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TRADITIONAL COCKNEY AND POPULAR LONDON SPEECH

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Abstract

This paper gives a full description of the phonetics and phonology of Traditional Cockney and Popular London speech, treating these varieties as constituting a continuum rather than two separate dialects. Exemplification of the vowels, diphthongs and consonants is provided, both in isolate words and in connected speech, along with their range of variation. The frequencies of the vowels have been charted on the basis of the pronunciation of three elderly male speakers. Regarding the consonants, there are detailed observations on the features typically associated with the linguistic varieties examined: strong aspiration of unvoiced plosives, glottalization, H-dropping, L-vocalization and TH-fronting. A section on prosody provides coverage of lexical stress, rhythm and intonation. The paper takes into account up-to-date research on these phenomena, but does not deal with the most recent vowel shifts, some of which form part of Multi-cultural London English.

Keywords

English dialectology, English sociolinguistics, Cockney, Popular London speech

EL "COCKNEY" TRADICIONAL Y EL HABLA POPULAR LONDINENSE

Resumen

El presente artículo proporciona una descripción detallada del "Cockney" tradicional (TC) y del habla popular londinense (PLS), que, para nuestro propósito, se consideran constituyentes de un continuo lingüístico, diferenciado al máximo de la así llamada "Received Pronunciation" (RP), antes que dos

variedades distintas. Se ofrece abundante ejemplificación de la articulación de las vocales, los diptongos y las consonantes, tanto en palabras aisladas como en la cadena hablada, junto con explicaciones sobre la gama de variación que estos segmentos presentan. Las frecuencias vocálicas que se registran se han calculado a partir de la pronunciación de tres hombres mayores, todos oriundos de Londres. Con respecto a las consonantes, se incluyen observaciones pormenorizadas acerca de los rasgos más típicos de las variedades sometidas a estudio: una fuerte aspiración de las oclusivas sordas, glotalización, caída de la [h], vocalización de [l] y anteriorización de las fricativas dentales. La sección consagrada a los aspectos prosódicos trata de la acentuación de la palabra, el ritmo y la entonación. El presente trabajo tiene en cuenta la investigación más reciente en torno a estos fenómenos, sin ocuparse de los cambios vocálicos de los últimos años, algunos de los cuales son más bien característicos del inglés londinense multicultural.

Palabras clave
dialectología inglesa, sociolingüística inglesa, "Cockney", habla popular londinense

1. Introduction

The aim of this paper is to provide a detailed description of Traditional Cockney (TC) and Popular London Speech (PLS), which are treated as constituting a continuum of London speech that is maximally different to Received Pronunciation (RP), rather than two separate varieties. TC represents the basilectal extreme of the London accent continuum, while the term PLS is used, in accordance with Wells (1982: 302), to refer to a working-class accent that is "very slightly closer to RP than the broadest Cockney". Features that distinguish TC from PLS might be the use in TC of a monophthong in words like *mouth* [mæːf] ~ [maːf], RP /maʊθ/, and the glottalling of fricatives: *safer* [ˈsʌɪʔə], RP /ˈseɪfə/.

Although the pronunciation of the English of London has received attention from linguists (notably Wells 1982: 301-334), as far as I know there is no complete synthesis of the facts providing ample exemplification and vowel frequency charts based on recordings, which I offer here.

In recent times, the speech of London has been subjected to many external influences through the ever-increasing immigration into the metropolis. For instance, the speech of young inner London speakers today often contains narrow Creole-like diphthongs, or even monophthongs, so that the broad FACE and GOAT diphthongs of TC, [ʌɪ] and [ʌʊ], respectively, may now be articulated more like [eː] and [oː] (Cheshire et

al. 2006). However, the present account will not take into consideration these innovations, which are best considered as part of Multi-cultural London English; it aims to give a coherent, exhaustive characterization of the pronunciation features of the more familiar, long-standing aspects of the London dialect, and these features will be referred to in general as "Cockney".

Although the term "Cockney" in popular usage is applied loosely to any working-class London accent that deviates noticeably from RP, thus including TC and PLS, strictly speaking, TC is associated with an imprecise area north of the River Thames referred to as the East End. The traditional core neighbourhoods of the East End are Bethnal Green, Stepney & Poplar (since 1965 forming the borough of Tower Hamlets), Shoreditch, Hackney, Mile End and Bow, and a little further south, nearer the river, Spitalfields, Whitechapel, Wapping, Limehouse and Millwall. Nowadays, certain areas south of the river (Southwark, Bermondsey and Walworth) are also strongly associated with Cockney speech.

Moreover, despite my use of the term "Traditional Cockney", the variety to which I am referring is not a traditional dialect in the sense of displaying any ancient dialectal features like the rural dialects of the rest of England. As Trudgill (1990: 44-45) says: "It is arguable whether modern Cockney contains any elements of Traditional Dialect at all ... ." "Nineteenth-century Cockney certainly was a Traditional Dialect, however...", and one of its traditional features was the articulation of <v> as a kind of [w]-sound ([ʊ]) in words like *vex* and *village*, a pronunciation which, though now extinct in London, could still be heard in the Eastern Counties until recently.

There is a widespread, popular belief that a true speaker of Cockney is someone born within the sound of Bow Bells (which are mentioned in the children's nursery rhyme "Oranges and Lemons" and constitute an important landmark in the story of Dick Whittington). However, these are the bells of the church of St Mary-le-Bow in Cheapside, which today is not in the East End but in the City of London (EC2), and are not bells pertaining to a church in Bow itself (E3).

Areas east of those mentioned above are sometimes also considered to be Cockney-speaking in the narrow sense, but this is probably to do with the eastward migration of East Enders. More precisely, places east of the River Lea, which joins the Thames at Bromley-by-Bow in the borough of Tower Hamlets, are part of East London or, further out, Essex, rather than the East End proper. On the south side of the Thames

out towards the estuary, as long ago as the 18th Century, Chatham Dockyard expanded and acquired large numbers of workers who were relocated from the dockland areas of London, which resulted in Chatham also developing a Cockney accent as opposed to nearby Rochester, which had the Kentish one.

Cockney is a low-prestige variety (which leads to frequent hypercorrection of some of its features — see below) but, by dint of being used as a vehicle of literature and comedy, it also has covert prestige. Everyone is familiar with the flower girl Liza Doolittle, Shaw's character in *Pygmalion* (the basis for the award-winning musical *My Fair Lady*) whose speech the phonetician Professor Higgins strives to improve, or Sam Weller in Dicken's *Pickwick Papers*, who pronounced his [v]'s like [w]'s (*wery good*). In more recent times, in the 1960s, Warren Mitchell played Alf Garnet, a larger-than-life Cockney Conservative bigot, in the BBC TV comedy series *Till Death Us Do Part*, created by Johnny Speight. The series was supposed to take place in Wapping in those years, although Mitchell himself was born in Stoke Newington (N16).

Apart from Warren Mitchell, many other comedians have exploited their Cockney accents as a source of humour: Arthur Haynes, Tommy Trinder, Michael Medwin, Charlie Drake, Alfie Bass, Bernard Bresslaw, to name just a few. Cockney has also been used by many singers, as is the case of Bermondsey-born rock-and-roller Tommy Steele (with such songs as *What a Mouth!* and *Little White Bull*), and others such as Alma Cogan, Lonnie Donegan, Joe Brown and His Bruvvers, and Bernard Cribbins, known for his comedy songs *Right said Fred* and *Hole in the Ground*. In the 1980s, a duo known as Chas and Dave came to the fore through their beaty renditions of old Cockney tunes like *Knees Up Mother Brown*, *Gertcha*, *Margate*, *London Girls*, *When I'm cleaning windows*, *Any Old Iron*, *Run Rabbit Run* and *The Laughing Policeman*. Their style became known as Rockney (Rock + Cockney) and their debut album was *One Fing 'n' Anuvver* (1975) ('One Thing and Another'). The fake Cockney accent which is used by actors who are not themselves from London, and which is usually characterized by an extreme realization of the diphthong [eɪ] with a very open onset so that it sounds something like [aɪ], is sometimes described as *Mockney*. In fact, it is this diphthong that often causes Australians to be mistaken for Londoners.

