levels of grammar and their levels of speaker awareness. In Chapter 3, I outline my methodology. In Chapter 4, I present the results of my quantitative and qualitative analyses. In Chapter 5, I discuss my results in relation to my research questions.

1. Adolescence and the Glaswegian dialect

As noted in the introduction, adolescent speakers, in an effort to distinguish their speech from other groups, tend to show ‘a preference for variants not favored by adults’ (Chambers 2009:184). Sociolinguists have generally observed that adolescent divergence from adult norms leads to high rates of vernacular forms amongst adolescent speakers (e.g. Labov 1972, Cheshire 1982, Eckert 2000); they mark their speech as distinctively adolescent by adopting the variants stigmatised in the adult speech community.

But the situation is not always so simple. In Glasgow, for example, working-class adults use high rates of vernacular variants (e.g. Macafee 1994, Stuart-Smith et al. 2007). If working-class Glaswegian adolescents are to distinguish their speech from that of the older generation, they cannot simply use high rates of the same vernacular variants; they need to do something different.

1.1. Macafee 1994

Macafee notes that a ‘generation gap’ (1994:5) exists in the Glaswegian dialect. In her study of working-class Glaswegian speech, it is clear that the younger speakers in her study are using language very different to that used by their parents. Macafee treats this generation gap as evidence of dialect levelling; however it may also be evidence of adolescent identity marking. The patterns which emerge in Macafee’s data suggest that the younger speakers are diverging from the norms of the older generation in favour of alternative norms.

The older speakers in Macafee’s study use traditional Scots variants. In illustrating the generation gap, Macafee focuses on the lack of traditional Scots lexis in the speech of her younger participants; she refers to this as ‘the erosion of the heritage of classical Scots vocabulary’ (ibid:33). This ‘erosion’ may be an avoidance of forms which the younger speakers wish to distance themselves from; it may represent the younger speakers’ desire to sound different from the older generation.

She also notes the introduction of imported features, previously associated with other dialects, into the language of the younger speakers. Suggesting that these features may be replacing the eroded Scots lexicon, she writes that:

change in vernacular speech is by no means always in the direction desired by the schools. [...] local neologisms and British and American slang, as well as Standard

English, are available as alternatives to Scots lexical items. [...] Morphology is augmented by borrowing from other British non-standard dialects (ibid:33).

These features appear to constitute alternative norms which young speakers use to distinguish their speech from that of the adults in their speech community. She refers to some examples of imported dialect features specifically:

English influence would have favoured the simplification of strong verbs to one form for past tense and past participle. [...] Younger speakers in Glasgow can occasionally be heard to vocalise post-vocalic and syllabic /l/ (e.g. *well*, *table*), and to substitute /f/ for /θ/. Both of these are features of working-class London English. [...]. A girl at Queen's Park supplied the reverse spelling <whey> for *wi*: cf. the merger of /w, ʍ/. Younger speakers also occasionally delete word-final /r/ (ibid:29).

Macafee's focus remains on those forms which are being lost, and these imported features are not studied in any great depth. However many of them (English /l/-vocalisation, (th)-fronting, the merger of /w, ʍ/ and the loss of rhoticity in word-final /r/) are later analysed in detail by Stuart-Smith et al. (2007).

Macafee's younger speakers have grown up with adults who use high rates of vernacular forms. As adolescents, they need to distinguish their speech from that of the older generation. They do so by (1) pulling away from the traditional vernacular Scots used by their parents, and (2) taking up imported dialect features which are not used to any great extent by the older generation. Using this double pattern of divergence, they are able to create for themselves a distinctive adolescent working-class Glaswegian dialect.

Macafee's observation of the generation gap in the data rests for the most part on lexical variation. She suggests that the pattern in which the younger speakers diverge from adult norms may not hold across variation at different levels of the grammar.

While lexis is relatively vulnerable to change, syntax, morphology and lexical incidence are less so. (Other aspects of phonology and phonetics also change only gradually, but we are not concerned here with features of accent, only with features of dialect.) (ibid:214).

At the morphosyntactic level, Macafee finds no evidence of a generation gap in her data. Why might lexical variation participate in this pattern of divergence but morphosyntactic variation remain the same across the generations? This question will be returned to in Chapter 2.

To summarise, in Macafee's data:

- The younger generation avoid the traditional Scots variants used by older speakers.
- Instead, they use imported, non-local variants not used by older speakers.
- This pattern of divergence is found at the lexical level only.

1.2. Stuart-Smith et al. 2007

Stuart-Smith et al. (2007) analyse eight consonantal variables in the speech of Glaswegian adults and adolescents. They find quantitative evidence of Macafee's 'generation gap' (1994:5); the rates for adults and adolescents are dramatically different.

While Macafee treats the generation gap as general evidence of dialect levelling, Stuart-Smith et al. interpret it in terms of identity marking. They write that 'we might think that this is dialect levelling in the broadest sense [...] and in time, this may be the outcome. But there are also important differences [...] in the ideological processes involved' (2007:248).

In interpreting the generation gap, Stuart-Smith et al. focus on the pattern of divergence shown by the working-class adolescents. As is typical of adolescents worldwide, they diverge from the norms of the adult speech community. However, in Glasgow they suggest that this divergence is also related to class. These working-class adolescents are interested in diverging from the language used by their parents, but they are also interested in making their speech sound as different as possible from middle-class speakers. Therefore they avoid variants which show high rates of use in the speech of working-class adults, but they also avoid variants which are acceptable in middle-class speech. The result of this is 'consistent sociolinguistic polarisation of working-class adolescents from middle-class adults' (ibid:241).

As is the case with the younger speakers in Macafee's (1994) data, Stuart-Smith et al.'s working-class adolescents create a distinctive identity for themselves by (1) using low rates of certain traditional vernacular Scots forms which are used by adults and middle-class speakers, and (2) using imported dialect features which are not used to any great extent by adults and middle-class speakers. They tend to avoid variants like [x] in *loch*, which are used by adults and middle-class speakers. In tandem, they take up variants like

[f] in *think*, previously associated with London speech, and virtually absent from the speech of other social groups in Glasgow.

Other traditional Scots features such as [h], which appears very rarely in middle-class speech and is not used extensively in the speech of working-class adults, are not avoided by the working-class adolescents. This suggests that it is not traditional Scots features *per se* which are being avoided, but only those traditional features which are associated with adult or middle-class speech. Likewise, the authors suggest that the uptake of dialect features previously associated with London speech does not indicate an interest in London or in supralocal identity. Rather, they suggest that these features have now been thoroughly incorporated into the Glaswegian dialect as it is used by working-class adolescents; ‘Thus use of these variants must be seen in terms of using all possible linguistic resources to signal strongly local identities’ (ibid:255). For children who grow up amongst adults who speak a traditional vernacular dialect, reaching adolescence means finding new, different vernacular variants with which to distinguish their language from the older generation. For these working-class Glaswegian adolescents, imported, non-local dialect features fulfil this purpose.

To summarise, in Stuart-Smith et al.’s data:

- Working-class adolescents avoid variants associated with adult and middle-class speech.
- These variants tend to be traditional Scots variants.
- Instead they use imported, non-local variants not used by older speakers.
- This pattern of divergence is found at the phonetic level.

Macafee finds evidence that her younger speakers are diverging from adult norms at the lexical level, and Stuart-Smith et al. find evidence of the same pattern of divergence at the phonetic level. However, Macafee notes that in her data, this pattern of divergence does not appear to hold across all of the levels of the grammar; for example, she does not find evidence of the pattern at the morphosyntactic level. Why might lexical variation participate in this pattern of divergence but morphosyntactic variation remain the same across the generations? In order to answer this question, I now turn to the theoretical literature on levels of grammar and speaker awareness.

2. Levels of grammar and speaker awareness

Macafee (1994) finds that in her data, different levels of the grammar exhibit different patterning in a situation of socially meaningful variation. Specifically, lexical variation appears to participate in a process of identity marking, in which the younger speakers deliberately differentiate their speech from that of the older generation. Other types of variation, for example morphosyntactic variation, appear not to participate. Below, I outline a possible explanation based on the theoretical literature.

Labov (1972) identifies three categories of linguistic variables; indicators, markers and stereotypes. Their characteristics are outlined below.

indicator	may correlate with a social grouping like class or gender, but is not sensitive to style shifting; speakers cannot control their use of these variables	low in speaker awareness
marker	sensitive to style shifting; speakers can control their use of these variables and they may carry social meaning	fairly high in speaker awareness
stereotype	sensitive to style shifting; speakers can control their use of these variables and they may carry social meaning	very high in speaker awareness; subject to overt comment

Table 1. Labov's (1972) description of indicators, markers and stereotypes.

We might be able to predict which of the above categories a given variable will fall into based on which level of grammar it comes from. This follows Trudgill's (1986) assertion that certain levels of grammar are higher in speaker awareness (or in his terms, higher in salience) than others. For example, according to Trudgill, lexical variation is high in speaker awareness. Therefore we expect lexical variables to act as markers or stereotypes, not indicators. As markers or stereotypes, we expect these lexical variables to participate in socially meaningful variation. Phonological variables are thought to be slightly lower in speaker awareness (ibid). Phonetic variables are lower again, as they do not involve phonological contrast (Trudgill suggests that if a feature involves phonological contrast it will be higher in speaker awareness) (ibid).

In the case of morphosyntactic variation, predictions are more complex. Kerswill & Williams, following Trudgill's predictions, suggest that 'These features are likely to be salient because they involve lexical differences.' (2002:104) However, their empirical evidence suggests that this may not always be the case: 'For morphological and discourse features, the *a priori* predictors of salience (phonological and phonetic distinctiveness) combine with sociodemographic and social psychological factors to produce varying levels of salience.' (Kerswill & Williams 2002:104) It appears, therefore, that Trudgill's criteria do not apply to morphosyntactic variables; having perceptually distinct forms is in fact only part of what is needed for a variable to be high in salience.

Other studies have provided evidence that morphosyntactic features may be low in speaker awareness. For example, in Cutler's (1999) study of a white teenager, Mike, imitating AAVE speech, she finds that he 'demonstrates the use of many AAVE phonological and lexical features but lacks the tense and aspect system'. (Cutler 1999:428) She suggests that Mike does not have control over his use of these features; they are low in his awareness and cannot be used in socially meaningful variation.

These predictions are not clear-cut, but may offer some model as to how the variables might pattern in actual use. Broad predictions are shown in the table below.

lexical variables	high in speaker awareness (Trudgill 1986)	likely to be stereotypes or markers	likely to participate in socially meaningful variation
morphophonological variables	slightly lower in speaker awareness (Trudgill 1986)	slightly less likely to be stereotypes or markers	slightly less likely to participate in socially meaningful variation
phonetic variables	slightly lower in speaker awareness	slightly less likely to be stereotypes or markers	slightly less likely to participate in socially meaningful variation
morphosyntactic variables	low in speaker awareness	unlikely to be stereotypes or markers; more likely to be indicators	unlikely to participate in socially meaningful variation

Table 2. Predictions from the literature on levels of grammar and levels of awareness.

In order to test the above hypothesis, in Chapter 4 and Chapter 5 I examine and compare the patterning which emerges in my data across variables from different levels of the grammar.

3. Methodology

In Chapter 1 I reviewed the literature on adolescent linguistic behaviour in Glasgow. I found that two large-scale sociolinguistic studies in Glasgow, Macafee (1994) and Stuart-Smith et al. (2007), outline a pattern in which speakers diverge from the adult norms of their community in favour of alternative norms. In this study, I collect spoken data from a comparable group of Glaswegian adolescents, and ask whether the attested pattern of divergence from adult norms is evident in this group.

Macafee (1994) suggests that in her data, the pattern of divergence from adult norms does not hold across all levels of grammar. In Chapter 2 I reviewed the theoretical literature on levels of grammar, and outlined why variables from different levels of grammar might be expected to pattern differently. In this study, I ask whether the same patterning is evident across variables from different levels of grammar.

In this chapter, I outline the methodology I use to answer these questions. I discuss the selection of participants, the nature of the data obtained and the process of analysing the data.

3.1. The speaker sample

This thesis examines the linguistic practices of six adolescent girls from a socioeconomically disadvantaged area of Glasgow. Below I outline some of the ethical considerations involved in the research process, before describing the process by which I gained access to the community. I then justify my choice of speaker sample and provide details of the participants.

3.1.1. Ethical considerations

Before beginning my research I sought, and was granted, approval from the University of Glasgow College of Arts Research Ethics Committee. The main issues addressed in the application process related to the age of the participants. Studies involving people under the age of 18 necessarily involve additional ethical considerations, as this group are considered potentially vulnerable. Firstly, I was required to join the Protection of

Vulnerable Groups scheme (PVG), for which I was subject to a background check to ensure that I did not have relevant criminal convictions. In Scotland, all adults working with people under the age of 18 or other vulnerable groups must be a member of this scheme.

With all research involving human participants, ensuring that the participants are able to give fully informed consent is vital. With research involving people under 18 years of age, ensuring that the consent is fully informed may require special considerations; i.e. it might be necessary to explain the project in simplified terms. It is also necessary to obtain fully informed consent from the parents or guardians of the participants, according to the College of Arts Research Ethics Guidelines. In explaining the project, I provided separate information sheets for parents/guardians and for participants (attached as Appendix 1 and Appendix 2); I also presented a verbal explanation of the project to the participants. I was careful to ensure that I used accessible language while still providing all of the necessary information. I also took care to ensure that participants and parents were aware that participation was not obligatory. When giving the verbal explanation, I encouraged the participants to ask questions and raise any doubts they might have. As both participants and parents did ask questions and raise doubts which were then addressed, I was satisfied that when consent was provided it was fully informed consent (Crowley 2007:27).

Issues of privacy were also relevant, particularly in relation to the use of data from Facebook. As well as the privacy of the participants, I had to consider the privacy of those members of their online community who were not participating in the project. Following advice from the university's College of Arts ethics committee, I isolated and removed all posts tagged with the names of the participants, and stored them in a separate file before using them for qualitative analysis. Pseudonyms were employed from the initial stages of the research, ensuring that participation was completely anonymous. Private correspondence was not used, but only messages posted publicly to the participants' online community (Rock 2001).

As an additional ethical consideration, I took care to ensure that the research process was not disruptive to the participants' activities, by using the methodology outlined in Section 3.2.

3.1.2. Gaining access

The participants live in a socioeconomically disadvantaged area in the North of Glasgow. Initial contact was made through a former colleague who now works as a dance teacher with Glasgow charity The Rivers Project.¹ I avoided making contact through schools for two reasons. Firstly, schools tend to be subject to strict time constraints, and are often unable to accommodate projects which do not fall into the national curriculum. Secondly, for the purposes of my study I hoped to collect naturalistic data, for which an informal setting is desirable. The relatively formal environment of the school may have made this more difficult: ‘Conventional sociolinguistic wisdom tells us that schools and other normative institutions are problematic sites for the study of the vernacular’ (Eckert 2000:70).

The Rivers Project works with young people in some of Glasgow’s most deprived areas. The aim of the project is to provide diversionary activities, designed to tackle boredom and low self-esteem. Participation is voluntary, and activities are always free of charge. The Rivers Project runs sessions from a converted flat in the building which houses several of the participants’ families. These sessions include two dance classes and one youth club session per week, all of which are attended by the participants. The participants treat the sessions as recreational entertainment and an opportunity to socialise in a space close to home. It is evident that they do not see the classes as an extension of school; many express ambivalent attitudes towards school and education, but are keen attendees of the dance classes and youth club sessions. At points during the study, participants attended the sessions without taking part in the activities, treating them purely as a social occasion.

