

Rethinking the role of the broadcast media in (de)standardization Glasgow dialect meets 'Mockney'

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Sociolinguistics Seminar, SLICE/Linguistic Circle of Copenhagen
University of Copenhagen, 6 December 2019

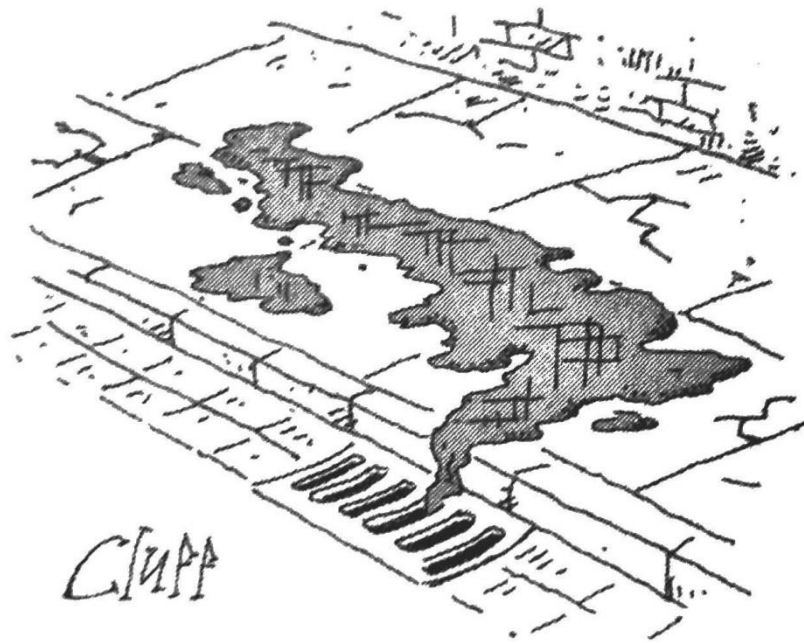
**How has the use and evaluation of
language norm-and-variation
changed since WWII?**



Case study: Glasgow
development of a non-standard urban
dialect across the 20th century

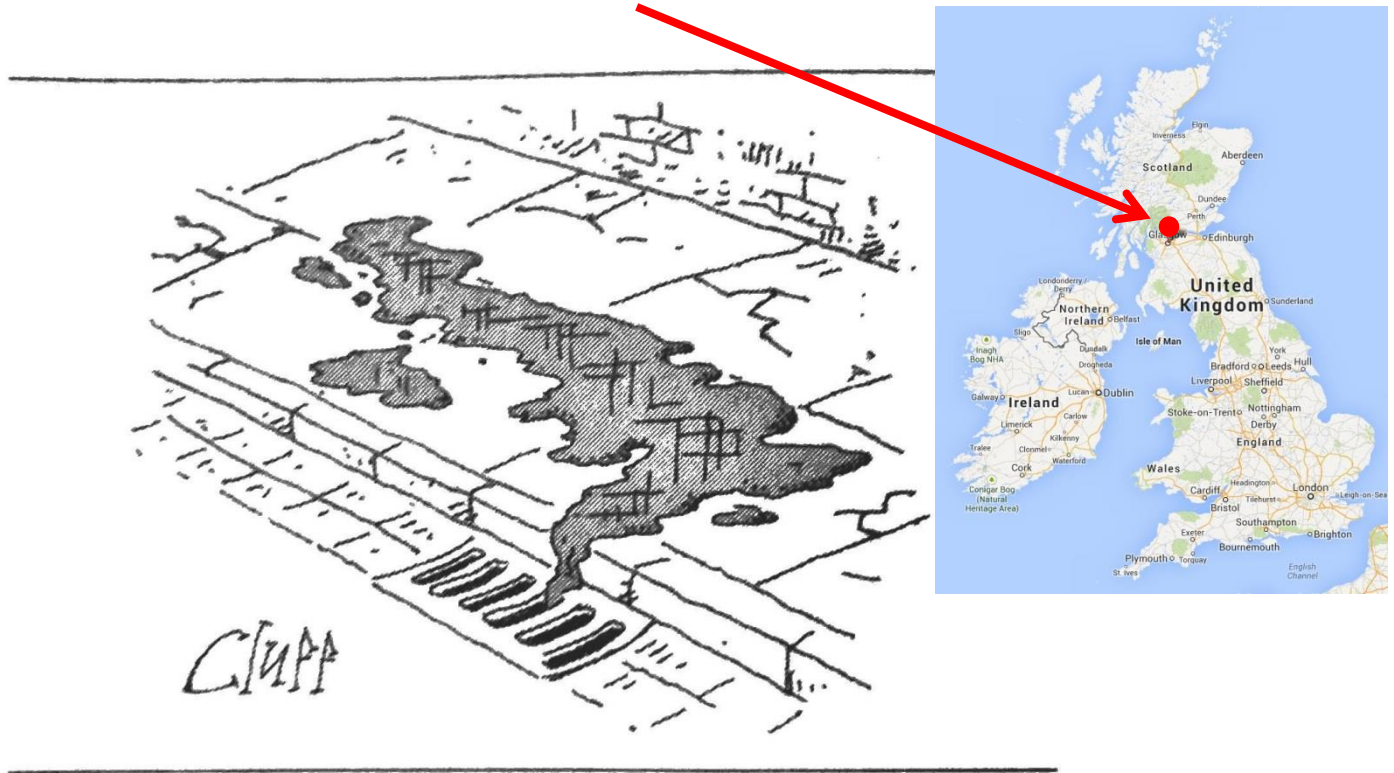
Where is Glasgow?

- Glasgow is in Scotland, which is still (for now) in the UK, which is still (at the moment) in Europe



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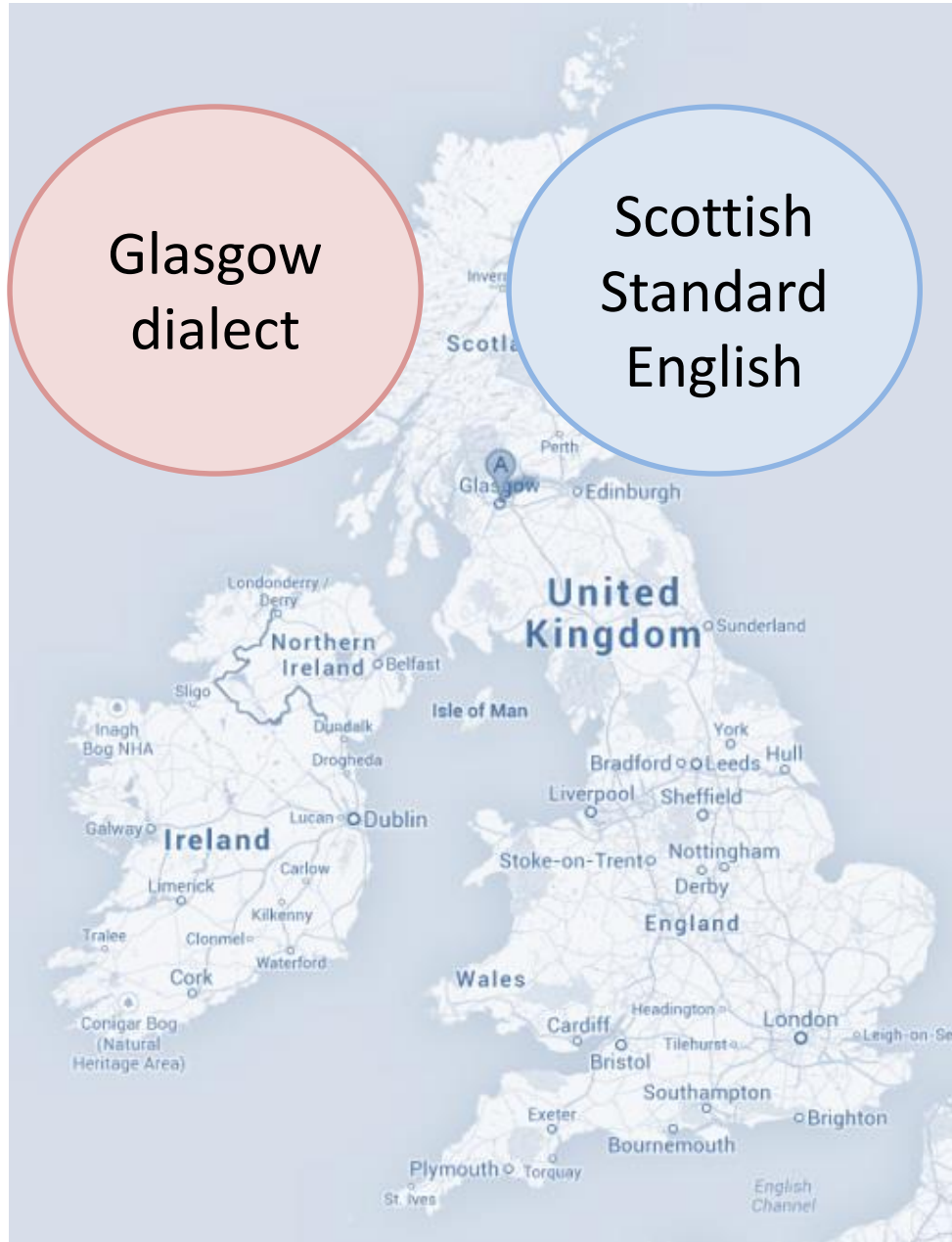


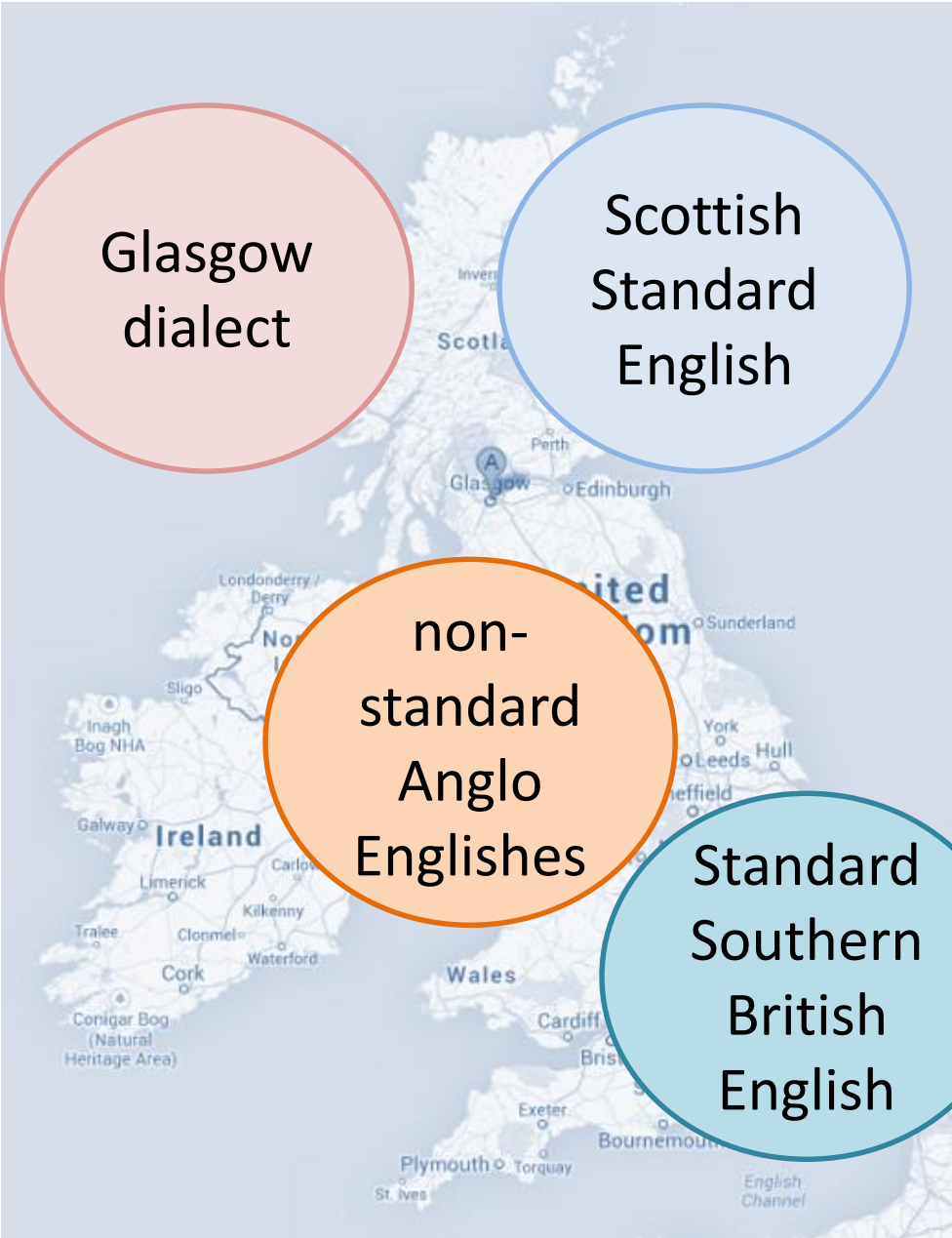
Glasgow
dialect



Glasgow
dialect

Scottish
Standard
English





Glasgow
dialect

Scottish
Standard
English

non-
standard
Anglo
Englishes

Standard
Southern
British
English





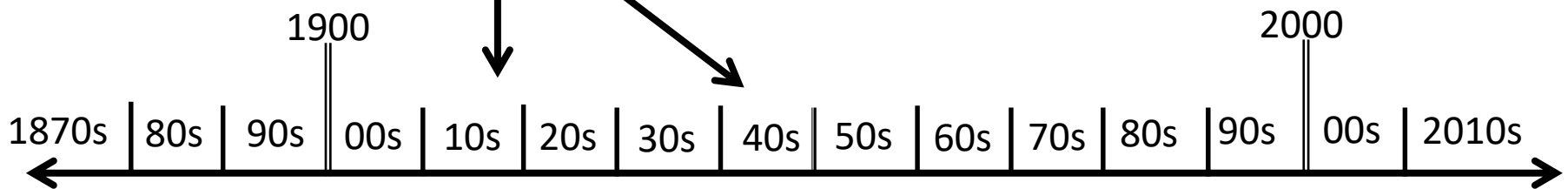
Sociohistorical context

What made Glasgow's fortune?

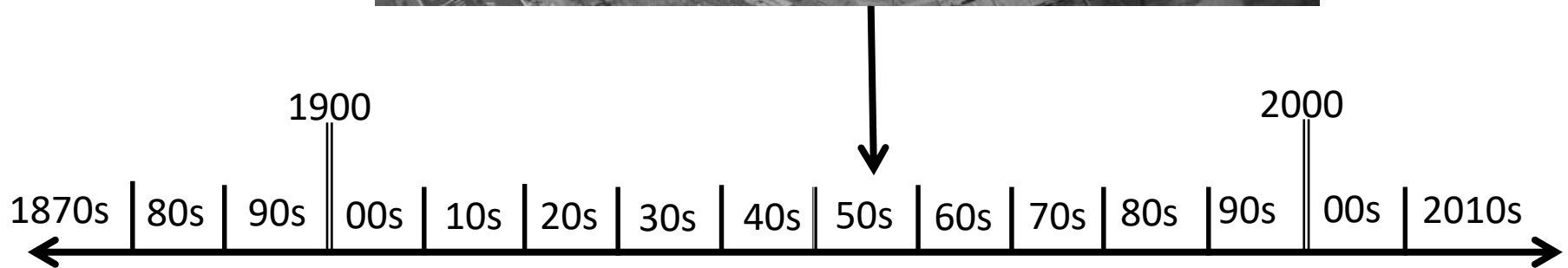


Tobacco boats arriving up the **River Clyde** in Glasgow (1770)

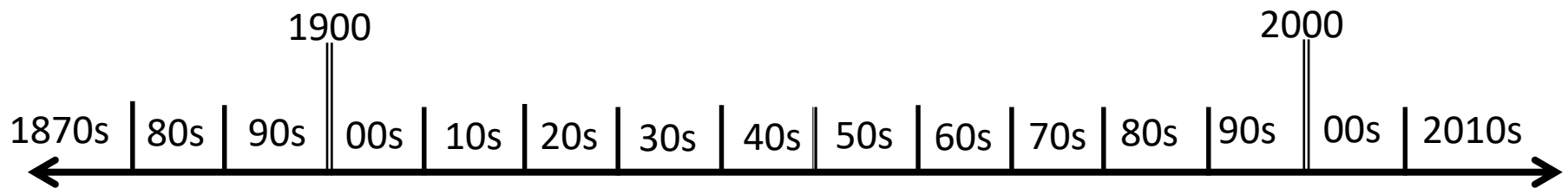
Shipbuilding (especially during the two World Wars)



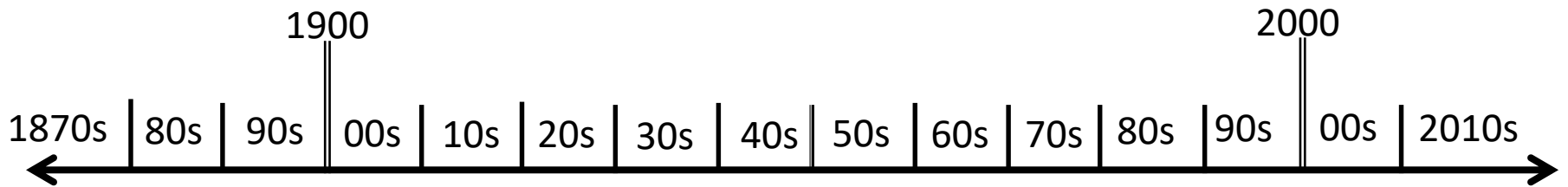
Industrial decline (late 1950s)



Urban regeneration (from 1990s)



Within Glasgow – housing



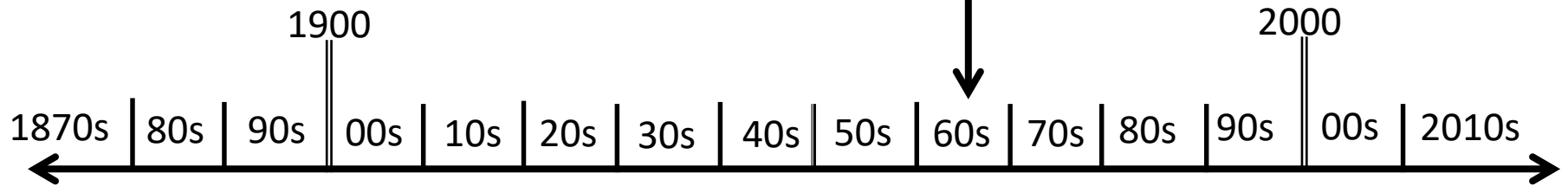
Tenement flats, especially from 1890s

Close-knit social networks

‘the largest village in the world’

e.g. Milroy 1987

Within Glasgow – housing



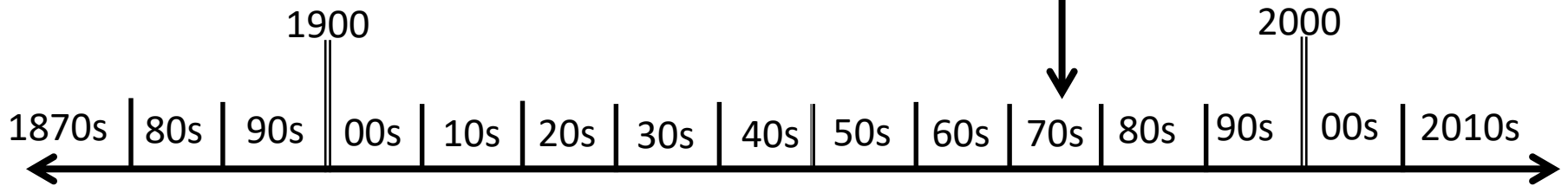
Slum clearance -> 70% of tenements demolished from 1950s-1970s

Inner city and peripheral housing schemes

Social networks fragmented on a huge scale

e.g. Milroy 1987

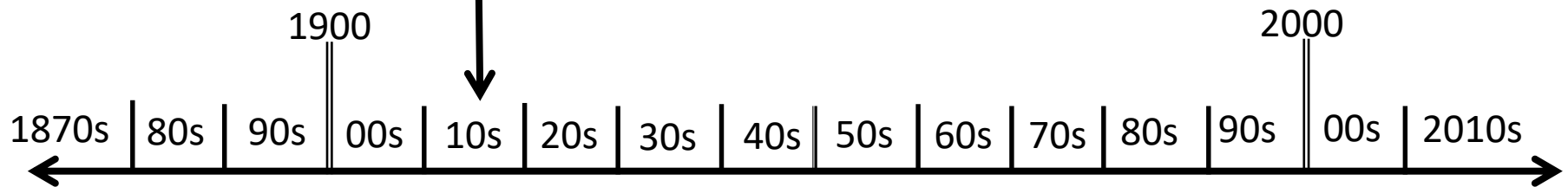
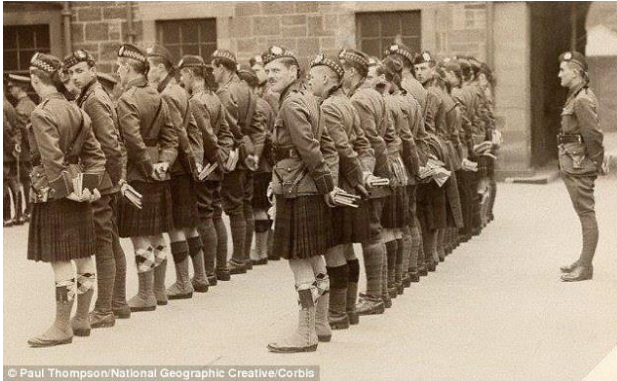
Within Glasgow – housing



