Comparing variation in Glaswegian scripted and spontaneous speech: a sociolinguistic study

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Submitted in fulfilment of the requirements for the

Degree of MRes

English Language

School of Critical Studies

University of Glasgow

September 2016

Abstract

Previous research on the Glasgow dialect identifies two salient variables of Glaswegian speech: T-glottalling and non-standard negation. Research has shown that these are stratified by age, class and gender. In this thesis I contribute to the research on these variables through the comparison of spontaneous and scripted speech data: specifically, I aim to determine whether the patterns found in the spontaneous speech of elderly working-class Glaswegian males are replicated in scripted dialogue.

To answer this question I analyse the speech of four characters from the popular comedy series *Still Game* and sociolinguistic interview data from the socially-stratified real-time corpus, *Sounds of the City*. I employ methods from variationist sociolinguistics to uncover the quantitative patterns of variant use.

The findings show a high rate of T-glottalling in both the spontaneous and scripted speech, with spontaneous speech featuring slightly more T-glottalling than scripted. However, non-standard negative variants are shown to appear considerably more frequently in the scripted data than the spontaneous. In terms of patterns of use in both the scripted and spontaneous speech datasets and for both of the linguistic variables examined, the use of standard or non-standard variants is found to be clearly influenced by linguistic constraints such as phonetic context, sentence type and verb, although to different extents between the two sets of speakers.

Based on the levels of use of T-glottalling and non-standard negation in scripted and spontaneous speech, I argue that the scripted dialect spoken by characters in fictional television shows set in Glasgow, although similar to spontaneous speech in some regards, is not an entirely accurate representation of working-class Glaswegian speech.

Acknowledgements

I would like to express my sincerest gratitude to the following people:

Professor Jennifer Smith, for her invaluable advice, feedback and patience throughout the entire process of completing my dissertation.

Professor Jane Stuart-Smith, for allowing me to analyse data from the *Sounds of the City* real-time corpus and for providing me with several pieces of useful literature.

All the members of staff in the department of English Language and Linguistics who helped me in so many ways, particularly with technical issues.

And my partner, Tony, for providing constant encouragement and emotional support.

Contents

1. Introduction

Scotland has long been famed for its comedy, and Glasgow is no exception: Glaswegian comics such as Billy Connolly and Frankie Boyle have become internationally renowned, and comedic sitcoms set in the city, such as *Rab C. Nesbitt,* are popular worldwide. Despite the popularity of a few well-known comics, however, some writers argue that Scottish dialect remains under-represented on television. Bernstein and Blain (2012) comment that, where Scots has emerged into mainstream television, such as the popular Glaswegian detective series *Taggart*, the dialect has been 'watered-down to a strength suitable for the non-Scottish audience' (p. 217). By contrast, they add that certain programmes which have featured heavy use of the Glaswegian dialect, such as *Rab C. Nesbitt* and *Chewin' the Fat,* have been virtually incomprehensible to English viewers.

Furthermore, despite the popularity of Glaswegian fictional television shows and the infamy of the city's dialect, the nature of the speech portrayed in these programmes remains largely unexamined. Much has been written on the perceived influences of television on speech (e.g. Trudgill, 1986; Stuart-Smith et al, 2013). However, the present study seeks not to examine the manner, if any, in which viewers of television are influenced by the speech of fictional characters, but rather the extent to which fictional television programmes are able to capture the reality of the speech of the people they portray.

In an attempt to explore this area, a popular Glaswegian comedy series, *Still Game,* was selected for analysis, to allow for a small-scale investigation into the differences and similarities between real Glaswegian speech and Glaswegian speech as it is portrayed in televised fiction. Six seasons of *Still Game* have been aired to date, with the first having been aired in 2002. The sitcom follows the day-to-day lives of a group of elderly people living in a deprived working-class area of Glasgow. Despite the majority of the show's characters being in their late 60's and 70's, the actors who play them were, with a few exceptions, between the ages of 30 and 40 years old at the time of the release of series one. Therefore, from a linguistic standpoint, the show is interesting not only due to its extreme popularity in a time of academic debate over the influence of television on local dialect, but because of the unique opportunity it provides for exploring the speech of people who are attempting to imitate an age group different from their own. Moreover, the background of the actors can be said to differ greatly from each other, as well as those of their characters, in aspects such as upbringing and education. For instance, Ford Kiernan, who plays lead character Jack, was

born in Dennistoun, a working-class area of Glasgow, and had various menial jobs, such as bar work and tailoring, after leaving secondary school. His co-star Greg Hemphill, on the other hand, is from a middle-class background and spent much of his childhood in Canada before returning to Scotland to study at the University of Glasgow. This could reasonably be expected to play a role in how faithfully each actor is able to represent the true nature of the working-class Glasgow dialect.

Using a primarily quantitative approach, this study compares speech data from a pre-existing electronic corpus of recorded Glaswegian speech with the speech of selected characters in *Still Game*. Two distinct features which are commonly associated with the speech of working-class Glaswegians – T-glottalling, as in (1), and non-standard negation , as in (2) (including clitic [ne] and non-clitic [no] – these will henceforth be represented by the orthographical forms *–nae* and *no* respectively) – were chosen for analysis:

(1) a. *That was in nineteen thir[ʔ]y-six or something like that.* (Speaker 3; spontaneous)

b. *Negotia[ʔ]ing with employers is always difficult.* (Speaker 5; spontaneous)

c. *That's i[ʔ], back it righ[ʔ] up, son!* (Winston; scripted)

d. *Righ[ʔ], Isa. You ge[ʔ] a table.* (Victor; scripted)

(2) a. *No, it would**nae** be, it could**nae** be a half.* (Speaker 3; spontaneous)

b. *We played them and we were **no** bad.* (Speaker 1; spontaneous)

c. *Aye, that was**nae** like him, eh?* (Jack; scripted)

These variables have been a popular topic of discussion among linguists for decades (e.g. Macaulay, 1977; Macafee, 1983; Smith and Holmes-Elliott, to appear) and their stereotypical prominence in the dialect of Glasgow has perhaps contributed to the accent of the city receiving such harsh criticism as ‘slovenly’, ‘degenerate’ (Andersson and Trudgill, 1990) and ‘the ugliest one can encounter… associated with the unwashed and the violent’ (University lecturer, in Macafee, 1983: 27). These popular stereotypes provide another reason for carrying out the current research project. While it may be the case that some stereotypes of the Glasgow dialect are in fact a fairly faithful representation of the speech of many Glaswegians, it is also logical to expect that, owing largely to the global popularity of such Glaswegian entertainers and series as those previously mentioned, many people around the

world are basing their perceptions of the Glasgow dialect on fictional representations of it; many of these people may never have even visited the city or met a Glaswegian in person. False assumptions about accents as a result of fictional television programmes have been previously observed by people from other parts of the world. For instance, American linguist Richard W. Bailey discussed the effects of films such as *Valley Girl* on the way non-Americans viewed the USA:

> 'The linguistic merriment of these productions should not be confused with the actual speech of Americans. Audiences abroad presumed that Americans talked in the ways the movies depicted them. So, for instance, in the 1990s, I was told by a young woman in South Africa that all Americans are surfers, and talk like surfers. The fact that I did not use surf-speak did not shake her conviction that all Americans talk that way' (Bailey, 2004: 1818).

Examples such as the above suggest that international audiences' perceptions of local accents are, in fact, heavily influenced by fictional television programmes featuring the accent of the area in question, and it is reasonable to assume that the situation described by Bailey applies to the UK as well as the USA. Indeed, news items from recent years suggest that the representation of various British accents in fictional television dramas may be under closer scrutiny from audiences than ever before. For example, viewers of ITV crime drama *Broadchurch* starring Scottish actor David Tennant complained that Tennant's accent had become 'more Scottish' (Robinson, 2015) in the show's second series than in its first. English actress Monica Dolan also received criticism for having the 'worst Welsh accent on television' (McCrum, 2015) in BBC comedy *W1A*. Therefore, not only can poorly imitated or exaggerated accents in fictional television provide outsiders with a false impression of people from various parts of the world, but can also result in backlash from audiences who are aware of the falseness of the portrayal. This issue will be the main focal point of the current study as I investigate the frequency with which T-glottalling and non-standard negation are used in *Still Game* and in the speech of real Glaswegians.

This study provides a further contribution to the research on the sociolinguistics of Glasgow by focusing not on a range of cohorts in classic categories such as age or gender, instead choosing to focus solely on one rather specific demographic: elderly working-class Glaswegian males. This particular demographic was selected primarily because the majority

of research on the linguistic variables of interest in this study has failed to include analysis of speakers of retirement age. Rosenfeld (1992) notes:

> 'Research on the discourse of the elderly has thus far tended to focus on either the discourse of the elderly who are cognitively impaired or in discourse produced in contexts in which old age is at issue… there is still little research which focuses on elderly discourse in which 'problems' do not seem to arise' (p. 209)

While the above observation was made in 1992 and therefore may seem dated, Patricia Andrew's comment in 2012 that old age is 'a significant life stage… overlooked by sociolinguists' (p. 41) suggests that the underrepresentation of the speech of the elderly in sociolinguistic research is a trend which continues today. Given that an understanding of the speech of all age groups in society is surely vital to the completion of valuable real-time and apparent-time studies, it seems odd that such a large section of the population have been neglected in this manner. It appears that a significant part of the reason for the absence of data on elderly speakers in most studies is due to the assumption of many linguists that 'from middle age onward, speakers have normally fixed their sociolects beyond any large scale or regular changes' (Chambers, 1995: 158). However, some studies have demonstrated that there are, in fact, often differences between the speech of the middle aged and the elderly. For instance, Paunonen (1994, in Murphy, 2010) conducted a study which suggested that middle aged women became less normative in their use of /d/ as they moved towards their elderly years. Findings such as this suggest that there is merit in exploring the speech of the elderly as opposed to making the assumption that the speech of this age group will be the same as that of their younger counterparts. Moreover, considering the widespread interest in innovative variants among sociolinguists, it may be argued that a study on a previously neglected age group could shed further light on the origins of some of these innovations.

In summary, this research will aim to add to the literature on two previously neglected areas: the speech of the elderly and representations of dialect in fictional television. Following a discussion of relevant previous research which has provided a foundation upon which to build the current study, an explanation of the methods employed in conducting this research will be given. The findings on the use of T-glottalling and non-standard negation, including findings based upon the effects of various internal constraints, will then be presented for both the spontaneous and the scripted speech datasets. After discussing these findings and making

a comparison between the findings for both of the datasets, I will conclude by reflecting on the significance of my results and making recommendations for future research.

2. Literature Review

2.1 Portrayal of dialect in media

Despite the multitude of studies that have been carried out on various aspects of television, such as audience research, television production and reception, and television institutions (Bednarek, 2010), television dialogue has been a largely overlooked topic. Bednarek argues that 'there are many aspects that a linguistic analysis of television dialogue could focus on systematically… some of the more neglected aspects of fictional television series [are] the genre of 'dramedy' (a comedy/drama hybrid), dialogue and the televisual character' (2010: 9). This gap in linguistic knowledge is the primary reason for the undertaking of the current study. As Bednarek observes, fictional television – particularly comedy series or series featuring comedic elements – is frequently ignored in television studies, as is the more specific topic of the language of fictional television. Therefore, this study will aim to make a small contribution to the understanding of this area by focusing on the dialogue in one fictional comedy series and its representation of the speech of one city: Glasgow.

Very little has been written on the depiction of the Glaswegian dialect on television, and what little material does exist is rarely complimentary. As popular culture website TV Tropes humorously points out:

> 'A violent or menacing character on British television, especially if a raving drunk or a mad homeless man, will often have a Glasgow accent, since Glaswegian is a very good accent and dialect for uttering threats' (TV Tropes, n.d.).

Quotes such as this show the manner in which the working-class Glaswegian is generally depicted on mainstream television, and the perceptions which viewers can have of Glaswegians as a result of television's portrayal of the city's dialect. In a discussion of voice quality in Glasgow, Stuart-Smith notes that the stereotypical features of the 'Glasgow voice', such as 'phonetically slack articulation, jaw protrusion and harsh phonation' (1999:211) is often exaggerated by television characters like Rab C. Nesbitt.

One notable example of a comedic depiction of the Glaswegian dialect can be seen in the 1960s television sketch show *Parliamo Glasgow.* Macafee (1983) attributes the origination of the orthography, or spelling system, of Glaswegian to this show; in which 'the running joke was to make Glasgow dialect look like a foreign language' (ibid: 39). This was achieved by using non-standard spellings and the running together of words to represent phrases spoken in

Glasgow, which were then read aloud to reveal their true meaning. One example is the phrase *hegitoarintiabigpie*, which the characters explain to mean 'he got tore into a big pie' (TheGillieDubh, 2011).

Although it can perhaps be argued that the speech of working-class Glaswegians is more commonly ridiculed, Macafee (1983) adds that middle-class accents in Glasgow are also parodied due to the perceived affectation of their speakers. She uses the 'Kelvinside' accent as an example of this type of speech, noting that it is 'a source of humour in the media' (ibid: 32) and that some of its stereotypical characteristics are 'over-careful enunciation… and avoidance of weak or enclitic words' (ibid).

Another relevant study on the fictional portrayal of dialect focused on the dialect of London. The portrayal of the London accent in popular television shows set in the city was studied by Timmins and Stuart-Smith (2004), who acknowledge that 'very little work exists' on the subject of accents in the media. Using samples of dialogue from *Only Fools and Horses, The Bill* and *EastEnders,* the researchers examined the use of various accent features in these shows and compared them with each other as well as with descriptions of real London and South East English accents. They found that *The Bill* and *EastEnders* had accent features more typical of South East English while *Only Fools and Horses*' dialogue was more typical of traditional Cockney. They also noted that, in both *The Bill* and *EastEnders,* patterns according to age and gender were observable, with female and younger speakers tending more towards the use of South East English accent features than older or male speakers. They conclude from their findings that comedy set in London makes use of a stylised Cockney dialect more than contemporary drama, which could perhaps be explained by comedy wishing to use more stereotypical, 'over-the-top' accent features for humorous effect. Timmins' and Stuart-Smith's study shows that, despite being set in roughly the same geographical area, different fictional television shows can represent the dialect of the area in considerably different ways, and that the dialect of an area may not be accurately represented in such shows.

2.2 T-glottalling

The consonantal variable T-glottalling can be defined as 'the realisation of [t] with a glottal stop' (Stuart-Smith, 1999). T-glottalling has been of great interest to academics due to its prevalence in many dialects of English, with studies having been carried out in many parts of Britain including Norwich (Trudgill, 1988), Milton Keynes (e.g. Kerswill and Williams,

1994), Cardiff (Mees, 1987), Newcastle (e.g. Docherty et al, 1997) and Buckie (Smith and Holmes-Elliott, to appear). It has become an increasingly common feature of language throughout the UK, mostly appearing in urban dialects but also occasionally in Received Pronunciation (e.g. Wells, 1982; Mees and Collins, 1999). Studies of T-glottalling in Scotland have tended to treat Glasgow as a main focal point, and Macafee (1994) suggests that Glasgow may even have been the place of origin of the glottal stop in the nineteenth century, providing an 1892 letter as evidence, which refers to the stereotyped nature of the 'glottal catch' in Glaswegian speech:

> 'Strangers hurl at us as a sort of Shibboleth such sentences as 'Pass the wa'er bo''le, Mr Pa'erson' (MacDonald, 1892, in Macafee, 1994: 27).

While Macafee supports the theory that T-glottalling appeared in Glasgow before spreading to London, Johnston (1997) maintains that it is unclear whether the glottal stop 'was an independent native development or an importation from England' (ibid:501). He adds that, regardless of origin, glottalling has now diffused throughout Scotland and can be encountered 'at least sporadically anywhere, though how common it is [and] what positions of a word are affected... differ widely from area to area' (ibid).

One of the earliest and arguably best-known studies into T-glottalling in the Glasgow dialect was Macaulay's 1977 publication *Language, Social Class and Education: A Glasgow Study*, which described the analysis of an interview conducted in 1973 with 48 informants representing a cross-section of the Glaswegian population. Macaulay's study was the first of its kind in the city, despite the glottal stop having already earned a reputation as 'the most notorious' (Macaulay, 1977: 45) feature of Glasgow speech. Macaulay divided his informants into categories by social class, based on the Registrar General's classification of occupations, as well as gender and age (the informants were comprised of 10-year-olds, 15-year-olds and adults). His findings show clear social stratification in the use of T-glottalling: class I, the highest class of speakers, used glottal stops 48.4% of the time; class IIa, 72.9%; class IIb, 84.3% and class III, the lowest class, 91.7% of the time. Gender differences were most pronounced in class IIa, with men having a 16.4% higher usage of glottal stops than women (ibid). When the age of the speakers was considered, the lowest two classes showed relatively similar patterns of use across the age groups; however, Macaulay notes the surprising finding that class I girls, particularly ten-year-olds, have a much higher use of glottal stops than class I adults – for instance, the ten-year-old girls used glottal stops 66.9% of the time, while the

adult women used them only 33.1% of the time. Class I girls were also found to have a higher rate of glottal stop usage than class I boys, while the opposite was true for class IIa.

To provide further insight into the use of T-glottalling in Glasgow, Macaulay also examined the impact of phonetic context on glottal stop usage by calculating the percentage of glottal stops occurring in three different positions, illustrated below with examples from the present study's data:

- Before a pause e.g. *Cycling was my main spor[ʔ].* (Speaker 3; spontaneous)
- Before a vowel e.g. *The whole city was spli[ʔ] up, you know.* (Speaker 4; spontaneous)
- Before a consonant e.g. *Bu[ʔ] that was just how he was.* (Jack; scripted)

Finding that the difference in glottal stop usage between social class groups was negligible before a consonant, Macaulay omitted these tokens and found that the social stratification patterns became even more evident: most notably, the percentage of glottal stop use among class I speakers decreased by 17.5 when only T-glottalling before a pause or a vowel was considered, whereas use among class III speakers remained similar, with a decrease of only 1.3% (ibid: 46). The difference between the sexes in class IIa also becomes more pronounced when pre-consonantal glottal stops are omitted, with men producing 29.1% more T-glottals than women, which Macaulay suggests may be due to women avoiding the use of T-glottalling due to its highly stigmatised nature. Age differences also became clearer in these contexts, particularly in class I in which the youngest group used almost six times as many glottal stops as the oldest, and in class IIa in which the youngest group used 57.2% more glottal stops than the oldest (ibid: 47). Macaulay introduced one final parameter to determine the effects of the different contexts in which 'the environment before a vowel' (ibid) can appear. He compares word medial positions, both before a morphemic boundary and without one, e.g. *started* and *water* respectively, with word final positions (i.e. at the end of a word where a vowel appears in the following word), such as in *that is* (ibid: 48). His comparison between these two contexts shows a much higher incidence of glottal stops in word final than in word medial positions across all social classes. Perhaps the most striking finding is the absolute absence of T-glottalling in word medial positions among class I speakers, compared to a percentage of 68.8% T-glottalling in this position among speakers in class III. In word final positions, these rates increase to 25% for class I and 91.8% for class III speakers (ibid). From these findings Macaulay concludes that 'the word medial environment is likely to be

more highly stigmatised' (ibid) and therefore the use of glottal stops in words such as *butter* and *letter* tend to be looked down upon as a lower-class language feature.

