



Uio • University of Oslo

Estuary English

*A fresh look at the boundary
markers between Estuary English,
Received Pronunciation and
Cockney*

By Adrian Tollefsrød

ENG4790 – Master's Thesis in English,
Secondary Teacher Training
30

A Master's Thesis Presented to the
Department of Literature, Area Studies and European Languages

Faculty of Humanities

Supervisor:
Jacob Stig Rønnow Thaisen

June 2021

Abstract

Estuary English has been a topic for discussion ever since the term was coined by David Rosewarne in 1984. The putative English variety has been criticized for its messiness and lack of phonological cohesion, and the debate has circled around whether it is a variety in its own right and whether it will replace Received Pronunciation as the new standard variety of English. This thesis investigates the speech of eight Estuary English speakers and aims to discuss how the variety has changed since its time of origin. The focus of analysis is on four phonetic features that are considered to be boundary markers between Estuary English, Received Pronunciation and Cockney: syllable-final t-glottalization, intervocalic t-glottalization, l-vocalization and th-fronting. The material consists of recent YouTube videos of the speech of eight chosen celebrities who speak in Estuary English accent. This thesis discusses the results of the analysis of the abovementioned videos in an attempt to add knowledge to the still ambiguous Estuary English phenomenon. The collected data indicates an increase in use of several features in comparison to previous research on the topic. Syllable-final t-glottalization has for long been observed in both Estuary English and Received Pronunciation, and the results of this thesis indicate that it still has a strong presence in Estuary English. Intervocalic t-glottalization and l-vocalization are slightly more ambiguous, and this thesis indicates an increase in the use of these features. With th-fronting, however, the results are much blurrier. Only two of the speakers investigated in this thesis uses th-fronting in the data material, and only one of them used it extensively. These findings have several implications for the questions commonly raised by previous research. If th-fronting follows the same development as l-vocalization and intervocalic t-glottalization, it seems likely that its usage will increase in Estuary English in the time to come. Since Estuary English blends Received Pronunciation and Cockney, and a greater number of features from Cockney is observed in it, it is no far-fetched claim that Estuary English as a variety will increase its footprint in England and have the chance to become a standard. This ability to become a standard, however, presupposes that Estuary English is a variety in its own right. The still present internal variation might function as an obstacle in this regard.

Acknowledgments

First and foremost, I would like to thank my supervisor, Associate Professor Jacob Stig Rønnow Thaisen, for giving me thorough feedback and guidance from day one of this writing process. Without Jacob's aid through nuanced comments and professional input, this semester would likely have been extremely difficult to finish. Furthermore, I would like to thank my mother, father, brother and girlfriend for their support throughout this semester. They have all been motivating me to find solutions in challenging situations, and this support has been invaluable.

Table of Contents

1. Introduction	1
2. Literature Review	2
2.1 <i>What is Estuary English?</i>	2
2.1.1 The boundary markers	2
2.1.1.1 Syllable-final t-glottalization	3
2.1.1.2 Intervocalic t-glottalization	3
2.1.1.3 L-vocalization	3
2.1.1.4 Th-fronting	4
2.1.2 The accents on the continuum	4
2.1.2.1 Received Pronunciation	4
2.1.2.2 Cockney	5
2.2 <i>Main problems related to Estuary English</i>	5
2.2.1 Is Estuary English an accent in its own right?	6
2.2.2 Will Estuary English take Received Pronunciation's place as the standard?	7
2.3 <i>Recent findings</i>	8
2.4 <i>General theories on language change</i>	9
2.4.1 Standardization	9
2.4.2 Accent levelling	10
2.4.3 Social mobility	10
2.4.4 Language perception	11
2.4.4.1 Overt and covert prestige	11
2.5 <i>Gender, age and socioeconomic background</i>	12
2.5.1 Gender	12
2.5.2 Age	13
2.5.3 Socioeconomic background	14
2.6 <i>Concluding remarks</i>	15
3. Method	16
3.1 <i>Type of research</i>	16
3.2 <i>Finding participants</i>	16
3.3 <i>Data collection</i>	17
3.4 <i>Material</i>	18
3.4.1 David Beckham	18
3.4.2 Daisy Ridley	18
3.4.3 Ricky Gervais	19
3.4.4 Tom Holland	19
3.4.5 Jamie Oliver	19
3.4.6 Daniel Radcliffe	19
3.4.7 Dua Lipa	20
3.4.8 James Corden	20
3.5 <i>Limitations and weaknesses</i>	20
4. Results	23
4.1 <i>Final t-glottalization</i>	23
4.2 <i>Intervocalic word-medial t-glottalization</i>	24
4.3 <i>L-vocalization</i>	24
4.4 <i>Th-fronting</i>	25

4.5	<i>Comparing features</i>	25
5.	Discussion	27
5.1	<i>The boundary markers in light of the results</i>	27
5.1.1	Syllable-final t-glottalization	27
5.1.2	Intervocalic t-glottalization.....	28
5.1.3	L-vocalization	28
5.1.4	Th-fronting.....	28
5.2	<i>Gender differences</i>	30
5.3	<i>Age differences</i>	31
5.4	<i>A broader look at Estuary English in the light of the results</i>	32
5.4.1	Is Estuary English a variety in its own right?	33
5.4.1.1	The implications of style-shifting	33
5.4.1.2	The implications of internal variation.....	34
5.4.2	Estuary English as the new supralocal standard?	34
5.5	<i>Avenues for future research</i>	36
6.	Conclusion	38
7.	Bibliography	39
	<i>Primary sources (video material)</i>	42

Table 1. Shared features of Received Pronunciation and Estuary English.

Table 2. Shared features of Cockney and Estuary English.

Table 3. Instances, possible instances and relative frequency of occurrence for syllable-final t-glottalization.

Table 4. Instances, possible instances and relative frequency of occurrence for intervocalic t-glottalization.

Table 5. Instances, possible instances and relative frequency of occurrence for l-vocalization.

Table 6. Instances, possible instances and relative frequency of occurrence for th-fronting.

Table 7. Instances, possible instances and relative frequency of occurrence for each feature.

1. Introduction

What began with Rosewarne's initial introduction and term-coining in 1984 has been subject to much debate. The set of linguistic youth norms that have arisen in the South of England and also spread to surrounding areas, commonly known as Estuary English, is still the focal point of linguistic discussion about London. It is uncertain whether the truth about this phenomenon, or perhaps phenomena, will ever be discovered, but the effort to make such a discovery is still very much alive and well. However, the discussion has become more than that of linguistic features as it was at the beginning of its existence. Social factors such as gender and social class and geographical factors have dominated the debate for the last five years. This has led to a decrease in studies treating the so-called boundary markers for quite some time. The present study will analyze Estuary English features, or the lack thereof, that distinguishes it from the other accents on the continuum: Received Pronunciation and Cockney. With a more recent dataset than previous research and the thought of language to be everchanging for each day that passes by, this study will provide fresh data on whether the boundaries between Estuary English and its fellow continuum-varieties have faded or not.

This thesis aims to discuss and answer the research questions as formulated below:

- What is the current status of the boundary markers syllable-final t-glottalization, intervocalic t-glottalization, l-vocalization and th-fronting in relation to Estuary English?
- If the statuses of the boundary markers have changed, what implications does these changes have on questions raised by previous research in the field?

2. Literature Review

The topic of Estuary English is still under heavy debate. Researchers question whether Estuary English is a variety in its own right or part of tendencies seen in language development in general. Researchers are divided on these matters, and even though the number of studies is high, the questions raised by the researchers are yet to be fully answered. In this literature review, I provide a brief overview of what Estuary English is claimed to be and present a more in-depth review of the literature and research that have been made throughout the term's lifespan. In addition to theory about Estuary English, I will also include theory about language development and change, as well as theory on variables that might affect the results reached in the present thesis. By laying down this foundation of theory, I aim to provide a nuanced and well-reasoned take on the problem of Estuary English in the discussion chapter.

2.1 What is Estuary English?

The idea of Estuary English came to life through David Rosewarne in 1984. After having observed people from all social backgrounds use the same blend of Received Pronunciation and Cockney around the Thames area, Rosewarne (1984) initiated the ongoing discussion about this ambiguous language phenomenon. He called it Estuary English, and defined it as (Rosewarne 1984):

[...] 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.

The continuum Rosewarne sets up is a way of portraying Estuary English as a mix between Received Pronunciation and Cockney, sharing different features with each of the two accents (see the next section for an overview of the features in question).

2.1.1 The boundary markers

Much of the discussion related to whether Estuary English is a variety or part of general linguistic tendencies pivots on the phonetic features of which Estuary English is comprised. Below, I provide an overview of these phonetic features, as well as a side-by-side comparison of the accents on the continuum.

2.1.1.1 Syllable-final t-glottalization

Syllable-final t-glottalization is the most common form of t-glottalization in the accents in question. It refers to a way /t/ can be realized in syllable-final positions. With syllable-final t-glottalization, /t/ is realized as the glottal stop [ʔ], taking the place of the more common [t] in syllable-final positions. A word such as “bite”, realized as [baɪt] in Received Pronunciation, will with syllable-final t-glottalization be realized as [baɪʔ]. This feature has already been observed in all of the accents on the continuum, including Received Pronunciation (Altendorf 1999). This syllable-final t-glottalization, and intervocalic t-glottalization for that matter, must not be confused with the phenomenon called glottal reinforcement, which refers to the use of the glottal stop [ʔ] in conjunction with [t]. Syllable-final t-glottalization completely replaces [t] and does not function as reinforcement of [t] as can be seen in a word like “tight” [taɪʔt].

2.1.1.2 Intervocalic t-glottalization

Intervocalic t-glottalization is defined as when /t/ is realized as the glottal stop [ʔ] when it occurs between two vowel sounds. This accent feature usually occurs under two circumstances: between words and within words. The former can, according to research from the beginning of the century, be attested in most speakers in England by its entry into Received Pronunciation (Cruttenden 2001). An example of such intervocalic t-glottalization is in “hit it”. Such a realization can look like [hɪʔ ɪʔ], where the first /t/ is in between two /ɪ/’s. The latter form of intervocalic t-glottalization, which is the form I investigate in this thesis, refers to the use of the glottal stop [ʔ] for /t/ between vowel sounds within a word. This is much less common in English speech, and it has for a long period of time only been attributed to the Cockney accent. Nevertheless, researchers have observed this type of t-glottalization in Estuary English, which I will investigate further in this thesis.