Inner city and peripheral housing schemes
Close-knit social networks reformed

e.g. Milroy 1987

Outwith Glasgow – external factors

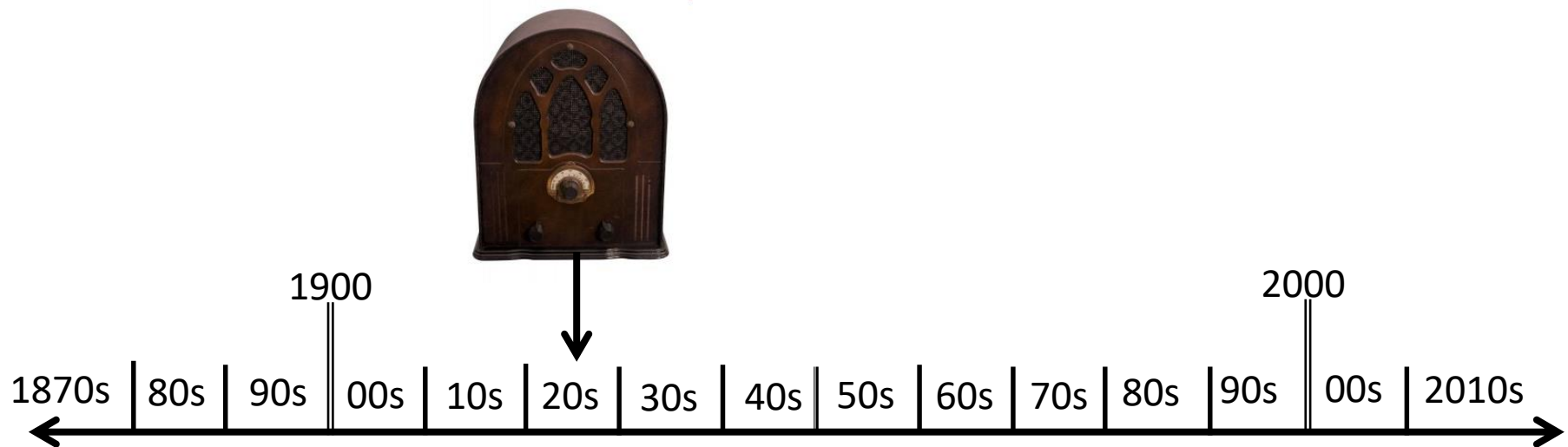


World War I

Inward and outward mobility

e.g. Milroy 2001; cf Andresen 1988

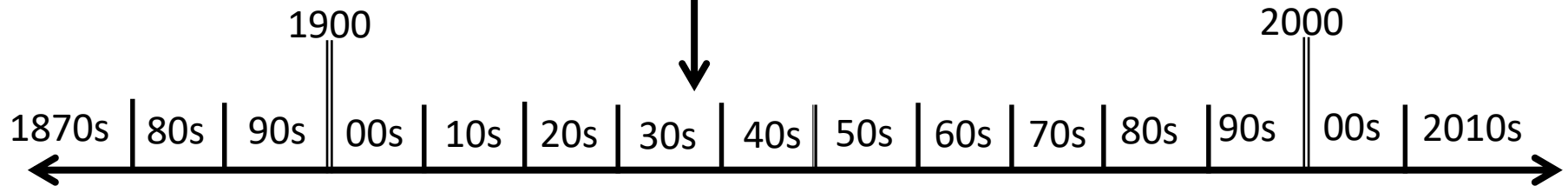
Outwith Glasgow – external factors



Radio broadcasting (e.g. BBC in Scotland, 1923)

Exposure to other dialects within the home

Outwith Glasgow – external factors

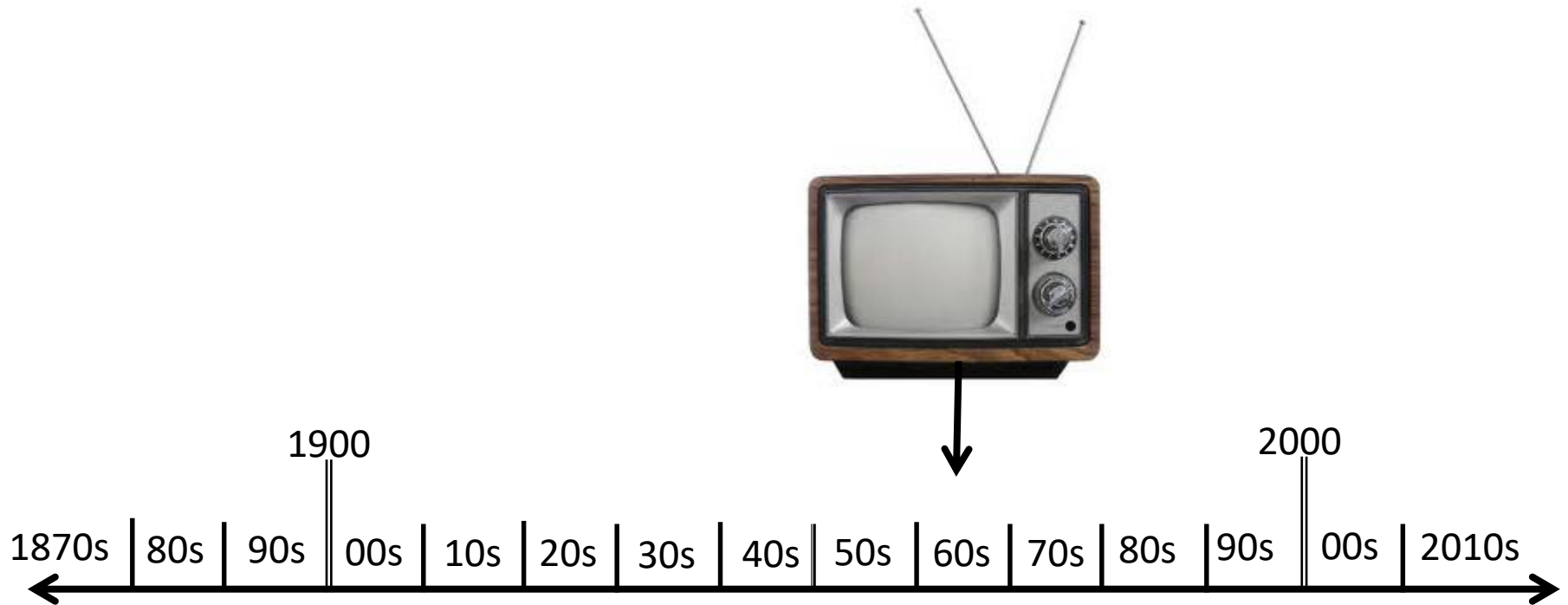


World War II

Extensive outward mobility

e.g. Trudgill 1986, Milroy 2001; Andresen 1988

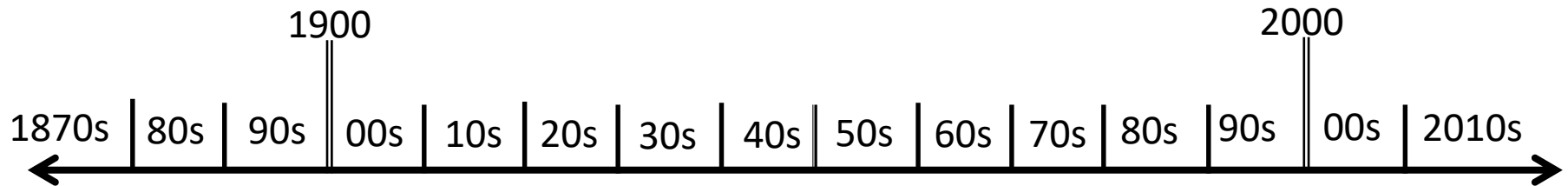
Outwith Glasgow – external factors



Television

Audiovisual exposure to other dialects in the home

Outwith Glasgow – external factors



‘Mockney’ = media Cockney
e.g. popular TV soap drama,
EastEnders

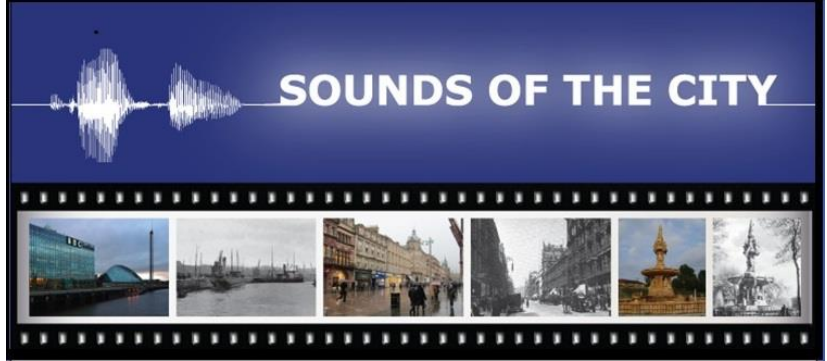
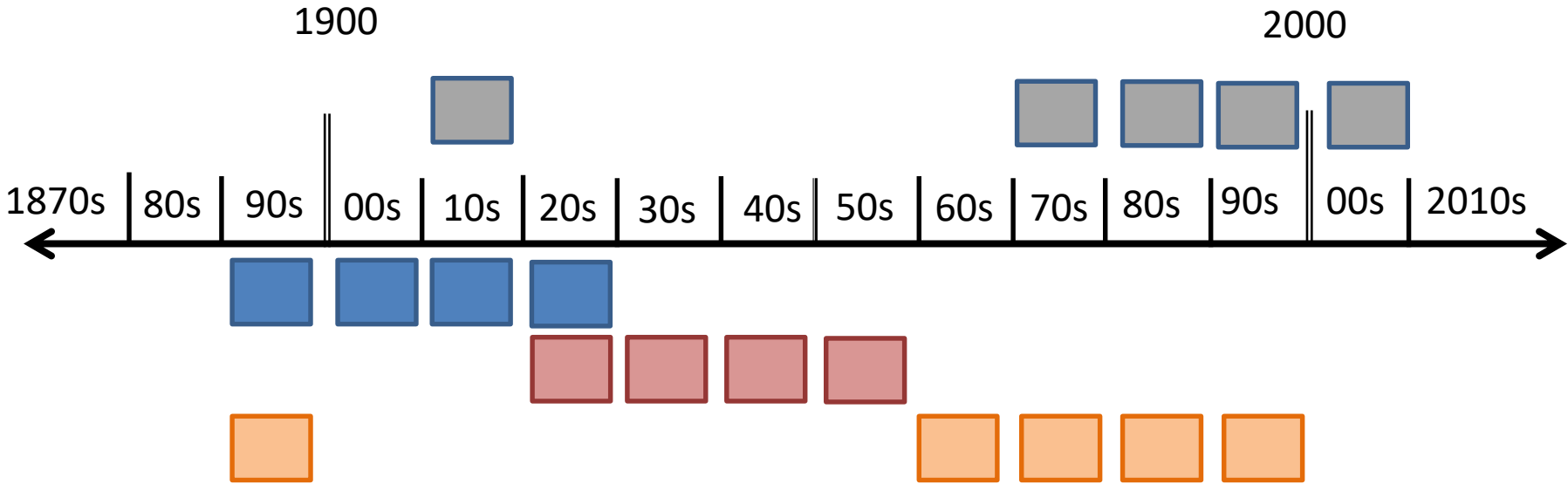


e.g. Buckingham 1987



Data

Real-time Glasgow speech corpora

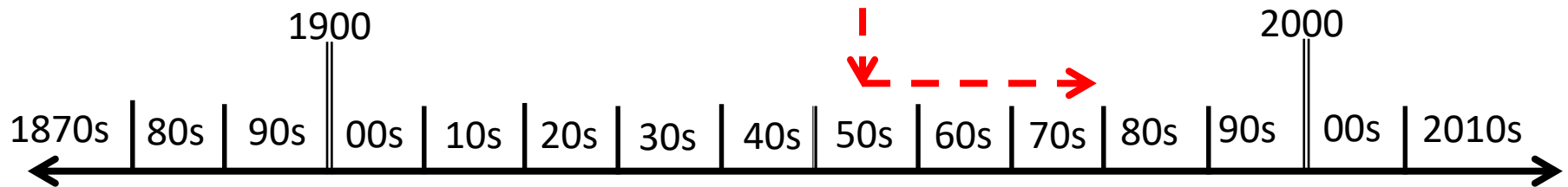


Decade of birth: **old**; **middle-aged**; **young**
Decade of real-time recordings



(e.g. Stuart-Smith et al 2007;
Stuart-Smith et al 2013)

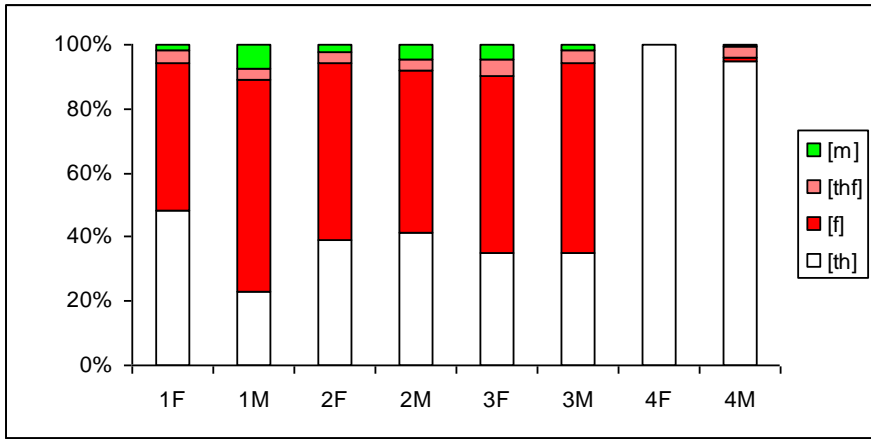
[f]ink for *think*



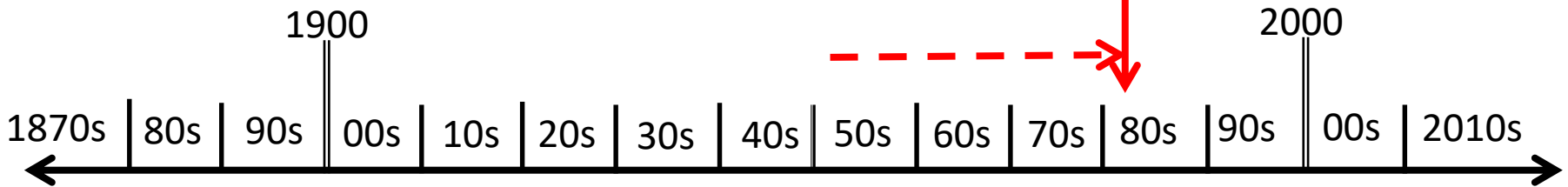
World War II

TH-fronting spotted in 1950s (National Service)
mobility for non-standard speakers

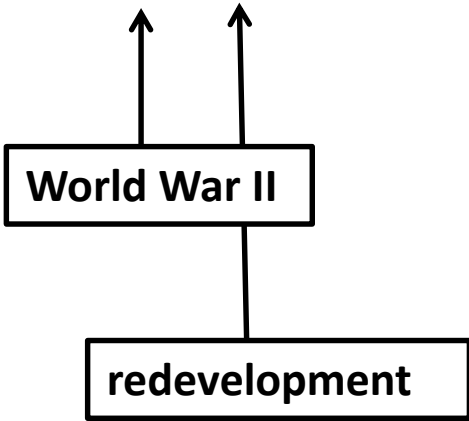
Stuart-Smith et al (2007)



[f]ink for think

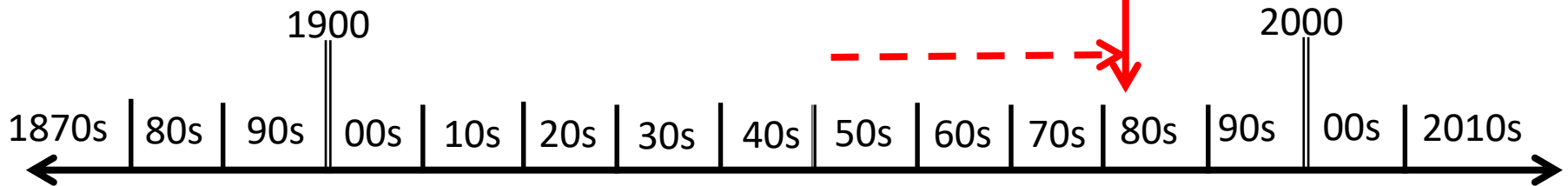


takes off in the 1980s



Macafee (1983);
 Stuart-Smith (1999)
 Stuart-Smith et al (2007)

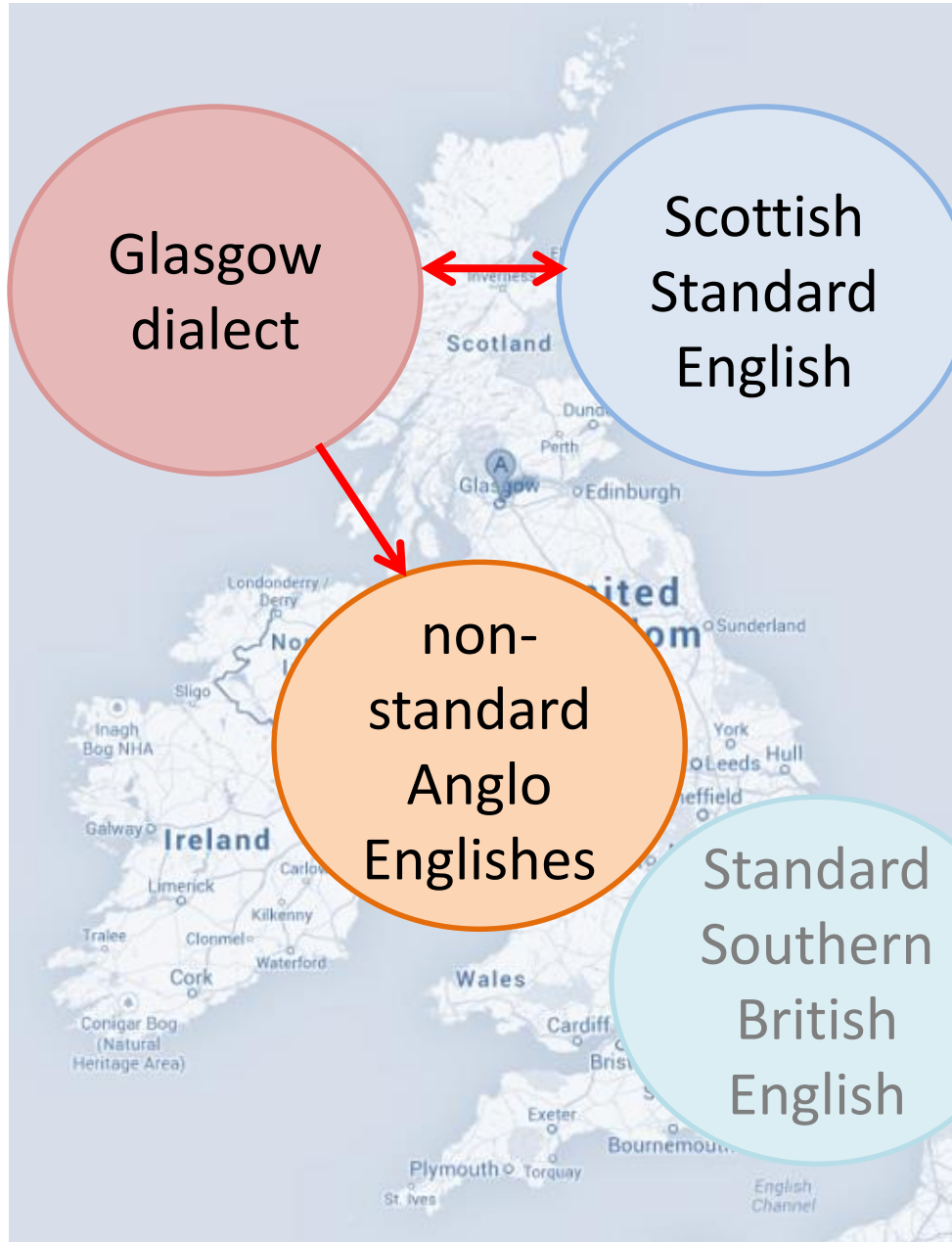
[f]ink for think
peop[o] for *people*
bro[v]er for *brother*



- class-based language ideologies
- social practices in close-knit networks
- strong engagement with TV dramas
- contact with English beyond Glasgow