People often associate Cockney with Rhyming Slang, e.g. *plates of meat* 'feet' and *trouble and strife* 'wife', but this jocular use of language may never have been limited to London. It is common in most big cities in the UK, as well as in Australia,

New Zealand and the United States (Lillo 2010: 124; McArthur 1992: 868-869), and far from disappearing, it seems to be on the increase. For example, Lillo (2010: 123) refers to "... the recent growth of rhyming slang in the language of the young generation living on the Southside of Dublin."

There are expressions in the standard language which many people no longer actually recognize as being originally Cockney rhyming slang: *butcher's* (= *butcher's hook* 'look'), *loaf* (= *loaf of bread* 'head'), *china* (= *china plate* 'mate'), *taters* (= *potatoes in the mould* 'cold') and *rabbit* (= *rabbit and pork* 'talk'). Alongside these, Mockney (or Popney) has created such neologistic formations as *Bacardi Breezer* for *geyser* 'bloke, individual', *Hank Marvin* (lead guitarist of the Shadows) for *starving*, and *Shania Twain* for *pain (in the backside)* 'nuisance'. These last two examples reflect the trend that John Ayto (2002: xi) refers to when he says "…the favoured current model is a rhyme based on the name of a fashionable or well-known personality". Unmistakably modern creations, for example, are *Richard Gere* 'beer' and *Britney Spears* 'beers'.

Some phonetic phenomena traditionally associated with the speech of London (glottalization, [ʊ] for [r], TH-Fronting, i.e. pronouncing <th> as [f] or [v]) have also arisen further afield, in parts of England and Scotland and, rightly or wrongly, been attributed to influence of the metropolis. For example, TH-Fronting, a merger most likely due to the phonological markedness of [θ] and [ð] as compared to [f] and [v] (Kerswill 2003: 240), has been recorded in Glasgow (among other places), and Glaswegian speech containing this feature is sometimes referred to humoristically in the press and popular literature as Jockney. Regional speech which has incorporated such features of the London variety has sometimes been called Estuary English, but this term has attracted some criticism and is not heard quite so much nowadays as it was a few years ago.

2. Vowels

The vowel frequency chart below (Figure 1) was devised from recordings made with three men from London, aged 55, 63 and 67 at the time of recording, reading the

vowels of their London speech in the context /h-d/. The words recorded were the following:

(1) heed	(2) hid	(3) head	(4) had	(5) hard	(6) hod
(7) hoard	(8) hood	(9) who'd	(10) Hud	(11) heard	(12) header

This is the environment chosen by Wells in his 1962 study (see II. Experimental procedure. Recording procedure) and it was adopted by Hawkins & Midgley (2005: 185). As Wells says, "The frame /h-d/ is particularly suitable for studies of English vowels, since (i) /h/ has so little influence on following vowels, and (ii) it so happens that a real English word results for nearly every 'pure' vowel in this sequence." To record instances of schwa in final position, where it may be particularly open, the word header was added. To avoid beginning and end-of-list effects in reading (see Hawkins & Midgley 2005: 185) and to have various tokens of each vowel from which to choose for analysis, the participants were asked to repeat each word three times.

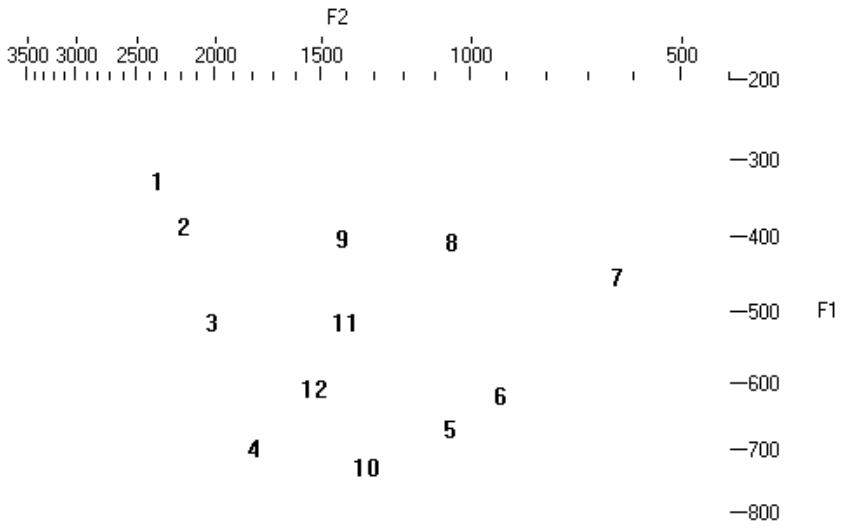

Figure 1. Vowel height and frontness in Cockney calculated from the average F1 and F2 values obtained from three elderly male speakers for each of the 12 vowels.

The symbols that have been chosen to represent the vowels of TC and PLS speech and which are listed alongside the RP vowels in Figure 2 are considered to be indicative of the commonest values, though the usual range of variation is also given.

	RP	Usual range of variation in TC and PLS	Sample word
1.	/iː/	[ɪi ~ əi]	bee [b̥ɪi]
2.	/ɪ/	[ɪ ~ ɪ̞]	bit [b̥ɪʔ]
3.	/e/	[ɛ]	bed [b̥ɛd̥]
4.	/æ/	[æ ~ ɛ]	mat [mæʔ]
5.	/ɑː/	[ɑː ~ ɑ̟ː]	Margate [ˈmɑːgɪʔ]
6.	/ɒ/	[ɒ ~ ɔ]	jot [d̥ʒ̊ɒʔ]
7.	/ɔː/	[oː ~ o̞ʊ ~ ɔo]	yawn [joːn]
		[o̞ə ~ ɔwə]	yourn [jɔən] ‘yours’
		(see *Diphthongs* below)	
8.	/ʊ/	[ʊ ~ ʊ̟]	look [lʊʔᵏ]
9.	/uː/	[ʊʉ ~ əʉ]	loopy [ˈlʊʉʔᵖɪi] ‘mad’
10.	/ʌ/	[a ~ ɐ̟]	London [ˈlandn̩]
11.	/ɜː/	[ɜː ~ ɜ̟ː ~ ɞː]	nurse [nɜːs]
12.	/ə/	[ə ~ ɐ]	water [ˈwoːʔə]

Figure 2. The vowels of Cockney

As can be seen from the above chart, the short vowels are often similar to those of RP, especially in less broad varieties of Cockney, though the field of dispersion of the allophones may not coincide exactly. For example, [ɪ] may be more central than in RP, and [æ] and [ɒ] less open: [ɛ] and [ɔ], respectively (Wells 1982: 305). The pronunciation of the word *Saturday*, for example, is sometimes [ˈsɛʔədɪi]. In a few words like *gawd* (*god*), *gone*, *off* and *cough*, the long vowel [oː] instead of [ɒ] may still be heard from the older generation of Cockneys, but it is recessive and often ridiculed or used in jocular expressions like *Now you’ve been and gone and done it!* [ˈnæː jəv ˈbɪin ən ˈgoːn ən ˈdan ɪʔ].

Note also that [ʊ] can be more fronted than in RP in some words, particularly the adjective *good* [g̊ʊ̟d̥], and that RP [ʌ] is in general noticeably more open in TC, resulting in [a], as in *come* [kʰam], present and past tense in Cockney of the verb *to come*. Schwa is also perceptibly more open in word-final position: *dinner* [ˈd̥ɪnɐ].

Instead of [ɛ], broad Cockney may occasionally have closer allophones with a palatal off-glide before a voiced consonant: *bedroom* [b̥ɛⁱdɹʊʉm], *leg* [lɛⁱg̊].

