From L Vocalisation to TH Fronting

A Study of Five Consonant Variables in Estuary English

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Abstract

The term ‘Estuary English’ was coined by David Rosewarne in 1984, and has been a topic for discussion ever since, both among linguists and the average Briton. The term refers to a way of speaking that Rosewarne had observed in and around London, which he called a middle ground between RP and Cockney. Several linguists have since then tried to determine what EE is, how it came about and what its features are. The aim of this thesis is to contribute to this field, and particularly investigate further what the nature is of five consonant variables in the language of EE speakers. I have chosen to transcribe two talk show interviews found on YouTube, containing data from David Beckham, Jamie Oliver and Jonathan Ross, who are all acknowledged as EE speakers. I chose to focus on L Vocalisation, final T Glottalling, intervocalic T Glottalling, TH Fronting and H Dropping, as these are features which help separate EE speakers from both RP speakers and Cockney speakers, and thus provide valuable information. The aim was thus to investigate the status of these five variables in the language of these speakers, to try to uncover similarities or differences between the speakers. The most important findings in this study were that there were large differences between the speakers with regard to how they pronounced these features, which further strengthens the claims by previous studies which suggested that EE might not be a unitary accent, and that intervocalic T Glottalling was a part of all speakers’ language, even though it should not be. Furthermore, there were also differences between the age groups, and the differences were largest for the variables which have traditionally not been part of EE, which suggest that they might be on their way into the variety, and that the change is led by younger speakers.

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1 Introduction

1.1 Background

> "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…" "God forbid that it becomes Standard English. Are standards not meant to be upheld? We must not slip into slovenliness because of a lack of respect for the language…" "It is slobspeak, limp and flaccid: the mouths uttering it deserve to be stuffed with broken glass."

These statements, taken from several English newspapers (Maidment 1994), show the strong emotions that the phenomenon called 'Estuary English' has evoked. One might say that such strong reactions as these are surprising, but it seems that language and language use never cease to cause strong emotions and debates. The term 'Estuary English' (EE) was coined by David Rosewarne in 1984, and has been a topic of debate ever since. It refers to the language that Rosewarne had heard spoken in London and the areas surrounding it, and especially the areas bordering on the Thames Estuary. Rosewarne claimed that it was a middle ground between Received Pronunciation (RP) and Cockney, the accent of the working class in London. EE thus has features from both of these accents, but also some features which distinguish it from either. As an example Rosewarne writes in his article: "As would be expected, an 'Estuary English' speaker uses fewer glottal stops for t or d than a "London" speaker, but more than an RP speaker" (1984: 39). Since then, other linguists, media personalities and people on the street have had opinions about EE, either praising it or condemning it. The statements above are all examples of the latter. It seems that the claim that it might one day replace RP as a standard accent which disguises regional origins (Rosewarne 1984, Coggle 1993) is the one causing most turmoil among linguistic laypeople. Linguists, on the other hand, have mostly been preoccupied with defining the features of EE (e.g. Rosewarne 1984, Coggle 1993, Wells 1994, Wells 1998) and its theoretical status (e.g. Altendorf 1999, Altendorf 2003, Przedlacka 2001, Przedlacka 2002).

Today, over 30 years later, there is still no general consensus regarding most questions about EE, although there is agreement with regard to its phonological features. Despite this, little extensive research has been done on the subject, beyond BA and MA theses, and there are thus very few scientifically sound books on the subject. With this background, there are many

interesting topics regarding EE which have not yet been investigated. For instance, only large studies containing teenagers (Przedlacka 2002, Altendorf 2003) have been conducted, and no studies containing speakers over the age of 20. As much sociolinguistic research has proven that there are large differences between the language of younger and older speakers (e.g. Wells 1982, Labov 2001, Wagner 2012), a study of the speech of older EE speakers can be interesting and beneficial to the field.

1.2 Aim and scope

The aim of this thesis is to contribute with material that may help answer the questions regarding the theoretical status and the phonetic make-up of EE. Although there is now general agreement regarding the phonetic features of EE, studies by Przedlacka (2002) and Altendorf (2003) have suggested that some features which have traditionally been separating EE from Cockney may be on their way into EE, at least among some groups. By including an investigation of these features in a study it is hoped that more insight will be gained, and that we come closer to an answer regarding phonetic variables. The study will focus on five consonant features only, so as to narrow its scope. The consonant features in question have been chosen due to their status in EE. The two first, L Vocalisation and final T Glottalling, are features which the authorities on EE have all agreed upon are part of the variety (see e.g. Rosewarne 1984, Coggle 1993, Wells 1997). The three remaining features have generally by the same authorities been seen as part of only Cockney, not EE. These are intervocalic T Glottalling, TH Fronting and H Dropping.[1] However, both intervocalic T Glottalling and TH Fronting have been apparent in the language of the teenage EE speakers in the studies by Przedlacka (2002) and Altendorf (2003), who have cautiously suggested that the features may be on their way into EE. This, then, suggests an interesting topic of inquiry. H Dropping is included because of its strong position as feature distinguishing EE and Cockney, and it is interesting to investigate whether this holds true also for the older speakers. The aforementioned studies also found such large variation in their samples that both challenged the notion of EE being a single entity, or an accent in its own right, a question which has also preoccupied the minds of researchers in this field. This is another claim that this thesis aims to investigate further.

[1] A thorough presentation of these features will be given in chapter 3.

The sample of this study is rather small, consisting of data from three celebrity male EE speakers in talk show interview settings. One of the speakers is present in both interviews, which were conducted three years apart, and these two interviews will be dealt with separately. Thus, throughout most of the study, the speakers will be referred to as four speakers, even though we are in fact only dealing with three individuals. This is partly because of the time span between the interviews, which has led to quite large differences in this individual's accent, and partly for practical reasons, as he then produces roughly the same amount of words as the other two speakers in each interview. By narrowing the study down to five consonants and four speakers, the scope of the study is thus quite small. This is in part due to the time limitations of an MA thesis, and in part due to the wish to use public recordings as a basis for linguistic research, which is difficult to carry out with a larger sample. The results must then be seen in light of previous research, but it is believed that the results will be valuable and contribute to the field if done properly. The hope is that the results may either support or challenge the results from previous studies in the field. Hence, there are two main research questions that will be answered in this thesis, and which may be formulated as follows:

- What is the status of the five consonant variables in the language of the four EE speakers chosen?
- What does the status of these five consonant variables say about the nature of EE?

1.3 The structure of the thesis

This thesis is divided into four main chapters, in addition to the introduction and the conclusion. The first main chapter is a presentation of the theoretical background. This will both explain how and why EE arose and spread, what researchers so far have said about its theoretical status, and what the features of EE are. Sociolinguistic theory will necessarily be dealt with in some detail, due to EE's status as a 'middle ground accent' for those who try to avoid the associations of RP and Cockney. Some space will also be given to the presentation of these two reference accents. The next chapter will give a thorough presentation of the method and the material chosen for the present study, as well as make an assessment of the suitability of the method and material. In this chapter there will also be a presentation of the speakers who are included in this study, Jamie Oliver, David Beckham and Jonathan Ross, so as to provide some background which may have influenced their accents. A presentation of

the five linguistic variables will also be given in this chapter. In the third main chapter, the results will be presented and briefly commented upon, and in the fifth chapter the results will be discussed in more detail in light of previous research, mostly the studies conducted by Przedlacka (2002) and Altendorf (2003). Here I will also discuss what the results might mean for further research on EE, and also what they indicate regarding the status and nature of EE. Finally, the conclusion will sum up the most important findings of the study, and also make suggestions as to what might be interesting to investigate further in the future.

2 Theoretical background: What is Estuary English?

2.1 Introduction

David Rosewarne coined the term ‘Estuary English’ in an article in the Times Educational Supplement in 1984. He did this on the basis of what he had heard been spoken in the media, in politics and on the streets, and claimed that this was something neither RP nor Cockney, but something in the middle ground. In his article, he claims that:

> "Estuary English" is 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: 29)

What Rosewarne here calls ‘London speech’ has generally been understood as meaning Cockney (see e.g. Wells 1994), the broadest London accent which originally described the accent of those born within earshot of the Bow Bells in East London. This has later on come to be associated with the London working class. According to Rosewarne, there is thus a continuum between RP and Cockney, along which EE is located. This chapter will mainly be concerned with three questions. The first question is how EE came about, how it arose and how it spread. The second is the problem of defining what EE really is. Several linguists and non-linguists have had opinions on the nature of EE, and this chapter will outline the different definitions and theories that have been proposed in the last thirty years. The third question is what the features of EE are. It will therefore outline the accent features that have generally been associated with it, while also discussing the lexical dimension which some writers (e.g. Coggle 1993) have assigned to it. The International Phonetic Alphabet (see appendix 1) will be used throughout the thesis to represent phonemes and allophones. Finally, some space will be given to a short presentation of the reference accents, RP and Cockney. Although EE has been a topic of hot debate in newspapers, very few expert linguists have taken it upon themselves to try to define EE. Therefore, this chapter will take into account statements and research made by linguists such as Wells (1994, 1997), Kerswill (2000), Trudgill (2002), Coggle (1993), Altendorf, (1999, 2003) and Przedlacka (2001, 2002), while also referring to

more general research on dialectology (e.g. Wells 1982, Chambers and Trudgill 1980) and sociolinguistics (e.g. Labov 1972, 2003), as the insights offered by these fields are important to understand EE.

2.2 The rise and spread of Estuary English

In his 1984 article, Rosewarne writes that:

> The heartland of this variety lies by the banks of the Thames and its estuary, but it seems to be the most influential accent in the south-east of England. It is to be heard on the front and back benches of the House of Commons and is used by some members of the Lords, whether life or hereditary peers. It is well established in the City, business circles, the Civil Service, local government, the media, advertising as well as the medical and teaching professions in the south-east. (29)

It is precisely from the Thames Estuary that Estuary English got its name, and there seems to be general consensus that it is found mainly in the south-eastern part of England, and that the heartland lies in London and the counties bordering on the Thames Estuary, such as Essex and Kent (e.g. Rosewarne 1984, Coggle 1993, Wells 1994, Altendorf 2003). Although the term was coined in 1984, there is reason to believe that the phenomenon had been around for quite some time before then. As mentioned, Rosewarne stated that there seems to be a continuum between RP at the one end and Cockney at the other, where EE is located somewhere in the middle, having features from both accents while still also being different from both. The question to be asked, and which places the study of EE somewhere in the field of sociolinguistics, is why.

2.2.1 Sociolinguistics: background

Language is a social phenomenon; it does not exist if there is no one to talk to. Because of this, one of the most influential researchers in the field of sociolinguistics, Labov, resists the term 'sociolinguistics', "since it implies that there can be a successful linguistic theory or practice which is not social" (1972: xiii). Language is influenced by social factors, and language influences society. An example from England is the study of the suffix *–ing* in present participles, such as *working*, and place names in Norwich (Chambers and Trudgill 1980). The two possible realisations of *-ing* are /ɪŋ/ and /ɪn/, and several studies have shown that this variable correlates closely with social class in a number of English varieties

(Chambers and Trudgill 1980: 67). The study in Norwich, which comprised 60 persons from a range of social classes, showed that /ɪn/ was clearly most common in working class speech, and less common among the upper middle classes (Chambers and Trudgill 1980: 68). There is therefore reason to believe that the realisation of the phoneme is highly dependent on your social background, and also further reason to believe that a person's pronunciation of the phoneme gives people certain impressions of the speaker in question.

Two studies from the USA that also clearly show the connection between language and the social background of the speakers, are the studies of the realisation of /r/ in New York and the centralisation of /ay/ and /aw/ in Martha's Vineyard (Labov 1972). In a study of the people visiting three department stores in New York, where the three department stores mainly had customers from three different social classes, Labov found that pronunciation of preconsonantal /r/ was most common among the higher classes, while the lower classes dropped the /r/, as is common in England. This showed a stratification of the phoneme: in New York it carried a certain prestige to pronounce it, and was therefore more common among the upper classes. The lower classes still dropped the /r/, which had always been common in New York because of its frequent contact with British sailors. Somewhere along the line it became prestigious to pronounce the /r/ in all contexts, and those most preoccupied with social status picked up on this trend.

Martha's Vineyard is an island outside Massachusetts, with few inhabitants and a high number of summer visitors. After a study conducted by Labov and his co-workers (1972), it became evident that some diphthongs were pronounced differently by the permanent inhabitants. Here it was discovered that the peculiar centralisation of /ay/ and /aw/ was most common among, and was actually initiated by, the local fishermen (Labov 1972). This was the most close-knit group on the island, they were independent and opposed to the incursions of the summer visitors, and therefore had a high status among the inhabitants (Labov 1972: 37). The fact that there was a certain group with many shared characteristics that mostly used the new forms is a clear indication of a correlation between social factors and language use. Furthermore, the younger members looked up to the fishermen, and imitated their way of speaking, and thus the centralised forms spread throughout the island. This way of spreading a linguistic innovation is an important part of language change.

For a phonetic innovation to spread, the people using it have to have some sort of prestige, so that others will adopt it. Wells claims this about linguistic innovations:

> It will spread only if it is imitated. It will be imitated only if it is felt to be in some sense admirable and worthy of imitation. This will only happen if the speakers who use it are perceived as setting the fashion. (1982: 103)

Prestige, however, is not necessarily reserved for the traditional upper classes. Linguists separate between overt and covert prestige. Overt prestige refers to the prestige that one often associates with the upper classes and their accents, such as RP in England. The associations of the people are thus transferred to their accent, yet again showing the close connection between language and social factors. With regard to RP, most people agree that this is the correct way to speak; it is almost as if you have no accent, it is a de facto standard. People who are upwardly mobile will therefore often try to imitate accents and innovations that enjoy overt prestige, and it seems that middle class women are the ones to first pick up on prestigious innovations (Labov 1972, Wells 1982).

> In general, women are more sensitive to overt social correction and use more prestige forms than men. But this difference is not independent of social class. It is moderately true for the highest status group in a speech community, but the effect is far more striking in the second highest social group. (Labov 2003: 245)

Covert prestige, on the other hand, is "unacknowledged prestige which attaches to working-class speech (particularly that of certain cities), leading to the adoption of its characteristics in steadily widening circles" (Wells 1982: 105). In this case, it seems that it is the speech of middle-to-working class men that exerts this prestige, and it is also mostly men who try to imitate such features (Wells 1982). Adopting certain features may be an attempt to seem more jovial and approachable, while also distancing oneself from the higher classes and their accent and some of the negative associations that come with it.

Several studies have shown that women are the first to pick up on phonetic changes, both in consonants and vowels, although some changes are also led by men (Labov 2001). This has not led to large changes in the pronunciation of men and women, since the trend usually is that women are the first to use the new forms, followed by the men adopting the forms later (Labov 2001: 283). The reasons why women have traditionally been quicker to pick up on prestige forms have mostly been assigned to factors related to traditional gender roles. Chambers and Trudgill (1980: 98) propose a number of factors that may have contributed to

this: (i) that women have had fewer opportunities for achievement and therefore have been more likely to signal social status by how they appear and behave, (ii) that women traditionally have had fewer occupational opportunities and remained at home, and have had fewer social networks, thus not being as subjected to peer pressure, (iii) that women have played a greater role in children's socialisation and education, which has led them to be more sensitive to language norms, and (iv) that it is generally more favourable for men to act tough and break the rules than it is for women, who are expected to act 'proper' (though the last point seems to go against the observed trend that women instigate and spread changes earlier than men). These four factors appear old-fashioned today, and it must be remembered that this book was written in 1980, but they may still to a certain degree hold true, as women still tend to favour prestige forms. A study in Trondheim however, showed that younger women used more non-standard forms than older women (Chambers and Trudgill 1980: 99-100), which may suggest that the trend is changing, perhaps in line with changing gender roles. These differences between men and women with regard to overt and covert prestige is of importance to this study, as the three informants are men, which would suggest that variables that enjoy covert prestige are present in their language. With this knowledge of basic sociolinguistic theory in mind, we will now go into how social factors have contributed to the rise and spread of EE.

2.2.2 Social factors and Estuary English

As has been shown in the previous section, language is closely related to social factors, and the way one speaks is often a reflection of, for example, one's social background, one's age, one's gender or one's education. It then follows that people will have certain attitudes towards accents and dialects, as these seem to be so intertwined with social factors. An attitude can be defined as "a disposition to react favourably or unfavourably to a class of objects" (Sarnoff 1970, in Rindal 2013: 25). A person may react favourably or unfavourably when hearing an accent, for example, and an accent or an accent feature may come with different associations. "If a certain group of speakers uses a particular variant, then the social values attributed to that group will be transferred to that linguistic variant" (Labov 1972: 251). In Britain, RP has traditionally had a favourable position, and most attitudes towards it have been positive. In recent years, however, it has increasingly been associated with traits such as affectation, social snobbery, aloofness and arrogance, and it no longer indicates higher social status in the same degree as before (Hughes, Trudgill and Watt 2012). These traits are generally not what

people want to be associated with, and as long as RP is associated with negative traits, fewer people will want to speak it. Cockney, on the other hand, is still considered a working class accent, and may make you seem tough, uneducated and bad-mannered. It is not uncommon for villains and thieves in movies and plays to speak Cockney, for example.

Attitudes towards accents and the associations that come with them are probably some of the reasons why Estuary has gained ground, and has become increasingly common among for example politicians and news presenters (Altendorf 2003). Since EE is a middle ground between RP and Cockney, the accent can be used to distance oneself from the associations of both RP speakers and Cockney speakers. That is, both social climbers as well as those at the top of the social scale who do not want the associations of RP may use EE as a means of creating their own identity. As of now, EE seems to be most common among young middle and upper-middle class people (Eitler 2006). With regard to professions and social groups, the social groups among which EE is most common are shown in this table:

Table 2.1: Social groups using EE according to Rosewarne, Coggle, Wells and the media

Social groups where EE is particularly common	Rosewarne 1984, 1994	Coggle 1993	Wells 1995, 1998	Media
Artists, actors and comedians	+	+	0	+
Television and radio presenters	+	+	0	+
Politicians and other figures in the public eye	+	+	0	+

(Altendorf 2003: 20)

These kinds of tables will be used throughout the thesis. The sign '+' indicates that the researcher agrees with the statements, the sign '-' indicates that the researcher does not agree, and the sign '0' indicates that the researcher has not written about this. Rosewarne, Coggle and Wells were the three people who had written most about EE before the studies of Przedlacka (2001, 2002) and Altendorf (1999, 2003), and opinions about EE have also been strongly present in the media. According to Altendorf (2003: 21) the social groups in Table 1 may be overrepresented in the research on EE because they are disproportionately represented in the media, but she also claims that their role may also be disproportionately important to

the spread of EE, since these groups are highly visible and their linguistic behaviour may thus have an impact on others.

It seems, then, that EE came to exist for a variety of social and socio-linguistic reasons. It has provided a middle ground for those who do not want the associations of RP and Cockney to apply to them. As has been shown, language and social factors are closely related, and the attitudes towards different accents and dialects play an important role in the identity construction of a speaker of English, as all these factors must be borne in mind. Of course, most people simply speak the accent of their area, without giving much thought to its associations, but in the urban city of London, being full of social climbers, these factors play an important role. We should, however, also give some space to potential demographic reasons for the rise of EE.

2.2.3 Demographic causes

After World War II, the British population became more mobile, and started moving around to a greater degree than before (Coggle 1993, Kerswill 2000). Many Londoners decided to leave the capital, and many of them moved to the Home Counties. The Home Counties are the counties surrounding London, and include Berkshire, Buckinghamshire, Kent, Essex, Sussex, Hertfordshire and Surrey. This movement was mainly triggered by the possibility of people being rehoused after the war, when large parts of the city had been damaged by the German air raids. Many people from the East End, who spoke Cockney, therefore moved away from home to counties such as Essex, Kent, Sussex and East Anglia (Coggle 1993), and they naturally brought their accent with them. The Londoners came in such large numbers to the Home Counties that their accent became very noticeable in these areas; and the capital had a profound impact on the surrounding counties, the accent soon became a dominant one, merging with the local accents and particularly becoming audible among the younger speakers (Coggle 1993: 24). In addition, the English society became more socially flexible in these years, and professions that had previously been reserved for the upper classes were now open to those from a simpler background (Eitler 2006). Again, as a result, people in the South-East started moving around, and this brought about a considerable mixing of people speaking a variety of accents.

Both social and demographic reasons can then be said to account for the rise of EE and it is probably a combination of the two that is behind both its rise and spread. Table 2.2 from Altendorf (2003: 24) shows what the main commentators on EE have said about its origins:

Table 2.2 The origin of EE

Cause	Rosewarne, 1984, 1994	Coggle 1993	Wells 1997	Media
London as innovator	+	+	+	+
Geographical mobility	+	+	+	+
Social mobility	+	+	+	+
Street credibility	+	+	+	+

As can be seen in Table 2.2, all four find that there is a combination of the four factors that have contributed to the rise and spread of EE. Geographical and social mobility has already been dealt with. 'London as an innovator' simply means that the capital has a history of exerting linguistic influence, since it is the centre of power, money, royalty and the like. 'Street credibility' means the credibility of the younger urban culture, the ones who are 'trendy' (Altendorf 2003). As has already been shown in the previous section on sociolinguists, innovations and accent features are only spread and adopted if the ones who speak it are seen as worth imitating, and it seems that the speakers of EE, the young middle class, do indeed enjoy such status.

2.2.4 Dialect Levelling

In addition to the causes dealt with above, Kerswill (2000) puts the emergence of EE in a larger perspective: dialect levelling. This can refer to two different stages of essentially the same process: (1) when speakers of traditional rural dialects have changed their speech to become more similar to the local city or urban area, thus losing the most traditional and non-standard features, and (2) when the accents of these urban areas become more similar to the accents of other cities. The first stage can be called dialect levelling, as accent features, grammar and lexis are all influenced, while the other is more phonological in nature, affecting only the accents' phonetic make-up and not their grammar or vocabulary (Kerswill 2000). As a result, the differences between the different parts of the country are smaller, and within areas such as the South-East it becomes increasingly difficult to decide where a person is

from based on their accent. Kerswill accredits this dialect levelling to four interrelated trends: (i) economic changes leading to a more efficient agriculture and a loss of traditional rural employment, (ii) an increase in people living in towns and cities, (iii) a change in social roles within the family due to the two world wars, which led to more women getting jobs and hence also acquiring a larger social network, and (iv) construction of suburbs and new towns in the 20th century, which led to a large-scale migration from the cities to formerly rural areas, which in turn led to dialect contact. Summed up, a greater movement of people led to increased dialect contact and radical changes in people's social networks, and according to Kerswill this resulted in dialect levelling with standardisation. EE can thus be seen as an intermediate variety which is the result of dialect levelling, and Kerswill claims that for this reason, it is not really a new phenomenon as such, but that it is indeed unprecedented in its spread and influence (Kerswill 2000).

However, it is important to remember that now that EE has become an established part of the South-Eastern accent continuum, many children are brought up with parents and peers speaking it. They do not have the aforementioned social incentives to speak this way; it is simply the variety of their local area. A good illustration of this is taken from a forum on the British version of yahoo.com, where a man gives this response to a question regarding celebrities speaking EE:

> Hi, I think I was one of the people who answered your earlier question. I'm a native "Estuary English" speaker, from Essex. Let me put one thing straight ... there is nothing "put on" about my accent. That is the way my speech has naturally developed as a result of my upbringing at home and school. Estuary English is the same as any other regional accent - it has nothing to do with "Cockneys trying to sound a bit posher"! (‘Cosimo)O(‘ Yahoo! Answers 2007)

In his view, as a speaker of EE, it is simply a regional accent like any other accent. Even though he might not have the same insight into the rise and spread of EE as linguists do, it is obvious that among ‘native speakers’, EE is just their accent, and is a result of their upbringing (it must be mentioned, though, that these processes of accommodating, either upwards or downwards, are mostly subconscious). The next section will therefore be concerned with the regional extension of EE.

2.2.5 The regional extension of Estuary English

According to Altendorf (2003: 16), there are four main hypotheses regarding the regional extension of EE:

- *The Thames-Estuary hypothesis*, which claims that EE is confined to the counties surrounding the Thames Estuary, such as Essex, Kent and London.
- *The Home Counties hypothesis*, which claims that EE has spread beyond the Thames estuary to other parts of the Home Counties as well.
- *The South-of-England hypothesis*, which claims that EE also has spread beyond the Home Counties to other dialect areas in the South, such as East Anglia as far as Norwich and the South-West as far as Cornwall.[2]
- *The Plus-Liverpool-Plus-Glasgow hypothesis*, which claims that some characteristics of EE have spread even further north, in particular to Liverpool and Glasgow.

These four hypotheses represent four stages. Trudgill (1999, 2002) is a proponent of the *Home Counties Hypothesis*, going so far as to claim that the name 'Estuary English' is wrong and misleading because it is not confined to the banks of the Thames Estuary: "It is inaccurate because it suggests that we are talking about a new variety, which we are not; and because it suggests that it is a variety of English confined to the banks of the Thames Estuary, which it is not" (Trudgill 2002: 177-178). He claims that "the label actually refers to the lower middle-class accents, as opposed to working-class accents, of the Home Counties Modern Dialect Area" (Trudgill 1999: 80). He also claims that the dialect and accent features of the Home Counties dialect area have spread, and that they will continue to spread (Trudgill 1999: 81). A survey by Harkness (2003) also proved that at least four of the features of EE, L Vocalisation, T Glottalling, and the EE variants of /aʊ/ and /əʊ/, were present in the speech of both working class and middle class teenagers in Surrey, one of the Home Counties.

The most extreme hypothesis, that EE has spread to Liverpool and Glasgow, seems to hold that the presence of just a few features of EE is enough to say that EE has spread to a given area. This means that they view EE as a 'pool of features' (Altendorf 2003), wherein the speakers have a variety of features to choose between. If EE indeed has spread to these cities, one would have to conclude that it is an urban phenomenon mostly appealing to the young urban middle class, as there is an appreciable distance between the cities, and there seem to be

[2] This is indeed the claim of Rosewarne (1994), who coined the term.

no mentions of EE occurring in smaller cities between them. Furthermore, if EE does indeed spread to cities as far away as Liverpool and Glasgow, this could suggest that it is losing its geographical localisability, which is, as we will see, what separates RP from EE according to Wells (1994). If EE obtains the same status as RP, as an accent that can be heard in different parts of the country as some sort of standard, this will change the very way we view EE. It is beyond the scope of this study to investigate the regional extension of EE, and also to discuss the ramifications of EE acquiring the non-localisability of RP. It is, however, worth mentioning that these hypotheses exist, and that the general consensus among researchers still is that the heartland of EE is the area covered by *The Thames-Estuary hypothesis* (Rosewarne 1984, Coggle 1993, Wells 1994), namely London and the counties bordering on the banks of the Thames Estuary. After explaining how EE arose and spread, it is now time to discuss its theoretical status.

2.3 Accents, dialects, varieties and continua. Where does Estuary English belong?

First and foremost, it is fruitful to define what an accent really is, and what sets it apart from a dialect. A dialect is defined as a language variety that is distinguished from other varieties by differences of grammar, phonology and vocabulary, while accents differ in pronunciation only (Hughes, Trudgill and Watt 2012: 3). There are languages that are no more different than the dialects of other countries, and one can therefore say that linguistically speaking, the term 'language' is a relatively non-technical term (Chambers and Trudgill 1980: 5). The term seems to have more to do more with political, geographical, sociological and historical factors than linguistic issues. Different dialects may have different words with the same meaning, and may have different grammatical rules. The term 'accent', on the other hand, refers only to the way the different phonemes that make up the language are realised.

Thus, one can speak Standard English with a variety of accents, while still maintaining the same grammar and vocabulary (Wells 1982). An example is the sentence *the roads are dirty*. The sentence belongs to what we may call Standard English (the codified variety), and is viewed as grammatically correct by all who speak English. It can however, be pronounced in different ways. A person with an accent belonging to the South-Eastern part of England would pronounce *roads* as [rəudz], while someone from the northern part of England or

Scotland would say [ro:dz] with a monophthong instead of a diphthong. These two speakers would then have different accents, but could very well have Standard English as their dialect. If one travels from village to village in Britain, in a particular direction, there will be differences between the villages. Sometimes the differences will be small, sometimes large, but as Chambers and Trudgill point out, they will be cumulative (1980: 6). This means that the further away one gets from one's starting point, the larger the differences will be. Villages that are close to each other will understand each other quite well, while villages far away from each other can have so different dialects that their mutual intelligibility is lost (Chambers and Trudgill 1980).

Phonologically, accents differ in a number of ways. Their phoneme inventories can differ; both in terms of which phonemes they have and how many there are (Chambers and Trudgill 1980: 41). For example, due to widespread H Dropping, the phoneme system of many Cockney speakers lacks the phoneme /h/, as it also disappears in initial position in this accent. /h/ is not dropped in initial position in, and EE is thus different from Cockney in that their systems differ. Secondly, accents also differ in terms of phoneme distribution. Their systems may be the same, but the phonemes may occur in different phonological environments; a good example here is the distribution of /r/ in the different accents of English in Britain (Chambers and Trudgill 1980: 42). The areas where R Dropping took place lack /r/ in postvocalic position, and will not pronounce it in words like *car*. In for example Scotland, however, /r/ is pronounced in both prevocalic and postvocalic position, as R Dropping did not take place there (Chambers and Trudgill 1980; Wells 1982; Hughes, Trudgill and Watt 2012). Thirdly, accents may differ in their realisations of phonemes, cf. the example involving RP /əʊ/ and Scots /o:/ above. Finally, accents may differ in terms of phoneme incidence. This means that they may share the same phoneme inventory, but have differences in the incidence of particular phonemes in the sets of words (Chambers and Trudgill 1980). For example, if one compares northern and southern accents, they both have the phonemes /æ/ and /ɑ:/ in their inventories, but while northerners use the /æ/ in the word *path*, southerners would use the phoneme /ɑ:/ in this lexical set. (Chambers and Trudgill 1980: 42). Furthermore, if one compares RP to Cockney, they both have the phonemes /ð/ and /v/ in their inventory, but while RP speakers have /ð/ in the word *brother*, a Cockney speaker would use the phoneme /v/.

