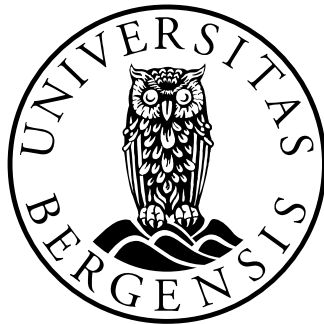


The use of non-standard features in British and American English

– a comparative attitudinal study.

Cathrine Rogne



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Department of Foreign Languages

University of Bergen

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Summary in Norwegian

Denne masteroppgaven omhandler bruken av ikke-standard grammatiske trekk i britisk og amerikansk engelsk. Studien som er gjennomført er en komparativ holdningsstudie.

Hovedmålene med studien er å: (1) måle graden av 'ikke-standardhet' (eng: *non-standardness*) i talkshow-språk; (2) sammenlikne britisk og amerikansk engelsk ved å undersøke bruken av noen ikke-standard grammatiske trekk (eng: *features*) på talkshows; og (3) undersøke hvilke språkholdninger som reflekteres gjennom bruken av de ikke-standard grammatiske trekkene.

Metodologien som er anvendt i studien er en såkalt 'societal treatment study', som undersøker holdninger indirekte ved å måle bruken av noen (grammatiske) trekk. Studien analyserer noen episoder av de to talkshowene *The Graham Norton Show* for britisk engelsk og *Chelsea* for amerikansk engelsk.

Studiens konklusjoner er at: (1) amerikansk engelske språkbrukere bruker generelt flere ikke-standard trekk enn britisk engelske språkbrukere; (2) menn bruker generelt flere ikke-standard grammatiske trekk enn kvinner; og (3) funnene tyder på at amerikanske språkbrukere og mannlige språkbrukere anser ikke-standard grammatiske trekk for å være mer akseptable å bruke på talkshows enn britiske språkbrukere og kvinnelige språkbrukere gjør.

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Abbreviations

AAVE – African American Vernacular English

AmE – American English

BrE – British English

Ch – *Chelsea*

EFL – English as a Foreign Language

GA – General American

GN – *The Graham Norton Show*

IrE – Irish English

MLE – Multicultural London English

N – Number

PM – Pragmatic Marker

RP – Received Pronunciation

SE – Standard English

1. Introduction

This chapter introduces the project undertaken in the present study. In 1.1, the aims and scope of the thesis are presented and explained. Section 1.2 presents the variables investigated in the present study. In 1.3, the research questions and hypotheses are given. Finally, in 1.4, the structure of the thesis is outlined.

1.1 Aim and scope

The present study is concerned with the use of non-standard morphosyntactic and pragmatic features on talk shows. The study is comparative, as it investigates the differences between British English (BrE) and American English (AmE).

The three primary aims of the study are to:

1. Measure the degree of non-standardness in the language of talk shows.
2. Compare BrE and AmE in the use of a selection of non-standard features.
3. Investigate the language attitudes that the degree of non-standardness reflects in BrE and AmE.

Additionally, the study aims to compare the two varieties, both in their use of the non-standard linguistic features, and the attitudes of speakers of the two varieties, which might be the cause for a possible difference in the use of the non-standard features.

In the present study, two talk shows were studied, the BrE show *The Graham Norton Show*, and the AmE show *Chelsea*. By studying talk shows representing two different varieties of English, the language used on the selected talk shows can be compared. It is this comparative approach which is taken in the present study, and the amount of non-standard language speakers produce on talk shows can be said to reflect the speakers' attitudes towards and status of the linguistic features investigated.

There are numerous non-academic sources such as blogs and websites which complain about language use or try to 'help' people use 'correct' language. Wardhaugh (1999:10) writes that every year new books or other sources such as radio or television programmes appear with instructions on how to 'correct our errant ways' of language use. Complaints about language use are not hard to come by, and the notion that there is a

correct way of using a language is found throughout the media by non-linguists. Language is a topic that concerns everyone, as it is something we use as a means of communication on a daily basis. This is perhaps why people who do not study language have so many opinions about its use.

When adults (in particular) produce language, they often make conscious choices about the way in which they formulate their utterances. Phonology might be difficult for speakers to regulate, as it is such an integral part of people's identity, and people might not consider how they speak (with regard to phonetics) to any large degree. Grammar, on the other hand, is likely to be much easier for people to regulate, and by studying how people on talk shows use non-standard grammatical forms, i.e. morphosyntactic forms and, in the case of this study, also some pragmatic forms, may yield some insight into which attitudes they have towards non-standard language use. When linguistic choices are made, they signal something to the listeners/speakers around them, for instance in-group loyalty, humour, informality, being down-to-earth, and so on. Often when children use a non-standard form, they are corrected by adults, and it is assumed that they made a 'mistake' and that they do not have proficiency of the language to understand this themselves. This, however, cannot be said of adults who use non-standard linguistic forms, as this is at least to a certain extent, a conscious choice. When adults use non-standard linguistic forms, it is thus not a 'mistake', but often a way to signal something to the people they are talking with.

1.2 Why study talk shows?

Talk shows are a part of the media which is less regulated by external factors, such as a script or a pre-planned interview. In the talk shows selected for the present study, namely *The Graham Norton Show* for BrE and *Chelsea* for AmE, the setting is informal and there are several guests in the studio most of the time.

In talk shows such as the ones investigated in the present study, there is an informal setting, and the speech can thus be said to be relatively unscripted. Thus, the language of the participants on the talk show can be said to reflect their own, and by extension their society's, language attitudes.

In broadcast speech, such as on talk shows, speakers are aware that they are being watched and thus might regulate their language in order to appear more 'proper',

‘educated’, or, essentially, in whichever way they wish to be perceived by the other participants on the show, as well as the audience of the show. That speakers might regulate their language when they are on talk shows, reflects their attitudes to language, and it is by examining this that the present study discusses the use of non-standard language on the two talk shows investigated.

Talk shows are widely popular, and they are seen by many, both in English-speaking countries and internationally, as they can be viewed on streaming-services such as *Netflix*, and are often generally available for free online, for instance on *YouTube*. The fact that the shows are available to so many viewers both nationally and internationally might be something the speakers on the show adjust their language in accordance with, whether that is consciously or subconsciously, which might affect their level of standardness in informal broadcast speech.

To my knowledge, there are no previous studies which investigate informal broadcast speech on talk shows, as the present study does, which makes the present study the first to investigate non-standard linguistic features of talk shows. By studying talk shows, the present study takes a new approach to studying language attitudes, by the use of a genre that has not been studied widely in this context in previous research.

1.3 Variables

In the present study, both linguistic variables and one social variable are investigated. The linguistic variables, which consist of both morphosyntactic variables and pragmatic variables, are listed below.

1. Non-standard verb forms, e.g. *Trump don't care*, or *and there's tears and tantrums*.
2. Auxiliary deletion, e.g. *they not playing*.
3. Semi-auxiliaries, e.g. *I'm gonna go*.
4. Contracted verbs, e.g. *funny*, *innit*.
5. Multiple negation, e.g. *I ain't never done it*.
6. Unmarked adverbs, e.g. *let's play that real quick*.
7. Pragmatic marker *like*, e.g. *Are you like friends with Prince Harry*.
8. Pragmatic markers *kinda/kind of* and *sorta/sort of*, e.g. *he kind of just stood there*.

The selection process of the linguistic variables, as well as the characteristics of each variable are explained and discussed at length in section 3.2.

In addition to these linguistic variables, one social variable was included, namely *gender*. The inclusion of this variable serves as an additional way to gain insight into which people use the most non-standard language on talk shows.

1.4 Research questions and hypotheses

As presented in 1.2 above, the aims of the present study are to investigate non-standardness in BrE and AmE and, more indirectly, attitudes towards non-standard language on talk shows. The research questions for the present study are listed below.

1.
 - a. Which variety (BrE or AmE) uses the most non-standard language on talk shows, and how is this distributed across the different linguistic variables?
 - b. In what ways do the use of non-standard language on talk shows reflect attitudes towards non-standard features in the two varieties?
2.
 - a. Which gender produces the majority of the non-standard utterances, and how is this distributed across the different linguistic variables?
 - b. In what ways do the use of non-standard language on talk shows reflect the typical linguistic behaviour of men and women as attested in sociolinguistic studies?

Research questions 1a and 1b relate mainly to the two varieties, BrE and AmE, as well as the linguistic variables, whereas research questions 2a and 2b relate to the social variable *gender*, as well as the linguistic variables. In all four of the research questions, the linguistic variables are highlighted, and they are thus the main focus of the study, whereas the social variable *gender* is included as a different way of analysing the data, in addition to the comparison of BrE and AmE. Attitudes towards non-standard language are studied indirectly throughout the present thesis, and research question 1b highlights this topic directly.

For the present study, some general hypotheses were formulated, and they are as follows:

1. BrE speakers and AmE speakers will produce approximately the same amount of non-standard language on talk shows. However, the distribution of non-standard features across the linguistic variables will not be the same in the two varieties.
2. Male speakers will produce more non-standard language than female speakers on talk shows.

These hypotheses are partly based on previous research where this has been found to be true, and where no research could be found they are based on my own assumptions.

In hypothesis 1, I assume that the two varieties will not vary greatly in the number of non-standard occurrences that are produced, but that the two varieties will differ in which linguistic features they use the most. I could not find any previous research that is as general as mine, including non-standard language in general rather than only considering very few variables, which is why there is no way for me to predict any outcomes based on previous research in the case of hypothesis 1.

In hypothesis 2, I do base my assumptions on previous research. Numerous sociolinguistic studies have shown that women consistently use standard forms more than men (cf. for instance Talbot 2004), which of course translates to: men use more non-standard language than women. Therefore, I hypothesise that the same will be applicable to talk shows, although this remains to be seen.

The main difference between previous studies and the present study, is that the present study investigates non-standard language and language attitudes on talk shows, which, to my knowledge, has not been done previously. The study of non-standard language use on talk shows is something which has not been done in the past, and thus the hypotheses presented above have very wide formulations, and they are without many specific assumptions about the particular features produced by speakers in this setting. In the next chapters, some previous studies relating to each variable are presented, which serves as a way to compare each separate linguistic variable in the present study to findings of previous studies. This will be seen in the next chapters of the present thesis.

1.5 Structure of the thesis

The present chapter has served to introduce the topic of the thesis, and to prepare the reader for the next chapters.

In chapter 2, some necessary theoretical background is given. The chapter begins with a discussion of standardness and non-standardness, and gives a definition of these two concepts, which are of particular relevance for the remainder of this thesis. Some differences between BrE and AmE are then outlined, which is a prerequisite for a comparative study such as this one. Additionally, some background on pragmatics is given, which relates to variables 7 and 8 listed above. The inclusion of *gender* as a social variable, and its complexities, is addressed in this chapter as well. The end of chapter 2 discusses the study of language attitudes.

Chapter 3 explains the data used in the present study, as well as the methodology applied. The chapter begins with presenting the two talk shows in detail. Then the process of selecting the linguistic and social variables is explained, and a detailed description of the linguistic and social variables used in the present study is given. The methodology used for the study is explained towards the second half of the chapter, and lastly, some methodological challenges are presented.

Chapter 4 gives the results of the study and discusses the findings. The chapter firstly presents all the variables together and then thoroughly explains each separate variable, and the differences and similarities between BrE and AmE. The social variable *gender* is presented and discussed towards the end of the chapter.

Finally, chapter 5 summarises and concludes the present study. In this chapter a summary is given at the very beginning, which is then followed by a brief discussion of the differences between BrE and AmE, attitudes people seem to have about standardness, some possible shortcomings of the present study, and finally, some suggestions for further research.

2. Theoretical background

This chapter gives the necessary theoretical background for the empirical study explained in more detail in the next chapters. Firstly, a definition of standard and non-standard language is provided along with a discussion of the two concepts. Secondly, the differences between British English and American English grammar is briefly outlined. Thirdly, a discussion on discourse and pragmatics follows. Fourthly, some background on the study of gender in linguistics is included. Finally, the concept of language attitudes is discussed.

2.1 Standard versus non-standard language

When discussing non-standard language use, the first thing that must be addressed is how to define standard and non-standard language. Standardness can be interpreted either as a binary concept or as a continuum. The distinction between the two, and the choice of which definition of standardness is used in the present study, is discussed in section 2.1.2.

2.1.1 Defining standard and non-standard language

Standard language can be defined in countless ways, and there is not one universally accepted definition of the concept. One commonly accepted definition of Standard English (henceforth: SE) is that it is a dialect which is normally used in writing, by educated speakers of English, and the dialect taught to non-native speakers when learning English (Trudgill 2003:128). SE is codified, which means that it is the variety of English described in grammar books and the norm for dictionaries.

It should be pointed out that SE is not an accent and must be distinguished from Received Pronunciation (RP), which is a non-regional accent variety commonly associated with high education or *correctness* in Britain (Kerswill 2007:47), (see 2.5.1 for more on language attitudes and correctness). SE is often used in written form, and thus its main concern is with grammar, spelling, and vocabulary. When SE is used in spoken form it can combine with any accent. RP is a specific spoken variety of English, and its main concern is the use of a distinct set of phonetic features. Some features SE and RP share are that they are codified, have high status amongst speakers of the language and are regarded by many as ‘correct’.

Kerswill (2007:43) writes that varieties of SE across the world share the same grammar and avoid regional words, and that SE is used both in writing and in speech. In the present study, the focus is on spoken language, which allows for more informal use of the language compared to written language. There are also some specific constructions that are typical of spoken language (Trudgill 1999:120–121), which include, but are not limited to, the use of words considered taboo, figures of speech, and constructions typical of oral production such as the use of *this* as an indefinite marker as in *and he'd got this gun* (Trudgill 1999:121).

The definition of SE that is used in this thesis is that SE is understood as a dialect with a set of grammatical rules typically found in writing, but which is also used in spoken language. In spoken SE, informal language use can be considered standard, and although the standardness of informal language is debateable, this study does not address this in length. (See 2.1.2 for an example of the degree of standardness relating to informal language.)

Non-standard English is the object of this study, and it is perhaps difficult to define in other terms than that it violates the rules of SE. Non-standard English is widely found in dialects throughout English-speaking countries. It can be found in grammar, the usage of words, and form. Non-standardness in grammar can be both syntactical and morphological, and certain grammatical features are perhaps the first things that come to mind when considering non-standard language. Non-standardness in pragmatics is manifested in the usage of certain words or phrases, such as *like* or *kind of* in a non-standard manner (see 3.2.7 and 3.2.8). Non-standardness in form is found in contractions or simplifications of the language, which is closely related to the level of formality, discussed in more detail in 2.1.2 below. All contractions can of course not be considered non-standard. Contracted forms such as *I'm* or *you're* is frequently found in both spoken and written English and can not be considered non-standard. It could be argued that these are less formal ways of expressing the same thing as could be expressed by the full forms, *I am* or *you are*, respectively.

Non-standard English in this thesis is defined as a set of grammatical and pragmatic features that is typically not acceptable in SE. However, often it is difficult to categorise an utterance as either standard or non-standard, which is why an alternative view of standardness is presented in section 2.1.2 below. (For more on pragmatics, see 2.3.)

2.1.2 Standardness as a continuum

Trudgill (1999:126) points out that linguistic change makes it challenging to determine what is SE and what is not (yet) SE, as grammatical forms typically considered non-standard spread from other dialects to SE. As language is in constant change, and some non-standard grammatical forms eventually find their way into SE, we are faced with the question: can we still clearly distinguish SE from non-standard English, or do we need to view standardness in another way? In this section, I propose that standardness should be viewed as a continuum, ranging from completely standard to maximally non-standard. As standardness is not a concept that is easily measured in numerical values, this will not be attempted in this study. However, the distinction made here is that language can be more or less standard and can be seen as a continuum between standardness and non-standardness. Imagining that a linguistic utterance could be categorised as more or less standard, rather than as definitely one or the other, opens for new interpretations of standardness and acceptability for various linguistic utterances with regards to language attitudes (see 2.5.1).