2.1.1.3 L-vocalization

L-vocalization is when /l/ is realized as a /w/ or /o/. Words like “full” in Received Pronunciation is pronounced /fʊl/, while it in Cockney is pronounced /fʊo/. This feature is by some seen as a boundary marker between Estuary English and Cockney, but l-vocalization has, nevertheless, been observed in Estuary English (Altendorf 2003).

2.1.1.4 *Th-fronting*

Th-fronting is believed to be a feature exclusive to Cockney speech. It refers to the realizations of the fricatives [f] and [v] in place of, respectively, /θ/ and /ð/ in most cases. There is, however, consensus that this replacement is not occurring in words such as “the”, “that” and “this” due to the fact that the replacement of /ð/ seldom occurs word-initially (Tollfree 1999, 172). However, it may happen in any other words that originally contains /θ/ or /ð/. Examples of such words are “thing”, “with”, “three” and “breathe”. For instance, /bri:ð/ is in Cockney realized as [bri:v] in the same way that /θri:/ is realized as [fri:].

2.1.2 The accents on the continuum

The three accents on the continuum are, as mentioned, Cockney at the one end, Received Pronunciation at the other end, and Estuary English somewhere in the middle. In this section, I present the similarities between Estuary English and the two remaining accents on the continuum.

2.1.2.1 *Received Pronunciation*

Received Pronunciation is regarded as the standard accent of England. The term is somewhat outdated today and has by many been replaced by Southern Standard English. For this thesis, however, I intend to use Received Pronunciation in order for it to match previous research and, this way, not confuse the reader. Nevertheless, Received Pronunciation is a non-localizable accent, usually associated with the upper and upper-middle classes of England (Wells 1982, 10). Below follows a comparison of the features attributed to Estuary English and the features of Received Pronunciation.

Table 1. Common features of Received Pronunciation and Estuary English.

Features	Example	Received Pronunciation	Estuary English
Th-fronting	[ˈfɪŋ] for <i>thing</i>	-	-
Intervocalic T-glottalization	[ˈbʌʔə] in <i>butter</i>	-	-
Syllable-final T-glottalization	[ˈgæʔwɪk] in <i>Gatwick</i>	+	+
L-vocalization	[ˈmiok] for <i>milk</i>	-	+

(Altendorf, 2003, p.16)

As seen in Table 1, Estuary English shares syllable-final t-glottalization with Received Pronunciation. It also shares the lack of th-fronting and intervocalic t-glottalization. However, l-vocalization is present in Estuary English, but not in Received Pronunciation.

2.1.2.2 *Cockney*

Cockney is one of the accents on the Estuary English continuum. It is the commonly used name for an accent traditionally spoken by the working class in London. The word derives from “cokenay, or cokeney, a late Middle English word of the 14th century that meant, literally, ‘cocks’ egg’ (i.e., a small or defective egg, imagined to come from a rooster—which, of course, cannot produce eggs)” (Britannica Academic 2021, s.v. “Cokney”). Typical Cockney features relevant for this thesis are l-vocalization, th-fronting and intervocalic t-glottalization.

Table 2. Shared features of Cockney and Estuary English.

Features	Example	Cockney	Estuary English
Th-fronting	['fɪŋ] for <i>thing</i>	+	-
Intervocalic T-glottalization	['bʌʔə] in <i>butter</i>	+	-
Syllable-final T-glottalization	['gæʔwɪk] in <i>Gatwick</i>	+	+
L-vocalization	['miok] for <i>milk</i>	+	+

(Altendorf, 2003, p.16)

As seen in Table 2, Estuary English shares syllable-final t-glottalization and l-vocalization with Cockney. However, Estuary English lacks th-fronting and intervocalic t-glottalization.

2.2 Main problems related to Estuary English

So far, I have given an overview of the current linguistic situation of the problem of Estuary English above. In this section, I look at the common topics and questions raised by researchers, and these go beyond the linguistic dimension. The most prominent ones are connected to Received Pronunciation and its position as the standard accent of England, and how Estuary English fits into this frame. These problems connected to Received Pronunciation are the problems I focus on in this section.

2.2.1 Is Estuary English an accent in its own right?

Rosewarne (1984) and Wells (1994) are both optimistic in regard to the future of Estuary English as an accent. They implicitly claim that Estuary English is an accent in its own right. Their presentations of the topic have, however, been criticized by many researchers. Maidment (1994) maintains that the initial continuum introduced by Rosewarne (1984) and Wells (1994) is somewhat dubious and that it should not be reckoned with. Maidment offers a slightly edited continuum to account for another factor which Rosewarne and Wells have not accounted for (1994, 6):

$$\begin{array}{c} [I <---\text{Cockney}---> F] [I <---\text{RP}---> F] \\ [I <---\text{EE}---> F] \end{array}$$

Maidment's reworked continuum introduces the abbreviations "I" and "F", which mean informal and formal respectively. This continuum includes the style-shifting in such a way that RP in informal situations may sound like EE, and Cockney in formal situations may sound like EE as well. The gist of Maidment's claim is, hence, that Estuary English is not necessarily a distinctive accent, but rather different versions of the two accents at the ends of the continuum.

In addition to Maidment (1994), Przedlacka (2001) is also skeptical about the idea of Estuary English being an accent in its own right. She investigates the accents found in the Home Counties, i.e. the counties surrounding London in which Estuary English is supposedly spoken. Based on her study of 16 adolescent speakers evenly distributed throughout the Home Counties, Przedlacka claims that each county has their own distinct accent with their own variations, especially in regard to phonetic features (2001, 47):

The examination of the phonetic make up of the variety revealed that the extent of geographical variability between the localities allows one to conclude that we are still dealing with a number of distinct accents. Thus, the existence of a clearly definable uniform variety seems doubtful.

The most common perception in linguistic research is thus that Estuary English is not a variety in its own right, but that it is part of more general linguistic change. The discussion chapter discusses this in further detail based on the results found in this thesis.

2.2.2 Will Estuary English take Received Pronunciation's place as the standard?

The notion that Estuary English could possibly take Received Pronunciation's place as the new standard began with Rosewarne's coining of the term (1984):

For many, RP has long served to disguise origins. "Estuary English" may now be taking over this function. For large and influential sections of the young, the new model for general imitation may already be "Estuary English", which may become the RP of the future.

This quote from Rosewarne amassed both critique and praise. Coggle called the accent a "broad meeting place, the common ground for a coming together in British society" (1993, 83), and even implemented his views into the title of his book: *Do You Speak Estuary? The New Standard English*. The critics argue that Rosewarne's claim is based on thin evidence. In her study, Altendorf (1999) seeks to answer the question of whether the boundary markers are becoming part of Received Pronunciation. If this is the case, it would indicate that Rosewarne's prediction is false. Altendorf argues that both l-vocalization and t-glottalization in pre-lateral and syllable-final positions have found their way into Received Pronunciation. However, the same t-glottalization, in addition to indications of th-fronting, has been observed in the middle-class accent and therefore also in Estuary English speech (1999, 7).

Trudgill (2002) also presents a skeptical view of Rosewarne's prediction. He seeks to clarify the following claims made by other researchers: 1) Received Pronunciation is disappearing, and 2) Received Pronunciation is being replaced by a new, non-regional variety. In general, Trudgill (2002) is skeptical of both of these claims. He calls the former an "erroneous but understandable misconception" (Trudgill 2002, 176). According to him, there are now fewer speakers of Received Pronunciation due to the bloom of other accents. However, there is, according to Trudgill (2002), no reason to believe that this implies that there are fewer native speakers of Received Pronunciation. For the latter claim, Trudgill refers to the notion that Estuary English is the main contestant to take Received Pronunciation's place. He argues that Estuary English is not a variety in its own right, as claimed by Maidment (1994) and Przedlacka (2001), and therefore not a proper contestant (Trudgill 2002, 177). In addition, Estuary English shares some South-Eastern features with Cockney, but it does for instance not share th-fronting. According to Trudgill, the main reason for Estuary English not having a chance to take the place of Received Pronunciation is that "the sociolinguistic conditions are not such that it could turn into the new RP" (Trudgill 2002, 178). There is for instance no parallel to what gave rise to Received Pronunciation, like the introduction of the Public School System in England.

Much of what Rosewarne initially claimed has been criticized, and the common opinion among researchers is that Estuary English will not replace Received Pronunciation. See the discussion chapter for an in-depth discussion on this question based on the results of this thesis.

2.3 Recent findings

The most prominent studies of Estuary English include the already mentioned Altendorf (1999) and Przedlacka (2001). Altendorf (1999) aims to find whether or not l-vocalization, th-fronting and intervocalic t-glottalization have made their way into Estuarian speech. Altendorf concludes that th-fronting is still “a feature of Cockney which is extremely rare in the other social accents” (Altendorf 1999, 7), while l-vocalization and intervocalic t-glottalization can be observed in Estuary English. Przedlacka (2001), on the other hand, investigates whether or not Estuary English is a variety in its own right, and whether the tendencies connected to Estuary English are new to the London area. Her conclusions are that there is no homogeneity in the accents spoken in the areas in question, and that the notion of Estuary English being a variety in its own right is doubtful.

Following these classic treatments, many researchers have attempted to pin Estuary English down even further. Bonness (2011) claims in her master’s thesis that the features of Estuary English mentioned earlier have spread to Northampton, which might imply that the accent is in fact spreading out of London and the Home Counties. This indication complies with the theory of Estuary English becoming more and more supralocal, i.e. not geographically confined. In addition, De Pascale (2013) claims that Estuary English is just diaphasic variation between Cockney and Received Pronunciation, i.e., used in certain formal/informal contexts. De Pascale’s claim is similar to the claim found in Maidment (1994).

Some research has found that the occurrences of the aforementioned features have increased in Estuary English. Eriksen claims that intervocalic t-glottalization “is much more common in the language of [the research participants] than one would assume from previous research on [Estuary English]” (2015, 92). Also, Falcón (2016) claims that t-glottalization in intervocalic position has made its way into Estuary English, but this claim is not directly connected to the evidence found in his study. Eriksen (2015) also suggests that a larger-scale study of adult speakers of Estuary English would be beneficial to the field. This type of study, however, has not yet been conducted on the features described by Altendorf (1999) and Przedlacka (2001)

(see suggestions for future research at the end of the discussion chapter). L-vocalization, th-fronting and intervocalic t-glottalization are all features of Cockney, but both Altendorf and Przedlacka indicates that the features has begun to move into other accents. In this thesis, I analyze recent samples of Estuary English speakers' pronunciation of words containing these features. I conduct this study in order to add knowledge to how Estuary English evolves, thus hopefully making it easier to pin down what this phenomenon really is.