As for the vowels corresponding to RP long vowels, these are often appreciably more diphthongal than in RP. The FLEECE vowel tends to close after beginning with a more open tongue position than in RP, which may be as low and centralized as [ə], and it is usually diphthongal too when word/morpheme-final and unstressed, as opposed to RP [i] (the *happ*Y vowel), as in *Steve* [stɪiʏ] and *busy* [ˈb̥ɪzɪi], and also where RP

traditionally has initial unstressed [ɪ], as in *effect* [ɪiˈfɛkt], *electric* [ɪiˈlɛktrɪk] and *economy* [ɪiˈkɒnəmɪi], though Wells (2008) says that the unstressed prefixes *be-*, *de-*, *e-*, *pre-*, *re-*, and sometimes *se-*, are now associated with a shortened FLEECE vowel, [i]. Barltrop & Wolveridge (1980: 104) claim that a long FLEECE vowel is even heard in TC in words like *escape* and *estate*, which in RP would never have initial [i], but either [ɪ] or [ə].

The equivalent back vowel (the GOOSE vowel) is similarly slightly diphthongal, beginning more open and centralized than in RP and gliding to a higher, generally centralized position ([ʊʉ]). In recent times, this vowel has shown a tendency to become much fronter while retaining some of its rounding: [yː], which is particularly noticeable when the vowel is preceded by [j], as in *you* [jyː]. Kerswill & Williams (2005) refer to the proliferation of this vowel outside London.

The PALM vowel has a fully back allophone ([ɑː]) considered to be a marker of broad Cockney, while the THOUGHT vowel tends to be higher than RP [ɔː] in closed syllables ([oː]) and very often diphthongal, with a glide in the region of [o̟ʊ ~ ɔo], and centring in open syllables ([o̟ə ~ ɔwə]), including derivatives ending in a consonant. Thus *board* [b̥oːd̥] is in phonological opposition to *bored* [b̥o̟əd̥] < *bore* [b̥o̟ə] (this phonemicization is referred to in Wells (1982: 310) as the THOUGHT Split. The NURSE vowel may be slightly fronted and/or slightly rounded with allophones in the [ɜ̟ː ~ œː] range.

2.1 Diphthongs

RP	Usual range of variation in TC and PLS	Sample word
/eɪ/	[ʌɪ ~ ɛɪ ~ æɪ ~ aɪ]	Spain [spʌɪn]
/əʊ/	[ʌʊ ~ a̟ʊ]	so, sew, sow [sʌʊ]
	[ɔo ~ ɒʊ ~ aɤ]	soul [sɒʊ]
/aɪ/	[ɑɪ ~ ɒɪ]	light [lɑɪʔ]
/aʊ/	[æʊ ~ æə ~ æː]	mouth [mæʊf]
/ɔɪ/	[ɔ̟ɪ ~ oɪ]	boy [b̥ɔ̟ɪ]
/ɪə/	[iə ~ ɪə ~ ɪː]	near [niə]
/ɛə/	[ɛə ~ ɛː]	chair [tʃɛə]
	[ɔː ~ ɔ̟ə ~ ɔwə]	door [d̥ɔ̟ə]
/ʊə/	[ʊə ~ ʊː]	boor [b̥ʊə]

Figure 3. The diphthongs of Cockney

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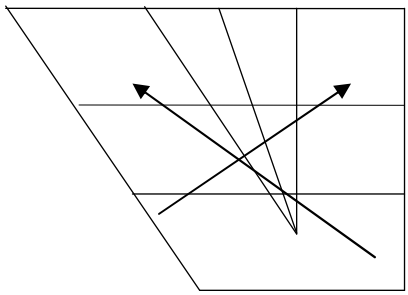

Figure 4. The closing diphthongs of Cockney [ɑɪ, æʊ] (The PRICE-MOUTH Crossover)

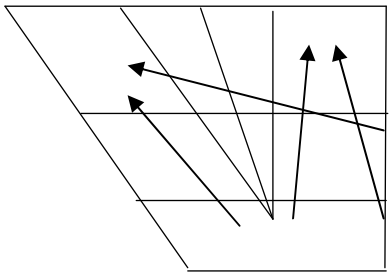

Figure 5. The closing diphthongs of Cockney [ʌɪ, ʌʊ, ɒʊ, ɔ̝ɪ]

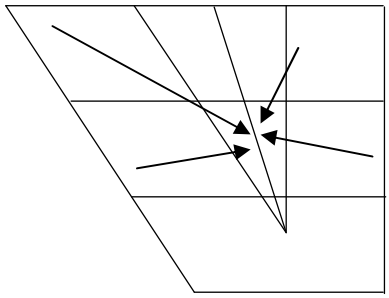

Figure 6. The centripetal diphthongs [iə, ɛə, ɔə, ʊə]

For [ɪi] and [ʊɯ] (RP [iː] and [uː], respectively), see the commentary on the vowels.

As is widely recognized, urban accents are more progressive when it comes to sound change. Cockney, together with London urban speech in general and that of other southern and Midland dialects, has taken the Great English Vowel Shift a stage further than in RP: the closing diphthongs [æʊ] and [ʌʊ] show a clockwise movement with respect to RP [aʊ] and [əʊ]: *mouth* [mæʊf], *boat* [b̥ʌʊʔ]; the remaining closing ones, [ʌɪ], [ɑɪ] and [ɔ̝ɪ], show an anti-clockwise movement with respect to RP [eɪ], [aɪ] and [ɔɪ]: *paint* [pʰʌĩⁿʔ], *pint* [pʰɑĩⁿʔ], *point* [pʰɔ̝ĩⁿʔ]. As the starting point of the PRICE diphthong is considerably more retracted than in RP, and the starting-point of the

MOUTH diphthong is considerably fronter, so that they cross over and the diphthong in each of these words may be [ɑɪ] and [æʊ]/[æə], respectively, Wells (1982: 310) refers to this phenomenon as the PRICE-MOUTH Crossover.

The diphthongs [ɑɪ] and [ʌɪ] may reduce to [ɪi] in unstressed *my* and suffixed *-day*, respectively: *my pants* [mɪi ˈpæ̃ⁿʔs], *Friday* [ˈfɻ̩ɑɪdɪi]. The unstressed [ʌʊ] of words or morphemes as in *pillow, follow, tomorrow, potato, tomato, photo(graph)* and *sellotape* often reduces to schwa in less careful speech: [ˈpʰɪlə, ˈfɒlə, tʰəˈmɒɹə, pʰəˈtʰʌɪʔə, tʰəmɑːʔə, ˈfʌʊʔəgɹæf, ˈsɛləˈtʰʌɪʔb̥]. The main shopping street in Hackney is known as *the Narrow Way* [ˈnæɹəwʌɪ].

The traditional London equivalent of RP [əʊ] has a much lower nucleus; hence *boat* tends to be articulated as [b̥ʌʊt]. Moreover, the use of a noticeably different allophone, [ɒʊ], before velar [l] means that, owing to L-vocalization, [ʌʊ] and [ɒʊ] are potentially in phonological opposition in pairs such as *so/sew/sow* and *soul*: /sʌʊ/ v. /sɒʊ/ (the GOAT Split, Wells 1982: 312-313). Other such minimal pairs are *bow* /b̥ʌʊ/ v. *bowl* /b̥ɒʊ/, *Coe/co-* /kʌʊ/ v. *coal* /kɒʊ/, *mow* /mʌʊ/ v. *mole* /mɒʊ/, *toe* /tow /tʌʊ/ v. *toll* /tɒʊ/, *go* /g̊ʌʊ/ v. *goal* /g̊ɒʊ/, and *show* /ʃʌʊ/ v. *shoal* /ʃɒʊ/. Note also that *holy* /ˈhʌʊlɪi/ forms a minimal pair with *wholly* /ˈhɒʊlɪi/, which retains the vowel of *whole* /hɒʊ/, although this is not the case for speakers that pronounce *wholly* with a geminate [l]: [ˈhɒʊllɪi].

In RP, the words *Boer* and *boor* are generally distinguished as /ˈbəʊə/ and /bʊə/, respectively, though *Boer* may also be given the homophonous pronunciation /bʊə/. In TC and PLS, these two words also tend to be pronounced as homophones, but with the diphthong [o̞ə]. Thus *The Boer War* will be pronounced as [ðə ˈbo̞ə ˈwo̞ə].

