

A Sociolinguistic Study on T-glottalization in Accents of English:

TV as a Contributory Factor in T-glottalling's Gaining Covert Prestige
in Glasgow

Az angol különböző nyelvjárásaiban megjelenő T-
glottalizáció szociolingvisztikai vizsgálata:

Televízió mint a rejtett presztízst befolyásoló tényező a glasgow-i T-
glottalizáció esetében

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1. Introduction

In my present thesis, I would like to provide an overview on Glaswegian language change, mainly shining light on T-glottalling appearing in working-class adolescents' speech. An unforeseen result as regards the glottal replacement in their reading speech made me reach a conclusion, based on various researchers' findings, that for this linguistic feature's being part of a geographical linguistic diffusion experienced throughout the U.K. TV may act as an accelerating factor in this recent phenomenon's gaining covert prestige in Glasgow. In order to be able to underline my hypothesis, a study on linguistic and social constraints in a series, which appeared to have significance in Glaswegian youngsters' life, will be presented and its results will be compared to the Glaswegian data in the third chapter (4). However, before offering my analysis, I will elucidate why I could infer this supposition.

Hence, in my entire thesis, attempts and efforts are made to make it comprehensible in what way I could reach the assumption that TV might be a factor in the Glaswegian change. Consequently, in the first chapter (2), general particulars will be put forward with regard to Glasgow, along with my interpretation of Stuart-Smith's relevant study (1999), showing the language change undergone between 1973 and 1997 in Glasgow in connection with T-glottalling, while involving my emphasis put on the striking results concerning adolescents. Furthermore, within the framework of this part, an explanation will be provided for adolescents' linguistically innovative behaviour.

Whereas in the first part a necessary base for this paper is provided, in the further chapters, examination of more specific and principal facts in connection with my research questions will be embarked on. So, in the second chapter (3), I will extend adolescents' linguistic importance to Glaswegian youngsters, parallel with adding other factors perceived as crucial in examining the local Glaswegian change, and introducing the role of TV in language change. Moreover, Stuart-Smith's (2013) findings with regard to the correlation between TV and two other phonological features will be dealt with so as to be able to provide a framework for my research. Finally, the goal of my dissertation is achieved in the last chapter (4), though not by enabling me to give exact statements about this topic, but by giving way to the possibility for conduct of further studies based on well-founded questions.

2. Overview

2.1. *Glasgow: historical, social and linguistic context*

Glasgow, located in West Central Lowlands, is the largest city in Scotland and the third most densely populated one in Great Britain, moreover, it is said to be one of the most stereotyped Scottish cities for its history. In the early years of the 20th century, Glasgow was a recognised industrially successful town. At that time already, class-based social stratification was observed and reflected in the location of population. While middle-class population lived in the west areas of Glasgow and in the ‘peripheral suburbs’, the working class associated with poorer living conditions could be found in the old city (Gibb 1983, in Stuart-Smith 2007). Clearances, in other words, the rehousing of the original living area of working-class people into tenements started in 1919, gave way to the creation of ‘ghettos’ with the help of deprivation of adequate financial governmental support and thus attached stigma to these parts of the city; moreover, it resulted in “shift(ing) the old slums further away from the city centre” to “peripheral estates” deprived of proper social infrastructure thus “formalising social segregation through housing” (Stuart-Smith 2007: 225-226, suffix added).

Attempts to rearrange the city and the economic sufferings of the Second World War indicated two crucially important changes concerning the working class, which also “function(ed) (...) as norm-enforcement mechanism on all forms of social behaviour” (Macafee 1983:16-17, in Stuart-Smith 2007:227, simple past suffix added). Firstly, the increasing poverty contributed to the rise of stigmatisation of working-class residence, furthermore, those peripheral areas made poor people less socially mobile compared to the middle class. However, the most significant change undergone by the working class was obviously that rehousing resulted in the loss of strong social networks and ties among those people. A description of the city in 1929 provided that Glasgow was “the greatest, closely-knit community in Great Britain” (Morton 1929, in: Reed 1999a:3). The ‘unifying and cohesive’ effects stemming from these features of the community described above started to disappear. Hitherto, the neighbour and familial relationships were damaged in this way.

At present, Glasgow is still characterised as a socially stratified town with sharp social differences between the middle and working class. In recent studies (see for example: Stuart-Smith 1999, 2007, 2013; Braber and Butterfint 2008, etc.) researchers made a difference between the social classes of Glasgow according to their speech style, mobility, location,

education and occupation, for example. While the working-class part of the population owns the attributes of being less socially mobile, less educated and having stronger social networks, on the contrary the middle class is associated with a high degree of social mobility, proper education, and weaker social ties. In addition, the accents that the two social classes use also differ. In what follows, I will examine the reason for this linguistic phenomenon.

So as to be able to understand the differences of accents in Glasgow, it is worth turning our attention to the essential historical background of Glasgow considering language influences in the development of Glaswegian speech and their effects. As Stuart-Smith (2008:48) claims Glaswegian language “is the result of dialect contact and language change over many centuries”. Scotland being originally a Celtic-speaking area has experienced several other language impacts among which we find Norman French, Norse and Irish, for instance.

However, the main influential factor is considered to be the English language chiefly after the Act of Union in 1707, although it had been spoken there before. Its consequences were, since the English and Scottish parliament had been united into one, that Scots, thriving in literacy and speech before, started to decline and be suppressed by “Standard English spoken with a refined Scottish accent” (Stuart-Smith 2008:49), which became the official and institutional language in Scotland. Thus Scots as a linguistic characteristic was attached to working-class and rural speakers, since although a levelling towards Standard Scottish English had been done by these speakers, still they maintained their ‘vigorous’ Scots speech. The conditions of languages depicted above gave way to the development of the “bipolar linguistic continuum, with broad Scots at one end, and Scottish Standard English (hereafter SSE) at the other” in Scotland (Stuart-Smith 2008:48).

In her article, Stuart-Smith also provides information about the language situation in Glasgow concerning its language continuum, which is undergoing changes at present, too. As it turns out, one of the ends of the Glaswegian continuum is unsurprisingly SSE while the other one is referred to as Urban Scots, which is the dialect of Scots in cities located in the Central Belt such as Glasgow and Edinburgh, and “is historically derived from forms of Central Scots” (Stuart-Smith 2008:48). Two pieces of significant information from her (2008) article relevant to the topic of my thesis have to be presented here. Firstly, a negative attitude can be experienced towards Urban Scots, “which is often regarded as a degenerate form of speech synonymous with slang” (Macafee 1994, in Stuart-Smith 2008:50), and which is attributed to lower middle-, and working-class speakers. Secondly, Stuart-Smith states that due to working-class adolescents accelerated linguistic change can be experienced in Urban

Scots, and consequently in Glaswegian Scots (henceforth Glaswegian), too. Although Glaswegian has not been held in high esteem, the use of one of its stigmatised features, namely the glottal stop, is increasing. In the next subchapter, I will present Stuart-Smith's relevant study on Glaswegian glottal stop.

2.2. The glottal stop in Glasgow

The object of one of the 'most far-reaching changes' in Glaswegian is called T-glottalling, which is the replacement of standard variant [t] with making an obstruction in the airflow in the glottis, thus producing a glottal stop in speech. It has its own stigmatised history in Glasgow, since, as it is pointed out by Stuart-Smith, Glasgow was "possibly the original home of the glottal stop" (1999:182). Firstly, its stigmatised history is confirmed by the statement of Macaulay that the glottal stop is "the most highly stigmatised feature of Glasgow speech and a common subject for overt comment and jokes" in 1976 (Macaulay 1976:179, in Braber and Butterfint 2008:25). Furthermore, it was reported in Macaulay's study as well that "(t)he stigmatised feature of T-glottalling was confirmed by the result for reading aloud, which generally showed a shift to the prestige variant [t]" (Stuart-Smith 1999:184).

