Bridging the gap(s): The role of style in language change linked to the broadcast media

Jane Stuart-Smith

University of Glasgow
Scotland

BACKGROUND: THE PREMISE[1]

It is well established in interactional sociolinguistics that the broadcast media provide linguistic resources for speakers to exploit for their own stylistic and interactional needs (Androutsopoulos 2014). The processes of adaptation and creative reproduction of media language in various kinds of social interaction are captured in notions like 'appropriation' (Holly 2001), for which there is a growing body of evidence (Ayass and Gerhardt 2012; Branner 2002). Rampton's (1995) now seminal study of language crossing, which includes media fragments, further suggests some theoretical connections to account for when such appropriation might take place, in terms of 'liminoidal practices': appropriated media chunks were often found occurring at effective boundaries in talk (cf. also Branner 2002). Within this perspective, broadcast media may impact on speakers' linguistic practices. This appears to take place at the level of discourse and larger media language fragments, at specific points in interactional structure, through speakers themselves showing stylistic agency which might be consequential for processes of language change. That is, these practices may possibly show longer term consequences for speaker/community repertoires, though this is not often discussed (though see Coupland 2007). Many of the papers in this book consider the interconnected issues of style, language and broadcast media from this perspective.

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The role of the media in language change in variationist sociolinguistics has been treated rather differently. Language is regarded in terms of two kinds of linguistic features: (1) those which are more accessible, prone to change, and often above the level of conscious awareness, especially lexical items; (2) those which are more resistant to change, often, but not always below the level of conscious awareness, such as phonetic/phonological, morpho-syntactic, and other grammatical features, which are called here for convenience 'structural' or 'core' aspects of the grammar (cf. Labov 2001; Trudgill 1986).[2] The possibility that speakers might pick up words and catch-phrases has always been accepted. But there has been some debate about whether experiencing language without interaction, as when watching films or television could affect structural language change (e.g. Sayers 2014).

In the variationist approach, numerous instances of linguistic features are correlated with characterisations of linguistic and social factors across numerous contexts, allowing identification of group patterns, but often at a remove from the specific interactional context in which each single token occurs. Within this framework, statistical correlations between structural features and levels/types of engagement with the broadcast media have been found, e.g. using more standard morpho-syntactic verbal forms in Brazilian Portuguese and *telenovelas* (Naro 1981; Scherre and Naro 2014), or TH-fronting in Glaswegian and London-based soap operas (Stuart-Smith et al. 2013, discussed further here). Such findings indicate that some kinds of long-term linguistic change may be influenced by engaging with broadcast media, but such observations still require explanation.

This chapter advances the argument that the conceptual key to understanding the mechanisms of media influence on structural linguistic change lies in the interconnections between style, language and broadcast media, even if the linguistic elements in question are core elements of the grammar, for example, alterations over time to fine-grained aspects of pronunciation, often below the level of conscious awareness. Specifically, insights from interactional studies of media and language (e.g. Androutsopoulos 2014; chapters in this volume) taken in conjunction with those of 'third wave' sociolinguistics (e.g. Eckert 2012; 2016), and especially the 'indexical field' (Eckert 2008), may bridge the conceptual gap between what appear on the surface to be different kinds of phenomena at different levels of language. The claim is that linguistic variation of all kinds in daily interactions between speakers may be linked with more abstract representations of language in the media,

[2] This general division is in line with earlier views in historical linguistics, of e.g. 'open' vs. 'closed' class elements (e.g. Samuels 1972). In practice, there is some overlap. For example, quotative verbs such as *say, go, be like*, which are used to introduce narratives, can be treated as both 'open', e.g. the variants are different words, and as more 'closed', structural features, e.g. they show clear grammatical constraints in terms of use (cf. Buchstaller 2008; Sayers 2014).

through shared and/or overlapping arrays of social meaning which attach to linguistic variation (Stuart-Smith and Ota 2014). Interestingly, such a view also brings phonological change properly within the broader remit of *sociolinguistic change* (Androutsopoulos 2014; Coupland 2014b), since accounting for such changes entails both an appreciation of sociolinguistic patterning and its embedding in broader ideological construction and renegotiation of social meaning over time.

SOUND CHANGE AND THE BROADCAST MEDIA: TH-FRONTING IN GLASGOW

These suggestions arise from a long-term investigation into the potential influence of the broadcast media on language change, the Glasgow Media Project (e.g. Stuart-Smith 2006; Stuart-Smith et al. 2013; Stuart-Smith 2014). Television was suggested as a possible factor in the rapid spread across UK urban accents of a set of consonantal changes, including TH- and DH-fronting (using [f] and [v] for /th/ and /dh/ respectively in e.g. *think*, *brother*) and L-vocalisation (using a high back (un)rounded vowel for syllable-final /l/ in e.g. *milk*), associated with Southern English and stereotypically with Cockney, since they were first observed (e.g. Trudgill 1986). Their identification in Norwich in working-class adolescents with no apparent opportunities for face-to-face contact with Londoners led to the suggestion that watching TV might shift attitudes and in turn help facilitate the adoption of the new variants. Subsequent observations of more instances in urban accents suggested that the changes were hopping out from London, from city to city (Kerswill 2003). Their restricted sociolinguistic distribution led them to be characterised (along with other rapidly diffusing changes) as 'off the shelf' changes by Milroy (2007), following Eckert's request that sociolinguists reflect on 'the possibility that not all changes are equal', and specifically on "what kind of changes require the kind of repeated exposure that social interaction gives and what kinds can be taken right off the shelf" (Eckert 2003: 395). In this case, the 'media shelf' (Stuart-Smith and Ota 2014) is thought to be TV dramas set in London, such as *EastEnders* (cf. Trudgill 1986; Williams and Kerswill 1999).[3]

[3] *EastEnders* is a contemporary soap opera, which has been running since 1985, whose represented accent is expected to be close to Cockney. Set in the East End of London, in the fictitious borough of 'Walford', the drama constitutes something of a sociological phenomenon with average viewing figures of some 18 million per week, almost a third of the population of the UK. The popularity of the show, and the high engagement of many of its viewers led swiftly to research into how viewers engage, interpret, and in some senses, interact, with the characters and plot (Buckingham 1987).

Sporadic instances of the consonant innovations have been observed in Glaswegian since the 1950s suggesting that they diffused north first via dialect contact, perhaps partly through the enhanced mobility entailed by National Service during and after World War II (Stuart-Smith, Timmins, and Tweedie 2007). The changes seem to have taken off in the 1980s, when – along with other vernacular consonant changes in Glaswegian – they became associated with a particular set of social meanings indexing tough and capable urban youth (sometimes referred to as 'street smarts'; Speitel and Johnston 1983) in contrast with 'posh' middle-class Standard Scottish English norms (Stuart-Smith et al. 2007; cf. Tagliamonte and D'Arcy 2007). TH-fronting and L-vocalisation accelerated rapidly, constituting around a third of the variation for (th) and (l) variables by 2003; DH-fronting has been a more gradual change. Unlike most Anglo-English dialects, where the diffusing changes provide the only alternative to the standard, in Glaswegian the new forms have encountered some resistance, since they entered a linguistic system with vigorous local non-standard variants, e.g. Scots [h] for /th/ in *I* [h]*ink* 'I think' (Stuart-Smith and Timmins 2006).

The Glasgow Media Project laid the foundations for investigating the possible influence of the media specifically London-based TV dramas, on structural language change, specifically the adoption of consonantal innovations in Glasgow Vernacular – by carrying out a study which combined methods from media effects research with those of variationist sociolinguistics. The sample consisted of 36 adolescents aged 11–16, and 12 adults, all from the same working-class inner-city district of Glasgow. Typical speech elicitation tasks to capture read speech (wordlists), plus casual conversations from self-selected same-gender pairs of friends, were recorded alongside substantial demographic, leisure time, and media exposure/engagement questionnaires and interviews. Samples of London-based TV shows broadcast at the same time as the sociolinguistic recordings were subjected to fine-grained phonetic analysis. An experiment on short-term shifts associated with exposure to media excerpts, in the form of a filmed TV quiz show, was also carried out (Timmins and Stuart-Smith 2005; cf. Stuart-Smith et al. 2011). The role of exposure and/or engagement on the sound changes was considered at the level of the group by performing a large-scale, multifactorial correlational analysis, and at the level of the individual by applying Rogers' (2003) 'Diffusion of Innovations' model.