3.1.3. Justification of the sample

The recruitment of the participants was facilitated by my former colleague, who introduced me to the group and helped me to explain my research to them in terms which they were able to understand. Some initially expressed doubts relating to privacy, but a full understanding of the research questions helped to assuage these doubts, as I was able to reassure them that my interest was primarily in the form of their language, not the content.

¹ Pseudonym employed. Information on the charity is paraphrased from their website. The website address is omitted to preserve anonymity.

Participants were recruited partly on a voluntary basis and partly through friendship networks (Cheshire 1982). In this respect and others, my methodology fits into the tradition of ethnography and participant observation within sociolinguistic research (Milroy 1987: 75-81, Tagliamonte 2006: 20-21). All six of the participants form a single friendship group. According to the framework used by e.g. Eckert (2000) they can be considered a single Community of Practice. They share a set of interests and orientations; in particular, they are avid fans of pop music and celebrity culture. They socialise together both online and offline. They live in close proximity to one another and attend school together. All live in the same street, most live in the same building, and two are in fact siblings. Recruiting in this manner led to a sample made up of female speakers only, meaning that we might see slightly lower vernacular usage than we would in a mixed-gender group or a group of male speakers (Labov 1972).

According to Community of Practice theory, we might expect the group to be fairly homogenous in their language use (Eckert 2000, Clark & Trousdale 2009, Lawson 2009). This was considered desirable, as, due to the time constraints of the project, the sample was necessarily small, containing only six speakers. In working with a small sample, it is desirable for the group to be relatively homogenous; splitting the group into gender categories or age categories would lead to low token counts and unreliable results (Tagliamonte 2006: 31-32). As well as this, analysing individual speaker behaviour within a theoretically homogenous group allows me to suggest that where their linguistic behaviour is not homogenous, we are seeing individual stylistic choices and identity marking at work. According to Tagliamonte: 'For stylistic analysis and more qualitative approaches to variation, including identity markers and features of style, non-stratificational sample designs may be more useful' (2006:27).

The participants are aged 10 to 13. They are therefore slightly younger than the participants in many other studies about adolescent linguistic behaviour (e.g. Eckert 2000, Moore 2004, Lawson 2009). However sociolinguistics is not entirely consistent in its designation of life-stages; Stuart-Smith et al. (2006), for example, categorise a group of speakers aged 10 to 15 as adolescent. I follow their methodology in categorising my participants as adolescents. This decision can further be justified in relation to claims that adolescence is extending, with children entering the adolescent phase earlier and leaving it later (Chambers 2009: 181). My participants, despite their young age, are typically adolescent in their clothing, confident and rebellious attitude, interest in the opposite sex and interest in adolescent culture.

3.1.4. Details of the participants

Details of the individual participants are provided in the table below.

Pseudonym	Age
Rhi	10
Frankie (sibling of Nicki)	11
Emma	11
Justine	12
Tulisa	12
Nicki (sibling of Frankie)	13

Table 3. Details of the individual participants.

All of the participants were born and brought up in Glasgow. Given the potentially sensitive nature of information regarding family income and other indicators of socioeconomic status, no attempt was made to elicit details of the socioeconomic backgrounds of the participants. However, previous sociolinguistic research in Glasgow has often based socioeconomic categorisations on area of residence (Macafee 1994, Stuart-Smith et al. 2007, Lawson 2009). I follow this methodology and assume, based on the participants' area of residence, that their socioeconomic status is roughly equivalent to that of the working-class speakers in other sociolinguistic studies carried out in Glasgow (Macaulay 1977, Macafee 1994, Stuart-Smith et al. 2007, Lawson 2009). This allows me to make useful comparisons, e.g. between my speakers and Stuart-Smith et al.'s working-class adolescent speakers.

3.2. Data collection

Below I outline the data collection process. I describe the environment of the speech recordings. I then describe some of the difficulties inherent in using mobile recording devices, and how I addressed these. Finally I describe how my recording sessions were designed to reduce the effects of the Observer's Paradox (Labov 1972) in order to produce naturalistic data.

3.2.1. Collecting the spoken data

In collecting data for analysis, I chose not to conduct interviews, or to set up any kind of exercise designed to elicit conversation. Instead I adopted a modified participant observation method (Milroy 1987: 60-64). For a period of 10 weeks (30 sessions) between January and March 2013, I recorded the participants during their dance classes and youth club sessions. At the beginning of each session, I gave the participants mobile recording devices with lapel microphones; in this methodology I follow Smith et al.'s (2007) study of child-caregiver interaction in Buckie. Using this method I was able to record the participants going about their normal activities; dancing, playing games and socialising during the breaks. Although myself and the youth leaders were present in the room, we were usually out of earshot and were not a part of the social situation. (Reid 1978, Edwards 1986, Smith et al. 2007, Stuart-Smith et al. 2007) This meant that I was able to record highly naturalistic examples of peer-to-peer interaction. It also meant that the research was not disruptive to the activities of the participants or to the Rivers Project. In line with ethical procedures, all recorded speech from people other than the consenting participants (e.g. the speech of the youth leaders and the non-participating members of the classes) was omitted at the transcription phase. In other words, I only included speech from those participants who had granted specific consent.

The methodology employed means that the resulting corpus is fairly small. In an interview situation, a large amount of speech data can be collected in a shorter space of time. In my recordings, the participants spend long periods of time dancing or playing games without speaking. Many of the utterances are short remarks or responses, and narratives are rare. Some parts of the recordings are not useable; this is usually due to movement or excessive volume, i.e. shouting and screaming. The above means that 126 hours of recorded speech amount to a corpus of 20,000 words. However I chose to

prioritise quality over quantity. Collecting naturalistic data is a prime target of sociolinguistic research; in Eckert's words: 'the ideal way to gather a linguistic sample is to record normally occurring interactions' (2000:78)

3.2.2. Using mobile recording devices

Given the challenges of recording participants engaging in physical activity, a trial and error approach was adopted.

An initial practical difficulty was that, as each participant required their own recording device and a lapel microphone, a large amount of equipment needed to be sourced. I used M-Audio Microtrack devices and Sony Zoom H2 devices, both of which produced good quality recordings. A second practical difficulty was that the participants needed to have full mobility in order to take part in the dance classes, and that clothing worn to the dance classes often had nowhere for the devices to be placed. As a solution to this problem, I was able to source microphone belts as worn by fitness instructors; these allowed the participants to move freely while carrying the recording devices. Thirdly, in the initial recordings, the quality was compromised by the movement of the participants. I was able to source wind shields, which improved the quality of subsequent recordings.

Although it was anticipated that working with mobile recording devices might have inherent challenges, the methodology was considered worthwhile in its potential to produce highly naturalistic data.

3.2.3. Mitigating the Observer's Paradox

The inherent difficulty of observing natural speech is that when speakers are aware that they are being observed, their speech will not be natural. Labov (1972) calls this the Observer's Paradox; he writes 'We must somehow become witness to the everyday speech which the informant will use as soon as the door is closed behind us' (Labov 1972:85). Labov used techniques to elicit more natural speech from his participants in interview situations; these included asking them to recount life-threatening incidents, as he suggested that when a participant is distracted by memory and emotion they may speak more naturally.

In this study, a number of factors mitigate the Observer's Paradox. Firstly, the absence of the researcher from the social setting allows the participants to interact with each other unselfconsciously. A second mitigating factor is that during the recording sessions, the participants were following their usual routine within their usual social circle. Thirdly, they were engaged in physical and social activities, meaning that their attention was drawn away from their language use.

The result is a corpus of highly naturalistic data. On the recordings the participants gossip, play games, argue, tease each other and swear, often becoming excited and emotional, and never making overt references to language use.

3.2.4. Processing the spoken data

Transcription was carried out using ELAN (Sloetjes & Wittenburg 2008), creating a text to sound synched database. Initial transcription was orthographic, with phonetic and phonological variation standardised, and lexical and morphosyntactic variation included (Tagliamonte 2006:55). The transcription protocol is included as Appendix 4. An extract from the initial transcript is included as Appendix 5.

Next I selected the variables to be analysed. These variables were selected according to four main criteria. Firstly, in order to answer my research questions, it was necessary for me to analyse four variables from four different levels of the grammar. I chose variables which, according to the predictions of the theoretical literature, might be expected to pattern differently. These predictions are outlined in Chapter 2. Secondly, contexts of the variable needed to be numerous enough to allow for reliable quantitative analysis. Thirdly, the variants needed to be easily distinguishable using auditory analysis (the timeframe of the project did not allow for acoustic analysis). Fourthly, to allow for the supplementary analysis of the Facebook data, the variants needed to be easily representable in casual writing. Variables which were excluded on this basis included /l/-vocalisation and /t/-glottaling. The representation of the non-standard variants in these cases would require the use of apostrophes, or some other creative orthographic technique (Auer, Barden & Grosskopf 2006). Initial analysis of the Facebook data showed that they did not appear.

Tokens of each feature were then extracted using the concordance program AntConc (Anthony 2011). I coded for a number of constraints (a sample of the coding instructions is included as Appendix 7); I then conducted quantitative analysis using the variable rule analysis program GoldVarb X (Sankoff et al. 2005). I obtained, in the case of

each variable, its overall distribution, its distribution across individual speakers, and its distribution across various contexts.

*

3.2.5. Collecting the written data

I supplement my quantitative analysis of the spoken data with qualitative observations of the participants' writing on the social networking site Facebook. Ideally, both spoken data and written data would have been included for each participant. Unfortunately the siblings, Frankie and Nicki, were not using Facebook at the time of the study; therefore only Rhi, Emma, Justine and Tulisa are included in the written data.

The Facebook data consists of all public posts on the site by Rhi, Emma, Justine and Tulisa over a 10 week period. This amounts to a corpus of around 3,000 words. The size of the corpus is small due to a number of factors.

- Due to ethical constraints I was unable to access private messages written by the participants, and extracted only messages posted publicly to the participants' online community. This meant that a large amount of potential data was unavailable for analysis.
- A great deal of the communication between the participants is in the form of images, videos and single-word utterances.

While a larger amount of data might have been elicited by presenting the participants with specific writing tasks, this data would have been highly unnatural. As in the case of the spoken data, I prioritised quality of data over quantity, and collected a small amount of naturalistic data rather than a large amount of unnatural data. The result is a corpus of online interaction which roughly matches the spoken data in terms of tone and social setting. The content is similar to that of the spoken data; the participants make plans, gossip, tease and argue, often showing evidence of heightened emotion, swearing and engaging in heated debates. As with the spoken data, I included in the analysis only data produced by the consenting participants; all posts produced by non-consenting members of the online community were omitted.

3.2.6. Processing the written data

My analysis of the written data is supplementary and purely qualitative. A quantitative analysis, mirroring that of the spoken data, and allowing direct comparison, is not possible for the following reasons:

- The small quantity of data (not enough for reliable quantitative analysis).
- The nature of the data.

The orthography used by the participants is highly inconsistent, meaning that the automatic extraction of tokens would be impossible; extraction would need to be done by hand. Examples of these inconsistencies are shown below.

- a) Typographical errors are common, e.g. <brian got *knockd* down> and <people that get *there* arse out>
- b) The use of stylistic effects such as the addition of extra characters is common, e.g. <*frezzaaiinnnggg* going home>
- c) Capitalisation, the use of apostrophes etc. is variable, e.g. <*whos* coming out *dont* care who>
- d) Orthographic representations of dialect features are variable; e.g. we see the form *cannae* represented as <cannae>, <canny>, <cany>, <canni>, <cani> and <kani>.

*

Although not ideal, qualitative analysis is suitable for addressing my research questions. In my supplementary analysis of the written data, I ask whether, in the case of each variable, the representations in the written data are reflective of the variable's use in the spoken data. In Chapter 5, I examine the similarities and differences between the representations of the different variables, and the different levels of the grammar which they represent. This will shed light on issues of speaker awareness across the levels of grammar, and on individual stylistic choices.

4. Results

I now turn to my results, which I present variable by variable. For each variable I present my quantitative analysis of the spoken data, then turn to my qualitative analysis of the written data.

In my analysis I ask whether, in their use of four linguistic variables, these speakers diverge from the adult norms of their speech community in favour of alternative norms. It should be noted, however, that as I did not collect data from the adult community members, I am unable to make direct comparisons between the speech of these adolescents and the speech of the adults from the same speech community. Instead, I use indicative figures from previous studies to build a body of evidence about the adult norms of the speech community. Qualitative observations drawn from the literature are used to supplement the available quantitative data. The figures come from the most recent, geographically local, socioeconomically comparable and stylistically similar speech data to my own that I was able to access through the literature; however at times the most relevant speech data available is still fairly removed from my own. Any conclusions drawn are necessarily very tentative; however, despite the lack of a solid foundation for my comparisons, I find evidence of general patterns which are consistent with expectations based on the theoretical literature.

4.1. *Aye v Yes*

The use of the lexical item *aye*, equivalent to Standard English *yes*, is iconic of Scots; Smith et al. call it ‘one of the most defining characteristics of the Scots tongue’ (2013:304). As a lexical variable, we expect *Aye v Yes* to be high in speaker awareness. Trudgill states that ‘Lexical differences are highly salient, and are readily apparent to all speakers of the varieties concerned without any linguistic training or analysis’ (1986:25); they act as markers or stereotypes (Labov 1972). This suggests that speakers may have some conscious control over their use of *aye* as manifested in their rates and patterns of use.

In these data, this traditional Scots variant appears alongside the Standard English variant *yes* and three other non-local variants, *yeah*, *yep* and *uh-huh*, as in (8).

- 8) a) *Aye* I know, I’m putting it at the sides.
Rhi, 10
- b) *Yes* I would like to be interviewed Talulah.
Nicki, 13
- c) *Yeah*, bring a Nicki Minaj one in for me.
Emma, 11
- d) Oh he was in the X Factor, *yep*.
Tulisa, 12
- e) *Uh-huh*, she’s my dentist.
Nicki, 13

The literature suggests that rates of the local form *aye* are high in the speech of adult Scots speakers, but what do these adolescent speakers do? Does their use of the variant match that of the adults, or do they diverge from the adult norms of their speech community? In order to address these questions, in this section I provide a quantitative analysis of *aye* and its variants, to explore how they are used by this group of adolescent girls. I then provide qualitative observations on the use of the variable in the Facebook

data. I examine the behaviour of the group as a whole, and the behaviour of individual speakers.

4.1.1. Literature review

In the following section I outline the context of the variation. Is the variation new to the dialect, or is it an established feature? What rates of use have been recorded in previous studies? What might the social meanings of the different variants be, and what might be the social implications of their use? Outlining the context will allow me to draw meaningful conclusions from the results.

4.1.1.1. The history of the variation

The oldest of the five variants is *yes*, which comes from the Old English affirmative *gese / gise / gyse* (OED sv. *yes*). In Early Modern English, *yes* was joined by the form *aye*; the OED states that this form ‘Appears suddenly about 1575, and is exceedingly common about 1600; origin unknown’. In Early Modern English, *aye* varied with *yes*; it later died out in the standard language, but it remains as a relic form in Scots, where it shows robust variation with *yes*.

The other three variants present in the data, *yeah*, *yep* and *uh-huh*, are all cited in the OED as colloquialisms originating in the U.S. The first citation of *yep* in writing is in 1891, the first citation of *yeah* is in 1905 and the first citation of *uh-huh* is in 1924; therefore, compared to *aye* and *yes* they are fairly recent additions to the system. They are now fully integrated into British English as supralocal forms.

