

Local identity and sound change in Glasgow

A pilot study¹

Natalie Braber²
Zoe Butterfint³

Abstract

This paper outlines a pilot study investigation into the potential link between local identity and language change in Glasgow. Results are presented from part of the pilot study, specifically the variation noted in two phonological variables - the realisation of the alveolar lateral approximant /l/, and the occurrence of so-called T-glottalling - and are discussed in the light of local identity. Glasgow is historically a heavily stigmatised, often stereotyped city and home to an equally stigmatised linguistic variety: Glaswegian. Recent investigations have highlighted processes of linguistic change occurring in this linguistic variety (most notable Stuart-Smith, 1999a, 2003; Stuart-Smith et al., 2006, 2007), and this study sets out to investigate the potential link between these changes, speaker attitudes to Glasgow and their sense of Glaswegian identity.

The data elicitation method employed is an extended version of that used by Stuart-Smith & Tweedie (2000): semi-structured interviews supplemented by a read word list. Methodological issues and considerations for future investigation are discussed on the basis of the findings of this pilot study.

1. Introduction

A wealth of literature exists examining the relationship between identity and linguistic change, from Labov's pioneering investigation in Martha's Vineyard (1963), to present-day research in Middlesbrough (Llamas, 1999, 2007) and Berwick-upon-Tweed (Pichler & Watt, 2004; Pichler, Watt and Llamas, 2004). This paper discusses findings from a small-scale pilot study carried out in 2005/6, which aimed to extend that body of work, further investigating the complex 'interdependence of language and place identity' (Llamas, 2007:579) in one very specific locale: Glasgow.

The first part of the paper briefly considers the concept of 'identity', before examining how Glasgow differs from many of the locations previously studied. Concepts of identity in this city will be discussed, taking into account its history and inhabitants' views of the city, its linguistic varieties and their own 'Glaswegianness'. The second part examines the variation found in two phonological variables, previously shown to be undergoing sound change in Glaswegian (e.g. Stuart-Smith, 1999a; Stuart-Smith et al., 2007), and considers the variation in relation to the speakers' sense of local Glaswegian identity. Finally, the paper discusses the methodological issues arising from this pilot study and outlines changes for future work.

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² Dr Natalie Braber; School of Arts and Humanities; Nottingham Trent University; Clifton Lane; Nottingham; NG11 8NS.

³ Dr Zoe Butterfint; School of Allied Health Professions; University of East Anglia; Norwich; NR4 7TJ.

2. Background

2.1 Identity

Concepts such as national and local identity may initially appear straightforward, but closer investigation reveals that they are actually difficult to define (Anderson, 1991: 3). Furthermore, previous research has shown that it is not essential for a person to have only one identity. Identities can co-exist and individuals can have ‘multiple or divided loyalties’ (Penrose, 1993:34), in fact it would be naïve to suggest that individuals have only one identity available to them.

‘What is on offer in the late twentieth century is what we might call ‘pick ‘n mix’ identity, in which we wear our identities lightly, and change them according to circumstances. Those who argue for the paramouncy or even the exclusivity of a single identity have a hard time of it in the late twentieth century’ (McCrone, 1992:195).

The existence of multiple identities need not, however, negate any specific identity (McCrone, 1992:26). The sense of belonging to an ‘imagined community’ (Anderson, 1992) explains the binding nature of specific identities, in Anderson’s case specifically the concept of ‘nation’. The community is ‘*imagined* because the members of even the smallest nation will never know most of their fellow-members, meet them, or even hear of them, yet in the mind of each lives the image of their communion’ (Anderson, 1991: 6).

Scotland is a part of Great Britain, and therefore part of the imagined community with the national, or state, identity of being British; however, the notion of Britishness is not without its problems in Scotland (or in England for that matter). Despite fluctuations in the political status of Scotland over the past four hundred years, its sense of a distinct identity has always remained strong. Macaulay comments that ‘part of that identity comes from a form of speech that remains distinct from that of its dominant southern neighbour. There are cultural attitudes that indicate a spirit of independence that is consistent with this linguistic separation’ (Macaulay, 2005:10). Group identification, whether that be on a national, local or community level, is usually decided ‘by reference to who and what we are not’ (Colley, 1992:311). People contrast themselves with what they feel is different to them (Rose, 1995:92) and the ‘different’ in Scotland tends to be England (Ichijo, 2004:22).

Identity studies carried out in Scotland have tended to focus on national, ‘Scottish’, identity, rather than individual local identities, and unsurprisingly Scots are shown to have a clear sense of their own identity as Scottish, as opposed to British. This sense of ‘Scottishness’ has been the subject of extensive research (e.g. McCrone, 1992; Penrose, 1993; Bond, 2000, 2006; Rosie and Bond, 2003; Kiely, McCrone and Bechhofer, 2005) and has been shown to be increasing rather than diminishing⁴.

The existence of more local identities within Scotland and issues such as how they are manifested, their underlying psychology and the role those identities play in language use and change, have largely been neglected.

2.2 Language and ‘local’ identity

Both language and ‘place’ are, among others, important factors in the formation of identity. Giles and Coupland (1991: 96) comment that within ‘ethnic’ relations, language can be a critical attribute of group membership and can act as a means of

⁴ For a more detailed discussion of notions of identity in Scotland see Braber (under review).

facilitating in-group cohesion. Görlach (2002:1) adds that a well-defined linguistic variety ‘emphasises the cultural and political distinctiveness of a group of speakers’. Although what constitutes a regional, local, or even community identity is itself open to questioning, certain geographical realities, for example being born and living in Glasgow, may contribute to the formation of these identities: ‘the meanings given to a place may be so strong that they become a central part of the identity of the people experiencing them’ (Rose, 1995: 88).

Despite the highly complex and ever-changing nature of identity, the hypothesised link between regional or local identity and changes in language has been, and is currently being, examined in several varieties of British English (see also Johnstone, 2007 for a study of American English in Pittsburgh). Recent studies in Middlesbrough (Llamas, 1999, 2007) and Berwick (Pichler & Watt, 2004; Pichler et al. 2004) have examined the link between the retention of localised language variants and the speaker’s strength of local identity or affiliation. Results suggest that speakers with a low identification score, and therefore a weaker sense of local identity, tend to use fewer localised language variants (Llamas, 1999).