2.4 General theories on language change

As we have seen in the previous sections, some researchers claim Estuary English to be a result of general tendencies connected to language change. In this section, I will present a foundation of theory explaining how language change occurs, and also how this is connected to Estuary English.

2.4.1 Standardization

An important aspect to touch upon in regard to the Estuary English and the questions raised by previous research is standardization, i.e. how an accent, or a language as a whole for that matter, becomes a standard. Haugen presents a four-dimensional model for describing how standardization occurs: selection of norm, codification of form, elaboration of function and acceptance by the community (1966, 933). It is important to keep in mind that these dimensions are separate, and that they do not occur in any particular order. The first dimension means that society has to select a variety as a norm for how they should speak. Further, the society has to codify this norm, i.e. develop "its linguistic structure, including phonology [...]" (Haugen 1966, 931). The third dimension, elaboration, refers to society building further on the function of the accent, i.e. account for the variation. This is important because the social group from which the standard accent develops is usually more complex than a social group using the current vernacular (Haugen, 1966, 931). Lastly, the norm needs acceptance, "even by a small but influential group" (Haugen 1966, 933). According to Haugen (1966), a standard can develop if these requirements are met. There are, however, differences based on the level of linguistic description. For instance, the spelling of a standard language is usually more codified than the phonology of that same language. In the case of this thesis, the presupposed variation in Estuary English can imply that the accent is not suited for standardization, but the lack of acceptable codification cannot explain this alone. In fewer

words, a standard accent needs to have minimum variation in form and maximal variation in function.

2.4.2 Accent levelling

One of the general tendencies of language change is accent levelling. Accent levelling, also called dialect levelling, can be described as “a process whereby differences between regional varieties are reduced, features which make varieties distinctive disappear, and new features emerge and are adopted by speakers over a wide geographical area” (Williams & Kerswill 1999, 13). Kerswill (2003) breaks down two possible reasons for this regional dialect levelling. The first reason is geographical diffusion, which can be explained as the process of features being “spread out from a populous and economically and culturally dominant centre” (2003, 1). This spread is allegedly more likely to affect the cities and towns nearby before the smaller rural areas, even though these rural areas are closer to the city from which the spread occurs (*ibid.*). The second reason Kerswill mentions is levelling, which can be explained as the “reduction or attrition of *marked* variants” (Trudgill 1968, 98, cited in Kerswill 2003, 1). With marked variants, Kerswill refers to unusual or minority features. Kerswill explains this by picturing the creation of a new town with a variety of speakers with different dialects living together. The result of such a scenario is, according to Kerswill (2003), that a new variety will emerge, and this variety will be “characterized by the absence of localized forms” (Kerswill 2003, 1).

2.4.3 Social mobility

In addition to Rosewarne’s indications of Estuary English being a classless accent, Wells (1997) claims that the accent is a result of two-way social mobility. He argues that “the erosion of the English class-system and the greater social mobility in Britain mean that this trend is more clearly noticeable than was once the case” (1997, 47). However, as Altendorf (2003) mentions, Rosewarne (1994) and Coggle (1993) do not see social mobility as the only factor to explain Estuary English. In practice, social mobility can be described as the ability to climb up the social ladder, and it does not include the descent from that same ladder. The upward climb can explain the use of Estuary English by Cockney/non-Received Pronunciation speakers. Speakers of Cockney are (Kerswill 2001, 6-8, cited in Wotschke 2017, 177):

correcting their speech and getting rid of the non-standard “defects” of double negatives and dialectal tense forms, avoiding stigmatized pronunciations in ‘ouse (*house*) and now [æʊ] and replacing intervocal T-glottalling in wa’er (*water*) by prestigious /t/.

Nevertheless, this upward social mobility “cannot account for the opposite trend which exists as well and is a defining characteristic of EE” (Altendorf 2003, 25). Therefore, Rosewarne (1994) and Coggle (1993) use street credibility as the term for the downward climb, where speakers of Received Pronunciation get rid of so-called posh features.

2.4.4 Language perception

Recognition and perception of other speakers in different communities seem to be dependent on the stability of the communities in question. Williams & Kerswill (1999) tests an interesting hypothesis about how people from stable and non-stable communities recognize other people’s speech. Their hypothesis is “that speakers in a stable community will be more successful at recognizing voices from their own community than will people in levelling communities” (1999, 10). Their hypothesis is backed by their findings showing that “in the southern towns, judges did not recognize elderly local speakers, but identified their age peers more accurately” (Williams & Kerswill 1999, 10). This is also in line with the established theory that younger speakers are the “most innovative and, through their peer groups, able to establish new linguistic norms which may diffuse into the wider community” (Williams & Kerswill 1999, 1), which will be presented in the variable-section below.

2.4.4.1 Overt and covert prestige

Prestige is to a great extent connected to the notion of a standard variety, which relates to Haugen (1966) and the dimension of acceptance. The definition of prestige is “influence or reputation derived from achievements, associations, or character, or [...] from past success” (*Oxford English Dictionary*, s.v. “prestige, n.”). In this case, the associations of the different features are related to the speakers who are using these features, and they hence carry different prestige. How the inhabitants of a certain area perceive different language features and accents is important for the development of a language. According to Leith, “greater prestige tends to be attached to the notion of the standard, since it can function in higher domains, and has a written form” (1997, 8). This type of prestige is called overt prestige. The scenario where a non-standard accent or dialect and its features have high status, on the other hand, is called covert prestige (Eckert & Rickford 2002).

English speakers' perceptions of prestige are influencing Estuary English's development in many ways. Alderton recently researched how young adolescents perceive t-glottalization.

The results suggested that (2020, 45):

[...] at a surface level, T-glottalling is perceived to be a feature of a stigmatised 'chavvy' style, reflecting previous research (Bennett, 2012). However, the social meanings associated with glottal /t/ appear to vary according to the social and linguistic characteristics of the speaker, particularly their gender. [...] T-glottalling is salient in listener perceptions and can be recognised by listeners as a resource for identity construction and style formation.

These recent findings confirm and adhere to previous research, even reaching as far back as to the 1990s. Rosewarne claims that local accent speakers rated Estuary English as "more 'sophisticated' and even envisioning RP for their later age", while those who originally spoke with a Received Pronunciation accent "were aiming at 'street credibility' through more popular speech in order to 'fit into the group' and 'appear tough'" (1994, cited in Wotschke 2017, 176). This is interesting in regard to Estuary English in multiple ways. As mentioned, Alderton (2020) claims that t-glottalization is used as a source for identity construction. Wotschke (2017) broadens this view, claiming it to apply for Estuary English as a whole and not just t-glottalization. Estuary English is, according to Wotschke, used "to disguise one's sociolinguistic identity in favour of a new and more favourable one" (2017, 178). Alderton's (2020) findings also suggests that gender has an influence on the listeners perception of t-glottalization, and gender is a variable that is dealt with in the variable-section below.

2.5 Gender, age and socioeconomic background

2.5.1 Gender

Before delving into how gender affects language change, the terminology needs to be established. The difference between the terms gender and sex is important in this regard.

While sex is the biological term for men and women, gender refers to the socially constructed difference between men and women. I will use gender as the term throughout this thesis.

It is common to see gender as something that affects language use and language change, but it has not always been so. Until recently, gender was viewed as subordinate to social class in regard to its role in language change, but this has changed (Cameron 2003, 189). There is now an abundance of theories in regard to gender's role in language change. Labov (1990) is one of the most prominent works in this respect. Labov presents two principles about gender's impact on language change: 1) "in stable sociolinguistic stratification, men use a higher

frequency of nonstandard forms than women” and 2) “in the majority of linguistic changes, women use a higher frequency of the incoming forms than men” (1990, 205-206). Eckert (1998) adheres to this by claiming that women are more innovative than men in language change. In a study researching a Detroit high school, Eckert investigated how men and women in the categories “jocks” and “burnouts” used language to express group identity. “Jocks” were the successful students and “burnouts” were the typical dropouts. In both groups, women were more innovative in their use of language than men. These innovative variants were not necessarily overtly prestigious, but rather locally prestigious in the group in which the female students belonged (Eckert 1998).

Przedlacka (2001) also discusses gender differences in language change. According to her study, female participants lead the change of glottalization and most other variables except th-fronting, for which a male lead is evident (Przedlacka 2001, 47). Przedlacka argues that this is in line with other research claiming that “men preserve non-standard forms in stable situations” (2001, 47). While the reasons for this gender difference could be manifold, it is definitely an interesting tendency to bring into the discussion of this thesis. If men do in fact lead in the use of th-fronting and the women lead in the use of other variables, it is likely to assume that this will be evident in the results of this thesis.

2.5.2 Age

Age is a factor that affects language use and change, and it is therefore crucial to account for in regard to the results of this thesis. Holmes (2001) presents a theory about how language develops based on the age of the speakers. According to Holmes, adolescents generally use features that are viewed as non-standard to a greater extent than young adults. This use of non-standard forms will, however, gradually decrease as the adolescents become young adults. Further, the young adults will return to use more non-standard forms as they turn into adults (Holmes 2001, 168). This development is called age-grading.

In regard to the research method, this mentioned age-grading should be taken into account. Cheshire argues that research which bases itself on a sample of different ages to find language change in a community can be problematic due to the aforementioned age-grading (2006 ,8):

Behaviour that we may assume to be generation-specific may in fact reflect age-grading, so that it will be outgrown as speakers grow older, and will not become part of the community

norms. It cannot be assumed either, that older speakers are not influenced by the speech of younger members of the community, and vice-versa.

Age differences can, however, be important factors for language change. Williams & Kerswill (1999) argues that younger speakers appear to be more innovative than older speakers. The younger speakers are, hence, “linguistically the most innovative and, through their peer groups, able to establish new linguistic norms which may diffuse into the wider community” (1999, 1). The claim that younger speakers are more innovative than older speakers can be attributed to unmarked features and how young speakers tend to leave these out. Jakobson claims that (1968, cited in Johnson & Britain 2007, 297):

the markedness of sounds or sound distinctions correlates with their order of acquisition by children and their frequency. The less marked a sound or contrast, the earlier it will be acquired by children and the more frequent its appearance is likely to be in the world’s languages.

