I declare that I have worked on this thesis independently, using only the primary and secondary sources listed in the bibliography.

..........................................................

Lenka Koudelková
I would like to thank my supervisor, Ms Kateřina Tomková, for her patience, kindness and her invaluable advice. My appreciation also belongs to my parent for their support throughout my studies. And finally, many thanks to Ms. Regina Spektor and Mr. Frank Sinatra. Without their music, I would go insane.
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List of Phonetic Symbols and Signs

- **a** open front unrounded vowel—first element of Eng. diphthong [aɪ], e.g. *fine*
- **æ** front vowel between open and open-mid—Eng. *man*
- **a** open back unrounded vowel—Eng. *harsh*
- **ə** open back rounded vowel—Eng. *dog*
- **b** voiced bilabial plosive—Eng. *bet*
- **ɔ** open mid-back rounded vowel—Eng. *caught* and first element of diphthong [ɔɪ]
- **d** voiced alveolar plosive—Eng. *daddy*
- **dʒ** voiced palato-alveolar fricative—Eng. *John*
- **ð** voiced dental fricative—Eng. *other*
- **e** close-mid front unrounded vowel—Eng. *bed* and first element of diphthong [ɛɪ]
- **ɛ** central unrounded vowel—Eng. initial and final vowels in *another*
- **ɜ** open-mid central unrounded vowel—Eng. *bird*
- **f** voiceless labiodental fricative—Eng. *four*
- **g** voiced velar plosive—Eng. *go*
- **h** voiceless glottal fricative—Eng. *home*
- **i** close front unrounded vowel—Eng. *fleece*
- **ɪ** close-mid centralised unrounded vowel—Eng. *sit*
- **j** palatal approximant—Eng. *you*
- **r** voiced post-alveolar approximant—Eng. *sit*
- **k** voiceless velar plosive—Eng. *car*
- **l** voiced alveolar lateral approximant—Eng. *lie*
- **ɬ** voiced alveolar lateral approximant with velarization—Eng. *still*
- **m** voiced bilabial nasal—Eng. *man*
- **n** voiced alveolar nasal—Eng. *no*
- **ŋ** voiced velar nasal—Eng. *bring*
- **θ** voiceless dental fricative—Eng. *think*
- **p** voiceless bilabial plosive—Eng. *post*
- **s** voiceless alveolar fricative—Eng. *some*
- **ʃ** voiceless palato-alveolar fricative—Eng. *shoe*
- **t** voiceless alveolar plosive—Eng. *toe*
- **tʃ** voiceless palato-alveolar affricate—Eng. *choose*
- **u** close back rounded vowel—Eng. *sue*
- **ʊ** close-mid centralised rounded vowel—Eng. *push*
- **v** voiced labiodental fricative—Eng. *very*
- **ʌ** open-mid back unrounded vowel—Eng. *shut*
- **w** labial-velar semi-vowel—Eng. *will*
- **z** voiced alveolar fricative—Eng. *zest*
- **ʒ** voiced palato-alveolar fricative—Eng. *seizure*

---

1 This list was retriever from Miroslav Ježek’s bachelor thesis *Glottalization* (2006)
• ?  glottal plosive (also called glottal stop)
• | indicates tone-unit boundary
• || indicates pause
• : indicates full length of preceding vowel, e.g. caught [kɔːt]
• , indicates syllabic, e.g. station [steɪn]
• ^ indicates non-syllabic, e.g. three in broad Cockney [θrəi]
• h indicates aspiration, e.g. posh [pʰɔʃ]
• i indicates primary stress, e.g. put ['pʊt]
• v indicates voiced quality, e.g. better [ˈbetə]
• ◆ indicates devoiced quality, e.g. paper in Cockney [pæɾə]
• * indicates capital letters in spelling transcription, e.g. Liverpool [*lɪvərɒpəl]
1. Introduction

Language is changing unceasingly. And considering English, this applies twice as much, since there are so many users of it, native and non-native, and so many varieties of it – accents, dialects, pidgins, creoles – which continuously affect each other and therefore affect the form of the language.

For most of the English teachers and English learners (as their second language), the model of pronunciation has been that of Standard English – Received Pronunciation. This accent, however, as any other, has come through a number of changes which, among other reasons, were caused by the impact of other English varieties, Cockney to be one of them. It is not surprising that Cockney has such an impact, for it is one of the most spread English dialects that couple of decades ago had more than 7 million speakers (F. McArthur & T. McArthur (Eds.): 1992).

The results of these two varieties influencing and affecting each other are not only the changes incorporated in RP itself, but also the emergence of a new variety of the English language – Estuary English. This variety, according to the author of the term, is somewhere "between Cockney and the Queen\(^2\)" (Rosewarne: 1994).

It is very interesting to observe these changes, indeed. Years ago, no one would have thought that anyone speaking Cockney could be a part of upper class. But not only are there such people today, but Cockney also influenced RP, which absorbed some of the Cockney features. One of the

\[^2\] Received pronunciation is sometimes also called “Queen English”, “Oxford accent” or “BBC pronunciation” (Roach: 1992, p. 89)
results of this is the Estuary English (EE). The other is that RP is very different from what it used to be a hundred years ago. This development is remarkable and it is useful to trace it, for it enables us to understand better the current state of the language and also to foresee its future development.

The present thesis will deal with these changes by introducing in detail the main cause of the emergence of the new variety – Cockney – and also will provide information about Estuary English itself. The information provided will be collected from various sources, for instance literature, linguistic studies and articles.

The core texts regarding the chapters on Cockney will be the *Gimson’s Pronunciation of English*, Josef Vachek’s *Some Geographical Varieties of Present-Day English*, and, for the historical part, Matthews’ *Cockney Past and present*. Phonetic transcriptions of Cockney pronunciation could not have been done without consulting Eva Sivertsen’s *Cockney Phonology*.

The core sources for the chapters dealing with Estuary English are the original David Rosewarne’s articles about Estuary English from years 1984 and 1994. For the purpose of this thesis, it would be also advisable to work with Paul Coggle’s book *Do you speak Estuary?*, which follows Rosewarne’s findings and continues in dealing with and focusing on the newly observed variety of English, providing information about the linguistic features of EE and also about its social and cultural status. Unfortunately, its availability is very limited, since according to WorldCat.org, there are only a few prints in whole Europe.

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3 WorldCat.org is the largest online library catalogue which itemizes thousands of libraries around the world.
Therefore, its application will be based on citations that appeared in other sources.

It should be noted that the comparisons or lists of differences provided in the chapters on Cockney and Estuary English always regard the features different from Received Pronunciation. Only in chapter 6, there is a comparison of Cockney and EE.

After the two varieties that are in the interest of this thesis are be examined, the focus of this thesis will move to the changes that Received Pronunciation came through in the last few decades (chapter 5). The last but one chapter will compare Cockney and Estuary English linguistic features, and determine which of these features are the same, therefore which of these features were adopted by EE from Cockney.