The project identified some indications that the broadcast media are involved in these changes (Stuart-Smith 2006; Stuart-Smith, Lawson, and Scobbie 2014; Stuart-Smith and Timmins 2010; Stuart-Smith et al. 2013). At the level of the group, the use of the innovating variants was significantly predicted by linguistic constraints, then by participation in specific social practices, then by strong psychological en-

gagement with *EastEnders*,[4] and more weakly with contact with friends and relatives in England. Variables capturing positive attitudes towards London (place and accent) were much more weakly linked, or not all. But only a few sounds showed links with the media (or social factors more generally) – vowel variation showed only strong effects of phonetic/linguistic context. Adoption of innovations was constrained at the level of individual speakers by their own personal propensity to innovate, and by the nature of the change underway.

These quantitative findings are useful because they expose evidence for links between media and structural language variation and change. They are less helpful for interpretation because we still need to understand how and why only certain aspects of the sound system are affected. The key questions here are in fact why there is so little (and so restricted) evidence for the impact of the broadcast media on spoken language. The project did gather some additional information relating to possible mechanisms. The quiz-show experiment revealed some short-term, fine-grained, phonetic shifting after watching a TV clip, with intriguing differences depending on whether the clip was Scottish or London-based, but the numbers of tokens are quite low and only indicative (cf. Stuart-Smith et al. 2011). The results from the correlational study regarding attitudes to urban accents did not support (for this context at least) a role for (overt) positive language/accent attitudes as a catalyst for media influence (Kristiansen 2009; Trudgill 1986).

We also investigated Trudgill's (1986) claim that media influence operates through speakers' intentional imitation of linguistic features from the media. The results from our two imitation tasks, imitating how an *EastEnder's* character might say some words, and acting out a role immediately after watching a TV clip, showed that our Glasgow informants found overt and covert imitation of this kind very difficult. Recent studies of phonetic imitation have shown that speakers' phonologies exert strong influence on the extent to which they can imitate target features from other accents (e.g. Mitterer and Ernestus 2008). The interactional sociolinguistic perspective of 'appropriating' media language elements into talk seems a more useful starting point for understanding this kind of adaptation at the level of speech (see the section 'style, speaker agency, and appropriation', below).

Finally, comparison of consonant innovations in Glaswegian with those in 'media-Cockney', e.g. *EastEnders,* showed that Glaswegian adolescents use more variants than the characters, and with different social and linguistic constraints (Stuart-Smith et al. 2013). In other words, the Glaswegian variants might look as if they have been taken off 'the media shelf', but this impression is only superficial, at the level of form (Buchstaller 2008; Buchstaller and D'Arcy 2009; Stuart-Smith and Ota 2014).

[4] This glosses statistical variables which capture answers to questions such as 'How much do you like ...?' 'Name your favourite TV character', and so on; see Stuart-Smith et al. (2013).

Thus the project identified a few specific relationships, and ruled out some possible underlying mechanisms. But unlike e.g. dialect contact, for which a theoretical connection between contact with speakers of another dialect and longer-term community change is accepted as likely the result of speech accommodation during interaction (even if exactly how is unclear, Auer and Hinskens 2005), there is no accepted mechanism to explain media influence on structural language change which doesn't presume some kind of overt copying. Any suggestion that the media have a strong direct behavioural effect on linguistic behaviour seems difficult to believe given, for example, circumstantial evidence of increasing, rather than decreasing, dialect diversity in Englishes during the 20th century (e.g. Chambers 1998; Milroy and Milroy 1985); it is also inconsistent with assumptions about media influence on other aspects of social behaviour across mass communications studies since the 1960s (e.g. Klapper 1960; McQuail 2010). At the same time, the project did reveal some intriguing patterns which connect speech, speaker style, and media engagement which are reviewed in the next section.

STYLE, MEDIA AND CONSONANTAL CHANGE IN GLASWEGIAN

Style is a key factor in the diffusing of consonantal changes in Glasgow vernacular.[5] The pattern of diffusion has been distinctive with respect to speech elicitation style (reading a wordlist or speaking in a casual conversation) since these changes in progress were first observed. Stuart-Smith et al. (2007) observed proportionally more TH-fronting and L-vocalisation in read speech. DH-fronting was only observed in the wordlists, and not at all in the conversations recorded in 1997. This apparent subversion of the expected shift to monitoring/correction towards standard variants in read speech was also found in Belfast, which shows some similarities in sociolinguistic heritage (e.g. Milroy and Gordon 2003: 202). The same pattern was found in the 2003 data (Stuart-Smith et al. 2013). Reading the wordlist provoked an overall style shift towards the vernacular, which combined non-standard features long associated with Glasgow (e.g. Macafee 1983), such as using glottal stops for intervocalic /t/ in e.g. *water*, and supralocal features such as TH- and DH-fronting, and L-vocalisation. Strongly stigmatised local non-standard features seem to have been blocked by the orthography and supralocal variants were used in their place. Literacy is taught through Scottish Standard English, so when Scots/vernacular speaking children learn to read, they learn to associate a set of alternate spoken forms with written forms, and, at the same time, often learn a pejorative value for their native local variants. Local Scots variants exist for all of the three incoming

[5] Style also seems to be important in very fine-grained responses to exposure to media speech; these are not discussed further here (see Timmins and Stuart-Smith 2005).

changes. As noted above, (th) has [h] as in *I* [h]*ink* for *I think*. But (dh) too has an apical tap between vowels in e.g. *brother*, and words with syllable-final /l/ have variants without /l/, e.g. *a'* for *all*. This also means that the diffusing variants enter a linguistic system with a competing local non-standard variant, unlike in other UK accents, and their expansion is largely in phonetic contexts where the local variant cannot occur. So [f] for (th) is predominant in word-final position, and less so in word-initial position; local [h] can only occur in word-initial and word-medial position (Stuart-Smith and Timmins 2006; Stuart-Smith et al. 2013).

A key point is apparent. These diffusing changes are clearly stylistically constrained in the conventional sense in which style is invoked in studies of language variation and change, so by speech elicitation task. They appear first not in the most casual speech but in reading a wordlist, a rather less usual form of speech (its nature will be explored further below). The observation that speech elicitation style is a crucial factor in identifying language change in progress was made first by Labov (e.g. 1972); hypercorrection to the use of more prestige forms in more formal speech is characteristic of changes 'from above'. What we seem to have here is also a kind of speech style shift, but towards accepted community solidarity *non-standard* norms (cf. the Belfast comparison above).

This was particularly noticeable for DH-fronting. The innovative variant did not occur at all in conversational speech in the 1997 data collection, and only rarely in wordlists, in the linguistic context where the local non-standard variant could not occur, so in word-final position, e.g. *smooth, breathe*. Five years later, in the 2003 data collection, a handful of instances of [v] were found in conversational speech, but in the wordlists it accounted for about 20% of (dh). Close inspection of who used [v] showed close alignment with a more general personal propensity to innovate (Stuart-Smith and Timmins 2010, after Rogers 2003), with the most instances in a clear 'innovator'. This distribution across individual speakers presented an outlier. The regression model with the full sample of speakers, including the 'innovator', showed a significant effect of TV engagement. The model without him, no longer showed the effect. Diffusion of Innovations Theory (e.g. Rogers 2003) accounts for how all kinds of innovation, from objects to ideas, spread through social systems via interpersonal and media communication channels. It proposes general stages of diffusion, as well as typical differential behaviours of subgroups within innovating communities, from risky innovators and respected early adopters, to resistant laggards. Interestingly, communities adopting non-linguistic innovations are both observed, and assumed, to show a full range of behaviours across individuals: exactly this range is observed for this particular, early, language change in progress. The important point here, however, is that this range, coupled with personal propensity to innovate, is only found in a particular speech elicitation style – reading a wordlist.

There is also a second observation which is relevant. Alongside the diffusing consonant changes which look system-external (not typical of Scottish English), Glasgow vernacular is also showing long-term system-internal changes, including the mergers of /hw/ and /w/ (e.g. *whine/wine*, and /x/ and /k/ *loch/lock*, which are now almost complete for many working-class speakers, and derhoticisation of post-vocalic /r/ in e.g. *car*, which has been observed since the turn of the 20th Century (Stuart-Smith et al. 2007; Stuart-Smith et al. 2014). The Media Project examined not only evidence for the consonant innovations, but also those sounds which have never been linked with media influence, namely the vowels BOOT /ʉ/ and CAT /a/ (known to be socially stratified since Macaulay 1977), and derhoticisation of post-vocalic /r/.[6] The results were interesting. The vowels showed only linguistic constraints with no significant social factors, likely because the previously observed stratification is across social classes not included in the sample. Derhoticisation showed split results. In conversational speech, derhotic variants showed only linguistic constraints (like the vowels). In the wordlists, increased use of derhotic variants also showed significant social constraints as for the diffusing consonants, including engagement with TV, though dialect contact was not significant (Stuart-Smith et al. 2014).

