# The Estuary English Effect

## *Audience Design and Act of Identity on British Television*

# Acknowledgements

# Abstract

Dit onderzoek combineert audience design, Estuary English en haar invloed op taalvariatie en taalverandering en televisiestudies. Door middel van 7 uitspraakkenmerken werd in 12 Britse televisieprogramma's (6 van de private televisie en 6 van de BBC) onderzocht in welke mate Estuary English wordt gebruikt als een act of identity en als een audience design techniek.

Volgens de audience design theorie past een spreker zijn stijl aan opdat die (meestal) meer op de stijl van de toehoorder zou lijken. Deze techniek kan ondermeer teruggevonden worden in conversaties en in de media. Estuary English is een veelbesproken variëteit in Engeland die balanceert tussen de (afbrokkelende) prestige van RP en het stigma van het inferieure Londense dialect Cockney. Altendorf gebruikt Estuary English als voorbeeld van hoe sprekers niet langer een taalvariëteit gebruiken om de mate van formaliteit te bepalen, maar om een bepaalde identiteit uit te drukken. Audience design en act of identity worden op televisie onderzocht omdat programmamakers een bepaald doelpubliek moeten aantrekken en omdat televisie – ook op taalgebied - sociale normen kan sanctioneren en opleggen.

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| | |
|---|---|
| ʔ | glottal stop |
| ɫ | dark l |
| Ø | zero |
| V | vowel |
| C | consonant |
| # | word boundary |
| ə | syllabic consonant |
| ʰ | aspiration |

# Preface

The present study provides a unique combination of the following theories: audience design, Estuary English and its influence on language variation and change and television studies. All theories focus around one main point: identification.

In 1984, Bell (1991:92) first described audience design. It means that a speaker shifts his style to be more like the style of the person he is talking to. This technique can be used in conversations, but also in the media.

Estuary English is a much-discussed accent which holds the balance between the stigma of London, lower-class Cockney and the (declining) prestige of RP. Altendorf (2003:151) uses Estuary English as an example to show that these days, the choice of a variant is an act of identity rather than an act of formality.

Television is a good tool to study these two theories. Firstly, because television broadcasters need to attract the audiences they had in mind (i.e. target audiences). Secondly, because television is able to sanction and enforce social norms (Lembo: 2000:54).

The corpus consists of 12 television programmes. In these programmes 7 pronunciation features were investigated. The first part discusses the theories, the second part explains the methodology and the corpus. The third part gives the conclusion of the question whether Estuary English is used as an act of identity and as an audience design technique.

# PART I: THEORETICAL OVERVIEW

# CHAPTER 1    Audience Design

## 1.1    Audience Design: the Original Theory

### 1.1.1  From the Addressee to the Eavesdropper

Audience design was first described in 1984 by Bell, who noted that early media research was mainly concerned with what media do to people. Over the years, research has also started to investigate what people do to media (Bell, 1991: 84).

Bell (1991:92) observed that the media audience has more in common with the audience one can find at a public event than with the participants of a face-to-face conversation. He distinguished four types of audience members:

⇨ Addressees: those who are directly addressed, ratified participants
⇨ Auditors: those who are not directly addressed, ratified participants
⇨ Overhearers: non-ratified listeners, speaker is aware of them
⇨ Eavesdroppers: non-ratified listeners, speaker is unaware of them[1]

This is not a clear-cut distinction, such as the one which can be found in a face-to-face conversation: in between the two extremes – addressees and eavesdroppers – it is hard to see who is ratified and who is not (Bell, 1991:92).

Addressees are the target audience of the mass media. Those are the people who sit in front of the television screen, who read the magazines and newspapers; they are the people the communicator is addressing himself to. These addressees can vary from only one type of person – i.e. a (wealthy) woman, a toddler, a farmer - to various groups (e.g. the heterogeneous group that watches the news). Especially commercials tend to have a particular type of person in mind, who is not always overtly expressed in the commercial itself (Bell, 1991:93).

### 1.1.2  Audience Design

#### 1.1.2.1  Definition

Audience design theory states that the "intra-speaker or stylistic dimension of language variation can be primarily correlated with the attributes of the hearer" (Bell, 1991:105). So, although 'design' does not mean that the speaker is aware of his language choices, he does design his talk for the hearer, varying from switching from one language to another in a bilingual situation, to politeness strategies and quantitative style shift (Bell, 1991:105).

Moreover, there appears to be a parallel in mass media between the differences in content and visual styles (i.e. topic and setting) and the language used (Bell, 1991:104). So, it could be expected that a different language style will be used when talking about the stock market behind a news desk, or about the latest fashion in one of London's shopping streets.

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[1] http://courses.essex.ac.uk/lg/lg232/StyleNotes.html#Bell

A typical example of audience design is a speaker shifting his style in order to be more like the style of the person he is talking to (Bell, 1991:105). Bell noticed that newscasters in New Zealand presenting on two different radio stations with different audiences adapted their speech in accordance with the station they were presenting the news on (Bell 1991:120). Bell (1991:120) claims that this proves that Labov's principal of attention, which states that style is measured according to the amount of attention paid to speech[2], is "quite implausible" as it seems unlikely that newscasters are systematically paying different amounts of attention to their speech on different radio stations (Bell, 1991:120).

### 1.1.2.2 Referee Design

Referees are the non-present audience-groups whom speakers attempt to identify with[3]. Even in their absence, they influence the speaker's language choice. In referee design, the speaker initiates the shift rather than adapting his/her speech to the audience, which is the case with audience design (Bell & Holmes, 1990:168, cf. supra 1.1.2).

A fundamental part of referee design is the distinction between ingroup and outgroup referees. Ingroup referee design means that the speaker shifts to an extreme level of the style of his/her own ingroup (Bell, 1991:130,131; Bell & Holmes, 1990:181). So, if a linguist with a great passion for his job has a conversation with non-linguists, it is possible he will use more standard language than he normally does. He is thus adapting his speech toward the non-present group of passionate linguists rather than the people he is talking to.

Outgroup referee design, on the other hand, means that the speaker uses a speech and identity which is not his/her own, but which holds prestige for him/her (Bell, 1991:130-131; Bell & Holmes, 1990:181). An example here is the use of RP by an initiator who would normally use his local dialect among dialect speakers, on the condition that RP carries great prestige for him. These days, the exact opposite appears to be true as well.

### 1.1.2.3 Style Shift

Foundational research on style shift was conducted by Labov in his work "The stratification of English in New York City". He noticed two contrasting social influences on language behaviour, namely the pressure to identify with a neighbourhood or a particular ethnic or occupational group and the need to conform to community-imposed values which carry an overall hierarchy (Labov, 2006: 291).

These contrasting social influences can be found in Great Britain too. For example, should a white-collar worker in his local neighbourhood keep on using his local accent or talk RP? The answer in the past would have been RP but, as will be shown in the next chapters, nowadays the answer is not so clear anymore.

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### 1.1.2.4  Initiative/Responsive Shift

Bell distinguishes two shifts in style. The responsive shift corresponds with audience design, where "speakers are often primarily responding to their audience in the language they [i.e. the speakers] produce" (Bell, 1991:105):
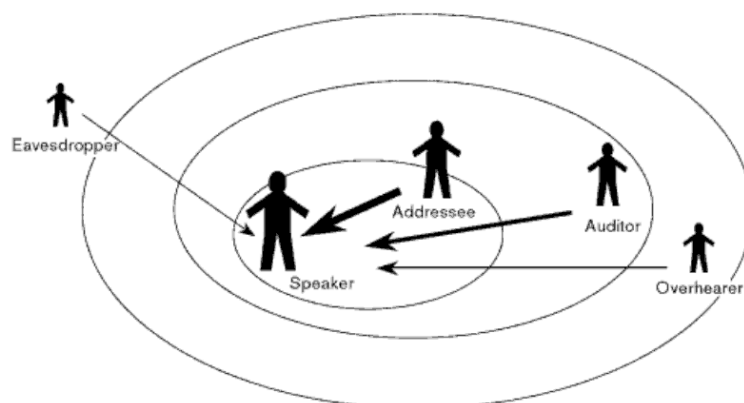


Figure 1: *From the addressee to the eavesdropper*; from Meyerhoff (2006:43).

The arrows moving from the audience towards the speaker indicate the responsive nature of audience design.

Initiative shift indicates that "speakers use language to redefine their relationship to their audience" (Bell, 1991:105), which corresponds with referee design. This could be represented as follows:
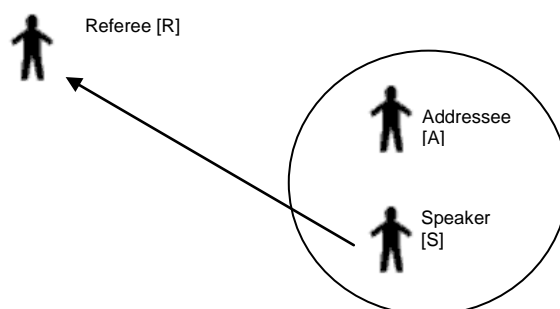


Figure 2: *Referee design*

The arrow indicates the style shift which is initiated by the speaker, adapting his speech towards the referee. If we take the outgroup referee design example, [S] is the dialect speaker/ the initiator, [A] refers to the other dialect speakers whom [S] is having a conversation with and [R] are RP speakers in general. As [S] would like to be seen as part of the [R] group, he initiates a linguistic shift towards RP, i.e. the [R] group, rather than a shift towards the dialect speakers [A] to whom he is talking.

### 1.1.2.5  The Accommodation Model

A model in psychology which corresponds with Bell's theory is the accommodation model, which states that "speakers accommodate their speech style to their hearers" (Bell, 1991:106). In this model, seeking the approval of the audience is said to be a prime motive. This motive is particularly important in mass media, where communicators are always trying to win the approval of the audience in some way, along with the need to be heard and understood (Bell, 1991:106).

## 1.2     Revising Audience Design

A serious problem with Bell's model is that initiative style-shifting is seen as an add-on to the original model, whereas it could be given greater importance. In his original model, Bell believed that only news could be seen as audience design, and that all other media language is referee design (Bell, 1991:125,146).

In 2001, Bell revised his earlier work on audience design. The most important change is the fact that referee design is given an equally important role as audience design (Bell, 2001:162).

Bell now calls audience design a study which is often quantitative (Bell, 2001:166), and referee design an often qualitative study. Regular patterns will mostly be explained as audience design, whereas deviations from such regularity can be attributed to referee design (Bell, 2001:167).

### 1.2.1  Audience Design

The updated definition of audience design is now "what a speaker does with a language in relation to other people" (Yaeger-Dror, 2001:171). Furthermore, audience design is no longer limited to inter-personal relations, as it also explains the importance of ethnicity and gender as inter-personal variables. The process can be either divergent, when the speaker uses a pronunciation which is not the addressees' (e.g. the speaker has a Geordie accent and the addressee speaks RP), or convergent, when the speaker using the addressee's pronunciation (e.g. both speak Geordie) (Yaeger-Dror, 2001:171).

## 1.2.2 Referee Design

Referee design is now no longer the "backstop option" (Bell, 2001:167) but "the association of linguistic features with particular social groups" and is linked with identity (Yaeger-Dror, 2001:171; Bell, 2001:107). It is used for all internal self-defining forces, i.e. who the speaker thinks he is and who he wants to be. The term is less concerned with who the hearer is (Yaeger-Dror, 2001:171).

It appears that media language is now seen as audience design, as it seems unlikely that internal self-defining forces are the core of designing speech to the audience, but that the core is rather about establishing a relation with the audience.

The revised audience design theory is represented in figure 3, infra.
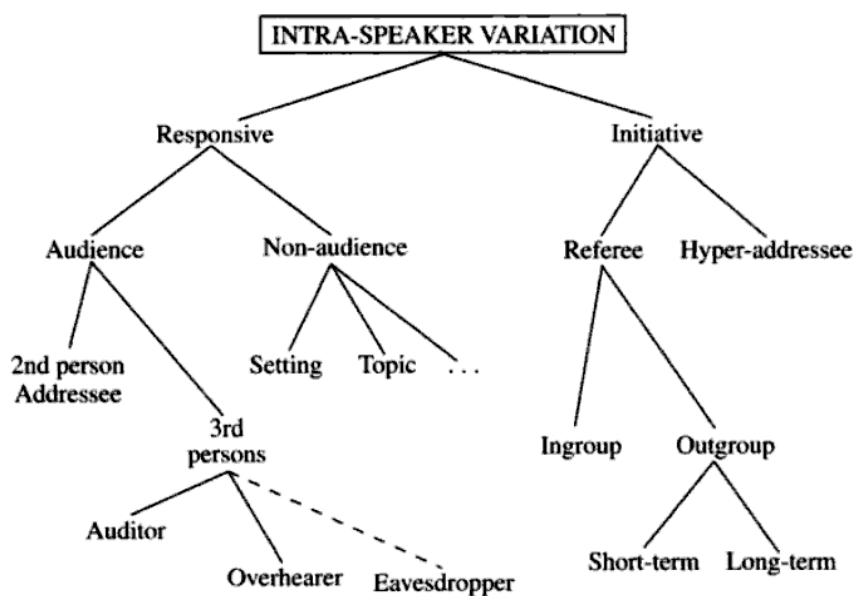


Figure 3: *Intra-speaker variation*; from Bell (2001:114).

# CHAPTER 2    Geographical Variation

## 2.1    Types of Variation

Style shifts can occur in various ways. The style shifts in this study are investigated by means of variation of phonetic features. There are two types of variation: geographical and social variation. It is impossible to separate these two from each other as they are "two sides of the same coin" (Thomas et al., 2004:141). As can be seen in figure 4, RP is at the top of both social and regional variation, so RP has the most prestige. This way, the higher a person is on the social ladder, the less regionally marked his accent will be (Hughes & Trudgill, 1983:6; Jones, 2004: 141).
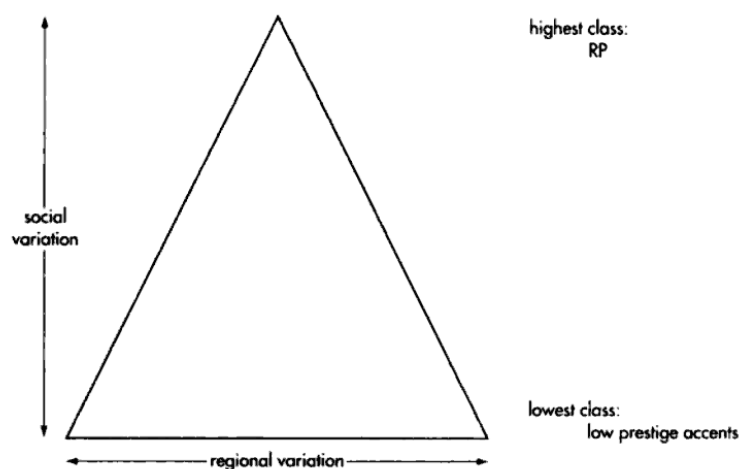


Figure 4: *Social and regional variation in accents;* from Jones (2004:141)

## 2.2    Language Change on a Regional Level

### 2.2.1  Language Change

With his study on the social stratification of English in New York City (cf. chapter 1 supra), Labov was able to prove the importance of language fuzziness (cf. 2.2.2 infra) and language variation. These are often indications that changes are in progress (Aitchison, 2001:43). Below, mechanisms and consequences of language change are discussed.

### 2.2.2  Language Fuzziness

*All grammars leak.*
*(Edward Sapir, as cited in Aitchison, 2001:42)*

Language fuzziness occurs when "the old is dying and the new cannot be born (Aitchison, 2001:42). Despite the fact that linguists like to have a grammar with rigid rules, a language also consists of "messy bits" (Aitchison, 2001:42), i.e. examples of cases which cannot be classified as either right or wrong:

*He promised me to come.*
*He donated the charity ten dollars.*
(Aitchison, 2001:41)

Fuzziness also occurs in pronunciation (Aitchison, 2001:43). Wells (2000:1-13) conducted a survey among nearly 2000 'speech-conscious' participants about their pronunciation preferences. The survey showed that people cannot agree, for example, on how to pronounce *controversy:* 40 % prefer /ˈkɒn/ and 60 % prefer /ˈtrɒv/. But neither can be labelled right or wrong.

These examples of fuzziness are more important than they appear to be, as they are a result of language change in progress (Aitchison, 2001:42).

### 2.2.3  Dialect Death

It is believed that when dialects are considered "out-of-date, old-fashioned, unsophisticated, divisive, even economically disadvantageous" (Trudgill, 2002:30), the way is paved for what is called dialect death, i.e. the loss of traditional dialects and the increase of standardisation. Although the media and other professionals – who have a great influence on language use - do use accents, dialect death appears to be happening in England too. (Trudgill, 1984:546; Downes, 1998:29).

## 2.2.4 Dialect Levelling

A dialect is "a variety of a language associated with a regionally or socially defined group of people" (Adger et al, 2007:1). Dialect levelling means that marked variations of a dialect are reduced. Highly local speech forms are replaced with more widely used variants, eventually leading to a new variety (Kerswill, 2003:224)[4].

Trudgill believes that dialect levelling does not mean there will be one dialect for the whole of Britain eventually, because in terms of phonology, the modern dialects are diverging[5]. Dialect levelling is closely related to speech accommodation (cf. section 1 supra): i.e. speakers subconsciously adopt each other's linguistic features (Kerswill, 2003:224).

Apart from the increase in mobility in England, the spoken media might be the reason for the recent rapid spread of this phenomenon. When watching television or listening to the radio, the addressee is introduced to other varieties than his/her own, which causes him to have a more positive attitude to them. This positive attitude gives way to variety revival (Kerswill, 2003:239).

Figure 1 in the appendix shows what is believed to be future dialect areas in England.

## 2.2.5 Variety Revival

The status of RP is decreasing and the local dialects and accents are becoming popular and acceptable again. The recent trend is to move away from RP and rediscover the riches of local accents and dialects (Mugglestone, 2003:274).

## 2.2.6 Geographical Diffusion

Geographical diffusion seems to resemble the 'metropolitan influence', which implies that a certain variety and the group to which it belongs have enough prestige or other people have a general positive feeling towards the group to which the variety belongs, which then leads to other varieties coming under its influence (Downes, 1998:65).

When linguistic features from a populous and economically culturally dominant centre are spread out, geographical diffusion takes place. Nearby towns and cities adopt the feature of the metropolis, followed by the more rural regions. This diffusion is a mechanism of dialect levelling (Kerswill, 2003: 223, 224; Davies, 2005:6).

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[4] An example here is Milton Keynes, a new town in the London Area built after WWII (Graddol et al., 1997:292) and whose inhabitants came from all over England. The newly created dialect combined features of London and the home counties with some remnants of the local dialect (Labov, 2001:426). The speech of children whose parents came from outside the south-east shows almost no trace of the parents' accent (Graddol et al., 1997:296) and they have a more levelled accent.

[5] http://www.teachit.co.uk/armoore/lang/estuary.htm

# CHAPTER 3    Social Variation[6]

## 3.1    Overt and Covert Prestige

Overt norms are those norms which carry prestige and which speakers are aware of, since they label the variety which has overt prestige as 'nicer' or 'better'. Powerful groups are the source of overt norms (Gramley & Pätzold, 2002:11; Meyerhoff, 2006:37).

On the other hand, there are covert norms, i.e. those norms which the speaker is unaware of. Covert prestige is revealed when a speaker's self-report differs from the real variety he is speaking. Covert norms are in-group solidarity (Gramley & Pätzold, 2002:11; Meyerhoff, 2006:37).

## 3.2    Over-reporting and Under-reporting

Women tend to over-report, i.e. they tend to attribute to themselves more standard pronunciation features than they actually use. This is probably because women are more status-conscious than men, so they actually report the norm they are aiming for (Aitchison, 2001:71; Trudgill, 2000/4: 76). Moreover, changes in the direction of the norm, i.e. high-status variety, are led by women (Trudgill, 2000/4: 78).

Men, on the other hand, tend towards under-reporting, claiming to use fewer standard forms than they actually do. So for men, non-standard variants have covert prestige, probably because these variants have connotations of roughness and toughness (Gramley & Pätzold, 2002:217; Aitchison, 2001:72; Trudgill, 2000/4: 75).

## 3.3    Gender

*"Kvinnor talar mer vårdat och fint, medan män talar mer slarvigt och fult…"[7] - (Alvtörn, 2006:14)*

[Women talk more nicely and carefully, whereas men talk in a more sloppy and ugly manner]

… and they do so in a private setting, and in face-to-face communication. Women tend to use pronunciation features which are closer to the accepted public norms (Trudgill, 2000/4: 70). It is believed that, because of a woman's uncertain social status, she tries to improve her status by using a variety with overt prestige. It must be mentioned, however, that Trudgill's study dates back to the seventies. Recent studies have shown that women more often adapt their pronunciation, depending on the situation[8] (Gramley & Pätzold, 2002:216; Alvtörn, 2006:14).

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[6] http://www.ling.gu.se/~ellen/teaching/sisvt08/sissprakligvariation.pdf
[7] The translations from Swedish are own translations.
[8] http://www.ling.gu.se/~ellen/teaching/sisvt08/sissprakligvariation.pdf

Men, on the other hand, tend to use non-standard variants (Gramley & Pätzold, 2002:216; Alvtörn, 2006:14), mostly as a sign of 'toughness', which is often considered to be a desirable masculine characteristic (Trudgill, 2000/4: 73). This is shown in figure 5 infra, which represents the occurrence of the standard form of *can't* in speakers from Tyneside. There, the non-standard form of *can't* is *cannit.*

However, a study claims that younger women now have also started to become influenced by covert prestige as the social roles of men and women change (Trudgill, 2000/4: 79). Some are downgrading their language behaviour, which is hardly different from men's non-standard language usage. This has more to do with a change in women's attitudes and values than with language change (Chambers & Trudgill, 1998:86).
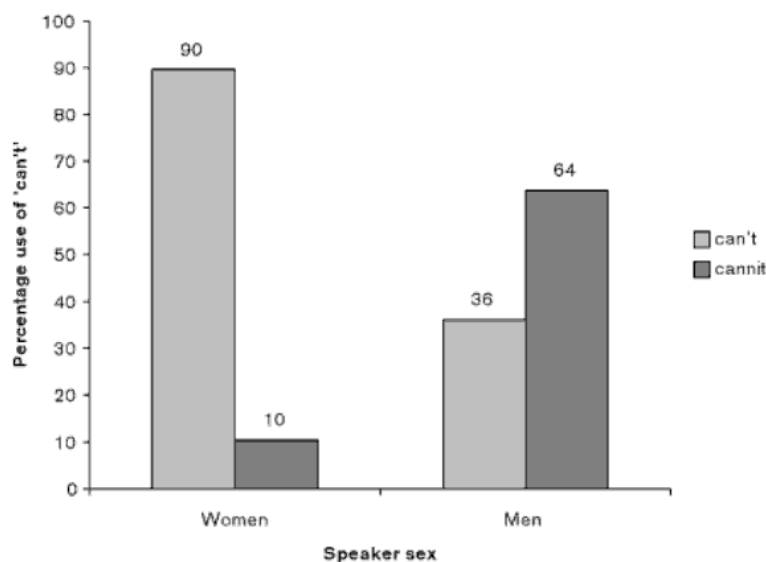


*Figure 5: Differences in use of standard form can't between women and men;* cf. Meyerhoff (2006:209).

The division between male and female language behaviour is characterised largely – yet not exclusively – by power. Relations between people with the same gender (i.e. female/female and male/male) are determined by solidarity. This solidarity leads to imitation of behaviour: topics of conversation, styles of speech, pronunciation, grammar, vocabulary, … (Gramley & Pätzold, 2002:209). Women prefer to talk about people, clothing and decoration, whereas men prefer conversations about money, business and sports (Gramley & Pätzold, 2002:213).

### 3.4    Class

#### 3.4.1  Class and Pronunciation

The term 'sociolect' is mostly associated with a speaker's socio-economic class. As shown in figure 4 supra, socio-economic class is relevant for one's pronunciation:

*Grundregeln är att ju mer en person anpassar sig till standardspråket och avlägsnar sig från en genuin dialect, desto högre status får hans sociolekt (Einarsson, as cited in Alvtörn, 2006:12).*

*[The ground rule states that the more a person adapts to standard pronunciation and takes a distance from a true dialect, the higher status his sociolect receives.]*

English women appear to be more status-conscious than English men (cf. 3.3 supra). Women tend to use pronunciations credited to the men in the class immediately above them: they adapt upwards, towards the public norm, which carries overt prestige (Gramley & Pätzold, 2002: 217).

### 3.5    Age

A "kronolekt[9]" (Alvtörn, 2006:14) correlates language with age, although speech differences per age are the most difficult to distinguish. Einarsson (as cited in Alvtörn, 2006:14) believes that age in this context is more about "sociala livserfarenheter" (social life experiences), i.e. going to college, starting to work, having a baby for the first time, …

The average age to have these life experiences differs culturally. Einarsson believes that speakers between 13 and 23 adapt their speech more towards regional and social varieties. This can be done on purpose, to underline their identity, group association and to distance and free themselves from the adults and to show their independence (Alvtörn, 2006:14). It could be deduced that this is some form of teenage rebellion (Chambers et al, 2004:477).

This adaptation towards regional and social varieties among teenagers was confirmed by Labov (2006:299) in his study on the social stratification in New York City, where it was shown that inhabitants of Harlem younger than 19 appeared to be less under the influence of prestige norms than adults.

The older one gets, the more one tends towards a more correct and conservative speech. Yet, an adult – and men in particular – becomes less and less strict and conservative in his speech when he no longer feels the need to pursue a career (Alvtörn, 2006:14).

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[9] No proper English translation was found.

# CHAPTER 4    Pronunciation Standards

## 4.1    RP[10]

### 4.1.1  A Social Standard

RP – or Received Pronunciation – is one of the products of the standardisation process in Great Britain. It is estimated that only 3 % of the British speak RP (Hughes & Trudgill, 1983:3; Davies, 2005:7). This number may be decreasing, as adoptive RP-speakers are becoming a rarity[11].

The pronunciation emerged in the middle of the nineteenth century in the prestigious public schools. There, one student generation passed it on to the next. Consequently, RP is a more socially than regionally based accent (Gramley & Pätzold, 2002:7).

These days, RP is considered to be the dialect of a minority class, whose prestige is no longer useful and desirable (Tönnies, 2008:11). 'Talking proper' has become synonymous with 'talking posh': it is naff and unfashionable (Mugglestone, 2003:274, 275).

### 4.1.2  How to define RP? [12]

Investigating RP from a sociolinguistic point of view provides a view of the pronunciation features of the upper class, and recently also the upper-middle- class.

Another criterion is what Wells calls the 'ideal'. Which pronunciation is considered to be correct, beautiful, admired and which pronunciation is imitated? However, it is impossible to determine what is correct, as correctness is subjective.

The third criterion is related to EFL-teaching. Which pronunciation do teachers use? What do we record in dictionaries, textbooks and audio tapes?