Accents are also generally geographically localisable, meaning that different areas of a country have different accents (Hughes, Trudgill and Watt 2012). One exception to this rule is RP, the accent that has traditionally been the accent of the upper classes of society, regardless of where they live. Unlike other accents, speaking RP does not reveal where a person comes from, but rather says something about the status he/she enjoys in society, or rather the status he/she wants to have. Its status has fallen in the last decades, though: Hughes, Trudgill and Watt (2012) suggest that the posh and affected associations of RP are not something most Britons want to be associated with anymore. This is, as shown in the previous section, probably one of the reasons for the rise of EE

The term 'variety' is also sometimes used when discussing EE, and this is the term that Rosewarne uses in his article: "'Estuary English' is a variety of modified regional speech. It is a mixture of non-regional and local south-eastern English pronunciation and intonation" (1984: 29). This term is more neutral than the term 'dialect', and is generally used to describe any variant of a language that is sufficiently different from another variant, for them to be distinguished (Wells 1982). As Chambers and Trudgill (1980) argue, it can be used in an ad hoc manner, and I will therefore use it when describing EE, as it is a more neutral term which makes no bombastic claims as to its status. This is because, as Altendorf claims, a major problem when researching EE is the fact that there is a high degree of uncertainty regarding its theoretical status (Altendorf 2003: 5). The terms 'variety', 'accent', 'dialect', 'continuum' and 'version' have all been used by different researchers, as can be shown in the following table, based on a table in Altendorf (2003: 5-6):

Table 2.3 Early attempts at describing and explaining EE

EE as a	*Author*
variety	David Rosewarne (1984)
	David Crystal (1995)
	Paul Kerswill (2000)
group of accents	Peter Trudgill (2002)
spectrum -> continuum	Paul Coggle (1993)
? version	Media
? form	Media

It has also been suggested that EE is just a formal style of Cockney (Wells 1994), but Wells has disproved this by showing that there is a casual style of EE which is different from Cockney (no H-dropping in EE), and that there is a formal style of Cockney which is different from EE (non-standard grammar in all styles in Cockney) (Wells 1994: 260). It is also something different from RP in that it is geographically located, which RP is not. Even though this shows that EE is something in its own right, there is still uncertainty surrounding exactly what this something is. Maidment (1994), disagrees with Wells, and claims that a Cockney speaker speaking in a formal context might very well retain /h/ in the beginning of words, and that an EE speaker in a very informal and relaxed setting might have H Dropping. If these divisions are blurred, it becomes increasingly difficult to draw clear lines between EE and Cockney. He claims that:

> All this leads to the possibility that EE is no more than slightly poshed up Cockney or RP which has gone "down market" in appropriate situations and that rather than there being a newly developed accent which we should call EE, all that has happened over recent years is that there has been a redefinition of the appropriateness of differing styles of pronunciation to differing speech situations. (Maidment 1994)

Since opinions are still divided, and the definitions are blurred, the next sections will focus on two of the very few systematic studies on EE that exist. Here, one of the main aims of the researchers is to come closer to a proper definition of the theoretical status of EE.

2.3.1 Altendorf's study (2003)

One of the researchers that in recent years have tried to study EE in a more systematic way is Altendorf (2003). Her study is an important step forward in trying to establish the theoretical status of EE. She criticises the lack of precise definitions of terms such as 'variety' and 'continuum'. As she points out, "'theoretical' linguists have so far failed to clarify how much internal uniformity and how much external distinction is needed to separate a 'variety' from a 'continuum' and a 'continuum' from pre-theoretical concepts" (Altendorf 2003: 6). According to her, the defining element of a variety is a 'centre of gravity' which is shared by all speakers of the same variety, while in the case of a linguistic continuum, there is no such centre of gravity, but rather the "linguistic variants form extended areas of transition" (Altendorf 2003: 7). Her definition of 'variety' thus seems to be a bit different from that of Wells (1982) and Chambers and Trudgill (1980). A further problem, according to her, is when to separate one accent continuum from another.

Her study is based on three empirical socio-phonetic investigations that were carried out in London and the South-East in the 1990s (Altendorf 2003). One was carried out by her, while the two others were carried out by Tollfree (1999) and Williams and Kerswill (1996, 1999, 2000) respectively (Altendorf 2003: 50-51). In her study, the informants are all female sixth-formers in London, Colchester and Canterbury, attending different schools and representing different social classes. She chose females because of their tendency to be at the forefront of language change (as pointed out in section 2.2.1). Her linguistic variables were both consonants and vowels, and the informants participated in a word list-style interview, a reading style-interview and a more relaxed interview, to ensure that all styles were included.[3]

For example, she found that H Dropping and TH Fronting were present only in the language of the working-class girls, and that L Vocalisation was almost categorical among both working-class and lower middle-class girls, while not as widespread among the upper middle-class girls (Altendorf 2003). She places the variants into groups, so that groups 0 and 1 are confined to working-class use, group 2 consists of variants which occur in the working- and middle-class, group 3 consists of variants which occur in all three classes, and group 4 variants differ from the others in that they are innovations and confined to the two highest social classes (Altendorf 2003: 122-123). Examples of variants in group 4 are Yod Coalescence and the realisation of the vowel in GOOSE as [ɨ:~ɪ:]. She also states this:

> *From a diachronic and regional point of view*, the variants of groups 2, 3 and 4 fulfil the claim made by Rosewarne (1984, 29) and Wells (1997a, 47) that EE continues the well-established trend of London variants "spreading out geographically (to other parts of the country) and socially (to higher social classes)". (Altendorf 2003: 129)

At the end of her study, based on the results from these interviews, Altendorf hesitates to conclude too strongly with regard to EE's theoretical status, but proposes two solutions:

a) EE is the name of a social accent continuum in London ranging from the lower middle to the upper middle class but excluding the most basilectal and the most acrolectal speakers.
b) EE is the name of a middle-class accent continuum in the Home Counties with London as the centre of gravity (Altendorf 2003: 161).

[3] The difference in formality between the three styles will be discussed in Chapter 3.

She points out that "it has not been convincingly demonstrated that the accents of the Home Counties Modern Dialect area are sufficiently similar to be grouped together, and sufficiently different from those of other areas" (Altendorf 2003: 161), which makes it difficult to accept alternative b) in its strongest sense. Since the study sheds doubt on EE as an accent continuum, she claims that it is even less likely that EE can be established as a variety, as Rosewarne (1984, 1994) and other linguists (Crystal 1995, Kerswill 2000) have done. Altendorf therefore cautiously suggests that EE should be defined as a 'group of variants', not as an accent (Altendorf 2003: 159).

2.3.2 Przedlacka's study (2002)

Przedlacka's study also consisted of younger speakers, and the informants were chosen based on their place of residence, age and social class. The 18 informants were between 14 and 16 years old, and both genders were included (Przedlacka 2002: 21). The counties that were included were Kent, Essex, Surrey and Buckinghamshire, which are all part of the Home Counties. The informants were given a questionnaire, where the aim of the researcher was to elicit words containing the 14 linguistic variables (5 consonants and 9 vowels) she was interested in, while leaving the informants unaware of this fact. Her subjects were grouped in three ways, by social class, gender and county (Przedlacka 2002: 21), in order to enable her to examine whether the differences between the informants were statistically significant with regard to these three variables. Five of her variables revealed no differences between genders, social class or counties (Przedlacka 2002: 90), but overall the sharpest differences were between the genders, where the girls were in the lead in the majority of the changes (an important exception being TH Fronting). Within the genders, class did not have a significant effect. Eight of the variables showed county significance, "i.e. a lack of uniformity between the four localities investigated" (Przedlacka 2002: 93). For these reasons, in her conclusion, Przedlacka writes that:

> The extent of geographical variation alone allows us to conclude that we are dealing with a number of distinct accents, not a single and definable variety. There exist quite sharp phonetic differences between the speech of the four localities situated within a 50-mile radius. At the same time, what is known as "Estuary English" appears to be a part of more general changes. (Przedlacka 2002: 97)

This conclusion is quite powerful, and she is less tentative in her claims than Altendorf (2003). Like other linguists, Przedlacka defines 'accent' as "a set of features that make up

one's pronunciation, which also betrays a person's geographical origins and/or social class" (2002: 3). Unlike Altendorf, Przedlacka defines 'variety' as something which is "chiefly distinguished by features of its pronunciation and intonation" (2002: 3). She thus makes no mention of the need for a "centre of gravity". With regard to the spread of EE and its influence on other accents, Przedlacka concludes with this:

> It is unlikely that the variety discussed has an impact on the speech of other areas in England. In light of gravity models, it seems more plausible that the speech of the Home Counties itself is subject to London influence. In fact, certain phonetic features of Cockney (e.g. *th*-fronting and *l*-vocalisation) are present in what is referred to as "Estuary English" speech. (Przedlacka 2002: 97)

2.3.3 Concluding remarks

Even though several terms have been used to describe EE, the two studies summarised above make powerful claims against the notion of EE as a common regional accent. Although Altendorf (2003) is clear in her view that EE is something in its own right, she hesitates to call it either an accent or a variety, and lands on the more neutral term 'group of variants'. Przedlacka (2002), on the other hand, found that at best, EE is an umbrella term used for a number of distinct accents, and that the term therefore is misleading. As these studies have a sounder theoretical, empirical and scientific basis than the articles and books by for example Rosewarne (1984, 1994) or Coggle (1993), the hypothesis in the present study is that there is no single unitary accent called "Estuary English", and that we therefore can expect a great deal of variation even among the three speakers providing the data. However, the next section will give a thorough presentation of the linguistic features that have so far been seen as common to EE, to provide a sound background for the study.

2.4 The features of Estuary English

2.4.1 Levels of language affected

Researchers have, as shown, disagreed on the theoretical status of EE. They have also disagreed on the levels of language affected by EE. Even though all agree on the fact that EE is recognised by its phonological features, some, such as Rosewarne (1984, 1994) and Coggle (1993), have claimed that EE also entails aspects of the lexicon of the speakers, and also the

levels of pragmatics and syntax (Coggle 1993). These claims can be summarised in the following table.

Table 2.4 Levels of English affected by EE according to Rosewarne, Coggle, Wells and the media.

Levels of language	*Rosewarne*	*Coggle*	*Wells*	*Media*
Lexicon	+	+	-	0
Syntax and morpho-syntax	-	+	-	0
Pragmatics	+	+	0	0
Supra-segmental level	+	0	0	0
Phonetics and phonology	+	+	+	+

(Altendorf 2003: 10)

As can be seen, the only level that the four agree on is that of phonetics and phonology. This is the only level that the media has focused on, as this is what is most readily audible to the linguistic layperson. The coiner of the term, Rosewarne, has claimed that EE affects all levels except syntax and morpho-syntax, while Coggle (1993) wants to include this level too. He claims, for example, that it is common in EE to use *was* with plural subjects (Coggle 1993: 34), and that there are instances of multiple negation among the speakers (Coggle 1993: 67). On the lexical level, Rosewarne and Coggle refer to words and expressions such as *cheers*, *basically*, *excuse me*, and *there you go* as typical of EE. On the level of pragmatics, a more frequent use of tags, especially the expression *inni'* in almost all contexts, regardless of the content in the previous clause, is emphasised (Coggle 1993: 66). With regard to the supra-segmental level, this has only been dealt with by Rosewarne (1984), who claims that EEis characterised by its intonation. For example he writes that prominence is often given to prepositions and auxiliary verbs, and that there is a rise fall intonation that is typical for EE (Rosewarne 1984: 29). What the characteristics of EE is on the level of phonetics and phonology will soon be dealt with, but before that the other levels should be discussed and problematised further.

On the lexical and syntactic level, there is the problem of lack of uniqueness. Even though you will find EE speakers saying for example *cheers* and *basically*, these are, as Altendorf (2003: 12) shows, rather examples of colloquial and modern speech, and can be found in all parts of England. The same goes for expressions such as *we was going* and *I didn't do nothing*, which are common to all non-standard dialects throughout the country, and

especially common in working class speech. To say that this is characteristically EE is therefore misleading and gives the impression that EE is something more specific than it actually is. The same arguments apply to pragmatic markers such as *righ'* and *inni'*, which also belong to the colloquial register and are not something specifically Estuary. With regard to the suprasegmental level introduced by Rosewarne (1984), the descriptions he makes are too imprecise, so it would be hard to actually test them (Altendorf 2003: 12), which makes them difficult to seriously consider. It is in the level of phonetics and phonology, however, that we find a combination of accent features which can give us a more convincing impression of EE being something in its own right.

2.4.2 The phonetic and phonological features of EE

In his article from 1984, Rosewarne mentions L Vocalisation, T Glottalling (more than an RP speaker and less than a Cockney speaker), Yod Dropping and a labiodental [ʋ] instead of /r/ as examples of EE consonant features. HappY Tensing, where the original /ɪ/ at the end of words like *happy* becomes a more tense [i], and diphthonging of /i:/ are mentioned as examples of vowels in EE. Coggle (1993), like Rosewarne (1984) mentions T Glottalling, L Vocalisation, Yod Dropping and labiodental /r/, but also adds Yod Coalescence (Coggle 1993: 51) and *–ink* for *–ing* in words like *thing* (50). Furthermore he states that the sounds *or/aw/au* become *auw* in EE[4] (32), and that the sound *u*, such as in *cup*, is much closer to the RP realisation of the word *cap*. Coggle also claims that 'stigmatised' Cockney features such as TH Fronting and H Dropping are not adopted by EE speakers, or at least are only found at "the Cockney end of the Estuary spectrum" (Coggle 1993: 54). Again, a more systematic approach has been made by Wells (1998), and his findings regarding the phonetic and phonological features of EE can be seen in the following table. Here the sign '-' means that the feature is mostly absent in the variety, while the sign '+' means that the feature is mostly present.

[4] Coggle's book does not include phonetic symbols, but rather tries to represent the sounds through common alphabet letters. One would assume that he means the phoneme /ɔ:/ by the symbols *or/aw/au*.

Table 2.5 Phonetic and phonological features of EE as presented by Wells (1998).

Variable	*Example*	*RP*	*EE*	*Cockney*
H Dropping	[ænd] for *hand*	-	-	+
TH Fronting	[fɪŋk] for *think*	-	-	+
MOUTH vowel monophthong	[ma:f] for *mouth*	-	-	+
Intervocalic T Glottalling	['bʌʔə] for *butter*	-	-	+
HappY Tensing	['hæpi] for *happy*	-	+	+
T Glottalling finally etc.	['ðæʔ 'ɪz] for *that is*	-	+	+
L Vocalisation	[mɪok] for *milk*	-	+	+
Yod Coalescence	['ʧu:zdeɪ] for *Tuesday*	-	+	+
Diphthong shift in FACE, PRICE, GOAT	[fʌɪs], [prɑɪs], [gʌʊʔ]	-	+	+
Striking allophony (phoneme split?) in *sold*	[sɒʊ(ɬ)d], [rɒʊlə]	-	+	+

EE is thus like RP in that it does not have H Dropping, TH Fronting, MOUTH vowel monophthongs or intervocalic T Glottalling. It is like Cockney in that it has HappY Tensing, T Glottalling in final position and before consonants, L Vocalisation, Yod Coalescence, diphthong shifts in FACE, PRICE and GOAT,[5] and that there may also be a phoneme split of /əʊ/ in words like *sold* and *go*. Furthermore Wells (1998) claims that one should disregard the claims concerning /r/ being realised as [ʋ], glottalling of /d/ and Yod Dropping after /s/ and /l/. Labiodental [ʋ] is, however, a characteristic feature of the speech of Estuary speakers such as Jonathan Ross (see chapters 3 and 4). But, this is also a feature that is spreading among young speakers across the country, even in mainstream RP (Hughes, Trudgill and Watt 2012: 6), and it would again be misleading to call this a characteristic of EE. The fact that H Dropping, TH Fronting and intervocalic T Glottalling traditionally have been highly stigmatised features, which are first and foremost associated with working class accents (Wells 1982), further strengthens the claim that EE is a middle ground between RP and Cockney, as EE speakers usually shy away from these features.

[5] The capital letters indicate that we are here talking about the standard lexical sets, not necessarily these words in particular. See Wells (1982) section 2.2

2.4.3 Concluding remarks

On the basis of what has been presented in this chapter, it seems most likely that EE only affects the language on the level of phonetics and phonology. The claims that EE has certain defining lexical, syntactic, pragmatic and suprasegmental properties are not sound enough, and the examples hold true for many other accents and dialects across the country. With regard to the phonetic features of EE, there seems to now be general consensus (Rosewarne 1984, 1994; Coggle 1993; Wells 1994, Przedlacka 2002; Altendorf 2003) regarding most of the features, such as L Vocalisation, T Glottalling, HappY Tensing, Yod Coalescence and the diphthong shifts, and also regarding the features which are not supposed to be features of EE, such as MOUTH vowel monophthongs, TH Fronting, H Dropping and intervocalic T Glottalling. With this as a framework, this study will only concern itself with features on the level of phonetics and phonology, and use this as a basis for the analysis of the data. I am still hesitant to conclude too strongly whether EE should be called an accent, a group of accents, a group of variants or an accent. The hope is that the results in this study may further contribute to the field, both in terms of determining the theoretical status and the phonetic features of EE.

2.5 The reference accents

Some space will also be given to the reference accents, RP and Cockney. This is, as shown, because EE is often defined by referring to features it has in common with RP and Cockney. There will be no in-depth discussion of the accents, but rather a brief presentation of the main phonological features of the accents and their regional/social spread.

2.5.1 Received Pronunciation

RP is *the* reference accent when dealing with all other accents of English in the British Isles. They are defined by how they differ from RP, which means that RP is the de facto standard (Wells 1982). Wells defines a standard as this:

> A standard accent is the one which, at a given time and place, is generally considered correct: it is held up as a model of how one ought to speak, it is encouraged in the classroom, it is widely regarded as the most desirable accent for a person in a high-status profession to have. (Wells 1982: 34)

There is no doubt that RP historically has held this position, at least in England, and that it still is the accent of the well-educated and the upper classes. As already mentioned RP is not geographically localisable, and there is no way to determine someone's local or regional origins just by listening to their RP accent. With regards to the phoneme inventory of RP, the vowels and the consonants can be represented as follows:

Table 2.6 RP Vowel System

ɪ ʊ e ʌ æ ɒ	iː eɪ aɪ ɔɪ	uː əʊ aʊ	ɪə (ʊə) ɛə ɜː (ɔə) ɑː ɔː

These are the vowel phonemes that are present in the RP vowel system; the phonemes /ʊə/ and /ɔə/ are in parentheses as these are mostly used by very traditional RP speakers. The four blocks (part systems) are Wells's invention (1982): they indicate vowels that are (from left to right) short and non-weak (checked vowels), long front close or front-closing, long back close or back-closing, and long central or open. Other accents of English in the British Isles may vary in different ways, but these are seen as the standard phonemes of British English and of RP (Wells 1982).

Table 2.7 RP Consonants

	Bilabial	**Labio-dental**	**Dental**	**Alveolar**	**Post-alveolar**	**Palatal**	**Velar**	**Glottal**
Plosive	p b		t d				k g	
Fricatives		f v	θ ð	s z	ʃ ʒ			h
Affricates					tʃ tʒ			
Nasals	m			n			ŋ	
Lateral				l				
Open	w				r	j	w	

approximants								

Table 2.7 presents the consonant phonemes of RP, which accent is most often used when teaching English phonetics. There is, naturally, some variation among RP speakers as well, depending on their age, their background and when they acquired it, so one can for example hear instances of L Vocalisation and glottal reinforcement, differences in how /r/ is pronounced, etcetera. Nevertheless, these phonemes, both vowels and consonants, make up the phoneme inventory of RP.

2.5.2 Cockney

Cockney is traditionally a working class accent in London, heard among those born within ear shot of the Bow Bells in East London. It is a broad accent, with features that are highly stigmatised among speakers of other accents, but which still carry covert prestige. The most prominent accent features of Cockney are (Hughes, Trudgill and Watt 2012):

- /h/ is almost invariably absent;
- the final vowel of *city* is /i/ and not /ɪ/ (=happY-tensing);
- the glottal stop [ʔ] is very common, both in final position and in intervocalic position;
- the contrast between /θ/ and /f/ is variably lost due to TH Fronting;
- the contrast between /ð/ and /v/ is often also lost, but not in initial position, where /d/ occurs for /ð/;
- dark [ɬ] becomes [o];
- the Diphthong Shifts have affected sounds like /eɪ/, /əʊ/, /aɪ/ and /aʊ/, so that they are now [æɪ], [ʌɐ̟], [ɑɪ] and [æə] respectively;
- the MOUTH vowel can also be realised as a monophthong [a:].
- *-ing* is /ɪn/;
- very open allophones of schwa in final position.

Some of these features are common to many working-class accents, but some, like MOUTH vowel monophthonging and the diphthong shifts, seem to be reserved for Cockney. Naturally, some of these features have made their way into EE, and this will be further dealt with in the next chapter.

3 Method and material

3.1 Introduction

This chapter will present the method and material used for the present study, as well as assess the suitability of the method and its strengths and weaknesses. First the method will be presented and discussed, with regard to reliability, limitations and appropriateness. Then the material used will also be presented. Subsequently, a presentation will be given of the three speakers who have produced the data on which this study is based. This is to gain a better understanding of their background, which can be of importance to both the results and the discussion. Finally, the five linguistic variables will be discussed. This study uses the Labovian term 'variable' for the phonetic realisations of interest. For example H Dropping is called a variable. The different possible realisations of the variable are called 'variants'. In the case of H Dropping, the variants are thus /h/ or Ø.[6] A justification of my choice of variables will also be given. Before we go into greater detail, it may be useful to repeat the research questions in this study:

- What is the status of the five consonant variables in the language of the four EE speakers chosen?
- What does the status of these five consonant variables say about the nature of EE?

Let it again be mentioned that since the sample of speakers is relatively small, the results must be seen in light of previous research, to see whether they are in agreement with or contradict previous findings.

3.2 Method

This study is based on two talk-show interviews conducted by Jonathan Ross. The two other speakers are David Beckham and Jamie Oliver, and they are guests on the shows. The two interviews were found on the video-sharing website YouTube, but the shows originally aired on BBC and ITV. YouTube material is open to the public, making this kind of research possible. After finding the interviews on YouTube, the videos were also converted into sound files to ensure that the study could be conducted even if some problems would arise on YouTube or with the Internet connection. The interviews were then transcribed in standard

[6] Ø in this context refers to a zero realisation.

orthography, including hesitation markers, cut-offs, restarts, pauses and fillers, making it a rather narrow transcription (Friedman 2012). These elements were included to provide as much data as possible, as for example restarts and fillers may contain variables. A broader transcription where pauses, fillers, false starts and the like are not included could possibly miss out on some words containing variables. The transcription, however, is not so narrow that the interviews are transcribed phonetically in their entirety. Some words will nevertheless be written phonetically when presented as examples for discussion. The transcription key can be found in the appendices along with the transcriptions.

After transcribing the interviews, the transcriptions were thoroughly searched for instances where the five variables occurred in the language of the speakers. The instances were colour-coded, so that it would be easy for the researcher to count and later find the instances where the variables occurred. For instance, all words which might contain instances of L Vocalisation were given the colour red. Words that contained several variables, such as the words *football*, which might contain T Glottalling and L Vocalisation, or *healthy*, which might contain H Dropping, L Vocalisation and TH Fronting, were given two or three colours, limiting the colours to a few letters in each word, to make them comprehensive and noticeable. In the initial stages of the colour coding I did not separate between final and intervocalic T Glottalling, so both are coded by the same colour. The two were later on separated in the counting, but the colour coding remains the same, as can be seen in the appendix. After colour-coding the five variables, I counted them. For each speaker the total numbers of each variable, i.e. L Vocalisation, Final T Glottalling, Intervocalic T Glottalling, TH Fronting and H Dropping, were counted separately.[7] A second colour coding was conducted after a few weeks, to ensure intra-coder reliability (Révész 2012), and it was discovered that the first colour coding contained some mistakes and had also failed to find all variables.

After colour-coding the variables I listened to the videos and decided whether the EE (or Cockney in the case of intervocalic T Glottalling, TH Fronting and H Dropping) or RP variant was realised. The principle of accountability (Labov 1972: 72) was followed: "we will report values for every case where the variable element occurs in the relevant environments as we have defined them". The benefit of choosing only consonant variables was that in all cases,

[7] Section 3.4 contains a comprehensive presentation of the variables and the reason why they were chosen.

there were only two possibilities: the EE/Cockney variant occurred, or it did not. If it did not occur, the standard RP pronunciation of the sound occurred instead. It is of course also possible that other realisations may occur, such as glottal reinforcement instead of T Glottalling, or clear [l] instead of dark [ɬ], but these variants were of no interest to the present study and could therefore be ignored and counted together with the RP realisations. This made it easier to decide which sound was present, as there were only two variants of interest. It should also be noted, however, that since the listening was executed without the help of tools, errors may have occurred. This is both due to the limitations of the human ear, and to the fact that it is not possible to slow down YouTube sound files. Also, since I knew which variants I was looking for, it is, as Labov (1972: 66) points out, always possible that an unconscious bias led to some doubtful cases (either e.g. mumbling, rapid speech or noise from the audience) being recorded as EE/Cockney variants. As with the colour-coding, the interviews were listened to for a second time a few weeks after the first time. This was to see whether the same variables were found also on the second listening, again to ensure a higher degree of reliability. As this was a time-consuming and demanding job, requiring a high degree of insight in phonetics and EE, it was regrettably not possible for me to secure a second opinion or have another researcher listen to the full interviews.

After the total number of EE and Cockney variants was counted, it was divided by the total number of instances for each variable to get a percentage. Chambers and Trudgill (1980: 61) claim that this is a common way of analysing variables with only two variants. This was done for each speaker for all of the five variables, so that for example the percentage of L Vocalisation among the speakers could be compared and analysed. Since one of the main aims of this study is to investigate how much variation there is among EE speakers, even in such a small sample as this, the percentages give valuable information about the status of EE and Cockney variants in the language of these speakers. In addition, the percentage of all EE and Cockney variants for each speaker was calculated, to give an impression of how far to the Cockney end of the spectrum the speaker could be said to be located. In addition to being shown in percentages, the results will also be presented as instances per thousand words. This is because the speakers do not produce the exact same number of words, which can skew the results and influence the comparison. When showing results as instances per thousand words, the results are normalised and the ground for comparison becomes more even. It must also be noted here that some of the linguistic variables are more marked than others, and hence are

naturally less common in the speakers' language, without this necessarily meaning that they have a low frequency of the EE variant in their language. It is thus useful to look at the results in percentages and the results per thousand words simultaneously, and analyse the results of each way of counting in light of each other.

Since Jonathan Ross was present in both interviews, the data produced by him was analysed separately, so that we have Jonathan Ross 2009 and Jonathan Ross 2012. The practical reason for this was that if all of the data from him was analysed in one chunk, he would produce significantly more data than the other two speakers, making it difficult to compare them. In each interview he speaks approximately as much as the other speaker, although a bit more since he is conducting the interview. Another reason is that since the interviews are three years apart, it can be possible to see some differences over time if we analyse the data separately. The study therefore opens up for looking at variation in both apparent and real time (Labov 1972: 275), although the main perspective of the study is a synchronic one. When discussing differences between the speakers from a synchronic perspective, they will therefore in fact be referred to as 'four speakers' as Ross 2009 and Ross 2012 will be analysed and counted separately.

3.2.1 Strengths and weaknesses

Since this study uses YouTube clips as material, it is difficult to categorise the method in traditional terms. It is, however, not unreasonable to say that the method is observation of samples of speaker production (Ellis 2008). Seeing as the aim of this study is to investigate how big the differences are in the pronunciation of EE speakers, I would claim that using this kind of method and data material is appropriate. The samples are naturally occurring, meaning that they are not elicited by a researcher, which increases the chances of the language being casual and representative of the way the speakers normally speak, which is what we are after. A common problem when researching languages is namely what Labov (1972) calls 'The Observer's Paradox: "The aim of linguistic research in the community must be to find out how people talk when they are not being systematically observed; yet we can only obtain these data by systematic observation" (Labov 1972: 209). Just by being in the same room as the informants, the researcher might influence their language, since they will become aware of the way they speak. A common way of trying to counteract this is by only partially informing the informants what the study is about. For example, Przedlacka (2002:

23) told her informants that they were participating in a research project on language change, but they remained unaware of the fact that the area of focus was phonetics, so that they would not pay too much attention to their pronunciation.

Since the researcher is not present in the interviews in this study, but rather analyses their language through recordings, it increases the chances that the speakers are not paying attention to how they speak, and the Observer's Paradox no longer applies. This again increases the chances of the informants speaking the way they would do at home. It is nevertheless important to remember that even though the speakers do not bear in mind that someone might linguistically analyse their language, they are fully aware of the fact that they are on television, which might have an impact on their language. Since the data is from two relaxed and informal talk-shows, however, one would expect less awareness of one's language on the part of the speakers than for example in a debate or a news show on the BBC News channel. All of the speakers are also thought to be speakers of the same accent, and one can therefore also expect accommodation to occur, leading the speakers to speak quite similarly to each other as a common way of easing communication and signalling solidarity and understanding.

In sociolinguistic research, it is common to distinguish between styles of language. Labov (1972: 99) separates between five styles: (A) Casual style, (B) Careful style, (C) Reading style, (D) Word list style and (D') Minimal pairs. (Minimal pairs is a style which is close to the Word list style, and thus Labov found it misleading to give them separate letters, hence the apostrophe). In casual and careful styles, the informants/speakers are often interviewed. In the reading style, the informants are asked to read a couple of paragraphs of a text, usually a text containing variables of interest. In the word list style, informants are asked to read aloud single words from a list, and in minimal pairs the informant is asked to read out two words that are minimal pairs, such as *pin* and *bin*. These styles have an increasing degree of formality, where we see a strong correlation between style and number of non-standard variants of variables (Labov 1972). With for example word list style and minimal pairs one would expect a very small number of non-standard forms such as H Dropping and TH Fronting, while they will be more apparent in for example casual style. Casual style and careful style are often also grouped together under the term 'interview style'.

When carrying out studies on pronunciation among certain groups it is common to secure data from an interview style, a reading style and a word list style, to get a broader picture of the nature of the informants' accents. This also makes it possible for the researcher to say something about the speakers' attitudes towards their accent. If they for example have a high number of cases of H Dropping in the interview style, but almost no instances of H Dropping in the word list style, this would indicate that the speaker is aware of the attitudes towards this variable and does not want to be associated with it. In the more relaxed interview style, however, the speaker might not pay as much attention to his/her pronunciation. In this study, it was not possible to include data from reading or word list styles, and the data here should be seen as something in-between a casual and a careful style: casual because the speakers are not aware that someone might analyse their pronunciation, but careful because they are still on broadcast television. This must therefore be borne in mind when I analyse and discuss the results.