There was a further statistical result for speech elicitation style. The remaining significant factors in the regression models for the three diffusing variables plus (r) showed a higher explanation of variance (represented by the Nagelkerke R^2) for these variables in read speech, than for conversational speech. Statistically this shows that much of the variability in the wordlists was well accounted for by the independent factors that were included in the regression models. The lower explanation of variance for conversational speech is probably because prosodic and other factors known to explain phonetic variation in spontaneous speech were not included in the models. In other words, the new variants and derhoticisation seem to be more easily accounted for in this stylistically different speech task, including engagement with the media.

These findings show that these changes are stylistically 'special' in some way; they are observed more readily (or exclusively, in the case of DH-fronting) in the less usual speech style. The statistical links with media engagement are stronger and more significant in this style too. It seems that being asked to read the wordlist out loud to the fieldworker to record, with their conversational partner present in the room too, led to a stylistic shift. The kids rattle through the list, laughing, commenting on some of the words – there are no signs of any of the expected monitoring or correction towards the standard shown by the middle-class informants in 1997. Our impression for both data collections (1997 and 2003) was that the adolescents took

[6] Neither /hw/ nor /x/ showed sufficient variation in these speakers to allow analysis.

this as an opportunity to display 'themselves' and 'their speech' to fieldworker. For us, these readings seemed like a kind of performance of their identities for a very specific audience (cf. Bauman 1992; Bell 1984; Coupland 2007). At the same time, our young informants exploited all their phonetic resources, local and non-local, to position themselves with respect to the task –reading a wordlist (an activity that probably has strong associations of 'school' and 'authority') and with respect to the fieldworker (the University, the 'establishment'). In other words, they also took a particular stance to the task expressed through a particular linguistic repertoire (Jaffe 2009).[7] Our use of different speech elicitation tasks to obtain different speech styles in the variationist sense (Labov 1972; cf. Coupland 2007: 32ff.) provoked broader interactional sociolinguistic shifts.

Taken together, these connections between stance-taking and performative style-shifting, the selection of a particular array of variants for particular sound changes in progress, and strong psychological engagement with a TV soap drama, start to bridge a theoretical gap. In this context at least, it seems that the mechanisms behind media 'influence' on structural linguistic change relate to the numerous and complex interconnections between style, language and the broadcast media. If so, media influence on structural change observed through variationist study, and the incorporation of larger media fragments into talk, observed in interactional sociolinguistic studies, may also be much more closely connected than they first appear. I consider the grounding for bridging this broader theoretical gap in the next section.

STYLE, SPEAKER AGENCY, AND APPROPRIATION

There are several perspectives which try to account for intra-speaker linguistic variation, and it seems likely that at any one time, several may be at play (Coupland 2007; Eckert and Rickford 2001; Macaulay 1999). Speakers may monitor and/or adjust their speech for specific communicative acts and speech tasks (Labov 1972). They may (un)wittingly design their talk for their audience, both physically immediate and mentally imagined (Auer and Hinskens 2005; Bell 1984). And recent work which considers language style in terms of speaker agency observes that "speakers combine variables to create distinctive ways of speaking. These ways of speaking are a key to the production of personae, and personae in turn are particular social types that are quite explicitly located in the social order" (Eckert 2005: 17; cf. Eckert 2016). So language styling, by which speakers use sociolinguistic variation for social 'identity projection' (Coupland 2007), may link the situated use of lan-

[7] We are grateful to Roxy Harris who suggested this interpretation, after hearing the wordlist readings, and in the context of his own experience of working as a high school teacher in Scotland.

guage variation with particular social practices and, for particular social purposes, with more abstract social types, which themselves underpin much larger social categories (Eckert 2000). The use of linguistic variation can be further specified at the level of interaction in terms of stance-taking, as speakers take up a range of positions with respect to their interlocutors, the content of their utterances, and so on (Jaffe 2009).

Such views of linguistic style, styling and stance-taking in terms of speaker agency as applied to structural linguistic variation are highly congruent with theoretical approaches accounting for intra-speaker variation in interactional sociolinguistics (e.g. Gumperz and Hymes 1972). Relevant here, 'linguistic appropriation' captures a range of linguistic responses to the media, from language and communication during media reception (the kind of talk that happens whilst watching television) to the use of media language as a resource for specific stylistic purposes (Holly 2001; Püschel and Holly 1997). There are now numerous interactional studies evidencing the appropriation of media fragments in talk (e.g. Androutsopoulos 2001; Ayass and Gerhardt 2012; Branner 2002). Close analysis of appropriation of media fragments into everyday talk reveals traits which are relevant for structural change and media influence.

Contrary to first impressions, chunks of media language (catchphrases, utterances, words) which appear in talk are not faithful reproductions of their source. Androutsopoulos (2001: 24) points out that 'The notion of *appropriation* stresses the fact that recipients are not just imitating media fragments, but they may creatively modify them and use them for their own purposes.' It is the case that illustrations of such appropriation often refer to largish chunks of linguistic material, usually with phonetic 'quotation marks', in the form of overt phonetic suprasegmentals, such as intonation and rhythm (i.e. 'explicit' appropriation, in Faber 2001). But, it seems that as for the imitation of phonetic features (see Mitterer and Ernestus 2008; see also the section 'sound change and the broadcast media: TH-fronting in Glasgow', above), the productive system – or interactional context – of the speaker strongly constrains the outcome of such 'imitation'. Speakers incorporate chunks of media language for their own interactional purposes, which make sense to them and their interlocutors provided they share frames of reference (Branner 2002).

Furthermore, appropriation of media language occurs at particular points in talk, including boundaries between talk; for example, media fragments surface in Rampton's (1995) and Branner's (2002) recordings between stretches of talk, preceded by a pause when a topic has died, and before a new topic begins. As noted above, Rampton (1995: 195) observes that 'crossing', the use of Jamaican and Panjabi/Indic linguistic features in the talk of white boys in Luton, 'occurred at interstitial and ambiguous moments, and it bore many of the characteristics attributed to liminality and liminoidity'. He defines 'liminoid' as an extension of 'liminal', a "phase

of transition ... a sort of social social limbo which has few ... of the attributes of either the preceding or subsequent [ordinary] social statuses or cultural statuses" (see Rampton 1995: 194).

These observations show that, in more general terms, larger utterance chunks appropriated from the media belong to particular interactional contexts, doing specific social 'work' for their speakers as an integral part of the speakers' own discourse. In some senses they look as though, formally, they are taken from the media 'shelf' as part of a stylistic sociolinguistic 'bricolage' (Hebdige 1984), but their emergence in talk is more subtle and sophisticated than might be supposed at first glance.

These aspects of the interactional appropriation of media language show key parallels with the generalisations emerging from considering the results for speech elicitation style in the Glasgow consonant changes (the section 'style, media and consonantal change in Glaswegian, above). Specifically, linguistic variants which are associated with media – whether 'larger' (words or phrases) or 'smaller' (phones, phonemes, morphemes), more or less embedded into the grammar (more open or closed-class), more or less available to overt comment by speakers – all seem to be stylistically 'special'. Irrespective of their linguistic 'size' and status, both appropriated words and catchphrases (e.g. Bianca's call for her boyfriend, 'R[w]icky!', in *EastEnders*) and innovative phonetic variants (e.g. [f] for (th) in Glasgow) are linked by the way that they function stylistically for speakers, in how they may convey particular social meanings or interactional stances. They occur more readily in particular stylistic and pragmatic contexts, at particular points or interfaces for speakers in talk. Also, whilst such linguistic variants might look similar in form to their media source, formal similarity is (as noted earlier) superficial; their function for speakers relates directly to the speakers' own context and purposes. Thus, elements which are generic, shared and supralocal in media become specific, personal and local in talk.