The linguistic, geographical, historical and political situations in both Middlesbrough and Berwick differ considerably from those in Glasgow. Both towns are considered ‘border areas’ where ‘regional identity construction is particularly fluid and complex’ (Llamas, 2007: 579-80). The historically transitional nature of location, due to changing borders, means that these towns are areas where different linguistic varieties may come into contact with one another, and that allegiance to one or the other region, i.e. Yorkshire or Tyneside, or Scotland and England, carries particular salience. In such situations, individuals have a choice of ‘local’ identity and how they wish to demonstrate their affiliations, and most people are aware of these choices.

Glasgow is different. It cannot be considered a ‘border-town’ and therefore the link between local identity and language use has potentially different underlying motivations. Extension of previous studies to consider local identity in Glasgow may increase our understanding not only of the processes of sound change currently taking place in Glasgow, but could also shed light on the factors that influence both sound change and the formation of local identity. Llamas comments that examining accent groups and how people believe they belong to those groups can allow insight into speakers’ ‘self-categorization in terms of language and social or community identity, or what we might term the locally constructed speech community’ (Llamas, 2007: 582). In order to explore this in more detail, we first have to consider the complex social and linguistic history of the city as ‘language, characteristic accent and culture’ of the city are used to express its identity (Stuart-Smith, 1999b: 203).

2.3 Glasgow and Glaswegian

Glasgow as a city, and Glaswegian as a linguistic variety, have both long been heavily stigmatised. As an industrial city Glasgow has suffered from the decline of the shipyards and ship-building industry after relying on this source of income and employment for many years. Historically the city has been plagued with high levels of deprivation. In the 1970s one in five Glaswegians were affected by deprivation and ‘in absolute terms one would have had to aggregate the deprived populations of Birmingham, Manchester, Liverpool and Bradford to surpass the level of the problem in Glasgow’ (Pacione, 1995: 217). The Glasgow tenements, the slums, and the subsequent slum clearances have been well-documented (see for example, Daiches, 1977; Gibb, 1983; Pacione, 1995), as has Glasgow’s history of violence. Arguably more than most cities in the UK, Glasgow has acquired a highly stereotyped

reputation. Whereas Edinburgh is seen to represent culture, tourism, Scottish heritage and shopping; Glasgow represents the Gorbals, tenement slums, violence and industrial corrosion (Maver, 2000: 281). The very nature of a stereotype means that such views are unbalanced, here over-emphasising the negative aspects of Glasgow. However, it is through these stereotypes that many see the city and, by extension, its inhabitants.

The linguistic characteristics of Glaswegian have hardly fared better. As with all speech communities there is no single linguistic variety in Glasgow, but a continuum which stretches from 'broad' Scots to Standard Scottish English (see for example Wells, 1982; Macafee, 1997) and certain varieties on this continuum are more stigmatised than others (and these can be correlated with social class, e.g. the greatest stigma appears to be attached to the varieties more usually found in the lower socio-economic groups). Speakers can move along the continuum depending on formality and situational context. 'Traditional' sociolinguistic factors, e.g. gender and socio-economic group, also influence language use. Many of the linguistic features associated with Glaswegian are not unique to the city, e.g. use of /x/ in words such as '*loch*', the distinction between /w/ and /ɹ/, extensive use of the glottal stop in words such as '*matter*', and features of the vowel system such as the fronting of /u/ and the length distinctions described by the Scottish Vowel Length Rule (for more information see Aitken 1981). However, taken together they constitute what, to many people, is a clearly distinctive Glaswegian accent.

The stigmatisation of Glasgow as a city has also resulted in the local variety being branded as 'slovenly' and 'degenerate' (Andersson and Trudgill, 1990) and Macaulay (1997) quotes a university lecturer who stated that 'the accent of the lowest state of Glaswegians is the ugliest one can encounter' (Macaulay, 1997: 52). Previous research (Braber under review) has also shown that Glaswegian is seen as unattractive, even by many of its speakers. Given the often very negative and derogatory way in which Glasgow and Glaswegian(s) are viewed, it might seem contradictory to postulate the existence of a strong sense of local identity in Glasgow. However, anecdotal evidence suggests that in spite of this negativity, or perhaps even because of it, many Glaswegians are fiercely proud of Glasgow and use Glaswegian, with its covert prestige to signal solidarity among working-class speakers and the desire to maintain distinctiveness from other social groups (see for example Stuart-Smith et al., 2007).

Extensive research into the linguistic situation in Glasgow has highlighted several changes in progress, affecting the traditionally 'Glaswegian' speech features. It is not the intention of this paper to extensively re-describe those changes (for detailed discussion the reader is directed to, for example Macafee, 1997; Stuart-Smith, 1999a; Görlach, 2002; Scobbie, Gordeeva and Matthews, 2006; Stuart-Smith, Timmins and Tweedie, 2007), but it should be noted that the changes appear to be of three different types: those which appear to be 'Scottish-wide'; those which appear to be a move away from traditional Glaswegian and Scottish standards, and those that appear to represent the spread of use of more traditional, often negatively viewed, Glaswegian characteristics (such as T-glottalling which is described by Macaulay as 'the most highly stigmatized feature of Glasgow speech and a common subject for overt comment and jokes' (1976:179)).

For example, Lawson and Stuart-Smith (1999) report the loss of the traditional Scottish distinctions between /k/ and /x/, and /w/ and /ɹ/, merging to /k/ and /w/ respectively. This change does not appear to be confined to Glasgow since the loss of

these traditional consonants has also been reported elsewhere in Scotland (see for example Durand, 2004; Robinson, 2005). Perhaps more ‘unexpected’ changes include the increase in ‘TH/DH-fronting’ and ‘l-vocalisation’, both features that appear to be diffusing across the UK from the South-East of England. ‘TH/DH-fronting’, where dental fricatives /θ/ and /ð/ are realised as /f/ and /v/ respectively, was noted in young working-class Glaswegians by Macafee in 1983 and found in more wide-spread use by Stuart-Smith in 1998. In a similar vein, researchers found an apparent increase of ‘l-vocalisation’, again particularly in working-class adolescents. The ‘expected’ realisation of /l/ in coda position in both SSE and Glaswegian is the so-called ‘dark l’, [l^y]. However, evidence suggests that increasingly /l/ in this position is being realised as a vowel quality: l-vocalisation (Stuart-Smith, Timmins and Tweedie, 2006). Durand (2004) suggested that features such as these were an indication that a non-standard English-English model may be becoming more relevant for young Glaswegian speakers. Despite this seemingly obvious change to a more English-English model, it is interesting to note the findings of Stuart-Smith et al. (2007) regarding the perception of l-vocalisation in a sample of working-class Glaswegian adolescents. For this group the feature did not represent accommodation to an English-English model; they saw it as a feature of Glaswegian English which they used to reinforce their sense of group identity (Stuart-Smith et al., 2007:247).