All three centripetal diphthongs, [iə], [eə] and [ɔə], but particularly [ɔə], may be pronounced with glide insertion in the broadest Cockney, especially in final position. Thus *more/More* (*moor*, *Moor[e]*) and *poor/paw* may be articulated as [ˈmɔʷə] and [ˈpɔʷə], respectively, while *here* and *there* may occasionally be heard as [ˈhɨʲə] ~ [ˈɨʲə] and [ˈðɛʲə], respectively.

The monophthongal versions of the centring diphthongs tend to be used more word-internally, but there is no hard-and-fast rule.

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2.2 Vowels before [ɬ]

Dark [l] ([ɬ]), as a liquid, has a lowering and/or backing effect in English but additionally brings about neutralization in TC and PLS through vocalization. Thus *peel/peal* and *pill*, with the underlying contrast /ɪi/ v. /ɪ/, fall together as [pɪɤ], and thus rhyme with *real* [ɹɪɤ]. In like manner, the back vowels [ʊʉ] and [ʊ], as in *fool* and *full*, respectively, and the [oː] in *fall*, also neutralize, and are all usually pronounced as [foː], thus generally rhyming with *cruel* and *crawl* [kɻoː], RP [kɻuːˑɬ] and [kɻɔːɬ], respectively. Note also that *Paul* [pʰoː] usually sounds identical to *pool* and *pull*, and *bull*, RP [bʊɬ], sounds like *ball* [boː].

The vowels of TRAP, FACE and MOUTH (/æ, ʌɪ, æʊ/, respectively) also undergo neutralization as a result of [l]-vocalization in TC and PLS so that, when followed by the vocoid liquid, they may merge as [æɤ]. Thus *sale* may sound like *Sal* (= *Sally*), and *pail* like *pal*, while *hail* may fuse with *howl*, and these in turn with *ale* if their initial <h> is not pronounced. In very broad accents, [ɑː] and [ɑɪ] plus [l] may also participate in this kind of contextual merger, so that words like *Carl* [kʰɑɤ] and *style* [stɑɤ] have the same rhyme, [æɤ]. (For other examples, see Wells 1982: 316-317)

Pairs like *Moll* and *mole*, and *doll* and *dole*, with the underlying opposition [ɒ] v. [ɒʊ], may also converge as [mɒʊ] or [maɤ] and [d̥ɒʊ] or [d̥aɤ]. The word *dull* can be a homophone of the latter pair. In the stressed syllable of words like *involve* and *solve*, Londoners say [ɒʊ] rather than [ɒ], the latter being the traditional RP pronunciation.

Finally, note that [g̊ɛɤ] is a common pronunciation of *girl* [g̊ɜːɬ], and that there is possible neutralization to [eɤ] of the vowels of RP minimal pairs like *well* /wɛl/ and *whirl* /wɜːl/ (Wells 1982: 317), both of which may be realized as [wɛɤ].

2.3 Vowels in hiatus

Rather than monophthongize sequences of diphthongs ending in [ɪ] or [ʊ] + [ə] as in RP (*fire* [ˈfaɪə] > [fɑː], *tower* [ˈtʰaʊə] > [tɑː], *slower* [ˈsl̥əʊə] > [sl̥ɜː]), the broadest Cockney accents tend to resolve the vowel hiatus by glide insertion. Thus the afore-mentioned words may be pronounced [ˈfɑɹʲə], [ˈtʰæʊʷə] and [ˈsl̥ʌʊʷə], respectively. However, the majority of Londoners use forms of the type [ˈfɑɪə], [ˈtʰæʊə], [ˈsl̥ʌʊə]. The

pronunciations with glide insertion may, in fact, be acquired during childhood but abandoned in adulthood.

The above-mentioned pronunciations with glide insertion also operate across morpheme boundaries; thus *high-er* [ˈhɑɹʲə], *allow-ance* [əˈlæʊʷəns] and *throw-er* [ˈθɻʌʊʷə], for example. Moreover, high monophthongs may also be involved, as in *freer* [ˈfɻiiʲə], *fewer* [ˈfjʊʉʷə], *piano* [pɪiˈʲjænə] and *influence* [ˈɪnfluʉʷəns], and cases with the definite article followed by a vowel, like *the end of the road* [ðɻi ˈʲjɛnd ə ðə ˈɹʌʊd̥], *the artful dodger* [ðɻi ˈʲjɑːʔfo ˈdɒdʒə] and *where the hell (have) you been?* [ˈwɛə ðɪi ʲjɛo ˈjʊʉ bɪn], or the prepositions *to* and *through* plus a vowel: *we went to a party* [wɪi ˈwɛ̃ⁿʔ tʰʊʉ ʷə ˈpʰɑːʔɪi]; *he drove through a wall* [ɪi ˈdɹʌʊɣ fɻʊʉ ʷə ˈwoː].

3. Consonants

	Bilabial	Labio-dental	Dental	Alveolar	Post-alveolar	Palatal	Velar	Glottal
Plosive	p b		t d				k g	
Affricate					tʃ dʒ			
Nasal	m			n			ŋ	
Fricative		f v	(θ) (ð)	s z	ʃ ʒ			(h)
Approximant	w				ɹ	j	w	
Lateral approximant				l				

Figure 7. The consonants of Cockney

The following lists of words give examples of the consonant phonemes of TC and PLS, as shown in the Table above, in initial, medial and final position, where applicable, in order to show the phonological distribution of the consonants and illustrate any noticeable phonetic variation. Some words will be given in more than one form to show common variant pronunciations of the sound being illustrated. Not all possible variants will be given, however, for each individual word.

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	Initial position	Medial position	Final position
p	pork [pʰoʊʔkʰ], [pʰoʊʔᵏ]	scarper [ˈskɑːpʰə] ~ [ˈskɑːʔᵖə]	cap [kʰæʔpʰ] ~ [kʰæpɸ] ~ [kʰæʔᵖ]
b	better [ˈb̥ɛtʰə] ~ [ˈb̥ɛʔə]	Khyber [ˈkʰɑɪbə] ‘arse’	gob [ɡ̊ɒb̥] ‘mouth’
t	tea [tʰɪi] ~ [tˢɪi]	Betty [ˈb̥ɛtʰɪi] ~ [ˈb̥ɛtˢɪi] ~ [ˈb̥ɛʔɪi] ~ [b̥ɛt̬ɪi]	hat [hæʔtʰ] ~ [hæʔtˢ] ~ [æʔ]
d	do [d̥ʊʁ]	ladder [ˈlædə]	glad [ɡ̊læd̥]
k	come [kʰam] ~ [kˣam]	jockey [ˈd̥ʒɒkʰɪi] ~ [ˈd̥ʒɒkˣɪi] ~ [ˈd̥ʒɒʔɪi]	Jack [d̥ʒæʔkʰ] ~ [d̥ʒæʔkˣ] ~ [d̥ʒæʔᵏ]
g	governor [ˈɡ̊ʌvnə] ‘boss’	bigger [ˈb̥ɪgə]	fag [fæɡ̊] ‘cigarette’
tʃ	china [ˈtʃɑɪnə]	Archie [ˈɑːʔtʃɪi]	catch [kʰæʔtʃ]
dʒ	jam [d̥ʒæm]	codger [ˈkʰɒdʒə]	dodge [d̥ɒd̥ʒ]
m	my [mɑɪ]	hammer [ˈhæmə] ~ [ˈæmə]	lamb [læm]
n	no [nʌʊ]	pony [ˈpʰʌʊnɪi]	own [ʌʊn]
ŋ	–	banger [ˈb̥æŋə]	sing [sɪŋ]
f	five [fɑɪv]	coffee [ˈkʰɒfɪi]	laugh [lɑːf]
v	very [ˈv̥ɛɹɪi]	fiver [ˈfɑɪvə]	dive [d̥ɑɪv̥]
θ	thin [θɪn] ~ [fɪn]	Kathy [ˈkæθɪi] ~ [ˈkæfɪi]	Smith [smɪθ] ~ [smɪf]
ð	then [ð̥ɛn] ~ [v̥ɛn]	brother [ˈb̥ɹaðə] ~ [ˈb̥ɹavə]	bathe [b̥ʌɪð̥] ~ [b̥ʌɪv̥]
s	sorry [ˈsɒɹɪi]	massive [ˈmæsɪv̥]	miss [mɪs]
z	zoo [z̥ʊʁ]	carsey [ˈkʰɑːzɪi] ‘toilet’	booze [b̥ʊʁz̥] ‘alcohol’
ʃ	shovel [ˈʃavo]	luscious [ˈlaʃəs]	moosh [mʊʃ] ‘mate; face’
ʒ	–	measure [ˈmɛʒə]	
h	heat [hɪitʰ], [hɪiʔ] ~ [ɪiʔ]	behind [bɪiˈɦɑɪnd] ~ [bɪiˈɑɪnd]	–
l	lie [lɑɪ]	wally [ˈwɒlɪi] ‘man’	tell [tʰɛɬ] ~ [tʰɛo]
r	real [ɹɪo]	marry [ˈmæɹɪi]	–
j	yellow [ˈjɛlə]	higher [ˈhɑɪʲə] ~ [ˈɑɪʲə]	–
w	well [wɛo]	lower [ˈlʌʊʷə]	–