Consider the following examples:

[1] *I ain't never seen nothing like this*

[2] *He just kinda stood there*

[3a] *It'll be fine*

[3b] *It will be fine*

[1] has multiple negation, a feature typically associated with non-standard English. Most people would thus agree that [1] is an example of non-standard English. [2] is more debatable, as it could be considered standard in spoken language, but perhaps not in the written language. This leads to the conclusion that [1] is less standard than [2]. [3a] and [3b] can both be considered SE. The two examples have the same meaning but differ in form. The contracted form in [3a] allows for it to be categorised as less standard than [3b]. The distinction between [3a] and [3b] is very slight, and perhaps it could be argued that they are equally standard, although [3a] is certainly less formal than [3b].

2.2 British English and American English

BrE and AmE are national varieties of English (Janicki 2005:25). The two national varieties can be referred to as super-varieties, encompassing several sub-varieties (e.g. Cockney, Northumbrian, East and West Midlands and so on in BrE, and Southern, Nothern, African American Vernacular English and so on in AmE). What separates BrE and AmE from their sub-varieties is that BrE and AmE are not only accents, but also written varieties, with distinct spellings, vocabulary, phraseology and grammar (Janicki 2005).

As the present study is mainly concerned with grammar, the grammatical differences between the two varieties is the main focus of this section and are outlined in section 2.2.2. However, some general differences between BrE and AmE are addressed first.

2.2.1 Some general differences

BrE and AmE are phonologically different, and there are several regional and sociocultural varieties within the two national varieties. Both BrE and AmE have standard phonological varieties used for reference when learning English as a foreign language (EFL). These standard phonological varieties are RP for BrE and General American (GA) for AmE. RP is widely regarded as a model for correct pronunciation, and also often referred to as *BBC English*, as it has traditionally been the pronunciation used in broadcast speech. This has changed in later years, and The BBC now allows for regional accents in their announcers (Wells 2008:xix). GA is the pronunciation of AmE which does not have any distinct southern or eastern features. It is the variety spoken by most Americans (Wells 2008:xx). A few examples of the phonological differences between GA and RP are that GA is a rhotic variety whereas RP is non-rhotic, and they use different vowel phonemes in BATH-words (Melchers & Shaw 2011:51–52, 85–86).

Janicki (2005:51–61) outlines ten differences in the spelling of BrE and AmE. A few examples of these spelling differences are listed here. 1) BrE *colour* versus AmE *color*. Many words with *-our* in BrE have *-or* in AmE. 2) *S/z* in words such as *realise* (BrE) versus *realize* (AmE). 3) Words such as *centre* (BrE) ends in *-re* in BrE and *-er* in AmE.

Tottie (2002:100–102) presents a typology of differences in BrE and AmE vocabulary, and distinguishes between four types:

1. Words that share their basic meaning in the two varieties, but have differences in style, connotation, or frequency. Some examples are: BrE *perhaps* vs AmE *maybe*; BrE *post* vs AmE *mail*; and BrE *holiday* vs AmE *vacation*.
2. Words that share their basic meaning in the two varieties but have developed additional meanings. An example of this type is: BrE *tube*, which has the same meaning in BrE and AmE, but has developed the additional meaning of *the London underground* in BrE.
3. Words that used to share their meaning but has developed different meanings in the two varieties. E.g. *football* which refers to a different sport in the two varieties.
4. Words and idioms that are mainly used in one variety, e.g. AmE *band-aid* for BrE *(sticking-)plaster*.

Adapted from Tottie (2002:100–102).

Languages are characterised by a set of idiomatic phrases, which are figurative expressions reflecting the culture where the language is used (Janicki 2005:81). BrE and AmE have a number of such idiomatic phrases in the respective varieties, which in part reflect their respective cultures and illustrate the distinctness of the varieties as national varieties. A few examples are BrE *green fingers* versus AmE *green thumb*, meaning *to have an unusual ability to make plants grow*; BrE *off the peg* versus AmE *off the rack*, meaning *ready-made clothes as opposed to tailored clothes* (Examples from Janicki 2005:82–85). In addition to idiomatic phrases that can be found in some form in both varieties, Janicki (2005) claims that there are idiomatic phrases which do not have an obvious corresponding phrase in the other variety. A few examples he gives are BrE *no oil painting*, meaning *not very attractive*; AmE *to beat the bushes*, meaning *to search diligently in unlikely places*. (Janicki 2005:87–89.)

2.2.2 Grammar

Research on grammar often focuses on written language, and there has not been much research examining differences in grammar between BrE and AmE, especially in spoken or conversational language. As spoken language essentially can be any kind of oral language production, regardless of whether it is planned/scripted or not, the more precise term for the language investigated in the present study is *conversational language*, which

refers to language which is relatively unplanned and/or unscripted. However, for the sake of simplicity, the term *spoken language* and *speech* is used throughout this thesis when discussing the empirical study.

Crystal (2003:149) examines the view that ‘core grammatical features are relatively uniform across dialects’ presented by Biber et al. (1999:20–21 in Crystal 2003:148–149), and questions what is meant by ‘core’ and ‘relatively’. He argues that although this view has become broadly accepted, there are some grammatical distinctive features to be found between BrE and AmE, especially when colligations are examined (Crystal 2003:149). *The Concise Oxford Dictionary of Linguistics* defines colligation as ‘the general relation between elements in a construction, as opposed to a collocation or relation between individual words’ (2007, accessed 2 April 2018).

Crystal gives a table of some differences in British and American adverbial usage, based on Biber et al. (1999:795 in Crystal 2003:150). The table shows some differences in colligational use in the two varieties. Some of the findings which are especially relevant for this study are: 1) The frequency of adverbials¹ *may be*, *kind of*, and *like* in conversational English, as in *I kind of knew* is much higher in AmE, whereas the adverbial *sort of* in conversational English, as in *I sort of knew* is much higher in BrE (see 3.2.7 and 3.2.8). 2) The use of unmarked adverbs is more frequent in AmE, e.g. *real good* (rather than *really good*) (Biber et al. 1999:795 in Crystal 2003:150). This shows that non-standard adverb forms appear to be more common in AmE than in BrE.

Janicki (2005:116) argues that there are two main differences between AmE and BrE grammar: 1) AmE tends to level variation and exemplifies this by stating that *do* is used for questions involving the verb *have*. Speakers of AmE are thus more likely to use *do* in ***Do you have any brothers or sisters?*** whereas speakers of BrE are more likely to use *have* in the same sentence: ***Have you got any brothers or sisters?*** (Example from Janicki 2005:97, emphasis in original.) 2) AmE tends to simplify grammatical patterns, e.g. AmE speakers are more likely to use two simple past forms to refer to consecutive activities, whereas BrE speakers are more likely to use the past perfect form, e.g. AmE *After he came back home, he ate dinner* versus BrE *After he had come home, he ate dinner* (Janicki 2005:101, emphasis in original). These tendencies might be levelling out

¹ In the present thesis, *kind of* and *like* are considered pragmatic markers. However, Biber et al. (1999 in Crystal 2003) labels them as adverbials in their table, which is the reason for the term being used here.

with time, and the increased language contact that is present in the modern world makes these general grammar differences less contrasting than they have been in the past.

2.3 Pragmatics

In a study of spoken language, a brief discussion of what is meant by pragmatics and discourse and how they are closely intertwined is a necessary prerequisite. In the present study, pragmatic markers are studied in some detail (cf. 3.2.7 and 3.2.8) and are explained in section 2.3.2, where some examples of previous studies are also mentioned.

2.3.1 Pragmatics and discourse

Pragmatics can be seen as the part of linguistics that deals with the meaning and interpretation of utterances. Pragmatics is closely related to discourse, as it finds its relevance in the interaction of speakers, whether that be in dialogue or monologues such as public speeches. It has been suggested that linguistic pragmatics should not be seen as a part of linguistics, like syntax or semantics, but rather that it is a specific perspective on language study (Verschueren 1995; in Andersen 2001:14).

Discourse analysis is a kind of pragmatic study, which can be used to investigate how language is communicated between different people. Johnstone defines discourse as ‘actual instances of communicative action in the medium of language’ (2008:2) but points out that some researchers will define the term more broadly as ‘meaningful symbolic behavior’ (Johnstone 2008:2). The study of discourse provides insight into how language is communicated from one individual to another, essentially discourse analysis is the study of how humans interact with one another and produces meaningful utterances.

2.3.2 Pragmatic markers

Pragmatic markers are words or phrases that contribute to the meanings of utterances, for instance *sort of* can be added to sentences such as *and he just sort of stood there*, without changing the basic meaning of the utterance. In this example there is no doubt that he did stand there, but the pragmatic marker adds a layer of meaning, which, in general, can be a range of meanings, e.g. vagueness, politeness, humour or uncertainty. Biber et al. (1999:1082, in Archer et al. 2012:75) define pragmatic markers as ‘stand-alone words

which are characterized in general by their inability to enter into syntactic relations with other structures’.

There have been numerous previous studies on pragmatic markers, of which only a few, which are relevant for the present study, are mentioned here. Some of the studies are regionally delimited, for instance Corrigan (2015), Murphy (2015), and Schweinberger (2015), all of which study pragmatic markers in Irish English (IrE), but with different points of view.

Corrigan (2015) limits her study to Northern IrE, and she found that the group which used the most pragmatic markers, including the pragmatic marker *like* which is especially relevant for the present study, was younger female speakers, who she explains was particularly frequent users of pragmatic markers (2015:60).

Schweinberger (2015) conducts a comparative study of IrE and South-Eastern BrE. He found that *like* is used much more frequently in IrE compared to South-Eastern BrE, and that in IrE *like* occurs frequently in clause-final position, whereas in South-Eastern BrE *like* typically occurs clause-medially. He concludes the paper by offering the following explanation for the positioning of *like*:

The preferences in clausal positioning are interpreted as being caused by a reluctance of middle-aged and older [South-Eastern]-BrE speakers to adopt features which are perceived as being American, while the use of clause-final *like* in IrE indicates a fossilization that has survived in IrE but went almost extinct in [South-Eastern]-BrE due to its overt stigmatization in that variety (Schweinberger 2015:132).

Murphy (2015) investigates pragmatic markers using the socio-cultural variables age and gender. She found that *like* was particularly influenced by age, in IrE, and that young speakers tended to use the pragmatic markers more than older speakers (2015:84). More specifically, she found that *like* is used mainly by females in their 20s as a hedge (2015:84).

Torgersen et al. (2011) investigate the use of some pragmatic markers as a marker of Multicultural London English (MLE) and they found that the pragmatic marker *you got me* to be the most frequent in the corpora used. They conclude that ‘young people, ethnic minorities, an urban environment, and dialect contact are of great importance in language change’ (2011:115).

Another study of pragmatic markers was conducted by Laserna et al. (2014), which investigated the use of discourse markers² as sentence fillers. They found that ‘the use of discourse markers can provide a quick behavioral measure of personality traits’ (2014:335) and anticipated that people may someday be able to actively interpret sentence fillers in order to connect with people (2014:336). (Cf. 3.2.7 and 3.2.8 for more previous studies on pragmatic markers.)

2.4 Gender

Gender has been found to be one of the most important factors influencing linguistic behaviour. Males and females follow different norms and have different roles in society. The different expectations people in society have of males and females shape the way they behave and perceive the world around them. This leads to people of different genders making different linguistic choices. Although society is in constant change, and men and women today are more equal than they have been in the past, the expectations to them and the underlying gender roles that have been present in humans throughout history still influence the linguistic choices that men and women make in their everyday language use.

2.4.1 Gender as a continuum

Gender in language studies must be separated from biological sex, as gender can be seen as a social construct, whereas sex is strictly biological (Talbot 2004:7). Coates (2007:63) writes that in the beginning of the research on gender in linguistics the term (*biological*) *sex* was used, and it was seen as unproblematic to ascribe social and linguistic behaviour to a person’s sex. In more recent years the view that sex and social behaviour can be linked, assuming that men have certain innate qualities and women other qualities, has changed. Now the term *gender* is used to refer to socially constructed categories based on biological sex (Coates 2007:63).

The use of the term *gender* as a binary, where the only options are male or female can be problematic as some individuals do not identify with either, or identify themselves with both. Gender can perhaps be better understood as a continuum, in the same way we

² Some studies use the terms *discourse markers* or *discourse-pragmatic markers*. In this paper, the term *pragmatic markers* is favoured, and used interchangeably with the other terms mentioned here.

understand other social variables such as age or class (Coates 1993:4). Talbot (2004:11–12) also supports the idea that gender should be seen as a continuum and observes that binary categories are not always accurate. She exemplifies this by comparing it to the binary distinction between day and night, arguing that although we perceive the two as binary, the beginning of one and the end of the other is not clear (2004:12). The continuum that can be used in gender studies is that of degrees of femininity and masculinity. However, in the study of language and gender, there is a tendency of using the binary categorisation of masculine and feminine (Talbot 2004:13), and that is the approach taken in the present study as well (cf. 3.2.9).

2.4.2 Gender and language use

Research has found that women tend to use more standard language than men. Eckert calls this ‘one of the most popular generalizations about male and female speech’ (2011:59) and mentions that some of the explanations typically given for this is that women are more status-conscious and polite, whereas men are rough and down-to-earth (2011:59). The general conclusion is that women tend to use more standard language than men, even though this could be considered a generalisation where more nuances can be found if the topic is studied in more detail.

Gender differences in grammatical non-standard language usage are also found. Eckert (2011:59) mentions the grammatical variable *multiple negation* as one where women’s usage is more standard than men’s usage. She also points to the fact that the choice of a grammatical standard form is much more conscious than a phonological form (2011:59). Thus, we can say that women actively choose to use the more standard form when uttering negative statements. Another study investigating non-standard grammar usage is Eisikovits’s study of three non-standard grammatical features (1987; 1988. In Coates 1993:76). The grammatical features studied were:

- 1) non-standard use of the past tense
- 2) multiple negation
- 3) invariable *don’t*

The results showed that men used more non-standard language in general, although this was not the case in younger speakers interviewed by Eisikovits (Coates 1993:76–77). This suggests that the use of more standard language by adult women is a result of their modification of their speech, and although non-standard forms might hold some prestige for adolescents, this appears not to be the case for adult women (Coates 1993:152).

2.5 Attitudes

Allport (1954; in Garrett 2010:19) defines attitudes as ‘a learned disposition to think, feel and behave toward a person (or object) in a particular way’, highlighting the three components that can be said to constitute attitudes, namely cognition, affect, and behaviour. As Oppenheim (1982 in Garrett 2010:20) explicitly states in his definition, attitude is a psychological construct. Attitudes are not innate but learned. Garrett (2010:22) names two factors that influence our attitudes, which are our personal experiences and our social environment. The latter includes the media, e.g. television, radio, and so on, which is of particular interest in the present study, as broadcast speech is the object of study.

2.5.1 Language attitudes

Language attitudes are the opinions people have about language, whether they are positive or negative. Most people have some sort of idea of how language should be used, or what is ‘correct’ usage of the language. From a linguistic point of view, there is no way of producing language that is ‘bad’ or ‘wrong’, perhaps with the exception of language that fails to communicate what is meant in a conversation. However, the idea that language can be ‘correct’ or ‘bad’ is something many non-linguists believe.

Garrett (2010:7) writes that language attitudes are often manifested in people as a response to the standardisation of language. When there is a standard language available, people seem to take ‘standard’ to mean ‘correct’, and thus a standard language ideology arises. A standard language ideology is the idea that there is a common-sense view of right and wrong forms in language (Garrett 2010:7). This leads to misconceptions about how language works, and negative attitudes towards those individuals who do not use standard language.