Despite a wealth of literature on T-glottalling being generated in the years after Macaulay's innovative study, it was not until over 20 years later that a further study on the use of glottal stops in Glasgow was undertaken. Stuart-Smith's 1999 study aimed to investigate the sociolinguistic nature of T-glottalling in the city at the time, i.e. whether patterns still existed in terms of social class, age and gender, and to compare her findings with those reported in Macaulay's 1977 publication to determine whether any patterns of change were apparent between the two datasets. The speech of 32 speakers was recorded during same-sex, relaxed conversations lasting up to 45 minutes and in the reading aloud of word-lists. The group of informants consisted of equal numbers of males and females, working-class and middle-class people, and adolescents (13 and 14-year-olds) and adults (40+). Similarly to Macaulay, Stuart-Smith noted all potential locations of glottal stops in the recordings, and identifies three phonetic environments in which variants of [t] could occur: 'prepausal (e.g. *but #*); prevocalic (e.g. *a lot of*); and intervocalic (e.g. *water)*' (Stuart-Smith, 1999: 188).

The results of Stuart-Smith's quantitative analysis unveiled several significant findings, including:

- In both conversations and in the wordlist, working-class speakers had a higher rate of glottal stop usage than middle-class speakers: adult middle-class speakers used glottal stops 44% of the time in conversation and 3% of the time in wordlists, while for working-class speakers these figures were 91% and 8% respectively. Stuart-Smith suggests that the dramatic decrease in glottalling among working-class speakers while reading wordlists can be attributed to style shifting, as the speakers are presumably aware of the stigma attached to T-glottalling and, due to wordlists evoking a more self-conscious style of speech, avoid the use of glottal stops to a much greater degree in this situation.
- Of particular note in the wordlist results for working-class speakers is the much higher use of glottal stops by adolescents than adults: while both male and female adult working-class speakers used T-glottalling just 8% of the time when reading the wordlist, it was used 84% and 62% of the time by young females and young males respectively. With adolescent middle-class speakers, however, the percentage of

glottal stop use in the wordlist was just 5%, suggesting that T-glottalling continues to be strongly stigmatised among middle-class speakers of all ages.

In an attempt to further explain the patterning of T-glottalling, Stuart-Smith also analysed the frequency of T-glottalling by phonetic environment. She found that glottal stops were most frequent in prepausal position, less frequent in prevocalic position, and least frequent in intervocalic position. This was similar to findings from other studies on T-glottalling carried out on the speech of Edinburgh schoolchildren and adults in Ayr. However, the results differ from Macaulay's 1977 findings, which found T-glottalling to be more frequent in prevocalic position than in prepausal. This may be explained by the comparative formality of Macaulay's interviews which elicited 'careful, rather formal speech' (Macaulay, 1977: 21) while Stuart-Smith's approach of asking informants to have an unmonitored conversation with a partner of their choosing tended to generate relaxed, casual speech. After considering the exceptions to T-glottalling in these phonetic environments, Stuart-Smith was able to create a set of descriptive rules for T-glottalling in each social class and for both young and older speakers:

- Glottal stops in prepausal position are 'obligatory' for working-class adults and 'optional' for the middle-class; in prevocalic position they are 'usually' used by working-class adults and 'optional' for middle-class adults; and in intervocalic position they are 'usually' used by working-class adults and 'rarely' used by the middle-class (Stuart-Smith, 1999: 194).
- Stuart-Smith notes that exceptions to T-glottalling sometimes occur prevocalically, such as when the [t] is first in a sequence of two e.g. *put it* and *get it* (ibid); and intervocalically, usually when the speaker is making an attempt to style-shift, such as when using more 'learned words' (ibid: 195) such as 'university' and 'nominated'.
- It is worth noting that, when attempting to shift to a more formal style of speech, working-class speakers inserted [t] only in the intervocalic position. This is in line with Macaulay's (1977) claim that glottal stops in the word medial environment is most stigmatised, as working-class speakers did not match middle-class speakers' style of speech when style-shifting upwards due to their categorical maintenance of glottal stop use in the prepausal position, thus suggesting that T-glottalling intervocalically is the only phonetic environment which is recognised as stigmatic across all social classes.

From these findings, Stuart-Smith attempts to draw a comparison between the use of T-glottalling in Glasgow in the late 1990s and in 1970s Glasgow using Macaulay's findings; however, she states that any suggestion of evidence for real-time change in the use of T-glottalling must be made cautiously, largely due to the differences in methodologies adopted by Stuart-Smith and Macaulay. Nevertheless, in making a tentative indirect comparison between the two sets of results, Stuart-Smith is able to make some informative observations:

- Both social classes used many more glottal stops in spontaneous speech than in read wordlists; however, middle-class speakers show considerably more glottal stop usage during spontaneous speech in 1997 than 1973 (81% vs. 31%) which may be attributable either to the different methods used to acquire spontaneous speech data in both studies or to genuine language change.
- In the 1973 data, the different social classes' use of T-glottalling did not vary much between the age groups, while in 1997 young middle-class speakers show a considerably higher frequently of T-glottalling than older middle-class speakers; however, this only occurs in spontaneous speech, and in read speech both young and older middle-class speakers use a similarly low level of glottal stops.
- A key finding of the study is the marked increase in T-glottalling among working-class adolescents when reading aloud from wordlists, again suggesting that some of the stigma attached to glottal stops may be weakening.

2.3 Negation

Negation can be defined as a morphosyntactic operation which denies or inverts the meaning of a lexical item or construction (SIL International, 2004). In Standard English, the addition of *not* after the auxiliary verb is identified as the standard negation method (Miestamo, 2007). However, there are several forms in which negation can be expressed. Beal suggests that the isolate negative particle *not* is typically only used in emphatic statements, such as *he will not come* (1997: 370). The clitic *–n't* attached to an auxiliary verb, such as *he didn't come,* is the most commonly found method of negation in everyday speech (ibid). Negation also occurs in the form of negative quantifiers, which serve to express nonexistence of a particular entity, and include words like *no, nothing, nobody, and never* (Werle, 2002).

Several specific areas of interest exist within the study of negation, perhaps the most notable being the forms negation can take within the wide variety of dialects of the English language.

The unique nature of negation in Scots has resulted in a considerable amount of academic attention being devoted to its study. Indeed, Bergs argues that negation is perhaps one of the 'most prominent factors in the study of Scottish speech' (2001: 37). He lists the negative particles in Scots as follows: enclitic *–nae* or *–ny*; *na*; independent *no*; *nae* (in the North East); emphatic *nut* and occasionally-occurring negative quantifier *nae* (ibid). Berg's list is fairly exhaustive and many writers on negation omit any mention of some of these, particularly rarer negatives like *nut*. The majority of these negators, with the exception of those which are not typically found in Glaswegian speech such as *na* and *nut*, appeared several times in my data, as can be seen in the following examples:

Clitic *–nae*

(1) *He **wasnae** such a bad guy, Old Hannigan.* (Jack; scripted)

(2) *I **cannae** go about giving out Navid's merchandise for free.* (Tam; scripted)

(3) *It'll be a good deal bigger when this **isnae** here, eh?* (Victor; scripted)

(4) *I'm talking aboot men that maybe **couldnae** read.* (Speaker 5; spontaneous)

Independent negator *no*

(1) *Ah said, 'Oh, Ah better **no** say that'.* (Speaker 3; spontaneous)

(2) *You **no** wanting them, son, no?* (Tam; scripted)

(3) *Here, did this **no** used to be Brown's?* (Winston; scripted)

Negative quantifier *nae*

(1) *There was **nae** point in him coming through and getting smited*. (Victor; scripted)

(2) ***Nae** butter. Butter. All right?* (Jack; scripted)

(3) *It was absolutely filthy, **naebody** used it.* (Speaker 3; spontaneous)

Miller (2003) explains that the independent Scots negative *no* is most frequently used with the verbs *be,* as in (1) below, *will,* as in (2) and *have,* as in (3).

(1) *Here, now, Victor, that's no entirely fair.* (Jack; scripted)

(2) *Aye, it'll run, but it'll no aw run.* (Speaker 4; spontaneous)

(3) *You know fine well I've no got a fire.* (Jack; scripted)

On the other hand, *-nae* is more commonly suffixed to modal verbs and 'do', e.g. '*he doesnae help in the house'* and '*she cannae knit'* (ibid: 87). However, the majority of sentences which take the form of tag questions adopt standard negation, as in (4), or non-cliticised forms, as in (5), as the use of clitic *–nae* in tag questions, as in (6), is not possible:

(4) *It's got to be short and sweet,* ***hasn't it****?* (Jack; scripted)

(5) *In reality, it's only £58,* ***is it no,*** *Jack?* (Victor; scripted)

(6) **It's all finished noo,* ***isnae it?***

Miller adds that another negation commonly used in Scots is *amn't* (= am I not) e.g. *'I'm coming with you, amn't I*?' (ibid). He also mentions the frequent nonemphatic use of *never*, which is often used to mean *not* or *didn't* in Scots speech. Miller illustrates this use of *never* by citing an example of speech by a Scottish pupil to their teacher: '*I added water and it fizzed. I done it again and it never'* (ibid: 88).

The focus on negation in the Scots language dates back at least two centuries. Beal notes that several eighteenth-century writers on Scotticisms discussed the use of the isolate negative particle *no*, including Sinclair, who wrote in 1782 that '*no* is sometimes used for *not*' (in Beal, 1997: 370) and Mitchell, who wrote in 1799 that '*no* instead of *not* is, in familiar discourse, very commonly used by all ranks of people in Scotland' (ibid). As Beal points out, Mitchell's assertion that *no* is used by 'all ranks' of Scottish people suggests that social stratification in Scots language has changed considerably over time, as use of such non-standard variants is nowadays typically associated with the working class. It is worth noting here that *no* originally appeared in Scots as a reduced form of the Middle English negator *nocht*, with phases such as *he comes nocht* becoming *he's no coming* (Aitken, 1979: 88).

Much has been written about the patterns of use of negation based on the class of the speaker. Macaulay's 1991 study of speakers in Ayr involved a sample of twelve informants, half of whom were working-class and the other half middle-class. Macaulay investigated a range of linguistic variables in his study, but the features of negation perhaps displayed the highest level of social stratification. Clitic *–nae* (e.g. *I* ***couldnae*** *look at it*) and negative operator *no* (e.g. *Well the house was* ***no*** *bad*) were both found to be 'very common' in 'lower-class' speech but absent in that of the middle-class, while multiple negative concord was 'rare'

among lower-class speakers and absent among the middle class (Macaulay, 1991, in Macafee, 1997: 535). A later study by Macaulay in 1999 examined the impact of social class on use of negation from a formality/attention to speech perspective. The data in this study was collected from just one speaker, a 65-year-old working-class Dundee woman named Bella K. The data from Bella K was gathered from both an interview that was carried out as part of the Dundee Oral History Project, in which the interviewer was a young woman from a similar background; and from a later interview conducted by Macaulay himself (Macaulay, 1999). Macaulay reiterates his conclusions from the 1991 study that *–nae* 'is used variably but never categorically by lower-class speakers, while middle-class speakers almost always use *–n't*' (ibid: 19). However, analysis of the data from the interviews with Bella K. showed that she used both forms almost equally in the Dundee Oral History Project interviews, with 54% of her clitic negatives having the *-nae* form and 46% being *–n't*; while in her interview with Macaulay only 30% of her clitic negatives are *-nae* and 70% are *–n't.* Macaulay suggests that the reason for this shift may be that Bella K. attempts to accommodate to him as he is a 'middle-class speaker' (ibid: 20), while the data collected by the young female interviewer produced a higher number of *–nae* clitics due to her own speech being more similar to Bella K's. However, as this explanation still does not account for her frequent use of *-n't* clitics in the interview with the female interviewer, Macaulay turns to the pattern of distribution of the clitics for further insight. He reports that lexical collocation clearly had some influence on clitic use, as all examples with 'remember' take *–n't* as well as 87% of examples with 'know' (ibid). Furthermore, the type of clause has an effect on Bella K's choice of clitic: while opinion and explanation clauses featured the two clitic forms at a similar level (53% *-n't*/47% *-nae* and 51% *-n't*/49% *-nae* respectively), narrative clauses featured a much higher incidence of non-standard clitic use at 78% *-nae* and just 22% *-n't* (ibid). The significance of social class is once again highlighted by Macaulay's observation on another aspect of Bella K's narratives. He notes that when quoting speech by or to middle-class speakers, Bella K. uses 85% *-n't* and 15% *-nae*, but when quoting speech by or to working-class speakers she uses 24% *-n't* and 76% *-nae* (ibid:21). From these findings, Macaulay concludes that Bella K. is not simply 'a passive conduit for external forces' (ibid) that determine the forms she uses, but rather that she, and by extension presumably all similar speakers, makes conscious choices about the language variety she uses to tailor her language to the listener or to the matter being discussed.

Despite the wealth of material that exists on negation in Scots, little of the research on this subject has been carried out on Glaswegian speech. Macafee's 1983 book, *Glasgow*, briefly discusses negation in the city as part of an in-depth examination of the Glaswegian dialect. Macafee states that the most common enclitic negative particle in Glasgow is *–na*, but that *-nae* seems to be spreading from the east of Scotland: a process which has arguably gained completion in the 33 years since the book was written as *–nae* appears to be the clitic form most frequently used in modern Glaswegian speech. In contrast to the aforementioned 1991 study by Macaulay, in which he found multiple negation to be rare among working-class speakers and entirely absent in middle-class speech (in Macafee, 1997: 535), Macafee claims that multiple negation, which she defines as 'the negative particle [being] semantically reinforced by the negative determiner and its compounds' (Macafee, 1983: 47) is 'common'. However, Beal (1997) supports Macaulay's view of multiple negation as something limited to the lower classes and rare even among them, arguing that she believes multiple negation to be stigmatised in Glasgow as it is in other areas of Britain, quoting Aitken who wrote that multiple negation is 'one of the shibboleths of Central Scots urban working-class speech' (1979, in Beal, 1997: 371).

Macafee also mentions *int*, another commonly encountered negative which does not appear to be widely discussed in the literature on Scots negation. *Int* roughly equates to *ain't* in other dialects, and is described by Macafee as occurring only as a form of *be* and only in reversed polarity tags, citing the example:

> 'We're aw happy, int we? Ah mean we've aw earned a bit an' that's what matters, intit?' (1983:48).

Arguably the most in-depth study on negation in Glasgow which has been undertaken to date is that by Lyngstad (2007). Using data from a pre-existing electronic corpus, Lyngstad analysed the use of negation among Glaswegians of both genders, from different social backgrounds and from two different age groups: adolescents (age 13-14) and adults (age 40-60). Her findings revealed, in line with previous studies, 'clear social class stratification in the use of the negative markers' (ibid: 50). While middle-class speakers almost categorically used the standard variant, those from the working-class favoured the non-standard, but were more likely to style-shift between standard and non-standard forms. In regards to age, Lyngstad found that working-class adult speakers used non-standard negative variants 20% more frequently than their adolescent counterparts; a finding which she attributed to 'dialect

levelling towards standardization' (p. 53). Working-class adult men and women were found to use non-standard negative variants at an equal level. Furthermore, Lyngstad examined the use of negation in several internal linguistic constraints. For instance, when analysing the effects of verb type on use of negative variants, she observed that certain verbs, such as *should*, appeared categorically with non-standard negative forms. The type of sentence was also found to affect the level of use non-standard negative variants, with interrogative sentences adopting non-standard forms considerably more frequently than declarative sentences. While Lyngstad's findings on this area of the Glasgow dialect were undoubtedly innovative and provide a strong foundation for the current study to build upon in its examination of negation in Glaswegian speech, the absence of data on speakers over the age of 60 in Lyngstad's research leaves a gap in the literature which it is the intention of this study to fill.

3. Methodology

The purpose of this research is to provide an in-depth analysis of the use of specific linguistic variants in the speech of elderly Glaswegian males, both real and fictional. The investigation into the linguistic patterns of this demographic involved analysis of T-glottalling and non-standard negation, both of which are commonly observed in working-class Glaswegian speech. This was achieved largely through a comparison between the patterns observed in spontaneous, 'real-life' data with those found in an analysis of the popular Glaswegian comedy, *Still Game*.

The research was conducted with a focus on addressing the following research questions:

- To what extent does the speech of elderly Glaswegian males extracted from a real-time sociolinguistic corpus feature the use of T-glottalling?
- To what extent does the same data reveal the use of non-standard negation variants, such as clitic *–nae* and isolate negative particle *no*, in the speech of elderly Glaswegian males?
- To what extent does the speech of the main male characters in TV comedy show *Still Game* feature the use of T-glottalling?
- To what extent does the speech of the same characters feature the use of non-standard negation?
- How accurately does the speech of selected characters in *Still Game*, based upon the frequency with which T-glottalling and non-standard negation are used, represent that of real elderly male Glaswegian speakers?

This chapter will discuss the methods which were adopted and the stages involved in the process of endeavouring to answer the above questions.

3.1 Sampling

A key initial stage of the research was to decide upon the amount and the source of the data which would be analysed. While access to the *Still Game* data was easily achieved due to the availability of each episode on YouTube, the means of acquiring properly comparable data from real speakers was less clear. Given the time constraints of the project, I was given access to a sample of elderly speakers from the real-time corpus of working-class Glaswegian

speech (*Sounds of the City*: www.soundsofthecity.gla.ac.uk; e.g. Stuart-Smith and Lawson in press 2016).

