

Dialect as an Indicator of Social Class in the UK:

Cockney in *Pygmalion* by George Bernard Shaw

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Introduction

Many languages spoken in the world have dialects, most of which are defined depending on the area where people live, and affects the identity formation in that dialects help confirm sense of belonging to certain community. However, British dialects are slightly different from those in other countries. Britain has one of the unique social systems called social class, which is regarded as one of the social variables of British dialects. Thus, unlike countries such as Japan in which the class system has not taken root, the phenomenon that people “cannot” acquire some types of dialects depending on class—e.g. Received Pronunciation (hereinafter, referred to as “RP”)—can occur in Britain.

In this thesis, I explore the role of British dialects as an indicator in the reader’s judgment of the social class which the characters belong to, based on the analysis of the dialogues in *Pygmalion* by George Bernard Shaw, in particular Cockney—a dialect spoken among the working class people in Eastern London— of Eliza, a main character. The purpose here is to find out the significance of the relationship between the dialects of British English and the social class unique to Britain. In Chapter One, I consider the relationship between British social classes and dialects in The UK. In Chapter Two, I reveal the specificities of Cockney, considering the reasons why it still survives as one of the most famous British English dialects. In Chapter Three, based on what I clarified in Chapter One and Two, I analyse *Pygmalion*, and examine the effects that Cockney has as an indicator of British social class in the novel.

George Bernard Shaw, an author of *Pygmalion*, was born in Dublin, Ireland in 1856, and produced 53 plays in his life. In 1925, he was awarded the Nobel Prize in Literature for his achievement. He was not only a playwright but also a critic, a politician, an educator and a journalist, indicating that there was a strong intention that he wanted to convey a message to the British society at that time through his works. One of the most important features of Shaw’s works is independent women with unique personalities. He portrayed heroines who have a strong belief and sometimes work like men in the society in order to make a living.

I have two reasons why I deal with *Pygmalion* in this thesis. Firstly, one of the main themes of *Pygmalion* is language. As wrote above, Eliza, a main character, mainly speaks Cockney—she acquires RP through strict education— because she has originally belonged to working class, and professor Higgins speaks RP because he is supposed to be upper middle class—he works as a linguist, which is one of the professions of the upper middle class. Therefore, it is necessary to analyse *Pygmalion* in theorizing the relationship between British dialects and the social class in Britain. Secondly, Shaw’s message is reflected in *Pygmalion*. In fact, *Pygmalion* is the original of a film *My Fair Lady*, which is one of the most famous works of Shaw. Here, I show the synopsis of *Pygmalion*.

A phonologist Henry Higgins encounters a lower-class flower girl Eliza Doolittle, the main character with no culture who has been speaking with an uncultivated accent. He bets with his friend Pickering, an Indian linguist, whether he can transform Eliza into a lady like Duchess. Higgins accepts the bet and teaches Eliza thoroughly the manner and wording of the upper class or the upper middle class as a subject of research. As a result, she grows into a fine lady and fascinates many people.

Actually, the story of *My Fair Lady* unfolds almost in the same way as *Pygmalion*. However, there is a significant difference in the ending. In *Pygmalion*, Eliza gets rid of Higgins and marries with young Freddy—who cares about Eliza unlike Higgins. In contrast, in *My Fair Lady*, Eliza and Higgins get married. It can be inferred that the intention of the director of *My Fair Lady*, George Cukor, was to succeed as an entertainment. This was reflected in the ending of *My Fair Lady* in the process of making a drama into a musical. In contrast, the thought of Shaw was completely different. A passage in the sequel that Shaw left behind the main part of *Pygmalion* supports this:

What is Eliza fairly sure to do when she is placed between Freddy and Higgins? Will she look forward to a lifetime of fetching Higgins’ slippers or to a lifetime of Freddy fetching hers? There can be no doubt about the answer. [...] And that is just what Eliza did. (110-111)

As mentioned above, Shaw described strong women with self-reliance like Eliza in *Pygmalion* and *My Fair Lady*, who overcomes the difficulty of accent or manner and transcends class. Shaw must have thought that if Eliza had fallen in love with Higgins, readers could have not conclude what Shaw wanted to say. Thus, I analyse not *My Fair*

Lady but Pygmalion in considering the relationship between British dialects and British social class.

Chapter 1: Relationship between Accents and Social Class in The UK.

Many people know that there is a unique social system called the social class in the UK, and it is often said that British people spend their lifetime within the same class as their parents. However, they do not always belong to those classes for their whole life. Actually, there are some cases that children are educated at private schools because of their parents' successful business and educational enthusiasm, and transcend classes. One of the essential elements dividing class is "language." According to the homepage of British Library, in fact, only two percent of Britons speak RP—which is regarded as standard British language—in spite of the fact that RP is the most widely studied and most frequently described variety of spoken English in the world, as well as the upper class people occupies a very small proportion in the UK. In other words, 98 percent of Britons speak dialects. In this chapter, I explore the relationship between social class in the UK and British accents.

It should be noted that, in this thesis, 'accent' means a sound variation for a particular group of people, and 'dialect' means a regional speech variety including vocabulary, grammar and accent.

1-1: The System of British Social Class

A political scientist Kawai (1982), stated that the British class system was established in the Industrial Revolution in the second half of the 18th century (801-802). According to Kawai, in Britain, in those days, there was a solid political system established by the Glorious Revolution at the end of the 17th century, which the political sovereignty of the state was ambiguously considered as the power that the king and parliament had (802). However, Kawai also stated that it was obvious that it was an aristocratic oligarchy that had the real power, which dominated the upper and lower houses of Parliament (801-802). Oligarchy means the political regime in which the power is concentrated in a small number of people, and philosopher Plato defined it as the statecraft based on the valuation of property. In this respect, it is assumed that British aristocratic oligarchy was the prototype of the upper class, which means the origin of the British social class. Then, thanks to a stable political regime, the hierarchical system spread throughout the society.

According to Kawai, specifically, the royal family, aristocrats, or ancient ruling families connected with them were called the upper class, and the rulers of a new society with sufficient property to be able to be independent by commercial and land ownership became known as the middle class (802). With regard to the latter, in particular, Kawai stated that, even though the middle class people economically had

great ability, as long as people were permitted economic activities, they are satisfied with leaving political control to the traditional rulers (802). From this, it can be inferred that the middle class had a stronger class consciousness than the upper class. The middle class consciousness is regarded as a major factor of class formation.

As we can see from the Figure 1, these days, this British class is divided into upper class, middle class, and working class, and sometimes, the middle class further can be divided into upper middle, middle middle, and lower middle.

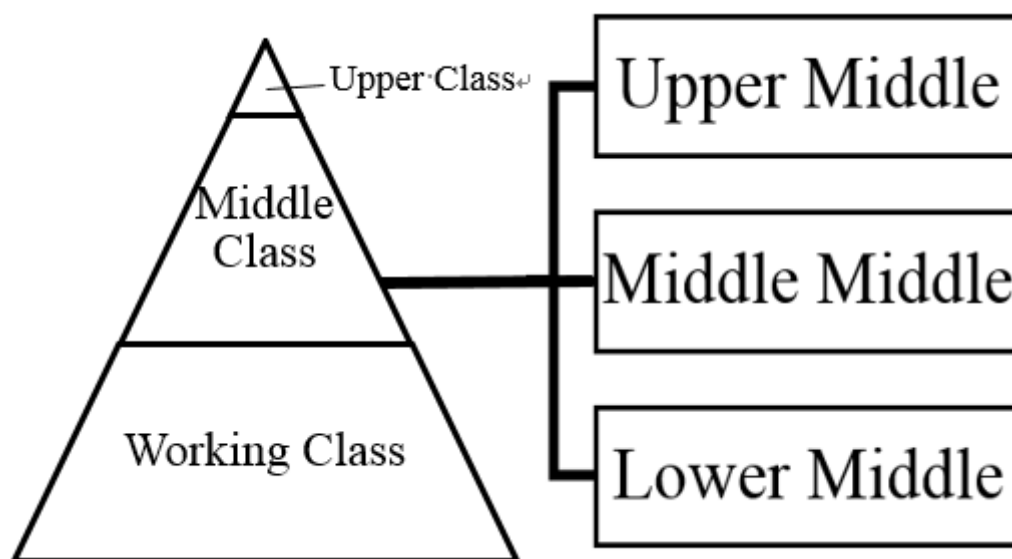


Fig.1: The Division of British social class

Specifically, the upper class people traditionally used to be able to live by income obtained from assets such as lands, without working. The middle class earns income by some forms of business. The working class consists of wage workers, who earn money by selling labour to employers in exchange for salary. Here, it is natural to question the difference between the middle class and the working class. The former can be defined that they are “not physical workers but workers.” For example, regarding the former, people manage their companies and earn their profits as sources of income, such as industrial capitalists or business managers, while others work as professional occupations such as lawyers, doctors, policemen or professors. In contrast, regarding the latter, almost all people engage in physical labour such as carpenters, bus drivers and farm workers. Furthermore, it is characteristic that working class people tend to be exclusive and conservative to any changes, and that they have great solidarity among themselves. In fact, I have come in touch with British insular culture locally. When I conducted a survey on the dialect for the working class people in East London last

summer, they all refused the interview because they were wary of an unknown foreigner, and I was forced to change the contents and the place for survey quickly—after that, actually, many kinds of people responded to my interview. This experience indicates that the working class people tend to exclude those different from themselves because of their strong pride towards their class.