The aim of the present thesis is to examine the development in the modern English language with focus on the influences on it by the most despised (although widely spread) regional dialect – Cockney. The purpose of this thesis is primarily to provide information about all the language varieties in question using both literary and non-literary sources, and to compare and contrast these varieties. The main focus and purpose of this thesis will be to determine, whether Estuary English can substitute RP in the future.

There will be an attempt to answer these research questions:

1. What is Cockney?
2. What is Cockney’s social status?
3. Who, when and why first used the term Estuary English?
4. How do Cockney and Estuary English differ from RP?

5. How do they differ from each other?

6. What (if any) impact do Cockney and EE have on RP?

2. Terms specification

For this thesis deals with language and its varieties, it is necessary to clarify some of the terms that are going to be used in it, especially terms like dialect, accent and the spoken variety of Standard English – Received Pronunciation.

2.1. Language and language varieties

There are many definitions of language, but considering the area of interest of the present thesis – dialects and accents - the most suitable one is the one from Webster’s Third New International Dictionary of the English Language, according to which the language is “the words, their pronunciation, and the methods of combining them used and understood by a community” (as cited in Crystal: 1997, p. 400).

Language varieties, then, are forms of language that somehow differ from other English varieties not only in pronunciation, but also in grammar and vocabulary, which determines it each other in one or more aforementioned features (pronunciation, grammar or colloquial meaning), or as Crystal (1997) puts it, a variety is a situationally distinctive system of linguistic expression (Crystal: 1997, p. 439).
2.2. Dialect and Accent

Both accent and dialect are terms that refer to a language variety, and although these terms might sometimes be mistaken, there is a difference in their definitions⁴.

2.2.1 Accent

There are two ways of understanding the term accent. One of them is accent in a sense of stress or prominence, given to a syllable (Roach: 1992, p. 7).

The other one which is the one of importance for his thesis is the one referring to a way of pronouncing, which means that the variety differs from other varieties phonetically or/and phonologically⁵ (Chambers & Trudgill: 1998, p. 5). Also, the term accent does not bear any kind of subtext and is more or less neutral.

2.2.2. Dialect

Dialect, unlike accent, is a variety that differs not only in pronunciation, but also in grammar and vocabulary (Roach: 1992, p. 7). Chambers and Trudgill (1998) provide an example of such a case: “If two speakers say, respectively, I done it last night and I did it last night; we can say that they are speaking different dialects” (Chambers & Trudgill: 1998, p. 5). What is also very different from the term accent is the perception of dialect, for this term bares rather negative implicit meaning. Dialects are considered to be something

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⁴ Although in practice, dialects and accents very often merge into each other. (Chambers & Trudgill: 1998, p. 5)
⁵ While it shares the same grammar and vocabulary (Roach: 1992, p. 7).
inferior and marginal, connected with low-status, the working class and other groups lacking in prestige (Chambers & Trudgill: 1998, p. 3).

2.2.3. Classification of Cockney and Estuary English

Taking in consideration the definitions provided above, the two language varieties in question will be classified as either accent or dialect. In the case of Cockney, this classification is rather conspicuous. As it will be examined and proven in the following chapters, Cockney differs from Standard English, Received Pronunciation and other English varieties not only in pronunciation, but also in grammar and vocabulary, and therefore complies with all the conditions for being a dialect.

The case of Estuary English, however, is not so clear, because even the linguists studying it do not seem to agree on any particular classification of this variety.

For example, David Rosewarne, who coined the term ‘Estuary English’, described it as “the most influential accent\(^6\) in the south-east of England” (Rosewarne: 1994). David Crystal (2003), on the other hand, argues that Estuary English is not just an accent, as it is often viewed, but a dialect, and supports this argument with examples of the differences not only in pronunciation, but also in grammar\(^7\). Most of the linguists are therefore careful about labelling Estuary English and call it simply - a variety, and so will the author of this thesis, until all the differences from Standard English will be examined.

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\(^6\) Emphasis added by L. K.

\(^7\) These are going to be examined later in this thesis.
2.3. Received Pronunciation

Received Pronunciation, or RP, is the variety of English pronunciation that has been accepted as a pronunciation standard. It is the accent of English that is taught in schools and also functions as a model of pronunciation for English learners. It is believed to be the accent of educated people, especially those educated in private schools (Roach: 1992, p. 7). RP is also sometimes called “The BBC English”, for it is the recommended form of pronunciation for BBC announcers, because this accent is most widely understood and there is no regional prejudice connected to it (Gimson: 1994, p. 78). This means that it is not possible to recognize the regional or class origin of RP speakers.

The term Received Pronunciation was first coined in the second half of the nineteenth century by English philologist Alexander Ellis, who characterized RP as a variety recognized “all over the country, not widely differing in any particular locality, and admitting a certain degree of variety. It may be considered as the educated pronunciation of the metropolis, of the court, the pulpit, and the bar” (Ellis: 1869; as cited in Romaine: 2007, p. 390).

3. Cockney

Cockney is a dialect usually connected with London’s working-class, originally associated with those who were “born within the sound of Bow Bells” (Wells, 1982), thus the bells of St Mary-le-Bow Church in Cheapside in London.

There are several explanations of the origin of the word “cockney”. One says that the term is derived from the words cok and nay, which literally

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8 This term uses the older sense of “received” which is “generally accepted as authentic, especially among those qualified to know” (Honey: 1998)
9 Although it implies that the speaker comes from high or upper class, since RP is connected with private school education
means a cock’s egg, or misshaped egg. Other theory suggests that this name comes from Normans, as they called London “Land of Sugar” (from French *pais de cocaigne*) (Webster’s Online Dictionary). In *Canterbury Tales* by Geoffrey Chaucer, the word *cockenay* is used in a sense of a “mother’s darling or milksop” (F. McArthur & T. McArthur (Eds.): 1992, p. 206)

This chapter will provide a brief overview of the history of the Cockney dialect and will also offer a list of its occurrences in literature, television and other modern media. Since “Cockney is the most generally despised and downtrodden” (Matthews: 1972, p. xi), its social status and its change through time will also be discussed.

The last sub-chapter will introduce Cockney’s specific vocabulary known as the Cockney Rhyming Slang.

### 3.1. Brief history of Cockney

Although Cockney dialect existed much earlier, the linguists did not consider it for their studies up until the eighteen century and therefore, to study Cockney before this period, one must rely only on Elizabethan and Jacobean plays and other pieces of non-linguistic texts. And even in the eighteen century, when the linguists started to take interest in non-standard varieties of English, it was literature and letters from which they draw the material for their studies. (Matthews: 1972).