Lippi-Green (2012:70) presents a model of language subordination, explaining how discrimination against a form of the language occurs and develops, and the belief

that people using a non-standard or stigmatised variety ‘should’ use a standard variety. Her model of language subordination consists of eight steps. The first is the mystification of language, which Lippi-Green claims is a ‘basic tool in the application of any ideology’ (2012:70). Mystification of language leads people to believe that they do not understand how their own mother tongue works and to doubt their proficiency in their language. This mystification of language is what she claims that is the beginning of language subordination. Thereafter follow the next seven steps: 2) Authority is claimed; 3) Misinformation is generated; 4) Targeted languages are trivialised; 5) Conformers are held up as positive examples; 6) Non-conformers are vilified or marginalised; 7) Explicit promises are made; 8) Threats are made (Lippi-Green 2012,70). The fact that this kind of language discrimination occurs in society is proof that people care about language use, and that their attitudes to language can have real consequences for how people use and think about their own language. Language discrimination, and negative attitudes to language varieties in general, is an issue as the language one speaks is so closely connected to one’s identity and emotions.

2.5.2 Societal treatment studies

One way to gain insight into societal views of language is to apply the societal treatment method, which understood as a way to investigate ‘the “treatment” afforded languages and language varieties within society, and to their uses’ (Garrett 2010:142). McKenzie (2010:41) writes that the societal treatment method allows the researcher to infer the attitudes of the language users from their observed behaviour based on publicly available sources. In other words, using the societal treatment method allows for investigations into language use in an unobstructed setting, and conclusions about a society’s attitudes toward language can be inferred from such a study.

Perhaps the most well-known societal treatment study, is Lippi-Green’s study of animated Disney-character’s accents. Lippi-Green (2012:101) writes that through animated film children learn how to discriminate by being exposed to a standard language ideology. She found systematic correlation between character traits, gender, ethnicity and dialect in animated Disney films. She argues that the use of stereotypes can be problematic as it draws on preconceived generalised notions about regional loyalties, ethnic or racial background, economic status and so on (Lippi-Green 2012:104). Lippi-Green

found, in her 1997 study, that just over 30 percent of the characters were female, and their roles tended to be that of mothers, princesses, or daughters (2012:114). When female characters were shown at work, they were typically waitresses, nurses, nannies or housekeepers (Lippi-Green 2012:114). This shows a clear division between the sexes and reflects traditional family roles. This, when coupled with the tendency for female characters to use a standard accent, paints a picture of how women are, or perhaps how women should be according to society at this time. According to Lippi-Green, Disney's representation of ethnicity and race is problematic. She claims that the company 'has repeatedly and soundly offended different segments of the population', and particularly points to the generalisation of people of colour and that they are more often given non-standard dialects (2012:119). These generalisations can lead to misconceptions about people, and they reinforce stereotypes based on ethnicity and race.

Most societal treatment studies of non-standard language use have focused on accent, rather than grammar. The present study disregards pronunciation and focuses solely on the use of non-standard grammar, which provides a new perspective on the use of and attitudes towards non-standard language in the specific context which is presented in chapter 3.

Some previous studies on attitudes are explained in the following paragraphs. Donaher (2010) investigates teachers' attitudes to perceived 'errors' in their students' speech. She found that the participants were quite tolerant of perceived errors when grading student writing, but that they were less accepting of errors associated with regional or dialectal forms (2010:31). Donaher suggests that teachers should be taught more about dialectal variation, which she argues that might increase the teachers' tolerance toward language and perceived errors (2010:35).

Schaffer (2010) explores prescriptivism diachronically from the 1970s to the present. She introduces her article by stating that 'prescriptivism still holds sway over many English speakers and especially writers, as the ongoing production and popularity of straightforward, old-fashioned how-to books ... demonstrate' (2010:45). She found that most of the current prescriptivist guides on language focus on a single area in modern English, e.g. punctuation, grammar, spelling or pronunciation (2010:82). She concludes that prescriptive mass-market publication lives on (2010:82) and argues that it is likely

that prescriptivism will continue to shape the writing-advise books in the future (2010:84).

Jen y (2010) investigates writing experts' (i.e. faculty who teach college-level writing courses) attitudes towards online language. Her investigation centres around the idea that the Internet is 'killing' the English language (2010:88), and she examines the attitudes towards online language as expressed by 'writing experts'. She concludes that 'the popular belief that writing educators perceive online language as a threat to English usage and critical reading/writing skills is inaccurate' (2010:109) and her study shows that the 'writing experts' found online language to be an interesting style to explore with their students and did not appear to be concerned for their students' proficiency in the standard language as influenced by online language (2010:108).

The three aforementioned studies have in common that they all examine authority in relation to language attitudes. Comparing the results of the three studies, it can be concluded that there is still a tendency for prescriptivism, but there is room for more than one variety, and teachers are willing to explore the use of other styles, such as online language, with their pupils. However, as seen in Donaher (2010), teachers seem less willing to allow for dialectal variation in the written language of their pupils, which suggests that there is an ideal of the use of the standard form which teachers believe 'should' be used in classrooms.

3. Data and Method

This chapter firstly provides a description of the two data sets used, one representing British English (BrE) and one representing American English (AmE). Secondly, the variables are presented, both grammatical variables and one social variable. Thirdly, the method of analysis is explained. Lastly, a discussion of possible challenges and other variables to consider follows.

This study is both qualitative and quantitative. Qualitatively, individual examples are closely analysed and discussed, and quantitatively, the data are presented in tables which give the numbers of non-standard utterances and illustrate the differences in non-standard language use in BrE and AmE. Using a quantitative analysis is a way of measuring usage and differences in the two varieties. This is discussed further in 3.3.

In addition to investigating grammatical features, this study is also attitudinal, and applies the societal treatment method to examine in what ways the language used on talk shows reveal attitudes towards non-standard language in general (cf. 3.3.1).

3.1 Data

The data are divided into two data sets, one of BrE and one of AmE. For this study two talk shows were used: *The Graham Norton Show* (henceforth: GN) for BrE and *Chelsea* (henceforth: Ch) for AmE. From each of these talk shows, approximately twenty hours of data was collected and analysed. The data were collected in October and November of 2017. The data from GN were retrieved from various clips on the *YouTube* webpage and the data from Ch were retrieved from the available episodes on *Netflix* (see Appendix 1 for a full overview of the episodes where the data was extracted from).

These talk shows have many similarities, which justifies the selection of these two. Their setting is relatively informal and they both have more than one guest in the studio simultaneously, which allows for more spontaneous and unplanned language compared to other talk shows where a one-to-one interview style may be preferred. In choosing talk shows with a more informal style, the language used will be relatively unscripted and unplanned, which reveals the speakers' linguistic choices in spoken language on talk shows. The talk show host on both shows is a comedian, and they both have guests that are artists or public figures. The topics discussed are often related to their line of work,

i.e. movies and music, or some current events in politics. These similarities between the shows allow for a comparison of the language on the two shows, as the informal setting and the similar traits enable similar language use.

3.1.1 The Graham Norton Show

On GN there are typically guests of both British and American nationalities, and sometimes of other nationalities as well, such as Australian or others. The show started airing on BBC in 2007 and still new episodes are being aired. (*BBC* 2018, accessed 20 February 2018). In the collection of BrE data, all non-BrE speakers were disregarded in order to focus exclusively on BrE. The episodes used from this talk show were selected by searching for ‘Graham Norton full episodes’ on *youtube.com* and selecting the first episodes there. Of course, which episodes show up there will change continuously but this likely does not affect the data in any significant way, as the episodes are quite similar to one another, and the show has not been on air for that many years. Episodes with less than two British participants were also not used, as these would provide very little data. If a participant puts on a mock dialect or in instances of reported speech, any non-standard tokens have also been excluded as this cannot be considered authentic speech. For a complete overview of the episodes analysed, see Appendix 1.

3.1.2 Chelsea

On Ch the guests typically speak AmE, with only a few exceptions. The show is fairly new, with episodes going back to 2016. The data were collected from the first and second seasons, from 2016 to 2017 (*Netflix* 2018, accessed 20 February 2018). As with GN, all non-AmE speaking guests on Ch have been removed from the data, and any reported speech has not been counted as non-standard as that is not authentic speech. In addition to some non-American guests, there are a few pre-filmed clips on Ch, which due to their scripted nature have been removed from the data for accuracy. For a complete overview of the episodes analysed, see Appendix 1.

3.2 Variables

In this study eight grammatical variables are investigated, as well as one social variable. The grammatical variables are non-standard features as defined by grammar books and

academic publications, in that they deviate from Standard English (SE) grammar. The variables were selected based on such non-standard grammatical features (see list below) and what writers of non-academic grammar blogs and websites complain about as being wrong or ungrammatical. This allows for the variables to also include some pragmatic markers which although not strictly non-standard, can be considered informal (cf. 2.3, 3.2.7, and 3.2.8).

Trudgill (1999, 125–126) gives eight grammatical idiosyncrasies of SE compared to non-standard dialects. These are:

1. SE has no distinction between auxiliary *do* and its main verb forms, whereas other dialects distinguish between auxiliary *I do, he do* and main verb *I does, he does*.
2. Only 3rd person singular has morphological marking in SE. Other dialects use either *-s* for all persons or zero marking for all persons.
3. SE does not have multiple negation.
4. The formation of reflexive pronouns in SE is irregular, some reflexive pronouns being derived from possessive pronouns and others from the objective pronouns. Most non-standard dialects use possessive pronouns throughout, e.g. *hissself, theirselves*.
5. SE uses the pronoun *you* for 2nd person in both singular and plural pronouns, whereas many non-standard dialects maintain the older English distinction between *thou* and *you* or use newer distinctions such as *you* and *youse*.
6. The verb *to be* has irregular forms in SE both in the present and past tense. Many non-standard dialects use the same form for all persons, such as *I be, you be*, etc. and *I were, you were*, etc.
7. SE has a redundant distinction marker of preterite and perfect verb forms, using auxiliary *have* and distinct preterite and past participle forms. Many other dialects have *I have seen* versus *I seen*.
8. The pronoun system in SE only has a two-way contrast, using *this* as opposed to *that*, while many dialects have a three-way contrast, e.g. using *this, that*, and *yon* to distinguish distance from the speaker and listener.

These eight grammatical idiosyncrasies were the starting point for choosing the variables in this study. However, violations of some of these grammatical idiosyncrasies do not appear frequently, if they appear at all, in spoken language on broadcast television. A small pilot-study was carried out to determine the variables that were used in the final study. Of the idiosyncrasies given by Trudgill (1999), only a few were kept in the final list of grammatical variables, whereas the rest were omitted as they did not appear at all in the pilot study.

Another source of non-standard grammatical features are the grammatical features that writers of non-academic blogs or other websites name. *The Universität Duisburg-Essen* (2018, accessed 15 March 2018), a German university webpage, lists non-standard features in phonology, morphology, and syntax. The listed features in the sections morphology and syntax were considered in the selection of variables, however, the features were far too many and some were overly specific to be used in this study. Other websites which complain about the use of non-standard features, or list some non-standard features are: *Put Learning First* (2018, accessed 15 March 2018) which gives ten examples of non-standard usage, including the formation of comparative adjectives, words considered redundant by the author, multiple contractions, multiple negation, and children's experimentation in language learning; *The School Run* (2018, accessed 15 March 2018), a website that gives recommendations about how to teach SE to school children; *Teflpedia* (2017, accessed 15 March 2018), a website attempting to explain what non-standard language is, and listing some non-standard features such as 'unrecognised contractions' where, amongst others, the contractions *gonna* for *be going to* and *gotta* for *have got to* are listed. The website also lists slang and jargon as non-standard.

The term variables as used in the present thesis, is not used in the traditional sense of the term, that is referring to one specific variant of several possible variants, e.g. a non-standard variant vs. a standard variant. Rather the term variable is applied for simplicity, even though there is no standard variant to contrast the non-standard variants with.

The final eight grammatical variables consist of six morphosyntactic variables, and two pragmatic variables. They were selected based on the Trudgill (1999) article and some of the non-academic blogs mentioned above. In addition to these, variables 7 and 8 below are pragmatic markers (cf. 2.3), which represent not necessarily non-standard usage but certainly a more informal feature than the other variables. Variables 7 and 8

below, thus contributes to the discussion of standardness and attitudes towards non-standard language in broadcast speech. Some of the features also had to be generalised into wider categories to allow for a quantification of the variables with enough tokens for each variable. The grammatical variables investigated in this study are as follows:

1. Non-standard verb forms
2. Auxiliary deletion
3. Semi-auxiliaries
4. Contracted verbs
5. Multiple negation
6. Unmarked adverbs
7. Pragmatic marker *like*
8. Pragmatic markers *kinda/kind of* and *sorta/sort of*

These variables differ somewhat in their degree of grammaticality or non-standardness. As discussed in 2.1.2, standard and non-standard language is not seen as a binary concept, but rather a continuum of more or less standard or non-standard language. This allows for a discussion of attitudes towards non-standard language, and also what is perceived as ‘standard enough’ to say on television.

The social variable gender is included in order to investigate whether usage patterns are in line with typical linguistic behaviour in male and female speakers (cf. 2.4 and 3.2.9). The inclusion of this variable also enables a comparison of the distribution of the non-standard features used by speakers of BrE and AmE.

3.2.1 Non-standard verb forms

In 2.1.1 non-standard English was defined as language forms which violate the rules of SE. The variable *non-standard verb forms* encompasses all instances where a main verb or primary auxiliary is used in a non-standard manner (except the contracted verb forms included in 3.2.4 and the deletion of primary auxiliaries in 3.2.3). Below are the subcategories of the non-standard verb forms included in the present study.

1. Concord:

- a. Existential *there* used in a non-standard manner, for instance when existential *there* is followed by a singular verb and a plural real subject as in *there's different regions*.
 - b. Other subjects than existential *there*, for instance when the conjugation of a primary auxiliary does not align with SE grammar, as in *we was passing out Fetty Wap mix tapes* or *Trump don't care*.
2. BE-deletion: complete deletion of a form of BE, e.g. *well look who you next to right now*, where *are* would be expected between the pronoun *you* and the adverbial phrase *next to*.
 3. Base form BE: the use of a non-conjugated form of a verb, for instance BE where it would be conjugated in SE, e.g. *bitches be crazy*.
 4. Non-standard past form, for instance *in the corner we seen Bono having dinner with a friend*, where in SE the verb *seen* would be in the simple past, *saw*, rather than using the past participle as in this example.

There have been done some studies on non-standard verb forms, such as Williamson and Hardman's (1997) study, where they investigated non-standard grammar use by BrE children. In their analysed material 'non-standard verb forms accounted for more than half of [the] total number of instances of non-standard writing' (1997:168), which suggests that the variable *non-standard verb forms* is the most common non-standard feature in children's language usage.

Another study of non-standard grammar, is Anderwald's (2011) study of whether non-standard dialects could be considered more 'natural' than their standard counterparts. She investigated grammar features and found that particularly verb forms such as *drink – drunk – drunk* appear to be more 'natural' than their standard counterparts, using Wurzel's (1984, 1987, 1990 in Anderwald 2011:270) technical sense of the term 'natural' (Anderwald 2011:270).

3.2.2 Semi-auxiliaries

Quirk et al. define semi-auxiliaries as 'a set of verb idioms which express modal or aspectual meaning and which are introduced by one of the primary verbs HAVE and BE' (1985:143). The variable *semi-auxiliaries* includes instances where semi-auxiliaries are

used with contraction, e.g. *I'm gonna go*, *I've gotta see*. The category has been divided into the following subcategories:

1. Semi-auxiliary *gonna*, which is a contracted form of *(BE) going to*. Some examples of this are *I'm gonna be DJ'ing* and *you're gonna watch this*.
2. Semi-auxiliary *gotta*, which is a contracted form of *(HAVE) got to*. Some examples of this are *you've gotta want it* and *we've gotta make sure*.