Age can also affect style-shifting, according to Cheshire (2006). Style-shifting “tends to be sharper for younger speakers than for older speakers, especially between casual and formal styles” (Cheshire 2006, 6). Specifically for Estuary English, there has been a debate on whether the phenomenon is simply a formal version of Cockney and an informal version of Received Pronunciation, as we have seen. While it remains to be seen in the analysis of the data, this claim about style-shifting substantiates the notion of Estuary English being a stylistic middle ground between the two accents on the continuum.

2.5.3 Socioeconomic background

Language acquisition among children is highly influenced by the socioeconomic background the children are born into. One factor is how much speech the children are exposed to in their childhood. Hart & Risley’s study shows that the number of words a child hears “range[s] from less than 200 words per hour to over 3,000 words per hour” (1995, 3, cited in Schwab & Lew-Williams 2016, 3). These findings can be seen in correlation with the socioeconomic status of the parents, as “parents from professional families talked significantly more on average to their children than those from working-class families and families in poverty” (ibid.).

Language acquisition is, as seen here, dependent on the socioeconomic foundation a child is born into. This can also be connected to the age variable in the previous section. If young speakers are the most innovative, the socioeconomic status of the parents raising them can be of high importance to the language change in the society as a whole. Further, the place of

origin might also affect language change. As different areas in and around London have different socioeconomic statuses, the language which people are born with and exposed to throughout their upbringing is influenced by the area in which the parents reside. This influence can, evidently, fade as the children grow up and change their location, but it is important to keep in mind that the area of upbringing is a factor that can affect the language development in a given area.

2.6 Concluding remarks

With the theory presented above as a basis, I have conducted a study on Estuary English and the aforementioned boundary markers. If the findings show signs of transcendence in the boundary markers, it will provide a helpful insight to the discussion. This also applies if the boundary markers are stable and not transcending into Estuary English because it emphasizes the claim that Estuary English is an accent in its own right.

3. Method

3.1 Type of research

The aim of this thesis is to search for evidence of whether or not four of the boundary markers between Estuary English and the two other accents on the continuum can be observed in Estuary speech. In order to do so, a quantitative study with a representative sample of the population would be the most appropriate choice of method. However, this requires a high number of participants and much more time than the scope of this thesis allows. Therefore, a study that provides indications and that explores the eventual changes in Estuary English has been conducted, i.e., without representativeness as a prerequisite. Further in this methods chapter is given an overview of 1) the process of finding participants, 2) the process of data collection, 3) the material and 4) the limitations and weaknesses of the research for this thesis.

3.2 Finding participants

Gathering suitable material for a topic like Estuary English is crucial. Speakers of such an ambiguous accent can be difficult to identify and track down because there is little agreement on what the phenomenon really is. The method used to find participants for this study was, hence, somewhat simple in the beginning, but gradually became more difficult as the search went on. Since some people had already been pinned to be Estuary speakers by other researchers, the search began with them. This study opened for the use of already researched participants, as it depended itself on the recency of the data that was to be collected, and not the participants themselves. Therefore, I collected some of the participants directly from other research papers on the topic. Further in the search for participants, I had to find a way to find Estuary speakers. The chosen method for finding the remaining participants was to find signs of Estuary speech. One of these signs was found in the variation in the use of boundary markers between Estuary English and the other two accents on the continuum. It was not a requirement that they used all of the boundary markers, as *th*-fronting and intervocalic *t*-glottalization has not been proven to be full-fledged features of Estuary English yet. Based on such an approach, the search for these speakers went on with basic web searches for English celebrities who were born in London and its vicinity. After a list of celebrities had been compiled, the celebrities' speech had to be examined before they were picked as participants. This examination was executed through watching video clips of the celebrities, and these videos were found on the online video platform YouTube. At this stage, the date of the videos was of little to no interest. After determining whether or not their speech could be connected

to Estuary English, the search ended with a total of eight celebrities. The number of celebrities to be examined in this thesis was chosen based on the targeted length of the thesis, the amount of data available, as well as the goals set out in the introduction. The final eight celebrities were Daisy Ridley, Daniel Radcliffe, David Beckham, Dua Lipa, James Corden, Jamie Oliver, Ricky Gervais and Tom Holland.

3.3 Data collection

The material for this study can be divided into two parts: 1) video clips of eight celebrities assumed to speak Estuary English, and 2) background information on the celebrities' whereabouts and origins. For the video clips, the online video platform YouTube was chosen as the source of material. Due to the celebrities' strong presence in popular media, there was an abundance of video material on YouTube for all of them, which made the search for material easier. This availability of material was also taken into account when locating the celebrities on the outset of finding them, as mentioned in the previous section. Three main factors needed to be present when finding the video clips: 1) the clips needed to be of a recent date, 2) the clips had to contain natural speech from authentic situations, and 3) the audio quality of speech in the videos needed to be sufficiently intelligible. For the former, simple searches of the celebrities' names were conducted. The most crucial part of these searches was to sort the search results by upload date. Further, the search results appeared as a list from newest to oldest. Even though the upload date was recent, it did not automatically mean that the video was recorded recently. Therefore, an extra search online needed to be conducted in order to confirm the videos recency. For instance, if the video material for Daisy Ridley was an interview in relation to the promotion of one of her films, a good way to check the recency was to find out when the film was released. If the release date of the film roughly correlated with the date of the video clip, it would be fair to assume that the video clip's date was somewhat accurate.

Further, as mentioned in the second point above, the speech had to be sufficiently natural in the video clips, and not governed by premade scripts or prepared speech. The interview form seemed like a good format for analysis, and the search words were therefore extended to the word "interview" in addition to the celebrities' names. If a video was uploaded recently, the recording was done recently and the motif filmed in the video was from a situation with fairly natural and unprepared speech, it was chosen to be subject to analysis for this thesis. However, as seen below, not all of the chosen material was in the form of interviews. This

discrepancy was caused by the fact that it was difficult to find suitable videos that met all of the aforementioned requirements. When analyzing the aforementioned video material, I did so without the use of any particular software or tool. First of all, I transcribed the speech in each video. Further, I carefully watched all of the videos once for each of the features. After collecting the data for each of the features, I watched the videos a final time to ensure that the data had been annotated correctly.

3.4 Material

The material that follows below is biographical and geographical information about the celebrities who are to be analyzed in this thesis. In order to collect the following material, biographical sources such as the celebrities' own websites and Encyclopedia Britannica have been used. In addition, some newspaper articles have been used to establish the celebrities' current residencies.

3.4.1 David Beckham

David Beckham is a well-known football player from England. He was born in Leytonstone in the east of London in 1975 and has later moved to Holland Park in the west of London, which is his current home (Best 2021a). The video on which the analysis is based is a recording of a press conference held by Beckham as the manager of Inter Miami, an American football club. The press conference was held in January 2021, and the video was chosen because David Beckham is the focal point and the only person who is talking in the video.

3.4.2 Daisy Ridley

Being born in Westminster, London in 1992, the young female actress Daisy Ridley has managed to attract attention for starring in iconic films such as Star Wars. She is currently believed to be residing in Primrose Hill, Central London (Wilkins 2021). The video material for Daisy Ridley's accent is from an interview with the clothing brand Tatler. In the video, Ridley is asked several questions beginning with the phrase "would you rather?". Her answers are therefore likely not prepared in advance, and the output is hence believed to be quite natural. The interview was conducted in December 2020.

3.4.3 Ricky Gervais

Ricky Gervais is an English comedian and actor mostly known for his role as the office manager David Brent from the original UK version of the well-known TV series “The Office”. He was born in 1961 in Reading, which is a city in Berkshire, London, and he now reportedly resides in Hampstead, North London (Fort & James 2021). The video material to be analyzed starring Ricky Gervais is from a digital interview he participated in, conducted by the American talk show host Conan. The video is 05:17 minutes long, and the interview aired in January 2021.

3.4.4 Tom Holland

Tom Holland is a young English actor known for his role as Spider-Man. Holland was born in Kingston upon Thames in 1996, and he reportedly still resides in the same area he grew up in (Morrow 2017). The video material in which Holland stars is a digital interview/conversation between Holland and a fellow actor called Daniel Kaluuya. In the video, the two actors talk about their acting experiences and how they cope with life and the restrictions related to the Covid-19 pandemic. The video clip is 32:39 long, but the material used for this thesis is only from the first five minutes. The interview was conducted in January 2021.

3.4.5 Jamie Oliver

Jamie Oliver was born in Clavering in the north-east of Essex in 1975. His parents were the owners of a pub-restaurant, which introduced him to the art of cooking (Schreiber 2021). Oliver’s current residency is in Fitchingfield, Essex (Turner 2020). The video material on Jamie Oliver is a session from the British TV show “This Morning” from December 2020, where Oliver answers questions regarding Christmas dinner sent in by viewers of the show. The video clip is 8 minutes and 20 seconds long, but the analysis bases itself on the first five minutes of the clip.

3.4.6 Daniel Radcliffe

Daniel Radcliffe is a famous English actor known for his iconic role as the young wizard Harry Potter in the film adaption of J.K. Rowling’s book series. He was born in 1989 in Fulham, London, England (Schreiber 2020), and he currently resides in New York City, USA (Chai 2013). The video material to be analyzed is a clip from the YouTube series “Hot Ones”, a series where celebrities are interviewed whilst eating increasingly stronger food. The

episode aired in December 2020, and lengthwise it is originally 28 minutes and 18 seconds long. However, the subject of analysis is from 0:00 to 5:00 minutes.

3.4.7 Dua Lipa

Dua Lipa is an English singer, songwriter and model born in London, England in 1995. Her parents are both originally from Kosovo (Lafrank 2020). Lipa reportedly resides in Los Angeles, USA (Boyle 2020). The video clip to be analyzed is an interview in which she answers the most searched-for questions about her on the online search engine Google. The clip was released in December 2020, and it is 9 minutes and 16 seconds long. The part to be analyzed is from 00:00 to 04:58 minutes.

3.4.8 James Corden

James Corden is an English talk show host known for his world-famous talk show “The Late Late Show with James Corden”. Corden was born in 1978, and his birthplace was London, England (Shepherd 2021). His reported current residency is in Los Angeles, USA (Best 2021b). The material of James Corden that has been analyzed in this thesis is a statement video in which Corden presents an online service for health recovery. The clip is 3 minutes and 39 seconds long, and the whole video will be subject to analysis.