Another consideration to bear in mind is the extra-linguistic variables. There are many variables which might affect language which are not controlled in this study. The informants are all men, which eliminates the gender variable, and they all come from lower-middle class backgrounds; but Jamie Oliver is from another county than the two others, Jonathan Ross is older than the two others, and the three informants have had different careers and have lived in different places throughout their lives, which might well influence their accents. With regard to area and age, these are variables that are interesting to look at in greater detail, to see whether they may account for differences in the speakers' pronunciation. Other variables, on the other hand, such as career, self-image, accents of spouses and friends and cities of residence, may also account for differences, without it being possible for the researcher to check all of them against the linguistic variables. One must therefore not conclude too strongly on the basis of these results, but rather look at tendencies and indications of trends. Again it is also important to remember that the interview setting might influence the informants' pronunciation, and that the different speakers may react differently to being on television.

3.3 Material

The material used in this study consists of two talk-show interviews found on YouTube. The first, with Jonathan Ross and Jamie Oliver from 2009, is from the show *Friday Night With*

Jonathan Ross, which originally aired on BBC One on 4th September 2009. It was uploaded to YouTube on 3rd May 2010. The interview is split over two YouTube videos,[8] and the interview is approximately 19 minutes long. The second interview, with Jonathan Ross and David Beckham from 2012, is from the show *The Jonathan Ross Show*, which still airs on ITV. It originally aired on 4th February 2012, and was uploaded to YouTube on 10th February the same year. The interview is approximately 18 minutes long. Altogether, the speakers produced 7976 words in the interviews, including hedges, false starts and fillers. If we look at the speakers individually, Jamie Oliver produced 2443 words, David Beckham produced 1686, Jonathan Ross in 2009 produced 1852, and Jonathan Ross in 2012 produced 1995 words. Words that were unintelligible to the researcher have not been counted. All of the 7976 words were thoroughly analysed and searched for variables, and in total 1760 instances of the variables occurred. All of these variables were analysed, as described in the previous section. This provided sufficient data for the study, although it should be noted that some variables, such as final T Glottalling and L Vocalisation, are much more frequent in the speakers' language than for example H Dropping, and the numbers for final T Glottalling and L Vocalisation are therefore larger and easier to discuss and draw conclusions from. The choice of material is strongly influenced by the fact that I live in Norway, while speakers of this accent naturally live in England. Due to the limited time frame of an MA thesis and the time-consuming job it would be to find informants and conduct interviews in England, finding material on YouTube is felt to be a satisfactory solution, providing me with sufficient data for analysis. This study may also then say something about the appropriateness and benefits of using recorded public videos as the basis for linguistic research, and show how beneficial the Internet has become in linguistic research.

3.4 The speakers

The three speakers that provide the data for this thesis are, as already mentioned, David Beckham, Jamie Oliver and Jonathan Ross. They have been chosen because of their alleged EE accent, and because they have been used as examples of EE speakers in many articles and books (e.g. Coggle 1993, Rosewarne 1994, Hilmarsdóttir 2006). Their language inhabits several of the features that have been deemed as characteristic of EE in the previous chapter. The combination of their exhibiting the relevant variables and their being mentioned in other

[8] Links to the videos can be found under 'References'.

articles and books on EE, is seen as a sufficient ground for including them in the study. Another contributing factor was necessarily also the availability of spoken data, and with Jonathan Ross as a starting point, due to his talk shows, it was highly practical to choose EE speaking celebrities who had frequented his shows. The speakers are all men, and this eliminates the gender variable and makes the data easier to compare. It was, interestingly enough, difficult to find examples of female celebrity EE speakers, which was another reason why only men were chosen. This might suggest that there are fewer female celebrity speakers of EE, which may be attributed to the status of EE and to the negative attention EE has been given in the media. Women are, as we have seen, generally more preoccupied with language norms and overt prestige than men (Labov 1972).

Two of the speakers are of the same age, while the third, Jonathan Ross, is 15 years older than the other two, which may give us an impression of change in apparent time (Labov 1994: 45-46). This means that a difference in pronunciation between people of different ages might give us an impression of change in progress. There are, however, a number of other factors which may influence the results, so one must be careful not to conclude too strongly without having informants who are identical in all respects except age (Labov 1994: 56). Furthermore, two of the speakers grew up in East London, while the third one grew up in Essex. The distance between the two places is approximately 45 minutes by car, which is not particularly far, but enough to expect some accent variation given the results in Przedlacka's study (2002). The study will thus give us an impression of synchronic variation among the speakers, without there being large regional differences between their accents. The personal background of the three speakers will now be given,[9] as there are several factors which may influence their accents.

3.4.1 David Beckham

David Beckham was born in May 1975, and grew up in Leytonstone in East London. His father, David Edward Alan Beckham, was a kitchen fitter, and his mother, Sandra Georgina, a hairdresser. He attended Chingford Foundation School, a grammar school, and also started at Bradenton Preparatory Academy. At the age of 14, when he signed for Manchester United, he also signed schoolboy forms, and subsequently signed a Youth Training Scheme in 1991

[9] Information about the speakers will, unless otherwise stated, come from Wikipedia pages on the speakers.

(BBC Sport Academy). Due to his professional career in Manchester, he has spent many years there, which may have influenced his language. In 2003 he transferred to Real Madrid, and lived in Spain for four years until moving to the USA in 2007 to play for LA Galaxy. Since then he and his family have lived in the USA, and his children now speak with American accents (see Appendix 3). His living in the USA may also have influenced his language, which must be taken into account when analysing the data. He turned 40 in May 2015, and was 36 years old at the time of the interview from which the data has been collected.

3.4.2 Jamie Oliver

Jamie Oliver was also born in May 1975, but grew up in Clavering, Essex. His parents, Trevor and Sally Oliver, ran their own pub, called The Cricketers, in Clavering ('Biography'n.d.). He attended Newport Free Grammar School in Essex, and at age 16 he started at Westminster Kingsway College. After finishing his education Oliver soon started working at restaurants, and in 1999, at age 24, his first cooking show debuted on BBC. Since then he has hosted an array of cooking shows, both on the BBC and on Channel 4. Oliver has also been very involved in charitable foundations, and has especially been preoccupied with improving school meals, both in Britain and in other countries. The most famous of the foundations is unarguably 'Fifteen', where Oliver has trained disadvantaged youth, such as homeless teenagers and young people with addictions, to work in restaurants and try to better their situation. This was so successful that Oliver and many of these youngsters were invited to cook for then Prime Minister Gordon Brown and President Barack Obama in 2009 (see Appendix 2). He has also travelled to the USA to try to improve the eating habits in cities whose populations were notorious for being unhealthy and overweight. Despite extensive travelling because of his career, Oliver still lives in Clavering with his wife and four children, and is often thought of as an archetypal Essex man (see Appendix 2), which may be reflected in his accent. Oliver also turned 40 this year, and was 34 years old at the time of the interview.

3.4.3 Jonathan Ross

Jonathan Ross was born in November 1960, and is thus the oldest of the speakers. He was born in St. Pancras in Central London, but grew up in Leytonstone, the same place as David Beckham. His father was a lorry driver and his mother Martha was a film extra. His mother

tried to put all of her children forward for different roles in television advertisements, and Ross had his first appearance at the age of 10 in a Rice Krispies commercial ('Rice Krispies' 2008). He attended Norlington School for Boys and Leyton County High School for Boys, both comprehensive schools. After this he studied Modern European History at a college of the University of London. Since the 1980s Ross has hosted several television shows, such as *The Last Resort with Jonathan Ross, Friday Night with Jonathan Ross* and *The Jonathan Ross Show*, in addition to hosting shows on BBC Radio. In the two interviews the data are taken from, Jonathan Ross is the interviewer, while Beckham and Oliver are the guests. This naturally leads to more data from Ross than from the others. One of Ross' most characteristic traits, which has been a centre of attention in many articles, shows and so on, is his pronunciation of the phoneme /r/. Ross has the aforementioned labiodental variant [ʋ], which is very prominent in his speech. Since this variable is not included in the study, however, this will not influence the results, but it is one of the many reasons why Ross has been used as an example of EE speakers. Ross lives in London with his wife and children, and at the time of the interviews he was 49 and 52 years old, and he is now 55 years old.

3.5 The linguistic variables

This study will focus on five phonetic features, or variables. Of these five features, two are generally seen as being common in EE, while the three others are seen as features of Cockney that have not made their way into EE (Rosewarne 1984, Wellls 1994). The five variables are L Vocalisation, final T Glottalling, intervocalic T Glottalling, TH Fronting and H Dropping. I have chosen to look only at consonants (although the result of L Vocalisation is indeed a vowel) to limit the study, and have chosen the linguistic variables in question because of their status in EE. These help separate Estuary from RP, and also separate EE from Cockney, and they are features commonly mentioned in discussions on EE. Features such as the diphthong shifts are also a part of EE, but I have chosen to disregard these. Labov (1972) claims that if the study of certain variables is to be fruitful, certain criteria need to be met. The first is that the variable is frequent, and that it occurs "so often in the course of undirected natural conversation that its behaviour can be charted from unstructured contexts and brief interviews" (Labov 1972: 8). The second is that the variable should be structural, meaning that the more the item is integrated into a larger system of functioning units, the greater is the

linguistic interest. The third is that the distribution of the feature should be stratified, mostly occurring among certain classes, different age groups, genders, et cetera.

The five variables chosen in this study meet these criteria. They are all frequent and there are many instances of them, or potential instances of them, in the two interviews. It is also clear that these five variables separate different classes in the South-Eastern part of England, and that they are thus found in different accents which have close ties to the social backgrounds of the speakers. Of the chosen variables, the two first are thought of as common in EE but not RP, while intervocalic T Glottalling, H Dropping and TH Fronting are still highly stigmatised features and mostly found in Cockney (Rosewarne 1984, Wells 1994, Altendorf 2003). Altendorf (2003) did, however, find in her study that TH Fronting may be on its way into EE, and Przedlacka (2002: 91-92) found that the feature was more common among boys than girls. As the speakers in this study are men, it will be interesting to see whether there are instances of TH Fronting among them. The hypothesis is nevertheless that L Vocalisation and final T Glottalling will be more common among these speakers than TH Fronting and H Dropping, and that there will be a certain difference among the speakers with regard to the distribution and frequency of the variables. A more thorough presentation of the variables will now be given.

3.5.1 L Vocalisation

L Vocalisation refers to the process where dark [ɫ], meaning velarised *l*-sounds that occur before consonants or in syllable-final position, are vocalised into something sounding more like [ʊ] or [o]. It can be both syllabic (such as in *bottle*) and non-syllabic (such as in *feel*). Wells (1994) discusses in his paper on transcribing EE whether [ʊ], [o] or maybe even [w] should be used to represent the sound that [ɫ] turns into. He argues that [o] should be the preferred choice because it is "phonetically reasonable" and "visually distinctive" (Wells 1994: 262). He dismisses [ʊ], which has often been used, because it implies phonetic identity with the vowel of *put*. Since the product of the L Vocalisation is further back than the vowel of *put* has become, that would also give the wrong impression of the realisation of the sound (Wells 1994: 262). [w] is dismissed because of its phonemic identification with prevocalic /w/, which he thinks is questionable. He also argues that this would be in violation with the English phonotactic constraint on semivowels in final position (Wells 1982). I agree with this reasoning, and will therefore use [o] in my transcriptions when discussing L Vocalisation. A

common example of L Vocalisation is the word *milk*, which is pronounced in RP as [mɪɬk] but which with a vocalised [ɫ] becomes [mɪok]. L Vocalisation is becoming increasingly common in mainstream RP as well (Hughes, Trudgill and Watt 2012), but it is not as widespread as it is in EE, thus setting them apart. With its increased usage it can be possible to talk of new diphthongs, such as [ɪo] and [eo], where [o] is simply the second element of a diphthong rather than an independent vowel (Wells 1994), but it is beyond the scope of this thesis to delve further into this problem. When analysing the data, the variable thus has two variants or realisations: [ɫ] and [o].

3.5.2 Final T Glottalling

The term 'glottalisation' can refer to two different phenomena. The first is when the plosives /p t k/ and sometimes also the affricate /tʃ/ are preceded by a glottal stop in certain syllable-final environments (Wells 1982). This is called glottal reinforcement, and is represented in transcription as for example [kæʔt]. This is also heard in mainstream RP. The other phenomenon is when the glottal stop replaces the release stage of the plosive altogether, and this is most commonly found with /t/ in the following environments: (i) following vowels, liquids and nasals at the end of syllables, (ii) before pauses, (iii) in the middle of the word before true consonants, liquids, semivowels, syllabic nasals and vowels and dark [ɫ]. Glottalling does not occur if the /t/ follows true consonants, for example in the word *just*; this is because it is actually easier for the speaker to produce an alveolar /t/ after the alveolar fricative /s/ than producing a glottal stop.

T Glottalling is not a feature of RP, even though Trudgill (2002: 174) states that glottalling when the /t/ is syllable-final preceding another consonant should be considered a feature of RP. The glottal stop is defined as a plosive, but unlike other plosives it is not oral, hence not requiring a definite tongue or lip position (Pointner 1996). The sound is made at the glottis, from where it got its name. Glottalling does not occur in initial position (Wells 1982: 260). Examples of T Glottalling are [ðæʔ mæn] for *that man*, [fʊʔbɔːɬ] for *football* and [hɪʔ] for *hit*. In this study, only cases of T Glottalling, and not glottal reinforcement, will be studied, and all possible environments of glottalling will be included. When analysing the data the variable has two possible variants: [t] or [ʔ].

3.5.3 Intervocalic T Glottalling

Intervocalic T Glottalling is, unlike final T Glottalling, not viewed as a part of EE. Intervocalic T Glottalling refers to when the glottal sound replaces the plosive, as for final T Glottalling, but here the sound is between two vowels within a word. This has traditionally been viewed as a more working-class feature than final T Glottalling. Examples of words containing intervocalic T Glottalling are [bʌʔə] for *butter*, [leʔə] for *letter* and [wɔːʔə] for *water*. Even though it has not traditionally been seen as a feature of EE, research from the early 2000's has indicated otherwise. Altendorf (2003) argues that intervocalic T Glottalling should be included among the features of EE. She bases this on her findings, which showed that the teenage girls in her study have intervocalic T Glottalling in many of the possible cases. Also, based on her study Przedlacka (2002: 55) suggests that intervocalic T Glottalling may have lost the stigma it once had, which might again lead to its inclusion in EE. The variable has thus been included in this study to test these hypotheses. When analysing the data, the variable has two possible variants: [t] or [ʔ].

3.5.4 TH Fronting

TH Fronting is one of the three variables in this study that are supposed to be features of Cockney, not of EE. Previous studies (Przedlacka 2002, Altendorf 2003), however, have as mentioned found that TH Fronting may be on its way into Estuary, and that boys/men are leading the way. The term refers to the process where the dental fricatives /θ ð/ are realised as labio-dental fricatives [f v]. The word *think* would then be pronounced as [fɪŋk], and the word *brother* as [brʌvə]. The reason for this is thought to be that the dental fricatives are more marked phonemes; they are rare among many languages and are learnt late by children (Wells 1982). It is, quite simply, more natural for humans to pronounce /f v/ than / θ ð /, and the phenomenon has thus by some been called 'persistent infantilism', as it is similar to the speech of children (Wells 1982: 96). The voiced /ð/ is not fronted in word initial position (Pointner 1996), but here it is not unusual that speakers who are prone to TH Fronting realise the /ð/ as [d], as in [deə] *there*. This feature is highly stigmatised, and generally associated with Cockney, but the feature does also to a certain extent enjoy covert prestige, which may be why there are more male than female speakers of EE who tend to use it. Williams and Kerswill (1999) have also found that TH Fronting is spreading both regionally and socially. It will therefore be interesting to see whether any of the speakers have any instances of TH

Fronting, and whether there are any differences between them, as this may indicate what the status of the variable is in EE today. The variable has two possible variants: [θ ð] or [f v].

3.5.5 H Dropping

H Dropping refers to the phenomenon where the voiceless glottal fricative /h/ is not pronounced in syllable-initial position. H Dropping is a feature of many working-class accents around the country, and is a feature of Cockney, but not of EE. As a result of H Dropping, words like *hit, home* and *hammer* can be pronounced as [ɪt], [əʊm] and [æmə]. H Dropping does not include instances where the pronouns *he, him, his, her* and *who*¸ and the auxiliaries *has, have* and *had* in unstressed positions are pronounced without the initial /h/, as this has become part of standard dialects and is also found in RP (Wells 1982: 254). Instances like *tell him* [telɪm] are therefore not included in this study, only cases of true H Dropping. Wells (1982: 254) claims that "H Dropping does appear to be the single most powerful pronunciation shibboleth in England", and states that the correlation between H Dropping and social factors has been confirmed by sociolinguistic research, much like the correlation between dropping of /r/ in pre-consonantal and final position and social status in New York (Labov 1972). This is probably why H Dropping is not a feature of EE, as this variety is supposed to distance the speakers both from the accents of the highest and the lowest social classes. This variable has nevertheless been included in the study because it is interesting to see whether the Cockney variant is in fact absent from the speech of EE speakers, and whether, if present, this may say something about the variation among the speakers of EE. The variable has two possible variants: [h] or Ø.

3.5.6 A note on final T Glottalling

Although it has been the aim of this study to follow the principle of accountability, final T Glottalling proved to be a challenge. In some phonetic contexts, it was practically impossible to hear whether glottalling actually took place or not. In this study, these contexts were:

(i) When /t/ preceded /s/, as in the words *it's, its, what's, gets*, et cetera. In these contexts it is near impossible for the researcher to distinguish whether the alveolar closure has been produced for /t/, or for the following /s/, which is also alveolar.
(ii) When /t/ occurred in the cluster /nts/, or when /t/ followed /n/ in the cluster /nt/ and

was followed by a consonant in the next word. Examples are *restaurants, don't know, different from*, et cetera. In these contexts, the /t/ is often elided, and the resulting sound is of no interest to this study. If it is not elided the same problem as in (i) occurs: it is near impossible to know whether the alveolar closure is due to the next alveolar consonant.

For these reasons, words meeting these criteria have not been colour coded and counted, as this would skew the results and leave the researcher guessing.

3.5.7 Concluding remarks

The status of these features can be summed up in a table, based on table 5 in section 2.4.2. Wells (1994, 1998) is used as a reference, as his more systematic evaluation of EE has been helpful in the study of the variety.

Table 3.1 The status of the variables in EE according to Wells (1994, 1998)

Variable	*Example*	*Existence in EE*
L Vocalisation	[mɪok] for *milk*	+
T Glottalling finally etc.	['ðæʔ 'mæn] for *that man*	+
T Glottalling in intervocalic position	['bʌʔə] for *butter*	-
TH Fronting	[fɪŋ] for *thing*	-
H Dropping	[ænd] for *hand*	-

Altogether I believe that a study of these five variables, even though the sample of speakers is very small, may say something interesting about the nature of EE, both with regard to its phoneme system and with regard to its internal variation. As already mentioned, it has been proposed by some researchers that T Glottalling in intervocalic position should be included among the features of EE, although it in this table is seen as something EE does **not** share with Cockney. Furthermore, Przedlacka (2001, 2002) does indeed state after her study of teenage speech in the Home Counties that EE should be viewed as several different accents, and there is therefore reason to believe that there are differences between these speakers.

4 Results

4.1 Differences among the speakers

In this chapter the results will be presented and commented upon. A more thorough analysis and discussion of the results will be given in chapter 5. The results will be presented in both tables and columns (figures), so as to give a more visual impression of the differences in addition to the exact numbers. It will become clear throughout the chapter that the data reveal some very interesting trends.

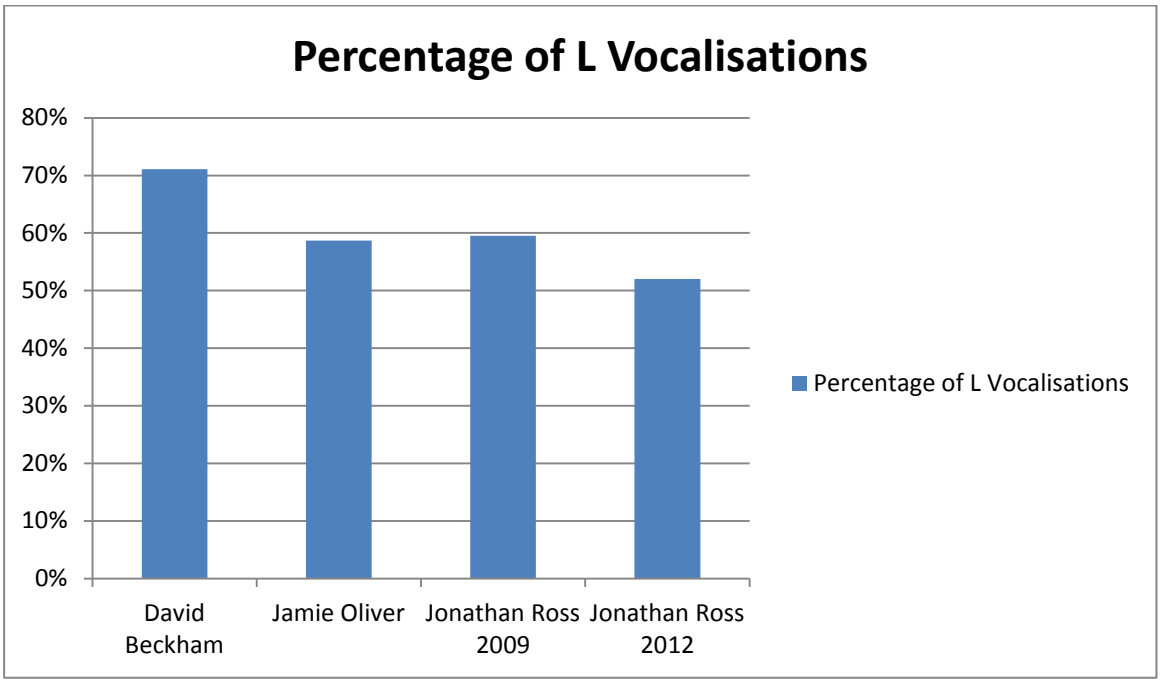
4.1.1 L Vocalisation Results

Table 4.1 L Vocalisation percentages

Speaker	**Potential / Actual (Percentage)**
David Beckham	90 / 64 (71.1 %)
Jamie Oliver	131 / 77 (58.7 %)
Jonathan Ross 2009	89 / 53 (59.5 %)
Jonathan Ross 2012	98 / 51 (52 %)

Table 4.1 presents the results for L Vocalisation in percentages. For each speaker the number of potential EE realisations of the variables and the number of actual EE realisations are presented, and the percentages of actual EE realisations are given in parentheses. As we can see, there are differences among the speakers with regard to the number of potential variants, for example Jamie Oliver had 131 words where L Vocalisation might occur, while Jonathan Ross in 2009 only had 89 potential cases. The percentages, however, should provide a comparable result. The speaker with the highest percentage of L Vocalisation is David Beckham, who at 71.1 % produces 11.6 % more vocalised L than the second highest ranker, Jonathan Ross in 2009. Ross thus produces 0.8 % more vocalised /l/ than Jamie Oliver in their interview. What is interesting is that there is a decline in L Vocalisation in Jonathan Ross's language from 2009 to 2012, by a noteworthy 7.5 %. This becomes even clearer when we look at figure 4.1:

Figure 4.1 L Vocalisation percentages



Here we see a decline from Jonathan Ross 2009 to Jonathan Ross 2012. He thus seems to have become more conservative in three years with regard to L Vocalisation, and in 2012 only half of the potential instances are actually realised with L Vocalisation. Here it is also visible that David Beckham has substantially more L Vocalisation in his language than the others, realising it in more than 70 % of all potential cases. Jamie Oliver, the only speaker from outside London, is somewhere in the middle between the other two, at 58.7 %. The difference between the speaker with the highest number and the speaker with the lowest number is at 19.1 %, a substantial difference which is difficult to assign to just haphazardness. Nevertheless, all of the speakers realise the EE variant in at least half of the potential instances, which is in agreement with previous research stating that L Vocalisation is a prominent feature of EE.

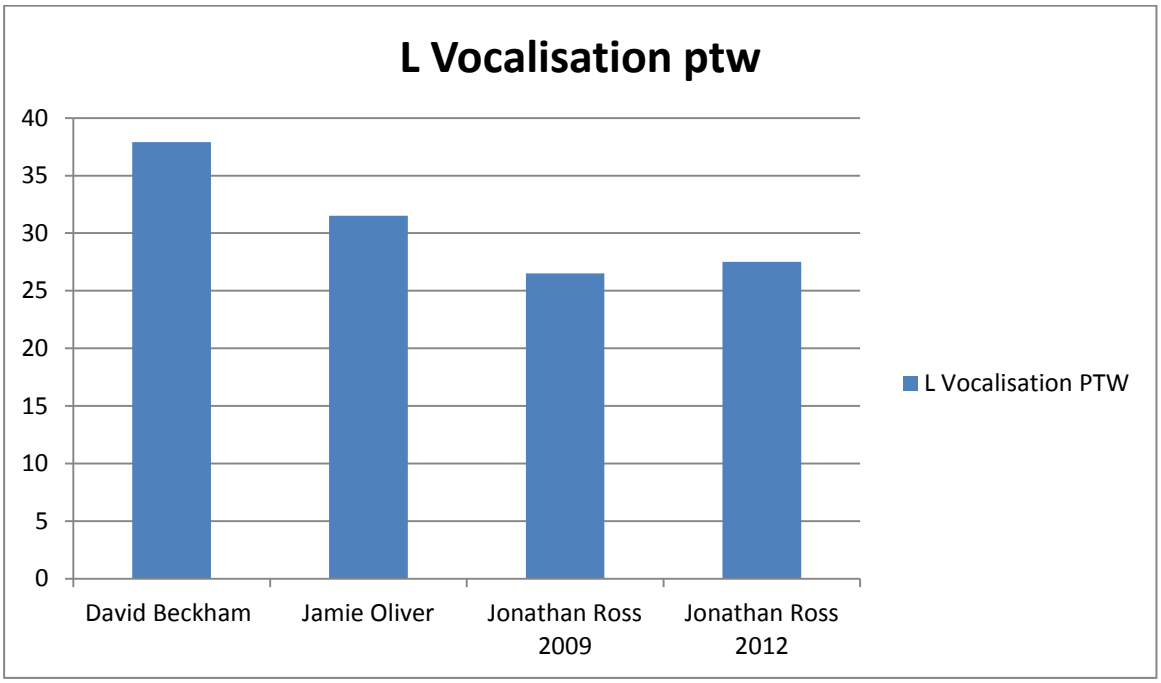
Furthermore, it might be interesting to see how often the speakers realise the EE or Cockney variants per thousand words (ptw). When looking at the results in this way, the differences in the total number of words produced by the speakers do not skew the results, as they are all calculated per thousand words. For L Vocalisation, the results are these:

Table 4.2 L Vocalisation ptw

Speaker	Instances per thousand words
David Beckham	37.9
Jamie Oliver	31.5
Jonathan Ross 2009	26.5
Jonathan Ross 2012	27.5

David Beckham is still the speaker with the highest number, at 37.9 instances of L Vocalisation per thousand words, but now, Jamie Oliver comes in second at 31.5 instances per thousand words. Furthermore, in Jonathan Ross's language there is actually more instances of L Vocalisation per thousand words in 2012 than in 2009, even though he produces it in fewer of the potential cases. This is probably linked to the fact that he produces fewer words in the 2012 interview than the 2009 interview, which then makes the presence of L Vocalisation loom larger, relatively. The differences between the speakers are also visible in figure 4.2, and here also it is evident that the distribution between the speakers has changed, with Jamie Oliver clearly surpassing Jonathan Ross in 2009.

Figure 4.2 L Vocalisation ptw



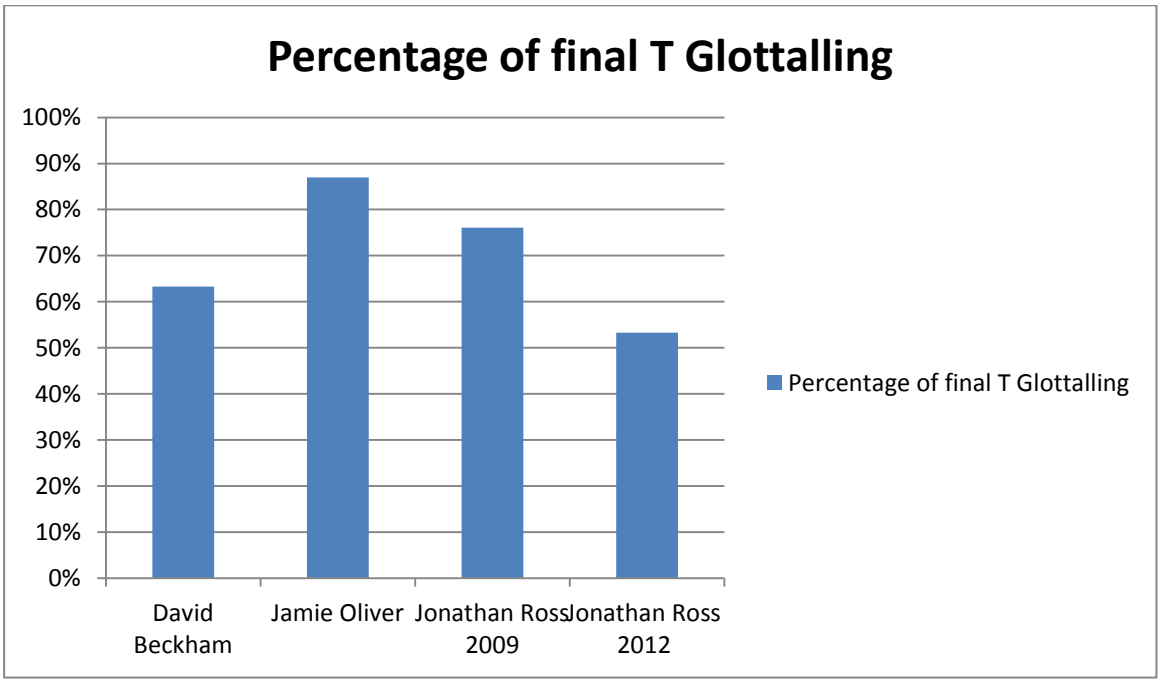
4.1.2 Final T Glottalling Results

Table 4.3 Final T Glottalling percentages

Speaker	Potential / Actual (Percentage)
David Beckham	161 / 102 (63.3 %)
Jamie Oliver	300 / 261 (87 %)
Jonathan Ross 2009	247 / 188 (76.1 %)
Jonathan Ross 2012	214 / 114 (53.3 %)

For T Glottalling before consonants, pauses, word finally, etc. the distribution is somewhat different. Here, Jamie Oliver has a very high percentage of the EE realisation in his language: T Glottalling occurs in 87 % of all possible cases. Again he has the highest number of potential cases: almost twice as many words containing possible T Glottalling as David Beckham. Jonathan Ross in 2009 has the second highest number of T Glottalling, 10.9 % behind Jamie Oliver at 76.1%. David Beckham is slightly more conservative than the others with regard to T Glottalling, but still has a very high number at 63.3 %. As opposed to L Vocalisation, where David Beckham had the highest number of instances, Jamie Oliver is thus the speaker with the highest number of instances of T Glottalling finally, as can also be clearly seen in figure 4.3:

Figure 4.3 Final T Glottalling percentages



Yet again the columns clearly show what has happened in the language of Jonathan Ross. Here also we see a decline in EE variants from 2009 to 2012, and this time the decline is even sharper: from 76.1% to 53.3 %, which is a decline of 23.6 %. Thus, so far, Jonathan Ross has become more conservative in the short period of three years, both with regard to L Vocalisation and final T Glottalling. A quite substantial difference between the speakers is also visible in this variable, where there is a difference of 33.7 % between the speaker with the highest and the speaker with the lowest percentage. This is an even larger difference than was seen for L Vocalisation. Still, all of the speakers have T Glottalling in over half of the potential cases, again in agreement with previous research on final T Glottalling in EE.