The contractions *gonna* and *gotta* appear both in this category and in the auxiliary deletion category. If an utterance is classified as auxiliary deletion, it is not duplicated in the semi-auxiliary category, as semi-auxiliaries require a form of BE or HAVE. *Wanna* has not been included in this category as it is not introduced by a primary auxiliary, and thus is not per definition a semi-auxiliary in Quirk et al's (1985:143) sense of the term (cf. definition above).

Research on the use of semi-auxiliaries, especially with contraction, is limited. One study which addresses contraction without limiting itself strictly to semi-auxiliaries is Broadbent and Sifaki's (2013) study which investigates *to*-contraction. The study investigates *to*-contraction in other words than the 'dazzling fossils' *gonna* and *wanna*, which are the words that had been the object of previous studies (Broadbent & Sifaki 2013:533). They conclude that *to*-contraction is far more extensive than previous research has shown (2013:533).

3.2.3 Auxiliary deletion

Auxiliary deletion can be defined as the omission of a primary auxiliary (BE, HAVE, or DO) in a clause. The variable *auxiliary deletion* includes all instances where a primary auxiliary has been omitted from the verb phrase, e.g. *I gotta go* (rather than the SE form *I've gotta go*), *We gonna go* (rather than the SE form *we're gonna go*). This category is further divided into the following subcategories:

1. Deletion before the contraction *gonna*, e.g. *we gonna go*, in which a form of BE would be present in SE.

2. Deletion before the contraction *gotta*, e.g. *I gotta go*, in which a form of HAVE would be present in SE.
3. Deletion before other verbs, e.g. *we all laughing* where the omitted verb is a form of BE, either *are* or *were*, and *he been doing it from day one*, where the deleted verb is a form of HAVE, *has* or *had* in this case.

The previous studies done on auxiliaries, typically address auxiliary reduction or realisation rather than deletion, and they are typically phonological studies rather than grammatical ones. An example of a phonological study on auxiliaries is MacKenzie's (2013) study on variation in English auxiliary reduction, where she claims that there has been an 'absence of a thorough corpus study' (2013:17) and she researches 'three phonological shapes' (2013:17) in which auxiliaries are contracted.

A similar study is McElhinny's (1993) study on copula and auxiliary contraction in the speech of white Americans, where she examines the phenomenon in White Vernacular English and compares her findings with, amongst others, those of Labov.

A study which considers auxiliary deletion is that of Davies and Deuchar (2014), where they examine the phenomenon in the informal speech of Welsh–English bilinguals. They argue that although phonological constraints in Welsh suggest internal factors to be the reason for the deletion, the similarity of word order in English might influence deletion as well (2014:224). What these studies have in common is that they all research phonology. The present study looks more closely at grammar and does not address any phonological explanations for the occurrence of auxiliary deletion.

Another previous study done on auxiliary deletion, is Andersen (1995), which investigates the omission of the primary verbs BE and HAVE in London teenage speech. The study concludes that there is similarity in the patterns of be and have omission, and Andersen speculates that this similarity indicates that the verbs are subject to the same kind of phonological and grammatical simplification (1995:84).

3.2.4 Contracted verbs

Verb contraction can occur both in SE and non-standard English. Standard contracted forms such as *you're* for *you are* and *they've* for *they have* are not usually considered non-standard, but rather less formal than their full form counterparts. Non-standard verb

contraction, which is what is meant here by the term, includes the following verbs: *ain't*, a form of BE/HAVE + *not* which does not adhere to the pronoun distinctions BE typically does; *Imma*, which is a contracted form of *I'm going to*; and *innit*, which is a contraction of *isn't it*. This category has been divided by these contractions into three subcategories:

1. *ain't*, e.g. *you ain't gonna be rich*
2. *Imma*, e.g. *Imma show you the comedians*
3. *innit*, e.g. *funny innit*

Some recent previous research on these contracted verb forms include a study on *ain't* by Palacios Martínez (2010), a study on *innit* by Andersen (2001), and a more recent study on *innit* by Tubau (2014).

Palacios Martínez's (2010) study on *ain't* investigated variation and pragmatic uses of the verb contraction in British teenagers and concluded that *ain't* is a quite common negative in teenage language despite the stigma that have generally been associated with it (2010:563–564).

Andersen (2001) investigates the use of *innit* and *is it* as an 'invariant tag' or 'invariant follow-up' in London teenage speech. He explains that the term *tag* refers to 'linguistic items which are appended to a statement for the purpose of seeking confirmation, verification or corroboration of a claim (Millar & Brown 1979), to express a tentative attitude or, more generally, to engage the hearer or involve him in the conversation' (Andersen (2001:101). *Follow-ups* on the other hand, he explains, are 'reduced interrogative forms' (2001:101). Andersen concludes that both forms (*innit* and *is it*) are used both as invariant tags and follow-ups by London adolescents, and that the forms can have a variety of functions (2001:207).

Tubau's (2014) study on *innit* investigated the syntax of the pragmatic particle *innit*. She argues that *innit* is not a non-canonical question tag, but rather a pragmatic particle, i.e. it functions as a way for the addressee to confirm that what has been said is treated as common ground (2014:53). She concludes that *innit* has transformed from a question tag to a pragmatic particle that asks the addressee to confirm what has been said (2014:68), rather than addressing whether or not the clause it adheres to is true, although

she stresses that her findings do not invalidate previous accounts on *innit* as a question tag, but rather offers some new insight (2014:69).

3.2.5 Multiple negation

The Concise Oxford English Dictionary of Linguistics (2007, accessed 26 March 2018) defines a double negative as a ‘construction in which a single negation is marked by two elements each of which, in the same or another construction, can indicate it independently’. An example of double negation in English is *I’ve never done nothing*. Multiple negation typically refers to the same concept with more than two negatives. An example of this is *I ain’t never done nothing*. In the present study, the term *multiple negation* is used as an umbrella term to refer to both double negation and negation with more than two negatives.

Multiple negation is a phenomenon that has been widely studied. A recent example is Palacios’ (2017) study on multiple negation³ in British teenage language. He found that London teenagers use more multiple negation than London adults, and contrary to his expectations he found that teenage males and females used approximately the same amount of multiple negation, but that there was a much larger divide in the use of multiple negation when the variable ethnicity is considered (2017:176). With regard to ethnicity, Palacios (2017:173) found that non-Anglo speakers use more multiple negations than Anglo speakers, and he explains that this might be due to their belonging to ethnic minorities or having contact with other languages.

The amount of research done on attitudes towards multiple negation is far more limited. One study investigating this is Blanchette’s (2017) study on micro-syntactic variation in AmE multiple negation, where she asked people to rate sentences on a scale from 1 to 7 based on how natural they sounded to the participants. She found that speakers generally found double negatives to be unacceptable, although the participants’ replies were widely varied, which suggests that some participants used a prescriptive approach when judging the sentences and others a naturalistic approach (2017:15). She concludes that native AmE speaking adults who do not use multiple negation do have knowledge of

³ Both Palacios (2017) and Blanchette (2017) use the term *negative concord* to refer to *multiple negation*. For the sake of consistency throughout this thesis, *multiple negation* is used here.

it and suggests that the methodological tool used in the study can be used to explore systematic variation in other stigmatised features (2017:28).

3.2.6 Unmarked adverbs

Unmarked adverbs is to be understood here as adverbs lacking the adverb marker *-ly* and adverbs used in an otherwise non-standard manner. This variable includes adverbs without the adverb marker *-ly* used as premodifiers to an adjective or another adverb, e.g. *let's play that real quick*, and *you're real funny*, and adverbs used as an adverbial in a non-standard manner, e.g. *I had to do good* (rather than *I had to do well*).

There is a very limited amount of studies on unmarked adverbs, in fact only one source I could find mentions it briefly. Finegan (2004:31), writes that it is characteristic of AmE to use the amplifier *real* as in *real nice*, but does not elaborate on its evolution or distribution.

3.2.7 Pragmatic marker *like*

In 2.5, pragmatic markers were defined as stand-alone words that can be inserted into utterances in order to add a layer of meaning. The pragmatic marker *like* can have a number of functions in an utterance. Andersen (2001:210) mentions the functions of *like* as a 'quotative marker, approximator, marker of exemplification, discourse link or hesitational device'. The variable *pragmatic marker like* includes the word *like* when used as a pragmatic marker, meaning that it does not adhere to its typical functions, namely as a verb, noun, preposition, or conjunction but rather when it is used as a discourse link or hesitational device.

In this study, the *pragmatic marker like* variable does not include any of the other functions presented above, such as approximator *like*, e.g. *there were like 50 people there*, or quotative *like*, e.g. *and he was like (+reported speech)*. Narrowing this category to only include *like* as a discourse link or as a hesitational device is done in order to focus the study, and to investigate the most non-standard or least formal of the functions *like* can have, mentioned above. Some examples of *like* used as a discourse link or hesitational device are: *are you like friends with Prince Harry*, and *you need to like fan out*.

Previous studies have attempted to explain the functions of *like*, e.g. Fuller's (2003) study in which she concludes that *like* appears to be a functional particle rather

than a stylistic device, and that the use of *like* is a way to communicate approximation and/or focus (2003:375).

Diskin's (2017) study of the use of *like* amongst native and non-native speakers of English in Ireland investigated the use of the discourse-pragmatic marker *like* in recently-arrived migrants from China and Poland. She found that when the migrants had spent three years in Ireland, their frequency of *like* matched that of the native speakers, regardless of their level of proficiency in English (2017:155). She also found that female speakers tended to use *like* as a filler more than male speakers in this group, which she points out might be due to *like* being stigmatised as a hesitational device and thus the male speakers might be actively avoiding it (2017:155).

D'Arcy (2007) writes about the 'intricate lore surrounding *like*', and challenges the 'ideologically driven myths' that, among other things, claim that *like* is 'meaningless, that women say it more than men do, and that it is an Americanism, introduced by the Valley Girls' (2007:386). She argues that there are at least four distinguishable vernacular functions of *like*: (1) quotative and complementiser, (2) approximative adverb, (3) discourse marker and (4) discourse particle (2007:411). She stresses that each function has a different meaning referentially and/or pragmatically (2007:411). D'Arcy found that female speakers do not use all the functions of *like* more than men, as is commonly assumed, but rather that in discourse functions female speakers use *like* more than men, whereas in other functions this is not the case (2007:411).

3.2.8 Pragmatic markers *kinda/kind of* and *sorta/sort of*

The other pragmatic markers investigated in this study are *kinda/kind of* and *sorta/sort of* (cf. 2.3.2 and 3.2.7 for more on pragmatic markers). The variable *pragmatic markers kinda/kind of and sorta/sort of* has been divided into two subcategories, based on the lexical items *kind* and *sort*:

1. Contraction *kinda* and full form *kind of*, e.g. *I just kinda said*, and *I've had to kind of correct people*.
2. Contraction *sorta* and full form *sort of*, e.g. *and I like to sorta fix things and are you sort of thinking*.

The reason for combining two lexical items in one category, *kind* and *sort* respectively, is that as pragmatic markers they typically occur in the same positions in an utterance and have the same function. The sectioning of the variants above will reveal any differences in their distribution in BrE and AmE and provide statistics on which form is the most frequent in spoken language in the two varieties of English.

A previous study on these pragmatic markers is Kirk's (2015) study of *kind of* and *sort of* in Irish English, where he concludes that 'as evidentials, kind-of/sort-of downtone infelicitous expression, engender vagueness and mitigate uncertainty, as if "meta-commenting" (Aijmer 2002: 209)' (2015:110). Kirk also concludes that the lexical choice of using *kind of* or *sort of* seems to come down to personal preference, although he mentions the tendency for AmE speakers to use *kind of* and BrE speakers to use *sort of* (2015:111).

3.2.9 Social variable: gender

The one social variable included is *gender*. This will reveal any tendencies that might be present as to whether females or males use more non-standard grammar in spoken language. This variable might also show whether or not there is a difference in gender distribution in relation to non-standard grammar in spoken language in BrE and AmE.

Gender is a variable which can be hard to define. The binary use of this variable is problematic, as more than two genders can be recognised. For the sake of simplicity, taking into account that the vast majority of people identify as either male or female, the traditional binary use of the variable is applied in this study. Any cases where the gender of an individual in the data sets does not correspond to either clearly male or female gender, the individual has been removed from the data set(s) in order for the study to be as accurate as possible. It should be noted that only one such instance was found in the entire forty hours of data analysed, indicating that it will not affect the results of the quantitative analysis of this variable in any significant way. (cf. 2.4 for more on gender).

In this study, the social variable *gender* combines BrE and AmE data, and gives the numbers of the use of each grammatical variable as well as the total use of the grammatical variables in the combined data collection. Previous studies of gender and non-standard language has found that men tend to use more non-standard language than women (cf. 2.4 for examples of previous studies). The inclusion of this variable in the

present study allows for an investigation of whether speakers conform to the previously found results that men use more non-standard language than women or if unscripted informal broadcast speech changes this tendency.

3.3 Empirical analysis

The data were collected auditorily by closely examining the language on the two talk shows. In some cases, visual cues such as gesticulation helped to determine whether or not an utterance was non-standard, e.g. with the pragmatic marker *like*. All non-standard utterances were transcribed orthographically, and two data sets were created, one for BrE and one for AmE. Approximately twenty hours from each talk show constitute the data sets. The utterances are sectioned by variable category in the two data sets.

For the quantitative analysis, the tokens were counted and converted to percentages. The quantification was done in a simple manner, i.e. only the non-standard occurrences were counted, which allowed for more data to be analysed compared to if all possible tokens (standard occurrences) should be counted as well. The results of the quantification are presented in tables in chapter 4, illustrating the differences between BrE and AmE and the frequency of each variable. In this study, the term *frequency* is not used in a normalised or statistical sense, as the data were not processed into corpora, and thus the word count for each data set is not available. Also, only the non-standard features were counted, whereas standard use was not counted. Thus, when *frequency* is mentioned in this paper, what is meant is a rough estimate of the frequency based on the number of non-standard occurrences within a time frame of 20 hours of data for each data set. This gives an illustration, not only of the differences between the two spoken varieties of English, but also of the approximate frequency of the variables in each talk show. The frequency of the variables can be said to reflect the attitudes towards non-standard grammar used in unscripted informal broadcast speech and provides insight into how the British and American societies as a whole evaluate the importance of *correctness* or standard language on television.

The qualitative analysis, presented in chapter 4, points to some examples of non-standard grammar and discusses how some of the more frequent non-standard features might be seen as less non-standard, and thus be deemed more acceptable to use on

television. The qualitative analysis also discusses the less frequent non-standard features and why these might be deemed less acceptable to use in televised spoken language.

3.3.1 Societal treatment method

In attitudinal studies, three main methods can be used: the direct method, the indirect method and the societal treatment method (Garrett 2010:37–52). By using the direct method, the informants in the study are asked questions about their attitudes towards something. The indirect method also has informants, although they are not asked directly about their attitudes, but rather asking questions that will make the participants express their attitudes toward something. Finally, the societal treatment method separates itself from the other two by not using informants, but rather using publicly available sources to infer attitudes of the people who produce language in these sources by investigating which language the people use in that context.

The main method used in this study, in order to examine attitudes toward non-standard language on television, is the societal treatment method. This method involves the observation of a linguistic phenomenon using publicly available sources, either written or spoken, and drawing inferences about language attitudes based on the observations made. This method allows for a study where the participants, in this case the participants on the talk shows, do not know they are being studied, and thus the study will not be affected by the participants' knowledge of the study.