But how can these observations about style inform our understanding of the mechanisms by which aspects of language represented in media end up appearing in people's conversations? Intuitively the idea of the retention and retrieval of larger, more word-like, open-class, chunks seems easier, even if just how such chunks become stored and present themselves as available for resources for talk is far from clearly understood at the level of psycholinguistic processing. Media effects research on the cognitive impact of media on individuals' knowledge, understanding and perceptions of the world may be relevant here (e.g. Gunter 2000), as information from media representations becomes cognitively entwined with those from actual experience; cf. Coupland's (2007 and later, e.g. 2014a) discussion of *mediatisation* which include the assumption that actual and represented interaction exist not as parallel independent entities, but rather as continuously intersecting experi-

ences (e.g. scripted and unscripted dramatic/reality roles translating from, and back into actual interpersonal interaction).

The difference between appropriating larger and smaller linguistic items from the media is that lifting and substituting smaller, closed-class elements such as phones and bound morphemes seems more difficult, precisely because they seem so much more embedded in the speaker's grammar. The first question to ask is whether smaller chunks could become incorporated as a by-product of appropriating larger ones, i.e. whether larger media chunks of language appropriated from the media might effectively 'bleed' their phonology. Specifically here, does e.g. [f] in Glaswegian perhaps derive from catchprases or appropriated words which show TH-fronting from media-Cockney? This view would be congruent with exemplar models of phonological representation, which assume that phonological categories are generalisations across experienced memories of speech, irrespective of their source (Hay, Warren and Drager 2006; Pierrehumbert 2006).

EVIDENCE FOR APPROPRIATION IN GLASGOW

The main spontaneous speech for the Glasgow Media Project comprised casual conversations recorded from self-selected pairs of friends, who talked by themselves in a small school office, with a DAT recorder running, for the duration of a school class (about 45 minutes). The fieldworker set up the recording and then sat outside the room whose door was closed. The children were not given topics to talk about, but there were some magazines on a coffee table in the room which a few of them looked at.

In order to assess the evidence for appropriation of media language in Glasgow vernacular, we carried out two analyses of the conversation data. The first analysis assessed the overall proportion of talk about particular topics, by taking the full word count for each speaker, and then counting the words in utterances about a topic. So, for example, any utterances about TV shows or characters, recounting or reproducing any TV extracts, and/or any aspect of watching or engaging with TV in any way, were counted, and then those topic word counts expressed as a proportion of the total word count for that speaker. The results are shown as averages for our 36 informants, across their three age groups (by gender) in Table 1.

The most striking point about even this very gross estimation of talking about TV (as well as other relevant topics – music, film and computing – in 2003 [our data collection was before the rise of social media]), is just how little our informants spontaneously introduced any kind of talk about TV at all. The 12–13 year old girls showed the most talk about TV, but even they on average talked very little about TV.

Table 1: Average percentages of talk about media and computing by age/gender groups, calculated in terms of % of total number of words uttered by each speaker.

Topic Age	Gender	TV	Music	Film	Computer
11-years	Girls	1.12	0	0.19	0
	Boys	5.81	0	0.82	1.53
13-years	Girls	7.22	0.64	0.88	0
	Boys	4.53	1.82	2.39	1.45
15-years	Girls	0.20	0.76	0.74	0
	Boys	3.91	0	1.46	0.74

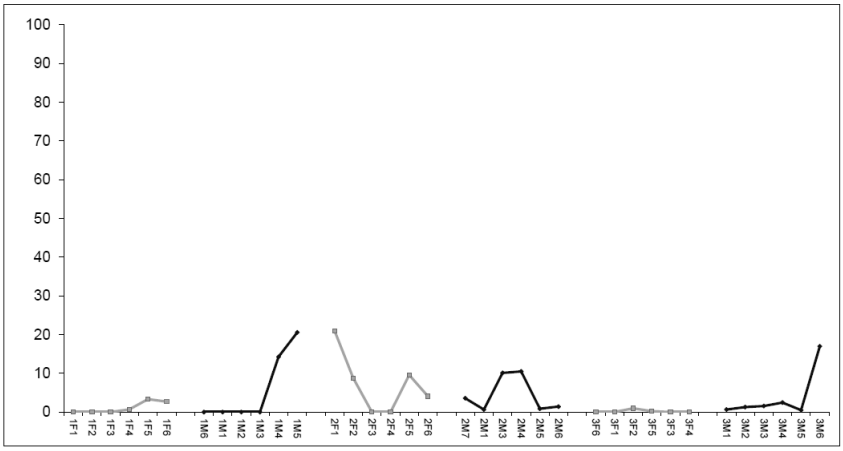

Figure 1: Percentage of talk about TV by individual speaker in the Glasgow Media Project (light = girls; dark = boys). Age group 1 = 11-years, age group 2 = 13-years, age group 3 = 15-years.

Across individuals, the distribution was skewed with 13 informants not talking about TV at all, most talking very little, and only 4 informants showing more than 10% (two 10 year old boys, one 15 year old boy, and one 13 year old girl); see Figure 1.

The second analysis was a close inspection of the entire set of 18 conversations. We found no instances at all of appropriation of 'catchphrases' or single words or phrases from TV (or films), and very few instances of stylised talk. The small

mount of talk about TV that we did find fell into three main categories, illustrated in the following extracts.[8]

(1) '*Did you watch...*', when one of the pair tried to initiate talk about TV, as in this segment from two 13 year-old girls:

R: Did you watch, em, *Footballers' Wives* last night?
L: No, I don't like it.
R: Did you watch the *Karen Dunbar* show?
L: Don't like it [laughs]
R: Did you watch anything?
L: Aye, I played wi' my Gamecube. I was playing [inaudible]. It's pure minted that wee game, you get tae [inaudible] ghosts and aw that.

(2) *Discussion of soap/dramas, and/or characters*, as in this extract from two 13 year-old boys, which was one of the few instances mentioning *EastEnders*:

R: Have you been watchin' *EastEnders*?
L: [long outbreath]
R: Do you watch it?
L: Aye, Ah watch it but.
R: Brilliant, man.
L: No' saw it [inaudible]
R: They two nearly got caught aff aye
L: Aye
R: Sam was it?
L: Sam, and
R: [laughs]
L: She hid behind the couch.
R: Aye [laughs]
L: That's the last one Ah saw, Ah think.
R: Ah know, she wants tae break it up now, and he doesnae.
L: [laughs]
R: Pure shockin', innit?
L: Aye, 'cause he's
R: Mad Barry's left in his cell man, pure makes, things for him, and aw that. So he does, it's quite shockin'.

[8] The transcriptions use usual conventions for representing spoken Scots. *Ah*, 'I'; *aff* , 'off'; *aye*, 'yes'; *aw*, 'all'; *doesnae*, 'doesn't'; *naebody*, 'nobody'; *no'*, negative particle; *tae*, 'to'; *wi'*, 'with'.

(3) *Skits*, when one or both of the pair reproduced part of a scene from TV, with rare instances of stylised talk, mainly by boys remembering funny scenes from local Glaswegian TV comedies. In the entire set of 18 conversations there was only a single instance of appropriation of media language which is loosely related to the South of England, specifically here, when the two boys recycle a few lines from *Ali G*, the comedian/trickster who sets out to confuse others through his often vulgar performances. The phonetics of the reproduction is mainly Scottish English with a few vowel qualities shifting towards General American, e.g. the qualities of the diphthongs in *down*, and *vibrate*:

R: See in *Ali G*, she's the mad woman, that comes tae his door
and aw that, at the end, near the end, he goes: "There's, er, naebody out there"
L: Awright, aye
R: Aye
L: Then she goes: 'pull them down!'
R: Never turn her down, wouldn't you no'?
L: and he goes
R: 'Finish yerself [inaudible] vibrate, finish yerself off' [laughs]
L: 'I've set it on vibrate, finish yourself off'
R: Wouldn't you never let, let her go away [inaudible]

The relative scarcity of talk about TV, or media at all, was balanced by what our informants did talk about, i.e. their friends and their own social lives, hanging out with each other, local intrigues, disputes, who was going out with whom and so on. Our conversational data seems a little different from some of the conversations recorded from interactional sociolinguistic studies, so the lack of talk about TV, and/or any kind of stylising of TV or media talk, may relate at least in part to the nature of the conversations themselves. Did our recording setup, and effective 'task', of having to talk with each other for a period of time inhibit this behaviour? Was the additional context of the school a factor? Would recordings made through a long-term ethnography have revealed more media-linked talk? Our fieldworker did spend around three months during the data collection in and around the environs of the school; her view was that the conversations we collected were very similar in content and style to those that she witnessed on and off school grounds, between our adolescents. But an inhibiting factor of context and task can't be ruled out.[9] We might also wonder whether it may be more usual to stylise local Scottish English accents, e.g. broader vernacular dialect. The acting task elicited not imitations of London accents, but a strong shift to 'stage Scots', a register found in e.g. pantom-

[9] We are grateful to Werner Holly and Roxy Harris for this observation.

ines, popular theatre, and joke telling by all Scottish speakers of whatever background, with formulaic use of Scots grammar and lexis, and exaggerated Scots phonology.