Moreover, the fact that it is stigmatised may be underlined by taking other factors into consideration as well, for example, social and linguistic impacts and historical events. At this point of my thesis, I would like to draw a conclusion from the facts mentioned so far. It was already reported that the Glaswegian vernacular, Glasgow Scots, which has its own linguistic features (having recorded history of T-glottalling, for example), suffered a loss of prestige in Scotland after the Act of Union of 1707 since SSE (having no recorded history of T-glottalling) (Stuart-Smith 1999) started to suppress Scots and force it into the role of being characterised by the poverty and the uneducated feature of the working class, while middle-class speakers' living and educational conditions were associated with the standard variety, SSE. Thus parallel with other linguistic features, the glottal stop also became less prestigious, indeed stigmatised. Although history has been cruel to the glottal stop, recent research has shown that there is a change going on in Glasgow concerning several linguistic variables, among which we find the glottal stop, too.

Before I set forth the findings of Stuart-Smith's (1999) relevant study on Glaswegian T-glottalling, I would like to list the phonetic environments relevant to my thesis where this phenomenon can be observed.

1. *prepausal*, _#: at the end of a word before a pause, either utterance-final, e.g. ... *and that*
2. *word-final prevocalic*, _#V: at the end of a word, and before a following word which begins with a vowel, e.g. *a lot of*
3. *intervocalic*, V_V: word-internally between vowels, of which the second one is unstressed, e.g. *butter*
4. *word-final preconsonantal*, _#C: at the end of a word, and before a following word which begins with a consonant, e.g. *but that*

Stuart-Smith's study provides an overview of changes undergone as regards the glottal stop in Glasgow since 1973. In spite of the fact that Macaulay in 1973 applied a methodology differing from Stuart-Smith's one in 1997 she could make a tentative and 'cautious' comparison and conclude that "there may be evidence for a sound change in progress" (Stuart-Smith 1999:181). Already in the study of Macaulay while examining to what extent social stratification in Glasgow can be reflected by the usage of linguistic variables such as the realisation of /t/, results showed that the frequency of the glottal stop increased as the social ranks of people lowered (Stuart-Smith 1999). Stuart-Smith's research showed tentatively the same results, however, with an interesting change observed in working-class adolescents' speech, which I will present later in this paper. Notwithstanding, both studies indicated that the Glaswegian sociolinguistic situation was that Urban Scots, which had a 'recorded history' of T-glottalling, was spoken mostly by working-class speakers, while SSE, which did not own such a history, was preferred by middle-class individuals (Stuart-Smith 1999).

Stuart-Smith made interviews altogether with 32 speakers, being proportionally distributed according to the social factors like age, class, and sex into categories. As a result, four speakers were interviewed representing one category, e.g., owning the attributes of female, middle-class, and adolescent at the same time. The respondents were tested in two kinds of speech styles, representing the extent of formality. The first one was the interview style and the second one was the reading style, being more informal and formal, respectively. The quantitative results are the following: while correlations between class and T-glottalling showed that working-class informants use more glottal stops than middle-class speakers in both formal and informal style, Stuart-Smith's research did not find any difference concerning the gender factor. However, age as a factor happened to be distinctive since a common

conclusion is drawn that younger speakers use more glottal stops than older respondents, “(a)lthough the pattern for the two speech styles was different for working and middle class speakers” (Stuart-Smith 1999:191).

This difference in pattern leads us to the most significant result of Stuart Smith’s study in 1999. While middle-class adolescents used more glottal stops in informal style than the older informants, there was hardly any difference between all the middle-class speakers concerning the more formal reading style since both age-groups reduced the use of T-glottalling almost totally in the latter style. This does not apply to working-class adolescents, who maintained the use of glottal stops even in the formal style to a considerable extent, compared to working-class adults’ results, who, on the contrary, attested style-shifting in formal speech and thus reduced the number of glottal stops used.

The conclusion drawn by Stuart Smith was that the results of her quantitative analysis were “in general in line with Macaulay’s earlier results, reflecting a sociolinguistic continuum, with *an* increase in social class correlating with decreasing numbers of glottal stops (and vice versa).” (1999:191, article added) However, gender as a factor was a distinctive one in 1973, since at that time working-class male respondents used more glottal replacement in reading style than female speakers from the same social class; this difference, as mentioned earlier, had disappeared by 1997. Furthermore, what is worth highlighting here is that the quantitative data presented an unexpected result of working class adolescents’ linguistic behaviour in formal speech style, which showed a striking increase in the glottal stops in this latter style. Before analysing the latter result, we have to take a look at Stuart-Smith’s qualitative analysis.

In her qualitative analysis, Stuart-Smith attempted to discover a systematic pattern of the phonetic environment where the glottal stop occurred. According to the results, the decreasing order of the likelihood of the glottal stops with regard to the phonetic environment in less formal speech was the following: pre-pausal, prevocalic, and intervocalic while Macaulay found a different patterning, namely, prevocalic, pre-pausal, and intervocalic. Note that the glottal stops in the pre-consonantal environment were dropped here since they were not the subject of Stuart-Smith’s analysis; however, in Macaulay’s study they appeared to be the most frequent.

Besides her qualitative and quantitative analysis, Stuart-Smith provided a real-time comparison between the data from 1973 and 1997, which showed one unexpected result. Although only a “cautious indirect comparison” (Stuart-Smith 1999:198) could be implemented due to the different methodologies used by the researchers in the studies, a

striking change was observable with regard to working-class adolescents. This difference suggesting an ongoing change in Glasgow was that while in 1973 35% of /t/ was realized as a glottal stop in working-class adolescents' reading, thus formal speech, the percentage increased to 73% by 1997. This means, contrary to working-class adults, who shifted their style upward thus using fewer glottal stops in reading, this kind of behaviour exhibited by working-class youngsters before in 1973 was on the verge of disappearance according to Stuart-Smith's results.

This result implies that although the glottal stop is not considered to be one of the features of Glaswegian, which has already gained overt prestige, it seems to have obtained covert prestige in the subgroup of working-class adolescents. The fact that it is not recognised to have overt prestige means that it is not part of the standard variety (here SSE) and not "held up as the 'best' way of speaking in the community" (Holmes 2008:408). However, covert prestige "is used (...) to refer to positive attitudes towards vernacular or non-standard speech varieties." (Holmes 2008:408) Having such prestige means that value is attached to this feature only by a subgroup but not by the whole community and thus it is not regarded as a standard variant. It is demonstrated in Stuart-Smith's study that the glottal stop became accepted and valued in working-class adolescents' speech since this variant was frequently used in their formal speech and in this way it was observed to have covert prestige.

In the next section, I would like to examine adolescence as a life stage and its important factor in language change.

2.3. The role of adolescence in language change

Adolescence as such is not only regarded as a distinct life stage psychologically or biologically, which would be verified by any parents having adolescents at home, but it is also witnessed in sociolinguistic terms. As Eckert (1988:183) claims "adolescents provide explanations for the mechanisms of the spread of sound change outward from urban areas and upward through the socioeconomic hierarchy". She then explains that usually there are two kinds of phonological changes (1) outward from cities (2) upward through the socioeconomic hierarchy. In order to underline the sociolinguistic importance of adolescence I would like to take an example of the first type, that is the phonological change appearing in Northeast Scots.