One of the first people to write about Cockney was John Walker in 1791 in his *Critical Pronouncing Dictionary of the English Language*. He writes about four main faults in pronunciation that he spotted among Londoners. By the

---

10 See 3.3.
nineteenth century, Cockney was already regarded to be a “gutter accent” and even though it still occurred in literature, Cockneys were shown as ridiculous or unworthy low-class figures. (F. McArthur & T. McArthur (Eds.): 1992, p. 209)

Today, Cockney is a subject of various linguistic or sociolinguistic studies as one of the most widely spread English dialects, and also a lot of laymen take interest in it.\(^{11}\)

### 3.2. Social perception of Cockney

Cockney is not only a regional dialect, but class dialect as well (Gimson: 1994, p. 85), which is usually connected with the London’s working-class, which might be the reason why it is considered to be less prestigious than other dialects or accents. As Matthews puts it, “Of all the non-standard forms of English, Cockney is the most generally despised and downtrodden” (Matthews: 1972, p. xi).

Matthews himself was born and raised within the sound of Bow Bells, but as he describes his own experience, his education caused suppression of the Cockney features in his speech: “Cockney, we had been taught by teachers and society, was vulgar, something to discard in favour of Standard Speech” (Matthews: 1972, p. vii)

So why is it that Cockney is much more despised than any other dialect? John Walker explains this quite easily in his *Pronouncing Dictionary* (1791). While other dialects and varieties were in the provinces and even the most educated people in these provinces spoke with the dialect, Cockneys lived right next to the London high-society, educated people, whose speech was the

\(^{11}\) Judging from the number of discussions or YouTube videos about this particular dialect.
Standard Speech, and so the difference was much more noticeable  
(Walker: 1791, as cited in Matthews: 1972, p. xiii).

These noticeable “mistakes” of Cockney are its distinctive pronunciation and its grammatical “incorrectness”, and one could argue that also the fact that Cockney people and Cockney speech are connected to a Cockney Rhyming Slang\textsuperscript{12}, which is believed to be the language of the underground and thieves.

Today, Cockney is perceived much more tolerably, probably because of the fact that it is more and more often heard in television and has quite a lot of famous speakers\textsuperscript{13}. Also, the interest in regional dialects rose lately. People are not only much more tolerable towards other varieties than their own; they also take interest in them. In today’s world, a web page on any accent or dialect can be found on the internet with the description of the variety and also with a guide or tutorial for how to speak it.

3.3. Representation of Cockney in Literature and other Media
As previously mentioned, Cockney characters occurred in writings much earlier than the linguists started to take interest in it. In the Elizabethan and Jacobean plays, Cockney figures were to be found very often. For example, Shakespeare’s Mistress Quickly, who appears in \textit{Henry IV}, is the most significant Cockney character, which then became a model character for many others. Similar characters were put in \textit{Midsummer Night’s Dream}, \textit{Julius Caesar}, \textit{Hamlet}, and also \textit{Romeo and Juliet} as Juliet’s nurse. (Matthews: 1972, p. 4)

\textsuperscript{12} See 3.6.
\textsuperscript{13} See 3.3.
In the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, three authors and their works are most significant. Charles Dickens created a character named Samuel Weller, who represents a Cockney character in *Pickwick Papers*, and whose most noticeable Cockney feature is confusion of [w] and [v]. And along with Dickens, William Makepeace Thackeray also created a Cockney character – Jeames Yellowplush – in *The Yellowplush Papers*. The great value of this particular piece lies in the fact that Thackeray used phonetic spellings (Matthews: 1972, p. 50 – 53).

But of course, the most famous Cockney character of literature is, without any doubt, Eliza Doolittle from G. B. Shaw’s *Pygmalion*. She is a Cockney flower girl, and as one can see, the social perception of Cockney people is greatly depicted in the play, as professor Higgins says: “You see this creature with her kerbstone English: the English that will keep her in the gutter to the end of her days” (Shaw: 1912, p. 210). From this quotation one can see the importance of a proper pronunciation and the degree of disdain towards Cockneys. Shaw also uses a phonetic spelling for a few of the first Eliza’s lines, but then he stops, apologizing: “Here, with apologies, this desperate attempt to represent her dialect without a phonetic alphabet must be abandoned as unintelligible outside London” (Shaw: 1912, p. 203).

Nowadays, it is not so rare to observe Cockney figures in literature, television or music, for there is quite a lot of Cockney speakers among today’s celebrities. One of them is famous British journalist, TV producer and writer Janet Street-Porter, whose strong accent tends to be the aim of criticism towards her. Another public figures speaking Cockney are the musicians Damon
Albarn (frontman of the band Blur, whose album Parklife contains songs sung in Cockney) and Lily Allen. The representation of Cockney characters on TV shows is probably strongest in the BBC series *EastEnders*, which has been broadcasted since 1985 until today. Even the famous actor Sir Michael Caine belongs among Cockneys.

### 3.4. Linguistic Features of Cockney, How does Cockney Differ from RP

This chapter will deal with the differences between Cockney and Received Pronunciation, and one and the most important aspects of these differences which is pronunciation. Therefore, there are going to be examples of these differences demonstrated by the phonetic transcription of both RP and Cockney. All these transcriptions will be taken from or made with the help of either Daniel Jones’ *Cambridge English Pronouncing Dictionary* or Eva Sivertsen’s *Cockney Phonology*. The list of typical pronunciation features of Cockney is taken from *Gimson’s Pronunciation of English* and from Vachek’s *Some Geographical Varieties of Present-Day English*. Furthermore, the grammar features are taken from *The Oxford companion to the English language*.

#### 3.4.1. Pronunciation

Although there are no differences in the inventory of vowel phonemes between RP and Cockney and there are only few differences of lexical incidence (unlike with other types of pronunciation\(^{14}\)), the differences lie in the realization (Gimson: 1994, p. 85).

\(^{14}\) General American and Scottish English, see Gimson (1994: 84)
3.4.1.1. Vowels and diphthongs

- Diphthongization of long vowels: [iː] becomes [ɪiː] and in final position even [æi], so while the RP speaker would pronounce the phrase *feed me* like [fiːd miː], Cockney speaker would say [fiːd mæi]. Same diphthongization appears with [i] in final position, in word like *busy* which is in Cockney pronounced [bɪzəi].

[uː] is replaced by [ʊuː], so *boot*, [buːt] in RP, becomes [buʊt] in Cockney.

And finally, [æː] is diphthongized to [əʊ] or [əʊə] (the latter in final position). *Sword* and *saw* are then pronounced respectively as [sɔʊd] and [sɔʊə], instead of [sæːd] and [sæː].

- Short vowel [æ] is much closer in Cockney, so the word *pat* would sound like [pæt] instead of [pæt]; another short vowel [ʌ] moves forward and becomes almost [a], so the Cockney pronunciation of *fun* is [fan] and not [fʌn].