3.5 Limitations and weaknesses

This research project and the way in which it was conducted has its flaws, and these flaws need to be addressed. One of these flaws is the number of participants. A study like this one is usually more fruitful when the results can be used representatively, making generalization possible. In this case, it cannot be so due to the scarce number of participants. However, even though the results are not representative, the findings of this study can serve as indications of developments in the field. If so, it can be used as a starting point for other researchers to elaborate and further study the topic.

Another variable is the intelligibility of speech from the videos that have been analyzed. As mentioned earlier, one of the prerequisites for choosing the video material was that the speech had to be intelligible. However, even though a video contained intelligible speech, some sounds were quite difficult to determine the pronunciation of. This difficulty is both dependent on the quality of the recording and the skills of the annotator. The results of this

thesis are heavily dependent on the accuracy of the annotation, and human error cannot be fully ruled out. To account for this, the sections that were difficult to interpret were cut from the analysis, both in terms of the counted instances and the number of total instances. Also, the unrepresentativeness of this study gives room for smaller errors and inaccuracies while still providing interesting results.

The slight variation in length of the video clips should also be addressed. The video clips for David Beckham, Ricky Gervais, Daniel Radcliffe, Tom Holland, Jamie Oliver and Dua Lipa are all approximately five minutes long. The videos of Daisy Ridley and James Corden, on the other hand, are shorter. The reason behind the variation in length is that it for these particular celebrities was difficult to find videos that met the prerequisite demands (see Data Collection). For Daisy Ridley, there were many videos of her being interviewed on the occasion of her starring in the latest Star Wars film. These would have been suitable videos to research if the film had been released recently, but the film is from 2019, which is outside the time frame that has been chosen for this thesis. For James Corden, most of the videos found was from his own talk show. In environments like this, the talk show host is in all probability bound to a script, which makes the speech much less natural. The suitable clips were therefore shorter than the clips for the other celebrities, but in return, these clips were intelligible, natural and of a recent date.

Third and fourth variables very much linked to the representativeness of the study, are the participants' gender and age. These would have been confounding variables to take into account if the goal of this study was to be representative. A way to control this could have been to include an equal number of women and men as participants. This has not been done for two reasons: 1) the number of male celebrities with an alleged Estuary speech was higher than for female celebrities, and it was, hence, much easier to find material relating to the former, and 2) representativeness is not the goal of this study. In terms of age, there could have been two ways to control the variables: 1) to only include one age group, or 2) to include representatives from different age groups. In this case, the participants have been selected to represent different age groups in the best way possible. Even though the participants cannot represent anything in particular, this is a way to control a confounding variable, which in turn will give a more accurate result to be further researched. In addition, an age-balanced group of participants could have been subject to age grading, which could have proven just as difficult to control. Nevertheless, I intend to discuss gender and age in the discussion chapter

based on the material I have collected and despite the unbalance of the research participants in regard to these variables.

In addition, the search for trustworthy biographical and geographical information about the celebrities was difficult. As mentioned in the theory chapter, this biographical and geographical information can help to better understand the participants' socioeconomic backgrounds. This understanding will in turn make it easier to discuss the development of Estuary English in light of the results later down the line. The sources of information on where the celebrities currently reside were mostly tabloid news outlets and other less prominent sources of information. This weakened the reliability of this information, but it was nevertheless included to provide context to the celebrity participants. Thus, the information given about the celebrities' current residence will only be used accordingly.

4. Results

In this chapter, the results from the study are presented. They are presented by means tables and descriptions of such tables. The tables are sorted based on the relative frequency of occurrence (%). For an in-depth analysis of the results presented here, see the discussion chapter.

4.1 Final t-glottalization

Below follow the results from analysis of syllable-final t-glottalization from the video material mentioned above.

Table 3. Instances, total instances and relative frequency of occurrence for syllable-final t-glottalization.

	Gender	Birth year	Instances	Possible instances	%
David Beckham	M	1975	78	82	95
Ricky Gervais	M	1961	88	93	95
James Corden	M	1978	60	65	92
Dua Lipa	F	1995	89	98	91
Jamie Oliver	M	1975	87	97	90
Tom Holland	M	1996	87	100	87
Daniel Radcliffe	M	1989	72	84	86
Daisy Ridley	F	1992	17	20	85

Table 3 shows the amount of syllable-final t-glottalization each of the participants use. Overall, the use of syllable-final t-glottalization has a relatively high number of occurrences among all of the participants. The numbers indicate that there is no significant difference in regard to age, and that syllable-final t-glottalization is extensively used in the speech of both the younger and the older participants. This is also the case in regard to gender and socioeconomic status. Despite the differences in numbers of instances, the percentages vary only marginally with a difference of nine percent.

4.2 Intervocalic word-medial t-glottalization

Table 4. Instances, possible instances and relative frequency of occurrence for intervocalic t-glottalization.

	Gender	Birth year	Instances	Possible instances	%
Ricky Gervais	M	1961	11	12	92
James Corden	M	1978	4	7	57
Dua Lipa	F	1995	5	10	50
Jamie Oliver	M	1975	5	10	50
Tom Holland	M	1996	3	6	50
Daisy Ridley	F	1992	2	4	50
Daniel Radcliffe	M	1989	1	6	17
David Beckham	M	1975	0	14	0

Table 4 shows the amount of intervocalic word-medial t-glottalization used by the participants. As can be seen, the participants use intervocalic t-glottalization to a lesser extent than syllable-final t-glottalization (see Table 1 and 5). There is little difference between male and female participants, and it is difficult to spot a pattern in terms of age too. Nevertheless, the variation in the percentages show a difference of ninety-two percent, which is significantly higher than the difference for syllable-final t-glottalization.

4.3 L-vocalization

Table 5. Instances, possible instances and relative frequency of occurrence for l-vocalization.

	Gender	Birth year	Instances	Possible instances	%
David Beckham	M	1975	37	37	100
Jamie Oliver	M	1975	26	28	93
Tom Holland	M	1996	27	33	82
Daisy Ridley	F	1992	4	5	80
James Corden	M	1978	21	28	75
Ricky Gervais	M	1961	20	29	69
Dua Lipa	F	1995	11	20	55
Daniel Radcliffe	M	1989	6	11	55

Table 5 shows the use of l-vocalization by the participants. As can be seen in the table, the participants use l-vocalization to varying extents. In terms of gender, there is little to no significant difference. However, a relatively clear pattern comes to light in regard to age. The middle-aged, male participants use this feature to a significantly greater extent than the other participants. While Tom Holland, as a young adult, uses l-vocalization extensively too, it seems interesting that one age group stands out in this way.

4.4 Th-fronting

Table 6. Instances, possible instances and relative frequency of occurrence for th-fronting.

	Gender	Birth year	Instances	Possible instances	%
David Beckham	M	1975	18	27	66
Jamie Oliver	M	1975	1	12	8
Dua Lipa	F	1995	0	34	0
Daniel Radcliffe	M	1989	0	17	0
Ricky Gervais	M	1961	0	45	0
Tom Holland	M	1996	0	24	0
Daisy Ridley	F	1992	0	22	0
James Corden	M	1978	0	18	0

Table 6 shows the use of th-fronting by the participants. It can be observed that the percentages are overall much lower than for the previously presented features. The real interesting observation is that there are only two of the participants who use th-fronting in the video material that was collected. In addition, both of the participants who use the feature are male and approximately the same age. This low amount of use implies that th-fronting is not widely used by Estuary English speakers, but Beckham's high usage makes it difficult to rule out th-fronting altogether.

4.5 Comparing features

In addition to comparing the participants, a comparison between the relative frequency of each feature is interesting to conduct. The numbers for each feature can be compared as shown in Table 7 below.

Table 7. Instances, possible instances and relative frequency of occurrence for each feature.

	Instances	Possible instances	%
Final t-glottalization	578	639	90
L-vocalization	152	191	80
Intervocalic t-glottalization	31	69	45
Th-fronting	19	199	10

Table 7 shows the use of all the features side by side for the reason of comparison. In this table, the differences between the features become much clearer. The high number of instances for syllable-final t-glottalization indicates that the feature is firmly anchored in Estuary English. The same indication can be observed for l-vocalization as well even though the number of instances is much lower for this feature. The same cannot be said for intervocalic t-glottalization and th-fronting. While intervocalic t-glottalization has a fairly high occurrence rate, a closer look at the variables must be taken in order to imply whether it is moving into Estuary English or not. Th-fronting has an almost nonexistent number of instances, but the fact that it shows any use at all is worth a closer look.

5. Discussion

This chapter discusses the findings of the results chapter in light of the research questions stated in the introduction. Based on the results, I place the findings into the established discussion regarding Estuary English and attempt to contribute to this discussion with my evidence and thoughts.

5.1 The boundary markers in light of the results

Below follows an overview of the boundary markers with discussions of how they have or have not changed and the possible reasons for these outcomes. I base the discussion on the theory presented in the theory chapter, but also include other theories where it is appropriate to do so.

As seen in Table 5, there are large differences when comparing the features investigated in this thesis. The fact that t-glottalization is the most used feature might be no surprise based on evidence gathered in previous research. With an relative frequency of occurrence of 90%, this can with a fair amount of certainty be deemed as statistically significant. The same goes for l-vocalization, which has a relative frequency of occurrence of 80%. Intervocalic t-glottalization, however, is a lot more uncertain and ambiguous. Every participant except David Beckham uses intervocalic t-glottalization, but to a much smaller extent than syllable-final t-glottalization. The relative frequency of occurrence for intervocalic t-glottalization is 45%, which makes this feature and its occurrence more unpredictable. Further, th-fronting also stands out as an interesting feature due to its lack of use among most of the participants. Only David Beckham and James Corden use it, and these two participants are therefore closely investigated later in this thesis.

5.1.1 Syllable-final t-glottalization

As expected, syllable-final t-glottalization seems to be a full-fledged feature of Estuary English. Its average occurrence is at 90%, which backs up the claims made by researchers in previous research. Even though syllable-final t-glottalization seems to be a feature of Estuary English, and it therefore not a boundary marker, it can still prove useful for this study. The results related to this feature can be used as a basis for comparison, as it depicts how the data of a well-established feature looks in a research project like this.

5.1.2 Intervocalic t-glottalization

The intervocalic t-glottalization used by the participants seems to be of interest to a greater extent than before based on the results of this thesis. The numbers of possible instances are quite low compared to syllable-final t-glottalization and l-vocalization, but it nevertheless makes for an interesting finding. Due to the low numbers of possible instances, the results show quite high percentages. As Eriksen (2015) claims, intervocalic t-glottalization seems to be more common in Estuary English than noted previously. The results of this thesis indicate the same. The relative frequency of occurrence for this feature is 45%, which hardly is an indication that the use of intervocalic t-glottalization among the participants is a mere slip of the tongue.