At the early planning stages of the research project, a decision had to be made on which speakers, both from *Still Game* and the real-time corpus, would be included in the analysis. The selection of characters from *Still Game* was primarily made based upon the characters that featured most predominantly, resulting in the selection of the show's two main characters, Jack and Victor, and two supporting characters, Winston and Tam. As only one female character has a fairly significant role in the episodes being analysed, and it would therefore be difficult to extract enough female speech data from these episodes to fairly compare with the speech of real female Glaswegians, I decided to include male speakers only in the analysis. The first series of the show, consisting of six episodes, was chosen for analysis mainly due to the fact that it appeared to be the only series for which transcripts were available online, and to analyse the data from more than one series or to transcribe the episodes myself would have been overly time-consuming and impractical.

The next step was to decide which speakers from the real-time corpus to include in the research. Milroy (1987:28) states that the researcher's objectives 'to a very large extent dictate methods of speaker selection.' In this case, as a main objective of the research was to determine the accuracy of the representation of Glaswegian speech in a television show, it was decided that, to increase the validity of the research, the two sets of speakers should be as similar as possible in terms of socioeconomic background, age and gender. As each of the four characters chosen from *Still Game* were elderly male working class Glaswegians, only male speakers from the 'old' (67-90 years old) age group of the corpus were selected for inclusion in the analysis, and it was verified that each of these speakers was working class. Additionally, while the data available consisted of recordings made from the 1970s onwards, recordings of oral history interviews made in the early 2000s were chosen for analysis due to being recorded closest to the time of *Still Game*'s first series in 2002. Recordings from six speakers in total were available from the elderly working-class male subset of the corpus. To allow the data to be as representative as possible of this demographic, I decided to include each of the speakers in the analysis.

3.2 Data collection: glottal stops

Due to the two separate datasets involved in the research, the collection of data involved two distinct main stages. Firstly, it was necessary to find each episode of *Still Game* that was to be analysed and a transcript of these episodes. As previously mentioned, the episodes were easily located on YouTube, where the entire series had been uploaded, and the episode transcripts were located in the form of subtitle files on the website www.opensubtitles.com. These files were openable as .txt files which allowed them to be easily viewed and edited.

The next step was to watch each episode of the show, listening carefully to the speech of the characters and noting any instances of glottal stops or standard plosive [t] in sites where glottal stop usage was possible. Points at which glottal stops were used in the characters' speech were marked in the transcript files with ($), and [t] was marked with (1). The contexts in which these variants occurred, and were marked in the transcripts, were, following the method used by Smith and Holmes-Elliott (to appear), as follows:

- Coda pause: tokens occurring at the end of a word followed by a pause e.g. *He's coming up on Friday and that's that, **right?** (Victor)*
- Coda vowel: tokens occurring at the end of a word preceding a word beginning with a vowel e.g. *You **got a** measuring tape in the hoose? (Jack)*
- Ambi syllabic consonant: tokens occurring in the middle of a word before a syllabic consonant e.g.*Come in, the **kettle's** just boiled. (Victor)*
- Ambi vowel: tokens occurring in the middle of a word before a vowel or semivowel e.g. *There's no sense of **community**. (Winston)*

Tokens which occurred in a preconsonantal position, i.e. at the end of a word and before a word beginning with a consonant (Stuart-Smith, 1999), were not included in the analysis. The decision to exclude these tokens was based upon the findings of previous studies which demonstrate that glottal stops before a consonant occur extremely frequently in the speech of most Glaswegians (Macaulay, 1977), therefore being less enlightening when investigating variation; and also due to the difficulty of clearly perceiving glottal stops which are followed by a consonant (Stuart-Smith, 1999).

Certain points of possible interest were observed during the coding of the characters' speech. For instance, the word 'to' often featured a glottal stop, particularly following a nasal consonant, e.g. as observed in the phrase "*You're only bringing him down [ʔ]o your ain*

level" (Victor; scripted). Although instances of glottal stops (or lack thereof) in 'to' were not recorded as tokens in the data as they did not fit into any of the linguistic contexts being included in the analysis, it is worth noting that 'to' was unique in that it was the only word beginning with T which was frequently spoken with a glottal stop, and glottals in the onset position are generally not considered a typical feature of Glaswegian dialect **(**Smith and Holmes-Elliott, to appear)

Once the relevant tokens in the transcripts for each episode had been appropriately marked, the corpus analysis program AntConc was used to extract the tokens from the text files, allowing them to be easily added to a Microsoft Excel spreadsheet. After ensuring that each token from the data had been included in the spreadsheet, the next step was to begin coding the data. The tokens were coded for the following factors: speaker; presence or absence of a glottal stop; whether the token occurred in scripted or spontaneous speech; linguistic context and the word in which the token occurred.

The spontaneous speech data was, as previously mentioned, collected from a pre-existing real-time electronic corpus. This corpus provided me with recorded speech data from six elderly Glaswegian males who were, judging from the information provided by these informants during their taped interviews, of a similar socioeconomic background to the main characters in *Still Game*. To search the corpus for potential glottal stop sites, I used LaBB-CAT, the searchable linguistics database tool (Fromont and Hay, 2012) on which the real-time corpus is stored. To find possible glottal stop or standard [t] tokens in relevant contexts, I entered an automated search string in LaBB-CAT, which then returned, both in text and audio format, every utterance in which either variant could occur. After checking each token to ensure it fit the desired criteria, the final stage of data collection was to extract the text of the relevant tokens to a Microsoft Excel document, where they were coded in the same way as the scripted speech data.

3.3 Data collection: negation

The process of collecting data for the analysis of negation was, for the most part, identical to that of collecting data on glottal stops. I searched the transcripts of each episode of *Still Game* for instances of standard and non-standard negation in the form of isolate negators (*not* and *no*) and clitics (*-n't* and *-nae*). After listening to the characters speaking the relevant words or phrases to verify the standard or non-standard nature of each token, I preceded each token with a dash to make it more easily searchable at later stages (e.g. to separate isolate negator

no from *no* as a negative response to a question). These tokens were then extracted with AntConc and added to a Microsoft Excel spreadsheet, and each token was coded for the following factors: whether the token occurred in scripted or spontaneous speech; whether the token was standard or non-standard; verb type; type of contraction; verb tense and clause type.

As negation is a grammatical variable, it was relatively straightforward to find relevant tokens of negation in spontaneous speech through LaBB-CAT, as certain factors that had to be taken into consideration when searching for potential sites for glottals stops, such as desired word positions, did not apply. As before, the results returned from the search of the corpus were extracted and checked to ensure they fit the desired criteria. They were then added to an Excel spreadsheet and coded in the same way as the negation tokens from the scripted speech data.

3.4: Analysis

This study used a quantitative variationist approach to the analysis of data. Variationist sociolinguistics is centred on the observation that the linguistic choices we make are influenced by a range of social and linguistic constraints, and that people switch between various ways of saying the same thing based upon these constraints (Tagliamonte, 2006). Although the present study does not feature an in-depth analysis of the social constraints that govern speech, instead investigating the linguistic patterns of only one demographic group, a variationist approach is still crucial when seeking to explore internal constraints on language, such as phonetic context. The quantitative nature of variation analysis is helpful in allowing the researcher to easily observe patterns in the speech of informants, as Tagliamonte explains:

> 'The advantage of the quantitative approach lies in its ability to model the simultaneous, multi-dimensional factors impacting on speaker choices, to identify even subtle grammatical tendencies and regularities in the data, and to assess their relative strength and significance' (2006: 12).

Therefore, a quantitative method of analysis was well-suited to the purpose of my study, as I wished to determine the frequency with which certain variants appeared in spontaneous and scripted speech and to compare these figures, as well as to gain insight into the 'multi-dimensional factors' (ibid) affecting speaker choices.

To carry out my quantitative analysis, I used GoldVarb, a multivariate analysis program. Using GoldVarb to analyse my data allowed me to ascertain the effect of each constraint on the dependent variable, for instance, how frequently T-glottalling was used in each phonetic context. In addition to determining basic figures such as the percentage of non-standard variants used by each speaker type, GoldVarb allowed me to perform cross tabulation analyses, which revealed the relationship between various factor groups, such as how the level of T-glottalling in various individual words was affected by their phonetic environment.

To recap, the main factors analysed for T-glottalling were individual speaker, linguistic context and individual lexical item; while for negation the main factors were individual speaker, verb type; type of contraction, verb tense and sentence/clause type. The results of the analysis of these factors will be presented in the following chapter.

4. Findings

4.1 T-glottalling

In line with the findings of previous research on the realisation of /t/, some occurrences of variants other than [t] and [ʔ] were present in the data. These variants were [ɾ], an alveolar tap, and [t̆], a variant with alveolar contact but no plosive release. This finding is interesting as flapping is traditionally associated with North American speech (Eddington, 2007), and its presence in the speech of Glaswegians may therefore be considered rather surprising. However, as [ɾ] and [t̆] accounted for only 1.4% and 0.44% of tokens respectively, these variants will be excluded from the analysis.

Furthermore, speaker two from the real-time corpus displayed a pattern of glottalling which was clearly different to the patterns of the other speakers. This speaker's data will be presented in Figure 1 alongside that of the other speakers; however, due to his [t] usage being highly atypical among working-class Glaswegian males, and in the absence of further information which could provide an explanation for his deviation from the norm, the speaker will be excluded from the main analysis. This exclusion will allow the data to be more truly representative of the 'typical' speech of the group in question, and prevent the findings from being skewed due to the presence of a single outlier.

After these amendments had been made, the overall distribution of [t] and [ʔ] was as follows:

	[ʔ]	[t]
N	2246	465
%	82.8	17.2

Table 1: Overall distribution of [t] and glottal stop (both datasets)

The findings show that the majority of all tokens – 82.8% – were glottal stops. This is in line with the findings of previous studies on T-glottalling in Glasgow (Macaulay, 1977; Stuart-Smith, 1999) which showed similarly high levels of glottal stop use. However, in order to be able to fairly compare the findings with those of previous researchers, it is important to examine the rates of T-glottalling in both scripted and spontaneous speech separately.

	N	%
Scripted	805	75
Spontaneous	1441	88

Table 2: Use of glottal stops in scripted and spontaneous speech

Table 2 shows a higher frequency of T-glottalling in spontaneous speech than in the speech of characters in *Still Game*. Although both cohorts used [ʔ] considerably more often than [t], this was particularly the case in spontaneous speech, at 88% of glottal stop usage versus 75% for scripted speech. The finding of 88% T-glottalling in the speech of real working-class Glaswegian speakers closely matches the findings of two major studies on T-glottalling in Glasgow: Macaulay (1977) reported 90.2% glottal stop use among Glaswegian adults of this class, while Stuart-Smith's (1999) findings revealed a 90% T-glottalling rate among Glaswegian working-class males.

4.1.2 Individual speaker

Figure 1 further breaks down the data into the rates of T-glottalling for each individual speaker:

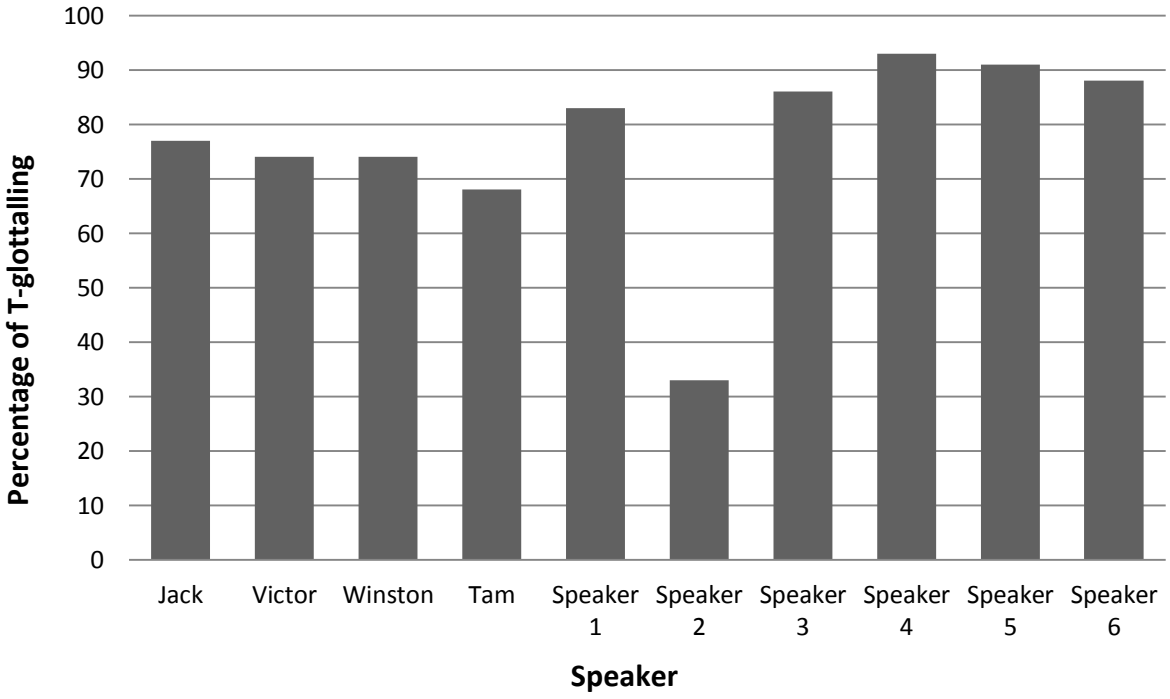

Figure 1: Bar chart showing % of glottal stop use by individual speaker (N = 3000)

This bar chart shows a clear overall division between scripted and spontaneous speech. The percentage of T-glottalling use ranges from 68 – 77% for scripted speakers, while for spontaneous speakers the range is 83 – 93% (excluding one outlier) – a notable increase.

Undoubtedly the most striking aspect of the findings for individual speakers is the distinctive nature of speaker 2's data. This speaker uses glottal stops only 33% of the time – far lower than his fellow spontaneous speakers. This speaker, and the potential reasons for his unusual T-glottalling patterns, will be returned to in the discussion.

4.1.3 Linguistic context

To gain a fuller understanding of the constraints which dictated use of T-glottalling among the speakers in this study, we must consider the frequency with which tokens of [ʔ] occurred in various linguistic contexts. These include:

- Coda vowel e.g. *I was the chairman for Scotland at the Transpor[ʔ] and General Workers Union.* (Speaker 5; spontaneous)
- Coda pause e.g. *Right, Barbara, how does this sound for tonigh[ʔ]?* (Jack; scripted)
- Ambi syllabic consonant e.g. *By the afternoon there'd be maybe four bo[ʔ]les of milk left.* (Speaker 1; spontaneous)
- Ambi vowel e.g. *Ah would say maybe aboot thir[ʔ]y five feet, something like that*. (Speaker 6; spontaneous)

Linguistic context	N tokens	% glottal stop
Coda vowel	1186	88.2
Coda pause	921	86.1
Ambi syllabic consonant	227	90.7
Ambi vowel	377	53.3

Table 3: Percentage of glottal stop use by linguistic context (both datasets)

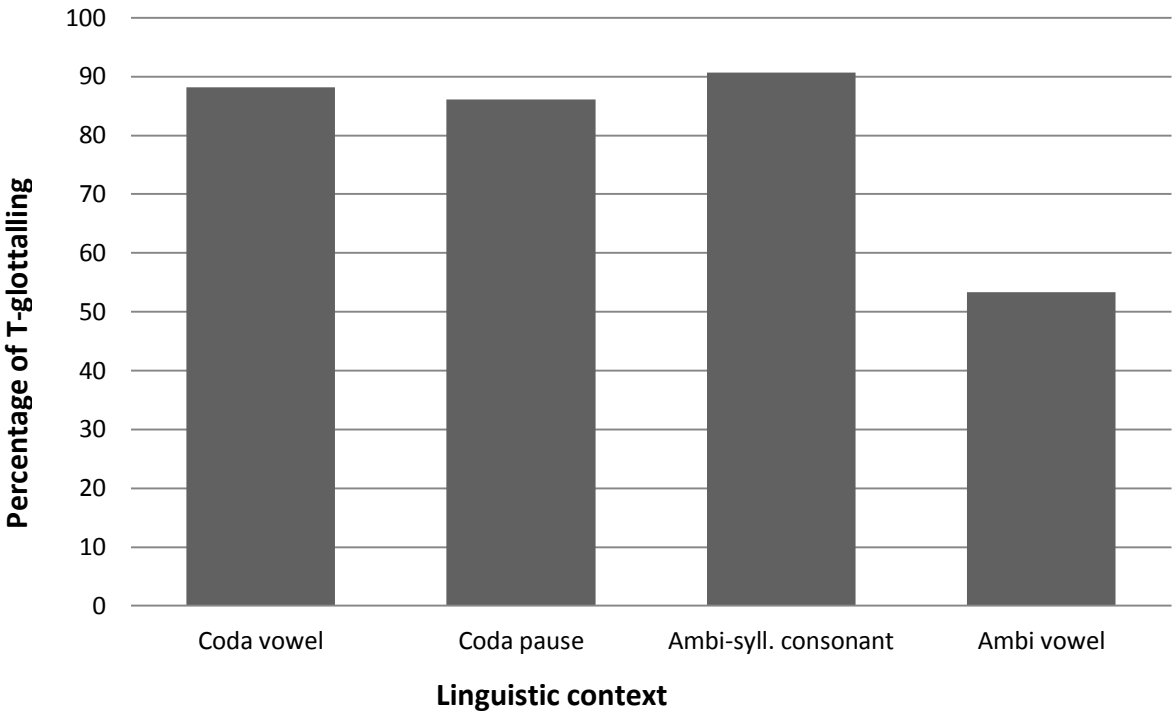

Figure 2: Glottal stop use by linguistic context (all speakers (exc. speaker 2), N = 2711)

Table 3 and figure 2 reveal that, in word-final (coda) contexts, tokens occurring before a pause and those occurring before a word beginning with a vowel produce a very similar rate of T-glottalling, with prevocalic contexts producing only 2.1% more glottal stops than prepausal. Despite the small difference in T-glottalling frequency between these two contexts, it is perhaps still worth noting that, in featuring a higher number of tokens in prevocalic coda positions than in prepausal, the data more closely match the findings of Macaulay's 1977 Glasgow research than Stuart-Smith's more recent 1999 study; Stuart-Smith attributes the higher incidence of prevocalic glottal stops in Macaulay's study to the relative formality of the manner in which his data was collected – through interviews which elicited 'careful, rather formal speech' (Macaulay, 1977: 21) – as opposed to Stuart-Smith's use of recorded conversation between pairs of same-sex informants which resulted in speech that she describes as 'for the most part relaxed and casual' (p. 187). Intervocalic tokens, in line with previous research (e.g. Romaine, 1975; Reid, 1978; Macaulay, 1977), produce the lowest level of T-glottalling; however, tokens which occurred word-medially but before a syllabic consonant (e.g. *bʌtn)* as opposed to a vowel had a much higher rate of T-glottalling.