- As for the diphthongs, [eɪ] becomes [æi], therefore *late* is in Cockney pronounced as [læɪt] and not [eɪt]; [æi] is replaced by [aɪ], so *light* becomes [læɪt] instead of [laɪt]; and finally [əʊ] is in Cockney [æʊ], and the word *load* is not pronounced [lɔʊd], but [læʊd].

3.4.1.2. Consonants

- H-dropping: In Cockney, [h] is omitted, and words like *hammer* or *house* are pronounced respectively [ʰæmə] and [ʰæʊs].
• Glottal stop (or glottalization)\(^{15}\) is used instead of \([t]\) between vowels (\textit{butter} becomes \([\text{b\^{\text{\textperiodcentered}}\text{t}}]\)), and instead of \([p]\), \([t]\) and \([k]\) before a following consonant: \textit{statement} becomes \([\text{sta}\text{i}\text{m} \text{\textperiodcentered\textperiodcentered m}nt]\).

• Consonants \([\theta]\) and \([\partial]\) are replaced by \([f]\) and \([v]\) – the words think and father are therefore respectively pronounced as \([\text{fi}nk]\) and \([\text{f\^{\text{\textperiodcentered}}v\text{\textperiodcentered}}]\).

• Dark \([\text{i}]\) in positions not immediately before vowels becomes vocalic \([\text{u}]\), and \textit{milk} is then pronounced as \([\text{m\^{\text{\textperiodcentered}}\text{\textperiodcentered}}\text{k}]\).

3.4.2. Grammar

• As for the grammar, Cockney very often disobeys the simple rules of Standard English. For example, Cockney speakers use double negative, usually in connection with other typical Cockney feature – usage of \textit{ain't} as a negative contraction of verbs such as \textit{isn't} and \textit{haven't}. These two features combined could end up in saying “\textit{There ain't nuffink like it}” (“There is nothing like it” in standard English).

• Another feature are the question tags. These are widely used in non-traditional forms, such as \textit{innit} for \textit{isn’t it}, inneye for \textit{isn’t he} or dinnee foe didn’t he.

• Furthermore, Cockney speakers tend to generalize the third person by adding the ending \textit{“-s”} in every person in singular: \textit{I says, you says, he says}.

\(^{15}\) For further information on glottalization see Ježek:2006
• Personal pronouns, when used independently, are used in nominative rather than in accusative, so that Cockney speakers say *It’s me*, but also *It’s him* or *It’s them*.

• The prepositions *to* and *at* are omitted when talking about places: “*I’m going down the pub*”, while it should be said “I am going down to the pub.”

### 3.5. Cockney Rhyming Slang

Cockney Rhyming Slang originates in nineteenth century amongst the members of London underground who invented this coded language so that the police would not understand them. The slang is created by rhyming an English word with another word or a set phrase, while only those who are informed know which word it is. To confuse the potential listeners even more, usually only the first word of the set phrase is used, so that it does not rhyme with the word anymore; sometimes the words can be coded twice by rhyming the word that already is a part of Cockney Rhyming Slang (Lingea: 2008, p. 216).
3.5.1. Examples of Cockney Rhyming Slang – Human body

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>English</th>
<th>Rhymes with</th>
<th>Cockney</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Feet</td>
<td>Plates of meat</td>
<td>Plates</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Teeth</td>
<td>Hampstead Heath</td>
<td>Hampsteads</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Legs</td>
<td>Scotch eggs</td>
<td>Schotches</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Eyes</td>
<td>Mince Pies</td>
<td>Minces</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Arms</td>
<td>Chalk Farms</td>
<td>Chalk Farms</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hair</td>
<td>Barnet Fair</td>
<td>Barnet</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Head</td>
<td>Loaf of Bread</td>
<td>Loaf</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Face</td>
<td>Boat race</td>
<td>Boat race</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mouth</td>
<td>North and South</td>
<td>North and South</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Figure 2 – retrieved from http://www.cockneyrhymingslang.co.uk/cockney_rhyming_slang

From this table one can see the process of creating the rhyme⁶. An ordinary English word is taken, for example *head* or *mouth*, and then a common set phrase rhyming with this word is chosen – in this case *loaf of bread* and *North and South* respectively. One way of forming the slang expression is to preserve the whole set phrase, as in case of *North and South*, the other one, used for even bigger confusion of uninitiated listener, is to omit the second part of the phrase and use only the first word from it, as in the case

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⁶ Rhyme: “agreement in the terminal sounds of two or more words or metrical lines, such that (in English prosody) the last stressed vowel and any sound following it are the same, while the sound or sounds preceding are different. (...) The consonance may extend over more than one word” (Oxford English Dictionary, as cited in Franklyn: 1975, p. 3)
of loaf. In this case, the rhyme disappears completely, and therefore it is impossible to recognize the original word.

3.5.2. Cockney rhyming slang today

As for today's status of the Cockney Rhyming Slang, although it is sometimes claimed that its use is disappearing and that the Slang is dying, or already dead, there are still people who are determined to keep it alive. Julian Franklyn (1975) says in his preface for the second edition of A Dictionary Rhyming Slang: “From time to time a newspaper will print an article declaring that London’s costers are no longer Cockney, that dialect is dying, that rhyming slang is dead. These laments are superfluous, these obituaries premature; as attested by the call for a second edition of this dictionary” (Franklyn: 1975, p. ix).

One could argue that because these words were written over thirty years ago, they do not mean much today, but that would be a mistake. The interest in Cockney Rhyming slang does not fade away. In 1998, a Cockney speaker Gordon Smith started a web page Cockney Rhyming Slang.co.uk where he provides information about the Slang, Cockney Rhyming Slang alphabet and also Cockney translator, which converts ordinary English into Cockney. According to the comments under the articles and other contributions, many people are still much interested in this web and the Cockney Rhyming Slang; hence there is no reason to think of the Slang as of a dying one, although there are not that many speakers of it as in the past.

In one of his articles, Is Cockney Rhyming Slang Dead, Smiths admits the fact, that Cockney Rhyming Slang and Cockney itself is not as spread as it used
to be, but denies that the Slang is dead: “We know we’re not in the heyday of Cockney rhyming slang. That was sometime in the late 19th century. Nevertheless we still have new Cockney phrases turning up and gaining popularity - Pete Tong, Britney Spears and all the rest. So it’s not all over yet” (Smith: 2012).

He also argues that Cockney Rhyming slang is now a part of everyday English, since everybody or almost everybody uses the expressions like *Use your loaf* or *Stop telling Porkies* without even realizing that they are using this particular slang. In this way, Cockney Rhyming Slang is probably never to disappear, even though no one will actually consider these expression as slang.

4. **Estuary English**

Estuary English (EE) is recently observed phenomenon of pronunciation of English. The term was coined and defined in the 1980s, which caused passionate discussions not only among linguists, but also among journalists and common people.