Figure 8. The consonants of Cockney. Examples

3.1 Plosives

TC and PLS, like other varieties of English have six plosive phonemes, /p, b, t, d, k, g/, three pairs of unvoiced and voiced segments produced at the bilabial, alveolar and velar places of articulation. The unvoiced ones are heavily aspirated in pre-stress

position, as a general rule. Cockney speakers also produce noticeable aspiration outside the pre-stress position: intervocalically as in *cuppa* (= cup of tea) [ˈkʰapʰə], *matter* [ˈmætʰə], *nicker* 'pound' [ˈnɪkʰə]; finally as in *cup* [kʰapʰ], *mat* [mætʰ] and *nick* [nɪkʰ], though [k] shows less aspiration than the other two consonants. Affrication is also common, particularly of /t/ and /k/ in all positions, but of /p/, too, in final position (see examples in the Table above). Sometimes, the voiced plosives are affricated, too, particularly /d/: *do* [d̥ᶻʊʉ], *bad* [b̥æd̥ᶻ].

As in RP, the voiced plosives, like the voiced fricatives and the affricate [dʒ], are not fully voiced in absolute initial and final position or when contiguous with an unvoiced consonant: *big* [b̥ɪg̊], *dead* [d̥ɛd̥], *both go* [ˈb̥ʌʊf g̊ʌʊ], but it should be mentioned that degree of voicing in obstruents can be unpredictably irregular, presumably in both RP and Cockney accents.

The unvoiced plosives tend to be subject to pre-glottalization when not in absolute initial position in RP and following a vowel: *cup* [kʰaʔpʰ], *mat* [mæʔtʰ], *nick* [nɪʔkʰ]. In TC and PLS it sometimes happens that the segment is realized as a bare glottal stop (*cup* [kʰʌʔ], *mat* [mæʔ], *nick* [nɪʔ]), even when a vowel follows: *cup of tea* [ˈkʰaʔ ə ˈtʰiː], *mat and carpet* [ˈmæʔ ən ˈkɑːʔɪʔ], *he'll nick it* [io ˈnɪʔ ɪʔ]. This is most frequently so in the case of underlying /t/, but with the other unvoiced plosives there tends to be a gesture accompanying the glottalling which identifies them as either bilabial or velar; this may be heard as a weakly articulated plosive: *paper* [ˈpʌɪʔb̥ə], *Wilkins* [ˈwɪoʔg̊ɪnz]. As can be seen, glottalization takes place in TC and PLS most commonly when the following syllable is unstressed. Notwithstanding, the glottal stop is occasionally found before stress, as in *tata* [tʰæˈʔɑː] 'goodbye' and *cartoons* [kʰɑːˈʔʊʉnz].

In educated British English accents (what Collins & Mees (2003: 245) call NRP, non-regional pronunciation), pre-glottalization and glottal replacement very commonly affect a group of high-frequency words, namely: *it*, *bit*, *get*, *let*, *at*, *that*, *got*, *lot*, *not* (and contracted forms: *don't*, *can't*, *aren't*, *isn't*, etc.), *what*, *put*, *but*, *might*, *right*, *quite*, *out*, *about* (Collins & Mees, 2003: 82). However, in TC and PLS, glottalization is the norm and tends to be used across the board, except in highly self-conscious speech styles or careful reading.

The unvoiced bilabial and velar plosives are most commonly fully glottalized after a nasal, as in *crumpet* [ˈkɻamʔɪʔ] and *sink* [sɪŋʔ], an environment in which the

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unvoiced alveolar plosive can also be subject to glottalling: *Clinton* [ˈkl̥ɪnʔn̩]. Full glottalling can take place in this context without risk of ambiguity, as the nasal consonants identify the place of articulation. The [b] of *able* (RP [ˈeɪbɬ]) is often vocalized like the [ɬ], so that, in fast speech at least, the word may sound the same as *ale/ail* [ˈʌɪo].

The intervocalic alveolar plosive after a stressed vowel is not only frequently glottalized but can also be tapped, as in *British* [ˈb̥ɹɪt̬ɪʃ] and *got it* [ˈg̊ɒt̬ɪʔ]. Instead of a tap a voiced alveolar plosive may be used, as in *better* [ˈb̥ɛdə] and *hospital* [ˈɒspɪdoʊ]. Occasionally, in a few expressions, intervocalic /t/ is rhotacized (a phenomenon more closely associated with varieties of English spoken in northern England): *Shut up pushing me!* [ˈʃaɹ aʔ ˈpʰʊʃɪn mɪi] ‘Stop pushing me!’. The voiced alveolar plosive is sometimes glottalized, particularly in the case of the negative of modal verbs, like *couldn’t* [kʰʊʔnʔ], *didn’t* [d̥ɪʔnʔ], *hadn’t* [æʔnʔ], *needn’t* [nɪiʔnʔ], *shouldn’t* [ʃʊʔnʔ] and *wouldn’t* [wʊʔnʔ].

The alveolar plosives are sometimes elided not only preconsonantally (*Your dad’s coming* [jə ˈdæz kʰʌmɪn]), but also in absolute final position in certain words: *nothing left* [ˈnafɪn ˈlɛf], *bacon rind* [ˈb̥ʌɪʔn ɹɑɪn]. In the case of less familiar words like *rind*, the speaker may be unaware of the existence of the final [d] in the spelling, so that the word is reinterpreted as not having this underlying final segment and it is never restored even when a vowel follows.

In the word *dreadful*, final preconsonantal [d] is sometimes realized as [t] and/or glottalized: [d̥ɹɛʔtfo].

3.2 Affricates

As in RP, non-initial unvoiced affricates are pre-glottalized: *match* [mæʔtʃ], *satchel* [ˈsæʔtʃoʊ]. In some cases where the recommended RP pronunciation is with [tʃ], as in the ending *-wich*, Londoners tend to use the voiced counterpart, with the partial devoicing typical of the voiced plosives in initial and final position: *Greenwich* [ˈg̊ɹɪnɪd̥ʒ̊], *sandwich* [ˈsæmwɪd̥ʒ̊].

The affricates often surface through a process of palatalization or coalescent assimilation, in which a [j] palatalizes a preceding consonant. Such is the case of [ˈg̊ɒʔtʃə] (*[I’ve] got you*) and [ˈd̥ɪʤə] (*Did you?*), and the Cockney expression [ˈg̊ɜːtʃə]

(*Gertcha* — often without preglottalling) < *Get out (of it), you,* expressing disbelief or something like 'Come off it!'. For further examples see *Connected speech phenomena* below.