Stuart-Smith et al 2007;
Stuart-Smith et al (2013)



social structures ✓

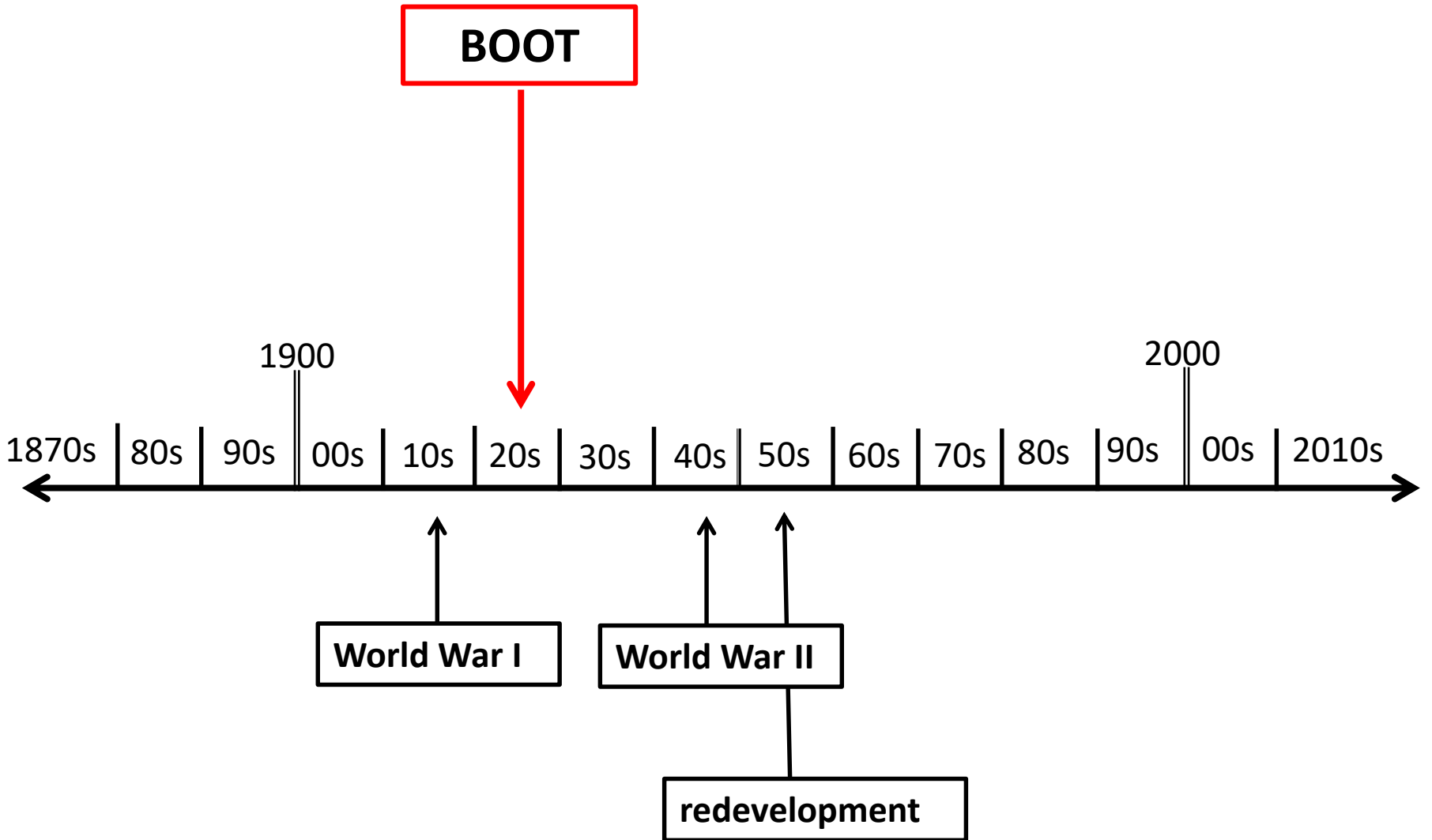
media ✓

mobility ✓

language ideologies ✓

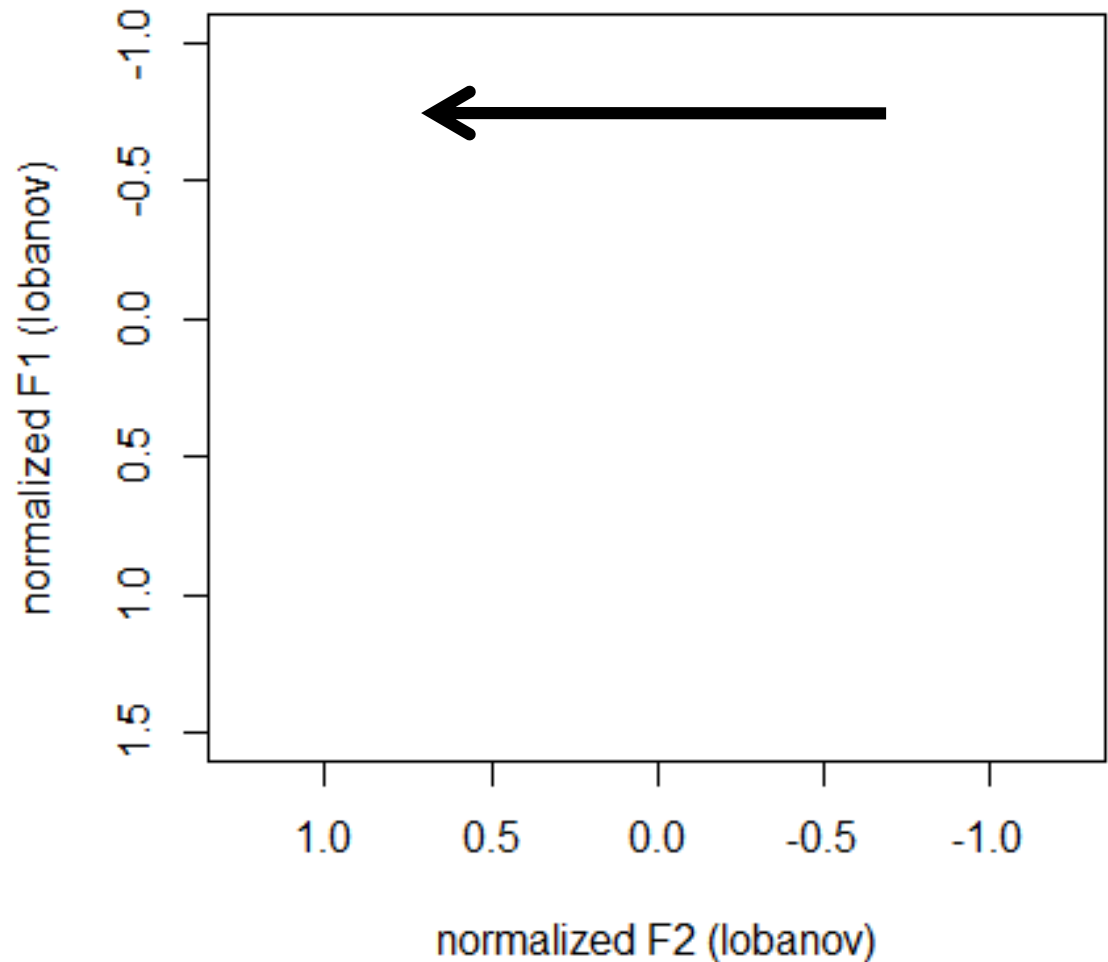


(José et al 2014; in prep)



**Anglo-English
BOOT vowel has
fronted over
20th century**

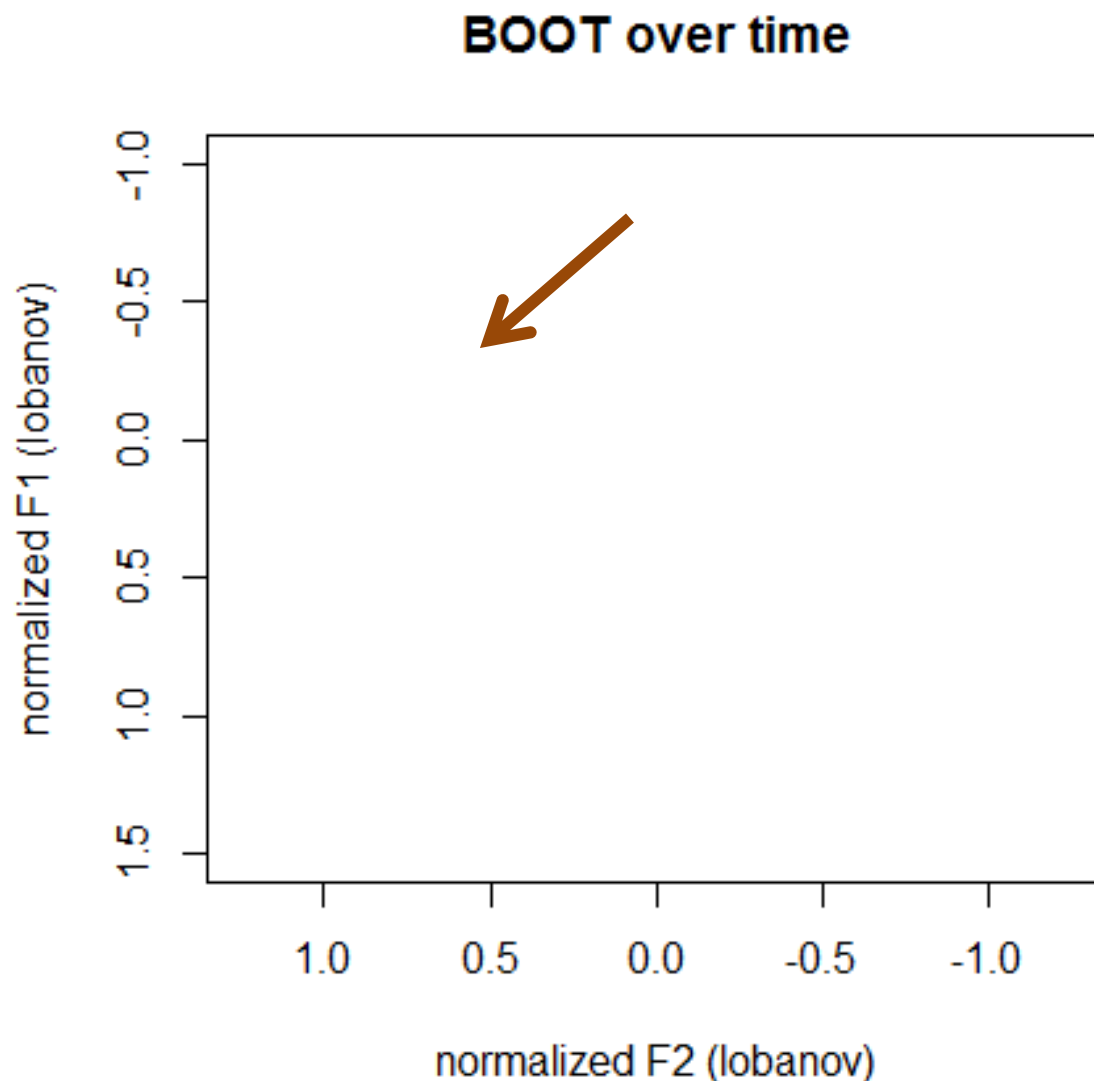
**Has Glasgow
BOOT followed
a similar
trajectory?**



Glasgow
BOOT vowel
was already front,
but **lowered** over
20th century

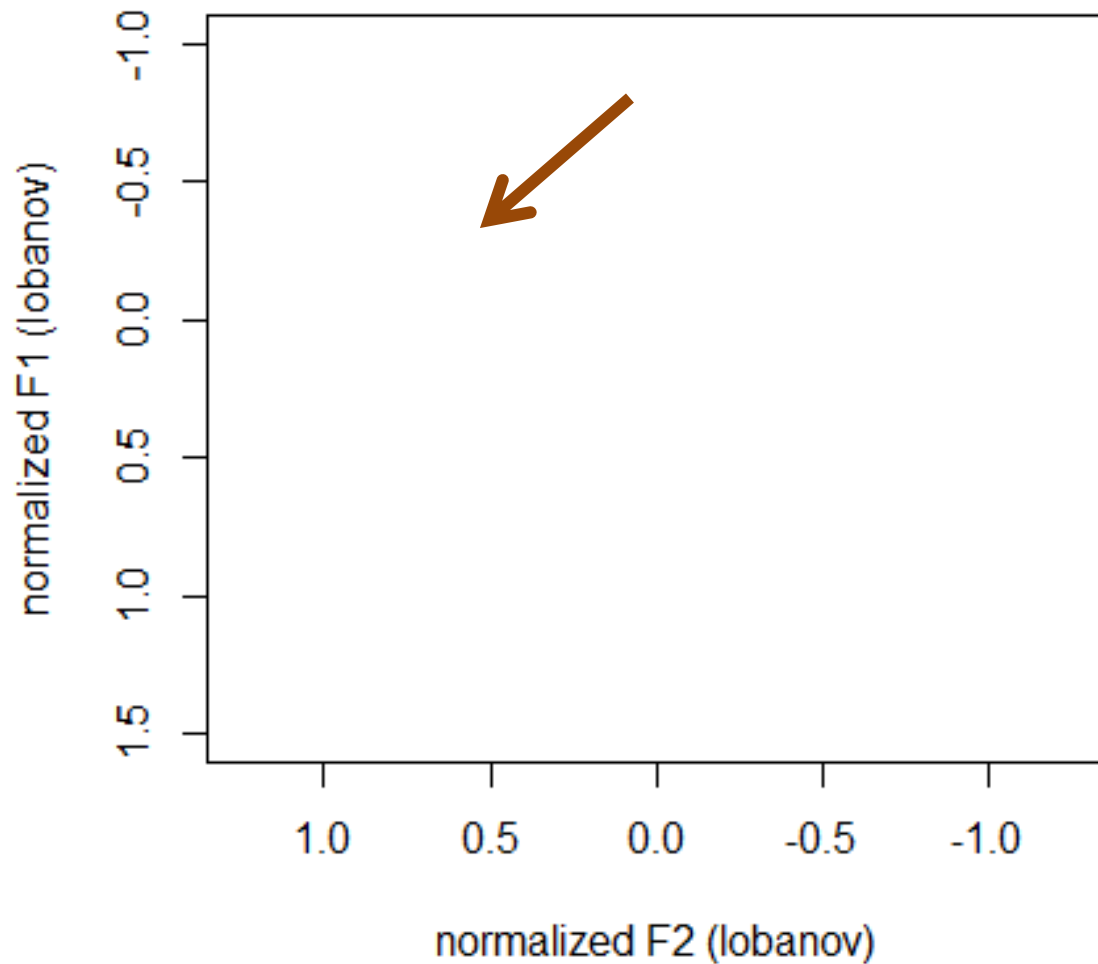
not like Anglo-
English

Why?



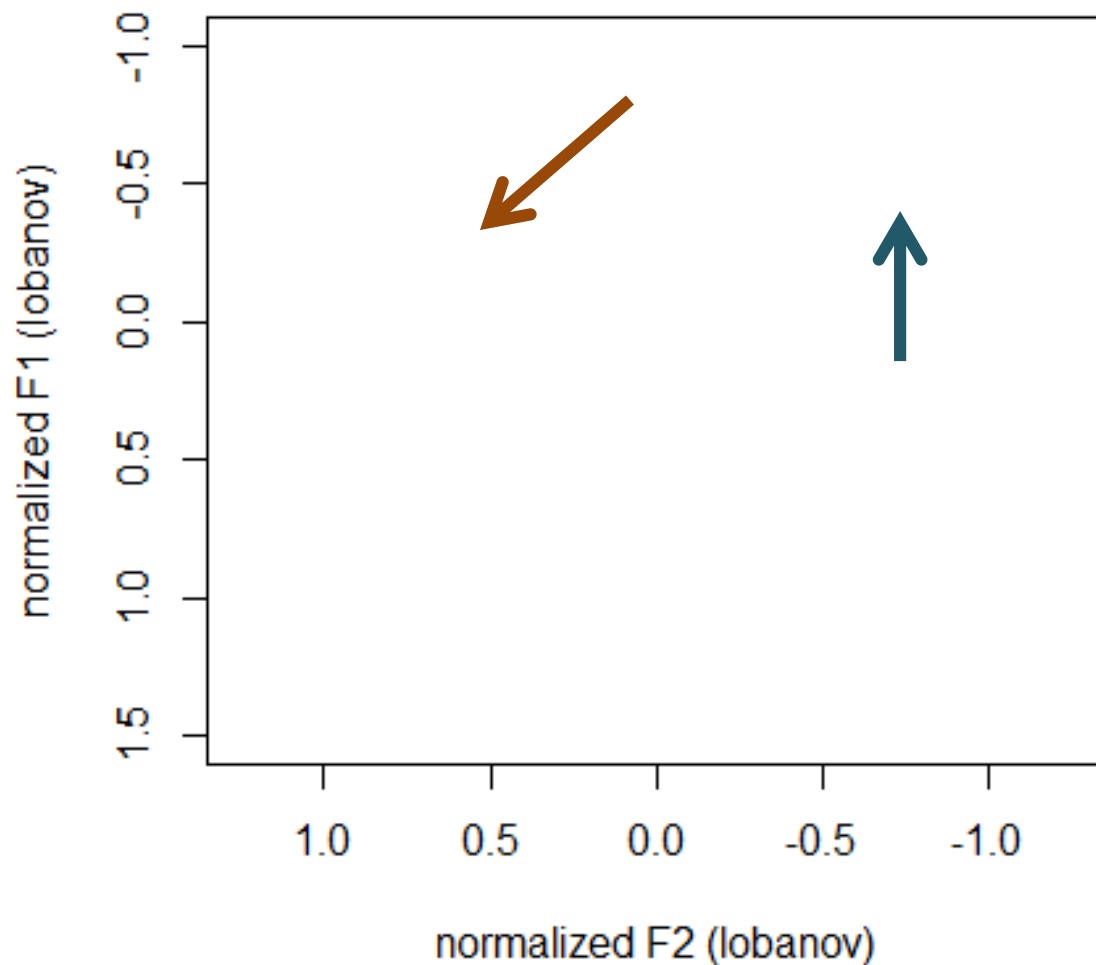
**BOOT lowering
is part of a
Glasgow-internal
vowel pull chain**

BOOT lowered



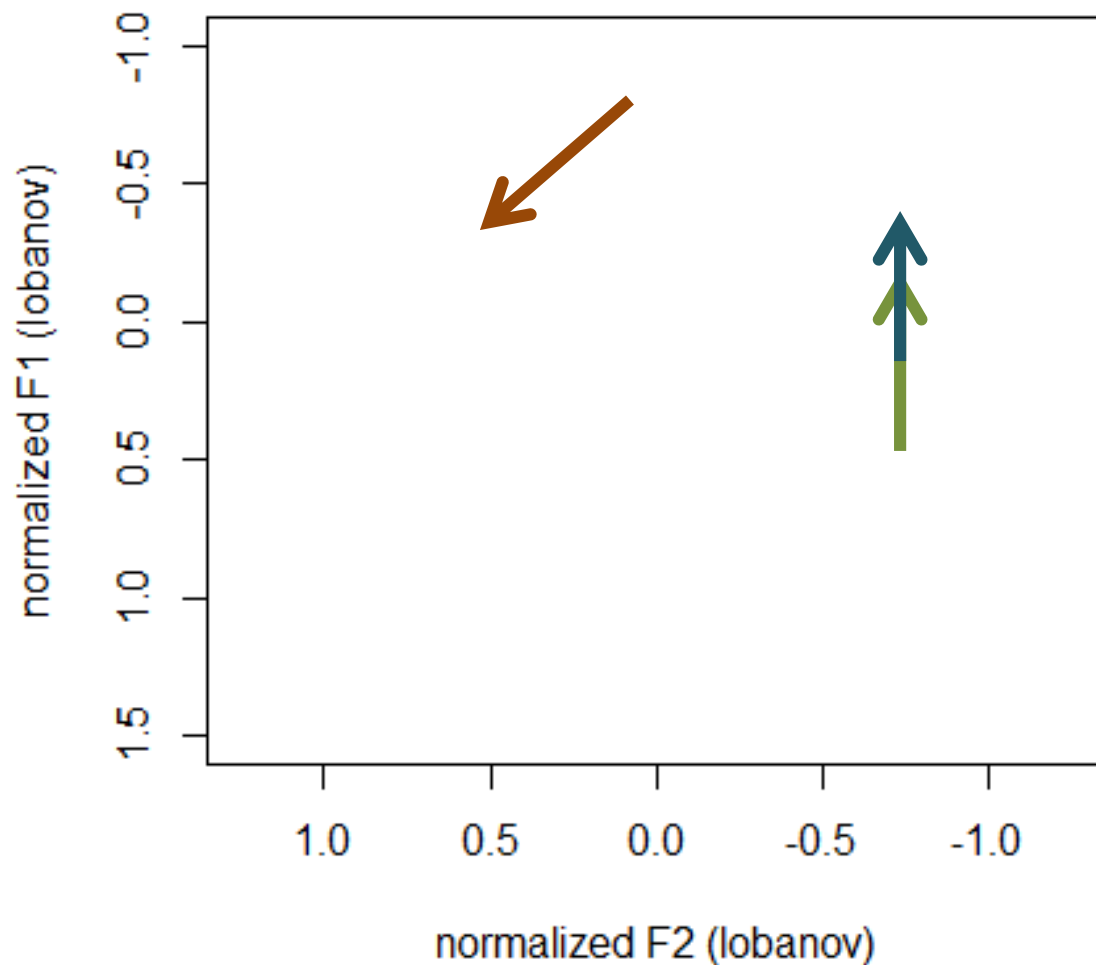
**BOOT lowering
is part of a
Glasgow-internal
pull chain**

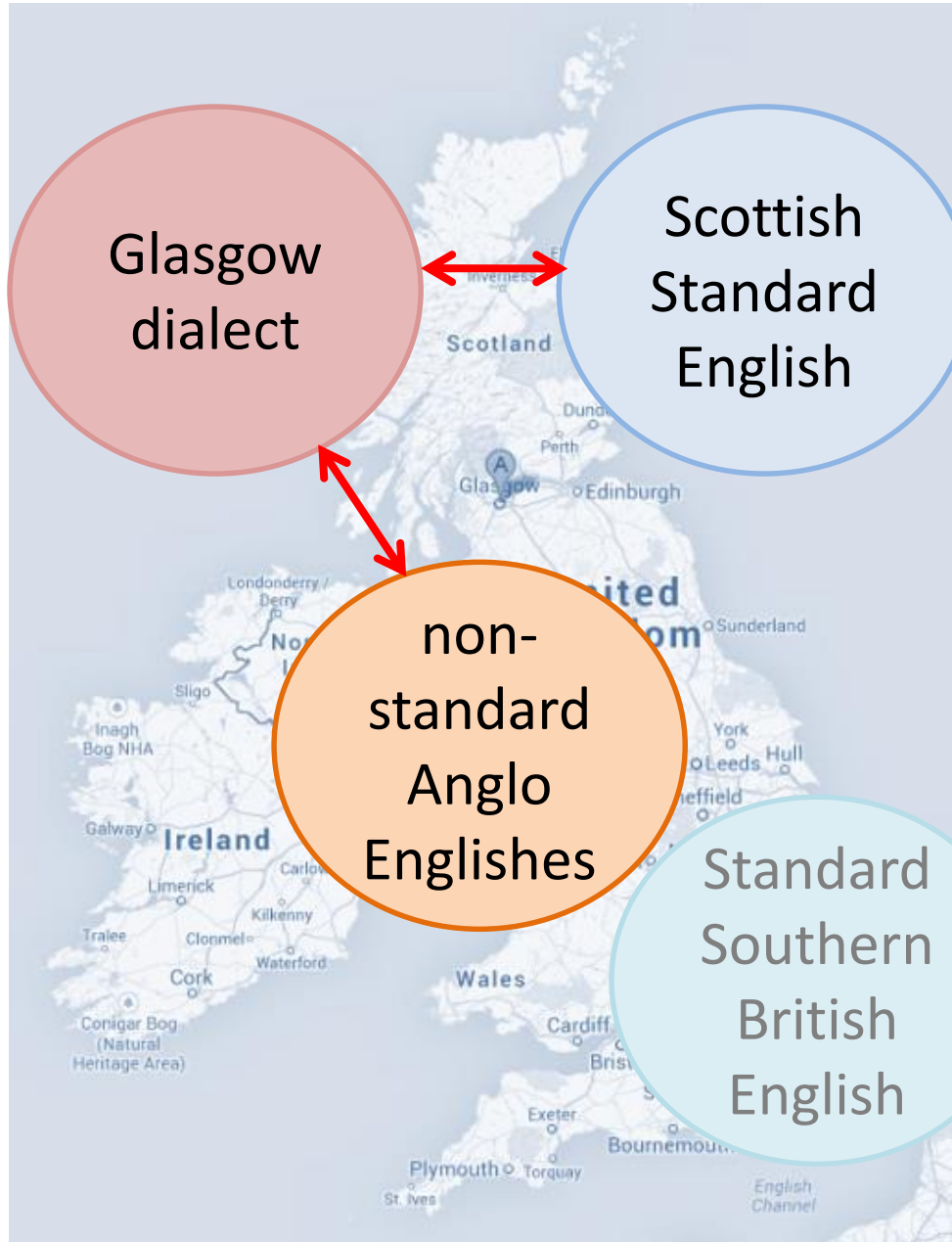
BOOT lowered
GOAT raised



**BOOT lowering
is part of a
Glasgow-internal
pull chain**

BOOT lowered
GOAT raised
COT raised





social structures ✓

media ✗

mobility ✗

language ideologies ✓



(e.g. Stuart-Smith and Lawson 2017)

Media makes Scots throw the R away

Robin Henry

SCOTTISH nationalism may be in the ascendant but the country is beginning to lose one of its most distinctive features: its accent.