Confusion often arises as to what can be considered RP and what not. Wells provides us with the following examples:

⇨ Smoothing: or the reduction or absence of an element in the pronunciation of a word (Collins & Mees, 2003:116). Sociolinguistically, it is clearly part of RP as many upmarket people use it. From the ideal point of view, however, it isn't part of RP, and it is considered unimaginable that a teacher would teach smoothing to his students.

> e.g. *fire* ['faɪə] becomes [faə]

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[10] The table "The English Phonetic System by the International Phonetic Alphabet" in the appendix provides an overview of the standard pronunciations.
[11] Adoptive RP speakers are those who have not learned RP at home but have acquired it themselves
[12] http://www.phon.ucl.ac.uk/home/wells/rphappened.htm

⇨ R-intrusion: an /r/-liaison which has no representation by r in the spelling and which is used by all social classes in almost all parts of England (Collins & Mees, 2003:332). However, the speech-conscious often disapprove of it.

e.g. *put a comma in it* is pronounced as ['pʊt ə 'kɒmər ɪn ɪt]

⇨ Words spelt with *wh:* Some speech-conscious people pronounce /hw/ in these words. Sociolinguistically however, it is so uncommon that it can be ignored.

e.g. *whine* is pronounced as [hwaɪn]

### 4.1.3   Recent Changes in RP

#### 4.1.3.1  Prestigious or Vernacular?

Figure 2 in the appendix shows the English phonetic system, clarified with examples. Only those changes which are relevant for the present study are discussed.

Daniel Jones codified RP for teaching purposes in 1881. However, as this model is over a hundred years old, it is no longer useful. Many changes have taken place since then. Wells gave an elaborate overview of the changes that RP has undergone and he also commented on the general perception of these changes[13].

Many changes in RP are features which originally belonged to lower-class south-eastern English (i.e. Cockney). It is important to note that these changes are finding their way into RP, but do not have the prestige that RP does have[14].

For example, t-glottalling, i.e. replacing the /t/ sound by a glottal stop, is accepted in pre-consonantal environments (e.g. *get down* becomes *ge' down*) but it has not acquired prestige in word-final, pre-pausal and prevocalic environments (*he got it* becomes *he go' i'*) [15]. At least for now, the avoidance of yod coalescence (cf.4.1.3.2 infra) in stressed syllables is a touchstone of RP[16].

#### 4.1.3.2  Yod coalescence

The English have a tendency to convert /tj/ into /tʃ/ and /dj/ into /dʒ/. This affricate occurs when it is followed by a weak vowel[17].

e.g.     *choose*              [tʃuːz]
         *tune*                [tʃuːn]

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[13] http://www.phon.ucl.ac.uk/home/wells/rphappened.htm
[14] http://www.thefreelibrary.com/The+historical+sociolinguistics+of+elite+accent+change%3A+on+why+RP+is...-a0194473128
[15] http://www.phon.ucl.ac.uk/home/estuary/home.htm
[16] http://www.thefreelibrary.com/The+historical+sociolinguistics+of+elite+accent+change%3A+on+why+RP+is...-a0194473128
[17] http://www.phon.ucl.ac.uk/home/wells/rphappened.htm

### 4.1.3.3  T-glottalling

In casual occasions, it is common to use a glottal stop when the next syllable or word starts with an obstruent or sonorant consonant [18].

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| e.g.: | obstruent consonant: | *quite good* | [ˈkwaɪʔ gʊd] |
| | sonorant consonant: | *witness* | [ˈwɪʔnəs] [19] |

## 4.1.3.4  Changes influenced by Estuary English[20]

Wells believes that the developments of RP during the last two decades are associated with Estuary English (a variety originating from the Cockney dialect which is spreading in the south of England, cf. 4.3 infra) and are, or will be, gradually incorporated into RP.

### 4.1.3.4.1  T-glottalling

The glottal stop is now also possible in word-final position when the next word begins with a vowel:

e.g.: [teɪk ɪʔ ˈɒf] for *take it off*

It is also possible in absolute-final position:

e.g.: [raɪʔ] for *right*

### 4.1.3.4.2  L-Vocalisation

RP traditionally has two realisation of /l/. A clear [l] is used before a vowel and a dark [ɫ] in all other occasions. This dark [ɫ] has recently undergone vocalisation, being pronounced as [o]. It is mostly favoured when it is adjacent to a labial. However, it is no longer restricted to this position:

e.g.: [mɪok] instead of [mɪɫk] for *milk*

### 4.1.3.4.3  Yod Coalescence

Yod coalescence now also occurs in stressed syllables.

e.g.: *Tuesday* becomes [ˈtʃuːzdeɪ]

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[18] http://www.phon.ucl.ac.uk/home/wells/rphappened.htm
[19] http://www.phon.ucl.ac.uk/home/wells/rphappened.htm
[20] Only the changes that are important for this thesis are discussed.

## 4.2    BBC English

*The dinner jacket is being replaced by jeans.*
*(Mugglestone, 2003:284)*

Perhaps because the BBC once solely used RP when broadcasting, the latter is sometimes referred to as BBC English (Gramley & Pätzold, 2002:231). With the BBC's norm of southern received English and because the BBC only accepted graduates from the public schools, Oxford and Cambridge, the company's speech was nowhere near the pronunciation of the people they were addressing (Herbert, 2000:109).

In order to be in touch again with its viewers, the BBC was forced to introduce a greater variety of accents. They allegedly now vary the accents according to the target audience, as a real or assumed regional accent carries more prestige for younger speakers than RP does (Herbert, 2000:110; Küng-Shankleman, 2000:231; Mugglestone, 2003:276). A journalist describes the loss of prestige as follows:

*The death knell has sounded for people like me, who are what used to be called "nicely spoken" […]. I picked up RP in an attempt to fit in- and now that I have it, I don't* (Mugglestone, 2003:275,276).

These new objectives are also shown in the BBC News and Current Affairs and Editorial Guide of 1994:

*We must be clear and accessible – and that means using words and ways of speaking which are familiar to ordinary people. It does not mean that we should use slang, bad grammar, or profanity. We must aim to write and speak in a good, clear, accurate but conversational English.* (Hohn, 2007:3)

Herbert (2000:111) believes that television is the first to show style changes in conversational language and is often ahead of linguists. In the past, the BBC used to be the major English trendsetter, but as the mass media landscape is changing and expanding, the BBC is losing a great deal of its power (Hogg & Denison, 2006:308).

## 4.3    Estuary English: the New RP?

### 4.3.1  Definition

Rosewarne, who was the first to define Estuary English, describes it as follows:

*Estuary English is a variety of modified regional speech. It is a mixture of non-regional and local south-eastern pronunciation and intonation. If one imagines a continuum with Received Pronunciation and London speech at either end, EE speakers are to be found grouped in the middle ground (Rosewarne, 1984:1).*

According to Rosewarne, Estuary English is named after the banks of the Thames and its estuary. He believes that the accent can be heard in the House of Commons, the local government, the media, advertising and in the medical and teaching professions in the south-east (Wells, 1997:1).

In 1993, Coggle published a book about Estuary English, which soon led to a media hype[21]. He believes that it will become the new RP, as Estuary English has a "street cred" that RP lacks (Wells, 1997:1).

### 4.3.1.1  Geographical Features

Geographical variation is extremely prominent in English. Therefore, it is not surprising that RP – a socially based accent – is said to be disappearing and making room for a regionally based accent: Estuary English (Gramley & Pätzold, 2002:7). Wells predicted in 1982 that

*…before the end of the 20th century, everyone growing up in Britain may have some degree of local accent. Or, instead, some new non-localizable but more democratic standard may have arisen from the ashes of RP: if so, it seems likely to be based on popular London English" (Wells, 1982:118).*

As Estuary English shares features with Cockney, it is a geographical variety (Wells, 1997:2). This localizability, i.e. distinctively south-eastern, is also the boundary between RP and Estuary English (Wells, 1994:2).

Whether Estuary English is a variety in its own right, rather than a formal version of Cockney, depends on two important questions (Wells, 1994:2):

1. Is there a casual style of Estuary English which is unquestionably different from Cockney?

2. Is there a formal style of Cockney which is unquestionably different from Estuary English?

According to Wells (1994:2), the answer to these questions is "tentatively yes".

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[21] Altendorf acknowledges that Estuary English suffered from its popularity, causing linguists to look down on it.

Rosewarne believes that Estuary English is spreading "northwards to Norwich and westwards to Cornwall" (Altendorf, 1999:1). Both he and Coggle believe that Estuary English is taking over RP and the more localised accents of the southeast of England (Maidment, 1994:8).

This has been proven to be not entirely true. Although phonetic features such as th-fronting and l-vocalisation are spreading over England, Przedlacka (as cited in Wells, 2005:2) was able to prove that young people who lived 50 km away from London kept their distinct local characteristics. An example was the percentage of glottal stops:

| | |
|---|---|
| RP speakers | 8 % |
| Cockneys | 85 % |
| | |
| Aylesbury, Northwest of London | 43 % |
| Farningham, Southeast of London | 38 % |
| Walton on the Hill, Southwest of London | 21 % |
| Little Baddow, Northeast of London | 8 % |

(Wells, 2005:2)

So speakers in the surroundings of London do use glottal stops, with percentages varying between those of Cockney and those of RP.

However, it seems hard to call it one uniform variety (Wells, 2005:2). This might be due to the prevalent criteria as to whether a new phenomenon is a variety or not. A new concept has been proposed fairly recently (cf. section 4.3.4.2.2 supra).

### 4.3.1.2 Sociological Features

According to Maidment (1994:7), Estuary English is possibly slightly poshed-up Cockney, or RP that went downmarket. Rosewarne, however, claims that Estuary English is used by speakers who constitute the social middle ground. Wells (1994:1) acknowledges the existence of Estuary English and its middle-ground character. He also acknowledges the vagueness of the term Estuary English but, as confirmed by Trudgill[22], this is also the case with RP.

*Many of our native-speaker undergraduates use a variety of English that I suppose we have to call Estuary English [...]. As with the equally unsatisfactory term 'Received Pronunciation', we are forced to go along (Wells, 1994:1).*

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[22] http://www.teachit.co.uk/armoore/lang/estuary.htm

This middle ground includes those who want to upgrade or downgrade, i.e. people who want to sound more 'posh', or people who want to sound less 'posh' (Altendorf, 1999:1). As both groups consider RP to be the dialect of a minority class whose prestige is no longer useful and desirable (Tönnies, 2008:11), it can be assumed that Estuary English is able to break down the social barriers (Hilmarsdottir, 2006:3). However, Trudgill[23] does not believe that it will ever become the new RP, as it does not have the nationwide network of influential people who can spread the variety from one generation to the next.

It is difficult to share Trudgill's opinion, as his proposition would mean that England is still a society where influence is merely derived from inherited class, while those speakers who would have become users of adoptive RP in the past, no longer appear to find it necessary to use it. Hilmarsdottir (2006:10) appears to confirm this criticism, as she believes it means that RP is losing its power.

Moreover, people who move upward on the social scale – which happens nowadays more often than in the past - or come into the public eye no longer completely remove all of their accent features, especially in the media and especially southeast accent features. Trudgill[24] believes this is because

1. the southeast is the largest region in terms of population;

2. there is a considerable metropolitan bias in the media.

But the spread of Estuary English is not only because of a metropolitan bias. London is - simply stated – important, also on a linguistic level (cf 2.3 supra). According to Wells (Müller, 2006:4), "Cockney [is] the most influential source of phonological innovation in England and perhaps in the whole English-speaking world."

### 4.3.2  RIP RP[25]?

Trudgill[26], although critical of Estuary English, acknowledges the spread of at least some of the phonological features of Estuary English. He believes that this is part of a spread which started at London and has been going on for centuries. A spread which he believes will "probably continue to spread for some time to come" [27].

Rather than a replacement of RP by Estuary English, Wells (1997:3) pursues an updated version of RP. This could be done by gradually incorporating changes typical of Estuary English, which is already happening (cf. 4.1.3 supra).

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[23] http://www.teachit.co.uk/armoore/lang/estuary.htm
[24] http://www.teachit.co.uk/armoore/lang/estuary.htm
[25] Harrison, from Graddol et al (1996:284)
[26] http://www.teachit.co.uk/armoore/lang/estuary.htm
[27] http://www.teachit.co.uk/armoore/lang/estuary.htm

### 4.3.3  Phonetic Features of EE[28]

### 4.3.3.1  Important Phonetic Features

Unlike Cockney, Estuary English has a standard grammar (Wells, 1997:2). Many phonetic features have been attributed to Estuary English. Table 3 in the appendix shows the phonetic and phonological features according to Rosewarne, Coggle, Wells and the media (cf. appendix 3).

The features discussed here are described by Rosewarne, who discovered Estuary English, and confirmed by Wells, who has conducted critical research on Estuary English.

#### 4.3.3.1.1  T-Glottalling

A glottal stop is used at the end of a word and before another consonant sound (cf. 4.1.3.4.1 supra) (Wells, 1997:2).

#### 4.3.3.1.2  L-Vocalisation

(cf. 4.1.3.4.2 supra)

#### 4.3.3.1.3  Happy Vowel

In words such as *happy,* a sound more similar to [i:] as in *beat* [bi:t] is used. Some linguists transcribe this as [i]. It is important to note that this pronunciation only occurs in unstressed syllables, as in stressed syllables word such as *sleep* and *slip* must remain distinct from each other (Wells,1997:2).

#### 4.3.3.1.4  Goat Vowel

The [əʊ] diphthong, found in the word *goat*, has an opener starting point in Estuary English, leading to the [ʌʊ] pronunciation (Wells, 2005:1).

#### 4.3.3.1.5  Price Vowel

The wide diphthong of *price*, which can be transcribed as [praɪs], has a back starting point, i.e. [prɑɪs] (Wells, 2005:2).

#### 4.3.3.1.6  Yod Coalescence

(cf. 4.1.3.2 and 4.1.3.4.3 supra)

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[28] largely based on Rosewarne's article on Estuary English (http://www.phon.ucl.ac.uk/home/estuary/rosew94.htm)

### 4.3.4 The Importance of Estuary English

### 4.3.4.1 The Spread of EE without Face-to-Face Interaction

Although contradicted by Trudgill[29], who believes that linguistic innovations cannot be spread by media but solely through face-to-face communication, expert studies claim that if TV watching trends continue, many children will be spending more time exposed to non-local varieties than to their local vernacular (Altendorf, 2003:148, 149). It could be expected that this trend has some influence on the hearer's speech.

Altendorf (1999:147) observed the existence of Estuary English variants in Glasgow and Hull. It is yet unclear how these variants were able to travel so far on both geographical and social levels without face-to-face interaction. A possible explanation is the combination of linguistic preference, social attractiveness and constant exposure through the media.

### 4.3.4.1.1 A Study on Television Influence

A study conducted by Stuart-Smith between 2002 and 2005 on the constant exposure through media and Cockney, where the origins of Estuary English lie, appears to be a first decent indication that the former beliefs about linguistic innovations are no longer valid. It appears that a Cockney accent is sneaking into the Glaswegian dialect. This event was already reported in the eighties among the non-mobile working class but was never investigated[30].

Glaswegian adolescents showed short-term effects of television on speech. The speakers appeared to shift their speech after watching a short television clip. Moreover, there was evidence of TH-fronting, DH-fronting and L-vocalisation in Glaswegian adolescents, all features of the Cockney accent[31].

Recently, a model called 'linguistic appropriation from the media' has been developed as well as a new research strand, following the preliminary study[32].

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[29] http://www.teachit.co.uk/armoore/lang/estuary.htm
[30] http://www.gla.ac.uk/departments/englishlanguage/research/researchprojects/accentchange/#d.en.27356
http://www.gla.ac.uk/media/media_70506_en.ppt#33
http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/uk_news/scotland/3531075.stm
http://www.gla.ac.uk/media/media_70073_en.pdf
[31] http://www.gla.ac.uk/departments/englishlanguage/research/researchprojects/accentchange/#d.en.27356
http://www.gla.ac.uk/media/media_70506_en.ppt#33
http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/uk_news/scotland/3531075.stm
http://www.gla.ac.uk/media/media_70073_en.pdf
[32] http://www.gla.ac.uk/departments/englishlanguage/research/researchprojects/accentchange/#d.en.27356

### 4.3.4.2 A New Classification of Varieties

#### 4.3.4.2.1 Act of Identity

*It is at the intermediate level of lectal variation where the real variationist dance goes on.*
*(Altendorf, 2010:12)*

Estuary English is used to exemplify a suggestion for a new classification of varieties. Altendorf (2003:151) believes that speakers of Estuary English want to hold the balance between "roughness and sophistication, between stigma and prestige" (Altendorf, 2003:151) and want to distance themselves from the older-generation speakers, who are labelled 'elitist', 'common' or 'middle-class' and would rather see themselves as young and trendy (Altendorf, 2003:152). She concludes that "the choice of a variant has become an act of identity rather than an act of formality" (Altendorf, 2003:157). This is confirmed by Einarsson:

*Vi anpassar oss efter dem vi kommunicerar med och tar efter dem vi känner solidaritet med och identifierar oss med, men ackommoderar divergent mot dem vi tar avstånd från (Einarsson, as cited in Alvtörn, 2006:17).*

*[We adapt ourselves to those we communicate with and resemble those we feel sympathy for and those we identify ourselves with, but we take distance from those we wish to renounce from.]*

Altendorf suggests a 'pool of features' from which speakers select items to express their act of identity. This 'pool of features' would also explain the existence of Estuary English in places such as Glasgow[33]. Regional distribution of t-glottalling is an example of a very wide-spread feature still subject to social stigmatisation when it occurs in intervocalic position (e.g. ['buʔə]) (Altendorf, 2010:11).

This is shown in figures 6 and 7. In the first figure, t-glottalling is shown by phonetic context and town. The second figure shows t-glottalling by phonetic context and school. The figures show that "the regional pattern of variation is paralleled by the social pattern of variation where a similar stigma is likely to be at work" (Altendorf, 2010:11), i.e. social stigmatisation occurs in intervocalic glottalling and is enhanced the further the distance from London – where the innovation started. It is also at this level of the tripartite continuum, which will be discussed in the next chapter, that social identities are enacted (Altendorf, 2010:11,12).

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[33] http://www.ph-karlsruhe.de/cms/fileadmin/user_upload/dozenten/altendorf/Estuary_English/Estuary_English_for_HSK_Abstract.pdf
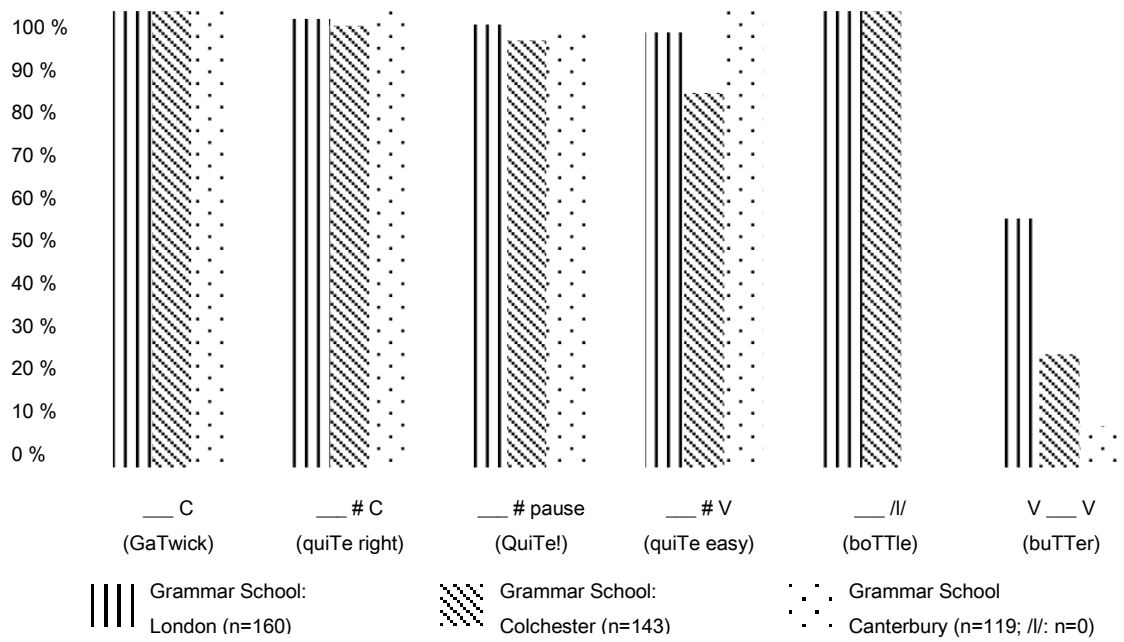
Figure 6: *T-glottalling by phonetic context and town;* from Altendorf, 2010:11.
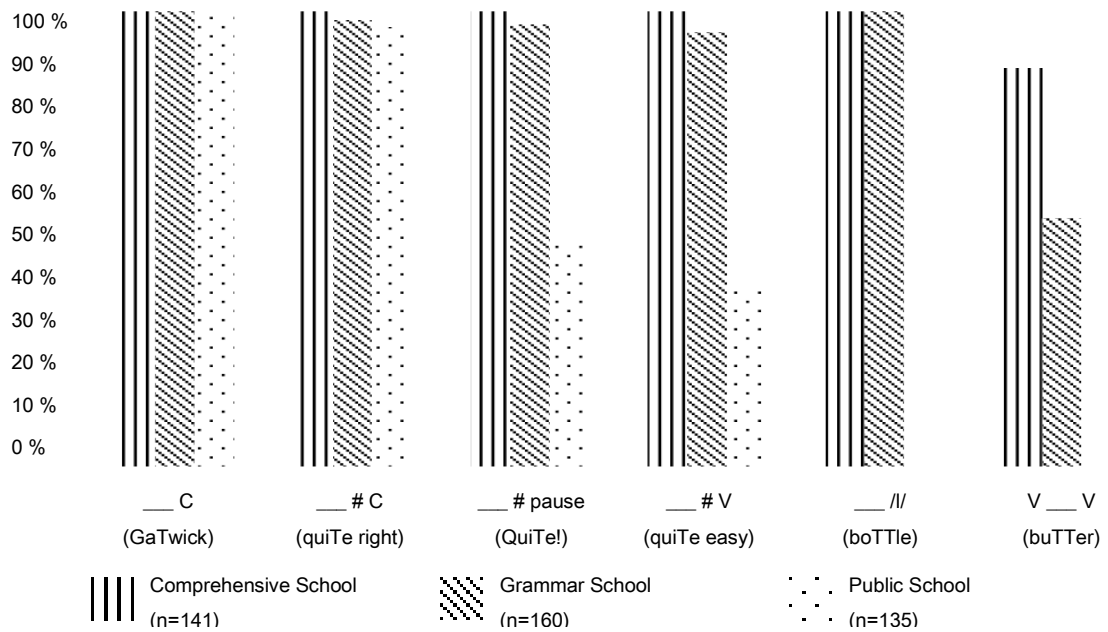


Figure 7*: T-glottalling by phonetic context and school;* from Altendorf, 2010:11.

#### 4.3.4.2.2 From a Dichotomous Conceptualisation to a Tripartite Continuum

The present criteria for a new variety are internal cohesion and external distinction. Internal cohesion means that a variety is a coherent entity and has features which are specific for that variety, whereas external distinction means that the variety can be distinguished from other existing varieties. Geordie, for example, is the only dialect in England and Wales which pronounces the /h/ (cf. 5.3.1.1 infra).

But these criteria are often insufficient as there is internal variability and lack of external discreteness (Altendorf, 2010:3). This has been the problem with labelling Estuary English as a variety and probably will be with language variation in general in the 21st century (Altendorf, 2010:8)[34]:

*Die Hauptschwierigkeiten einer strengen Definition sind darin begründet, daß es nicht klar ist, welche Menge und welche Typen von sprachlichen Merkmalen erforderlich sind, damit von einer eigenständigen Varietät die Rede sein kann (Altendorf, 2010:12)[35].*

When a variety does appear to exist, but the theories cannot accommodate it, it would be more reasonable to alter the theories rather than reality.

*Kontroverser ist die Frage der Diskretheit der Varietäten. [...] So scheint es den Tatsachen doch oft angemessener zu sein, die Varietäten als (konventionell bestimmte, nicht gut abgrenzbare) Verdichtungspunkte in einem Kontinuum zu verstehen (Beruto, as cited in Altendorf, 2010:3)[36].*

Kristiansen (as cited in Altendorf, 2010:12,13) makes a similar suggestion: a central prototype version of a variety, consisting of a number of more or less typical manifestations. As such, realisations can be typical, central or good examples of a variety.

Altendorf also concludes that the two current approaches of system versus usage for language variation are not sufficient. With a system-based approach, one cannot recognise variants at an early stage of development or predict the performance of a single speaker and the approach does not help solving the actuation riddle[37]. The usage-based approach, on the other hand, is not always able to predict large-scale developments or sociolinguistic universals (Altendorf, 2010:6).

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[34] http://www.ph-karlsruhe.de/cms/fileadmin/user_upload/dozenten/altendorf/Estuary_English/Estuary_English_for_HSK_Abstract.pdf
[35] Translation: The main problem with a rigid definition is that it is not clear how many and which types of language features are necessary before one can speak of a rightful variety.
[36] Translation: More controversial is the matter of variety discreteness. [...]. It appears that it would be more appropriate to consider the varieties as (traditionally allocated, but not clearly defined) 'central points' in a continuum.
[37] Actuation riddle: linguists have not been able to predict when a language change will occur, and have only been able to state it after the change has taken place (Hogg et al., 1992:443) .
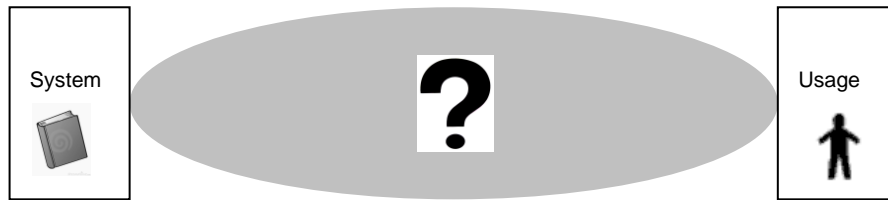
Figure 8: *Visual representation of the dichotomous conceptualisation*

Altendorf's tripartite proposition can accommodate the 'grey areas' in language variation, i.e. it has room for change of language use and language change up to a potential new system. This grey area can be found in the usage norm continuum, where change can move from usage to system. Altendorf uses Estuary English as an example of variation at the level of usage norms (Altendorf, 2010:8).
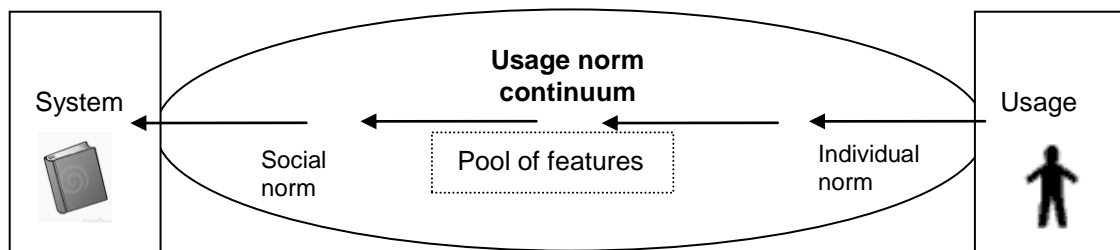


Figure 9: *A possible visible representation of a tripartite continuum*

# CHAPTER 5    Dialect Types

## 5.1    Traditional Dialects

Traditional dialects are dying out but can still be found in the more remote and rural areas of England. It is impossible to say exactly how many dialects there are, as dialects do not suddenly change when entering a new county, for example, but change gradually[38]. Traditional dialects often differ considerably from each other and from Standard English[39].