The Huntly Study, carried out by Jonathan Marshall in 2001, examining the spread of glottal stops into Northeast Scots, showed that in northeast rural Scotland T-glottalling spreads outward from cities to the dialect called Huntly and underlined the fact that adolescence as such is significant for sociolinguistics. Since the oldest informants did not show any glottal stops during speech but used the alveolar [t] variant instead, Marshall (2001) argues that Northeast Scots rural vernacular originally does not have T-glottalling but has the standard [t] as the local feature. Adults between the age of 25 and 40 used slightly more, but not a considerable amount of glottal stops; adolescents (aged 14-17), however, represented about 71,4% of /t/ as a glottal stop on average (Marshall 2001). Preadolescents (aged 8-12) took part in the study as well, and in the result of female preadolescents we found a striking difference if it was compared to female adolescents' scores. While the former group attested only 12,5%, the latter one reached almost 68% in using the glottal stop as the realisation of /t/. The difference between the scores of males was not as sharp as the ones of females, but even male adolescents scored slightly more than male preadolescents.

We can infer from the data above that adolescents are more innovative in sociolinguistic terms. The reason for that is that while preadolescents, in the Huntly Study especially female ones, tended to follow their parents' linguistic norms, here the standard local variant [t], more than adolescents; more innovative forms of a non-local standard feature, namely the glottal stop, were introduced by adolescents (Marshall 2001). By the time preadolescents reached their adolescence, they were prone to turning away from the familial norms and for instance, by the age of 14 female preadolescents also caught up with males and used the non-local variant approximately to the same extent in northeast rural Scotland. Briefly, adolescence is such an innovative life stage that it has to be reckoned with by sociolinguists. The question arises: What can be the reason for this innovativeness?

Eckert (1988:185) introduces the term *increased social mobility* to explain the differences in innovativeness between preadolescents and adolescents. Upon "entrance into secondary school where a variety of factors provide greater social choice and motivation to make the choice", adolescents become more socially mobile and have more social networks which is not constrained only to familial and neighbour relationships anymore, and as a consequence they start to search for their own social identity through other networks such as ones from school. In short, adolescents' social identity and thus linguistic patterns become "somewhat independent of" their parents.

As Eckert (1988:187) explains, in searching for their own identity, they try to separate themselves from "the family and parental authority". In order to be able to replace this

“ascriptive identity” they get engaged in “peer interactions (...) because these relationships represent the main alternative to the family.” Adolescents, having been living with an identity mirrored by only family or neighbourhood so far, now look for other relationships which can “compensate for the loss of the security of family structure and (are) based on sufficiently broad social values to provide a meaningful basis for identity.” In sum, searching for new identity in which the family is less involved than before, they participate in peer interactions.

Eckert (1988:187) also adds that this phenomenon of looking for identity results in having peer interactions as seen above; moreover, in adolescents’ becoming exposed to “peer pressure”. Peer pressure expresses the inclination and constraint of adolescents to conform their behaviours to the group’s behaviour. Not only do they implement this “careful monitoring” but also they get to know what belonging to a group means, consequently they acquire the important “social symbols” which create a group out of a bunch of people. Among these social symbols, we find music and dressing style, for instance. The most significant symbol – for the purpose of this essay – is their linguistic behaviour. To sum up, through peer pressure the group unconsciously requires adolescents to accommodate themselves to the group’s taste and so to the group’s language style as well.

Now that it was set forth why adolescence is a significant life stage for sociolinguistics, and we got a clear picture that adolescents’ motivations in this life stage concerning their innovativeness derive from searching for a social identity different from the familial one and from its immediate consequence, peer pressure; we now turn back to Glasgow and attempt to provide an overview of Glaswegian adolescents in the next chapter.

3. Glaswegian change and the role of TV

3.1. *Glaswegian adolescents*

It has been already reported what kind of change was observed concerning T-glottalling due to the innovativeness of Glaswegian working-class adolescents, but since this is only a part of the ongoing change in Glasgow and there is a wider range of phonological features included, such as TH-fronting, L-vocalisation, along with DH-fronting, etc., I would like to put emphasis on two of these which are relevant to my dissertation. TH-fronting and L-vocalisation are present in the working-class adolescents' speech to a greater extent than in the speech of working-class adults and middle class, therefore are considered to be thoroughly innovative.

TH-fronting, when instead of the standard variant /θ/ [f] is pronounced, was reported to appear in Glaswegian only sporadically in the past, now the ongoing Glaswegian change concerns this feature, too (Macafee 1983:34, in: Stuart-Smith et al 2007:232). For this sound, a local variant is available that is [h]. Working-class adolescents are the leaders of the use of [f] compared to others, but interestingly, while they reduce the local non-standard variant [h] in formal reading speech, the non-standard non-local [f] does not fall into this category. Middle-class speakers, however, are short of using the non-standard non-local [f] with pronouncing the SSE standard variant [θ] almost always. In sum, the increase in the use of TH-fronting is also a feature which supports the fact that Glaswegian is undergoing a change mainly because of working-class youngsters.

The other feature attesting an increase in Glaswegian working-class adolescents' speech is L-vocalisation, which is a process "typical of Cockney English" (Wells 1982:259) and was experienced only sporadically in Glasgow before (Macafee 1994:29). Stuart-Smith (2007:232) also describes that L-vocalisation is the process through which syllable-final /l/ is pronounced as a high back (unrounded or rounded) vowel. The striking result was that while in informal speech hardly any of the implementations of this feature was experienced either in working-class or middle-class speech; in formal style working-class adolescents increased the use of L-vocalisation as well, thus promoting the non-standard non-local variant.

The differences between T-glottalling and the two other phenomena, namely L-vocalisation and TH-fronting, are important to be mentioned, too. The most striking evidence for the difference is that whereas L-vocalisation and TH-fronting are said not to have recorded

history in the local Glaswegian vernacular, T-glottaling is probably originated from Glasgow. Certainly, therefore it is not surprising that the change which concerns T-glottalling is unique and its uniqueness is twofold. Firstly, an increase in the use of glottal stops was experienced only in working-class adolescents' formal speech according to a real-time comparison, since their informal use of T-glottalling has been already frequent in 1973, secondly it is thoroughly unique for the fact that usually in the latter style "(t)hey reduce(d) some local non-standard variants ([h] for (θ) ...), but T-glottalling (was) not subject to the same restriction" (Stuart-Smith et al 2007:241-242, suffix, and "was" added). Hence, the way they should be treated is not the same. While both TH-fronting and L-vocalisation are linguistic and stylistic innovations of working-class adolescents, T-glottalling is only the representation of the stylistic innovativeness of this group. (Speech styling and stylisation will be discussed later in this paper.)

TH-fronting, L-vocalisation, along with T-glottalling, and other spreading features are part of a "rapid change (...) (in) (u)rban accents' (...) consonantal system apparently in the direction of southern English English models" (Stuart-Smith 2007:231, preposition and accent added). Similar patterns of changes were experienced throughout the U.K., which was described as 'homogenization' by Foulkes and Doherty (1999b, in Stuart-Smith 2007:222). Although the Glaswegian linguistic development is not a unique one in supra-regional terms, still it is considered to be locally unique by Stuart-Smith (2007). Furthermore, according to her the most important to be able to understand a language change is to investigate into comprehending its local context.

So as to be able to understand the motivation of Glaswegian working-class adolescents' innovativeness in linguistic and stylistic change and thus their preference of the non-standard and non-local features in reading style, we must take a look at other factors, such as social networks and dialect contact. Stuart-Smith (2007:223) notes that the general assumption is that "(l)anguage change is linked to the nature of the networks such that dense social networks with strong ties promote conformity in social and linguistic norms and inhibit change, while loose networks with weak ties typically facilitate change". As it has been put forward in my present thesis, working class is associated with dense social networks and strong ties, whereas middle class usually gives evidence of loose networks with weak ties in Glasgow, therefore Glaswegian language change seems to be surprising, if we consider the suggestion mentioned above

The results have shown that contrary to general assumptions, strongly tied working-class speakers, mainly adolescents show a tendency for change in formal and informal speech

in Glasgow, while loosely tied middle-class informants, had attested an inclination towards English English linguistically before, now “we seem to be witnessing some kind of brake on the gradual drift in the direction of English English” in their speech (Stuart-Smith et al 2007:249), since Stuart-Smith’s research showed that they maintain Scottish standard features thoroughly. This result is also interesting if it is examined with regard to the factor of dialect contact.