However, David Beckham stands out from the rest of the participants. Out of 14 possible instances, Beckham does not at any point in time use intervocalic t-glottalization. To attribute this to his social background would in the least be problematic, as intervocalic t-glottalization very much is a feature associated with the east of London and the Cockney accent. If his background has an impact on his use of this feature, his place of origin should rather increase his use than decrease it. The question of why his use of intervocalic t-glottalization is low compared to the other participants remains.

5.1.3 L-vocalization

As with th-fronting, l-vocalization can hardly still be viewed as a boundary marker between Cockney and Estuary English. As Altendorf (1999) mentions, l-vocalization has been observed in Estuary English for quite some time. The interesting thing, however, is that the participants who are the most frequent users of l-vocalization are the most frequent users of th-fronting as well. Once again, it is David Beckham and Jamie Oliver who use l-vocalization the most out of all the participants.

5.1.4 Th-fronting

The results show that older speakers tend to use th-fronting to a greater extent than younger speakers. Only two of the participants used th-fronting in this study, namely Jamie Oliver and David Beckham. These participants can both be considered as relatively old speakers compared to the rest of the participants. The only participant who is older than them is Ricky Gervais. While the fact that Ricky Gervais does not use th-fronting is an interesting finding, it

does not completely falsify this claim. If the implementation of th-fronting is an innovative move for Estuary English speakers, this finding does not adhere to the well-known theory claiming that younger speakers are more innovative in language change than older speakers. However, there might very well be other reasons for Jamie Oliver and David Beckham's use of th-fronting. The fact that both of them are men might prove important in regard to this. As Labov claims, "in stable sociolinguistic stratification, men use a higher frequency of nonstandard forms than women" (1990, p.205-206). Since th-fronting is not a feature of the standard accent, Received Pronunciation, it seems likely that it is a non-standard form. Nevertheless, this gender theory does not explain why the other male participants do not use th-fronting as Beckham and Oliver do (see section 5.2 for more on gender differences).

The socioeconomic background of David Beckham can affect his use of th-fronting. Beckham grew up in Leytonstone, East London. This might have several implications for his use of th-fronting. On the one hand, he might have been exposed to much less speech than the participants who grew up in areas with higher socioeconomic status, cf. Hart & Risley (1995). This is of course hard to measure. On the other hand, he might be influenced by his place of origin and the Cockney accent spoken there. On Rosewarne's continuum, Beckham can be positioned closer to the Cockney pole than the Received Pronunciation pole. However, to place Beckham on the continuum that accounts for style-shifting, cf. Maidment (1994), is a lot trickier. Since the material for Beckham is a press conference, one can assume that he uses a more formal register than he would in a more relaxed setting. The use of th-fronting does, nonetheless, indicate otherwise, as the formal alternative would likely be to avoid the use of th-fronting altogether.

Jamie Oliver's use of th-fronting, however, is more difficult to connect to his upbringing. Oliver grew up in Clavering, Essex, an area in which the inhabitants do not use a Cockney accent. For his th-fronting, other variables must be taken into account. The most interesting one is that his current accent, Estuary English, has adopted this feature. This is nevertheless not very likely due to the fact that none of the other participants use this feature. In addition, Oliver used th-fronting once out of twelve possible instances, which might indicate that it was just a slip of the tongue.

Regardless of whether Beckham and Oliver's use of th-fronting is coincidental, a parallel to the results of l-vocalization can and should be drawn in this regard. For both features, David

Beckham and Jamie Oliver are, as mentioned, the most frequent users. This is interesting in many ways, one of them regarding the sociolinguistic nature of l-vocalization. It has for long been attributed to Cockney, an accent viewed as containing covert prestige, i.e. when non-standard forms are seen as prestigious to some groups of people. Looking back at the previous research on the topic, the notion that l-vocalization and small indications of th-fronting have moved into Estuary English and perhaps also Received Pronunciation in the 1990s is interesting (Altendorf, 1999). Thus far, the results for this thesis indicate a fair number of instances of l-vocalization, but not yet much th-fronting. The same factors are present in both cases, which might be an indication that th-fronting is on its way into Estuary English in the same way as l-vocalization began its transcendence into the putative variety.

On the other hand, there are other factors involved that suggest the opposite to th-fronting being fully implemented into Estuary English. One of them is connected to prestige. Since Estuary English functions as a social middle ground between Received Pronunciation and Cockney in which speakers of both accents alter their pronunciations based on overt and covert prestige, it is likely that some of the most characteristic and extreme features of each accent are left behind. Th-fronting can very well be such a case due to its high covert prestige.

5.2 Gender differences

As mentioned in the theory chapter, gender differences play a crucial part in language development. Summarized, male speakers tend to use more covertly prestigious features, and female speakers tend to be more innovative in terms of the implementation of new features, regardless of prestige. In this section, I discuss the gender differences in the results of this thesis in light of the research questions presented in the introduction chapter.

For syllable-final t-glottalization, the distribution is somewhat evenly represented in terms of gender. Apart from the relative frequencies of occurrence, the numbers of instances are significantly higher than for the other features. This high amount of use is expected. As stated in the majority of the research presented in the theory chapter, syllable-final t-glottalization is part of Estuary English and even Received Pronunciation (Altendorf, 2016; Przedlacka, 2001; Trudgill, 2002). The gender differences can, thus, have been erased because the feature is not a mobile feature anymore, i.e. it is not transcending from one accent to the other to the extent it has previously. If it were, one might have been able to observe male speakers using the

feature to a greater extent than the female speakers, as it is, or rather was, a covert prestigious feature of Cockney before it moved into Estuary English and Received Pronunciation.

The genders of the speakers are not revealing anything in particular in the results for intervocalic t-glottalization either. However, this lack of differences is more interesting than the lack of differences for syllable-final t-glottalization, as this feature has proven to be a bit more ambiguous. As mentioned previously, intervocalic t-glottalization looks to be on its way into Estuary English, and one should, hence, be able to see some kind of a gender pattern. According to theory on language change, as presented by Labov (1990), women are more innovative in their use of new features than men. The female participants of this thesis, however, do not use intervocalic t-glottalization to a greater extent than the male participants. One of the reasons for this can be that intervocalic t-glottalization has already become part of Estuary English. It is difficult to conclude that it has solely based on the small amount of data from this thesis, but since intervocalic t-glottalization is on average used only 45% of the time, the claim that intervocalic t-glottalization already is part of Estuary English seems unlikely. The amount of data simply is not large enough to provide a clear and representative result. However, 45% does serve as an indication that intervocalic t-glottalization is used to a sufficient extent in the Estuary English accent.

The results of this thesis question some of the theory related to gender in language change presented in the theory chapter. The claims that men use more non-standard forms than women and women tend to use more of the incoming forms than men (Labov, 1990), serve as contradictions when read in the light of the results. The supposed incoming forms in Estuary English, i.e. th-fronting and l-vocalization, have covert prestige and are viewed as non-standard. It is, hence, difficult to say whether the fact that men use th-fronting to a greater extent than women is a result of th-fronting being a non-standard form or an incoming form. The feature l-vocalization is more standard than non-standard at this point in time, and there are no clear differences between men and women in the use of this feature.

5.3 Age differences

A very interesting finding in regard to age is related to the results of intervocalic t-glottalization. The participants, with the exception of David Beckham, use intervocalic t-glottalization over 50% of the time. One of the participants stands out, however. Ricky Gervais uses intervocalic t-glottalization 92% of the time. Gervais is also the oldest

participant in this study. This finding complies with Holmes' description of how adolescents use more non-standard forms than young adults, and that these non-standard forms are reintroduced when a person grows older (2001, 168). Intervocalic t-glottalization is not a standard form yet, but it is making its way into Estuary English and Received Pronunciation, which might refute this claim. Another argument that speaks against this is that Ricky Gervais does not use th-fronting at all, and th-fronting is most certainly a non-standard form at present time.

It is difficult to overlook David Beckham's total lack of intervocalic t-glottalization in the results of this thesis. Beckham is 46 years old, which places him among the oldest participants of the study. This lack of intervocalic t-glottalization can, however, not likely be explained by means of his age. James Corden and Jamie Oliver are roughly the same age as David Beckham, but they both use intervocalic t-glottalization over 50% of the time. In addition, they are among the participants who use intervocalic t-glottalization the least. It is, thus, far-fetched to conclude that his age is the sole reason for his lack of intervocalic t-glottalization.

The results for l-vocalization seem to paint a rather clear picture in regard to age. The middle-aged participants use this feature the most, including David Beckham, Jamie Oliver and James Corden. This distribution is in line with the age-grading theory presented in Cheshire (2006). According to Cheshire, adolescents use non-standard forms more than young adults, and the use of these non-standard forms will gradually increase as a person ages (2006). David Beckham, Jamie Oliver and James Corden have all aged past young adulthood, and the non-standard forms are therefore likely reintroduced. Ricky Gervais, Tom Holland and Daisy Ridley are the odd ones out here, however. Tom Holland and Daisy Ridley are young adults, i.e. between 18 and 30 years old, but they still use this feature to a great extent and more than what is expected based on their age. Ricky Gervais uses l-vocalization less than the younger participants, which also does not comply with Cheshire's theory. This can of course mean that l-vocalization has become such a stable part of Estuary English that the age differences in language change are less obvious, but due to the restrictions and scope of this thesis, the amount of data is not sufficient enough to firmly conclude anything.

5.4 A broader look at Estuary English in the light of the results

The results show some interesting indications that have made it possible to discuss them in a broader light. As mentioned in the theory chapter, there are two key questions that are still

under heavy debate among researchers in regard to Estuary English. In the following section, I discuss these questions based on the results and the discussion above to see if a clearer picture of Estuary English can be established.

5.4.1 Is Estuary English a variety in its own right?

As presented in the theory chapter, the question of whether Estuary English is a variety in its own right is still under debate. While Wells and Rosewarne presuppose its existence, Maidment and Przedlacka argue that it is no distinct accent, but rather a combination of general tendencies in language change and subject to different factors that Rosewarne and Wells do not take into account.