In general, in most countries, social class does not exist strictly. However, class tends to be defined as an economic classification except in Britain. According to Kawai, in the UK, social class is not only a classification of people from an economic point of view but also a concept that can distinguish people “in all ways of life” (801). As referred to in the introduction of Chapter One, there is a fact that British people do not always belong to those classes for the whole life, but it is also true that many people consider that it is not necessary to change their class. For example, while some people transcend their classes, the working class people tend not to wish to change their position because of their strong pride. This finding supports that British class system is not a mere economic division. Some upper class people, who must be able to make a living without working, tend to engage in jobs like company management. Furthermore, some royalties open a part of their mansions or gardens for the general public, or request the National Trust to manage them because they cannot afford to do that. For example, Brenham Palace in Oxford, England, which I visited last summer, opens to the public, and the current owner, the 12th Duke of Marlborough, often works in the palace living in a villa. In contrast, some middle class people possess greater assets than those of the upper class. They can give their children special education to change the class, and also, they are sensitive about the trend of the modern society.

Kawai cited firstly “occupation,” secondly “education” and thirdly “dwelling, the way of speaking English and lifestyle like daily manner” as indicators of classification in the UK. (824). I omit the first “occupation” because I have described it above. Regarding the second and the third, I focus on “education” because I insist that manners and lifestyle depend on how people are educated. If social class was divided depending on occupation, people would become more educated to learn expertise or to engage in a desired job for higher class. In fact, most of teachers in the university in which I learned last summer belong to the middle class. Moreover, they revealed that, because of their position, their English is substantially identical to RP. These findings indicate that they must have received higher specialized education. However, such programs are very expensive. First of all, in order to receive higher education at the university, it is required to enter public school. Yamanouchi (2000), an educational sociologist, described that, in Britain, private schools are called independent schools in the

aggregate, and among them, the so-called elite middle educational institutions with long history and tradition are called public schools (5). Yamanouchi also stated that public schools are referred to us “public” despite the fact that these are NOT public, because British public schools were constructed with an official character, in the time when the concept of public education had not been developed yet—Winchester College, the oldest British public school was constructed in 1382, and Eaton College, the most popular public school was constructed in 1440 (5). According to *The Complete University Guide* (2018), the undergraduate tuition of universities in England, Northern Ireland and Scotland can be up to £9,250 a year, and that in Wales can be up to £9,000 a year. In contrast, according to journalist Doughty (2018), the tuition of Eton is £38,730, indicating that the tuition of public schools is much higher than that of British universities. Besides, parents have to pay a large amount of funding in order to allow children to enter public schools. From this, we can say that almost all children who can attend public schools belong to upper class or upper middle class—sometimes exceptional cases that some people in lower position than the middle middle class, such as David Beckham, get so large amount of money to let their children go to public school, can occur. In short, it is not until people ensure the economic margin enough to pay for public schools regardless of their original class, that they may be able to transcend their class. Meanwhile, working class people cannot afford to pay for public schools. However, even if they are affordable, they will not let their children receive special education. It is possible to suppose that this view is related to their strong pride and class-consciousness unique to the working class. They are satisfied with their position and they absolutely do not behave like higher class people, who they do not normally accept. In other words, it is obvious that it mostly is the middle class that consciously attempts to “transcend the class.”

British social class was constructed from a solid social system that oligarchy has substantial power—which was the prototype of recent upper class. It is clear that British social class is roughly divided into three, and is not a mere economic division. While among the middle class, some people pay large amounts of money for higher education for their children for the purpose of elevating the class, the working-class people tend not to even if they can afford economically to do so, because of their strong pride toward their position and a sense of belonging.

1-2: The Roles of Dialects in the UK.

According to *Ethnologue*, a cite exploring the world’s languages, and collecting the statistics of them, there are 7097 living languages in the world as of February 21,

2018. It can also be inferred that languages are essential tools to support not only our communication but also the culture itself in our daily life. Britain has many dialects, but it should be noted that British English dialects are different from those of other countries in various ways. In this section, I clarify how important dialects are in Britain for the purpose of connecting with the next section “class dialects.” Firstly I describe what the standard British English is, secondly I discuss the importance of British dialects, and thirdly I consider the function of British dialects.

Before revealing specificity of the British English, it is necessary to describe the concept of standard British English. In the case of Japan, the dialect so-called “Tokyo dialect,” which is spoken in Tokyo, often is recognized as the standard language. Even if one lives in a rural area, there are many opportunities to hear this dialect throughout the media such as radio and television. Furthermore, in Japan, “Tokyo dialect” is easy to imitate or learn as a standard language. Thus, it tends not to be difficult to master standard Japanese language. In contrast, regarding RP—referred to be the standard British English—, as wrote in the introduction of Chapter One, approximately only two percent of British people can speak it, and among the remaining 98 percent of British people, there are few able to master it.

Linguist Kawamura (1998) insisted that, when the language is used in the real society, various kinds of social evaluation will be given towards the standard variety such as Tokyo dialect in Japan, and the non-standard variety such as Cockney in the UK (78). For example, the standard variety is viewed positively in social assessment such as “correct,” “polite” and “elegant,” and then it has a cultural, economic and political advantage as a prestige linguistic variety. In contrast, non-standard variety can be given a negative social assessment such as “wrong” or “dirty,” and sometimes, is associated with “stigma.” In Japan, many people who have come from the countryside to Tokyo or its suburbs for the purpose of working or studying could have experienced being made fun of due to their dialects and making efforts to correct them into the standard language. It can be inferred that this situation occurs by strengthening stigma when local people are evaluated as “wrong” for speaking non-standard languages.

It should be noted that, however, in most countries except the UK, it is easy to learn the standard language due to the advantages of the number of speakers in the surroundings, economic aspects, and so on. In the case of the UK, as shown in the previous section, though education is necessary to acquire the accents, huge amounts of funds are required to receive the higher education, so those who can actually acquire languages similar to RP are limited to quite a few people. This shows that the standard language, which should be familiar among all the people, is NOT the standard in the

UK, and is different from that of other countries, indicating that British English is one of unique languages in a sense.

These days, despite its small territory, Britain has many kinds of dialects compared to other English-speaking countries such as the US and Canada. It has a long history that the words which came newly through the invasion and the conquest of various tribes such as Celts, Anglo-Saxons and Normans, have evolved into dialects over thousands of years. In the UK, the dialects in the northern part tend to be stronger. When I questioned British people which dialects are difficult to hear in London, most of them answered the northern dialects are hard to understand, and in fact, people in Edinburgh could not understand what I said, and neither could I understand them, so I relied on my smartphone when telling the taxi driver the destination.

While RP is recognized as a valuable language for people in higher classes, its speakers are extremely few. In other words, overwhelmingly large numbers of people are not interested in it or have a bias against it. In particular, the working class people, who have strong pride toward their positions or a sense of belonging, and whose positions or occupations are hardly affected by languages they speak, tend not to attempt consciously to correct their accents unless they shift the types of working. From this, it can be inferred that the importance of the standard language in Britain is very tenuous compared to other countries, indicating that the importance of dialects is great in Britain.

In addition, Kawamura insisted that working class people gain some kinds of social rewards such as clarification of social distance to the middle class, improvement of solidarity, and a symbol of powerfulness and masculinity, by speaking non-standard variety (81). The social distance of the working class to the middle class may be rephrased for that to people of all the classes except the working class, because, as wrote above, they have a strong sense of belonging and take an exclusive attitude towards any people in different positions. Occasionally, dialects may show a powerfulness and masculinity. For example, when we try to communicate with the Kansai people in Tokyo, some casual phrases can be overbearing. Likewise, it may also be an example that we feel more frightened when we are yelled at by someone with a dialect. In that respect, one can think that the dialects in the UK function as a part of many citizens' identities and play an important role to support their cultures.

British dialects have a great significance compared to those of other countries including Japan because the standard languages which should be familiar among us cannot be standard in the UK. British dialects can roughly be divided into two types depending on specific social variables. In the next chapter, I clarify these two types of

dialect, and further discusses “class dialect,” which is a unique concept that Britain shares with few other countries, more in detail.

1-3: British Peculiar Concept “Class Dialects”

The British social class and dialects have formed “class dialects.” British dialects are divided into this “class dialect” and “regional dialect.” In this section, I focus on the former for the purpose of the further clarification of the specificity of British English and the reasons why I analyse Cockney in the following chapters. Firstly, I reveal these two concepts of British dialects, secondly, I consider the examples—RP, Cockney and Estuary English (hereinafter, referred to as “EE”), and the reasons why these three are referred as the examples of class dialects, and thirdly, I focus on the social variable “gender” when British people belong to the same class.