Generally, the more a speaker has dialect contact (hence a person is more mobile), the more inclined the speaker is to attest linguistic change, since “changes take place during face-to-face interaction between speakers through linguistic accommodation, or the socio-psychological process of linguistic convergence during interaction” (Kerswill 2002, in: Stuart-Smith et al 2007:223), so when contacts between dialects emerge, it suggests some kind of mobility of speakers. Briefly, mobility is considered to be a factor which facilitates linguistic change. On turning back to Glasgow, the contrary of general assumptions was experienced, since whereas Glaswegian middle class – as already mentioned before – gave no proof of linguistic change despite being mobile and having dialect contact with English English speakers, working-class adolescents with less mobility were the leaders of the Glaswegian language change.

This idea of the importance of the factors of dialect contact and social networks was tested by Kerswill and Williams (2000) in Reading and Milton Keynes and resulted in arguing that “social networks and mobility are factors which may interact, in complex ways, with each other and with the language ideologies constructed around them” (Stuart-Smith et al 2007:224). In other words, explaining linguistic changes requires not only taking the factors of age, gender, sex, mobility, and social networks, but also the factor of language ideologies into consideration. The notion of language ideologies refers to the attitudes of speakers towards other accents with the help of which they can construct the idea of what is linguistically ideal for them.

It has been already highlighted that Glaswegian adolescents and adolescents in general tend to be innovative linguistically, and that this is due to their searching for a new identity including a new language identity, being somewhat independent of their parents. At this point of my thesis another factor, namely, the above mentioned language ideologies must be taken into account since this factor also affects the way of looking for a new language identity and hence adolescents’ being linguistically and stylistically innovative.

In order for them to be able to construct an independent language identity, Glaswegian working-class adolescents “seem to be using all possible linguistic resources (...) which are as

anti-middle-class, and anti-establishment as possible” (Stuart-Smith et al 2007:251). As reported earlier in my thesis, they used mostly non-standard and non-local features in reading speech, thus as Stuart-Smith (2007:254) argues, “they polarise(d) themselves linguistically and ideologically from middle-class speakers”. The reason for this phenomenon is their attitude observed by researchers towards middle-class speech, which was considered to own the characteristics of ‘posh’ according to interviews with working-class adolescents. Their linguistic ideologies contain this attitude, too. With regard to this conclusion, “(w)hat becomes apparent are contrasting class-based language ideologies differentiating working-class informants from the middle class” in accordance with Stuart-Smith (2007:249).

We have to pay attention to Glaswegian working-class adolescents’ social practices in order to better understand their attitude towards middle class. As Stuart-Smith (2007:252) reported, “(t)heir conversations give tiny windows onto social practices, many of which are anti-social or even illegal (...): friends, ‘nipping’ (getting off with people), fighting for local gangs, hanging out on the streets, breaking and entering, stealing, brushes with the *polis* (... , ‘police’), and so on”. The long history of Glaswegian social stratification and the still present, sharp differences between middle-, and working-class’s living style may provide an explanation for their anti-social behaviour and their attitude towards the ‘posh’ middle class and as a result for their linguistic behaviour, too. For instance, during the recordings of interviews with working-class adolescents, as Stuart-Smith (2007:252) claims, “their approach to reading the wordlists (...) appears to have been a direct response to the person, accent, and role of the University fieldworker”, who, for being SSE speaker, indicated them to react in a way that they could express their own language identity related to their subgroup.

In doing so, they increased the amount of non-standard and non-local variants (like TH-fronting and L-vocalisation) used in their formal speech – as pointed out above – hence trying to differentiate themselves from middle-class SSE speakers, although researchers expected that the orthography when reading aloud would make adolescents attest a conformity towards local norms and standard variants. This phenomenon and historical and social factors – discussed in the previous sections – confirm the class-based language ideologies present in Glasgow. Although a style-shift to be used by working-class adolescents in formal speech was expected by researchers, they witnessed a “stylistic choice not to conform to regional standard norms, even when reading a wordlist” (Stuart-Smith 2007:247). Stuart-Smith (2007:247) argues that this is “a case of conscious speech styling”, which refers to the fact that working-class Glaswegian adolescents chose from their “particular stylistic repertoire”, so as to support their social distance from middle class, and in this way their

social and language identity; furthermore in order to provide the representation of their own group's 'voice'.

Turning back to the description of adolescence as a life stage provided by Eckert (1988), the stylisation attested by Glaswegian working-class adolescents provides an example for what was called social symbol. In order to be able to conform to their peer group, they have to behave according to the social symbols required by that particular group they want to be part of. One of these social symbols is obviously the common language, which strengthens the feeling about belonging to the group, and therefore is also the subject of the language change facilitating phenomenon, peer pressure. So, basically adolescents' looking for a language identity influenced by language ideologies results in expressing their 'voice' through using variants from the 'stylistic repertoire' which holds the meaning of their belonging to the subgroup and their having successfully acquired its social symbols.

Glaswegian working-class adolescents' 'stylistic repertoire' in reading speech contains non-standard and non-local variants mostly, but their choice is interesting if we remind us of what has been already mentioned concerning non-standard local T-glottalling. Unlike the local non-standard [h] for /θ/, glottal stops were not reduced in formal speech, thus for working-class adolescents it seemed to constitute an essential part of their 'stylistic repertoire'. Stuart-Smith's contention (2007:224) was that this 'stylistic' changes appearing in adolescents' formal speech can not be indicated by a direct "external dialect source" for their being socially less mobile. Nonetheless, T-glottalling has been always reported as a stigmatised feature of Glaswegian, hence was able to serve as a distinctive feature for adolescents. Furthermore L-vocalisation and TH-fronting – as could be seen – sporadically appeared in Glaswegian, as a result they may be taken to the 'stylistic repertoire' without the help of dialect contact.

Moreover, it is worth being concluded that not only did the T-glottalling obtain covert prestige in the subgroup of working-class adolescents in Glasgow, but also L-vocalisation and TH-fronting did so, too; furthermore that this tendency to change is not unique supra-regionally, but locally. The reason for this phenomenon is obviously the above provided explanation of the complex issue of Glaswegian adolescents' stylisation. However, as already described earlier, a regional drift could be experienced towards Southern English English in urban accents in the U.K., and since these urban cities are not adjacent to each other, TV emerged as a possible indirect dialect source due to researchers' assumptions. For this reason, I will focus on the role of TV in language change in the next section.

3.2. The role of TV

The spread of TH-fronting, L-vocalisation, and T-glottalling from the southern parts of the U.K., mainly London northward into urban accents was referred to as a geographical diffusion (regional drift earlier in this paper), where TV emerged as a possible contributory factor in the spread of changes, for the lack of evidence for direct dialect contact among cities (e.g. Trudgill 1986). For instance, in Norwich as well as in Glasgow where “no obvious connections with Londoners” were demonstrated, moreover similar changes (TH-fronting, T-glottalling, L-vocalisation) were observed in the urban accent, Trudgill (1988) suggested that TV could have been a contributory factor. Along with other researchers’ findings, the role of TV in language change is still not clear, but there is a principle which has to be taken into consideration when somebody is about to search for correlations between language change and media.

As Stuart-Smith (2013:502) notes, “(t)he starting point for any discussion about language change and media has to be the locus of language variation and change itself, namely social interaction”. This previous claim emphasises the fact that a change can be started on an individual level, but cannot spread onto a community level as well, thus resulting in “community-level systematic changes” without the help of social interactions between individuals. So, media cannot replace the importance of social interactions concerning language changes.