In contrast to the changes noted above, the different usage of glottal stops among the middle-class Glaswegian population (see Stuart-Smith, 1999a, 2008) represents an increase and retention of a very typical, traditionally stigmatised, feature. Once again, increased use of the glottal stop in words such as ‘*matter*’ is a feature that appears to be diffusing throughout the UK (Wells, 1982, cited in Stuart-Smith, 1999a), but the feature is so heavily stigmatised, even among Glaswegians, that an increase in its use is perhaps unexpected, especially among the middle classes. The case of the glottal stop is particularly interesting, and warrants further study. This represents the only linguistic feature, aside from specific lexical items, that participants were able to identify as typical of the ‘unattractive’ speech of the city – suggesting this is a highly salient feature with a certain amount of stigma attached to it. However, the general spread of T-glottalling suggests the contrary (although the glottal stop has a history of being stigmatised, see for example Wells, 1982: 35).

Given the complex historical and linguistic situation of Glasgow, the authors embarked on a small-scale pilot study to investigate the existence of a strong sense of local identity and the potential influence this might have on sound changes and their progression. The intention was to extend the data elicitation methodology employed by Stuart-Smith & Tweedie (2000) to consider the following questions. Firstly, does a strong sense of local identity exist among Glaswegians and if so, how does this manifest itself and what are the bases for that identity? Secondly, are there any links between a speaker’s sense of local identity and the features and changes seen in their speech and do speakers use language to indicate group membership (see Macaulay, 1976:183)? A detailed discussion of the results for question one can be found in Braber (under review). The current paper will focus on the preliminary results for the second question and the methodological obstacles encountered.

3. Design of the study

3.1 Participants

Participants were recruited using the ‘friend of a friend’ technique⁵, thus allowing the researcher to approach participants without being a complete outsider (Milroy & Gordon, 2003: 32) and results from 12 participants are reported here: 5 males and 7 females. Ages ranged from 24-55 years for males (mean = 44.2, st. dev. = 13.36) and 37-65 years for females (mean = 48.2, st. dev. = 10.01). The group was stratified according to socio-economic grouping: working class (WC) and middle class (MC). In line with other studies (e.g. Llamas, 1999; Stuart-Smith et al., 2007) the socio-economic stratification was based on information provided by the participants regarding occupation, areas of residence and area of birth, as well as details of their parents’ occupations. The details of the participants can be stratified as follows:

	MC	WC
Male	2	3
Female	3	4

While every effort was made to recruit a matched population sample, the combination of the recruitment technique and the constraints imposed on the data collection by funding and time factors, meant this was not possible.

3.2 Data elicitation

The corpus for this study was collected by the first author, who is herself from Glasgow, during the summer of 2005. Semi-structured interviews of, on average, 45 minutes were recorded for each informant by the first author⁶. Following this, informants read aloud a word list of approximately 190 words constructed to assess a range of consonantal and vowel features.⁷

Each interview consisted of a series of open-ended questions (see Appendix 1), the aim of which was to encourage participants to talk about their feelings towards Glasgow, Scotland, Britain and England, their feelings about the Glaswegian accent and speech features, as well as their own speech and language use. Subsequent analysis, carried out by the first author, of the participants’ responses during this interview allowed them to be assigned to one of two ‘local identity’ groups. Participants who responded very positively when asked about Glasgow and Glaswegian were assigned to the ‘high local identity’ group, while those who responded in a much more negative fashion were assigned to the ‘low local identity’ group. This grouping was not without problems, which will be discussed further in the conclusion.

Audio-tape recordings were made in quiet surroundings, either at the informants’ place of work, or at their home. Background noise was kept as low as possible, but could not be entirely avoided. A trade-off was necessary between the quality of the speech data and the naturalness of the spontaneous samples obtained.

3.3 Linguistic variables

⁵ For a more detailed discussion of this method of participant recruitment see Braber (under review).

⁶ Thanks are due to Heike Pichler and Carmen Llamas for guidance of interview questions to elicit attitudes towards sense(s) of identity.

⁷ Thanks are due to Jane Stuart-Smith who provided a copy of the word list used in her investigations into sound change in Glasgow (see Stuart-Smith et al., 2000). The word list used here was a modified version of that original list.

This paper is particularly interested in the variation present in two variables, representing apparently different types of sound change process: one process which appears to suggest a move away from the Scottish model, and one suggesting a reinforcement and spread of a potentially stigmatised Glaswegian speech feature. Both variables have previously been demonstrated to be changing in Glasgow: (i) the realisation of /l/ in both onset and coda positions, and (ii) the extent of T-glottalling in words such as ‘*matter*’.

3.3.1 /l/

Traditionally, in contrast to Standard British English, Scottish Standard English (SSE) is said to realise this alveolar lateral approximant with secondary velarisation, i.e. as [l^v], in both onset and coda positions. This is also the ‘expected’ realisation of /l/ in Glasgow (Wells, 1982, however see also Macafee, 1983:33 for a different viewpoint). Few studies have investigated changes that may be occurring with regard to this approximant in onset position, e.g. ‘*let*’; however, several studies have highlighted apparent changes to its realisation in coda positions. Macafee (1983) noted the use of l-vocalisation in Glaswegian, particularly among the younger generation. L-vocalisation refers to the realisation of coda position /l/ as a vowel quality, usually a rounded or unrounded close to close-mid back quality, e.g. [o] or [ɤ]. Timmins, Tweedie & Stuart-Smith (2004) confirmed the presence of l-vocalisation in Glaswegian, noting a considerable increase in the younger and adolescent working-class speakers, and also highlighted an intermediate variant in some speakers, which could not easily be assigned as [l^v] or a vowel realisation.