One of these debates deals with the classification of this variety – whether it is a dialect or an accent. Although Rosewarne, the coiner of this term, defined it as an accent, this thesis will deal with Estuary English as with a dialect, since not only phonological, but also grammatical features of this variety will be discussed. Also, the history of integration of this term into linguistics will be provided in this chapter, as well as its usage, speakers and spread.
4.1. Origins of Estuary English

Although the history of Estuary English in the focus of linguists is not very long, it is good for the purpose of the present thesis to some of the key moments of the discussion that surrounds Estuary English.

First one to observe the emergence of a new language variety was British linguist David Rosewarne, who in 1984 coined the term and introduced ‘Estuary English’ to the world in his ground-breaking article published in *The Times Educational Supplement*.

In this article Rosewarne (1984) claims that although RP is still considered to be the standard and is still chosen by most of the English teachers as a model of pronunciation, the English pronunciation itself is changing very quickly. Estuary English, he claims, is the strongest native influence upon RP. He puts the heartland of this variety by the banks of the river Thames and its estuary and describes EE as “a variety of modified regional speech. It is a mixture of non-regional and local south-eastern English pronunciation and intonation. If one imagines a continuum with RP and London speech at either end, "Estuary English" speakers are to be found grouped in the middle ground” (Rosewarne: 1984).

As for the speakers of Estuary English, Rosewarne claims that these are mostly young people, children of the upwardly mobile socially, who are also very likely to be influential in the future. He also argues that EE is very attractive for many people, since they unconsciously want to improve their pronunciation towards RP (to gain higher status), but want to preserve their linguistic identity at the same time. (Rosewarne: 1984)
In 1994, ten years after he coined the term, Rosewarne has written an article called *Estuary English: tomorrow’s RP?,* in which he repeats most of the information provided in the article from 1984, but also adds some new information. This new information included a list of public figures who speak EE, but, most importantly, the reason why the new term was coined was given:

> While doing post-graduate studies in Applied Linguistics in London in 1983, I felt that existing descriptions of pronunciation varieties made no real mention of accents intermediate between R.P. and localisable British forms. There appeared to be a particularly important gap in the descriptions of accents varieties in London and the South-East of England. (Rosewarne: 1994)

He then started his research by collecting recordings from radio and television, finding out that this accent was “most in evidence in suburban areas of Greater London and the counties of Essex and Kent lying to the north and south of the Thames Estuary” (Rosewarne: 1994), and therefore he chose to call the variety Estuary English.

**4.2. Dialect or accent? Lexical features of Estuary English**

As stated earlier, the classification of Estuary English as an accent or a dialect is rather difficult. It seems that even Rosewarne himself had trouble with defining Estuary English. On one hand, he claimed it to be the most influential accent, but on the other, he describes not only its specific pronunciation, but also lexical ones. However, this different vocabulary that Rosewarne introduces is not very significant.
The lexical features are described as the usage of *cheers* instead of *thank you* or even *Good bye*. *There you go* is more frequent than *Here you are*, and there is an extensive use of Americanisms and question tags (Rosewarne: 1994). But these features alone can hardly figure as a reason to call the variety a dialect.

However, in 1995, David Crystal added other grammatical features distinguishing Estuary English from RP, such as the omission of the *–ly* ending in adverbials (*They talked very quiet*), generalization of the third person (*I gets out of the car*) and others (Crystal: 2003\(^\text{17}\), p. 327). These are significant grammatical features that can be regarded as the ones that determine Estuary English as a dialect. Therefore the conclusion and the answer to the question of classification is that EE is a dialect.

### 4.3. Phonetic features of Estuary English

This sub-chapter will discuss the features of pronunciation of Estuary English. Since these features are very often the same or very similar to the features of Cockney, which are explained above, the explanation here will be brief.

However, defining generally applicable “rules” on Estuary English is impossible because there is a wide range of different varieties of EE pronunciation according to the level of influence of either Cockney or RP. Paul Coggle in his book *Do you speak estuary?* (1993) says:

\(^{17}\) First time Crystal included Estuary English in his *Encyclopedia of the English Language* was in 1995. Author of this thesis worked with its second edition from 2003.
It should now be clear that Estuary English cannot be pinned down to a rigid set of rules regarding specific features of pronunciation, grammar and special phrases. A speaker at the Cockney end of the spectrum is not so different from a Cockney speaker. And similarly, a speaker at the RP end of the spectrum will not be very different from an RP speaker. Between the two extremes is quite a range of possibilities, many of which, in isolation, would not enable us to identify a person as an Estuary speaker, but which when several are present together mark out Estuary English distinctively. (Coggle: 1993, as cited in Altendorf: 1999, p. 2)

Rosewarne admits this fact, but claims that despite it there is a general pattern. The features listed below are taken from both Rosewarne articles (1984, 1994), from the “Estuary English” entry in David Crystal’s Encyclopedia of the English Language (1995), and from John Wells’ article What is Estuary English? (1997):

- [l] vocalization: pronouncing the l-sound as [w] in final positions or in a final consonant cluster. In such a case, awful could be confused with all full in a sentence like "I am afraid our singke rooms are awfuw."

- Glottalization: replacing [t] with [ʔ], but not as often as in Cockney speech, usually only at the end of a word or before a consonant.
• Omitting the pronunciation of [j] after the first consonant in words like news or tune.

• The realization of [r] is similar to a general American\textsuperscript{18} [r], but does not have retroflection.

• HappY-tensing: using sound closer to the [i:] than to [i], especially in final position in words like happy, which would be by EE speaker pronounced [hæpi]

• Yod coalescence: using [tʃ] instead of [tʃ] in words like Tuesday or tune, which would sound like [tʃuːzdeɪ] and [tʃuːn] respectively.

As for the stress and intonation, Rosewarne claims that Estuary speakers tend to put stress on prepositions and auxiliary verbs which are not usually stressed in RP. This can cause confusion, for example in a sentence Totters have been in operation FOR years, where for can be misinterpreted as four when stressed (Rosewarne: 1994).

4.4. Reactions on Estuary English

Rosewarne (1994) stated that Estuary English will very probably replace RP, which of course aroused a passionate discussion not only among linguists, but also in the media – articles on EE were to be found in The Times Educational Supplement, The Sunday Times, The Guardian, The Ney York Times, and EE was also mentioned on BBC Radio 4, the BBC World Service and the London Broadcasting Corporation (Maidment: 1994, p. 1).

\textsuperscript{18} “That form of American English which does not have marked regional characteristics.” See Gimson: 1994, p. 84
In 1995, the Minister of Education, Gillian Shephard, labelled Estuary English as “bastardized sub-Cockney”, although she had probably confused ‘estuary’ with ‘Essex’ (Wells: 1997).