The form *aye* has a long history of prominence in Scottish dialects. Its use in Scottish literature and song over the centuries means that it has traditional status in Scottish dialect today. The literature suggests that many older, traditional Scots variants are shunned by younger speakers because of their associations with adult speech and their acceptability in middle-class speech. Does the form *aye* fall into this category?

4.1.1.2. *The variation today*

Quantitative analysis of *aye* v *yes* is fairly sparse. However where this evidence is found, rates of *aye* are high.

Dossena (2005) provides quantitative analysis of *aye* v *yes* variation, using data from the Miller-Brown Corpus of Scottish English, recorded in Edinburgh in the late 1970s. She finds that in these data, *aye* has a rate of 41%. Smith et al.'s (2013) study of child and caregiver speech in Buckie provides a rate of 99% for *aye* in adult vernacular speech. They find that in the speech of young children the rate of *aye* is 53%, and that in the speech of adults speaking to children it is 80%. The above studies focus solely on the use of the local form *aye*, making no reference to the use of supralocal non-standard forms such as *yeah*, *yep* or *uh-huh*.

These results show that the variant *aye* is used at high rates in the adult speech community. We might therefore expect these participants to avoid using *aye* as they diverge from the adult norms they have grown up with in favour of alternative norms.

4.1.1.3. *The social meaning of the variation*

The literature suggests that the form *aye* is a marker of Scottish identity. Aitken labels the form an 'overt Scotticism', and states that it is 'almost by definition of a highly traditional Scottish character'. He also includes it in a category which he calls 'cultural Scotticisms', and writes that these are part of 'that special diction of Scottish-tagged locutions used self-consciously by many Scottish speakers as a kind of stylistic grace and as a way of claiming membership of the in-group of Scotsmen'. He suggests that *aye* is used even by middle-class speakers, who may not be dialect speakers in terms of their phonology or syntax (1979:107). Similarly, Dossena writes that '*ay(e)* creates a [...] bond between the listener and the speaker by stressing the common cultural background' (2005:145).

If, as the literature suggests, the variant *aye* is acceptable in middle-class speech and afforded prestige in the adult speech community, it seems likely, in light of the observations by Stuart-Smith et al. (2007), that it will be avoided by these adolescent speakers.

4.1.1.4. *Summary of the literature*

- As a lexical variable, *aye* is likely to be high in speaker awareness.
- *Aye* is a traditional Scots form.
- *Aye* is acceptable in middle-class speech and holds some prestige in the adult speech community.
- Previous sociolinguistic research shows that in adult speech, rates of *aye* are high, over 40%.#

4.1.2. *Results from the spoken data*

My review of the literature shows that the variant *aye* has all the characteristics of those traditional Scots variants which are avoided by Stuart-Smith et al.'s (2007) adolescent speakers. Therefore, if the expected pattern holds for my speakers, we will see low rates of *aye* compared to the adults in previous speech studies, and high rates of the alternative, non-local variants.

I now turn to my quantitative analysis of this variable, to see whether these predictions are correct.

4.1.2.1. *Overall distribution*

Recall that these speakers use *aye*, the traditional Scots variant, *yes*, the Standard English variant, and three other non-local variants *yeah*, *yep* and *uh-uh*. I begin by examining the overall distribution to see which variants are preferred by these speakers.

There are 778 tokens of the variable in the data. First, I present the overall distribution of the variants.

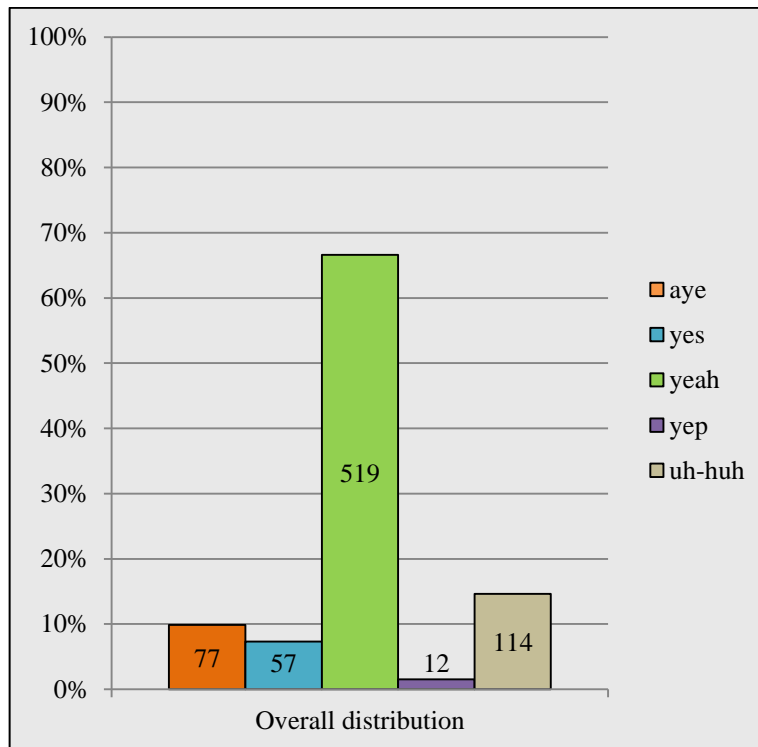


Figure 1. Overall distribution of Aye v Yes.

Previous studies of this variable have shown rates of *aye* to be over 40% in the speech of adults. These speakers show a rate of only 10%. We also see that the rate of Standard English *yes* is very low, only 7%, lower even than the rate of *aye*. The speakers show a strong preference for the non-local variants, *yeah*, *yep* and *uh-huh*. The majority variant by far is *yeah*, which accounts for 67% of the data. The variant *uh-huh* also shows a higher rate than either *aye* or *yes* at 15%. This suggests that the speakers are following the pattern predicted in Chapter 1 and diverging from the adult norms of their speech community, using language different from that used by their parents.

4.1.2.2. Individual speaker behaviour

The pattern of divergence seems clear for the group as a whole. Does this pattern hold across individual speakers? To examine this, I now turn to individual speaker behaviour.

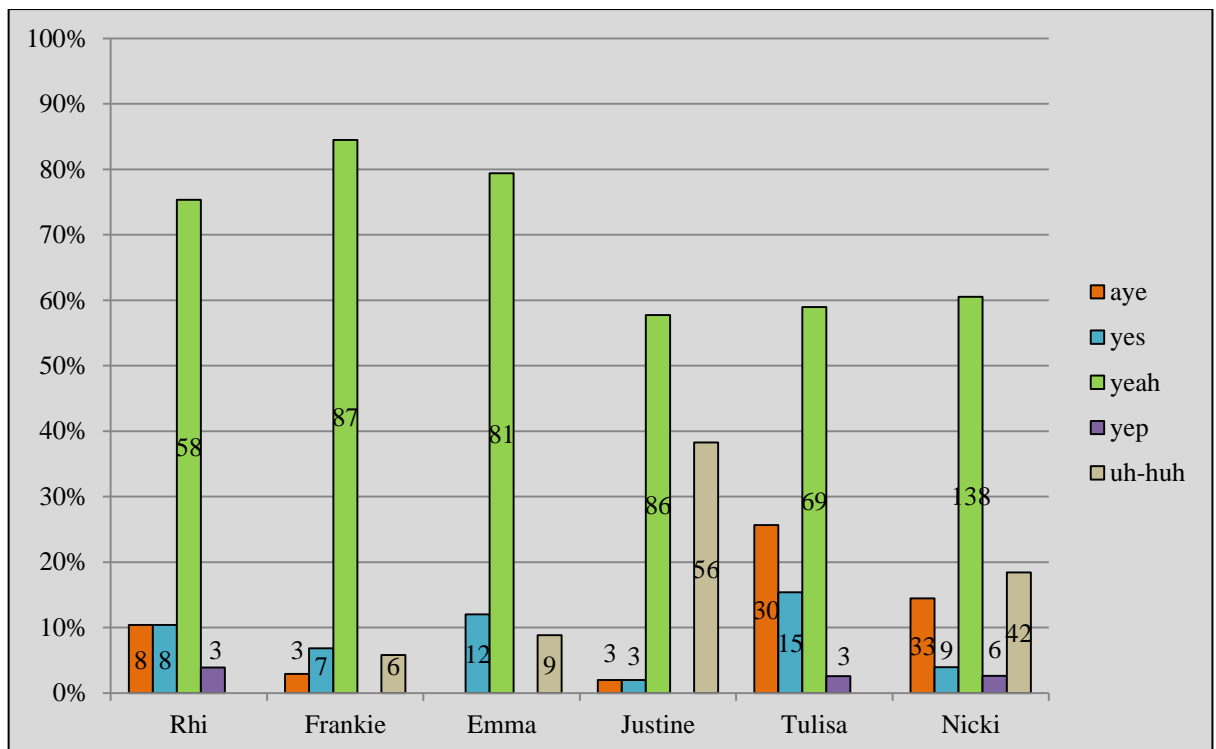


Figure 2. Individual speaker behaviour for *Aye v Yes*.

Three main findings arise from this view of the data. Firstly, the preference for the imported variant *yeah* holds across all speakers. It is the majority variant in all cases. Secondly, all speakers show a rate of *aye* below 40%. Therefore all show a much lower rate of *aye* than the adults in previous speech studies. Thirdly, one speaker, Tulisa, shows a noticeably higher rate of *aye* than the others. Her rate of use is 26%, compared to 10% for the group as a whole. Nicki and Rhi also show slightly higher rates of *aye*.

Therefore, the pattern predicted in Chapter 1 holds across all speakers; they all diverge from the adult norms of their speech community. However, some of the participants, and in particular Tulisa, show noticeably higher rates of the traditional Scots forms than the others. The group are not entirely homogenous in their pattern of linguistic behaviour.

4.1.2.3. Summary of findings

- The rate of *aye* is 10%. This is much lower than the adults in previous speech studies.
- The avoidance of *aye* is evident across all of the speakers.

- The general pattern holds across individual speakers. However some speakers, particularly Tulisa, show higher rates of the traditional Scots form.

It is apparent that this lexical variable, which is high in speaker awareness, participates in the pattern of divergence outlined in Chapter 1. For this variable, the participants show linguistic behaviour divergent from that of their parents. Specifically, they avoid the traditional Scots form used by the older generation, which they may associate with adult or middle-class speech. This pattern of divergence is evident for all speakers, but some speakers, most noticeably Tulisa, appear to show some allegiance to the Scots form. This finding will be returned to in Chapter 5.

4.1.3. Results from the written data

I now turn to my qualitative analysis of the written data. My qualitative observations of variation in participants' writing will be used to supplement my quantitative analysis of the speech data. Is the variable represented? And if so, is the representation of the variable in the written data reflective of its use in the spoken data?

4.1.3.1. Qualitative observation of the written data

In the written data, we find only two forms represented, *aye* and *yeah*, as in (9).

9) a) <Aww aye?xx>
Tulisa, 12

b) <yeh I love her>
Justine, 12

The variants *yes*, *yep* and *uh-huh* do not appear in the data observed. Noteworthy is the fact that only Tulisa represents the form *aye*; she does not use any other form. She is also the participant to show the highest rate of *aye* in the speech data, noticeably higher than the others. The other participants only represent *yeah* in writing.

4.1.3.2. *Summary of findings*

- Only the forms *aye* and *yeah* are represented in the written data.
- Tulisa exclusively represents *aye*. The other three participants exclusively represent *yeah*.
- The written data does not reflect the spoken data.

The variation in the spoken data is not reflected in the writing. In the spoken data, all individuals use *aye* at a fairly low rate and *yeah* at a fairly high rate. In the written data, individuals use either *aye* or *yeah* categorically, with only Tulisa choosing to use *aye*. Why might this be the case? What might it tell us about speaker awareness and identity marking? The finding will be returned to in Chapter 5.

4.2. Scots negation

In the analysis of *Aye v Yes* we see the emergence of the pattern predicted in Chapter 1; the participants diverge from the adult norms of their speech community, avoiding the traditional Scots variant *aye*. This pattern of divergence is observed at the lexical level; but does the pattern hold at the morphophonological level? To answer this question, I turn to another traditional Scots dialect feature; the use of Scots negation.

Along with other Scots dialects, the Glaswegian dialect allows speakers to vary between the Standard English form *-n't* and the local form *-nae* [ni]. This is hereby referred to as enclitic negation.

- 10) a) I *don't* know, it *doesn't* tell you.
 b) That *doesnae* look like her.
 Tulisa, 12

Speakers can also vary between the Standard English form *not* and the local form *no*. This is hereby referred to as non-clitic negation.

- 11) a) Shona's *not* coming any more.
 b) I'm *no* giving you them the now.
 Frankie, 11²

The alternation between standard negation and Scots negation involves a phonological contrast. Trudgill (1986) suggests that those variables which involve phonological contrast are more likely to be high in speaker awareness than those variables which do not. Scots negation is expected to be fairly high in speaker awareness. Therefore, like *Aye v Yes*, it is likely that Scots negation will function as a marker or a stereotype. Does it therefore follow the same patterning as *Aye v Yes*? The literature suggests that for this variable too, the traditional Scots variants are used at high rates in the adult speech

² Another local form of negation exists in the Glaswegian dialect; this is the use of the word *never* as a substitute for the auxiliary verb and the negative particle, e.g.:

- 1) a) I *didn't* bring my form.
 b) I *never* touched him!
 - Frankie, 11

This type of variation is, however, not included in my analysis.

community. Therefore, if the variable is to pattern like *Aye v Yes*, we expect to see low rates of the traditional Scots variants in these adolescent speakers.

In the following section I provide a quantitative analysis of Scots negation in the group, supplemented by qualitative observations on the use of the variable in the Facebook data. I examine the behaviour of the group as a whole, and the behaviour of individual speakers.

4.2.1. Literature review

Before beginning my analysis of the variable I outline the context of the variation. Is the variation an established feature of the dialect? What rates of use have been recorded in previous studies? What might be the social implications of the variation? Outlining the context of the variation will allow me to draw meaningful conclusions from the results.

4.2.1.1. The history of the variation

In Old English, negation was signalled by the forms *na* or *ne*. Later these forms began to vary with *not* and the enclitic *-n't*, which eventually replaced them in the standard language. In Scottish dialects, however, the earlier negatives survive as relic forms, giving us the variation outlined above (Jespersen 1982).

As is the case with the variable *Aye v Yes*, the variation has a long history of prominence in Scottish dialects, and attitudes towards the variation show some awareness of its age and establishment. It is perceived as one of the older, more traditional features of the Scottish dialect (Aitken 1979, Sandred 1983).

The literature suggests that many older, traditional Scots variants are avoided by younger speakers because of their associations with adult speech and their acceptability in middle-class speech, and this is shown to be the case with *aye*. Does Scots negation fall into the same category, or is it perceived differently?

4.2.1.2. *The variation today*

Today, the variation is robust in the speech of Scottish adults. As well as in Glasgow (Macafee 1994:218), evidence of the variation is presented for Ayr (Macaulay 1991), Edinburgh (Brown & Millar 1980, Dossena 2006), and Buckie (Smith et al. 2013). It is also cited in many general descriptions of the Scottish language (e.g. Miller 1993, Bergs 2001, Anderwald 2002). Although the variation is iconic of Scots, it also exists in some communities south of the border (e.g. Glauser 1974). Realisations vary regionally; in the north-east, the local variants are *-na* [nʌ] in enclitic contexts and *nae* [ne] in non-clitic contexts, as opposed to those outlined above.

Quantitative studies show high rates of non-standard negation. In Buckie, Smith et al. (2013) provide a rate of 99% for the local forms in adult vernacular speech, alongside a rate of 47% in the speech of children and 72% in the speech of adults to children (Smith et al. 2013:299). In Ayr, Macaulay (1991) provides a rate of 60% for the local enclitic form, *-nae*, and 67% for the local non-clitic form, *no*.