3.3.2 T-glottalling

Glasgow is sometimes referred to as the ‘home of the glottal stop’ (Macafee, 1997: 528; Stuart-Smith 1999b) and in this investigation, ‘T-glottalling’ is used to refer to the process whereby word-medial /t/, e.g. ‘*matter, patter, water*’, is realised as a glottal stop [ʔ]. Although the use of the glottal stop for /t/ is widespread throughout Britain, particularly in its urban centres (Llamas, 2007), and is a feature which has spread dramatically in recent years (Trudgill, 1999), it is often considered one of the most salient features of the Glaswegian vernacular and historically a highly stigmatised feature (Stuart-Smith, 1999a, 1999b; see also Foulkes and Docherty, 2007: 62; Sebba, 2007:290) for stigmatisation of glottal stops more generally). As noted above, when our participants were asked to discuss features they regarded as typical of the Glaswegian accent (which many viewed to be an ugly accent), the use of the glottal stop was the only example they were able to provide. Previous investigations of T-glottalling in Glasgow have suggested that, despite the potential stigma, T-glottalling continues to be a feature of Glaswegian, and that usage appears to be increasing, particularly among adolescents, both WC and MC (Stuart-Smith, 1999a).

3.4 Data analysis

Analysis of all the speech samples obtained was undertaken by the second author. Auditory analysis by repeated listening was carried out and narrow transcriptions made of each of the variables under investigation.

Due to the nature of the data obtained, as well as the small number of participants in this pilot study, the Mann-Whitney U test was carried out to investigate

the potential relationships between the between-subject factors (*gender, socio-economic group and identity*) and the variants noted for each phonological variable. Statistical analysis was carried out to examine these relationships for each of the phonological variables. The results must, however, be interpreted with caution, due to the small sample size and the inequity of the groups.

4. Attitudinal findings

Investigation of the participant responses in the interviews revealed a variety of feelings about Glasgow, as well as Scotland in general⁸. When questioned specifically about Glasgow and being Glaswegian, three quarters of the participants expressed positive feelings. Positive responses to Glasgow included the friendliness of Glaswegians and their good sense of humour. Participant YF commented that Glaswegians are probably the friendliest people in Britain. Negative responses centred on the bad reputation of the city, and several commented that they wanted to distance themselves from this. The respondents who expressed positive feelings also mentioned the city's bad reputation but were at pains to emphasise that this had changed in recent years. As perhaps expected, almost all participants, including those who had expressed negative feelings towards the city, were clear that if asked where they came from by a stranger they would say Glasgow. This means that even in case where participants could distance themselves from the city (i.e. by saying they were from Scotland) they would choose not to.

All interviewees were proud to be Scottish and most felt Scotland in general was viewed very positively both in the British Isles and abroad. FM commented 'I love Scotland, when you travel, everybody loves Scotland as well'. A few mentioned problems between different parts of Scotland, e.g. between people from Edinburgh and Glasgow. It was said by AM that 'Scots don't need enemies, 'cos basically Scots don't like each other'. Supporting the existence of multiple identities, some interviewees said they viewed themselves as equally Scottish and Glaswegian, but two interviewees said that they felt it was important to say they were from Glasgow as they wished to differentiate themselves from other Scots (inhabitants of Edinburgh in both cases).

None of the participants spontaneously made mention of being British and it would be interesting to see if this is also the case for other parts of Scotland. When prompted, two-thirds said they would only use this term on official forms, and a small minority of them added they may use British in certain situations only, for example, participant JW commented, 'I do that when I'm abroad'. Two respondents expressed a more positive opinion to the British label, but both said that it was not a label with which they identified themselves, for example DM commented 'Britain has done lots of bad things, but they've also done a lot of great things for the world you know, and you can be proud of it, but I don't know when you would tell people you're British, usually I would just say I'm Scottish'. A third of interviewees said they would use the term Scottish on official forms as they felt strongly that they were not British. Not surprisingly, all interviewees said they would correct a foreigner who asked them if they were English. For all participants, being Glaswegian was an important part of their identity, however for some this was revealed to be much more important than for others.

A more detailed discussion of the attitudinal findings is available in Braber (under review), but responses support the hypothesis that despite the associated

⁸ For full list of questions, see Appendix 1.

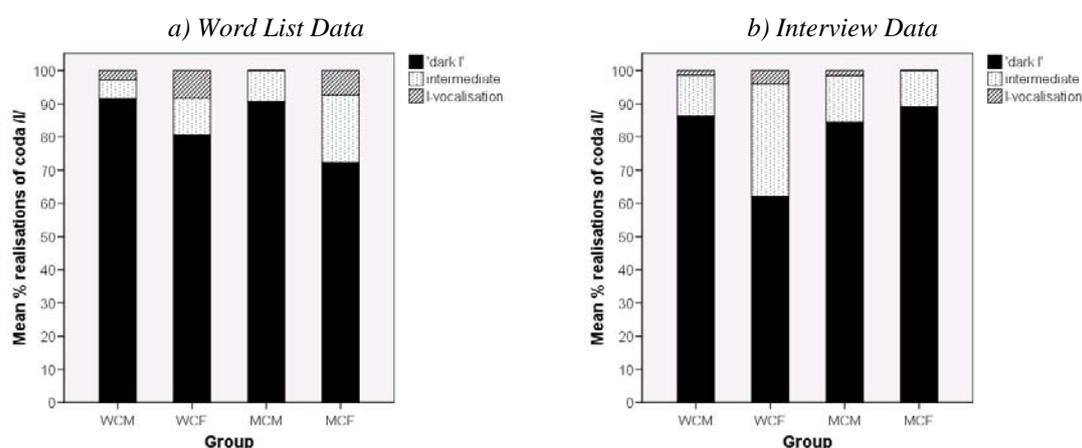
stigma attached to many aspects of the Glaswegian stereotype, a strong sense of local Glaswegian identity exists for many of our participants. Although a strong sense of Scottish identity is present in Glasgow, a sense of local sense of identity - that of Glaswegian - is frequently of greater importance to the participants.

5. Linguistics findings

5.1 /l/

Figure 1 a & b present the distribution of the three variant realisations of coda /l/ noted in the data: the ‘expected’ realisation [l^v]⁹, a vocalised variant, in which /l/ is realised as a high back vowel, akin to [ou], and an intermediate variety, previously identified by Stuart-Smith (1999b: 210; see also Stuart-Smith & Tweedie, 2000), which is not easily characterised as a lateral approximant or a vowel production. Results are presented as mean % realisations of each variant as a function of socio-economic group and gender (represented as ‘group’ assignment – WCM = working class males; WCF = working class females; MCM = middle class males; MCF = middle class females). N = total number of token analysed (word list = 18 tokens per speaker; interview number varied between informants)).

Figure 1: Distribution of variant realisations of coda /l/ by socio-economic group and gender.