The societal treatment method is particularly useful when studying attitudes. Garrett (2010) mentions that societal treatment studies tend to be overlooked although they can obtain 'insights into the social meanings and stereotypical associations of language varieties and languages, and the "treatment" meted out to languages and language varieties "out there" in society' (2010:51). A well-known societal treatment study is Lippi-Green's 1997 study of animated Disney characters' accents, where she investigates the implications of stereotypical animated characters having certain accents (2012:101–129) (cf. 2.5.2 for a more detailed account of this study).

3.4 Methodological challenges

Empirical studies will always have methodological challenges that will need to be addressed. Many choices need to be made in the process of finding data, as well as the analysis of the data. Below are the identified methodological challenges with this study.

3.4.1 Scope of data

Analysing more data or using more than two talk shows would have resulted in a more nuanced analysis, especially concerning the quantitative section of the study. The scope of a master's thesis is not quite large enough to analyse more data and it would be far too time consuming to transcribe all the speech on the talk shows and create corpora in order to calculate for instance *frequency* (cf. 3.3), although this would be worth including in future studies.

3.4.2 The chosen variables

The grammatical variables in this study are non-standard features as defined by grammar books and features that are often complained about by non-linguists on non-academic online sources. The variables also include some pragmatic markers. Some variables that could have been included are the violation of the rest of Trudgill's (1999) idiosyncracies of SE presented in section 3.2, as well as several pragmatic markers. The variables in this study had to be limited because of the scope of the thesis, but more grammatical and pragmatic variables could have yielded valuable results.

Including more social variables might have yielded more nuanced results as well. Some social variables that could possibly have been included are age, social background, geographical background (other than country) and ethnicity. These variables could have revealed some interesting results. In this study, the variables had to be limited because of the scope of the study. Social variables like these can be difficult to include in a societal treatment study, as there is no contact between the researcher and the informants. This makes it challenging to include these variables, as they would have to be found on the Internet. Most of the participants on the talk shows are celebrities, which might make finding information about them easier, but it would still be very time consuming with such a large and complex data set.

3.4.3 The television medium

The study uses talk shows that are broadcast either on television or on *Netflix*. Talk shows are planned to a certain degree, and it is difficult to determine exactly how unscripted they are. Aiming to avoid scripted speech as much as possible is what led to choosing talk shows with more than one guest in the studio at a time. The conversations that arise between the participants seem a lot less prepared or scripted than other types of talk shows that use one-to-one interviews as its main conversational genre. Even though the talk shows were carefully chosen, based on how informal they are, there continues to be uncertainty surrounding the level of planning that goes into the talk shows and it is not possible to know all that happens behind the scenes, for example which directions the participants were given before the show. Although what happens behind the scenes and which instructions the participants are given can affect their language on the talk shows, it can be discussed in what ways any such instructions might reflect society and attitudes toward non-standard language on television as well. The talk shows are framed as informal and relatively unplanned, and thus it can be argued that they reflect the respective societies' general attitudes towards non-standard language even if they use some participants' directions or guidelines to regulate speech.

3.4.4. Auditory challenges

In collecting the data, some auditory challenges presented themselves, e.g. distinguishing 've in *I've gotta*. Sometimes hearing whether or not an unstressed syllable, or in this case a consonant sound, is present can be very challenging. In some cases, the utterance had to be listened to several times, which is very time-consuming. There were very few instances that presented any large degree of uncertainty, but in a few rare cases tokens had to be excluded. These problematic tokens are so few that they do not affect the overall results or skew the data.

3.4.5 Contextual challenges

In some instances, the tokens in the data sets appear to be standard as their non-standardness is only apparent when hearing them. In some cases, cues, which can not be observed in the transcriptions, from the speaker are also needed to determine the utterances' non-standardness. Examples of this can be hand-movements, nods, facial expressions,

intonation, and so on. This typically occurs with the pragmatic markers, especially with *like*, as the intonation of the word in an utterance often is what reveals its function in the utterance. An example of this is *that was like a privilege*, where the utterance could just as well be interpreted as *that was as a privilege*. It is the small hesitation before *like* that can only be heard that makes it obvious that *like* here is used as a pragmatic marker.

4. Results and discussion

In this chapter, the results of the study are presented and discussed. The results of the analysis of all the grammatical variables combined are presented and discussed in 4.1. In 4.2, each grammatical variable, as well as its subcategories, is presented and discussed in detail. In both 4.1 and 4.2, the results from the BrE and AmE data are compared. In 4.3 the combined results (BrE and AmE) for the social variable *gender* are presented and discussed. Finally, in 4.4 a brief summary is given and the hypotheses are discussed.

4.1 Results for all grammatical variables

The aims of the present study, as presented in 1.1, are to measure the degree of non-standardness on talk shows and investigate the language attitudes that this degree of non-standardness might reflect. In the present study, eight grammatical variables are investigated. They are repeated here for convenience:

1. Non-standard verb forms, e.g. *there's different regions* in which existential *there* is used with a singular verb and a plural real subject, or *well look who you next to right now* in which there is BE-deletion.
2. Semi-auxiliaries, e.g. *I'm gonna be DJ'ing*, where the semi-auxiliary (BE) *going to* is contracted, and *you've gotta want it*, where the semi-auxiliary (HAVE) *got to* is contracted.
3. Auxiliary deletion, e.g. *we gonna go*, where a form of the primary auxiliary BE is deleted, or *I gotta go*, where a form of the primary auxiliary HAVE is deleted.
4. Contracted verbs, e.g. *you ain't gonna be rich*, in which the contracted form *ain't* (contraction of BE/HAVE + *not*) is used, or *funny innit*, in which the contracted form *innit* (contraction of *isn't it*) is used.
5. Multiple negation, e.g. *I've never done nothing*, in which there are two negatives present, or *I ain't never done nothing*, in which there are three negatives present.
6. Unmarked adverbs, e.g. *let's play that real quick*, where the adverb marker *-ly* is absent, and *I had to do good*, where, in Standard English, *well* would be used.

7. Pragmatic marker *like*, e.g. *are you like friends with Prince Harry*, and *you need to like fan out*. In both examples, *like* is used as a hesitational device or a discourse marker.
8. Pragmatic markers *kinda/kind of* and *sorta/sort of*, e.g. *I've had to kind of correct people*, and *I like to sorta fix things*, where the markers function to add a layer of meaning, or as a sentence filler.

As mentioned in 2.1.2, the grammatical variables can be discussed in terms of their standardness or level of formality, which in 2.1.2 was interpreted as a continuum. In the following sections, the results of the analysis are presented and discussed.

The results of the analysis of the eight grammatical variables are presented in Table 4.1 below, which gives the results for both the BrE and AmE data. The table gives the token frequency of the eight grammatical variables in the 20 hours of data in each variety (see 3.3 for an explanation of the term *frequency* in this study). For convenience, pragmatic markers will henceforth be referred to as PM (singular) and PMs (plural).

Table 4.1: Grammatical variables in BrE and AmE

Variable	BrE		AmE	
	N	%	N	%
Non-standard verb forms	20	3.1	49	5.9
Semi-auxiliaries	150	23.4	324	38.7
Auxiliary deletion	7	1.1	37	4.4
Contracted verbs	2	0.3	11	1.3
Multiple negation	0	0	10	1.2
Unmarked adverbs	0	0	11	1.3
PM <i>like</i>	127	19.9	312	37.2
PMs <i>kinda/kind of</i> and <i>sorta/sort of</i>	334	52.2	84	10
Total	640	100	838	100

Table 4.1 shows that in 20 hours of speech, AmE has more total non-standard tokens than BrE. The distribution of the variables differs in two ways. For the particularly infrequent variables, *multiple negation* and *unmarked adverbs*, BrE has no tokens and AmE has some, albeit few tokens. For the rest of the variables, there are occurrences of the relevant feature in both varieties, but there is a difference in the number of occurrences for the two varieties. The PMs are considerably more frequent than the other grammatical features in

both varieties, but where BrE speakers use more of the PMs *kinda/kind of* and *sorta/sort of*, AmE speakers use the PM *like* more frequently.

In BrE, there are a total of 640 tokens of non-standard grammatical features in the 20 hours of data analysed, whereas in AmE there are 838 tokens of non-standard grammatical features in the 20 hours of data. In AmE the features *multiple negation* and *unmarked adverbs* have a few occurrences, whereas in BrE these grammatical features do not occur at all in the collected data. This might suggest that non-standard language in general is slightly more accepted by AmE speakers in broadcast informal unscripted speech than in this usage domain in the British context.

The variable *non-standard verb forms* has 20 tokens in BrE and 49 tokens in AmE, suggesting that this is a more typical occurrence in AmE than in BrE. This implies that the use of non-standard verb forms are considered less acceptable by BrE speakers than AmE speakers (see 4.2.1 for more on this feature).

Semi-auxiliaries is one of the more frequent variables in both varieties. It has 150 tokens in BrE and 324 tokens in AmE, suggesting that this is not particularly stigmatised in either variety, especially when compared to the other grammatical features in this study (see 4.2.2).

Auxiliary deletion is also more frequent in the AmE data compared to the BrE data, with only 7 occurrences in BrE versus 37 occurrences in AmE. This suggests that auxiliary deletion might even be more stigmatised in BrE than some of the non-standard verb forms mentioned above (see 4.2.3).

The grammatical variable *contracted verbs* is relatively infrequent in both varieties, with only 2 occurrences in BrE and 11 occurrences in AmE. This indicates that the contracted verbs *ain't*, *Imma*, and *innit* might be somewhat stigmatised in the two varieties in broadcast informal speech. Again, the tendency for there to be more non-standard occurrences in AmE can be observed with this variable (see 4.2.4).

Multiple negation is one of the variables that did not occur at all in BrE, whereas in AmE it has 10 occurrences. This suggests that although it is not generally accepted in broadcast informal speech in the two varieties, it is somewhat less stigmatised in AmE than it is in BrE (see 4.2.5).

The variable *unmarked adverbs* also did not occur in BrE, but 11 tokens were found in the AmE data. This might indicate that the feature is not considered particularly

acceptable by BrE speakers in broadcast informal language, and its limited occurrences in AmE shows that it is likely considered to be less acceptable than other grammatical features by AmE speakers in broadcast informal language. (see 4.2.6).

The PM *like* occurs more often in both varieties than many of the other grammatical features used in this study. In BrE, 127 occurrences were found and in AmE, 313 occurrences were found. This indicates that it is not a particularly stigmatised feature and is accepted by most speakers of the two varieties. However, the much higher number of tokens in AmE suggests that this is a much more frequent feature of AmE and that AmE speakers appear to be more accepting of this feature in broadcast informal speech than BrE speakers (see 4.2.7).

Lastly, the majority of the occurrences for the PMs *kinda/kind of* and *sorta/sort of* is found in BrE, and in AmE there are considerably fewer occurrences for these PMs. In BrE, 334 tokens were found whereas in AmE, 84 tokens were found. Although the PM *like* and the PMs *kinda/kind of* and *sorta/sort of* do not serve the exact same function in an utterance and are not interchangeable, as far as pragmatic markers are concerned, BrE speakers use the PMs *kinda/kind of* and *sorta/sort of* more than the PM *like*, whereas the AmE speakers do the opposite. This might also reflect which PMs speakers of the two varieties consider most appropriate or acceptable to use on talk shows (see 4.2.8).

British culture has a long tradition regarding attitudes towards language and the notion that there is a ‘correct’ and ‘proper’ manner of speech, which is evident in the many pronunciation- and etiquette-guides that can be found on the topic (Mugglestone 1995:1). British culture traditionally has a strict class division which is reflected in the marked boundaries between ‘high’ and ‘low’ linguistic varieties, whereas the culture of the USA has less strict divisions or boundaries. British culture can be seen as more formal in this sense than the culture of the USA. The language use reflects underlying assumptions about language, and this might be an explanation for BrE language use being more conservative and more standard than AmE language use, as will be illustrated when the individual grammatical variables are presented and discussed in section 4.2 below.

4.2 Results for individual grammatical variables

In the following, the results for each grammatical variable is presented and discussed. Many of the variables have subcategories, which were presented in chapter 3. In the tables, the numbering corresponds to the subcategories outlined in chapter 3.

4.2.1 Non-standard verb forms

Non-standard verb forms refer to all verbs used in a non-standard manner, except those included in other categories in this study (cf. 3.2.1). The results of the variable are presented in Table 4.2 below.

Table 4.2: *Non-standard verb forms in BrE and AmE*

Subcategories	BrE		AmE	
	N	%	N	%
1a: Concord, existential <i>there</i>	16	80	33	67.3
1b: Concord, others	3	15	11	22.5
2: BE-deletion	0	0	4	8.2
3: Base form BE	0	0	1	2
4: Non-standard past form	1	5	0	0
Total	20	100	49	100

The two varieties differ somewhat with regard to the distribution across subcategories, as can be seen in Table 4.2, although for both varieties category 1a: concord with existential *there* is the most frequent. Below are a few examples from the data, illustrating the different subcategories included in this variable⁴⁵:

[1] *there's a lot of people up there*

(GN, 22:09, 1a)

[2] *we **was** passing out Fetty Wap mix tapes*

(Ch, 1:87, 1b)

[3] *well look who you **Ø** next to right now*

⁴ The references in the examples are to be read as follows: *talk show, season:episode, subcategory (of the relevant grammatical variable)*. This method of referring to the data is applied for all examples henceforth.

⁵ In the examples, the word/phrase that illustrates the variable has been highlighted by using **bold** letters. In instances of deletion, the symbol **Ø** has been placed to indicate where the deletion is.

(Ch, 2:22, 2)

[4] *bitches be crazy*

(Ch, 2:21, 3)

[5] *in the corner we seen Bono having dinner with a friend*

(GN 12:05, 4)

In both BrE and AmE, the category to yield the most tokens was 1a, which consists of non-standard concord with existential *there*, as in example [1] above. Subcategory 1b, other subjects that existential *there* with non-standard concord. This is exemplified by [2] above and had 3 occurrences in BrE and 11 occurrences in AmE. Subcategory 1b also include structures such as: *he consider himself very sort of traditional*, *Trump don't care*, and *the thing I like about his films are that he always puts females in the lead*. Subcategories 2 and 3, *BE-deletion* and *base form BE* respectively, only occurred in AmE, where there were 4 occurrences of *BE-deletion* as exemplified by [3], and 1 occurrence with *base form BE*, exemplified by [4]. The final subcategory, *non-standard past form*, also only had one occurrence, as exemplified by [5] above.

Examples [1-5] above are all instances that can be considered non-standard or less formal than their SE counterparts. It can be argued that they vary in their degree of standardness, which will be discussed further below.

The total numbers for the grammatical variable *non-standard verb forms* in the BrE and AmE data, 20 and 49 respectively, indicate that this variable is not the most frequent when compared to some of the other grammatical variables, for instance the pragmatic markers (cf. Table 4.1). In Williamson & Hardman's study of BrE children's language, they found non-standard verb forms to be quite frequent (1997:168) (cf.3.2.1). Combined with the results from the present study, this implies that there is a change in non-standard language use from childhood to adulthood, in which non-standard verb forms are more characteristic of children's language, whereas other non-standard forms are more frequent in adult language. This is likely due to children making 'mistakes' when acquiring the language (i.e. they don't know which form is considered 'correct' or SE), whereas adults are more likely to make conscious linguistic choices when they speak, particularly in relation to grammar, as that may be easier to regulate than phonology.