Generally speaking, there is a major dialect boundary between the north of England and Scotland on the one hand and the rest of England on the other hand[40]. This boundary is established by the FOOT-STRUT split and BATH broadening. The FOOT-STRUT split is a sound change dating back from Middle English, when a phonemic contrast between e.g. *putt* and *put* came to existence. The BATH vowel has now a longer pronunciation in the South (Altendorf & Watt, 2008:194; Sampson, 2002:63). For a visual representation, see map 4 in the appendix. The broken line represents the BATH boundary, the solid line the FOOT-STRUT split.

## 5.2    Mainstream-Modern Nonstandard Dialects

Mainstream-Modern Nonstandard dialects include Standard English (Trudgill[41] thus here appears to refer to Standard English as a dialect) and the Modern Nonstandard Dialects. They differ much less from Standard English and from each other than traditional dialects do and can be distinguished by their accent rather than by their grammar[42].

These dialects are associated with

- ⇨ the areas were standard English originally came from, i.e. the south-east;
- ⇨ most urban areas;
- ⇨ places that have become English-speaking fairly recently;
- ⇨ younger people's speech;
- ⇨ middle- and upper-class speakers in general.[43]

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[38] http://www.bbc.co.uk/voices/yourvoice/feature1_2.shtml
http://www.ehistling-pub.meotod.de/01_lec05.php#31
[39] http://www.geoffbarton.co.uk/files/student-resources/A%20Level/Accent%20Dialect/Trudgill%20Dialect:Accent%20Notes.doc
[40] http://www.bbc.co.uk/voices/yourvoice/feature1_2.shtml
http://www.ehistling-pub.meotod.de/01_lec05.php#31
[41] http://www.bbc.co.uk/voices/yourvoice/feature1_2.shtml
http://www.geoffbarton.co.uk/files/student-resources/A%20Level/Accent%20Dialect/Trudgill%20Dialect:Accent%20Notes.doc
[42] http://www.bbc.co.uk/voices/yourvoice/feature1_2.shtml
http://www.geoffbarton.co.uk/files/student-resources/A%20Level/Accent%20Dialect/Trudgill%20Dialect:Accent%20Notes.doc
[43] http://www.bbc.co.uk/voices/yourvoice/feature1_2.shtml
http://www.geoffbarton.co.uk/files/student-resources/A%20Level/Accent%20Dialect/Trudgill%20Dialect:Accent%20Notes.doc

This dominating model brings the north of England back together with the rest of England by moving the major dialect division, as can be seen in map 5 in the appendix. At the heart of these dialect areas lie one or more large cities[44]:

- ⇨ Newcastle for the Northeast dialect area (Northern),
- ⇨ Birmingham, Humberside and Merseyside for the West Midlands (Central),
- ⇨ Bristol for the West Country (Southwest),
- ⇨ London for the Home Counties (Southeast)[45].

This trend of dialects gathered around big cities is the outcome of dialect levelling (cf. chapter 2.2 supra)[46]. The phonetic features of the dialects of these areas are discussed in the next chapter.

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[44] http://www.bbc.co.uk/voices/yourvoice/feature1_2.shtml
[45] http://www.bbc.co.uk/voices/yourvoice/feature1_2.shtml
[46] http://www.bbc.co.uk/voices/yourvoice/feature1_2.shtml

## 5.3    Phonetic Features

### 5.3.1  Northeast Dialect[47]

| Phonetic Feature | Description | Example |
|---|---|---|
| /h/ | Geordies pronounce the /h/. | *hedge* remains *hedge* |
| Glottal stop | The glottal stop is used to reinforce /p, t, k/. | *better*           [ˈbɛtʔɑ] |
| /l/ | The /l/ is always clear, unlike in RP. | |
| NEAR and CURE | The final schwa /ə/ and the second element of the centring glides in *near* and *cure* are pronounced in a very open way. | *better*        [ˈbɛtʔɑ]<br>*beer*           [biɑ] |
| PALM | Words with the PALM consonant spelt with an *ar* sound like the RP *thought*. | *start*           [stɔ:t] |
| THOUGHT | When spelt with *al,* these words have an extra vowel /a:/, so *jawn* and *walk* do not sound alike. | *walk*           [wa:k] |
| NURSE and NORTH | In broad accents, the NURSE and NORTH consonant is the same. | *shirt* and *short*          [ʃɔ:t] |
| MOUTH | The MOUTH diphthong becomes /u:/ in some words. | *house*          [hu:s] |
| PRICE | The PRICE diphthong has a very close glide. | *Tyneside*        [tɛɪnsɛɪd] |
| FACE and GOAT | The FACE and GOAT diphthongs can be pronounced either as a steady-state [e:, o:] or as an opening diphthong [Iə, oə]. | |

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[47] The Northeast dialect is also called the Newcastle dialect or Geordie.

Based on Collins & Mees, 2003:301 and http://www.bl.uk/learning/langlit/sounds/case-studies/geordie/connected-speech/.

| T-to-r | A word-final /t/ is pronounced as /r/: | |
|---|---|---|
| | in between vowels of a small set of common verbs, | *getting, letting* |
| | across certain word boundaries, | *get of, shut up* |
| | in non-lexical words. | *lot of, what if* |
| Zero-linking /r/ | /r/ is not pronounced at the end of a word when the preceding word starts with a vowel. | *the bar and*    *< the baØ and>* |
| Preposition + vowel | A /v/ sound appears as final consonant of a preposition when it is followed by a vowel. | *to another*    *<tiv another>* |
| Preposition + consonant | The final consonant of some prepositions is deleted when it is followed by a consonant. | *with bread*    *<wi' bread>* |
| Unstressed personal & possessive pronouns | Unstressed personal and possessive pronouns become an extremely weak vowel. | *my*    [mI] |

### 5.3.2 West Midlands Dialect[48]

| Phonetic Feature | Description | Example |
|---|---|---|
| /h/ | The accent is h-less. H-dropping especially occurs in word-inital position. | *hill*    /'Il/ |
| /g/ | The /ŋ/ sound becomes /ŋg/ in the West Midland dialect | *doing*    *<doingk>* |
| BATH and TRAP | The West Midland dialect lacks a BATH-TRAP distinction | |
| KIT and FLEECE | The KIT vowel has a sound similar to RP FLEECE (Collins & Mees, 2003:299). West Midland pronunciation of the FLEECE vowel, however, has an extended glide. | |

[48] Based on Altendorf & Watt, 2008:204; Clark, 2008:151-171; Collins & Mees, 2003:299; Hughes & Trudgill, 1979:92-93.

| PRICE and CHOICE | The PRICE and CHOICE diphthong have no contrast. | *tie = toy* |
| --- | --- | --- |
| FOOT and STRUT | These vowels also sound very similar, but Midlanders are able to distinguish the sounds from each other. The FOOT vowel does sound different from the GOOSE vowel. | |
| FACE and GOAT | The FACE and GOAT diphthongs have a wide glide, which is typically south-eastern. | |
| Happy-tensing | The West Midland dialect has happy-tensing, where the RP /I/ is pronounced as /i:/. Happy-tensing is a typical south-eastern feature. | *happy* /'æpi:/ |
| /t/ | Especially young speakers use t-glottalling, a feature from outside the West Midlands which appears to be spreading. Also t-to-r occurs in the West Midland dialect . | *get off* <gerroff> |
| Yod coalescence | There is also evidence of both yod dropping and yod coalescence. | |

### 5.3.3  Southwest Area[49]

| Phonetic Feature | Description | Example |
| --- | --- | --- |
| /h/ | The accent from Bristol and surroundings is variably h-less | |
| Glottal stop | There is extensive glottalling, comparable to that of Cockney, consonant assimilation and elision. An alternative is t-voicing, replacing the /t/ sound in e.g. butter by /d/. | |
| Bristol /l/ | Bristol /l/ is a nickname for the /l/ following a word-final /ə/ in words of the lexical set | *America* [ə'mƐrɪkəl] |

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[49] Based on Altendorf & Watt, 2008:214-220; Collins & Mees, 2003:299; Hughes & Trudgill, 1979:39,77

| | COMMA. The feature can merely be found in Bristol and is not very common. | *Eva* | ['iːvəl] |
|---|---|---|---|
| West Country "Burr" | Southwestern accents have post-vocalic rhoticity or the "West Country burr", i.e. an /r/ close to the r-realisation of General American.<br><br>Hyper-rhotic pronunciation can lead to: | *bar*<br><br>*pretty* | [bɑːɻ]<br><br><purty> |
| Syllabic consonants | Word-final vowel + nasal sequences are not pronounced as syllabic consonants, which is the case in RP. | *happen* ['hapᵊn] | |
| Vowels in general | Vowels in south-western accents tend to be longer than in RP, especially in phrase-final or prominent position. | *trap*<br>*did* | [tɻaˑp]<br>[dɪˑd] |
| STRUT | The STRUT vowel often resembles a schwa /ə/. | | |
| BATH and TRAP | Some words with a BATH vowel are pronounced with a TRAP vowel | | |

## 5.3.4 Home Counties[50]

| Glottal stop | A glottal stop is used very often in Cockney, as it can replace /p, t, k/ or postpone the consonant between vowels and before a pause. /t/ is generally more glottalised than /p/ and /k/. | *butter*<br>*wet*<br>*cat*<br>*up* | [bʌʔə]<br>[weʔ]<br>[kæʔt]<br>[ʌʔp] |
|---|---|---|---|

[50] Based on Altendorf & Watt, 2008:204; Collins & Mees, 2003:299; Hughes & Trudgill, 1979:34-41; Mc Crum et al., 1987:77, 277; Mugglestone, 2003:91; Trudgill, 1984:57, 64; Wells, 1982:31, 254; Wells, 1982²:298, 313, 331; Wells, 1991:3; http://www.phon.ucl.ac.uk/home/wells/x202-4as3-lecture.pdf and http://www.phon.ucl.ac.uk/home/wells/x202-3as2-lecture.pdf.

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| /h/ | Wells (Mugglestone, 2003:95) calls h-dropping "the single most powerful pronunciation shibboleth in England", i.e. it is a marker of social difference, as only the lower classes drop their 'aitches'. /h/ is almost completely absent in Cockney. | *hedge* | [ˈɛdʒ] |
| Initial /p, t, k/ | Initial /p, t, k/ are strongly aspirated.<br>/t/ can be aspirated so heavily that it causes affrication. | *party*<br>*tea* | [pʰɑːti]<br>[tsiː] |
| /θ/ and /f/ | The difference between /θ/ and /f/ is almost completely gone. | *thin* | [fɪn] |
| /ð/, /d/ and /v/ | In most cases, /ð/ becomes /v/.<br>Initial /ð/ becomes /d/ or is simply left out. | *together*<br>*the*<br>*they* | [təgɛvə].<br>[də]<br>[ei] |
| /l/ | Post-vocalic /l/ is realised as a vowel in syllable-final position:<br>Preconsonantal  _(#)C<br>Absolute final __ll<br>Word-final prevocalic _(#)V<br>This type of pronunciation seems to be spreading and does no longer occur exclusively in Cockney. | *milk*<br>*fall*<br>*table and* | [mɪok]<br>[foː]<br>[ˈtˢeɪboː ænd] |
| Happy-tensing | In final position, the vowel /ɪ/ in RP becomes /iː/. | *city* | [sɪtiː] |
| /ɪ, e, æ/ | These front vowels are pronounced much closer in Cockney, i.e. the upper tongue surface is closer to the roof of the mouth. | | |
| /ʌ/ | The HUT vowel is more fronted and more open, resembling the vowel [a]. | | |

| /iː, uː/ | /iː, uː/ become extended diphthongs [əi] and [əu]. | |
|---|---|---|
| FACE, PRICE and GOAT | The diphthongs /eɪ, aɪ, əʊ/ become much more wide. This leads to allophones such as: <br> Wells (1982²:318) also states that the unstressed diphthong [ʌʊ] can be weakened to [ə], so that *pillow* and *pillar* start to resemble each other. | Cockney   RP <br> *day      die* <br> *try      troy* <br> *no      now* |
| /aʊ/ | The diphthong is fronted and often raised in Cockney, resulting in either [aː] or [ɛə]. | |
| Yod-dropping | Where RP has an alveolar stop followed by a yod, yod-dropping can usually be found in Cockney. Yod-dropping can also be found after *n*. <br> The pronunciation [tʃʊun] seems to be more popular nowadays. | *tune*    [tuːn] <br> *new*    [nuː] |
| Intrusive r | Cockneys are the introducers of the loss of or vocalization of [r] in final position, and are now the introducers of intrusive r. | *the idea[r] of it* <br> *I saw[r] it happen* |
| In' | In' is a stereotypical feature of older aristocracy members still used by Cockneys. | *'huntin', shootin' and fishin''* |

# CHAPTER 6    Television and its Audiences

## 6.1    The Medium is the Message

If the media have power and the presenter adapts his language towards the target audience (cf. chapter 1.1 supra), it could be assumed that the variety he chooses carries or eventually will carry prestige. This assumption has been confirmed by Lembo (2000:19), who states that television sanctions and enforces social norms and has, successfully, privileged ideologies over others just by giving it coverage (Lembo, 2000:54). Lombaerts & Musschoot confirm this statement:

*Entertainmentcontent zal (impliciet) de waarden en normen die gangbaar zijn in de plaatselijke samenleving in zich dragen. Weliswaar zal het dàt waardenpatroon overbrengen dat dominant is in een samenleving. Daarom zeggen we dat entertainmentcontent een belangrijke sociaal-culturele lading heeft. Ontwikkelingen in de maatschappij, ingrijpende gebeurtenissen, nieuwe ideeën, nieuwe fenomenen zie je even later in de media. Men zegt daarom wel eens dat media een spiegel zijn van wat er in een maatschappij leeft (Lombaerts & Musschoot, 2008:45).*

Estuary English can in this way be perceived as a norm (cf. 4.3.4.2 supra): a social norm which will be further enforced simply by giving it coverage. Other proof can be found in McLuhan's[51] theory of 'the medium is the message', which starts from another basic assumption. This theory states that

*We can know the nature and characteristics of anything we conceive or create by virtue of the changes – often unnoticed and non-obvious changes – that they effect[52].*

As such, '*anything we conceive or create*' is called the medium, which can be the medium of language (e.g. Estuary English) and the changes are called the message. Noticing change in our societal or cultural ground conditions indicates the presence of a new message, i.e. the effects of a new medium. In this way, Estuary English is rather the 'cause' than the result of the changing societal conditions in England, i.e. the changing perceptions on a pronunciation standard with an inherent social distinction.

When this is integrated with the previously discussed theories, it could be concluded that there is interaction between the power of the media and the enhancement of social norms. Television presenters have been downgrading their language due to audience design (e.g. cf. 4.2 supra) and because of the power of the media on social norms, this produces – in this case rather 'enhances' - a change in the ground conditions (i.e. Estuary English as a pool of features). A pool of features, as identity is also of importance in media use, as viewers accept, oppose or negotiate power by deploying identities (Lembo, 2000:87).

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[51] http://individual.utoronto.ca/markfederman/article_mediumisthemessage.htm
[52] http://individual.utoronto.ca/markfederman/article_mediumisthemessage.htm

## 6.2 Audiences

### 6.2.1 General Division[53]

A general audience division is provided by BARB (Broadcaster's Audience Research Board)[54].

The general audience categories are:

- ⇨ individuals,
- ⇨ adults,
- ⇨ men,
- ⇨ women,
- ⇨ children,
- ⇨ housewives.

These are then further subdivided by age:

- ⇨ 4-9 years,
- ⇨ 10-15,
- ⇨ 16-24,
- ⇨ 25-34,
- ⇨ 35-44,
- ⇨ 45-54,
- ⇨ 55-64 and 65+ (often described as 55+).

And/or social class:

- ⇨ AB - higher (A) and middle (B) management, administrative or professional
- ⇨ C1 - supervisory, clerical, and junior management
- ⇨ C2 - skilled manual workers
- ⇨ DE - semi-skilled and unskilled workers and non-wage earners.

ABC1 audiences are often described as 'upmarket', and C2DE as 'downmarket'.

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[53] http://www.channel4.com/learning/programmenotes/english/wtcfour03.htm; http://www.barb.co.uk/about/glossary;
[54] "BARB (Broadcasters' Audience Research Board) is the organisation responsible for providing the official measurement of UK television audiences." (http://www.barb.co.uk/about/tvmeasurement?_s=4)

## 6.2.2 Viewing Behaviour

### 6.2.2.1 Television and Age

Age is the dominant differential in viewing preferences (Hill, 2007:68). Television plays an important role in the lives of young adults, as it is a source of entertainment and information and a site for social interaction and engagement. Yet, when major changes occur such as exams or going to university, there is a change in the viewing behaviour. They watch less television and also in a different manner (Gauntlett & Hill, 1999:82-83).

As the daily routines of young adults change when they go to university, habitual viewing of programmes stops and other media (e.g. magazines, radio or newspapers) become more important. Other young adults encourage this behaviour and socialising (in real life) becomes their most important occupation in their spare time: they spend 16 hours per week on social activities and only 14 on watching television, whereas the average is 25 hours per week (Ceber et al, n.d.:2). Furthermore, peer pressure is one of the reasons why young adults suddenly watch more adult programmes (Gauntlett & Hill, 1999: 87-89).

As adults (according to BARB, 16 years old and up[55]), people have a much more established pattern of television viewing; the everyday activities are generally manipulated in such a way that people can watch the programmes they want. These activities are cut short, moved to another time or prolonged (Gauntlett & Hill, 1999:23).

### 6.2.2.2 Television and Gender

The television viewing behaviour of women and men has changed a great deal since the seventies and eighties. Soap operas, for example, are no longer solely watched by women but are now also appreciated by men, as they indicate themselves (Gauntlett & Hill, 1999:210, 229).

A study conducted by Morley in 1986 showed that men preferred to watch factual programmes and realistic fiction, whereas women prefer to watch fictional shows and romance. He also claimed that when women watch the news, they seem to prefer to watch the local news because of their domestic responsibilities (e.g. taking care of the children). Although these generalisations may give us a useful first clue, reality, however, is more complicated (Gauntlett & Hill, 1999:214-215)[56].

The 1996 BARB top 20 of television programmes watched by men consists, among other things, of 9 sports programmes, a sitcom, detective drama and 4 soaps. The women's top 20, on the other hand, consists of no sport at all but a sitcom, 6 soaps, and detective dramas (Gauntlett & Hill, 1999:218).

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[55] http://www.barb.co.uk/about/glossary
[56] http://www.aber.ac.uk/media/Modules/TF33120/gendertv.html#M

In a survey on what sort of programmes women and men like to watch both found films, nature and wildlife, news, sitcoms and music shows interesting; men, however, showed an interest in sports (as it shows competition, strength and discipline)[57], alternative comedy, science and adult films and women in soaps, plays and drama series, quiz shows and chat shows (Gauntlett & Hill, 1999:219).

## 6.2.3 Scheduling

Dayparts on television differ per channel, but usually they include daytime, early peak, late peak and night-time television[58]. Breakfast television usually starts at 6 a.m. and is mainly for employed people and students who are getting ready for work or school. The content is mainly news-related, or according to BBC, it contains "take-away tips and information […] and allows viewers to dip in and out."[59]

On weekdays, BBC daytime runs from about 9 a.m. until 3 p.m. BBC1, for example, prefers shows about current affairs, factual and consumer programmes which are "substantial, fast paced and have high stakes"[60] at 9 a.m. At 10 a.m., the shows must provide tips and entertain as well; many antiques and property shows are broadcast during this time slot. At 11 a.m., again property shows but also consumer programmes are broadcast, but all must have "a positive tone"[61].

On BBC, afternoon television runs from 3 p.m. to 7 p.m. Here, the viewers are looking for "positivity and escapism" and "something long-form and engaging"[62]. Cookery formats and quizzes with a clear structure and strong entertainment values are preferred. Afterwards, escapism shows which let viewers look into people's lives and stories such as *Escape to the Country* are aired[63].

As the evening or early peak begins, viewers prefer something "more challenging and substantial and are more likely to be able to commit to shows that have a narrative arc running across the week"[64].

Daytime programming and afternoon-TV are generally dominated by women's interest programmes, although many young women nowadays feel that those programmes are rather "insulting" to women, as they appear to show an ideal that nobody can live up to. Moreover, many women indicate that daytime programming should have male programmes too (Gauntlett & Hill, 1999:221-225)[65].

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[57] http://www.aber.ac.uk/media/Modules/TF33120/gendertv.html#M
[58] http://www.itvmedia.co.uk/advertising-on-itv/cost-of-advertising/dayparts
[59] http://www.bbc.co.uk/commissioning/tv/network/genres/daytime_detail.shtml
   http://beckamarshalla2media.blogspot.com/2010/10/tv-scheduling.html
[60] http://www.bbc.co.uk/commissioning/tv/network/genres/daytime_detail.shtml
[61] http://www.bbc.co.uk/commissioning/tv/network/genres/daytime_detail.shtml
[62] http://www.bbc.co.uk/commissioning/tv/network/genres/daytime_detail.shtml
[63] http://www.bbc.co.uk/commissioning/tv/network/genres/daytime_detail.shtml
[64] http://www.bbc.co.uk/commissioning/tv/network/genres/daytime_detail.shtml
[65] http://beckamarshalla2media.blogspot.com/2010/10/tv-scheduling.html

Primetime television consists mainly of soaps and is aimed at workers who have come home[66]. Late night television is usually aimed at students, who prefer to watch American programmes[67].

Scheduling changes during weekends; the dayparts are gone, so there is no afternoon decrease in the number of viewers and programmes of ninety minutes or longer, such as movies or mini series, are scheduled (Lecomte, 1999:63-66; Vane & Gross, 1994:185).
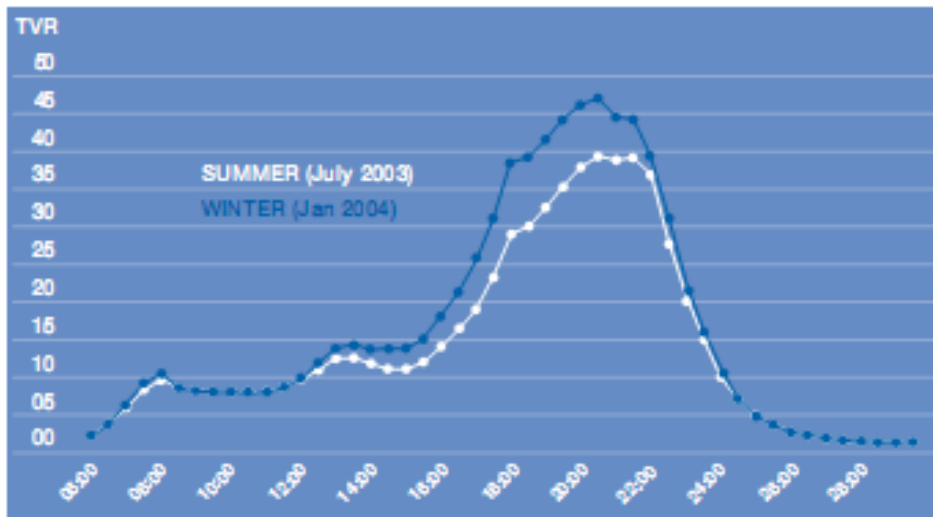


Figure 10: *TVR during weekdays,* from http://www.barb.co.uk/news/itemsubscriber/id/108/
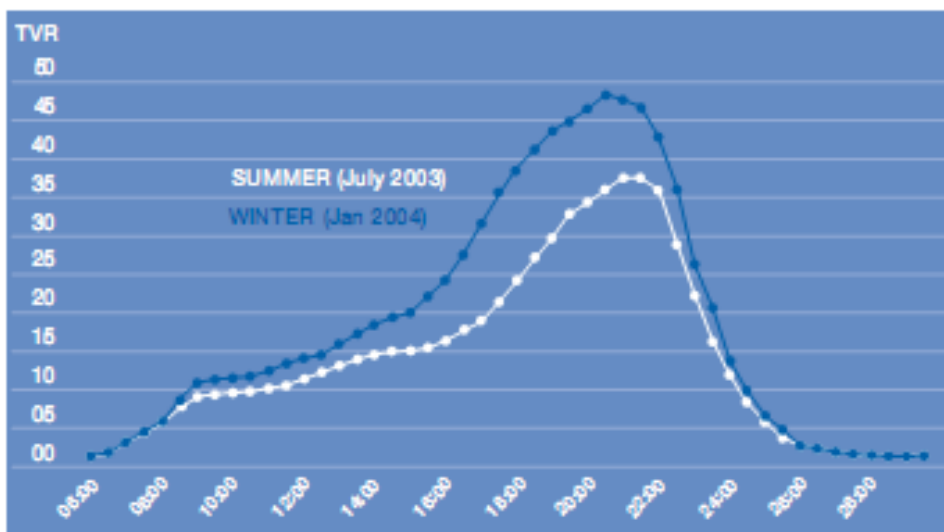


Figure 11: *TVR during weekends,* from http://www.barb.co.uk/news/itemsubscriber/id/108/

Figure 10 shows the decrease in viewers during the daypart on a weekday, i.e. what percentage of the target audience is reached (which is called the TVR)[68]. Figure 11 shows the TVR during weekends, which indeed shows no decrease in the afternoon but rather a rise as the day progresses.

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[66] http://beckamarshalla2media.blogspot.com/2010/10/tv-scheduling.html
[67] http://beckamarshalla2media.blogspot.com/2010/10/tv-scheduling.html
http://www.channel4.com/corporate/4producers/scheduling/scheduling-c4.html
[68] http://www.barb.co.uk/about/glossary

## 6.2.4  Presenters

According to Hermes (1999:70), presenters have a central role in our present media culture. Television programmes, irrespective of whether they are the news or fiction genres, need some form of personalisation in which the presenter can be an aid.

So, presenters help to create an identity for the programme, which in turn also means that problems can arise when there is a shift of presenters in the programme as the presenter after a while simply is the programme's identity (Dahlgren et al: 2000:188).

As Formula 1 moved from ITV to BBC, the majority of the presenters remained the same. One of the reasons for this could be that the programme's identity was closely linked to the presenters for the many regular Formula 1 viewers, and thus keeping the presenters made the programme's move to another channel an easier transition.

The presenter's identity, on the other hand, is "actively, ongoingly and dynamically" (Benwell & Stokoe, 2006:4) constituted in the discourse rather than a reflection in the discourse. This means that viewers give the presenter an identity depending on what shows they host (Benwell & Stokoe, 2006:4).