A clear predominance of the ‘expected’ [l^v] realisation is seen throughout the data. The female speakers use consistently more of the ‘alternative’ realisations, with the exception of MCF in the interview data. There is no clear trend according to socio-economic group. Although there is evidence of the use of l-vocalisation in this population sample, it is not widespread. The female speakers appear to exhibit more l-vocalisation than the males. The WCF show a clear increase in the use of the intermediate variety in the interview data, with a concomitant decrease in the use of vocalised varieties.

⁹ In this pilot investigation the precise position of /l/ within the coda was not examined, e.g. pre-consonantal, syllabic; however, visual inspection of the data revealed that the majority of tokens were found in potentially syllabic environments of the coda.

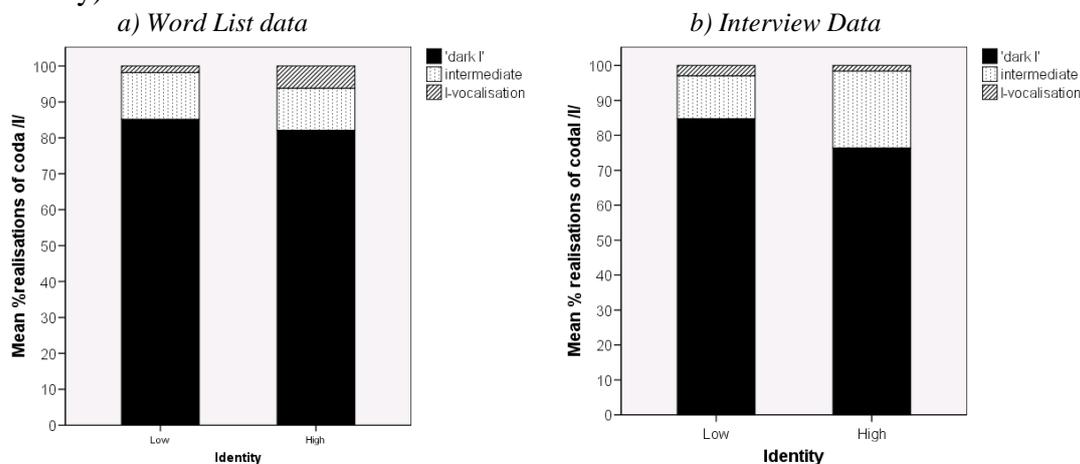
¹⁰ The extent of the velarisation varied between individuals, with some speakers showing quite heavy degrees of velarisation; however, in all cases this realisation definitely involved a secondary articulation.

Results from the investigation into ‘local identity group’ and its relationship with the realisations of coda /l/ are presented in Table 1 and Figure 2. ‘Low identity’ represents participants who responded more negatively towards Glasgow and Glaswegian; ‘high identity’ represents participants who responded positively. N= total number of tokens analysed (word list = 18 token per speaker; interview number varied between informants).

Table 1: Percentage (and standard deviations) of coda /l/ token realisations: [l^v] velarised /l/; [L/V] – intermediate; l-voc [ou] – l-vocalisation in both word list and interview data, as a function of local identity score grouping.

	<i>WORD LIST</i> (= 216)			<i>INTERVIEW</i> (= 1085)		
	[l ^v] %	[L/V] %	l-voc %	[l ^v] %	[L/V] %	l-voc %
<i>Low Identity</i> (n=3)	82.19 (13.98)	12.96 (11.56)	1.85 (3.20)	84.77 (16.26)	12.29 (11.80)	2.94 (5.09)
<i>High Identity</i> (n=9)	82.10 (23.0)	11.73 (14.28)	6.17 (11.60)	76.39 (24.66)	22.01 (23.87)	1.60 (2.50)

Figure 2: Distribution of variant realisations of coda /l/ as a function of ‘local identity score’ (represented as ‘identity’ – Low = low local identity; High = high local identity).



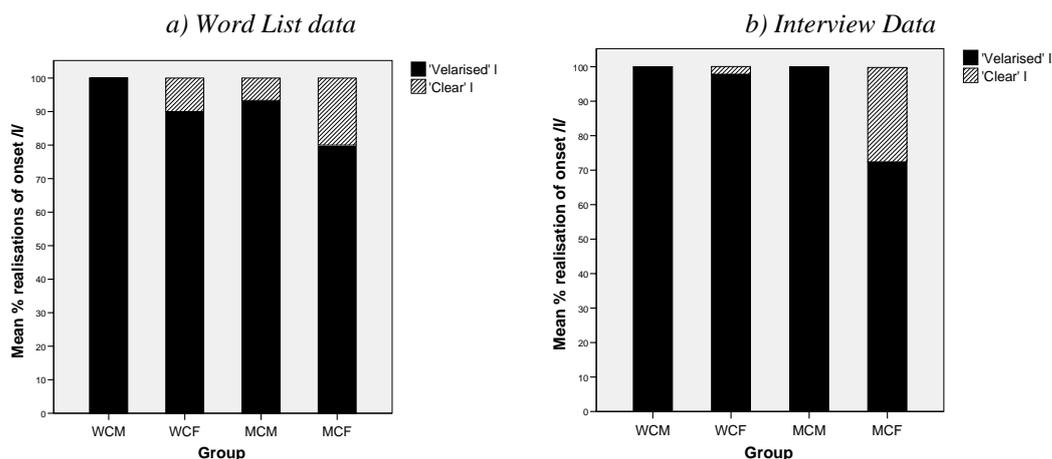
The data suggest that there is very little difference between the two ‘identity groups’ with regard to the realisations employed for coda /l/. Results vary slightly according to speaking task, but throughout the predominant realisation for both groups is the realisation as [l^v]. Statistical analysis revealed no significant effect of either gender, socio-economic group or local identity group.

Interestingly, the distribution of the intermediate and vocalised variants varies between groups. In the interview data, more of the intermediate variant is present in the ‘high’ identity group, but less of the vocalised variety, when compared with the ‘low’ identity group. Although beyond the scope of this pilot investigation, it would be interesting to investigate this further.

During the data analysis potentially interesting variation was noted in the participants’ realisations of /l/ in onset positions. As noted above, the majority of

work on Glaswegian sound change focusing on /l/ has considered coda positions only. Auditory analysis suggested another potential sound change possibly active in this group of speakers: the realisation of onset /l/ as the more Standard British English realisation [l̥]. Results obtained from investigation into the extent of this apparent change are presented in Figure 3, again as a function of socio-economic group and gender.

Figure 3: Distribution of variant realisations of onset /l/ by socio-economic group and gender (represented as ‘group’ assignment – WCM = working class males; WCF = working class females; MCM = middle class males; MCF = middle class females).