“Regional dialect” is a familiar concept for not only British but also people all over the world including Japanese. Rather, in general, when imagining about dialects, we can hit on this concept. Regional dialect is a language variety prescribed by social variables “locality” such as geographical conditions. For instance, as wrote in Section Two, Japan has dialects such as Kansai dialect and Hakata dialect and each of them has regional origin. Britain and Japan are common in that they are island nations, and the Ryukyu dialect, which is spoken in Okinawa, is assumed to have been created in the process of forming unique cultures under the condition of island country since Okinawa was Ryukyu kingdom. In this way, regional dialects have created various differences depending on the region, and according to sociolinguist Fujimori (2008), in particular, British English has a large difference in regional dialects in terms of pronunciation, accent, phrasing and vocabulary compared with other languages (108). As we know, Britain consists of England, Wales, Scotland and Northern Ireland, and each of them has specific regional dialects with various differences depending on locality.

In contrast, “class dialect” means a language variety prescribed by the social variable “social class.” Again, it can be inferred that this concept is unique in Britain due to its unique social system. Among British English, RP—which I showed in the previous sections, Cockney—which I mainly deal with in this thesis, and EE—which has been spread as new standard British English, are often mentioned as clear examples of class English.

Each of these three types of British English have the reasons why they are regarded as class dialects. Firstly, RP has been influenced by public schools. Fujimori said that, originally, RP was developed from the south-eastern part of England including London since the late medieval period (113). Furthermore, Fujimori stated that RP is not

different regionally, because the educational act called the Foster Act in 1870, which aimed at strengthening reading, writing and arithmetic, led upper class children from various regions to enter public schools—again, which means elite middle educational institutions with long history and tradition— and these children learned this accent as a standard language (113). It is inferred that this unified and neutralized their languages regardless of the students’ birthplaces. It should be noted that English used in education in public schools is similar in every region. Although, inherently, regional differences can arise in the educational language, in the case of Britain, in which the social class takes root, regional differences should not occur in English taught to the upper class because languages may greatly influence the career or behaviour. Figure 2 shows the relationship between British accents and the social class in Britain. The vertical axis represents the social class, and the horizontal axis represents the number of regional dialects. Actually, it is assumed that, the higher the social position is, the less regional accent can be addicted. In other words, the pronunciation of people with higher social status is closer to RP, which is still a prestigious language occupying the highest social class position. The class to which the speaker of EE belongs is represented by the dotted line in the centre of the figure and the class to which the speaker of Cockney belongs is represented by the dashed line at the bottom of the figure.

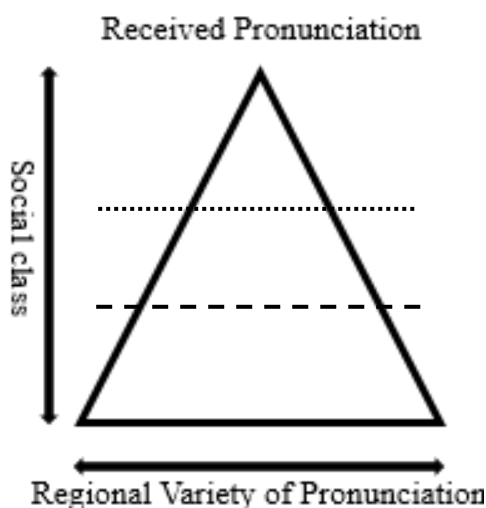


Fig.2: The Relationship between Accent and Social Class
(Adopted from Fujimori, 2008)

In addition, Hughes, a scholar of modern English, and sociolinguist Trudgill (1984), insist that “Received” means “accepted in the best society,” which is a typical thought prevailing in the 19th century (3). According to Kawai (1982), in the 19th

century, the election law was amended three times—in 1832, 1867 and 1884, leading the expansion of the suffrages to many of the farm workers at that time (802), and as mentioned above, the Education Act was enacted in 1870. Thus, the 19th century was important for not only the class dialect but also the British society itself. However, according to Hughes & Tradgill, the above “best society” means a society consisting of the people who are evaluated in terms of education, income, occupation and status, and RP remained as a language spoken there (4). This concept of 19th century is further discussed more in detail in Chapter Three. I omit the discussion about cockney because I do it in the next chapter.

Secondly, I would like to consider EE. According to Fujimori, this is mainly spoken among the middle class people in southeastern part of England and is called Estuary English since this was used around the Thames River including London (120). In addition, Pitts & Tsuruta (2014), scholars of the foreign language education and linguistic, described that EE is “the typical accent of workers—who belongs to working class or middle class— in London and the countries around London in comparison with Cockney.” (17) I agree with Fujimori’s view because when considering EE as a class dialect, the regional element “London” in Pitts’s view may influence it too much and it can be similar to a regional accent. One of the reasons why EE is preferred regardless of the class is BBC announcers and politicians tend to use it. In addition, Fujimori described about the feature of EE that it is like intermideate between RP and Cockney, and it is spoken regardless of the area (120), indicating that EE has the possibility of spreading widely regardless of the class. Furthermore, EE is spread to wider area due to not only the use by the highly-educated people but also the technological development. It means that the working class is “upgraded” to intellectual laborers, the lower middle class, because the industry cannot only be powered by physical workers. As the class changes, people in the new middle class must correct their languages and thus the demands of EE are inevitably rising. This situation will continue as long as technology continues to be developed. In this way, it is clear that the demands of EE are expanding in both middle class and working class, which may have a great influence on the concept of British dialects.

Finally, from a sociological viewpoint, I consider the social variable “gender” in the case that people belong to the same class. Figure 3 shows the result of the survey conducted by sociolinguist Macaulay (as cited in Kawamura, 1998) in 1978 on pronunciation of /i/ in Glasgow (81). Classes are ordered depending on occupation. The score is set from 100 points to 500 points, and the higher the score is, the higher the

usage rate of the regional dialect. In contrast, the lower the score is, the less people tend to speak the language closer to the prestige form, which is a majestic languages like RP.

	Male	Female
Class 1 (Professional and managerial)	224	180
Class 2 (White-collar, intermediate non-manual)	279	215
Class 3 (Skilled manual)	287	280
Class 4 (Semi-skilled and unskilled manual)	300	288

Fig.3: The gender difference in the pronunciation of /i/ in Glasgow
(Adopted from Macaulay, 1978)

This result shows that men tend to use regional dialects more frequently than women of the same class, and that, in the case of male, the difference between the score of Class 1 and that of Class 2 is greatest, and in the case of female, the difference between the score of Class 2 and that of Class 3 is the greatest. In other words, it is clear that, regarding Class 2, men are close to Class 3 and women are close to Class 1. This indicates that women are more conscious of classes upgrading than men and are sensitive to languages. In the case of *Pygmalion*, Eliza, whom I deal with in this thesis as main concern, often struggles with the insults from Higgins, which can be inferred to be based on her strong intention to transcend the class from social reality.

“Class dialects” is a linguistic variety prescribed by the British social class. The familiar examples of class dialects are RP, EE, and Cockney. The reason why RP can be regarded as a class dialect is that it was spread into students in public school regardless of the region due to the Foster Act in 1870. EE can be a class dialect because of the use by BBC announcer or politician and the unconscious promotion of class due to technological development. Furthermore, as is the case that British people belong to the same class, women tend to be more conscious of class than men and are so sensitive to their languages.

The British society has the unique system called social class, and thus, British dialect is divided into two: regional dialect and class dialect. The system of the British social class is not only an economical division but also a division of any points of life. British dialects can be specific because the importance of the British standard language—RP—is so tenuous that British dialects are valuable. RP, EE, and Cockney can be the examples of British class dialects. In the next chapter, I discuss the

specificities of Cockney focusing on slang, the lack of the pronunciation of “h” and the reasons why Cockney can still be these days.

Chapter 2: The Specificity of Cockney

In Chapter One, I have clarified the British social class, the British accents, and “class dialects” which is formed by these two. In addition, I have confirmed that Cockney is one of the examples of a British class dialect. Unlike RP which has been authoritative as a standard British language or EE which has attracted attention as a new standard in Britain as the border of social class becomes ambiguous, Cockney is a dialect symbolizing working class. Furthermore, Cockney is spoken by Eliza in *Pygmalion*, so it must be necessary to understand Cockney more in advance in the analysis of *Pygmalion*. Thus in this chapter, I clarify the linguistic features of Cockney symbolizing the British working class, and discuss the specificity of Cockney from the educational aspect and cultural aspect.

2-1: The Unique Features Symbolizing Cockney as a Working Class Dialect

One of the features of Cockney is a large amount of vocabulary called Cockney Rhyming Slang (hereinafter referred to as CRS), which is similar to a secret language. The exclusive and conservative attitude towards those in different positions and many changes, which is a feature of British working class people, must have had a large influence on the establishment of CRS. Furthermore, as examined in Chapter Three, “h-dropping” in the beginning or the middle of words, which is one of the phonological features of Cockney, can be seen in the ending of *Pygmalion*. Among approximately 15 phonetic features of Cockney, h-dropping is particularly characteristic. Thus, in this section, I analyse the specificities of Cockney focusing on CRS and h-dropping.

