

## Can you Adam and Eve it? Dictionaries of Rhyming Slang.

When it was first discussed in print, in the mid-nineteenth century, rhyming slang was presented as a secret code used by thieves, though other possible origins have been suggested.<sup>1</sup> What is certain is that it came to be associated with London's costermongers and later with residents of the East End of London in general. This paper will provide an overview of the history of rhyming slang lexicography. It will argue that the popularity of rhyming slang owes more to its media representations than to its everyday use by genuine Cockneys, and also that in recent years it has become more broadly emblematic of traditional ideas of Englishness.

The term *cockney* is derived from the Middle English *cocken-ey* "a cock's egg". The *OED* records its first use with reference to small or misshapen eggs from 1362, and from c.1386 it referred to children who failed to flourish: who required or received excessive maternal attention. Townspeople in general were derided as *cockneys* from 1594, but by 1600 the term was being used with particular reference to Londoners, specifically those born within the sound of the bells of Mary-le-Bow Church. It was not until 1890 that *Cockney* was applied to the accent or dialect of London. Although Agha describes 'London Cockney' as 'the speech of the professional middle classes',<sup>2</sup> most commentators apply it to working class London accents, particularly those of the East End of London.

Rhyming slang is best explained by example. This verse was included in the earliest dictionary of rhyming slang to be published as a separate volume (discussed below):

When pore old Jim got the "Tin tack" [sack]  
'E went aht and got "Elephant's trunk," [drunk]  
And when 'e got 'ome to 'is "trouble and strife" [wife]  
She gives 'im a biff on the bunk.  
Nah when 'e woke up in the morning,  
'Is pore "Uncle Ned" [head] was so sore

---

<sup>1</sup> These are summarized by Jonathon Green. (2003). 'Rhyming Slang' *Critical Quarterly* 45, 220-6, and some are discussed below.

<sup>2</sup> Asif Agha. (2003). 'The Social Life of Cultural Value', *Language and Communication* 23, 231-73: 244 n.9. I am grateful to Luanne von Schneidmesser for drawing my attention to this and other sociolinguistic studies.

'E at once takes a walk to the "Rub-a-dub-dub," [pub]  
After slammin' the "Rory O'Moore." [door]<sup>3</sup>

In rhyming slang, a word or phrase in standard or non-standard English is represented by a phrase that rhymes with it (e.g. *Uncle Ned* "head"). Sometimes the rhyming slang term provides a comment on the concept it represents (e.g. *trouble and strife* "wife"), but most do not. Some rhyming slang terms can be abbreviated so that the rhyming word is omitted (e.g. *elephant's trunk* "drunk" can be shortened to *elephants*).

Henry Mayhew did not make any mention of rhyming slang in his detailed study of *London's Labour and London's Poor* (1851), though he did describe costermongers' use of back slang in some detail.<sup>4</sup> The earliest lexicographer of rhyming slang was Ducange Anglicus in *The Vulgar Tongue* (1857). He presented rhyming slang as a secret code used by thieves, and this list provided John Camden Hotten with rhyming slang for his *Slang Dictionary* (1859). Hotten's dictionary went through five editions until 1874 and many reprints right into the twentieth century. In 1910, Henry Bradley commented that:

What is called 'riming slang' ... is a jocular invention which does not seem to have had any considerable currency except in the columns of the sporting newspapers.<sup>5</sup>

In 1933, George Orwell wrote that rhyming slang was 'all the rage in London' at about the time that Bradley was writing, but that 'now it is almost extinct'.<sup>6</sup> There is certainly evidence of the use of at least some rhyming slang terms during the First World War. For instance, Fraser and Gibbons include:

*ADAM AND EVE*: Believe. E.g., "Could you Adam and Eve it". (rhyming slang).

*FRYING PANS*: Hands. (Rhyming Slang).

---

<sup>3</sup> I. Phillips. (1931/2). *Rhyming Slang. A Concise Dictionary* (London: Phillips), 16.

<sup>4</sup> In back slang, words are pronounced backwards, with allowances made for the rules of English phonology. The *OED* is rightly reluctant to rely on back slang etymologies, and sometimes offers them merely to discredit or cast doubt upon them (e.g. *moniker*, *nerd*), but it does approve the back-slang origins of *neves* "seven", *pennif* (for *finnip* "five pound note"), *rouf* "four", *slop* "police", and *yob* "boy".