Thus we found no evidence to support the assumption that any of the consonant innovations could be creeping into Glaswegian vernacular through the phonetic bleeding of appropriated media-London fragments; we consider the possibility of a different kind of impact of catchphrases, on social meaning of variants, in the section 'a functional analysis of TH-fronting in *EastEnders*', below (cf. Coupland 2007: 173–4).[10] The more general observation that media fragments such as catchphrases seem to be stored – and reproduced – without discernible impact on speakers' phonologies, remains unresolved. Without further fine-grained work, we also cannot know to what extent the interfaces between stylised and non-stylised speech are fuzzy or discrete at the phonetic level; Androutsopoulos (2001) suggests some fuzziness, given phonetic shifts for some segments in stylising Turkish German.

MEDIA INFLUENCE AND THE INDEXICAL FIELD

In the absence of evidence for appropriation of larger chunks of media language acting as a vehicle for importing smaller, structural, changes, we need to consider other accounts for media influence on structural change. To recap, the Glasgow results establish a link between strong psychological engagement with a TV show and/or its characters, and the acceleration of consonant innovations. The mechanisms underpinning this link do not appear to relate to imitative behaviours, conscious or not, or overt positive attitudes to London/Southern English accents. TH-/DH-fronting may look like features taken from the media shelf, here *EastEnders*, but only at first glance. These changes, which are linked to TV, also emerge in the performative stance-taking which occurred during reading the wordlist. This suggests that these features carry ideological meanings, and have the potential to do some kind of social work for their speakers, in terms of identity construction and/or stance-taking.

As for larger media fragments, style emerges as key for our phonological changes, as indeed seems to be the case for other structural changes which are linked to media (if not established), e.g. the explosion of *be like* in English (Buchstaller and D'Arcy 2009), changes of phrasal and lexical tone in Japanese (Ota and Takano 2014), and shifts from restricted regional to widespread standard dialects as in e.g.

[10] The apparent lack of phonetic bleeding also presents an interesting challenge for exemplar theory, because it suggests that speech experienced from media may be stored, tagged, and/or weighted differently and/or separately from speech experienced from face-to-face interaction, contra the assumptions in Hay et al. (2006).

German (Lameli 2004), which are all clearly enregistered (Agha 2003). Despite the difference in linguistic entity – and we cannot ignore the fact that words and allophones are different, though perhaps more gradiently than we might think (how structural is the quotative verb *be like*? Sayers 2014) – that linguistic elements carry social meaning for speakers seems to be a fundamental characteristic of all linguistic variation linked with the broadcast media. I have already noted above that appropriating larger chunks from the media seems to be easier to accept, even if we don't know how this happens at the cognitive level. At least superficially, these elements look more congruent with Sayers' (2014) conceptualisation of media influence on language in terms of 'broadcast', or diffusion of linguistic features from media to geographically dispersed dialects.

The small amount of evidence that we have to date for media influence on smaller elements constituting structural change, is less consistent with broadcast, and suggests a different kind of mechanism, 'enhancement' or 'filtering' (Stuart-Smith 2014). Structural linguistic features which are linked with media influence, within English and other languages too, seem always to be changes also already in progress. Existing sociolinguistic variation seems to be accelerated and enhanced by media, as opposed to generated by the media (Stuart-Smith and Ota 2014). But what is it about vicarious involvement in the lives of dramatic characters in para-social interaction, that promotes enhancement of certain grammatical changes for certain speakers?

Current cognitive models of media influence on social behaviour assume that "[i]n order to make sense of a programme, viewers must find connections between the media text and their own inner world" (Gunter 2000: 230; notions of the 'active' audience in reception theory make a similar point but in different terms, e.g. Abercrombie 1996; Hall 1980). If we extend this to speech, we assume that speakers parse spoken language witnessed in the broadcast media through the filter of being an active speaking member of a community. Speakers' existing linguistic features may be enhanced when they are similar to those experienced in the media both in terms of linguistic structure *and* social meaning. Language seems to be different from other social behaviours, because speaking is a thoroughly interactive process entailing continuous simultaneous activity of speech production and perception mechanisms together (Kuhl 2010; Pickering and Garrod 2013); successful first language acquisition seems to require actual social interaction (Kuhl 2010).[11] Speakers' own experience of language in social interaction may be an even stronger brake on possible media influence than for other social behaviours. The specific

[11] One of the reasons that first language acquisition is not promoted by broadcast media may be precisely because parsing spoken language of the media requires viewers to have personal experience of language in its social context, in order to be able to parse language represented in the media.

suggestion is that Glaswegians parse *EastEnders*, drama and language, through the filter of being Glaswegian vernacular speakers. Moreover, as viewers watch interactions in scenes from drama (and other genres), these unfold before them, mapping onto their own personal dynamic experiences of social and linguistic interaction as a speaker and listener.[12]

Our predictions from this are that this personal experiential parsing of media language mainly acts like a filter (Goldinger 2007). What is witnessed is too different both linguistically and socially, so such media language experiences are either not stored in memory, or fade fast. The main impression from sociolinguistic studies since the 1970s is that media does *not* influence spoken language (Chambers 1998; Labov 2001). But it may be that sometimes (we don't know how often, but it seems quite rarely) what is represented in the media is 'socially informative' (Pierrehumbert 2006), overlapping with the speaker–viewer's own personal experience of variation in interaction. In such cases, speakers' existing variants may be enhanced/resonated/gain additional weighting, resulting in acceleration via media influence. It seems clear that it is the speaker–viewer who is effectively driving and/or controlling this process, by engaging with broadcast media as potential producers of socially-informative variation (Adank, Hagoort and Bekkering 2010), listening with their 'speaking brain' (Keith Johnson, pc). So the speaker–viewer uses their linguistic and social system to parse what they witness. It seems that such overlap has at least two prerequisites: congruence at the level of linguistic system *and* in terms of social meaning. Thus there needs to be at least some formal and structural congruence, e.g. the existence of a phoneme with an array of variants, such as /th/ in media-Cockney, which, as in Glasgow, has existing variation. But the social informativity of the variation is key, i.e. it must in some way overlap in social meaning with that already known and/or experienced by the speaker.

If we extend this prediction, we can account for the fact that e.g. the Glaswegian CAT vowel is very unlikely to show links with watching London-based TV shows. Linguistically, Media-Cockney has two phonemes, /a/ and /ɑ/, whilst Glaswegian has a single vowel /a/; phonologically the categories are different, as are their phonetic realisations. But there is also no overlap in social meaning. Whilst media-Cockney shows raised and fronted /a/ for TRAP in working-class characters such as 'Del Boy' in *Only Fools and Horses*, and 'Alfie' in *EastEnders*, the closest variant in Glaswegian is found in refined old ladies in the middle-class area of Kelvinside

[12] This account assumes that there are cognitive differences between experiencing and storing memories of speech during interaction, from those when linguistic interaction is not possible (e.g. watching a pre-recorded film). We do not yet have evidence to establish the extent to which physical interaction with other speakers vs. experiencing speech without interaction has a differential effect on the storage, memory and access of (a) speech/language, (b) other social behaviours, and (c) viewers' cognition (cf. Gunter 2000; Stuart-Smith et al. 2011).

(Macafee 1983). We found no statistical links for this, or any other vowels (for which similar predictions can be made about quality and social evaluation) and engaging with TV shows set in London.

Phonetic and linguistic theory can be used to identify actual and potential linguistic congruence. Eckert's theory of the 'indexical field' offers a useful starting point for conceptualising and testing, possible overlaps in social meaning in language between speaker and screen. Eckert (2008: 453) defines the indexical field as "[a] constellation of ideologically-related meanings, any one of which can be activated in the situated use of the variable. The field is fluid, and each new activation has the potential to change the field by building on ideological connections". The indexical field is drawn from theories of indexicality which account for the linking of language with the social order. Indexicality with language begins with direct links (indexes) formed during interaction, whereby 'linguistic forms index interactional stances', and develops into indirect indexicality when "these same forms become associated with particular social types believed to take such stances" (Bucholtz 2009: 291, after Ochs 1992). Levels of indexicality also develop as links become accepted and are even available for metalinguistic commentary (Milroy 2004; Stuart-Smith et al. 2007).