For centuries Scots have pronounced the “R” in words such as car, farm and sort but it is starting to be inaudible for some speakers north of the border, according to research by Scottish linguists.

Some blame the Anglicising influence of the media,



including BBC broadcasters who adopt English pronunciations. To use the technical term for the vanishing “R”, it is the battle of “postvocalic rhoticity”.

Most people in England sound the “R” in Robbie but not the one in Burns. Until recent years Scots had pronounced both but a change prompted sociolinguists at Glasgow University and Queen Margaret University in Edinburgh to investigate.

Experts used ultrasound on

Continued on page 2 ▶▶

OVERSEAS PRICES	NEWS	2
WEATHER	NEWS	29
LETTERS	NEWS	26
SUDOKU	NEWS REVIEW	9
TV&RADIO	CULTURE	41



‘the battle of postvocalic rhoticity’

The initial story – Sunday 19 July 2015 Sunday Times

Rs on the way out as they stop rolling off our native tongues

By **Fiona MacRae**

IT IS as Scottish as Irn-Bru, tartan and porridge - but the rolling 'r' in our distinctive accent is dying out.

Research shows that many young Scots no longer emphasise the 'r' at the end of words such as car, bar and fur.

Working class youngsters are particularly likely to swallow the sound.

In contrast, middle-class counterparts favour an 'r' sound normally associated with American English.

What is more, the rolling 'r', associated with words such as 'broom', 'squirrel' and 'hurry' is now very rare.

Some say the change is being driven by a media saturated with English and American accents. But researchers from the

University of Glasgow and Queen Margaret University in Edinburgh say accents naturally evolve over time. They used ultrasound to reveal the tongue movements of a group of 12 and 13-year-olds as they said a range of words.

Lead researcher Professor Jim Scobbie said: 'We found that some Scottish speakers delay the "r" gesture, so it's happening in silence afterwards.

'They're not losing it completely - they're still producing it. You just can't hear it the same.

'We found that one group of Scottish speakers are doing one thing with their tongues and another group are doing something completely different.

'Speakers with a vernacular Scottish accent seem to delay their "r", making it hard to hear, and others with a less vernacular accent don't, but they also use a completely different tongue shape, one we usually associate with American English.'

However, Michael Hance, director of the Scots Language Centre, said that the Anglicising influence of the media is to blame.

He said: 'Ninety-nine per cent of Scottish radio and TV is English and American accents, while the BBC in Scotland have a long tradition of sending people off for elocution lessons to soften their accents.'

THE R'S HAS FALLEN OUT OF THE SCOTS LANGUAGE

Scientists say the younger generation are losing that rolling sound

» **PAUL WARD**
reporters@dailyrecord.co.uk

THE distinctive rolling "R" in Scottish accents is being lost, according to experts.

Older generations of Scots growled the "R" in words like "girl" and "farm" - but youngsters these days almost miss it out altogether.

Many people blame the change on TV but experts at the University of Glasgow and Queen Margaret University in Edinburgh believe it is a more natural occurrence.

They used ultrasound on a group of young Scots that allowed them to see how the tongue moves inside the mouth and shapes for words.

Sociolinguist Dr Eleanor Lawson said: "What we found is that some Scottish speakers are delaying the 'R' gesture, so it's happening in silence afterwards.

"They're not losing it completely - you just can't hear it the same.

"We found that one group of Scottish speakers are doing one thing with their tongue, and another group are doing something completely different.

"Speakers with a more vernacular Scottish accent seem to delay their 'R' gesture, making it hard to hear.

"Others with a less vernacular accent don't but also use a different tongue shape, one that we usually associate with American English.

"It's not media or TV, it's a natural sound change. It seems to happen in languages all over the world over time, particularly at the end of words. There's no wrong way to say these words - just differences."

Scottish accent doomed to extinction - and the Queen's English and BBC could be to blame

LINGUISTS claim Scots are losing their treasured accent as their distinctive rolling 'Rs' begin to vanish.

By **OLI SMITH**

PUBLISHED: 13:43, Mon, Jul 20, 2015 | UPDATED: 16:37, Mon, Jul 20, 2015



One of Scotland's treasured exports could face extinction

UK/national press: Anglo-Scottish identity

Forget your Ps and Qs – what about your Rs?

PAUL WARD

THE distinctive rolling 'R' in Scottish accents is being lost, according to experts.

Younger Scots are no longer pronouncing the 'R' in words as forcefully as older generations, softening those such as 'car', 'bar' and 'far'.

Older generations tended to roll the letter in words such as 'girl' and 'farm', but younger speakers now appear to miss the letter out altogether.

Some have suggested the change is due to softer accents on television, but experts at the University of Glasgow and Queen Margaret University in Edinburgh found it was a more natural occurrence.

Previous research found Scots had the same vocabulary and grammar as other English speakers but a different set of vowels and consonants.

Experts, led by Professor Jim Scobbie, from Queen Margaret University, investigated the latest changes by using ultrasound on a group of young Scots that allowed them to see how the tongue moves inside the mouth and shapes for words.

Sociolinguist Dr Eleanor Lawson said: "What we found is that some Scottish speakers are delaying the 'R' gesture, so it's happening in silence afterwards."

"We found that one group of Scottish speakers are doing one thing with their tongue, and another group are doing something completely different."

"Speakers with a more vernacular Scottish accent seem to delay their 'R' gesture, making it hard to hear, and others with a less vernacular accent don't but also use a completely different

tongue shape, one that we usually associate with American English."

Dr Lawson added: "It's not media or TV, it's more boring than that – it's just a natural sound change. It seems to happen in languages all over the world over time, particularly at the end of words."

Scottish: correctness -> Anglo-Scottish identity



Wednesday 22nd July 2015 Light showers 9°C / 16°C

Food & Drink **Heritage** Travel Arts Books Motoring Homes & Gardens Outdoors Technology Money

Scottish accent changing with rolled 'R' at risk



The distinctive rolled 'R' in the Scottish accent could be on its way out, with younger Scots altering the pronunciation. Picture: Neil Hanna

Scotsman: 20 July (left); 22 July (right)

21 juillet 2015

L'accent écossais se meurrrrrrrt



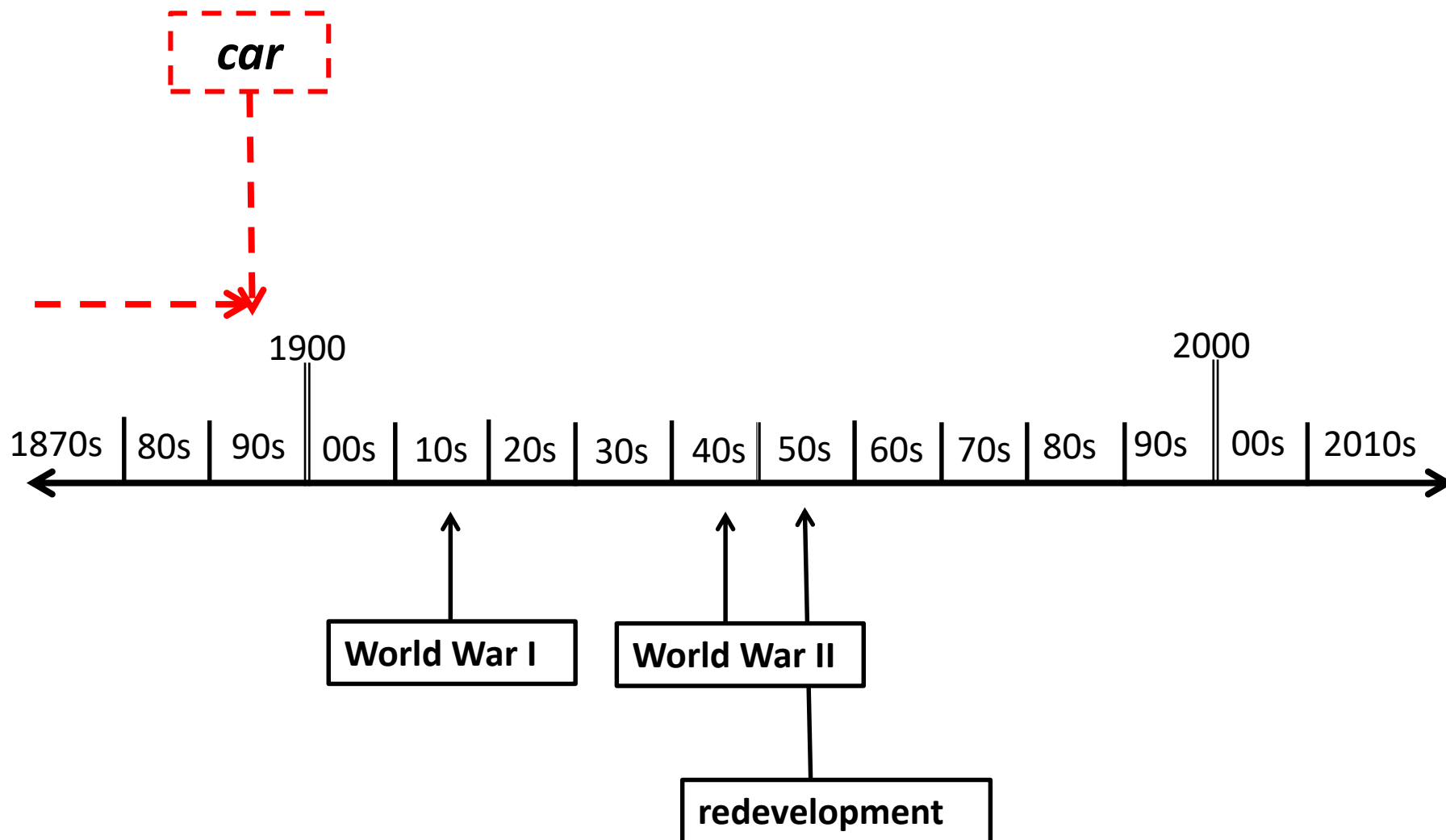
Les Ecossais rouleraient de moins en moins les "R". (REUTERS/Paul Hackett)

On Tuesday 21 July, the story crossed the Channel...

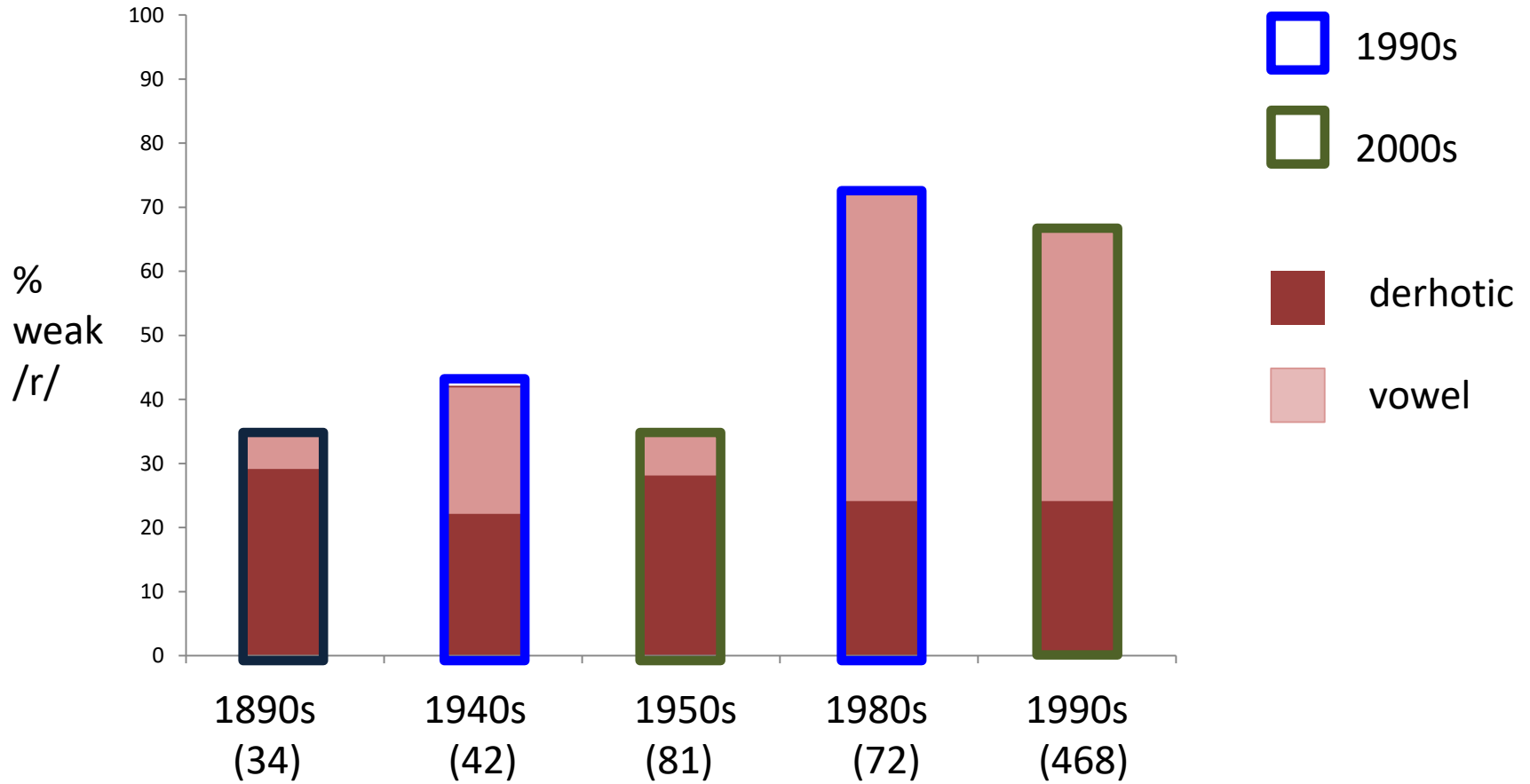
Une équipe de chercheurs des universités de Glasgow et Queen Margaret à Edimbourg est arrivée à la conclusion que l'accent écossais, caractérisé notamment par un roulement des "R" qui le rend parfois incompréhensible pour les étrangers,

http://bigbrowser.blog.lemonde.fr/2015/07/21/laccent-ecossais-se-meurrrrrrrt/?utm_campaign=Echobox&utm_medium=Social&utm_source=Facebook

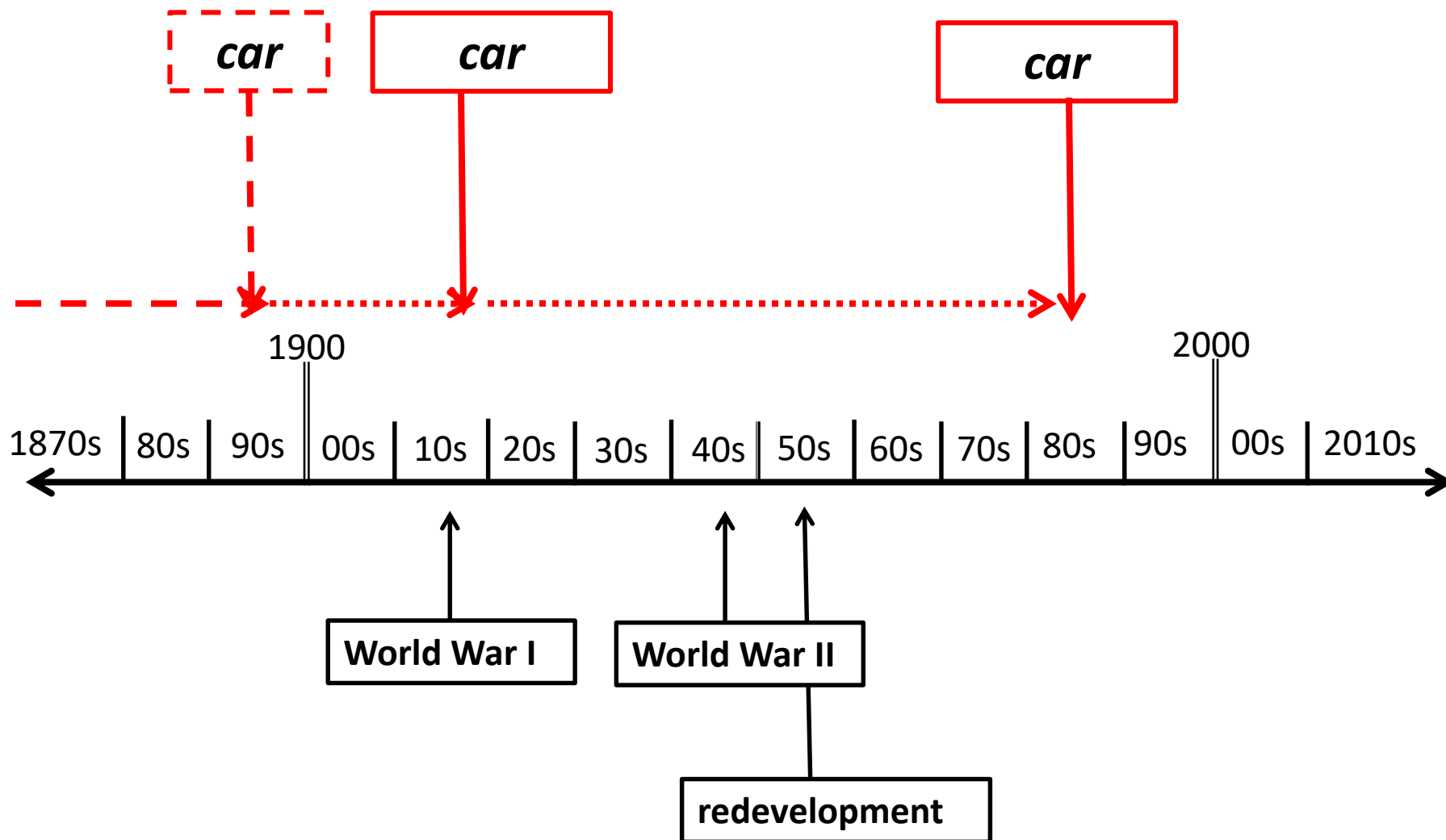
weakened postvocalic /r/ attributed to the 'degenerate Glasgow-Irish' (Trotter 1901 in Johnston 1997:511)