<sup>5</sup> Henry Bradley. (1910) 'Slang', *Encyclopaedia Britannica* xxv, 207-10. Reprinted, 145-56, in *The Collected Papers of Henry Bradley* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1928), 153.

<sup>6</sup> George Orwell. (1933). *Down and Out in Paris and London* (London: V. Gollancz), 195-6.

*UNCLE NED*: Bed. (Rhyming slang).<sup>7</sup>

Partridge, who dates the origins of rhyming slang to the seventeenth century on slender evidence,<sup>8</sup> confirms that it ‘had its apotheosis in the G.W.’<sup>9</sup> The trenches were its ideal habitat: tightly-knit groups united by fear, discomfort, and boredom could use rhyming slang as an in-joke to relieve tension and enhance solidarity. Some pleasure could be derived from newcomers’ and outsiders’ failure to understand mundane conversations. Given Orwell’s experience of the poorer areas of London, however, it seems unlikely that he would have been unaware of the continued use of rhyming slang in the 1930s had that use been extensive.

It was perhaps because of this decline in use that rhyming slang began to receive its second wave of lexicographic attention. During 1931 and 1932, a London publican issued his customers with a short dictionary of rhyming slang to be used in composing comic verses for a competition. The pub appears to have been in the West End of London, offering some support to the argument ‘that dialect songs and literature are merely a form of recreation for the middles classes’,<sup>10</sup> and the dictionary is written from the perspective of an outsider. A modified version of the glossary was published in 1945 without acknowledgement.<sup>11</sup> The association between rhyming slang and criminality is mentioned by Partridge<sup>12</sup> and was strengthened by Frank Norman’s inclusion of a few terms in the glossary to his autobiographical novel *Stand On Me* (1959). For example:

*BARNET	<i>Barnet Fair</i>	Hair
*BOAT-RACE		Face

---

<sup>7</sup> Edward Fraser and John Gibbons. (1925). *Soldier and Sailor Words and Phrases* (London: George Routledge & Sons).

<sup>8</sup> Eric Partridge. (1933). *Slang Today and Yesterday*, 4<sup>th</sup> edn. (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1970), 273. Green, ‘Rhyming Slang’, 222, considers the first two decades of the nineteenth century a more likely date for the origin of rhyming slang.

<sup>9</sup> Eric Partridge. (1937). *A Dictionary of Slang and Unconventional English* (London: George Routledge & Sons): *rhyming slang*.

<sup>10</sup> Joan Beal. (2000). ‘From Geordie Ridley to Viz: Popular Literature in Tyneside English’, *Language and Literature* 9:4, 343-359: 353 (Note that Beal actually disagrees with this position, arguing that local speech forms are also important to their users). Anon. (1973). *A Book of Rhyming Slang* (London: Pentagram) is another example of a rhyming slang dictionary with a predominantly middle-class audience: it was published as a company Christmas gift by an advertising firm.

<sup>11</sup> Anon. (1945). *Dictionary of Rhyming Slang* (London: J. Langdon). For a detailed account of differences between the lists, see Julie Coleman. (2008). *A History of Cant and Slang Dictionaries. Vol. III 1859-1936* (Oxford: Oxford University Press), 91-6.

<sup>12</sup> Partridge, *Slang*, 273.

Norman's independent documentation of these terms confirms that some rhyming slang did continue in use, although perhaps not at the rate seen earlier in the century.

Julian Franklyn's *Dictionary of Rhyming Slang* (1960) provided the first thorough and historical account of rhyming slang, listing almost a thousand terms. He argued that it originated not with London Cockneys but with Irish navvies, from whom it was adopted by the London underworld. A second and third edition added hundreds more terms to the original list. Less dependable rhyming slang dictionaries continued to appear in a fairly steady stream during the next three decades.<sup>14</sup> The use of rhyming slang in Australia and in the American underworld was also documented and discussed,<sup>15</sup> as were some unlikely examples of British upper class usage.<sup>16</sup>

During the 1990s and particularly the first decade of the present century, rhyming slang dictionaries began to appear at an unprecedented rate. Most make no claim to comprehensiveness or reliability and many are cheaply produced booklets aimed squarely at the lowest common denominator.<sup>17</sup> John Ayto explains their appeal to tourists:

These little books are more souvenirs than practical dictionaries. Rhyming slang serves as a saleable icon of London life and culture. It has become a commodity, to an extent unparalleled in any other area of language and usage.<sup>18</sup>

---

<sup>13</sup> Frank Norman. (1959). *Stand on Me. A True Story of Soho* (London: Secker & Warburg).