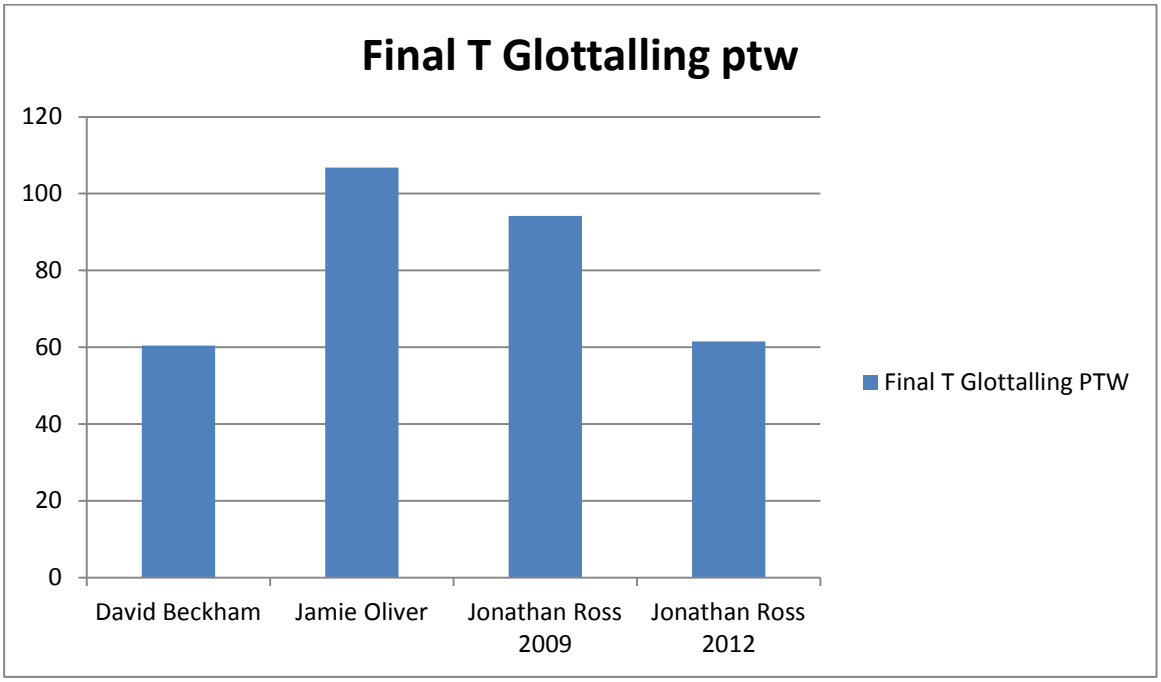
If we again look at instances per thousand words, the following table is what we get:

Table 4.4 Final T Glottalling ptw

Speaker	**Instances per thousand words**
David Beckham	60.4
Jamie Oliver	106.8
Jonathan Ross 2009	94.2
Jonathan Ross 2012	61.5

Here also it is abundantly clear that Jamie Oliver has the highest number of instances of T Glottalling, and he actually has T Glottalling 106.8 times per thousand words, a high number. Jonathan Ross in 2009 is still the speaker with the second highest number, but he also has more instances of glottalling per thousand words in 2012 compared to David Beckham, although not by a large margin. Here, though, the decrease in the instances of glottalling per thousand words is visible from 2009 to 2012 in Ross's language, which is more in agreement with the results in percentages. When we look at the results per thousand words, he large variation between the speakers is noteworthy here also, with a difference of 46.9 instances between Jamie Oliver and David Beckham. This also becomes obvious in figure 4.4:

Figure 4.4 Final T Glottalling ptw



4.1.3 Intervocalic T Glottalling Results

Table 4.5 Intervocalic T Glottalling percentages

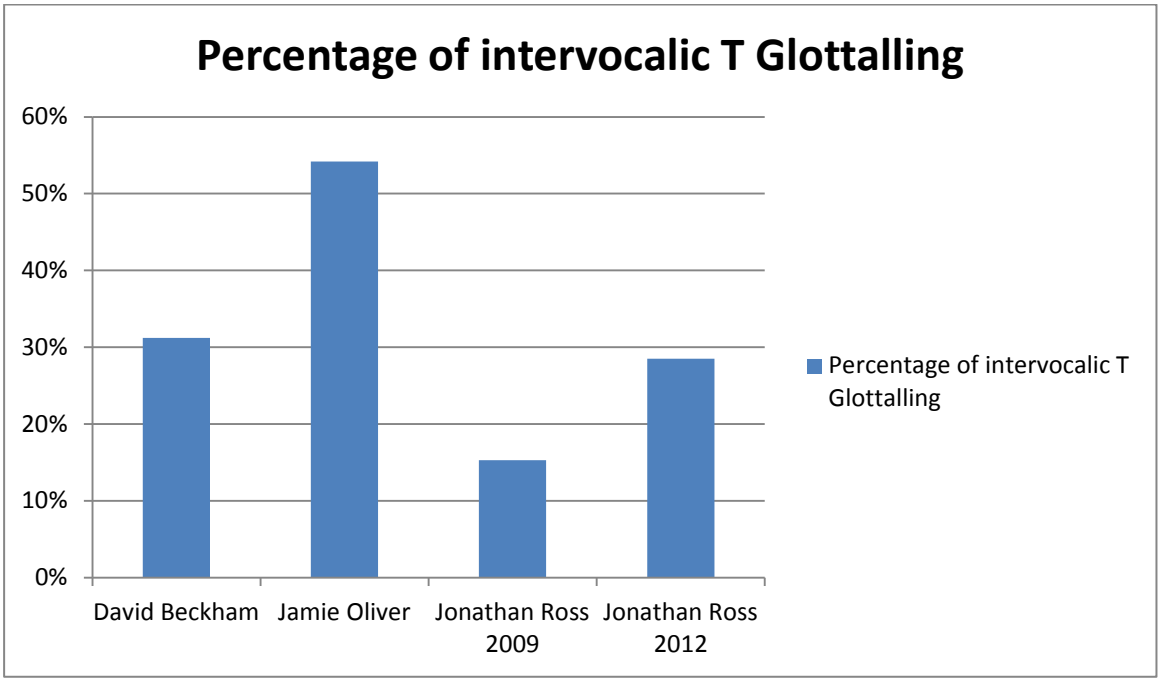
Speaker	**Potential / Actual (Percentage)**
David Beckham	16 / 5 (31.2 %)
Jamie Oliver	35 / 19 (54.2 %)
Jonathan Ross 2009	26 / 4 (15.3 %)
Jonathan Ross 2012	21 / 6 (28.5 %)

For intervocalic T Glottalling, the results show smaller numbers. There are substantially fewer words where intervocalic T Glottalling may occur than there are for final T Glottalling. For example, there are only 16 instances of words where David Beckham might have used intervocalic T Glottalling, a quite small number. Nevertheless, here also there is a great deal of variation between the speakers. As with final T Glottalling, Jamie Oliver has the highest number of instances of intervocalic T Glottalling. 54.2 % of all the potential cases have actual realisations of T Glottalling. The speaker with the second highest number, David Beckham, is 23 % behind Oliver, a substantial difference. It must be remembered that intervocalic T Glottalling is a feature that is not supposed to be a part of EE, only of Cockney, so a number as high as 54.2 % in Oliver's case is quite surprising. The lowest percentage is provided by

Jonathan Ross in 2009, where out of 26 words where intervocalic T Glottalling might occur, he produces only 4 instances of it, i.e. 15.3 %.

What is also interesting about this variable is that here, Jonathan Ross shows a different trend than in the last two variables, which becomes clear in figure 4.5:

Figure 4.5 Intervocalic T Glottalling percentages



From 2009 to 2012 there has been an increase in intervocalic T Glottalling in Ross's language. In 2012 he has glottalling in 28.5 % of the potential cases, an increase of 13.2 %. It is important to bear in mind that the numbers here are much smaller than for the previous variables, 4 instances of glottalling in 2009 and 6 in 2012, and that one therefore should not conclude too strongly that the increase is substantial or reveals a trend towards more intervocalic T Glottalling in Ross's language. Nevertheless, the increase is there, and it will be discussed in the next chapter. The difference between the speaker with the highest number of instances of intervocalic T Glottalling, Oliver, and the one with the lowest number, Ross in 2009, is at 46.6 %, the largest difference yet. This shows that there is huge variation among these speakers with regard to this traditionally non-EE feature.

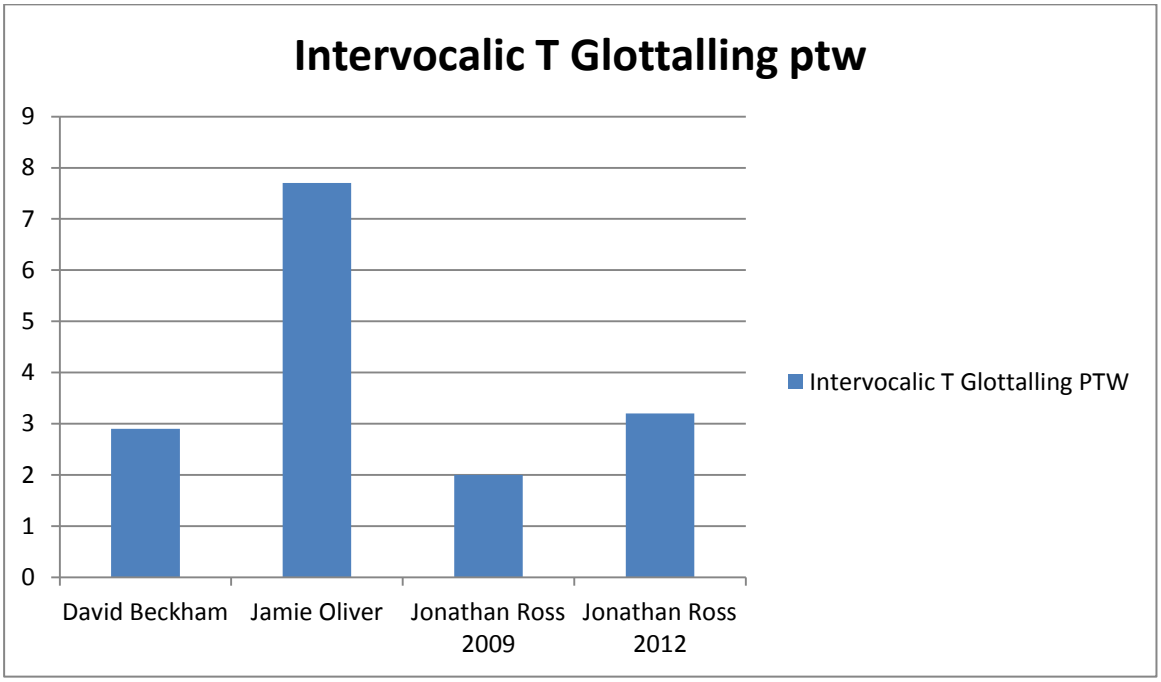
When we look at the results per thousand words, it quickly becomes evident that intervocalic T Glottalling is much less frequent in the speakers' language:

Table 4.6 Intervocalic T Glottalling ptw

Speaker	Instances per 1000 words
David Beckham	2.9
Jamie Oliver	7.7
Jonathan Ross 2009	2
Jonathan Ross 2012	3.2

The speaker with the highest number of instances, Jamie Oliver, has only 7.7 instances of intervocalic T Glottalling per thousand words, even though he has it in over 50 % of the potential cases. The other speakers have even fewer instances of intervocalic T Glottalling per thousand words, which shows that even though they have it in more cases than one would expect, it still is not a prominent feature of their language. The differences between the speakers are also visible in figure 4.6:

Figure 4.6 Intervocalic T Glottalling ptw



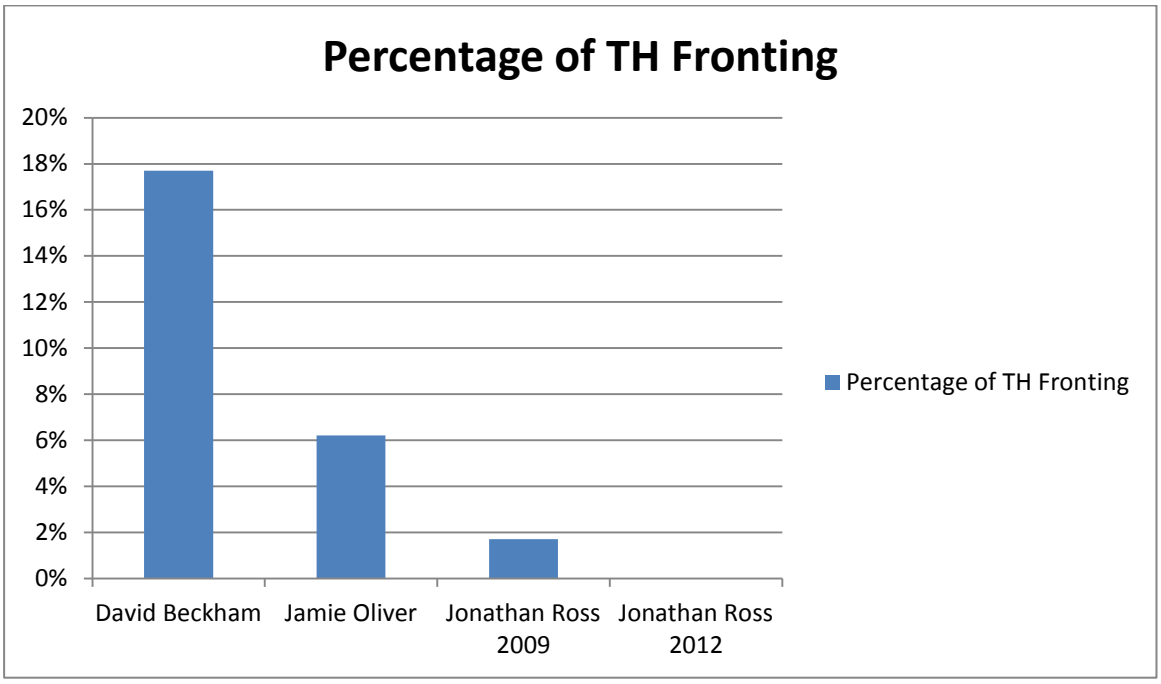
4.1.4 TH Fronting Results

Table 4.7 TH Fronting percentages

Speaker	Potential / Actual (Percentage)
David Beckham	40 / 7 (17.5 %)
Jamie Oliver	64 / 4 (6.2 %)
Jonathan Ross 2009	57 / 1 (1.7 %)
Jonathan Ross 2012	37/ 0 (0 %)

TH Fronting is also a feature that is not supposed to be present in EE, but here again we see some variation between the speakers. Again the numbers are smaller than for final T Glottalling and L Vocalisation, but there are more words containing the variable here than for intervocalic T Glottalling. David Beckham has the highest number of instances of TH Fronting in his language, at 17.5 %. Jamie Oliver comes in second, 11.3 % behind Beckham at 6.2 %. If we look at the real numbers, however, they only have 7 and 4 instances of TH Fronting respectively, which are not very high numbers. Jonathan Ross in 2009 only had one instance of TH Fronting, and had no instances of it in 2012. These small numbers are more in agreement with previous research, stating that TH Fronting is so stigmatised that it is only found in Cockney, not EE. However, especially Beckham has more instances of it in his language than one might expect. The differences between the speakers can also be seen in figure 4.7 on the next page:

Figure 4.7 TH Fronting percentages



The figure might give the impression that TH Fronting is very prominent in Beckham's speech, so it must be noted that the top of the left axis here is set at only 20%. Again there is a visible decline in the variant in Ross's language from 2009 to 2012, but the numbers are so small that it is difficult to say anything about it with certainty, and I am prone to attribute it to coincidences. The difference between the speaker with the highest number of instances of TH Fronting and the speaker with the lowest is at 17.5 %. Although not as large as in the two previous variables, the difference is substantial.

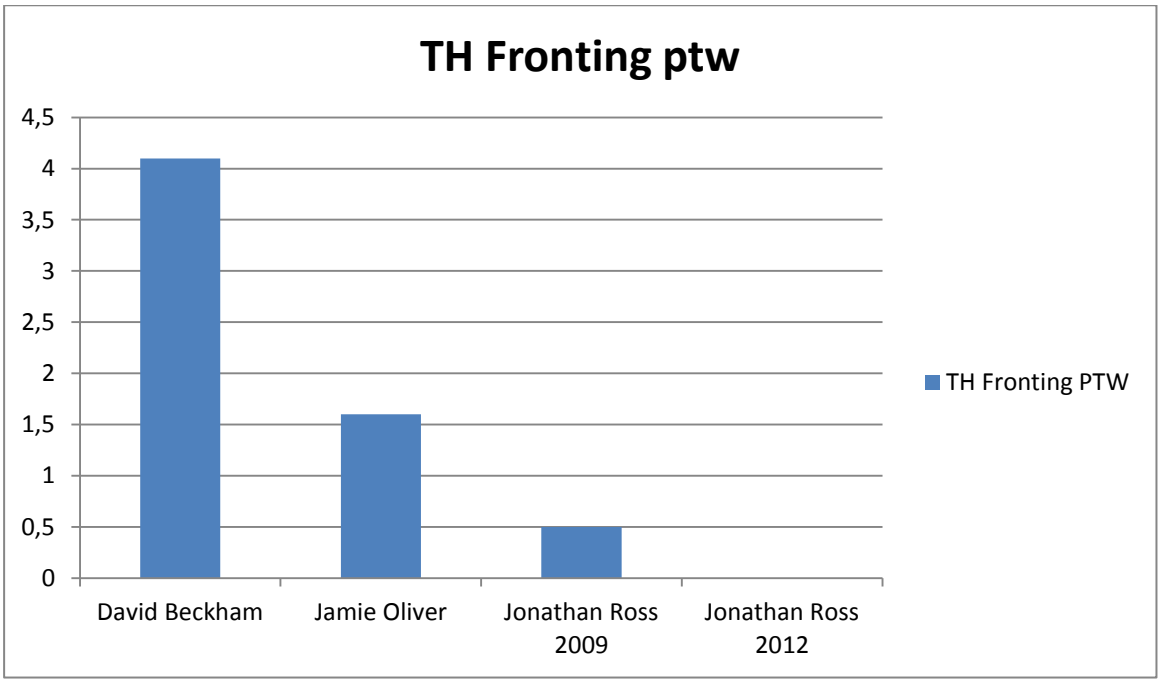
Table 4.8 TH Fronting ptw

Speaker	**Instances per thousand words**
David Beckham	4.1
Jamie Oliver	1.6
Jonathan Ross 2009	0.5
Jonathan Ross 2012	0

Table 4.8 shows instances of TH Fronting per thousand words. As when the results were shown in percentages, Beckham has the highest number, but he still has TH Fronting only 4.1 times per thousand words. The other speakers have so few instances of TH Fronting that it is hardly visible in their language, and TH Fronting cannot be said to be something definable or

prominent in their accents, certainly not in terms of instances per thousand words. The small differences are also visible in figure 4.8:

Figure 4.8 TH Fronting ptw



4.1.5 H Dropping Results

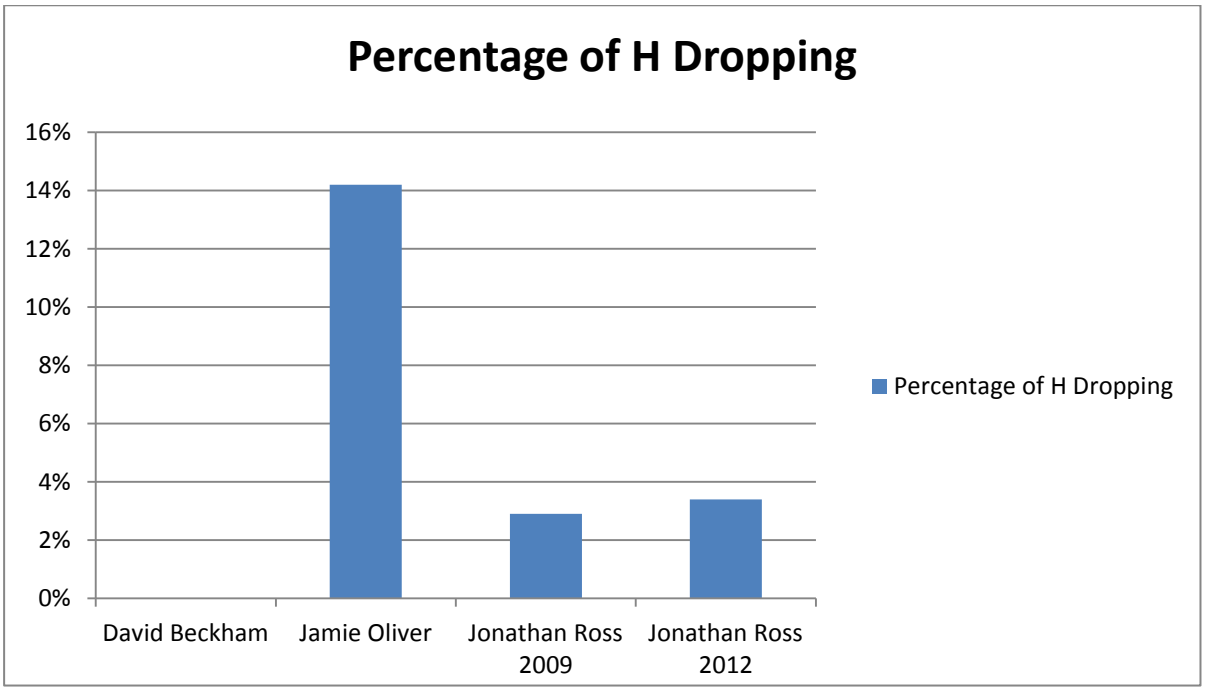
Table 4.9 H Dropping percentages

Speaker	Potential / Actual (Percentage)
David Beckham	13/ 0 (0 %)
Jamie Oliver	28 / 4 (14.2 %)
Jonathan Ross 2009	34 / 1 (2.9 %)
Jonathan Ross 2012	29/ 1 (3.4 %)

The final variable is H Dropping, which is also a feature that is not supposed to be present in the language of EE speakers. H Dropping is, not surprisingly, the variable where the speakers have the lowest number of non-RP realisations. The speaker with the highest number of instances is, as in two other variables, Jamie Oliver. He does not have many instances of H Dropping, however, only 4 out of 28 possible cases, in other words 14.2 %. David Beckham has no instances of H Dropping in his language, while Jonathan Ross has one instance of H Dropping in each interview. Since there were fewer words containing the variable in the 2012 interview than the 2009 interview, the percentage of H Dropping is thus larger in the 2012

interview, even though he had only one instance of it there as well. The figure may thus seem somewhat misleading:

Figure 4.9 H Dropping percentages



Here it seems that there is a noticeable increase in H Dropping in Ross' language from 2009 to 2012, but this is not the case. The difference between the speaker with the highest number of instances and the speaker with the lowest number is thus at 14.2 %. With his 4 instances of H Dropping Jamie Oliver is further to the Cockney end of the spectrum than the others, but it is safe to say that H Dropping is not a prominent feature of the language of the speakers in this study, which is in agreement with previous research. This also becomes very evident when we look at the results in terms of instances per thousand words:

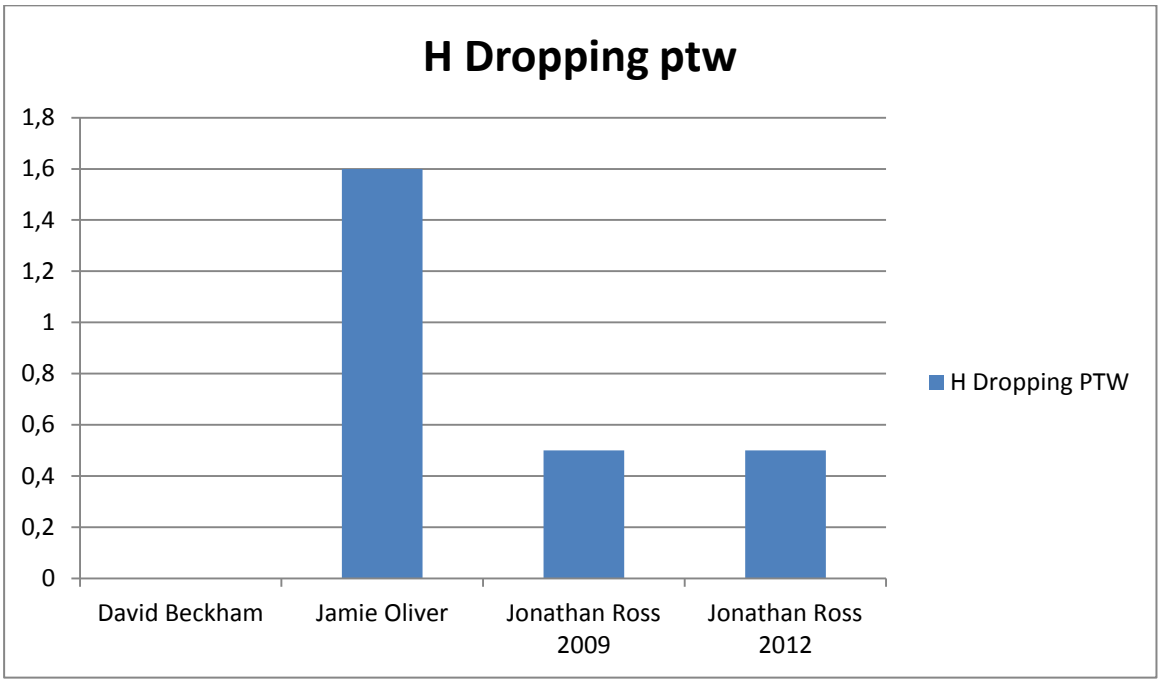
Table 4.10 H Dropping ptw

Speaker	**Instances per thousand words**
David Beckham	0
Jamie Oliver	1.6
Jonathan Ross 2009	0.5
Jonathan Ross 2012	0.5

The highest number here is only 1.6 instances per thousand words, and the rest are down at 0 and 0.5. This is of course linked to the fact that there are not many words where H Dropping

can appear in the interviews, as was the case with TH Fronting and intervocalic T Glottalling, but it yet again shows that the Cockney variant is not a prominent part of these speakers' language, although it does appear at least once in three of the speakers' language. When showing the results in this way, the distribution of H Dropping in Ross's language in the two interviews becomes more even as well, and the results show more accurately that he only had one instance of it per interview. Again the differences between the speakers can be seen in the figure:

Figure 4.10 H Dropping ptw



Let it also here be mentioned that the top of the left axis is set at only 1.8.

4.1.6 Total numbers

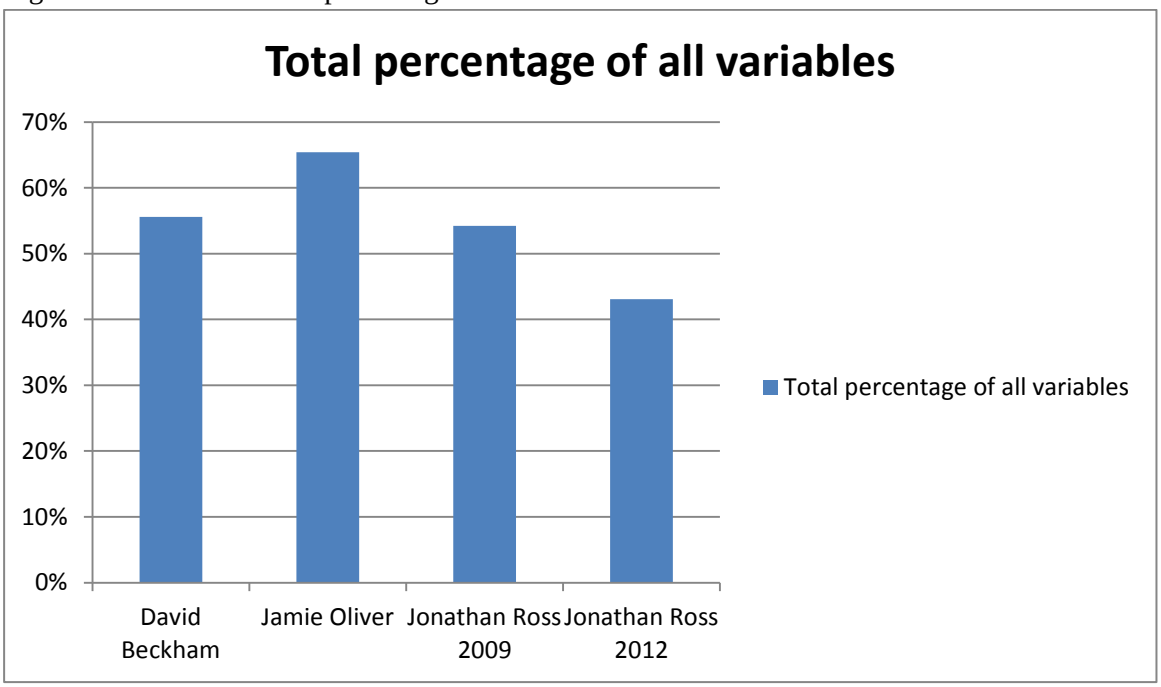
Table 4.11 Total numbers percentages

Speaker	Percentage
David Beckham	55.6 %
Jamie Oliver	65.4 %
Jonathan Ross 2009	54.2 %
Jonathan Ross 2012	43.1 %

Finally, it is interesting to look at the results in total numbers. For each speaker, the number of all potential cases has been added, and also the number of all actual realisations of EE and

Cockney variants. The number of actual realisations was then divided by the number of potential cases, to arrive at a percentage, as has been done for each single variable. This is a way of saying something about how far to the Cockney end of the spectrum the speakers' language can be said to be, and also of determining how large the differences are between the speakers overall. Jamie Oliver overall has the highest percentage of EE and Cockney realisations, at 65.4 %. David Beckham has the second highest percentage at 55.6 %, 9.8% behind Oliver. In 2009 Jonathan Ross is only 1.4 % behind David Beckham, at 54.2 %. In 2012, however, Jonathan Ross is only at 43.1 %, which means that well over half of the time, he uses the RP realisation, not the EE or the Cockney variants. This is a substantial decline from 2009, of 11.1%. Thus, the difference between the speaker with the highest number of EE and Cockney realisations, and the speaker with the lowest number, is 22.3 %, which is a large difference. The noticeable differences between the speakers can also be seen in figure 4.11:

Figure 4.11 Total numbers percentages



The figure clearly shows that Jamie Oliver has the highest percentage of EE and Cockney variants in his language, and that there is a visible decline in these variants in the language of Jonathan Ross from 2009 to 2012. Except for Jonathan Ross in 2012, all the speakers have EE or Cockney variants in over half of the possible cases, and from the previous results it is clear that L Vocalisation, final T Glottalling, and intervocalic T Glottalling account for most of the actual realisations. This on the one hand supports the claim that L Vocalisation and final T

Glottalling are prominent features of EE, but also suggests that features such as intervocalic T Glottalling, which has been seen as something reserved to Cockney, is also present in the language of EE speakers. The large variation seen between the speakers is also in agreement with the findings of Przedlacka (2002) and Altendorf (2003), who have found a great deal of variation among people who are supposed to speak EE.