The subcategory 1a was the most frequent in both varieties. This is likely due to existential *there* having become a formulaic expression, and thus existential *there* followed by a singular verb and a plural real subject, which is exemplified in [1] above, is accepted by speakers of the two varieties. This structure appears to be relatively frequent in both BrE and AmE, although in the data from this study AmE has more occurrences than BrE. It can be argued that existential *there* followed by a singular verb and a plural real subject is not strictly non-standard, as it has become a formulaic sequence. It can perhaps be considered informal, or not strictly SE, as language learners would most likely be corrected if they did this in writing, whereas in spoken language the form appears to be quite accepted by native speakers and does not appear to be particularly stigmatised or considered strictly non-standard. Even though this subcategory was the most frequent in both varieties, there are considerably more occurrences for AmE than for BrE, which suggests that AmE speakers consider the use of existential *there* with a singular verb and a plural real subject to be more acceptable than BrE speakers do. The fact that this feature occurred much more in AmE speech, might also suggest that the fossilisation of this feature, as discussed in more detail below, is more complete in AmE than in BrE.

In the subcategory 1b, *concord, others*, as is exemplified in [2] above, there were much fewer occurrences than in subcategory 1a. This implies that non-standard verb forms with other types of subjects than existential *there* are relatively infrequent occurrences in both BrE and AmE broadcast informal spoken language.

BE-deletion, which is represented in subcategory 2, only occurs in AmE. The category only has 4 occurrences in AmE, which suggests that BE-deletion is quite infrequent in both varieties, but more used by AmE speakers on talk shows.

The third subcategory is the use of non-conjugated base form BE, as exemplified by [4] above. This subcategory only had 1 occurrence in AmE and none in BrE, which suggests that this is a feature which is very rarely used on talk shows. As only one instance of the use of a base form occurred, this might even be a characteristic of the specific speaker who used this feature. It should be noted that both subcategories 2 and 3 are typical characteristics of African American Vernacular English (AAVE), which might explain why they only occur in the AmE data. Wolfram (2008) writes that invariant *be* is ‘probably the most salient grammatical trait of AAVE, to the point of becoming a stereotype’ (2008:517). This also explains why there are very few occurrences of base form

BE, as this variety often is considered very informal, and is also subject to stigmatisation by many speakers.

Finally, the fourth subcategory is the use of a non-standard past form, as exemplified by [5] above. This subcategory only had one occurrence, which was in BrE, which shows that this feature is used very infrequently on talk shows. This might be due to it being a stigmatised or less accepted feature by BrE and AmE speakers. Even though Anderwald (2011:270) argues that this form can be considered more ‘natural’ than others (cf. below), it appears to be very infrequently used by speakers.

When considering how non-standard verb forms are used on talk shows, some inferences about language attitudes can be made. It appears subcategory 1a, which includes existential *there*, is relatively accepted by speakers of both BrE and AmE, and that it has become a fossilised structure where existential *there* with a singular verb and a plural real subject is accepted by speakers of both varieties. The other subcategories appear to be less accepted by speakers, as they occur less frequently in the data. In Anderwald (2011), the ‘naturalness’ of non-standard verb forms are investigated, and she concludes that some verb forms appear to be more ‘natural’ than others, especially forms such as *drink – drunk – drunk* (2011:270). ‘Naturalness’ in Anderwald’s study is explained as the form that is most dominant and occurs more frequently than the others. She argues that the English verb class 2, which she illustrates: PRESENT \neq PAST = PAST PARTICIPLE, is more ‘natural’ or more ‘normal’ (i.e. used more often) than the other four verb classes, and it can thus be considered more ‘natural’ (2011:261). In this study, as the most frequent non-standard verb form is that of concord with existential *there* with a singular verb and a plural real subject, it can be argued that the more ‘natural’ non-standard verb form used on talk shows is the abovementioned non-standard use of existential *there* as this occurs more frequently than the other non-standard verb forms⁶. Anderwald concludes her paper with the remark that ‘non-standard systems, relatively unperturbed by prescriptive attempts of regulating the language, are more “natural” than the standard variety’ (2011:270–271), which serves as a reminder that ‘naturalness’ in the linguistic sense of the term, is not to mean what some prescriptivists or even non-linguist speakers of the language might call ‘natural’, when they indeed mean ‘standard’. Many non-

⁶ However, as the non-standard use of existential *there* is not compared to the SE usage of existential *there*, it can not be argued whether or not this usage is more ‘natural’ than the SE usage.

linguists may very well call SE ‘natural’ and non-standard varieties ‘unnatural’, based on the misconception that SE is somehow ‘better’ than non-standard varieties of the language.

The subcategories of non-standard verb forms can be arranged from most frequent to least frequent, as in the list below, where 1 is the most frequent, and thus the subcategory which is most likely to be accepted by speakers of the two varieties, and 4 is the least frequent subcategory, and most likely to be avoided by speakers of the two varieties.

1. *Concord, existential there*
2. *Concord, others*
3. *BE-deletion*
4. *Base form BE and non-standard past form*

As the two categories *base form BE* and *non-standard past form* both only had one token, they have been placed in the same point in the list above and can be considered equally infrequent or unacceptable by speakers.

4.2.2 Semi-auxiliaries

Semi-auxiliaries are verb idioms that have modal or aspectual meaning and are introduced by HAVE or BE (Quirk 1985:143). In some instances, the auxiliary may have been subject to auxiliary deletion. The semi-auxiliaries investigated in this study are *gonna* (contraction of *going to*) and *gotta* (contraction of *got to*) (cf. 3.2.2). The results of the variable *semi-auxiliaries* are given in Table 4.3 below.

Table 4.3: *Semi-auxiliaries in BrE and AmE*

Subcategories	BrE		AmE	
	N	%	N	%
1: <i>Gonna</i>	139	92.7	293	90.4
2: <i>Gotta</i>	11	7.3	31	9.6
Total	150	100	324	100

The table shows that contracted semi-auxiliaries are used more frequently in AmE than in BrE, with 324 tokens for AmE whereas in BrE there are only 150 tokens. This shows that semi-auxiliaries are likely to be more accepted in broadcast informal speech by AmE

speakers compared to BrE speakers. In examples [6–9] below, a few examples of the two semi-auxiliaries are given. Examples [7] and [9] show semi-auxiliaries used with auxiliary deletion, whereas examples [6] and [8] show semi-auxiliaries used with their full form.

[6] *you ain't gonna be rich*

(Ch, 1:31, 1)

[7] *we gonna have to be honest*

(Ch, 1:84, 1)

[8] *I think that's gotta be some kind of record*

(GN, 20:05, 2)

[9] *I gotta go to the TV station*

(Ch, 2:22, 2)

In both the BrE data and the AmE data, *gonna*, as in [6–7], has a significantly higher number of tokens than *gotta* as in [8–9]. In BrE *gonna* has 139 occurrences, and in the AmE data this semi-auxiliary occurs 293 times, in the course of 20 hours for each variety, which shows that the semi-auxiliary is likely to be considered more acceptable for AmE speakers than it is for BrE speakers.

In BrE, *gotta* occurred 11 times, whereas in AmE *gotta* occurred 31 times. This shows that there is a tendency for semi-auxiliaries to be used more by AmE speakers in general, which implies that semi-auxiliaries are considered more acceptable by AmE speakers compared to BrE speakers. Interestingly, *gotta* only occurred 7 times in the BrE data and 7 times in the AmE data without auxiliary deletion, which indicates that this semi-auxiliary is not particularly frequent in either of the two varieties, especially when compared to the much more frequent *gonna* (where there were almost no instances of auxiliary deletion (see 4.2.3 below)). A possible explanation for this is that when *gotta* is used in spoken language on talk shows, it appears to have auxiliary deletion. This suggests that although *gotta* is very infrequent as a full form semi-auxiliary, it does occur in some degree with auxiliary deletion.

A possible reason for the difference in the use of semi-auxiliaries *gonna* and *gotta* is that *gonna* has become more accepted by speakers of both BrE and AmE to use in

broadcast informal speech, as it appears to be used quite frequently. On the other hand, *gotta* is used very infrequently, and it can thus be argued that *gotta* has not been recognised as particularly acceptable in broadcast informal speech by most speakers of both BrE and AmE.

4.2.3 Auxiliary deletion

Auxiliary deletion refers to the omission of a primary auxiliary in a clause (cf. 3.2.3), and in this study three subcategories were used to distinguish three different types of the phenomenon. Subcategory 1 refers to the deletion of BE before *gonna*, subcategory 2 refers to the deletion of HAVE before *gotta*, and subcategory 3 refers to auxiliary deletion when it occurs with other verbs than the aforementioned *gonna* and *gotta*. The results for this variable are presented in Table 4.4 below.

Table 4.4: *Auxiliary deletion in BrE and AmE*

Subcategories	BrE		AmE	
	N	%	N	%
1: <i>Gonna</i>	0	0	3	8.1
2: <i>Gotta</i>	4	57.1	24	64.9
3: Other verbs	3	42.9	10	27
Total	7	100	37	100

In the table, it can be seen that auxiliary deletion is much more frequent in AmE than in BrE, with 37 and 7 occurrences respectively, which indicates that this feature might be more accepted by AmE speakers on talk shows than it is by BrE speakers on talk shows. The subcategories for *auxiliary deletion* are exemplified by [10–12] below:

[10] *we Ø gonna share the stage*
(Ch, 1:15, 1)

[11] *of course I Ø gotta get my bloody shirt off*
(GN, 18:02, 2)

[12] *he Ø been doing it from day one*
(Ch, 2:22, 3)

As can be seen in Table 4.4 above, *gonna* is the subcategory that yields the fewest number of results in both BrE and AmE, and it is exemplified above in [10]. With the contraction *gonna*, the auxiliary that is deleted is a form of BE. *Gotta* has 4 tokens in BrE and 24 tokens in AmE, making it the subcategory of *auxiliary deletion* with the most tokens in each data set, and it is exemplified in [11]. With *gotta*, the deleted auxiliary is a form of HAVE. The last subcategory, which includes *auxiliary deletion* with any other verbs, yields 3 tokens in BrE and 10 tokens in AmE, and is exemplified in [12] above.

Auxiliary deletion has more occurrences in the AmE data than in the BrE data. This suggests that auxiliary deletion has a different degree of acceptability or status in the two varieties. In Davies and Deuchar's (2014) study, they explain that the reason for auxiliary deletion in Welsh–English bilinguals might be the similarity of the word order of Welsh and English. In the case of this study, it appears that auxiliary deletion in BrE is not used very frequently on talk shows, whereas in AmE it is used somewhat more frequently. This could be due to many factors, but one likely explanation is that it is a conscious decision of the speakers when they participate in talk shows.

The use of auxiliary deletion in connection with *gonna* is fairly limited in both varieties, with no tokens in BrE and only 3 tokens in AmE. This suggests that auxiliary deletion with *gonna* is not very common in either variety, when used in broadcast informal speech.

Auxiliary deletion in connection with *gotta* is somewhat more frequent than auxiliary deletion with *gonna*. Thus, HAVE tend to be deleted more often than BE. This subcategory has 4 tokens in BrE and 24 tokens in AmE, which suggests that it is a more common contraction to use with auxiliary deletion than *gonna*.

The third and final subcategory in this variable is auxiliary deletion used with any other verbs than *gonna* and *gotta*. This category yielded 3 tokens in BrE and 10 tokens in AmE, which shows that auxiliary deletion does occur with other verbs not related to the contractions *gonna* and *gotta* in both BrE and AmE, although AmE has more tokens in this subcategory as well. It should be noted that in most of the occurrences, the construction *HAVE got (to)* was used, with HAVE-deletion, which suggests that this structure is one that frequently undergoes deletion.

It is worth mentioning is that there are no occurrences, neither in the BrE nor AmE data, which have DO-deletion. Thus, this can be said to be the least likely and also least accepted primary auxiliary to delete for BrE and AmE speakers.

With relatively few tokens in total, it can be argued that people’s attitudes towards auxiliary deletion are somewhat negative, i.e. it is not generally accepted by speakers to use auxiliary deletion in any large degree on talk shows. It does however appear to be more accepted by AmE speakers, as the AmE data has more tokens than the BrE data.

Below the subcategories are organised in a list, where the most likely to undergo deletion, and thus the most accepted kind of deletion is listed as number 1, and the least likely to undergo deletion, and thus the least accepted kind is listed last.

1. *Gotta*
2. Other verbs
3. *Gonna*

As was mentioned above, a possible explanation for the *other verbs* subcategory to have as many occurrences as it had in the data, is that the full form *HAVE got (to)* was included in that category. *Gonna* still occurred relatively infrequently and HAVE-deletion was by far the most frequent kind of auxiliary deletion. DO-deletion did not occur at all.

4.2.4 Contracted verbs

The variable *contracted verbs* in this study refers to three specific verb contractions, namely *ain’t* (contraction of BE + *not*), *Imma* (contraction on *I am going to*), and *innit* (contraction of *isn’t it*). In Table 4.5 below, the results of the variable *contracted verbs* are presented.

Table 4.5: *Contracted verbs in BrE and AmE*

Subcategories	BrE		AmE	
	N	%	N	%
1: <i>Ain’t</i>	0	0	8	72.7
2: <i>Imma</i>	0	0	3	27.3
3: <i>Innit</i>	2	100	0	0
Total	2	100	11	100

This table shows that the contracted verbs occur more in AmE than in BrE, but that their distribution is completely opposite. In [13–15] below, the three types of contracted verbs included in the present study are exemplified.

[13] *you ain't gonna be rich*

(Ch, 1:31, 1)

[14] *Imma show you the comedians*

(Ch, 2:22, 2)

[15] *yeah lovely innit*

(GN, 9:03, 3)

As can be seen from the examples above, *ain't* does not occur in BrE, but it has 8 tokens in AmE, as exemplified by [13]. An example of *Imma* is given in [14], and it has no tokens in BrE and 3 tokens in AmE. Lastly, *innit* has 2 tokens in BrE and no tokens in AmE, and it is exemplified by [15].

In BrE both *ain't* and *Imma* do not occur at all, whereas *innit* does not occur in AmE. This indicates that the contracted verb forms are considered at the very least informal, and likely also stigmatised, by speakers of both varieties. *Ain't* and *Imma* might be assumed to be more typical of AmE and *innit* is a typical BrE feature. However, they are not necessarily exclusively so, as illustrated by Palacios Martínez' (2010) study, where he found that *ain't* is a quite common feature of BrE teenagers despite being a typically stigmatised feature (2010:563–564). This suggests that speakers of BrE might be avoiding the use of *ain't* on talk shows, which is likely to be due to it being a stigmatised feature. Another reason for the lack of occurrences for *ain't* in BrE is that adults simply do not use *ain't* as frequently as teenagers, and thus the lack of *ain't* in the BrE data might be due to the participants being adults. Thus, it is possible that the use of *ain't* relates to *age-grading*, in which a form is used by speakers of a certain age, who later stop using it when they grow older (Hudson 1996:15; Milroy & Gordon 2003:36).

Imma is only found in the AmE data, and as it is a typically AmE feature this is not particularly surprising, although it does not have many occurrences in that variety. This suggests that it is not commonly used in broadcast informal speech, and it might be considered stigmatised or not particularly acceptable by speakers of both BrE and AmE

to use. It can also be assumed that BrE speakers do not use *Imma* as much as AmE speakers if they use it at all. The findings of the present study suggest that *Imma* remains an AmE only feature, and if it is used in other domains in BrE, it is certainly not present in talk shows.

Innit is only found in the BrE data, which is likely because of it being an exclusively BrE feature. In BrE it only has 2 tokens, which suggests that although it might be typical of BrE, it is not frequently used on talk shows. This might be due to it being a feature with low status, and thus, speakers tend to avoid using it in informal broadcast speech.