These results show that Scottish adults use Scots negation at high rates. We might therefore expect these adolescent speakers to avoid using the feature as they diverge from the adult norms they have grown up with in favour of alternative norms. This has been observed with *aye*, which shows high rates of use in the speech of Scottish adults and much lower rates in these adolescent speakers. Does the negation variable follow the same pattern?

4.2.1.3. *The social meaning of the variation*

The literature suggests that this type of negation marks Scottish identity. Aitken (1979) lists the form *dinna* as an ‘overt Scotticism’, suggesting that it is perceived as a traditionally Scottish feature, and this assertion is generally supported in the literature. There is suggestion (Sandred 1983) that it is afforded some prestige due to its traditional status. If, as the literature suggests, Scots negation is recognised as a traditional Scots variant and therefore afforded prestige in the adult speech community, then it is likely that, like *aye*, it will be avoided by these adolescent speakers.

4.2.1.4. Linguistic constraints

A number of linguistic constraints are also attested.

*

Auxiliary verb

There is evidence in the literature that auxiliary *do* resists the local enclitic *-nae*; in particular, the form *dinnae* appears to be avoided. Smith et al. code contexts of auxiliary *do* separately, and find that rates of the non-standard variant are significantly lower for *do* than for other auxiliary verbs (2013: 300-301) Macafee also separates *dinnae* from the other enclitic forms in her study, stating that ‘*Dinnae* is quantified separately, because this was quite rare, *don’t* being usual’ (1994:223). Macaulay (1991) notes that he finds no tokens of *dinnae* in his data at all, while *don’t* appears frequently.

4.2.1.5. Summary of the literature

- As a morphophonological variable, it is likely to be fairly high in speaker awareness.
- The Scots forms have traditional status and prestige in the adult speech community.
- Previous sociolinguistic research shows that in adult speech, rates of Scots negation are high, over 60%.
- The variation may show different rates in enclitic and non-clitic contexts.
- The form *dinnae* appears to be rarer than other enclitic forms.

4.2.2. Results from the spoken data

My review of the literature shows that, like *aye*, Scots negation is acceptable in adult speech and shows high rates of use in adult speech. Therefore, we may expect these adolescent speakers to diverge from adult norms by showing low rates of the Scots variants.

I now turn to my quantitative analysis of this variable, to see whether these predictions are correct.

4.2.2.1. *Circumscription of the variable context*

For the enclitic negation I only look at declarative sentences as in (12), as these are the only fully variable contexts (Smith et al. 2013).

- 12) a) I *can't* feel my legs.
Rhi, 10
- b) I *canna*e do anything I've got jeans on.
Tulisa, 12

For the non-clitic variation I include all sentence types, as the syntactic constraints do not apply.

4.2.2.2. *Overall distribution*

Recall that for this variable, speakers have a straightforward choice between Standard English and Scots. I begin by examining the overall distribution to see which variants are preferred.

Of the 456 tokens remaining after the above exclusions, the following overall distribution is shown.

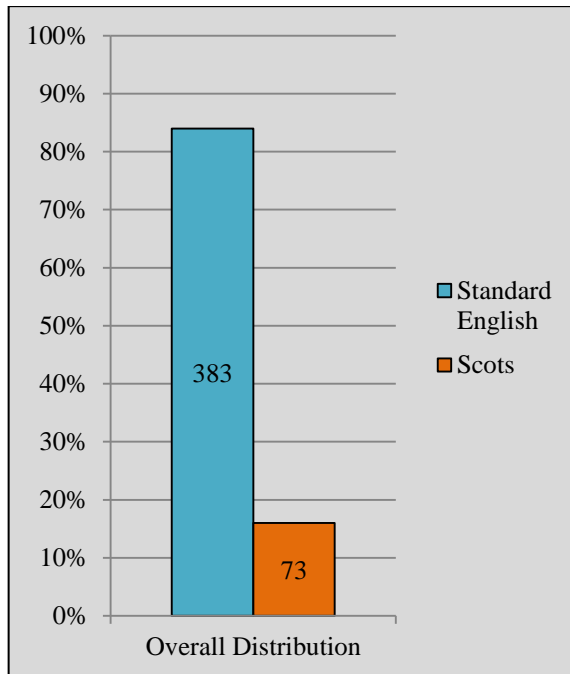


Figure 3: Overall distribution of Scots negation.³

Overall, the speakers show an overwhelming preference for the Standard English variants, avoiding the use of Scots negation most of the time. This is a dramatic divergence from the rates shown in adult speech in previous sociolinguistic studies. My participants show a rate of 16% for non-standard negation, while studies of adult speech show rates of over 60%. As in the case of *Aye v Yes*, these adolescent speakers appear to be diverging from the adult norms of their speech community, using language different from that used by their parents.

³ Also excluded are three tokens of *int it*, all from the same speaker, Nicki. This form is also cited by Macafee, who writes 'In Glasgow dialect, *n't* is usual in tags, often reduced forms such as *int it*, *wint it*, as in Yorkshire' (1994:224). As well as this, two tokens of *aint*, an imported form associated with London speech, are excluded from the analysis; these tokens come from speakers Frankie and Emma.

4.2.2.3. Individual speaker behaviour

I now separate out the rates of individuals to determine whether this pattern holds across all speakers.

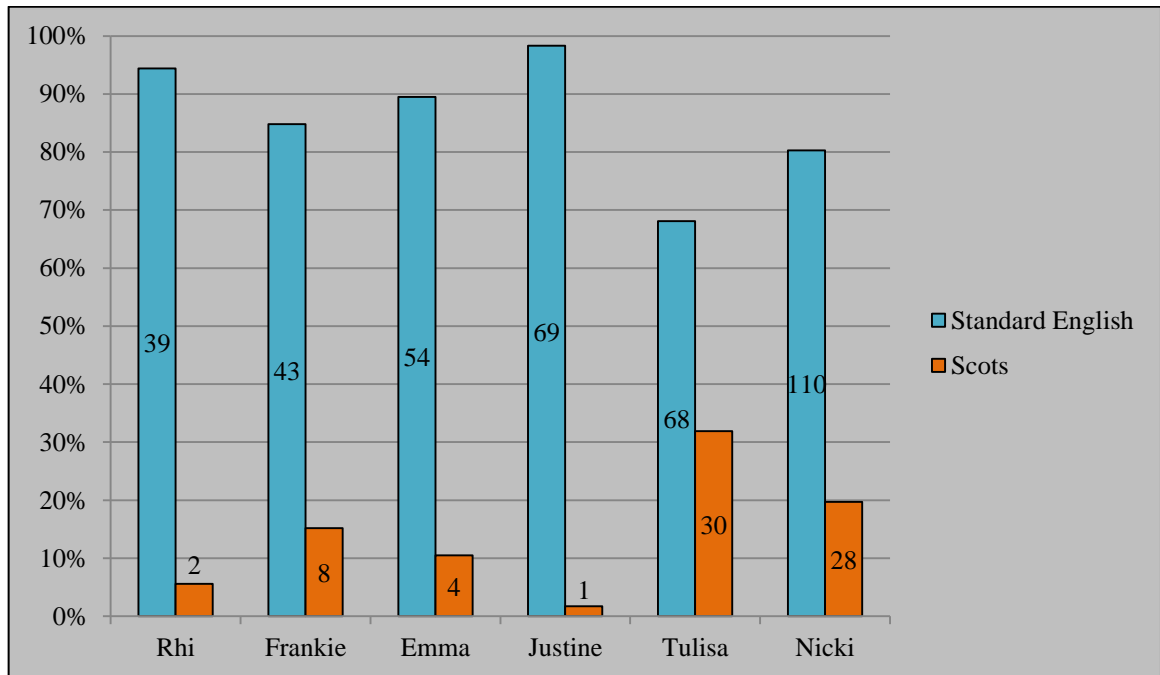


Figure 4. Individual speaker behaviour for Scots negation.

Three main findings arise from this view of the data. Firstly, the avoidance of the traditional Scots variants holds across all speakers. Secondly, all speakers show a rate of Scots negation far lower than the adult rates provided in previous sociolinguistic studies. Thirdly, some speakers, and most noticeably Tulisa, show a higher rate of Scots negation than the others. Tulisa's rate of use is 32% for the Scots variants, compared to 16% for the group as a whole. Tulisa is the same speaker who shows a high rate of the traditional Scots variant *aye*. We can see, in this depiction of the data, that the pattern of divergence from adult norms holds across all speakers. However, the group are not entirely homogenous in their pattern of linguistic behaviour, and Tulisa again shows an unusually high rate of the Scots forms.

4.4.2.4. Linguistic constraints

I now ask whether my results match the predictions of the literature regarding linguistic constraints on the variation, and what this might tell us about speaker awareness.

Enclitic v Non-clitic

Macaulay (1991) finds some differentiation in rates between enclitic contexts and non-clitic contexts (he finds a rate of 60% for the local enclitic form and a rate of 67% for the local non-clitic form). Is there similar differentiation in my data?

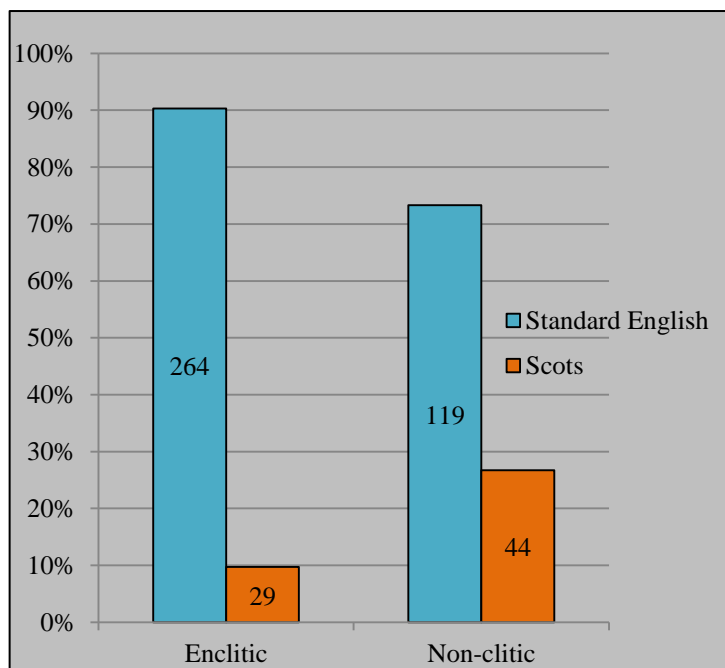


Figure 5. Distribution of Scots negation across enclitic and non-clitic contexts.

Figure 5 shows that the rate of the local form is lower for enclitic contexts (10%) than for non-clitic contexts (27%). This roughly mirrors Macaulay's (1991) findings in Ayr; he reports a rate of 60% in enclitic contexts, and 67% in enclitic contexts. There are two possible explanations for this finding. Firstly, the differentiation might be due to the wider range of auxiliary verbs participating in the enclitic variation. Secondly, Sandred (1983) suggests that enclitic variation may be higher in speaker awareness. As noted in Chapter 2, we expect variation which is higher in speaker awareness to participate to a greater extent in socially meaningful variation (Labov 1972). This might explain the pattern we see here. Where the variation is enclitic, and possibly higher in speaker awareness, the pattern of divergence from adult speech appears stronger; we see a lower rate of the traditional Scots form, which is avoided by these speakers.

Auxiliary verb

The literature suggests that auxiliary verb *do* may resist the local enclitic *-nae*. Is there evidence of this in my data?

As the interest is only in enclitic contexts, I remove non-clitic contexts from this section of the analysis.

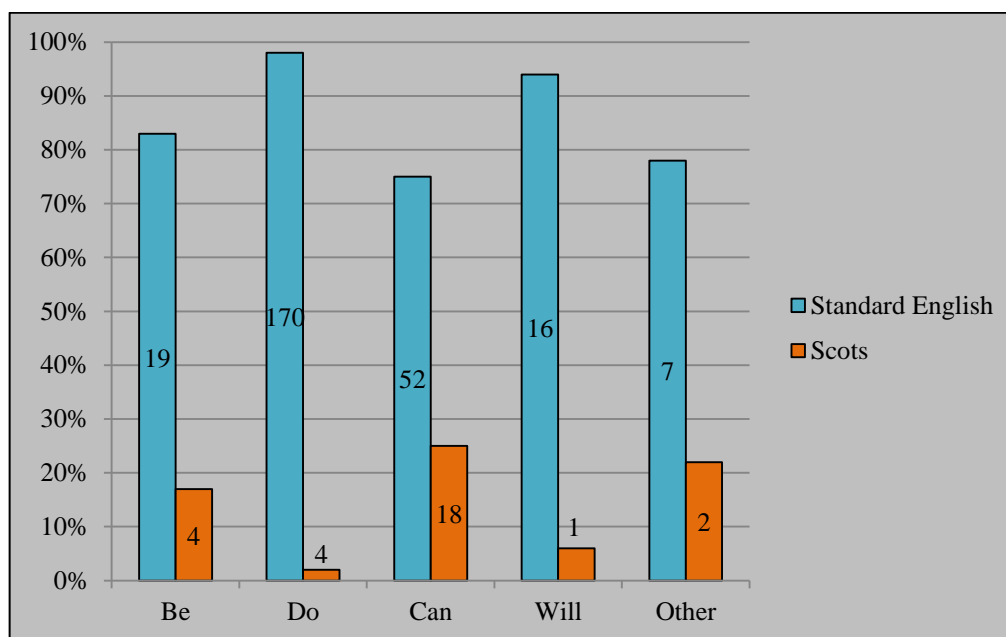


Figure 6. Distribution of Scots negation across individual verbs.⁴

Figure 6 suggests that *do* resists the local enclitic *-nae*, as predicted by the literature. Macafee suggests that this resistance is shown mostly by the form *dinnae*. She suggests that *dinnae* is doubly marked compared to the other local enclitics, as both its stem and its bound morpheme take Scots forms. In terms of speaker awareness, this may make it more noticeable, and more noticeably Scots, than the other forms. If, as suggested above, they are in general avoiding Scots variants, they may be avoiding *dinnae* as a very noticeably Scots variant. Support for this suggestion may be taken from the observation that *willnae* also appears to show some resistance to the non-standard variant; *willnae* is the only other form in which the stem, as well as the bound morpheme, differs from the standard (*won't*).

⁴ The *other* category includes auxiliary verbs *have* and *would*. These are collapsed into a single category due to low token count.

4.1.2.5. *Summary of findings*

- The rate of Scots negation is 16%. This is much lower than the adults in previous speech studies.
- Rates of the Scots variants are low across all speakers.
- The pattern of divergence from adult speech holds across individual speakers. However some speakers, particularly Tulisa, show higher rates of the Scots forms.
- The Scots forms are less common in enclitic contexts.
- This might be explained in terms of speaker awareness.
- The form *dinnae* is less common than other enclitic forms.
- This might be explained in terms of speaker awareness.

It is apparent that this morphophonological variable, which is expected to be fairly high in speaker awareness, participates in the pattern of divergence from adult speech. Specifically, these adolescents avoid the traditional Scots form used by the older generation, which they may associate with adult or middle-class speech. This pattern of divergence is evident for all speakers, but some speakers, most noticeably Tulisa, appear to show some allegiance to the Scots form. This finding will be returned to in Chapter 5.

4.2.3. *Results from the written data*

I now turn to my qualitative analysis of the written data. My qualitative observations of variation in participants' writing will be used to supplement my quantitative analysis of the speech data. Is the variable represented? And if so, is the representation of the variable in the written data reflective of its use in the spoken data?