The reaction of lay public was even worse. Estuary English was rejected in a very resolute way. J. A. Maidment mentions something what he calls “Disgusted-of-Tunbridge-Wells Syndrome” (DTWS), referring to a “mythical figure”, whose main hobby in retirement is writing letters to the local and national newspapers, complaining about everything. He also provides examples of such reactions of “DTWSs”:

- It is not an accent... just lazy speaking that grates on the ear and is an extremely bad example to our children.
- The spread of Estuary English can only be described as horrifying. We are plagued with idiots on radio and television who speak English like the dregs of humanity.
- It is slobspeak, limp and flaccid: the mouths uttering it deserve to be stuffed with broken glass.

(Maidment: 1994, p. 7)

4.4.1. Linguists reaction

In the 1980s, linguists did not pay much attention to the newly coined language variety. With the exception of Paul Coggle’s book Do you speak Estuary?, the variety mostly went unnoticed until the 90s. It was only after 1994, when Rosewarne published his article on Estuary English for the second time, extending it and providing more information, that linguist started to discuss this new variety quite passionately.
Authors of various essays, articles and papers were arguing how this new variety influences RP and whether the possibility of EE replacing RP and becoming the “new RP” really exists. Some of them also argued whether the term ‘Estuary English’ was correctly chosen, or whether the variety should be called differently. Some linguists even doubted its actual existence.

One of those who questioned the choice of the term was, again, J. A. Maidment. He claimed that there is no evidence that this variety originated at the Thames estuary, referring to a research at University of Reading which found a variety very similar to EE quite a long way from the Thames estuary. He therefore suggested that the name of this new trend should be “Post-Modern English”, since in today’s post-modern age, “it is acceptable to pick and mix accents” (Maidment: 1994, p. 7)

Maidment not only among those who do not agree with the term that Rosewarne coined, but he also doubts the existence of such a variety as Estuary English, as well as Roach who wrote in his Little Encyclopaedia of Phonetics: “Many learners of English have been given the impression that this is a new accent of English. In reality, there is no such accent, and the term should be used with care” (Roach: 2002, p. 26)

4.5. The spread of Estuary English

Rosewarne never claimed Estuary English to be a “new variety,” and even the subheading of his original article from 1984 says: “David Rosewarne describes a newly observed\textsuperscript{19} variety of English.” It is also said in the article that “it appears to be a continuation of the long process by which London

\textsuperscript{19} Emphasis added by L. K.
pronunciation has made itself felt. This started in the later Middle Ages when the speech of the capital started to influence the Court and from there changed the Received Pronunciation of the day” (Rosewarne: 1984). And by the time the varieties of English started to influence each other, they also started to spread across the country.

4.5.1. Boundaries of Estuary English

In his 1994 article, Rosewarne published these two diagrams dealing with the position of EE among other English varieties:

Figure 3 – retrieved from Rosewarne: 1994

With these diagrams he explains why he started to take interest in Estuary English. The first diagram represents the situation before he started his research on the new variety. He felt there to be a gap in the descriptions of accent varieties. The second diagram, then, represents the situation after Rosewarne’s research – the gap is filled with the newly observed variety – Estuary English (Rosewarne: 1994)

With these two diagrams, Rosewarne set quite strict boundaries between the individual varieties. As Maidment points out, these boundaries are very naïve because they do not take into account the register that speakers of the
varieties might use. He explains that if Cockney speakers use formal register, they try to avoid some of the typical features of their dialect, just as RP speakers would “break some rules” while talking in an informal situation (Maidment: 1994, p. 8). Therefore, according to Maidment, the diagram should look like this:

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[I <--Cockney--> F] [I <--RP--> F]  
[I <--EE--> F]
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Figure 3 – retrieved from Maidment: 1994, p. 8

From this diagram, one can see that according to the register used, individual varieties of English can overlap.

4.5.2. The geographical spread of Estuary English

The centre of Estuary English is in Greater London, from where it has been spreading to the Home Counties and beyond, where it is chiefly adopted by the young generation (Bex: 1994).

Nowadays, Estuary English is widely spread. David Crystal (2003) points out its recent spread in his *Encyclopedia of the English Language*:

The spread of the variety has certainly been noticeable in recent years. London-influenced speech can now be heard around three other estuaries – the Humber in the north-east, the Dee in the north-west, and the Severn in the west – at least partly because of the relatively easy rail and motorway communting networks.

(Crystal: 2003, p. 327)
Crystal also offers a map depicting this spread along the main routes of communication from London:

![Map of communication routes](image)

Figure 4 – retrieved from Crystal: 2003, p. 327

Crystal explains that the regional varieties are spreading along and through the communication network because people travel every day twice a day to and from work. Then, in the trains or the offices, people from different sociolinguistic backgrounds with different pronunciation meet and talk and, in time, these various varieties “blend” into each other, one accepting some features from the other and vice versa.

But social mobility is not the only factor governing the geographical spread of Estuary English. Another very significant role is given to the influence of radio and television and the people representing this variety in these media.

### 4.5.3. Social spread of Estuary English

Rosewarne claims that Estuary English “is to be heard on front and back enches of the House of Commons and is used by some members of the Lords, whether life or hereditary peers (...) it is well established in business circles, particularly the City” (Rosewarne: 1994)
Neil Ascherson wrote about the social status of accents: “For at least a century, accent in England has been two things: a vertical indicator about geographical origins, and a horizontal case-mark separating “top people” from the rest” (Ascherson: 1994).

Reading these words, one can understand why Estuary English is so widely used and attractive these days. People with regional dialects, which are usually perceived as something low, want to “climb higher” at the imaginary social ladder, and adopting a dialect that more or less is half way between their own regional dialect and high-class RP seems to be a great opportunity for it, since, as Shaw put it in *Pygmalion*, “the moment an Englishman opens his mouth, another Englishman despises him” (Shaw: 1912)

5. Changes adopted by RP

Received Pronunciation is the accent that student of English are taught as a universal one and the “right” one, as if the majority of native English speakers used it. In fact, however, only about 3% of British population are RP speakers, although it is hard to believe, since there is a strong representation of RP in the media (Trudgill: 2001).

Knowing this it is then not surprising, that there is a great deal of other varieties influencing RP, and that RP, as a minority accent, succumbs to this influence and inevitably adopts some changes under it. Although, as Trudgill (2001) argues, these changes are still of non-regional kind, since RP is supposed not to bare any regional features.
Except for the phonetic and phonological changes, which are to be discussed later, RP came through sociolinguistic changes as well. On one hand, non-RP speakers became proud of their regional accents and wanted to hear them in the media. In 1994, the then managing director of BBC network radio Liz Forgan said: “the cut-glass accent of home counties Britain is to be banished from the air waves by the BBC in favour of more energetic and vigorous voices from the regions” (Wells: 1997).