Before moving on to the analysis of CRS, I outline Cockney. Although Cockney is commonly interpreted as a dialect that is spoken among the working class people in eastern London, it traditionally refers to the people born in the area where one can hear the sound of Bow Bells—the bell in St. Mary-le-Bow church— and to the dialect of such a group of people (Pitts & Tsuruta, 2014; Fujimori, 2008). In this way, the word Cockney means not only a dialect but also its speakers. However, according to journalist Parsons (2012), compared to 150 years ago, the area where Bow Bells’ sound can be heard is considerably narrowed due to the noise pollution by traffic and airplanes (Parsons). Therefore, in this thesis, I have judged it difficult to define Cockney based on Bow Bells. Furthermore, if we add “people” to the definition of Cockney, this thesis may miss the point. Thus in this thesis, I define Cockney as a dialect spoken among working class people born in the East End of London.

According to Fujimori, most British people sometimes use “Rhyming Slang” (hereinafter referred to as RS) in daily life (116-117). She stated that RS represents what

you really want to say by using other totally different words rhyming with them (117-118). In addition, Fujimori stated that many kinds of RS originate from Cockney (117). Pitts (2014), said that though he grew up in the suburb of Yorkshire, far away from London, he learned vocabularies originated from CRS, and used them (22). From this, it can be inferred that a part of the CRS which was originally used as a secret language in London from that time was transformed into casual English throughout The UK.

So why was CRS born? Fujimori stated that CRS was begun from using Cockney as secret words when peddlers selling fruits, vegetables, and fishes on carts tried to carry on trade illegally (117). Furthermore, Pitts & Tsuruta (2014) referred to the two theories about why CRS originated: “it developed among street market traders to baffle their customers,” and “it developed among criminals to baffle the police and their informers” (20-21). Pitts & Tsuruta added that when the modern police was founded in the 19th century, it was headquartered in Bow area (20-21), supporting that CRS was spread among Eastern London. In this way, though we can enumerate some theories about the origin of CRS, what is held in common for each theory is that CRS was made so as not to leak out a secret of illegal actions. Again, working class people are so proud of their class or position, and tend to exclude those in different position from them. As is drawn in *Pygmalion*, most working class people have a bias towards those in high-ranking occupations such as police. In this respect, it is natural to consider that, if people have words that are comprehensible only among themselves, they can share with their fellows feelings like hatred towards those with high professions.

Table 4 shows some examples of CRS. As wrote above, Cockney speakers express what they want to say by replacing the combination of completely different words rhyming with that word. When telling “Believe,” for instance, speakers combine “Eve” which rhymes with this word and “Adam” which has nothing to do with this word, and use it like “I don’t Adam and Eve it!” Naturally, people who do not speak Cockney literally interpret it as “Adam and Eve,” causing contextual confusion. For Cockney speakers, this confusion is effective to confirm their senses of belonging.

Rhyming Slang	Meaning	Rhyming Slang	Meaning
Adam and <u>Eve</u>	<u>Believe</u>	Barack <u>Obamas</u>	<u>Pajamas</u>
China <u>Plate</u>	<u>Mate</u>	Donkey’s <u>Ears</u>	<u>Years</u>
Loaf of <u>Bread</u>	<u>Head</u>	Porkie <u>Pies</u>	<u>Eyes</u>
Rabbit and <u>Pork</u>	<u>Talk</u>	Scotch <u>Eggs</u>	<u>Legs</u>

Table 4: Examples of CSR (Adopted from Fujimori, 2008; Pitts, 2014)

Next, I analyse “h-dropping.” This literally means a phenomenon in which the sound of /h/ is omitted in the beginning or in the middle of a word. H-dropping is referred to as a linguistic feature symbolizing British English rather than that of Cockney. According to sociolinguists Upton & Widdowson (1996), h-dropping can be seen in most areas of England with exception of the surroundings of Northumberland and East Anglia. In addition, linguists Dahou & Hamlin (2016) stated that the history of h-dropping is not so long relatively, and it has developed from the end of the 17th century to the 18th century when people began settling from the UK to the US because of the Treaty of Paris in 1783, indicating h-dropping cannot be seen in American English (21). Furthermore, as is clear in Chapter One that Britain has the social class, h-dropping is also influenced by British social class. Linguist Petyt (1977; as cited in Hughes & Trudgill, 1984) conducted a survey on pronunciation of /h/ at the beginning of words subject to the people in middle class or working class in Bradford in Yorkshire, England (10), with the result shown in Table 5.

Class	Percentage of dropping initial /h/ (%)
Upper Middle Class	12
Lower Middle Class	28
Upper Working Class	67
Middle Working Class	89
Lower Working Class	93

Table 5: The Result of a Survey on the elimination of the initial /h/ in the Bradford
(Adopted from Petyt, 1977)

As we can see from this result, we can say that British people tend not to pronounce ‘h’ as the class is lower. Linguist Ramisch (2010) stated that, actually, h-dropping is a typical feature of working class and sometimes is stigmatized as “uneducated,” “sloppy,” and “lazy” (175). From this, it can be inferred that, actually, h-dropping is recognized as a negative feature of the working class in the British society. Therefore, h-dropping must be an important element in recognizing Cockney as a working class dialect.

One of the most famous speakers of Cockney is David Beckham, who is a former professional footballer who has long played an active part in England. Dahou & Hamlin stated that Beckham was born and grew up in the suburb of the borough of Waltham Forest in East London, and that he is a native-born British working class, whose father works as a kitchen fitter and whose mother is a hairdresser. In addition, he continued providing high performance in not only England but also in various countries.

According to an article issued by *The Richest* in 2018, Beckham, who played football not only in England but also in Spain, America, Italy and France, is estimated to have earned a net asset of € 4.5 million in his professional career as of 2018, five years after his retirement. From this, it can be said that Beckham is a rare example that became a celebrity comparable to the upper class while being working class. However, Beckham's change in the words has also occurred, and his change is occasionally criticized.

Dahou & Hamlin compared Beckham's rate of h-dropping from the analysis of the interviews which Beckham had taken in 20 years—from 1994 to 2014. According to them, Beckham has considerably reduced his h-dropping from 100 percent of in 1994 to only 33 percent in 2014 (22). Dahou & Hamlin argue that the reason for his decline in the use of h-dropping is his social status and his age (23), and I insist that the former has a greater influence than the latter. In addition to the fact that Beckham acquired assets comparable to that of the upper class as wrote above, he played in the US where the different English, American English, is spoken. It can be inferred that as a result of increasing his opportunities to faithfully pronounce 'h' by putting himself in an environment where h-dropping is proof against local people, Beckham "unconsciously" showed his improvement of social status through his own words. In my opinion, regardless of whether he intended or not, the decline in the probability of h-dropping in Beckham's English caused him to be the target of criticism due to the lack of his identity of the British working class—though, actually, he played in the US for four years, which was not enough to change his language completely—indicating that h-dropping is one of the greatest features of Cockney as a dialect spoken among the working class.

CRS, which is an element of Cockney symbolizing an exclusive attitude towards people of a different position from themselves, is a combination of the word rhyming with the word people really want to tell and the word not related with that, causing non-Cockney speakers to become confused because CRS does not fit in their context. This confusion is a useful phenomenon in the confirmation of sense of belonging, showing that CRS symbolizes the specificity of Cockney. Furthermore, as is the case of Beckham, who became criticized by Cockney speakers as he learned to pronounce /h/ faithfully from the influence of his professional career in the US, h-dropping can be seen in the society including Cockney speakers, which is effective as an element indicating the specificity of Cockney symbolising the British working class.

2-2: The Reasons Why Cockney still Survives

As mentioned in Section One, among the features of Cockney, CRS and

h-dropping are in particular sufficient functions explaining the role of Cockney as a class dialect. However, it should be noted that social authority of Cockney is overwhelmingly lower than that of RP and EE in the category of class dialect. In addition, as wrote in Section Two of Chapter One, Cockney, which is classified as a nonstandard variety, sometimes is evaluated negatively. In this section, I discuss the reasons why Cockney, which has such a low social status, is still alive in the British society.

Macindoe (1990), a scholar of ancient history, said about the general evaluation of Cockney in the former British society that “Cockney is especially condemned as being ugly, and school teachers have worked for generations to try to standardise it, whether for reasons of class prejudice or aesthetics.” (4) In short, the correction of Cockney could be seen in education because it was evaluated as ugly. As discussed in Chapter One, it can be inferred that education, which is one of the indicators of the social class in the UK, has a great influence on language as well. However, while this correction was seen, some people referred to the inadequacy of education in the East End, which is considered to be the poorest area in London. According to Fujimori (2008), Cockney still has pronunciation that should have been eradicated by educational reform by the Foster Act in 1870—which, again, was enacted for the purpose of improving reading, writing and arithmetic— as education is not complete in East End due to the poverty. It seems reasonable to suppose that, while the Foster Act had a major influence on the development of RP because it promoted to children in the upper class entering public school regardless of where they were born and raised, children in East End who cannot afford to go to school acquire language in their work or life, which has changed into some unique words in Cockney these days.