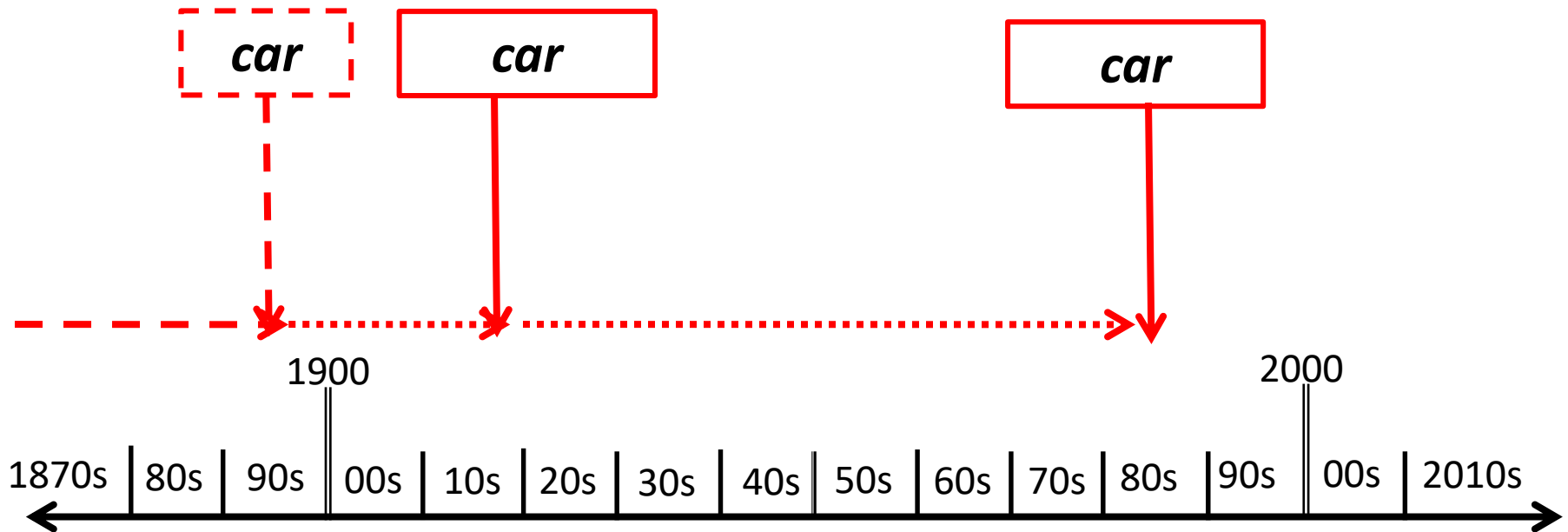


weak /r/ in read wordlists



weak /r/ confirmed from 1890s, takes off in 1980s

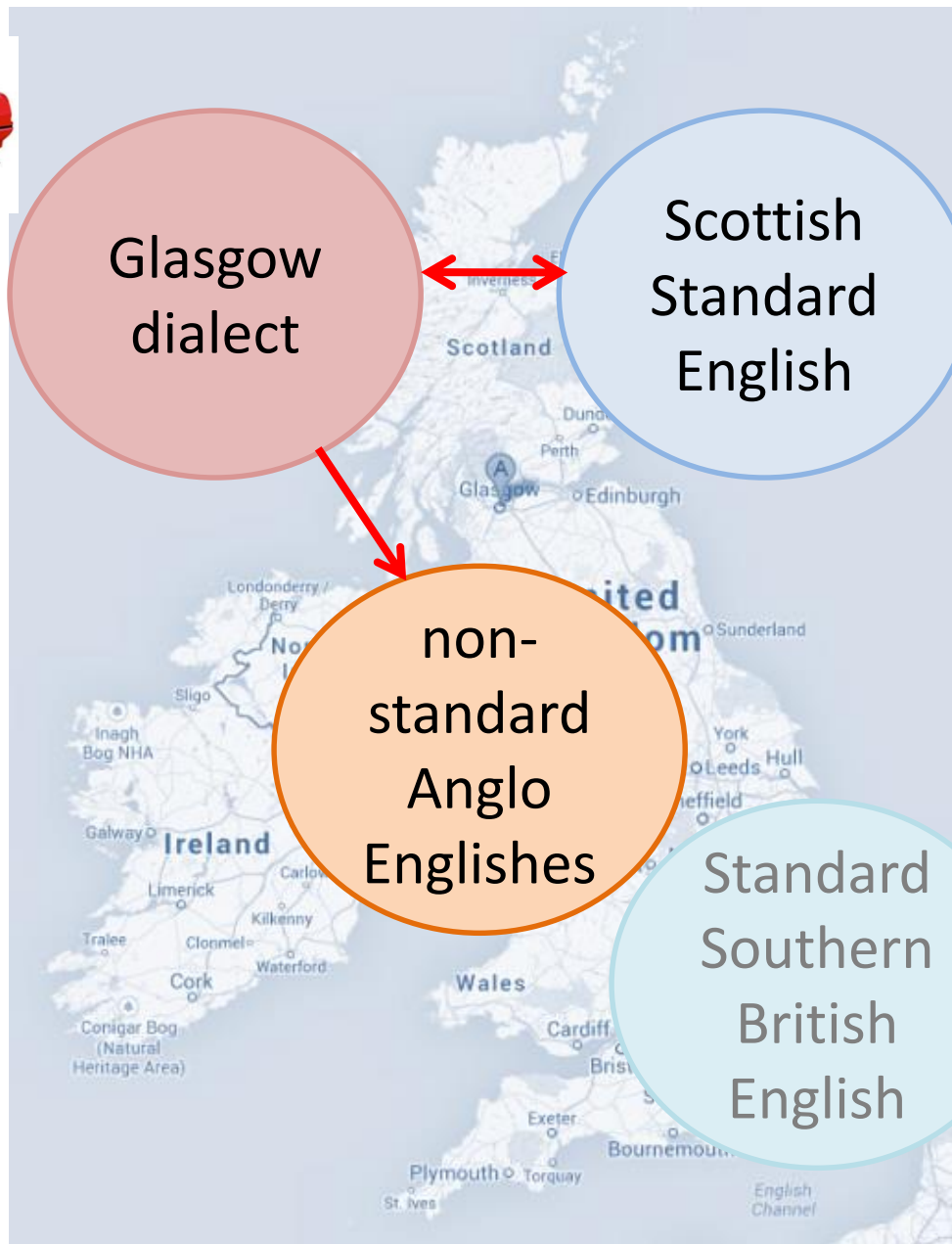




- class-based language ideologies
 - social practices in close-knit networks
 - strong engagement with TV dramas
- only read speech – style!**



Stuart-Smith et al 2007;
 Stuart-Smith et al 2014;
 Stuart-Smith and Ota 2014

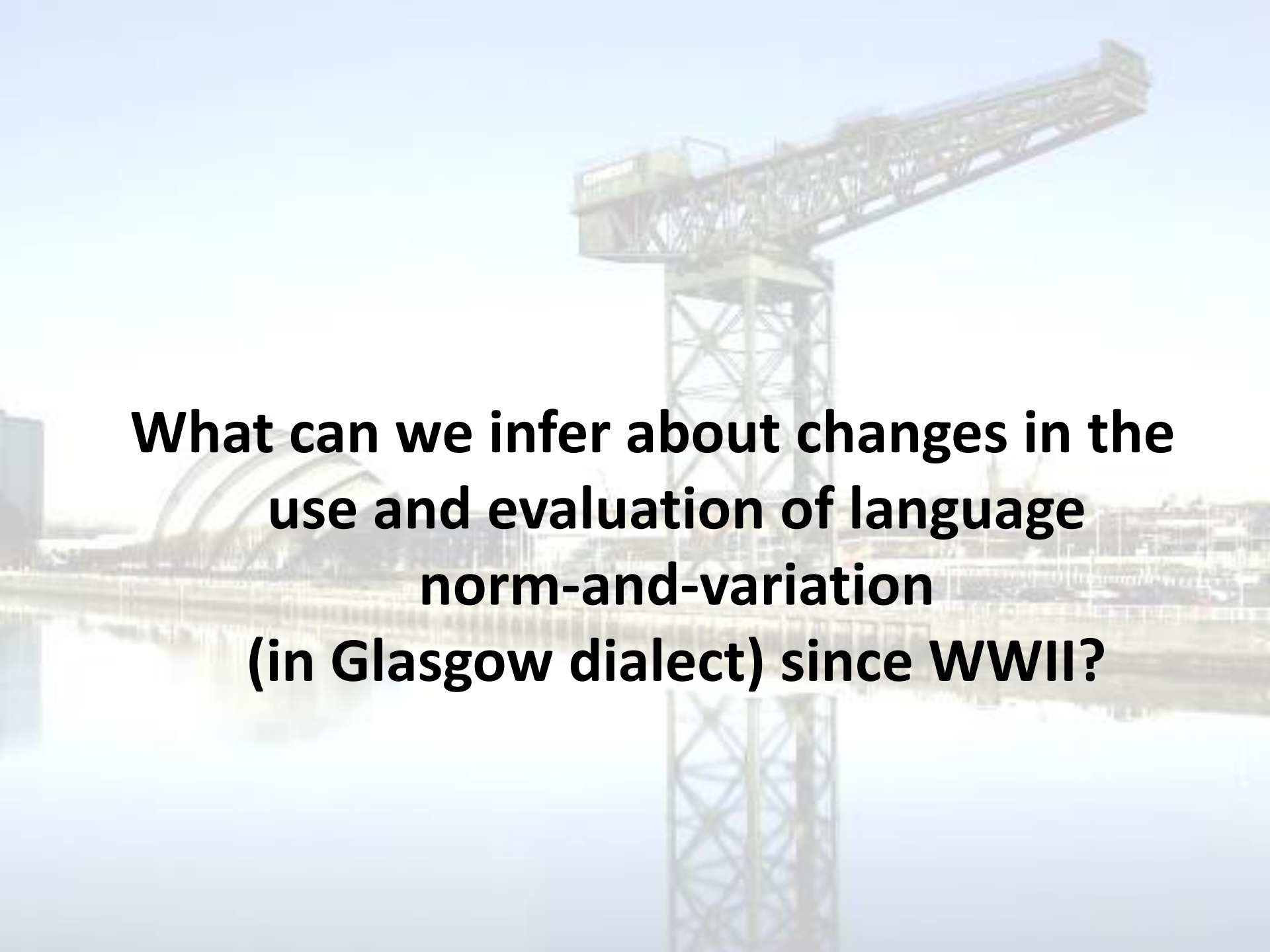


social structures ✓

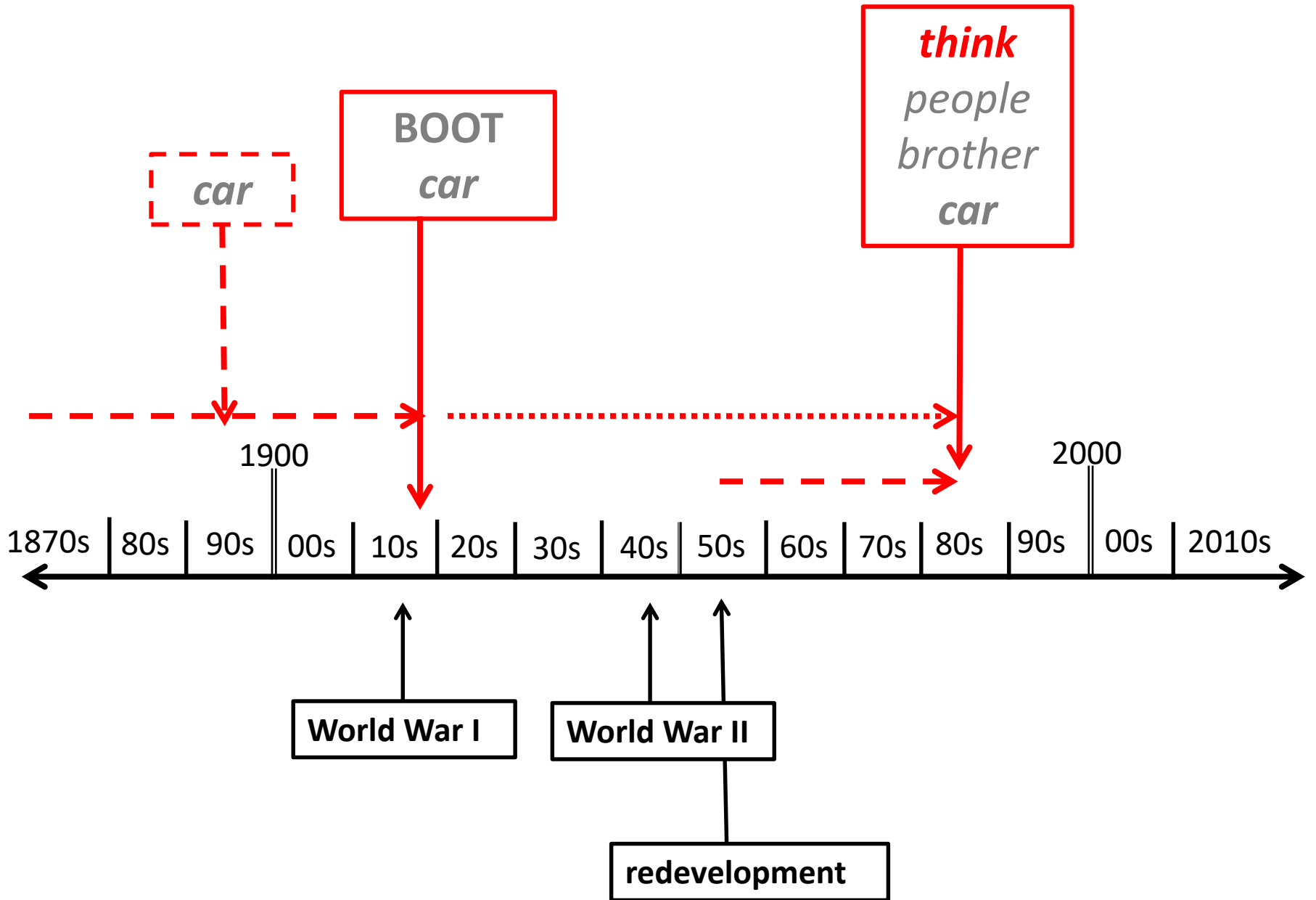
media ✓

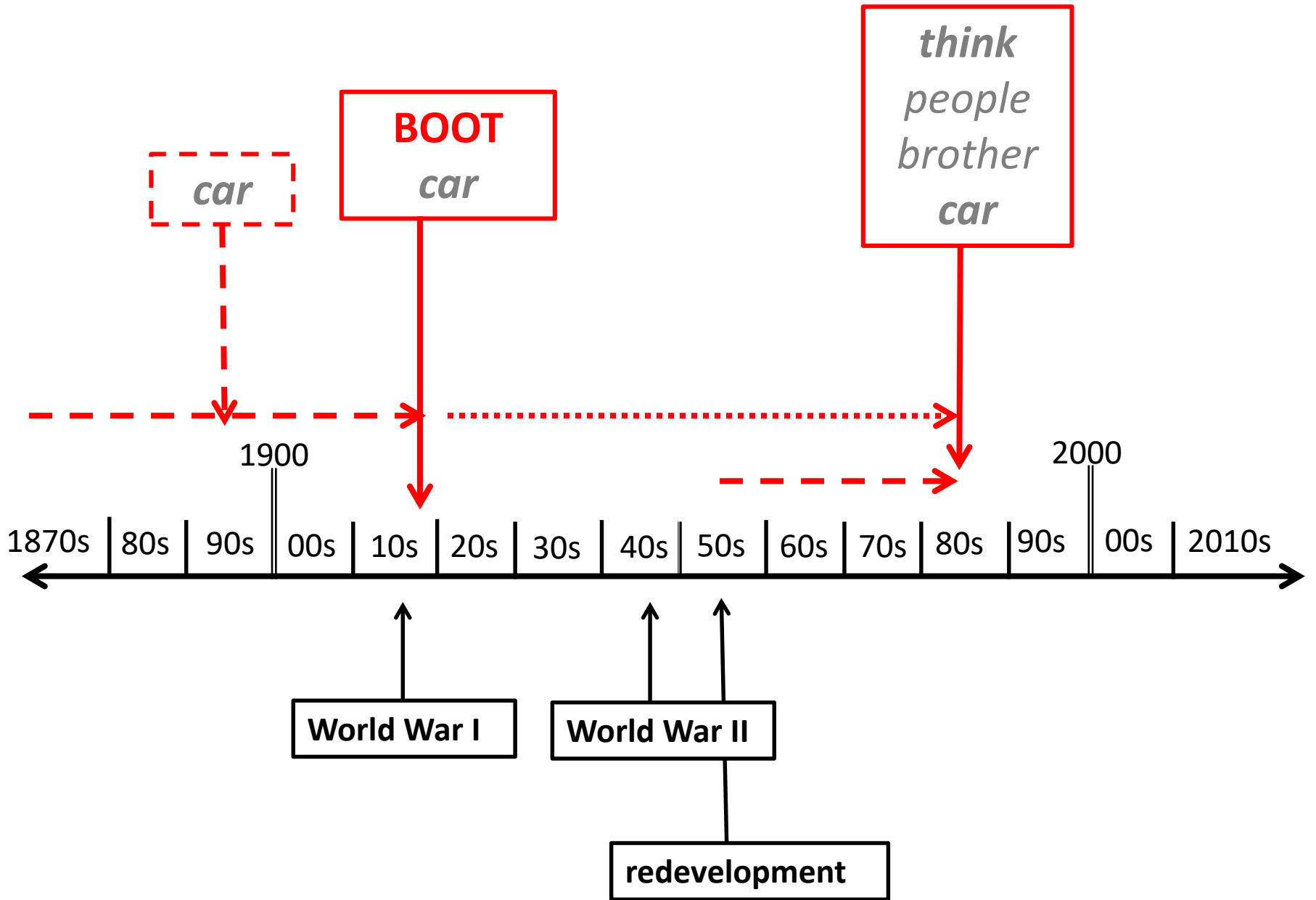
mobility ✗

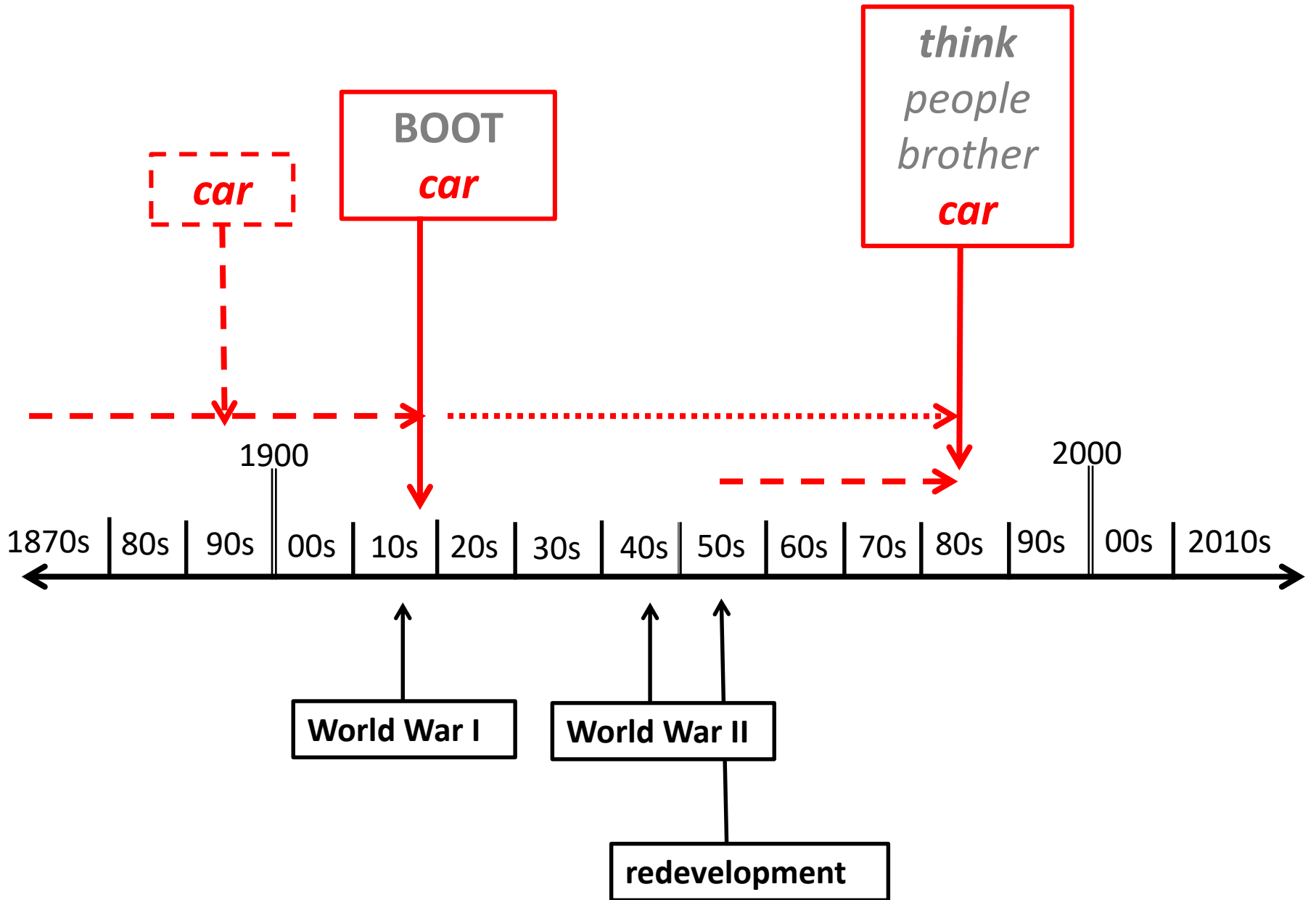
language ideologies ✓

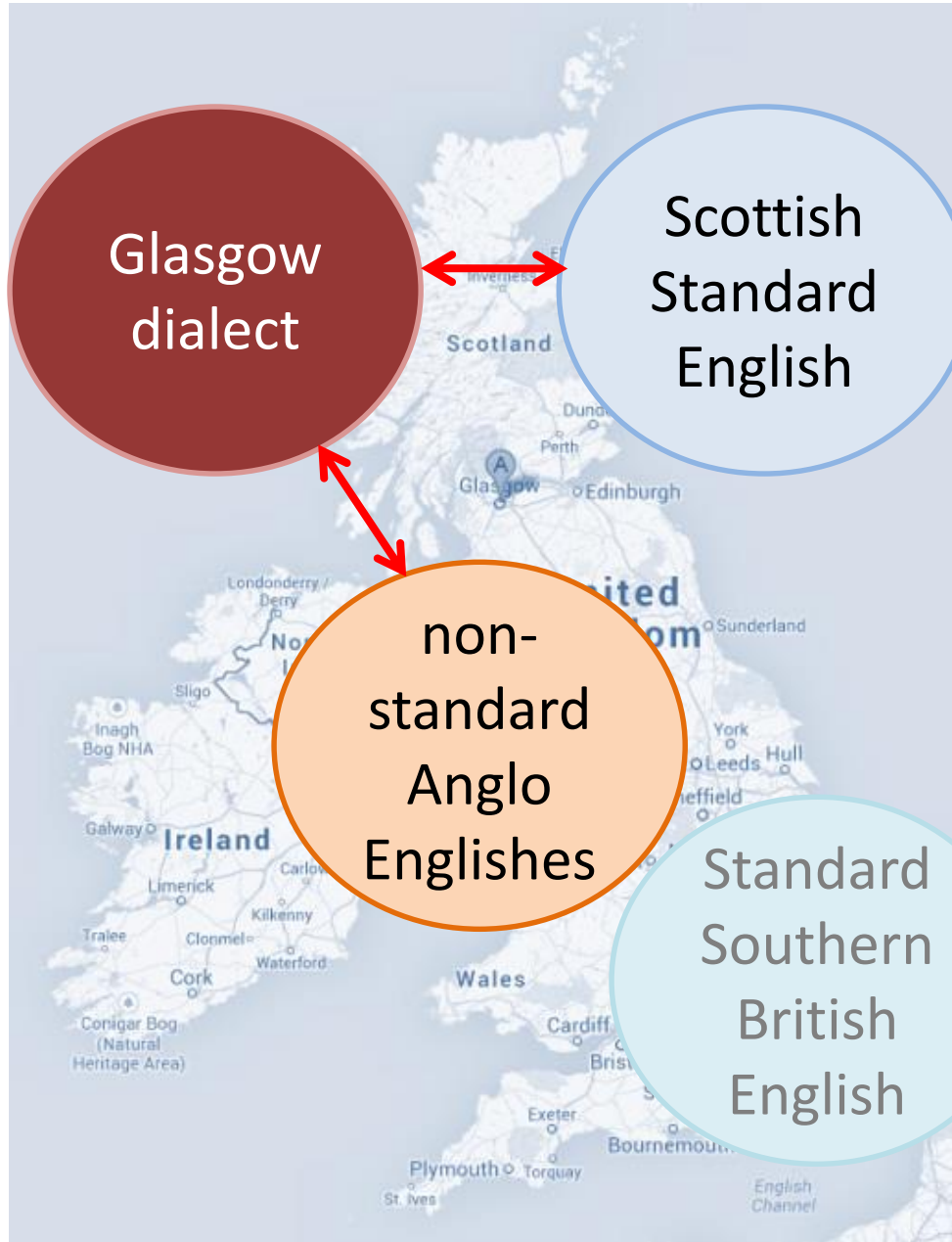
The background of the slide is a faded, light-colored image of a cityscape. The most prominent feature is a large, lattice-structured crane, likely the Glasgow Crane, which is positioned in the upper right quadrant. To the left, there is a curved, modern building with a glass facade, possibly the Glasgow Science Centre. The entire scene is reflected in a body of water at the bottom of the image. The text is overlaid in the center of the image.