To allow a more in-depth examination of the effect of linguistic context on T-glottalling, Table 4 displays the findings for glottal stop use by context for scripted and spontaneous speech separately.

	Scripted speech		Spontaneous speech	
	N tokens	% glottal	N tokens	% glottal
Coda vowel	378	82	808	91
Coda pause	425	72	496	98
Ambi syllabic consonant	109	92	118	98
Ambi vowel	162	56	215	51

Table 4: Percentage of glottal stop use by linguistic context in scripted and spontaneous speech

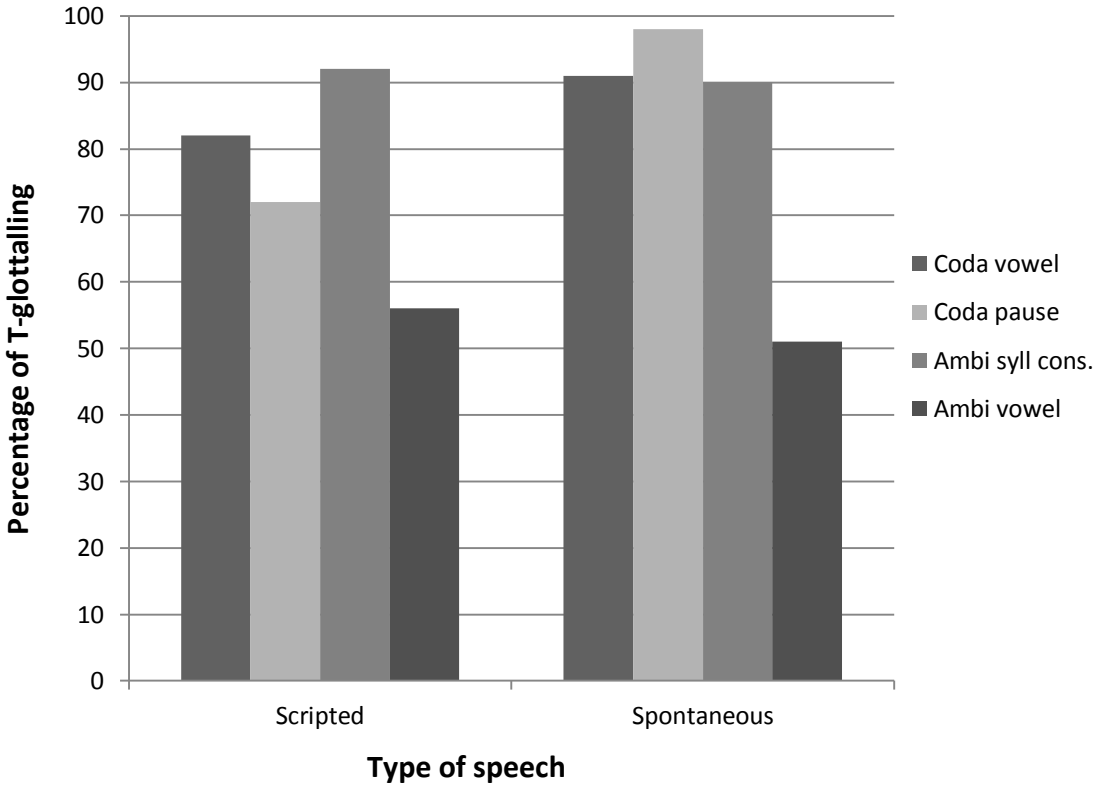

Figure 3: Glottal stop use by linguistic context in scripted and spontaneous speech

Table 4 and figure 3 show that, for the most part, the rates of T-glottalling are similar in scripted and spontaneous speech in each of the linguistic contexts analysed. The most notable dissimilarity between the two speech types is in the coda pause context, with spontaneous speech having 26% more glottal stops than scripted. When considered alone, the spontaneous speech data reveals a slightly different hierarchy from that observed in figure 2. The positions of coda pause and ambi-syllabic consonant are switched, making the order of preference for T-glottalling in spontaneous speech in the various contexts as follows: coda pause > coda

vowel > ambi-syllabic consonant > ambi vowel. It is interesting to note that, when considering the favoured linguistic contexts for T-glottalling in the two types of speech separately, it appears that the patterns observed in scripted speech more closely resemble the findings of Macaulay (1977) in featuring a higher percentage of glottal stops in the coda vowel positions than coda pause. Spontaneous speech, on the other hand, more closely matches patterns observed in Stuart-Smith's 1999 Glasgow study as well as in other parts of the UK in having a higher frequency of coda pause than coda vowel T-glottalling. It may therefore be argued that the relative recentness of Stuart-Smith's and my own research make these studies a more accurate representation of T-glottalling patterns in modern Glaswegian speech than Macaulay's study which was conducted almost 40 years ago, and that, in the majority of cases, Glaswegians will produce glottal stops more frequently in prepausal than prevocalic contexts.

4.1.4 Individual lexical item

To provide more specific detail on the contexts in which T-glottalling most often occurs, it is worthwhile to examine the frequency of T-glottalling in individual words. Here I include the following words: *got* e.g. *tell me what you've **got** in there at the minute* (Jack; scripted); *it* e.g. *They've got **it** all, they've done **it** all* (Speaker 4; spontaneous); *lot* e.g. *I've had a **lot** of complaints about them* (Winston; scripted); *that* e.g. *Where would you get a thing like **that?*** (Jack; spontaneous); *at* e.g. *He's no looked after that **at** all, has he?* (Tam; scripted); *get* e.g. *So we could **get** in, if we wanted* (Victor; scripted); *right* e.g. *That's **right**, Smith and Cogan's* (Speaker 3; spontaneous); *but* e.g. ***But** anyway, that's neither here nor there* (Speaker 4; spontaneous) and *what* e.g. ***What** a way to end up* (Winston; scripted).

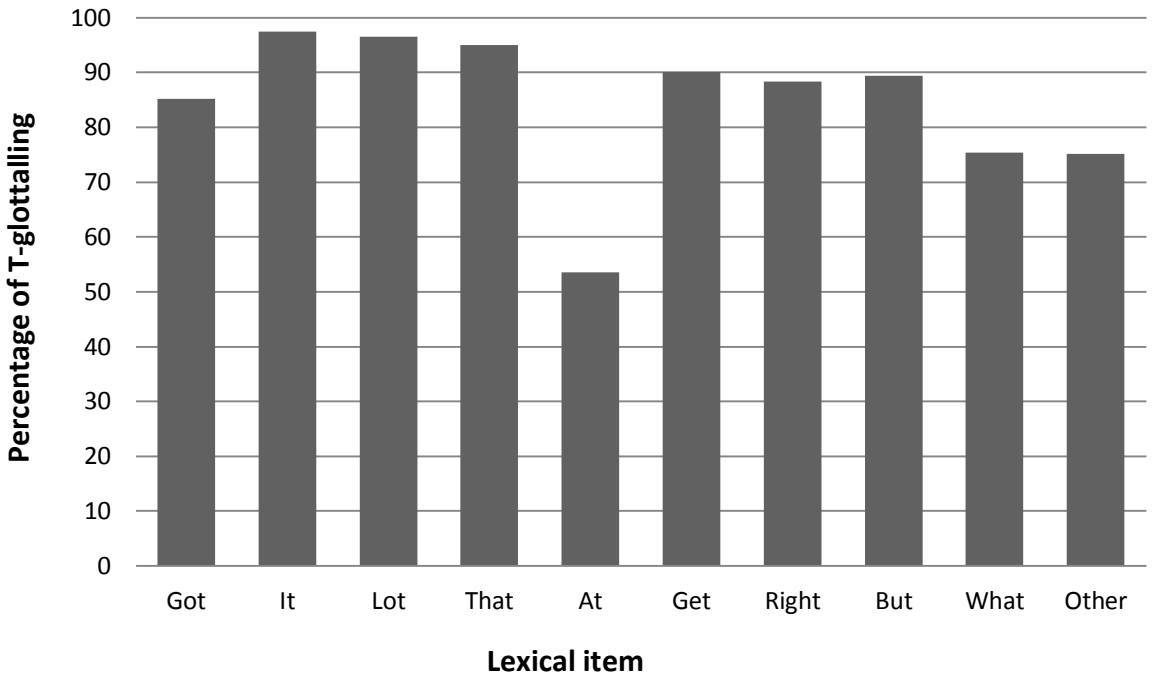

Figure 4: Glottal stop use by lexical item

Figure 4 shows that, generally speaking, each of the words produced a similar level of T-glottalling; the obvious exception is the word *at* which featured a glottal stop in just 53.6% of cases. To investigate this anomaly in greater depth, a cross-tabulation analysis was carried out to show the relationship between individual lexical items and linguistic context:

	Coda vowel		Coda pause	
	N tokens	% glottal	N tokens	% glottal
Got	72	85	9	89
It	154	100	246	96
Lot	50	100	7	71
That	120	98	179	93
At	60	50	9	78
Get	75	91	6	83
Right	53	96	127	85
But	102	88	30	93
What	51	86	18	44

Table 5: Cross tabulation showing distribution of common lexical items by context and percentage of T-glottalling in these items. 'N tokens' refers to the total number of tokens of the relevant word which appear in each position.

Table 5 shows that the vast majority of tokens (87%) of the word *at* occur in the coda vowel position. While it may appear that the low level of T-glottalling which occurs in *at* could be attributed to its tendency to occur prevocalically, the cross tabulation shows that other words which share this tendency do not share a low rate of T-glottalling. For instance, 88% of tokens of *lot* occur prevocalically, yet every one of these prevocalic tokens features a glottal stop. Similarly, 93% of tokens of *get* occur in the coda vowel position, 91% of which feature a glottal stop. The word *at*, therefore, is clearly an unusual case; potential explanations for its inconsistency with the findings for other lexical items will be discussed in the next chapter. Also of note is the high usage of the standard form in prepausal occurrences of *what* – this can largely be ascribed to the fact that 16 of 18 of these tokens were in the format of a question (i.e. *What?*) and, perhaps due to the short nature of the utterance, presumably adopted [t] for emphatic effect.

4.2 Negation

The following results show the patterns of use of standard and non-standard negation, including negative clitics *-n't* and *-nae* and isolate negators *not* and *no*. Some tokens which are not a typical feature of Glasgow speech and therefore irrelevant to the study, such as *ain't*, were not included in the analysis. As with the T-glottalling findings, speaker two was found to be virtually categorical in his use of the standard form and was therefore excluded from the analysis.

	Non-standard	Standard
N	307	222
%	58	42

Table 6: Overall distribution of non-standard and standard negation (both datasets)

The overall findings for negation across all tokens show that the rates of use of standard and non-standard are not drastically different, with 42% of all tokens being standard and 58% non-standard. These figures fairly closely match those of Lyngstad (2007), who found that working-class Glaswegians used standard negation 37% of the time and non-standard 63% of the time. However, to gain a clearer idea of the use of negation among elderly Glaswegian speakers, it is important to examine the scripted and spontaneous data separately.

	N	%
Scripted	156	71.9
Spontaneous	151	48.4

Table 7: Distribution of non-standard negation in scripted and spontaneous speech

Table 7 shows a marked difference between the levels of use of non-standard negation in scripted and spontaneous speech, with scripted speech featuring 23.5% more tokens of non-standard negation than spontaneous. This division of the data shows that the use of negation among elderly working-class Glaswegian males is actually less similar to Lyngstad's previously mentioned findings than table 6 suggests, as the speakers in the current study used non-standard negation in just 48.4% of tokens as opposed to the 70% usage among adult males reported by Lyngstad. In contrast, the *Still Game* speakers used non-standard variants in almost three quarters of tokens. Possible interpretations of these findings will be offered in the discussion.

4.2.1 Individual speaker

To gain further insight into the differences between the use of negative forms in scripted and spontaneous speech, figure 5 displays the rates of non-standard negation by individual speaker:

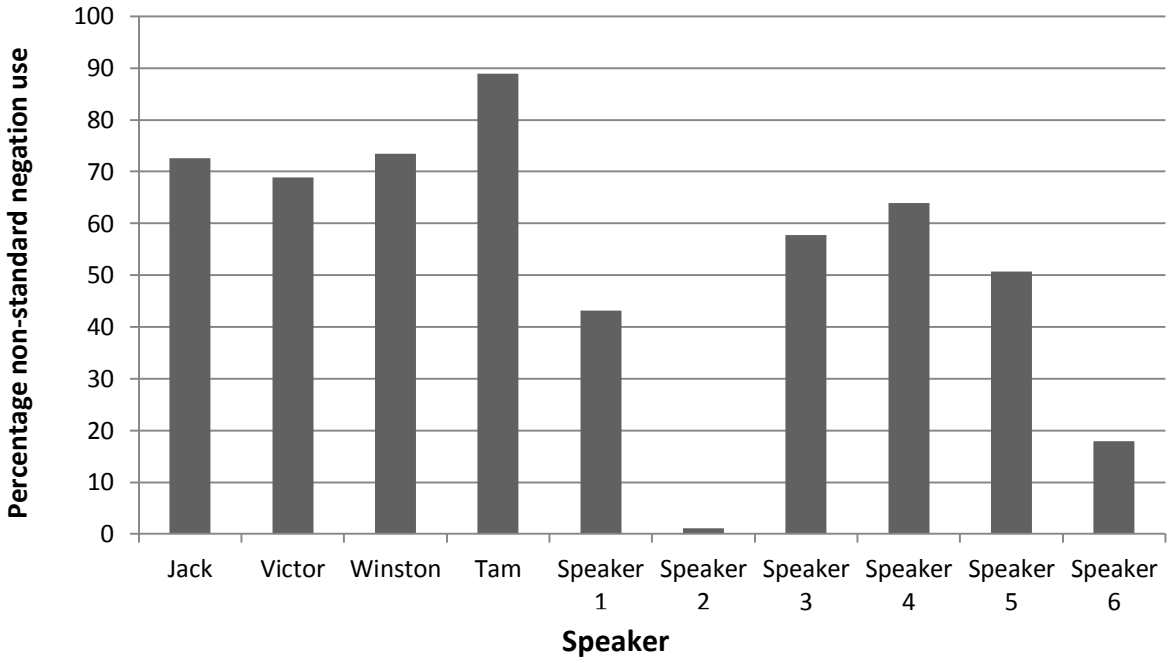

Figure 5: Use of non-standard negation by individual speaker

While the level of usage of non-standard forms remains fairly constant between speakers from the scripted data, ranging from 68.9% to 88.9%, levels among the spontaneous speakers are much more varied and range between 1.1% (or 17.9 excluding speaker two) and 63.9%. Previous research has observed this inconsistency in use of non-standard forms within social classes. Macaulay, for instance, remarks that intragroup variation is to be expected within the classes (1991, in Lyngstad, 2007). Lyngstad's 2007 research shows a similar pattern of variation (albeit to a lesser extent) among working-class adult speakers in Glasgow, with individual speakers ranging from approximately 40% use of non-standard negation to around 80%. Therefore, the lack of noteworthy variation among the scripted cohort seems to suggest that hyperdialectalism may be affecting the rates at which speakers in *Still Game* use non-standard forms of negative markers: this speculation will be discussed in greater detail in the following chapter.

4.2.2 Verb type

I now turn to an examination of some of the internal constraints which may be expected to have an effect on the use of standard and non-standard forms of negation. The first of these constraints is verb type. Figure 6 shows the distribution of the following verbs: *do*, as in (1), *be*, as in (2), *have*, as in (3) and modal verbs *would, could, should* and *can*, as in (4):

(1) a. *His house is packed full of stuff that* ***doesnae*** *belong to him* (Jack; scripted)

b. *What* ***do you no*** *just go in and apologise to him for*? (Tam; scripted)

(2) a. *We* ***arenae*** *joined at the hip.* (Victor; scripted)

b. *I'm* ***no*** *going through all that again.* (Jack; scripted)

(3) a. *Keep the head down, they* ***havenae*** *seen us.* (Jack; scripted)

b. ***I've no*** *got any money to do me.* (Winston; scripted)

(4) a. *I'd love a wee coastal break.* ***Would you no****?* (Jack; scripted)

b. *See, at one time you* ***couldnae*** *claim against Scotland* (Speaker 4; spontaneous)

c. *I know I* ***shouldn't*** *be saying that* (Speaker 5; spontaneous)

d. *I just* ***cannae*** *remember the exact situation* (Speaker 5; spontaneous)

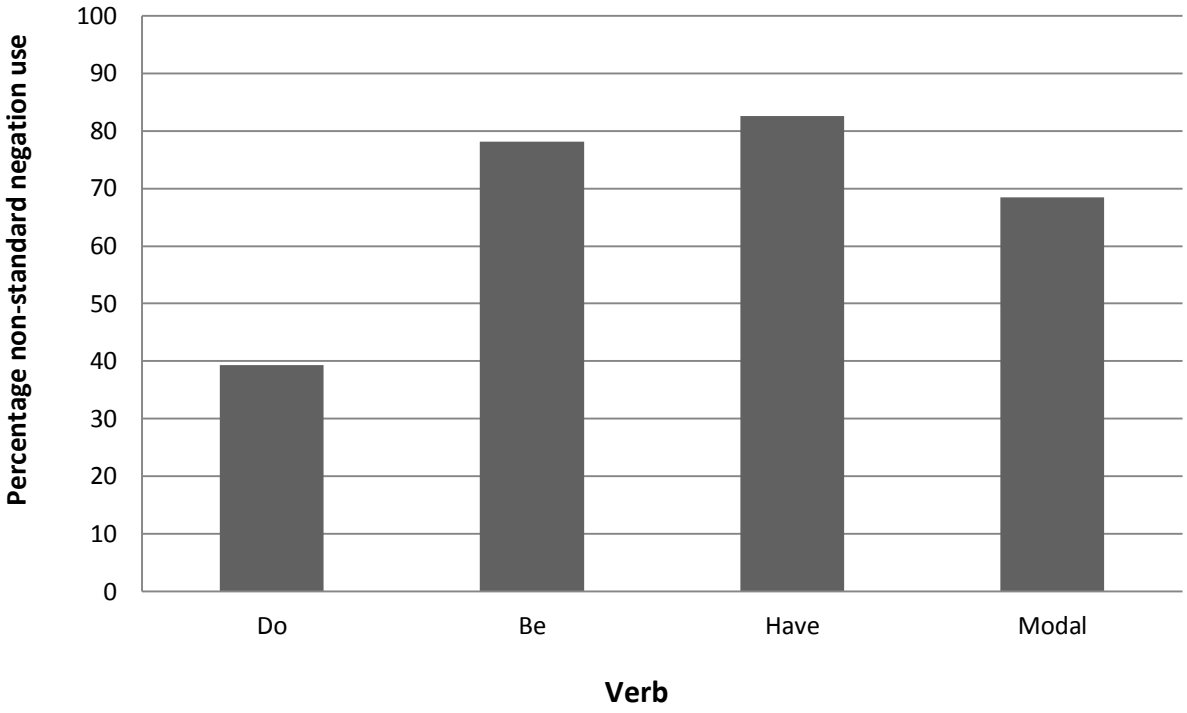

Figure 6: Distribution of non-standard negative forms by verb type (both datasets)

Figure 6 reveals that the verbs which most strongly favour use of non-standard negative forms are *have* and *be*, at usage rates of 82.6% and 78.1% respectively. Modal verbs were next in order of likelihood to produce non-standard negation at 68.4% of tokens. At just 39.3%, the verb *do* least favoured the use of non-standard negative forms. These findings are fairly similar to the rates found by Lyngstad (2007), who found the same hierarchy of verbs favouring non-standard negation, with the exception of her finding *be* to have very slightly higher rates than *have* (94% and 93% respectively). However, as figure 6 represents the patterns for both scripted and spontaneous data as a whole, it is necessary to now consider the two datasets individually in order to make further comparisons.