In addition, Cockney, which once was evaluated as ugly in London and even though there was an attempt to correct it through education, it tends to be used aggressively in education in recent years. The article “Would you Adam and Eve it? Pupils to be taught Cockney rhyming slang in east London schools,” which was posted in *Dailymail* on July 23, 2012, serves as evidence of the fact that recent students in East End study CRS. According to this article, the purpose of learning CRS is to make youth in East End recognize that Cockney is an official dialect. For example, this article refers to education in a borough of Tower of Hamlet in London, and Lutfur Rahman, a former mayor of this borough, stated in the article that “It’s really important we keep the older traditions alive and support them, not as fossils, but as living traditions,” based on his description that 127 languages have been spoken in schools in East End and among them, Cockney is the most familiar. Furthermore, Fox, a scholar of modern English,

stated in this article that, for the past 50 years, Cockney has undergone a particularly rapid change in the long history of itself, which is no wonder considering the social and economic redevelopment in the traditional area where it has been spoken. In particular, CRS is changing remarkably into familiar slang to youth. According to this article, for instance, a slang telling “a curry” has changed from Ruby Murray, an Irish singer, to Andy Murray, a tennis player, because young people do not know Ruby. Thus, with the process of revolution of the traditional area in which Cockney has been spoken, Cockney is also becoming familiar to young people in such an area. Reflection on some of these make clear that, due to the recent changes in social and economic redevelopment of the city, Cockney is becoming familiar to youth, and Cockney is taught to children in London who will play important roles in the future, not only to make them recognize Cockney as an official dialect of the East End but also to let them inherit Cockney as a tradition.

Let us leave the educational topic and turn to the similarity between Cockney speakers and social minority. Though the class society is rare in the world, there are many vulnerable people in some social aspects such as race. Writer McCrum, television producer Cran and novelist MacNeil (1987) pointed out about the similarities between British Cockney speakers and Blacks who are vulnerable in the US because of their race, that while the socio-political pressure which Black Americans suffer is obviously more serious, both have in common in that they were outsiders in their own society; they had rich and traditional types of expression through speech or song; they had a form of self-expression through the entertainment or sport; and they suffered some stereotypes from media (218-219). This suggests that Black American and Cockney speakers have various similarities in some cultural aspects. It is important in the description of the impact on their languages that both Black American and Cockney speakers were excluded in the society. In particular, regarding Cockney, it is possible to suppose that most its speakers were treated as outsiders in the society behind the construction of CRS for the purpose of baffling people in higher position. In addition, I would like to lay special emphasis on the fact that we can see a form of emotional expression using words and songs as a culture of both Black American and Cockney speakers. That is because this indicates that the language has been essential tools to express identity even in working class people, some of who could not afford to be educated.

Furthermore, McCrum et al. described about the linguistic similarities between Black Americans and Cockney speakers “Both are exceptionally good at describing the nuance of personal relationships, of feeling (anger and love), and of good times.” (218-219) In other words, what we can say in common with Black Americans and

Cockney speakers is that both are very expressive about human relations and emotions. Furthermore, in recent years, the intentional uses of Cockney by those who are NOT working class can be seen. According to Arai (2005), a scholar of English literature, some young people in the upper class and upper middle class tend to speak English with accents of working class deliberately (77). In addition, according to Pitts & Tsuruta (2014), the phenomenon “mockney” sometimes occurs in England (20). This phenomenon is represented by the coined word multiplied “mock” and “Cockney,” and means that people in the upper class or the upper middle class intend to adopt the features of Cockney to communicate on similar social level, which most likely ends in failure (20), which is similar to the example that the politician used the EE as wrote in Section Three of Chapter One. For instance, when George Osborne, a former Finance Minister of Britain, talked to workers in Kent, located in the southeast of London, in 2012, he was supposed to use mockney such as the change of pronunciation from “British workers” to “Briddish workers” (20). The purpose of his using mockney was to make it possible to put himself in workers’ shoes by bringing familiarity to the words—in fact, Osborne’s mockney seemed to be blamed by teenagers and working class people—, which may be attributed to linguistic features of Cockney speakers that they are good at expressing emotions and human relations. In addition, McCrum et al. stated in describing the languages that both Cockney and English spoken among Black Americans, “for these on the outside, connotes a mild rebellion,” (219) against the outsiders such as policemen. Again, linguistic features including CRS symbolizing the pride of the working class are considered to be the reason why Cockney is still alive.

The reasons why Cockney, which has smaller social authority, is still not dead are roughly divided into two. One is from an aspect of education in schools. It can be inferred that Cockney is still worthwhile socially because CRS has been taught to children recently in the East End in order to inherit Cockney which was accidentally born because of insufficient education in the East End. The other is from an aspect of identity formation. From the analysis of the similarities between Cockney speakers and Black Americans, it is clear that Cockney speakers construct a form of their identities by gaining opportunities to express their emotion through songs and words while being treated as outsiders in the society, and that Cockney speaker is so expressive about human relations or emotions. It can be inferred that Cockney is able to maintain social value because working class people have a culture composed of their expressiveness.

The features of Cockney, which is one of the most famous dialects spoken among the British working class, are CRS and “h-dropping,” which are considered to function as indicators symbolizing the exclusive and conservative attitude of working class

people against those different from themselves. Furthermore, as stated above, it can be inferred that Cockney can maintain its social value in the British society from the educational aspect and cultural aspect. Therefore, I judge that Cockney is valuable as the subject of this thesis, and move on to the analysis of *Pygmalion* in the next chapter mainly from the perspective of the use of Cockney.

Chapter 3: Cockney as a Symbol of Social Class in *Pygmalion*

In this chapter, I examine the effects of dialects as an indicator of social class mainly by contrasting Eliza's Cockney and Higgins's RP in *Pygmalion* by Bernard Shaw, based on what I have discussed in previous chapters. That is because, in *Pygmalion*, class dialects—Cockney and RP— play an important role in shaping some morals which are the characteristic of Shaw's works, and the class dialects in *Pygmalion* may make it possible to confirm the importance and value of dialects in the British society. In addition, I deal with the contrastive description between Eliza and her father Doolittle from the perspective of gender. *Pygmalion* is divided into five acts. Thus in this chapter, I discuss the significance of Cockney and RP as class dialects by analysing each acts.

3-1: Effects of Cockney as an Indicator of Social Class

As outlined in the introduction of this thesis, in *Pygmalion*, Eliza, who has originally been uncultured and vulgar, meets a phonologist Higgins, and becomes a lady transcending her class through the strict education. In this respect, it is necessary to compare Eliza's behaviour before encountering Higgins and that after having grown into an independent lady throughout Higgins's education. In addition, I also consider the process of Eliza's change, and the old-fashioned invariant spirit of Higgins in contrast to her. Hence, this section examines how Cockney symbolizes the working class in *Pygmalion*, based on Eliza's lines when she was a flower selling daughter who had not yet encountered Higgins, at the beginning of Act One.

Before moving onto the main subject, I must describe why I choose *Pygmalion* and *My Fair Lady* as the subject of this chapter. *Pygmalion* is divided into five acts. Act One mainly shows Eliza's meeting Higgins—actually it includes her first encounter with Freddy whom she marries—. Act Two shows the bet of Higgins and Indian dialect researcher Pickering and the hardships awaiting Eliza. Act Three shows how Eliza behaves in Higgins's mother's invitation day or in a fashionable world six months after that day. Act Four shows the appearance of Eliza showing anger with no outlet or distress and her engagement to Freddy, whom she has met again at Higgins's mother's invitation day. Finally, Act Five shows the appearance of Eliza's father who has become a man of property because of Higgins's joke and the scene that Eliza leave Higgins. I have described the feature of Shaw's work is a strong social message—I referred to in Section Three of Chapter One—, and as an evidence supporting this characteristic, Shaw wrote in the preface of *Pygmalion*:

I wish to boast that *Pygmalion* has been an extremely successful play, both on stage and screen, all over Europe and North America as well as at home. It is so intensely and deliberately didactic, and its subject is esteemed so dry, that I delight in throwing it at the heads of the wiseacres who repeat the parrot cry that art should never be didactic. It goes to prove my contention that great art can never be anything else. (6-7)

In summary of this, *Pygmalion* has become so worthwhile that, though this has a serious theme and deliberately incorporates some lessons, Shaw proved his opinion that great works can give readers some lessons inevitably. I regard his “serious subject” as the issues of social class in The UK. We can consider what the class is from Eliza, who tried desperately to accept many kinds of new changes in spite of her class but finally insisted her strong identity based on the pride of working class which is what she should have originally, to Higgins. From the discussions in Chapter One and Two, it is clear that British social class and languages are related to each other, and it can be said that language is very important in *Pygmalion*, too. This is why I have made a judgement that the value of British dialect can be confirmed by studying the words spoken by characters such as Eliza and Higgins in this work.

At the beginning of *Pygmalion*, Eliza is not only involved with Higgins or Pickering. The scene I discuss in this section is her communication with young Freddy, his mother and his sister. As Shaw wrote in Act Three that the mother is well-bred and always is worried about the tightness of assets, and her daughter Clara is familiar with a fashionable world, indicating that she tries to display a brutality of the upper class while the assets her family has are small (56). It is predicted that Freddy’s family belongs to the upper class while being poor. When Freddy ran while searching for a taxi cab in a heavy rain, he hit Eliza, running for the shelter, and she dropped her flower basket. When the mother misunderstood the reasons why Eliza knows the name of his son Freddy—actually Eliza called him Freddy by guesswork—, and asked the reasons, she said:

Ow, eez,ye-ooa san, is e? Wal, fewd dan y’d-ooty bawmz a mather should, eed now bettern to spawl a pore gel’s flahrzn than ran awy atbaht pyin. Will ye-oo py me f’them? [Here, with apologies, this desperate attempt to represent her dialect without a phonetic alphabet must be abandoned as unintelligible outside London].
(11)

[Translation: Oh, he's your son, is he? Well, if you had done your duty by him as a mother should, he would know better than spoil a poor girl's flowers and then run away without paying. Will you pay me for them?]