These three contracted verbs, being so rare in use, are likely to be considered stigmatised or not particularly acceptable to use on talk shows by both BrE and AmE speakers. Ranging these contracted verbs by most used (1) to least used (3), shows the following:

1. *ain't*
2. *Imma*
3. *innit*

Ain't appears to be slightly more accepted in spoken language than *Imma* and *innit*, but as AmE speakers only produced *ain't* and *Imma* and BrE speakers only produced *innit*, and there were very few occurrences of all three contracted verbs, it is difficult to generalise that one is considerably more or less acceptable than another in this category. They appear to be approximately equally unacceptable by speakers of the two varieties in general.

4.2.5 Multiple negation

In 3.2.5, the term *multiple negation* was used as an umbrella term for referring to both double negation and negation with more than two negatives. The variable *multiple negation* has no subcategories, and the quantification of the analysis is presented in Table 4.6 below.

Table 4.6: *Multiple negation in BrE and AmE*

Variable	BrE		AmE	
	N	%	N	%
Multiple negation	0	0	10	100
Total	0	0	10	100

In the table, it can be seen that only AmE has any occurrences for multiple negation, which suggests that this is a feature which is not particularly accepted by speakers of both varieties, but it seems especially stigmatised by BrE speakers. A few examples of the variable are given in [16–17] below.

[16] *I didn't think **nothing** of it*

(Ch, 1:47)

[17] *I ain't never seen **nothing** like this*

(Ch, 2:15)

In the BrE data, no tokens for *multiple negation* were present, whereas in the AmE data there were 10 tokens. Of those, 9 tokens were examples of double negation, as in [16], whereas only one token had more than two negatives, which can be seen in [17].

Multiple negation appears to be very infrequent in broadcast informal speech in both varieties. Although no tokens were found in BrE, AmE does have some tokens, but the feature is still quite restricted. Only one token with more than two negatives was found in the AmE data (cf. example [17] above), which suggests that this is even more infrequent than the use of double negation in AmE. *Multiple negation* was used more in one specific episode of Ch, namely 2:22, in which 5 tokens for multiple negation occurred. This might be due to accommodation between the speakers, i.e. that the speakers approximate each other's way of speaking to 'fit in' with the group, or that this episode had a speaker that produced language with particularly frequent multiple negation compared to the rest of the data. Giles and Powesland (1997) explain that accommodation is the way in which 'an individual can induce another to evaluate him more favourably by reducing the dissimilarities between them' (1997:233). They argue that this is the principle on which accommodation operates and that it might be a reflection of a person's desire for social approval (1997:233).

As mentioned in 3.2.5, Palacios (2017) found that London teenagers use more multiple negation than London adults. This might be a part of the explanation of the lack of tokens in the BrE data, as the participants on the talk shows are adults. This may also be related to age-grading (Hudson 1996:15; Milroy & Gordon 2003:36), as with *ain't* above, in that the speakers stop using multiple negation, or use it considerably less in adulthood compared to adolescence.

Generally, multiple negation (whether that be double or triple negation) is often considered stigmatised or unacceptable by most non-linguists, as Blanchette (2017) found in her attitudinal study on negative concord (2017:15). This might lead to speakers actively limiting and/or controlling their use of this feature, especially when they are on television.

4.2.6 Unmarked adverbs

Unmarked adverbs refer to any adverbs used in a non-standard manner and/or lacking the adverb marker *-ly* (cf. 3.2.6). The variable has no subcategories but can be divided into three types, which will be addressed below. The results of the quantification of the variable are presented in Table 4.7 below.

Table 4.7: *Unmarked adverbs in BrE and AmE*

Variable	BrE		AmE	
	N	%	N	%
Unmarked adverbs	0	0	11	100
Total	0	0	11	100

In the table, it can be seen that, as with *multiple negation* above, there are only tokens present in the AmE data. Below in [18–20] are a few examples which represent the three types of unmarked adverbs that occurred in the (AmE) data.

[18] *you're **real** funny*

(Ch, 2:17)

[19] *everything is running **real smooth***

(Ch, 2:15)

[20] *it's going **good***

(Ch, 1:84)

As with the *multiple negation* variable above, the BrE data yielded no tokens for *unmarked adverbs*. The AmE data yielded 11 tokens. In example [18] above, the lack of the adverb marker *-ly* is exemplified. In [19] there are two unmarked adverbs, namely *real* and *smooth*, where the adverb marker *-ly* would have been present in SE. Example [20] is slightly different from [18] and [19] in that it would not have had the adverb marker *-ly* in SE, but rather the adjective form *good* would be changed to the adverb form *well*.

As mentioned in 3.2.6, Finegan (2004) states that the amplifier *real* as in *real nice* is typical of AmE, which is the use that can be seen in [18] and [19] above. This might be one of the reasons for unmarked adverbs being less frequent in BrE, although it would not be impossible for it to occur in the BrE data as well.

Unmarked adverbs were quite few in the data, with no tokens in BrE and 11 tokens in AmE. Based on how relatively infrequent unmarked adverbs are in the data sets, it can be argued that unmarked adverbs are considered improper or not particularly acceptable by most speakers of the two varieties. It appears that AmE speakers use the feature more often than BrE speakers, and thus AmE speakers might consider the use of unmarked adverbs to be less stigmatised or more acceptable than BrE speakers. It should be noted, however, that adverbs in general might not be particularly frequent in spoken language, and this might influence how many non-standard occurrences are found in the data.

4.2.7 Pragmatic marker *like*

As defined in 2.3.2, pragmatic markers are added to an utterance to add a layer of meaning. For the PM *like*, the uses of *like* as a discourse link and as a hesitational device are included. In Table 4.8 the results of the PM *like* are presented.

Table 4.8: Pragmatic marker *like* in BrE and AmE

Variable	BrE		AmE	
	N	%	N	%
PM <i>like</i>	127	100	312	100
Total	127	100	312	100

The PM *like* is one of the variables with quite a few tokens in both varieties. In the BrE data, the PM *like* occurred 127 times, and in the AmE data the PM *like* occurred 312

times, as can be seen in Table 4.8 above. Below are a few examples⁷ of *like* functioning as a hesitational device or as a discourse link.

- [21] *Are you **like** friends with Prince Harry*
(GN, 17:12)
- [22] *and this was **like** the culmination of me suggesting something*
(GN, 17:08)
- [23] *they were really **like** polite around me*
(Ch, 1:36)
- [24] *not many people **like** know what a Twitterbot is*
(Ch, 2:18)

The PM *like* is relatively frequent in both varieties, although there are significantly more tokens in AmE than in BrE. This suggests that the PM *like* is not particularly stigmatised, and that speakers of the two varieties accept this PM in spoken informal broadcast speech. As AmE speakers use more of the PM *like* compared to BrE speakers, it can be argued that AmE speakers are somewhat more accepting of this PM than BrE speakers are. This argument might also be transferrable to other types of language than informal speech for the acceptability of this feature in AmE.

Like as a PM might be perceived as excessive or incorrect by many non-linguist speakers of both varieties. *Like* as a PM is one of the features that are often complained about and criticised. Even though it is by many considered unnecessary, it does serve the purpose of a discourse link or hesitational device (cf. 3.2.7). It does seem to occur relatively frequently in unplanned speech, as the speaker might not always know exactly how to formulate their sentences when they are speaking spontaneously.

As mentioned in 3.2.7, Diskin (2017:155) argues that *like* as a PM is often used as a hesitational device, and thus male speakers tend to avoid it in order to not appear unsure. On the other hand, female speakers might use the PM *like* as a hedge so as to not

⁷ When certain examples of PM *like* is in written form, it is not possible to distinguish them from a SE form of *like*. I have tried to avoid using any examples where intonation or other visual cues are important for the interpretation of *like* as a PM, but in some cases, it could not be avoided. This should be kept in mind when reading the examples of PM *like*.

appear overly confident. This might explain why female speakers use the PM *like* to the extent shown in this study (cf. 4.3).

4.2.8 Pragmatic markers *kinda/kind of* and *sorta/sort of*

Pragmatic markers function as a way to add a layer of meaning to an utterance. In the case of the PMs *kinda/kind of* and *sorta/sort of*, the layer of meaning added is often that of a hedge, for instance in order to appear polite, or not overly sure of one's statement. The two lexical items *kind* and *sort* are included in the same category, as they have the same function as hedging PMs, the only difference being the choice of lexical item (cf. 3.2.8). Table 4.9 below gives the results for the PMs *kinda/kind of* and *sorta/sort of*.

Table 4.9: Pragmatic markers *kinda/kind of* and *sorta/sort of* in BrE and AmE

Subcategories	BrE		AmE	
	N	%	N	%
1: <i>kinda/kind of</i>	166	49.7	69	82.1
2: <i>sorta/sort of</i>	168	50.3	15	17.9
Total	334	100	84	100

In BrE there are considerably more occurrences of these PMs than in AmE, with 334 and 84 occurrences respectively. BrE also has a more even distribution between the two lexical items *kind* and *sort* as the distribution of the two are close to 50% for each lexical item. AmE has considerably fewer occurrences of *sort* compared to the much more common *kind*. In [23–26] below, are some examples of the PMs *kinda/kind of* and *sorta/sort of*.

- [23] *it's kinda nice to be able to do that* (GN, 22:09, 1)
- [24] *and then the movie gets sorta of progressively weird from there* (GN, 20:01, 2)
- [25] *we'd help people kind of deal with the tragedy on the show* (Ch, 1:90, 1)
- [26] *it's like I've sorta of given up* (Ch, 1:56, 2)

The PMs *kinda/kind of* and *sorta/sort of* is the only grammatical variable in which BrE has more tokens than AmE, which suggests that this is a feature which is more typical of BrE speech than the other grammatical variables. It also indicates that these particular PMs are more typical of BrE than of AmE. This implies that the PMs *kinda/kind of* and *sorta/sort of* are preferred by BrE speakers whereas AmE speakers appear to prefer using other structures than these PMs.

Kirk (2015:111) mentions that although the choice of lexical item largely comes down to personal preference, the tendency is for BrE speakers to use *sort* and AmE speakers to use *kind*. Interestingly, the data in the present study show that BrE speakers use *sort* and *kind* to nearly the same extent, and do not appear to prefer one lexical item over the other. The AmE speakers adhere to Kirk's claim about the preference for AmE speakers to use the lexical item *kind*.

4.2.9 Summary of the grammatical variables

In summary, the grammatical variables which speakers use the most, and can thus be said to be most accepted by speakers of both varieties are *semi-auxiliaries*, *PM like*, and *PMs kinda/kind of and sorta/sort of*, as can be seen by the hierarchical ranging of the variables in the list below, which is organised from the most used/acceptable to the least used/acceptable. The total numbers of occurrences for each grammatical variable are given in parentheses behind each variable.

1. Semi-auxiliaries (443)
2. PM *like* (439)
3. PMs *kinda/kind of* and *sorta/sort of* (418)
4. Non-standard verb forms (69)
5. Auxiliary deletion (44)
6. Contracted verbs (13)
7. Unmarked adverbs (11)
8. Multiple negation (10)

The least frequent, and thus least likely to be accepted by speakers of both varieties are *multiple negation*, *unmarked adverbs*, and *contracted verbs*.

The variables can be sectioned into two types, namely the morphosyntactic variables and the pragmatic variables. In the list above, 1-3 are either reductions (as for the semi-auxiliaries) or pragmatic markers, which are of course the pragmatic variables. The variables towards the end of the list are all morphosyntactic variables, as can be found in 4-8 above. It appears that the pragmatic variables do not receive the low status by speakers as the morphosyntactic features do, as the pragmatic variables are much more frequent. Interestingly, *semi-auxiliaries* can be considered a morphosyntactic variable, and yet it is the most frequent feature of all the variables. This might be due to it being a feature characterised by reduction, and it appears to have become quite common to use among speakers, especially in informal settings. It is worth mentioning that one of the core differences between morphosyntactic and pragmatic variables is the choice of a standard form versus a non-standard form in the case of the morphosyntactic variables, whereas for the pragmatic variables the choice involved is of use or non-use. This indicates that for the morphosyntactic variables, the speakers are in a way ‘forced’ to choose one variety, either standard or non-standard, over the other, whereas for the pragmatic variables the speakers are able to ‘evade’ the choice, simply by not using the pragmatic marker at all.

4.3 Results for *gender*

In this study, the only social variable included is *gender*, which reveals whether there are gender-related differences in the use of non-standard features on talk shows, where the language is informal and unscripted. This allows for a discussion on attitudes towards non-standard language in men and women, and how people of different gender make different linguistic choices when they talk in public.

It is estimated that there is approximately the same amount of male and female speakers on the two shows combined, although no count of the speakers in the talk shows was made, and thus there are no accurate numbers of how many speakers are male and female on the two talk shows. This estimation is done based on the fact that on GN the host is male, and there appears to be a slight overweight of male participants on the show, whereas on Ch this is reversed with a female host and a slight overweight of female participants. As there is no exact count of the speakers, there is no way of knowing with complete accuracy how the distribution of speakers is, although something can certainly

be said about whether a feature is male- or female-dominated, which gives some insight into who uses the feature the most.

In Table 4.10, the combined data for both BrE and AmE is presented for the social variable *gender*. The distribution of grammatical variables between the genders is also presented. The percentages calculated for both males and females, are based on the total occurrences for the same gender.

Table 4.10: *Gender in the combined data (BrE + AmE)*

Variable	Male		Female	
	N	%	N	%
Non-standard verb forms	49	5.4	20	3.5
Semi-auxiliaries	260	28.7	214	37.5
Auxiliary deletion	32	3.5	12	2.1
Contracted verbs	9	1	4	0.7
Multiple negation	9	1	1	0.2
Unmarked adverbs	3	0.3	8	1.4
PM <i>like</i>	216	23.8	223	39
PMs <i>kinda/kind of</i> and <i>sorta/sort of</i>	329	36.3	89	15.6
Total	907	100	571	100

In total, male speakers produced 907 non-standard features and women produced 571 non-standard features. This is in line with previous research, which has found that men use more non-standard language than women, as was mentioned in 2.4.2.

For the variable *non-standard verb forms* male speakers produced 5.4% of their total non-standard occurrences and female speakers produced 3.5% of their total non-standard occurrences. Thus, male speakers used non-standard verb forms more than women, which indicates that male speakers find the use of non-standard verb forms to be slightly more acceptable than women. However, as the percentages are not particularly different, it can be assumed that this difference is not very large, and thus it can be argued that the speakers, both male and female, do not consider this feature to be particularly acceptable, and thus it is not used very often by either gender. Eisikovits (1987; 1988. In Coates 1993) investigates *non-standard use of the past tense*, which can be compared to subcategory 4 of the variable *non-standard verb forms*. Eisikovits found that male speakers used more non-standard past tense than female speakers (1987; 1988. In Coates 1993:76). In the present study, there was only one occurrence of non-standard past tense,

and this was produced by a male speaker. In the total number of occurrences for all non-standard verb forms, there were considerably more occurrences by male speakers than female speakers, which suggests that this feature is one that male speakers deem more appropriate or acceptable to use than female speakers. Additionally, female speakers might consider non-standard verb forms to be improper or too informal.

The semi-auxiliaries appear to have a more equal distribution between male and female speakers. For male speakers there are 260 occurrences and for female speakers there are 214 occurrences. However, if the percentages are considered, female speakers used more of their total non-standard features on semi-auxiliaries, which makes semi-auxiliaries one of the features that female speakers tend to use more of. This indicates that female speakers might consider the use of semi-auxiliaries more acceptable than many other features.

For the variable *auxiliary deletion*, male speakers also produced the most non-standard language with their 3.5%, versus the female speakers' 2.1%. This indicates that male speakers might be more comfortable with using auxiliary deletion in their informal broadcast language, compared to female speakers, who might limit their use of auxiliary deletion in the same setting. As with *non-standard verb forms* above, the percentages for *auxiliary deletion* are also quite similar in the two genders, which indicates that there is not a very large difference in the use or non-use of auxiliary deletion.