<sup>14</sup> These include Sydney Thomas Kendall. (1969). *Up the Frog: The Road to Cockney Rhyming Slang* (London: Wolfe); Jack Jones. (1971). *Rhyming Cockney Slang* (Bristol: Abson Books); Moe Dodson and R. Sazcek. (1972). *A Dictionary of Cockney Slang and Rhyming Slang* (London: Hedgehog Enterprises); Bob Aylwin. (1973). *A Load of Cockney Cobblers* (Edinburgh/London: Johnston & Bacon); John Lawrence. (1975). *Rabbit & Pork, Rhyming Talk* (London: Hamilton); Ronnie Barker. (1979). *Fletcher's Book of Rhyming Slang* (London: Pan Books).

<sup>15</sup> David W. Maurer. (1944). "'Australian' Rhyming Argot in the American Underworld', *American Speech* 19, 183-95; John Meredith. (1984). *Learn to Talk Old Jack Lang* (Kenthurst [NSW]: Kangaroo Press).

<sup>16</sup> Paul Wheeler and Anne Broadhead. (1985). *Upper Class Rhyming Slang* (London: Sidgwick & Jackson).

<sup>17</sup> For example, Betty Kirkpatrick. (1991). *Wicked Cockney Rhyming Slang* (London: Michael O'Mara); Tom Nind. (2003). *Rude Rhyming Slang* (London: Abson Books); Bodmin Dark. (2003). *Dirty Cockney Rhyming Slang* (London: Michael O'Mara); Ed West. (2006). *Coarse Cockney Rhyming Slang* (Bath: Crombie Jardine).

<sup>18</sup> John Ayto. (2002). *The Oxford Dictionary of Rhyming Slang* (Oxford: Oxford University Press), vii.

There is no Academy of Rhyming Slang to confirm terms' authenticity and currency. Is rhyming slang only authentic if it is created and used by Cockneys? If birth within the sound of Bow Bells is a required qualification, demographics and traffic noise ensure that the number of genuine Cockneys today is extremely small. However, the rules governing the production of rhyming slang are sufficiently straightforward that anyone, including the compilers of rhyming slang dictionaries, can create new examples. That is, of course, the point: rhyming slang is a form of word-play that gives scope to the speaker's creativity and humour. Without any evidence of their ever having been used, however, terms are copied from one dictionary to another and some are picked up by the media. Because they have so many dictionaries of rhyming slang to consult, lexicographers of broader British slang tend to over-represent it in their dictionaries.<sup>19</sup>

There are examples of rhyming slang that are still widely known and others that are widely used, but the two groups are by no means identical. Terms and phrases whose origins in rhyming slang are unsuspected by many users include *Berk(eley Hunt)* "cunt", *butcher's (hook)* "look", *loaf (of bread)* "head", *not on your nelly (duff)* "puff: life", *porky (pie)* "lie", *raspberry (tart)* "fart or (more usually) a fart-like noise made with the tongue", and *on one's Tod (Sloan)* "alone". Recent coinages that have received some usage are Australian (*Noah('s Ark)* "shark") or even Scottish (*Scooby (Doo)*) "clue"). Occasionally rhyming slang terms will catch the attention of the media, and enjoy a short period of notoriety (e.g. *Damian (Hirst)* "a first class degree", *Desmond (Tutu)* "a 2:2", *Dicky (Bird)* "a third"). The survival of a small number of rhyming slang terms or even the productivity of the processes involved, does not demonstrate the vitality of 'Cockney rhyming slang'.

Given that the heyday of Cockney rhyming slang appears to have been during the period from the late 1850s to the early 1920s, one has to ask why it is so well represented in modern dictionaries. Why are there more dictionaries of rhyming slang from the twentieth century than of general British slang?<sup>20</sup> Who compiles them? Who buys them? What do they buy them for? It is certainly not to decode the rhyming slang they hear in their everyday lives.

---

<sup>19</sup> For example, Ray Puxley. (2003). *Britslang: an Uncensored A-Z of the People's Language including Rhyming Slang* (London: Robson); Tom Dalzell and Terry Victor. (2006). *The New Partridge Dictionary of Slang and Unconventional English* (London: Routledge).