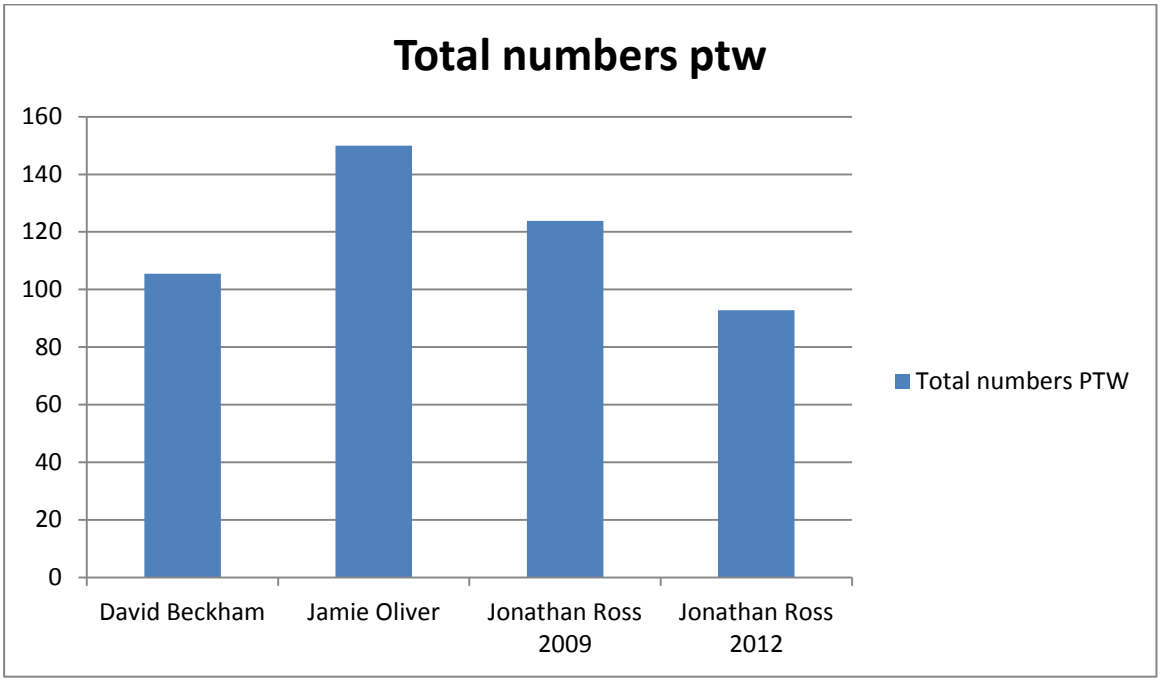
If we look at the total numbers of EE and Cockney variants per thousand words, the result is this:

Table 4.12 Total numbers ptw

Speaker	**Instances per thousand words**
David Beckham	105.5
Jamie Oliver	149.4
Jonathan Ross 2009	123.8
Jonathan Ross 2012	92.8

For every thousand words he speaks, Jamie Oliver has EE or Cockney variants 149.4 times, the highest of the four speakers. This is the same result as when the numbers are shown in percentages. However, when the results are shown in percentages, David Beckham has 1.4 % more EE and Cockney variants than Jonathan Ross in 2009, but per thousand words Jonathan Ross actually has more instances of EE and Cockney variants than Beckham. The decrease in EE and Cockney variants in Ross's language is very visible here also: a decline from 123.8 to 92.8 is substantial. The overall large differences between the speakers when all the variables are analysed together are also very evident in the final figure:

Figure 4.12 Total numbers ptw



4.2 Concluding remarks

This chapter has presented the results of my analyses of the data examined for the present study. The results have been briefly commented upon and explained, and they have shown a great deal of variation between the speakers. Some variables have shown greater variation than others, and not surprisingly the variables L Vocalisation and final T Glottalling showed the highest numbers of actual realisations of EE variants in the language of all the speakers. As expected, there were lower numbers for TH Fronting and H Dropping, but still some of the speakers had instances of these features in their language. The biggest surprise in this study is the distribution of intervocalic T Glottalling, where numbers as high as 54.2 % were found. This is also the variable where the difference between the speaker with the most instances and the speaker with the fewest instances was largest. Regrettably, it was difficult to run statistical analyses in this study, due to the nature of the data and the sample. Many of the results speak for themselves, as there are such considerable differences in percentages, but it would have been useful to run some tests on the differences between Ross 2009 and Ross 2012, but it was regrettably not possible. However, in the next chapter I will try to explain the results and discuss them in light of previous research on EE, which might furnish us with some further evidence to support the findings of the present study. I will also suggest how the results may contribute to the field of studies on EE.

5 Discussion

This chapter will discuss the results in greater detail, and examine them in light of previous research and sociolinguistic theory. The chapter is divided into two main perspectives: a synchronic perspective, divided into two sections, and a diachronic perspective. In the first section, I will discuss each variable in greater detail, and try to suggest possible reasons for the differences between the speakers. In the second section, a more thorough discussion of each speaker's language will be carried out, as there is a lot of variation even within the speech of each speaker, and this might be interesting to look at in order to further understand EE. As already mentioned in the method chapter, I will treat Jonathan Ross as two separate speakers when discussing and analysing the results, and I will refer to the informants as four speakers, not three. In the third section, the diachronic perspective will be dealt with. Here both changes in apparent and in real time will be discussed, and it will be interesting to see whether there are any large differences between the younger speakers and the older speakers, and also to look further into the differences between the two interviews containing Jonathan Ross, as they are three years apart. The discussion will mostly be based on the results in percentages, as these provide us with the number of actual realisations of EE variants compared to the total number of potential cases.

5.1 Synchronic perspective: the variables

5.1.1 L Vocalisation

For the variable L Vocalisation, there were obvious differences between the speakers. David Beckham was the speaker with the highest percentage of EE variants, at 71.1 %, while none of the others reached 60 %. Still, all of these numbers are high and support what has already been stated by previous research, namely that L Vocalisation is an established feature of EE. However, in Altendorf's (2003: 91) study, the female speakers in the comprehensive schools and the grammar schools had L Vocalisation in almost 100 % of the possible cases, which is more than these male speakers have. In Przedlacka's (2002: 83) study, females from Kent and Essex had L Vocalisation 95.1 % of the time, while the boys had it 82.5 % of the time. Since the present study does not include females, it was not possible to compare the results obtained to the speech of women in the same age groups, but if we compare my results with the studies

just mentioned, it is clear that the four speakers in the present study have less L Vocalisation than the girls. This is also in agreement with Przedlacka's (2002) statement that the females are in the lead in most of the EE variants. My speakers are also older than the speakers in Altendorf's and Przedlacka's studies, which examined teenagers, so it is possible that the age difference plays a role here, and that L Vocalisation is becoming increasingly more common. A comparison of Altendorf's (2003: 95) study and surveys from the 70s showed that L Vocalisation has increased dramatically in all social classes, especially in the two highest classes, suggesting that it has become more common and more accepted among all classes of society.

It is also possible to analyse the results in light of where the speakers grew up. The speakers from Leytonstone, Beckham and Ross, have slightly more L Vocalisation than Oliver, who is from Essex. The difference between Ross in 2009 and Oliver, however, is not large. This may result from their speaking to each other, and trying to accommodate to each other. This is a common subconscious process in conversations, as a way to signal solidarity and understanding, and this may be why they are so similar in respect of this variable (Giles, Coupland and Coupland 1991). However, it is difficult to say anything about this with certainty. For example, in 2012, in the interview between Ross and Beckham, the difference in the pronunciation of dark [ɫ] is large, at 19.1%. This is even more surprising when we bear in mind that they grew up in the same city, and therefore should speak very similarly indeed. This may then be accounted for by the age difference, but this will be dealt with separately. Hence, it does not seem like place of residence has had a large impact on the speakers' pronunciation of [ɫ], as the differences between the speakers from Leytonstone and the speaker from Essex are not very large, and as the two speakers from Leytonstone also show a great deal of variation between them.

Language does not exist in a vacuum, and it is highly possible that the speakers use L Vocalisation as a part of their identity construction, and that they want to be associated with whatever associations L Vocalisation might have. Their attitudes to language thus plays a role, as much sociolinguistic research has proven. L Vocalisation is not a highly stigmatised variable (Altendorf 2003), and it is also increasingly found among speakers of mainstream RP (Przedlacka 2002, Hughes, Trudgill and Watt 2012), so it is possible that the speakers try to incorporate it into their language to seem approachable and trendy. Of the three speakers,

David Beckham must be said to be the most globally famous person, as his football career has brought him international recognition and fame, and it is probable that he is aware of his status as a popular football player and wants to seem young and approachable. This is, of course, only guesswork, but it is important to bear in mind that language and identity go hand in hand, and that L Vocalisation may be a way for the speakers to appear a certain way, even though this process may very well be subconscious.

5.1.2 Final T Glottalling

The results for final T Glottalling also showed a great deal of variation between the speakers, although all of the speakers had a high degree of T Glottalling in their language. All of the speakers had T Glottalling in over half of the potential instances, and Jamie Oliver had it in as much as 87 % of all words containing the variable. The females attending the comprehensive school and the grammar school in Altendorf's (2003) study had T Glottalling in approximately 95 % (comprehensive school) and 70 % (grammar school) of the cases. Przedlacka (2002: 82) also found that there was a statistically significant difference between females and males when it came to T Glottalling, and that the females were in the lead here. However, both the previous studies and the present study support the claims by Rosewarne (1984) and Coggle (1993) that final T Glottalling is a feature of EE, since the speakers in the present study all realise it in the majority of possible cases. T Glottalling is also more common among the upper-middle class than before (Altendorf 2003), but it is still a feature that carries associations of working-class speech. Altendorf concludes that

> T Glottalling is a marker in the Labovian sense. It is widespread in all social classes and styles, but displays social and stylistic variation. The pattern of variation is that of a vernacular variant leading to a decrease of T Glottalling in higher social classes and more formal styles. (2003: 87)

The fact that the speakers have final T Glottalling in as many cases as they do then distances them from the higher social classes and their associations, and suggests that they are feeling relaxed in the talk-show setting, talking the way they normally do.

If we again look at the results in light of the speakers' place of residence, it quickly becomes apparent that the speaker from Essex, Jamie Oliver, has a much higher percentage of final T Glottalling than the others. At 87 % he is 23.7 % above David Beckham, 10.1 % above Jonathan Ross in 2009, and 33.7 % above Jonathan Ross in 2012. It is highly possible that this

is related to where he grew up, and that T Glottalling may be more common in Essex than in East London. If this is the case, this is partially disagreeing with Przedlacka's (2002: 87) findings, which showed that T Glottalling was much less common in Essex than in the other Home Counties. She does not compare these results with data from London. However, her study showed that the speakers from Essex had the same incidence of glottalling as RP speakers, which is certainly not the case in this study, given Oliver's 87 %. Individual differences may naturally occur, and it is again possible that this high number of glottalling is a part of an image Oliver wants to portray, but it is clear that the results here contradict Przedlacka's.

Another interesting observation regarding this variable is the language of Jonathan Ross. As already mentioned there will be a more thorough discussion of the changes in his language in a later section, but a fact that is interesting here is his possible accommodation to his interviewees. In 2009, when he interviewed Jamie Oliver, he had substantially more T Glottalling than in 2012 when he interviewed David Beckham. Beckham has glottalling in 63.3 % of the cases, which is significantly less than Jamie Oliver. It is therefore not unlikely that the decrease in T Glottalling in Ross' language in 2012 is connected to the number of cases of T Glottalling in Beckham's language, and that the two speakers have influenced each other (c.f. Giles, Coupland and Coupland 1991). Again there are also the many other variables which have not been controlled for, which may have influenced the number of instances of final T Glottalling in the speakers' language. As this variable is no longer highly stigmatised, but still has some associations of working class, it is not impossible that these male speakers include it in their language as a way to appear approachable and jovial (cf. the discussion on covert prestige, section 2.2.1).

5.1.3 Intervocalic T Glottalling

There was a higher number of instances of intervocalic T Glottalling than would be expected. The authorities on EE, such as Rosewarne (1984), Coggle (1993) and Wells (1998), have all said that intervocalic T Glottalling is not a part of EE, and that it is one of the features that separate EE from Cockney. These four speakers, however, all have instances of intervocalic T Glottalling, and quite high percentages at that. At 54.2 %, Jamie Oliver actually has intervocalic T Glottalling in over half of all the potential cases, and the other speakers also realise it in over 15 % of potential cases. In her study, Altendorf (2003: 86) in fact found that

the middle class girls in London, Colchester and Canterbury had intervocalic T Glottalling in the interview setting, the girls from London with numbers as high as over 50 %, and she suggested that intervocalic T Glottalling might be on its way into EE. However, in the reading style interviews, the girls had no instances of intervocalic T Glottalling, so it was apparent that even though it was present in their language in an informal setting, they still saw it as a stigmatised feature and avoided it in a more careful style (cf. Labov 1972). Przedlacka (2002: 55), however, claims that intervocalic T Glottalling may be losing its stigma, and the informants in her study all had intervocalic T Glottalling in the interviews. The high percentages in this study support these claims, as numbers as high as e.g. 54.2 % (Oliver) and 31.2 % (Beckham) are hardly compatible with the claim that intervocalic T Glottalling does not exist in EE.

As mentioned in the previous chapter, intervocalic T Glottalling is the variable where we see the largest differences between the speaker with the highest percentage and the speaker with the lowest percentage. Interestingly, these two are present in the same interview, which suggests that the presence of intervocalic T Glottalling in Jamie Oliver's language does not affect the language of Jonathan Ross in 2009. He only has 4 instances of glottalling in this environment, against Oliver's 19. This may be related to the age difference, which will be dealt with in the third section of this chapter, but it can also be related to place of residence. As we saw in the previous section it seemed that Oliver's being from Essex may have been a reason for his high numbers of final T Glottalling, and it is not unlikely that this factor is important for this variable as well. Again it must be mentioned that it is possible that the speakers include intervocalic T Glottalling in their language to appear a certain way. Besides, bearing in mind that this feature may be on its way into EE, it is to be expected that different speakers may choose to adopt it in different ways, and since it is not yet an established feature of the pronunciation of EE, it is not surprising that the speakers have a great deal of variation. It seems here that the two younger speakers have been quicker to include the feature in their language than the older speakers, but this will be dealt with in greater detail in the third section.

It must also be noted that when we looked at the results in instances per thousand words, it became evident that intervocalic T Glottalling is much less common than for example L Vocalisation and final T Glottalling. This is natural, because there are fewer words containing

the variable, which again means that intervocalic T Glottalling is a less prominent feature of a person's linguistic output. This means that even though we are talking about percentages as high as 31.2 % and 54.2 %, the speakers still have only 5 (Beckham), 19 (Oliver) 4 (Ross in 2009) and 6 (Ross in 2012) instances of glottalling respectively. So, even though the speakers have the Cockney/EE variant in more cases than one would assume, there are not very many instances of it. Still, intervocalic T Glottalling is a feature which often draws attention to itself due to the traditional stigma surrounding it. So even though there are fewer potential cases of it compared to L Vocalisation and final T Glottalling, it is still prominent a speaker's language when it does occur.

5.1.4 TH Fronting

TH Fronting is another feature that is supposed to separate EE from Cockney. This is a highly stigmatised feature, associated with Cockney and other working-class accents, and has frequently been called 'persistent infantilism' by linguists (Wells 1982) because of its resemblance to children's speech. However, three of the EE speakers in the present study had instances of TH Fronting. Beckham had it in 17.5 % of cases, Oliver in 6.2 % of cases and Ross in 2009 in 1.7 % of cases. Ross in 2012 had no instances of TH Fronting. The numbers are thus not large, but they imply that the speakers have this feature as an option, and that it emerges from time to time, perhaps due to a 'slip'. In Altendorf's study, the girls from the grammar schools, representing the EE speakers, had no instances of TH Fronting in neither interview style, reading style nor word list style (Altendorf 2003: 81). Furthermore, in Przedlacka's study, which contained both boys and girls, it was discovered that the males had substantially more TH Fronting than the females and that the differences were statistically significant (Przedlacka 2002: 76). Of all the variables explored in her study, TH Fronting was the only one where the males were ahead as regards the usage of the non-standard new variant. That the speakers in the present study also have instances of TH Fronting, yet not as many as the younger males in Przedlacka's study, seems to support this claim, and might suggest that TH Fronting is becoming increasingly common among male EE speakers, even older ones.

Reasons for this may be a phenomenon touched upon in chapter 2, namely covert prestige. Certain language features that are associated with the lower classes or rural areas often enjoy prestige even though they carry negative associations for many speakers. Research has shown

that it is mainly males who are affected by covert prestige (Wells 1982), and often also are the ones exerting it. That more male than female EE speakers include TH Fronting in their language is thus not very surprising, as this feature definitely must be said to carry covert prestige rather than overt prestige. Beckham, with his 7 instances of TH Fronting, is the speaker with the highest number, and this may be because he grew up in East London, which also has a high proportion of Cockney speakers. It may also be connected to his career as a football player in an environment dominated by men from various backgrounds, and where features carrying covert prestige might be the norm. That Jonathan Ross, who is from the same city, has less TH Fronting than Beckham may very well be related to the age difference between them, which will be discussed later. Jamie Oliver is somewhere in the middle with 4 instances of TH Fronting. As Essex is a county in the heartland of EE territory, and not of Cockney, it is again possible that the gender variable is of importance here, and that TH Fronting would not occur if he were a female speaker.

There are smaller differences between the speakers here than for intervocalic T Glottalling, which also is supposed to be non-existent in EE. The percentages here are also overall smaller, which suggests that TH Fronting is still shunned to a greater degree than intervocalic T Glottalling by all of these speakers. It is therefore difficult to discuss the differences in greater detail, as the raw figures 7, 4, 1 and 0 are low and not widely different. It is nevertheless not improbable that hometown, age and gender play roles here, and that this combination has led Beckham to have slightly more instances of TH Fronting than the other speakers. Again it does not seem that the higher presence of TH Fronting in one person's language has affected the other, as it is in the interview with David Beckham that Jonathan Ross had no instances of it, as opposed to one instance of TH Fronting three years earlier. However, the fact that there are instances of TH Fronting in the language of the speakers, even with so few instances, implies that this is a feature that is readily available to the speakers, and that it may be a feature that they consciously try to avoid due to their being on television, and that the few instances of it are in fact slips, perhaps more representative of the way they would speak at home.

5.1.5 H Dropping

H Dropping is the variable with the lowest number of instances of the non-RP realisation. This is not surprising, as Wells (1982: 254) has called H Dropping "the single most powerful pronunciation shibboleth in England". With 4 instances of H Dropping, Jamie Oliver has the Cockney variant in 14.2 % of the cases, while Jonathan Ross has one instance per interview, and David Beckham has none. It seems that the effect of covert prestige does not apply to such a large extent here, which suggests that H Dropping is even more stigmatised than TH Fronting. This might also be connected to the fact that H Dropping has been explicitly stigmatised for a much longer time period than has TH Fronting (Wells 1982). In Altendorf's study, none of the EE speaking girls had instances of H Dropping, even in the most informal styles (Altendorf 2003: 81). Compared to these, it seems that three of the speakers in the present study are further to the Cockney end of the spectrum. In Przedlacka's study H Dropping was not investigated, so no comparison between boys and girls of the same age was conducted for this variable. If we compare the speakers in this study with those in Altendorf's study, however, it seems that the men in this study have somewhat more H Dropping in their language than the girls, but the difference is minimal. The age difference may naturally also come into play, but since the speakers in Altendorf's study are younger, one would indeed expect them to have more non-standard variants than their elders (Wells 1982), which is not the case. This needs more extensive research, but it is possible that the same rule applies to H Dropping as to TH Fronting, namely that men are more advanced than women when it comes to having the Cockney variant. If so, it is possible that covert prestige plays a role.

There are not large differences between the speakers, as Jamie Oliver has 4 instances, Jonathan Ross has 1 in each interview, and David Beckham has none. That Oliver has a few more instances than the others may be related to his age and his hometown, but it is also plausible that since there are only 4 instances, they were used for effect. For example, Oliver has H Dropping in the word *horrible*, making it ['ɒrɪbəɬ],[10] and it may be that he chooses to drop the H to make the word more noticeable, as H Dropping is a feature which often draws attention to itself. If Oliver really wanted to accentuate just how horrible something was, dropping the H may be one way of doing so.

[10] More phonetic transcriptions like this will be used in the next section, to show examples of words containing the variables.

Since the numbers are as low as they are, it is difficult to conclude what may be the reasons for the differences; they may be due to chance. One can hypothesise that gender has something to do with it, but since David Beckham has no instances of it (despite having the most instances of TH Fronting), it is very difficult to say something with certainty. Individual preferences, the topic of discussion and other variables which are not controlled for, may account for these instances. What is interesting, however, is that it does exist in the language of three of the speakers, even though it is not supposed to, and it is again possible that H Dropping emerges in some cases as a result of 'slips', as the speakers are aware of the stigma and try to avoid it. The status of H Dropping in EE thus needs more extensive research, with both genders as informants, as the case may be the same as for TH Fronting, namely that men have the Cockney variant more often than women. Nevertheless, it is safe to say that H Dropping is still much less common than the other variables studied here, and also than other variables which have been dealt with in other studies, and that it cannot be said to be a feature of EE.

5.1.6 Overall numbers

Finally, it is worth discussing the total numbers for all of the variables. As was shown in the results chapter, Jamie Oliver had the highest percentage of non-RP realisations, while Jonathan Ross in 2009 and Beckham both had the second highest scores depending on whether the results were presented in percentages or instances per thousand words. Jonathan Ross in 2012 was substantially below the others. In terms of gender, age, place of residence and social class, the only thing separating Jamie Oliver and David Beckham is place of residence, which might suggest that geography is a variable which has influenced their accents. Essex is a county in the heartland of EE; while London is perhaps influenced by many other accents as well, and may also be closer to the RP speaking elite. Thus, even though they are supposed to speak the same accent, they show such large differences in their pronunciation of EE consonants that it is difficult to claim that they in fact do speak the same accent. Jonathan Ross in 2009 and David Beckham, however, are very similar in terms of the overall numbers, and are approximately at the same place on the continuum. These two come from the same place, but their ages are different, which might suggest that there overall are not large differences between speakers of EE who are 15 years apart. This will be dealt with in more detail in the third section. First, however, we will look at each speaker in greater detail, as there are noticeable internal variations for each speaker.

5.2 Synchronic perspective: the speakers

5.2.1 Jamie Oliver

The first speaker who will be dealt with in this section, Jamie Oliver is, as mentioned before, the speaker who overall has the most EE and Cockney variants. However, he also has many instances where the RP variants are chosen in favour of the EE and Cockney variants, and it is not the case that for example one word, like *little*, is pronounced the same way each time. It is interesting to note that the same word in some cases is realised with the EE or Cockney variants, while it in other instances is realised with the RP variant, without there being much difference in the linguistic environment. Each linguistic variable will be discussed, and for L Vocalisation and T Glottalling the different phonetic environments will be presented in tables, as there are some differences between the speakers with regard to the phonological environment in which L Vocalisation and T Glottalling most frequently occur.

The distribution of instances of L Vocalisation with regard to phonetic environment can be seen in table 5.1:

Table 5.1. Phonetic contexts L Vocalisation, Jamie Oliver

Phonetic contexts	**Examples**	**Percentage**
[ɬ] → [o] /__#	Well, still	45.4 %
[ɬ] → [o] /__ C	Bold, girls	24.7 %
[ɬ] → [o] when syllabic	Bottle, little	29.9 %

For L Vocalisation I have chosen to distinguish between three phonetic contexts, which is usual (see e.g. Wells 1982: 259). The first is when [ɬ] becomes [o] at the end of a syllable before a pause, the second is when [ɬ] becomes [o] before a consonant, and the third is when [ɬ] becomes [o] when it is syllabic. L Vocalisation in all of these three contexts is supposed to be common among EE speakers, while even advanced RP speakers use L Vocalisation in the first two (Altendorf 2003). In Jamie Oliver's language, it seems that most of the instances of L Vocalisation are syllable-final before a pause. These account for nearly half of the instances. The distribution between pre-consonantal and syllabic is more even, with L Vocalisation of syllabic [ɬ] being somewhat more frequent in Oliver's language, the context which most clearly separates an EE speaker from an RP speaker. Examples of words where

Oliver has vocalised the [ɬ] in syllable-final position is: [teo][11] for *tell*, [sku:o] for *school*, and ['stresfʊo] for *stressful*. For the second category, he has vocalised [ɬ] in words like [təʊod] for *told.* In syllabic position, [ɬ] has become [o] in words like ['lɪto] for *little* and ['nəʊbo] for *noble*. However, not all instances of the words *tell* or *little*, for example, have L Vocalisation. For example, in the utterance "I'll tell you what was hard"[12], Oliver has L Vocalisation in the word *tell*, but in the utterance "I can't tell you how hot that is", he does not. This may be because immediately prior to this utterance, Jonathan Ross said: "I'll tell you what though it's quite a nice burn". This utterance also contained the word *tell*, and Ross did not vocalise the [ɬ] in that case. The point to be made is that Oliver is not consistent with regard to which words contain vocalised variants and which do not, and it seems that he may choose whatever he deems appropriate at the time of speaking. This decision may be influenced by the other speaker, by the content or just by his general awareness of his accent, but suggests that both realisations are available to him and are part of his accent.

For final T Glottalling, the distribution with regard to phonetic context can be seen in table 2:

Table 5.2 . Phonetic contexts final T Glottalling, Jamie Oliver.

Phonetic contexts	**Examples**	**Percentage**
/t/ → [ʔ] /__C	Gatwick	1.9 %
/t/ → [ʔ] /__ # C	Quite wrong	47.9 %
/t/ → [ʔ] /__ # V	Quite easy	32.2 %
/t/ → [ʔ] /__ #	Quite!	13%
/t/ → [ʔ] /__syllabic /n,l/	Bottle, cotton	5 %

Here we distinguish five categories: when /t/ becomes [ʔ] word-internally before a consonant, in syllable-final position before a consonant, in syllable-final position before a vowel, in syllable-final position before a pause, and before syllabic /n/ and /l/. Nearly half of the instances of final T Glottalling in Oliver's language are in syllable-final position before a consonant, while 32.3 % are in syllable-final position before a vowel. The least frequent phonetic context is word-internally before a consonant. It is perhaps no surprise that glottalling occurs most often in syllable-final position, and the fact that it is more frequent before consonants than before vowels may be due to the resemblance to intervocalic T

[11] In all cases where words are transcribed, the rest of the word is transcribed phonemically, while the variable is transcribed phonetically. This is because the researcher did not pay attention to the realisation of the other phonemes, unless they were also a part of the study.
[12] All sentences are found in the transcriptions in the appendices.

Glottalling. In a common conversation, where you do not pay particular attention to the way you speak and speak at a quite rapid speed, the difference between intervocalic T Glottalling and glottalling in syllable-final position before a vowel is almost non-existent. However, Oliver has quite a few cases of T Glottalling in this context, again suggesting the increased acceptability of intervocalic T Glottalling. Examples of words containing final T Glottalling in Oliver's language are: [greɪʔ] for *great*, [wɒʔ] for *what*, ['skɒʔlənd] for *Scotland*, [stri:ʔ] for *street*, [sɔ:ɬʔ] for *salt*, [hi:ʔ] for *heat* and [θɔ:ʔ] for *thought*. As was the case for L Vocalisation, Oliver shows a great deal of variation with regard to when he has T Glottalling and when he has the RP variant, again suggesting that the internal consistency is lacking and that both variants are part of his accent.

Jamie Oliver is the speaker with the highest percentage of intervocalic T Glottalling. Some examples of words containing intervocalic T Glottalling are: [wɒʔ'evə] for *whatever*, ['brɪʔɪʃ] for *British*, [θɜ:ʔ'i:n] for *thirteen*, ['rɪʔən] for *written*, ['eɪʔɪ] for *eighty*, ['gɒʔə] for *gotta* and ['beʔə] for *better*. As with the previous variables, Oliver is not consistent in his use of intervocalic T Glottalling. For example the word *better* comes up twice in the interview. The first time he says it, in the utterance "has better gear a thousand percent than number ten Downing Street", the word is pronounced with the /t/. The second time it comes up, in the utterance "people still go there because of you know religious conflict or or for a better life for their family or God knows what", he has intervocalic T Glottalling. It is possible that the second occurrence is a slip, or that he is focusing more to figure out what he wants to say, leading him to pay less attention to his pronunciation. The word *whatever*, however, also only comes up twice in the conversation, and both of these instances contain intervocalic T Glottalling. What this again shows is that the internal variation is noticeable, and that the speaker chooses which variant he wants in that particular setting, perhaps as a means to sound or appear a certain way, or to drive home a point by adding a certain pronunciation. For example, the word *whatever* in itself refers to a lack of interest and a non-definiteness, so by pronouncing it with a glottal stop, which has some associations of slovenliness and working-class speech, Oliver underlines this lack of interest in an even stronger manner.