4.2.3.1. *Qualitative observation of the written data*

In the written data, we find only one form represented, *cannae*, as in (13).

- 13) <cannny belive tht this has happened>
Tulisa, 12

The enclitic forms *isnae*, *amnae*, *doesnae* etc. do not appear. The fact that *cannaie* is the only enclitic form represented might be explained by its high frequency in the spoken data; in this data it occurs far more frequently (N=18) than *isnae*, *amnae* or any of the other enclitic forms. The absence of any representations of non-clitic variation is more surprising; the non-clitic negative *no* occurs 44 times in the spoken data, far more frequently than any of the enclitic forms.

Tulisa is the only participant to represent *cannaie*, and she never uses *can't*. The other three participants represent only Standard English negation. Tulisa is also the only participant to represent the traditional Scots variant *aye*. For both variables examined so far, she shows the highest rates of the traditional Scots variants in the spoken data. These findings will be returned to in Chapter 5, and possible explanations will be presented.

4.2.3.2. Summary of findings

- Only the form *cannaie* is represented in the writing. Non-clitic variation is not represented at all.
- Tulisa exclusively represents *cannaie*, while the other three participants exclusively represent *can't*.
- The written data does not reflect the spoken data.

The variation in the spoken data is not reflected in the writing. In the spoken data, all individuals use Scots negation at a fairly low rate and Standard English negation at a fairly high rate. In the written data, only Tulisa represents Scots negation, and her representation is restricted to a single form. What might this tell us about speaker awareness and identity marking? The findings will be returned to in Chapter 5.

4.3. (th)-fronting

Above, I have observed that these participants diverge from the adult norms of their speech community at the lexical level and at the morphophonological level. Does this pattern of divergence hold at the phonetic level? Unlike *Aye v Yes* and Scots negation, the variable (th)-fronting does not involve a phonological contrast. According to Trudgill (1986), it might therefore be lower in speaker awareness than the first two variables examined. Is it high enough in speaker awareness to participate in the pattern of divergence from adult norms shown by the speakers so far? Stuart-Smith et al. (2007) suggest that the variable shows this patterning in their data. I look for evidence of this patterning in my own data.

In Chapter 1, it is noted that Glaswegian adolescents mark their speech as distinctively adolescent by (1) using low rates of certain traditional vernacular Scots forms which are used by adults and middle-class speakers, and (2) using imported dialect features which are not used to any great extent by adults and middle-class speakers. In the analysis of *Aye v Yes* and Scots negation, I observed that my participants use low rates of the traditional Scots forms across both variables. I now examine the use of a recently imported dialect feature (Stuart-Smith et al. 2007).

- 14) a) Yeah can I use that please, *thanks* [θaŋks].
Frankie, 11
- b) Sophie, Justine shut them *both* [bof] together.
Emma, 11
- c) No ‘cause Izzie doesn’t *think* [hɪŋk] she’s doing her dance.
Justine, 12

The [f] variant represents a feature known as (th)-fronting, in which a dental fricative, [θ] is replaced by a labiodental fricative [f] (Wells 1982).⁵ The feature originated in London, and is typically associated with London speech (Holmes-Elliot 2010). Over the past decades it has undergone rapid diffusion, spreading across the UK, and has entered the Glaswegian dialect as an imported form (Stuart-Smith & Timmins 2006). In Glasgow it

⁵ The term (th)-fronting was originally used by Wells (1982) to cover both variation between the devoiced variants [θ] and [f], and variation between the devoiced variants [ð] and [v]. However it has been suggested that the voiced and voiceless variants are subject to different constraints; specifically, it has been suggested that the voiceless non-standard variant cannot occur in word-initial position. (Wells 1982:328) I therefore follow e.g. Stuart-Smith et al. 2006 and include only the voiceless variants in my analysis.

joins the traditional local variant [h], creating what Stuart-Smith & Timmins call ‘a three-way system of phonetic variants’ (Stuart-Smith & Timmins 2006:172) as illustrated above.

Stuart-Smith et al. (2007) show that, while the [f] variant exhibits fairly high rates of use in the speech of working-class adolescents, it is virtually absent from adult and middle-class speech. They suggest that it is one of the variants used by these adolescents to distinguish their speech from that of other social groups; that it is a marker of working-class adolescent identity in Glasgow. Do my speakers use the variant in the same way? If the pattern of divergence from adult norms holds for this variable, we expect to see high rates of the [f] variant in these adolescent speakers.

I now provide a quantitative analysis of (th)-fronting in this group, and compare my findings to previous studies. I then provide qualitative observations on the use of the variable in the Facebook data. I examine the behaviour of the group as a whole, and the behaviour of individual speakers.

4.3.1. Literature review

I begin by outlining the context of the variation. How long have the variants been available in the dialect? What rates of use have been recorded in previous studies, and how do the rates exhibited by my participants compare to these? What does the literature say about the social meaning of the variation? Outlining the context of the variation will allow me to draw meaningful conclusions from the results.

4.3.1.1. The history of the variation

Although there appears to be consensus in the literature that the [f] variant originated in London, exactly when it was first used is unclear. Holmes-Elliott notes that ‘its earliest recorded use at around the end of the eighteenth century suggests that it originated in the Cockney dialect and spread rapidly through London during the nineteenth century’ (2010:2). Kerswill focusses on the question of when the feature was first used ‘by a substantial minority of adults’ (2006:234), and claims, based on evidence from a number of studies, that the generation born around 1850 were the first significant users of the form.

For the most part, the rapid spread of the feature across the UK took place in the latter half of the twentieth century, although there are some citations of the feature being

used outside of London in the nineteenth century; for example Kerswill notes its early use in Bristol (2006:234). By the 1980s its rapid spread across urban centres in England had been noted (Trudgill 1986), and in the 1990s sociolinguistic studies of the variable were conducted across the country; e.g. Llamas (1998) in Middlesbrough, Mathisen (1999) in the Midlands, Trudgill (1999) in Norwich and Watt & Milroy (1999) in Newcastle. By 1997 (th)-fronting had spread all the way to Scotland, and had already become a noticeable feature of the Glaswegian dialect (Timmins et al. 2004). In Glasgow it joined the local variant [h], already an established feature of the dialect.

It is clear, therefore, that the [f] variant is a more recent innovation than any of the other variants examined so far. Its use in Glasgow is extremely new, with the literature suggesting that it has only been a noticeable feature of the dialect for around 30 years, compared to 400 years in the case of *aye* and longer for Scots negation. This dramatic difference suggests that (th)-fronting is likely to have different social meaning to *Aye v Yes* or Scots negation. It has been suggested that the social meaning of a variable can be linked to its history and establishment within a dialect, and that the long history and establishment of *aye* and Scots negation afford them prestige in the adult speech community and make them acceptable in middle-class speech (Aitken 1979, Sandred 1983).

4.3.1.2. *The variation today: the Scottish context*

Today, (th)-fronting is still iconic of London speech, but sociolinguistic research shows that it has been acquired as a dialect feature across the central belt of Scotland, both in the cities (Timmins et al. 2004, Schlee & Ramsammy 2013) and outside of the cities (Robinson 2005, Clark & Trousdale 2009).

The first mention of the variable in Glasgow is in the early 1980s; Macafee makes the qualitative observation that [f] makes ‘occasional’ appearance in some young speakers; she calls it the ‘Cockney form’ (Macafee 1983:34). However no quantitative data on (th)-fronting in Glasgow was collected until 1997, when a large corpus of spontaneous speech collected by Timmins et al. (2004) showed a relatively high rate of use of [f] amongst working-class adolescent speakers (32.6%). In Stuart-Smith et al. (2007), it is noted that, in this data, the [f] variant is virtually absent from the speech of adults over 40, and completely absent from middle-class speech. The authors suggest that the [f] variant, alongside others, is used by the working-class adolescents to distinguish their speech from

that of other social groups. Because other social groups in Glasgow do not use it, the [f] variant is characteristic of adolescent working-class Glaswegian speech.

Stuart-Smith & Timmins (2006) compare the 1997 corpus with a follow-up corpus collected from comparable speakers in 2003. In this corpus, they find that the rate of [f] in adolescent working-class speech has risen from 32.6% to 40.9%. They take this as evidence of real-time change; the [f] variant is increasing fast in these speakers. If this projected change has continued, we might expect to see still higher rates in my participants (as they are demographically similar to Stuart-Smith et al.'s adolescent working-class speakers).

(th)-fronting in Scottish adolescents has been studied a great deal over the past decade. Below I summarise the rates reported in several studies of adolescent speech conducted across Scotland.

Study	Stuart-Smith et al. 2006		Lawson (2009)	Robinson (2005)		Schleef & Ramsammy (2013)
	1997 data	2003 data				
Participants	13-14 year olds, mixed gender	10-15 year olds, mixed gender	12-15 year olds, male	11 year olds, mixed gender	15 year olds, mixed gender	12-18 year olds, mixed gender
[f]	32.6%	40.9%	37%	22%	26%	25%
[h]	35.8%	40.6%	46%	8%	27%	10%

Table 4. Summary of (th)-fronting rates reported in the speech of Scottish adolescents.

Interestingly, [h] also shows high rates in Glaswegian working-class adolescents. The general pattern of linguistic behaviour observed so far sees Glaswegian working-class adolescents avoiding the use of the older, more established Scots variants; however this is not the case for [h], which is maintained alongside the innovative [f] variant, at the expense of Standard English [θ]. This may be because the [h] variant does not have the same associations with Scottish culture and literary tradition that both *aye* and Scots negation have (Aitken 1979). While *aye* and Scots negation hold a degree of prestige in the adult speech community and are noted to be sometimes acceptable in middle-class speech (Aitken 1979), Stuart-Smith et al. show that [h] is virtually absent from the speech of middle-class adults (Stuart-Smith et al. 2007:236), and shows fairly low rates in the speech of working-class adults. Therefore, my data suggests that these speakers do not avoid all older Scots variants indiscriminately, but only variants with specific social import.

The literature shows that [f] is generally used at high rates by working-class adolescents, and is virtually absent from the speech of other social groups. Do the adolescent speakers in my study match this pattern?

4.3.1.3. The social meaning of the variation

As noted above, Stuart-Smith et al. (2007) suggest that the [f] variant marks adolescent working-class identity. Detailed quantitative analysis by Clark & Trousdale (2009) and Lawson (2009) links the variant to Community of Practice membership (Eckert 1989); in other words, they find evidence that it is used by speakers to indicate specific social identities. Clark & Trousdale do not provide qualitative analysis of what these social identities might be. Lawson, however, informed by ethnographic observation of his participants, suggests that [f] may specifically indicate toughness, aggression and anti-establishment ideology. He notes that those speakers who are the most aggressive and anti-establishment in their social behaviour use the highest rates of this feature.

Working against these interpretations is some empirical evidence which suggests that this variation may in fact be below the level of consciousness. Variables which are below the level of consciousness are indicators; if this variable is an indicator then speakers do not have conscious control over their use of it, and it cannot be used to mark social identity (Labov 1972). This would invalidate the above interpretations of the social meaning of the variation. Robinson (2005) and Schlee & Ramsammy (2013) both find that (th)-fronting is not reduced when their participants are reading wordlists, and conclude that it is not sensitive to style and that it must therefore be low in speaker awareness. Stuart-Smith et al. (2007) also note that (th)-fronting is not reduced in the wordlist data, but their assessment is that the participants are deliberately retaining the feature when reading. They suggest that ‘the teenagers treated the task as an opportunity to display [...] instances of “their” speech’. (Stuart-Smith et al. 2007:247) It is possible that (th)-fronting is above the level of consciousness and simply does not show the typical stylistic patterns associated with markers and stereotypes.

4.3.1.4. Linguistic constraints

A number of linguistic constraints are attested for this variable, some of which relate to speaker awareness; for example Stuart-Smith & Timmins (2006) suggest that the position

of the variable in the word constrains the variation because speakers are more aware of word-initial and word-medial position than they are of word-final position. Unfortunately I was not able to test effectively for these constraints in my data due to the small size of the dataset and the uneven distribution of word forms (if my data had included word list exercises these tests would have been possible).

4.3.1.5. Summary of the literature

- As a phonetic variable, (th)-fronting is expected to be lower in speaker awareness than the first two variables analysed.
- [f] is recently imported into the Glasgow dialect.
- [f] shows high rates of use in working-class adolescent Glaswegian speech (40.9% in 2003).
- It is virtually absent from the speech of other social groups.

4.3.2. Results from the spoken data

Previous sociolinguistic studies in Glasgow have shown low rates of [f] in adult speech and much higher rates in working-class adolescent speech. Again we see working-class adolescents diverging from the norms of the adult speech community in favour of alternative norms. In this case, the use of [f] constitutes an alternative norm.

If the pattern holds in my data, I expect these participants to use high rates of [f], in line with the adolescents in previous studies. They may in fact be expected to show slightly higher rates than the adolescents in previous studies, due to the rapid increase in the use of the variants (Stuart-Smith & Timmins 2006).

I now turn to my quantitative analysis of this variable, to see whether these predictions are correct.

4.3.2.1. Circumscription of the variable context

It has been noted that in Scottish central belt dialects, a third pre-existing variant, [h], complicates the distribution of [θ] and [f]. The variant [h] is only possible in certain lexical items (*think, thing* and derivatives of the latter) (Stuart-Smith et al. 2006).⁶

I initially show distributions including [h] in order to show a complete picture of the ‘three-way system’ at work (Stuart-Smith & Timmins 2006:172). In my analysis of the linguistic constraints, I remove the [h] variant in order to examine the linguistic constraints on the use of [f] in isolation. For the sake of clarity and simplicity, elisions and ambiguous realisations are excluded from my analysis.

4.3.2.2. Overall distribution

Recall that in this variation, speakers can use either the Standard English variant [θ], the Scots variant [h] or the imported, non-local variant [f]. I begin by examining the overall distribution to see which variants are preferred by the group as a whole.

There are 220 tokens of the (θ) variable in the data. The spread of realisations across the ‘three-way system’ referred to by Stuart-Smith and Timmins (2006) is shown in Figure 7.

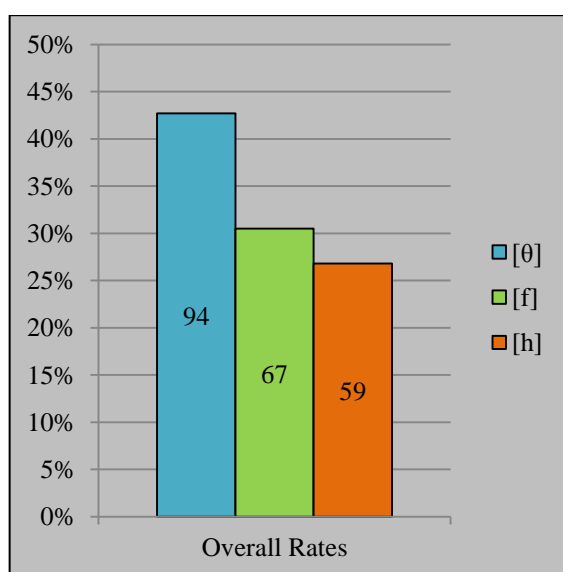


Figure 7. Overall distribution of (th)-fronting.

⁶ It is noted here that despite the well-documented lexical restriction of the [h] variant, my data does include one clearly audible token of the [h] variant in the word *thanks*, realised as [hʌŋks].