5.4.1.1 The implications of style-shifting

One of the factors that Rosewarne and Wells do not take into account in their research and discussions is style-shifting. Maidment's claim that Estuary English is nothing but the result of style-shifting based on the context in which a speaker finds her- or himself is backed by Przedlacka (2001). In short, their arguments are built around the claim that Estuary English does not constitute its own set of rules but is rather a result of formal and informal ways in which Received Pronunciation and Cockney can be spoken. However, the results of this study can help nuance their arguments and perhaps also falsify some of them. As mentioned, David Beckham does not use a single instance of intervocalic t-glottalization in a fairly formal press conference situation. Alone, this finding can substantiate Maidment and Przedlacka's claims. Because intervocalic t-glottalization is a feature originating from Cockney, it carries covert prestige and should therefore likely be dropped in formal situations when subject to style-shifting. Nevertheless, the abundance of instances of th-fronting used by Beckham cannot be explained by Maidment and Przedlacka. If style-shifting was the reason for Estuary English's existence, th-fronting would be dropped by Beckham in the same way as he dropped intervocalic t-glottalization. The same goes for l-vocalization, another feature related to Cockney. David Beckham uses this feature 66% of the time in the same formal press conference, which means that it is fairly present in his speech. Of course, it is difficult to determine whether or not the relative frequency of occurrence would increase in an informal situation, and whether the 66% is due to the setting he is in. However, it does depict a relatively high use even though the formal setting, according to Maidment (1994) and Przedlacka (2001), indicates otherwise.

5.4.1.2 *The implications of internal variation*

Przedlacka's claim that Estuary English is a set of different local accents in the Home Counties is harder to nuance in light of the results of this thesis. All of the participants reside or have resided in London, and the scope of this thesis is to compare accents from the different Home Counties. What it can contribute, however, is it can back her claim. The most interesting feature in regard to this is, once again, th-fronting. On the outset, the fact that Beckham is the only participant who uses this feature is an indication of a still present internal variation within Estuary English. This is in line with the variation Przedlacka (2001) presents in her study. In addition, both l-vocalization and intervocalic t-glottalization show variation in their usage among the participants. The causes of these variations have quickly been attributed to the fact that Estuary English is on a continuum, where a speaker moves around based on the features she or he uses. Ideally, Estuary English has to lose some of its variation in order to become easier to pin down. This is, as indicated by previous research and the results of this thesis, yet to happen. The results do, nevertheless, indicate that for instance l-vocalization and intervocalic t-glottalization, which were previously viewed as features moving into Estuary English, have more firmly been implemented into the putative variety.

Przedlacka also claims that it is likely that Estuary English is "receiving influence rather than exerting it" (2001, 48). In relation to the results of this thesis and the variation found in the distribution of features in Estuary English, this claim is highly plausible. A large part of the discussion related to Estuary English is based on how it adopts features, and not how it is exerting influence on the other accents on the continuum. The variation found in the results of this thesis, e.g. Beckham's use of th-fronting, is likely caused by the slow adoption of features coming from Cockney and Received Pronunciation. As Hernández-Campoy's gravity model shows (1999), the people of a certain area influence the language, and not the other way around. Hence, the demographic of London is the influencing factor and not Estuary English as a distinct variety.

5.4.2 Estuary English as the new supralocal standard?

The discussion above functions as a suitable transition into the next question raised by researchers such as Rosewarne and Wells: whether or not Estuary English will take Received Pronunciation's place as the supralocal standard variety. A standard accent is supralocal, i.e. not confined to a specific geographical area. This can happen through accent levelling and the geographical diffusion occurring as a result of it (Williams & Kerswill, 1999, 13). All of the

participants in this study were born or currently reside around the London area in which Estuary English is spoken, so the results provide little evidence that Estuary English is spreading beyond its area of origin. Daniel Radcliffe, Dua Lipa and James Corden reportedly live in the United States, but this seems to be of little interest to the spread of Estuary English in England. However, Bonness (2011) argues that the accent is spreading to Northampton, a city in Northamptonshire. This alone indicates that Estuary English is on the move and spreading outside of the Home Counties. What the results of this thesis do indicate, however, is that some features of the accents found on Rosewarne's continuum are moving further into Estuary English than has been observed before. While this is no clear-cut evidence that Estuary English is spreading, it does imply that Estuary English is adapting to both overtly and covertly prestigious features, which in turn can make it more approachable for all members of the English society regardless of their socioeconomic and geographical backgrounds. Kerswill's example of how a new town with speakers of different accents will eventually create its own supralocal accent is interesting and applicable in this regard (2003, 1). London and the surrounding areas are unarguably not new areas in Kerswill's sense, but the standardization tendency explained by Kerswill (2003) can very well occur as long as the accent in question is attractive to the speakers of a specific area. In this case, as mentioned above, Estuary English functions as a middle-ground to equalize social differences, which likely is deemed as attractive by speakers with a low-status background as well as speakers from a high-status background.

The social attractiveness of Estuary English is very much related to Haugen (1966) and his four dimensions of standardization. Thus far, Estuary English fulfills some of the requirements Haugen presents. The first dimension, i.e. the selection of a norm of speech, is a bit ambiguous, as the norm of Estuary English is highly varied. Some of its speakers use features more connected to Cockney, while others use features more related to Received Pronunciation. This can, despite the variation, be considered a norm. However, this norm needs to be codified according to Haugen (1966). Estuary English does arguably fulfill this requirement because it has a set of features that its speakers use, but there is still a lot of variation within the accent. However, if the accent is codified to the sufficient extent that it can be used in most situations, this variation becomes less important for the accent's function. Therefore, the elaboration dimension is fulfilled, as Estuary English can be used in function in different situations. As Eriksen (2015) states, news anchors and other prominent TV-personalities use Estuary English on air, which are considered to be formal situations. The last

dimension of acceptance is, however, arguably fulfilled. The somewhat ambiguous and varied norm seems to be highly accepted by Estuary English speakers. Nevertheless, the variation within the accent becomes an issue in this regard too. What some speakers of Estuary English accept can be very different from what other speakers accept, and this might be the reason for its disunity in terms of linguistic features.

In relation to the dimension of acceptance, the perception people have of the features of Estuary English is fundamental for its spread and eventual standardization. As Alderton's study suggests, t-glottalization is perceived as "chavvy" (2020, 45). This evidence can falsify my claim that Estuary English can standardize. If t-glottalization is perceived as something not desirable, it will likely lose much of its ability to spread because it needs to be attractive to the majority of the people in order to do so. However, the case of Estuary English is unusual in this regard. As mentioned, what is desirable for one part of the Estuary English speakers is not necessarily desirable for the other part of its speakers. The aim for social mobility is highly dependent on the social background of the speakers in question: a speaker with a high-status background wants to drop some of the poshly perceived features and a speaker with a low-status background wants to drop the stigmatized non-standard features. Due to this, there is still good reason to believe that Estuary English will spread and enlarge its footprint in the years to come. This discussion is definitely showing that Estuary English is evolving, but it does not necessarily imply that it will take Received Pronunciation's place as the standard accent of England. Again, the variation within Estuary English makes it hard to establish a clear perception of what it is at this point in time. If it were to take Received Pronunciation's place as the standard variety, it would have to settle on a certain set of features to a greater extent than it has so far.

5.5 Avenues for future research

As mentioned previously, the method and scope of this thesis have its flaws and imperfections. This implies that much of the discussion is based on what the results indicate, and not what the results explicitly convey. This is, of course, due to the scope of this kind of master thesis both in terms of time and length. However, the indications discussed above pave the way for future research, and this topic will be dealt with below.

Future research can advantageously focus on formality and style-shifting. For instance, a greater balance between material from formal and informal situations will make the data

stronger and easier to compare. It will also help the researcher in evaluating the firmness of many of the claims made by previous research, which in turn will make it easier to understand whether or not Estuary English is an accent in its own right with the capability of replacing Received Pronunciation as the standard accent of England. An example of such a study is to analyze videos as seen in this thesis, but to include two videos per participant: one from a formal situation and one from an informal situation. It might, however, prove difficult to find videos from completely informal situations. This is also the case for the variables of this thesis, i.e. age, gender and socioeconomic background. There is no equal balance between male and female participants in this thesis, and a greater balance in age and socioeconomic background can also be achieved to a greater extent. The unbalance in these variables is mostly due to the lack of suitable material online. An alternative can therefore be to study the speech of native speakers in person. This presupposes that the researcher is located in England or is able to travel, but it would nonetheless be beneficial to the field. Hence, future research can focus on material gathered from actual native speakers and perhaps not from videos found online. It is difficult to say whether or not this is easier than analyzing YouTube videos, but it seems likely that the ability to ask and book participants will help the researcher to find a greater balance in terms of the variables age, gender and socioeconomic background. A larger set of data can also be beneficial in this regard. This is of course more suitable for larger research projects rather than master's theses or the like. If a larger data set is collected, the researcher can spot patterns more easily and be able to draw firmer conclusions. This increase in data can make it easier to account for the confounding variables, as the variables mentioned will be less visible and to a lesser extent clutter the data and the patterns drawn from it.

The interpretation of the data can be done more effectively by the use of statistics. A technique that can be utilized to more easily interpret the results is multivariate statistics. This would have enabled me to identify which of the variables are at play in the results, which in turn would make it easier to discuss the results in light of the theory. However, due to both the time limit and my lack of statistical abilities, I chose not to spend time on this. Nevertheless, using multivariate statistics is something I recommend for further research, given that the researcher feels comfortable and skilled enough to effectively utilize it.

6. Conclusion

Through the analysis of eight Estuary English speakers from the London area, I have in this thesis found indications of the following: 1) syllable-final t-glottalization and l-vocalization are both used to a great extent by Estuary English speakers, 2) intervocalic t-glottalization seems to be more present in Estuary English than has been suggested by previous research, and 3) th-fronting is still scarcely used, but excessively used by one of the participants. The first point is in line with previous research by the likes of Wells (1994) and Altendorf (1999). The two following points are, however, more innovative to the field of Estuary English. As discussed in the discussion chapter, these results can imply that Estuary English is still in development and might evolve into something greater than it is at this point in time. By connecting these results to language theory, it seems likely that l-vocalization will see an increased usage over time. The way in which l-vocalization evolved into Estuary English seems to be the same for th-fronting: both of the features are covertly prestigious and originate from Cockney. If this is how it evolves, Estuary English as a new standard accent is no far-fetched claim. However, the standardization of an accent presupposes more than just the adoption of features. Studies with larger data sets and a greater focus on the confounding variables of age, gender and socioeconomic background can advantageously be conducted in order to uncover the true nature of Estuary English.