There are not many instances of TH Fronting in the language of Jamie Oliver, but it turns up in the words ['nʌfɪŋ] for *nothing*, ['heɬfɪ] for *healthy*, [təg'evə] for *together* and [saʊf] for *south*. Of these, the unvoiced variant accounts for three of the instances, while there is only

one instance of /ð/ becoming [v]. This is in agreement with research saying that /θ/ is fronted more often than /ð/ (Przedlacka 2002). The words *South* and *healthy* are only spoken once, where the TH Fronting occurred, but the word *nothing* occurs three times throughout the interview, with only one instance of TH Fronting, and the word *together* occurs two times, with only one instance of TH Fronting. Oliver thus switches between using the dental fricatives and the labio-dental fricatives, and shows no consistency in his usage of TH Fronting. This again implies that this is a feature which he usually avoids, but includes in some cases either due to a slip or because he wants to accomplish something by including it. This may very well be a subconscious process.

H Dropping is also not a very prominent part of Oliver's language, but there are four instances of it. These instances are found in the words ['ɒlɪdeɪ] for *holiday*, ['æpənd] for *happened*, [ɪə] for *here* and ['ɒrɪbəɬ] for *horrible*. The words *holiday*, *happened* and *horrible* only occur one time each, with H Dropping, but the word *here* occurs several times throughout the interview, though it has H Dropping in only one of the cases. If we look at the utterance where *here* has H Dropping, this might explain why: "and all the uh all the kids went there on holiday (.) so it's all happened here a hundred years before".[13] Within this rather short utterance, three of the four instances of H Dropping occur. First with *holiday*, then with *happened*, and then *here* is the immediately following word after *happened*. This might explain why the /h/ is dropped in this instance of the word, but not the other times. Since he has already dropped the /h/ twice over such a short time period, it is probable that this influenced him to drop the /h/ in *here* as well, even though he does not usually do this. As has already been discussed in the previous section, the dropping of /h/ in the word *horrible* might have been a conscious decision to underline the horribleness of something, as H Dropping is by many indeed considered 'horrible'. Nevertheless, these few instances of H Dropping cannot be said to be defining features of Oliver's accent: rather, H Dropping is a feature that he includes from time to time, consciously or otherwise. They do, however, suggest that he is quite far towards the Cockney end of the EE spectrum, as many speakers of EE avoid H Dropping at all cost. This again shows the large variation between EE speakers.

[13] The sign '(.)' indicates a slight pause in the utterance.

5.2.2 David Beckham

David Beckham overall has fewer EE and Cockney realisations than Jamie Oliver, but he still has EE or Cockney realisations in 55.6 % of the possible cases, in other words over half of the time. He is the speaker with the highest percentage of instances of L Vocalisation, and his distribution of L Vocalisation with regard to phonetic context can be seen in table 5.3:

Table 5.3 Phonetic contexts L Vocalisation, David Beckham

Phonetic contexts	**Examples**	**Percentage**
[ɬ] → [o] /__#	Well, still	42.2%
[ɬ] → [o] /__ C	Bold, girls	51.6%
[ɬ] → [o] when syllabic	Bottle, little	6.2 %

Over half of the instances of L Vocalisation are found in the phonetic context word-internally before a consonant. This distribution is thus quite different from Oliver's, who had only 24.7 % of the instances in this environment. 42.2 % of the instances are in syllable-final position before a pause, while only 6.2 % are when the [ɬ] is syllabic. In this respect he is closer to the mainstream RP speakers, who also avoid L Vocalisation in this environment. Thus, even though he is the speaker with the highest percentage of L Vocalisation, the environments in which it occurs are closer to the RP pattern than Oliver's are. Examples of words where Beckham has L Vocalisation are: ['tʃɪodren] for *children*, ['steɪbo] for *stable* ['fʊtbɔ:o] for *football*, [fi:o] for *feel*, [gɜ:o] for *girl*, [tweov] for *twelve* and [stɪo] for *still*. Some words, such as *football*, *children* and *feel* are pronounced with L Vocalisation every time, while other words, such as *girl*, *twelve* and *still* are sometimes pronounced with a vowel and sometimes with [ɬ].

An utterance where Beckham has many instances of L Vocalisation in a row is: "I don't because I still feel great like you said you know uh I still feel fit I still feel healthy and while I still feel like I do I wanna continue to play you know". In this utterance, Beckham says *still* four times and *feel* four times, and all of these times he has L Vocalisation. In addition, the words *healthy* and *while* also have L Vocalisation. Later on in the interview, however, in the utterance "and it was it was still the same club so it was the younger kids of Romeo I think it was", the word *still* is pronounced [stɪɬ], with the [ɬ] not vocalised. Why he chose to vocalise the [ɬ] the first time he said *still* in the first utterance, and not in the latter utterance, is difficult to say, but it seems that when he started doing it in the first utterance, the other [ɬ]-s following

it were also vocalised, probably influenced by the preceding words. Thus, it seems that also Beckham shows some variation with regard to when he has L Vocalisation and when he does not, and that there is no obvious consistency in his accent.

For final T Glottalling, the distribution with regard to phonetic contexts can be seen in table 5.4:

Table 5.4 Phonetic contexts final T Glottalling, David Beckham

Phonetic contexts	**Examples**	**Percentage**
/t/ → [ʔ] /__C	Gatwick	1 %
/t/ → [ʔ] /__ # C	Quite wrong	50 %
/t/ → [ʔ] /__ # V	Quite easy	34.3 %
/t/ → [ʔ] /__ #	Quite!	13.7%
/t/ → [ʔ] /__syllabic /n,l/	Bottle, cotton	1 %

Exactly half of the instances of final T Glottalling are found in syllable-final position before a consonant in the following word. He is thus similar to Jamie Oliver in this respect, who also had most of his final T Glottalling in this environment. The environment with the second highest number is syllable-final position before a vowel in the following word, which is also the same as Oliver. Word-internally before a consonant and preceding syllabic /n/ or /l/ are the two environments where Beckham has the lowest number for final T Glottalling, while syllable-final position before a pause accounts for 13.7 %. Thus, Beckham also shows high numbers in syllable-final position before a vowel in the following word, which in many cases is very similar to intervocalic T Glottalling. Examples of words where Beckham has final T Glottalling are: [ðæʔ] for *that*, [fɪʔ] for *fit*, [raɪʔ] for *right*, [nɒʔ] for *not*, [pəˈlaɪʔ] for *polite*, [bʌʔ] for *but* and [lɪʔɬ] for *little*. The word *that* is a function word which turns up many times throughout the conversation, and this is a word where Beckham shows a great deal of variation: sometimes he pronounces it with a glottal stop and sometimes with the RP pronunciation. This is, however, not the only word for which he shows lack of consistency, and like Oliver there seems to be no predictable pattern for when he realiser glottal stops and when he uses /t/, which suggests that both variants are part of his accent, and that it seems to be quite random which one is chosen at any particular time. Overall, though, he has glottal stops in over half of the words containing the variable, which firmly places him closer to Cockney than to RP, although his distribution of instances of T Glottalling and the total

number of it must be said to be different from the corresponding figures for Jamie Oliver's output.

David Beckham has five instances of intervocalic T Glottalling. Since there were only 16 potential cases of T Glottalling in the interview, the percentage is thus 31.2 %. This high percentage can lead us to believe that intervocalic T Glottalling is a more prominent part of Beckham's language than really is the case, so it should therefore be stressed that there are only five actual instances of it. These five words are: ['θɜːʔɪ] for *thirty*, [ɪmp'ɔːʔənt] for *important*, ['sɜːʔən] for *certain*, ['gɒʔə] for *gotta* and ['penəoʔɪ] *penalty*[14]. All of these words were in fact only uttered once each, which means that they were always pronounced with a glottal stop. Other words, however, which were not pronounced with a glottal stop, are for example *literally*, *stability* and *British*. Why he has glottal stops in the aforementioned set of words, and not the latter, is difficult to say, but it is possible that they are slips, as the words containing the Cockney variant account for 31.2 % of all words containing the variable. If they accounted for more than half of the instances, as was the case for Jamie Oliver, one would have more reason to believe that it was an established part of his accent. With this percentage, however, there is reason to believe that intervocalic T Glottalling is not a feature which Beckham has fully embraced, but which appears from time to time, suggesting that it is in the process of becoming increasingly accepted by him.

Beckham also has some instances of TH Fronting, and is the speaker with the highest percentage of Cockney realisations for this variable. He has in total seven instances of TH Fronting, and it appears in the pronunciations of [wɪv'aʊt] for *without*, [fri:] for *three*, [ən'ʌvə] for *another*, [wɪv] for *with* and ['hełfɪ] for *healthy*. The word *with* is pronounced with TH Fronting at three separate occasions, but it also pronounced without TH Fronting on other occasions. Thus, unlike Jamie Oliver, most of Beckham's TH Fronting is of the voiced fricative, not the unvoiced, which is less common. All of the other words, except *healthy*, are only uttered once, but the word *healthy* is pronounced once with TH Fronting and once with the RP realisation. Przedlacka (2002) did indeed find that TH Fronting may be on its way into the speech of male EE speakers, and that this is the only variable where men have more instances than women, so it is probable that Beckham sees TH Fronting as a feature that is acceptable to a greater degree than for example H Dropping, of which he has no instances.

[14] In this particular case Beckham also had L Vocalisation, which made the glottalling intervocalic.

The fact that he only has it in 17.5 % of the words, however, also suggests that he still views it as a somewhat negatively associated feature, and most of the time he thus uses the RP variant.

As already mentioned, out of the 13 times where H Dropping could occur, Beckham had no instances. This is in agreement with the research by e.g. Altendorf (2003) and the claims by Wells (1998) and Rosewarne (1984) which say that H Dropping is not a feature of EE. This then suggests that Beckham avoids the most stigmatised feature of them all, and thus tries to distance himself from Cockney speakers. However, an interesting fact about Beckham, which does not apply to the other speakers, is that in the interview, he has several instances of non-standard grammar. As was thoroughly discussed in chapter 2, I disregard the claims that EE affects other levels than phonetics and phonology, as non-standard grammar is common to many working-class accents, but the fact that Beckham includes these features, while avoiding H Dropping, is interesting. An example of a sentence where Beckham has non-standard grammar is: "it was the game just before that they was playing and I was watching". 'They was' is not grammatically correct, but it is a feature of non-standard grammar which is common in many working-class dialects. Another concord error is found in the utterance "we was home at (.) Christmas", which is quite similar to the first example, except the fact that the pronoun is *we* instead of *they*. So, by not including H Dropping in his language Beckham is subconsciously distancing himself from the most basilectal speakers, which is one of the results of speaking EE, but he also narrows that distance by including non-standard grammar. These conflicting phenomena are hard to analyse, but it is possible that Beckham finds H Dropping to be even more stigmatised than non-standard grammar.

5.2.3 Jonathan Ross 2009

Jonathan Ross is 15 years older than the two other speakers, and can thus be said to belong almost to another generation. Hence, one could expect him to have a somewhat different linguistic behaviour than the two others. Let us first look at the distribution of L Vocalisation with regard to phonetic context:

Table 5.5 Phonetic contexts L Vocalisation, Jonathan Ross

Phonetic contexts	**Examples**	**Percentage**
[ɬ] → [o] /__#	Well, still	34 %
[ɬ] → [o] /__ C	Bold, girls	35.8 %

[ɬ] → [o] when syllabic	Bottle, little	30.2 %

Here we see a more even distribution than what was the case for Jamie Oliver and David Beckham. The environment where L Vocalisation most often occurs is word-internally before a consonant, but it is only slightly more frequent than such vocalisation in syllable-final position before a pause. The least frequent environment, when [ɬ] is syllabic, is only 5.6 % behind the most frequent one. That Ross has so many instances in the environment that is usually shunned by mainstream RP speakers, places him closer to the Cockney end for this variable. Let it also be remembered that the total number of instances of L Vocalisation amounted to 59.5 % of all potential cases, which is more than half, but not as high a number as David Beckham produces. Examples of words where Ross has L Vocalisation are: [rɪ'mɑːkəbo] for *remarkable*, [weo] for *well*, ['tʃɪodren] for *children*, [heop] for *help*, [ɪm'pɒsɪbo] for *impossible*, [ɪn'kredɪbo] for *incredible* and [skɪoz] for *skills*. Yet again it is not the case that a word is always pronounced with L Vocalisation, while others always are pronounced with [ɬ], as Ross also shows a lack of consistency with regard to this variable. For example the word *well*, which occurs several times throughout the interview, has L Vocalisation in only a minority of the cases. Both variants are thus a part of Ross's accent, and he sometimes picks one and sometimes the other.

Moving on, the distribution of final T Glottalling with regard to phonetic context can be seen in table 5.6:

Table 5.6 Phonetic contexts final T Glottalling, Jonathan Ross 2009

Phonetic contexts	**Examples**	**Percentage**
/t/ → [ʔ] /__C	Gatwick	0.5 %
/t/ → [ʔ] /__ # C	Quite wrong	58.5 %
/t/ → [ʔ] /__ # V	Quite easy	28.7 %
/t/ → [ʔ] /__ #	Quite!	9.6 %
/t/ → [ʔ] /__syllabic /n,l/	Bottle, cotton	2.7 %

Like with the other two speakers, the majority of the cases of final T Glottalling are found in the environment syllable-final position before a consonant in the following word. Again syllable-final position before a vowel in the following word is in second place, but with smaller numbers than for the two others. This might be due to Ross's resistance towards intervocalic glottalling, which this context highly resembles. Syllable-final position before a pause is the third most common environment, while the environments before syllabic /n,l/ and

word-internally before a consonant are the least conducive to T Glottalling. Examples of words with final T Glottalling are [əb'aʊʔ] for *about*, [ðæʔ] for *that*, [gɒʔ] for *got*, [lɪʔɬ] for *little*, [bʌʔ] for *but*, [steɪʔ] for *state* and [kwaɪʔ] for *quite.* Several of these words are words that occur many times throughout the interview, such as *about*, *that* and *but*. Ross shows no consistency with regard to words like these, neither before consonants nor before vowels. Sometimes they are pronounced with a glottal stop, such as in the utterance "but I'll talk to you about that later", where the words *but, about* and *that* are pronounced with glottal stops. In the utterance "Jamie that was great it was very messy but great and you are a better cook than me", however, the word *but* is not pronounced with a glottal stop, even though the words *that* and *great* are. Thus, like the other speakers, there is a great deal of internal variation with regard to final T Glottalling in Ross's language, which suggests internal variation in EE.

Jonathan Ross had only four instances of intervocalic T Glottalling in 2009. These instances are found in the words: ['sɜ:ʔənlɪ] for *certainly*, ['i:ʔən] for *eaten* and [wɒʔ'eveə] for *whatever*. The word *eaten* is pronounced with a glottal stop at two separate occasions, and these are the only two times Ross says this word. The two other words containing intervocalic T Glottalling, *certainly* and *whatever,* are also only uttered once each. With four instances, Ross has intervocalic T Glottalling in 15.3 % of the possible cases, which is not a very high number, but higher than one would expect for an EE speaker. The instances might be slips, as it seems that he tries to avoid intervocalic T Glottalling in all the other cases where the variable occurs. His age might have something to do with his resistance towards intervocalic T Glottalling, as the two younger speakers have higher percentages. This would not be surprising, as the feature might be on its way into EE, since younger speakers usually are quicker to pick up on innovations (Wells 1982: 24). Regarding the words where intervocalic T Glottalling actually appears, it is also possible that Ross includes the feature to draw more attention to the words themselves.

The two most stigmatised features, TH Fronting and H Dropping, are not prominent in Ross's language, and will be dealt with together. He has one instance of each in the interview. The word containing TH Fronting is [fru:] for *through,* and the word containing H Dropping is [ɪə] for *here*. The word *through* occurs one more time in the interview, without TH Fronting, while the word *here* occurs several times, with only one instance of H Dropping. For TH Fronting, this instance accounts for 1.7 % of all the words containing the variable, while for H

Dropping it accounts for 2.9 %. These two instances can then be viewed as possible slips, and it is quite safe to assume that TH Fronting and H Dropping in reality are not features of Ross's language, at least not in an interview setting. That they do appear, however, might suggest that they are features which come easily to him (especially seeing that /f v/ are easier to pronounce than /θ ð/), but which he shuns because of the stigma connected to them. This is thus a way of distancing himself from Cockney speakers. His conservativeness in this respect is quite in contrast with other features of his accent which have not been dealt with in this study, such as the labiodental [ʋ] and the diphthong shifts. These features are perhaps the most striking features of his accent, which makes him resemble Cockney speakers to a larger degree than Beckham and Oliver. Nevertheless, he still is more to the RP end of the spectrum with regard to TH Fronting and H Dropping.

5.2.4 Jonathan Ross 2012

Jonathan Ross is 52 years old at the time of the interview in 2012, three years older than he was in the first interview. There have been some dramatic changes in his language in this time period, as we have seen. Let us also see whether there are any changes in the distribution of L Vocalisation and final T Glottalling with regard to phonetic context. First, L Vocalisation:

Table 5.7 Phonetic contexts L Vocalisation, Jonathan Ross 2012

Phonetic contexts	**Examples**	**Percentage**
[ɬ] → [o] /__#	Well, still	45.1 %
[ɬ] → [o] /__ C	Bold, girls	25.5%
[ɬ] → [o] when syllabic	Bottle, little	29.4 %

Unlike in 2009, where the distribution was more even, it is now clear that syllable-final position before a pause is the environment where Ross has L Vocalisation most often. There has thus been a decrease of L Vocalisation in the other environments, mostly in word-internal position before a consonant. There has also been a decrease in the vocalisation of syllabic [ɬ] , which is the environment mainstream RP speakers shun. Examples of words containing L Vocalisation are ['weokʌm] for *welcome,* [kɔ:o] for *call,* [stɪo] for *still,* ['pi:po] for *people,* [tʃaɪod] for *child,* [heop] for *help* and ['mju:zɪko] for *musical.* Some of the words, such as *welcome, child* and *help* are only uttered one time each; the word *musical* is uttered several times, always with L Vocalisation; while the words *call*¸ *people* and *still* show up several times, sometimes with L Vocalisation and sometimes with the RP variant. There is thus no

consistency in his use of L Vocalisation, even though he has it in over half of the possible cases.

For final T Glottalling, the distribution with regard to phonetic contexts is:

Table 5.8 Phonetic contexts final T Glottalling, Jonathan Ross 2012

Phonetic contexts	**Examples**	**Percentage**
/t/ → [ʔ] /__C	Gatwick	4.4%
/t/ → [ʔ] /__ # C	Quite wrong	48.2%
/t/ → [ʔ] /__ # V	Quite easy	21.9%
/t/ → [ʔ] /__ #	Quite!	23.7%
/t/ → [ʔ] /__syllabic /n,l/	Bottle, cotton	1.8 %

As in 2009, syllable-final position before a consonant in the following word is the environment which is most conducive to L Vocalisation. There has been a decrease in this environment, however, and also in the environment where there is a vowel in the following word. The environment which has seen the largest increase is syllable-final position before a pause. Word-internal position before a consonant and word-internal position before syllabic /n/ or /l/ are still the environments in which there are the fewest cases of final T Glottalling. Examples of words containing final T Glottalling are: ['feɪvrɪʔ] for *favourite*, ['fʊʔbɔːɬ] for *football*, [maɪʔ] for *might*, [spɔːʔ] for *sport*, ['skɒʔlənd] for *Scotland*, ['dʒenʔɬmen] for *gentlemen* and [æʔ] for *at*.. As in 2009, Ross shows no consistency with regard to when words contain glottal stops and when words contain the RP variant, which suggests that both variants are part of his linguistic repertoire. He has final T Glottalling in 53.3 % of the words which contain the variable, which is substantially lower than in 2009, but this still means that he has T Glottalling in over half of the instances. Seeing as final T Glottalling is an established feature of EE, 53.3 % is not a very high percentage, and it is possible that the interview setting and his age are influencing factors here.

With regard to intervocalic T Glottalling, there has actually been an increase in the use of the Cockney realisation from 2009 to 2012. The increase is not very large, but there is an increase nonetheless, from four to six words containing intervocalic T Glottalling. Since there are also fewer words containing the variable in 2012 than in 2009, the increase in percentage is even larger, from 15.3 % to 28.5 %. The six words containing intervocalic T Glottalling in this interview are: ['biːʔən] for *beaten*, ['sɜːʔən] for *certain*, ['wɔːʔə] for *water*, ['weɪʔɪŋ] for

waiting, [ɪntɪmɪ'deɪʔɪŋ] for *intimidating* and ['brɪʔɪʃ] for *British*. Of these words, all but *waiting* are only uttered once, with the glottal stop. The word *waiting*, however, is uttered three times throughout the interview, with only one instance of glottalling. An interesting fact here is that the instance with the glottal stop occurs very close to an instance without a glottal stop, in the utterance: "Stuart (.) what the fuck are you waiting for? Excuse me that sounded a bit ( ) (.) Stuart (.) what the blooming hell are you waiting for?" In this utterance, where Ross encourages the manager of England's national team to include Beckham in the team for the Olympics, he first uses a swear word. He then realises that this might have been a bit harsh, and tries to moderate himself by wording it differently. Interestingly enough, it is in the second wording that the intervocalic T Glottalling occurs. The toning down of the language is thus balanced by a glottal stop, so that there still is some edge to it. This might have been a conscious decision made by Ross, which then implies that he uses intervocalic T Glottalling from time to time with a purpose.

TH Fronting and H Dropping will be dealt with together here as well, since they are realised so infrequently. In 2012, Jonathan Ross has no instances of TH Fronting, and only one instance of H Dropping. Since there are fewer words containing the variable in 2012 than in 2009, the results in percentages imply that there has been an increase in H Dropping in Ross's language, but there is only one instance here as well. As in 2009, the word containing H Dropping is [ɪə] for *here*. The word occurs many times throughout the interview, but H Dropping only occurs in the utterance "I'm wearing some at the moment here you go Kevin's gonna put some on in a minute". As we can see there are no pauses in this utterance, and Ross is thus speaking at a rapid speed, which might have led him to drop the /h/. *Here* is also a very short and highly frequent word, which might be why he drops /h/ only in this word. As was mentioned earlier, the dropping of /h/ in pronouns such as *he, him, her, his*, and *hers*, as well as in the auxiliary verbs *have/has/had*, in unstressed positions, is not considered H Dropping, as these words are frequent function words which are also commonly pronounced without the /h/ by RP speakers (Wells 1982). To a non-linguist, there are not many differences between these words and *here*, and it may seem less 'serious' to drop the /h/ in an adverb like this as opposed to dropping it in nouns like *house, home* or *hope*, which are also uttered by Ross in this interview. However, the /h/ is dropped in the word *here* only once in the entire interview, although it occurs several times, so this is obviously also a word where Ross avoids H

Dropping. It is thus safe to say that neither TH Fronting nor H Dropping are part of Jonathan Ross' language in 2012, at least not in an interview setting.

5.2.5 Concluding remarks

This section has tried to delve deeper into the language of each speaker. It has shown that even though features such as L Vocalisation, final T Glottalling and increasingly also intervocalic T Glottalling have become established parts of these speakers' accent, they show a great deal of internal variation and lack of consistency with regard to the use of the EE realisations versus the RP realisations. As has been discussed, this implies that these EE speakers (and maybe many others) choose more or less consciously which variants they use at any given time, perhaps to appear a certain way. It also suggests that there is room for variation within EE, even though these features are indeed considered as established in this variety. It must, however, also be mentioned that humans are not machines and seldom pronounce phonemes the exact same way each time. There is, however, a difference between such normal phonemic or sub-phonemic variation and variation which involves use of [t] or [ʔ]. In other words, even though the /t/ is pronounced slightly differently from time to time because of a slight change in the exact tongue position, this can hardly be compared to the substitution of [t] for [ʔ]. The first kind of variation is merely a result of our being incapable of completely controlling the position of our tongue, while the latter as proven has a sociolinguistic dimension as well. As for the variables TH Fronting and H Dropping, this more thorough analysis has suggested that instances of the Cockney realisations are probably slips (which implies that the realisations are readily available to them in their phonetic inventory, but that the speakers' attitudes towards them are negative), or that the speakers include these variants to achieve something or appear a certain way. The very few instances of the Cockney realisations of these variables are also in agreement with what has already been said by authorities such as Rosewarne and Wells, namely that these features are not established in EE, although the numbers are higher for TH Fronting than they are for H Dropping.

5.3 Diachronic perspective

The diachronic perspective has necessarily already been touched upon several times throughout the study, because of the obvious age differences between the speakers and the

three years separating the interviews with Jonathan Ross. However, this section will deal with it in more detail, although some repetition is unavoidable. First, I will investigate the differences in apparent time. Apparent time studies are often called 'the use of the present to explain the past' (e.g Labov 1978), which means that a researcher examines the use of a language feature in a cross-section of a speech community by using informants of a wide range of ages. If there are differences between the older speakers and the younger speakers, this may indicate that there have been some changes in this language feature during the time period represented by the speakers. The researcher then relies on the assumption that a person's language and speech patterns are mostly fixed by early adulthood (Wagner 2012). Real time studies, however, are longitudinal studies where the same individuals or speech communities are investigated over a longer period of time, to assess whether there are any changes in speech patterns or variables during this time. This is thus more time-consuming, but provides data that are even more reliable than data from apparent time studies. This small study opens up for both, but since there is only one speaker who provides data at two different occasions, and since these are only three years apart, one must be careful not to conclude too strongly from these data. Also the results in apparent time must be handled with caution, as only two age groups are represented. As already mentioned, however, these results are valuable when seen in the light of previous research, and may also open up for future studies.

5.3.1 Apparent time differences

This section will look thoroughly at each variable to investigate whether there are any differences between the younger speakers and the older speakers. The results for L Vocalisation, as presented in table 4.1 above, showed that the younger speakers had L Vocalisation in 71.1 % (Beckham) and 58.7 % (Oliver) of the potential cases, while the older speakers had it in 59.5 % (Ross 2009) and 52 % (Ross 2012) of the potential cases. Thus, in 2009, Jonathan Ross uses L Vocalisation slightly more frequently than Jamie Oliver. In 2012, however, he has less L Vocalisation than the younger speakers, and especially significantly less than David Beckham, who is also present in the interview and comes from the same area of London as Ross. Thus, the comparison of these two speakers, who differ in age but not in provenance, shows that the younger speaker has more instances of L Vocalisation than the older speaker. Whether this is connected to age is difficult to conclude too strongly, but it is possible. Also, when looking at the results in instances per thousand words, it becomes clear that both David Beckham and Jamie Oliver have more instances of L Vocalisation per

thousand words than Jonathan Ross in both 2009 and 2012, and their younger age may be a contributing factor here. L Vocalisation is not a stigmatised feature, as it also exists in mainstream RP in some environments (Hughes, Trudgill and Watt 2012: 42), but it is possible that it is more accepted among younger speakers than older speakers.

For final T Glottalling (the results can also be seen in table 4.2) the results also showed that in 2009 Ross had a lower percentage than one of the younger speakers, but higher than the other. Beckham had final T Glottalling in 63.3 % of the cases, Oliver in 87 % of the cases, Ross 2009 in 76.1 % and Ross 2012 in 53.3 % of the cases. Ross thus has less final T Glottalling than Oliver in 2009, but more than Beckham. In 2012, however, he has less final T Glottalling than both of the younger speakers, by quite a large margin. When looking at the results in instances per thousand words, he actually has more instances than Beckham in both interviews. For these four speakers there is thus nothing which implies that there should be a large difference in the use of final T Glottalling which is related to age. As has already been discussed in the first section, it may indeed seem that place of residence plays a larger role than age for this variable. Glottal reinforcement and T Glottalling in certain phonological environments are also increasingly common in mainstream RP (Wells 1982), and Altendorf (2003) found that final T Glottalling was widespread among all social classes. However, final T Glottalling is also a feature that has become more common since the Survey of English Dialects was conducted in the 1950s (Altendorf 2003: 89), which suggests that it is more common among younger speakers than the oldest speakers. The age difference between Ross and the two younger speakers may thus not be large enough for us to see any real-time differences in the use of final T Glottalling.

The results for intervocalic T Glottalling show some larger differences between the age groups. Beckham and Oliver have intervocalic T Glottalling in 31.2 % and 54.2 % of the cases, respectively, while Ross in 2009 has it in 15.3 % of the cases and Ross in 2012 has it in 28.5 % of the potential cases. The difference between Ross and Beckham in 2012 is thus not very large, but there is a difference nonetheless. In 2009 Ross has a much lower percentage than the two younger speakers, and the difference between Oliver and Ross is at a staggering 38.9 %, the largest difference seen in any of the variables. This large difference may very well be connected to the fact that intervocalic T Glottalling traditionally has been a stigmatised feature to a much larger degree than final T Glottalling, and has not been believed to be a part

of EE (Wells 1998). However, Przedlacka (2002: 55) did find that the younger EE speakers had the feature in their language, and suggests that it may be losing its stigma. The young girls in Altendorf's study (2003) also had more intervocalic T Glottalling in their language than was the case in the 1970s and 1980s, and she suggested that it might be on its way into EE. It is thus not surprising that the two younger speakers in this study exhibit more intervocalic T Glottalling than the older speakers, as this is a rather 'new' feature in the variety. Younger speakers are indeed more prone to using non-standard and new forms (Wells 1982). Nevertheless, the difference is largest between Oliver and Ross, so it is again possible that place of residence has also played a role here. The increase of intervocalic T Glottalling in Ross's language from 2009 to 2012 might indicate that he is trying to seem younger and keeping up with the trend. Nevertheless, when looking at the raw numbers he goes from 4 instances in 2009 to 6 instances in 2012, which is not a large difference; additionally, these are not very high numbers in the first place, and thus it would be too bold to say that there has been a large increase of intervocalic T Glottalling in Ross's language.

TH Fronting is also a variable where the differences between the age groups are obvious. David Beckham has TH Fronting in 17.5 % of the words containing the variable, while Jamie Oliver has it in 6.2 %. Ross, however, is down at 1.7 % in 2009 and 0 % in 2012. In raw numbers that means that he had one instance in 2009 and no instances in 2012. It is very probable that the age difference is of importance here, and that the stigma attached to TH Fronting makes older speakers avoid it to a larger degree than younger speakers. As Przedlacka (2002) found, TH Fronting was the only variable where the men were the most frequent uses of the Cockney variant. However, her study consisted only of teenage speakers, and based on these findings one can therefore hypothesise that men leading the change only applies to younger speakers, and not older speakers. Older speakers are, as we know, generally more conservative than younger speakers. Wells puts it this way: "old people do, literally, speak in an old-fashioned way; young people's speech is rightly judged 'new-fangled'" (1982: 23-24). Jonathan Ross can hardly be called an 'old man', as he is in his fifties, but he is indeed 15 years older than the other two speakers, and the age difference has made itself apparent in the different variables. It may thus be the case that not only is TH Fronting more common among boys than girls, it is also more common among younger speakers than older speakers.