The data indicate that, although the predominant realisation of onset /l/ in these speakers is the expected velarised variant [l̥], a number of instances of ‘clear’ [l] are seen. [l̥] is clearly the preferred realisation for male speakers, with 100% use in both word list and interview data. The female speakers, while still predominantly using [l̥], show an increased usage of the ‘clear’ variant [l]. This is particularly true of the MCF group (middle class females). Variability exists between the two speech ‘styles’ (read vs. spontaneous) with MCF usage of [l] increasing in the interview data. WCF usage of this variant decreases in the spontaneous sample. A difference is also visible between the socio-economic groups with both MCM and MCF showing greater usage of [l] than their working class counterparts, this being the clearest in the female data.

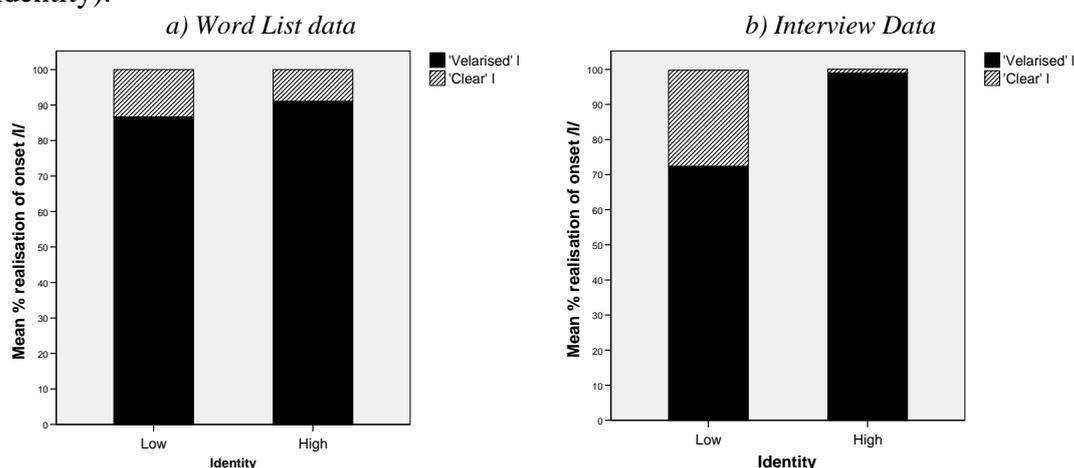
Results from the investigation into ‘local identity group’ and its relationship with the realisations of onset /l/ are presented in Table 2 (N = total number of tokens analysed (word list = 10 tokens per speaker; interview number varied between informants) and Figure 4.

Table 2: Percentage (and standard deviations) of onset /l/ tokens realised as the expected variant [l̥] in both word list and interview data as a function of local identity score grouping.

	<i>Word List</i> (N=120) %	<i>Interview</i> (N = 540) %
<i>Low Identity</i>	86.67 (23.09)	72.43 (37.45)

<i>(n=3)</i>		
High Identity	91.11 (11.66)	99.03 (2.90)
<i>(n=9)</i>		

Figure 4: Distribution of variant realisations of onset /l/ as a function of ‘local identity score’ (represented as ‘identity’ – Low = low local identity; High = high local identity).



An ‘identity’ difference is seen in the interview data (Figure 4 b); individuals in the group representing a high local identity use the velarised variant of onset /l/ almost exclusively (>99%). This figure in the low local identity group is lower (72%). However, it must be noted that here the identity groups are not stratified for socio-economic group, and therefore include both WC and MC speakers. The effect of read vs. spontaneous speech is also evident: both identity groups show usage of [l] in the word list; however, this usage in the high identity group all but disappears in the spontaneous sample.

Statistical analysis revealed no significant effect of either gender or socio-economic group, while a significant effect for identity is noted ($p < 0.05$). However, due to the group size, this result must be viewed with caution.

5.2 T-glottaling

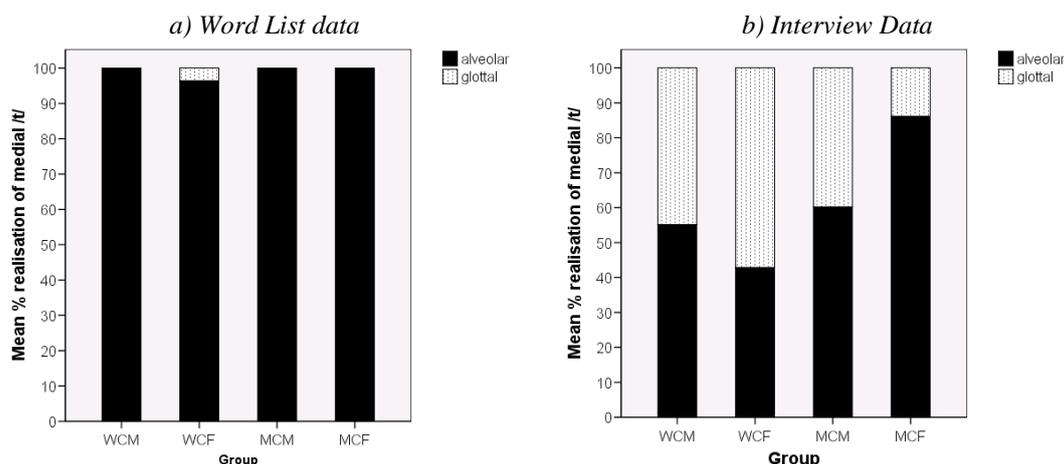
Table 3 and Figure 5 below present data regarding the extent to which T-glottaling is present in this population sample. Numerical data is presented as the percentage of potential tokens realised as the ‘standard’ [t]. Graphical data presents the distribution of the two possible realisations [t] and [ʔ]. (N = total number of tokens analysed (word list = 7 tokens per speaker; interview number varied between informants)).

Table 3: Percentage (and standard deviations) of medial /t/ tokens realised as the ‘standard’ variant [t] in both word list and interview data.

	<i>Word List</i> (N=84)			<i>Interview</i> (N = 1007)		
	<i>WC</i> %	<i>MC</i> %	<i>Total</i> %	<i>WC</i> %	<i>MC</i> %	<i>Total</i> %
<i>Males</i>	100.0	100.0	100.0	53.41	59.69	57.17

	(0.0)	(0.0)	(0.0)	(10.47)	(3.55)	(6.75)
<i>Females</i>	96.43	100.0	97.96	42.87	86.18	61.43
	(7.14)	(0.0)	(5.39)	(30.31)	(12.48)	(32.36)
<i>Total</i>	97.62	100.0		46.38	72.93	
	(5.83)	(0.0)		(24.55)	(16.67)	

Figure 5: Distribution of variant realisations of medial /t/ by socio-economic group and gender (represented as ‘group’ assignment – WCM = working class males; WCF = working class females; MCM = middle class males; MCF – middle class females).