Chambers (1998:126) sets forth a case study which underlines the fact that there is “abundant evidence that mass media cannot provide the stimulus for language acquisition”. The case study is about a boy, named Vincent, whose parents were deaf and dumb; therefore, they could not serve as a speaking model for the boy. Vincent’s parents though attempted to develop their son’s language skills with the help of making him watch television, however, their efforts turned out to be unsuccessful. Vincent could not acquire the language only through “televised talk”; he also needed social interactions to be able to speak. This and several other examples of studies serve as counter-arguments against mass media’s and consequently TV’s being a primary factor in language change; notwithstanding, a series of research can provide negative and positive results on its being a contributory factor.

Whereas Saladino’s study in 1990 demonstrated negative results concerning the correlation between media and language change, Lameli in 2004 found the contrary. On the one hand, Saladino investigated into figuring out whether being exposed to TV could have

been a contributory factor in “standardization in a south Italian dialect”, results came to negative correlations. On the other hand, Lameli’s results implied that radio had been a contributory factor in the “dedialectalization of a regional German dialect” (Stuart-Smith 2013:503-504).

Since media and therefore TV can work only as contributory factor, it is crucially significant to examine the correlation of language change and TV altogether with other more important and local factors, which has been already dealt with in my present dissertation, namely sex, gender, age, social mobility, and social networks, parallel with linguistic ideologies and language identity, chiefly observed as important factors in Glasgow. Taking these into consideration and Glaswegian working-class adolescents’ engagement towards watching *EastEnders*, a soap opera, which depicts lives of “working-class London Cockney families” (Stuart-Smith 2013:506), Stuart-Smith (2013) attempted to find correlations between the Glaswegian change and the language attested by the characters of *EastEnders* in order to prove that TV has been an accelerating or/and contributory factor in the Glaswegian language change. As I already pointed out, to be able to draw a conclusion concerning TV as a factor, other factors have to be examined.

So, before I set forth the results of Stuart-Smith, I would like to examine the extent to which TV can have an impact on the development of identities, since in adolescence it is an essential point. In order to be able to support the statement that TV has impact on identity, I would like to examine this question from a social psychological point of view.

In social psychological terms, adolescence is considered to be an important life stage as well, since it is the period when adolescents have to cope with the task to gain a stable identity. The definition of identity is given in Reinhard’s article (2003:4) according to Côté and Levine (2002), that is “a conscious sense of one’s location within the society, wherein this position is shaped and/or defined by one’s concrete presentation of one’s attitudes, values, and beliefs”. So as to form an identity, one needs “various resources, along with various socialising agents”, like cultural and social norms in Reinhard’s opinion (2003:4). The question arises whether TV can act as a *socialiser*, in plain language a socialising agent.

First of all, the extent of the exposure to TV has to be examined in order to be able pinpoint TV’s possible impacts on individuals. Gerbner’s study (1979) focused on the question whether heavy television watching (so to say being a ‘heavy viewer’) correlated with the watchers’ idea of living in a dangerous world. The results showed positive correlations, so the conclusion was drawn that the more people watched TV, the more likely they perceived

the world as it could be “seen on TV” (Reinhard 2003:4). In a word, it is certain that heavy watching influences the way we see the real world.

Nevertheless, TV has to be examined concentrating on its effects on formative identity, and whether it can serve as a socialiser. Reinhard (2003) advances that although TV cannot serve as a primary socialiser, since social interactions are necessary for adolescents to get reflections about the reality and get to know who they are, thus developing their identity; TV may be a secondary socialiser for several reasons. Firstly, plenty of studies have shown that “adolescents seek out the media as a new form of socialising agent” (e.g. Arnett 1995, in Reinhard 2003:12). As I have already discussed, adolescence is a life stage in which individuals look for an identity independent of their parents, and thus it determines their way of choosing socialisers, too. Hence, they “seek out the media that give them greater autonomy from their families and more integration with their peers” (Larson, Kubey and Colletti 1989, in: Reinhard 2003: 12). So, in this way media may appear to be a secondary socialising agent.

This field of study needs further investigations, but since it was proven that TV affects the way in which we perceive reality, it appears to be a proper statement that media, thus television, can have an impact on the development of identity for the following reasons. Firstly, this is the life stage where for not possessing the experiences adults usually have adolescents are more susceptible to the messages of TV. Moreover, adolescence is characterised as a period of life that is a continuous search for feedback about who they are. In this sense and for TV’s being an autonomous choice of socialiser, television may serve as a secondary source to form an identity. Its socialising effect has not been proven yet, however, if we consider TV as a source of learning and experiencing, it might have a role in the formation of identity, even if only to a slight extent (Reinhard 2003).

Comparing the social psychological approach to the role of TV with the sociolinguistic one, it can be concluded that exact statements can not be said, but tentative assumptions allow us to say that, although TV does not have a primary role, it may serve as a secondary socialiser in the formation of identity, which supports the suggestion that TV can be a contributory factor in language change.

Mainly in Glasgow, it has been already concluded that adolescents’ searching for identity, including language identity, which is influenced by linguistic ideologies, parallel with other factors, resulted in working-class adolescents’ attesting a sort of stylisation, parallel with language change. Since this identity and consequently the Glaswegian language change may be affected by television broadcasting, I would like to set forth Stuart-Smith’s

findings about the correlations between adolescents' exposure to TV and the features, TH-fronting and L-vocalisation.

3.3. *Stuart-Smith's findings*

Stuart-Smith (2013) investigated into the examination of the correlation between adolescents' exposure to TV and linguistic features, in particular the TH-fronting and the L-vocalisation, and since the purpose of my essay is to find correlations between TV and T-glottalling, once again I have to make a comparison between the former two and the glottal stop. According to her (2013:509), both L-vocalisation and TH-fronting are “diffusing changes”, which refers to the fact that they are representations of innovativeness but not expected to appear to such an extent for their having been only sporadically recognised in the history of Glasgow; furthermore, they are diffusing in a sense that they form part of the geographical diffusion experienced in the U.K.. Considering T-glottalling, which is defined as being an “ongoing vernacular change”, we find one striking difference comparing it to L-vocalisation and TH-fronting. Albeit it is also part of the diffusing features in other urban accents, it is an entirely expected feature of Glaswegian, for its having a recorded history of glottal stops, and thus T-glottalling is an innovation only when focusing on its use in working-class adolescents' formal speech, thus their device to give way to stylisation. Hence, Stuart-Smith's findings are relevant –for the purpose of my thesis – only when reading style with regard to the other two features is mentioned.

Stuart-Smith (2013:506) picked out *EastEnders*, in order to test the presumed correlation between Glaswegian language change and TV, “a ‘soap’, which since 1985 has portrayed the detailed personal lives of a small group of mainly working-class, London Cockney families who live in ‘Albert Square’ in ‘Walford’, a fictional area of the East End of London” for several reasons. Firstly, for its enjoying wide popularity in Glasgow to an extent that among working-class adolescents a psychological engagement with this series was experienced during interviews, where several informants named it as favourite series, along with the favourite characters from it. Secondly, not only is *EastEnders* “aired four times a week during prime time”, but also it is “repeated again later each viewing night, and are collected together in a weekend ‘omnibus’ edition, enabling viewers to watch again and/or catch up on missed episodes”; thus increasing the possibility to provide an abundant amount of exposure to it, and in this way to its impacts; moreover, also to support the emotional and psychological engagement with it.

So as to be able to examine the extralinguistic variables, which are necessary to get an overall picture about the language change in Glasgow, further investigations were implemented by researchers. Among these extralinguistic variables we find ones, such as dialect contact and social practices, having been described above, and ones, such as attitudes toward accents and engagement with television, which still need to be mentioned. In addition, Stuart-Smith in 2013 provided further pieces of information about social practices relevant to my thesis.