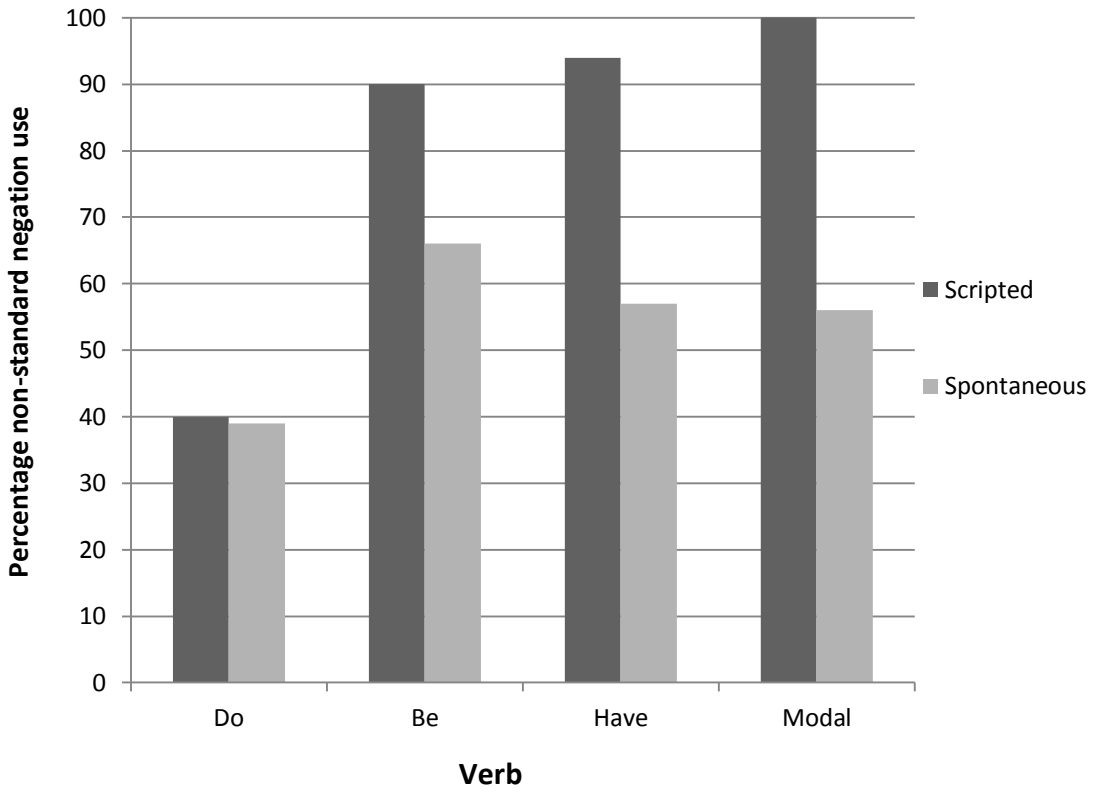

Figure 7: Distribution of non-standard negative forms by verb type in scripted and spontaneous speech

Figure 7 reveals obvious differences between the use of negative forms in scripted and spontaneous speech. Perhaps most strikingly, each of the verbs features a higher use of the non-standard form in scripted speech than in spontaneous, with every modal verb token from the *Still Game* data adopting the non-standard form in contrast with just 56% of modal tokens in the corpus data. *Be* and *have* tokens in scripted speech also feature non-standard negatives almost categorically, at rates of 90% and 94% respectively. On the other hand, both datasets featured non-standard *do* tokens least frequently, and at a similar rate (40% for scripted vs. 39% for spontaneous).

Lyngstad (2007) also found that the type of contraction which was used had a significant effect on the choice of standard or non-standard negative variant. With this in mind, I conducted a cross tabulation to explore the relationship between contraction type and use of non-standard negation, the results of which are presented below. For this part of the analysis, only the verbs *be* and *have* were included, due to being the only verbs that are fully variable with respect to neg/aux contraction (ibid: 49)

	Scripted				Spontaneous			
	Negative contraction		Auxiliary contraction		Negative contraction		Auxiliary contraction	
	N	% NS	N	% NS	N	% NS	N	% NS
Be	21	71	58	97	54	57	22	86
Have	9	89	7	100	3	67	4	50

Table 8: Use of auxiliary and negative contraction with the verbs *be* and *have* and the corresponding rate of non-standard negation used with each.

Table 8 shows that, in line with the findings of previous research on verb contraction (e.g. Trudgill, 1978; Swan, 1980) which finds that Scottish English favours auxiliary contraction (e.g. *she's not coming)* over negative contraction (e.g. *she isn't coming),* scripted speech tends to favour the use of auxiliary contraction with the verb *be*: 73% tokens of *be* feature auxiliary contraction compared to 27% negative contraction. Although the verb *have* has rates of auxiliary and negative contraction of 44% and 56% respectively, it is likely that the low number of tokens (N = 16) makes this a fairly unreliable finding. On the other hand, the findings for spontaneous speech are in contrast with previous research: the verb *be* features negative contraction most frequently, at a rate of 71%; while *have* features auxiliary contraction only slightly more frequently than negative, at rates of 57% and 43% respectively (note again, however, the very low number of tokens of *have* in the spontaneous data (N = 7)). However, the findings for rate of non-standard negation use by contraction type are in line with previous research (e.g. Lyngstad, 2007) which finds that non-standard negatives appear most frequently in tokens featuring auxiliary contraction: the only exception to this was found in tokens of *have* among the spontaneous speakers, where non-standard negation was 17% more frequent in negative than auxiliary contraction; however, the low number of tokens again calls the reliability of this finding into question. Similarly, the scripted speech data features a higher frequency of non-standard negation alongside auxiliary contraction than in negative contraction with both verbs.

4.2.3 Verb tense

In addition to the verbs already discussed, Lyngstad analysed past tense *did* separately from present tense *do* and found that, at a rate of 81%, the past tense form appeared with non-standard variants considerably more frequently than the present tense, which had a non-

standard usage rate of just 13%. Due to the effect of tense on usage of non-standard negative forms demonstrated by Lyngstad's research, I conducted a cross-tabulation analysis to investigate the relationship between verb tense and non-standard negation. The results are as follows:

	Present		Past	
	N tokens	% NS	N tokens	% NS
Do	55	4	73	63
Be	2	0	52	60
Have	0	0	3	67
Modal	34	62	48	52

Table 9: Percentage of non-standard negation tokens in spontaneous speech in the past and present tense of verbs

It is evident that verb tense is a key factor in determining the usage of non-standard variants. Each of the verb types, with the exception of modal, had a higher rate of use in the past tense than in the present; with the verbs *be* and *have* having no present tense non-standard negative tokens. The low number of present tense tokens in the spontaneous speech data is probably attributable to the fact that the informants spoke primarily of events in their pasts, resulting in a high proportion of past tense tokens. This, as well as the low number of tokens of *have* in either tense, should be kept in mind when considering the validity of the above findings regarding the use of non-standard negation with various verbs. Another point worth mentioning is that, unlike speech in several other parts of Scotland, Glaswegian dialect does not typically feature first-person present tense negative *dinna(e),* which undoubtedly accounts for the low rate of non-standard negation use found with present tense *do*.

4.2.4 Sentence type

Previous research (e.g. Macaulay, 1999; Brown and Millar, 1980; Lyngstad, 2007) has shown that the type of sentence or clause in which a negator appears has a significant effect on the use of non-standard negative forms. To determine the extent to which this observation was true of the data in the present study, the next internal constraint I analysed was sentence type.

Tokens were assigned to one of three categories: declarative sentences, as in (1), interrogative sentences, as in (2), and tag questions, as in (3):

(1) I wasnae gonnae mention this, but… (Jack; scripted)

(2) Why don't we get a pint? (Victor; scripted)

(3) a. He's a useless deadbeat, isn't he? (Victor; scripted)

b. In reality, it's only £58, is it no, Jack? (Victor; scripted)

Due to the nature of the spontaneous data, which primarily involved the speakers recounting stories from their pasts, very few of the negation tokens (N = 6) took the form of either direct or tag questions. For this reason, I decided to present the findings for sentence type from my scripted data only, and use Lyngstad's findings for spontaneous speech as a basis for comparison.

	Scripted		Spontaneous (Lyngstad, 2007)	
	N tokens	% NS	N tokens	% NS
Declarative	181	77	971	62
Interrogative	22	68	41	95
Tag question	14	7	64	6

Table 10: Percentage of non-standard negation by sentence type for scripted speech

Table 10 shows that the *Still Game* characters favoured use of non-standard negative forms over standard in declarative and interrogative sentences, but very rarely used non-standard negation in tag questions. At 77%, declarative sentences most frequently produced non-standard forms, closely followed by interrogative sentences at 68%. Lyngstad's findings were somewhat different in this respect, showing that interrogatives highly favoured use of non-standard negation at a rate of 95%, while at 62% declaratives were considerably less likely to feature non-standard forms. However, the rate of non-standard negation found in tag questions was very similar in Lyngstad's data and my scripted data, at 6% and 7% respectively.

5. Discussion

In chapter three, I outlined a set of research questions which this study would attempt to answer. To reiterate, these were:

- To what extent does the speech of elderly Glaswegian males extracted from a real-time sociolinguistic corpus feature the use of T-glottalling?
- To what extent does the same data reveal the use of non-standard negation variants, such as clitic *–nae* and isolate negative particle *no*, in the speech of elderly Glaswegian males?
- To what extent does the speech of the main male characters in TV comedy show *Still Game* feature the use of T-glottalling?
- To what extent does the speech of the same characters feature the use of non-standard negation?
- How accurately does the speech of selected characters in *Still Game*, based upon the frequency with which T-glottalling and non-standard negation are used, represent that of real elderly male Glaswegian speakers?

The findings of this research have provided a great deal of insight into the above questions, and this chapter will endeavour to interpret these findings.

5.1 T-Glottalling in spontaneous speech

The first of the aforementioned questions concerned the use of T-glottalling in the spontaneous speech of working-class elderly Glaswegian males, which has been shown to be 88% in the current data. This finding is in agreement with those of previous T-glottalling studies; in particular, the two seminal Glasgow studies by Macaulay (1977) and Stuart-Smith (1999) which found a similarly high rate of T-glottalling among the working-class cohorts. However, it is important to bear in mind that the current study, unlike many others, represents patterns of T-glottalling among only one age group. The two aforementioned Glasgow studies divided their informants into child or adolescent and adult categories, but as the adult speakers are middle-aged in both studies, it is difficult to directly compare this study's findings for elderly Glaswegian males with the findings of other studies on Glasgow speech. Nonetheless, many past studies have noted that T-glottalling is considerably less common

among older speakers than younger (e.g. Roach, 1973; Speitel; 1983) and have argued that this is largely due to older people continuing to view the use of [ʔ] as highly stigmatised, while it is becoming a more acceptable feature among many younger speakers (Trudgill, 1988). Moreover, studies on T-glottalling have been undertaken outside of Glasgow which *have* included an elderly cohort; a comparison of the findings of those studies' informants against those of the current study may provide a sense of how typical the T-glottalling patterns of elderly Glaswegian males are of older speakers in the UK as a whole. For example, Smith and Holmes-Elliott (to appear) show in their study of T-glottalling in Buckie that old speakers aged 70 and over used glottal stops only 38% of the time – considerably lower than the youngest group with a T-glottalling rate of 90%. Mathisen's 1999 study on Sandwell speech found that 70-year-old male working-class speakers used glottal stops only 8% of the time even in the phonetic context with the highest overall rates of T-glottalling, in contrast with a rate of 35% T-glottalling among 30-year-old males of the same background. Marshall (2000) found that 60-year-old men in Huntly did not use glottal stops at all, while males aged 14-17 had a T-glottalling rate of 75%. These very low rates of T-glottalling among the elderly are in stark contrast with the finding of 88% T-glottalling among the elderly men in this study. This suggests that Glasgow is – as has been posited by several academics – linguistically unique with regards to use of glottal stops.

There may be a number of reasons behind the abnormally high rates of T-glottalling among elderly men in Glasgow in comparison to elderly men in the rest of the UK; however, it is likely that the phenomenon is largely attributable to a few certain factors, which I will now briefly discuss.

Firstly, several linguists have cited Glasgow as the likely origin of the glottal stop in Britain (e.g. Macafee, 1994). Given that the earliest observation dates back to 1860 (Stuart-Smith and Lawson, in press: 10), it is not surprising that it is frequently used by even the oldest speakers in Glasgow, as they will have been exposed to it for the entire duration of their lives. This is supported by the acknowledgment made by many researchers investigating T-glottalling in other parts of the UK that the feature may be relatively new in their area. For instance, in their study on glottal stop use in Buckie, Smith and Holmes-Elliott (to appear) note that 'the rapid increase in T-glottalling is a relatively recent phenomenon' (p. 20) based on the T-glottalling rate of 38% among their oldest cohort in comparison to the rate of 90% among the youngest. Although they add that this 38% use of T-glottalling still suggests the variant has existed in the area for some time, it appears that there has been little real increase

in the overall use of T-glottalling in Glasgow in over 30 years: Macaulay's 1977 publication showed that working-class adults used T-glottalling 90.2% of the time, while in the present study the figure was 88%. It could perhaps, therefore, be argued that T-glottalling has been present in the Glaswegian dialect for so long that it has ceased to become any more prevalent among the working-class population; indeed, the main increases in glottal stop use between 1973 and 1997 noted by Stuart-Smith were among the middle class (e.g. an increase of 34% in T-glottalling in the spontaneous speech of middle-class adults vs. an increase of 10% for working-class adults). In areas where T-glottalling is considered a fairly 'innovative' variant, e.g. Buckie (Smith and Holmes-Elliott, to appear) and Sandwell (Mathisen, 1999), it is usually the case that younger speakers are leading the innovation, i.e. using the non-standard variant considerably more frequently than their elders. However, in Glasgow, this does not appear to be so, as the elderly speakers of the current study use glottal stops just 3% less frequently than the working-class youths in Stuart-Smith's 1999 study – a negligible difference.

It is important to add that the status of Glasgow as the origin of the glottal stop is by no means proven; indeed, Marshall (2001) notes that this assertion is made 'not without controversy' (p.1). Other areas, including London and Norfolk (Straw and Patrick, 2004), have been suggested as possible sources of the variant, and Schleef (2013) notes that 'there is evidence of T-glottalling and glottal reinforcement on recordings of Received Pronunciation (RP) made before 1900' (p. 3). The long history of the glottal stop in Glasgow does, however, appear to be a reasonable explanation for the uncommonly frequent use of the variant among the city's elderly.

Another possible explanation for the high rate of T-glottalling found in the spontaneous speech data is that the feature has covert prestige among the working classes of Glasgow. This prestige is twofold: firstly, the speakers may have a strong sense of Scottish identity; and secondly, they may feel a strong sense of working-class pride.

Several academics have discussed the notion of Scottish identity and its effect on language. For example, Braber and Butterflint (2008) comment: 'Despite fluctuations in the political status of Scotland over the past four hundred years, its sense of a distinct identity has always remained strong' (p. 23). Macaulay adds:

> ‘Part of that identity comes from a form of speech that remains distinct from that of its dominant southern neighbour. There are cultural attitudes that indicate a spirit of independence that is consistent with this linguistic separation’ (2005: 10).

Therefore, it could be argued that the use of glottal stops, being a linguistic feature which is likely to have originated in Scotland and is closely associated with the country, may be used by speakers to assert their ‘Scottishness’ and to separate themselves linguistically from England. This sense of national pride does not, however, explain the comparatively low rates of T-glottalling observed in other areas of Scotland such as Buckie (Smith and Holmes-Elliott, to appear). Therefore, it seems likely that, although many linguistic variants are used widely in Scotland to express national pride, T-glottalling is used in Glasgow to show pride on a more local level. Glasgow is perhaps a particularly divided city in terms of language use: not only do Glaswegians allegedly desire to assert their ‘Scottishness’ and set themselves apart from the English; but the working class in Glasgow often feel the need to distance themselves from the higher classes. This is perhaps largely due to Glasgow’s history as a city defined by its industrial nature as well as its infamous reputation as a place of high crime populated by numerous rival gangs. As Damer (1990) observes:

> ‘Glasgow is, of all British cities, *the* industrial, working-class city *par excellence.* It is one whose identity – not image – is secure because it is cemented by its history of tough living and working conditions. […] The underlying unity of Glasgow’s people is reflected in the way they celebrate their language with a unique enthusiasm, for that language is the key vehicle for expressing their identity and their self-confidence’ (p. 209).