Nigella Lawson, for example, has a very upper-class background, but presents her cooking programme as if she were a hard-working wife who tries to find time to cook, look after the children and do the grocery-shopping herself, in contradiction to her earlier statements[69].

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[69] http://www.dailymail.co.uk/tvshowbiz/article-1267853/My-Team-Cupcake-Nigella-Lawson-reveals-squad-let-shop-cook-picture-taken.html

## 6.3 British TV Channels

### 6.3.1 BBC

In 2008, the BBC had an audience share of about 30 % in total with a major share for BBC One [70]. BBC One is one of the most famous channels for 14-19 year olds[71]. Looking for the target audiences of the various BBC channels, one reads mostly vague descriptions. A possible reason for this is the absence of advertisers. The BBC has no need to be as open about their strategy and target audiences as commercial channels do. The latter need to attract advertisers for funding, and those advertisers want to see the strategy and the targeted audiences as detailed as possible.

BBC One is a mixed-genre television service which wants to "reflect the whole of the UK in its output. A very high proportion of its programmes should be original productions". BBC Two targets a broad adult audience with programmes which are mostly "knowledge-building" and it is also a platform for more risky and original programmes. BBC Three mostly attempts to reach the younger audiences and BBC Four is for all adults who prefer "intellectually and culturally enriching" programmes and the more specialist programmes [72].

### 6.3.2 ITV[73]

In 2008, ITV had an audience share of about 19 %[74]. ITV has 4 platforms, of which ITV 1 is the more general platform which reaches mainly ABC1 adults. ITV2 is a channel which mainly targets the younger audience, i.e. the 16-34s. ITV3 is for the "sophisticated, upmarket audiences" and targets the upmarket audience of 35-plussers. Finally, ITV4 provides programmes for men between 25 and 44 years old.

### 6.3.3 Channel 4

Channel 4 is the third biggest channel of Britain with an audience share of about 8 % in 2008 [75]. Channel 4 describes itself as follows:

*At Channel 4, we talk to our audience. That's what keeps us top of mind when it comes to being seen as trend setting, innovative, controversial (in a good way), creating new programmes that others copy and ground breaking by ABC1 16-44s.[76]*

Channel 4 is thus a channel mainly for the young or young-at-heart audience. A look at the Channel 4 schedule shows that, for the producers, this means a large number of American imported programmes: The Simpsons, According to Jim, Everybody Loves Raymond, The Big Bang Theory, Desperate Housewives, ...[77]

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[70] http://www.channel4.com/corporate/4producers/resources/documents/c4-research.pdf
[71] http://www.channel4sales.com/effectiveness/research_and_insight/projects/understanding_young_audiences
[72] http://www.bbc.co.uk/aboutthebbc/services/channels_tv.shtml; http://www.bbc.co.uk/commissioning/tv/network/channels/bbcfour.shtml; http://www.bbc.co.uk/commissioning/tv/network/channels/bbctwo.shtml
[73] http://www.itvmedia.co.uk/itv-platforms
[74] http://www.channel4.com/corporate/4producers/resources/documents/c4-research.pdf
[75] http://www.channel4.com/corporate/4producers/resources/documents/c4-research.pdf
[76] (http://www.channel4sales.com/effectiveness/research_and_insight)
[77] http://www.channel4.com/tv-listings/daily/2011/01/25

## 6.4    Genres

### 6.4.1  Reality TV

Reality TV is a populist rather than an elitist genre and allows ordinary people to become famous, if only for a while. The reason why reality TV is so popular these days is because it allows industries to avoid risks – reality TV is a rather cheap genre – and it gives the audience the familiarity it is looking for on television, as the key concepts of the genre are intimacy, immediacy and interactivity (Helsby, 2010:4-5,14).

Another reason for its popularity among broadcasters is that the genre mainly attracts the so-called elusive light viewers (ELV): the young viewers who watch 2 hours or less per day and which advertisers would love to reach (cf. 6.5 infra) (Ceber et al, n.d.:2 ; Edgerton & Rose, 2005:197; Helsby, 2010:4,14; Hill, 2007:68). Nevertheless, a great percentage of downmarket viewers also regularly watches lifestyle and health-based reality programmes (Hill, 2005:126) (cf. 6.4.1.3 infra).

### 6.4.1.1  Lifestyle

Lifestyle television is considered to be a sub-genre of reality TV and is believed to be most prevalent on BBC. According to Palmer, these shows are hosted by presenters "whose styling tips represent an affordable option of the discrete, but insecure, new petit-bourgeoisie" of Britain (2004:189).

### 6.4.1.2  Heritage Television

Heritage television is defined as follows:

*Any 'factual' programming transmitted on both analogue and digital platforms that concerns material culture, the historic environment and ancient monuments. History programming that focuses on artefacts and sites recovered through archaeological practices is also considered to be heritage television. As such, programmes range from Antiques Roadshow through to Time Team and Horizon.*[78]

The study also calls shows such as *Build a New Life in the Country* heritage programmes. In the following table, which shows the viewing figures of these heritage programmes, it can be deduced that the percentage of women and men watching these programmes are about the same, that the programmes are mainly for viewers of 45 years and older and a downmarket audience, which deviates from other reality programmes.

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[78] http://www.britarch.ac.uk/publications/bulletin/piccini_full.html
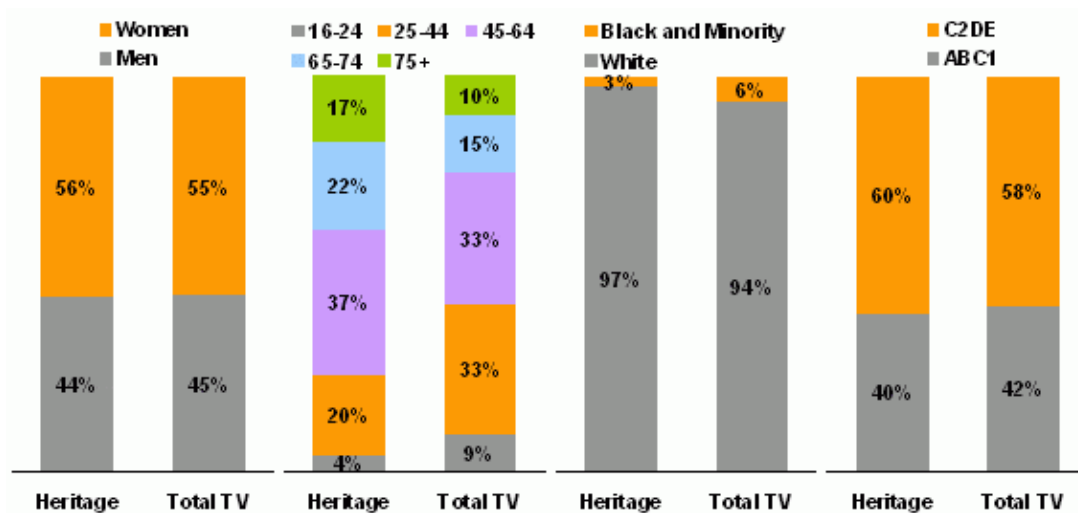
Figure 12: *Viewing figures of heritage programmes;* from http://www.britarch.ac.uk/ publications/bulletin/piccini_full.html

At first sight, it might seem unusual that a downmarket audience watches programmes about rather upper-class topics. These day-time programmes show either ordinary people who are given the chance of becoming important or rich, or they show rich people making their dream come true (such as buying a cottage in the countryside). But the explanation is provided by the fairy tale Cinderella (cf. 6.4.1.3 infra).

### 6.4.1.3 The Cinderella Experience

It could be said that viewers of reality TV want to have their own Cinderella story: Cinderella dreamed of a better life, joining the rich people in going to the ball, living in a beautiful palace, … Her wish came true when she met the fairy-godmother.

The fairy-godmother (i.e. the expert) allows the audience to enter the beautiful palace and perhaps even join the rich people, or she lends her magic wand so the audience can upgrade their lives themselves, whether they are from the lower classes or the ELV.

The lower-class viewers of heritage programmes seem to feel stuck in their everyday, lower-class life. They look at the rich people or the ones on the way to becoming rich and hope that one day they will be as lucky: building a house in the countryside or finding an artefact in the attic that is worth millions. That a large number of participants, i.e. more than 10 %, are regular viewers of the show confirms this assumption (De Groot, 2009:69).

Also, just as Cinderella, they are allowed into areas previously inaccessible to them: experts show participants their family tree, tell them if they have valuable objects in their attic, … Formerly these benefits were only for the upper classes (De Groot, 2009:69-72).

The young rich seem to prefer to use the magic wand themselves: they look for advice on how to improve their lives themselves, be it their garden, wardrobe or their home, DIY is conceived to be a better option than hiring the expensive professional they have just watched on the screen.

## 6.4.2 Quizzes

Depending on the broadcaster, quizzes can vary a great deal. BBC has the tradition of making rather prestigious, yet not very glamorous shows. Quiz shows such as Mastermind are not meant to be prime-time programmes but for a middle class audience with good academic knowledge. University Challenge is one of the most intelligent British quiz shows, with no cash prizes or holidays but a modest trophy and the honour of being a winner. BBC Two, on the other hand, is usually meant for comedy quiz shows.[79]

ITV successfully broadcasts quiz shows during prime time: shows such as Who Wants to be a Millionaire and Bullseye tend to attract very large audiences. Whereas ITV targets broad audiences, Channel 4 makes quiz shows for particular audiences, such as Countdown for the older and retired.[80]

## 6.4.3 Sports

As figure 13 shows, most sports have a typically male, middle and lower class audience. Golf has a significant higher socio-economic audience, but also an older one, as 80.4 % is older than 35.

**Other Sport Viewer Demographics**

| Sporting Events | Men | Woman | 4–15 | 16–34 | 35+ | AB | C1 | C2 | DE |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Football | 62.9% | 37.1% | 10.6% | 25.8% | 63.6% | 16.9% | 26.6% | 23.7% | 32.8% |
| Athletics | 53.2% | 46.8% | 8.8% | 19.1% | 72.1% | 18.6% | 26.6% | 22.4% | 32.4% |
| Golf | 59.0% | 41.0% | 4.7% | 14.9% | 80.4% | 20.5% | 28.2% | 21.3% | 30.0% |
| Ice Hockey | 53.7% | 46.3% | 12.5% | 33.0% | 54.5% | 18.4% | 20.4% | 40.8% | 20.4% |
| Skiing | 51.0% | 49.0% | 8.6% | 17.2% | 74.2% | 20.7% | 27.5% | 19.8% | 32.1% |
| Figure Skating | 44.4% | 55.6% | 7.5% | 12.8% | 79.6% | 19.2% | 28.8% | 19.6% | 32.4% |

Figure 13: *Viewer Demographics of Sports other than Formula 1*; from Beck-Burridge & Walton (2001: 40).

The following table shows the viewer demographics of Formula 1 in the UK. In the UK, Formula 1 has the same percentage of higher socio-economic viewers as golf, i.e. 70 % ABC. As to age, the table shows that 64 % is older than 34 and over a quarter of the viewers are between 15-34 years old. Only ice hockey does better with 33 %. Moreover, 62 % of the UK viewers of Formula 1 are male.

With a young, male and upper class audience and a growing popularity of the sport, Formula 1 is a favourite among many advertisers (Beck-Burridge & Walton, 2001:38-41).

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[79] http://www.nationalmediamuseum.org.uk/Educators/EducatorEvents/~/media/Files/NMeM/PDF/ Educators/TVHeavenPlusQuizShows.ashx
[80] http://www.nationalmediamuseum.org.uk/Educators/EducatorEvents/~/media/Files/NMeM/PDF/ Educators/TVHeavenPlusQuizShows.ashx

| | Men | Women | 6–14 | 15–34 | 38–49 | 50+ | Upper | Middle | Lower |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| France | 61% | 39% | 7% | 22% | 22% | 49% | 39% | 41% | 20% |
| Germany | 65% | 35% | 5% | 35% | 21% | 40% | 51% | 38% | 11% |
| Italy | 66% | 34% | 6% | 31% | 30% | 33% | 34% | 49% | 17% |
| UK | 62% | 38% | 9% | 27% | 25% | 39% | 46% | 24% | 30% |

Figure 14: *Formula 1 Viewer Demographics in the UK*; from Beck-Burridge & Walton (2001: 40).

The overall perception that women do not like to watch sports has been proven to be untrue. A study conducted by BBC showed that women do like watching sports, but in a light and accessible way and during 'family downtime' such as Sunday morning or the late afternoon[81].

It is believed that sports such as Formula 1 are watched by the largest audiences in history because of the cult-status of many of the sportsmen and the season's developments resembling a soap (Beck-Burridge & Walton, 2001:11-12, 23). Although they are not Formula 1's target audience, this might as well be the reason why over 30 % over the women watch Formula 1 too.

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[81] http://www.vagacms.co.uk/content/showcontent.aspx?contentid=1178

## 6.5    The Role of Advertisers

As much as private broadcasters like to attract advertisers, their main goals concerning audiences are conflicting. Broadcasters prefer to be neutral about the target audience and want to attract an audience which is as broad as possible as this costs them less (Jugenheimer & Kelly, 2008:71), whereas advertisers prefer the programme's target audience as specific as possible in order to be certain to advertise during the right programme[82].

The advertiser's most preferred target audience is also one very hard to reach, i.e. the upmarket audience in the 16-24 age group. This group has a great deal of money to spend, but has not yet established a clear pattern of what they prefer to spend their money on, and can thus still be influenced.  For broadcasters, however, this is a very hard group to reach as they watch television less than the average viewer[83].

 The following figure shows the average cost per thousand (CPT) per audience category for advertisers on ITV1. Here can be seen that the broader audience categories are lower in costs and the younger, more defined audiences are more expensive.
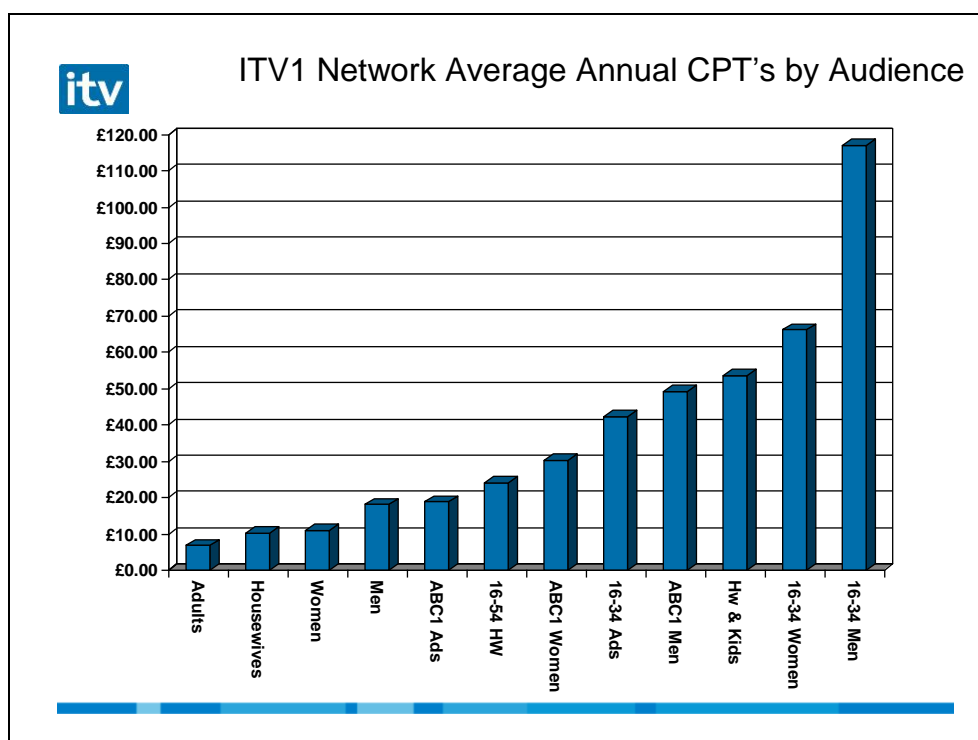


Figure 15: *ITV1 Average CPTS by Audience*; from http://www.itvmedia.co.uk/advertising-on-itv/cost-of-advertising/target-audience-television-ratings-tvrs

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[82] http://www.channel4.com/learning/programmenotes/english/wtcfour03.htm
[83] http://www.channel4.com/learning/programmenotes/english/wtcfour03.htm

# CHAPTER 7    Conclusions

In this theoretical part, three different research domains have been discussed. One of the main points in this theoretical part is *identification.* Audience design and act of identity - as discussed in the Estuary English chapter - focus around this term:

⇨ Who do I want to identify with?

⇨ Who do I want to be?

The present investigation will focus on establishing this *identification* by means of language. As shown in the chapter about Estuary English (cf. 4.3 supra), language can be a tool - or in the case of Estuary English a pool of features - to help establish this *identity* (act of identity) or *identification with* (audience design).

The act of identity theory shows great similarity with referee design, a theory which cannot be used for explaining media language, as it states that it is used for all internal self-defining forces and less concerned with who the hearer is (Yaeger-Dror, 2001:171).

The act of identity theory, however, does not mention this and provides a broader picture, as it also includes the changing scene of language variation, where the use of Estuary English has only one main internal self-defining force: being young & trendy.

When this is combined with the earlier discussed importance of a presenter, it could be said that even if we do not know the presenter's internal motives for choosing a certain pronunciation, those motives will always include the audience.

Little research has been conducted into audience design on television, reaching television target audiences with language or language/Estuary English as an act of identity. Moreover, it appears that these aspects have not been combined before. Yet, television is an interesting tool for this research:

1 Insight into the television marketing techniques gives a better view of how audience design fits into the bigger picture of reaching audiences.

2 Identification with the audience is important on television and the presenter, who is a visible representation, enables this identification[84].

3 Because of the presenter's identity creation, television can so provide insight into how acts of identity are created by means of language.

4 Television is the first to show style changes and can enact or enhance social norms.

5 Thus, in the many discussions about Estuary English versus RP, television could be a useful tool in the research for the current social norms.

---

[84] The existence of audience design on television by means of language was confirmed by Stef Wouters, producer of numerous Dutch television programmes (personal communication, November 2010).

# PART II: METHODOLOGY

# CHAPTER 8    Corpus

## 8.1    Corpus Compilation

The corpus consists of 12 television programmes, 6 of which were broadcast on public television and 6 on private television. Each programme has a length of approximately 30 minutes, although the private television episodes may be a few minutes shorter due to the commercial breaks. Two episodes per television programme were taped, so the corpus consists of 24 hours of material to be analysed.

All television programmes in the corpus are aimed at an ABC1 audience, i.e. an upmarket audience. Private broadcasters rarely wish to attract downmarket audiences, as these viewers are not a desired audience for advertisers (i.e. they do not have enough money to spend on their products). This does not mean that a downmarket audience does not watch private television programmes, they are just not mentioned in the programme description for advertisers[85]. The television programmes in the corpus are aimed at viewers between 16 and 45 years old, as most programmes are meant for this audience.

In a first instance, the corpus was divided according to the target audience: female, male, or both, which leads us to the following division:

| PUBLIC TELEVISION (BBC) | | |
|---|---|---|
| **Female** | **Male** | **Both** |
| Nigella Express | Top Gear | University Challenge |
| Gardeners' World | F1 | Friday Night with Jonathan Ross |
| | | |
| **PRIVATE (ITV, CHANNEL 4)** | | |
| **Female** | **Male** | **Both** |
| Cook Yourself Thin | Jamie Does | Paul O'Grady |
| Britain's Got Talent | F1 | Gordon Ramsay's Cookalong |

Figure 16: *Corpus Main Division*

---

[85]Examples can be found on http://www.itvmedia.co.uk

However, for practical reasons, the corpus was transcribed and restricted to a maximum of 4000 words per programme, which corresponds with 1 episode of non-stop talking (e.g. Top Gear). This also means that for some programmes, two episodes or a part of the second episode were analysed (e.g. Britain's Got Talent, Cook Yourself Thin)[86].

To compile a sufficiently varied corpus, episodes whose first airdate was within the last 5 years were taken into account as the majority of the programmes broadcast during the last year are cooking programmes, quizzes and television programmes with a voice-over. In the corpus, the earliest airdate of an episode is 2007.

There are no programmes in the corpus of the private television channel Channel 5, as most of their programmes are foreign shows, such as CSI:Miami, NCIS, Home and Away, … (www.five.tv/schedule).

Next, the place of birth or place of residence of the presenter was verified. If the presenter had lived a long time in his place of birth, there was no need to look further, but if the presenter had moved to another dialect area at an early age, the place of residence was taken to define his or her dialect as it is that dialect the presenter will have had the most contact with (e.g. in school, leisure activities, …). According to Chambers (Clark, 2003:375), the absolute age of acquiring the phonological features of a second dialect is 10 to 11 years. An example here is Gordon Ramsay, who is Scottish by birth, but was brought up in Stratford upon Avon.

---

[86] Because of the size of the corpus, the markings of possible and used features are not added into the transcriptions.

## 8.2 Corpus Information

### 8.2.1 Public Television

#### 8.2.1.1 Nigella Express (2007)[87]

| | |
|---|---|
| Channel: | BBC2 |
| Type: | Cooking |
| Daypart: | Peak |
| Presenter and place of birth/residence: | Nigella Lawson: London |
| Target audience: | Female, adult, middle class |

#### 8.2.1.2 Gardeners' World (2010)[88]

| | |
|---|---|
| Channel: | BBC2 |
| Type: | Gardening |
| Daypart: | Early peak |
| Presenter and place of birth/residence: | Toby Buckland: Devon |
| | Carol Klein: Lancashire |
| | Joe Swift: Hackney |
| | Alys Fowler: Hampshire |
| Target audience: | Female, adult, upper class |

#### 8.2.1.3 Top Gear (2010)[89]

| | |
|---|---|
| Channel: | BBC2 |
| Type: | Motoring magazine |
| Daypart: | Peak |
| Presenter and place of birth/residence: | Richard Hammond: West Midlands |
| | Jeremy Clarkson: South Yorkshire |
| | James May: Bristol |
| Target audience: | Male, 25-45 year old, social class AB |

---

[87] Floyd & Forster, 2003:188, 198, 200; http://www.bbc.co.uk/programmes/b007z2r2;
http://encyclopedia.stateuniversity.com/pages/15988/Nigella-Lawson.html
[88] http://www.bbc.co.uk/gardenersworld/presenters/; http://www.tobybuckland.com/about.php;
http://www.telegraph.co.uk/finance/personalfinance/fameandfortune/7804091/Alys-Fowler-on-money.html;
http://www.museumstuff.com/learn/topics/Carol_Klein; http://www.dailymail.co.uk/tvshowbiz/article-1021325/TV-gardener-
Joe-Swift-spends-time-peoples-gardens---neglects-tend-own.html; http://www.iabuk.net/en/1/
casestudiesrachelsorganicgardenersworld.html; (Kruger et al. 2004:143).
[89] http://www.imdb.com/name/nm1414369/bio; http://www.talktalk.co.uk/celebrity/biography/person/richard-
hammond/171; http://www.imdb.com/name/nm0165087/bio; http://www.talktalk.co.uk/celebrity/biography/
person/jeremy-clarkson/90; http://www.imdb.com/name/nm0561982/bio; http://www.tv.com/james-may/
person/298320/biography.html; http://www.summitmedia.com.ph/media-kit/mag/topgear/;
http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/health/6324129.stm;

### 8.2.1.4  Formula 1 (2010)[90]

| | |
|---|---|
| Channel: | BBC1 |
| Type: | Sports |
| Daypart: | Various |
| Presenter and place of birth/residence: | Ted Kravitz |
| | Martin Brundle: King's Lynn |
| | David Coulthard: Twynholm, Scotland |
| | Jake Humphrey: Norfolk |
| | Lee McKenzie: Ayr, Scotland |
| | Eddie Jordan: Ireland |
| Target audience: | Male, higher social economic profile, 52 % are between 15-49 years old |

### 8.2.1.5  University Challenge (2010)[91]

| | |
|---|---|
| Channel: | BBC 2 |
| Type: | Quiz |
| Daypart: | Peak |
| Presenter and place of birth/residence: | Jeremy Paxman: Yorkshire |
| Target audience: | Male and female, educated middle-class people |

### 8.2.1.6  Friday Night with Jonathan Ross (2010)[92]

| | |
|---|---|
| Channel: | BBC1 |
| Type: | Talkshow |
| Daypart: | Late night |
| Presenter and place of birth/residence: | Jonathan Ross: London |
| Target audience: | male and female, young (students), upmarket |

---

[90] http://www.f1fanatic.co.uk/2008/09/29/bbcs-2009-f1-team-will-be-legard-brundle-coulthard-humphrey-and-mckenzie/; http://www.allvoices.com/people/United-Kingdom/Wales/Cardiff; http://www.martinbrundlef1.com/about-martin-brundle.php; http://www.leemckenzie.tv/about.asp; http://www.chesterchronicle.co.uk/chester-sport/2009/03/26/formula-one-former-chester-man-jonathan-legard-revs-up-for-big-challenge-in-bbc-one-commentary-box-59067-23233717/; http://formula1.india-server.com/drivers/david-coulthard.html; http://www.imdb.com/name/nm1473315/; http://news.bbc.co.uk/local/norfolk/hi/tv_and_radio/newsid_7957000/7957982.stm; Beck-Burridge & Walton, 2001: 40
[91] http://www.bbc.co.uk/pressoffice/biographies/biogs/news/jeremypaxman.shtml; http://www.tv.com/ jeremy-paxman/person/69315/summary.html; http://www.nationalmediamuseum.org.uk/pdfs/TV-Heaven-Plus-Quiz-Shows-Pack.pdf
[92] http://www.talktalk.co.uk/celebrity/biography/person/jonathan-ross/101; http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/8450575.stm

### 8.2.2  Private Television

### 8.2.2.1  Cook Yourself Thin (2007)[93]

| | |
|---|---|
| Channel: | Channel 4 |
| Type: | Cooking |
| Daypart: | Daytime |
| Presenter and place of birth/residence: | Gizzie Erskine: London |
| Target audience: | Female, upmarket |

### 8.2.2.2  Britain's Got Talent (2010)[94]

| | |
|---|---|
| Channel: | ITV1 |
| Type: | Reality: talent show |
| Daypart: | Peak |
| Presenter and place of birth/residence: | Anthony Mc Partlin: Newcastle |
| | Declan Donnelly: Newcastle |
| Target audience: | Young, female, broad |

### 8.2.2.3  Jamie Does (2010)[95]

| | |
|---|---|
| Channel: | Channel 4 |
| Type: | Cooking |
| Daypart: | Peak |
| Presenter and place of birth/residence: | Jamie Oliver: Essex |
| Target audience: | Male, middle-class, young people (who are living on their own) |

---

[93] http://www.aca-demy.co.uk/articles.php?rp=articles/which-came-first-chickens-eggs-or-jamie-oliver&browseby=tags&start=15&drilldown=channel%204; http://www.cookyourselfthin.co.uk/; http://living.scotsman.com/tvradio/Interview-Gizzi-Erskine-chef-and.6218711.jp

[94] http://www.womenrepublic.co.uk/entertainment/ant_dec/; http://www.absoluteradio.co.uk/artists/Ant-and-Dec/biography/; http://www.itvmedia.co.uk/britains-got-talent-itv1

[95] http://www.jamieoliver.com/about/jamie-oliver-biog; Floyd & Forster, 2003:64.