My data shows that [θ] is the majority variant, with a rate of 43%. [f] gives a rate of 31% and [h] gives a rate of 27%. I compare these rates to those reported by Stuart-Smith & Timmins (2006) for working-class adolescents. Their group is demographically similar to my own, but mixed-gender while my group is single-sex.

	Stuart-Smith et al. 2006		My findings
	1997 data	2003 data	
Participants	13-14 year olds, mixed gender	10-15 year olds, mixed gender	10-13 year olds, female
[f]	32.6%	40.9%	30%
[h]	35.8%	40.6%	27%

Table 5. Comparison of rates of (th)-fronting in the speech of Glaswegian adolescents. Findings of the Glasgow Speech Project compared to my findings.

The use of [f] is slightly lower than expected, and we do not see the projected increase in [f] predicted by Stuart-Smith et al. (2006). However it has been noted that [f] is virtually absent from the speech of adults, as shown in Stuart-Smith et al. (2007). Therefore use of the [f] variant still distinguishes the linguistic behaviour of these speakers from that of other social groups. The pattern of divergence from adult norms towards alternative norms, as outlined in Chapter 1, holds for this variable as it is used in my data.

Use of the [h] variant is noticeably lower than the rate reported by Stuart-Smith et al. (2006). It appears that, while Stuart-Smith et al.'s adolescents do not avoid [h] along with other established Scots variants, my participants do avoid it to some extent. Why this is the case is unclear.

4.3.2.3. Individual speaker behaviour

I now separate out the rates of individuals to determine whether all speakers show similar rates of use.

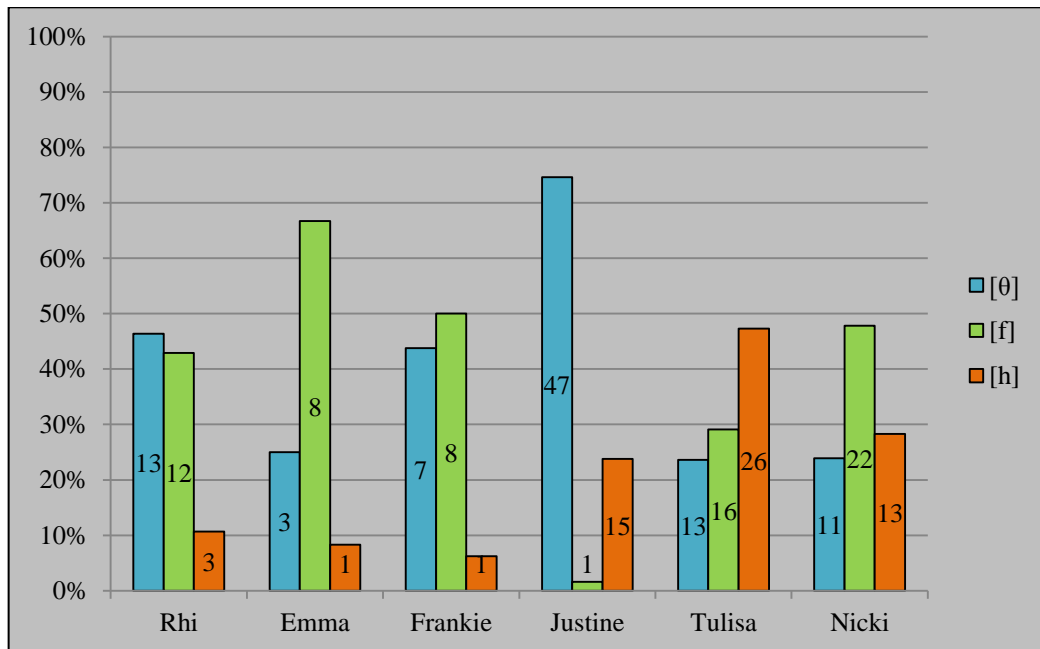


Figure 8. Individual speaker behaviour for (th)-fronting.

Four main findings arise from this view of the data. Firstly, it is immediately apparent that rates vary considerably across individual speakers. Not all speakers show similar rates of use or the same pattern. Secondly, despite the scattered picture, all speakers show some use of the [f] variant, and all apart from Justine show a fairly high rate of use. This shows that their linguistic behaviour is very different from the adult speakers in Stuart-Smith et al. (2007), who hardly use [f] at all. All are using the variant which distinguishes adolescent speech from that of other social groups. Therefore the pattern predicted in Chapter 1 does hold across individual speakers. Thirdly, one speaker, Tulisa, shows a noticeably higher rate of the Scots variant [h]. She is the same speaker who shows high rates of the traditional Scots variants *aye* and Scots negation. Nicki again shows a similar linguistic profile, although less extreme. Finally, Justine stands out as by far the most standard speaker, and is an outlier in her extremely low use of [f].

As Justine's speech makes up a large proportion of the data, her outlier status is likely to cause a skew. Temporarily removing her from the analysis may show a different picture of the variation. Figure 9 shows the overall distribution with Justine removed.

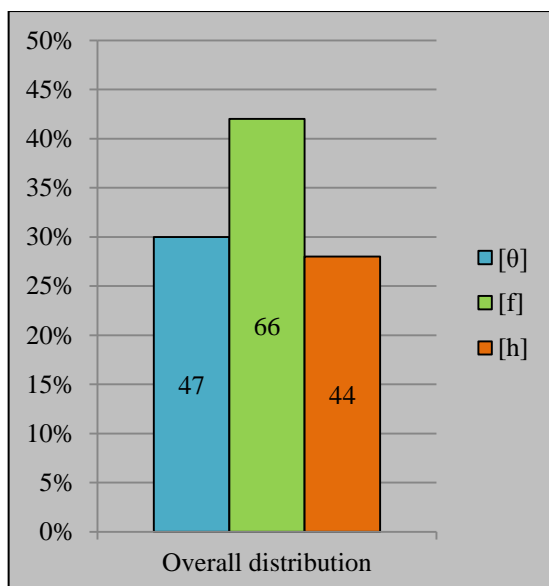


Figure 9. Overall distribution of (th)-fronting with Justine removed.

With Justine removed, the overall distribution appears very different. We now see a rate of 30% for [θ], 42% for [f] and 28% for [h]. I now repeat my comparison with Stuart-Smith et al.'s (2006) findings.

	Stuart-Smith et al. 2006		My findings
	1997 data	2003 data	
<i>Participants</i>	13-14 year olds, mixed gender	10-15 year olds, mixed gender	10-13 year olds, female
[f]	32.6%	40.9%	42%
[h]	35.8%	40.6%	28%

Table 6. Comparison of rates of (th)-fronting in the speech of Glaswegian adolescents. Findings of the Glasgow Speech Project compared to my findings (Justine removed).

We now see the projected increase in [f] predicted by Stuart-Smith et al. (2006), although the increase is still smaller than we might expect. In this view of the data, the pattern of divergence from adult norms in favour of alternative norms appears even more extreme. The rate of [h] remains low. Although it has been suggested that [h] may have a different social import than the traditional Scots variants *aye* and Scots negation, my participants appear to treat it in a similar way; as a group they use it at a relatively low rate, but certain individuals, who show allegiance to the Scots forms across variables, use it at a noticeably higher rate.

4.3.2.5. *Summary of findings*

- All speakers show divergence from adult speech ([f] is virtually absent from adult speech).
- Rates of [f] vary across speakers. Justine is an outlier, and therefore removed.
- With Justine removed, the rate of [f] is 42%.
- This shows the increase predicted by Stuart-Smith & Timmins (2006).
- The rate of [h] is low compared to Stuart-Smith & Timmins' (2006) adolescents.
- Tulisa uses a higher rate of [h] than the others.

4.3.3. *Results from the written data*

I now turn to my qualitative analysis of the written data. My qualitative observations of variation in participants' writing will be used to supplement my quantitative analysis of the speech data. Is the variable represented? And if so, is the representation of the variable in the written data reflective of its use in the spoken data?

The spoken data shows a relatively even split between the three variants; [θ], [h] and [f]. However in the written data, the participants use the Standard English orthography, <th>, exclusively. The [f] variant and the [h] variant are not represented at all. I will discuss this finding in Chapter 5.

4.4. Verb formation

Across three variables, I have observed a pattern in which adolescent speakers diverge from the adult norms of their speech community in favour of alternative norms. This divergence manifests itself in low rates of certain variants which are favoured by adults (e.g. *aye* and Scots negation), and high rates of certain variants which are not used by adults (e.g. [f]). This pattern of divergence has been observed at the lexical level, the morphophonological level and the phonetic level. I now turn to variation at the morphosyntactic level, and ask whether this variation participates in the attested pattern of divergence.

In dialects of English across the world, a feature recurs in which past participle forms are used in past tense contexts. This is hereby referred to as Variation Type 1.

- 15) a) She *did* a wee scribble.
Tulisa, 12
- b) I *done* that on Friday.
Emma, 11

Conversely, past tense forms can also be used in past participle contexts. This is hereby referred to as Variation Type 2.

- 16) a) I've not *seen* it.
Nicki, 13
- b) I've not *saw* you in ages.
Frankie, 11

I observe only a handful of tokens of Variation Type 2, and therefore do not conduct quantitative analysis for this type of variation. However I include qualitative observations in my results section.

Variable verb formation is a non-geographically specific dialect feature which has a long history in Scots, and shows high rates of use in dialects of English across the world. The literature suggests that the variation shows high rates of use in the speech of adults. We might, therefore, expect these adolescent speakers to use low rates, continuing the

polarisation between adult and adolescent speech which we have seen across the four variables.

However, the literature also suggests that morphosyntactic variation may be low in speaker awareness; it often patterns as an indicator (Labov 1972), suggesting that it is below the level of consciousness (Macafee 1994, Cutler 1999, Kerswill & Williams 2002). So far, the evidence from my data has suggested that the variation has been above the level of consciousness. If Cutler is correct, and verb formation is the only one of my variables to be below the level of consciousness, then we might expect it to pattern differently from the other three variables. Is it part of the same process of divergence from adult norms towards alternative adolescent norms? In order to address this question, I provide a quantitative analysis of verb formation in these data, and compare my findings to previous studies. I then provide qualitative observations on the use of the variable in the Facebook data. I examine the behaviour of the group as a whole, and the behaviour of individual speakers.

4.4.1. Literature review

I begin by outlining the context of the variation. How long has the variation been a feature of the dialect? What rates of use have been recorded in previous studies? What does the literature suggest regarding the social meaning of the variation? Outlining the context of the variation will allow me to draw meaningful conclusions from the results.

4.4.1.1. The history of the variation

The use of past tense forms in past participle contexts, and the use of past participle forms in past tense contexts, is not a new phenomenon. It has been present in the English language for a long time. (Milroy & Milroy 1985, Lowth 1762, Pyles & Algeo 1993, Strang 1970) Examples of the variation can be found in literary language dating back to Shakespeare's time (Smith forthcoming).

In terms of age and establishment, the variable is similar to *Aye v Yes* and Scots negation. We might therefore expect its social import to align more closely with these two variables than with (th)-fronting. However it differs from them on several dimensions, as will be shown below.

4.4.1.2. *The variation today*

The variation worldwide

Constructions such as *I did* and *I have saw* are found in contemporary usage all over the English-speaking world; the variation is not a localised idiosyncrasy, but a global tendency.

Sociolinguistic research has described the variation in three continents. As well as in the UK (e.g. Cheshire 1982) * , it has been studied in Australia (Eisikovits 1991) and in diverse regions of North America (e.g. Christian & Wolfram 1988 in the Appalachian and Ozark mountains, Feagin 1979 in Alabama, Labov 1977 in inner city New York). These studies have covered both urban dialects (e.g. Labov 1977) and rural dialects (e.g. Christian & Wolfram 1988). In the UK, Hughes & Trudgill report its use in London (Hughes & Trudgill 1987:47), Liverpool (ibid:69), Newcastle (ibid:74), Belfast (ibid:85) and Pontypridd in rural South Wales (ibid:58). The variation is a feature of countless dialects of English.

In comparing my findings to those of previous sociolinguistic studies, I will use rates found in Scotland only, for the sake of simplicity and comparability.

The variation in Scotland

The literature suggests that Variation Type 1 occurs at fairly high rates in the speech of Scottish adults. Macaulay (1991) studies the variation in Ayr. For Variation Type 1, he provides a rate of 42% in working-class adult speech (Macaulay 1991:108). Smith (forthcoming) reports that in her Buckie data, the difference between the oldest and the youngest speakers is striking. A table of rates across three age groups is presented below.

	Variation Type 1
Oldest speakers (80+)	5%
Middle aged speakers (50-60)	8%
Youngest speakers (22-31)	53%

Table 7. Findings on verb formation apparent time increase in Buckie, from Smith (forthcoming).

This represents apparent time evidence of a change in this dialect; this feature is increasing rapidly. However as the data does not include adolescents, we do not know how these speakers participate in the change. Will they show the projected increase, using higher rates than the 22-31 year olds? Or will they, as with the other variables, shun the

variants used by the adults of their speech community in favour of their own alternative norms? My data may help to provide an answer.

4.1.1.3. The social meaning of the variation

Use of the variation appears to be linked to class. Macaulay (1977) notes that in his Glasgow data, constructions such as *I seen the ship* and *he has came* are used only by his working-class participants, never the middle-class speakers (Macaulay 1977:55). Likewise in his study in Ayr, Macaulay (1991), he notes the same stratification. Sandred (1983) records similar findings in his attitudes survey of Edinburgh speakers. Unlike the other variables, the non-standard constructions are not tied to a specific region; they exist in dialects of English worldwide.

4.4.1.4. Summary of the literature

- As a morphosyntactic variable, verb formation is expected to be lower in speaker awareness than the other three variables analysed.
- Non-standard verb formation shows high rates of use in adult speech.
- There is evidence that the use of this non-standard feature is increasing rapidly.

4.4.2. Results from the spoken data

Previous sociolinguistic research has shown that Variation Type 1 presents high rates of use in the speech of working-class adults, and particularly younger adults. Smith (2013) shows that rates of use increase with decreasing age across the adult speech community. But how do adolescents participate in the variation? Do they continue the projected increase? Or, as with the other three variables studied, do they diverge from the norms of the adult speech community, using low rates of those variants preferred by the older generation in a pattern of divergence? In order to answer this question, I now turn to my quantitative analysis of this variable.

4.4.2.1. Circumscription of the variable context

Variation Type 2 is present in the data, but the token count is not high enough to conduct quantitative analysis of this type of variation, with only five tokens of the non-standard construction appearing. This is because, as noted in many of the above studies (e.g. Macaulay 1991), past participle contexts do not occur as frequently as past tense contexts; to conduct a quantitative analysis, a larger corpus would be needed. In lieu of quantitative analysis, qualitative information on this type of variation will be included. Below are the five tokens of Variation Type 2:

- 17) I've *did* this the wrong way.
Tulisa, 12
- 18) We've already *did* a crab. We've *did* a crab.
Tulisa, 12
- 19) I've not *saw* you in ages.
Frankie, 11
- 20) 'Cause I've never *saw* them.
Tulisa, 12
- 21) I've already *gave* you mine.
Justine, 12

The quantitative rates in the following sections refer only to Variation Type 1.

4.4.2.2. Overall distribution

Only the verbs *to do* and *to see* participate in Variation Type 1 in these data. Therefore participants can either use the Standard English constructions *I did* and *I saw*, or the non-standard constructions *I done* and *I seen*. The non-standard forms are non-geographically specific, and have a long history in Scottish dialect. I begin by examining the overall distribution to see which variants are preferred by the group as a whole.

Of the 124 past tense contexts in the data, 25 use the standard past tense form and 99 use the non-standard past participle form.