7. Bibliography

- Alderton, Roy. 2020. "Perceptions of T-glottalling among adolescents in South East England: A sign of 'chavviness', or a key to 'coolness'?" *English Today*, 36 (3): 40-47.
- Altendorf, Ulrike. 1999. "Estuary English: Is English going Cockney?" *Moderna Språk*, XCIII, no. 1: 1-11. <https://www.phon.ucl.ac.uk/home/estuary/altendf.pdf>.
- Altendorf, Ulrike. 2003. *Estuary English: Levelling at the Interface of RP and South-Eastern British English*. Tübingen: Gunter Narr Verlag.
- Altendorf, Ulrike. 2016. "Caught between Aristotle and Miss Marple... – A Proposal for a Perceptual Prototype Approach to 'Estuary English'". *Complutense Journal of English Studies* 24: 131-154. <http://revistas.ucm.es/index.php/CJES/article/view/54452/50279>.
- Best, Chloe. 2021a. "Victoria and David Beckham's home cost 3x Prince Harry & Meghan's - see inside". *Hello Magazine*, March 30, 2021. <https://www.hellomagazine.com/homes/gallery/20201229103507/victoria-david-beckham-home-inside-photos-london/1/>
- Best, Chloe. 2021b. "James Corden's £7.5m mansion with wife Julia is another world". *Hello Magazine*, March 25, 2021. <https://www.hellomagazine.com/homes/gallery/20201218102982/james-corden-house-inside-photos/1/>
- Bonness, Dania Jovanna. 2011. "Estuary English in Norfampton? Phonological Variation and Change in Northampton English." Master thesis, University of Bergen.
- Boyle, Simon. 2020. "LIPA CROSS THE POND – Dua Lipa has moved to LA to be closer to boyfriend Anwar Hadid". *The Sun*, August 10, 2020. <https://www.thesun.co.uk/tvandshowbiz/12365795/dua-lipa-moved-la-boyfriend-anwar-hadid/>
- Britannica Academic, s.v. "Cockney," accessed March 29, 2021, <https://academic-eb-com.ezproxy.uio.no/levels/collegiate/article/Cockney/623465#article-contributors>.
- Cameron, Deborah. 2003. "Gender Issues in Language Change". *Annual Review of Applied Linguistics*, 23 (03): 187-201. doi: <http://dx.doi.org.ezproxy.uio.no/10.1017/S0267190503000266>. <https://www-proquest-com.ezproxy.uio.no/scholarly-journals/11-gender-issues-language-change/docview/197927498/se-2?accountid=14699>

- Chai, Barbara. 2013. "NY CULTURE – Actor Daniel Radcliffe Changes Beat". *The Wall Street Journal*, October 9, 2013.
<https://www.wsj.com/articles/SB10001424127887324105204578382542260887764>
- Cheshire, Jenny. 2006. "Age and Generation-specific use of language".
Sociolinguistics/Soziolinguistik: Volume 2 edited by Ulrich Ammon, Norbert Dittmar, Klaus J. Mattheier and Peter Trudgill, 1552-2008. New York: De Gruyter Mouton.
https://www.researchgate.net/publication/251784426_Age_and_Generation-specific_use_of_language
- Cogle, Paul. 1993. *Do You Speak Estuary?* London: Bloomsbury Publishing PLC.
- Cruttenden, Alan. 2001. *Gimson's Pronunciation of English*. London: Arnold.
- De Pascale, Carla. 2013. "From Received Pronunciation to Estuary English: A Shift from Diastatic Variation." PhD diss., University of Salerno.
<https://pdfs.semanticscholar.org/1473/9b7bacedda9f2f8d6db9b1f06dac504581fd.pdf>
- Eckert, Penelope & John Rickford. (Eds.). 2002. *Style and Sociolinguistic Variation*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Eckert, Penelope. 1998. "Gender and sociolinguistic variation". In J. Coates (Ed.), *Language and gender: A reader* (pp.64-75). Oxford: Blackwell.
- Eriksen, Ida Brunsvik. 2015. "From L Vocalisation to TH Fronting: A Study of Five Consonant Variables in Estuary English." Master's thesis, University of Oslo.
<http://urn.nb.no/URN:NBN:no-53068>
- Falcón, Manuel. 2016. "Received Pronunciation, Estuary English and Cockney: a study focused on l-vocalisation, th-fronting and t-glottaling." Universidad De Murcia.
<https://goo.gl/Ztjhi4>.
- Fort, Hugh and John James. 2021. "Reading's Ricky Gervais reveals what life is like inside his enormous £10 million London mansion". *The Guardian*, February 7, 2021.
<https://www.getreading.co.uk/news/reading-berkshire-news/ricky-gervais-inside-london-home-19763228>
- Hart, Betty & Todd Risley. 1995. *Meaningful differences in the everyday experience of young American children*. Baltimore: Paul H Brookes Publishing.
- Haugen, Einar. 1966. "Dialect, Language, Nation." In *American Anthropologist*, New Series, 68, 4: 922-35. Accessed May 13, 2021. <http://www.jstor.org/stable/670407>.
- Hernández-Campoy, Juan Manuel. 1999. "Geolinguistic models of analysis of the spatial diffusion of sociolinguistic innovations". *Studia Anglica Posnaniensia* 34: 7-42.
- Holmes, Janet. 2001. *An introduction to sociolinguistics (2nd ed.)*. London: Longman.

- Johnson, Wyn and David Britain. 2007. "L-vocalisation as a natural phenomenon: explorations in sociophonology". *Language Sciences*, 29 (2–3): 294-315, <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.langsci.2006.12.022>.
- Kerswill, Paul. 2003. "Dialect levelling and geographical diffusion in British English". In D. Britain and J. Cheshire (eds.). *Social dialectology. In honour of Peter Trudgill*. Amsterdam: Benjamins. 223-243.
- Labov, William. 1990. "The Intersection of Sex and Social Class in the Course of Linguistic Change." *Language Variation and Change* 2 (2). Cambridge University Press: 205–54.
- Lafrank, Gabrielle. 2020. "The Stunning Transformation of Dua Lipa". *The List*, August 3, 2020. <https://www.thelist.com/232917/the-stunning-transformation-of-dua-lipa/>
- Leith, Dick. 1997. *A Social History of English*. London: Routledge.
- Maidment, John. 1994. "Estuary English: Hybrid or Hype?" Paper presented at the 4th New Zealand Conference on Language & Society, Lincoln University, Christchurch, New Zealand. <https://www.phon.ucl.ac.uk/home/estuary/maidment.pdf>.
- Morrow, Brendan. 2017. "Where Is Tom Holland From & Where Does He Live Now?". *Heavy*, July 6, 2017. <https://heavy.com/movies/2017/07/where-is-tom-holland-from-where-does-live-now/>
- Przedlacka, Joanna. 2001. "Estuary English and RP: Some Recent Findings." *Studia Anglica Posnaniensia* 36: 35-50. http://www.phon.ox.ac.uk/files/people/przedlacka/sap36_jp.pdf.
- Rosewarne, David. 1984. "Estuary English". *Times Educational Supplement*, October 19, 1984. <https://www.phon.ucl.ac.uk/home/estuary/rosew.htm>.
- Rosewarne, David. 1994. "Estuary English: Tomorrow's RP?" *English Today* 10 (1). Cambridge University Press: 3–8.
- Schreiber, Barbara. 2020. "Daniel Radcliffe." *Encyclopedia Britannica*, July 19, 2020. <https://www.britannica.com/biography/Daniel-Radcliffe>.
- Schreiber, Barbara. 2021. "Jamie Oliver." *Encyclopedia Britannica*, February 10, 2021. <https://www.britannica.com/biography/Jamie-Oliver>.
- Schwab, Jessica & Casey Lew-Williams. 2016. "Language learning, socioeconomic status, and child-directed speech". *WIREs Cogn Sci* 2016, 7: 264-275. <https://babylab.princeton.edu/download/file/fid/636>.
- Shepherd, Melinda. 2021. "James Corden." *Encyclopedia Britannica*, February 11, 2021. <https://www.britannica.com/biography/James-Corden>.

- Tollfree, Laura. 1999. "South East London English: discrete versus continuous modelling of consonantal reduction". In *Urban Voices*, edited by Paul Folkes and Gerard Docherty. London: Arnold.
- Trudgill, Peter. 2002. *Sociolinguistic Variation and Change*. Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press.
- Turner, Benjamin. 2020. "Inside Jamie Oliver's stunning family home situated just minutes away from Cambridgeshire". *Cambridge News*, September 27, 2020.
<https://www.cambridge-news.co.uk/whats-on/whats-on-news/finchingfield-home-jamie-oliver-essex-18999127>
- Wells, John Christopher. 1982. *Accents of English I: An Introduction*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Wells, John Christopher. 1994. "Transcribing Estuary English." *Speech Hearing and Language: UCL Work in Progress* 8: 259-267.
<http://citeseerx.ist.psu.edu/viewdoc/download?doi=10.1.1.62.7465&rep=rep1&type=pdf>
- Wells, John Christopher. 1997. "What is Estuary English?" *English Teaching Professional* 3 (April): 46-47. <https://www.phon.ucl.ac.uk/home/estuary/estuary.pdf>.
- Wilkins, Bridie. 2021. "Daisy Ridley's home with Tom Bateman is just as stylish as you'd imagine". *Hello Magazine*, March 4, 2021.
<https://www.hellomagazine.com/homes/20210304108200/daisy-ridley-tom-bateman-home-inside-photos/>
- Williams, Ann and Paul Kerswill. 1999. Dialect levelling: change and continuity in Milton Keynes, Reading and Hull. In Paul Foulkes and Gerard Docherty (eds.), *Urban voices: Accent studies in the British Isles*. London: Arnold. (141-162).
- Wotschke, Ingrid. 2017. "Estuary English: a case of sociophonetic convergence." *HERMES - Journal of Language and Communication in Business* 20 (38): 173-186.

Primary sources (video material)

- David Beckham: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=N71kabiojOQ>
- Dua Lipa: https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=esfChb49_Rk
- Daniel Radcliffe: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=kS6lhBaE7Eo>
- Tom Holland: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=ITJ2ZMNiyHs>
- Jamie Oliver: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=UeC3Y1VVLOg>

James Corden: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=BkS0jYVfEVA>

Ricky Gervais: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=ueUMuO2qhGU>

Daisy Ridley: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=pozBX0zLLrg>