3.3 Nasals

The nasals have the same distribution as in RP, i.e. [m] and [n] in all positions, but [ŋ] only in codas. Although [n] and [ŋ] are usually distinct (e.g. *thin* [fɪn] v. *thing* [fɪŋ]) and occupy the same contexts as in RP, it should be noted that the *-ing* gerund ending is always pronounced with an alveolar nasal in the broadest Cockney accents (*hoping* [ˈʌʊʔb̥ɪn], *thinking* [ˈfɪŋʔɪn]), while the indefinite pronouns *something*, *anything* and *nothing* have a range of variant pronunciations as follows:

something [ˈsaŋfɪŋ, ˈsaŋfɪŋʔk, ˈsaŋfɪn, ˈsanɪk]

anything [ˈɛnɪifɪŋ, ˈɛnɪifɪŋʔk, ˈɛnɪifɪn]

nothing [ˈnafɪŋ, ˈnafɪŋʔk, ˈnafɪn]

Naturally, nasal consonants usually nasalize preceding vowels to a greater or lesser extent (thus [ˈsaŋfɪŋ] could be [ˈsãŋfĩŋ] ~ [ˈsãᵐfĩᵑ]), but nasalization of vowels is particularly noticeable in TC and PLS when the the nasal consonant is followed by an unvoiced stop, as in *can't* [kɑ̃ːⁿʔ], *don't* [d̥ʌ̃ʊ̃ⁿʔ] *ain't* [ʌĩⁿʔ] and *thank* [fæ̃ᵑʔ], in which case the nasal consonant may virtually disappear (see also *Connected Speech Phenomena*, below).

3.4 Fricatives

Just as Londoners are aware of where [h] is expected in pronunciation (see below), they are also cognizant of the [f] - [θ] and [v] - [ð] distinction in RP, and often exploit the opposition themselves. However, there is generally a merger of these labio-dental and dental segments in London, so that *thin* sounds like *fin*, and *breathe* sounds like *breve*. In a separate development, initial [ð] is often strengthened to [d] (note *that* [dæʔ], *then* [dɛn] [see also Figure 8], *there* [dɛə], *though* [dʌʊ], and the borrowed Creole term *bredren* [ˈbrɛdɹɪn] 'friend', which also contains this stop as opposed to RP *brethren*

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[breðɹɪn]), or it may assimilate completely to a preceding nasal (see *Connected speech phenomena* below).

In the word *thanks*, initial [θ] may be reduced to a glottal fricative: [hæŋʔˢs].

The unvoiced alveolar fricative, [s], may be palatalized in TC and PLS through assimilation in triconsonantal clusters: *strooth!* [ʃt̪ʊɬf] (< *God's truth*), *strike a light!* [ʃt̪ɑɪʔkʰ ə lɑɪʔ]. Foulkes & Docherty (2003: 66) offer the examples *stupid* [ˈʃtʃɬpɪd] and *strong* [ʃtɹɒŋ] (though not specifically from London speech).

Whereas in RP there are many instances of synchronic variable H-loss in grammatical words in unstressed environments, and historically in the suffix *-ham* and the pronoun *it* < *hit*, this type of elision is extended, at least among older Cockney speakers, to lexical words like *hat* [æʔ], *heavy* [ˈɛvɪi] and *help* [ɛoʔpʰ], so that we can say that it is generalized across prosodic environments, being less likely when foot initial. As the phenomenon is highly stigmatized, Cockney speakers and Londoners in general will make a conscious effort to pronounce [h] in more careful speech, and they are usually aware of where [h] is pronounced in RP, although cases of hypercorrection like *h-educated* [ˈhɛdjʊɬkʰʌɪʔɪd̪] and *h-ignorant* [ˈhɪgnərənʔ] occasionally arise, but nowadays these are more often than not facetious pronunciations rather than genuine lapses. At least as far as young people in South-east London are concerned, H-loss, though still widespread, seems to be stabilizing or has stabilized (Tollfree 1999: 173).

Although glottalling is mostly associated with plosives, in TC and PLS the labio-dental and dental fricatives, notably [f] can also be glottalized: *office* [ˈɒʔɪs], *different* [ˈd̪ɪʔɹn̪ʔ], *safer* [ˈsʌɪʔə]. Note, in particular, the pronunciation of the modal verb *have to* [ˈæʔə] (also past tense, *had to*, with the same pronunciation): *I'll have to go and look at my tomatoes* [al ˈæʔə ˈgʌʊʷ ən ˈlʊʔᵏ əʔ mi tʰəˈmɑːʔəz]. Glottalling of [v], [θ] and [ð] is much less common, and I refer the reader to Wells (1982: 327-328) for information.

As in RP, the voiced fricatives, like the voiced plosives and the affricate [dʒ], are not fully voiced in initial and final position: *valve* [v̥æoʏ̯], *zoos* [z̥ʊɬz̥]. According to Linda Shockey (2003: 30), [z] is hardly ever fully voiced in English.

3.5 Approximants

When pronounced after vowels, /l/ is very dark in TC and PLS: [ɬ]. In fact, in this position it is more often than not vocoid, as in *bowl* [b̥ɒʊ] and *tall* [tʰoː], the resulting

back vowel being in the region of [o], [ʊ] or unrounded [ɤ]. The "darkening" of post-vocalic [l] has a notable effect on the preceding vowels (see below).

Although the environment in which [l]-vocalization has been traditionally attested is word/syllable-final pre-consonantal or pre-pausal, Tollfree (1999: 174) has found instances in word-final intervocalic contexts among the younger generation in South East London (1999: 174). This means that from now on we may find increasing vocalization in phrases like *the Millwall area* [ðə mɪoˈwoːʷ ɛəɹɪə], *Muswell Hill* [ˈmazwɛo ˈʷɪo] and *He took a bowl over his mate's* 'He went to his friend's house' [ɪi ˈtʰʊʔᵏ ə ˈbɒʊʷ ʌʊvəɹ ɪz ˈmʌɪʔs] without recovery of the underlying lateral segment.

As in RP, in TC and PLS the consonant <r> is not pronounced after vowels, this occurring without any of the low prestige which is attached to H-dropping, no doubt precisely because post-vocalic [ɹ] "has also been lost in what became the institutional accent" (Milroy 1983: 40). The loss of final [ɹ] is a complete, irreversible process which always operates unless the next syllable begins with a vowel, in which case a linking [ɹ] is used: *pour* [poː], *pour it out* [ˈpoːɹ ɪʔ ˈæʊʔ]; *occur* [əˈkɜː], *occurring* [əˈkɜːɹɪn]; *far* [fɑː], *how far is it?* [ˈæʊ ˈfɑːɹ ɪz ɪʔ].

Prevocalic [ɹ] may be articulated as a labio-dental approximant, [ʋ], rather than a postalveolar approximant: *real* [ʋɪo], *red* [ʋɛd̥]. After [p] and [k], [ɹ] or [ʋ] is often devoiced, as is also the case of [ɹ] in RP: *price* [pɻɑɪs] ~ [pʋɑɪs], *crash* [kɻæʃ] ~ [kʋæʃ]; after [t], the segment is also very noticeably fricative: *train* [tɻʌ̃ĩn] ~ [tʋʌ̃ĩn].

Note that the [ʋ] corresponding to RP [v] in words like *very*, and which was the kind of articulation supposed to be used by Charles Dickens' character Sam Weller, is no longer found in London speech.