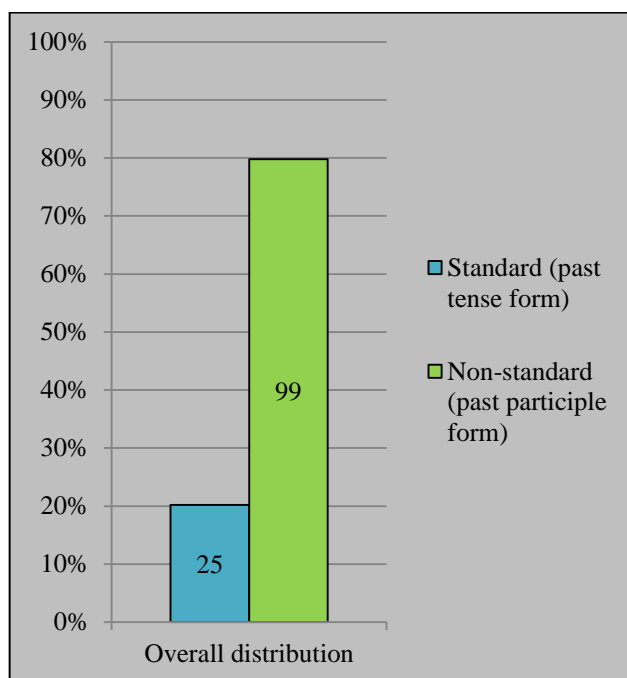


Figure 10. Overall distribution of variable verb formation.

This shows the highest rate of non-standard usage for any of the variables studied at 80%. This exceeds the rate of 42% reported in the speech of adults in Ayr (Macaulay 1991), and the rate of 53% reported in the 22-31 year old age group in Buckie. It appears that these speakers are showing the projected increase in Smith's (forthcoming) data. In the case of this variable, they are not diverging from the norms of the adult speech community, but following in the footsteps * of the older generation. It looks as if this variable patterns differently to the other three variables studied.

4.4.2.3. Individual speaker behaviour

I now separate out the rates of individuals to determine whether this pattern holds across all speakers.

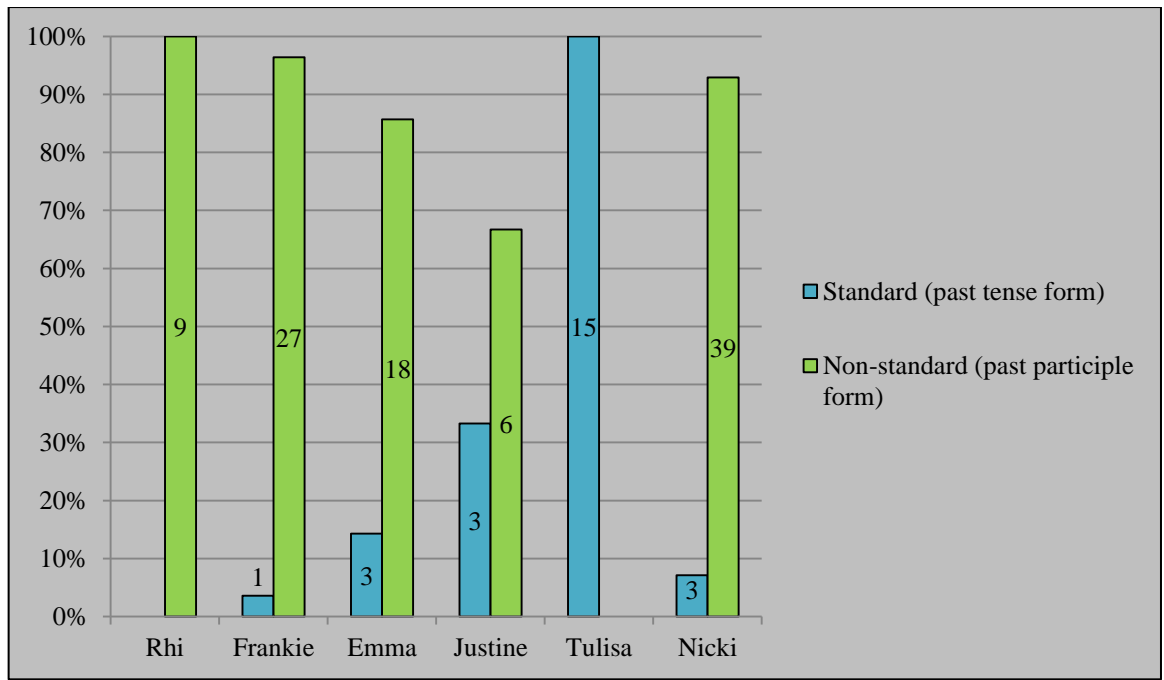


Figure 11. Individual speaker behaviour for variable verb formation.

It is immediately apparent that Tulisa is an outlier. In past tense contexts, she uses only the standard forms *I did* and *I saw*, never the non-standard forms *I done* and *I seen*. However qualitative observation of Tulisa's use of Variation Type 2 shows that she is categorical in her use of the non-standard forms *I have did* and *I have saw*. Therefore, if we take Variation Type 1 and Variation Type 2 together, she is not a more standard speaker than the others. She participates in the syncretism of past tense and part participle forms to the same extent as the other speakers, but generally in the opposite direction. With this explanation in place, we can see that all speakers participate in the variation to a high degree. The tendency to use non-standard verb formation more frequently than standard verb formation holds across speakers.

4.4.2.4. Summary of findings

- Speakers use non-standard constructions at a rate of 80%.
- This follows the projected pattern of apparent time increase across the adult speech community.
- There is no divergence from adult norms for this variable.
- None of the speakers show a pattern of divergence.
- This variable does not pattern like the other three variables studied.

4.4.3. Results from the written data

I now turn to my qualitative analysis of the written data. My qualitative observations of variation in participants' writing will be used to supplement my quantitative analysis of the speech data. Is the variable represented? And if so, is the representation of the variable in the written data reflective of its use in the spoken data?

4.4.3.1. Qualitative observation of the written data

Even within a small corpus (contexts for this variation are less common than for the other variables), both Variation Type 1 and Variation Type 2 do appear in the written data. For Variation Type 1, non-standard variants occur frequently.

22) <*i seen* it on channel 4 last week?>

Grace, 13

Both *I seen* and *I done* appear in the written data. For Variation Type 2, only a single non-standard token appears, in Emma's written data.

23) <got the picture *blew* up and framed>

Emma, 11

Rhi, Emma and Justine all participate in Variation Type 1 in both their spoken data and in their written data; their use of the variation in speech is reflected in their writing. In the spoken data, Tulisa is the only participant who does not participate in Variation Type 1; likewise she does not participate in the variation in her written data. The absence of the variation in her speech is reflected in her writing.

Across the variables *Aye* v *Yes* and Scots negation, only Tulisa represents the dialect forms in writing, despite the fact that all of the participants use them in their speech. In the case of verb formation, representation of the non-standard forms on Facebook appears to be much more reflective of the use of these forms in speech.

4.4.3.2. *Summary of findings*

- Both types of variation are represented in the written data.
- Representations of the variation in the written data appear to be fairly reflective of their use in the speech data. The non-standard constructions are used by the same participants across the datasets.

These findings will be returned to in Chapter 5, and possible explanations will be presented.

5. Discussion

In Chapter 4, I asked whether my participants show the expected pattern of adolescent linguistic behaviour across four variables. The expected pattern is ‘a purposeful divergence from adult norms in favour of alternative norms instituted and reinforced by age-mates’ (Chambers 2009:184). Stuart-Smith et al. (2007) show the manifestation of this pattern in the speech of working-class Glaswegian adolescents. They show that these speakers polarise their speech from that of their parents’ generation. They avoid variants used at high rates by the previous generation, often traditional Scots variants which have a long history and establishment in the dialect. They also take up variants not used by the previous generation, often imported, non-local variants. I asked, is this pattern evident in my data? And if so, does it hold across all four variables? My findings across the four variables are summarised below.

Aye v Yes

- *Aye* is used at a high rate in the adult speech community.
- *Aye* is used at a low rate by my participants.
- The expected pattern holds for this variable.

Scots negation

- Scots negation is used at a high rate in the adult speech community.
- Scots negation is used at a low rate by my participants.
- The expected pattern holds for this variable.

(th)-fronting

- [f] is virtually absent from the adult speech community.
- [f] is used at a high rate by my participants.
- The expected pattern holds for this variable.

Verb formation

- Non-standard verb formation is used at a high rate in the adult speech community.
- Non-standard verb formation is used at a high rate by my participants.
- The expected pattern does not hold for this variable.

The only variable not to show the predicted pattern is verb formation. In this case we do not see the participants diverging from the norms of the adult speech community; we see them following these norms. Why might this be the case? To answer this question, I return to my predictions made in Chapter 2.

5.1. The four variables in the spoken data

As outlined in Chapter 2, the four variables come from four different levels of the grammar. Trudgill (1986) asserts that certain levels of grammar are higher in speaker awareness than others. Using the theoretical literature, I outlined predictions about the level of awareness associated with each of my four variables. Although not clear-cut, it was thought that these predictions might offer a model as to how the variables might pattern in actual use. I suggested that:

- As a lexical variable, *Aye* v *Yes* is likely to be high in speaker awareness, and therefore to act as a marker or a stereotype.
- Variable negation is likely to be fairly high in speaker awareness, and therefore is fairly likely to act as a marker or a stereotype. This is due to the fact that it uses a phonological contrast.
- (th)-fronting is likely to be lower than variable negation in the scale of awareness, as it does not contain a phonological contrast.
- Variable verb formation is (according to Cutler's (1999) evidence), likely to be below the level of consciousness, and therefore an indicator. It is likely to be bottom in our scale of awareness.

It was also noted that stereotypes and markers, those variables above the level of consciousness, might pattern differently from indicators, those variables below the level of consciousness (Labov 1972). Stereotypes and markers can be controlled by their users, and so can be used for stylistic purposes, and can carry social meaning. Indicators cannot be controlled by their users; therefore, although they may correlate with a social grouping like class or gender, they cannot be used for stylistic purposes and they cannot carry social meaning.

Based on the theoretical literature, I suggested that *Aye* v *Yes* and variable negation would be above the level of consciousness. My findings suggest that in my data they

participate in socially meaningful variation, as they are used by my participants to differentiate their speech from that of the adults in their speech community. This prediction therefore appears to be correct. In the case of (th)-fronting, the prediction was less certain. I predicted that this variable would be lower in speaker awareness than variable negation, but whether it would pattern as a marker or an indicator was unclear. The literature on (th)-fronting also contained contradictory assertions about its level of awareness. My findings show that in these data, (th)-fronting patterns in the same way as *Aye v Yes* and variable negation. Like *Aye v Yes* and variable negation, (th)-fronting appears to participate in socially meaningful variation in my data, also being used by my participants to differentiate their speech from that of the adults in their speech community.

In my predictions, I placed variable verb formation, a morphosyntactic variable, at the bottom of my theoretical scale of awareness. In studies such as Cutler (1999), it is suggested that morphosyntactic variables are below the level of consciousness and therefore do not participate in socially meaningful variation. Macafee (1994) suggests that morphosyntactic variation in her data does not show evidence of the ‘generation gap’ which is indicative of socially meaningful variation. In my data, verb formation does not pattern like the other variables. Unlike the other variables, it does not show evidence of socially meaningful variation. In their use of this variable we do not see these adolescent speakers diverging from the norms of the adult speech community in order to distinguish their speech from that of adults; instead they appear to passively follow the patterns of adult speech, showing evidence of a gradual increase over time but no increase of stylistic manipulation of the variation or a ‘declaration of adolescence’ (Chambers 2009). This suggests that variable verb formation may therefore be below the level of consciousness for these speakers, in line with the predictions of the literature for morphosyntactic variation. It is the only one of the four variables studied to show evidence of being below the level of consciousness.

5.2. The four variables in the written data

Auer, Barden and Grosskopf (1998) list a series of characteristics (taken from Schirmuski 1928/29) which tend to correlate with dialect features which are high in speaker awareness, or in their terms, highly salient. They state that variables which are high in speaker awareness are likely to be represented in dialect writing, while variables which are low in speaker awareness are not likely to be represented. I now turn to my qualitative

observations of the written data and ask, does Auer et al.'s (1998) prediction hold for my data?

I have suggested that of the four variables analysed in my data, *Aye v Yes*, Scots negation and (th)-fronting all appear to be above the level of consciousness, while verb formation appears to be below the level of consciousness.

In the written data we see that, as expected, *Aye v Yes* and Scots negation are represented (although their representation is restricted; this point will be returned to). Observations for the other two variables are more surprising.

5.2.1. *(th)-fronting*

(th)-fronting is not represented by any of the participants in the study. This is surprising as its pattern in the spoken data suggests that it is above the level of consciousness, and therefore, according to Auer et al. (1998) we might expect to see it represented. In the spoken data we see a fairly even split across the three variants, with a rate of 31% for [f] and 27% for [h], but this is not reflected in the written data where, although contexts of the variable are frequent, the participants consistently use the standard orthography <th>. There are no technical or stylistic obstacles in representing this variable, as there would be in the case of variables such as the glottal stop, which would require the use of a creative orthographic technique such as an apostrophe. Why, then, is (th)-fronting not represented?

I give three possible explanations of the absence of (th)-fronting in the written data, although further evidence would be required to draw a conclusion. Firstly, (th)-fronting may be on the cusp between indicator and marker. It may be high enough in speaker awareness to pattern like a marker in speech, but not high enough to motivate a manipulation of the standard orthography. Secondly, (th)-fronting may not be represented because the variants are perceptually close to each other. Auer et al. discuss variation which can be 'read into' the standard orthography, and which therefore does not necessitate a manipulation of the standard orthography (Auer et al. 1998:165). Thirdly, (th)-fronting may be too new in the Glaswegian dialect for it to have entered the trends of informal dialect writing.

Evidence to support the third possibility comes from the fact that (th)-fronting does make appearances in online writing from at least one region where the feature has a longer history in the spoken language than it does in Glasgow. As noted in Section 4.3.1., (th)-

fronting originates from London, and is most established in London English. A survey of public forums devoted to grime music, a genre heavily centred in London, and with a strong focus on London's linguistic identity, turns up frequent representations of the [f] variant, as shown in (19).

- 24) < do u *fink* big h will ever clash anybody face to face not dubs???
i don't *fink* he will cos I dont *fink* he is really that good and will get found out >
- 25) < yh last *fing* i herd from him was *fing* with chase n status an this gucci pose *fing* but nothing big recently, didnt kno rapid had an album comin tho >⁷

(th)-fronting is now a frequent feature of the Glaswegian dialect, but perhaps it is not yet thought of as a part of Glasgow's linguistic identity in the same way that it is thought of as part of London's linguistic identity? It is possible that [f] will at some point become a part of Glasgow's linguistics identity, and at this point it may become more likely to appear in Glaswegian online writing.

5.2.2. *Verb formation*

Variable verb formation is represented in the written data. This is surprising as its patterning in the spoken data suggests that it is below the level of consciousness, and therefore, according to Auer et al. (1998) we might not expect to see it represented.

Auer et al's assertion that variables which are low in speaker awareness will not be represented in dialect writing refers, within the context of their analysis, to phonetic variation. I suggest that the assertion may not apply to morphosyntactic variables such as verb formation.

In the case of this variable and others like it, the variation is represented by using standard orthographical word forms in non-standard contexts. There are no creative spellings, and no manipulations of the standard orthography. Therefore, I argue that it might be represented passively, without the speakers being aware that they are representing

⁷ The online profiles of these two forum users state that they are from London, although other users on the forum may not be.

it. This means that a variable which is low in speaker awareness might be represented unintentionally, mirroring rates of use in speech.