Although discrimination on the grounds of accent still occurs in British society, it is no longer against all regional dialects and accent, but only those regarded the lowest ones. This means that unlike, for example, forty years ago, regional accent is no longer an obstacle for getting a job (Trudgill: 2001).

In 1994, J. C. Wells wrote an article *Whatever happened to Received Pronunciation?*, in which he discusses the changes of RP in the last century. He offers three possible ways of how to perceive and define Received Pronunciation. The first one is sociolinguistic criterion. This defines RP as a pronunciation of the Royal family and upper-class, connecting RP with the notion of education. The second criterion is ideal, based on the “beauty” of the accent and on what is admired and generally considered as the most easily understandable. This criterion fully depends on the public opinion. The third one deals with teaching English as a foreign language (EFL) and the question of what accent should be offered to the English learners as the model. In case of preserving RP as a model, Wells argues, it has to be redefined and changed a little, since the formulation of Jones is over a century old.
5.1. Phonetic changes adopted by RP

Daniel Jones, the author of *English Pronouncing Dictionary*, described and codified Received Pronunciation more than a hundred years ago. The teachers of English as a foreign language should hold on to this model, which is, of course, impossible, and every teacher modifies this old model, be it consciously or unconsciously (Wells: 1994).

Under the influence of other varieties, RP has adopted some phonetic features from various regional accents and dialects that impact it every day. On the other hand, the criterion for including any change in Received Pronunciation is that this feature has to be non-regional, to preserve the non-regional notion of RP (Trudgill: 2001).

The following changes were collected from the article of J. C. Wells, and this is a brief overview of this article called *Whatever happened to Received Pronunciation?*

- Smoothing: The process whereby a diphthong may lose its second element when followed by another vowel. *Fire* can then become [faə] instead of [faɪə], *Howard* can be pronounced as [haʊd] and not [haʊd]

- R intrusion: using linking [r] even when there is no letter r in the spelling. So although there is no r at the end of the word *comma*, there would be in the pronunciation of the expression *put a comma in*, as in [pʊt a kəmə in]
- Words spelt with *wh* are by some pronounced with [hw] to distinct homophones like *whine* and *wine* by pronouncing the former like [hwaɪn]

These three features, as Wells argues, can be looked at from the three different points of view that are discussed earlier. He claims that these points of view determine whether the feature is a part of RP or not. For example, the smoothing is from sociolinguistic point of view a part of RP because it is often used by speakers of the upper-class. Ideally, however, this is not an RP feature because it cannot be demanded by its speakers. As for the learners of English, they should be aware of this fact, so that they can recognize it and understand.

Wells then continues by division of the process of adopting individual changes in RP into three time categories: early twentieth century, mid-century and the late twentieth century.

- Wells names five changes connected with the beginning of the twentieth century. Transfer of the CLOTH set, which means that words pronounced with the vowel [ɔː], as in *cloth* or *thought* (and other words where vowel is followed by a voiceless fricative) are nowadays pronounced with [ə] as in *lot*.

  Merger of [ɔː] and [ə] – in words like *floor* and *flaw*, the difference in the pronunciation disappeared and today these words are homophones.

  Change in the quality of the GOAT vowel from [ou] to [əu].
Opening of [æ]; loss of tapped [r]. In words like very sorry, better off it has been replaced by [ə].

- In the middle of the twentieth century, Wells mentions changes as follows. Decline and disappearance of [uə] – this diphthong was completely substituted by [ɔː], therefore words like poor or cure are pronounced [pɔ] and [ʃɔː] instead of [pʊə] and [ʃʊə].
  Drift from weak [i] to [ə] in a sense that possible is now pronounced as [pɒsəbl] rather than [pɒsɪbl].
  Plosive epenthesis as another change, adding a plosive between a nasal and a voiceless fricative. Fence is pronounced [fents] instead of [fens].
  Yod coalescence, or shifting from [tj] to [tʃ] and from [dj] to [dʒ].
  T-glottaling, often used before a following obstruent consonant, such as in football, or before a sonorant consonant, such as in witness.

- In the late twentieth century, some of these changes, such as the Yod coalescence or T-glottaling, which extend in their usage to more and more situations. The changes listed above are according to Wells usually associated with the rise of Estuary English, which, as he admits, has really great influence on RP.
  Tensing of final and prevocalic [i], which is in final position in words like happy, coffee or valley nowadays pronounced as [ɪ], which is a sound somewhere between [i] and [iː].
Rise of the diphthong [DU] in words like fold, goal.

Change in the quality of [u:] and [o].

These vowels are losing their lip-rounding and can be nowadays substituted by a schwa-like sound.

L-vocalization – pronouncing the l-sound as [w] or [o] in final positions, which is explained above.

6. Comparison of Cockney and Estuary English

By looking at previous chapters about phonetics and phonology of Cockney and Estuary English, one can say that there are many similarities in pronunciation of these two English varieties.

But although there may be similar features in pronunciation of these two dialects, they are not always exactly the same. J. A. Maidment tries to explain these differences in his paper Estuary English: Hybrid or Hype? The most noticeable feature common for both Estuary English and Cockney is the glottalization. He mentions that although both Cockney and Estuary English use glottal replacement, Estuary English uses it only for [t] and not for [p] and [k]. Also, Estuary English uses glottal stop only in certain situations. The rule for using glottal stop for Estuary English speakers is defined as follows: “substitute [?] for [t] when BOTH preceded by a vowel or /l/ or /n/ AND followed by end of word or a consonant other than /r/”. This rule applies to the words such as belt, Bentley or bit.

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20 The sound is the same, the difference is only in the symbol. Coggle and Rosewarne use [w] (Maidment: 1994, p. 3), Wells uses [o]
21 See 3.4.1.2. and 4.3.
Both Cockney and Estuary English bare the feature of L-vocalization, which is explained earlier and which is usually connected with vowel neutralization. This neutralization, however, is concerning much more vowels in Cockney than in Estuary English, where only [u:] and [i:] are neutralized. The most significant phonetic features that are to be found in Cockney but are not present in Estuary English are TH-fronting (replacement of [θ] and [ð] by [f] and [v]) and H-dropping (Maidment: 1994, p. 2).

The other way to look at the differences between Cockney and Estuary English is the social perception of these two dialects. Although, as mentioned above, Estuary English was nor perceived very well by some at the beginning, today it is a dialect chosen by many to raise their sociolinguistic status in case they are speakers of some regional dialect or accent, but also, on the other hand, to lower this status, since RP is often perceived as an accent of snobs. So Estuary English gained some kind of social prestige in the British society, while Cockney was, is and probably will be always perceived as a low working-class dialect connected with disdain.

From the historical point of view, Cockney is of course much older than Estuary English. Cockney occurred in literature as long ago as in the sixteenth century, and its origins are probably even older, while Estuary English is a new phenomenon of the twentieth century onwards.