Like American English, TC and PLS delete [j] after coronal consonants, of which the dental [θ] and the alveolar segments [t, d, n, s, z, l] are most relevant to our present description. The post-alveolar articulations [r, ʃ, ʒ, tʃ, dʒ], which, like RP, have either caused the yod to drop historically, as is the case of [r], or merged it with the palatal articulation in a process of coalescent assimilation, do not count here. There are very few cases of [j] after [θ] in RP, the principal one being the word *enthusiasm*, which in TC and PLS has the variant pronunciations [ɛnˈθʊɧzjæzm] ~ [ɪnˈθʊɧzjæzm] ~ [ɛnˈθʊɧziæzm] ~ [ɪnˈθʊɧziæzm]. Note also that *few* [fjʊɧ] may occasionally lose its yod: [fʊɧ]. Examples of alveolars with yod deletion are *tune* [tʰʊɧn], *duty* [ˈd̥ʊɧʔɪi], *new* [nʊɧ], *assume* [əˈsʊɧm], *presume* [pɻɪiˈzʊɧm] and *allude* [əˈlʊɧd̥], and these require

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some comment, too. Whereas yod loss after the alveolar nasal is well established, it seems that the overriding tendency in Modern Cockney is to palatalize [t] and [d] + [j], so that *tune* and *duty* are usually pronounced [tʃʊʉn] and [ˈd̥ʒʊʉʔɪi] nowadays (Wells 1982: 330-331). Older speakers may say *stew* [stʊʉ] and *Tuesday* [ˈtʰʊʉzdɪi], and I have heard only the form *Teuton* [ˈtʰʊʉʔɒn] from one male speaker of eighty, though the younger generations are apt to use palatalization in many common words. YOD-deletion after [s], [z] and [l] is quite normal in TC and PLS, and there is also a tendency towards it in other varieties of British English according to Wells' 1988 poll, though the actual poll figures given in Wells, 2008 for *assume* and *presume* show a marked preference for the yod (84% and 76%, respectively), while *allude* is given first as [əˈluːd] and secondly as [əˈljuːd].

For [j] as an an epenthetic consonant between vowels, see *Vowels in hiatus* above.

As in RP, [w], like [j], is only used in prevocalic position: *witch/which* [wɪʔtʃ], *twitch* [tʍɪʔtʃ], *squint* [skʍĩⁿʔ], *square* [skʍɛə]. For [w] as an epenthetic consonant between vowels, see *Vowels in hiatus* above.

As in RP, all the approximants undergo devoicing when preceded by an unvoiced consonant: *flanker* [ˈfl̥æ̃ⁿʔə] 'trick', *terrific* [ˈt̥ɹɪfɪʔᵏ], *puke* [pj̊ʊʉʔᵏ], *twit* [tʍɪʔ].

4. Connected Speech Phenomena

In connected speech, TC and PLS sometimes manifest types of accommodation which are avoided in more formal accents, while sharing with these accents many other continuous-speech phenomena.

Place assimilations as in *I can't believe it* [a ˈkʰɑːm bɪˈlɪiv ɪʔ], *I'm going to go* [aŋ ˈgənə ˈgʌʊ] and *I won't go* [a ˈwʌʊŋᵏ ˈgʌʊ] are also found in accents nearer to RP, though not with the same degree of nasalization that seems to affect Cockney vowels adjacent to nasal consonants: [a ˈkɑ̃ːᵐ bɪˈlɪiv ɪʔ], [ãⁿ ˈgənə ˈgʌʊ], [a ˈwʌʊ̃ⁿᵏ ˈgʌʊ]. Vowels in general, as in other English accents, are influenced by contiguous or nearby segments: witness the labializing effect of the [w] in the word *well* [wœɤ], and the effect of [ɬ] on preceding vowels (see *Vowels before [ɬ]* above).

Like more formal accents, TC and PLS also show many instances of coalescent assimilation or palatalization giving rise to the post-alveolar consonants [ʃ, ʒ, tʃ, dʒ], but

exploits the phenomenon far more frequently than these latter types of speech. Examples: *What class (are) you in?* [ˈwɒʔ ˈkl̥ɑːʃʊʉʷɪn], *What colour's your hair?* [ˈwɒʔ ˈkʰaləʒəˈɹeə], *last year* [ˈlɑːsˈtʃiə], *mind your head* [ˈmɑ̃ⁿd̥ʒəˈɹɛd̥].

Complete assimilations leading to elision are also particularly common. Note, first of all, the reduction of *not* to *n(’t)* when followed by a vowel: *don't I* [ˈd̥ʌʊnɑɪ] ~ [ˈd̥ənɑɪ], *wouldn't it* [ˈwʊdnɪt], *aren't I/haven't I* [ˈənɑɪ], *ain't it* [ˈʌ̃ĩnɪʔ] or the somewhat less stigmatized variant *isn't it* [ˈɪznɪʔ] > *innit* [ˈɪnɪʔ] ~ [ˈənɪʔ]. The same phonological process is realized in other cases of [nt] + vowel, too: *He went away* [ɪi ˈwɛn əˈwʌɪ], *do you want it?* [d̥ʒ̊ə ˈwɒn ɪʔ]. As in the case of *isn't it*, the [z] of *was* is also usually dropped in broad Cockney in the question tag *wasn't I* [ˈwɒnɑɪ] ~ [ˈwənɑɪ], which then makes it potentially homophonous with *won't I* [ˈwəʊnɑɪ] ~ [ˈwənɑɪ].

The dental [ð] can be elided, as in RP, when preceded by a lateral or nasal: *What's all the noise about?* [ˈwɒs oːl ə ˈn̥ɔɪz əbæʊʔ], *pay for the beer and that* [ˈpʰʌɪ fə ðə ˈbiəɹ ən æʔ]. But unlike RP, Cockney extends this elision to other contexts, one notable case being the expression of comparison with adjectives ending in <-er>, where linking [r] is used when the [ð] of *than* is dropped: *he's older than me* [ɪiz ˈɒʊdəɹ ən ˈmɪi]. Consider also *Don't shut the door, will you?* [ˈd̥ʌ̃ʊ̃nʔ ʃʌʔ ə ˈdɔə ˈwɪo jə]. Alveolar plosives may be dropped before other consonants, as in *Cor/Gor Blimey* [ˈkʰɔə ˈblɑɪmɪi] ~ [ˈg̊ɔə ˈblɑɪmɪi] (< *God blind me*) and *Old Mick* [ˈʌʊ ˈmɪʔᵏ], but note that the variant of *Cor/Gor*, *Gawd*, remains intact: *Gawd love us* [ˈg̊oːd ˈlav əs], *Gawd Christ* [ˈg̊oːd ˈkɻɑɪst]. The form *give us* ‘give me/us’ may reduce to [g̊ɪs] and the preposition *of* frequently loses its consonant, as in *a bottle of beer* [ə ˈbɒʔl ə ˈbiə] and *of course* [ə ˈkʰoːs], this forming the basis of many humoristic truncated expressions like *a taster* [ə ˈtʰʌɪstə] ‘a taste of it’ and *a cuppa* [ə ˈkʰaʔb̥ə] ‘a cup of tea’.

Many other types of consonant elision, as in *months* [manθs] > [mans] and *empty* [ˈɛ̃mptɪi] > [ˈɛ̃mtɪi], are common to RP, too.

Although TC and PLS prefer to maintain contiguous vowels uncompressed or to use glide insertion as a solution to avoid hiatus (see *Vowels in hiatus* above), there are also cases of the compression of unstressed syllables not involved in vowel hiatus: *I suppose so* [ˈspʌʊsʌʊ], *for instance* [fɻ̥ ˈɪnstn̩s], *perhaps* [pɻæʔᵖs], *because* [kʰɒz̥] ~ [kʰəz̥]. Note also the drastic reduction in fast speech of the adverbs *actually* [ˈæktjuəlɪi] > [ˈæktʃuəlɪi] > [ˈækʃlɪi] and *usually* [ˈjʊʉʒjuəlɪi] > [ˈjʊʉʒlɪi], which do contain vowels in hiatus.