### 8.2.2.4  Formula 1 (2008)[96]

| | |
|---|---|
| Channel: | ITV |
| Type: | Sports |
| Daypart: | various |
| Presenter and place of birth/residence: | Steve Rider |
| | Mark Blundell: London |
| | Louise Goodman: Essex |
| | James Allen: Liverpool area |
| | Ted Kravitz: |
| | Martin Brundle: King's Lynn |
| Target audience: | Male, higher social economic profile, 52 % is between 15-49 years old |

### 8.2.2.5  Paul O' Grady (2009)[97]

| | |
|---|---|
| Channel: | Channel 4 |
| Type: | Talkshow |
| Daypart: | Peak |
| Presenter and place of birth/residence: | Paul O'Grady: Birkenhead |
| Target audience: | male and female, young, upmarket |

### 8.2.2.6  Gordon Ramsay's Cookalong (2008)[98]

| | |
|---|---|
| Channel: | Channel 4 |
| Type: | Cooking |
| Daypart: | Peak |
| Presenter and place of birth/residence: | Gordon Ramsay: Stratford upon Avon |
| Target audience: | male and female, adults, upmarket |

---

[96] http://www.talkf1.co.uk/guides/f1_legends_murray_walker.html;
[97] http://www.itv.com/presscentre/thepaulogradyshow/week36overview/; http://www.thisislondon.co.uk/showbiz/
article-23756428-paul-ogrady-moves-his-show-to-itv.do; http://www.thebiographychannel.co.uk/biographies/paul-o-grady.html
[98] http://www.channel4sales.com/programming/915/gordon+ramsay+cookalong+live;
http://www.thinkbox.tv/server/show/ConWebDoc.773

# CHAPTER 9    Methodology

## 9.1    Research Questions

1)    To what extent is there audience design on British television programmes?

    1a)    Is there a difference between public and private channels concerning the use of Estuary English features (and/or dialects in general)?

    1b)    Is there a difference between male, female and combined gender target audiences concerning the use of Estuary English features (and/or dialects in general)?

2)    Are Estuary English features used as an act of identity?

## 9.2    Parameters of Analysis
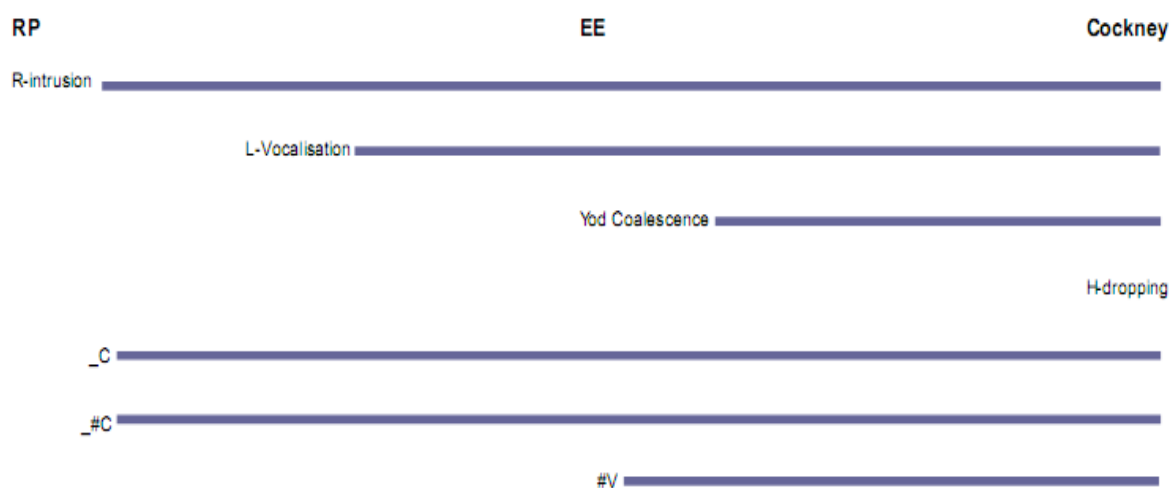


Figure 17*: Parameters of Analysis*

Figure 17 shows the seven parameters which were analysed in the corpus. The bars in the figure  show to which extent the pronunciation features are believed to be accepted into RP, as described by Wells.[99]

These markers are chosen as they are the best audible markers. Other than Estuary English features, there are also 2 parameters which "box in" the Estuary English features. These two parameters show the boundaries between RP in the most rigid way, i.e. absence of r-intrusion, and H-dropping, a Cockney feature.

_C represents t-glottalling followed by a consonant                     *Gaʔwick*

_#C represents t-glottalling followed by a word boundary
and a consonant                                                                             *quiʔ right*

_#V represents t-glottalling followed by a word boundary
and a vowel                                                                                  *buʔ if*

[99] ihttp://www.phon.ucl.ac.uk/home/wells/rphappened.htm.

## 9.3 Method of Analysis

### 9.3.1 Counting the Parameters[100]

#### 9.3.1.1 Chi-square test

The measurements are divided into different sets of data, by means of a specific variable, e.g. gender of the target audience. The two variables in the present study are:

1. public versus private broadcasters,

2. male versus female versus mixed target audience.

The distribution concerning the presence or absence of each parameter of analysis (i.e. pronunciation feature) for these different sets of data can be compared by using the chi-square test.

Chi-square gives us an indication as to which degree the different distributions (i.e. the parameters of analysis) between the different sets of data are due to the variable or by chance, which is called the level of significance.

For conventional reasons, a significance level smaller than 5 % will be called 'significant' in the present study. A significance level smaller than 1 % will be called 'highly significant' and a significance level smaller than 0,01 % will be called 'very highly significant'[101].

It should be noted that a chi-square test becomes unreliable if there are fewer than five attestations.

#### 9.3.1.2 The Parameters

In case of doubt of the pronunciation, the Longman Pronunciation Dictionary (Wells, 2000) was consulted.

⇨ R-intrusion may happen when the first vowel is either /ə/, /ɑ:/ or /ɔ:/ and is followed by a morpheme boundary and a vowel. Examples are *India and, Shah of* and *law in*[102]*, resp.

⇨ L-vocalisation can occur in non-prevocalic positions, i.e. when [ɫ] is not followed by a vowel (Altendorf, 2003:66).

⇨ Yod coalescence may happen in stressed syllables such as *tuna,* and the avoidance of it is considered to be a touchstone of RP (cf.4.1.3.2 supra).

---

[100] http://www.phon.ucl.ac.uk/home/wells/rphappened.htm
[101] Van den Eynden Morpeth, 2011
[102] http://www.ulb.ac.be/philo/phonolab/r-atics2/abstracts%20pdf/Uffman.pdf

⇨ H-dropping (cf. 5.3.4 supra) is counted when it occurs word-initially. It should be noted that in case of a dialect other than Cockney (cf. 2.3.2 infra), the number of H-drops are not counted as this parameter serves to "box in" the Estuary English features on the Cockney side. So it does not serve as a feature of 'dialects in general', as Geordie does not have H-dropping.

⇨ For glottal stops, the following rule was applied: [103]

| V | | # |
|---|---|---|
| *or* | /t/ | *or* |
| **/n/** | | **C not /r/** |

Figure 18: *Representation of possible glottal stops*

Examples are:

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| *tonight* | V_# |
| *moment* | /n/_# |
| *gets* | V_C |
| *points* | /n/_C |

These possibilities were then further divided into either _C, _#C or _#V.

### 9.3.1.3  t_pause

At first, _pause (e.g. *quite!* at the end of a sentence) was also counted as a parameter. This parameter, however, caused some uncertainties when tested: what counts as a possible pause? The end of a sentence does not always count as a possible pause in speech, as many presenters often do not take full stops into consideration, and often pause in the middle of a sentence. Moreover, what counts as a pause? A general rule for this could not be found.

It was thus decided to leave out this parameter and insert these possible glottal stops with the other parameters. So:

*Quite! Ø But I …*          is added with the _#C parameter

*Quite! Ø I …*          is added with the _#V parameter

When there is a shift of presenter, change of scene or a long pause (longer than 2 seconds), the feature is added to _#V as, according to Wells,[104] they are accepted into RP to the same extent.

---

[103] http://www.phon.ucl.ac.uk/home/estuary/transcree.htm
[104] http://www.phon.ucl.ac.uk/home/wells/rphappened.htm

### 9.3.1.4 Counting Programme

The following programme was made especially for the corpus analysis. This programme will help avoid human errors when counting the possible occurrences and occurrences of parameters of the corpus[105]. The programme makes use of VLC media player to pause, play, go back and skip 2 seconds.
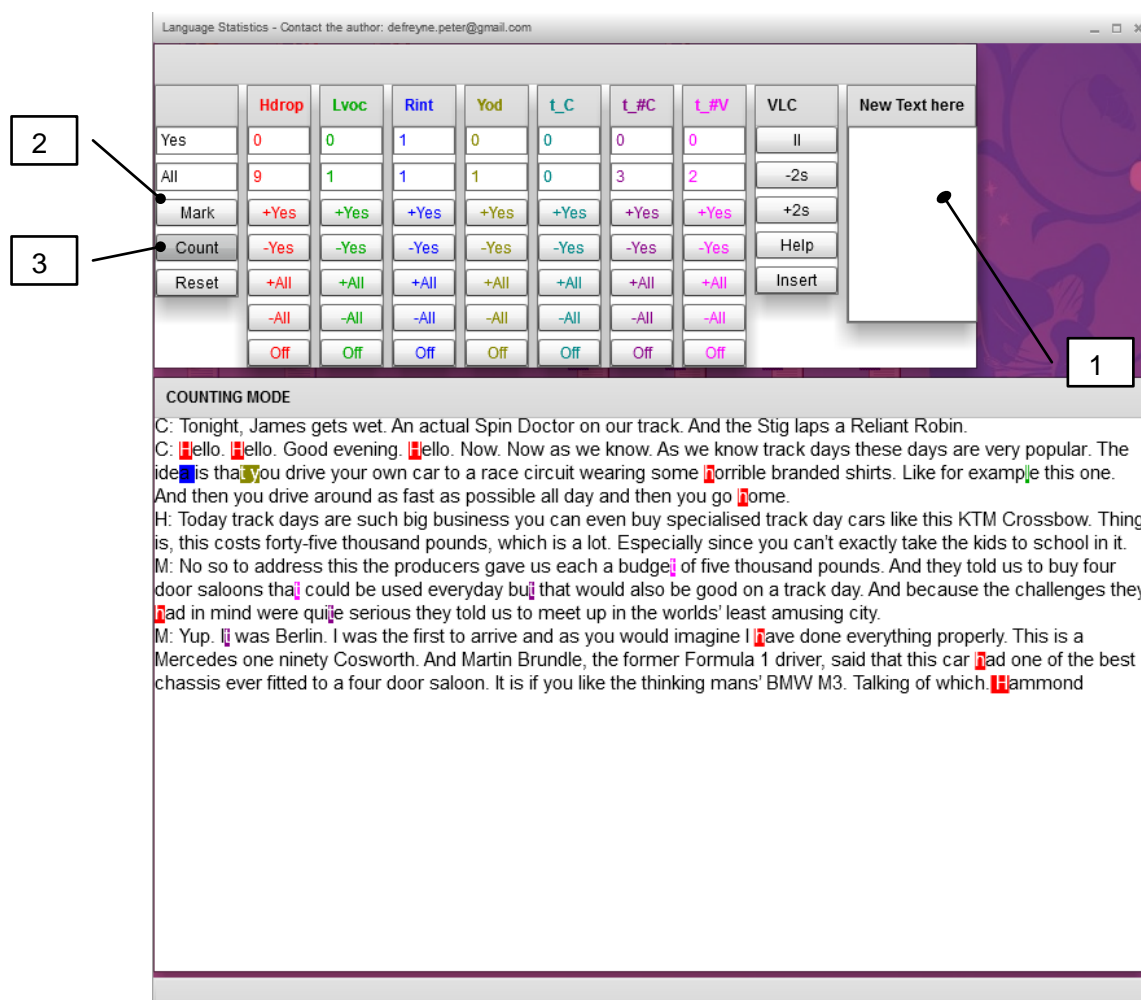


Figure 19: *Print screen of the programme*

1. *New text here*. The transcriptions can be inserted into this box. With the insert button the text is pasted in the bottom box.

2. *Mark mode*. In this mode, all possible occurrences ("all") of the parameter can be marked and counted.

3. *Count mode*. In this mode, all occurrences ("yes") can be marked and counted.

The counting of a parameter is enabled by clicking on the "off" button of a parameter, and by then clicking in the text on the appropriate letter. The letter is then automatically added to the section concerned ("yes" or "all"). Counting is also possible with the aid of the keyboard.

---

[105] the programme was made especially for this dissertation by Peter Defreyne, to whom I am indebted for his help

## 9.3.2  Question 1: Audience Design?
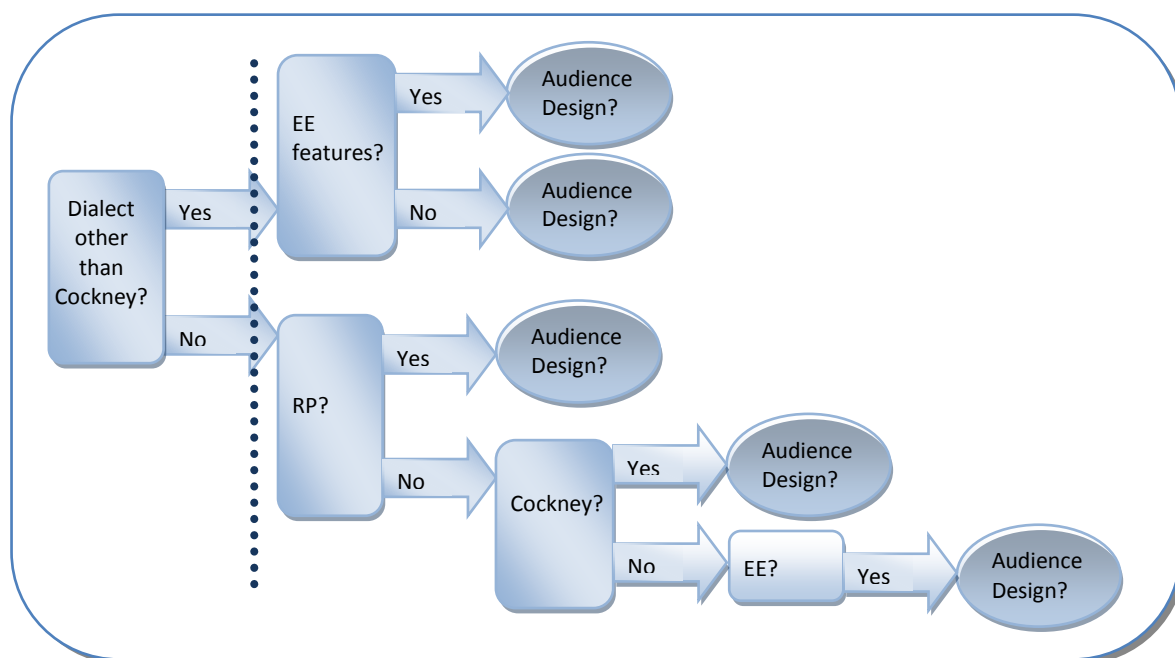


Figure 20*: Flowchart of the methodology*

Figure 20 shows the method adopted for analysing the corpus. When the presenter has a dialect other than Cockney, the aitches are left out of the analysis. The next question is whether or not the presenter has traces of Estuary English features. Both questions lead to the next question, i.e. whether or not the presenter's dialect is an example of audience design.

When the presenter has a dialect which resembles Cockney or has no dialect pronunciation at all, the arrow "no" is followed, leading to the question whether the presenter's pronunciation is RP. If it is the case, this also leads to the question whether it is audience design or not. If "no", it leads to the question whether Cockney features can be found, i.e. the use of h-dropping. "Yes" once again leads to the audience design question, "no" leads to the question which Estuary English features can be found, followed by the question if it is audience design or not.

The audience design question is resolved by looking at whether or not the presenter's pronunciation corresponds with what could be expected for the target audience/television channel (cf. 1.2 supra for the target audience).

Deviations from the presenter's background can be answered by the second question concerning the act of identity.

### 9.3.3 Question 2: Act of Identity?

The question concerning the act of identity needs be looked at in more detail:

⇨ Which parameters are used where and where are they absent the most?

⇨ Which presenter uses which parameters and which presenter avoids which parameters?

⇨ Are there any unexpected pronunciation features concerning the presenter's background?

Only those presenters who use Estuary English features will be analysed. It could be assumed that these questions provide an answer to the act of identity question, as identity is expressed by selecting features from a pool of features (cf. 4.3.4.2.1 supra), which are called the parameters here.

# PART III: RESULTS AND CONCLUSIONS

# CHAPTER 10   Research Question 1a: Public Vs Private

## 10.1    Research Question

Is there a difference between public and private channels concerning the use of Estuary English features (and/or dialects in general)?

## 10.2    Results

### 10.2.1        Phonetic Features in Public and Private Television
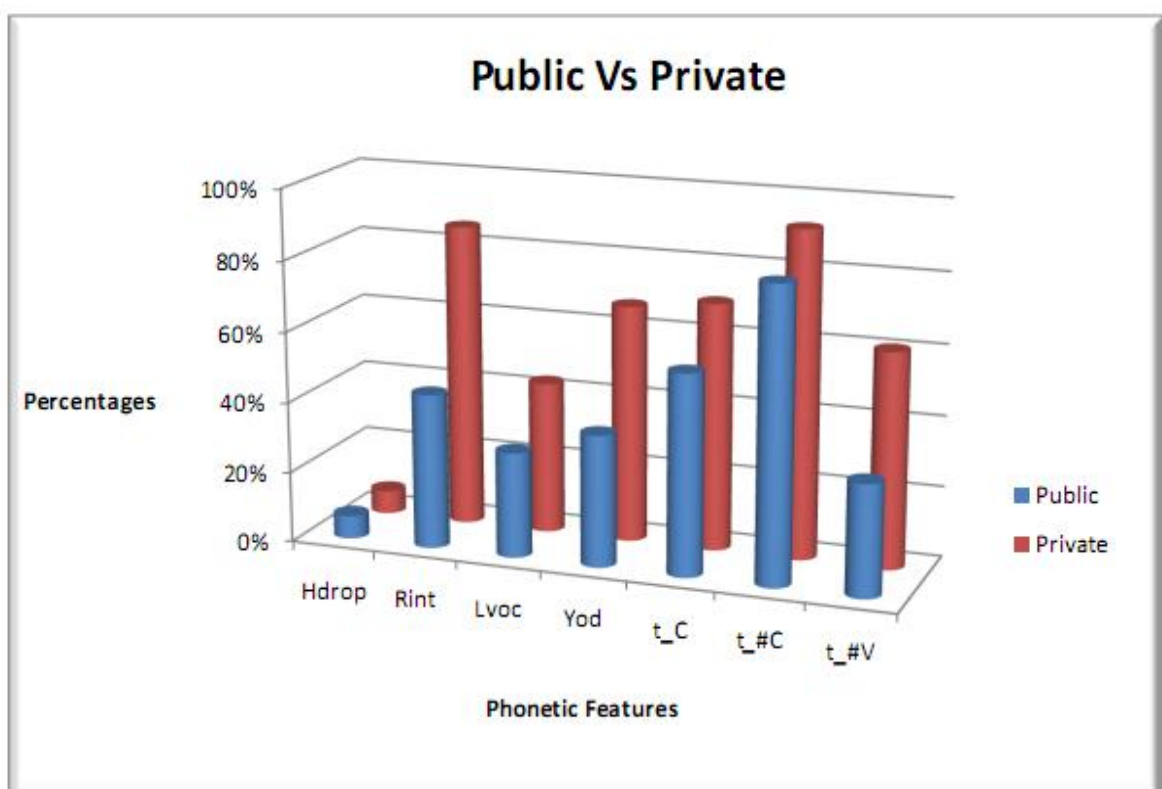


| | Public | | | Private | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | occ | total | % | occ | total | % |
| **Hdrop** | 46 | 788 | 5.84% | 38 | 552 | 6.88% |
| **Rint** | 7 | 16 | 43.75% | 12 | 14 | 85.71% |
| **Lvoc** | 317 | 1066 | 29.74% | 455 | 959 | 47.45% |
| **Yod** | 29 | 78 | 37.18% | 57 | 85 | 67.06% |
| **t_C** | 353 | 624 | 56.57% | 405 | 580 | 69.83% |
| **t_#C** | 1162 | 1405 | 82.70% | 1405 | 1525 | 92.13% |
| **t_#V** | 269 | 853 | 31.54% | 498 | 819 | 60.81% |

Table 1: *Phonetic features in public and private television*

Table 1 shows the results of the comparison between public and private television.

### 10.2.2 Chi-Square Results of Public versus Private Television

| | P | CHI |
|---|---|---|
| **Hdrop** | 0.5071 | 0.44 |

| | Hdrop | /h/ |
|---|---|---|
| **Pu** | 46 | 742 |
| **Pr** | 38 | 514 |

| | P | CHI |
|---|---|---|
| **Rint** | 0.046 | 4 |

| | Rint | | | Ø |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| **Pu** | 7 | -0.26 | +9.0 % | 44.9 |
| **Pr** | 12 | 29.7 | +2.0 % | -0.13 |

| | P | CHI |
|---|---|---|
| **Lvoc** | <.0001 | 39.62 |

| | Lvoc | | /l/ | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| **Pu** | 317 | -18.0 % | 749 | +10.3 % |
| **Pr** | 455 | +18.1 % | 604 | -10.3 % |

| | P | CHI |
|---|---|---|
| **Yod** | 0.0003 | 13.4 |

| | Yod | | Ø | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| **Pu** | 29 | -28.3 % | 49 | +31.6 % |
| **Pr** | 57 | +26.0 % | 28 | -29.0 % |

| | P | CHI |
|---|---|---|
| **t_C** | <.0001 | 22.09 |

| | t_C | | /t/ | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| **Pu** | 353 | -10.0 % | 271 | +17.0 % |
| **Pr** | 405 | +10.8 % | 175 | -18.3 % |

| | P | CHI |
|---|---|---|
| **t_#C** | <.0001 | 59 |

| | t_#C | | /t/ | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| **Pu** | 1162 | -5.6 % | 243 | +39.3 % |
| **Pr** | 1405 | +5.1 % | 120 | -36.2 % |

| | P | CHI |
|---|---|---|
| **t_#V** | <.0001 | 38.73 |

| | t_#V | | /t/ | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| **Pu** | 269 | -20.7 % | 779 | +9.9 % |
| **Pr** | 498 | +16.5 % | 819 | -7.9 % |

Table 2: *Chi-square results for the phonetic features in public and private television*

Table 2 shows the chi-square results for the phonetic features in public and private television.

## 10.2.3 Dialect other than Cockney?
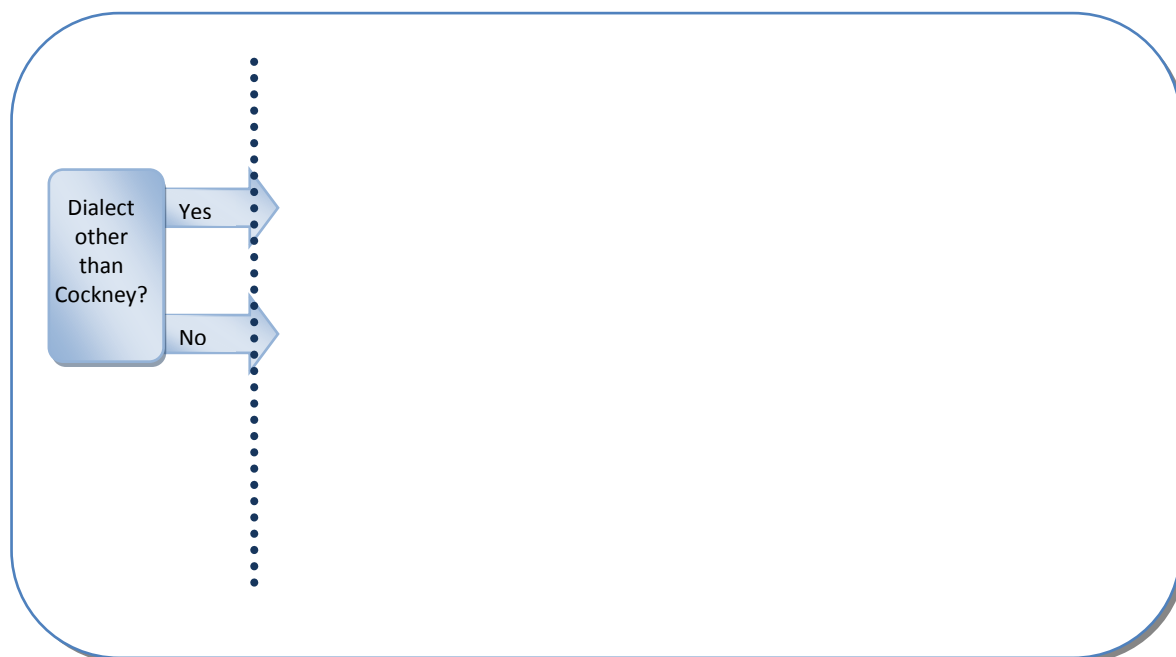


Figure 21: *Part one of the methodology flowchart*

The first flowchart question, i.e. "is it a dialect other than Cockney?" leads to the omission of the results of possible h-drops of presenters who keep the pronunciation features of their local accent (cf. 9.3.1.1 supra):

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| ⇨ David Coulthard | Formula 1 BBC | Scotland |
| ⇨ Eddie Jordan | Formula 1 BBC | Ireland |
| ⇨ Lee McKenzie | Formula 1 BBC | Scotland |
| ⇨ James Allen | Formula 1 BBC | Liverpool Area |
| ⇨ Anthony Mc Partlin | Britain's Got Talent | Newcastle |
| ⇨ Declan Donnelly | Britain's Got Talent | Newcastle |
| ⇨ Paul O'Grady | Paul O'Grady Live | Birkenhead |

Details of their specific pronunciation will be further discussed in the act of identity chapter (cf. chapter 12 infra).