The indexical field as proposed by Eckert (2008) is predicated on, and arises through, the use of language during social interaction. This leads to continually shifting arrays of connected sets of social meanings attaching to linguistic elements, as illustrated in Figure 2. The assumption of such multidimensional webs of ideological meanings linked to aspects of language is powerful because it provides a conceptual basis for understanding better how different ideologies may attach in different ways to the 'same' element, and how specific, local meanings may relate to and/or trigger more generic, shared, supralocal meanings, thus connecting micro- and macro-social patterns (Eckert 2016). The indexical field properly describes actual situated language use, the constant negotiation and renegotiation of social meaning produced by speakers during interaction, which can be accessed through observing production, and/or by social evaluation experiments (e.g. Campbell-Kibler 2007).

I take a further step here and extend the notion of 'indexical field' to assume that linguistic variation in media language also carries arrays of social meaning which are akin to indexical fields for real-world language. For example, as actors portray their characters' roles they use language as one vehicle for conveying the drama, taking positions and stances towards each other and the events as they unfold. The actors' spoken versions of their scripts use linguistic variation as an integral part of their characterisation, so their variation also constructs stylised social meanings, which together constitute an *ersatz* indexical field interpretable within the context of the drama by speaker–viewers accessing their knowledge of indexical fields from

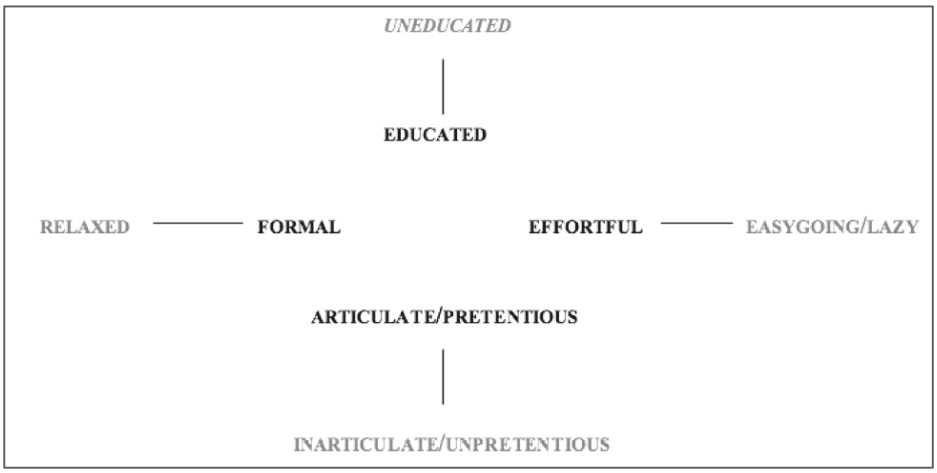

Figure 2: Indexical field of (ING), Figure 3 in Eckert (2008: 466); black = meanings for velar variant, grey = meanings for the apical variant.

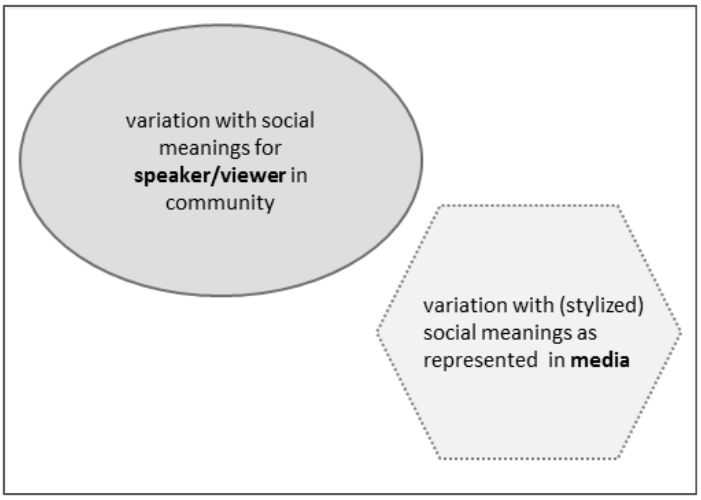

Figure 3: Schematic representation of indexical fields of meaning for variation within community, solid line, and as represented in media drama, dotted line indicates stylised/simplified nature of meanings.

personal experience of participating in social interaction; see schematic representation in Figure 3.

Social meanings in represented media language are likely to overlap with language in the community because of the inherently reciprocal nature of media texts/scripts deriving from 'natural language', and at the same time pushing and extending these meanings forward (Coupland 2007: 184f.; Tagliamonte and Roberts 2005). Bucholtz (2009: 288) also observes that media representations of stance-taking through language can simplify indexical relationships, as in advertising, and that this can speed up linguistic appropriation of media fragments (e.g. the spread of the catchphrase 'whassup?'). Our suggestion is that enhancement of existing linguistic variation might occur for some speaker–viewers when there is both congruence in linguistic structure, and when their own indexical fields overlap in some respects with the stylised meanings/indexical fields represented in the media text.

A FUNCTIONAL ANALYSIS OF TH-FRONTING IN *EASTENDERS*

A proper testing of this suggestion requires a comprehensive interactional analysis of the role of innovative features in our Glaswegian informants, compared with that on TV. Here, we take a first step towards this goal by carrying out a functional analysis of one feature, TH-fronting, as it occurs in a sample of *EastEnders*. Our data collection period took place during the first ten weeks of 2003. At this time, audience ratings placed it amongst the top ten programmes for almost all of the weeks. The sample analysed here consists of five episodes selected towards the end of our data collection period. The range of characters selected for analysis were both those mentioned spontaneously by our informants, and those who were at the time popular characters with strong story lines.

Our initial analysis of TH-fronting in *EastEnders* established a clear distribution of [f] according to gender, with male characters using [f] far more than the female characters, see Figure 4. The subsequent functional analysis coded the 27/64 instances of TH-fronting in five different categories, representing different aspects of the interaction and dramatic scene:

- sentence type
- location of characters
- number of persons present
- relationship with the interlocutor
- emotional and/or dramatic content (affect)

Only a descriptive analysis is given here due to the low and imbalanced numbers of tokens for each coding category. The quantitative results are shown in Figures 5–9; paler bars indicate categories for which less than five tokens were coded.

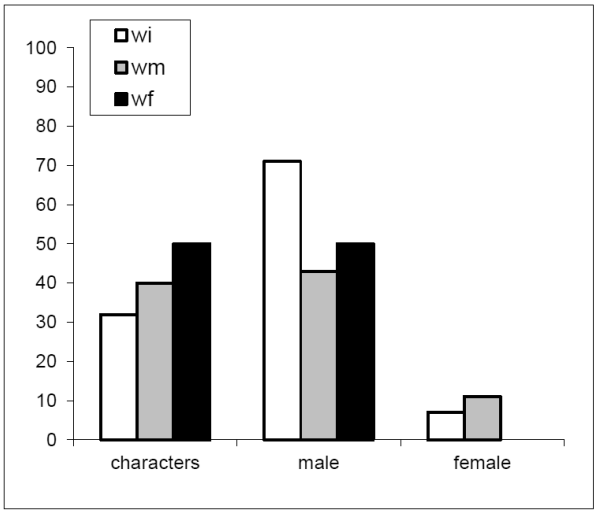

Figure 4: Average proportions of TH-fronting according to position in word (wi = word-initial, wm = word-medial, wf = word-final) for all characters, male characters and female characters in EastEnders (n = 135).

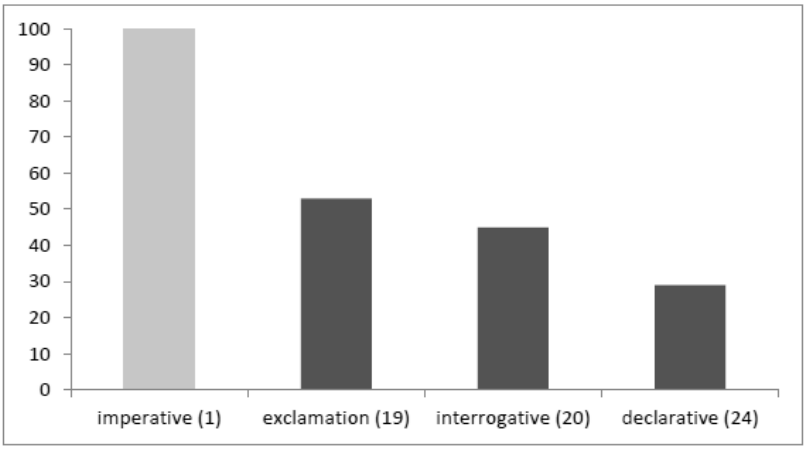

Figure 5: Proportion of TH-fronting in *EastEnders* by sentence type.