Not only did the researchers report that working-class adolescents usually attested antisocial behaviour, but also their attitude towards going to school, having friends and clothing style were attempted to be considered as part of the extralinguistic variable, namely social practices. Expectedly, the older the informant was, the more friends one had and the less one liked going to school. Furthermore, age as a factor correlated with clothing style as well, giving the results that the older the participant was, the more likely this individual was to “supplement (...) *the* school uniform with other locally fashionable clothing, jeans or tracksuits, and on their feet, sneakers with (...) socks pulled over (...) trouser cuffs” (Stuart-Smith 2013:521, article added). All these factors altogether provided a contributory factor explaining the changes in Glasgow.

Apart from stylisation in their formal speech, which was one of the social symbols Glaswegian working-adolescents adopted in order to attest a distance from middle-class and promote their group’s ‘voice’, thus expressing their belonging to that subgroup, and their behaviour mentioned as an important part in this, Stuart-Smith (2013:527) added another dimension, namely “local Glaswegian street style”. This style consists of their “visible appearance” – described above – and serves as a contributory tool, with the help of which their identity as a group can be supported even more. Briefly, these social symbols (a particular ‘stylistic repertoire’, social behaviour, and street style), along with other factors form the complicated net of extralinguistic variables.

At this point of my thesis, I would like to turn my attention to another extralinguistic factor which has not been dealt with so far, that is, Glaswegian working-class adolescents’ attitudes toward languages. By means of “tape-recorded extracts of young adults reading the same passage from six British urban accents” (Stuart-Smith 2013:520), including working-class Glaswegian, RP, and informal London, researchers attempted to measure to what extent adolescents were able to recognise these accents, furthermore, what kind of attitudes towards the accents were attested by them during the survey. Results showed that WC Glaswegian was the mostly recognised and liked one, while informal London accent “were rated lower than

other accents” with the exception of RP, which was liked by them the less in accordance with Stuart-Smith (2013:520).

The other extralinguistic factor worth mentioning is their exposure to television. Glaswegian working-class adolescents were reported to watch television generally three hours per day; and particularly *EastEnders*, which were among other “London-based programs (...) ranked highest in watching and liking” (2013:521), fell into the category of being the favourite program of most of the informants, parallel with naming one of its characters as their favourite one. Furthermore, watching TV was said to be one of their most liked leisure activities, apart from “hanging out, listening to music, and using computers” (Stuart-Smith 2013:521).

Now, if we veer back to what has been said about TV’s impact on the formation of identity when describing the social psychological perspective, the conclusion can be drawn that television might affect adolescents’ speech in Glasgow, too. Since they were reported to be ‘heavy viewers’, TV might influence the way they see the world, and thus was likely to be a secondary socialiser during the development of their identity for its being one of their main activities, and in this way could be a secondary factor in the Glaswegian language change. Before being able to take this assumption for certain, the correlation between social practices and engagement with TV has to be examined, since without the primary factor of social interaction TV may not have an impact on language. Yet, first of all, Stuart-Smith’s results have to be demonstrated.

Firstly, positive correlations were found between TH-fronting and several extralinguistic variables in reading speech. The most important variable happened to be the contact with “relatives in South England”, then the positive attitude towards London accent emerged as a significant variable, which was followed by “personal clothing choice”, and finally by engagement with *EastEnders* (Stuart-Smith 2013:524). Nevertheless, the decreasing order of the most important extralinguistic variables by L-vocalisation appeared to be somewhat of another kind, namely “contact with relatives in North/South England”, “personal clothing choice”, liking or criticizing the soap, *EastEnders* in view of Stuart-Smith (2013:525).

For the fact that I do not have the possibility to make such a comprehensive study about the correlations between extralinguistic factors and T-glottalling, I will set forth the general conclusions drawn by Stuart-Smith concerning these variables. Firstly, dialect contact with relatives from South/North of England, though being a weak variable, could slowly introduce these changes, concerning L-vocalisation and TH-fronting through geographical

diffusion. When dealing with T-glottalling, this extralinguistic variable has to be dealt with in another way. (I will study it in the next chapter)

The “strongest positive extralinguistic factor” was social practices, unsurprisingly, for the indisputable fact that the primary locus of language change happens to be through social interactions. As I already argued, social symbols, like language and social practices carry the meaning of affiliation, thus through peer pressure facilitate the spread of changes (Stuart-Smith 2013:527).

Although engagement with *EastEnders* appeared to be the second strongest extralinguistic variable when its correlation with L-vocalisation and TH-fronting was examined, the correlation between it and social practices had to be tested since TV as contributory factor was claimed to work with the help of the primary factor, social practices. As Stuart-Smith (2013:529) points out “(w)e found no significant correlations between social-practice variables and those for exposure to and/or engagement with TV”. Although both variables were important independently, they did not correlate with each other positively, which means that the custom of watching television remained significant on a personal level. Furthermore, when comparing the language used by characters in *Eastenders* with Glaswegian adolescents concerning TH-fronting and L-vocalisation, researchers found that there was “the lack of coincidence of linguistic and social constraints observed between media-Cockney” (the specific name of the language used in *EastEnders*) “and Glaswegian” (2013:530).

However, Stuart-Smith implies that the engagement with TV may have had accelerating effects on language change, and she (2013:529) underlines this statement with mentioning the assumption of Brandt (2000:2165) that “(r)adio and television are taken as catalysts which act to increase, strengthen, accelerate and reinforce existing trends in language”. In a word, TV can play an accelerating role in language change, but only if the particular language has the changing feature already in its repertoire. Since L-vocalisation and TH-fronting were reported to have appeared sporadically in Glasgow before, TV could be a secondary factor which emerged as a supporting stimulus for adolescents in using them more often. To sum up, TV could be a contributory, secondary and accelerating factor in the increase in TH-fronting and L-vocalisation in Glaswegian working-class adolescents’ speech, however, it is not considered to be an essential point in this language change (Stuart-Smith 2013).

In the next chapter, my research will be presented about the correlations between *EastEnders* and the increase in T-glottalling in reading style in Glasgow.

4. Research

4.1. Research questions

As I described it in the former chapter, several linguistic and extralinguistic variables have to be considered when we intend to examine the correlation between language change and TV. For the reason that I am not able to conduct a survey being as extensive as Stuart-Smith's one (2013), I have to reconsider her basic findings logically with regard to T-glottalling.

First of all, dialect contact emerged as a significant factor to a slight degree while examining L-vocalisation and TH-fronting, since this factor was reported to introduce these changes in Glaswegian working-class adolescents' speech, chiefly in reading style. As far as the glottal stop is concerned, it did not need a stimulus which could introduce this feature, for the fact that it has been common among working-class speakers for a long time. However, it may have had an influence in the spread of the glottal stop into the reading speech of Glaswegian working-class adolescents. To be able to support this suggestion, it would be necessary to make further investigations concerning this question.

Apart from dialect contact, social practices and engagement with TV appeared to be the two strongest extralinguistic factors in connection with L-vocalisation and TH-fronting, although when the correlation between the previous two was examined, Stuart-Smith (2013) found negative results, as it was demonstrated above. This question when arising with regard to T-glottalling should be examined in the future in order to get a clear picture of the situation in Glasgow. However, it has to be noted that despite the negative correlation, Stuart-Smith assumed that TV might have been a contributory factor in connection with L-vocalisation and TH-fronting.

Despite my restricted possibilities, I would like to investigate into finding a correlation between T-glottalling and TV, mainly the soap titled *EastEnders*, since Stuart-Smith (2013:515) found a psychological engagement with this series being present among Glaswegian working-class adolescents and "illustrate(d) the comparison of media-Cockney and Glaswegian usage and constraints with TH-fronting", thus forming the basis for my research. Her most important findings were the following ones (Stuart-Smith 2013:515-516).

- "Glaswegians use proportionally more TH-fronting than is shown in *EastEnders* (...)."