5.2.3. *Writing Glaswegian: a stylistic choice?*

Three of the four variables are represented in my data. Of these three, I suggest that verb formation is represented passively and unintentionally by speakers for whom it is below the level of awareness. I suggest that representation of the other two variables, *Aye* v *Yes* and Scots negation, represent a stylistic choice by the participants.

I suggest that this stylistic choice is attested by the highly restricted representations of the variants. For both variables, each individual speaker is categorical in their use of a single variant. Rhi, Emma and Justine only represent *yeah* and standard negation, while Tulisa only represents *aye* and Scots negation. Tulisa consistently represents the traditional Scots variants, while Rhi, Emma and Justine consistently avoid them. Tulisa's writing generally shows a high concentration of represented Scots dialect features, as shown in (26).

26) < *Cin* u get *aff* my facebook hen >
Tulisa, 12

5.3. Individual speaker behaviour: a stylistic choice?

The stylistic choices evident in the writing of individual participants are also evident in their speech. In her writing, Tulisa consistently shows the greatest allegiance to the traditional Scots variants which are shunned by the other speakers. In her speech we see the same pattern; she uses the highest rate of *aye*, the highest rate of Scots negation, and the highest rate of the Scots variant [h].

All of the six speakers in the study show the expected pattern of adolescent linguistic behaviour, diverging from adult norms in favour of alternative adolescent norms. However, the degree of divergence differs across individuals, and, particularly in Tulisa's case, evidence of individual stylistic choices is evident. Although, as noted in Chapter 3, we might expect this group to be fairly homogenous in their language use (they are of the

same age, gender and socioeconomic background, and they form a single Community of Practice), their language use is not entirely homogenous.

Having said this, the overall pattern of group behaviour is clear. Despite their varying levels of allegiance to the traditional Scots variants, all of the participants show typical adolescent linguistic behaviour; in line with Chambers' (2009) assertion, they diverge from the adult norms of their speech community, moving towards their own alternative adolescent norms.

Conclusion

This thesis has analysed the use of four variables in the speech of six adolescent Glaswegian girls. I asked the following questions:

- In their use of the different linguistic variables, do these speakers diverge from the adult norms of their community in favour of alternative norms?
- If so, does this pattern hold across variables from different levels of the grammar?
- Does the pattern hold across individual speakers? Are they homogenous in their linguistic behaviour?

In answer to the first question, in general, the participants do diverge from adult norms in favour of alternative norms, as predicted by Chambers (2009). In answering the second question, I selected variables from four different levels of the grammar – one lexical, one morphophonological, one phonetic and one morphosyntactic – in order to test whether, if this pattern is found in my data, it holds across different levels of the grammar. The theoretical literature outlined in Chapter 2 suggests that different levels of the grammar may be associated with different levels of speaker awareness (Trudgill 1986) and may therefore pattern differently (Labov 1972).

Variable	Do the speakers diverge from the norms of adult speech?
<i>Aye</i> v <i>Yes</i>	✓
Scots negation	✓
(th)-fronting	✓
Verb formation	<i>x</i>

Table 8. Summary of patterning across levels of grammar.

I found that the pattern held for three of the four variables. For verb formation, the morphosyntactic variable, it did not. I therefore suggested that, as predicted by the theoretical literature, the morphosyntactic variable is below the level of consciousness. While the other three variables are above the level of consciousness, and are therefore involved in socially meaningful linguistic patterning for these speakers, verb formation is below the level of consciousness and so unable to participate in this patterning.

I also examined the variation across individual speakers, asking whether my participants are homogenous in their linguistic behaviour, or whether they show individual differentiation. My findings showed that all participants show patterning in which they diverge from the norms of the adult speech community in favour of alternative adolescent norms. However they also showed that the degree of divergence differs across individuals. They show some individual differentiation, and one participant in particular, Tulisa, shows a greater allegiance to the traditional Scots variants than is shown by the others.

In addition to my quantitative analysis of the participants' speech, I conducted a supplementary qualitative analysis of my participants' informal writing on Facebook, asking whether the four variables are represented, and if so, in which contexts and by which speakers? I found that of the four variables, only *Aye* v *Yes* and Scots negation appear to be represented consciously and stylistically. Only Tulisa represents the Scots variants *aye* and *cannae*, showing evidence of her greater orientation towards the traditional Scots forms.

The results of this study provide new evidence on adolescent linguistic behaviour in Glasgow, in line with the findings of Stuart-Smith et al. (2007). If the research were to be extended, a quantitative analysis of the same variables would be conducted using adults from the same area of Glasgow, in order to provide stronger evidence of the divergence shown by these adolescent speakers. With more time and resources available, a larger study of the Facebook data allowing quantitative comparison with the speech data might also prove illuminating.

Appendix 1: Information sheet for parents



Information for Parents

I'm a researcher at Glasgow University. I'm doing a study on the ways in which adolescent girls speak, and the ways in which they represent their speech on Facebook. I'll be examining the language of a group of adolescent girls by making recordings of their speech and gathering samples of writing from their Facebook pages. Here's exactly what those who take part will be doing:

- 1) I'll give them mobile recording devices to wear during their dance classes and youth club sessions.
- 2) I'll ask to see their Facebook pages to look at how they're using language with their friends in writing.

Your daughter has expressed an interest in taking part in this study; however she will only be able to do so if you provide consent. This information sheet is designed to give you an overview of the relevant information about the project. If you have any concerns which are not addressed here, please contact me using the details below.

- The project is being conducted through Glasgow University. It has been fully vetted by the university's ethics committee.
- I am a member of the PVG scheme, meaning that I have full disclosure and am cleared to work with under-18s.
- The study is 100% anonymous. None of the participants will be named, and neither will their school.
- The study has no relation to schoolwork or testing of academic ability.
- The privacy of the participants will be respected at all times.
- No one will be taking part without providing fully informed consent, and the participants have the right to leave the study at any time without giving reason.
- I'll provide feedback about my findings after the research is completed.

Thanks very much for your time!

Sadie Ryan

s.ryan.2@research.gla.ac.uk or sadieryan1612@gmail.com

Appendix 2: Information sheet for participants



Information Sheet

I'm a researcher at Glasgow University. I'm doing a study on the ways in which girls speak, and the ways in which they represent their speech on Facebook. If you decide you'd like to take part in the study, I'll need to do three things.

- 1) I'll need to make a **recording of you speaking** with some friends. I'll ask you to wear a microphone during your dance classes and at the youth club.
- 2) I'll need to look at your **Facebook page** to see how you use language.

If you decide to take part in the study, I promise that:

- 1) It will be 100% anonymous. You'll be given a fake name, and your real name won't be included anywhere in the study. If your writing or speaking mentions addresses, phone numbers or other people's names, these will be removed.
- 2) I won't be using anything written by other people on your Facebook page, unless they're also taking part in the study.
- 3) You don't have to take part, and you can leave the study at any time without having to tell me why.
- 4) This study has nothing to do with your school work and you are not being tested.
- 5) I'll respect your privacy. Your data will be stored in a safe and on two password-restricted computers. Only me and my supervisors will look at it.
- 6) I'll be using the recordings and Facebook writing for an MPhil research project. I might use them again, but if I do then the above rules still apply.
- 7) I'll come back and tell you about my research once I've finished.

If you're interested, I'll need to know:

- 1) Your name and the name you use on Facebook if it's different.
- 2) Your age.
- 3) Where you live (the name of the town or the area of the city, eg. Leith).
- 4) If you were born somewhere else or have lived somewhere else.
- 5) If your parents were born somewhere else or have lived somewhere else.

If you have any questions just ask me at the dance classes or the youth club.

Thanks!

Sadie Ryan

Appendix 3: Consent form



CONSENT TO THE USE OF DATA

University of Glasgow College of Arts Ethics Committee

I understand that Sadie Durkacz Ryan is collecting data in the form of writing samples and speech recordings for use in an academic research project at the University of Glasgow.

I give my consent to the use of data for this purpose on the understanding that:

- All names and other material likely to identify individuals will be anonymised.
- The material will be treated as confidential and kept in secure storage at all times. It will be stored in a safe and on two password-restricted computers, with access restricted to myself and my supervisors.
- The material will form a corpus which may be used in future studies; if so the above conditions will still apply.
- The data will be used for an MPhil research project. It may also be used in an extended project at PhD level; if so the above conditions will still apply.
- The material may be used in future publications, both print and online.

Signed by the contributor: _____ date:

Signed on behalf of the contributor (i.e. parent/guardian in case of a person under 18)

_____ date:

Researcher's name and email contact: Sadie Ryan
s.ryan.2@research.gla.ac.uk

Supervisor's name and email contact: Dr Jennifer Smith
jennifer.smith@glasgow.ac.uk

Department address:
English Language and Linguistics
12 University Gardens
University of Glasgow
Glasgow
G128HQ

Appendix 4: Transcription protocol

1. Names

Names and identifying features of the participants were removed in the initial transcription to protect the identity of the participants. Participants chose their own pseudonyms. Names and identifying features of people from the community were also removed in the initial transcription. Only names of celebrities and fictional characters, and my own name, were transcribed as spoken.

2. False starts

whole word--
partial word-

3. Exclamations

sh (for all hushing sounds)
ha (for any spoken approximation of laughter)
uhuh (for agreement)
ow (for any sound representing pain)
eh (for any sound representing hesitation)
oh (for any sound representing surprise)
ew (for any sound representing disgust)
aw (for any sound representing affection or sympathy)
yay (for any sound representing celebration)
ooh (for any sound representing mocking)
oi (for any sound representing aggression)
huh? (for any sound representing mishearing / misunderstanding)
phew (for any sound representing relief)
oops (for any sound representing a mistake)

4. Non-standard lexical items

Non-standard lexical items were recorded as they were transcribed.

5. Spelling decisions

Where multiple standard spelling options were available, decisions were recorded as they were made.

6. Acronyms

Acronyms were listed as they were transcribed.

7. Malapropisms

Malapropisms were listed as they were transcribed. Examples include:

dentistses
goodest
amination

8. Variation

As a general rule, lexical and morphosyntactic variation were transcribed, but phonological variation was not initially transcribed.

- a. 'yep', 'yup' and 'yeah' were transcribed as lexical difference
- b. 'naw' and 'nope' were transcribed as lexical difference
- c. 'you' and 'youse' transcribed as lexical difference
- d. 'mine' and 'mines' transcribed as lexical difference
- e. 'isn't' and 'aint' transcribed as a lexical difference
- f. 'no' for 'not' - as in 'I'm no doing that' - transcribed as 'nu'
- g. non-standard past tense forms were transcribed
listed here:
writ
et
- h. deleted first syllables, represented with an apostrophe
listed here:
'cause (=because)
'til (=until)
'kay (=okay)
'member (=remember)
- i. non-standard negatives transcribed as lexical differences
listed here:
canna
dinna
isna
arena
wouldna
werena
wasna
willna
- j. words run together eg. 'dunno' were standardized to eg. 'don't know'
'gonna' as an instruction was standardized to 'go and'

9. Punctuation

- a. commas for short pauses, full stops for longer pauses; no use of ellipses
- b. exclamation marks and question marks based on volume and intonation
- c. capital letters only for proper nouns, not at the beginning of sentences
- d. song titles, band names, brand names, TV shows and film titles enclosed by *s
and capitalized
listed here:
One Direction
Sky Park
Cha Cha Slide
The Script
High-Tops
Creepers
Docs
Clubland
- e. read quotations enclosed by *s
- f. song lyrics enclosed by *s
- g. quoted speech, quoted thoughts and hypothetical speech enclosed by speech
marks

10. Individual Letters

Where a participant spells out a word (or says a letter name), letters separated by hyphens eg. ‘-c-a-t-’, ‘-c-’

11. Metalinguistic Commentary

In square brackets.

Present continuous form used to describe the proceeding text; present simple form used to describe an occurrence outwith the transcribed words.

listed here:

[inc]

[reading]

[shouting] – [shouts]

[whispering] – [reads]

[laughing] – [laughs]

[singing] - [sings]

[speaking] to signal the end of singing

[putting on a voice] for mimetic re-enactment

[normal voice] to signal the end of mimetic re-enactment

[makes a noise]

[gasps]

12. Examples

Good examples marked with *** at the beginning of the line.

Appendix 5: Sample from the transcript

Tuesday, 2 April 2013 16:24

- 1 did you fall?
- 2 lock it
- 3 do you like that?
- 4 do you like it?
- 5 that
- 6 neither do I
- 7 do you not like Louise?
- 8 ha your face is like
- 9 do you want to charge your phone?
- 10 'cause they've probably, got it down to yellow or something
- 11 do you want to charge your phone?
- 12 do you want to charge your phone?
- 13 the now
- 14 this
- 15 here
- 16 no it was Tulisa that came up-, with it. it's fine. here
- 17 plug it in this way. can sh-- Lisa use your charger?
- 18 see my shoes are under that table can you please go get me them
- 19 'cause I don't feel well they're white they're under that table bit
- 20 don't feel well. you can leave it, charging
- 21 did that come off?
- 22 and did you just buy that?
- 23 oh-right, who had it?
- 24 uhuh

Appendix 6: Coding instructions for Scots negation

FG#1: Dependent Variable

N = Scots

T = Standard English

FG#2: Speaker

E = Emma

F = Frankie

J = Justine

N = Nicki

R = Rhi

T = Tulisa

FG#3: Sentence Type

D = declarative

I = interrogative

T = tag question

C = imperative

FG#4: Enclitic v Non-clitic

C = enclitic form

N = non-clitic form

FG#5: Auxiliary Verb

B = is / are / was / were

D = do / does / did

H = have / has

C = can

W = will

L = would

O = other

N = no auxiliary verb

Appendix 7: Sample of transcript coded for Scots negation

(TEDCD 20 Justine! no ay! no no DO N'T DO N'T DO N'T. no go-away I'm NOT
talking to you go-away Emma1 Negatives.txt

(TEDCD 21 NOT talking to you I'm NOT talking to you DO N'T talk to her go-away
look! Justine excu Emma1 Negatives.txt

(TEDCD 22 Justine go-away thankyou want to move? I DO N'T want to wear- are you
wearing one of these? Emma1 Negatives.txt

(TEDCD 23 there? [gasps] [laughs] can I get w-- eh I DO N'T want to wear this yeah I can
smell cheese Emma1 Negatives.txt

(TEDCD 24 eacher- it's the headteacher of this school. I DO N'T know is Izzie coming
tonight? Justine stop Emma1 Negatives.txt

(TEDCC 25 tine stop being a pig on the other leg? I CAN N'T do this leg can we do the
other leg? and Emma1 Negatives.txt

(TEDCC 26 r mum fine then I'll catch up my- oh yeah I CAN N'T! hold this I'm putting
this down here so y Emma1 Negatives.txt

(TEDCC 27 hold this I'm putting this down here so you CAN N'T hear me. Maria I DO N'T
like wearing this it Emma1 Negatives.txt

(TEDCD 28 is down here so you CAN N'T hear me. Maria I DO N'T like wearing this it's- it's
stretching my col Emma1 Negatives.txt

(TEDCD 29 put it here right that's what I DONE! no DO N'T- D O it- no wait, D O this
move! let me Emma1 Negatives.txt

(NEDCD 30 ne! I DO N'T want to wear this. shut-up! I DO NAE even know what I want to
wear it oh she's cr Emma1 Negatives.txt

(NEDCW 31 *** I, tell you something Justine's not no you WILL NAE. no you WILL N'T.
NOT bet Emma1 Negatives.txt

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