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One particularly interesting case of compression involves the deletion of schwa, usually representing the indefinite article. Wells (1982: 321) draws attention to this as a neglected phenomenon and observes that it may occur when schwa is preceded by a glottalled [t], as in *better have another one* [ˈb̥ɛʔ æv əˈnavə wan] (my transcription) and *about a week* [ˈb̥æːʔ ˈwɪik]. From my own personal experience, I have the example *You got a(n) invite, like?* [ˈjʊʉ gɒʔ ˈɪnvɑɪʔ lɑɪʔᵏ] ‘Have you got an invitation?’, in which the indefinite article is preceded by a glottalled [t] and followed by a vowel, but examples like *half a(n) hour* [ɑːʔ æː], *Give us (an) ’and* [ˈg̊ɪs ˈæ̃nd] and *after (a) hard day’s work* [ˈɑːftəɹ ˈɑːd dʌɪz ˈwɜːk] show that the preceding segment in the environment of a deleted indefinite article need not be a glottalled [t]. In fact, what these examples show is that there is a tendency in TC and PLS to use the indefinite article *a*, and not *an*, even before vowels, and that it may be deleted. There is also a tendency to use the definite article [ðə] rather than [ðɪi] in this context. Sue Fox in her unpublished PhD dissertation suggests that the attrition of the allomorphy of both articles is a diffusing innovation from within the ethnic minority community (Britain 2007: 104). However, just how recent the phenomenon is remains a moot point. Dickens seems to have been aware of it, as there is at least one instance in the speech of Mr. Bumble: “...the law is a ass—a idiot.” (*Oliver Twist*, chapter 51)

Older speakers, it might be added, may be more familiar with cases of intrusive [r] with the indefinite article (see below): *ar ’orse* [ə ˈɹoːs] ‘a horse’, *ar ’ouse* [ə ˈɹæːs] ‘a house’.

Apart from the numerous cases of linking [ɹ] which are the norm in other accents of English (*far away* [ˈfɑːɹ əˈwʌɪ], etc.), and cases of intrusive [ɹ] like the ones just mentioned, TC and PLS also uses many other instances of intrusive [ɹ]. Typical examples, also found in accents close to RP, are *I saw it* [a ˈsɔəɹ ɪʔ], *drawing* [ˈd̪rɔəɹɪŋ] and *data input* [ˈdʌɪʔəɹ ɪnpʊʔ].

Other phenomena that bear some relationship to connected speech, such as [l]-vocalization, [t]-tapping, glottalization and use of an alveolar nasal instead of a velar nasal in the verbal suffix *-ing*, have been dealt with in other sections of this paper.

5. Prosody

5.1 Lexical stress

The word stress patterns of TC and PLS largely follow those of RP. As in RP, there is a quantity-sensitive system, so that stress is assigned to heavy syllables, i.e. those with a long vowel or diphthong as the nucleus, as in *agree* [əˈgɹɪi] and *reply* [ɹɪiˈpl̩ɑɪ], or a short vowel followed by at least one consonant in the coda, as in *printed* [ˈpɹ̩ĩᵐʔɪɖ̩]. Stress placement is computed from the end of words, with certain nuclei in final position, such as [ɪi] (RP [i]) in *sunny* [ˈsanɪi], [ʌʊ] ~ [ə] (RP [əʊ]) in *yellow* [ˈjɛlə], and [ʊʉ] (RP [uː]) in *menu* [ˈmɛnjʊʉ], being regarded as extrametrical and therefore irrelevant to computation. As in RP, too, stress tends to fall within a three-syllable window, i.e. either on the last, penultimate or antepenultimate syllable, with a clear preference for non-final stress.

5.2 Rhythm

Cockney rhythm is governed by the same factors as in RP (see the notes on stress placement in the previous section) with a similar strong tendency towards trochaic patterning, i.e. regular alternation of feet consisting of a strong syllable followed by a weak one: *Gó and gét yoursélf an (h)áircut*. The patterning can be shown to be trochaic, rather than iambic or otherwise, as feet are no-go areas for expletive insertion, which means that "expletive infixation cannot interrupt a foot" (Hammond 1999: 163). Simplifying a little, we can say then that expletives can only be inserted before a foot, which, if English feet are trochaic, as is claimed, implies before stress. Thus, the expletive *fucking* could only be introduced into the above utterance at the points marked by an asterisk: **Gó and *gét your*sélf a(n) *(h)áircut*.

Vowel reduction in unstressed syllables is legion in English, and Cockney contains examples that are unusual in RP. An extreme case in point is that of the loss of the indefinite article referred to under *Connected speech phenomena*. Others include reduction of *go* [gʌʊ] to [gə] and [gʌʊz] to [gəz] through diminution of stress, as in *I saw a postman go by* [a ˈsɔəɹ ə ˈpʰʌʊsməŋ gə bɑɪ] and *Can you do gazinta (= goes into) sums?* (*Two gazinta four, three gazinta six*) [ˈkʰæn jə ˈdʊʉ gəˈzĩᵐʔə samz̩], reduction of

the place-name suffix *-gate* [gʌɪʔ] to [gɪʔ] (*Margate, Aldgate, Ramsgate*), and the rather old-fashioned loss of the full vowel in suffixed *-house* (*workhouse* [ˈwɜːkʰəs], *wash-house* [ˈwɒʃəs]). Additionally, *no* and *nor* may be pronounced with schwa in rapid speech in expressions like *not no more* [ˈnɒʔ nə ˈmɔə] and *not for love nor money* [ˈnɒʔ fə ˈlav nə ˈmanɪi]. The form [jə] for *you* is not usual in *thank you* [ˈfæŋkjʊʉ], but is often heard outside this context, while the second syllable of *cowson* [ˈkæəsan] 'bastard' usually keeps its full vowel.

5.3 Intonation

An account of intonation in an overview of this kind must needs be brief. On the whole, it can be said that TC and PLS follows the intonation patterns of RP, and we can make the following generalizations (based on the O'Connor & Arnold 1973 framework) about the examples given below:

(i) Completed information, such as often occurs at or near the end of utterances, ends on a fall (e.g. utterance 1).
(ii) Incomplete information, as expressed in non-final phrases or clauses, is normally said on a rise or, more often than not, on a fall-rise (e.g. the IF-clause in 1). The alternative question (7) is said with a rise in the first part (which could have been on *look*, but here it is on *Had*) and a fall in the second, thus giving a see-saw effect.
(iii) Final adverbials after the nucleus usually end on a rise, thus often constituting the final part of a fall-rise (2). Initial adverbials that are highlighted are usually said on a fall-rise (1).
(iv) Utterance 10 illustrates a more tentative kind of statement and therefore ends on a fall-rise, which shows that there is something in the speaker's attitude that has not been fully expressed (see also ix below).
(v) WH- questions are usually said on a fall (3).
(vi) YES/NO questions are usually said on a rise (10).
(vii) Utterance 6 presents a more threatening kind of YES/NO question, which is said on a fall-rise (cf. ix).

(viii) Question tags expecting agreement or confirmation end on a fall (4); question tags which are genuine questions or more doubtful end on a rise (5).

(ix) Unmarked imperatives end on a fall, but the one in (8) is more like a veiled threat and is spread over a fall-rise (cf. vii). Exclamations usually end on a fall, too, but exclamations mixed with surprise or exasperation may end on a fall-rise (9). This utterance is in keeping with the idea that the fall-rise often suggests that there is something in the speaker's mind that has not been explicitly stated in the words s/he has used (see also iv above).

(x) Greetings incorporating the addressee are said on a fall-rise, the person addressed constituting the rise (10).

The utterances that illustrate the intonation of TC and PLS were performed as follows:

Sentences 1, 2, 3: SW (male, 55, from Deptford)
Sentences 4, 5, 8, 9: TC (male, 67, from Paddington)
Sentences 6, 7, 10: TS (male, 63, from Barnes)

(1) ↘↗Years ago, if you were cheeky to the ↘↗teacher, you'd cop a back↘hander.
(2) We're going up my ↘nan's on ↗Sunday.
(3) Where's that ↘money gone to?
(4) Makes you ↘↗wonder, ↘don't it?
(5) He's ↘mental, ↗isn't he?
(6) Want ↘↗bother? (Eye-dialect spelling: *bovver*) ('Are you looking for trouble?')
(7) ↗Had a good look or do you want a ↘photo?
(8) ↘Don't ↗come it! ('Don't try those tactics with me!')
(9) Gor ↘↗blimey! He's only gone and spilt the tea all ↘over the fucking ↗place.
(10) ↘What ho, ↗John! Got a new ↗motor?

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