This quote lends support to the theory that, for many working-class Glaswegians, non-standard linguistic variants have a covert prestige due to their association with the nature of life in many lower-class areas of the city. The link between use of non-standard variants and the sense of working-class identity was highlighted by Stuart-Smith et al in their 2007 study on socially stratified language variation in Glasgow. The authors describe how their study’s adolescent working-class male cohort, in describing various anti-social or illegal practices they had partaken in, used ‘all possible linguistic resources to construct identities which are as anti-middle-class and anti-establishment as possible’ (p. 251). It is reasonable to believe that this sentiment of working-class solidarity also applies to the elderly males who provided the spontaneous speech for this study: although, unsurprisingly, they do not boast about their

involvement in criminal activity like the teenagers in Stuart-Smith et al's study, the majority of them discuss, with apparent pride and fond remembrance, topics such as their work in Glasgow's shipyards, involvement in trade unions, growing up in tenement flats and childhood street games. The particular nature of working-class life in Glasgow has arguably instilled a sense of pride in many of its citizens which is rivalled by few cities in Scotland or the UK as a whole. It is feasible, therefore, that this strong sense of Scottish, Glaswegian and working-class identity is a primary reason for the frequent use of non-standard variants, such as T-glottalling, among working-class Glaswegians of all ages. Moreover, the fact that this study only analysed the speech of men may heighten the effect of covert prestige: males are generally more likely to use non-standard variants since, as Trudgill explains:

> 'WC speech… appears…to have connotations of masculinity… probably because it is associated with the roughness and toughness supposedly characteristic of WC life which are, to a certain extent, considered to be desirable masculine attributes… a large number of male speakers are more concerned with acquiring prestige of the covert sort and with signalling group solidarity than with obtaining social status' (1972: 183).

In sum, the fact that the current study's spontaneous speakers are all working-class Glaswegian males of a similar age who have worked in typically male-dominated heavy industry may largely explain their preference for a stigmatised non-standard linguistic variant. Another possible reason for the high rates of the non-standard variant among these elderly men is 'disengagement from the marketplace' (Eckert, 1998). The fact that each of the corpus speakers was retired sets them apart from their younger adult counterparts, who might tend to style-shift towards a more conservative form of language due to 'the pressure for use of standard language in the workplace' (ibid: 164). Labov (1972, in Eckert, 1998) noted that the speech of older men is often more non-standard than that of the immediately younger age group, and suggested that this is due to a loss of concern with power relationships meaning a more relaxed linguistic style. This would explain to some degree why older working-class men in Glasgow do not attempt to restrict their glottal stop usage despite its being a highly stigmatised language feature, as they perhaps return after retirement to their preferred linguistic style instead of one which they believe to be appropriate for the workplace.

5.1.2 Individual speaker

It is important to note that not all speakers from a similar background will conform to the same linguistic patterns. This was the case with speaker two from the electronic corpus: despite the content of his interview suggesting that he had a similar upbringing to the other speakers, his T-glottalling rate was just 33%, while the others each had rates of over 83%. The reasons for his deviation from the norm are unclear: perhaps he has had more education than his fellow informants, a career which required a more polite form of speech (his long-term career is not divulged in the interview), or is simply more aware of the stigma attached to use of the glottal stop variant. Without further information on this speaker, we can only speculate on the reasons for his preference for the standard form; nonetheless, the unusual nature of his data serves as a reminder that, even within very similar groups, not every individual will conform to the expected patterns of speech.

On the other hand, the similar level of T-glottalling found among each of the other speakers suggests that they are fairly reflective of working-class elderly Glaswegian males as a whole. The narrow range of the percentage of glottal stop use (between 83% and 93% excluding speaker two) within the spontaneous speaker dataset is interesting and perhaps somewhat surprising: other T-glottalling studies which have examined speakers individually have tended to find, even within groups of speakers of the same gender, age, etc., considerable variation between the glottalling rates of each informant. For instance, Smith and Holmes-Elliott (to appear) found a range of between approximately 20% and 75% T-glottalling among the elderly speakers in their study. Other researchers who have commented on this tendency include Redi and Shattuck-Hufnagel (2001), who note that 'one striking aspect of glottalization is its variation across individual speakers' (p.408). One possible explanation for the unusually close T-glottalling rates of each speaker (excluding speaker 2) may be their very similar backgrounds: from their interviews it can be deduced that several of the speakers were raised in the same area of Glasgow, and that many of them spent the majority of their lives working in the shipbuilding trade. These similarities may have led to shared patterns of speech which might not have been observed in other working-class males of a similar age who were raised in a different part of the city or were employed in a different industry.

5.1.3 Linguistic context

The findings for linguistic context showed that the hierarchy of preferred contexts for T-glottalling in spontaneous speech was coda pause > coda vowel > ambi syllabic consonant > ambi vowel. The only context which was notably different from the rest was the ambi vowel, or intervocalic context, with a T-glottalling rate of just 51%. The T-glottalling rate among the other contexts ranged between 90-98%, and the word-medial context in which the following syllable was a phonetic consonant had a similar level of T-glottalling to both coda contexts. As noted by Smith and Holmes-Elliott (to appear), the prevalent hierarchy of linguistic contexts found in the majority of UK T-glottalling studies, from greatest to lowest level of T-glottalling, is as follows: preconsonantal e.g. (*but that*) > prepausal (*…that.*) > prevocalic (*a lot of*) > word medial (*butter*). Due to the relative similarity of this hierarchy with that of the current study – at least in regards to the ordering of prepausal, prevocalic and word medial positions – it could be said that the constraints determining use of T-glottalling function similarly in Glasgow and in the rest of the UK. However, it is difficult to make a direct comparison between the findings of this study concerning linguistic constraints and those of previous studies as, for the purposes of the present study, preconsonantal tokens were excluded from the analysis; moreover, following Smith and Holmes-Elliott (ibid), the word-medial (ambi-syllabic) context was divided into two subcategories – ambi vowel (e.g. *rota)* and ambi-syllabic consonant (e.g. *button* (*bʌtn)*). As Smith and Holmes-Elliott's research and the current study are, to the best of my knowledge, the only two T-glottalling studies carried out to date which have divided the word-medial context in this manner, it is interesting to note that both studies have found a similarly high level of T-glottalling in ambi-syllabic consonant positions – this context was, in fact, the most favoured for T-glottalling in Smith and Holmes-Elliott's data, while ambi-vowel contexts were third most favoured. The use of glottal stops in word-medial positions has generally been regarded as the most salient, and most stigmatised, use of the variant: for instance, Stuart-Smith observed that working-class speakers in her data, when attempting to speak in a more formal manner, used standard [t] intervocalically but continued using glottal stops in all other contexts. This, combined with the low word-medial use of T-glottalling in almost all previous studies, suggests that this context is by far the one in which speakers have the greatest level of awareness of glottal variants. As no research has previously been undertaken into the distribution of T-glottalling across these subdivisions of the word-medial context in Glaswegian speech, it is difficult to

provide an explanation for the preference shown for T-glottalling in ambi-syllabic consonant over ambi-vowel positions; this is an area which warrants further research.

5.1.4 Individual lexical item

This study investigated the levels of T-glottalling in some of the words most frequently used in the data. It was found that each of the nine words analysed had a high level of T-glottalling (over 75%) with the exception of the word *at*, which featured a glottal stop just 53.6% of the time. To further investigate this anomaly, I conducted a cross tabulation analysis on the factors of lexical item and linguistic context. This analysis showed that 87% of tokens of *at* occurred in prevocalic position, in which, as previously mentioned, speakers tend to use higher rates of standard [t] than in the prepausal position. While at first glance it may seem that this is the reason for the unusually low level of T-glottalling found in tokens of *at*, other words which occurred most frequently in the prevocalic position had considerably higher levels of T-glottalling, such as *lot* and *get*.

Little previous research exists on the frequency of T-glottalling in individual words; however, in her 1999 Glasgow T-glottalling study, Stuart-Smith observed two specific situations where use of glottal stops was usually avoided. The first was when the token of [t] 'was the first in a sequence of two, in e.g. *put it, get it'* (ibid: 194). Although Stuart-Smith's examples do not apply to this study, as *put* was not found to be one of the most frequently occurring words in the current data and glottal stop usage did not seem to be avoided with the word *get*, this observation could partially explain why *at* appeared less frequently with a glottal stop, as it was very often followed by the word *it*. The second situation in which Stuart-Smith noticed avoidance of T-glottalling was when speakers joined prevocalic tokens of [t] onto the following word – a process known as resyllabification – and provides the phrase *at all* (a'tal) as an example of where this resyllabification often occurs. Indeed, occurrences of *at* in the data were often followed by *all*. Since *it* and *all* were the words which most frequently followed *at*, the two observations made by Stuart-Smith on situations where T-glottalling in avoided can be said to apply to most of the tokens of *at*, therefore explaining its tendency to appear with standard [t] more often than the other words examined.

The only other lexical item analysed which appeared to behave differently from the majority was *what*. At a 75.4% T-glottalling rate, it produced the second highest rates of standard [t] after *at*. The cross tabulation analysis revealed that *what* only frequently appeared with [t] in tokens occurring in the coda pause position. A closer look at the data shows that the majority

of these tokens are in the form of a question, i.e. *what?*, and these interrogative tokens of the word feature an almost categorical use of standard [t]. Stuart-Smith notes that, in her data, the only exceptions to prepausal T-glottalling occurred in tokens where speakers spoke emphatically, such as saying *Righ[t]* when wishing to change the topic of conversation. It would appear that this was also the case in the current data, and that [t] was used at the end of questions for emphatic effect. Further study into the effect of sentence type on use of T-glottalling would be worthwhile to further investigate this finding.

5.2 Negation in spontaneous speech

In order to fully answer the second of the research questions outlined at the beginning of the chapter – namely, to what extent does the data reveal the use of non-standard negation variants, such as clitic *–nae* and isolate negative particle *no,* in the speech of elderly Glaswegian males? – I now turn to a discussion of the findings for negation in the spontaneous speech data. As shown in the previous chapter, the spontaneous speech data featured the use of non-standard negative variants 48.4% of the time. The finding that real speakers in the current study did not use non-standard forms even half of the time conflicts with the assertions of several previous researchers regarding the use of negative variants by the working class, e.g. Macaulay's observation that the use of clitic *–nae* and negative operator *no* are 'very common' in 'lower-class' speech (Macaulay, 1991, in Macafee, 1997: 535). Lyngstad (2007) also found that working-class Glaswegian males aged 40-60 used non-standard variants 70% of the time – notably higher than the rate found in the present study. Moreover, Lyngstad found that the older speakers in her sample had a higher use of non-standard negative variants than the younger speakers, suggesting that this may be an example of dialect levelling. However, considering that the current study's findings show that elderly speakers use non-standard negation less frequently than both the young and adult working-class groups in Lyngstad's study, the theory of dialect levelling appears to be challenged: it would be logical to expect that, if dialect levelling was indeed taking place, the oldest speakers would produce the highest levels of non-standard forms, as language change has been described as occurring in 'small... increments along the age continuum' (Chambers 2002:366). However, it may not always be the case that younger speakers are more likely to adopt more standard forms over local ones than their elders: for instance, Smith and Durham (2011) observed, in their study of dialect attrition in Shetland, that speakers in the youngest

age group used certain local variants more frequently than the oldest group. While the reason for the unexpectedly low usage of non-standard negative forms among the elderly speakers in the current study is unclear, there are a number of factors which may have influenced this particular aspect of the informants' speech.

One possible influence is the method in which the speech data was collected. The speech of the informants was recorded in the presence of an interviewer, which may have resulted in the 'observer's paradox': a term coined by Labov (1972) to describe the dilemma that exists when a researcher wishes to discover how people speak when not being observed, as the only way to obtain this data is through observation. Although it may be argued that it is impossible to entirely avoid this effect when informants are aware that their speech is being recorded, the presence of the researcher at the time of the recording seems to heighten the effect. Lyngstad notes that the method employed to collect the data used in her study – recording conversations between a same-sex pair of friends or acquaintances in the absence of the researcher(s) – resulted in 'good examples of casual, relaxed conversations from most speakers' (2007: 36). Therefore, the presence of a University researcher, who it is reasonable to expect would be dissimilar to the informants in terms of social background and education level, may have prevented them from feeling fully comfortable and caused them to 'style-shift' to a more standard form of speech. If it is assumed that the speakers did indeed attempt to style-shift due to the presence of the interviewer, the discrepancy between the rates of non-standard negation usage in Lyngstad's and the current study could be at least partly explained: it could be assumed that the data collected from the paired conversation recordings are more truly representative of Glaswegian speech, and that if the same method had been employed to acquire the current study's spontaneous speech data, the speakers would have used non-standard negative forms considerably more frequently. This speculation is supported somewhat by the findings of an analysis by Macaulay (1996, in Macaulay, 1999) on the speech of an elderly Dundonian woman (referred to as Bella K.) during sociolinguistic interviews with two different interviewers: the first interviewer was a young woman from the same area as Bella K. and whose speech was 'also a local variety' (p. 19), while the second interviewer was Macaulay himself, a self-described middle-class speaker. Macaulay notes that Bella K. seemed 'perfectly at ease' (ibid) in the first interview, during which she produced 54% non-standard negative tokens; however, during her interview with Macaulay, her speech altered and she used non-standard negative forms just 30% of the time. With these findings in mind, it may be argued that the elderly speakers of the current study intentionally

avoided use of non-standard forms due to the presence of interviewers from a different social class than themselves, which accounts for the unexpectedly infrequent use of non-standard negation in the data. However, it should also be acknowledged that other aspects of Macaulay's research suggest that the social status of interviewers is not entirely to blame for style-shifting among informants. For instance, the same female interviewer who conducted the first interview with Bella K. also interviewed a man named Len, Bella's older brother. Despite being from the same background as his sister, Macaulay writes that 'the relationship between the interviewer and Len is much more restrained' (p. 22) than that between the interviewer and Bella and that Len seems much more reluctant to volunteer information than his sister. Macaulay suggests that potential reasons for Len's reticence may include the gender difference between interviewer and interviewee and the contrast in the topics of discussion which interest them. Therefore, while the use of interviews to collect data may alter the informants' speech due to style-shifting, this cannot always be blamed on class differences between interviewer and informant; as demonstrated by Macaulay's discussion of the interview with Len, other factors such as gender and personal interests can also be influential, and Macaulay adds that the behaviour of the interviewer is also important (i.e. showing an interest in what the informant is saying). These areas could also potentially have increased the use of standard negation among the speakers in the current study, for instance, if the speakers felt the interviewers were not interested in what they were discussing; however, this is unfortunately a speculation which would be difficult to prove.

While the potential problems caused by the presence of interviewers during data collection have been focused upon thus far, Macaulay's discussion of Bella K.'s interviews also suggests that, in many cases, sociolinguistic interviews will not necessarily provide unreliable data if a good rapport is built between the interviewer and interviewee. His observation that Bella K. was 'very comfortable in the interview situation [and] at ease with the interviewer' and 'tells stories, makes jokes, and expresses her opinions freely' (ibid) when speaking with the young female interviewer could be said to contradict the theory of observer's paradox, which posits that 'the act of observation… militates against obtaining the most casual speech styles' (Cukor-Avila, 2000). Moreover, although Bella K. uses non-standard negative variants only 54% of the time, Macaulay rejects the explanation that the 'attention to speech theory' (Macaulay, 1999: 20) would suggest – that Bella K. intentionally attempted to use the prestige form more frequently to accommodate to the speech of the interviewer – and instead theorises that she makes 'stylistic choices' (ibid: 21) based upon factors such as type of

clause and the social class of the person being quoted during reported speech. It may therefore be argued that the reason for the infrequent use of non-standard negation among the current study's speakers was not a result of the interview situation, but of intentional stylistic choices, perhaps considered by the speakers to be most fitting to the topics being discussed. Moreover, other academics have written in support of sociolinguistic interviews as a data collection method, such as Milroy's statement that 'good variable data, even if they are not always the very best, can be collected even in quite formal interview situations' (1993: 281). In summary, while it has been shown that in some cases sociolinguistic interviews can provide reliable, representative speech data, based upon the different use of language in my own and Lyngstad's studies and other evidence such as Bella K.'s aforementioned apparent style-shifting when being interviewed by Macaulay, it seems likely that the presence of interviewers during the recording of the spontaneous speech being analysed in the current study led the informants to attempt to use local negative variants less frequently.

5.2.1 Individual speaker

Unlike the findings for T-glottalling, rates of usage of negative forms were found to be highly varied among the spontaneous group. As before, speaker two showed an almost categorical use of the standard variant and used non-standard negation just 1.1% of the time; however, once this speaker had been excluded from the analysis, there was still a difference of 46% in the usage rate of non-standard variants between the most and least standard speaker. This sets it apart from T-glottalling, as the data showed that the majority of speakers used T-glottalling at a similar rate. Lyngstad found a similar level of variation among the working-class adult males in her study, with a difference of just under 40% between the most and least standard speakers. Considering the comparatively small amount of research that has been published on non-standard negation in comparison to T-glottalling, and the even lesser amount of attention that has been given to patterns of negation among individual speakers, it is difficult to definitively state a reason for this intragroup variation; however, it is likely that the salience of non-standard negation, being a grammatical variable, plays a part in the avoidance of its use by some speakers, even if these same speakers showed a high rate of T-glottalling. As Chambers notes:

> 'Grammatical variables tend to mark social stratification more sharply than phonological ones, and so most grammatical variables function as class markers' (2003: 57).

Chambers' statement suggests that, because negation is a grammatical variable, speakers are more aware of the stigma attached to use of its non-standard variants; while T-glottalling – a phonological variable – is less salient and speakers are therefore not as aware of its status as a social marker. This in turn lends added support to the previously discussed speculation on the influence of style-shifting: as the informants were working-class people speaking to middle-class interviewers, their greater awareness of non-standard negation as 'socially diagnostic' – meaning that 'members of society make an association… between the use of such a variable by a speaker and the social group to which the speaker using that variable belongs' (Selkirk, 2005: 1) – may have led them to consciously or unconsciously attempt to limit their use of this variable so as to avoid being negatively judged by the interviewers.