- “The social constraints are different: there is a gendered distribution in *EastEnders*, but not in Glaswegian.”
- “The linguistic constraints are also different (...).”

According to these findings, I could develop my research questions in order to examine the correlation between Glaswegian T-glottalling and TV. These are as follows:

- To what extent do the characters in *Eastenders* use the glottal stop compared to Glaswegian working-class adolescents? Could *EastEnders* serve as a factor that facilitated the change undergone between 1973 and 1997 in reading style?
- Does there appear a gender difference concerning glottal replacement in *EastEnders*? Could this series be a contributory factor in the Glaswegian equalisation?
- What is the linguistic patterning of T-glottalling in *EastEnders*? Could *EastEnders* serve as a contributory factor in the change of patterning from 1973 to 1997?

So as to be able to answer these questions and to support the presumed correlation between TV and the increase in the use of the glottal stop in working-class adolescents’ reading style, I had to collect data. I will describe this process in the following part of my thesis.

4.2. Data collection

I started the process of data collection with randomly choosing one episode, from 2011, 2012 and 2013, respectively; furthermore sampling altogether fourteen minutes of recording at random, too. The first episode I examined was broadcast on the 7th of November in 2011, the second one on 23rd of July in 2012, and the last one on the 4th of March in 2013. While picking out the parts from the episodes to examine, I attempted to pay attention to a balance with regard to the representation of sex. Moreover, I usually chose scenes including conversations to analyse, since in this case I could easily avoid having long recordings without any speech samples.

The next step of my study was to listen to the extracts several times and transmit the recordings into a written text, which needed further examinations before the exact data collection could begin, since I had to type the text with keeping record of each speaker's sex, so as to be able to investigate into my second research question. Moreover, before listening to the samples again, I made efforts to mark those written strings of letters off in which those phonetic environments are attested, which are relevant to my dissertation, and which were listed previously in the first chapter, namely, pre-consonantal, pre-pausal, prevocalic, and intervocalic.

Finally, I listened to the recordings again with having the text in front of me, and made an attempt to take notes of the distinct glottal stops I could hear. Sometimes this appeared to be a difficult task for the simple fact that *EastEnders* depicts usual lives of people, and as such contains not only pure speech, but other noises, too. Consequently, some part of the samples happened to be not analysable because of munching, laughter, clinking of glasses, and cacophony. I had to eliminate some samples as well for the way the speakers uttered them, for instance for gabble, whisper, and hoarseness. Despite all the difficulties, I succeeded to collect 307 tokens of (t).

Before I set forth the results of my research, I have to make mention of an important phenomenon, that is, the case of the T-glottalling in the intervocalic phonetic environment. In the fourteen-minute sample, only seven tokens were in this environment, which, for being too few, could not serve as an appropriate data in answering my third research question. As a result, I will eliminate this environment when dealing with the phonetic constraints represented in *EastEnders*, however, I will include these tokens into the overall data with regard to the use of the glottal stop in this series.

4.3. Results and analysis

First of all, I wanted to find an answer to my first research question, namely, whether *EastEnders* might be an accelerating factor in the increase in T-glottalling used in the reading style of working-class adolescents in Glasgow. In searching for the answer, I had to measure the extent to which the tokens were realised as glottal stops in the fourteen-minute extract of *EastEnders*; moreover, to compare it to the data of Glaswegian working-class adolescents' formal style in 1973 and 1997, provided by Stuart-Smith (1999). The results can be seen in Figure 1 below.

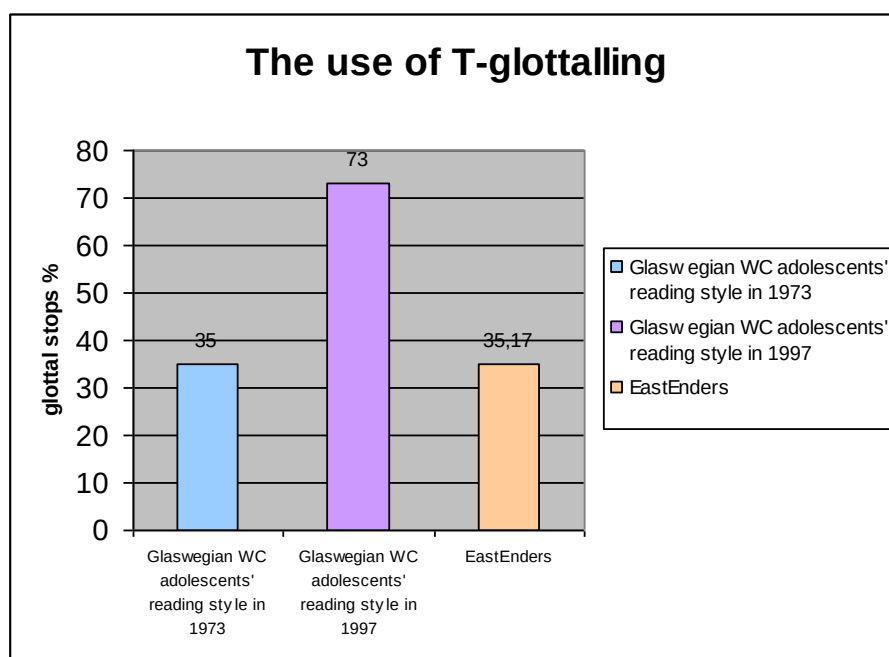


Figure 1 The use of T-glottalling

Considering the result, that is altogether 35,17% of /t/ was replaced by glottal stops in the examined sample, it can be concluded that *EastEnders* might not support the increase in the use of T-glottalling in Glaswegian working-class adolescents' reading style from 1973 to 1997. The reason for this assumption is obviously that already in 1973 working-class youngsters used almost as many glottal stops as the characters of the series according to my research.

Although altogether more glottal stops could be heard in Glaswegian working-class adolescents' reading style in 1997 than in my sample of *EastEnders* from 2010s, this question has to be examined from another point of view, too. The fact that in this series a considerable amount of glottal replacement could be observed makes the assumption apt to be made that *EastEnders*, for simply representing the use of glottal stops and for the fact, that a psychological engagement with it was experienced by researchers among Glaswegian adolescents, could act as a contributory factor in the increase in T-glottalling in the formal style of this subgroup, since adolescents' abundant exposure to and engagement with this series – reported earlier – might enable *EastEnders* to have an effect on speakers in an individual level. However, in order to prove the previous suggestion, there should be further studies conducted on the questions whether T-glottalling correlates with the extralinguistic factors, such as social practices, and engagement with TV; furthermore, if a positive

correlation can be experienced between these two, because although the exposure and liking of this series are given, for the fact that without the primary factor of social practices changes cannot spread onto a community level, it is not certain that *EastEnders* might contributed to the T-glottaling's becoming part of the stylisation of Glaswegian working-class adolescents.

Secondly, I will present my findings about a social constraint, namely, gender differences in *EastEnders* which showed that contrary to Glaswegian working-class speakers' speech, there is a gender difference in the use of glottal stop, since proportionally women used more glottal stops than men in this series, as it can be seen below in Figure 2.