H Dropping is also a variable where it is difficult to assign the perceived differences to the informants' ages. Beckham has 0% H Dropping, Oliver has 14.2 %, Ross in 2009 has 2.9 % and Ross in 2012 has 3.4 %. In raw numbers, Beckham has no instances, Oliver has 4, and Ross has 1 per interview. It is thus difficult to see any correlation between age and number of Cockney realisations for these four speakers. If we compare Beckham and Ross, who come from the same place, the older speaker actually has more instances than the younger speaker. Oliver, who has 4 instances, comes from another county, which might be of importance, even though H Dropping is more of a London feature than an Essex feature. His higher number may thus be connected to other more individual variables, which have already been discussed. The small numbers for this variable makes it hard to discuss, and the difference between one instance and zero instances is not large, especially bearing in mind that both of the instances of H Dropping in Ross's language were in the word *here*. Thus, I hesitate to conclude either for or against the possibility that H Dropping and age is related for EE speakers. This is, after all, a feature which is not even supposed to be a part of EE, and which is only found in a few instances among the speakers; these instances must therefore be seen as exceptions.

In terms of total numbers, the picture becomes this: Beckham has EE or Cockney variants 55.6 % of the time, Oliver 65.4 %, Ross in 2009 54.2 % and Ross in 2012 43.1 %. Thus, both in 2009 and 2012 Ross has a lower percentage of EE or Cockney realisations than both of the younger speakers. The difference between Ross 2009 and Beckham 2012, however, is not very large. Nevertheless, if we compare Ross to his interviewees, i.e. compare Ross 2009 to Oliver and Ross 2012 to Beckham, the differences are substantial. Between Oliver and Ross 2009 there is a difference of 11.2 %, and between Beckham and Ross 2012 the difference is at 12.5 %. To compare Ross 2009 to Beckham can thus be somewhat misleading, as it is possible that the higher presence of EE and Cockney variants in Oliver's language has influenced the language of Ross in that interview (c.f. Giles, Coupland and Coupland 1991). By comparing the older and the younger speaker in each interview, in other words, it becomes clear that the younger speakers have a much higher percentage of EE and Cockney realisations in their linguistic output. Much of this difference is probably due to the high numbers of intervocalic T Glottalling, but L Vocalisation and TH Fronting were also variables where we saw a difference between the age groups. What intervocalic T Glottalling and TH Fronting have in common is that they are not supposed to be a part of EE. It can thus be claimed that for the already established features, such as L Vocalisation and final T

Glottalling, there are no large differences between older and younger speakers, but that the difference is visible for features that have traditionally not been part of EE, but which researchers such as Altendorf (2003) and Przedlacka (2002) have claimed may be on their way into EE. These features' status as 'working-class' and the stigma around them may be more difficult for older speakers to disregard, which means that it probably is the younger speakers who are leading the way in the inclusion of these features into the variety. Furthermore, this is again a testimony to the huge differences among EE speakers, which poses the question of how much variation is 'accepted' before something cannot be called an accent.

5.3.2 Real time differences

This section will discuss the differences in the language of Jonathan Ross between 2009 to 2012. This has also necessarily been touched upon previously in the study, but here it will be seen in the light of for instance age grading and accommodation theory. Age grading in sociolinguistics can be defined as a change in a person's language that seems to be related to his or her age, as opposed to being related to changes in the speech community (Wagner 2012). Labov (1994: 83) represents age grading in comparison with other patterns of change as in Table 5.9:

Table 5.9 Age grading compared to other patterns of change

	Individual	**Community**
Stability	Stable	Stable
Age grading	Unstable	Stable
Generational change	Stable	Unstable
Communal change	Unstable	Unstable

Thus, it is called age grading when there is lack of stability at the individual level, while the community surrounding this person remains more or less stable. Age grading most often leads to a decrease in non-standard forms, for several reasons:

> Apparent time studies of stable variables such as (ing) have shown a curvilinear pattern with age, with a peak in the use of non-standard forms in the teenage years (e.g. Labov 2001). Adolescents have been characterized as relatively free of responsibilities and normative pressures from the linguistic market, and this is assumed to be reflected in their high rates of non-standard features. Middle-aged adults, on the other hand, have usually undergone what Chambers (2003: 195) calls

> linguistic "retrenchment": a retreat from the non-standard variants used in youth followed by stabilization. (Wagner 2012: 375)

Thus, the older someone gets the more conservative they tend to become, as adulthood brings with it certain responsibilities and new norms that are transferred to language as well as other parts of life. This phenomenon is interesting when analysing the data from Jonathan Ross, as we see a decline in the non-standard forms in three of the five variables. There may of course be many other reasons for this decline as well, but it is probable that age grading is a contributing factor. In addition to Ross's getting older, his workplace may also have been a contributing factor. Ross has been employed by the BBC for many years, and the high presence of RP in this institution might have affected his accent over the years. Even though it is no longer necessary to speak RP to get a job in the BBC (Hughes, Trudgill and Watt 2012), RP is still highly present among those representing the channel, which might have influenced Ross's linguistic behaviour.

For L Vocalisation there is a decline in non-standard forms from 59.5 % to 52 %, for Final T Glottalling there is a decline from 76.1 % to 53.3 % and for TH Fronting there is a decline from 1.7 % to 0 %. For intervocalic T Glottalling there is indeed an increase from 15.3 % to 28.5 %, and for H Dropping there is an increase from 2.9 % to 3.4 %, but as has already been mentioned, this number is somewhat misleading, as there is only one instance per interview. For the overall numbers, there is a decline in EE and Cockney variants from 54.2 % in 2009 to 43.1 % in 2012, which is a substantial and noticeable decline. This decline has actually led Ross to having RP variants in well over half of the words containing the variables, which is interesting. The only variable where we see a real increase is intervocalic T Glottalling, which might be on its way into EE. Final T Glottalling and L Vocalisation have the largest decreases, and are also the only two features in this study which are established parts of the variety. Age grading may be a contributing factor here, leading Ross to gradually decrease the number of non-standard forms to sound more 'serious'. The increase in intervocalic T Glottalling may be connected to its declining social stigma (Przedlacka 2002) and increasing presence in EE. At the same time that he becomes more conservative, he thus also tries to project that he is still 'a cool guy' by including this feature. The numbers for H Dropping and TH Fronting are too small for us to conclude anything with certainty, but the small numbers do also speak for themselves, since they prove that these features are not part of his accent. It would be interesting to have data from Ross from an even earlier date, to see whether TH

Fronting and H Dropping were in fact part of his accent when he was younger but then disappeared due to age grading.

Another factor which may have contributed to the decline of EE and Cockney variants from 2009 to 2012 is the interviewees. In 2009 the interviewee was Oliver, while in 2012 it was Beckham. As we have seen, Oliver overall has more EE and Cockney variants in his language than Beckham has, which may very well have influenced Ross's own language. In the previous chapter we saw that there was not necessarily a correlation between the informants' realisation of the individual variables (e.g. Ross had an increase in intervocalic T Glottalling in 2012 even though Beckham had fewer instances than Oliver), but it is when we look at the overall numbers that the correlation becomes clearer. Accommodation theory (Giles, Coupland and Coupland 1991) argues that in a conversation, the participants will accommodate to each other by adjusting for example their speech, their vocal patterns and their gestures, so as to signal understanding and solidarity. This accommodation also applies to the level of phonetics, and if a person in a conversation uses final T Glottalling frequently, it increases the chances of the other person(s) doing the same, if this feature is a part of his/her accent. Sometimes it can happen even if the feature is not a part of the person's accent, so it is clear that this need to accommodate in a conversation is strong. This phenomenon may account for the decline of EE and Cockney variants in Ross's language. In 2009, when he interviewed Oliver, he had EE or Cockney variants 54.2 % of the potential cases, while he in 2012 had EE or Cockney variants 43.1% of the time. In both interviews he had fewer EE or Cockney variants than the interviewee, which has been assigned to the age difference, but the difference was roughly the same in each interview, which strongly suggests that Ross is indeed influenced by the number of EE and Cockney variants in the interviewee's language.

A number of factors may thus have contributed to the decline of EE and Cockney realisations in Ross's linguistic output. Since this study only focused on consonants, it would be interesting to investigate whether the same trend applies to his vowels. Ross's vowels are generally more to the Cockney end of the spectrum than are those of Oliver and Beckham, especially with regard to the vowels which have undergone the new diphthong shift, but it is possible that there is a decline of EE and Cockney realisation for the vowels too over time. It is highly probable that age grading and accommodation are responsible for most of the decline of EE and Cockney consonant realisations, in addition to other variables such as

workplace and conversational topics. The decline may also say something about the inherent fluidity of EE, since we have already seen that there is a lot of variation in the language of each individual speaker with regard to when a variable has an EE or Cockney realisation and when it has an RP realisation.

The discussion of the results in this section, as well as the theory that has been presented and discussed earlier in the study, will now be summed up and some conclusions will be drawn in the next and final chapter. The hope is also to make way for future studies, by suggesting some topics that might be interesting to investigate further.

6 Conclusion

6.1 Summing up

As we have seen in this study, EE is a phenomenon that has been around for quite some time, but which did not gain recognition or receive much attention before David Rosewarne's seminal article from 1984. Many factors have contributed to the rise and spread of EE, but social factors must be said to have played the largest role. All accents carry with them certain associations, which again lead people to have different attitudes towards them. Different accents often carry overt or covert prestige, and some accent features are so stigmatised that we often see a correlation between their application or non-application and for example social class (e.g. Labov 1972). EE occupies, as has been shown throughout this study, a middle ground between two accents which are at separate ends of the spectrum of accents carrying overt or covert prestige: RP and Cockney. It shares phonological features with both, but is also different from both. Speakers of EE may thus distance themselves from the associations of both these accents, neither sounding too posh nor too working class. In addition to social factors such as these, we have seen that demographic changes and a higher degree of social and geographical mobility after World War II led to people moving around more and becoming increasingly exposed to various accents, which again has led to accent levelling and mixing of accents. EE is a result of this tapestry of factors, and as Kerswill (2003) argues, EE has probably been around for a long time; it just was not until Rosewarne put it on the agenda that it received attention from a wider audience.

Regarding the features of EE, the only level of language which all researchers agree that EE applies to, is that of phonetics and phonology. Some, such as Rosewarne (1984) and Coggle (1993), have claimed that EE should additionally be recognised by its intonation, syntax and pragmatic expressions, but this claim has been thoroughly debunked by researchers such as Altendorf (2003). With regard to phonetics and phonology, however, there has for a long time been general consensus regarding which features belong to EE, i.e. which features it shares with either Cockney or RP. As a reminder, these can be seen in the following table, reproduced from chapter 2:

Table 2.5 Phonetic and phonological features of EE as presented by Wells (1998).

Variable	*Example*	*RP*	*EE*	*Cockney*
H Dropping	[ænd] for *hand*	-	-	+
TH Fronting	[fɪŋk] for *think*	-	-	+
MOUTH vowel monophthong	[ma:f] for *mouth*	-	-	+
Intervocalic T Glottalling	[bʌʔə] for *butter*	-	-	+
HappY Tensing	[hæpi] for *happy*	-	+	+
T Glottalling finally etc.	[ðæʔ ɪz] for *that is*	-	+	+
L Vocalisation	[mɪok] for *milk*	-	+	+
Yod Coalescence	[tʃu:zdeɪ] for *Tuesday*	-	+	+
Diphthong shift in FACE, PRICE, GOAT	[fʌɪs], [prɑɪs], [gʌʊʔ]	-	+	+
Striking allophony (phoneme split?) in *sold*	[sɒʊ(ɬ)d], [rɒʊlə]	-	+	+

As we can see, the features which are supposed to separate EE from Cockney are H Dropping, TH Fronting, MOUTH vowel monophthonging and intervocalic T Glottalling. However, studies conducted by Przedlacka (2002) and Altendorf (2003) suggested that features such as intervocalic T Glottalling and TH Fronting might be losing their stigma and be on their way into EE, and the researchers were both also highly sceptical towards the notion of EE being a unitary accent. Based on their respective results, Przedlacka (2002: 97) concluded that we are in fact dealing with a number of distinct accents, and Altendorf (2003:159) concluded that EE should be called a 'group of variants'. These findings were interesting to follow up on, which led me to focus on consonant variables in EE, since this is where the gap between EE and Cockney may be getting narrower. In addition it would also be interesting to see how large differences there would be between the speakers, to see if this would support the claims made by Przedlacka and Altendorf, namely that EE is not an accent. Furthermore, since most studies on EE mostly had younger speakers as informants, I wanted to research the language of older/adult speakers. Even though EE is most common among younger middle-class people, it is safe to assume that people carry with them their accent as they get older, and that there therefore necessarily exist EE speakers, whose accents have not been properly researched. The speakers in the present study are not old, per se, but they are indeed older

than teenagers. As we have seen throughout the study, it turned out to be a good choice to investigate adult EE, and we have seen some interesting results.

6.2 Main findings

I will claim that this study has resulted in two important main findings, in addition to several other but more minor results. The two main findings are that:

- Intervocalic T Glottalling is much more common in the language of the four speakers than one would assume from previous research on EE.
- The variation between the four speakers' realisations of the consonant variables is considerable.

Regarding the first main finding, intervocalic T Glottalling is, as we have seen, more frequent in the informants' language than would be expected. Jamie Oliver has intervocalic T Glottalling in as much as 54.2 % of potential cases, a number which is hardly compatible with the claim that intervocalic T Glottalling does not exist in EE. Furthermore, the numbers for all of the speakers can be seen in this table from Chapter 4:

Table 4.5 Intervocalic T Glottalling percentages

Speaker	**Potential / Actual (Percentage)**
David Beckham	16 / 5 (31.2 %)
Jamie Oliver	35 / 19 (54.2 %)
Jonathan Ross 2009	26 / 4 (15.3 %)
Jonathan Ross 2012	21 / 6 (28.5 %)

These percentages and raw numbers clearly demonstrate that intervocalic T Glottalling is a part of all of these four speakers' accents. Seen in light of the results from Przedlacka (2002) and Altendorf (2003), which also showed that intervocalic T Glottalling was common among EE speakers and perhaps losing its stigma, these results may suggest either two facts:

- Intervocalic T Glottalling has always been a part of EE, it has just not received much attention or been researched properly.
- Intervocalic T Glottalling has gradually become a part of EE, perhaps due to the receding stigma surrounding it.

I am most inclined to accept the second suggestion, as indeed most linguists agreed that intervocalic T Glottalling was not a part of EE in the 1980s and 1990s, while the studies by

Przedlacka and Altendorf from the early 2000s show that it is. That the older speakers in the present study had the feature also in 2009 and 2012 may just be a testament to the spread of intervocalic T Glottalling among EE speakers, since it is consequently not found solely among the youngest speakers.

With regard to the second main finding, this study has clearly shown significant differences between the four speakers' realisation of the consonant variables. The largest differences are found in L Vocalisation, final T Glottalling and intervocalic T Glottalling. These findings are thus in agreement with the studies conducted by Przedlacka (2002) and Altendorf (2003), who both found considerable differences in their samples, even though all of their informants were supposed to speak EE. Therefore one can speculate as to why there should be such large variation in what is supposed to be a single accent. To answer that question, it is necessary to problematise the term 'accent'. In the first volume of his important work on accents of English, Wells (1982) defines 'accent' as follows:

> …a pattern of pronunciation used by a speaker for whom English is the native language or, more generally, by the community or social grouping to which he or she belongs. More specifically, I refer to the use of particular vowel or consonant sounds and particular rhythmic, intonational, and other prosodic features. (1)

The question is, how much variation can there be within an accent before we are indeed talking about several accents, or something which is not an accent at all (c.f. Altendorf's 'group of variants)? Within all accents – even RP – there is variation (Hughes, Trudgill and Watt 2012); therefore we should accept and expect some variation between EE speakers. However, this study and the studies by Przedlacka (2002) and Altendorf (2003) all find such large differences that it is difficult to claim that the speakers speak the same accent. Of course EE may also be seen as a continuum between RP and Cockney; in that case one would have to expect more variation, depending on how far to one side the speaker in question is located. It is also possible to view EE as an umbrella term in the Home Counties and London for those speakers who speak neither RP nor Cockney, but something in-between. The exact place in London/Home Counties where the speaker comes from might in turn influence his or her version of EE. The subject obviously needs even more systematic examination if the linguistic community is to determine the exact nature of EE.

Furthermore, this study has had some other interesting results. One regards TH Fronting. This is another feature which is not supposed to be a part of EE, although three of the speakers in

this study had instances of it in their language. They did not have many instances each: David Beckham had the most with 17.5 %, but it was nevertheless present in their language. Przedlacka (2002) found that TH Fronting is most common among boys and men, but she only studied teenagers. That the present study showed that even adult male speakers had TH Fronting in their language might suggest that this feature is on its way into EE, and that men are leading the way. Moreover, the study revealed some differences between the age groups. The differences were most pronounced for intervocalic T Glottalling and TH Fronting - in other words the two features which might be on their way into EE. If this is indeed the case, it is not surprising that younger speakers are quicker to pick up on such innovations than are older/adult speakers (Wells 1982). The study also showed that the oldest speaker, Jonathan Ross, in fact had a decline in EE and Cockney variants over a time period of three years, and I assigned this decrease mainly to the phenomena of accommodation to interviewees and age grading.

Summing up, this study has many interesting results to show for itself, and seen together with previous studies, the present study has helped prove that differences between EE speakers are so significant that it is difficult to speak of EE as a single accent; further it has helped prove that intervocalic T Glottalling (and perhaps also TH Fronting) might be on its way into EE. There are, however, many areas within EE which are still in need of further elucidation, and I will outline some of these in the final section.

6.3 Future research

Very few large-scale studies have been conducted on EE and its speakers. Most of the studies conducted have focused on the speech of teenagers, while hardly any have focused on the speech of adult/older speakers. This study has been rather small, and it would be beneficial to the field if larger studies were to be conducted with adult/older speakers. It would also be useful if these studies examined the speech of both men and women, so that it can be determined whether the observed gender differences with regard to e.g. TH Fronting also apply to adult/older speakers. Furthermore, the variable intervocalic T Glottalling in the language of older speakers should also be studied in greater detail. Since both Przedlacka (2002) and Altendorf (2003) found that this feature might be on its way into the language of younger EE speakers, and the present study found that it was in fact present in the language of

four adult/older EE speakers, a larger study is needed to lend support to this claim. If indeed both intervocalic T Glottalling and TH Fronting are becoming increasingly more common in EE, there are very few phonological features left which distinguish EE from Cockney – which would have serious consequences for the very definition of EE.

Furthermore, this study has only focused on consonants. A study of vowel variables in the language of adult/older EE speakers would also be beneficial to the field. Ideally, a larger study comprising both vowel and consonant variables in the language of adult/older EE speakers would provide us with the most urgently needed information. For example, in this study Jonathan Ross has proved to be closest to the RP end of the spectrum with regard to consonants; but unlike the other speakers his language contains vowels which have undergone the diphthong shift, which of course places him more to the Cockney end of the spectrum. A larger study which comprises both vowel and consonant variables would provide important insight into the relationship between vowels and consonants in the language of adult/older EE speakers.

Finally, as this study found some differences between the language of the younger and older speakers, this is another interesting topic to follow up on. An apparent time study with a larger sample consisting of speakers of a wide age range (ideally containing both men and women) investigating even more variables than the present study could back up the results in the present study, namely that there are considerable differences between younger and older speakers with regard to the consonant features which have gradually made their way into EE.

To sum up, the present study has made a range of interesting findings, the two most important of which both agree with the results of previous major studies. Besides, this study challenges the earliest descriptions and definitions of EE. However, this study has investigated some topics which should be examined more closely so as to provide us with as much information about the nature of EE as possible. Not much serious academic work has been done on EE, and there is still much to learn, which makes EE particularly interesting for the fields of dialectology, accent levelling and sociolinguistics.

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Links to the YouTube videos containing the data

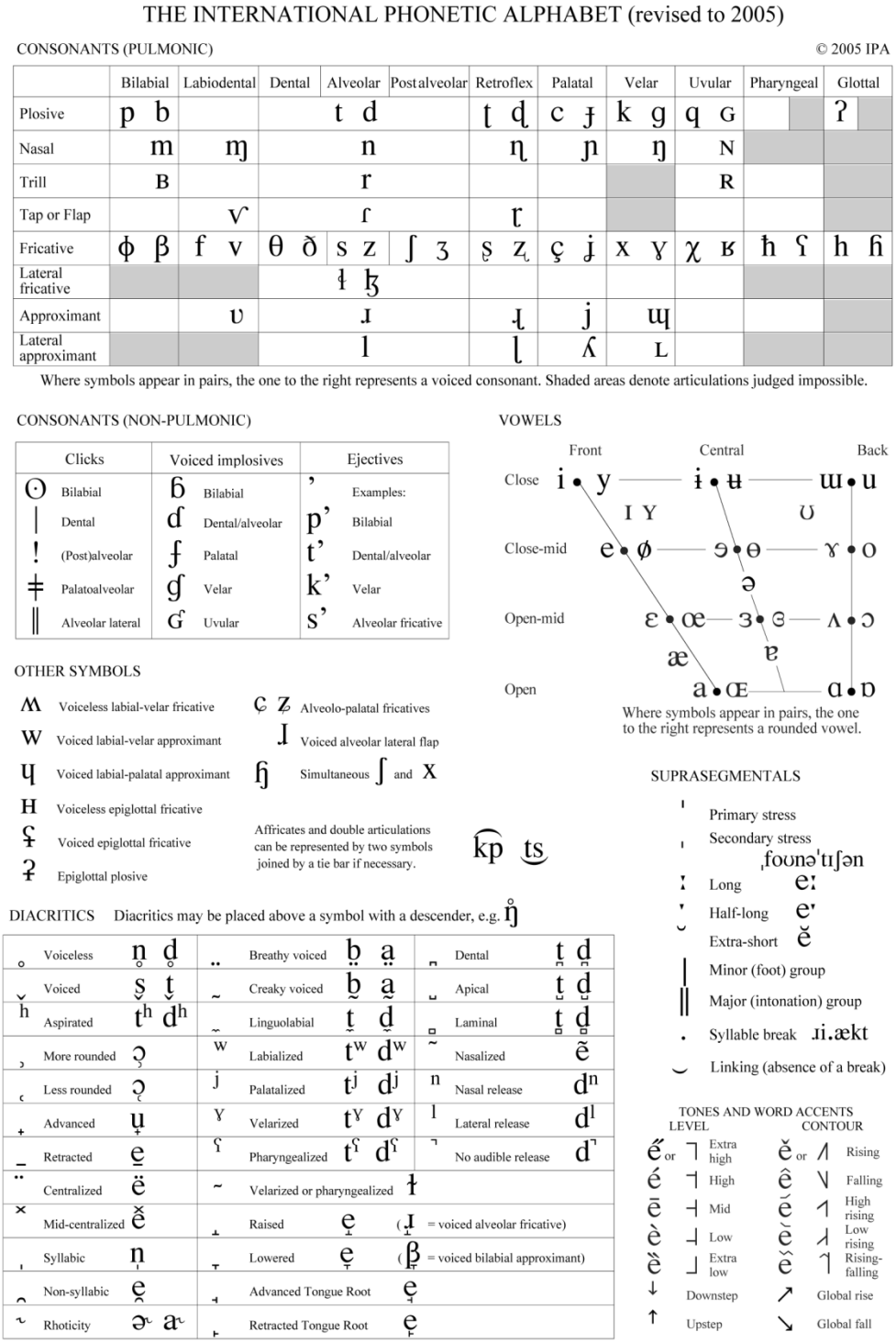
Jonathan Ross and Jamie Oliver 2009 part 1.
https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=2NiCRAmwoc4

Jonathan Ross and Jamie Oliver 2009 part 2.
https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=eGFK8o97bks

Jonathan Ross and David Beckham 2012.
https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=K91NMY0YX4s

Appendices

Appendix 1: The International Phonetic Alphabet



Appendix 2: Jonathan Ross and Jamie Oliver, 2009.

Transcription key:

= The utterance of the second speaker comes directly after the utterance of the first speaker.

[The utterances of the speakers overlap.

(.) A small pause in the utterance.

( ) The transcriber is unable to understand the utterance due to mumbling, overlapping speech or audience noise.

:: The immediately preceding sound is prolonged. (Number of colons indicates length).

Red colour Possible L Vocalisation

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That An underlined coloured letter means that the EE or Cockney variant occurred

JR Jonathan Ross.

JO Jamie Oliver.

JR plea:se welcome Jamie Oliver (.) mister Jamie Oliver ladies and gentlemen=
JO =hello
JR ( ) lovely to have you back here good to see you
JO lovely to be here=
JR =you're looking good now uh you know what's weird is I was thinking about Jamie just last night I was thinking it only seems to be like six months ago (.) that I first saw you that you were this kind of fresh faced young hoodie riding around on your scooter packa packa packa bish bash bosh (.) and now (.) you are like part of the UK I can't think of the country without you it's remarkable=
JO naw thanks mate is that a compliment?=

JR it is a compliment
JO aw cheers bro=
JR =so enjoy that you won't get anymore [( )
JO [yeah thank you [that was
JR [no seriously you're part of our life and then you go from there and uh cooking for uh the heads of state all over the world for the g twenty [conference order
JO [yeah=
JR =remarkable thing how did that feel?
JO uh g twenty was meant to I mean obviously it was a great honour to be asked to do it=
JR =so how did that come about did they just phone you they phone people who [look for
JO [Ed Balls phoned me up actually he says Jay you know been talking to the man and we wondered if like someone could come around and do a bit of free food you know on the [( )
JR [okay does Ed Balls call you Jay is he like [Jay?
JO [no I'm just playing along with you you know=
JR =Jay dog
JO uhm yeah know what I'm saying (.) and uh he he said you know could you do this I said it would be an honour my honour and uh he goes we would really like fifteen (.) you know your students your charities to be part of it=
JR =so it's a lovely thing cause it's not uh they know they're gonna get great food but also it shows what what's going on in this country it shows what you're doing so it's kind of like a it's a good thing for them as well then?=
JO =yeah but we got all I've got all twenty of the world leaders coming and all of their versions of MI five or whatever you wanna call it (.) and like you know quite a few of my students have had criminal records so I thought oh my god what's gonna go on (.) uh so I said you do realise it's gonna take a little bit of extra (.) you know (.) work (.) and he said no worries we'll get that sorted so uhm it was it was I was I loved doing it but the problem was it it was there's like a little three week period in England (.) uh just around that time where there's nothing I mean [it's like
JR [you mean like local produce [isn't
JO [yeah I and I wanna like I wanna big up British produce [so
JR [yeah=
JO =so there was nothing in that so I literally got stuff (.) uh we went to Jersey physically to get the the very first little ones (.) we had to go to certain parts of England with gulf streams to get the asparagus and all sorts of [nonsense
JR [so that's what you're cooking uh so you would think of the best English produce being our Jersey potatoes (.) [asparagus

JO [yeah (.) yeah lovely Welsh lamb trying to get a bit of Irish (.) Irish food (.) Ireland Scotland yeah (.) how nice you're all here today (.) lovely (.) but you know we wanted I wanted I thought it was my job to represent a bit of everyone uhm and we did that uh and it was a great honour and (.) uh a big experience

JR uh now what was it like when go you go in there when you're cooking for these people obviously I mean you're used to working under pressure=

JO =yes=

JR =anyone who works professionally in the kitchen works under pressure (.) uh but knowing these people are there knowing it's going [to be reported all over the world

JO [it was very hard (.) I'll tell you what was hard (.) because bizarrely enough and I don't mean it as Gordon as a slag but like they've got the worst kitchens in England if you're worried about school dinners then like these kitchens at number ten I felt like I wanted to lend them a couple of quid [uhm

JR [so so the kitchens in the back of number ten aren't good?

JO they're terrible I mean I I had like I don't know twenty twenty five (.) uh the peers in one room and partners uh and then the boys in the other and a couple of girls and and basically we had to run two kitchens (.) so it's very stressful quite hard (.) and uh and uh and but even like you have to do it on state plates

JR so ( ) but what's the equipment like presumably they have state of the art big cooker nice (.) just a microwave [what have they got?

JO [honestly I swear to God Wandsworth prison which I've been to (.) right (.) uhm has better gear a thousand percent than number ten Downing Street=

JR =wow wow (.) and how did the food go down?

JO uh very well I think the plates came back good Gordon was pleased which is you know he's the boss at the end of the day (.) and uh and I got asked by the wife of Obama uh a surprise to come out and see them=

JR =wow

JO which was a bonus cause I cause I was washing up at that stage

JR so let me ask you about uh uh your background because recently now I was reading in the newspapers that you found out that you're not we think of you as being you know about as Essex as Essex can be=

JO =yeah=

JR =we think about you uh and that's a good thing uh quite right to be proud of that (.) but recently we've been seeing you've looked into your family linage and there you go back to other parts of the world (.) where did you trace your family [ancestry then?

JO [no I found out that uh that we've got uhm uh the family eventually goes back to sort of Sudanese connections=

JR =so you gonna do anything about this you gonna go back and trace uh cause there's a very [popular show of course who do you think you are

JO [I'd love to yeah=

JR =that would be a fascinating [story

JO [I'd love to do who do you think you are=

JR =well I bet they'll [snap that up

JO [when I'm allowed to but I work for channel four you see [so

JR [they won't even let you do something like that?=

JO =not at the moment but I'm working on it

JR okay cause that would be a fabulous story do you know anything about the family about their [who you're

JO [you know the other day I uh uh I keep picking up bits (.) but on the other side of the family (.) uhm there was a geezer called Joe Busby (.) who uhm uh had thirteen pubs in the east end (.) and used to basically do a version of school dinners and uhm fifteen which is basically used to feed all the Polish and Russian immigrants and all the uh all the kids went there on holiday (.) so it's all happened here a hundred years before (.) so it's all a bit weird really=

JR =that's weird so it's [kinda like

JO [and I've seen it in pap.. I've seen that written in (.) old papers from eighteen eighties=

JR =wow that's incredible=

JO =yeah it's weird isn't it=

JR =but now how how did that make you feel then cause that must be like you you're doing what's been done before=

JO =I'll tell you what when I did when I did fifteen and the students uhm a lot of people I cared for around me didn't approve of it they thought it was stupid and reckless and mad and uh I just felt it was the right thing to do and and for me personally eight years later fifteen's on its eight years anniversary this October (.) we've got four of them you know eighty students [a year

JR [you know what we should congratulate that cause that is a fabulous achievement (.) what a great British success story and really=

JO =yeah that's what it is=

JR =it's an incredible thing to do (.) anyway how's life at home [you have a new baby this year

JO [lovely yeah yeah

JR a lovely new baby girl he has so you have=

JO =yeah

JR you and Jules have three baby girls now [three children

JO [three girls

JR congratulations (.) what a lovely thing=

JO =Poppy Daisy and the new one's six months old (.) Petal (.) she's brilliant=

JR =she's got the best ( ) Petal something Rainbow isn't it?