However, the argument that the less frequent appearance of non-standard negation in comparison to T-glottalling in the speech of this study's speakers is due to their greater awareness of its function as a social marker, and their resulting avoidance of its use, contrasts with the aforementioned covert prestige of local variants. I argued that the high rate of T-glottalling found in the spontaneous speech data may be due to the speakers' strong sense of Scottish identity and working-class pride; however, it would be expected that this would result in working-class speakers producing a high rate of *all* local variants, whether phonological or grammatical. Therefore, it would appear that the frequent usage of T-glottalling by the speakers is simply due to being unaware of the extent of its stigma, or even being unaware of how frequently they actually use glottal stops, as opposed to intentionally attempting to use glottal stops as often as possible to affirm their 'Scottishness'. This is evidenced by their considerably lower usage of glottal stops in word-medial environments, as the speakers obviously avoid using the variant in this most stigmatised position. It is likely that working-class speakers with a strong sense of Scottish identity do indeed use local variants very often in their everyday speech, but when speaking in a more formal setting they shift to a more conventional style. Therefore, the variation found within the group of elderly speakers may have been related to how strong their sense of Scottish and/or working-class pride is; or, as suggested before, other influential factors such as their level of education, the precise area in which they were raised, or the position they reached in their career could also be largely responsible for their use of negative variants.

5.2.2 Verb type

The findings for use of negative variants by verb type showed that the speakers in the spontaneous dataset favoured the use of non-standard negation with the verb *be* at 66% usage; followed by *have* and modal verbs at 57% and 56% usage of non-standard variants respectively; while *do* was the verb which least frequently appeared with non-standard negative forms. This was in line with Lyngstad's findings for working-class Glaswegian speakers; she too found that non-standard negation was highly favoured with *be, have* and modal verbs but disfavoured with *do*. Lyngstad largely attributes her findings to contraction type, i.e. whether auxiliary (e.g. *she's not*) or negative contraction (e.g. *she isn't*) is used. Previous research has suggested that Scottish English favours auxiliary contraction over negative (e.g. Trudgill, 1978; Swan, 1980); Lyngstad's Glasgow study showed that working-class speakers favour auxiliary contraction with the verb *be,* followed by *have* and lastly *will* (note that *do* is not fully variable in regards to aux/neg contraction). In tokens which used auxiliary contraction, Lyngstad notes that *be, have* and *will* produce almost categorical non-standard variants. Although the current study's spontaneous data was in contrast with Lyngstad's in having a greater number of tokens of *be* with negative contraction than auxiliary, it was similar to Lyngstad's in that the rate of use of non-standard negative variants was found to be considerably higher in *be* tokens featuring auxiliary contraction than those with negative contraction (86% and 57% respectively). As mentioned previously, although the verb *have* was found to feature a higher rate of non-standard negation in tokens with negative contraction, the fact that there were just 7 tokens of *have* in the spontaneous data makes this finding virtually meaningless.

Based upon these observations, it appears that there is a direct correlation between the use of auxiliary contraction and non-standard negation: Lyngstad notes that the hierarchy of verbs by the frequency which they appear with non-standard negation is *be>have>will,* the same hierarchy which was found among the elderly speakers in my own study*;* according to Lyngstad's findings, this is the same hierarchy which emerges when the verbs are arranged by the frequency which they are used with auxiliary contraction. This, along with the aforementioned findings that the majority of non-standard tokens appear with auxiliary contraction and that those tokens which featured auxiliary contraction were almost categorically non-standard, suggest that the speakers in both Lyngstad's and the current study feel, perhaps subconsciously, more comfortable using non-standard negation with auxiliary contraction; this may be due to the fact that auxiliary contraction is typically more common

in Scotland than in England and as a result has a greater sense of 'Scottishness' than negative contraction, making it more appropriate for use with the similarly Scottish negators *–nae* and *no*.

5.2.3 Verb tense

The results for use of non-standard negation by verb tense also shed further light on the lexical constraints that influence the negative form chosen. The differences between the use of non-standard negation in the past and present tense of verbs *be* and *have* are striking, showing that speakers used standard negation categorically in present tense tokens of these verbs. The finding that the verb *do* featured just 4% non-standard negation in the present tense but 63% in the past tense correlates with Lyngstad's observation that *do* 'behaved differently in its present and past form' (2007: 47) – in her data, non-standard negative forms appeared 68% more frequently in *did* than *do,* similar to the 59% increase found in the current study. However, the absence of non-standard negation in the present tense of verbs *be* and *have* in comparison to the high rates found in their past tense forms contrasts with Lyngstad's findings: while she does not present the findings for past and present tense individually for these verbs, she comments that 'most of the verbs, like *be*, *have*, *will* and *can* behaved similarly in their present and past forms, i.e. had roughly the same rates of local and standard use' (ibid). Why this is not the case in the current data is probably due to the low number of tokens of present tense *have* and *be* ($N \leq 3$); as previously mentioned, this is most likely explained by the nature of the spontaneous speech data, which largely consists of the informants discussing their childhoods and past careers, therefore resulting in a greater number of past tense than present tense tokens being produced overall ($N = 176$ vs. $N = 91$); conversely, it may be expected that the paired conversations approach to data collection would result in the participants spending a greater amount of time discussing issues in their lives at the present time. The infrequent appearance of non-standard tokens of *do* in the present tense can probably also be attributed to the restrictions on its usage with negative contraction in the Glaswegian dialect, as the Scots non-standard negatives *dinnae* or *dinna* are not typically used by Glaswegian speakers; the only instances of non-standard *do* in the present tense appeared in the third person form *doesnae*. The findings of studies on non-standard negation conducted in areas of Scotland other than Glasgow tend to support this finding: for instance, the aforementioned findings by Macaulay (1999) on the speech of Dundonian woman Bella K. show that she used first person form *dinna* 16 times, more frequently than *doesnae* which she used 8 times. Glasgow is therefore linguistically unique

from other parts of Scotland such as Dundee in categorically adopting the standard negative form for first person present tense *do*. In the past tense, however, tokens of negative *do* in Glaswegian speech more closely resemble the pattern found in the speech of Bella K. (and, presumably, that of many Dundonians from a similar background): 63% of past tense tokens of *do* took the non-standard form (i.e. *didnae*) while Bella K. used the non-standard past tense form of *do* 54% of the time. Therefore, it appears that Glasgow shares some non-standard linguistic habits with other Scottish cities despite being unique in other aspects.

As mentioned in the previous section, the final linguistic constraint which was examined was sentence type; however, due to the extremely low number of tokens in the spontaneous speech data which took the form of questions or tag questions, I used Lyngstad's 2007 data on negation in Glaswegian speech for comparison with my scripted speech data. Because of this, I will discuss the findings for sentence type in the next section, which will examine the similarities and differences between spontaneous Glaswegian speech and the *Still Game* speech data.

5.3 Scripted vs spontaneous speech

5.3.1 T-glottalling

With the previous sections having answered the first four of the research questions, relating to the rate at which T-glottalling and non-standard negation appear in the spontaneous speech of working-class elderly Glaswegian males and in that of their fictional counterparts, only the final question remains to be addressed:

> How accurately does the speech of selected characters in *Still Game*, based upon the frequency with which T-glottalling and non-standard negation are used, represent that of real elderly male Glaswegian speakers?

To recap, the findings revealed that the scripted speech data featured T-glottalling less frequently than the spontaneous, at rates of 75% and 88% T-glottalling respectively. Each of the scripted data speakers used fewer glottal stops than any of the spontaneous speakers (excluding spontaneous speaker 2), and each scripted speaker used similar levels of T-glottalling. Regarding the use of T-glottalling by linguistic context, both datasets were found to feature the lowest percentage of glottal stops in the ambi vowel position. The other linguistic contexts examined showed a similar level of T-glottalling among both types of

speaker, with the exception being the coda pause position, in which glottal stops appeared 26% more frequently in spontaneous speech than in scripted.

From these findings, a number of observations can be made concerning the accuracy with which *Still Game* represents the Glaswegian dialect. Firstly, while it may be assumed that the dialect in *Still Game*, due to the comedic nature of the programme and the rather stereotypical nature of the characters it portrays, would feature an overabundance of stereotypically Glaswegian linguistic variants such as glottal stops, this does not in fact appear to be the case. As discussed in earlier chapters, while other researchers have found that fictional programmes based in a particular city tend to overemphasise the stereotypical dialect features of that city (e.g. Timmins and Stuart-Smith, 2004), the finding that the fictional characters examined in the current study actually use T-glottalling 13% less frequently than real elderly Glaswegian males suggests, at first glance, that hyperdialectalism is not used by the actors in *Still Game*.

This deduction is supported by the findings for T-glottalling by linguistic context. The low frequency of T-glottalling in intervocalic positions, a shared characteristic of both speech types, suggests that both sets of speakers are, either consciously or unconsciously, aware of the stigma attached to use of glottal stops in this position. It could be argued that, if the scripted speakers were employing T-glottalling as often as possible for comedic effect, they would disregard the stigma of its use and would use glottal stops roughly evenly in every linguistic context. However, attempting to address the accuracy of *Still Game*'s portrayal of Glaswegian dialect in regard to linguistic context creates something of a difficult situation. It appears that, due to the similar level of T-glottalling used in the intervocalic position by both speaker types, the scripted dialogue is – at least in this respect – providing a faithful portrayal of the speech of elderly working-class male Glaswegians. However, it may be that the spontaneous speech data itself is not an accurate representation of true Glaswegian dialect due to potential style-shifting. If this were the case, the *Still Game* data may actually feature considerably fewer glottal stops in the intervocalic position than the genuine, everyday speech of elderly Glaswegian males. While there is no way to completely rule out the possibility of style-shifting in oral history interview data, as some degree of observer's paradox is likely to come into play in the majority of methods of speech data collection, it may be assumed that the effect is lessened when the speech is recorded in the absence of an interviewer. With this in mind, it may be worthwhile to turn once again to the findings of Stuart-Smith (1999), whose Glaswegian speech data was collected in the format of paired

conversations with no interviewer present. Her research found that, in their 'for the most part relaxed and casual' (p. 187) conversations, the oldest group of working-class speakers – aged between 40 and 60 – produced 66% T-glottalling in intervocalic positions. As the speakers in the current study used only 51% T-glottalling in this context, this comparison suggests that a degree of style-shifting due to the presence of the interviewer may indeed have occurred. Therefore, if we assume that Stuart-Smith's findings on T-glottalling rates by phonetic context are a more accurate representation of everyday working-class Glaswegian speech, it may be argued that the *Still Game* characters misrepresent the Glaswegian dialect in a perhaps unexpected manner: by speaking a considerably more standard form of Scottish English than real working-class Glaswegians.

The only marked difference between the two speech types pertaining to linguistic context is to be found in the coda pause, or prepausal, context. My findings showed that spontaneous speech featured 98% T-glottalling in this context, while for scripted speech the figure was just 72%. This supports my previous observation that, in regards to T-glottalling, the dialogue in *Still Game* does not appear to exaggerate this notorious feature of Glaswegian speech as may be expected of a comedy series, but in fact often uses standard forms considerably more frequently than real Glaswegians from a working-class background. However, it may be worth noting that this higher frequency of [t] in prepausal positions in the scripted speech data may be attributed to the use of the plosive variant for dramatic effect. When collecting and coding the data, I noted that [t] often occurred when a character was speaking in a particularly affected or abrupt fashion (see also Docherty et al, 1997 and Smith and Holmes-Elliott, to appear). This was often the case with monosyllabic words such as *right* when used in an emotive manner, as illustrated by the following examples:

1. Victor: *He's coming up on Friday and that's tha[?], righ[t]?*
2. Victor (in response to mocking): *Righ[t], that's i[t]!*
3. Jack (during a confrontation): *And you, you ra[t]!*
4. Victor: *Ge[t] in there, ye hauf wi[t]!*

The above examples show that [t] was often used when the actor intended to make their line more emphatic, often when giving an insult or responding to one. This highlights another scenario in which direct comparison with spontaneous speech is difficult, as the spontaneous speech examined in this research, which largely consists of each speaker providing a lengthy monologue relating to their life experiences, provides little opportunity for heated exchanges

between speakers such as those shown above. At this point, it may be worthwhile to return to Stuart-Smith's 1999 study to see if the conversational format in which her speech data was collected has an impact on the use of T-glottalling in prepausal positions. Her findings show that older, working-class speakers used 99% T-glottalling in this position – similar to the rate of 98% found in the current study – suggesting that the use of recorded conversations instead of interviews does not notably affect the use of glottal stops in this context. Therefore, it can be assumed that the disparity in the use of prepausal T-glottalling in scripted and spontaneous speech is due either to the use of emphatic statements as suggested above, or simply to the failure of the actors to accurately portray the speech of elderly working-class Glaswegians; this speculation will be discussed in greater detail later.

5.3.2 Negation

While the findings for T-glottalling appear to rule out the possibility of the use of hyperdialectalism in *Still Game*, the findings for non-standard negation paint a rather different picture. To recap, the findings for use of non-standard negation revealed that 71.9% of the negation in scripted speech took the non-standard form, while in spontaneous speech this figure was considerably lower at 48.4%. Examining the individual speakers showed that each of the scripted speakers used non-standard negation more frequently than any of the spontaneous speakers: the range of usage of non-standard negative forms was between 68.9-88.9% while for spontaneous speakers the range was 17.9-63.9% (excluding speaker two). The analysis of non-standard negation usage by verb type showed that spontaneous speech featured considerably fewer non-standard negative forms alongside the verbs *be*, *have* and modal verbs; while both speech types featured a similar level of non-standard negation alongside the verb *do*. Finally, the findings for use of non-standard negation by sentence type (using Lyngstad's 2007 figures as previously explained) revealed that scripted and spontaneous speech are dissimilar in regards to declarative and interrogative sentences, with spontaneous speech almost categorically using non-standard forms in interrogative clauses while scripted speech slightly favoured declarative clauses for use with non-standard negation. However, scripted and spontaneous speech shared a very low percentage of non-standard negative tokens in tag questions, at 7 and 6% respectively.

It is clear that the findings for non-standard negation are in contrast with those for T-glottalling: while the former suggests that the actors in *Still Game* overemphasise certain features of Glaswegian dialect – presumably for comic effect – the latter contradicts this

observation by indicating that the actors in fact use a lower level of the non-standard variant. The most likely explanation for the discrepancy between T-glottalling and negation lies in the fact that T-glottalling is a phonological variable while negation is a grammatical one. As mentioned in earlier chapters, linguists acknowledge that grammatical variables, such as negation, are more salient (e.g. Chambers, 2003). It is also generally agreed that the use of non-standard negators such as *–nae* is primarily found among the lower classes (Macaulay, 1991, in Lyngstad, 2007). It may therefore be argued that the working-class speakers analysed in this study are aware of the stigmatised nature of non-standard negation and make a conscious effort to avoid its use in an interview situation; while the actors in *Still Game* are likewise aware of the variant's prevalence among the demographic they are portraying and therefore make a conscious effort to use it as frequently as possible. This is in contrast with T-glottalling, as its lesser salience appears to have resulted in the scripted speakers failing to 'play up' the variant and the spontaneous speakers failing to restrict themselves in its usage so as to mimic the speech of higher classes. As discussed previously, Lyngstad's analysis of the use of non-standard negation in the speech of working-class Glaswegians, which was collected in a paired conversation format, shows a considerably greater frequency of non-standard forms than the spontaneous data of the present study. Her adult male group, consisting of working-class speakers between 40 and 60 years old, used non-standard negative forms at a rate of 70%; which is notably closer to the 71.9 usage rate found among the *Still Game* speakers than the 48.4% found among the present study's spontaneous speakers. This suggests that the scripted dialogue may, in fact, closely resemble the true nature of working-class Glaswegian speech, despite the apparent discrepancy between scripted speech and spontaneous speech recorded in an interview format.

To allow further comparison of scripted and spontaneous Glaswegian speech, I now turn to an examination of the findings by individual speaker. As was the case with T-glottalling, the *Still Game* speakers each used non-standard negative forms at a similar rate, with the most non-standard speaker using 20% more non-standard forms than the most standard speaker. However, the findings for spontaneous speech showed that there was considerable variation among the speakers in this group: a difference of 46% between the most and least standard speakers. This observation makes the role of style-shifting somewhat unclear as, despite each of the speakers being of a similar age and background, it would appear that some of them either made more of an effort to avoid using non-standard forms in the presence of the interviewer or that some simply use more standard variants in their everyday speech.

Moreover, if we assume that the former speculation is the case, it is unclear whether those who used more non-standard negative variants did so because they cared less about the interviewer's impression of them or because they were unaware of the stigma attached to the use of non-standard negation. However, Lyngstad's working-class male speakers also exhibited considerable individual variation, with a difference of just under 40% between the most and least standard speakers. Notable variation is therefore observed in the use of non-standard negation by working-class speakers both in interviews and in casual conversations, making it difficult to determine the extent of the effect of style-shifting. As I have previously suggested, the most likely explanation for the variation in use of non-standard negative forms among working-class Glaswegians may be subtle differences in the backgrounds of the speakers, such as having somewhat different levels of education or having been raised in different parts of the city. Nevertheless, every one of the *Still Game* speakers uses non-standard negation more frequently than any of the spontaneous speakers in both the present and Lyngstad's study, with the exception of one speaker in Lyngstad's data with a non-standard variant usage of around 80%. Therefore, despite the fact that style-shifting may have had some effect on the spontaneous speech data, it seems fair to assume that the *Still Game* speakers, given the relative similarity in their use of non-standard negation, are exaggerating the use of non-standard negation in the speech of elderly working-class Glaswegian males.

The next constraint which was examined, non-standard negation by verb, showed that scripted speech produced a greater number of non-standard tokens than spontaneous speech for each of the verbs analysed (*do, be, have* and modal verbs). *Be, have* and modal verbs each had a difference of at least 24% between scripted and spontaneous speech, which supports my previous observation that the use of non-standard negative forms appears to be exaggerated in scripted speech. However, the difference between the two speech types was just 1% for the verb *do*. At first glance this finding may seem peculiar: after all, if the actors in *Still Game* are overemphasising the use of non-standard negation in Glaswegian speech as I have previously suggested, we would expect to find considerable differences between scripted and spontaneous speech across all verbs. This is probably largely due to the fact that unlike *be* and *have,* the verb *do* is not fully variable in regards to negative/auxiliary contraction (i.e. there is no auxiliary contraction equivalent of *I don't*). However, considering that all modal verbs with the exception of *will* can appear only with negative contraction, and yet modals still feature the highest percentage of non-standard negation in the scripted speech data, it seems that other factors must account for both the scripted and spontaneous speech's

avoidance of non-standard negation with the verb *do*. A likely explanation lies in the previously mentioned fact that non-standard tokens usually appear alongside auxiliary contraction, as was found to be the case in the current data: since only negative contraction can be used with the verb *do*, it may be that Scottish speakers instinctively feel more comfortable using the standard negative form alongside *do*. Moreover, while Glaswegian dialect features non-standard negative forms of *do* such as *doesnae* and *didnae* – both of which appeared several times in the data – it is worth noting that *dinna(e)*, the non-standard Scots form of *don't*, is not typically used by Glaswegians, and was not used by any of the scripted or spontaneous speakers. Consequently, studies on negation in other parts of Scotland may find somewhat higher levels of non-standard negation use with *do* due to their greater likelihood of using local first person forms of the verb (e.g. Macaulay (1999) noted 16 uses of the word *dinna* versus 39 uses of *don't* in an interview with one working-class Dundonian woman).