## 10.2.4      RP?
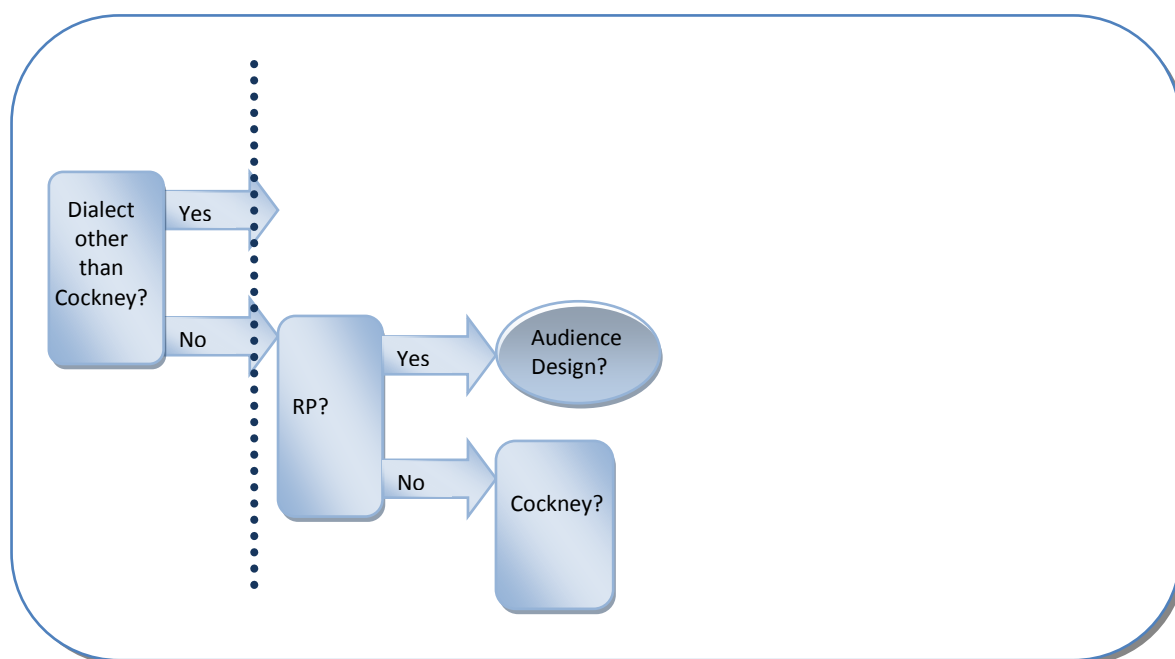


Figure 22: *Part two of the methodology flowchart*

The question whether or not the presenter is speaking the narrowest form of RP can be answered by looking at the r-intrusion feature (cf. 9.2 supra). Except for six out of six  (100 % ) omissions of r-intrusion in the BBC programme *Nigella Express*, no other clear-cut omissions could be found.

The chi-square test shows that the results are significant (P  0.046, $X^2$  4). However, as one measurement is smaller than five, the results will not be taken into account. The statistics, on the other hand, show that presenters on public television use 43.75 % of the time r-intrusion. Private television, however, used r-intrusion 85.71 % of the time.

Although the answer 'yes' to the question as to whether or not the presenter speaks RP is not applicable in this case, the question as to whether or not this is a case of audience design is. In other words: is the avoidance of RP in the narrowest form audience design? As stated in 4.1.1 supra, RP is the accent of a minority class and is generally considered to be unfashionable. The avoidance of such an increasingly unpopular accent could thus be considered as audience design.

## 10.2.5    Cockney?
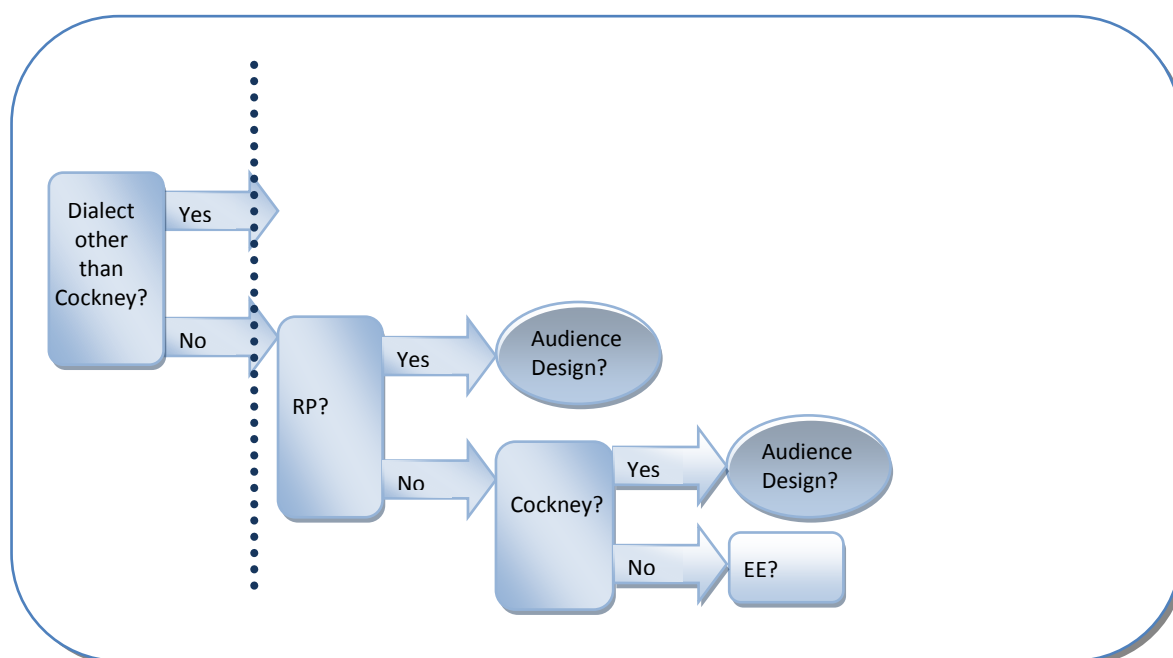


Figure 23: *Part three of the methodology flowchart*

The feature h-dropping shows when a dialect is Cockney. The marker shows social difference and is considered to be 'inferior' pronunciation and for the lower classes (cf. 5.3.4 supra).

| | P | CHI | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| **Hdrop** | 0.5071 | 0.44 | | |
| | | | Hdrop | /h/ |
| | | Pu | 46 | 742 |
| | | Pr | 38 | 514 |

Table 3: *Part three of the methodology flowchart*

The chi-square test cannot prove significantly that there is a connection between public and private television concerning the use of h-dropping. H-dropping is used 5.81 % of the time on public and 6.35 % on private television. On private television, the 38 h-drops where spread across Jamie Oliver (3), Gordon Ramsay (15), Mark Blundell (16), Martin Brundle (4).

It must be mentioned that on public television, on the other hand, 39 out of 46 h-drops are pronounced by Jonathan Ross, who speaks with a strong Cockney accent. This heavy use of h-dropping by 1 out of 12 presenters whose h-drops were counted gives a distorted image of pronunciation on public television. The results of h-dropping give a picture which is more in line with previous results when this observation is taken into consideration. After all, h-dropping is an 'inferior' pronunciation.

## 10.2.6　　Estuary English Features
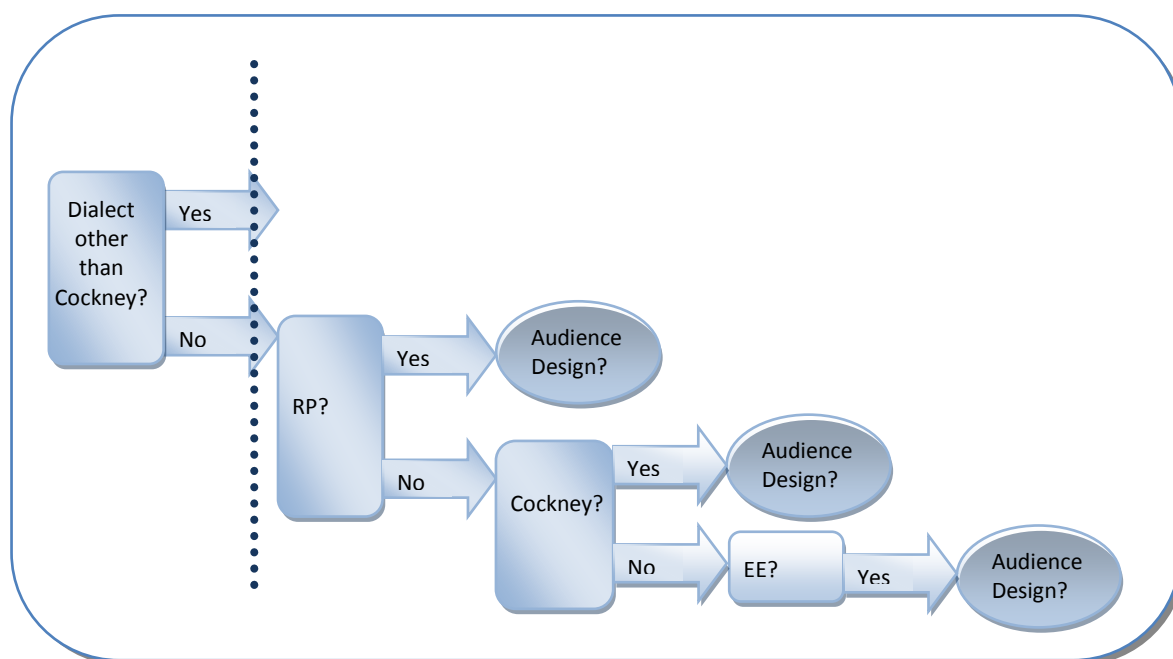


Figure 24: *Part four of the methodology flowchart*

### 10.2.6.1　　L-vocalisation

|  | P | CHI |  |  |  |  |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| **Lvoc** | <.0001 | 39.62 |  |  |  |  |
|  |  | **Lvoc** |  |  | **/l/** |  |
|  | **Pu** | 317 | -18.0 % | 749 | +10.3 % |
|  | **Pr** | 455 | +18.1 % | 604 | -10.3 % |

Table 4: *Results of the chi-square test for l-vocalisation*

The differences between public and private television with regard to l-vocalisation are very highly significant: public television uses 18 % less l-vocalisation than private television in comparison with H0. This corresponds with 29.74 % for public television and 42.97 % for private television.

## 10.2.6.2     Yod Coalescence

|        | P      | CHI  |     |         |     |         |
|--------|--------|------|-----|---------|-----|---------|
| **Yod**| 0.0003 | 13.4 |     |         |     |         |
|        |        |      | **Yod** |     | **Ø**   |     |
|        |        | **Pu** | 29  | -28.3 % | 49  | +31.6 % |
|        |        | **Pr** | 57  | +26.0 % | 28  | -29.0 % |

Table 5: *Results of the chi-square test for yod coalescence*

The results of the chi-square test show that the differences between public and private television are highly significant. Private television uses 26 % times more yod coalescence than could be expected from the null hypothesis and public television avoidance of the use of yod coalescence rates 31.6 % lower in comparison with the null hypothesis.

The graph shows (cf. 10.2.1 supra) that private television uses almost double the amount of yod coalescence as that of public television. This corresponds with 37.18 % and 67.06 % resp. As the avoidance of yod coalescence is considered to be a touchstone of RP (cf. 4.1.3.1 supra), these figures suggest that public television still appears to use a more careful speech than private television does. This could be explained by the fact that private television depends on advertisers who wish to reach possible costumers. Those costumers/viewers do no longer like the prestige of RP.

## 10.2.6.3     t_C

|        | P      | CHI   |      |         |      |         |
|--------|--------|-------|------|---------|------|---------|
| **t_C**| <.0001 | 22.09 |      |         |      |         |
|        |        |       | **t_C** |      | **/t/** |      |
|        |        | **Pu** | 353  | -10.0 % | 271  | +17.0 % |
|        |        | **Pr** | 405  | +10.8 % | 175  | -18.3 % |

Table 6: *Results of the chi-square test for t_C*

The chi-square test reveals that private television pronounces /t/ 18.3 % times less than could be expected from H0 in a t_C context. Moreover, public television pronounces /t/ 17 % times more than could be expected from the null hypothesis in the same context. This corresponds with 56.57 % of all possible instances for public television and 69.83 % for private television.

### 10.2.6.4　t_#C

| | P | CHI | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| **t_#C** | <.0001 | 59 | | | | |
| | | | **t_#C** | | **/t/** | |
| | | **Pu** | 1162 | -5.6 % | 243 | +39.3 % |
| | | **Pr** | 1405 | +5.1 % | 120 | -36.2 % |

Table 7: *Results of the chi-square test for t_#C*

The graph (cf. 10.2.1 supra) shows extensive use of t_#C but with only about 10 % difference between public and private television (resp. 82.70 % and 92.13 %). The same observation is noted in the difference between male, female and mixed target audiences. (cf. 11.2.4.4 infra).

### 10.2.6.5　t_#V

| | P | CHI | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| **t_#V** | <.0001 | 38.73 | | | | |
| | | | **t_#V** | | **/t/** | |
| | | **Pu** | 269 | -20.7 % | 779 | +9.9 % |
| | | **Pr** | 498 | +16.5 % | 819 | -7.9 % |

Table 8: *Results of the chi-square test for t_#V*

The results of the chi-square test are nearly the same as the chi-square test results for l-vocalisation. The use of t_#V on private television is nearly twice that of t_#V on public television. This could be explained by the fact that t-glotalling used in this environment has not yet acquired full prestige (cf. 4.1.3.1 supra).

## 10.3   Dialects other than Cockney
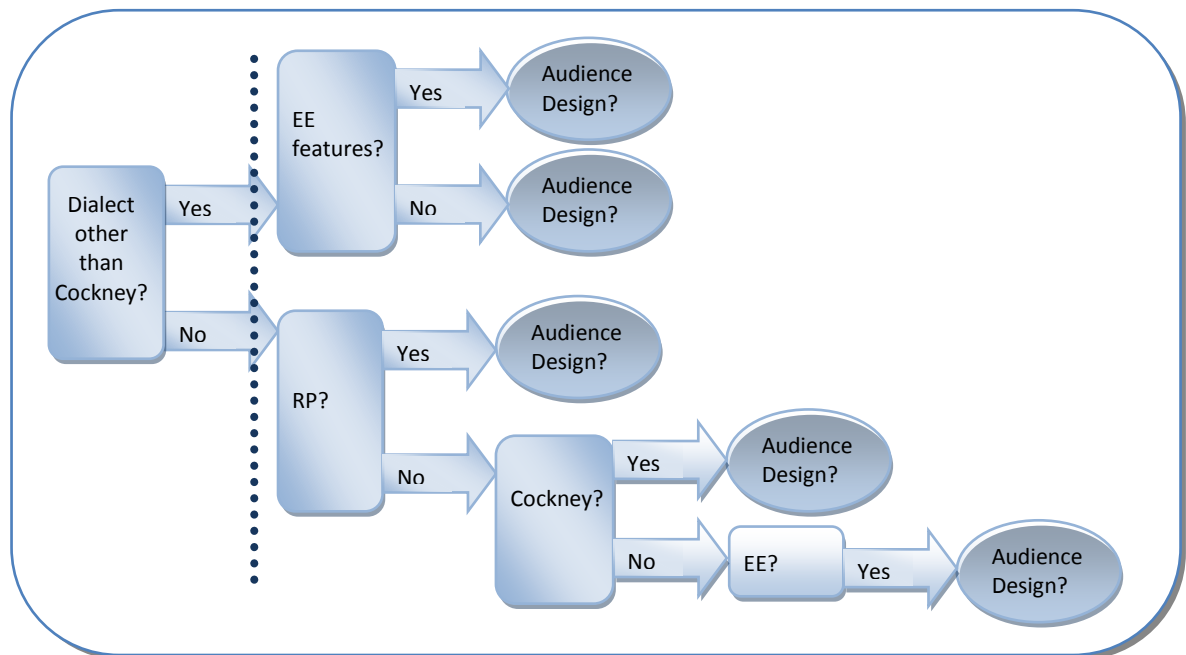


Figure 25: *Part five of the methodology flowchart*

cf. 11.3 infra.

## 10.4 Conclusions

The graph and chi-square tests show that public television uses less non-standard English and fewer Estuary English features than private television does. The greatest differences can be found in pronunciation features which are the least accepted into RP: r-intrusion, yod coalescence, t_#V and – when leaving out Jonathan Ross – h-dropping.

This means that, although public television accepts non-standard English through presenters such as Jonathan Ross and Formula 1 presenter David Coulthard, the majority of public television presenters still have a more careful form of English. Moreover, the more extensive use of t_#V on private television could be explained by the role of advertisers. Younger audiences are more attractive for advertisers, and according to Wells (1991:3) this feature is used especially among younger speakers.

This, however, does not mean that public television uses RP as it is described today. Presenters of public television use plenty of features of Estuary English, yet smaller numbers than private television.

In a final instance, t_#C appears to be a pronunciation feature that is becoming generally accepted among all speakers, irrespective of whether they present on public or private television.

# CHAPTER 11  Research Question 1b: Male vs Female vs Combined Target Audience[106]

## 11.1   Research Question

Is there a difference between male, female and combined gender target audiences concerning the use of Estuary English features (and/or dialects in general)?

## 11.2   Results

### 11.2.1       Phonetic Features per Target Audience
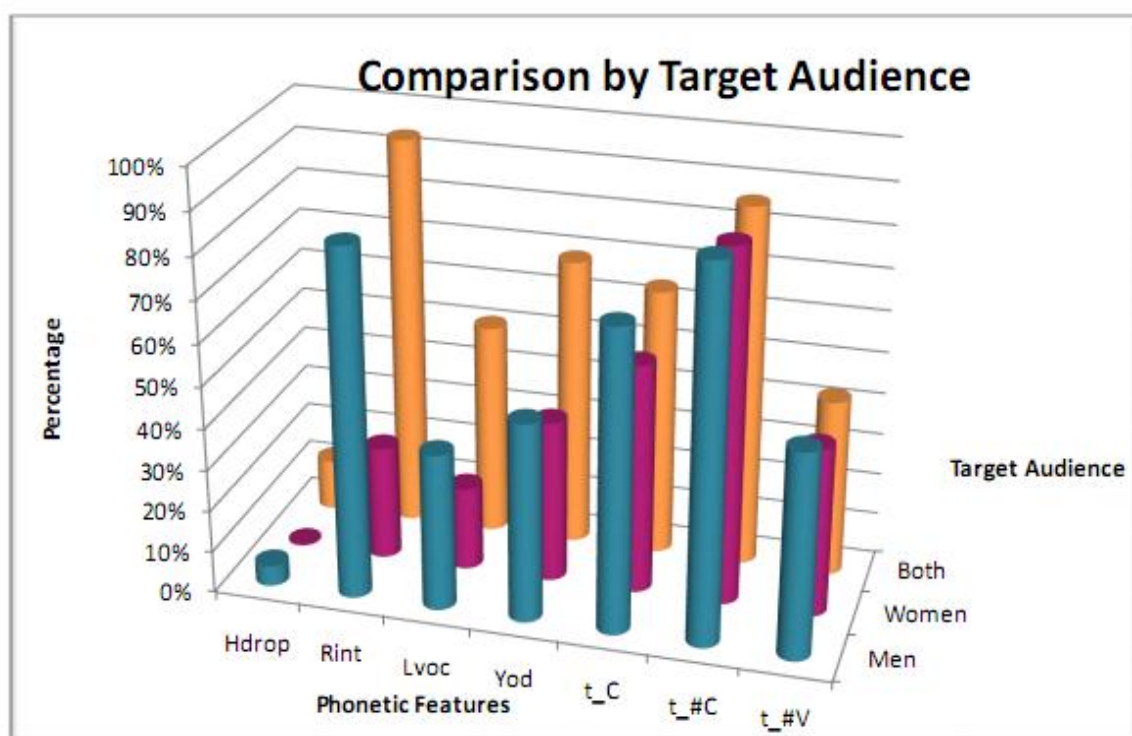


| | Men | | | Women | | | Both | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | occ. | total | % | occ. | total | % | occ. | total | % |
| **Hdrop** | 29 | 640 | 4.53% | 1 | 328 | 0.30% | 54 | 372 | 12.27% |
| **Rint** | 10 | 12 | 83.33% | 3 | 11 | 27.27% | 6 | 7 | 90.00% |
| **Lvoc** | 292 | 777 | 37.58% | 136 | 680 | 20.00% | 344 | 568 | 61.29% |
| **Yod** | 29 | 61 | 47.54% | 19 | 49 | 38.78% | 38 | 53 | 68.65% |
| **t_C** | 273 | 379 | 72.03% | 210 | 382 | 54.97% | 275 | 443 | 61.71% |
| **t_#C** | 1016 | 1147 | 88.58% | 738 | 874 | 84.44% | 813 | 909 | 89.12% |
| **t_#V** | 320 | 653 | 49.00% | 214 | 529 | 40.45% | 233 | 490 | 48.36% |

Table 9: *Phonetic features per target audience*

Table 9 shows the results of the comparison between male, female and mixed target audiences.

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[106] Used abbreviations for this part: FTA for female target audiences, MTA for male target audiences and BTA for mixed target audiences.

## 11.2.2 Chi-Square Results by Target Audience

| | P | CHI | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| **Hdrop** | <.0001 | 66.21 | | | | | |
| | | | | **Hdrop** | | **/h/** | |
| | | | M | 29 | -27.7 % | 611 | +1.9 % |
| | | | F | 1 | -91.1 % | 327 | +6.4 % |
| | | | B | 54 | +131.6 % | 318 | -8.8 % |
| | | | | | | | |
| **Rint** | 0.0077 | 9.74 | | | | | |
| | | | | **Rint** | | **Ø** | |
| | | | M | 10 | +31.6 % | 2 | -0.545 % |
| | | | F | 3 | -0.569 % | 8 | +98.3 % |
| | | | B | 6 | +35.3 % | 1 | -0.01 % |
| | | | | | | | |
| **Lvoc** | <.0001 | 145.35 | | | | | |
| | | | | **Lvoc** | | **/l/** | |
| | | | M | 292 | +3.4 % | 485 | -2.0 % |
| | | | F | 136 | -44.9 % | 544 | +25.6 % |
| | | | B | 344 | +41.8 % | 324 | -23.8 % |
| | | | | | | | |
| **Yod** | 0.0023 | 12.14 | | | | | |
| | | | | **Yod** | | **Ø** | |
| | | | M | 29 | -9.9 % | 32 | +11.0 % |
| | | | F | 19 | -26.5 % | 30 | +29.6 % |
| | | | B | 38 | +35.9 % | 15 | -40.1 % |
| | | | | | | | |
| **t_C** | <.0001 | 23.97 | | | | | |
| | | | | **t_C** | | **/t/** | |
| | | | M | 273 | +14.4 % | 106 | -24.5 % |
| | | | F | 210 | -12.7 % | 172 | +21.6 % |
| | | | B | 275 | -1.4 % | 168 | +2.4 % |
| | | | | | | | |
| **t_#C** | 0.0026 | 11.89 | | | | | |
| | | | | **t_#C** | | **/t/** | |
| | | | M | 1016 | +1.1 % | 131 | -7.8 % |
| | | | F | 738 | -3.6 % | 136 | +25.6 % |
| | | | B | 813 | +2.1 % | 96 | -14.8 % |
| | | | | | | | |
| **t_#V** | <.0001 | 23.02 | | | | | |
| | | | | **t_#V** | | **/t/** | |
| | | | M | 320 | +18.3 % | 579 | -9.4 % |
| | | | F | 214 | -14.9 % | 529 | +7.7 % |
| | | | B | 233 | -4.8 % | 490 | +2.5 % |

Table 10: *Chi-square results by target audience*

Table 10  shows the chi-square results for male, female and mixed target audiences.

## 11.2.3 RP?
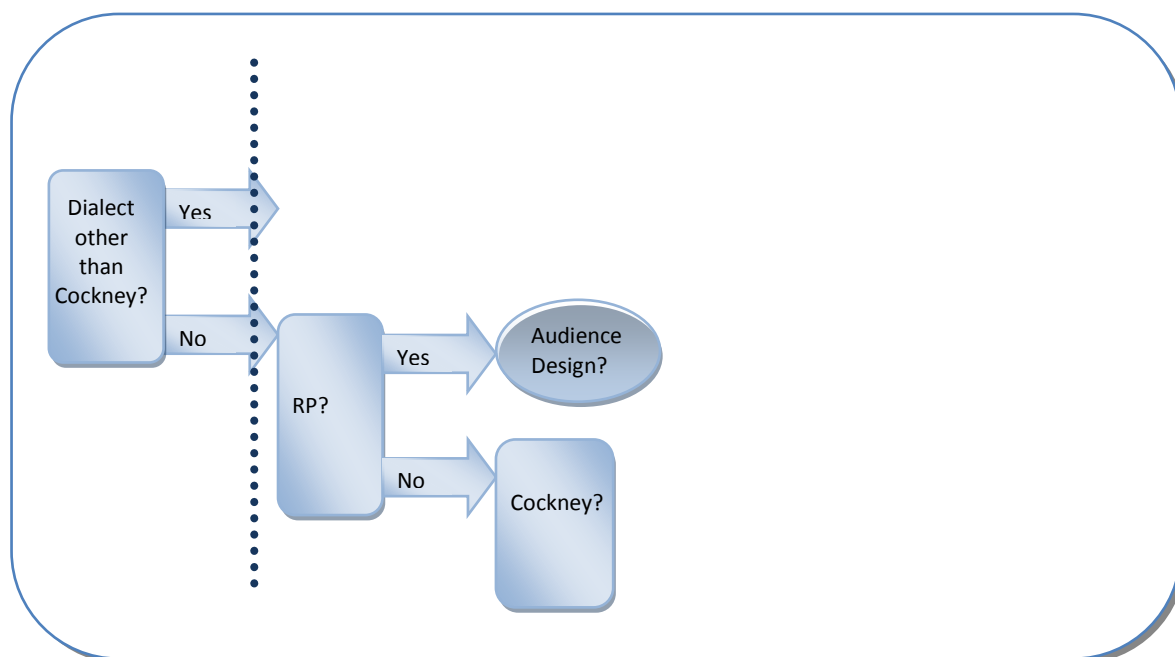


Figure 26: *Part two of the methodology flowchart*

Because some cells have less than 5 items, the result of this test is not completely reliable. Yet, the results of the chi-square test are highly significant (P 0.0077, $X^2$ 9.74):

| | P | CHI | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| **Rint** | 0.0077 | 9.74 | | | | |
| | | | **Rint** | | **Ø** | |
| | | **M** | 10 | +31.6 % | 2 | -0.545 % |
| | | **F** | 3 | -0.569 % | 8 | +98.3 % |
| | | **B** | 6 | +35.3 % | 1 | -0.01 % |

Table 11: *Results of the chi-square test for r-intrusion*

Table 11 shows the chi-square results for r-intrusion by target audience. The table shows that presenters for MTA use r-intrusion 10 out of 12 times or 31.6 % more than H0 stipulates, presenters for BTA 35.3 % more and that presenters for women programmes omit r-intrusion 9.3 % more than could be expected. It could be assumed that the avoidance of RP in the narrow sense can be considered as audience design (cf. 10.2.4 supra). However, a larger sample of r-intrusion is needed for a reliable test.