<sup>20</sup> Green, 'Rhyming Slang', 220, comments that if rhyming slang had originated outside London it would inevitably have received less attention, which is certainly part of the answer to this question.

In order to answer these questions, it is necessary to track the development of the idea of ‘the Cockney’<sup>21</sup> from the nineteenth century onwards. In the music-halls working-class audiences, along with adventurous men of higher status, enjoyed jingoistic popular entertainment that addressed everyday concerns and provided a commentary on social and political issues. Various stereotypical characters were popular onstage, including drunken Irishmen and Cockney costermongers, and Scott writes that the earliest performers inhabited these characters only for the duration of individual songs. He argues that by the end of the nineteenth-century ‘Cockney’ music-hall performers were imitating earlier stage Cockneys rather than basing their performance on the observation of actual Cockneys.<sup>22</sup> Thus a number of Cockney stereotypes arose and were repeatedly confirmed on stage without any reference to changes in and among the inhabitants of inner-city London. The representation of the speech of working-class Londoners in novels and plays also contributed to the enregisterment of the dialect: through its fictional and dramatic representations, Cockney became a socially recognized form of English ‘linked to a specific scheme of cultural values’.<sup>23</sup> Its enregisterment is tied in with that of Received Pronunciation, in that Cockneys were frequently cited to provide examples of stigmatized use in guides to good English. In response, Cockney developed its own defiant covert prestige. The use of Cockney rhyming slang is, of course, an important element in the stereotype of the Cockney.<sup>24</sup>

‘The Cockney’ stereotype survived the decline of the music-hall, particularly in the character of ‘Tommy’: the archetypal British soldier of the Boer and First World Wars.<sup>25</sup> ‘Tommy’ was a working-class man who was accustomed to hard physical labour, but willing to avoid it whenever possible. Although not highly educated, his common sense sometimes took him beyond the conclusions reached by his those in authority over him. Not unduly overawed by his social superiors, he

---

<sup>21</sup> Inverted commas are used to emphasize that reference is to stereotypical figures rather than to real people, either as individuals or collectively.

<sup>22</sup> Derek B. Scott. (2002). ‘The Music-Hall Cockney: Flesh and Blood, or Replicant?’, *Music and Letters* 83, 237-259.

<sup>23</sup> Agha, ‘The Social Life of Cultural Value’, 231. Agha’s paper deals with the enregisterment of Received Pronunciation.

<sup>24</sup> Technically known as a ‘third-order indexical’ in preference to Labov’s ‘stereotype’ (Barbara Johnstone, Jennifer Andrus, and Andrew E. Danielson. (2006). ‘Mobility, Indexicality, and the Enregisterment of “Pittsburghese”’, *Journal of English Linguistics* 34:2, 77-104: 81, following Michael Silverstein. (2003). ‘Indexical Order and the Dialectics of Sociolinguistic Life’, *Language & Communication* 23:3/4, 193-229.

<sup>25</sup> *Tommy* (or *Thomas*) *Atkins* was a generic name for the common soldier from the 1880s. Its use was popularized by Kipling’s poem *Tommy*.

displayed a strong sense of loyalty, but only where he felt it was deserved. His dour humour and readiness to forget everything in a drink and a sing-song helped him to cope with the hardships of military service. Although these qualities are strongly associated with ‘the Cockney’, they are by no means restricted to this stereotype. The stereotypical Cockney bears a marked resemblance to the Australian Ocker stereotype, and simple-hearted happiness in the face of hardship, particularly with the help of alcoholic beverages, is also attributed to residents of Newfoundland.<sup>26</sup>

Many of Tommy’s qualities were transferred to ‘the Cockney’ during the Second World War, when home-bound Cockneys suffered under the Blitz. The phenomenally successful pre-war musical, *Me and My Girl*, which became emblematic of Cockney resilience, reinforced Londoners’ image of themselves as plucky underdogs who would not be cowed, no matter what the odds. With their irreverence directed towards British rather than German authorities, similar ‘Cockney’ characters inhabited Ealing comedies and Carry On films through to the 1970s. Like ‘Tommy’, these Cockney stereotypes were irreverent and cheerful in the face of adversity. They were not given to unnecessary exertion, but their resourcefulness and application flourished when applied to matters of dubious legality. They had their own version of honour, often drifting into sentimentality, and were mutually supportive in times of need. Short-term hedonism frequently frustrated their dreams of better things, and they remained suspicious of pretension and of outsiders. The stereotype of the cheeky chirpy Cockney chappy skirting the edges of the law had numerous incarnations in later British situation comedies, including Steptoe senior (*Steptoe and Son*), Private Walker (*Dad’s Army*), Fletcher (*Porridge*), Smithie (*Citizen Smith*), and Arthur Daley (*Minder*).