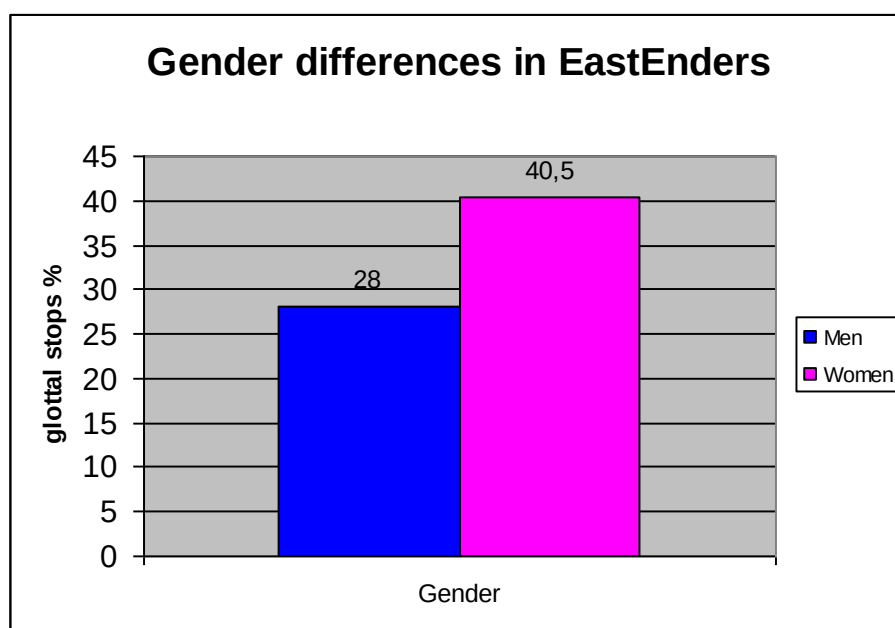


Figure 2 Gender differences in *EastEnders*

This result weakens the validity of my assumption, namely, that this series could serve as a contributory factor in the spread of T-glottalling in Glaswegian working-adolescents' speech, since while in Glasgow, as it was highlighted earlier, in 1973 female speakers of the middle class used less glottal stops than men; by 1997, this kind of gender difference could not be measured anymore, but when dealing with this question we have to take into consideration other variables as well. For the same reasons as in the first question; moreover for the fact that more women realised their /t/ as a glottal stop, than men, thus probably encouraging female adolescents to use more as well, TV might be a contributory factor, but other extralinguistic variables and their correlation with each other should be examined before drawing a conclusion and declaring that my assumption is appropriate or not.

Albeit in my present research I could not find support for the suggestion that *EastEnders* might contribute to the equalisation of the Glaswegian gender differences from 1973 to 1997 and thus to the spread of T-glottalling in Glasgow, the reasons for that can be manifold. Firstly, I took only a fourteen-minute sample to analyse the correlations; furthermore, the recordings chosen by me were broadcast in 2010s, while the recorded Glaswegian change underwent between 1973 and 1997. For this fact, it would be necessary to investigate into the language used in episodes transmitted in between the two studies so as to be able to answer my second research question either positively or negatively.

Moreover, Glaswegian gender equalisation shown in Stuart-Smith's study in 1999 was not only restricted to working-class adolescents' formal speech, but all generations of this class were included thus making it difficult to underline my hypothesis. What would be necessary by all means is to scrutinise this gender equalisation focusing on the change set in in working-class youngsters' formal speech. In order to achieve this goal a conduction of a study precisely concentrated on this change would be required.

Finally, I investigated into finding correlations between the phonetic environments appearing in the series and the reported change undergone in the probability of glottal stops with regard to phonetic environment, reported by Stuart-Smith (1999). In order to be able to underline my supposition that *EastEnders* might contribute to this change, I had to survey the linguistic patterning appearing in this series. The results can be seen in Figure 3 below. As declared before, I had to eliminate the intervocalic environment because my research could not provide a satisfactory amount of tokens concerning this environment.

Before analysing this result, I would like to recall the difference between the phonetic environmental patterning preferred in Glasgow provided by Macaulay (1976) and Stuart-Smith (1999), and set forth the explanation of Stuart-Smith for this phenomenon. Results of the two studies differed from each other in their order, since according to Macaulay the decreasing possibility of the realisation of glottal stops was in 1973 as follows: preconsonantal, prepausal, and prevocalic, while due to Stuart-Smith's data from 1997, prepausal took the place of prevocalic in the decreasing order, and vice versa. She (1999:192) assumes that "Macaulay's finding that glottals are less likely in prepausal than prevocalic position may perhaps be explained by the formality of the discourse and by the relative position of the tokens in the overall discourse structure".

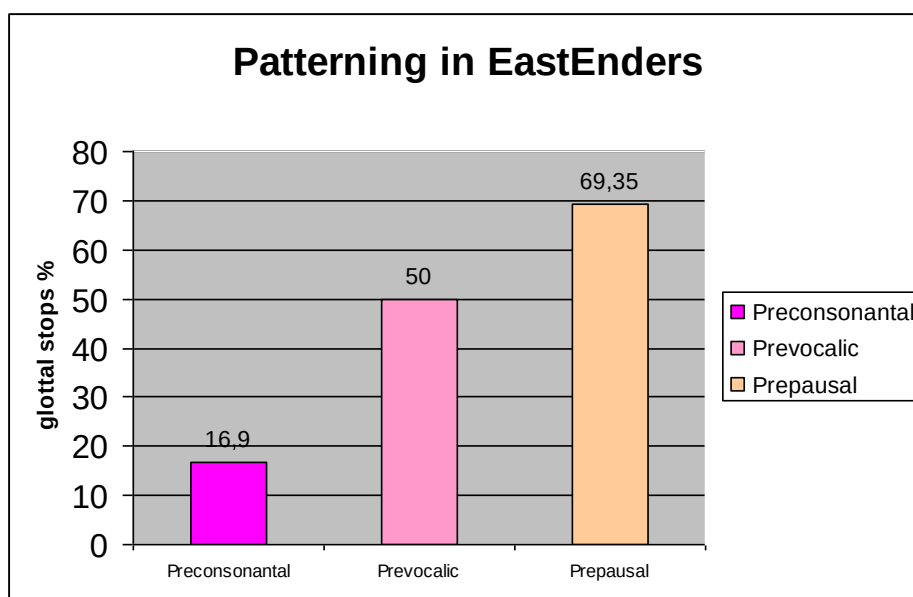


Figure 3 Patterning in *EastEnders*

However, I suppose that TV, hence *EastEnders* might have an impact on the change in patterning from 1973 to 1997, since, as it can be seen in Figure 3, this series promotes the phonetic environment of prepausal against the prevocalic one. Repeatedly, my assumption has to remain a hypothesis for the reasons that underlining it would need further studies to be conducted on other extralinguistic variable and their correlation with T-glottalling. Moreover, my sample was broadcast after this change had already undergone. In fact, it can also be possible that Stuart-Smith's explanation is true and the difference happened to be so due to their different methodologies, since her data concerned informal speech contrary to Macaulay's findings on more formal speech.

In sum, my hypothesis about the influence of *EastEnders* on Glaswegian working-class adolescents' formal speech would need further studies and investigations for the facts listed above. Nevertheless, for the reason that characters in this series used T-glottalling to an abundant degree, it may be right to imply that *EastEnders* could play as an accelerating stimulus in the change undergone in working-class youngsters' reading style, hence stylisation.

5. Conclusion

The aim of my dissertation was to provide a description of Glaswegian language change, chiefly focusing on T-glottalling in working-class adolescents' formal speech, which was characterised as a device giving way to their stylisation, hence expressing their own developing language identity, as it is an essential part of their searching for an identity enabling them to attest a distance from middle class, and revealed an interesting pattern. Furthermore, in light of their established engagement with TV, a correlation between *EastEnders* and the ongoing linguistic change was examined within a research. My research was largely successful for the fact that it allows me to echo Stuart-Smith's conclusion that although social and linguistic constraints in the speech of Glaswegian working-class speakers and the characters of the series differed from each other, *EastEnders* might have had an accelerating impact on the change; furthermore, to add that, since considerable amount of tokens in my extract was realised as glottal stops, despite the comparatively small number of collected data, TV may and may have served as a contributory – although a highly restrained – factor in T-glottalling's gaining prestige among the members of Glaswegian working-class adolescents' subgroup, thus covert prestige in Glasgow. Nevertheless, in order to be able to underline the validity of this assumption, further studies would need to be conducted on extralinguistic variables and their correlation with T-glottaling.

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