Contracted verbs were quite limited in numbers totally, but male speakers have the most occurrences with 9 (1%) compared to the female speakers with 4 occurrences (0.7%). This is in line with the notion that men tend to use more non-standard language than women, although the difference between the genders is very slight, which suggests that this feature is quite infrequent in both genders, and they both appear to find the feature relatively stigmatised or less acceptable compared to other features.

For the variable *multiple negation*, male speakers had 9 occurrences (1%) and female speakers had only 1 occurrence (0.2%), making this the lowest number of occurrences for women out of all the grammatical variables. As discussed in 2.4, Eckert (2011:59) mentions that one of the features where women tend to use more standard language than men is with the variable *multiple negation*, and that this likely is a conscious choice, as grammar might be easier to regulate than phonology (cf. 1.1).

Unmarked adverbs are one of the few variables where female speakers produced more tokens than male speakers. For this variable, there were 3 occurrences (0.3%) by male speakers, whereas there were 8 occurrences (1.4%) by female speakers. Although it is interesting that female speakers produced more tokens than male speakers, there are too few tokens to generalise that female speakers use more unmarked adverbs than male speakers. However, these numbers do show that the results for this variable were not male-dominated, which is the case with many of the other variables.

For the PM *like*, female speakers have a higher number of occurrences than male speakers. For this variable, male speakers produced 216 occurrences (23.8%), whereas female speakers produced 223 occurrences (39%), which illustrates that the female speakers tend to use the PM *like* much more than male speakers. This is in line with Diskin's (2017) study, in which she found that female speakers tended to use more *like* as a sentence filler than male speakers, and she explains that male speakers might be actively avoiding this feature as it can be seen as a hesitatorial device (2017:155) (cf. 3.2.7 for more on this). D'Arcy's (2007) study also gives a probable explanation for the high numbers of females using *like* in the present study, as she concludes that female speakers tend to favour using *like* as a discourse marker, although for its other functions, male speakers often use *like* more than female speakers (2008:411).

In the PMs *kinda/kind of* and *sorta/sort of*, male speakers have a considerably higher number of tokens than women. For this variable, male speakers had 329 tokens and female speakers had 84. If the two variables with PMs are compared, it can be seen that there is a tendency for female speakers to choose the PM *like*, whereas male speakers tend to favour the PMs *kinda/kind of* and *sorta/sort of*.

In summary, male speakers used more non-standard language than female speakers, which is in line with previous research on male and female language.

For the majority of the variables, male speakers produced the most non-standard language. The variables where this was reversed (when considering percentages) were *semi-auxiliaries*, *unmarked adverbs* and *PM like*.

4.4 Summary of the results and hypotheses

The present chapter has shown that generally AmE speakers use more non-standard language than BrE speakers in informal broadcast speech. This may be linked to the fact that

British culture has a long tradition of a systematic class division and can perhaps be considered more a formal culture compared to AmE culture.

The non-standard features can be divided into two categories, the morphosyntactic features and the pragmatic features. Most of the variables in this study belongs to the former category, whereas two variables belong to the latter category. The pragmatic variables appear to be quite frequently used by speakers in informal broadcast speech, whereas the morphosyntactic variables were much more restricted in use in the same context. Thus, it can be argued that the morphosyntactic variables in general have a lower status than the pragmatic variables, and that speakers of both varieties might consider the morphosyntactic variables to be less acceptable to use in informal broadcast speech compared to the pragmatic variables. The exception to this statement is the variable *semi-auxiliaries*, which occurred frequently in both varieties. These semi-auxiliaries, *gonna* and *gotta*, can be considered to be reduced forms which do not contradict the rules of SE, but rather they are a more informal way of using the language.

The hypotheses, as presented in chapter 1, are repeated here for convenience:

1. BrE speakers and AmE speakers will produce approximately the same amount of non-standard language on talk shows. However, the distribution of non-standard features across the linguistic variables will not be the same in the two varieties.
2. Male speakers will produce more non-standard language than female speakers on talk shows.

Hypothesis 1 was only partly supported by the findings. As seen throughout the present chapter, AmE speakers produced more non-standard features than the BrE speakers, which refutes the first part of hypothesis 1. The second part of hypothesis 1, however, was supported by the findings. The distribution of the features across the linguistic variables was not the same in the two varieties, and in the case of some features the results of the two varieties were very different. Particularly noteworthy is the distinction between the variables where BrE show no occurrences and the AmE show a few, compared to the features where both varieties show some or many occurrences although in different distribution.

The second hypothesis was for the most part supported by the findings of the analysis of the social variable *gender*. Male speakers did indeed produce more non-standard language compared to the female speakers for the majority of the variables, as discussed in section 4.3 above. This was expected, as it is in line with previous sociolinguistic studies on non-standard language in relation to gender.

5. Conclusion

This final chapter of the thesis concludes the study. Firstly, in 5.1, a summary of the present study is given. In 5.2, the differences and similarities between the two varieties, BrE and AmE, as presented by chapter 4, are explained briefly. Section 5.3 addresses attitudes towards standardness in the present study. In the penultimate section, 5.4, some possible shortcomings of the study are given, and finally, in section 5.5, some suggestions for further research are presented.

5.1 Summary

The aims of the present study were to measure the degree of standardness on talk shows, compare BrE and AmE in the use of a selection of non-standard features, and investigate the language attitudes that the degree of non-standardness reflects in BrE and AmE.

The study investigated two talk shows, *The Graham Norton Show* for BrE and *Chelsea* for AmE, of which 20 hours of speech-data was collected from each talk show. The linguistic variables which were investigated in the present study are listed below:

1. Non-standard verb forms
2. Auxiliary deletion
3. Semi-auxiliaries
4. Contracted verbs
5. Multiple negation
6. Unmarked adverbs
7. Pragmatic marker *like*
8. Pragmatic markers *kinda/kind of* and *sorta/sort of*

In addition to these variables, the social variable *gender* was included, in order to investigate who use the most non-standard language on talk shows. The study was both quantitative and qualitative. The qualitative aspect was in the selection of the non-standard features of the study and the analysis of individual examples, whereas the quantitative

aspect was seen in the measuring of usage, in the numbers of occurrences and percentages given for each feature.

The hypotheses, presented first in chapter 1, were:

1. BrE speakers and AmE speakers will produce approximately the same amount of non-standard language on talk shows. However, the distribution of non-standard features across the linguistic variables will not be the same in the two varieties.
2. Male speakers will produce more non-standard language than female speakers on talk shows.

As was found in 4.4, hypothesis 1 turned out to not be supported by the findings, at least partially. There was a difference in how many non-standard occurrences there were in the two varieties. In approximately the same amount of data for each variety, there were 640 occurrences of non-standard language in BrE, whereas in AmE there were 838 occurrences of non-standard language. This shows that AmE was the variety in which speakers produced the most non-standard language in the data investigated. The second part of hypothesis 1, deals with with the distribution of the non-standard features. This second part of the hypothesis was confirmed, as the speakers produced non-standard language in different categories or linguistic features in the two varieties, as seen throughout chapter 4. Hypothesis 2 turned out to be supported by the findings, as the male speakers produced 907 non-standard features, whereas women produced 571 non-standard features.

The results of the study indicate that some features, such as semi-auxiliaries, PM *like* and PM *kinda/kind of* and *sorta/sort of* are not particularly stigmatised and are typically accepted by speakers to use on talk shows in both varieties, although to some varying degree. Other features such as multiple negation, unmarked adverbs and contracted verbs are used very rarely and thus it can be concluded that these features are deemed to be not particularly acceptable by speakers to use on talk shows. These lesser used features can be said to be relatively stigmatised. The more frequent features appeared to be the pragmatic features, whereas the morphosyntactic features were often the ones that were used less on talk shows. Hence, the morphosyntactic features was the ones that appeared to have to lowest status in speakers of both varieties, whereas the pragmatic features can be said to have a higher status compared to the morphosyntactic features.

5.2 BrE vs AmE

In the two varieties, BrE and AmE, there were some differences relating to which linguistic variables were used the most. As seen in chapter 4, and mentioned above, AmE had more total occurrences of non-standard features compared to BrE. This may be related to the countries' different language cultures.

For BrE, the non-standard linguistic variables that the speakers used the most was, from most frequent to less frequent: PMs *kinda/kind of* and *sorta/sort of*, semi-auxiliaries, and PM *like*. The three most frequent features in AmE make a similar list: semi-auxiliaries, PM *like*, and PMs *kinda/kind of* and *sorta/sort of*. It should be noted, however that in AmE, the latter feature was produced much less frequently than the other features listed. For BrE, most of the other variables were very rarely used, and thus, as explained in chapter 4, these appear to be the linguistic variables which are least accepted by BrE speakers. For AmE all of the variables had some occurrences, although the ones not mentioned above were very infrequent in AmE. It thus appears that the distribution of the variables was not very different in the two varieties, although some variation can be observed.

A noteworthy finding was the non-occurrence of certain variables in the BrE data. The two categories *multiple negation* and *unmarked adverbs* had no occurrences in BrE, although they had a few occurrences in AmE. This indicates that the features have such low status in BrE that they are typically avoided in broadcast informal speech.

5.3 Attitudes towards standardness

As mentioned in 4.2, British culture has a long tradition of being very formal, as can be seen by the many etiquette and language guides there are from various decades in the UK. The USA can be considered to have a less formal culture, or at least this is what has traditionally been the case. This is a possible explanation for the discrepancy in the use of non-standard features, and there seem to be some remains of the traditionally formal British culture in the way BrE is used on talk shows.

5.4 Contributions

The present study has investigated non-standard grammar use in a genre which has not been studied previously, namely informal broadcast language, by using talk shows as its object of study. By studying non-standard grammar in this context, the present study contributes to the field by providing insight into a genre which has not previously been explored in this way.

The present study has given an overview of some of the non-standard features used on talk shows, which might be the starting point for more research on non-standard grammar and pragmatics in informal broadcast language use.

The present study has provided insight into the relative status of a selection of non-standard features. By including both BrE and AmE it has also increased our knowledge of the differences between the two varieties, and – more indirectly – the differences between the two language cultures.

5.5 Shortcomings

Due to the limited time frame that is allotted to a master's thesis, the research done had to be somewhat limited. If there had been more time, the researcher could most certainly have analysed a wider variety of talk shows for both BrE and AmE, which might have resulted in more nuanced data sets.

If there had been more time to analyse data, more variables could also have been included, both linguistic and social. This would provide more insight into the non-standard language used on talk shows, and the people who use this kind of language.

In order to analyse the amount of data that were included in the present study, only the non-standard occurrences were counted. If there had been more time, both the standard and non-standard version of a variable could have been counted, which would have given a more nuanced view of the language used on talk shows. If this had been included, the frequency of each variable could also have been calculated.

In the present study, it was not calculated how much each speaker contributed. This would have been very time consuming, as there were very many guests on each talk show at the same time, and the guests that were on the shows often did not participate for the full length of a talk show episode. The calculation of each speaker's contribution

would, however, paint a more accurate picture of who use the most non-standard language on talk shows.

5.6 Suggestions for further research

Further research on the topic of the present thesis, might want to investigate more data, and thus get a more nuanced analysis.

It would also be interesting to include more variables, both linguistic variables, which could most certainly include more pragmatic variables, and social variables such as age, ethnicity, and class or educational background. Adding more variables would certainly aid to nuance the study further and might very well yield some interesting results.

Another interesting way to study the topic of the present thesis, would be to investigate it with a diachronic perspective, where one would investigate the differences and developments from an earlier period to a modern period.

Finally, it would be possible to investigate more varieties of English (or even other languages), whether that be more supervarieties such as the ones investigated in the present study, or regional or socio-cultural sub-varieties.

Appendix 1 – Episodes

Below is an overview of all the episodes that were analysed in the present study. The abbreviations S (season) and E (episode) are used for this section only. For *The Graham Norton Show*, I have included the URLs for the episodes, as they were retrieved from *YouTube* at the time the analysis took place (October/November 2017). The *Chelsea* episodes were all available on *Netflix* at the time of the analysis (October/November 2017). The total time of each of the two data sets are given at the end of each list.

1. *The Graham Norton Show*:

<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=JPoPuBjgeHc&t=425s> S17:E11 (25:50)
<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=ec7KewCGJEY> S19:E12 (22:47)
<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=KOLD1bJVH7M> S17:E12 (39:49)
<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=vVyGBJTINMY> S20:E04 (28:20)
https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=A_cS1Z_tONY S22:E02 (33:22)
https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=BX--c_ii08U S18:E09 (33:56)
<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=Rftk8mcwY3w> S20:E05 (29:40)
<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=uBlxOl6eNOW> S15:E11 (27:11)
<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=GOW7Qi27p7c> S22:E07 (35:00)
<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=HKnRkb0MRJc> S22:E09: (38:45)
https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=t5AkqU_mjis S22:E06: (30:51)
<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=PtLcb9oWsok> S20:E01: (33:00)
<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=4bXWb5JpGII> S22:E04: (25:41)
<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=cOWp-pyuFWA> S15:E05: (33:40)
<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=muwBgj3WcdY> S16:E12: (26:25)
<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=PMAf1qZMlrg> S12:E05: (33:25)
<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=n990W9j-1XY> S18:E02: (32:21)
<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=l5JyQ2kMGRM> S09:E03: (37:20)
<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=flTnCm9ulNI> S17:E07: (31:40)
<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=w4nKXDmmJrc> S21:E01: (37:56)
<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=IxN4WatHJaA> S10:E13: (30:25)
<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=qnoqeWYfn5Y> S17:E08: (25:35)
<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=jqfFCHBHpEo> S16:05: (38:57)
https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=kw_o8LYX5dw S19:E11: (25:35)
<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=S29A67YDi5w> S17:E06: (35:20)
<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=0es0XnqpXyM> S18:E16: (29:50)
<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=THW16Rrrz2w> S16:E13: (43:05)
<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=Bzmi6HhO71E> S13:E07: (33:19)
https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=qX_6GSzxxzc S10:E21: (36:25)
<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=72ex2vL9Z24> S09:E04: (34:30)
<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=Uqn2R4CwiXQ> S11:E11: (28:00)
<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=7ZtYBItRFYQ> S11:E05: (28:00)
<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=5STn5auNCnc> S17:E04: (27:20)
<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=GQOgAr4WdCc> S16:E11: (26:52)
<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=NfuMisfLXrc> S18:E17: (25:27)
<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=olWHR7H1tKk> S08:E20: (35:10)
https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=fRv00mrrR_o S9:E12: (37:30)

<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=csPd9jzWYxU> S9:E8: (31:40)
<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=cDCtomEc9E> S11:E01: (10:00)
Sum: 20:19:39

2. *Chelsea*:

S1:E15: (23:35)
S1:E29: (28:00)
S1:E31: (25:01)
S1:E32: (18:28)
S1:E35: (19:36)
S1:E36: (26:20)
S1:E41: (24:54)
S1:E42: (22:18)
S1:E47: (30:19)
S1:E56: (21:21)
S1:E64: (19:52)
S1:E77: (24:42)
S1:E79: (26:11)
S1:E84: (23:20)
S1:E87: (25:19)
S1:E90: (26:37)
S2:E1: (42:25)
S2:E2: (42:17)
S2:E3: (32:17)
S2:E5: (46:33)
S2:E6: (34:05)
S2:E7: (26:42)
S2:E8: (41:40)
S2:E10: (36:18)
S2:E11: (38:42)
S2:E13: (31:14)
S2:E14: (37:54)
S2:E15: (38:28)
S2:E17: (31:05)
S2:E18: (32:57)
S2:E19: (38:33)
S2:E20: (35:36)
S2:E21: (36:02)
S2:E22: (46:14)
S2:E23: (46:45)
S2:E25: (44:08)
S2:E26: (41:31)
S2:E27: (32:39)
Sum: 20:19:58

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