During the period from the 1980s onward, the balance of the various elements making up ‘the Cockney’ changed. Cockney accents are more recognizable internationally than any other English regional accent, so ‘Cockney’ characters are often used to represent the English white working classes as whole in films and television programmes made in the United States. This broadening in meaning of ‘the Cockney’ can also be traced on the covers of rhyming slang dictionaries. There is a movement away from stock images of London identity, such as red double-decker buses, pearly kings and queens, Tower Bridge and St Paul’s Cathedral, and towards

---

<sup>26</sup> Ruth King and Sandra Clarke. (2002). ‘Contesting Meaning: *Newfie* and the Politics of Ethnic Labelling’, *Journal of Sociolinguistics* 6/4, 537-56.

broader symbols of Englishness, and sometimes even of Britishness. For example, West's *Coarse Cockney Rhyming Slang* shows the flag of St George on its cover. The cover of Geoff Tibball's *The Ultimate Cockney Geezer's Guide to Rhyming Slang*<sup>27</sup> has the union flag as a backdrop.

Criminality and violence has become more central to media representations of 'Cockneys', who inhabit either a British (Vinnie Jones as Big Chris in *Lock, Stock, and Two Smoking Barrels*; Ray Winstone as Gary Dove and Ben Kingsley as Don Logan in *Sexy Beast*) or American (Don Cheadle as Basher Tarr in *Ocean's Eleven*; Tim Roth as Pumpkin in *Pulp Fiction*) underworld. Indeed, *Lock, Stock, and Two Smoking Barrels* includes a sub-titled scene in rhyming slang. This resurgent association between 'the Cockney' and crime is also represented in the marketing of rhyming slang dictionaries. For example, the cover of Dark's *Dirty Cockney Rhyming Slang* shows a suited gangster with the bye-line "Buy it, you slag". Real criminals associated themselves with the happy-go-lucky Cockney stereotype perhaps both for financial gain and to manipulate their public image: *Reg Kray's Book of Slang*,<sup>28</sup> actually compiled by Patsy Manning, includes a rhyming slang list among its contents.

The use of rhyming slang in films and on television has undoubtedly helped the continuing and developing home market for rhyming slang dictionaries. Even without a specific association with popular culture, rhyming slang dictionaries represent light-hearted amusement. They also represent a particular type of nostalgia: for a world in which the working-classes were largely white and respected traditional masculine values. In this light, the purchase of a rhyming slang dictionary can be seen as a rejection of 'political correctness' and as an expression of affiliation with the white working-classes.

Rhyming slang performs a similar function for its lexicographers. It allows them to identify themselves with reference to 'the Cockney'. Franklyn, for example, identifies himself as having been born 'within the sound of Bows Bells'<sup>29</sup> in London at the turn of the century, and he was indeed born in St Saviour, Southwark, but his birth was registered in the first quarter of 1900 under the name Julian E. Frankenberg. His father, Mark or Marks (apparently born Moses), a glass merchant, was also born

---

<sup>27</sup> (London: Ebury Press, 2008).

<sup>28</sup> (London: Sidgwick & Jackson, 1989).

<sup>29</sup> J. I. T. and V. P-S. (1970). 'Mr Julian Franklyn. Author and Scholar', *The Times* 23 Jul. 1970, 10.

in Southwark, but his grandfather, Solomon, had moved there from Germany. Like many of their contemporaries, the Frankenbergs anglicized their surname, and Julian's older brother enlisted in the army as Lawrence Franklyn in 1915, confirming the connection between the two family names.<sup>30</sup> Although Franklyn claims first-hand knowledge of rhyming slang, he presents himself as an observer rather than a user: rhyming slang was, presumably, one of the things that marked him and his family as outsiders. Puxley, on the other hand, not only claims first-hand knowledge of rhyming (and general London) slang, but also traces this connection back through two additional generations.<sup>31</sup> For both Franklyn and Puxley, an individual's claim to be a Cockney clearly depends not only on place of birth, but also on ancestry. Thus an individual who was not born in London and has never lived there may be seen as having a better claim to Cockney status than the child of an immigrant. For the Cockney Diaspora, rhyming slang is heritage.