It is perhaps worth pointing out that examining the spontaneous speech data independently of the scripted shows that it conforms to the hierarchy of preferred verbs observed by Lyngstad: *be* > *have* > *modal* > *do*. The scripted data, however, does not conform to this hierarchy, with its order of verbs, from most frequent use of non-standard variants to least standard, being *modal* > *have* > *be* > *do*. This provides further evidence that, in terms of negation, scripted speech does not accurately depict the working-class Glasgow dialect.

The final constraint to be discussed in my comparison of scripted and spontaneous speech is sentence type. Comparing my findings for the *Still Game* speakers with Lyngstad's findings for her older group of working-class Glaswegians serves to further demonstrate the discrepancies in the use of local negative variants in the two speech types. The order of prevalence, from most to least frequent, of non-standard negation by speech type was declarative > interrogative > tag question in scripted speech, while in spontaneous speech the hierarchy was interrogative > declarative > tag question. The most notable difference between the two speech types is the rate at which non-standard variants are used in interrogative clauses: 95% in spontaneous speech compared to just 68% in scripted speech. It is likely that the reason for the prevalence of non-standard negation in interrogative clauses is due to the tendency observed by previous research (e.g. Tagliamonte and Smith, 2002) for Scots dialects to avoid contraction in standard question formats, perhaps due to the limitations on use of local variants in interrogative clauses (e.g. clauses such as '*isnae he*

coming?' are not valid). Therefore, the non-standard Scots negator *no* is typically used in informal working-class speech (e.g. *is he no coming?*). The fact that the *Still Game* dialogue features more non-standard negation than spontaneous speech in declarative clauses but less in interrogative suggests that, while it may not be accurate to say that hyperdialectalism is occurring, scripted speech fails to provide a true representation of the speech of working-class elderly Glaswegians. Tag questions, on the other hand, appear at almost exactly the same rate in scripted and spontaneous speech, at 7 and 6% respectively. Tagliamonte and Smith (2002) explain that, in northern dialects, tag questions either feature negative contraction or take the form auxiliary+subject+*not*. They add that there is a functional difference between these two forms: while the former requests confirmation of a statement (e.g. *you like her, don't you?*), the latter asks for information (*you like her, do you not?*). Based upon an examination of the tag questions found in the present study's data, it appears that many of them appear to be rhetorical, i.e. in sentences such as '*You're gonnae win the fight, aren't you, Joe?'* (Winston; scripted) where the speaker does not actually expect to receive an answer. This may provide further insight into the reason for the rarity of non-standard negative forms in tag questions: the speakers avoid using the auxiliary+subject+*not* construction as they are not actually seeking a response to their question, leaving them with only the negative contraction option. However, as they cannot use *–nae* in an interrogative clause, they must use *–n't*, hence the overwhelming preference for the standard form in tag questions.

5.3.3 Possible reasons for differences between scripted and spontaneous speech

Having provided a comparison between scripted and spontaneous speech's use of T-glottalling and non-standard negation, I would now like to explore in greater detail the possible reasons for the differences and similarities discussed.

The findings of this study have shown that while the speech of the characters in *Still Game* is comparable to spontaneous speech in some regards, e.g. having a similar level of T-glottalling in most linguistic contexts; it does not, in other respects, accurately represent the speech of elderly working-class Glaswegians, such as the characters using non-standard negation far more frequently than their 'real-life' counterparts. As I have mentioned several times, it is important to bear in mind the possible effects of style-shifting: this appeared to come into play in the spontaneous data for non-standard negation, as the current study's speakers, whose speech was recorded for an oral history interview, had a considerably lower

usage rate of local negative variants than those in Lyngstad's (2007) study on Glaswegian negation, in which speakers were recorded in a paired conversation format with no interviewer present. While Lyngstad's findings have been frequently referred to as a basis of comparison throughout my discussion of results, it is important to remember that her oldest speakers were 60 years old, while the speakers analysed in the current study were all at least ten years older; therefore, it is not possible to use Lyngstad's data as irrefutable proof of style-shifting among the speakers in this study.

The age of the speakers from which data is collected may also be important in another sense in this study: as previously mentioned, the four characters analysed were played by actors who ranged between the ages of 30 and 40 when series one of *Still Game* was filmed. Several seminal studies have shown how significantly dialect can vary between people of different ages from the same area and background (e.g. Macaulay, 1977; Stuart-Smith, 1999; Smith, 2000). It might therefore be assumed that the inaccuracies on the part of the actors in *Still Game* in representing the speech of elderly working-class Glaswegians is at least partly due to their being considerably younger than the people they are portraying. Upon further investigation, however, the findings do not seem to fit this theory. For instance, Lyngstad's study shows that younger working-class speakers tend to use considerably less non-standard negation than their older counterparts, in keeping with the pattern of dialect levelling (see e.g. Macafee 1994), while the *Still Game* characters use more local variants than the informants in both the present study's and Lyngstad's study's data. As discussed earlier, the preference for local negative variants among the *Still Game* speakers is probably attributable to the salience of negation as a grammatical variable: the actors may well be aware of the tendency for elderly working-class Glaswegians to use non-standard negation and have overemphasised this feature of their speech in their portrayals. However, this explanation does not account for the T-glottalling findings: previous research (e.g. Stuart-Smith, 1999) has shown that younger speakers tend 'to produce more glottal stops than older speakers' (ibid, p.191), while the *Still Game* speakers in my study produced fewer glottal stops than the spontaneous speakers, particularly in prepausal positions, despite being several decades younger than them. Therefore, it appears that the age of the speakers alone cannot account for the discrepancies found between the scripted and spontaneous speakers in this study, and other factors must be at play.

As mentioned in the introduction, while each of the *Still Game* characters analysed is from a working-class background, this is not necessarily true of the actors who play them. Greg

Hemphill, who plays Victor, was born in Glasgow to middle-class parents and left Scotland at 12 years old to live in Canada, spending several years there before returning to his home country to study at the University of Glasgow, where he achieved an MA Hons degree (Beacom, 2014). Ford Kieran, who plays Jack, comes from a rather different background to his co-star. Born in Dennistoun in Glasgow's East End and raised in a single-parent household, Kiernan performed poorly at school and worked a variety of unskilled jobs before entering the entertainment industry (ibid). Very little information seems to be available about Mark Cox and Paul Riley, who play Tam and Winston respectively; however, both were born in working-class areas and Cox attended Queen Margaret College in Edinburgh for three years. It would be logical to expect that, given the combination of being born in working-class areas and having seemingly attained no higher education, Ford Kiernan and Paul Riley would have the most working-class speech patterns, while Greg Hemphill's language would be the most standard, and that this may be reflected in their *Still Game* characters. This is not particularly true of the findings: Kiernan (Jack) produces only 3% more glottal stops than Hemphill (Victor); while Hemphill and Riley (Winston) both have a T-glottalling rate of 74%, and Cox (Tam) has the lowest rate at 68%. The findings for negation show that while Hemphill does have the lowest frequency of local variant usage, the difference between his usage and that of Kiernan and Riley is very slight (<5%). Therefore, it could be argued that social class does not appear to impact the ability of the actors to realistically portray their character's dialect.

Having ruled out age and social class as determinants of an actor's ability to successfully imitate the speech of a given demographic, at least in relation to *Still Game,* it may be best to attribute the dissimilarities between the scripted and spontaneous speech to a contribution of minor factors. Primarily, the aforementioned issue of salience appears to affect the extent to which scripted speech makes use of local variants. This is highlighted by two findings: firstly, that the characters in *Still Game* use T-glottalling considerably less frequently than real elderly working-class Glaswegians, despite previous research having shown that younger working-class Glaswegians use T-glottalling at a significantly higher rate than their older counterparts; and secondly that, in contrast to their use of T-glottalling, the scripted speakers use non-standard negation notably more frequently than spontaneous speakers. The suggestion that the salience of each variable analysed in this study is accountable for the rates at which non-standard variants are used is supported by the fact that negation, which as a grammatical variable 'mark[s] social stratification more sharply than phonological ones'

(Chambers, 2003: 57), provides the actors with an easy opportunity to be relatable to a Glaswegian audience. As Lockyer explains:

> 'Comedy character types and characteristics need to be easily recognisable and understandable to enable viewers to appreciate the jokes' (2010: 5).

The salience of negation allows an excessive use of its local forms to instantly appeal to those who are exposed to these forms in their daily lives; words such as *cannae* and *didnae* are instantly familiar to Glaswegian viewers and enables them to more strongly relate to the characters and scenarios in *Still Game*, or as Lockyer says, to appreciate the jokes. Conversely, it could be argued that T-glottalling, as a phonological variant, is either less prominent in the minds of the actors when speaking their lines, or that they are simply unaware of its prevalence in the speech of elderly working-class Glaswegians, thus leading to their failure to accurately reflect this aspect of their speech. It may be reasonable to question at this point why middle-aged working-class speakers (such as Ford Kiernan and Paul Riley), if not intentionally aiming to use a certain level of T-glottalling, should produce glottal stops considerably less frequently than their peers have done in previous research. In this instance, it does not make sense to blame style-shifting, as in a fictional context relying on a depiction of working-class life the speakers would be expected to style-shift to a *less* standard form, as was the case with non-standard negation. While there is no clear explanation for this peculiarity, I suspect that two main factors are at play: first, the aforementioned emphatic [t] used by the *Still Game* characters in various contexts, for instance, when assuming an affected manner of speech or when speaking in an angry or abrupt fashion; and second, the likelihood that those members of the *Still Game* cast who come from working-class backgrounds have, since beginning careers in acting, adopted (perhaps subconsciously) a more standard form of speech as a result of continued contact with middle-class colleagues and non-Scots. The latter speculation is in accordance with the theory of dialect levelling through accommodation: 'the process by which participants in a conversation adjust their accent, diction, or other aspects of language according to the speech style of the other participant' (Nordquist, 2016). These acts of short-term linguistic accommodation, if continued over a period of time, eventually lead to long-term accommodation (Trudgill, 1986; in Kerswill, 2002), which may explain why working-class actors such as Kiernan and Riley produce fewer glottal stops than may be expected of people from their age and social background.

It is likely that, in addition to the salience of variables, a variety of other minor factors affect the accuracy with which actors represent the dialect of particular demographic groups. For example, as mentioned previously when discussing the speech differences found among each of the spontaneous speakers, it is to be expected that each individual will speak in a slightly different way. These differences may be the result of a range of influences, such as precise area of upbringing, parents' occupations, level of education or individual intelligence. It is also worthwhile considering that, while standard or non-standard speech may be included in the script and each actor expected to faithfully speak their lines exactly as written, this will rarely occur in practice. As Kozloff points out:

> 'In memorizing and speaking the lines, nearly every actor changes the wording. Lines are improvised, cut, repeated, stammered, swallowed, paraphrased; changes may be minor or major, but the results represent the unique alchemy of *that* script in the mouth, mind, and heart of that actor' (2000: 92).

Therefore, the subtle differences in each actor's background may lead them to interpret the script in different ways, perhaps resulting in their failure to reflect the true speech of a group of people despite this being the intention of the scriptwriters. It is worth noting here that *Still Game* was written by Ford Kiernan and Greg Hemphill, who also play the show's two main characters; this perhaps sets *Still Game* apart from other comedies relying on use of dialect in which none of the actors have any say in the writing of the script.

The final point I would like to make on the differences between the speech in *Still Game* and that of the study's spontaneous speakers is that, contrary to the expected hyperdialectalism or exaggeration, it is possible that the actors have in fact made a deliberate attempt to appeal to a wider audience by providing a more easily understandable form of language. To support this speculation I refer back to the quote which I provided in the introduction:

> '…the long-running detective series *Taggart,* filmed and set in Glasgow but broadcast throughout the UK, often featured various elements of Glasgow dialect, but always watered-down to a strength suitable for the non-Scottish audience' (Bernstein and Blain, 2012: 217).

Bernstein and Blain go on to mention that the titular character of *Rab C. Nesbitt* spoke 'an uncompromising Glasgow dialect of such strength that comprehension was genuinely difficult when the series was screened in England' (ibid), and that comedy series *Chewin' the*

Fat, also written by and starring Greg Hemphill and Ford Kiernan prior to the creation of *Still Game*, 'continued the use of (and even allowed itself a certain amount of fun at the expense of) west-of-Scotland dialects' (ibid). It is possible that those responsible for the creation of *Still Game* wished to reach a larger audience than *Chewin' the Fat* had attracted, and learning from the incomprehensibility of programmes like *Rab C. Nesbitt* outside of Scotland, decided to 'water down' the dialect. While this may explain the lower-than-expected rate of T-glottalling in the *Still Game* data, it is contradicted by the high frequency of non-standard negation; as such, this speculation may be worth testing through the analysis of different variables.

6. Conclusion

This study set out to address two largely neglected areas in the field of sociolinguistic research: namely, the language of fictional television, particularly the portrayal of Glaswegian dialect in fictional television; and the speech patterns of people of retirement age. The results have provided the rates at which elderly male working-class Glaswegians use T-glottalling and non-standard negation and have shown that, in several respects, the speech of the characters in *Still Game* is not an accurate representation of the speech of elderly working-class male Glaswegians. However, it is worth bearing in mind that in several regards the scripted data is fairly representative of true Glaswegian dialect, such as frequent usage of glottal stops and an avoidance of non-standard variants in certain linguistic contexts.

Although every researcher would ideally like to provide a solid explanation for the determining factors behind their findings, the findings of this study are not particularly indicative of any definite influences shaping the linguistic choices of the speakers analysed. While it appears that style-shifting is at play among the spontaneous speech informants, the lack of comparable studies exploring the speech of elderly Glaswegians in a more relaxed setting makes this difficult to verify. Among the *Still Game* speakers, several factors which may affect the ability of the actors to faithfully reflect the speech of the people they are portraying have been discussed, such as the use of emphasis in emotive statements, long-term linguistic accommodation due to social mobility, and the possible desire of the programme creators to appeal to a wider audience. The study has, however, served to provide further evidence of the contexts in which certain variants are preferred or avoided, such as the preference for standard [t] in intervocalic word positions, and has, in many cases, shown that these patterns are to be found in both spontaneous and scripted speech.

It is hoped that this study has helped to fill in some of the gaps that currently exist in sociolinguistic research, and that it will encourage other linguists to conduct further investigations into the language of fictional television and the speech of the elderly. Given the small-scale nature of my research, there are several avenues which might be taken by others in the future to expand upon my findings. To gain further insight into the language of fictional television, an obvious first step would be to repeat the current study with another fictional television series, be it one produced in Glasgow or another part of the UK. This could provide the opportunity to examine the portrayal of the speech of various age groups, social backgrounds etc. by actors who may not fit into these categories in reality: while the

findings of my research suggest that scripted speech is not an entirely accurate representation of everyday speech, this deduction cannot be made conclusively based upon the findings of just one study. Another potential idea for further study on the portrayal of working-class Glaswegian dialect is an analysis of the speech of *Chewin' the Fat,* which was created by the same writers as *Still Game* and featured many of the same actors. As *Chewin' the Fat* is arguably more 'over-the-top' than *Still Game,* and the actors are, for the most part, playing characters of their own age, it may be interesting to see if this affects the rate at which they use T-glottalling and non-standard negation. Similarly, it may be worthwhile analysing different variables in *Still Game* than the ones examined in the current study, or perhaps to repeat the study using different characters, to determine whether this influences how accurately the Glaswegian dialect is portrayed.

Considering that my study appears to be one of few which explores the linguistic patterns of elderly speakers, almost any research on this topic would provide a valuable contribution to the existing literature. Researchers interested in the same demographic group which I examined could conduct a similar study with a larger group of informants; as my study analysed the spontaneous speech of only six people, it cannot be assumed that it is representative of the entirety of the elderly male working-class Glaswegian population. Future research on this demographic group could analyse a range of linguistic variables, many of which will never have been previously examined in a study on elderly speakers. Naturally, further studies on the speech of the elderly would not need to limit their focus to working-class male Glaswegians, and could investigate the speech of elderly women, elderly people of different social backgrounds, ethnicities and so on.

One recommendation I would like to make is that researchers who wish to compare spontaneous speech with scripted dialogue should collect their spontaneous speech data in a relaxed, paired-conversation format, or another format which does not require the presence of an interviewer. As I have found when comparing the findings on my study's spontaneous speech data, which was recorded with an interviewer present, with the findings from similar studies which used a more relaxed format for data collection, the presence of an interviewer can lead to speakers dramatically altering their speech in an attempt to avoid stigmatised variants. The effects of style-shifting were frequently apparent throughout my study and resulted in my having to rely on the data of other studies as an accurate basis for comparison, something which I hope future researchers of this topic will be able to avoid.

At the outset of this study I held several assumptions which a combination of personal conviction and the findings of previous researchers had served to establish. For example, I had assumed that *Still Game* would feature hyperdialectalism, and that several features of Glaswegian dialect would be heavily exaggerated for comical effect. This would result, I believed, in non-Scottish audiences forming incorrect perceptions of Glaswegian speech, in a manner similar to the experience recounted by Bailey (2004) when a woman he met in South Africa refused to believe that not all Americans spoke like the characters in the film *Valley Girl.* Although my research showed that certain language features may well be exaggerated in scripted speech, as was found to be the case with non-standard negation, in other aspects the speech of fictional characters may in fact portray working-class Glaswegian speech as being more similar to Standard English than it truly is. Fortunately, the differences between scripted and spontaneous speech discovered in my study are not so drastic as to wildly mislead non-Scottish audiences regarding the nature of the Glasgow dialect or to result in any backlash from Scottish viewers.

I hope that this study will not only be beneficial in providing information on the language of fictional television and the speech of the elderly as well as providing a foundation for further research, but in aiding scriptwriters and actors alike to provide a more accurate representation of the Glaswegian dialect.

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