**What can we infer about changes in the
use and evaluation of language
norm-and-variation
(in Glasgow dialect) since WWII?**









social structures

media

mobility

language ideologies



SOUNDS OF THE CITY

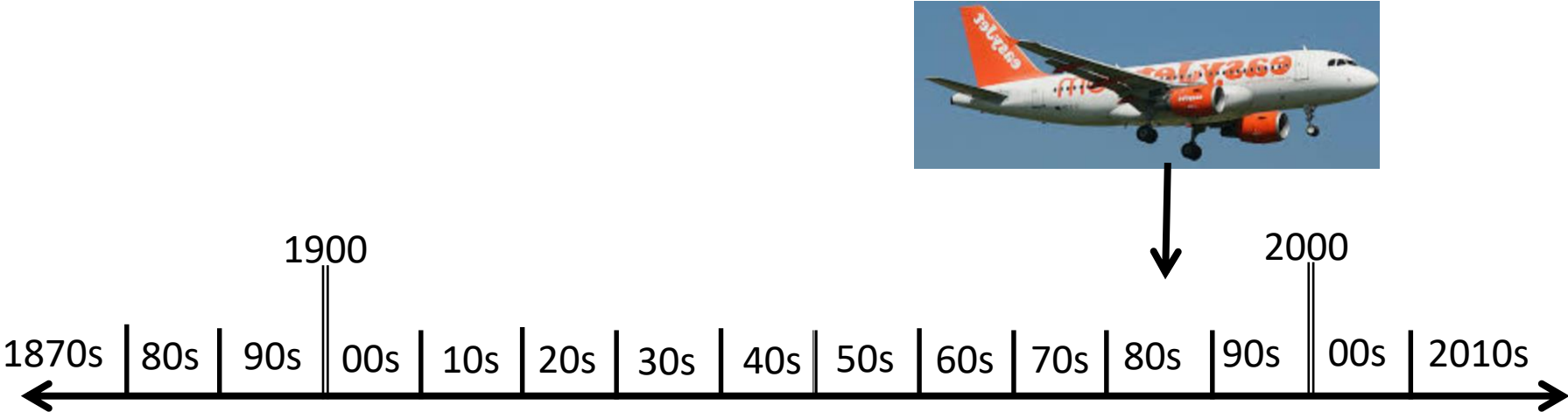
GULP

Thank you!



The Leverhulme Trust

Outwith Glasgow – external factors

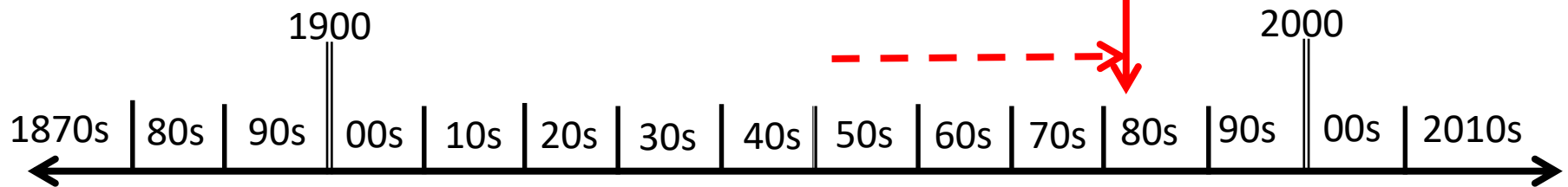


‘Mockney’ = media Cockney

Cheap domestic flights
Enhanced mobility



[f]ink for *think*
peop[o] for *people*
bro[v]er for *brother*

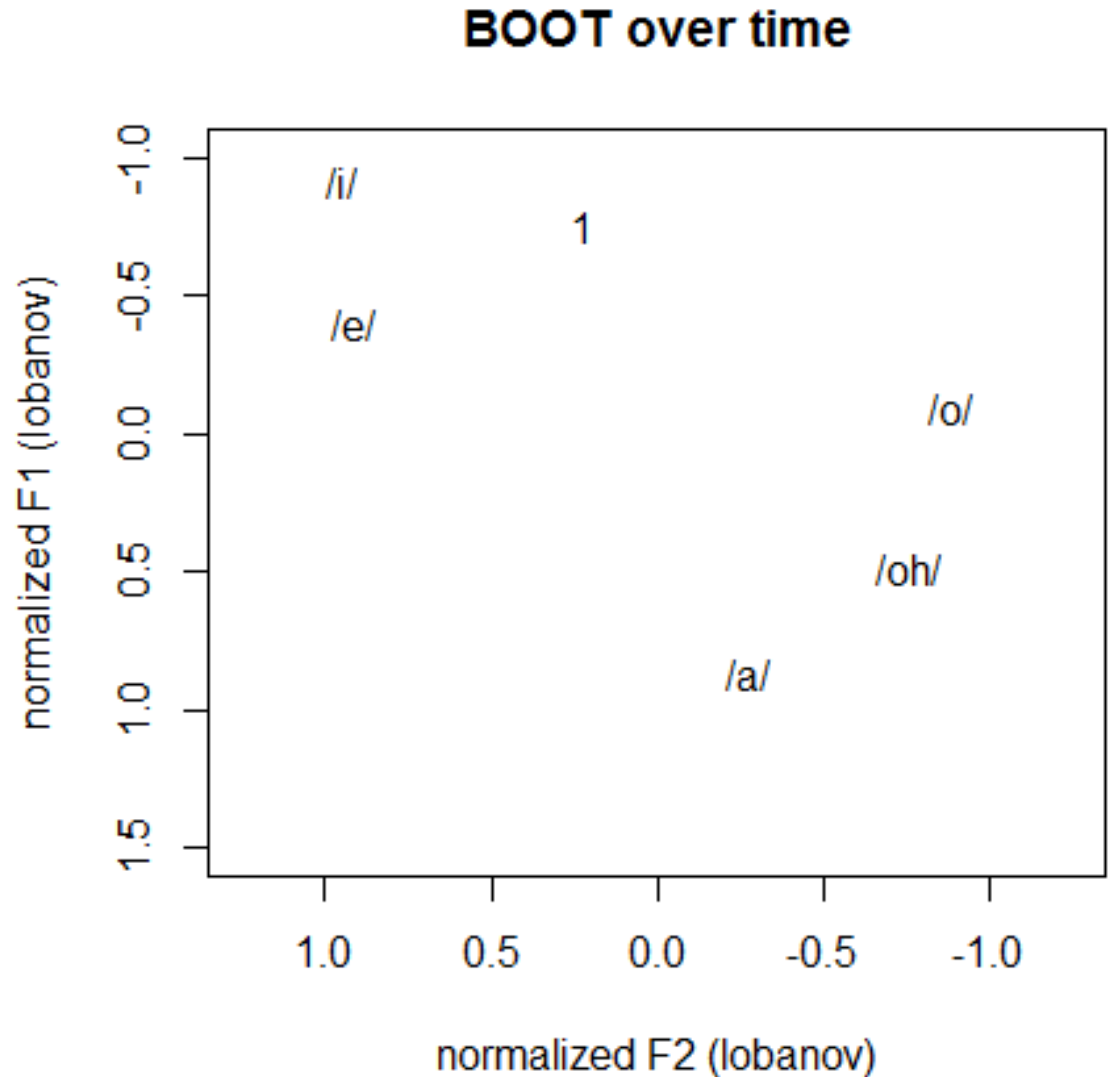


- ‘new’ change -> non-standard Anglo (Southern) English
- broadcast media + class-based language ideologies

/ʌ/ BOOT

**1 = older
speakers born in
1890s, recorded
in 1970s**

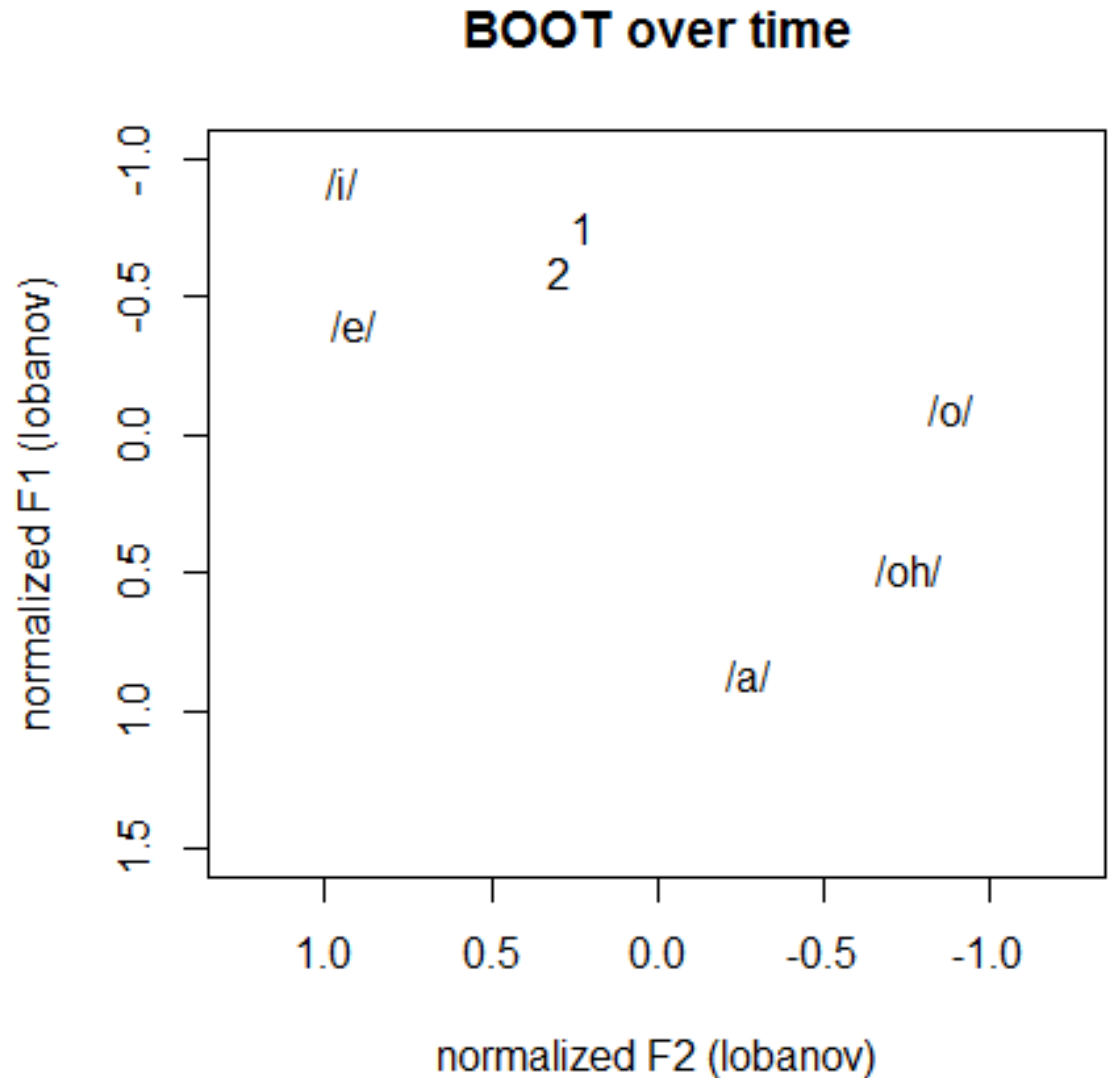
(n=265)



/ʌ/ BOOT

**2 = older
speakers born in
1920s, recorded
in 2000s**

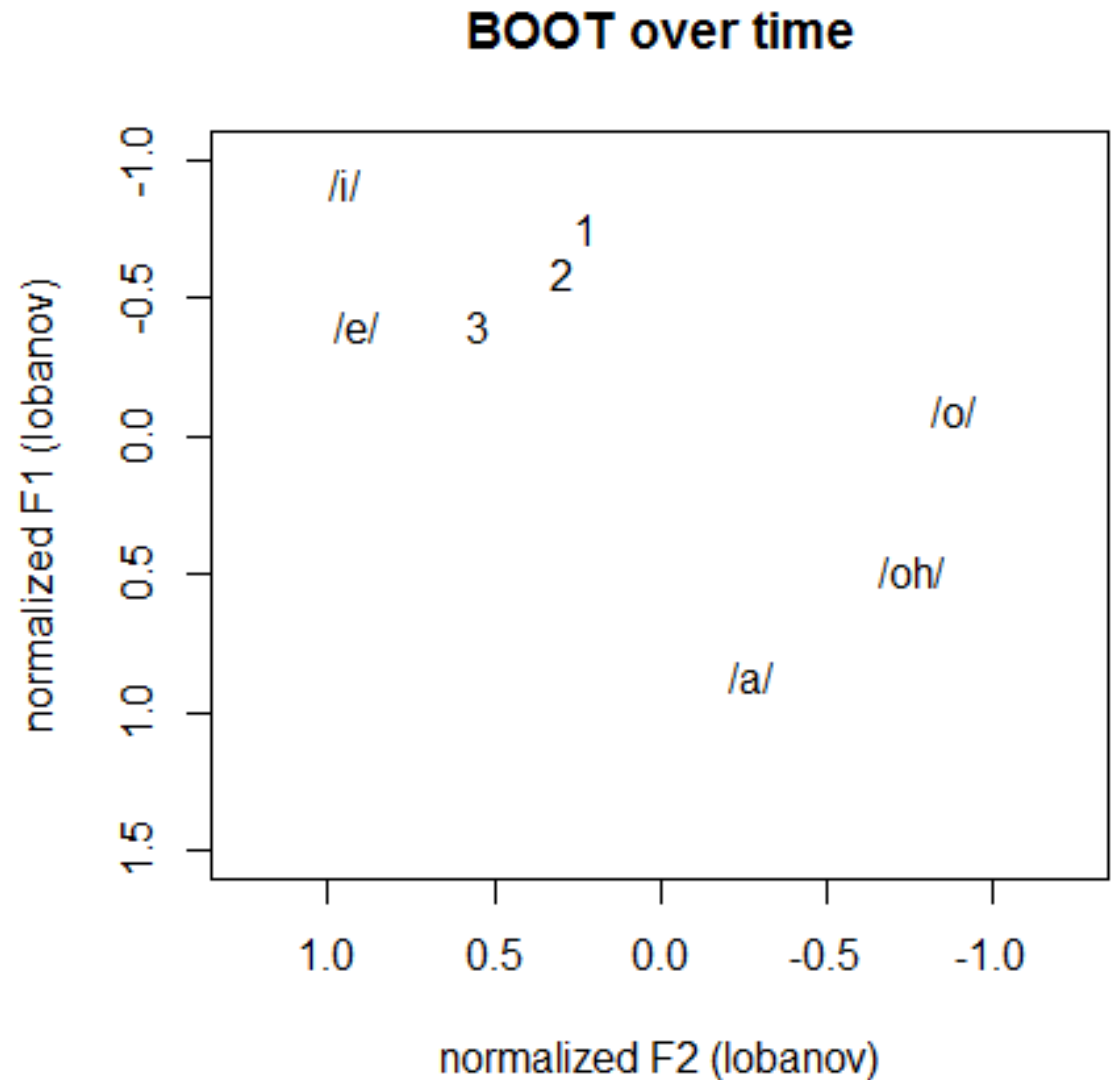
(n=751)



/tʰ/ BOOT

**3 = adolescent
speakers born in
1960s, recorded
in 1970s**

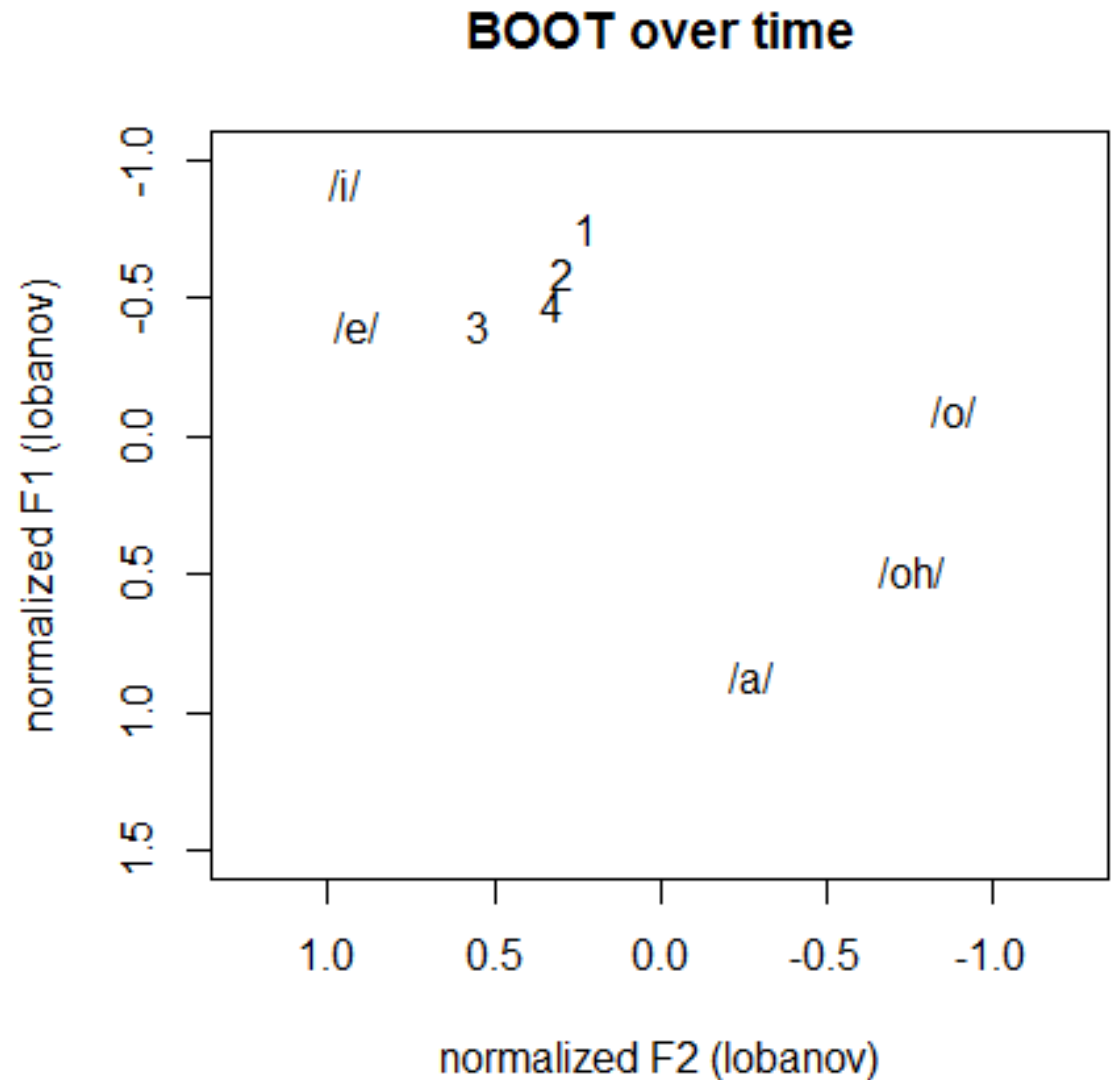
(n=128)