Milroy emphasizes the significance of RP as 'a particular socially marked linguistic model'<sup>32</sup> in contrast with the spoken standard in the United States, which holds more ethnic and geographical than social meaning. However, although many linguists still take RP as the spoken standard in Britain, for many British speakers it is the very social markedness of RP that places it outside their conception of the spoken standard. The popular conception of 'standard spoken English' in Britain is considerably looser than that of many linguists. It is now at least as usual for RP-speakers, particularly those in politics or the media, to acquire less socially-marked accents than for speakers of non-standards accents to aspire to speak RP. RP is thus no longer perceived by most speakers of British-English as a neutral accent, if indeed it ever was.

---

<sup>30</sup> The *Times* obituary, quoted above, is remarkably uninformative about Franklyn's personal life. It records that he enlisted when he was sixteen, but there are no records of military service for a Julian Franklyn, Franklin, or Frankenberg. Sixteen was underage, so Franklyn may have used a false date of birth as well as a different name. Further circumstantial evidence for this identification is offered by Franklyn's use of the middle initial 'E' in some of his early publications. A Julian E. Franklyn married Beryl Levin in St. Pancras in 1922 and a Julian Franklyn is listed as living at 16 Knollys Rd, Streatham, in telephone directories between 1944 and 1956.

<sup>31</sup> Puxley, *Britslang*, viii. In *Cockney Rabbit: A Dick 'n' Arry of Rhyming Slang* (London: Robson), v-viii, published in 1992, Puxley emphasized experience above heritage.

<sup>32</sup> Lesley Milroy. (2000). 'Two Nations Divided by the Same Language (and Different Language Ideologies)', *Journal of Linguistic Anthropology* 9:1, 56-89: 63.

Estuary English has restructured the social meaning of accents within Britain.<sup>33</sup> Speakers situated towards the ill-defined middle of a continuum between Cockney English and RP are now perceived by many, particularly the young, as having neutral accents. Rhyming slang gives a pedigree to Estuary English, among whose speakers there are wide variations in social class. For speakers of Estuary English, as well as for those with various claims to Cockneydom, claiming a heritage in rhyming slang is a way of representing oneself as a humorous individual, lacking in pretension: as someone whose aspirations and material well-being arise from merit and not social advantage. Even individuals with no personal investment in 'the Cockney' value rhyming slang as something peculiarly English: and here the contrast is rather with the United States rather than Wales, Scotland, or Ireland.

Rhyming slang clearly has, and has had, different meanings in different contexts. Where once it was associated with chirpy working-class Londoners, it has in recent years both narrowed and widened in application. The narrowing is seen in its association with criminality, while the widening treats it as emblematic of traditional Englishness. The production and purchase of rhyming slang dictionaries, while clearly subject to international conceptions of English identity, cannot be fully understood without additional reference to local concerns and questions of personal identity.

## References

- Agha, Asif. (2003). 'The Social Life of a Cultural Value.' *Language and Communication* 23, 231-273.
- Anon. (1945). *Dictionary of Rhyming Slang* (London: J. Langdon).
- Anon. (1973). *A Book of Rhyming Slang* (London: Pentagram).
- Aylwin, Bob. (1973). *A Load of Cockney Cobblers* (Edinburgh/London: Johnston & Bacon).
- Ayto, John. (2002). *The Oxford Dictionary of Rhyming Slang* (Oxford: Oxford University Press)
- Barker, Ronnie. (1979). *Fletcher's Book of Rhyming Slang* (London: Pan Books).
- Beal, J. (2000). 'From Geordie Ridley to Viz: Popular Literature in Tyneside English.' *Language and Literature* 9:4, 343-359.

---

<sup>33</sup> See Joanna Przedlacka. (2001). 'Estuary English and RP: Some Recent Findings', *Studia Anglica Posnaniensia* 34, 35-50, in which she argues that Cockney rather than Estuary English remains the source of innovation.