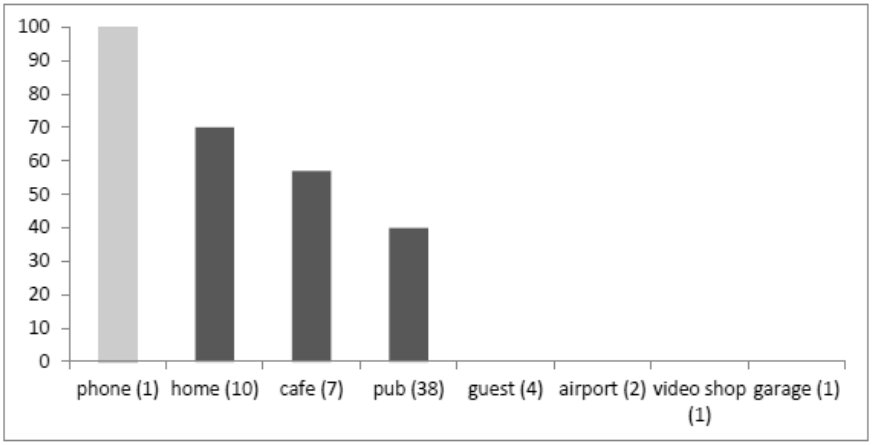

Figure 6: Proportion of TH-fronting in *EastEnders* by location of characters.[13]

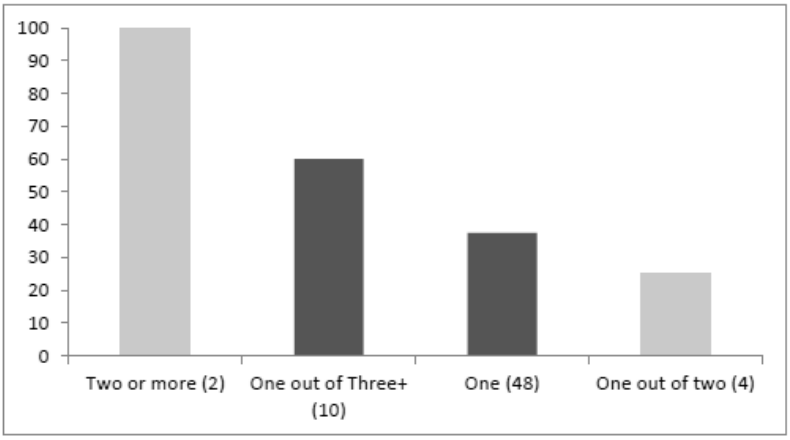

Figure 7: Proportion of TH-fronting in *EastEnders* by number of interlocutors and others present in scene.

[13] Here 'phone' = refers to a situation where the character was talking at home but on the phone to a caller, as opposed to another character who was physically present.

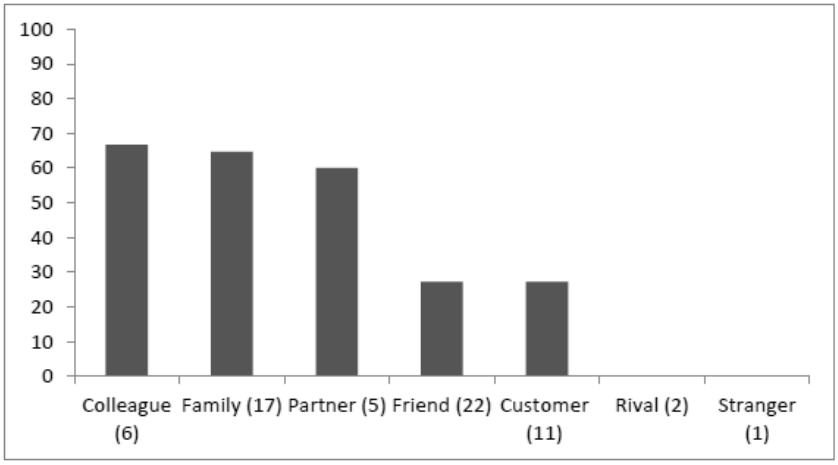

Figure 8: Proportion of TH-fronting in *EastEnders* by relationship with interlocutor.

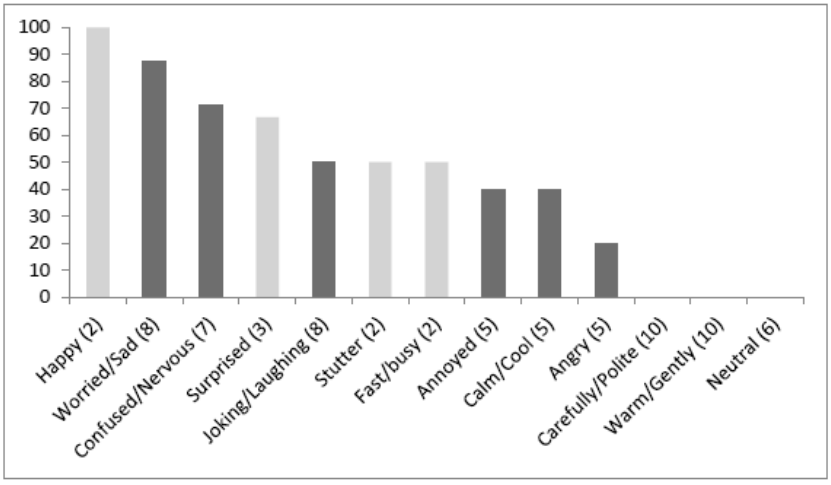

Figure 9: Proportion of TH-fronting in *EastEnders* by emotional and/or dramatic content.

Use by sentence type shows that [f] occurs more in emphatic utterances and questions, than in declarative sentences (Figure 5); the only imperative also shows [f]. By location (Figure 6), TH-fronting is never found when the characters are in someone else's house, in the garage, in the shop, or at the airport. It is more frequent when the character is at home, but also occurs during scenes set at the cafe and in the pub; the single instance on the phone (at home) shows [f]. The distribution according to number of interlocutors and others present (here we were thinking not only of direct addressees but also those further away, cf. Bell 1984) shows that [f] is used more when the character is one of a group of three interacting (also when two or more characters are present). It is also found in more intimate scenes with only one other interlocutor (Figure 7).

TH-fronting varies according to the relationship that the character has with the interlocutor (Figure 8): [f] is more common with colleagues, family members and/or their partner, than with friends or customers. It isn't used at all when talking to a stranger or a rival (token counts are also low for these two types). Finally, Figure 9 shows that use of [f] differs according to the emotional content of the utterance in which the variable occurs. Considering those affective states for which more than five tokens occurred, we can see that TH-fronting occurred most when the character was worried or sad, and confused or nervous. It was also in jokes and when the character was laughing. [f] was also used, though not so much, when the character was annoyed or angry, or when they were calm/cool. It did not occur at all when a character spoke warmly or gently, or in careful, polite or speech with neutral affect, possibly representing a shift towards the standard.

Illustrations of these quantitative results, often overlapping, are given in the following extracts, which are all drawn from scenes from the same episode, in the speech of the 'hard man' character, shady garage owner, Phil, who was starting to fall for Kate, a policewoman:

1.25: *Phil is talking sadly to his mother, Peggy at home, about how he can't reveal his dark past to Kate*

Phil: If I do tell Kate about me, what'll 'appen then. I mean you know some of the stunts I've pulled in the past. I might scare her off.
Peggy: You don't tell her you lose her anyway.
Phil: So **bo[f]** ways I lose out!
Peggy: Phil, Kate knows you're no choir boy!
[f] coded as: exclamation; home; one interlocutor; family; worried/sad

3.25: *Phil is talking to Kate at home, after a glass has smashed on the carpet. The mood is light, but tension remains as Phil strives to impress Kate, but also ensure that she doesn't find the stolen cash hidden in the freezer.*

Kate: Oh, strike!
Phil: Here, do you **[f]ink** mum will notice?
Kate: Em, not if you panel-beat it!
Phil: You gonna stay for something to eat?
Kate: Yeah, why not? I haven't got any other plans!

[f] coded as: interrogative; home; one interlocutor; partner; joking/laughing.