/tʰ/ BOOT

**4 = adolescent
speakers born in
1990s, recorded
in 2000s**

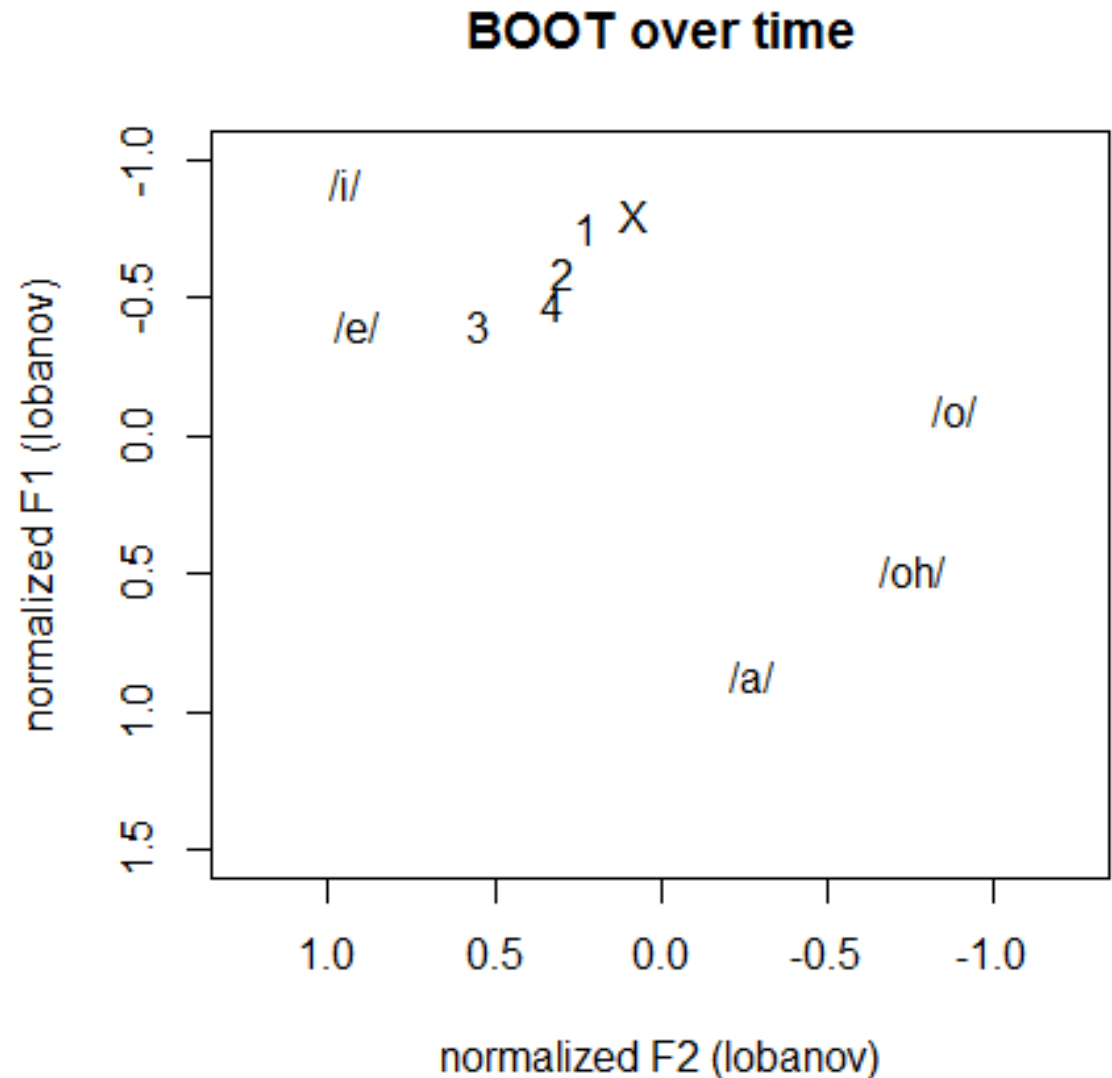
(n=226)



/t/ BOOT

**X = young adult
speakers born in
1890s, recorded
in 1910s**

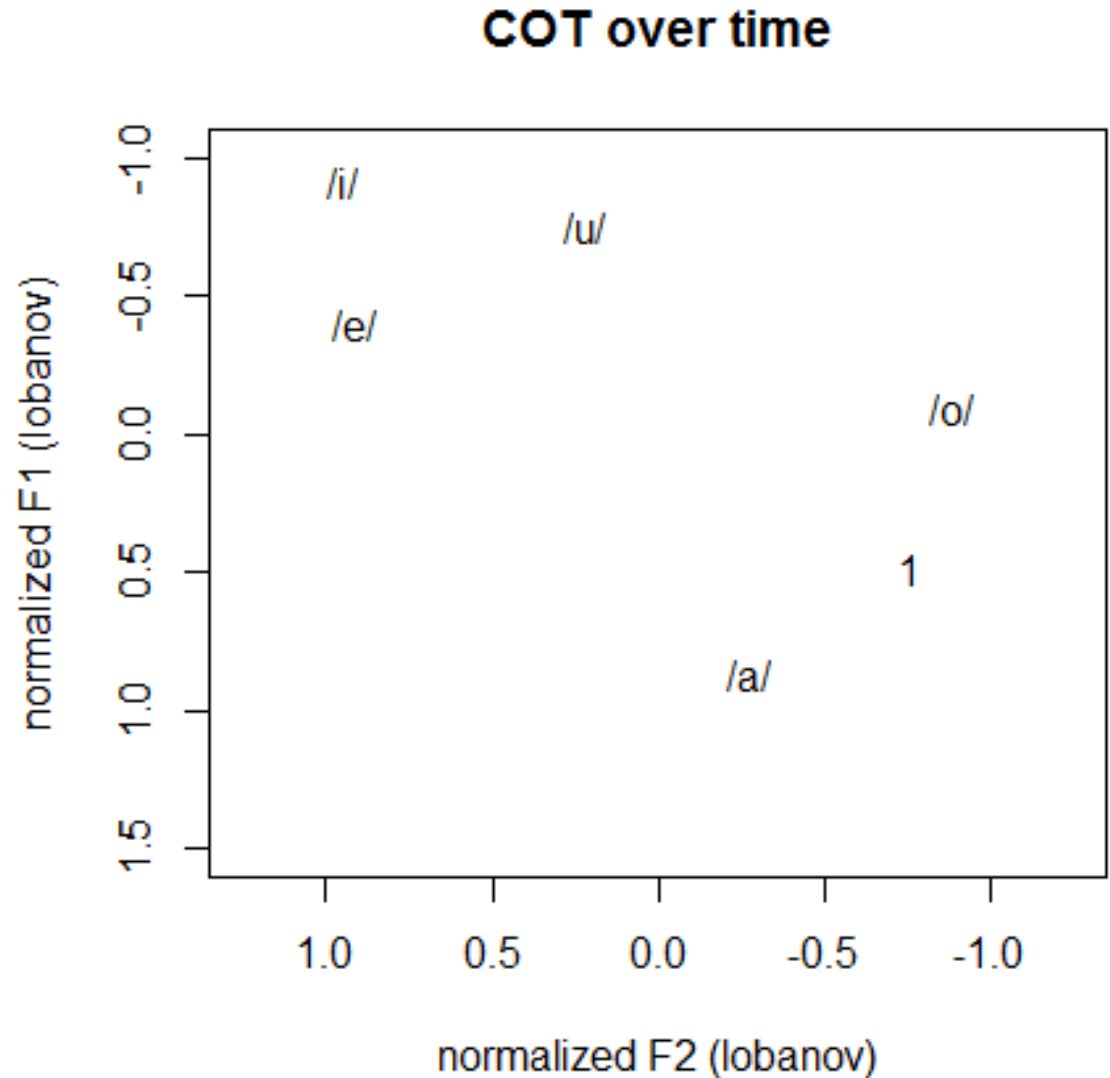
(n=56)



/ɔ/ COT

**1 = older
speakers born in
1890s, recorded
in 1970s**

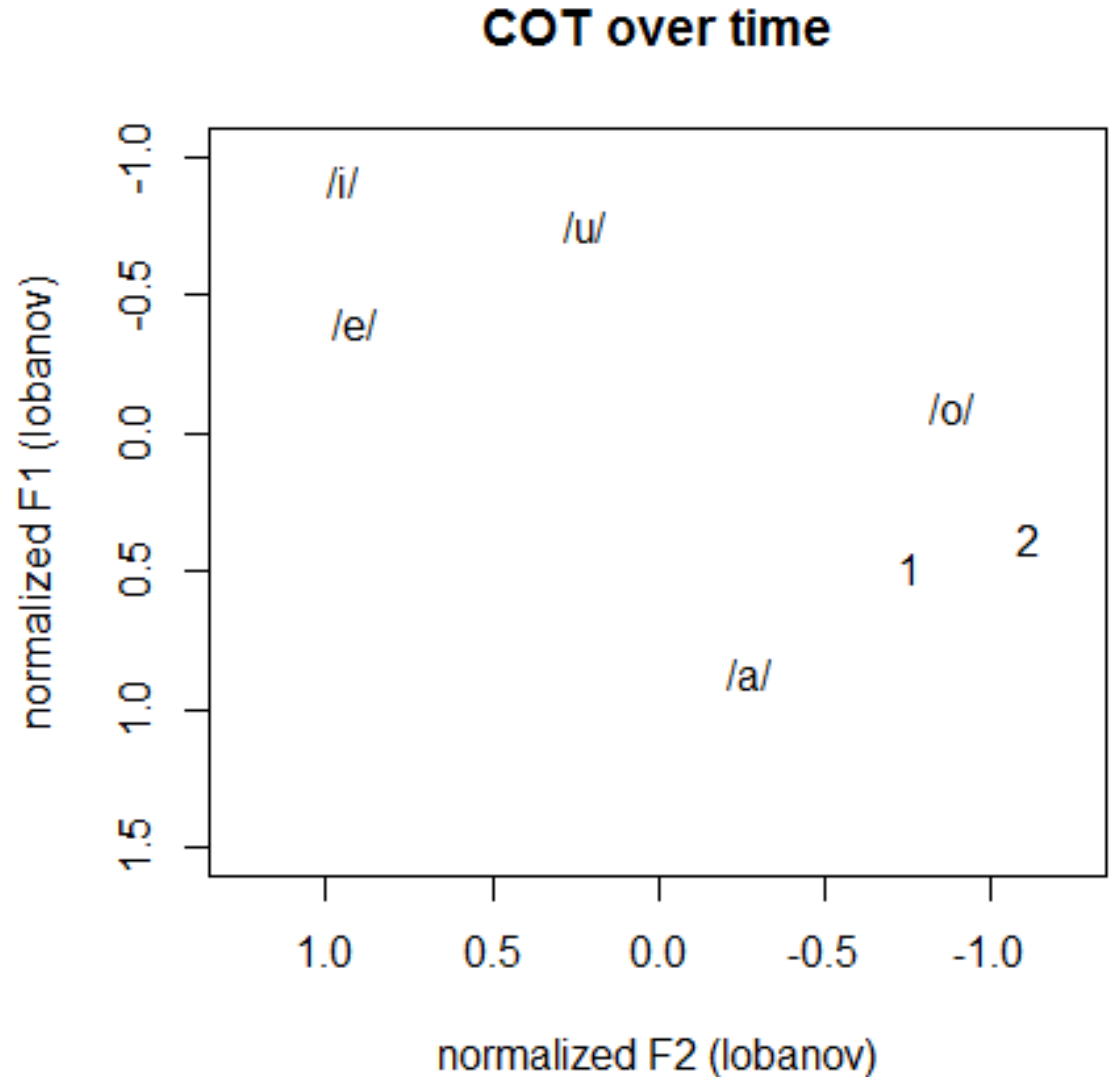
(n=278)



/ɔ/ COT

**2 = older
speakers born in
1920s, recorded
in 2000s**

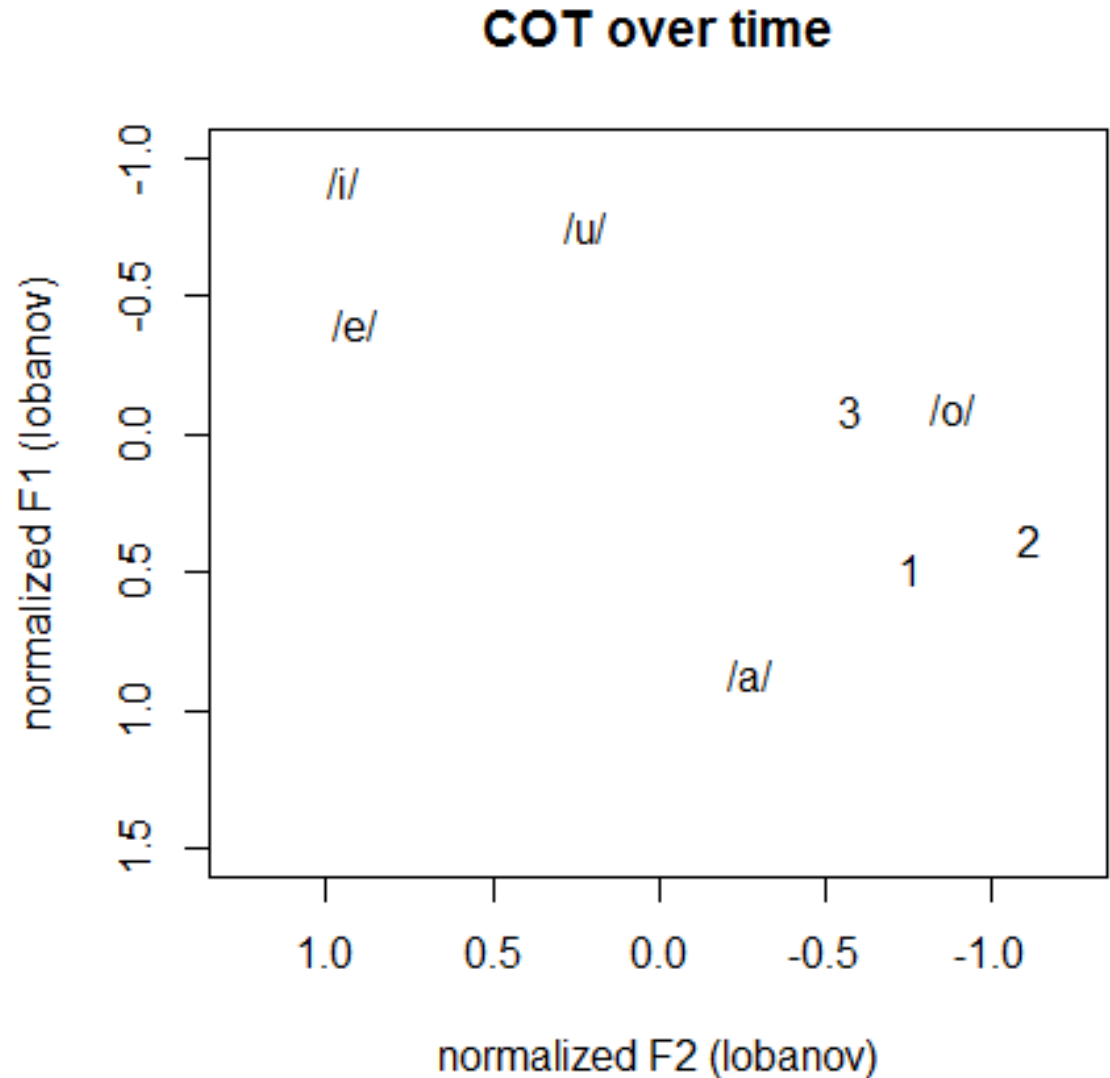
(n=568)



/ɔ/ COT

**3 = adolescent
speakers born in
1960s, recorded
in 1970s**

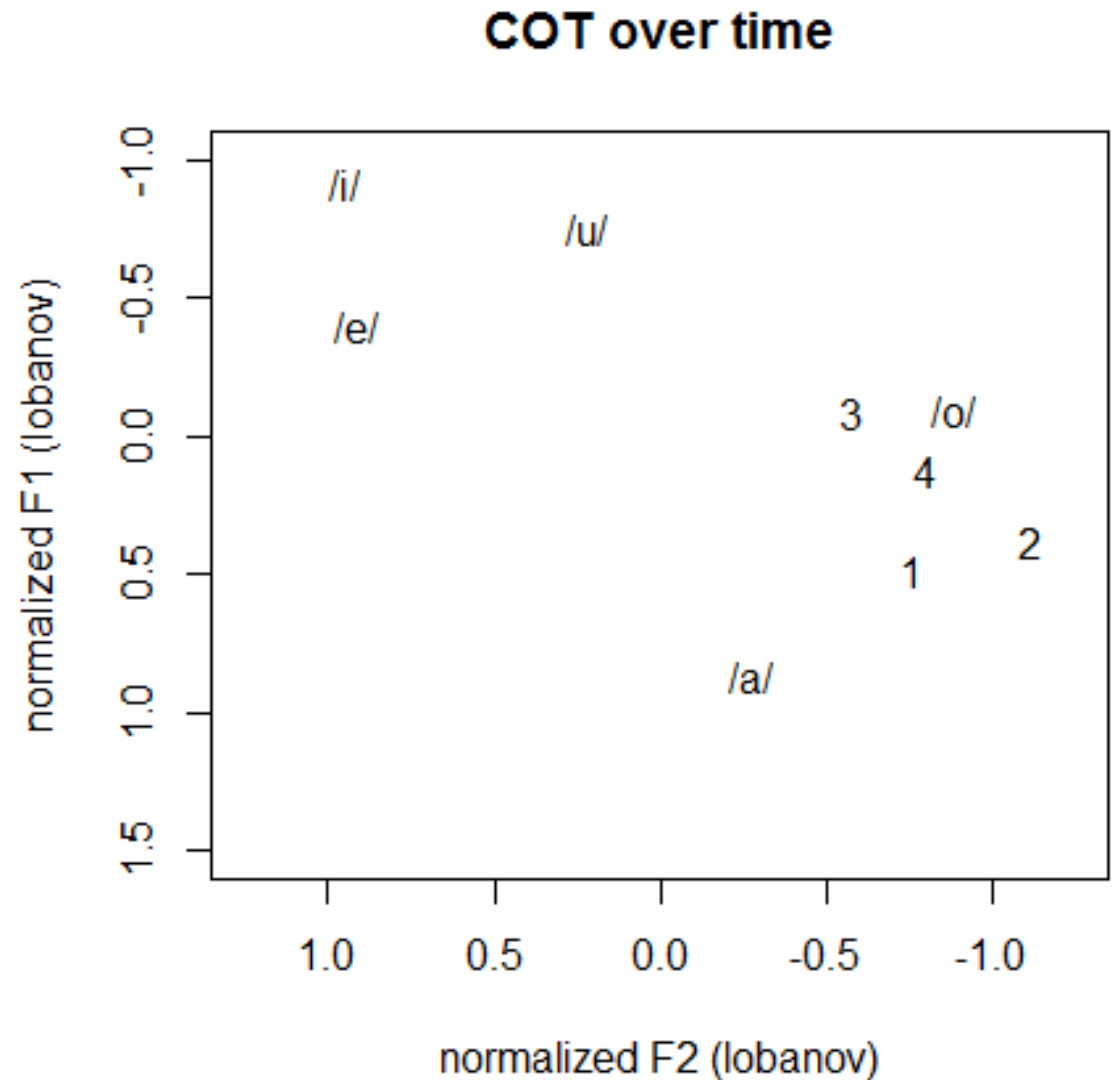
(n=146)



/ɔ/ COT

**4 = adolescent
speakers born in
1990s, recorded
in 2000s**

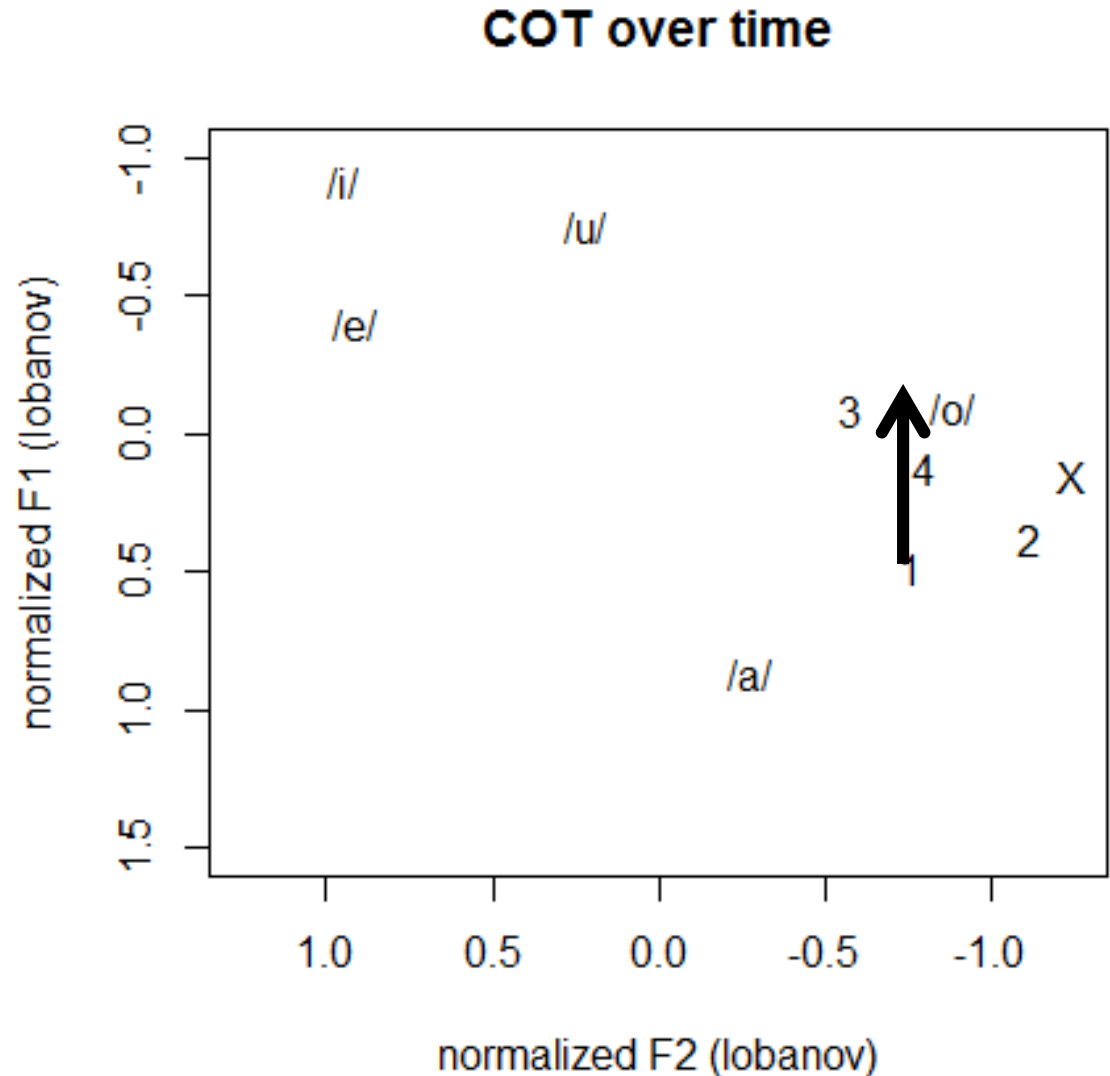
(n=237)