As Shaw stated, he would stop representing Eliza's phrases normally because it was difficult for the readers except ones from London to understand her accent, only this passage is clearly distinguishable between Cockney and others in *Pygmalion*. However, it must be meaningful that Shaw faithfully expressed Eliza's dialect in this passage even though he should have been able to take no account of Eliza's phonetic notations from the beginning.

Unlike dramas and plays that make the language audible by phonetic sounds, in the case of a novel that visualizes the language by letters, there is no way to express pronunciation in order to distinguish the accent clearly. Therefore, due to his challenge, the above passage is very effective in clarification of accents—in order to show the classes the characters belong to. For example, comparing the above text with the translated one, “he's” is written as “eez” and “he” as “e” in the first sentence. These parts show the dropout of “h” at the beginning of the word described in Chapter Two, Section Two, which is one of the features of Cockney. In addition, “your duty” is written as “y'd-ooty” in the second sentence, which shows the glottal stop, which is also the characteristic of Cockney. The glottal stop means a sound that cannot be sounded by closing the glottis at once and cutting off breath. According to philologist Tanaka (2005), “butter” is called “bu'er” as an example of the glottal stop, and according to Hayashi (2007), a scholar of British literature, the glottal stop means skipping consonant “t” at the middle or the end of words. Thus, the glottal stop tends to appear in consonant “t,” but in the case of “y'd-ooty,” it appears in consonant “y,” which is no exception.

We can confirm the characteristic expression in this passage. In contrast to Doolittle's passage, focusing on the dialogue before and after of this Eliza dialogue: (The mother) “How do you know that my son's name is Freddy, Pray?” [...] (The daughter) “Do nothing of the sort, mother. The idea!” (11) Although the daughter's speech is very colloquial, both sentences can be interpreted as usual. Again, while they belong to the upper class in spite of small amounts of asset, Eliza is the daughter of the lower rank among the working class. In my opinion, Shaw deliberately and faithfully drew the pronunciation of Cockney as a class dialect for the purpose of showing this contrast clearly in the early stage of *Pygmalion*. As a result, the readers can gain a first impression of “wrong” or “dirty,” which I described in Section Two of Chapter One, to Eliza. In contrast, they must gain the impression of “elegant” or “polite” with Freddy's

mother in particular. I theorise that this impression operates in a sense to have the effect of strengthening the impact of the contrast in the ending between Eliza sticking to her own belief based on what she has learned and Higgins sticking to the old-fashioned thoughts and appears foolish.

In this section, I first described the scene which Shaw depicts Cockney's phonetic notation faithfully at the beginning of *Pygmalion*. Second, I have shown the dropping of "h" and the glottal stop, which is the feature of Cockney, in this passage. Third I discussed that the comparison of the dialogue of this passage before and after can give the readers a negative impression of Eliza and a positive impression of Freddy's family respectively, which has the effect of raising the impact of the ending. I discuss the ending of *Pygmalion* in Section Three. The next section considers the typical thought of the 19th century's people in which the society consisting of highly evaluated people in terms of education, income, occupation and status is the most desirable, as wrote in Section Three of Chapter One, associating with Higgins's speech.

3-2: Typical Thoughts of 19th Century and Higgins's Dialogues

Although *Pygmalion* was first played in 1913, in the early 20th century, the typical thoughts of the 19th century as wrote in Section Three of Chapter One is strongly reflected in the action of phonologist Higgins, one of the main characters. Moreover, this way of thinking in his speech is almost unchanged through the work, which influences how Shaw told the readers some lessons, by contrast with Eliza. Thus, I focus on and analyse how Higgins's dialogues in *Pygmalion* indicating the thoughts of 19th century influence the way to impart some social messages to the readers.

Before moving on to the analysis of work, I clarify the British society in the 19th century. First, the educational act called the Foster Act was enacted in 1870, aimed at strengthening the reading or writing of English and arithmetic. This was important not only for making mandatory primary education, but also in the process of the formation of RP as stated in Section Three of Chapter One. In addition, according to historian Inose (1992), the Sandon Education Act was enacted in 1876, aimed to prohibit children under 10 years old from working and to obligate parents to send them to school. People whose children often were absent were fined due to this act, which caused strikes frequently in each region from the resistance to this policy (112). From this, it is considered that, though the mandatory primary education had progressed, workers depending on the income of their children could not afford to let their children go to school, so this policy was not realized substantially.

Moreover, according to Kawai, in the 19th century the election law was revised

three times—in 1832, 1867 and 1884 (802). She also stated that the amendment in 1832 granted voting rights and eligibility for election to urban bourgeoisie, the amendment in 1867 granted voting rights to urban workers, and the amendment in 1884 granted voting rights to farm workers (802). In this way, the voting rights gradually expanded, showing that the political participation of working class people gradually became possible while limited to men. Besides, various events such as the shift to liberalism or the establishment of the Second British Empire occurred in the 19th century; this century could be inferred to be a trigger to strengthen the class consciousness in terms of education and political participation in particular. From this, it can be inferred that, while working class people strengthened the solidarity among themselves, the belief continued that only the people who are highly-educated, work advanced professions or live without working, and have established their own position are happy, was spread among higher class people such as upper class or upper middle class.

Moving on to the main topic of this section, first, I analyse a scene in Act One:

THE NOTE TAKER. A woman who utters such depressing and disgusting sounds has no right to be anywhere—no right to live. Remember that you are a human being with a soul and the divine gift of articulate speech: that your native language is the language of Shakespeare and Milton and The Bible: and dont sit there crooning like a bilious pigeon (18).

This is Higgins's reply with anger when Eliza has claimed about his job that "Ought to be ashamed of himself, unmanly coward!" (17), or that "Let him mind his own business and leave a poor girl —," (17) in the scenes of these two encountering. Higgins is convinced that those speaking vulgar languages, that is, working class people such as Eliza have no rights for living. From this, although it can be inferred that Higgins is just ignorant, he must stick to his position and supremacy towards others, and has bias against lower class people. It must be effective to clarify the class difference of the characters as well as Eliza's utterance which I have analysed in Section One.

The scene to be analysed next is a passage in the conversation between Higgins's mother and himself after Eliza's behaviour in his mother's invitation day:

HIGGINS. As if I ever stop thinking about the girl and her confounded vowels and consonants. I'm worn out, thinking about her, and watching her lips and her teeth and her tongue, not to mention her soul, which is the quaintest of the lot.

MRS HIGGINS. You certainly are a pretty pair of babies, playing with your live

doll.

HIGGINS. Playing! The hardest job I ever tackled: make no mistake about that, mother. But you have no idea how frightfully interesting it is to take a human being and change her into a quite different human being by creating a new speech for her. It's filling up the deepest gulf that separates class from class and soul from soul (65).

While Higgins and Pickering are desperate to make Eliza a lady, his mother sees them as if they are playing with Eliza. In fact, Higgins's mother says that "manners and habits that disqualify a fine lady from earning her own living without giving her a fine lady's income!" (67).

In addition to this interesting contrast, I focus on the word "soul" in each Higgins's dialogue. Higgins believes as a matter of course that Eliza must be a lady by acquiring the way to speak proper language or some manners, and from the position she has gotten, she can acquire the endowments for living in the most desirable society for Higgins—he would not think that this is an old-fashioned idea of the 19th century. As it can be seen from the latter of Higgins's dialogue, his stereotype towards lower class people reinforces his ignorance, and ironically, he has not noticed that. From this, it can be inferred that "soul" for him is different from what Eliza actually has in her mind. That is because he is convinced that soul is extremely fluid to be collapsed easily because of the acquisition of manners including language or customs, and the changes of class, occupation and position due to this acquisition. His bias toward "soul" must be caused by his old-fashioned thoughts of the 19th century.

From this passage, we can see that his attitude towards the class and language is so unchanged that he has criticized his mother whom he ought to love so much. Incidentally, in Eliza's first participation in the fashionable world, Higgins declares that "I stick to my opinion" (72). From this, it is also obvious how stubborn he is. In other words, it can be inferred that these behaviours play a role in expressing Higgins's stubbornness and his clumsy character in a sense.