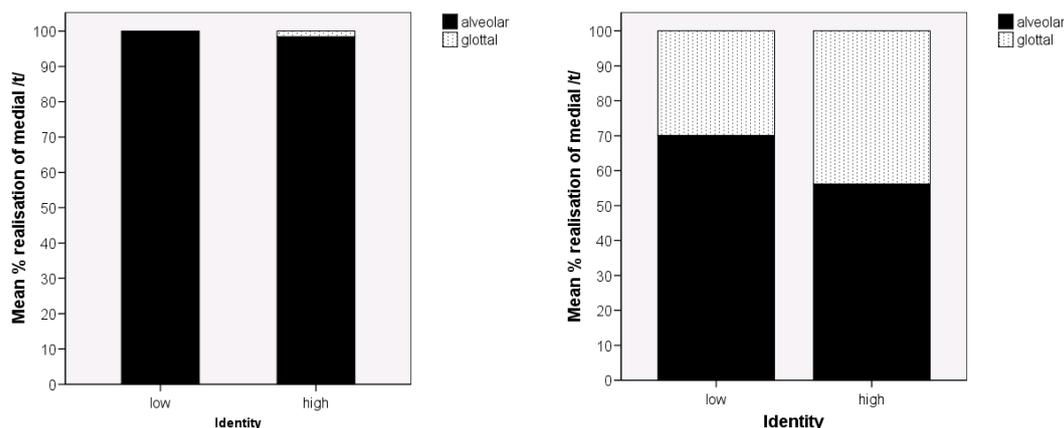
It is immediately clear that there is an increase, in all sub-groups, in the extent of T-glottalling between the word list and interview data. The interview data show that the influence of socio-economic group is greatest in the group of female speakers. The male speakers, both WC and MC, are seen to employ similar levels of T-glottalling. Minimal T-glottalling is seen in the MCF speakers (<15%), while for the WCF the glottal realisation is the predominant form (just under 60%). The increased standard deviations seen for the female speakers in Table 3 reflect the considerable variation seen in this sub-population regarding the extent to which T-glottalling is employed (for other t-glottalling results linked to gender see Macaulay, 1976: 177 and Stuart-Smith, 1999a:190 and for style-shifting see Stuart-Smith, 1999a:195).

Results from the investigation into ‘local identity group’ and its relationship with the realisations of medial /t/ are presented in Figure 6.

Figure 6: Distribution of variant realisations of medial /t/ as a function of ‘local identity’ (represented as ‘identity’ – Low = low local identity; High = high local identity).

a) Word List data

b) Interview Data



Very little difference is apparent between the two local identity groups. In both the word list and the interview data the high identity group show slightly increased usage of the glottal realisation than the low identity group. Closer investigation of the results from the low identity group suggests the existence of considerable variability with regard to their use of the glottal stop.

Statistical analysis revealed no significant effect for any of the three factors gender, socio-economic group or local identity group. (The effect of socio-economic group just fails to reach the required level of significance ($p=0.055$)).

6. Interpretation and conclusion

This paper set out to present findings from a small-scale pilot study investigating the potential link between a speaker's sense of local Glaswegian identity and the features and changes noted in their speech. The study aimed to apply (aspects of) the methodologies used in Stuart-Smith & Tweedie (2000) and Llamas (1999, 2007), and modify these to enable investigation of this link.

The changes previously noted in Glaswegian were considered to fall into three types: those reflecting wider changes in the English spoken in Scotland, e.g. the merger of /w/ and /ʍ/; those reflecting a more localised move away from traditional Glaswegian realisations, e.g. increases in the extent of l-vocalisation in Glasgow, not necessarily seen elsewhere in Scotland; and those changes suggesting an increase and reinforcement of features traditionally associated with Glaswegian, e.g. increases in T-glottalling. If a strong sense of local identity plays a role in influencing the progress of these changes, the speculative hypothesis would be that individuals falling into the low local identity group would demonstrate decreased use of traditional Glaswegian features. Results from the pilot study hint that this may be the case for certain phonological variables, e.g. velarised /l/ but also in relation to the increase of initial clear /l/. However, it is clear from this pilot study that the link between local identity and the variation noted in certain phonological variables is highly complex, and in need of further detailed and structured investigation. The reported increase in non-traditional Glaswegian features, e.g. l-vocalisation, suggests the simple hypothesis linking strong Glaswegian identity with retention and increase in typically Glaswegian speech features, and a weak identity with a move away from those features, hides the potentially complex salience and interpretation of the individual phonological features. L-vocalisation is not a feature traditionally associated with Glaswegian, so does this mean that the reported increase in usage is a move away from Glaswegian?

The variation in the phonological variables noted in this population sample supports the existence of sound change in Glasgow, as explored in previous studies. Perhaps not surprisingly, because of the constraints of the pilot study, the extent of variation seen in the participants in this study is less than that noted in other work. While showing evidence of these sound change processes, this population sample is drawn from older Glaswegians for whom the more traditional features still dominate. Previous work has noted changes led by young and adolescent work (see work by Stuart-Smith et al., 2007), which may not have been fully realised by older speakers. In line with previous work, our results suggest that the changes seen in this sample are being led by female speakers. The interaction with socio-economic group appears to depend on the specific phonological variable under investigation.

In a population sample of this size it is only possible to draw tentative conclusions regarding the potential influence local identity may be having on sound change processes. Results for coda /l/ suggest that it is the 'high identity' speakers who are using the most non-traditional realisations, specifically the intermediate variant, thus appearing to move away from the Glaswegian and Scottish standard. However, results for T-glottalling reveal the same speakers to be using more of the highly stigmatised glottal stop, suggesting a reinforcement of traditional Glaswegian features. The variation in onset /l/ realisations is the only one of the features investigated that suggests a clear relationship with local identity, with the 'low identity' participants showing evidence of the use of a 'clear l' variant in this position. Considerable work remains to be done before a clearer picture of the link between local identity and the sound changes occurring in Glasgow can be uncovered. It must be noted however, that the potential trends noted in this data may be either an artefact of this sub-set of Glaswegians, or indeed the result of collapsing the socio-economic and gender data together into two identity groups. Future work with a larger, matched sample would allow for investigation of the sub-groups within the 'identity' classifications, as well as examination of whether or not these trends were seen in all members of those sub-groups.