## 11.2.4 Cockney?
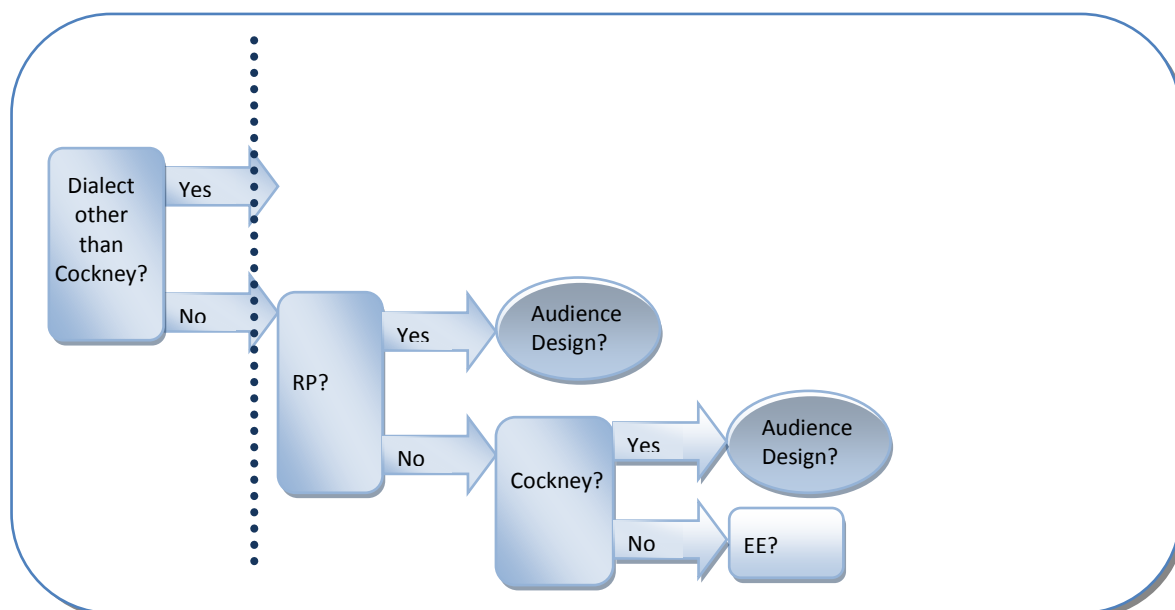


Figure 27*: Part three of the methodology flowchart*

The feature h-dropping shows when a dialect is Cockney. The marker shows social difference and is considered to be 'inferior' pronunciation and for the lower classes (cf. 5.3.4 supra).

Table 12 shows the h-drops by target audience. Although there is only one h-drop in the cell for FTA, the chi-square test shows that the results are very highly significant, with $X^2$ 66.21. Moreover, as h-dropping is considered to be synonymous with 'inferior' pronunciation, merely the use of it is indicative. The table shows that presenters of FTA programmes dropped only one /h/, so that these presenters use 91.1 % less h-dropping than the null hypothesis. Presenters for MTA use h-dropping 27.7 % less h-dropping and presenters for BTA use 131.6 % more h-dropping than H0.

| | P | CHI | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| **Hdrop** | <.0001 | 66.21 | | | | |
| | | **Hdrop** | | | **/h/** | |
| | M | 29 | -27.7 % | 611 | +1.9 % |
| | F | 1 | -91.1 % | 327 | +6.4 % |
| | B | 54 | +131.6 % | 318 | -8.8 % |

Table 12: *Results of the chi-square test for h-dropping*

This corresponds with 0.30 % h-dropping for presenters for FTA, 4.53 % h-dropping for presenters for MTA and 12.27 % for presenters of a BTA programme. Considering the stigma on dropping aitches, the amount of h-dropping for presenters of MTA and BTA programmes is high. Nearly all h-drops in the MTA corpus can be found in Formula 1 (BBC 2.78 %, ITV 9.43 %) and nearly all h-drops for the BTA corpus can be found in *Friday Night with Jonathan Ross* (26.17 %) and *Gordon Ramsay's Cookalong* (11.45 %).

## 11.2.5 Estuary English Features
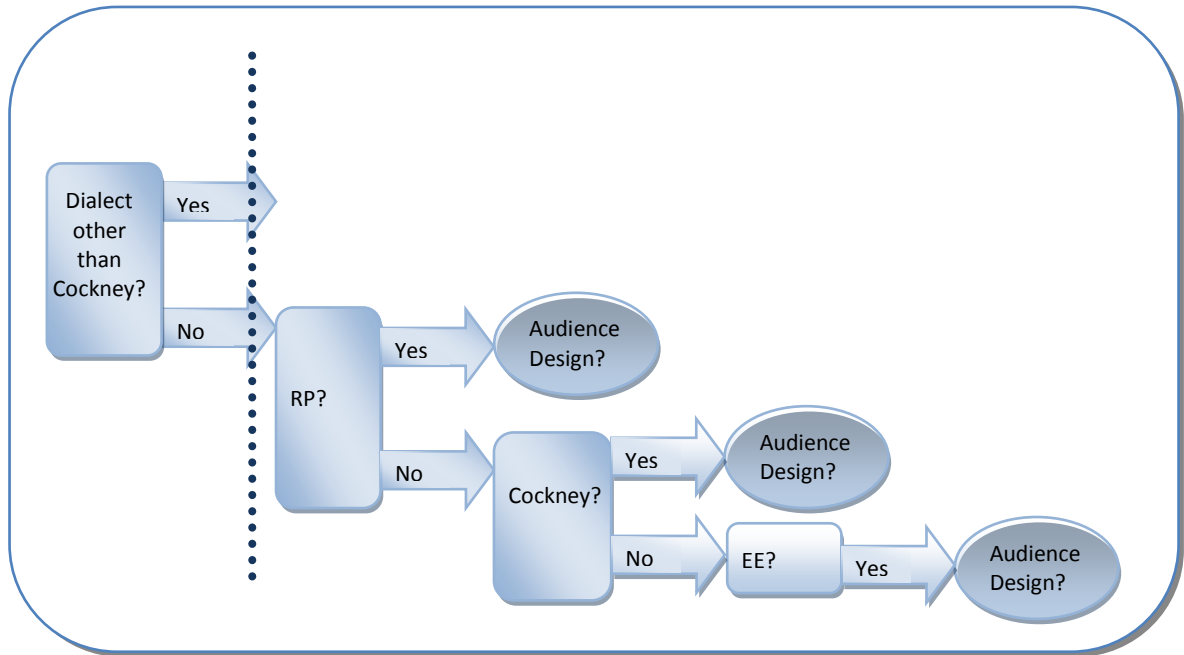


Figure 28: *Part four of the methodology flowchart*

### 11.2.5.1 L-vocalisation

| | P | CHI | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| **Lvoc** | <.0001 | 145.35 | | | | |
| | | | **Lvoc** | | **/l/** | |
| | | M | 292 | +3.4 % | 485 | -2.0 % |
| | | F | 136 | -44.9 % | 544 | +25.6 % |
| | | B | 344 | +41.8 % | 324 | -23.8 % |

Table 13: *Results of the chi-square test for l-vocalisation*

Table 13 shows that the results for l-vocalisation are very highly significant, with $X^2$ 145.35. The figure also shows that presenters for FTA use l-vocalisation 44.9 % less than H0 and BTA programmes use l-vocalisation 41.8 % more than could be expected.

Statistically speaking, presenters of FTA programmes vocalise 20 % of all possible l-vocalisation instances, whereas presenters of BTA programmes vocalise the most, i.e. 50.88 %.

### 11.2.5.2    Yod Coalescence

| | P | CHI | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| **Yod** | 0.0023 | 12.14 | | | | |
| | | | **Yod** | | **Ø** | |
| | | **M** | 29 | -9.9 % | 32 | +11.0 % |
| | | **F** | 19 | -26.5 % | 30 | +29.6 % |
| | | **B** | 38 | +35.9 % | 15 | -40.1 % |

Table 14: *Results of the chi-square test for yod coalescence*

The avoidance of yod coalescence is considered to be a touchstone of RP (cf. 4.1.3.1 supra). Only two presenters meet this condition: Alys Fowler of *Gardeners' World* (0 out of 6) and Nigella Lawson of *Nigella Express* (1 out of 6). Nigella Lawson can be accepted into this category because she also avoids r-intrusion.

These programmes are both for a female target audience, which corresponds with the results of the chi-square test and of the table: presenters for FTA avoid yod coalescence 26.5 % more than could be expected from the null hypothesis and presenters of BTA use it 35.9 % more, which is a highly significant difference. This corresponds with a 38.78 % yod coalescence percentage for FTA and 68.97 % for BTA.

### 11.2.5.3    t_C

| | P | CHI | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| **t_C** | <.0001 | 23.97 | | | | |
| | | | **t_C** | | **/t/** | |
| | | **M** | 273 | +14.4 % | 106 | -24.5 % |
| | | **F** | 210 | -12.7 % | 172 | +21.6 % |
| | | **B** | 275 | -1.4 % | 168 | +2.4 % |

Table 15: *Results of the chi-square test for t_C*

The t_C results are also very highly significant and demonstrates that presenters for MTA use /t/ 24.5 % less and presenters for FTA 21.6 % more than H0 stipulates. This means that t_C can be found in 72.03 % of all possible t_C glottalisations for presenters of MTA programmes, and 54.97 % of the time for presenters of FTA programmes.

### 11.2.5.4 t_#C

| | P | CHI | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| **t_#C** | 0,0026 | 11,89 | | | | |
| | | | **t_#C** | | **/t/** | |
| | | M | 1016 | +1,1 % | 131 | -7,8 % |
| | | F | 738 | -3,6 % | 136 | +25,6 % |
| | | B | 813 | +2,1 % | 96 | -14,8 % |

Table 16: *Results of the chi-square test for t_#C*

Although the highly significant chi-square level for t_#C is nearly equal to the chi-square level for yod coalescence (respectively P 0.0023, $X^2$ 12.14 and P 0.0026 and $X^2$ 11.89), there are fewer deviations from the null hypothesis. The graph confirms this finding: 88.58 %, 84.44 % and 86.09 % for the presenters of MTA, FTA and BTA programmes resp. This means that t_#C is most likely a non-gender-dependent pronunciation feature.

### 11.2.5.5 t_#V

| | P | CHI | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| **t_#V** | <.0001 | 23.02 | | | | |
| | | | **t_#V** | | **/t/** | |
| | | M | 320 | +18.3 % | 579 | -9.4 % |
| | | F | 214 | -14.9 % | 529 | +7.7 % |
| | | B | 233 | -4.8 % | 490 | +2.5 % |

Table 17: *Results of the chi-square test for t_#V*

Table 17 shows that the results of t_#V are also very highly significant. The glottalisation of t_#V rates -14.9 % in comparison with the null hypothesis for presenters of FTA programmes and +18.3 % for presenters of MTA programmes.

This corresponds with 40.45 % of t_#V glottalisations for presenters of FTA programmes and 49.00 % glottalisations for presenters of MTA programmes.

## 11.3 Dialects other than Cockney
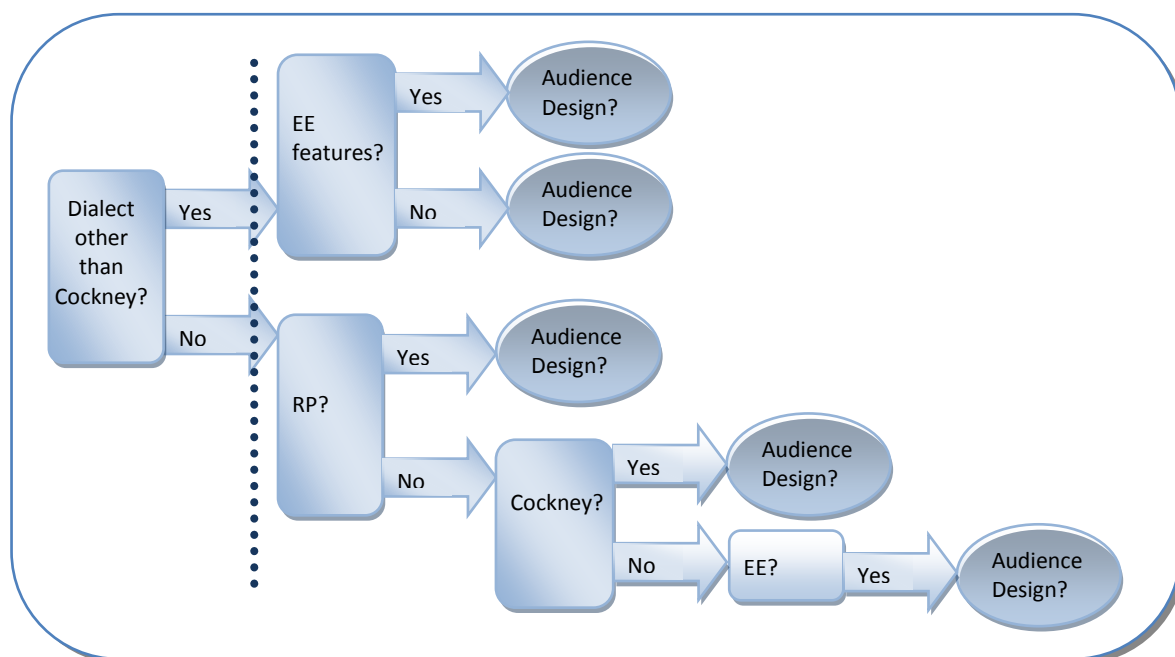


Figure 29: *Part five of the methodology flowchart*

The list in chapter 10.2.3 shows that most presenters with a dialect other than Cockney can be found in BBC's *Formula 1* and *Britain's Got Talent*. But even the presenters who have a dialect other than Cockney indeed show features of Estuary English. An example is the use of l-vocalisation in *Britain's Got Talent*. Both presenters have a Geordie accent in which the /l/ is always clear, yet 19,61 % of the possible l-vocalisations are vocalised:

*But only two of them will be back here on Saturday.*
*Welcome back to Britain's Got Talent.*

The glottalisation of Paul O'Grady's t_C rates 56.70 %, t_#C 93.15 % and t_#V 33.93 %. Paul O'Grady, however, has a West Midland dialect. In that region, t-glottalling can be found especially among young speakers. Paul O'Grady, on the other hand, was born in 1955.

## 11.4    Conclusions

If gender played a role in audience design, then MTA programmes would have more non-standard variants and FTA programmes would contain fewer (cf 3.3 supra). MTA programmes have nearly 4.5 % h-dropping, which is a rather large number for an 'inferior' pronunciation feature. Moreover, 10 out of 12 possible r-intrusions, 37.58 % l-vocalisations and 72.03 % t_C glottalisations can be found. These findings were confirmed by the chi-square test, which shows that presenters for MTA make significantly more use of the parameters than presenters for FTA.

Although the differences are sometimes small (e.g. yod coalescence), FTA consistently has the lowest percentages in the statistics. The very high significance of the chi-square test of l-vocalisation (P<.0001, $X^2$ 145.35) shows that l-vocalisation is a phonetic feature of Estuary English which does not seem to correspond to the wishes of a FTA.

Other than all glottal stops, BTA programmes have the highest percentages: 12.27 % for h-dropping, 93.75 % for r-intrusion, 50.88 % for l-vocalisation and 68.97 % for yod coalescence. It could be argued that for MTA and BTA, the h-dropping does not represent 'lower class speech' but rather 'masculinity' and that it is considered to be synonymous with 'being tough'. This pronunciation feature could then represent audience design.

It is also noteworthy that t_#C is the only feature which is both used heavily and is non-gender-dependent. Most likely, this indicates that this Estuary English feature is no longer considered being a non-standard pronunciation.

To conclude, the rates for MTA and FTA do seem to correspond with what could be expected of audience design by means of pronunciation for these target audiences: more careful speech for FTA and more non-standard variation for MTA. Both use Estuary English features, but presenters for FTA do so to a lesser extent.

How can the high percentages for BTA be explained? One tentative explanation for these high percentages is that the age of a mixed target audience is an important factor here. It could be argued that many programmes are aimed at a mixed target audience (e.g. Jonathan Ross) are also meant for a younger target audience, who prefer to hear regional accents (cf. 4.2 supra). This would then also be a case of audience design by means of pronunciation.

# CHAPTER 12 Research question 2: Estuary English as an Act of Identity

## 12.1 Research Question[107]

Are Estuary English features used as an act of identity?

⇨ Which parameters are used where and where are they absent the most?

⇨ Which presenter uses which parameters and which presenter avoids which parameters?

⇨ Are there any unexpected pronunciation features concerning the presenter's background?

## 12.2 Results

### 12.2.1 T-voicing

A feature which was not incorporated into the parameters, but which was observed during the analysis, is the use of t-voicing in intervocalic position:

*Butter*            *[ˈbʌɾə]*

This feature originates from North-America. Wells (1982: 251) states that:

*"T Voicing is sometimes to be observed […] in certain casual styles in British accents ranging from RP to Cockney. […] I see T Voicing as the first distinctively American phonetic innovation likely to spread in time to all accents of English".*

This t-voicing would form an interesting starting point for further research into audience design or language change in general.

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[107] Only presenters which have noteworthy features of Estuary English will be discussed.

## 12.2.2    Nigella Express

| Nigella Lawson | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| | # | Poss. | % |
| Hdrop | 0 | 114 | 0.00% |
| Rint | 0 | 6 | 0.00% |
| Lvoc | 27 | 246 | 10.98% |
| Yod | 1 | 6 | 16.67% |
| t_C | 33 | 99 | 33.33% |
| t_#C | 197 | 258 | 76.36% |
| t_#V | 35 | 180 | 19.44% |

Table 18: *Phonetic Features for Nigella Express*

Nigella Lawson was born in London, is the daughter of a politician and studied at Oxford. Her upper-class background suggests that she uses conservative RP, which is confirmed by the avoidance of r-intrusion.

The use of l-vocalisation (10.98 %), however, contradicts these findings. Moreover, t_#V and t_#C lie close to the average percentage for FTA programmes on public television, i.e. 20.45 % and 81.43 %, resp. Although these pronunciations are becoming acceptable in modern RP, the figures are higher than could be expected from an upper-class background.

Furthermore, the use of t-voicing, though not a feature of Estuary English, and the high percentage of t_#C (an overall accepted pronunciation feature of Estuary English) confirm the avoidance upper-class features such as the clear pronunciation of /t/. These percentages are supported by contradictions in her statements (cf. 6.2.4 supra).

So, these findings seem to indicate that Estuary English features are used to hide her upper-class background and to enable an act of identity, away from the sophistication and prestige that the use of RP brings along.

## 12.2.3 Gardeners' World

| Gardeners' World | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| Toby B. | # | Poss. | % |
| Hdrop | 1 | 60 | 1.67% |
| Rint | 0 | 0 | |
| Lvoc | 42 | 104 | 40.38% |
| Yod | 6 | 13 | 46.15% |
| t_C | 50 | 72 | 69.44% |
| t_#C | 98 | 113 | 86.73% |
| t_#V | 10 | 67 | 14.93% |

| Gardeners' World | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| Carol K. | # | Poss. | % |
| Hdrop | 0 | 14 | 0.00% |
| Rint | 0 | 0 | |
| Lvoc | 2 | 27 | 7.41% |
| Yod | 2 | 3 | 66.67% |
| t_C | 11 | 13 | 84.62% |
| t_#C | 26 | 30 | 86.67% |
| t_#V | 5 | 20 | 25.00% |

| Gardeners' World | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| Alys F. | # | Poss. | % |
| Hdrop | 0 | 53 | 0.00% |
| Rint | 1 | 1 | 100.00% |
| Lvoc | 8 | 47 | 17.02% |
| Yod | 0 | 6 | 0.00% |
| t_C | 24 | 34 | 70.59% |
| t_#C | 78 | 89 | 87.64% |
| t_#V | 14 | 46 | 30.43% |

| Gardeners' World | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| Joe S. | # | Poss. | % |
| Hdrop | 0 | 3 | 0.00% |
| Rint | 0 | 0 | |
| Lvoc | 3 | 4 | 75.00% |
| Yod | 0 | 0 | |
| t_C | 3 | 3 | 100.00% |
| t_#C | 2 | 2 | 100.00% |
| t_#V | 0 | 3 | 0.00% |

| Gardeners' World | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| TOT | # | Poss. | % |
| Hdrop | 1 | 127 | 0.79% |
| Rint | 1 | 1 | 100.00% |
| Lvoc | 52 | 178 | 29.21% |
| Yod | 8 | 22 | 36.36% |
| t_C | 85 | 119 | 71.43% |
| t_#C | 202 | 232 | 87.07% |
| t_#V | 29 | 133 | 21.80% |

Table 19: *Phonetic features for Gardeners' World*

A general finding for Gardeners' World is that no presenter on Gardeners' World has pronunciation features of his or her local accent. This, however, does not mean that the presenters speak RP.

Toby Buckland has the a high percentage for l-vocalisation (40.38 %). This is a feature which, derived from the previous results (cf. 11.4 supra), does not seem to be a desired pronunciation feature for a FTA. This could be considered as an indication that the presenter likes to be seen as a bit more masculine or tough than his female co-presenters. He also has high percentages for t_C (69.44 %) and yod coalescence (46.15 %).

Carol Klein is originally from the West Midlands, where t-glottalling mainly occurs among younger speakers. This is in sharp contrast with the percentages of t_C (84.62 %) and t_#C (86.67 %) of Carol Klein. On the other hand, the table shows a low percentage of l-vocalisation.

Even so, Carol Klein's pronunciation percentages deviate from what could be expected when taking into consideration that this presenter has been presenting since the days that BBC English standards were higher[108].

---

[108] Gardeners' World started in 1989. (http://www.curtisbrown.co.uk/carol-klein)

Although the youngest presenter on Gardeners' World carefully avoids yod coalescence, a feature of RP, she also has higher rates on r-intrusion, l-vocalisation and t_#V than her other female co-presenter. If we take into consideration private television uses more t_#V then public television, then Alys Fowler can serve as evidence that this feature is used to establish a youthful identity.

Joe Swift will not be analysed as the number of features is too small to make valid statements.

It is noteworthy that although Gardeners' World is meant for an upper-class audience; the programme has more Estuary English features than Nigella Express, a programme meant for a middle-class audience.

## 12.2.4 Top Gear

| Top Gear Jeremy C. | # | Poss. | % | | Top Gear Richard H. | # | Poss. | % |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Hdrop | 1 | 84 | 1.19% | | Hdrop | 1 | 30 | 3.33% |
| Rint | 1 | 1 | 100.00% | | Rint | 0 | 0 | 0.00% |
| Lvoc | 25 | 72 | 34.72% | | Lvoc | 3 | 33 | 9.09% |
| Yod | 1 | 5 | 20.00% | | Yod | 2 | 5 | 40.00% |
| t_C | 31 | 41 | 75.61% | | t_C | 23 | 32 | 71.88% |
| t_#C | 98 | 134 | 73.13% | | t_#C | 46 | 56 | 82.14% |
| t_#V | 22 | 77 | 28.57% | | t_#V | 17 | 40 | 42.50% |

| Top Gear James M. | # | Poss. | % | | Top Gear TOT | # | Poss. | % |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Hdrop | 0 | 48 | 0.00% | | Hdrop | 2 | 162 | 1.23% |
| Rint | 0 | 1 | 0.00% | | Rint | 1 | 2 | 50.00% |
| Lvoc | 6 | 34 | 17.65% | | Lvoc | 34 | 139 | 24.46% |
| Yod | 0 | 5 | 0.00% | | Yod | 3 | 15 | 20.00% |
| t_C | 20 | 34 | 58.82% | | t_C | 74 | 107 | 69.16% |
| t_#C | 73 | 85 | 85.88% | | t_#C | 217 | 275 | 78.91% |
| t_#V | 4 | 65 | 6.15% | | t_#V | 43 | 182 | 23.63% |

Table 20: *Phonetic features for Top Gear*

Jeremy Clarkson has higher percentages than the average for MTA on public television for all pronunciation features but t_C. Although there are no real noteworthy features, the use of Estuary English features itself is in contradiction with the fact that he too presents on the BBC since the eighties like Carol Klein). In comparison with the female presenters discussed above (cf. 12.2.2 and 12.2.3 supra), he does have a high percentage of l-vocalisations. This could be because of the masculinity or toughness that the feature appears to entail and corresponds with the bad boy image this presenter has.[109]

Although Richard Hammond has a low percentage of l-vocalisation, he has a high percentage of t_#V in comparison with his co-presenters. Moreover, Richard Hammond uses t-voicing and high percentages of t_C. This could indicate that he wants to be seen as a youthful person. This is in line with other television programmes he hosts, such as *Brainiac*, *Richard Hammond's Blast Lab* and *Total Wipeout*.[110]

James May has low percentages of all pronunciation features (except for the overall accepted t_#C) in comparison with his co-presenters. He makes no use of yod coalescence and r-intrusion, which are first signs of a more RP-like pronunciation. Moreover, he makes less use of t_#V than Nigella Lawson and his l-vocalisation is only slightly higher. This corresponds with the identity he creates with his other programmes, which consist mainly of a news programme and documentaries[111.]

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[109] http://www.jeremyclarkson.co.uk/
[110] http://www.imdb.com/name/nm1414369/
[111] http://www.imdb.com/name/nm0561982/

## 12.2.5 Formula 1 BBC

| Formula 1 BBC | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| Jake H. | # | Poss. | % |
| Hdrop | 2 | 112 | 1.79% |
| Rint | 0 | 0 | |
| Lvoc | 38 | 108 | 35.19% |
| Yod | 5 | 11 | 45.45% |
| t_C | 33 | 46 | 71.74% |
| t_#C | 149 | 162 | 91.98% |
| t_#V | 18 | 69 | 26.09% |

| Formula 1 BBC | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| Eddie J. | # | Poss. | % |
| Hdrop | | | |
| Rint | 0 | 1 | 0.00% |
| Lvoc | 1 | 30 | 3.33% |
| Yod | 0 | 3 | 0.00% |
| t_C | 4 | 14 | 28.57% |
| t_#C | 8 | 32 | 25.00% |
| t_#V | 1 | 18 | 5.56% |

| Formula 1 BBC | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| David C. | # | Poss. | % |
| Hdrop | | | |
| Rint | 0 | 0 | |
| Lvoc | 4 | 12 | 33.33% |
| Yod | 0 | 0 | |
| t_C | 2 | 9 | 22.22% |
| t_#C | 9 | 11 | 81.82% |
| t_#V | 3 | 19 | 15.79% |

| Formula 1 BBC | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| Lee M. | # | Poss. | % |
| Hdrop | | | |
| Rint | 0 | 0 | |
| Lvoc | 1 | 18 | 5.56% |
| Yod | 0 | 0 | |
| t_C | 4 | 7 | 57.14% |
| t_#C | 16 | 20 | 80.00% |
| t_#V | 6 | 13 | 46.15% |

| Formula 1 BBC | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| Ted K. | # | Poss. | % |
| Hdrop | 0 | 25 | 0.00% |
| Rint | 0 | 0 | |
| Lvoc | 8 | 19 | 42.11% |
| Yod | 0 | 0 | |
| t_C | 4 | 6 | 66.67% |
| t_#C | 18 | 20 | 90.00% |
| t_#V | 0 | 10 | 0.00% |

| Formula 1 BBC | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| Martin B. | # | Poss. | % |
| Hdrop | 2 | 7 | 28.57% |
| Rint | 1 | 1 | 100.00% |
| Lvoc | 13 | 18 | 72.22% |
| Yod | 1 | 2 | 50.00% |
| t_C | 3 | 4 | 75.00% |
| t_#C | 14 | 14 | 100.00% |
| t_#V | 3 | 4 | 75.00% |

| Formula 1 BBC | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| TOT | # | Poss. | % |
| Hdrop | 4 | 144 | 2.78% |
| Rint | 1 | 2 | 50.00% |
| Lvoc | 65 | 205 | 31.71% |
| Yod | 6 | 16 | 37.50% |
| t_C | 50 | 86 | 58.14% |
| t_#C | 214 | 259 | 82.63% |
| t_#V | 31 | 133 | 23.31% |

Table 21: *Phonetic features for Formula 1 BBC*

Jake Humphrey uses nearly 1 times out of 2 yod coalescence. Also the use of t_C is rather extensive. In comparison to Ted Kravitz and Martin Brundle, the use of l-vocalisation is not particularly high for a man, but does confirm the masculinity that the feature entails.