Finally, in Act Four, Higgins says "[...] I tell you, Pickering, never again for me. No more artificial duchesses. The whole thing has been simple purgatory" (75). One might be able to perceive this dialogue as Higgins simply confesses that he was struggling to teach Eliza. However, we should not overlook that he declares Eliza clearly as an "artificial duchess." While Higgins says that he would make Eliza a perfect lady, he infers her as an imitation looking down on her. We can see Higgins's thought of 19th century from this deliberative saying. From this dialogue, in my opinion, Higgins,

who has already been a member of the most desirable society in his own mind, regards Eliza as a poor daughter of working class, and thinks that his hardship is more valuable than whether she can become a member of his most desirable society. Furthermore, the author Shaw's lesson that class or position does not always determine one's happiness is paradoxically presented by the dialogue of Higgins sticking to his thought stubbornly. This means that, by daring to describe Higgins who stubbornly believes that only people who are educated highly, belong to higher class, or work as profession can be happy, Shaw tried to tell the readers that real happiness is not necessarily influenced by one's classes and positions.

In this way, the old-fashioned way of thinking that a society consisting of highly-evaluated people in standards such as education, occupation, and status—constructed in the 19th century—, became the opportunity for British people to strengthen class consciousness in terms of education and political participation. In particular, this way of thinking was reflected in Higgins's behaviour in *Pygmalion*, indicating his thought is unchanged throughout this story. In addition, these dialogues play a role of clarifying the stubbornness of Higgins and the class difference. We can say that the description of Higgins, who never grows spiritually, should paradoxically show that one is not necessarily happy just because they belong to a higher class or position. As Higgins's immutable thought of the 19th century is fully demonstrated even in the ending, I briefly analyse his thoughts in the next section.

3-3: Pride of Working Class in the UK

As stated at the beginning of Section One, it is necessary to compare Eliza's behaviour before encountering Higgins and that after becoming a lady through Higgins's education. Furthermore, as wrote in the introduction of this thesis, the greatest difference between *Pygmalion* and *My Fair Lady* is in each ending, and the most important lessons of Shaw appears in the ending of *Pygmalion*. Thus in this section, I focus on the scene that Eliza ranted against Higgins using not RP—which she had acquired through strict education—but Cockney—her original dialect—in the ending.

As discussed in Section One of Chapter One, one of the features of the British working class is that they are exclusive and conservative to any people who are different from that of the working class, and to any changes. Such an attitude must reflect the unconcern to transcend class such as through higher education, and the appearance of their own words such as Cockney Rhyming Slang—discussed in Section One of Chapter Two. Hayashi (2007) stated that working class people tend to regard higher class people including policemen or civil servants as “they always look down on us,”

“they treat us as something dirty,” and “they put us in the disadvantageous position” (89). In contrast, Hayashi also stated that working class people sometimes take the attitude of not accepting anyone who is in a higher position, or who get on well with police officers and civil servants in case they face some troubles (89). In fact, in Act One of *Pygmalion*, a bystander tells Eliza that Higgins is taking some notes, and Eliza becomes scared of Higgins as she misunderstands him as an informer for policemen. This is because Eliza is frightened that she may be in trouble, indicating she is excluded from any people different from her in class or position.

It can be inferred that the pride and a sense of belonging of working class are involved in not only such an exclusive attitude but also the identity formation of each individual of the working class. Thus to theorise this identity formation, I shall analyse the Eliza’s dialogue in the end of *Pygmalion*:

LIZA [*defiantly non-resistant*] Wring away. What do I care? I knew you’d strike me some day. [*He lets her go, stamping with rage at having forgotten himself, and recoils so hastily that he stumbles back into his seat on the ottoman*]. Aha! Now I know how to deal with you. What a fool I was not to think of it before! You can’t take away the knowledge you gave me. You said I had a finer ear than you can. Aha! [*Purposely dropping her aitches to annoy him*] That’s done you, Enry Iggins, it az. Now I don’t care that [*snapping her fingers*] for your bullying and your big talk. I’ll advertize it in the papers that your duchess is only a flower girl that you taught, and that she’ll teach anybody to be a duchess just the same in six months for a thousand guineas. Oh, when I think of myself crawling under your feet and being trampled on and called names, when all the time I had only to lift up my finger to be as good as you, I could just kick myself (104, emphasis added).

In this passage, although phonetic expression is not drawn faithfully like the dialogue as analysed in Section 1, there is a part which Eliza must use Cockney apparently. That is “Enry Iggins, it az,” “purposely dropping her aitches to annoy him.” This means that Eliza has deliberately dropped “h” at the beginning of words in order to make Higgins annoyed. It goes without saying that Cockney is unpleasant for Higgins, but Eliza has another reason why she does that.

Again, Eliza belongs to working class. Her behaviour before encountering Higgins is terrible even considering that she has been ignorant, and Eliza has delicate side while being strong-willed—in fact this features is not changed even in a while after meeting Higgins. Thus, I suppose that Eliza was characterised as a typical model of

working class in that she has a strong pride of her position. In contrast, as wrote in the Introduction of this thesis, Shaw preached the readers some lessons by portraying women with strong beliefs and self-reliance based on the influences from his mother and his wife who supported him. Eliza is also one of the characteristic women of Shaw's work, and this ending showed it clearly. Eliza can have a strong belief against the adversity because she was born into a poor working class, brought up by a stepmother, and kicked out to work by herself by her father. Although Eliza decides to learn wording and manners from Higgins in order to live by herself, she has been blamed heavily by Higgins, and has had terrible experiences through the strict education. However, even under such circumstances, she has never lost her belief and self-reliance as she have decided to get out of the depths by all possible means. It can be inferred that this change of tone has occurred because Higgins's cold treatment to her strengthened her pride or belief as a working class and she reconfirms what she should be.

Furthermore, as observed in Section Two, Higgins has a solid belief of the 19th century that the society composing of people who are highly evaluated in terms of education, occupation, position, and status—including himself—is the most desirable. When Eliza has told Higgins about her engagement with Freddy, Higgins says about Freddy "Damn his impudence" (102), "young fool" and "that poor devil who couldnt get a job as errand boy even if he had the guts to try for it" (104). From the description in Act One before the appearance of Eliza, Freddy cannot catch a taxi no matter how much time passes. For Higgins, Freddy is just a deadhead if Higgins judges Freddy in terms of occupation, while being in the upper class. In contrast, Eliza insists about Higgins and Freddy that "Freddy's not a fool. And if he's weak and poor and wants me, may be he'd make me happier than my betters that bully me and dont want me" (102). Unlike higher class people including Higgins, Freddy treats Eliza kindly. It can be inferred that, Eliza, living as a working class, recognized Freddy as a good mate because Freddy needs Eliza in spite of the different class, and she chooses Freddy despite the fact that she has acquired what is necessary for transcending the class and various choices of her life. Eliza's decision to marry with Freddy can show the working class pride of Eliza who has a strong sense of belonging.

As is clear in this section, Eliza's change of tone in the ending of *Pygmalion* was brought as a result of strengthening her working class pride through Higgins's cold treatment. In addition, Eliza reconfirms her pride by realizing Freddy's kindness, and Eliza's view that she loves Freddy even if she get many choices by acquiring the manner or wording of a fine lady leads to their engagement. In contrast, Higgins's supremacist attitude, which was often seen among people in the 19th century, is

unchanged till the end. In this way, the contrast between Eliza, who returned to her pride accepting various changes through the strict education, and Higgins, with a narrow view sticking to his own belief without considering others' opinions, works effectively to make the readers understand the real happiness that is not influenced by one's class and position.

3-4: The Class Consciousness and Dialects from the Perspective of Gender

As can be seen from the result of a survey by Macaulay (1978) confirmed in Section Three of Chapter One, in the UK, women are more class-conscious than men and therefore women are more sensitive to languages. It is reasonable to suppose that while men tend to have only a strong pride towards their own position, women have their desires for improvement in the society in addition to their pride. In *Pygmalion*, characters in various classes are portrayed, and it is possible that a similar gender difference occurs among them. Thus, in this section, I focus on gender, and analyse the relationship between class consciousness and language from gender comparison among Eliza and her father Doolittle in *Pygmalion*.

Before moving on to the comparison in gender, it is necessary to arrange the information of Doolittle as we must set the condition—the class. Doolittle has belonged to working class as well as Eliza, and promotes himself to upper middle class. In the Act Five, Doolittle appeals “Henry Higgins, thanks to your silly joking, he leaves me a share in his Pre-digested Cheese Trust worth three thousand a year” (88). It means that Doolittle acquires huge asset unintentionally due to Higgins's joke, so he must behave like a wealthy man. Eliza and Doolittle have in common in that they transcend their class, so it is possible to say that they are suitable for subject of comparison in gender.

In comparing Eliza and Doolittle, first, I show Doolittle's dialogue symbolizing his class consciousness:

It's making a gentleman of me that I object to. Who asked him to make a gentleman of me? I was happy. I was free. I touched pretty nigh everybody for money when I wanted it, same as I touched you, *Enry Iggins*. Now I am worried: tied neck and heels; and everybody for money. It's a fine thing for you, says my solicitor. Is it? (89, emphasis added)

This is a passage in the scene that Doolittle complains to Higgins and Pickering that he promoted to the upper middle class unintentionally. It can be inferred that, again, Doolittle has belonged to the working class, as h-dropping, which is the linguistic

feature of Cockney as a class dialect—described in Section One of Chapter Two—, can be seen in this dialogue. Therefore, I develop the theory assuming that Doolittle is so proud of his class that he has a bias against people in a different position from himself, and takes his exclusive attitude towards such people. At the beginning of this line, Doolittle insists that he had already been happy and free when he was working class. Furthermore, Doolittle states that he had been tied up with the social control, and ironically questioned Higgins and Pickering whether it is convenient for those who have been originally born and raised in the middle class like them. From such remarks, it can be inferred that Doolittle implies his present status is not his true self.