- Bradley, Henry. (1910). 'Slang.' *Encyclopaedia Britannica* xxv, 207-10. Reprinted, 145-56, in *The Collected Papers of Henry Bradley* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1928).
- Coleman, Julie. (2008). *A History of Cant and Slang Dictionaries. Vol. III 1859-1936* (Oxford: Oxford University Press).
- Dalzell, Tom, and Terry Victor. (2006). *The New Partridge Dictionary of Slang and Unconventional English* (London: Routledge).
- Dark, Bodmin. (2003). *Dirty Cockney Rhyming Slang* (London: Michael O'Mara).
- Dodson, Moe, and R. Saczek. (1972). *A Dictionary of Cockney Slang and Rhyming Slang* (London: Hedgehog Enterprises).
- Fraser, Edward, and John Gibbons. (1925). *Soldier and Sailor Words and Phrases* (London: George Routledge & Sons).
- Green, Jonathon. (2003). 'Rhyming Slang.' *Critical Quarterly* 45, 220-6.
- Johnstone, Barbara, Jennifer Andrus, and Andrew E. Danielson. (2006). Mobility, Indexicality, and the Enregisterment of "Pittsburghese". *Journal of English Linguistics* 34:2, 77-104.
- Jones, Jack. (1971) *Rhyming Cockney Slang* (Bristol: Abson Books).
- Kendall, Sydney Thomas. (1969) *Up the Frog: The Road to Cockney Rhyming Slang* (London: Wolfe).
- King, Ruth and Sandra Clarke. (2002). 'Contesting Meaning: *Newfie* and the Politics of Ethnic Labelling.' *The Journal of Sociolinguistics* 6:4, 547-556.
- Kirkpatrick, Betty. (1991). *Wicked Cockney Rhyming Slang* (London: Michael O'Mara).
- Lawrence, John. (1975). *Rabbit & Pork, Rhyming Talk* (London: Hamilton).
- Manning, Patsy. (1989). *Reg Kray's Book of Slang* (London: Sidgwick & Jackson).
- Maurer, David W. (1944). "'Australian" Rhyming Argot in the American Underworld', *American Speech* 19, 183-95.
- Meredith, John (1984). *Learn to Talk Old Jack Lang* (Kenthurst [NSW]: Kangaroo Press).
- Milroy, Lesley. (2000). 'Two Nations Divided by the Same Language (and Different Language Ideologies)'. *Journal of Linguistic Anthropology* 9:1, 56-89.
- Nind, Tom. (2003). *Rude Rhyming Slang* (London: Abson Books).
- Norman, Frank. (1959). *Stand on Me. A True Story of Soho* (London: Secker & Warburg).
- Orwell, George. (1933). *Down and Out in Paris and London* (London: V. Gollancz).

- Partridge, Eric. (1937). *A Dictionary of Slang and Unconventional English* (London: George Routledge & Sons)
- Partridge, Eric. (1933) *Slang Today and Yesterday*, 4<sup>th</sup> edn. (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1970)
- Phillips, I. (1931/2). *Rhyming Slang. A Concise Dictionary* (London: Phillips).
- Przedlacka, Joanna. (2001). 'Estuary English and RP: Some Recent Findings', *Studia Anglica Posnaniensia* 34, 35-50.
- Puxley, Ray. (1992). *Cockney Rabbit: A Dick'n'Arry of Rhyming Slang* (London: Robson).
- Puxley, Ray. (2003). *Britslang: an Uncensored A-Z of the People's Language including Rhyming Slang* (London: Robson).
- Scott, Derek B. (2002). 'The Music-Hall Cockney: Flesh and Blood, or Replicant?', *Music and Letters* 83, 237-259.
- Silverstein, Michael. (2003). 'Indexical Order and the Dialectics of Sociolinguistic Life.' *Language & Communication* 23:3/4: 193-229.
- T., J. I. and V. P-S. (1970). 'Mr Julian Franklyn. Author and Scholar', *The Times* 23 Jul. 1970, 10.
- Tibball, Geoff. (2008). *The Ultimate Cockney Geezer's Guide to Rhyming Slang* (London: Ebury Press).
- West, Ed. (2006). *Coarse Cockney Rhyming Slang* (Bath: Crombie Jardine).
- Wheeler, Paul, and Anne Broadhead. (1985). *Upper Class Rhyming Slang* (London: Sidgwick & Jackson).