JO uh Petal Blossom Rainbow (.) but uh Jules takes care of the names as you can well imagine (.) and uh and uh you know they're lovely I've just got to the point now where it actually hurts to think of how much I love them it's just like oh my god (.) cause they're just they're great company and uh they've just turned into beautiful little girls and the new one is like she's proper well behaved as well

JR cause she's what five months now?=

JO =yeah she does what she's told she goes to sleep she like=

JR =uh do you let the other girls in the kitchen do they help you out are you encouraging them to do [( )

JO [I swore that I wouldn't (.) ehm impress upon them my career and uh Poppy's like Poppy's like whatever eh Daisy however is all over it like a rash (.) so the other day I said right Daisy she goes I really wanna skateboard I said look we don't get nothing for free in this life uhm if you learn (.) this is so wrong (.) if you learn all twenty five of the herbs growing in the front garden (.) uhm forget it (.) by look by smell and by taste (.) and the taste blindfolded by the way (.) I=

JR =hold on there someone call social services ( ) this is just wrong=

JO =do you know what (.) it I uh the thing is about kids (.) and this is why I'm even more passionate about kids and school and teaching our kids at school (.) why mum and dad are busy working to look after themselves (.) life skills right you know and every kid in this country should get that=

JR =well you know cooking is very pleasant and it's a good family experience=

JO =yeah=

JR =and I wanna talk to you about something cause I I did a bit of cooking so I cooked something from Jamie's cookbook just last night (.) and I'll tell you about it the cookbook is (.) impossible to follow (.) but I'll talk to you about that later (.) cause you need some help on that I think=

JO =no you say what you gotta say then I'll come back=

JR =no no we'll talk about that in a minute first of all though (.) cause one thing I was gonna ask you about the girls and this leads you into what you're doing at the moment or the American series is is keeping them away keeping kids away from what we call junk food is I know something you've been very keen on (.) how do you keep your kids from away from that are you:=

JO =I don't think it's healthy to keep them away from it=

JR =completely=

JO =cause actually (.) I grew up on someone's birthday we go down to Macky D's we go to the harlow tubes and have a swim and it was a treat=

JR =so you're saying occasionally moderation is fine=

JO =well I I think it's wrong to sort of say you can't do that but the thing is I've almost become famous for being like an angel (.) and I'm I'm much more balanced about common sense about stuff than you (.) one might believe

JR okay, let's talk about America then cause that's what we think of when we hear about junk food with all the [stuff we now have problems with

JO [yes yeah (.) and I think it probably is (.) fair to say that=

JR =it is fair to say that and certainly I was reading over there that the average family (.) regardless of this economic downturn the average family over there eat out five times a week=

JO =yeah=

JR =in fact a lot of them don't cook at all they=

JO =and in a lot of the major cities they don't even build kitchens anymore (.) just a hole for the microwave

JR it's incredible is that all they do really?

JO it's true

JR it's not such a bad thing necessarily=

JO =I know (.) no no I'm obviously biased but I mean I think what I wanted to do with America was (.) you know everyone is done to death you know sort of you know uhm (.) obese people and junkfood I think it's boring after a while (.) I mean look (.) it's still one of the biggest places destinations in the world for immigration people still go there because of you know religious conflict or or for a better life for their family or God [knows what

JR [it is it is there's [no choice there

JO [and there is magic there=

JR =it's a great country (.) and the food can be great (.) and you've obviously (.) I saw the first episode it's called Jamie's American Roadtrip I don't know if you saw the first one but they really (.) the people you work with you've really uncovered some brilliant personalities=

JO =yeah=

JR =and some great stories there what were the most memorable ones for you?

JO I mean eh the way I look at those six programs they're like six different films they're completely (.) they're not really linked they're completely they could feel like six different countries so we went from (.) I mean we had a lot of luck as well we were in Louisiana New Orleans just after Gustaf hit you know and that sorta just turned into a programme about community and spirit and coming together and why would you live in a place that gets kicked up the jacksie every (.) couple of years and do you know what I mean and everything that you own just drifts away and then we had Georgia we're in Georgia just after Obama got in and obviously Georgia's the place where you know civil rights Martin Luther King so it was about black food (.) soul food and sort of what you know I thought soul food was like funky stuff you know what I'm saying but it wasn't soul food was about [survival

JR [was that a (.) was that a Sudanese accent you [just had there?

JO [yeah (.) no but seriously I mean soul food to me I thought was sort of a gesture thing (.) soul food was like (.) clasping onto life (.) it was basically all all the posh noble white people or immigrants that were running the shop would give all the offel and the off cuts [to the slaves

JR [so they had to cook with pig knuckles had to cook with just greens and [stuff like that? Basic stuff

JO [yeah so this is the thing that people don't (.) when I did the ministry of food in Rotherham and stuff like that (.) the thing that upset me about Britain today is that we think that looking after your family cooking for your family is a middle class thing (.) and I'm like oh my god everything that I know that is worth knowing is from people that have struggled (.) you know food and sitting around the table and everything good about life that can bring your family together is really cheap (.) but the only thing you got to have is the knowledge to do it (.) so like you know when you look at soul food like they cook some great stuff (.) out of horrible stuff (.) do you know what I mean and I think when there's that bit of jeopardy in life you can pull out some great recipes

JR uhm okay the book is out as well Jamie in America I was cooking with this last night and we're gonna cook now Jamie's gonna cook for us right now here in the studio ladies and gentlemen (.) and I thought I thought in advance of the show I would cook something from the book last night so I looked through for a fairly healthy recipe and I I chose one which was tuna seared on a bed of homemade salsa with some courgettes on and you've been going on about cooking with the family I prepared some of it with my youngest daughter this morning and it was wonderful I felt so close to her we really had a great time and she did a terrific job (.) doing the courgettes with the mint and all that=

JO =yeah she [liked that?

JR [but the instructions in this book are almost impossible for anyone to follow=

JO =yeah?=

JR =it says for ex.. let me ask you a question ladies and gentlemen if you if you read a book and it says get the vegetables ready and then you've got green peppers and you're gonna cook them on the griddle =

JO =it doesn't [say that

JR [would you cut them up first?=

JO =no don't believe what he says=

JR =you would? Just say yes (.) would you cut them up first? Of course you would (.) you [put a whole big pepper

JO [do you want the true story now? (.) He phoned me up last night it sounded like a scene out of blair witch (.) right=

JR =can I just explain?=

JO =basically he wouldn't do what he was told in black and white=

JR =it didn't make sense that's why what's the point in following a recipe if it clearly

isn't what you're meant to be doing?

JO it said grill a whole pepper and tomato (.) [you chopped it up

JR [yeah but that makes (.) of course because it makes sense to chop it up (.) I assumed it was a misprint (.) and I phoned Jamie and he didn't pick up so I called Gordon Ramsey and told him I was trying to cook one of Jamie's

JO he did as well

JR yeah yeah (.) now what's this? This is a=

JO =alright I've got some ribs for you brother=

JR =wow

JO now these these are baby back ribs (.) and and anyone that loves life should have a little go on these every now and then [in life

JR [especially vegetarians

JO yeah

JR so this is from where? This is from the the [western side of

JO [this is really cowboy country (.) Wyoming Montana I mean that's kind of some of the flavours from America spices slow cooking glazing it up in the end=

JR =that is delicious=

JO =do you wanna have a little go at something else?=

JR =I love this=

JO =ehm these are these are called gorditas right (.) gorditas is a Mexican dish

JR have you got a couple of ( ) in there somewhere?

JO yes (.) do you want me to unpack this?=

JR =want me to turn it on for you?

JO wow let's make some mess for God sake (.) uhm (.) so=

JR =mm that's good (.) I wish we had enough to share but we've only got a little bit=

JO =yeah

JR it was so good it'd be wasted on you

JO right

JR ( ) do you want me to turn this on for you?=

JO =no it's on darling=

JR =oh is it on?=

JO =it's on

JR alright I suppose you do know what you're doing (.) how long have you been cooking for then?=

JO =oh I've been cooking since I was eight years old (.) yeah (.) and you know I think that's the point kids can be I mean (.) honestly like my knife skills today are exactly the same as they were when I was the age of ten

JR well I will challenge you to that then because last night I was doing some chopping as you know a bit of cooking on my own you know (.) and I was cooking chopping up some cucumber (.) I did it so quickly

JO really?

JR I challenge you to a cucumber chop off
JO man you goodness no (.) what do you think that he could beat me? (.) don't be silly=
JR =it's a blur when my hands are moving it's a blur (.) that right hand is going like that I tell you (.) it's a blur=
JO =well in that case maybe I do agree with you (.) uhm=
JR =so what are what are these things here? The [gorditas what's in them?
JO [these (.) these are called gorditas (.) uhm it's just heating up now (.) gorditas is Mexican for little fat girl (.) yeah I know isn't it sweet? And so complementary (.) uhm=
JR =let me ask you a question then (.) would you uh would you open an American style restaurant over here would you do Mexican food over here the way cause I love Mexican food cooked properly=
JO =yeah Mexican food ( ) in February next year we're doing a little restaurant with charcoal and wood and we're gonna do quite a lot of South American sort of inspired stuff (.) there's some chili sauce have a little try of that big [boy
JR [I love chili sauce=
JO =that'll get you going (.) uhm
JR ooh that has some poke to it
JO you're gonna so regret that honestly and tomorrow morning you'll be crying oh Jamie why did I do that?
JR I'm regretting it already Jamie Oliver (.) I'll tell you what though it's quite a nice burn
JO I can't tell you how hot that is (.) he's being really he's showing off right now uhm but he's gonna be in so much pain tomorrow morning (.) you can text me
JR I wish I hadn't done that now
JO let's talk about what we're [doing here
JR [so you're doing is that salsa?=
JO =very simple salsa tomato some spring onion some coriander and the stalks some eh lime zest (.) and some salt and pepper (.) I'll just finish this off (.) right we're gonna hit that with some lime=
JR =zest it=
JO =what's clever is when you introduce heat or chili and stuff like that what they often do is put some apple or pear or fruit in there=
JR =oh blimey (.) no one noticed (.) put it back in (.) ten second rule go on put it back in (.) germs can't get on it can they?=
JO =okay so what I'm gonna do I'm gonna plate some of these up (.) I've got it all in there (.) do you wanna try one of these?=
JR =I'll try a I'll try a I'll try a little fat girl
JO right so we've got the gorditas you can it's very simple to make these=
JR =hot sauce=
JO =and then (.) then we're gonna put this salsa (.) you know when you do your salsa hit it with the lime and the chili=
JR =bish bash bosh packa=

JO =no I don't say that anymore honestly I was twenty two
JR say it one more time for old times' sake
JO I haven't said it for ten years=
JR =go on one more time go on
JO look it's a little bit of this little bit of that just bish it bash it bosh it it's packa I'm telling you=
JR =yeah (.) oh dear
JO yeah
JR you know Ricky I want you to do the dance later as well you know that don't you (.) my lips hurt
JO okay (.) have a little go on that
JR alright okay
JO come on girls (.) so this is a proper bit you ain't seen cooking telly like this before (.) right (.) when I went to when I went to on the next program when I went to Wyoming they got a classic dish called rocky mountain oysters
JR okay
JO right (.) and I wanted this this is basically a bullocks bollock (.) right (.) what we've got here is a lovely bollock (.) right (.) and what we need to do is skin it first
JR I don't have a ( )
JO and you just ( ) it out (.) it's lovely
JR what has got into you man?=
JO =right (.) so once you've done that have you ever eaten these before?=
JR =I've never eaten this before and I don't mean I'm going to tonight (.) but you know what from here it does now look just like a bit of meat=
JO =yeah and the lovely job these have done=
JR =if you eat meat then I suppose why be squeamish about these?
JO yeah=
JR =what's have you eaten did they often use stuff in the states that you didn't want to eat [were there parts of
JO [just stop talking for a minute right? I've put them in flour (.) salt pepper cayenne pepper little bit of eggs little bit of bread crumbs I've deep fried them into a crisp and golden then I got a bit of garlic mayonnaise (.) lemon (.) put it in that mayo
JR fellows would you like to try one of these or would that be a busman's holiday? (.) they taste nice (.) you can't get enough of it can you? (.) it tasted quite nice quite (.) thank you for doing that I appreciate you doing that you know ( ) let's hear for Jamie and his marvellous cooking skills ladies and gentlemen (.) now let's clear this away (.) it tastes good but you wouldn't order it would you? Would you order it if you were in a restaurant? (.) If they had other cuts of the meat=
JO =well=
JR =you wouldn't say I really fancy that would you?
JO yeah (.) but I sorta did try it out there

JR I like the fact you clean as you go that's a good thing (.) alright uh we're gonna stand up we should time this cause I reckon I couldn't do (.) should we do the whole cucumber?=

JO =yeah yeah yeah yeah=

JR okay then ( ) what time do you reckon you do that in?

JO e::h (.) three seconds?

JR no way three seconds (.) alright whatever you do I do it faster (.) alright we're timing when you're ready you go first you ready? Ready set go (.) wow (.) no no no ( ) (.) are you ready? How long did you do it in you think?

JO I don't know (.) could I get a director's cut on that?

JR seven seconds apparently=

JO =seven seconds?=

JR =okay are you ready? Here we go (.) ow (.) Jesus Christ (.) Jamie (.) Jamie help me

JO no

JR it's alright it's okay I've got it

JO no no no but I tell you what the thing is even though that's not the real thing that made me (.) oh queasy (.) [I mean

JR [what do you mean it's not the real thing? I've had to sit here all the way through trying not to do anything with my left hand cause it's like (.) Jamie that was great it was very messy but great and you are a better cook than me (.) marginally (.) uh thank you so much for being here=

JO =no it's lovely=

JR =ladies and gentlemen uhm I'm sure I may be a big fan but it's so lovely to have you back on the show [mister Jamie Oliver

JO [thank you God bless

Appendix 3: Jonathan Ross and David Beckham, 2012.

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J Jonathan Ross

D David Beckham

J Welcome back (.) Shall I bring my next guest out? I don't know whether you're that exited (.) He is quite simply a global icon. It is of course mister David Beckham (.) ( ) David ( ) David Beckham ladies and gentlemen. ( ) Is that (.) what it's like when you pop out (.) for some milk?

D No=

J = Not [quite

D [not always=

J = not [quite

D [not always=
J = there is there is a lot of love for you here in the UK, you know that (.) Uh and yet in spite of that (.) you have made the ridiculous decision (.) to live in a gigantic country full of idiots
D I mean (.) I made the decision purely (.) obviously down to uh (.) you know (.) the enjoyment of playing over there=
J =yeah you [got the ( ) going on over there
D [uhh
D but my children (.) my children have been happy for five years there (.) they're stable they're, you know (.), they're loving life there my oldest's twelve years old now and he needs stability so=
J =yeah=
D =so [we
J [you could ( )=
D =we did it we did it for that but we also love living there=
J = yeah you know I'm joking of course I love going to America and I love Los Angeles in particular what a fantastic place to be (.) but your wife (.) it's for the kids you decided that [isn't it
D [yeah totally=
J =and they've all got their life I guess they're they've settled at school and they've got (.) do they do sports and ( ) like do you have after school activities you have to run them around for =
D =I mean they all do sports now you know they all play football uh of course which is which is amazing u:hm a:nd you know since I've had a daughter I've got them all into martial arts (.) Cruz
J what so because the boys get beaten up by her is that what it is?
D I just want them to protect her when she's [at that age so
J [oh that's sweet
D uhm so [when Cruz
J [when she's at that age? Protect her when she's at that age?
D just just at that age when she needs protecting=
J =when boys start coming round [maybe yeah
D [so Cruz does tae kwan doe (.) Brooklyn does boxing uh and Romeo does karate so they will be ready=
J =you're covered. All of the context (.) well there's the three boys right there Brooklyn's the oldest [is that right?
D [yeah he's the oldest=
J =yeah he's twelve now [isn't it
D [he's twelve, Cruz is six and Romeo is nine (.) uhm (.) but Cruz is the one who's gonna really look after Harper=
J =really so he's the he's the tough one among them?=
D =yeah he's a tough one
J so he's your favourite? Ha ha ha (.) No one has any favourites=

D of course we don't=
J =at least we don't admit it (.) uhm (.) so your little baby girl is seven months now?
D seven months now=
J look wow look at her there (.) beautiful=
D I mean she's just (.) I can't look at her without like welling up it's uh (.) I mean she's so (.) after having three boys you just assume (.) you know that you're gonna have another boy
J yeah yeah
D u:hm but when we got told you know she's a little girl it was uh amazing I mean (.) amazing
J =so now you don't have to have sex anymore like cause you've got one of each
D [uhh
J [( ) take the month off
D we can (.) we might have one more or two more you never know=
J =will you think about a bigger family?
D uh we're not thinking about it yet but if it happens then great you know we're enjoying the four kids [as it is
J [well hang on, hang on (.) If you're not thinking about it (.) then you're either::r=
D =well it's always a [thought
J [being careful or [you're not
D [I mean it's always a thought (.) yea:h yeah (.) I mean it's always a thought like I said
J never far from your mind (.) are the boys do they show a big interest in football in soccer as it's called out there or are they because of you kind of deliberately going off into other areas?=
D =no they they actually love it (.) they love playing you know uhh they kind of come to training with me all the time when uhh when they're off school and uh you know they love everything about it and you know they'd love to be football players when they're older=
J =so you got (.) uh how long is it another two years with [LA Galaxy
D [two years=
J =uhm but you are: (.) obviously you know you are in great shape but you're kind of by football terms by professional terms kind of getting a bit long in the tooth aren't you?=
D =yeah I am I am=
J =uh what's the kind of do you have a game plan an exit point when you've already thought yeah I might (.) quit?=
D =I don't because I still feel great like you said you know uh I still feel fit I still feel healthy and while I still feel like I do I wanna continue to play you know I don't wanna finish playing yet I love playing the game uhm if I didn't enjoy it as much as I (.) you know did when I was twenty one right now uh I'd know it was time to stop but=

J =yeah=
D =yeah I'm thirty seven next (.) next birthday=
J =wow [thirty seven
D [it's not that [old
J [no it's not that [old
D [I'm actually old enough to be Jesse's dad (.) you're old enough to be her granddad=
J =hang on (.) true (.) true
D ( ) it is true
J well thanks thanks for pointing that out (.) uhm (.) so what what's happening with the Olympics then because uhm you've made it known ( ) because uh some of you might know this but football is an Olympic sport
D yes=
J =so you've made it known that you: cause we don't always take part there do we? In the football Olympics=
D =I think this is first time for a long time=
J =is that because we've got it's England Scotland Wales and Ireland you know=
D =I don't know (.) you know obviously I've never been involved in the Olympics myself I've always been a fan of it but uhh you know never been involved but I you know it obviously being in the east end of London me being from the east end of London and being British of course uhm you know it'd be it'd be an amazing moment if I was selected
J and so you are still waiting to hear because because they've got (.) there's a certain number of young people but they're allowed a couple of wild cards aren't they?
D over age players
J over age players
D as you're talking about age
J yeah ye yeah so you would be probably a [candidate?
D [I would be (.) I'd just make the over age [mark
J [okay (.) just about (.) So uhm have you been (.) have you had a call yet?=
D =yeah I had a call just to say (.) you know I'd be selected at that point uhm and uh you know it's great=
J =so you have been selected?
D no to (.) selected for (.) you know the selection process=
J =oh blimey that's too ( ) ain't it
D I know=
J =it's like water torture
D I know but=
J =so you're in the list of people who might get in the next [list who might then get a call from Stuart Pearce to say (.) you might be able to come along and watch?
D [yeah yeah it's kind of like

that yeah

J so when will you: (.) he must have ticked you the wink [David he must have something in his voice must have given you a clue

D [no

D not at all (.) you know Stuart Pearce you know in his voice nothing you get nothing=

J =but when he called me and I said no it was clear from the start of the conversation (.)

D he gives nothing away Pearcy

J Pearcy

D it'd be boss if if I'm there=

J =I've never met your Pearcy I don't know what he speaks like (.) uh but I've heard he's a very nice guy=

D =he's a great guy

J so he just phoned you and he said=

D =he's an amazing guy

J yeah

D amazing

J but uh (.) I would be amazed if he didn't (.) get you on board cause if he doesn't it's [( )

D [kind of if I (.) if I'm fit and healthy then hopefully I'll be selected=

J =well okay (.) are you fit?

D yes

J are you healthy?

D yes

J Stuart (.) what the fuck are you waiting for? Excuse me that sounded a bit ( ) (.) Stuart (.) what the blooming hell are you waiting for? Call him (.) we're gonna take a break ladies and gentlemen (.) but don't worry (.) David Beckham will still be here talking when we come back so don't go away (.) see you in a minute (.) Wow ( ) (.) are you aware that you're quite attractive?

D my mum tells me every now and again

J does she do (.) does she still spit and wipe your face and tuck you in?

D uh no=

J =no?=

D =not anymore

J I bet she tries to occasionally (.) if you had a smudge on your face she would

D she has the boys to do that to now=

J =oh that's nice

D my boys, not just random=

J =no (.) not just her mandem=

D =no

J has your mum got a mandem posse?

D uh (.) I don't wanna know if she has=

J =no no don't that sounded wrong as well didn't it [okay so

D [yeah

J David (.) uhm (.) it must be lovely having the boys involved in sport all activities and sport like that (.) it must ( ) I know you I'm sure you get your way to make people comfortable but if there's a soccer match and they're playing (.) the other dads seeing you come along by the side (.) that must be as intimidating as it is possible to be

D uhm a little bit I will tell you one funny story I was watching the kids play the other day uhm actually it was just before it was the game just before that they was playing and I was watching and it was it was still the same club so it was the younger kids of Romeo I think it was (.) and they're playing in the game and there was a penalty (.) given you know the kids are like seven years old (.) and I was like (.) and he sent the kid off (.) and I was like come on there he's seven years old referee you can't (.) send him off (.) and he and he looked at me and he said he was like yes I can (.) I said okay well you can't he's seven years old (.) and he came over and gave me a red card (.) and told me to get out of the park

J you know nothing Beckham=

D =he told me to get out of the park=

J =no did he for real?

D for real (.) the gate was only like twenty yards away so I went to the other side of the gate and came back when my son's game was on (.) but you're right (.) the dads like seeing me there and obviously I coach the kids as well at times=

J =so you coach the kids so you uh I guess you are having been coached yourself as a child you know what works how you (.) how do you motivate a kid to play well (.) on a bad day?

D I mean (.) you know the motivation has to be there anyway I think you know obviously there's so many distractions for kids these days you know playstation you know which (.) nothing wrong with them of course

J yeah yeah

D uhm but I think that uh you know kids (.) if they've not got motivation at a young age then installing it into em (.) you can do that but I think it's difficult (.) but you know (.) my boys they love (.) we was home at (.) Christmas and they're not obviously not used to freezing cold (.) and you know (.) they were out there literally every day uhm (.) until it was dark so they love coming back to London they love going for pie and mash [you know

J [there must uh (.) there must be things that you miss about being here though uh those little things that you grew up (.) ( )=

D =I mean it's the first place I go you know (.) every time I used to go around my my grandparents' uh house you know uh (.) my nan and granddad used to always have pie and mash and uh it's just a great memory from when I was young and

I try to instil that into the boys you know it's important for them to have great memories and they know that soon as we land at Heathrow (.) we're straight to the pie and mashup

J do they but they're still very English speaking aren't they (.) they still have British accents your boys don't they? Or are they getting slightly [American now?

D [yeah not anymore

not anymore (.) they've got American accents now but uhh I think I've said it once before that uhh I was reading a story to one of the boys the other day and he was like daddy you're so English and you know so are you boys but they've lost their accent=

J hey daddy get your ass over here (.) Cruz wanna be at tae kwan doe (.) is that (.) is that an approximation of how it sounds?

D uh yeah it's near enough

J does Victoria miss singing does she miss being with the girls miss the stage miss performing?

D uh I mean you know she's friends with most of the girls=

J =yeah=

D =uhm

J I think I think we can guess which one she isn't friends with

D no she she you know she she's got a great relationship with all of them (.) they went through such an amazing time together the most successful girl band in the [world

J [incredible story=

D I'm a fan of the Spice Girls you know they were amazing u:hm and=

J =you were hoping they might perform again were you (.) for the Olympics is that right?=

D =I [mean there was

J [or do you or do you hope it will be one of the sports?=

D =I mean there was a rumour (.) there's been rumours but I think you know (.) Victoria's so busy she's got (.) you know she she loved her time with the Spice Girls and uhm you know she she's a mum first off now and then she's got such a successful [fashion line

J [it's a huge business isn't it [that's a huge business

D [yeah and a business so she's got a (.) she's got a proper job [uhh (.)

J [yeah yeah=

D =so she's like literally every day and she's got a new line that's coming out uhm next (.) what did I say? ( )

J I think cause you clearly haven't that's why so you're still (.) it's true though you're running around chasing a ball like a kid what's wrong with you Beckham grow up ( )

D no but no she's uh you know she's uh such [a successful uh

J [that's a lovely picture

D business going on but uh (.) also they've got the Spice Girls show that's coming out
[they're working on
J [oh yeah there's going to be a musical (.) like Mamma Mia did for ABBA=
D =yeah a musical (.) which is gonna be incredible which I can't wait for cause I love the Jersey Boys I love Mamma Mia you know things like that so the boys are gonna [love that
J [so you love the musical you love the musical=
D =love the musical
J what's your favourite musical?
D I love the Jersey Boys
J I haven't seen that (.) I love Frankie [Valli
D [yeah we've seen it about ten times now because the boys love it (.) there's just a few swearing words in it but (.) they're fine
J do you swear?
D no never
J do you sing?
D sometimes
J well you know what we need to hear now Davi::d
D absolutely no chance=
J =Dude what's wrong with you (.) dad go on sing for the nice guy (.) he's gonna be pretty mad with you you don't sing for that guy in the big suit (.) just like being at home isn't it?
D just like being at home=
J =come on let's do a number together=
D =no (.) Jesse's here today though she's (.) she's the one with the [amazing voice
J [big girls don't cry=
D =[no way
J [big girls don't cry (.) and now
D bi::g girls (.) [they don't cry::
J [they don't cry:: (.) they don't cry (.) ( )
D Jesses's like oh my god=
J =we have the two worst singers in the building (.) you know that don't you
D I know
J ok look B we haven't got a lot more time (.) two things well loads of things I want to talk about but uh first of all you know one thing ( ) I know you go to see the Lakers (.) is it the LA Lakers is that [what they call?
D [yeah
J and they are a basketball team?
D yes
J you're a big fan aren't you?
D yeah a big fan=
J =okay and when you go (.) obviously you're there because you have a ( ) when you go they [have these gorgeous they have these gorgeous cheerleaders

D [oh no you're gonna show
J don't they?
D I know exactly=
J =whah whah ( ) in and all that at the front (.) and I know what and obviously because you're (.) globally famous people are looking for pictures of you checking out the girls (.) and I've never seen a man with such steely determination=
D =no no
J I've never seen someone who could find a ( ) so interesting (.) now let's have a look at some pictures (.) you see this though (.) cl.. look at that (.) I am not gonna look at the girls (.) I am not gonna look oh hang on no (.) but you might I'm not looking oh look the leg's right up no no interest
D my wife always finds the picture where I am looking though=
J =the one but seriously you must be (.) deliberately trying not get [caught looking
D [I mean the first few times that I went (.) I wasn't obviously aware of so many cameras in there and uh you know you're looking around you know the laker girls go out and they perform uh and you know you clap for them because they're working hard they're doing an amazing job ( )
J you're being polite
D well the funny thing (.) there was actually a picture of me once looking at one of the girls that were sat in front of me (.) and then the week after (.) exactly the same picture but then Brooklyn my son was looking at the girl
J apple don't fall [far from the tree David
D [I was like
J okay (.) let's talk about your pants (.) because uh let's have a you've all seen this picture already have you seen this picture already? Let's have a look at that
D it was cold that day
J well I know what make your pants are (.) what was the make of the sock you put down the front that's what we all wanna know
D like I said it was cold that day=
J =it was cold you look fine it's plenty going on there (.) uh we've got the pants here I don't know I don't know they sent me a pair saying would you like to wear a pair (.) what (.) round my leg? Around the top of my leg? Are these boys pants?
D they fit very well=
J =I bet they're snug (.) are they budgy snugglers or are they do they give you ( )
D they give you (.) enough room=
J =okay (.) do the legs (.) does the elasticity stay firm?
D it does=
J =I'm wearing some at the moment here you go Kevin's gonna put some on in a minute (.) yes (.) that's how my mandem wear them (.) that's good it's like a ( ) (.) uh you design them?
D yes

J okay, did Victoria help?
D uhm (.) before HM got involved I showed her uhm the design
J I bet you did (.) I bet she had a lovely view
D apparently I've heard you're wearing something underneath your trousers (.) that's
[not what I meant
J [yes I'm wearing underwear
D I've heard it's a certain kind of underwear though
J well listen, I'm only showing if you show us yours
D you've just seen mine (.) no
J just a quick flash of it (.) I tell you what (.) you flash one cheek I flash one cheek (.) they can see who's wearing the best underwear (.) that's a good commercial that's a good commercial for your brand right there=
D =yeah I would (.) but (.) my zip is stuck (.) I'm sorry=
J =I'll pull em down for you (.) won't be the first time
D no I think you [should show everyone
J [I'll show you (.) I'gonna show you a peep (.) no (.) no no no I'm not gonna show you because he if David shows you his but I'm gonna show David because I thought if we're gonna show underwear=
D =no turn around [turn around
J [we have the same underwear (.) grab hold of that there (.) look at that
D not bad actually (.) is that ( ) what? (.) no you've gotta show everyone
J I love the fact (.) he moved in for a closer look
D I was being polite
J well you know what? Neither of us expected the evening to end quite that way=
D =no ( )
J okay ladies and gentlemen we are kind of running out of time here we've got some great music for you (.) so (.) will you join me in saying thank you to the charming uh and the lovely mister David Beckham ladies and gentlemen (.) great to see you again thank you