David Coulthard has a Scottish accent. Although t-glottalling is not favoured in Standard Scottish English, the recent revival of t-glottalling in Scottish English is believed to be English influence (Thorsten, 2008:1). Though Scottish also has l-vocalisation, a study in 1997 found evidence that the Estuary English l-vocalisation is gaining popularity[112].

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[112] https://www.tu-chemnitz.de/phil/english/ling/download/speciallectures/LingColl200509_neubert.pdf

It is noteworthy that Lee McKenzie, also Scottish, uses more glottal stops than her Scottish male co-presenter. Because she is the only female presenter in this sport for men, perhaps this could be a case of a woman adapting her pronunciation to the situation (cf. 3.3 supra).

Martin Brundle, although born in the border of the Home Counties, drops aitches two out of seven times and has very high percentages of l-vocalisation and t-glottalling, which are proof of an act of identity of toughness and youthfulness.

## 12.2.6        University Challenge

| Jeremy Paxman | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| | # | Poss. | % |
| **Hdrop** | 0 | 92 | 0.00% |
| **Rint** | 1 | 1 | 100.00% |
| **Lvoc** | 6 | 148 | 4.05% |
| **Yod** | 5 | 8 | 62.50% |
| **t_C** | 36 | 125 | 28.80% |
| **t_#C** | 79 | 124 | 63.71% |
| **t_#V** | 6 | 79 | 7.59% |

Table 22: *Phonetic features for University Challenge*

The low percentages of l-vocalisation and t_#V show that he does not pursue an identity of toughness and youthfulness, which also shows in his dry and distant presenting style and the construction of the show (cf. 6.4.2 supra). Yet, the high use of yod coalescence rules out the use of clear RP.

## 12.2.7 Friday Night with Jonathan Ross

| Jonathan Ross | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| | # | Poss | % |
| Hdrop | 39 | 149 | 26.17% |
| Rint | 3 | 4 | 75.00% |
| Lvoc | 133 | 150 | 88.67% |
| Yod | 6 | 11 | 54.55% |
| t_C | 75 | 88 | 85.23% |
| t_#C | 253 | 257 | 98.44% |
| t_#V | 125 | 146 | 85.62% |

Table 23: *Phonetic features for Friday Night with Jonathan Ross*


Although /h/ is not completely absent, the table shows that Jonathan Ross, born in London, has a Cockney accent. This would not be expected from his educational background, as he studied at the University of London. Other evidence is the use of intervocalic glottalling and labiodental approximants. These causes /r/ to be pronounced as /w/ (Recknagel, S., 2007:7) and are the reason for Jonathan Ross's nickname "Wossy"113:

e.g.   *Britain*                   *<bwiʔan>*

Although Cockney normally has yod-dropping, Jonathan Ross uses yod coalescence. The only occasion in which he does not use yod coalescence is in the phrase 'did you':

*Did you come over with your mum's passport or did you …*

Moreover, l-vocalisations do not occur when pronouncing a guest's name, e.g. Idris Elba. It could be derived from the show's often racy content and the pronunciation features of Jonathan Ross, that he wants to have the identity of a Cockney bad boy, though not completely working class, as only a quarter of the aitches are dropped and he uses the Estuary English yod coalescence.

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113 http://twitter.com/#!/WOSSY

### 12.2.8 Cook Yourself Thin

| Gizzie Erskine | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| | # | Poss. | % |
| **Hdrop** | 0 | 87 | 0.00% |
| **Rint** | 1 | 1 | 100.00% |
| **Lvoc** | 27 | 103 | 81.82% |
| **Yod** | 9 | 11 | 92.59% |
| **t_C** | 75 | 81 | 92.59% |
| **t_#C** | 187 | 206 | 90.78% |
| **t_#V** | 101 | 127 | 79.53% |

Table 24: *Phonetic features for Cook Yourself Thin*

Gizzi Erskine is also from London but does not drop her aitches or has any other characteristic of London English which is not also a feature of Estuary English. Yet, her pronunciation features have very high percentages for a woman (cf. 3.3).

For a woman, she has very high percentages of l-vocalisation and t_#V. These pronunciation features, which appear to represent toughness and youthfulness, match her previous career as a body piercer and her current description of her cooking skills:

*Her take on food is edgy and refreshing.*
(http://www.gizzierskine.co.uk/gizzierskine.asp)

Moreover, this description also matches another Estuary English identity feature: being trendy (cf. 4.3.4.2.1 supra).

## 12.2.9    Britain's Got Talent

| Britain's Got Talent | | | | Britain's Got Talent | | | | Britain's Got Talent | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Anthony M. | # | Poss. | % | Declan D. | # | Poss. | % | TOT | # | Poss. | % |
| Hdrop | | | | Hdrop | | | | Hdrop | | | |
| Rint | 1 | 2 | 50.00% | Rint | 0 | 1 | 0.00% | Rint | 1 | 3 | 33.33% |
| Lvoc | 17 | 69 | 24.64% | Lvoc | 13 | 84 | 15.48% | Lvoc | 30 | 153 | 19.61% |
| Yod | 0 | 6 | 0.00% | Yod | 1 | 4 | 25.00% | Yod | 1 | 10 | 10.00% |
| t_C | 12 | 49 | 24.49% | t_C | 5 | 34 | 14.71% | t_C | 17 | 83 | 20.48% |
| t_#C | 73 | 84 | 86.90% | t_#C | 79 | 94 | 84.04% | t_#C | 152 | 178 | 85.39% |
| t_#V | 20 | 34 | 58.82% | t_#V | 29 | 55 | 52.73% | t_#V | 49 | 89 | 55.06% |

Table 25: *Phonetic features for Britain's Got Talent*


Overall, the presenters have a Geordie accent, which is in line with their place of birth. Deviating from this accent are the use of l-vocalisation, glottal stops (in a non-reinforcing way) and r-intrusion. The low percentage of l-vocalisation could be seen as proof that they do not pursue a tough image. Rather, they appear to pursue an identity of youthfulness.

The high percentage of t_#V is an indication of this and matches their Curriculum Vitae of programmes such as *Pop Idol, SM:TV* and *CD:UK* which combined cartoons, comedy and music.[114] The presenters are also proof that the Estuary English feature t_#C is overall accepted, as this feature has rates of 86.90 % and 84.04 %.

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[114] http://www.officialantanddec.com/about

## 12.2.10    Jamie Does

| Jamie Oliver | | | |
| --- | --- | --- | --- |
| | **#** | **Poss.** | **%** |
| **Hdrop** | 3 | 145 | 2.07% |
| **Rint** | 0 | 0 | |
| **Lvoc** | 97 | 202 | 48.02% |
| **Yod** | 8 | 16 | 50.00% |
| **t_C** | 91 | 115 | 79.13% |
| **t_#C** | 319 | 319 | 100.00% |
| **t_#V** | 213 | 226 | 94.25% |

Table 26: *Phonetic features for Jamie Does*

This presenter from Essex, in the Home Counties, drops three times an aitch. This is an indication of at least some Cockney influence. He has very high percentages for t_C, t_#C and t_#V and drops nearly half of all possible l-vocalisations. These rates could further explain the Cockney influence and indicate a desired identity of being trendy and youthful. These features find further evidence in his dynamic presentation style and the first lines of his website biography:

*Jamie Oliver is a phenomenon in the world of food. He is one of the world's best-loved television personalities and one of Britain's most famous exports.*
(http://www.jamieoliver.com/about/jamie-oliver-biog)

L-vocalisation indicates masculinity, for which careful evidence can be found in his lengthy award-list on his webpage and several world tours (i.e. ambition). Toughness here should be interpreted as being 'one of the guys' and is perhaps more of a Cockney characteristic than one of Estuary English. Evidence can be found in his numerous attempts to obtain funding from the government and to make the people more aware of what is on their plate.

## 12.2.11    Formula 1 ITV

| Steve R. | # | Poss. | % |
|---|---|---|---|
| **Hdrop** | 0 | 53 | 0.00% |
| **Rint** | 2 | 2 | 100.00% |
| **Lvoc** | 17 | 58 | 29.31% |
| **Yod** | 5 | 6 | 83.33% |
| **t_C** | 17 | 23 | 73.91% |
| **t_#C** | 92 | 106 | 86.79% |
| **t_#V** | 5 | 32 | 15.63% |

| Mark Bl. | # | Poss. | % |
|---|---|---|---|
| **Hdrop** | 16 | 54 | 29.63% |
| **Rint** | 1 | 1 | 100.00% |
| **Lvoc** | 18 | 39 | 46.15% |
| **Yod** | 2 | 2 | 100.00% |
| **t_C** | 18 | 21 | 85.71% |
| **t_#C** | 63 | 65 | 96.92% |
| **t_#V** | 15 | 31 | 48.39% |

| Louise G. | # | Poss. | % |
|---|---|---|---|
| **Hdrop** | | | |
| **Rint** | 1 | 1 | 100.00% |
| **Lvoc** | 5 | 28 | 17.86% |
| **Yod** | 1 | 2 | 50.00% |
| **t_C** | 4 | 7 | 57.14% |
| **t_#C** | 20 | 25 | 80.00% |
| **t_#V** | 0 | 11 | 0.00% |

| James A. | # | Poss. | % |
|---|---|---|---|
| **Hdrop** | | | |
| **Rint** | 3 | 3 | 100.00% |
| **Lvoc** | 19 | 31 | 61.29% |
| **Yod** | 3 | 3 | 100.00% |
| **t_C** | 4 | 4 | 100.00% |
| **t_#C** | 27 | 28 | 96.43% |
| **t_#V** | 5 | 10 | 50.00% |

| Ted K. | # | Po | % |
|---|---|---|---|
| **Hdrop** | 0 | 25 | 0.00% |
| **Rint** | 1 | 1 | 100.00% |
| **Lvoc** | 10 | 26 | 38.46% |
| **Yod** | 1 | 1 | 100.00% |
| **t_C** | 6 | 6 | 100.00% |
| **t_#C** | 26 | 29 | 89.66% |
| **t_#V** | 1 | 12 | 8.33% |

| Martin Br. | # | Poss. | % |
|---|---|---|---|
| **Hdrop** | 4 | 34 | 11.76% |
| **Rint** | | | |
| **Lvoc** | 27 | 49 | 55.10% |
| **Yod** | | | |
| **t_C** | 9 | 10 | 90.00% |
| **t_#C** | 38 | 41 | 92.68% |
| **t_#V** | 7 | 16 | 43.75% |

| TOT | # | Poss. | % |
|---|---|---|---|
| **Hdrop** | 20 | 166 | 12.05% |
| **Rint** | 8 | 8 | 100.00% |
| **Lvoc** | 96 | 231 | 41.56% |
| **Yod** | 12 | 14 | 85.71% |
| **t_C** | 58 | 71 | 81.69% |
| **t_#C** | 266 | 294 | 90.48% |
| **t_#V** | 33 | 112 | 29.46% |

Table 27: *Phonetic features for Formula 1 ITV*

It is interesting to see that all presenters who have the possibility to use r-intrusion, do so.

The place of birth of Steve Rider could not be found. He does show a great percentage of glottalisation and because of the use of r-intrusion and yod coalescence, it is clear that he does not speak RP. The use of glottalisation and l-vocalisation and the avoidance of h-dropping are an indication that he uses Estuary English. This could mean that he too wants to step away from the elite RP and prefers the use of the 'young and trendy' Estuary English.

Mark Blundell's table shows high percentages for all Estuary English features. Moreover, as he is from London, he has a high percentage of h-dropping. This means that he has a Cockney accent. He too uses yod coalescence rather than yod dropping and uses l-vocalisation and t_#V half of the time, which are indicators of masculinity and youthfulness.

Louise Goodman, though from Essex, has no sign of a Cockney accent. Moreover, she appears to avoid the use of t_#V and has a low percentage of l-vocalisation. The other percentages are too small, however, to make a statement.

James Allen has no sign of his original dialect. He uses yod coalescence, r-intrusion and t_C in all of the possible instances. He also has a high percentage of l-vocalisation and t_#V. This can be an indication of an act of identity by means of the 'young and trendy' Estuary English, with high percentages of the indicators of youthfulness and toughness.

Ted Kravitz has a high percentage of l-vocalisation too, and also of t_#C. other features are too few to make conclusive statements about his pronunciation.

Martin Brundle, born at the border of the Home Counties, has 11.76 % of h-dropping, has a high percentage of l-vocalisation and t_#V and other t-glottalling. This is once again proof of an act of identity of toughness and youthfulness.

## 12.2.12    Paul O'Grady Live

| Paul O' Grady | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
|  | # | Poss. | % |
| **Hdrop** | | | |
| **Rint** | 1 | 1 | 100.00% |
| **Lvoc** | 80 | 196 | 40.82% |
| **Yod** | 21 | 27 | 77.78% |
| **t_C** | 55 | 97 | 56.70% |
| **t_#C** | 204 | 219 | 93.15% |
| **t_#V** | 38 | 112 | 33.93% |

Table 28: *Phonetic features for Paul O' Grady Live*


Paul O'Grady uses his West Midland dialect in this show:

*<the buildingk>*
*<Can you see 'er?>*

Yet, features of Estuary English can be found: 40.82 % l-vocalisation can be found, as well as many glottalisations. These glottalisations are only used among young speakers in the West Midlands, which is likely an indication of an act of identity of youthfulness.

## 12.2.13　Gordon Ramsay's Cookalong

| Gordon Ramsay | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| | # | Poss. | % |
| **Hdrop** | 15 | 131 | 11.45% |
| **Rint** | 1 | 1 | 100.00% |
| **Lvoc** | 125 | 174 | 71.84% |
| **Yod** | 6 | 7 | 85.71% |
| **t_C** | 109 | 133 | 81.95% |
| **t_#C** | 277 | 309 | 89.64% |
| **t_#V** | 64 | 153 | 41.83% |

Table 29: *Phonetic features for Gordon Ramsay's Cookalong*

The fact that Gordon Ramsay was raised in the Home Counties can explain the use of h-dropping and the heavy use of all other features. These features correspond with his identity creation of being masculine and tough. An example is his television programme *The F Word,* which refers to his yelling and often racy language. It must be noted, however, that his outbursts were fewer than in his other shows. A possible explanation can be found in the programme description:

*Gordon Ramsay invites the whole nation to dinner.*
*(*http://www.channel4.com/programmes/gordon-ramsay-cookalong-live)

The phrase 'the whole nation appears to be an indication that the target audience for this programme is broader than his usual audience.

## 12.3    Conclusions

This act of identity chapter shows that the results in the audience design chapter can also be used for the act of identity chapter. The difference between these two are a matter of reaching someone versus being someone.

The two presenters of *Britain's Got Talent* are proof that an RP or London background is indeed not necessary to have an accent with Estuary English features. So, the study of act of identity proves that there is indeed an Estuary English pool of features from which speakers (subconsciously) take features to express their act of identity.

The study also proves that l-vocalisation and t_#V express a certain act of identity. The audience design study shows that l-vocalisation is a feature not preferred by FTA. The act of identity study further proves that l-vocalisation is used to produce an act of identity of masculinity or toughness.

For the use of t_#V it was suggested that it is used to reach a younger audience. The act of identity subsequently shows that this feature also appears to be used by presenters who pursue a youthful identity, such as Richard Hammond.

Does Estuary English entail an act of identity of being young and trendy? The absence of pure RP – although a vague concept these days - already proves that an elitist image is no longer popular. This can be seen by the downgraded accent of Nigella Lawson. Moreover, it does seem highly unlikely that a presenter would like to be seen as the opposite of young and trendy.

Further research is necessary to provide a clearer picture of which features are preferred in which region and by whom.

# CHAPTER 13   General Conclusions

## 13.1   The Audience Design Study

The audience design study proves that public television no longer uses pure RP and that all broadcasters use features of Estuary English. The big difference lies in the extent of use and especially the use of t_#V by private broadcasters, which is later on this study proven to be a feature representing youthfulness. Proof of this is the dependency of private broadcasters on advertisers, who wish to attract a young audience.

The audience design study also proves that there is still a gender-gap between FTA, who prefer to hear more standard speech, and MTA, who do not mind the use of non-standard varieties such as Estuary English. The clearest example is the use l-vocalisation, which proves to be an unpopular feature for FTA.

The odd one out is BTA, for which few theories could be found, and which proved to contain high percentages of Estuary English features. As younger viewers often do not have a fixed viewing pattern or fixed viewing preferences (cf. 6.2.2.1 supra) and do not have a fixed spending pattern (cf. 6.5 supra), it could be that a mixed target audience consists of younger viewers than FTA and MTA. The unfixed spending pattern also needs to be taken into consideration for private television, as it is that group which advertisers like to reach. Research which consists of a bigger corpus for BTA and has more background information of this BTA could provide a more founded conclusion.

On top of that, it has been shown that t_#C is non-gender-dependent and that there is no significant difference in the use of this feature between public and private broadcasters. This indicates that speakers no longer consider this Estuary English feature to be non-standard pronunciation.

## 13.2   The Act of Identity Study

The study on act of identity provides greater insight into the use of the pool of features. The study shows that all presenters use at least some features of Estuary English and that, hence, the use of it is not restricted to previous users of RP or London English, but crosses geographic boundaries. Hence, Estuary English is, indeed not an accent with clear-cut boundaries, but a pool of features from which users can (subconsciously) take features to express an act of identity.

The two clearest examples of this pool of features are, firstly, t_#V, which is used to perform an act of identity of youthfulness and, secondly, l-vocalisation, which is used as an act of identity of masculinity and toughness.

## 13.3   The Estuary English Effect

So, Estuary English appears to be the way to discard the elitist standard which previously dominated British television and to create a standard the public can identify with. By doing so, Estuary English slowly becomes the social norm - as theories by Lembo and McLuhan have proven – and, as a vicious circle, further strengthens its position as a social norm.

The media also welcome Estuary English as a tool to attract the desired audience. Moreover, Estuary English enables speakers of dialects to become presenters whilst using the dialect which previously would have closed many doors and presenters use features of it as an act of identity. A more extensive corpus could provide more insight into the use of Estuary English as both an act of identity and an audience design technique. But future research could also provide deeper insight into the changes of and because of Estuary English.

# Appendix

## Appendix 1: Possible Future Dialect Areas



From Trudgill (1999: 83)

## Appendix 2: English Phonetic System

**Short Single Vowels**

| /æ/<br>p**a**ck, h**a**t | /e/<br>p**e**t, r**e**d | /ɪ/<br>p**i**ck, s**i**t | /ɒ/<br>p**o**t, l**o**t |
|---|---|---|---|
| /ʌ/<br>d**u**ck, s**u**n | /ʊ/<br>b**oo**k, g**oo**d | | /ə/ schwa<br>**a**part, pil**o**t |

**Long Single Vowels**

| /i:/<br>w**ee**k, s**ea**t | /a:/<br>d**a**rk, st**a**rt | /u:/<br>bl**ue**, s**oo**n | /ɔ:/<br>t**a**lk, c**our**se | /ɜ:/<br>w**or**k, h**ur**t |
|---|---|---|---|---|

**Diphthongs** - two vowel sounds

| /aɪ/<br>b**uy**, b**i**te | /eɪ/<br>st**ay**, st**a**te | /ɔɪ/<br>b**oy**, v**oi**ce | /aʊ/<br>n**ow**, t**ow**n |
|---|---|---|---|
| /oʊ/<br>l**ow**, ph**o**ne | /ɪə/<br>n**ear**, h**ere** | /eə/<br>h**air**, st**air**s | /ʊə/<br>p**ure**, f**ewer** |

**Consonants**

| Unvoiced | Voiced | | Unvoiced | Voiced |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| /p/<br>**p**ay, pa**p**er | /b/<br>**b**uy, **b**ig | | /t/<br>**t**op, le**tt**er | /d/<br>**d**ate, mo**d**el |
| /k/<br>**c**at, che**ck**ing | /g/<br>**g**irl, bi**gg**er | | /f/<br>**f**ew, o**ff**er | /v/<br>**v**ery, o**v**er |
| / θ /<br>**th**ank,<br>bir**th**day | /ð/<br>**th**en, o**th**er | | /s/<br>**s**un,<br>mi**ss**ing | /z/<br>**z**ero, u**s**er |
| / ʃ /<br>**sh**eet<br>wa**sh**ing | /ʒ/<br>mea**s**ure<br>A**s**ia | | /ʧ/<br>**ch**eck<br>wat**ch**ing | /ʤ/<br>**j**oke<br>mana**g**er |
| /l/<br>**l**augh,<br>ye**ll**ow | /m/<br>**m**ight,<br>far**m**er | | /n/<br>**n**othing,<br>fu**nn**y | /ŋ/<br>thi**ng**,<br>si**ng**er |
| /h/<br>**h**eard,<br>per**h**aps | /r/<br>**r**ing,<br>a**rr**ange | | /j/<br>**y**es,<br>be**y**ond | /w/<br>**w**et,<br>po**w**er |

From http://www.speechmatters.com.au/IPA.Pronunciation.Online.Lessons.pdf

# Appendix 3: Phonetic and Phonological Features of Estuary English

| Variables with resulting EE variants | Example | Rosewarne (1984, 1994) | Coggle (1993) | Wells (1998) | Media (see table 1) |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| H Dropping | *hand* [ænd] | 0 | low accept-abl. | – | 0 |
| MOUTH vowel monoph-thong | *mouth* [ma:f] | 0 | 0 | – | 0 |
| TH Fronting | *think* [fɪŋk] | 0 | low accept-abl. | – | + |
| Intervocalic T Glottalling | *butter* ['bʌʔə] | 0 | low accept-abl. | – | + |
| Non-intervocalic T Glottalling | *but* [bʌʔ] | + | + | + | + |
| L Vocalization | *milk* [miok] | + | + | + | + |
| Yod Dropping after /t, d, n/ | *tune* [tu:n] | – | – | | 0 |
| Yod Coalescence after /t, d/ (in stressed syllables) | *tune* [tʃu:n] | 0 | + | + | + |
| ST Palatalization | *strict* [ʃtrɪkt] | 0 | + | + | 0 |
| Labio-dental /r/ | *write* [ʋaɪt] | + | + | 0 | 0 |
| HAPPY Tensing | *happy* ['hæpi] | + | 0 | + | 0 |
| LDS: diphthong shift in HAPPY | (?) ['kæpᵊi] | + | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| LDS: diphthong shift in FLEECE | (?) [flᵊis] | + | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| LDS: diphthong shift in FACE | (?) [fʌɪs] (Wells 1998) | + | 0 | + | 0 |
| LDS: diphthong shift in PRICE | (?) [prɑɪs] (Wells 1998) | + | 0 | + | 0 |
| LDS: diphthong shift in GOAT | (?) [gʌʊʔ] (Wells 1998) | + | + | + | 0 |
| striking allophony in *sold* GOAT-GOAL Split | [gʌʊt] vs. [goʊɫ] (Wells 1998) | 0 | 0 | + | 0 |
| THOUGHT vowel | (?) [θo:t] | 0 | + | 0 | 0 |
| STRUT vowel | (?) [strat] | 0 | + | 0 | 0 |

From Altendorf (2003:13)

**Appendix 4: Major Dialect Boundaries of England**

From Altendorf & Watt (2008:195)

**Appendix 5: Overview of the Mainstream-Modern Nonstandard Dialect Areas**
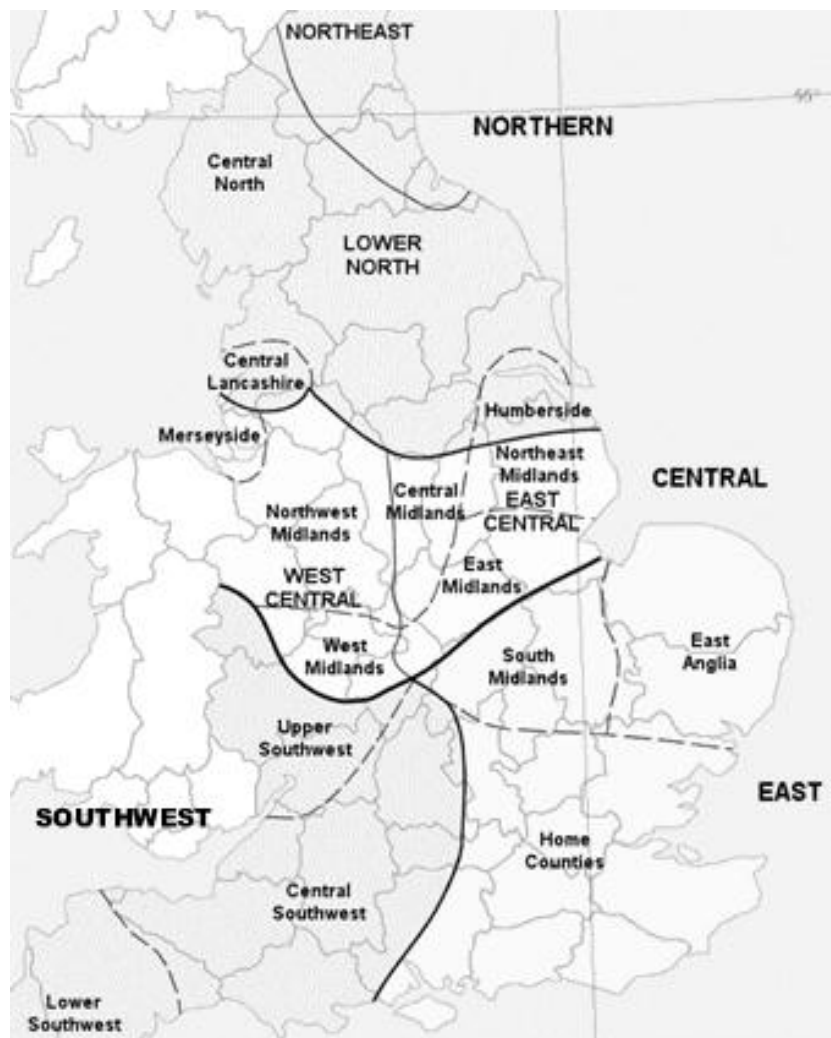


From Schiltz (2004), from http://www.ehistling-pub.meotod.de/01_lec05.php#31