5.28: *Phil in pub greeting his new girlfriend, Kate, nervous because she arrived late for his birthday party, and he fears that she's discovered his past.*

Phil: So what happened then?
Kate: Sorry I got held up, unfortunate manicuring accident, blood everywhere, you don't want to know the details.
Phil: You **[f]ink** it's funny? I've been worried!
Kate: Have you?
Phil: Yeah.

[f] coded as: interrogative; pub; one out of three; partner; nervous

5.40: *Same scene as above, Phil is now talking to Kate alone, still nervous.*

Phil: I **[f]ought** I'd, er, done something you know, blown it.
Kate: Like what?
Phil: I dunno, being too pushy? I like you, Kate.
Kate: And I like you, I like you a lot, I just don't wanna rush things, okay?
Phil: Okay.

[f] is coded as: declarative; pub; one interlocutor; partner; nervous

This first analysis is limited in a number of ways, not least because it captures aspects of potential meanings for TH-fronting through static analytical categories, as opposed to any kind of dynamic conversation and/or discourse analysis of the interaction represented, not only aurally but also visually, in the scene. However these results and examples are interesting, because they suggest that the distribution of this variable is structured within the drama, not just at a large category level of gender (Figure 4), but also at the level of 'doing gender', i.e. how the represented character Phil is 'being Phil', as he moves through his life and relationships. For

example, the extracts show that Phil, the 'hard man', uses [f] consistent with his social persona (violent past, criminal present) and at the same time, as a man falling in love, nervous that he might be found out by his new girlfriend, policewoman Kate. He is more than a social type (male, working-class, tough), he is also a person who can respond to different social contexts, deal with awkward situations, display emotion, and so on.

The nature of the scripted dialogue entails relatively little speech, often with more emotional content than might be expected in usual discourse given the need to entertain and sustain the audience's attention (Buckingham 1987).[14] So the result is a stylisation of 'normal'/'emotional' discourse, in which TH-fronting is one of the linguistic mechanisms at play. A corollary is that the variants [f]/[θ] themselves can be seen to create a kind of stylised indexical field of social meanings, through which a small number of instances of [f] index both a social type, and emphasis and display on the one hand, and intimacy, sadness/concern, and gentle humour on the other.

Even these few extracts demonstrate the complexity of the contexts, and the social and affective meanings portrayed, during which [f] appears for (th) in Phil's speech. This and the descriptive statistics shown in Figures 5–9 also suggest some systematicity in the connections of social meaning and stance-taking constructed within this very small sample of episodes from this drama, pointing to the construction of a stylised indexical field. Coupland (2007: 171f.) discusses how existing linguistic variation can accrue and develop new social meanings through shifting media representations. It seems likely that stylised indexical fields attaching to linguistic variation constructed by the broadcast media may also adjust, reinforce and add additional dimensions to speaker–viewers' own indexical fields, since they constitute additional ways of experiencing language ideologies, albeit indirectly (Coupland, pc; cf. Milroy and Milroy's 1985 discussion of how media raises social awareness of linguistic variation). This probably includes extension of indexical fields through more extreme dimensions with iconic stereotypes such as Catherine Tate's truculent schoolgirl character, with her catchphrase, *bovvered* as in *Am I bovvered? I ain't bovvered* discussed by Coupland (2007: 173–4), which may also extend to specific variants, here [v] for (dh) (Coupland, pc). It also seems implicitly present in indirect/nth order indexical relationships which move beyond direct indexing.

But even if the media contributes to indirect extension of indexical fields of social meaning, we return again to the difficulty here that only a few features show changes linked with the broadcast media, and that only certain speakers who show

[14] The producers of *EastEnders* told us at an early stage of the research that there were no directions for pronunciation other than for the actors to express their characters. TH-fronting and other variants are not marked in the script.

strong psychological engagement to *EastEnders* show increased use of [f]. Hence we suggest that a critical factor must be congruence in linguistic variation and social meaning and/or stance-taking, where 'congruence' is determined and driven by the speaker–viewer's own personal experience of participation in real-world interaction, continuously interlinked with sustained emotional experience of indirect social-indexical meanings portrayed within the media (the description is static but processes are likely to be reciprocal, complex and non-linear). It is not clear whether this requires the speaker–viewer to be an active user of a variant with an overlapping stance/social meaning, and/or to have witnessed it during interaction, or even to have a need/desire at some level to express a similar stance and/or construct an aspect of their social persona. Also, many other individual speaker characteristics are likely to be important as to whether an individual might achieve a productive mapping (e.g. Yu, Abrego-Collier and Sonderegger 2013).

STYLE AS A KEY FOR MEDIA INFLUENCE

Represented phonological variation for TH-fronting in *EastEnders* patterns systematically, indexing – albeit in a necessarily stylised fashion – an array of social meanings, relating to context, interlocutor and personal affect. The claim here is that as the Glaswegian vernacular speaker–viewer parses the dramatic interaction as it unfolds before them, they unwittingly use their own frames of social and linguistic reference to 'make sense of' all aspects of the drama, including the fine-grained phonetic variation. If there is sufficient congruence from their own real-world experience/knowledge of both linguistic variation *and also* stance-taking, social meaning and/or shared language ideology in some way, also indirectly from media experience (it isn't yet clear exactly how), this may translate into media influence. One way of expressing this is through an exemplar perspective: the speaker–viewers' stored memories of variation gain more weighting/validation/resonance, leading to increased activation/production in their own speech when encountering a similar sociolinguistic context requiring stance-taking and/or stylistic variation.

So in this particular case, there may be overlaps in linguistic structure and social meanings held by Glaswegians and represented in the soap opera characters, which facilitate enhancement of the innovative variant [f], especially for those who engage in strong para-social interaction with the drama and whose own personalities allow for such receptiveness. We do not know exactly what these overlapping meanings are, but the increase in TH-fronting in stylistically 'liminoid' contexts, such as reading a wordlist, and/or taking a particular stance towards the task and the fieldworker, may reflect aspects of shared indexicality with e.g. Phil's increased use of [f] for emphasis and display. Exploring more nuanced overlaps in meaning would require

proper analysis of our informants' own usage of [f] within their personal interactions.

This view of media influence assumes that there are fundamental similarities between the appropriation of larger linguistic chunks from the media, and the acceleration of 'smaller', more embedded structural linguistic features. Specifically it assumes that style, in terms of variation indexing a range of stances, social functions and/or personal states, for both audience and as represented on screen, is key to understanding the role of media 'influence' on language in general, and that at least some of the same mechanisms that apply to media fragments, also pertain to speech as well. There are also key differences noted above (in the section 'media influence and the indexical field'), which likely relate to the nature of speaking/interaction itself, as well as the nature and storage of linguistic elements along the open–closed class dimension, which is still far from well understood, and may be more gradient than it appears (Pierrehumbert, pc). At least for now, structural variation which is promoted by the media does not seem to be generated by the media but exists already within the individual/community grammar, and hence the speaker–viewer's own stored representations which are enhanced.

Stepping back, this kind of perspective on media influence on spoken language which translates into the speaker–viewer parsing media texts, aligns with current views from critical reception studies of 'active audiences' on the one hand (e.g. Curran 1996), and cognitive psychological media effects research on the other (e.g. Gunter 2014). Previous work has shown how direct indexical links between language and stance-taking then underpin indirect indexical links for social types (Kiesling 2009; Ochs 1992), and, in turn, how the construction of micro-social relationships and meanings underpin macro-social categories (Eckert 2000). The indexical field provides conceptual threads of meaning of different kinds running in many dimensions from the micro/local points of interaction to the macro/supralocal, more abstract categories. It also enables us to conceptualise how local and supralocal meanings can be linked through overlapping indexical fields in the community and as portrayed in the media (which themselves reflect and construct the community).

Finally, making these connections through style as a 'base', bridges some of the gaps between observed – and accepted – appropriation at the level of discourse, and the more puzzling relationships between strong psychological engagement with TV and structural linguistic variation. A fundamental similarity of this kind also makes it seem likely that models of media influence which assume 'broadcast' (Sayers 2014) and 'filtering/resonance' (Stuart-Smith 2014) may both be required in order to describe processes which may be more congruent than they first appear. After all, at some level speakers must be using the same linguistic and social architecture to interact with the world in which they exist. It will take much more research at all

levels, from fine-grained, structural 'variationist' sociolinguistics, to broader, 'interactional' sociolinguistics, to piece together what really constitutes 'media influence', but it seems highly likely that style bridges many gaps in many ways.

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