In addition, Doolittle's dialogue emotionally appealing to Higgins's mother indicates Doolittle's attachment for the working class:

(Excuse the expression, maam; youd use it yourself if you had my provocation.)
They've got you every way you turn: it's a choice between the Skilly of the workhouse and the Char Bydis of the middle class; and I havnt the nerve for workhouse." (90)

In the passages I analysed in this chapter, phonetic notations are not described faithfully, yet the above dialogue has a part that is assumed to be the voice in Doolittle's heart in parenthesis. Doolittle apologizes for his dirty way of speaking. From this, we ascertain this implies that he uses the accent of Cockney even at the time when he becomes upper middle class. Of course, unlike Eliza, the fact that Doolittle has not been educated sufficiently must be taken into account, but we can understand that Doolittle implies he will never renounce his identity as working class. Furthermore, he says that he has no courage to choose a life in workhouse, which can be inferred to indicate that he cannot return to his life in working class realistically, as his working class experience would have included severe conditions.

Let us focus on an Eliza's dialogue:

PICKERING. [*laughing*] Why dont you slang back for him? dont stand it. It would do him a lot of good.

LIZA. I cant. I could have done it once but now I cant go back to it. You told me, you know, that when a child is brought to a foreign country, it picks up the language in a few weeks, and forgets its own. Well, I am a child in your country. I have forgotten my own language, and can speak nothing but yours. Thats the real

break-off with the corner of Tottenham Court Road. Leaving Wimpole Street finishes it. (95-96)

This is a passage between Eliza and Pickering when Eliza comes to Higgins immediately after Doolittle's going out, and Eliza and Pickering hear Higgins's dirty response. She implies that she cannot go back to the time when she has been in working class, because she has forgotten her wording, Cockney, through the strict education from Higgins—actually she has hardly been able to speak Cockney, as is clear in the previous section. Unlike Doolittle, her words after strict education are portrayed without a glimpse of Cockney, so we can see that Eliza has no regret for losing Cockney at this time.

So what is the difference between Eliza and Doolittle in class consciousness? Here, I go back to Shaw's view of women. Lorich (1977), a scholar of British literature, stated how middle class women at the beginning of the 20th century should be, describing that "Women of the middle class, however, were prevented by class distinctions from earning a livelihood except as governesses, authors or artists" (99). According to Ooe (2005), a scholar of British literature, in addition to the above description by Lorich, middle class women were expected to lead "lady-like" lives to keep their social position and their appearances despite the fact that Industrialism affected social and economic conditions and more women began to work in factories and offices (83-84). However, while such a tendency is general, Shaw stated in the social role of women from the end of the 19th century to the beginning of the 20th century, in the essay which he contributed to the Fabian Association in 1891:

Hence arises the idealist illusion that a vocation for domestic management and the care of children is natural for women, and that women who back them are not women at all, [...] The domestic career is no more natural to all women than the military career is natural to all men. (60)

From this description, it is clear that Shaw had a different view of women from the general view at the time. According to Ooe, Shaw's mother worked hard as a music teacher to raise her three children in place of Shaw's father who was useless due to his heavily drinking, and Shaw's wife supported him economically and mentally while he gained unsecure income (13-14). In this way, unlike the typical women at that time, many of the heroines in Shaw's works have their own strong beliefs, and do not live under the control of men.

Let me turn back now to the analysis between Eliza and Doolittle. While Eliza is characterised as a woman with a backbone and self-reliance challenging boldly to the society despite the trend of the society at the beginning of 20th century, her father Doolittle is described as a man who faces social restraint by being promoted from his class unexpectedly and accordingly loses his happiness. From these descriptions, we can say that the pride of working class is totally different from the class consciousness. While the former means the pride towards one's present position, the latter means desire for improvement in social standing by transcending class, and can be rephrased into "Life Force" in Shaw's saying. Ooe stated that Eliza has the power of trying to open her own way by herself, which can be "Life Force" trying to change things positively (82). In other words, the contrastive description between Doolittle, who has only a strong pride of working class, and Eliza, who has not only this pride but also the class consciousness or "Life Force"—despite the fact that they are in the same class— may be responsible for further strengthening the message in *Pygmalion*.

In this section, from the perspective of gender, I have analysed a comparison between Eliza and her father Doolittle, who have belonged to working class and have in common in that they transcend their class. Doolittle's h-dropping and his apology for his dirty way of speaking in his dialogues indicates that Doolittle's behaviour in Act Five is not his true self and he still looks back to the past when he was working class. From Eliza's dialogue, regarding to the working class, it can be inferred that women tend to have their upward mobility in addition to their pride—which working class people have regardless of their gender. This makes the message in *Pygmalion* stronger.

To sum up, we can see two comparisons in *Pygmalion*. First, it is possible to draw a comparison between two main characters: Eliza and Higgins, indicating that mental growth is not correlated with social class. In essence, Shaw published *Pygmalion* at the beginning of the 20th century when the class consciousness became stronger, in order to insist that happiness cannot necessarily be obtained even if we adhere to the hierarchism. Second, we can compare Eliza with her father Doolittle, both of who transcend their class, from the point of view of gender. From this, regarding to British working class, it can be inferred that women tend to have their ambitions to rise in the British society based on their class consciousness in addition to the pride which all working class people basically have. In both two comparisons, Cockney must work as an indicator of British social class.

Conclusion

In this thesis, I have considered the class dialects, which is uncommon all over the world, of British English through the analysis of British dialects spoken by the characters of *Pygmalion* by George Bernard Shaw. In particular, I have investigated Cockney which is spoken among the working class people in Eastern London. The purpose of this thesis is to find out the significance of the relationship between British dialects and the social class in Britain more clearly.

In Chapter One, based on the explanation of the social class unique to Britain, I have shown that British dialects are roughly divided into two: regional dialects and class dialects. Though people who are not familiar with the class, in particular, tend to regard the class just as an economic division, I have revealed that British social class is not merely defined economically. Basically, British people spend their whole lifetimes in the class to which they inherently belong, but some of them can transcend their class by zealous education or success in business that helps transform their behaviour. Thus, some people desperately struggle to raise their class, while others think it is not necessary. It is possible to suppose that most of the working class people, in particular, are so proud of themselves and have strong solidarity toward their community, so many of them never transcend from their class even if their conditions are satisfied. I revealed that it is RP, EE, and Cockney that are the dialects prescribed by British social class. It seems reasonable to suppose that RP, which is influenced by the change of education in public school due to the Foster Act in 1870, and EE, which is affected by the increase in the use in the media and semi-compulsory promotion due to the technological development, can be regarded as class dialects because they have no regional difference—described the reasons why Cockney is one of the class dialects in Chapter Two.

In Chapter Two, I have analysed the specificity of Cockney from the linguistic aspect and the cultural aspect. Regarding to the linguistic aspect, I have revealed that Cockney's linguistic features include CRS (Cockney Rhyming Slang) which was constructed as a secret vocabulary among Cockney speakers, and h-dropping which is the phenomenon that can be seen more frequently as the class of speakers is lower. In other words, these two linguistic features must symbolize Cockney as the working class dialect. Regarding to cultural aspect, I have shown two facts. One is that, in recent years, CRS has been taught at the East End in order to inherit Cockney which was formed as an accidental dialect because of the deficient education in the East End due to poverty. The other is that Cockney speakers were expressive because they had displayed their feelings through their words and songs from of old, indicating that some expressions of

Cockney are valuable to the society. For these reasons, I judged that Cockney was suitable for the subject of the research in this thesis because it is regarded as a class dialect with the social value symbolizing British working class despite the fact that Cockney has been referred to as ugly.

In Chapter Three, I have analysed *Pygmalion* by George Bernard Shaw, based on what I revealed or considered in Chapter One and Two. To begin with, I examined Eliza's Cockney before she meets Higgins. Then, I analysed Higgins's RP throughout the story. Finally, I compared Eliza and Higgins in the ending. From each topic, I have detected the pride or identity which are attached to the characters' class. Furthermore, from this, I have confirmed the mental contrast between Eliza, who accepts various changes while she has belonged to working class which tend to refuse them, and Higgins, who lacks flexibility and sticks to his old-fashioned thoughts—which was typically spread among people in the 19th century— while he belongs to the upper middle class and has more knowledge of the society. In addition, I have confirmed the gender differences of class consciousness from whether Cockney appears in the dialogues of Eliza and her father Doolittle after transcending their class, indicating that working class women tend to have their upward mobility in addition to their pride.

Through the whole, I arrive at the conclusion that Shaw combined Cockney as class dialect and a heroine with strong self-reliance—Eliza— to attempt to effectively make the readers cautious to the class supremacy to which British people at the beginning of the 20th century tended to adhere, and to let them consider about it. This thesis is significant in that I have analysed the features of Cockney as a class dialect from the perspective of Japanese who is not familiar with the social class, about 100 years after the publication of *Pygmalion*.

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