Another difference is that Cockney is a regional dialect which origins in East End of London. Estuary English, on the other hand, is a mix of various accents – there are features of Cockney, RP and even General American in it, which determines it as more or less non-regional variety.
The fact that Estuary English is not directly connected with any region inspired David Rosewarne to believe that Estuary English can one day actually replace Received Pronunciation and he supports his claims by giving examples of high social rank people speaking Estuary English, although they would be normally expected to be RP speakers.

7. Conclusion

This thesis dealt with the changes that occurred recently in the English language. Received Pronunciation is not regarded as the only “proper” accent anymore. Nowadays, people with regional features in their speech are much more proud of their sociolinguistic origins than before. This consciousness and self-esteem must be inevitably reflected in today’s form of RP.

Second chapter of this thesis dealt with the terms used in this thesis, which gave the reader the basic knowledge of the differences between accent and dialect, used in the present thesis quite often.

Since regional accents and dialects are the ones influencing RP, this thesis took a closer look on one of the most significant of them – Cockney. The chapter on Cockney offers an overview of its history, which is quite long, but very poorly charted, for this dialect has been despised so much by upper-class RP speakers for a long time and no one paid much attention to it. The only evidence that Cockney was there is literature – plays and letters. The representation of Cockney continued from the sixteenth century plays up until today, which is also discussed in this thesis. And of course, the linguistic features that distinguish Cockney from RP and that are the subject of loathing
by RP speakers were also introduced. A survey of infamous Cockney Rhyming Slang was also provided.

The following chapter then dealt with a new phenomenon in English language called Estuary English, a newly observed variety of English that actually emerged because of the influence RP and Cockney have had on each other. This rather controversial variety was discussed from the linguistic and social point of view. The chapter also discussed the reaction on the observation of this new variety and the name it was given.

Next chapter tried to focus on the changes that RP came through in the last century, using an article by J. C. Wells, who made a great survey in this subject of interest.

Finally, the differences between Cockney and Estuary English were discussed. From this comparison, one can conclude that Estuary English definitely shares many common features with Cockney, although the features are not as strong and universal as in Cockney.

Concluding the comparison of these two varieties, Estuary English certainly bares some features from Cockney, but as it is spreading rapidly throughout the country, also features of other regional varieties. Looking at linguistic features of EE and the changes that occurred in RP recently, one can conclude that Estuary English is much closer to Received Pronunciation than to Cockney.

But, on the other hand, Cockney played a great role in the emergence of such a new variety. The centre of both Cockney and Received Pronunciation is without any doubt London, where these two varieties meet every day, mixing
and blending. As a result, Received Pronunciation adopted some changes and features that are certainly connected with Cockney, such as the L-vocalization or glottal stop. But Cockney also changed and moved towards RP. Today, only few true Cockney speakers remain and what is today called London accent is much closer to Estuary English or actually is Estuary English.

Estuary English was foreseen to become a “new RP” and substitute the old one completely. As one can see in this thesis, Estuary English is spreading really quickly and it is possible that very soon it will be the major variety in Britain, because, as it was stated, it is very attractive for its speakers. By adopting this dialect, one can move upwards or downwards on sociolinguistic ladder as they please. Also, there is a wide range of “varieties” inside this dialect. One can choose whether they want to sound more regional or more like RP. This attractiveness might indicate that it is possible for Estuary English to become not only major variety, but that its wide spread soon will determine its non-regionality so that it would meet the conditions for being also the model variety and actually become “the new RP”.

However, as it was clearly demonstrated by the review of Well’s article, RP is, as any other variety, perfectly capable and willing to adopt some changes over the time so that it would not become too obsolete. Also, as long as the class stratification will work in Britain, the members of the upper-class will insist on preserving RP, for it is to be considered one of the features representing their status and actually raising them above other people. From this point of view, there is no reason to assume that RP could be pushed out as a model accent of educated people and also those who are learners of English.
Contrary, the wide range of forms of Estuary English can be, for English learners, also confusing, while Received Pronunciation, although accepting some changes, stays stable and bares certain assurance and guarantee that when English learner speaks RP, everyone will understand them.

So the conclusion is that Received Pronunciation is definitely not dead nor dying and that it is not probable that it will be substituted by Estuary English.
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Retrieved from http://www.phon.ucl.ac.uk/home/wells/rphappened.htm
Abstract

The present thesis deals with recently observed changes in the English language, especially those regarding various accents and dialects influencing each other.

The thesis is focused particularly on those language varieties centred in and around the Greater London area – Cockney and Estuary English. Other important variety which is to be discussed is Received Pronunciation.

Estuary English is a result of long process of Cockney and Received Pronunciation affecting each other, and adopting different pronunciation features from one another. By some, it is believed to substitute Received Pronunciation completely in the future.

In the thesis, both Cockney and Estuary English are examined from the point of view of their history, their linguistic features and also from a sociolinguistic point of view, since Cockney is a dialect that has been despised and connected with the London’s working class, and Estuary English is rather a controversial variety, often called a hybrid of Cockney and Received pronunciation.

Later on, the changes adopted by Received Pronunciation under the influence of either Cockney or other varieties are be discussed and described.

The last chapter deals with the comparison of Cockney and Estuary English, both linguistically and sociolinguistically.

Then there is a conclusion dealing with the possibility of Estuary English substituting RP.
Resumé

Předložená bakalářská práce se zabývá nedávno pozorovanými změnami v anglickém jazyce, obzvláště těmi souvisejícími se vzájemným ovlivňováním se mezi akcenty a dialekty.

Práce se zaměřuje zejména na ty jazykové variety, jejichž centrum je v oblasti Velkého Londýna – tedy Cockney a Estuary English. Další důležitou varietou diskutovanou v práci je Received Pronunciation (anglický výslovnostní standart).

Estuary English je výsledkem dlouhého procesu, při kterém na sebe Cockney a Received Pronunciation (RP) půspbily a přijímaly od sebe navzájem různé jazykové a výslovnostní znaky. Některými lingvisty je varieta Estuary English dokonce považována za nástupce Received Pronunciation, který ji jednou zcela nahradí.

Tato bakalářská práce představuje Cockney i Estuary English z hlediska jejich historie, jazykových vlastností, ale i z hlediska sociolingvistického. Cockney je dialekt, kterým bylo dlouho opovrhováno, a vždy byl spojován s Londýnskou dělnickou třídou. Estuary English je pak kontroverzní varieta, často považovaná za „hybrida“ Cockney a Received Pronunciation.

Dále jsou v této práci popsány změny přijaté Received Pronunciation pod vlivem Cockney, ale i jiných akcentů a dialeků.

Poslední kapitola se věnuje porovnání Cockney a Estuary English z hlediska lingvistického i sociolingvistického.

Závěr diskutuje budoucnost Estuary English ve vztahu k RP.