This pilot investigation also highlighted several methodological issues to be taken into consideration in future work.

1. Recruitment techniques have to incorporate a balanced sample of participants – regarding age, gender, socio-economic groupings and 'identity' issues. Although the 'friend of a friend' technique has been employed in a number of similar previous studies (e.g. Milroy and Gordon 2003:32), purposive sampling techniques based on information gained from screening questionnaires may allow for recruitment of a more balanced sample.
2. Data collection methodologies vary, for example the use of semi-structured interviews as in the present study (and see also Llamas, 1999, 2007) or dyadic interviews (as in Stuart-Smith et al., 2007), which may permit analysis of more 'free' conversations. Semi-structured interviews allow the interviewer to ensure all appropriate topics are covered and to ask the participants to elaborate or clarify particular issues. However, 'free' conversations are more likely to produce 'natural' speech as the participants feel on a more equal footing with their partner and this avoids the Observer's Paradox. Other studies include the use of ethnography (for example Lawson, 2005; Alam, 2007) which examine communities of practice and other non-

linguistic variables to identify speakers as belonging to specific groups which may influence their language usage.

3. In order to investigate the potential link between identity and realisation of phonological variables, a quantitative measure of identity is required. Qualitative judgements of identity based on content of responses cannot be correlated with phonological frequency data. Rather than considering 'high' and 'low' identity, speakers may fall into different groups depending on particular questions. Individual interpretation of what it means to be 'Glaswegian', as well as factors contributing to this sense of identity must also be unpicked. A way of placing participants on a continuum based on their answers overall could be considered. An identity questionnaire using Likert scales, enabling identity scores to be calculated, would allow participants to be placed along such a range, rather than having to be considered either 'low' or 'high' identity.
4. The issue of perceptual and local salience needs to be taken into account in the choice of phonological variables. It was highlighted earlier in the paper that T-glottalling was the only feature that participants could identify as being a typical Glaswegian feature. This suggests that for Glaswegians this feature is highly salient and 'very Glaswegian'. It is therefore not unreasonable to hypothesise that Glaswegians wishing to reinforce their 'Glaswegianness' and highlight their affiliation to Glasgow would be the speakers showing the most use of the glottal stop. The speaker salience, with regard to the other phonological variables, is not clear. It would be naïve to suggest that the increased use of 'clear l' in the onset position seen in the 'low identity' speakers was an indication of their desire to distance themselves from a particular, stereotyped, type of Glaswegian; it is unlikely that initial /l/ realisations are highly salient, and so would not be expected to be employed in this way¹¹. This is, however, the only variable in which a clear pattern is seen. This change, previously mentioned as occurring in some MC Glaswegians (Macafee, 1983), requires further investigation, with a larger population sample, to examine whether this apparent link to local identity is the result of individual variation.

In addition the impact of linguistic/phonetic environment of the phonological features under investigation cannot be ignored. This was beyond the scope of the present pilot study, but must be taken into account in any further work.

5. It would also be very interesting, with a larger population sample, to investigate the potential individual speaker variability in the realisation of the phonological variables. This may enable us to identify other potential factors contributing to both formulation of identity and sound change processes.
6. Future studies could also include examination of Communities of Practice (Eckert, 2000). This could include non-linguistic features such as group affiliation, cultural assimilation, dress, and other social practices alongside linguistic variables (see also Alam, 2007; Lawson, 2007) which have shown a correlation between group membership and linguistic behaviour. Further work has been carried out by the authors which examines Glaswegians who have migrated (see Braber and Butterfint, forthcoming) as well as work

¹¹ This 'salience' of features and how they are changed is also referred to by Trudgill (1986:18).

which looks at aspects of social identity (see for example Podesva, 2008). A further topic which has been considered is the role of the media and whether it can act as a contributory factor in language change for certain individuals, for example in the case of certain Southern English accent features which can be found in Glaswegian (such as TH/DH-fronting) (for more information see Stuart-Smith, 2007).

Although this pilot study hints at a link between sound change and local identity, it is a complex issue and certainly one which should be examined in further detail, to try and increase our understanding of the nature of local identity and the influence this may have on specific sound changes in a linguistic variety. A future study, including a larger sample size, which addressed the methodological issues raised from the pilot investigation would perhaps allow us to learn more about the processes of sound change and identity.

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Dr Natalie Braber
School of Arts and Humanities
Nottingham Trent University
Clifton Lane
Nottingham
NG 11 8NS

natalie.braber@ntu.ac.uk

Dr Zoe Butterfint
School of Allied Health Professions
University of East Anglia
Norwich
NR4 7TJ

z.butterfint@uea.ac.uk

Appendix 1

1. Tell me a little bit about yourself.
2. How do you feel about Glasgow?

3. How do you feel about Scotland?
4. If you could change where you came from, would you?
5. What do you think makes a typical Glaswegian?
6. What do you think are the best and worst things about Glasgow?
7. How would you describe Glasgow to a stranger?
8. How would you identify yourself? Would you say you were first and foremost Scottish, Glaswegian, British, etc?
9. If an outsider was criticising Glasgow would you defend it, even if you agreed with what they were saying?
10. If an outsider was criticising Scotland would you defend it, even if you agreed with what they were saying?
11. How would you describe your accent? What accent would you say you had?
Do you like it?
12. Do you think you can recognise a Glaswegian accent? How?
13. Where do you think people start sounding different?
14. Do you think older and younger people talk the same here?
15. Do you think men and women talk the same here?
16. Have you even been in a situation where you've deliberately changed the way you talk? If so, why?
17. If you were on holiday and you saw someone you had never seen before but thought they came from your home town, would you:
 - a. Feel compelled to go and ask them where they were from and strike up a conversation
 - b. Feel you had something in common with them but not do anything about it
 - c. Not feel any differently than you would towards any other stranger
18. Would you say you feel close to and have something in common with people from your home town in general (people you don't know personally), or would you say you don't feel any closer to them than to people from somewhere else?
19. Would you prefer your child's school teacher to be:
 - a. A local person with a local accent
 - b. A person who spoke 'standard' English with a standard accent

c. It wouldn't matter what accent they had

20. If you were voting in a local election, would the fact that a candidate was a local person persuade you to vote for them?

21. Is there anything important you think I've missed out?