/ɔ/ COT

**X = young adult
speakers born in
1890s, recorded
in 1910s**

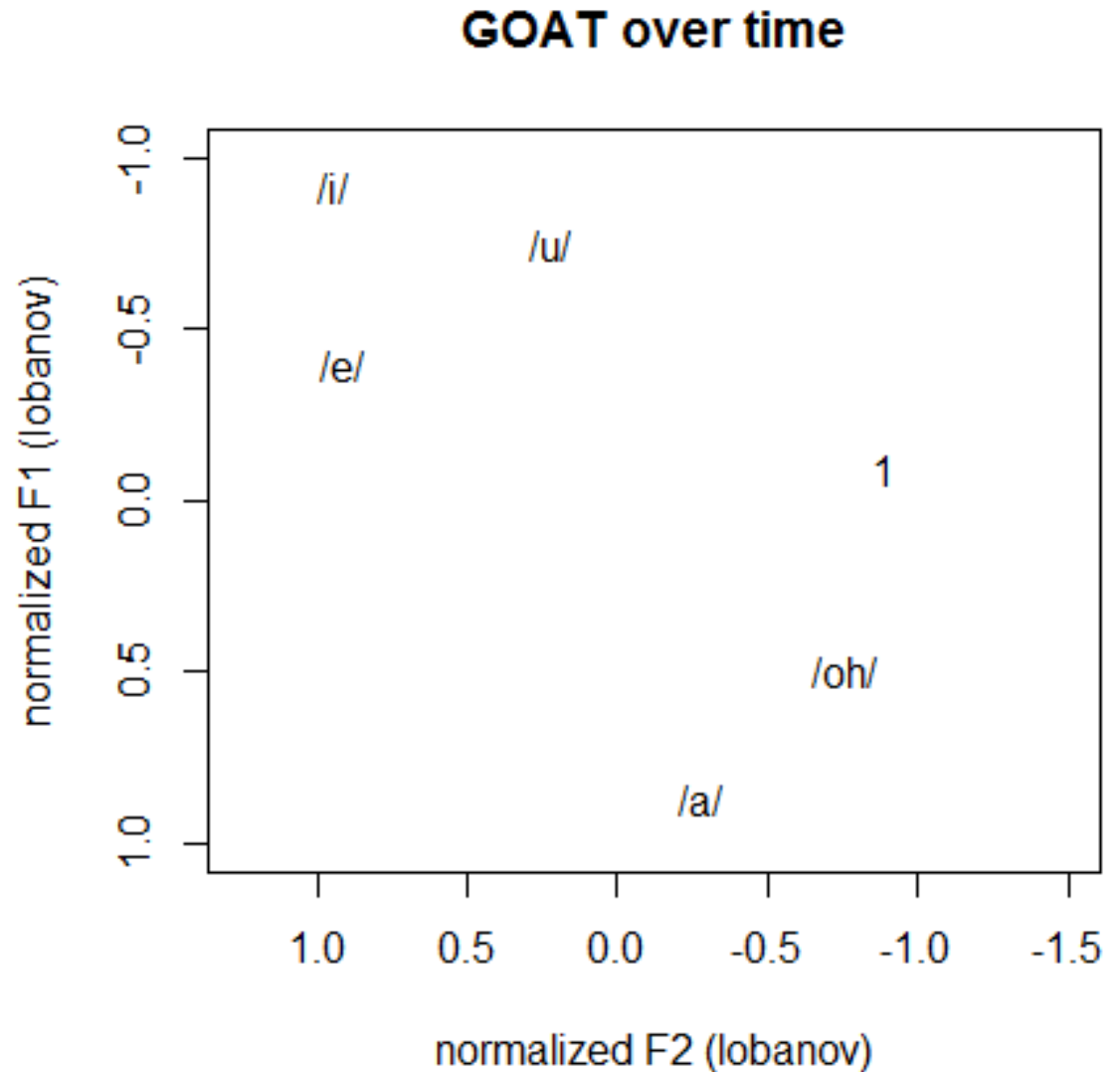
(n=32)



/o/ GOAT

**1 = older
speakers born in
1890s, recorded
in 1970s**

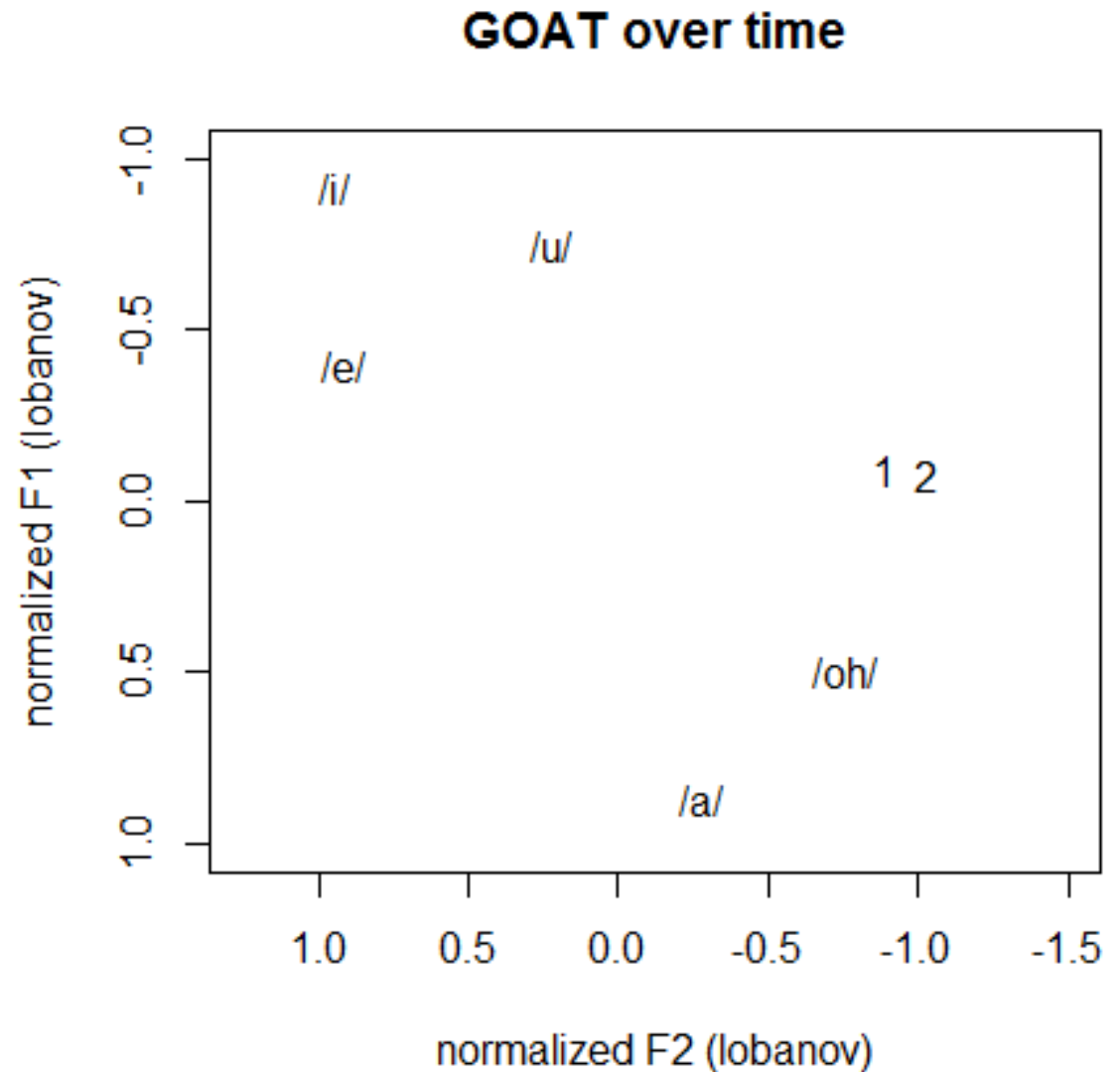
(n=180)



/o/ GOAT

**2 = older
speakers born in
1920s, recorded
in 2000s**

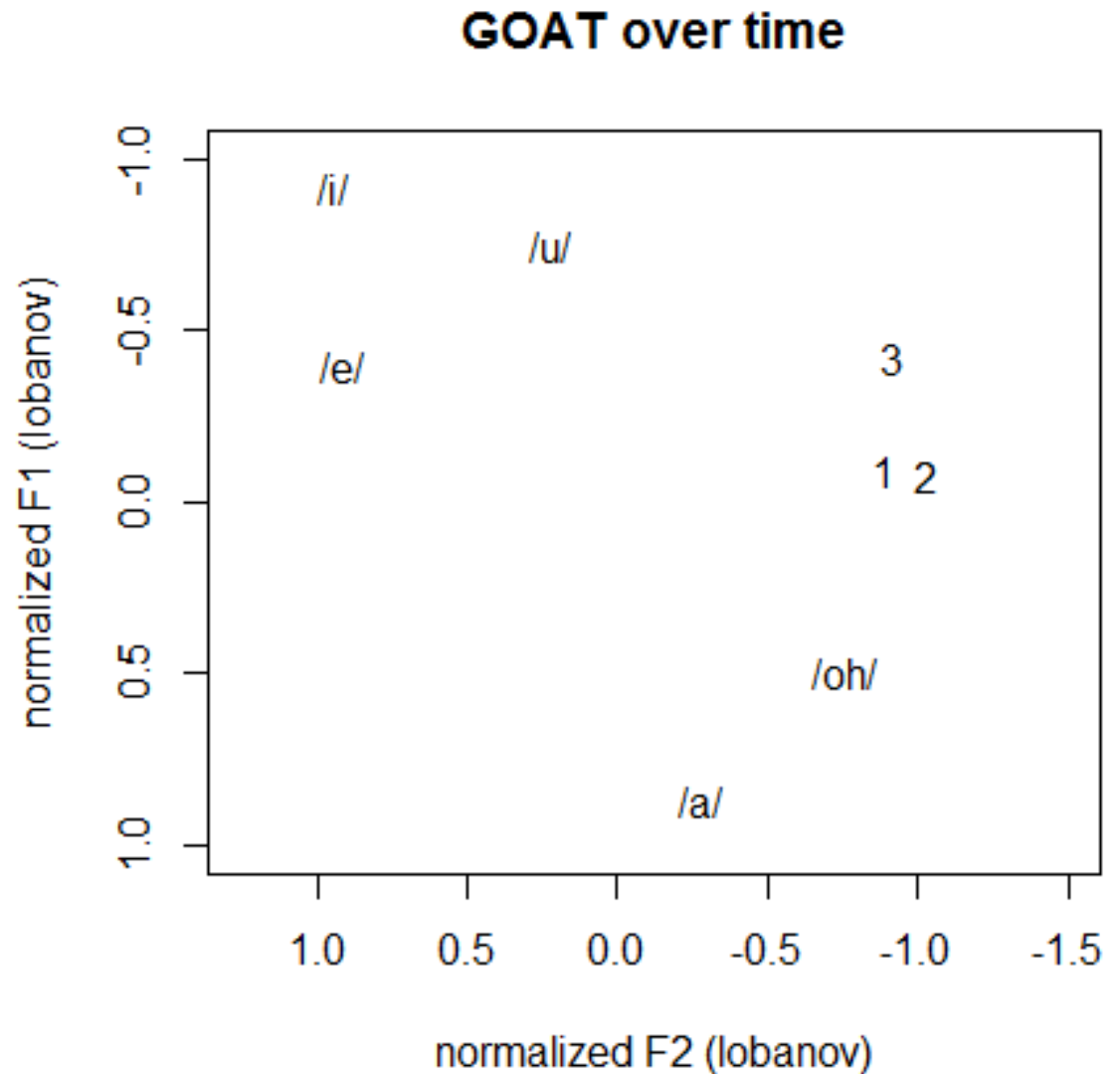
(n=386)



/o/ GOAT

**3 = adolescent
speakers born in
1960s, recorded in
1970s**

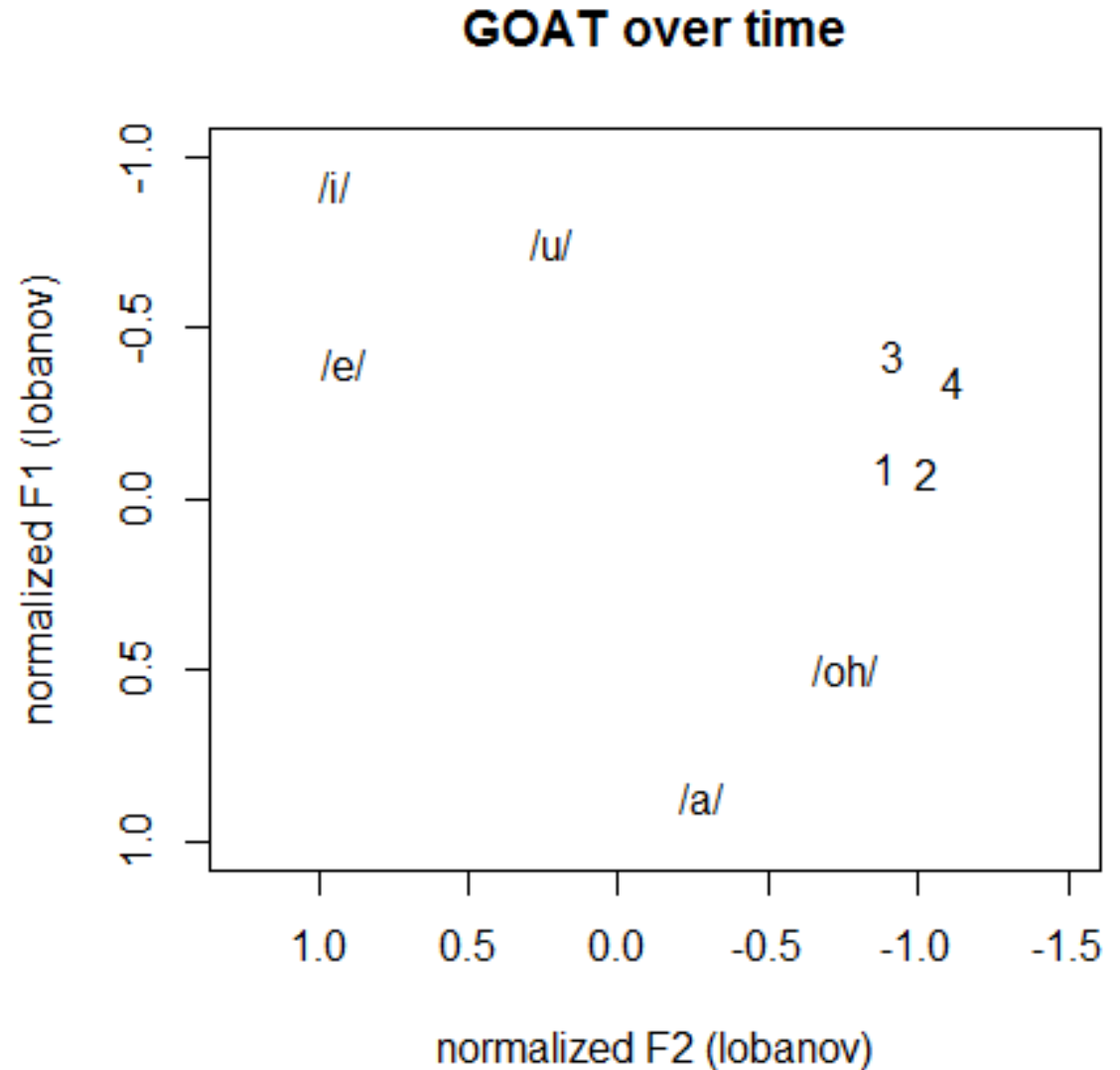
(n=169)



/o/ GOAT

**4 = adolescent
speakers, born in
1990s recorded
in 2000s**

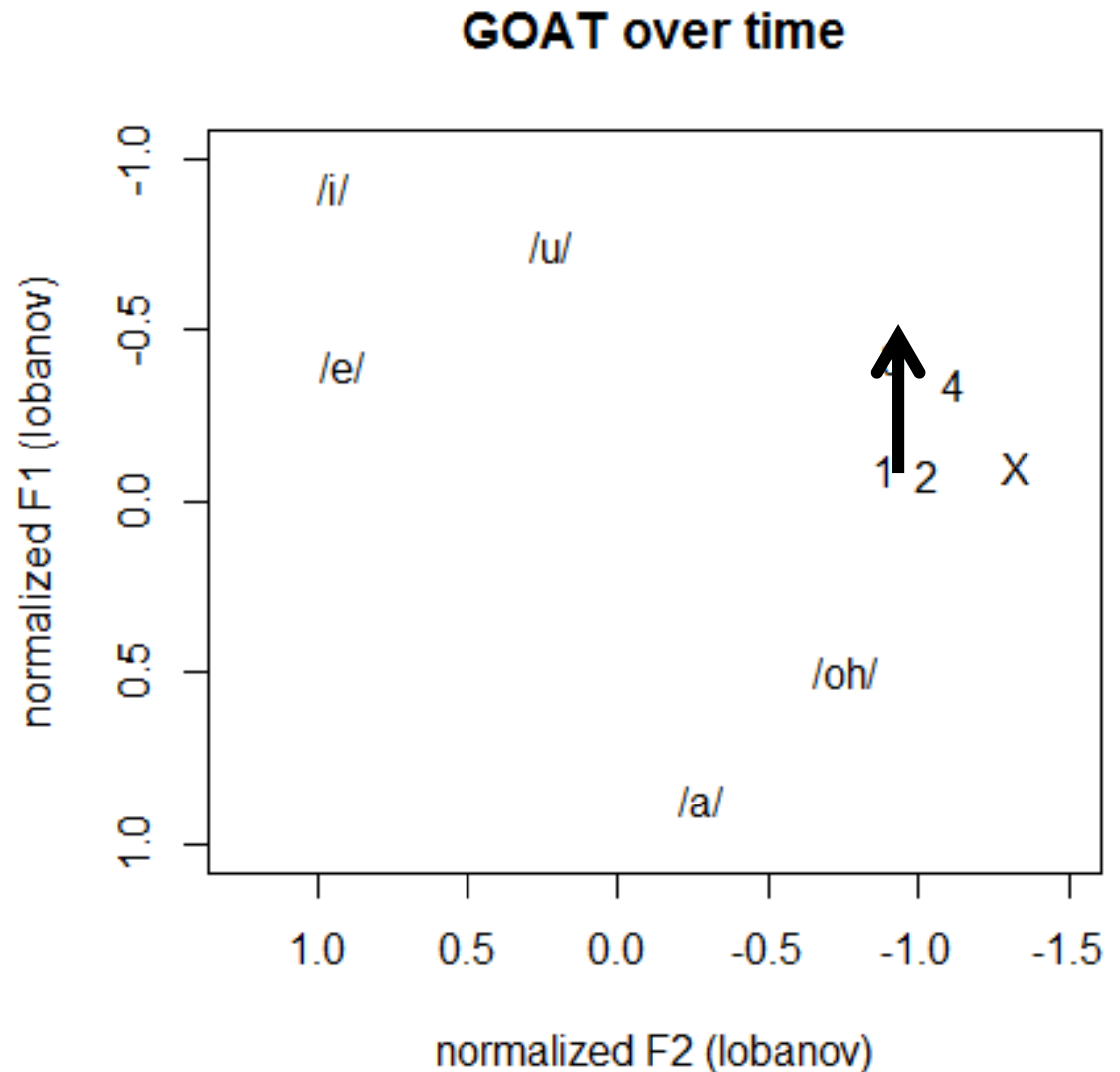
(n=153)



/o/ GOAT

**X = young adult
speakers born in
1890s, recorded
in 1910s**

(n=25)



It's official: The Scots are going a bit soft, at least in the way they speak

THE DISTINCTIVE rolling "R" in Scottish accents is being lost, according to experts.

Younger Scots are no longer pronouncing the "R" in words as forcefully as older generations, softening words such as "car", "bar" and "fur".

Older generations of Scots had been said to roll the letter in words such as "girl" and "farm", but younger speakers now appear to miss the letter out altogether. Some have suggested the change is due to softer accents on television among Scottish actors and broadcasters, but experts at the University of Glasgow and Queen Margaret University in Edinburgh found it is a more natural occurrence.

Previous research found Scots have the same vocabulary and grammar as other English speakers but have a different set of vowels and consonants.

Experts investigated the latest changes by using ultrasound on a group of young Scots that allowed them to see how the tongue moves

inside the mouth. Professor Jim Scobbie, from QMU, led the research with Dr Eleanor Lawson and Professor Jane Stewart-Smith. Sociolinguist Dr Lawson said: "What we found is that some Scottish speakers are delaying the 'R' gesture, so it's happening in silence afterwards.

"They're still producing it. You just can't hear it the same. We found that one group of Scottish speakers are doing one thing with their tongue, and another group are doing something completely different.

"Speakers with a more vernacular Scottish accent seem to delay their 'R' gesture, making it hard to hear, and others with a less vernacular accent don't but also use a completely different tongue shape, one that we usually associate with American English."

People outside Scotland may struggle to understand Scots speaking with the softer "R", but the researchers said people within the country who speak in the different styles can still understand each other.

Scots losing their accent

THE Scottish accent is in danger of going soft as the distinctive rolling 'R' disappears from speech.

Researchers found young Scots were following the English habit of dropping Rs in a word such as 'burns'.

Eleanor Lawson of Queen Margaret University in Edinburgh, said: "They're still producing it. You just can't hear it properly."

Michael Hance, of the Scots Language Centre, blamed the media.

He said: "99% of Scottish radio and TV is in English and American accents."

Young Scots are losing their accent

THEY are as stereotypically Scottish as Irn-Bru or porridge. But the 'Rs' that make the accent so distinctive are dying out.

Research shows that many young Scots no longer emphasise the 'R' at the end of words such as 'car', 'bar' and 'fur'. Working-class youngsters are particularly likely to swallow the sound while their middle-class counterparts are favouring one normally associated with American English.

What is more, the rolling, or trilling 'R', associated with the likes of 'broom', 'squirrel' and 'hurry', is now very rare.

Some blame a Scottish media saturated with English and American accents, but the researchers from the University of Glasgow and Queen Margaret University in Edinburgh say accents naturally evolve.

They used ultrasound machines to reveal the tongue movements of a group of 12 and 13-year-olds as they said a range of words.

Professor Jim Scobbie, lead researcher, said: "We found that some Scottish speakers are delaying the "R" gesture, so it's happening in silence afterwards. They're still producing it. You just can't hear it the same."

Michael Hance, director of the Scots Language Centre, said the Anglicising influence of the media is to blame.

He told The Sunday Times: "Ninety-nine per cent of Scottish radio and TV is English and American accents."